

# **NGĀTI APAKURA TE IWI NGĀTI APAKURA MANA MOTUHAKE**

## **REPORT FOR NGĀTI APAKURA CLAIMANTS AND THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL**

Prepared for the Ngāti Apakura claimants for Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry (Wai 898)  
and Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust

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## SECTION 1: REPORT INTRODUCTION

### Scoping Report

This report is another step closer towards the completion of a traditional history project for Ngāti Apakura. But the very fluid nature of compiling a comprehensive history on any Māori tribe let alone Ngāti Apakura means that such a project will never be fully complete for there are too many Apakura stories and experiences that have been omitted in this report. Be that as it may, the researchers were contracted to submit a Ngāti Apakura traditional history project report which is designed to cover the following areas:

- Crucial to many of the Ngāti Apakura claims is the importance of establishing who Apakura was, her whakapapa, where she came from, who her descendants were/are, the hapū they established, their rohe and their relationship with other kinship and tribal groups from first settlement of the Rohe Pōtae area to the present;
- To give kaumātua the opportunity to tell their story, speak of their relationship to other iwi and hapū, the land and resources and that of their parents and grandparents, and to ensure that the traditions passed on to them by their parents, grandparents and elders are recorded and presented, where possible and appropriate, with what their ancestors have said in earlier contexts;
- This information is essential to the investigation of Ngāti Apakura claims and cannot be obtained in any form other than through a detailed research project.

There is a volume of documentary and recorded oral evidence that has been located and reviewed and a large number of kaumātua have participated in interviews, small group discussions and have also contributed to the Tribunal's Ngā Korero Tuku Iho o te Rohe Pōtae oral traditions hui series of 2010.<sup>1</sup> The approach of the researchers has been inclusive trying to involve all Ngāti Apakura claimants as far as possible and in partnership with a small team of researchers who provided certain technical research and cultural skills.

Timeframes are also critical for any research report which must be met for the general Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry. Planning an appropriate timetable for this project has been decided upon. The final report is due on late September 2012 so that it is completed in time to meet the Waitangi Tribunal's hearing plan.

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<sup>1</sup> The Ngā Korero Tuku Iho o te Rohe Pōtae Oral Traditions were a series of hui held in 2010 at various Rohe Pōtae marae to provide an opportunity for Ngāti Maniapoto, Apakura and other tribal claimants and representatives to formally present evidence and views of their respective claims, whakapapa and other korero to the Waitangi Tribunal. Hui were held at Te Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga (1-2 March, 2010), Waipapa Marae, Kāwhia Moana (29-30 March 2010); Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui (26-27 April 2010); Maniāroa Marae, Mōkau (17-18 May 2010); and Te Tokanganui a Noho Marae, Te Kuiti (9-11 June, 2010).

In order to have a report ready for the Waitangi Tribunal, the project required an appropriate timeframe which provided adequate time and space to undertake the research, conduct the interviews and small group discussions, process the recordings and provide them to claimants, counsel and other researchers, to analyse all material, complete the draft report, circulate the draft report to claimants for feedback and comment, review the draft in light of the feedback and complete the final report for filing by 24 September, hence time is of the essence. Some flexibility is necessary however, as the circumstances (and timetable) in which the claimants must produce their evidence could change considerably.

For these reasons, the project was undertaken by a small team comprising the following:

- Lead researcher: co-ordinated the project, directed research, participated in the interviews, small group discussions and wānanga and wrote the main sections of the report;
- Researcher: also wrote sections of the report and conducted research, and participated in the interviews, small group discussions and wānanga;
- Oral history group: a small team of claimants and a Wānanga Facilitator who organised, facilitated and participated in the interviews, small group discussions and wānanga;
- One research assistant: who worked under the direction of the lead researcher to locate, copy and organise the documentary evidence for the project.

The proposed approach outlined below was been developed with the above timeframe in mind. It was designed to ensure that the report is sufficiently comprehensive and robust to withstand rigorous cross-examination from the Crown and other claimants.

#### **Oral and Traditional History Project**

An oral and traditional history report is presented to the Waitangi Tribunal by claimants in support of their claims. It is distinct from technical research in that it is filed by the claimants and, for this reason, the consent of the claimants is necessary for the report to be filed. The report is considered independent and expert evidence in the Inquiry, but it must tell the story the claimants want told. The purpose of the oral and traditional history report is to present to the Tribunal the claimants' view of themselves to assist the Tribunal in determining who was affected by actions of the Crown. This story is told through the oral interviews with kaumātua but also through the documentary records when their tūpuna stood



up and spoke at different times in the past about who their tūpuna were, where they came from and where they lived. The best oral and traditional history reports are those where the modern day stories of identity are related to the whakapapa and evidence given by witnesses in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It shows that what people are saying today has a much longer history and is not simply a more recent invention.

Another important key function of the report is to show the relationship between Ngāti Apakura and their natural resources within the Rohe Pōtae. These resources include land, forests, fisheries and rivers and other 'taonga.' The report will do this on the basis of evidence of occupation given by tūpuna in the Native Land Court when they speak of where they fished, caught birds, lived and died. There was also heavy reliance on the oral interviews as kaumātua spoke of the things they, their parents, and grandparents did on the land during the twentieth century. This included discussions around how decisions made by others (such as Crown officials or judges) affected their ability to live on their land and utilise their resources (for survival, for profit or for some other reason). These are the stories which feed back directly into the claims against the Crown, in that the consequences of Crown actions, and the basis for the grievances out of which the claims have arisen, can be shown.

#### **Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry**

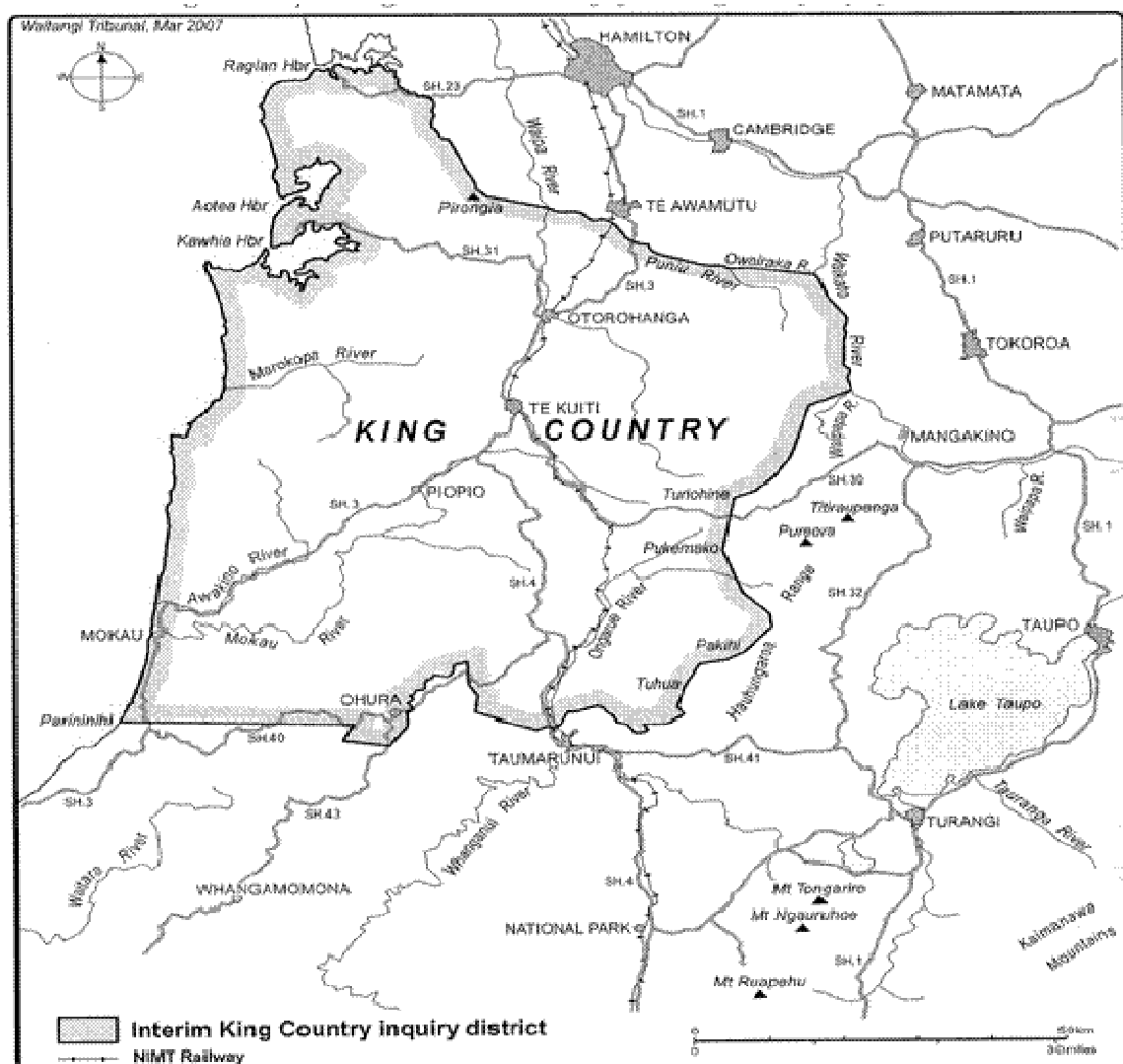
The Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry (Wai 898) encompasses around 270 Treaty of Waitangi claims. Among others, it involves claimants from Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and Whanganui groups, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Toa Tūpāhau, Ngāti Māhanga and Tainui Āwhiro. The Waitangi Tribunal Panel hearing the claims consists of Judge Ambler, Professor Sir Hirini Mead, Mr John Baird, Professor Pou Temara and Dr Aroha Harris.

Major Treaty of Waitangi issues in the Rohe Pōtae Inquiry include the Crown's relationship with the Kīngitanga, the effects of the Waikato Wars including Ngāti Apakura becoming refugees and the resultant diaspora, the creation of the Rohe Pōtae, the operation of the Native Land Court and the alienation of Māori land in the nineteenth century, the management of Māori land in the twentieth century, waterways, environmental impacts, and public works takings.

This research report involves the preparation of the Ngāti Apakura Traditional History report on behalf of Ngāti Apakura claimants' traditional history for Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry. The scoping report has located tribal sources and other documentary and oral evidence

concerning the origins, whakapapa, history and customary tenure of Ngāti Apakura and its constituent hapū. Furthermore, the scoping report addressed questions of methodology, issue identification, report structure or evidential format, sources, required expertise, resources and human resource issues including ethics and training, quality control and project timeframes.<sup>2</sup>

The scoping report includes a bibliography of existing research relevant to the Ngāti Apakura oral and traditional history report summarising the customary and historical issues these shed light on, and any issues requiring further research highlighted by them.



Map 1 showing the Interim Boundary of the Rohe Pōtae King Country Inquiry District<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Schedule 1 Contracted Services, in Contract with Hohonu Ltd for provision of research services to the Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT), (12 October 2009 to 5 April 2010, Correspondence CFRT 2035, November 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, 'Errata for the Rohe Pōtae/ King Country Inquiry Boundary Discussion Paper,' (Wai 898#6.22, Waitangi Tribunal, January 2007) at 3.

## **Report Outline**

This research report begins by discussing the issue of methodology. The first section outlines Ngāti Apakura identity and relationships with other Tainui tribes, settlement patterns and tribal boundaries, the coming of the Pākehā into the Apakura rohe, trade, the Kīngitanga, tribal leadership, involvement in the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s and subsequent loss of lands through, among other means, raupatu and the Native Land Court, and the consequent loss of rangatiratanga through similar processes. The next section discusses Ngāti Apakura modern day stories and the hugely crippling impact upon the identity, welfare, wellbeing, economy and potential development of Ngāti Apakura as a people and as an iwi which has transcended down throughout the generations. In effect, the main consequence of the Waikato conflict for Ngāti Apakura was that it destroyed Ngāti Apakura as a community and as tangata whenua. The crippling impacts of these Treaty of Waitangi grievances continue to be felt and experienced by Ngāti Apakura today.

The final sections list an extensive Ngāti Apakura bibliography and detailed appendices.

## **Methodology**

We believe that central to any traditional report for Ngāti Apakura is the Apakura voice. Any attempt to understand the multi-dimensional traditions, histories, relationships and grievances should, where possible, be engaged with Apakura informants and Apakura scholars. Apakura voices are also recorded in letters, newspaper articles, petitions, manuscripts, Native Land Court minutes, whakapapa books, waiata, sound recordings and video recordings. The written records are, among other things, testament to the growth of literacy among Ngāti Apakura. Many of these are in te reo Māori.

A number of these Apakura sources offer the opportunity to examine Apakura history as seen through Apakura eyes, especially when writing in their cultural present. Their 'native voice' provides the important indigenous perspective on their history.

We do not seek to de-emphasise European accounts despite the fact that so many are culturally constructed texts that present eyewitness accounts filtered through in most cases Darwinist eyes. European accounts present a necessary European perspective on events, encounters and interpretations which we suspect will be picked up in other reports particularly those relating to Apakura-Crown relations. The researchers have included

European accounts in certain sections of the report where appropriate. But we have also sought to balance these accounts with Apakura and other Tainui accounts so that the Apakura view is appropriately acknowledged.

We do single out for example the writers James Cowan and J. B W. Robertson who are noted for their writings on the Māori history of Te Awamutu and the surrounding district. Some of their key informants included Raureti Te Huia and Tita Tauī Wetere. Another local Pākehā writer of note is Henry Augustus Swarbrick who also recorded much on Apakura history and whakapapa in the *Journal of Te Awamutu History Society*.<sup>4</sup>

Cowan in particular was a fluent Māori speaker who grew up around Orākau. His father's farm was partly on the Orākau battle site. He interviewed many Ngāti Apakura elders, including in particular, Raureti Te Huia. We have reviewed his works on Apakura subject matter and are of the opinion that in representing their stories, Cowan generally stayed faithful to his Apakura informants. For example, in 1920 Cowan sent his typed notes of his interview with Te Huia back to Te Huia to check and sign off. Part of that interview appears in his publication *The Māori Yesterday*.<sup>5</sup> It is attributed to Te Huia and is a very accurate translation. We therefore recommend Cowan's works as useful sources of Apakura history. Robertson and Swarbrick are also very useful resources for Apakura history. In the main however, we believe the substantive report should essentially be a collection of Apakura/Tainui voices telling Apakura stories. Now let us explore the rich history of Ngāti Apakura as an iwi.

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<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* (Historical Periodicals, Te Awamutu, 1966). Refer to the indexes to *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, (Volumes 1-10, 1966-1975) and *Footprints of History*, (Numbers 10-29, 1988-2005).

<sup>5</sup> Cowan, J, *The Maori Yesterday and Today* (Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1930).

## **SECTION 2: NGĀTI APAKURA TE IWI**

### **IWI INTRODUCTION**

This section of the report establishes some of the basic details introducing the tupuna Apakura and some of her descendants. It will also discuss Ngāti Apakura as a tribe, as an iwi in its own right, its origins, and key historical events. It is however, merely an introductory chapter. The chapter does not, nor does it purport to, represent all traditional Ngāti Apakura tribal details. It is not, we believe, primarily the province of the researchers to describe in detail every traditional Ngāti Apakura group in relation to the land and resources within or bordering on the Rohe Pōtae District. That must come ultimately from the people themselves. But insofar as oral and written statements by Ngāti Apakura people themselves were recorded in nineteenth and twentieth century letters; records, reports, petitions, Native Land Court minutes, books, private manuscripts and audio and visual recordings, some general outlines appear from the research and are included in this section.

The report does not moreover; include all Ngāti Apakura whānau, hapū, marae, boundaries and histories. Ideally, the researchers subscribe to and have sought to implement a policy of inclusion. However and with due respect, time and resources constrain the researchers visiting every community, whānau, hapū and other groups who represent the great strands of te iwi o Ngāti Apakura. Furthermore, the whakapapa tables, and lists of hapū and marae that follow are a starting point for further discussions. In this section, the researchers have sought to provide an outline of Ngāti Apakura as an iwi to those unfamiliar with such details.

### **Ngāti Apakura Iwi Methodology**

The methodology the researchers have applied in this section of the report in addressing the vexed question of whether Ngāti Apakura was an iwi in its own right or whether Ngāti Apakura is a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto and/or Waikato is within a legal context of defining what is an iwi or Māori tribe.

The difficulties of determining an appropriate process for defining whether a Māori community is an iwi or a hapū of another iwi was captured in the Māori commercial fisheries

litigation in the High Court<sup>6</sup>, Court of Appeal<sup>7</sup>, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council<sup>8</sup> over the meaning of the word ‘iwi’ in the schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 (more commonly referred to as the ‘Sealords Deal’). The researchers will apply the criteria for defining an iwi legally from this commercial fisheries context given, we believe, it is still relevant for Treaty of Waitangi settlement claims today. But we need to briefly cover more details on the Māori commercial fisheries settlement to provide context for our discussion on whether Ngāti Apakura was an iwi.

In 1992, Māori purportedly agreed in the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 that:

- the settlement would extinguish all commercial fishing rights and interests;
- existing civil proceedings would be discontinued;
- they would ‘endorse’ the Quota Management System (QMS);
- they would support the implementing legislation; and
- the Waitangi Tribunal should be stripped of its powers to consider commercial fisheries matters.<sup>9</sup>

Much was left ambiguous in the Sealords Deed, which was drawn up with ‘Māori,’ without further explanation, and which left to one side the question whether ‘Māori’ were supposed to be represented by some kind of federation of autonomous ‘iwi’ or whether it simply meant a sector of the general population of the country differentiated by an ethnic criterion. Was the settlement for the benefit of everyone who happened to be ‘Māori,’ or was it intended as a restoration of property rights to specific groups based on territory, historic involvement in marine fishing or some other criterion of specific, tribal connection to the resource?

Te Ohu Kai Moana (TOKM), the Māori Fisheries Commission in charge of distributing commercial fisheries assets to iwi, was of the view that the fisheries resource is vested in Māori ‘iwi’ or tribes (not other Māori groups) which they thought to number between 58-60.<sup>10</sup> At its 1992 Hui-ā-Tau (annual general meeting), TOKM captured the necessary

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<sup>6</sup> *Te Rūnanga o Te Upoko o te Ika Association Inc., and Ors v the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission & Ors* (1998), C.P No. 122/95 (H.Ct of New Zealand, Auckland Registry). See also *Waitangi Tribunal Fisheries Settlement Report* (GP Publications, Wellington, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> *Te Rūnanga o Muriwhenua & Others v Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission & Ors* (CP 395/93 (Wgtn).

<sup>8</sup> *Manukau Urban Māori Authority and Others v. Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission and Others and Reuben Brian Perenara Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission and Others* (Privy Council Appeal No. 68 of 2000, Delivered 2nd July 2001).

<sup>9</sup> This was all given formal effect by the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992, which separates commercial from customary fishing rights.

<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, the Māori Fisheries Act 2004, Schedule 3 and 3A listed the 58 ‘official’ Iwi recognised for fisheries. Incidentally, Ngāti Apakura is excluded from this official list.

attributes of an 'iwi' and proposed that an 'iwi' is 'a group of related Māori having the following essential (shared) characteristics':

1. shared descent from tūpuna (ancestors);
2. hapū (sub-tribes);
3. marae (meeting houses);
4. belonging historically to a takiwā (territory);
5. an existence traditionally acknowledged by other 'iwi.'

These criteria for recognising official 'iwi' appear to be exactly the same as that definition offered in the now repealed Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990. Dame Joan Metge criticised these characteristics of 'iwi' from her submission made in 1990 on the Rūnanga Iwi Bill (which issues are still relevant today) when she asserted:

I object to the embodiment of this list of the 'essential characteristics of Iwi' ... not because I disagree with its content, but on the grounds, firstly, that the right to decide which groups are Iwi and which are not and to define the criteria to be used in the process is the prerogative of te Iwi Māori (that is, nga Iwi collectively), not something to be imposed by the law; and secondly, because it would freeze the definition of the Iwi in time, precluding recognition of future developments.<sup>11</sup>

Metge recommended that these 'iwi' characteristics be regarded as a set of guidelines instead of a legal prescription:

The list of Iwi characteristics ... [are] on the whole sound and helpful. As it stands it reflects the static view of the Iwi I have just criticised, but this could be easily remedied by minor amendments.<sup>12</sup>

Commenting on TOKM's criteria for 'iwi,' Waerete Norman noted:

There needs to be established which or what groups are actually operating on the ground and to further devise a realistic and practical approach of asset delivery to all its beneficiaries. Other questions posed are will the 'essential criteria' proposal and its interwoven strands achieve this? Will all Māori entitled to their fair share of asset distribution by way of fishing Quota share in the catch, or will it be reduced to a mere scale of the tail, before the fish is beached even?<sup>13</sup>

Waerete Norman added:

The TOKM definition [of iwi] it seems that it has not allowed for the dynamism, adaptation, and adjustment that Māori people have undergone since the advent of colonisation. In setting its 'essential criteria' it too has assumed that native social

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<sup>11</sup> Metge, J, Submission on the Rūnanga Iwi Bill, (Wellington, 14 February 1990) at 7.

<sup>12</sup> Idem.

<sup>13</sup> Affidavit of Waerete Violet Beatrice Norman in Support of Muriwhenua, in *Te Rūnanga o Muriwhenua & Others v Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission & Ors* (CP 395/93 (Wgtn) (Rangitauira & Co Solicitors, Rotorua, 12 February 1998) at 12.

groupings such as that of 'Iwi' have remained static and unchanging over time and continue to do so despite modernisation and successive government policies of assimilation, absorption and integration which have impacted on Māori.<sup>14</sup>

Professor Ngapare Hopa criticised this criteria in that:

[It] ignores the dynamic and core fluidity of political alliances, but it also does not take into account the genius of our people to be flexible, to form alliances and new groupings [for] different responses, or changes in circumstances, economic or otherwise. I'm not saying that Iwi as defined by whakapapa and one's membership of it is fine but not their only grouping. It is not the only grouping of lineages of whakapapa, for example, that is a vehicle for addressing our peoples' needs.<sup>15</sup>

Interestingly, the legal prescription of what is an iwi or tribe in modern Aotearoa New Zealand through legislation and litigation continues to apply to Māori groups embroiled in Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes to seek appropriate redress including official recognition as an iwi in their own right.

The rest of this section will apply the legal criteria prescribed by TOKM in 1992 and implicitly in the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 as the section methodology to assess whether Ngāti Apakura meet the legal test for being an iwi:

1. shared descent from tūpuna (ancestors);
2. hapū (sub-tribes);
3. marae (meeting houses);
4. belonging historically to a takiwā (territory);
5. an existence traditionally acknowledged by other 'iwi.'

Notwithstanding the earlier criticism, the criterion above does provide a useful framework for assessing whether Ngāti Apakura was an iwi historically. Accordingly, we will apply the objective test criterion for official legal status of iwi from the Sealords Settlement to Ngāti Apakura. The next sections will discuss the shared whakapapa descent of Ngāti Apakura as an iwi followed by a discussion on Ngāti Apakura hapū, marae, takiwā or rohe and whether Ngāti Apakura was acknowledged traditionally as an iwi by other iwi.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, at 12.

<sup>15</sup> Affidavit of Dr Ngapare Hopa, in Support of Muriwhenua, in *Te Rūnanga o Muriwhenua & Others v Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission & Ors* (CP 395/93 (Wgtn) (Rangitauira & Co Solicitors, Rotorua, 12 February 1998) at 41.



## 1) WHAKAPAPA – SHARED DESCENT FROM TŪPUNA AND POPULATION

### Ngāti Apakura me ngā Kōrero Whakapapa

We believe that any Ngāti Apakura traditional history must start with an appropriate discussion of whakapapa or genealogy. Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones discussed the importance of whakapapa in understanding tribal histories:

The Māori placed great importance on his genealogies and on the genealogical method of fixing the sequence of events.... [and] it is necessary that a wide knowledge of the tribal lines of descent should be acquired. Before attempting a critical evaluation of the traditions of our people as handed down through successive generations, the whakapapa lines should be carefully examined in conjunction with the history.<sup>16</sup>

Traditionally, whakapapa was recounted and celebrated in oratory, song and chant on the marae of Ngāti Apakura thus transferring knowledge from one generation to another. Apakura tohunga possessed highly developed powers of memory and relied on oral tradition, on verbal teaching, in preserving all genealogy and traditional narratives and passing it on to his or her progeny. In 1929, Sir Apirana Ngata presented a paper to the Wellington Branch of the Historical Association entitled ‘The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand’. Ngata stressed the importance of Māori genealogical records in the compilation of the history of pre-European settlement. In defence of whakapapa as a tool of historical investigation, he asserted:

The ancient Māori knew no writing, and in order to learn the history and traditions of his ancestors he had to rely on the teachings of his elders, and his memory. Thus, he acquired an aptitude to recite his genealogical tree or whakapapa and those of his kinsmen, which was perfectly amazing to Europeans; and in order to establish a claim to land through ancestry, he had to resort to this knowledge to show, not only the actions and exploits of his antecedents, but also his right to claim by tribal relationship.<sup>17</sup>

### Written Form

In post-European times, with the advent of literacy, Ngāti Apakura whakapapa was recorded in whakapapa booklets. There are a number of relevant whakapapa manuscripts in various archival and library institutions which are noted in the next chapter on documentary

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<sup>16</sup> Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, ‘Maori Genealogies’, in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Volume 67, No. 2, 1958) at 162.

<sup>17</sup> ‘The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand’, (ATL Ref. qMS-1587, 1929).

sources. There is, for example, the ‘Te Rangituatahi Te Kanawa manuscripts, a Māori genealogy of Waikato tribes’, copies of which are held in the Auckland and Waikato University libraries. The manuscript includes a historical record of the King Country in the late 19th century which was written by Tuheka Hetet.<sup>18</sup> Possible Apakura records within the manuscript include the Māori genealogy of Waikato tribes.

We are also aware that some whānau hold copies of their own whakapapa books and some have made them available to the authors. Other whakapapa books are available as well. For example, Biggs talks of Wahanui’s 1898 manuscript consisting mainly of genealogies of the Ngāti Maniapoto people living in the northern King Country. The authorship of the first 150 pages is however, unknown.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, many of Ngāti Apakura principle whakapapa lines have been published in various secondary sources such as *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *The Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*,<sup>20</sup> Pei Jones’ *Nga Iwi o Tainui*,<sup>21</sup> Phillips’ *Landmarks of Tainui*<sup>22</sup> and Kelly’s *Tainui*.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Native Land Court Records**

The Native Land Court is another major source of whakapapa as Ngata noted:

The absolute necessity to admit whakapapa as evidence very soon impressed itself upon the notice of the Court, and it received them, firstly in proof of tribal membership, and secondly, as aids to discover the owners of tribal lands.<sup>24</sup>

We concur with Ngata on the usefulness of the Court records as a source of whakapapa if they are read with a critical eye and in context. Indeed, Ngata even asserted:

While disputed whakapapa were of frequent occurrence, their general value as evidence was so great that no investigation of title could proceed without them; and in addition, their use was in accordance with Māori custom. As a rule too, any discrepancy in whakapapa could be corrected by reference to those submitted in

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Te Rangituatahi Te Kanawa Manuscripts, a Maori genealogy of Waikato tribes, (Vol.4a and Vol.4b).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, Waikato District – (Vol. 5) at 388.

<sup>20</sup> *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* (Historical Periodicals, Te Awamutu, 1966). Refer to the indexes to *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, (Volumes 1-10, 1966-1975) and *Footprints of History*, (Numbers 10-29, 1988-2005).

<sup>21</sup> Jones, P, *Nga Iwi o Tainui* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> Phillips, F *Landmarks of Tainui: Nga Tohu a Tainui: A Geographical Record of Tainui Traditional History* (Tohu Publishers, Otorohanga, 1989).

<sup>23</sup> Kelly, L, *Tainui* (Polynesian Society, Wellington 1949).

<sup>24</sup> ‘The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand’, in ATL Ref. qMS-1587, 1929

other investigations, and their authenticity decided fairly correctly by the weight of testimony submitted during the course of an inquiry.<sup>25</sup>

We note, in particular, a whakapapa of Ngāti Apakura in the 1949 booklet *The Tribes of the Te Awamutu District*<sup>26</sup> by Robertson whose key informant was the Ngāti Paretekawa tohunga, Raureti Te Huia. Te Huia was also a member of the Te Awamutu Historical Society where he disclosed a lot of tribal whakapapa including that of Ngāti Apakura.

### Written and Recorded Whakapapa

The claim to land in the Native Land Court through ancestry and concerns for the loss of traditional knowledge among a dwindling Māori population undergoing a period of acculturation intensified the writing down of whakapapa for preservation purposes around the turn of the 20th century. Some Māori however, were concerned with whakapapa in the written form. Hiki Makawa for example, questioned the practice of the recording of whakapapa on paper in a letter to the editor of *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* in 1902:

Mo nga whakapapa e haere nei ia pepa, ia tango pepa, e penei ana ahau me whakahoki nga whakapapa ki nga whare wananga, ki nga whare maire, e puke ai tenei taonga nui te whakapapa, haaunga ia nga whakapapa whai take o nga tangata mate ingoa nunui, engari era. Te take i motini ai ahau i te whakapapa kia mutu, he kapi noa iho no te pepa, no te mea ko te rua tenei o nga tau e kite ana ahau, i nga whakapapa, i roto i te pepa, kaore ano ahau i kite noa i te pono, i kite iho au kai te taupatupatu tonu, a, he aha ra te mutunga iho, he whakakapi noa iho i te pepa, hei takotoranga mo nga kupu tika, e kimi nei i te ora, me nga kupu matauranga e pupa nei i roto i te Ture, hei huarahi mo nga taitama, ki te maramatanga me te tika hoki.

Translation - With regard to genealogies which are going around on paper, leaving aside the genealogies of the prominent persons, I believe we should return genealogy to the houses of learning where this great treasure can be recited. The reason I move this motion that we stop this practice with genealogy on paper is because this is the second year where I have seen whakapapa in the paper which I don't believe is true or it is being debated. Where does it all end, a copy on paper which will be taken as gospel, adopted by the law and followed by those youngsters seeking the knowledge and the truth.<sup>27</sup>

We acknowledge therefore that some Ngāti Apakura members may have concerns about the recording of their whakapapa in any report. This should be a matter for consultation between

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<sup>25</sup> Idem.

<sup>26</sup> Robertson, J.B, *The Tribes of the Te Awamutu District* (Te Awamutu Historical Society, Bulletin No. 1, September 1949) at 4-11. Although Robertson's whakapapa table starts from Apakura's grandson Pikurangi.

<sup>27</sup> *Te Puke Ki Hikurangi*, (No. 1, Vol. 5 Saturday 30 1902) at 4.

the authors and relevant Ngāti Apakura claimants, and the researchers have made every effort to undertake consultation in this regard. As with any traditional history report, there may be some whakapapa information that is appropriately included while other information is appropriately omitted.

The Waitangi Tribunal has dealt with this issue on several occasions. In the 1997 Tribunal hearings into the Tūrangi Township claim, a copy of the Ngāti Tūrangitukua whakapapa was produced as exhibit 7 before the Tribunal. The whakapapa included the descendants of the man Tūrangitukua. The whakapapa of 29 tūpuna were all identified in a 'Master Whakapapa' as descendants of Tūrangitukua. In his affidavit, Mr Mahlon Nepia, on behalf of Ngāti Tūrangitukua, asked that the whakapapa material be treated in a way that respects the mana of the whakapapa. He requested that no one should be permitted to inspect the whakapapa without their prior approval. He also asked that the Tribunal return exhibit 7 once the report was completed. The Tribunal's response was:

The Tribunal considers that one copy of exhibit 7 to Mr Nepia's affidavit should remain on the register of the Ngāti Turangitukua claim known as Wai 84. The registrar is directed to note on the register that no part of the whakapapa identified as exhibit 7 to the affidavit of Mr Nepia dated 18 November 1997 and recorded in the Tribunal's record of documents as e22 may be inspected without the prior approval of The Ngāti Turangitukua Charitable Trust. The registrar is further directed to return to the claimants, the copies of exhibit 7 in the possession of the members of the Tribunal and all other copies (if any) in the possession of the Tribunal, other than the one copy to be retained on the Tribunal's register of documents. The Tribunal also directs that the Crown copy be returned to the registrar for forwarding to the claimants.<sup>28</sup>

The Waitangi Tribunal's precedent in the Tūrangitukua claim above provides an appropriate option for handling the sacred whakapapa information if requested by Ngāti Apakura claimants.

#### **Ko Tainui te Waka, ko Ngāti Apakura te Iwi, Ko Whatihua rāua ko Apakura ngā Tūpuna**

Ngāti Apakura is an iwi (tribe) of the Waikato and Waipā districts with a history that dates back in particular to Whatihua and Apakura. Whatihua is a well-known descendant of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka. But before examining the Tainui line from Hoturoa to

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<sup>28</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Turangi Township Report 1995* (Wai 84, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1995).

Whatihua, tribal whakapapa lines we believe should commence from the beginning with Io Matua as shown in table 1 below.

### **He Whakapapa Timata i a Io**

A discussion on whakapapa back to Io-Matua is an appropriate place to commence a discussion in this report on whakapapa to the beginning. Indeed, we would expect any Ngāti Apakura history to commence with the beginnings of time and we have cited several such sacred whakapapa lines from Maniapoto and Apakura sources. One example is a whakapapa provided by Rewi Maniapoto and Hauāuru at the 1878 meeting at Waitara with Sir George Grey which was recorded by Te Whatahoro Durie. Edward Tregear published a whakapapa from Io down to Takerei Wetere Te Rerenga in his *Māori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*. Tregear claimed this genealogy was collected by Major Wm. Mair, Judge of the Native Land Court.<sup>29</sup> A further whakapapa to Io was recorded in the *He Kurarere Kawenata o Maniapoto* by Pepene Eketone, John Ormsby and others.<sup>30</sup> A similar whakapapa said to have been given by Wahanui appears unpaginated in the *Journal of Polynesian Society*<sup>31</sup> and in James Cowan's *The Māori of Yesterday and Today* in 1930.<sup>32</sup> We however, present the whakapapa given by Te Rerenga Wetere in December, 1859 at Whatiwhatihoe. At an earlier hui at Whatiwhatihoe in January 1859, Potatau called on the Tainui tribes to return to Io:

E Waikato, Maniapoto, Haua... Hoki atu ki te take ki a Io kia Taanemahuta ki Wharekura ki te wahi i paiherea mai ai te tangata te hiringa taketake. He aha nga taonga o roto o ia whare, kaua te poo e waiho hei hoa nohotahi, titiro ki te paerangi, i wehe ai Whiro te tipua, a Tumatauenga me te whānau a Rangi e tu nei, a Tuanuku e takoto nei. Waiho tatau i a Taane matua kia Rongo maraeroa i a Tawhirimatea i te Putea aronui i tikina e Taane ki te tihi o nga rangi i roto i Rangiatea ko nga hiringa e toru me nga whatu e rua, whakawhaititia enei taonga e nga Iwi, he taonga tuku iho na Io kia Taane nui a Rangi heke iho heke iho ki o koutou tipuna tae mai ki o koutou matua, ina tatau e po-kai kaha noa nei.

Ngāti Maniapoto and perhaps Apakura leaders in attendance at this hui included Te Rangituataka, Taonui Hikaka, Paku, Wahanui, Rainuha, Te Aoroa Haereiti, Nahona Tarahuia, Kahu, Tumokemoke, Haupokia te Pakaru, Tukorehu, Te Wetini, Rewi Maniapoto, Te Rerenga, Hauāuru, Taingakawa and Te Ngakau.

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<sup>29</sup> As cited on the internet at <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-TreMaor-b4-2.html>. (Last accessed February 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Te Ropū Whakahaere o te Iwi, 'Te Kura Rere, Ko Te Kawenata o Ngati Maniapoto me ona hapu maha (Unpublished Manuscript, Te Nehenehenui, 1902) at 2-4.

<sup>31</sup> *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 14, 1905).

<sup>32</sup> Cowan, J, *The Maori Yesterday and Today* (London, 1930) at 52-55.

**Table 1: Whakapapa to Io**

|    |                                    |              |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Ko | Io                                 |              |
|    | Whetu                              |              |
| 1  | Te Ra                              |              |
| 2  | Te Marama i whakaea                |              |
|    |                                    | [whānautahi] |
| Ko | Te Marama                          |              |
|    | Te Po-nui                          |              |
|    | Te Po-roa                          |              |
|    | Te Po-papakina                     |              |
|    | Te Po-ki-tua                       |              |
|    | Te Po-ki-roto                      |              |
|    | Te Po-ki-tawhito                   |              |
|    | Te Po-ruru                         |              |
|    | Te Po-aiao                         |              |
|    | Te Po-akaaka                       |              |
|    | Te Po-maruu                        |              |
|    | Te Po-mumura                       |              |
|    | Te Po-hahana                       |              |
|    | Te Po-maa                          |              |
|    | Te Po-kiwakiwa                     |              |
|    | Te Po-kakarauri                    |              |
|    | Te Po-pangopango                   |              |
|    | Te Po-whakaruru                    |              |
|    | Te Po-kumea                        |              |
|    | Te Po-whakaritorito                |              |
|    | Te Po-i-runga                      |              |
|    | Te Po-i-raro                       |              |
|    | Te Po-i-matau                      |              |
|    | Te Po-i-maui                       |              |
|    | Te Po-i-tamaua                     |              |
|    | Papatuanuku kia Ranginui e tu nei. |              |

Ko Te Ra  
     Te Ao-nui  
     Te Ao-roa  
     Te Ao-papakina  
     Te Ao-pakarea  
     Te Ao-tarunui  
     Te Ao-ki-tua  
     Te Ao-ki-roto  
     Te Ao-ki-tapiritu  
     Te Ao-ki-tawhito  
     Te Ao-ruru  
     Te Ao-tapuru  
     Te Ao-aio  
     Te Ao-matakaka  
     Te Ao-maruu  
     Te Ao-mumura  
     Te Ao-maa  
     Te Ao-kiwakiwa  
     Te Ao-kakaraui  
     Te Ao-pangopango  
     Te Ao-whakaruru  
     Te Ao-kumea  
     Te Ao-whakaritorito  
     Te Ao-i-runga  
     Te Ao-i-raro  
     Te Ao-i-matau  
     Te Ao-i-maui  
     Te Ao-i-tamaua  
     Ranginui e tu nei kia Papatuanuku  
 1 Rongo  
 2 Taane  
 3 Tangaroa  
 4 Tawhirimatea

- 5 Haumia
- 6 Ruaumoko
- 7 Tumatauenga

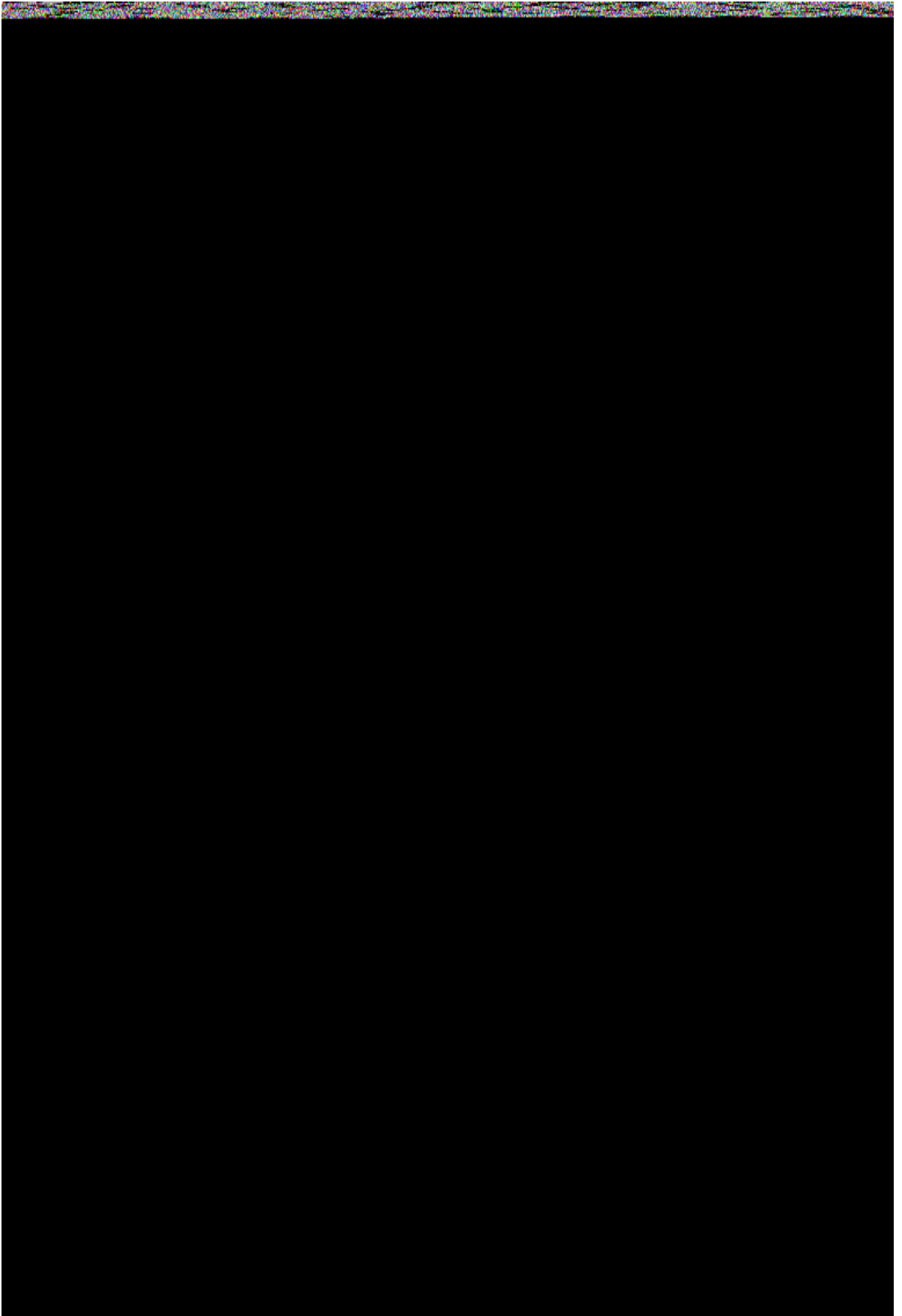
[whānautahi]

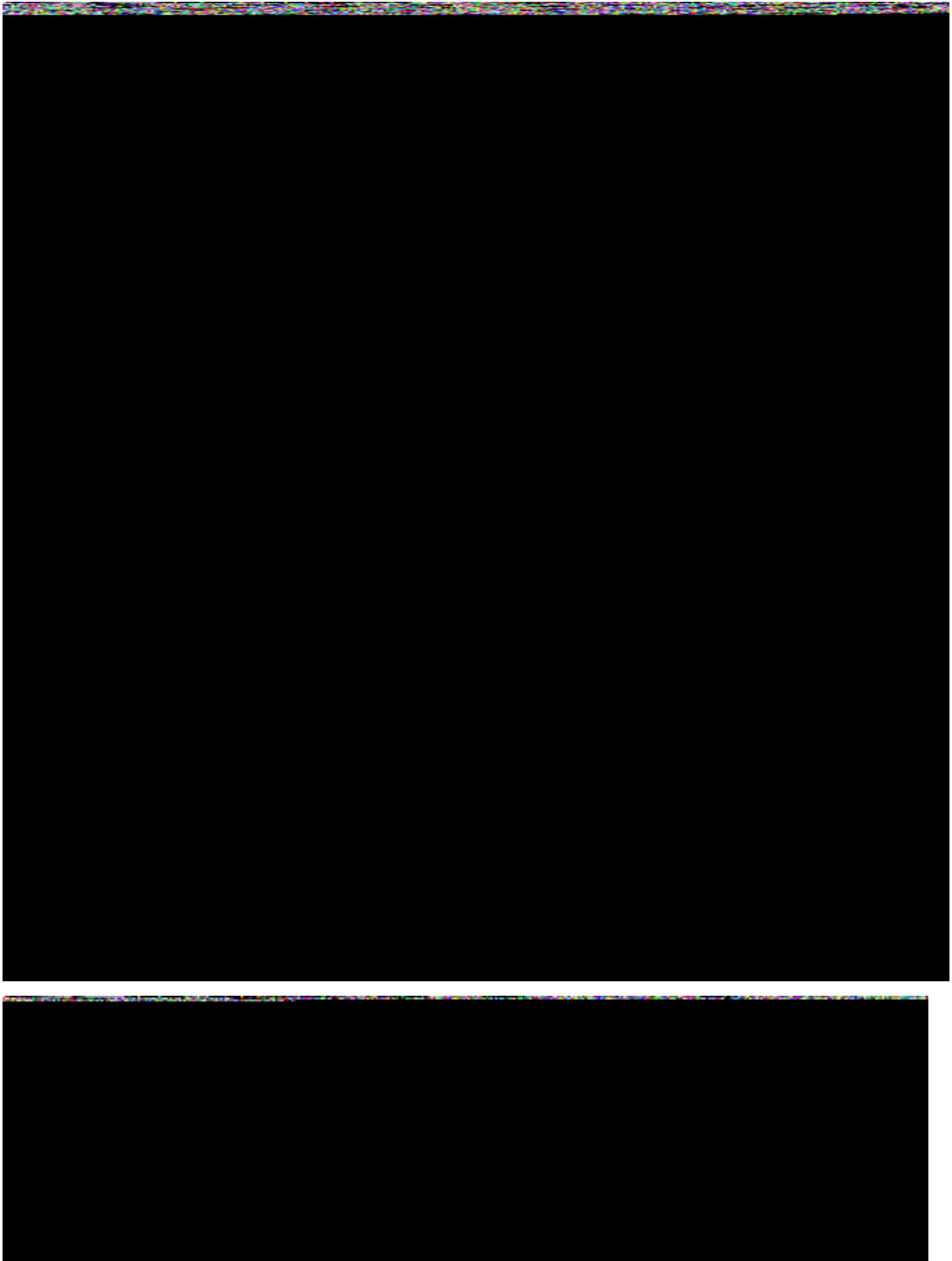
Ko Tumatauenga  
Aitua  
Aitu-rere  
Aitu-kikiri  
Aitu-tamakirangi  
Aitu-whakatika  
Te Kore  
Te Kore-nui  
Te Kore-roa  
Te Kore-para  
Te Kore-whiwhia  
Te Kore-te-rawea  
Te Kore ka oti atu ki te poo  
Ngana  
Ngana-nui  
Ngana-roa  
Ngana-ruru  
Ngana-moeahuru  
Ngana-moemoea  
Hotuwaiariki  
Tapatai  
Tiki  
Tiki-te-pounamu  
Tiki-pouroto  
Tiki-ahua-mai-i-Hawaiki  
Whiro-te-tipua  
Toi  
Whatonga  
Rakaiora



Tahatiti  
Tama-ki-te-rangi  
Te Atitirauwhea  
Piro  
Noa  
Hemaa  
Tawhaki  
Matirehaohao  
Rutupahu  
Tangipahu  
Ngai-nui  
Ngai-roa  
Ngai-pehu  
Hauraki  
Mapuna-ki-te-rangi  
Ohomairangi  
Ruamuturangi  
Taraao  
Whaene  
Kuao  
Hoturoa...

A similar whakapapa is provided in whakapapa table 2 from Te Kawenata in 1902:



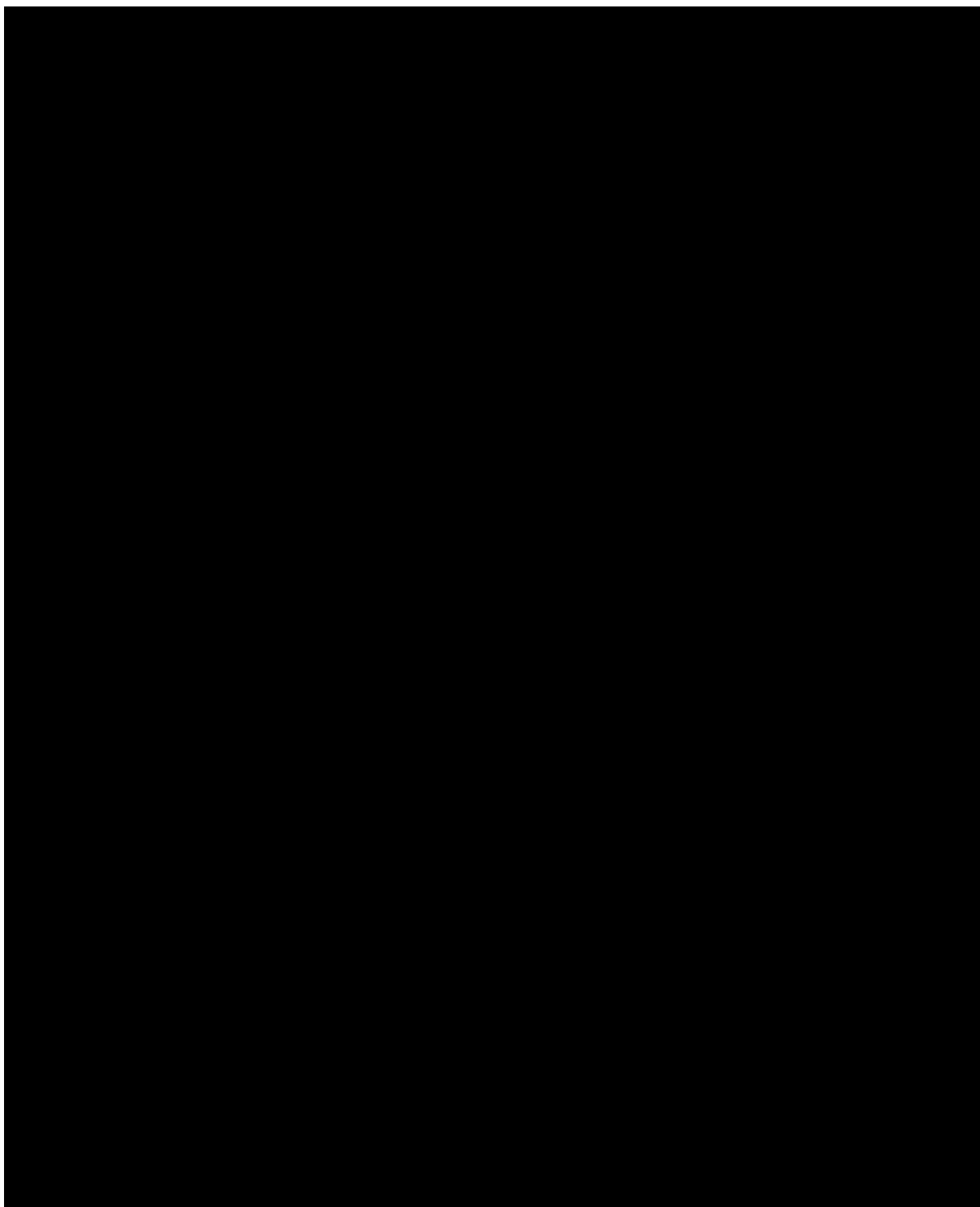


**Table 2: Maniapoto and Apakura Whakapapa in the Beginning<sup>33</sup>**

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<sup>33</sup> Te Ropū Whakahaere o te Iwi, “Te Kura Rere, Ko Te Kawenata o Ngati Maniapoto me ona hapu maha (Unpublished Manuscript, Te Nehenehenui, 1902) at 2-4.

A Ngāti Apakura claimant, Gordon Lennox, provided a similar whakapapa back to Io as shown in whakapapa table 3 below:



**Whakapapa Table 3: In the Beginning<sup>34</sup>**

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<sup>34</sup> Whakapapa provided by Gordon Lennox, included here with permission (2012).

Whatihua is a well-known descendant of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka and his tribal descent is outlined in the following whakapapa table 4:

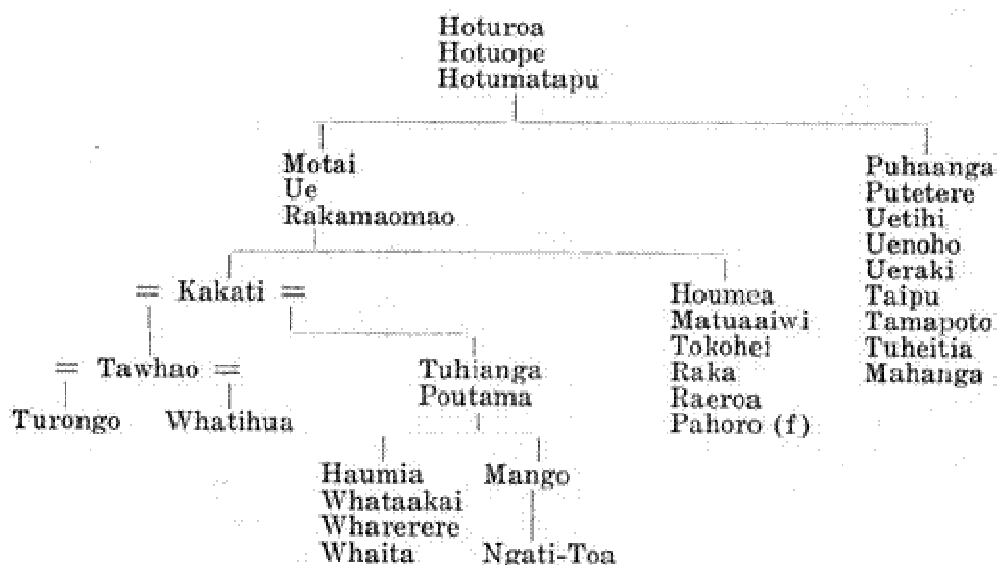
**Hoturoa**  
 I  
 Hotuoape  
 I  
 Hotuawhio  
 I  
 Hotumatapu  
 I  
 Motai  
 I  
 Ue  
 I  
 Rakamaomao  
 I  
 Kakati  
 I  
 Tawhao  
 I  
**Whatihua**

**Whakapapa Table 4: Hoturoa to Whatihua**

A more complete whakapapa of Whatihua and Apakura is provided in whakapapa table 5 from a 1958 article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* by Robertson:<sup>35</sup>

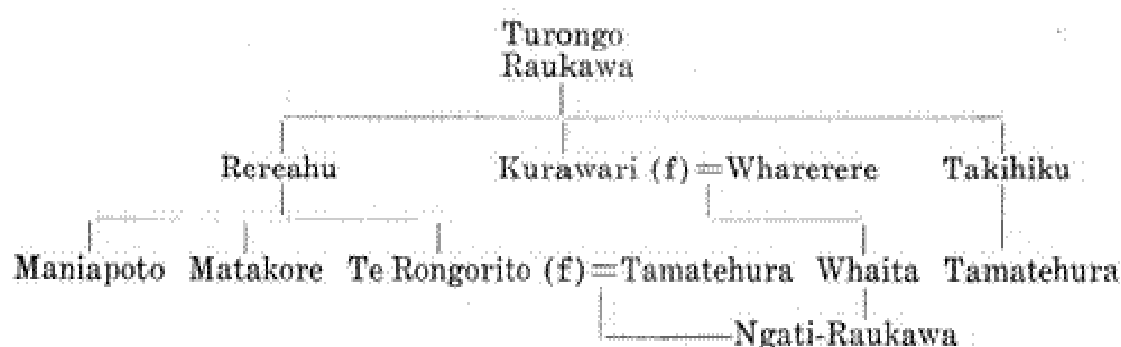
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<sup>35</sup> The above and following whakapapa tables are from Robertson, J.B, 'The significance of New Zealand tribal tradition' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 67, No. 1, 1958) 39 at 46-47. Robertson's key informant was Raureti Te Huia.



Whakapapa Table 5

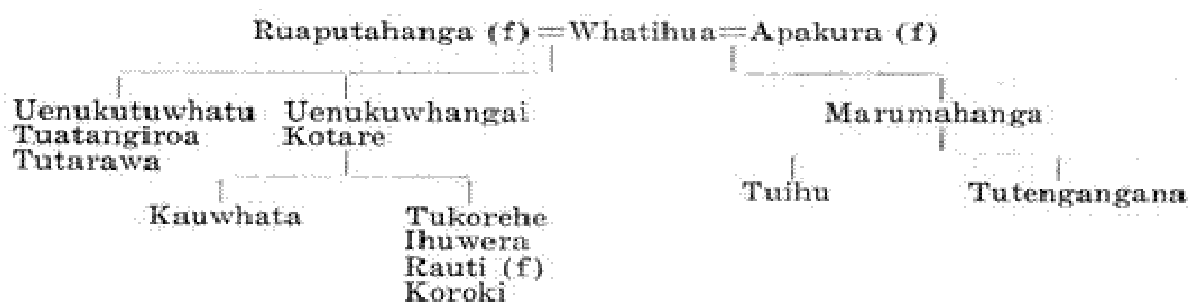
Whatihua, was one of the sons of Tāwhao. The other son was Tūrongo who married Māhinaarangi and from this union came Raukawa, the eponymous ancestor of the great iwi Ngāti Raukawa. Whatihua married two wives - Ruapūtahanga and Apakura. From the latter union stems the great iwi Ngāti Apakura. The Raukawa whakapapa lines are highlighted in table 6 below:



Whakapapa Table 6<sup>36</sup>

Ngāti Apakura and tribal whakapapa and kinship relationships between Ngāti Kauwhata, Tūkorehe, and Korokī are provided in table 7 below:

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, at 46-47.



Whakapapa Table 7<sup>37</sup>

The shared whakapapa descent lines of Ngāti Apakura from the union of Whatihua and Apakura are provided in more detail below.

#### Ka moe a Whatihua i a Apakura

Tāwhao was an outstanding chief and leader who extended the tribal lands into the Waipā Valley. He had two sons, Whatihua, son of Putearomea, and Tūrongo, son of Marutēhiakina. The story of these two sons is full of human interest. Whatihua, the eldest<sup>38</sup>, was a very great chief and was noted also for his exceptional skill as an agriculturist. He was married to Apakura sixth in line from Ngātoroirangi, the famed tohunga of the Te Arawa waka. His prosperous village of Aotea was dominated by his large dwelling, Wharenui, and he was widely known as a man of many possessions.

Tūrongo, the younger brother, travelled south to Taranaki and became betrothed to a famed wahine of high degree, Ruapūtahanga, a direct descendant from Turi, captain of the Aotea waka. Upon his return, Tūrongo set about building a house at Kāwhia. He felled a tree for the ridge-pole and sought the advice of Whatihua. On observing that the tree was longer than his own ridge-pole, Whatihua became jealous, saying it was too long for its strength and should be shortened. This Tūrongo did, so his house Whare-e-ngarere was much smaller than Whatihua's Wharenui. Store houses were also constructed, and again Tūrongo consulted his brother about filling them. Again Whatihua seized the opportunity to be top dog, "Wait till spring when all the food will be fresh". Nevertheless, Whatihua took great care to fill his own store houses to capacity.

In due course Ruapūtahanga, attended by a fitting retinue, set out from Pātea on her journey north. At one resting place she caused water to spout miraculously from a rock - the

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, at 46-47.

<sup>38</sup> Others claim that Tūrongo was the eldest child. The subject of whether Whatihua or Tūrongo was the eldest child is the subject of continued debate among their descendants today.

place is still known as "Te Pūna-o Ruapūtahanga". In early summer she arrived at Kāwhia and, passing on, she stopped at Tūrongo's Whare-o-ngarere where preparations had been made for her reception. Here due to the advice given by Whatihua she found the accommodation crowded and the food scanty. After a few days, she and her party shifted over to Wharenui where Whatihua welcomed her with lavish entertainment and a plentiful supply of delicious food. Thinking this betokened Whatihua's superiority as a provider, Ruapūtahanga changed her mind about marrying Tūrongo, and became the second wife of Whatihua.

Whatihua and Ruapūtahanga had been living for some time at Kāwhia when Whatihua took another woman to wife – Apakura. Te Whare Toroa and Pomare however believe that Apakura was already Whatihua's wife and when he married Ruapūtahanga, he practically abandoned Apakura.<sup>39</sup>

Still, it is recorded that Whatihua, Ruapūtahanga and Apakura lived together amicably for some time and later moved to Ōparau on Kāwhia Harbour. Here Apakura expressed a desire for some eels. Whatihua set out in his kōpapa (small river canoe) for the Ōparau creek where eels were plentiful. Pei Jones noted that Whatihua went to catch the big eel that many had been after for a long time.<sup>40</sup> Whatihua baited his hooks, and cast his lines, saying, 'Ki te hiahia o Apakura' ([should it be] as Apakura wishes). But there were no bites. Again and again he repeated the incantation, all to no effect. He shifted his position several times - still no result. Remembering Apakura's wishes, he became very worried. Then he had inspiration - quietly he whispered: 'Ki te hiahia o Ruapūtahanga' ([should it be] as Ruapūtahanga). Immediately there were dozens of eels all striving to be caught. He felt very guilty but took the fish to Apakura who thoroughly enjoyed them.

Some malignant spirit must have been busy as the story became known to Ruapūtahanga who was incensed at the insult uttering: "What? Steal my mana to bait your hooks!" Pei Jones noted that Ruapūtahanga heard that Whatihua had taken one of the mauri (talismans) that she had brought from Taranaki when he caught the eel for Apakura. Ruapūtahanga's anger subsequently consumed her.<sup>41</sup>

Ruapūtahanga would remain in Kāwhia no longer and taking her infant son Uenuku Te Rangihōkā with her, she fled past Maketu and Ahurei to the narrow harbour entrance which she had to swim. Fearful of taking her infant son Uenuku Te Rangihōkā with her, she

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<sup>39</sup> Jones, P & Biggs, B, *Nga Iwi o Tainui* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2004) at 80.

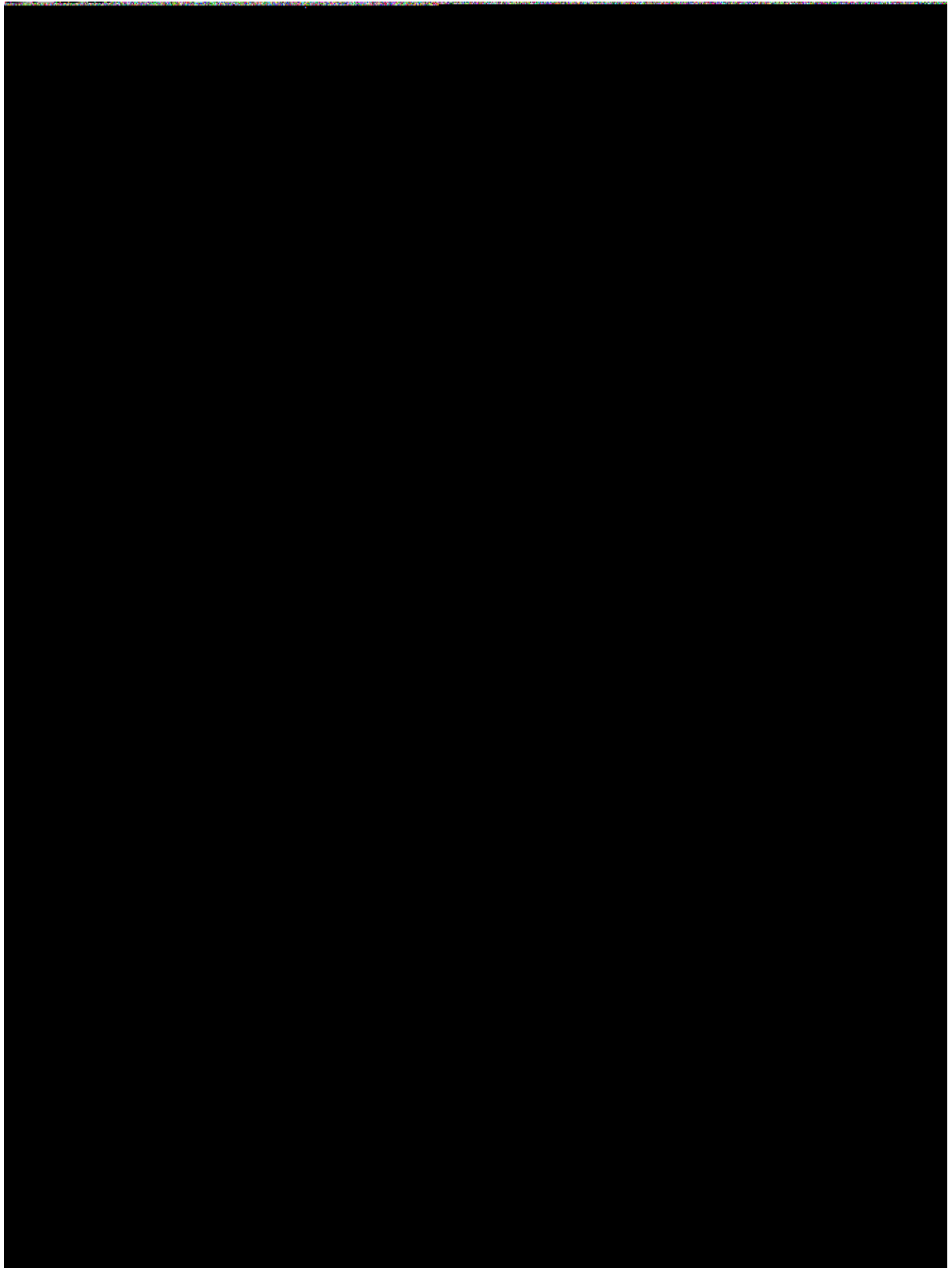
<sup>40</sup> Idem.

<sup>41</sup> Idem.



left him in a warm sandy hollow in the sunshine. Whatihua searched for her fruitlessly, but finding the young Uenuku Te Rangihōkā, returned to Ōparau. Here the child was fostered by Apakura and became known as Uenuku Whāngai (Uenuku the adopted). He became a tūpuna of the Kīngitanga line.

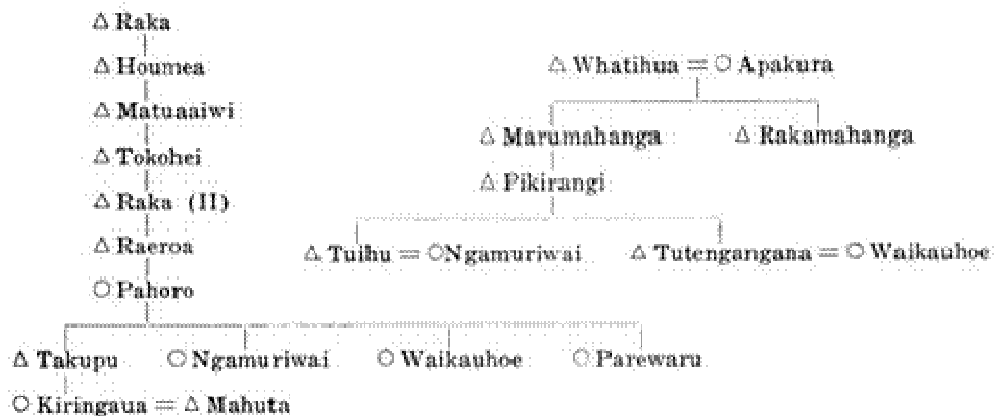
Tāwhao divided his lands between his two sons giving Whatihua the lands around Kāwhia and assigning the lands of the Waipā to Tūrongo. So Tūrongo went to Waipā and, near Te Awamutu, established his headquarters in which to await the arrival of his wife. Māhinaarangi and her retinue travelled slowly via Waikaremoana and Rotorua, as she was expecting her child. When near Okoroire, she gave birth to her son and named him Raukawa. Not long after this event, Māhinaarangi united with Tūrongo in their home in the Waipā area.



**Whakapapa Table 8: The Many Strands of Ngāti Apakura**

## Pikirangi

The first child of Whatihua and Apakura was Marumāhanga. He was born around the same time as Raukawa, the child of Tūrongo and Māhinaarangi. Marumāhanga, in time, visited the Ngaiwi people at Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill, Auckland). There he had a liaison with a pūhi of that tribe by the name of Tuimete who became hapū (pregnant). Marumāhanga instructed Tuimete to name the child Pikirangi if it was a boy or Hinerangi if it was a girl. The names referred to the forbidden part of the pā where they had their illicit meetings. Tuimete gave birth to a boy and she named him Pikirangi. When Pikirangi was of an appropriate age, he decided to go and seek out his father at Kāwhia. On arrival at Kāwhia, he discovered that Marumāhanga had moved with his brother Rakamāhanga across to Pirongia.

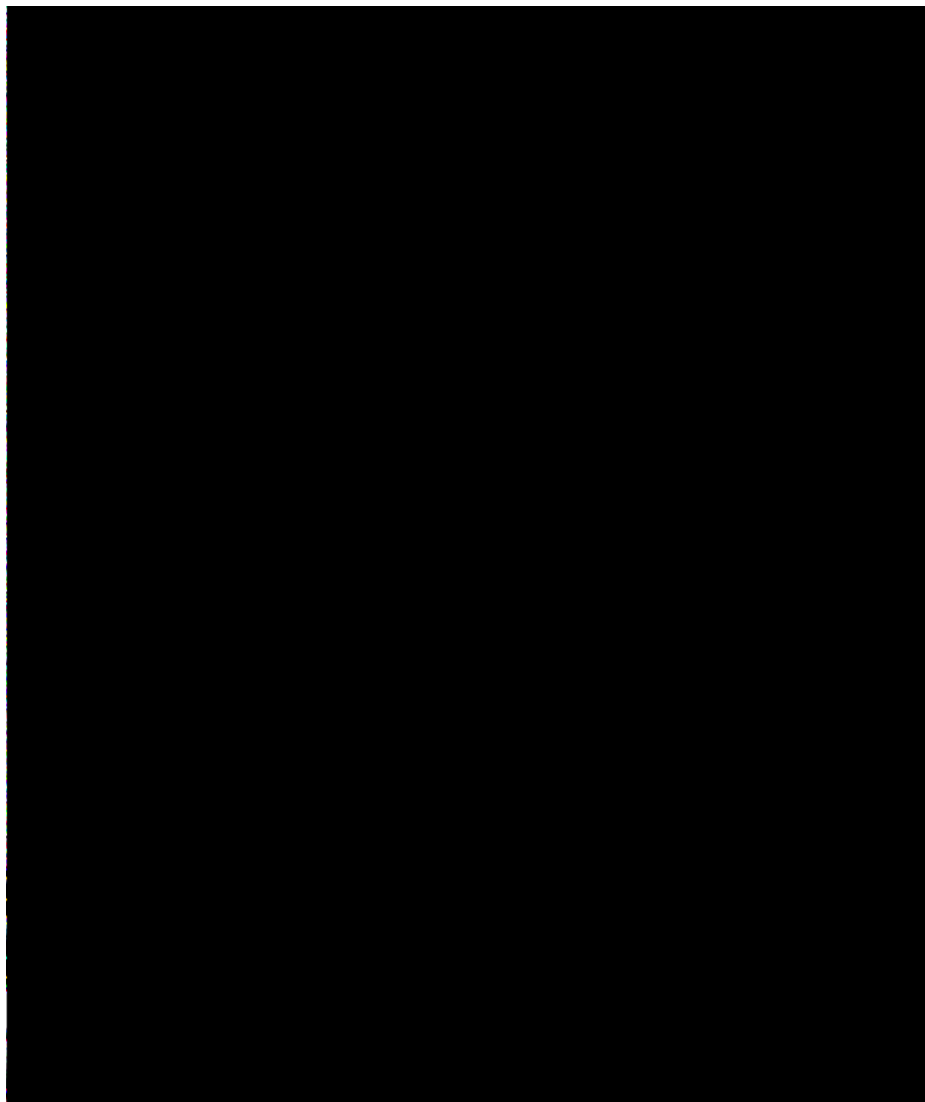


Whakapapa Table 9:<sup>42</sup> Rakamaomao is the sixth from Hoturoa, and father of both Houmea and Kakati. Pikirangi is the grandson of Whatihua and Apakura.

As they reached the highest part of Pirongia, they were caught in a snow storm. Marumāhanga, who was leading, called back to his brother, “How are you faring?” Rakamāhanaga replied, “the house is good”, meaning that his body was strong. After a while, however, Marumāhanga found that Rakamāhanga was not following, and on turning back, found that he was dead overcome by the cold. Marumāhanga tied the body up in a rata vine so that it could be found again, and proceeded on his journey, finally arriving at Waituhi, on the flat just to the south of Pirongia.

<sup>42</sup> Supra, n 35, Robertson, at 46-47.

So it was that this was where Pikirangi found his father Marumāhanga. Pikirangi subsequently married his cousin Waitawake, daughter of his uncle, Rakamāhanga and either he or his sons settled on the shore of Lake Ngāroto at Taurangamirumiru. This became the home of Ngāti Apakura for some three centuries. Pikirangi's sons were Tuihu and Tutengangana who married the two daughters of Pahoro, Ngamuriwai and Waikauhoe. Tuihu and Ngamuriwai's granddaughters were Reitū and Reipae whose home was also Taurangamirumiru on Ngāroto.



**Map 2: Taurangamirumiru Pā, Ngāroto<sup>43</sup>**

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<sup>43</sup> Supra, n 23, Kelly, at 143.



**Map 3: Taurangamirumiru Pā, Ngāroto<sup>44</sup>**

### **Reitū and Reipae**

The story of the twins Reitū and Reipae is widely known throughout Aotearoa today.<sup>45</sup> The twins were beautiful and their fame spread and reached Ueoneone, of Ngā Puhi in the North. Ueoneone thought of taking Reitū to be his wife so he considered how Reitū might be brought to his home at Pāwarenga at Whangapē Harbour. He performed a spell over his pet falcon, and set her loose to fly to Reitū's home.

The falcon found Reitū sitting in the porch of her house and flew to the threshold beam of the porch and perched there. When Reitū stood up, the bird flew off to a distance and Reitū followed. When Reipae saw Reitū following the bird she went too. The twins

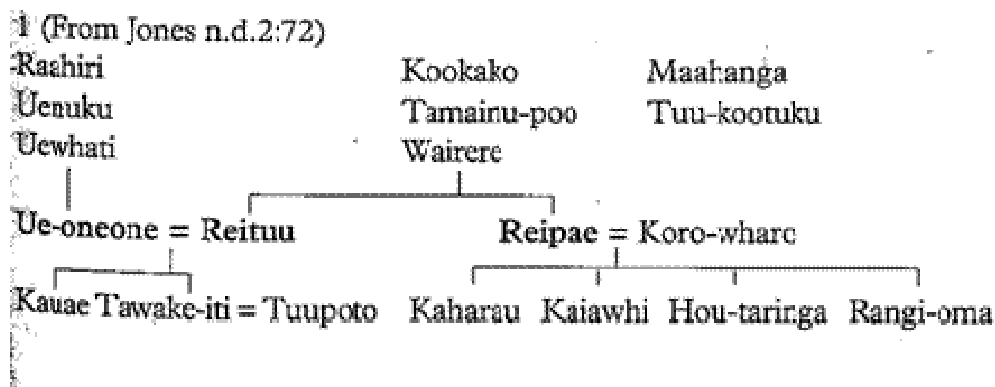
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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, at 143.

<sup>45</sup> Reitū and Reipae Story told by Pei Jones in *supra*, n. 38, at 625.

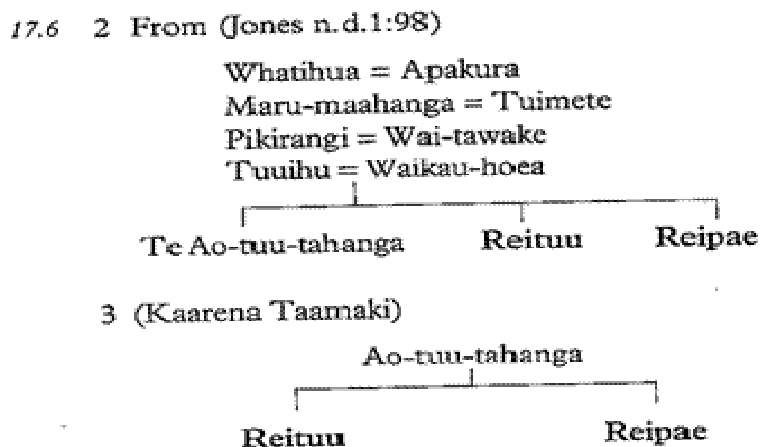
covered a great distance beyond Tāmaki. When they reached Kaipara, Reipae met a man named Korowharo who married her.

Reitū went on following the bird and eventually reached Ueoneone at Pāwarenga. The name of the place where Reitū met Ueoneone is Ngutu-pakapaka. Reitū married Ueoneone and they had two children, Kauae and Tawakeiti. Tawakeiti married Tupoto and they had Korokoro. Reipae and Korowhare had three children - Kaiawhi, Houtaringa and Rangioma. Kaiawhi married Kaharau, one of the great chiefly ancestors of Ngā Puhi. Through Reitū and Reipae, the main lines of Tainui are joined with the tribes of the north as shown in whakapapa tables 10-12 below:

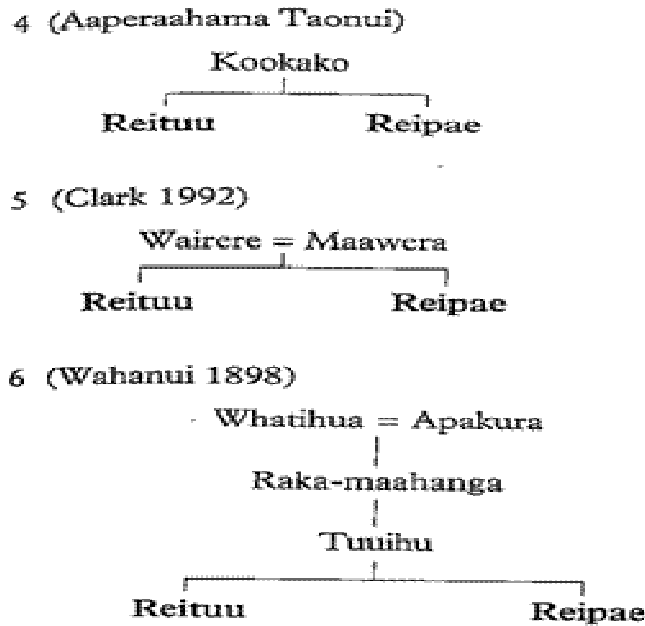


Whakapapa Table 10

Reitū and Reipai also descend from Ngāti Apakura as noted in the following whakapapa in table 11:



Whakapapa Table 11



Whakapapa Tables 12

Another version of the Reitū and Reipae story is provided as follows:

Only when Ueoneone had departed did the girls realise how great their love for him had grown. He also found that absence made his love grow greater and therefore determined to convey a message to them. The messenger he selected was a karearea, a falcon, which flew south and arrived at the vestibule of the house where the girls lived. They at once realised that such unusual conduct by a wild bird must mean that it was a magical messenger of love from Ueoneone. The girls disputed with each other as for whom the message was intended, but finally accepted that it must be for both. Then they consulted a tohunga to see how best they could use the service of their lover's messenger. By karakia this great tohunga was able to reduce them to a size that the bird could carry. Then they asked their younger brother Rakamoana to follow them on foot to the home of Ueoneone.

The gallant bird flew off carrying the two tiny girls upon its back. When they beheld the lofty peaks of Manaia off the north headland of the harbour of Whangarei, Reitū, who had the front seat, said to the bird, 'We have come far, are you not weary of carrying us both?' This question was overheard by Reipae who took offence and asked that the bird descend for a comfort stop. The bird obliged and descended near the village of Whangarei — not the site of the present town but about four kilometres south within the harbour. Once Reipae had alighted, the spell was broken and she returned to her normal size. Reipae then said she would wait for her brother, Rakamoana. That place bears the name Onerahi, although she called it Orierahirahi — the beach of quick overhearing.

Reipae met and fell in love with a handsome young chief named Tahuhu Potiki, a descendant of the great Manaia, after whom the remarkable peaks nearby were

named. Reitū continued her journey on the falcon and finally came to Maukoro pa near the home of Ueoneone. Here she, too, resumed her normal size and the news of her arrival was conveyed to Ueoneone, presumably by his bird messenger.

When the necessary preparations had been made to celebrate a marriage of such importance and romantic appeal, a great feast was held at Te Toma, the pa of Ueoneone, and the two lovers were united in marriage.<sup>46</sup>

Whakapapa of the husbands of these two famous Ngāti Apakura women are provided below in table 13:

Manaia  
Tahuhu nui a rangi  
Tahuhu peka  
Tahuhu potiki = **Reipae**

Rahiri = Ahuaiti  
Uenuku-kuare = Kareariki  
Hauhaua  
Maikuku Uewhati Uetaroa  
Ueoneone = **Reitū**

**Whakapapa Table 13**

**Apakura Tūpuna Whakapapa Unclear**

Although Whatihua's whakapapa is clear, the actual whakapapa origins of the ancestress Apakura are elusive. One whakapapa table provides Apakura's descent from Ngātoroirangi, the tohunga who guided the Te Arawa waka to Aotearoa from Rarotonga:

**Ngatoroirangi**  
Whakairopapa  
Moepua  
Whanua-a-rangi

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<sup>46</sup> Meredith, P, Nankivell, R & Joseph, R, Scoping Report for a Ngāti Apakura Traditional History Project (CFRT Report, 2010) at 33.



## Apakura

### Whakapapa Table 14<sup>47</sup>

At Rarotonga Tamatekapua deceived Ngātoroirangi and the latter and his wife Kearoa (Keataketake according to some). There are numerous accounts of the deeds of Ngātoroirangi and some time might be given to recording those traditions. One is a bilingual article in *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi* 1861 which records the coming of the Te Arawa waka from Hawaiki and highlights the relationship with the people of the Tainui Waka. We record this in full as follows:

Na, ka rere mai te Arawa i waenga moana, ka puremutia te hoa o Ngatoroirangi e te Matekapua : ko Kearoa te ingoa o tera wahine. Na, ka riri rawa te tohunga, ka whakaeaea te Arawa ki runga ki te tuhuna, ara, ki Korokoro-o-te-Parata: ko te ihu o te waka kua ngaro rawa ki roto ki te onetea. Na, ka puta te karanga a nga tangata, " E Toro, el ka taha te urunga o Kea.!" I reira, ka aroha mai a Ngatoroirangi ki a ratou, u ka karakiatia te waka, ka whakaorangia.

Te Karakia a Ngatoroirangi.

" Unuhia te pou, tapu na te Rongomaimua

Na te Rongomaihiiti.  
Te Whakarongona atu;  
Ngatoro kaiuka ki te pou-mua,  
Ki te pou-roto, ki te pou-waho.  
Eke! Eke!  
Eke iho i runga i ou hara!  
Takiri hara o te Arawa-  
Ko te aranga tonu nga hu o te Parata.  
Eke! Eke! Eke!  
Tangaroa, eke!  
Panuke-huia-tiakie!  
Eke, eke!

E ki ana, na tenei karakia i ora ai te Arawa, a ka mana, ka rere tonu mai ki Whangaparaoa. Muri iho, ka tau ki Aotea (te Pikiparea) a muri mai ki Moehau, ki Hauraki. Te Taenga ki Repanga, i Ahuahu na ka tukuna atu e Ngatoroirangi etahi manu, he mea atawhai hoki nana, ko te ingoa o tetahi ko Takereto, ko to tetahi ko Mumuhau, he tane he wahine. Heoti. Muri rawa iho ka u ratou ki Katikati, ko te Rangataikehu te ingoa o te tauranga. I kona ano ka rokohanga etahi o nga tangata, i eke mai i runga i a Tainui

Translation<sup>48</sup>:

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, at 21.

<sup>48</sup> Translation completed by Tom Roa (2012).

Te Arawa sailed into the middle of the ocean. Tamatekapua committed adultery with Ngatoroirangi's wife whose name was Kearoa,. The tohunga became angry, and drove Te Arawa by sorcery into a whirlpool named Te Korokoro-o-Te-Parata; the bow of the waka quickly becoming lost in the clear sand [below the whirlpool]. The people called out, 'E Toro [Ngatoroirangi] Kea's adultery is not of our making!' With that, Ngatoroirangi felt sorry for them, recited the appropriate incantations for the waka, and saved them.

This is Ngatoroirangi's karakia:

" Unuhia te pou, tapu na te Rongomaimua

Na te Rongomaihihi.  
Te Whakarongona atu;  
Ngatoro kaiuka ki te pou-mua,  
Ki te pou-roto, ki te pou-waho.  
Eke! Eke!  
Eke iho i runga i ou hara!  
Takiri hara o te Arawa-  
Ko te aranga tonu nga hu o te Parata.  
Eke! Eke! Eke!  
Tangaroa, eke!  
Panuke-huia-tiakie!  
Eke, eke!

It is said that with this karakia Te Arawa was saved, and set course for Whangaparāoa. Later it landed at Aotea (Te Pikiparea), and then Moehau in the Hauraki. When they got to Repanga Ngatoroirangi set free some pet birds he had brought with him. One was named Takereto, the other Mumuhau, one male, the other female. Later again they disembarked at Katikati at a landing place they named Rangataikehu. There also they met up with other people who had migrated on Tainui.

The other source alluding to Apakura's whakapapa is by the Rev. Hoeta Te Hata in his *The Ngati Tuwharetoa Occupation of Taupo-Nui-A-Tia* which was translated by The Rev. H. J. Fletcher, Taupo in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>49</sup> We quote an excerpt from Te Hata's works:

I am not able to tell the story of the things before the coming of Tia and Nga-Toro-i-rangi, but will begin at their coming. Tia and Nga-Toro-i-rangi came to New Zealand in the "Arawa" canoe. They came to this island and landed at Maketu. Some of the voyagers began at once to call out the boundaries of the land they claimed, but Tia did not claim any for himself; he came on to this land [of Taupo]. On his arrival here the land was without inhabitants; he saw none. He went on to the place which is now called Hamaria, but its former name was Paka. The name

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<sup>49</sup> (Vol. 25, No. 99, 1916) at 104-116.

Hamaria was given by the Missionaries. [Hamaria (Samaria) is the present name of a Māori kāinga on the shore of Lake Taupō, about 18 miles from the township, on the eastern shore.] Tia dwelt there and built a tūāhu for himself, and called the name of the tūāhu Hikurangi. [The erection of a tūāhu was for the due observance of religious rites and also as a sign of occupancy.] He also named the rocky cliff there Taupo-nui-a-Tia. [The cliff is in full view of the passing traveller.] Tia dwelt there for some time, but he saw no human inhabitants.

After a time Nga-Toro-i-rangi arrived and ascended Tauhara mountain, from the summit he threw his spear into the lake. The spear stood upright in the water, and stands there to this day, the point downwards and the butt up! It is not far out but close to the shore at Wharewaka. [Tauhara is an old volcano at the north-eastern end of Lake Taupō. Wharewaka is the name of the point jutting into the lake four miles from the township of Taupō on the eastern side. The distance from the summit of Tauhara to Wharewaka is seven miles! In the days of long ago, to throw a spear that short distance was a mere trifle.] Nga-Toro-i-rangi descended the mountain and reached the lake at Taharepa. [About one mile from Taupō.]

He built a tūāhu there and named it Te Tuahu-a-Nga-Toro-i-rangi. It was by means of incantations performed at this tūāhu that he killed the fish in the lake, and then by scattering shreds of his garment on the water he produced the fish named kokopu (*Galaxias fasciatus*), and inanga (*Galaxias attenuatus*). He then travelled on towards the south and reached Roto-ngaio and built a tūahu there and named it Hawaiki. [Rotongaio is a small lake, a few acres in area, separated from Taupō lake by a narrow sand spit; 10 miles from Taupō.] He marched on and came to Hatepe and built another tūāhu there and called the name thereof Ihuporo. [Hatepe is still the name of a Māori kāinga on the edge of the lake 16 miles from Taupō.] Nga-Toro-i-rangi went on to Hamaria and saw Tia's tūāhu. He noticed that the mat of the marae (or yard) was quite green. He built a tūāhu for himself, and brought some very dry material, nearly rotten, to make a mat for the marae. The wood for the posts of the tuahu was likewise old and decayed.

After this he found Tia, and at once asked him when he arrived. Tia replied that he had been there a long time. Nga-Toro' said that he had arrived there first. Tia said, "No. I did!" Nga-Toro' said, "Our tūāhus will show perhaps. Let us go and see." Tia agreed to this and followed Nga-Toro' until they came to Tia's tūāhu. Nga-Toro' said, "Look, the material of your tūāhu is quite new. It was on account of this that I said I was the first here. Now let us go and see mine." When they arrived Tia examined the material and found it very old. Because of this he agreed that Nga-Toro' was the first arrival.

They went on together from this place towards the south and came to Motutere. They built a tūāhu there and named it Mahuehue. [Motu-tere is about 22 miles from Taupo.] They passed on from Motu-tere and came to Toka-anu. [Tokaanu is a large native settlement at the south end of the lake.] They separated here Nga-Toro-i-rangi going towards Tongariro. Tia went to Tuhua Hauhungaroa, Hurakia and Titiraupenga. [These are the Māori names, in order, from the upper Whanganui River to the northern boundary of the western watershed.] Tia died at Titiraupenga. Tuamatua married Tauna, and had Tia who had Tapuika, who had Maranga-paroa, who had Tu-whakamaru, who had Kauae, who had Rongomai-

aia, who married Tane-turiwera, who had Hine-tuki, who married Tarira, who had Tu-te-tawha, who married Hine-mihi, who had Te Rangi-ita, who married Waitapua, who had Tama-mutu, who married Te Hiko. [This Tamamutu, from whom a number of the Taupō families trace their descent, lived about 200 hundred years ago.] Ngāti-Tūwharetoa traces their ancestry to Tia and Nga-Toro-i-rangi, every family of them, and all those who dwell in Taupo-nui-a-Tia on every side.

When Nga-Toro separated from Tia he went to Rangipo. [Rangipō is the piece of country between the Tongariro group and the southern portion of the Kaimanawa Range. It is the watershed of the upper Waikato, Whangaehu, and a tributary of the Rangitīkei.] At this place he met Hape-ki-tuarangi; and after they had greeted each other, Nga-Toro' said to Hape', "O Hape, how do you live and what do you get to eat in this expanse of earth?" Hape replied, "My breath is my food, for the Kai-manawa [which means 'eat breath'] range stands there." Hape then asked Nga-Toro' where he was going, and he replied that he was going to climb Tongariro mountain. Hape then warned him to be careful that he be not overcome by the winds of heaven, but Nga-Toro' scornfully replied that he could meet storms of all kinds. At the beginning of the ascent he was sore beset by the winds of heaven. Hence the name Rangipo.

Then he was attacked by storms of all kinds; wind, rain and sleet rushing up from the Whangaehu River and from the Waikato River. Then began the assault of the snow, but Nga-Toro' climbed upwards until he reached the summit, with his jaws chattering with the cold. He at once shouted out for his sisters, Te Pupu and Te Hoata to bring him some fire; the women heard the voice of their brother and they came at once from Hawaiki, bringing some fire with them. They came by way of Whakāri, and at Waipiro they heard Nga-Toro' calling a second time to them to hasten. By this second call the sisters knew their brother was on Tongariro, so they came straight on to Tongariro by way of Umu-pokapoka, Punoke, Roto-mahana, Wai-o-tapu, Ohaki, Roto-kawa, Tapuae-haruru and Toka-anu. [The above are the Māori names of places of thermal activity on a line from the coast to Tongariro.] On the arrival of the fire Nga-Toro' revived, and they began their return to Maketu in the Bay of Plenty. As they went they kindled fires at the other side of Taupo, at Wai-mahana, Whakarewarewa, Ohine-mutu and Tikitere. [These are the other centres of thermal activity.] They passed on to the island Motiti and lived there, and Nga-Toro' died there.

Is the Ngātoroirangi whakapapa the Tūwharetoa connection of Ngāti Apakura? Dr Pei Jones however, provided Apakura's whakapapa from the Takitimu waka as follows:

Rongo-kako  
 Tamatea  
 Te Papa-whaka-iri  
 Moe-puia  
 Whana-a-rangi  
**Apakura**  
**Whakapapa Table 15**<sup>50</sup>

Still, Bruce Biggs noted that Pei Jones considered that Apakura may have come to Kāwhia with Māhinaarangi but Te Whare Toroa asserted that Apakura was already Whatihua's wife when he married Ruapūtahanga and Pomare<sup>51</sup> tends to confirm this when he noted that Whatihua favoured the handsome Ruapūtahanga and practically abandoned Apakura.<sup>52</sup>

However, notwithstanding the differences of opinion on the origin of Apakura's whakapapa, the researchers discovered a Proclamation from King Tawhiao addressed to the tribes residing in the Bay of Plenty, Rotorua and Taupō Districts (some of the Te Arawa tribes) in a newspaper article in 1876.<sup>53</sup> In Māori fashion, to start a whaikōrero (formal speech), the great Māori orators find a connection to assist them to communicate effectively with the people they are addressing. Accordingly, King Tawhiao opined in the 1876 article:

Kia te Etita o te Tei o Pureti Taima  
 Whakamaramatia nga Iwi katoa nga Pākehā me nga Māori o tenei motu me tea o katoa. E hoa thena koe – Kua tae mai te panui o Kingi Tawhiao ki ahau .... Ko nga kupu enei – Na to hoa,  
 W. Maihi Te Rangikaheke

Panuitanga  
 Te Kuiti, Waikato  
 7 o nga ra o Akuhata, 1876

1) Ehoa ma tena koutou i roto o te whare o to koutou tūpuna o Apakura, i te ata rangi o te kaha rawa. Ka huri te mihi. Ka tu te kupu ...

Translation in the text:

(To the Editor of the Bay of Plenty Times)

Enlighten all the tribes, both European and Māori, of this island and the whole world. Friend, greeting – The proclamation from King Tawhiao has come to me ...

These are his words – From your friend

William Marsh

<sup>50</sup> Supra, n 38, Jones, at 80-85.

<sup>51</sup> Idem.

<sup>52</sup> Idem.

<sup>53</sup> 'Proclamation from King Tawhiao' in *Bay of Plenty Times* (Vol. V, Issue 426, 11 October 1876) at 3.

Te Kuiti, Waikato

7<sup>th</sup> August, 1876

1) My friends – Greeting, who are within the house of your ancestor Apakura, within the shadow of the Supreme Power. The greetings end and the words begin [i.e., Apakura, an ancestor of the Waikato tribes, and all who are adherents of the king are called descendants of that ancestor].<sup>54</sup>

It appears that King Tawhiao here was connecting himself and his Waikato people to his audience, the Te Arawa tribes in the Bay of Plenty area, through a common whakapapa connection – Apakura. Hence King Tawhiao's proclamation appears to settle the question of Apakura's whakapapa origin in favour of Ngātoroirangi of Te Arawa.

**Ngatoroirangi**

Whakairo-papa

Moepua

Whanua-a-rangi

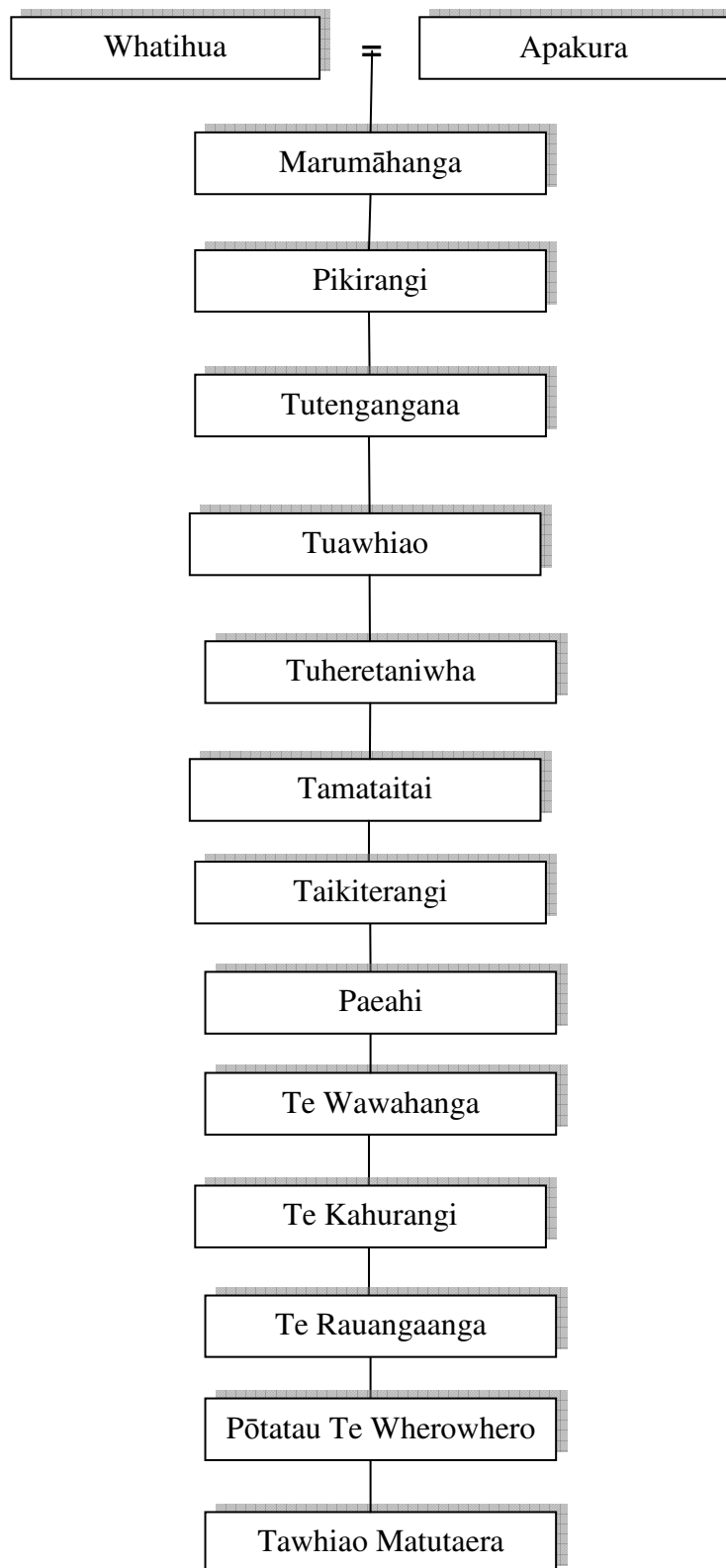
**Apakura**

**Whakapapa Table 16**

The Kāhui Ariki line of Tainui, commencing with Potatau Te Wherowhero to his son Tawhiao Matutaera and down to Tuheitia today, shares descent from Ngāti Apakura as shown in table 17 below.

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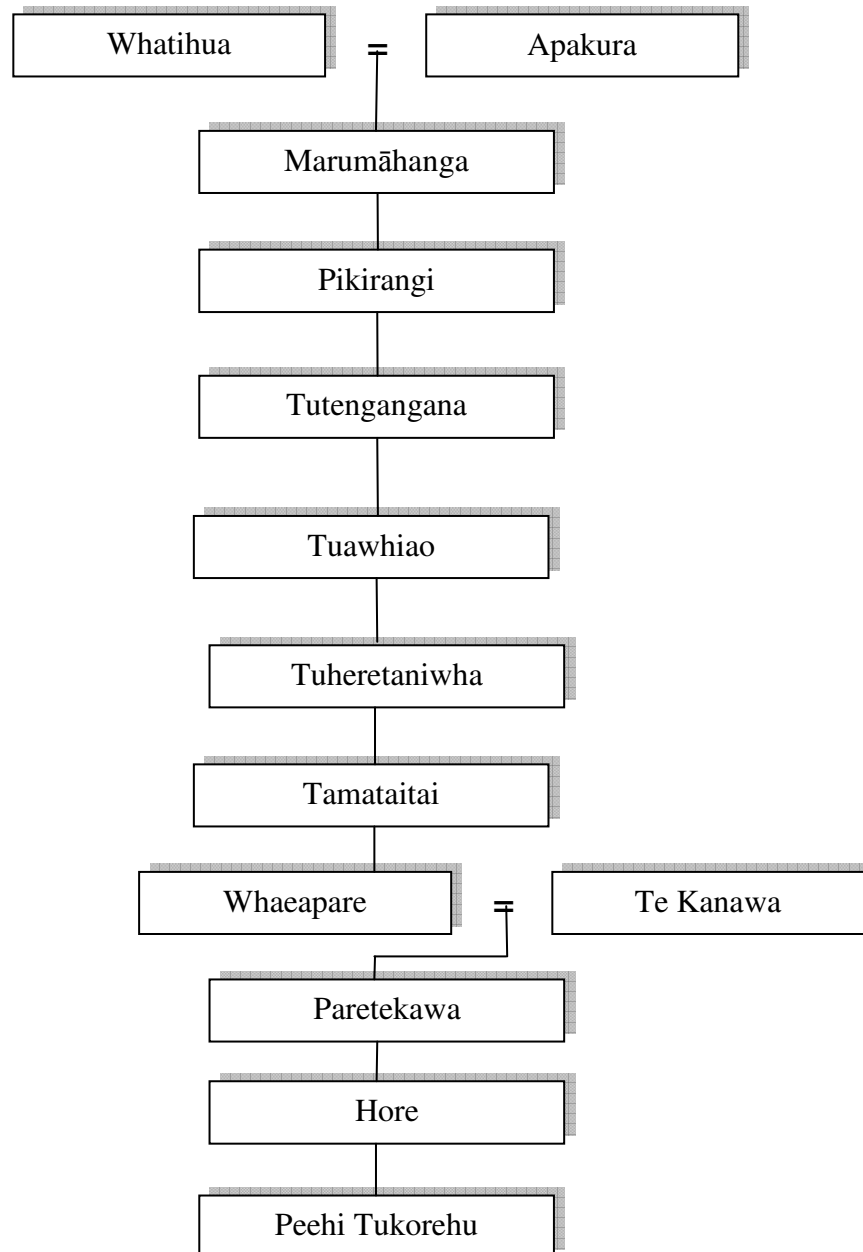
<sup>54</sup> Idem.



Whakapapa Table 17 of te Kāhui Ariki o Tainui to Apakura<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Gwen P Howe and George Howe, *From Kent to Kāwhia: The Cowell Story* (G P Howe, Auckland, 1983) at 41.

There are numerous other prominent Tainui rangatira with whakapapa connections to Apakura. Peehi Tukorehu, the great Ngāti Paretekawa and Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira for example, was of Ngāti Apakura descent through Whaeapare.



**Whakapapa Table 18 - Peehi Tukorehu Whakapapa to Apakura<sup>56</sup>**

<sup>56</sup> Robertson, J, *Kakepuku* (Te Awamutu Historical Society, Bulletin No. 4, May 1976) at 7 and 15.

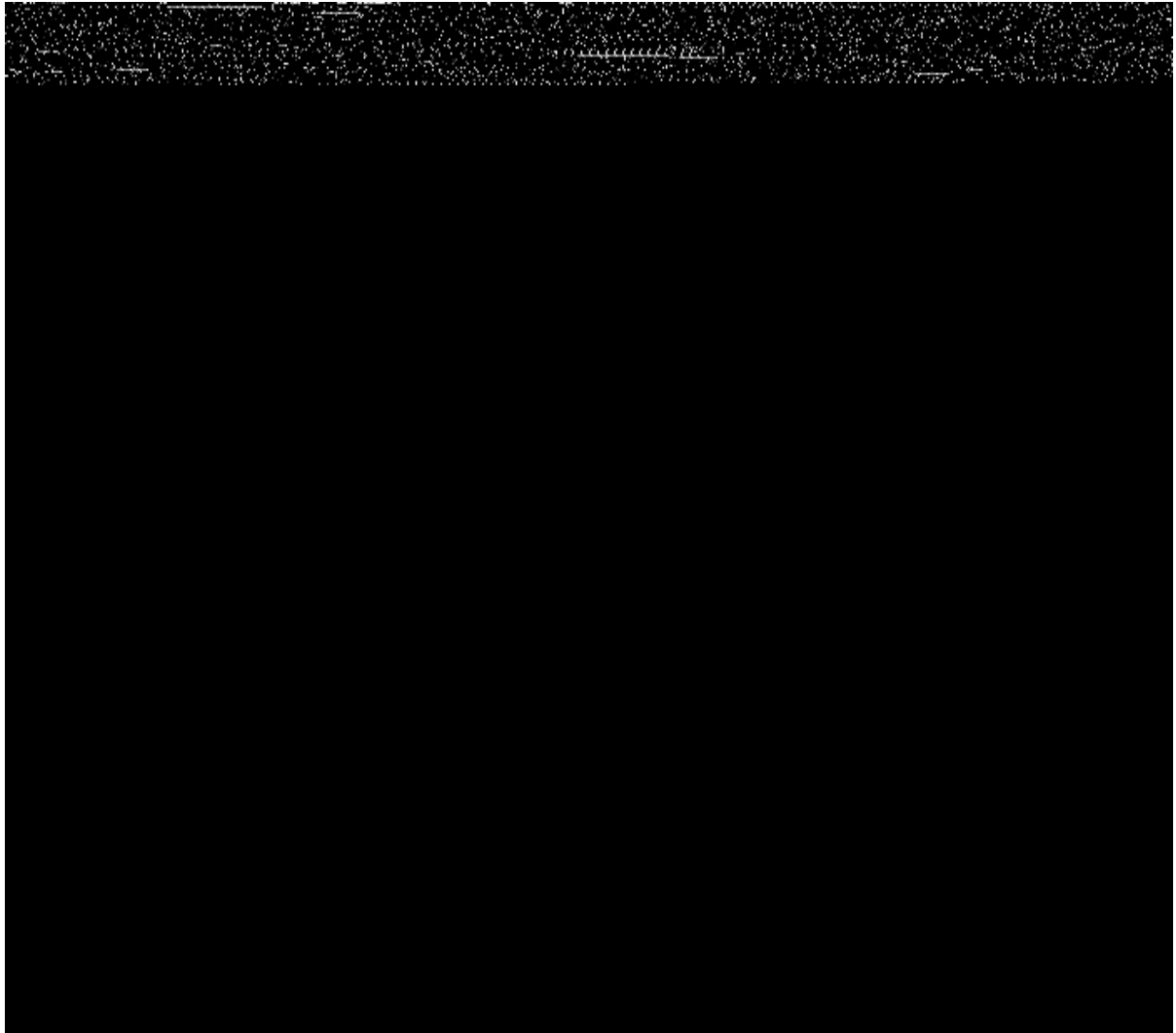


**Whakapapa Table 19: Peehi Tukorehu<sup>57</sup>**

Rewi Manga Maniapoto, another great Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira, was also of Ngāti Apakura descent as shown in table 20 below. The tables below also show the Ngāti Apakura whakapapa connections of other Tainui rangatira such as Wiremu Toetoe, Karamoa, Te Hemara, Te Wiwini, Rangiterewai, Pungarehu, Hoani Papita, Hori Te Waru, Aperahama Te Nga, Te Kapara Hongihongi, Nopera Whakamau, Waretini Te Ariki Whakapo, Tapene Te Naihi, Wetere Taumaihi<sup>58</sup> and Pukewhau Penetana.

<sup>57</sup> *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 42, 1933).

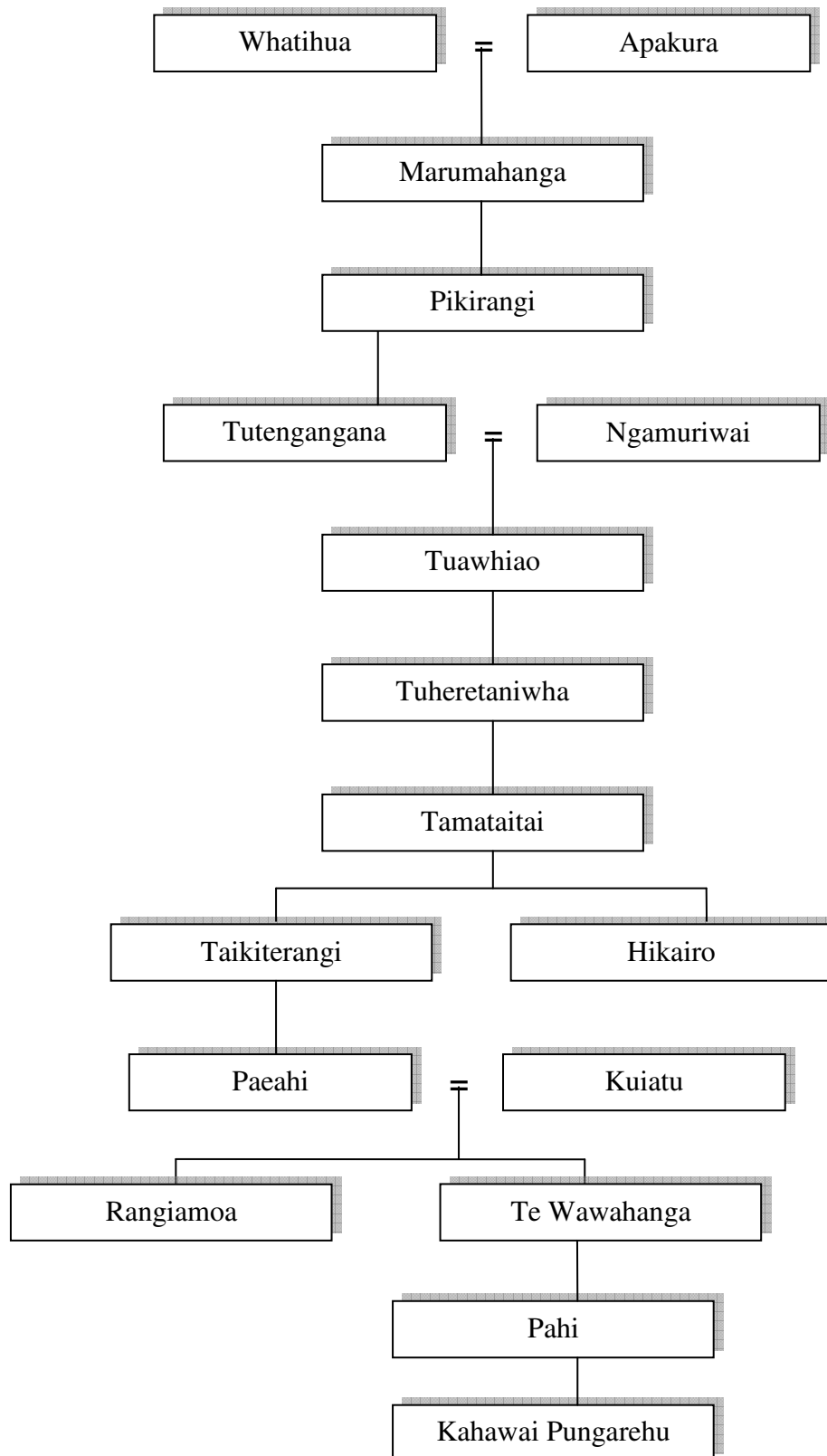
<sup>58</sup> Each of the Apakura rangatira are mentioned as ‘principal chiefs’ in their respective areas by Francis Dart Fenton in his report: ‘List of the Tribes and Hapus of the Waikato District’ Fenton, F *List of the Tribes and Hapus of the Waikato District* (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1860, B-No.9 – F-No.3) at 146.



**Whakapapa Table 20 of Rewi Manga Maniapoto -  
Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Apakura<sup>59</sup>**

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<sup>59</sup> Whakapapa Table in 'State of the Natives, Upper Waikato, Raglan and Kāwhia' in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Enclosure in No. 7, Reports by Major Mair and Mr Bush Relating to the State of the Natives, Session I, G-02B, 1874) at 6.



**Whakapapa Table 21: Kahawai Pungarehu or Hoani Pāpita<sup>60</sup>**

<sup>60</sup> Gwen P Howe and George Howe, *From Kent to Kāwhia: The Cowell Story* (G P Howe, Auckland, 1983) at 41.

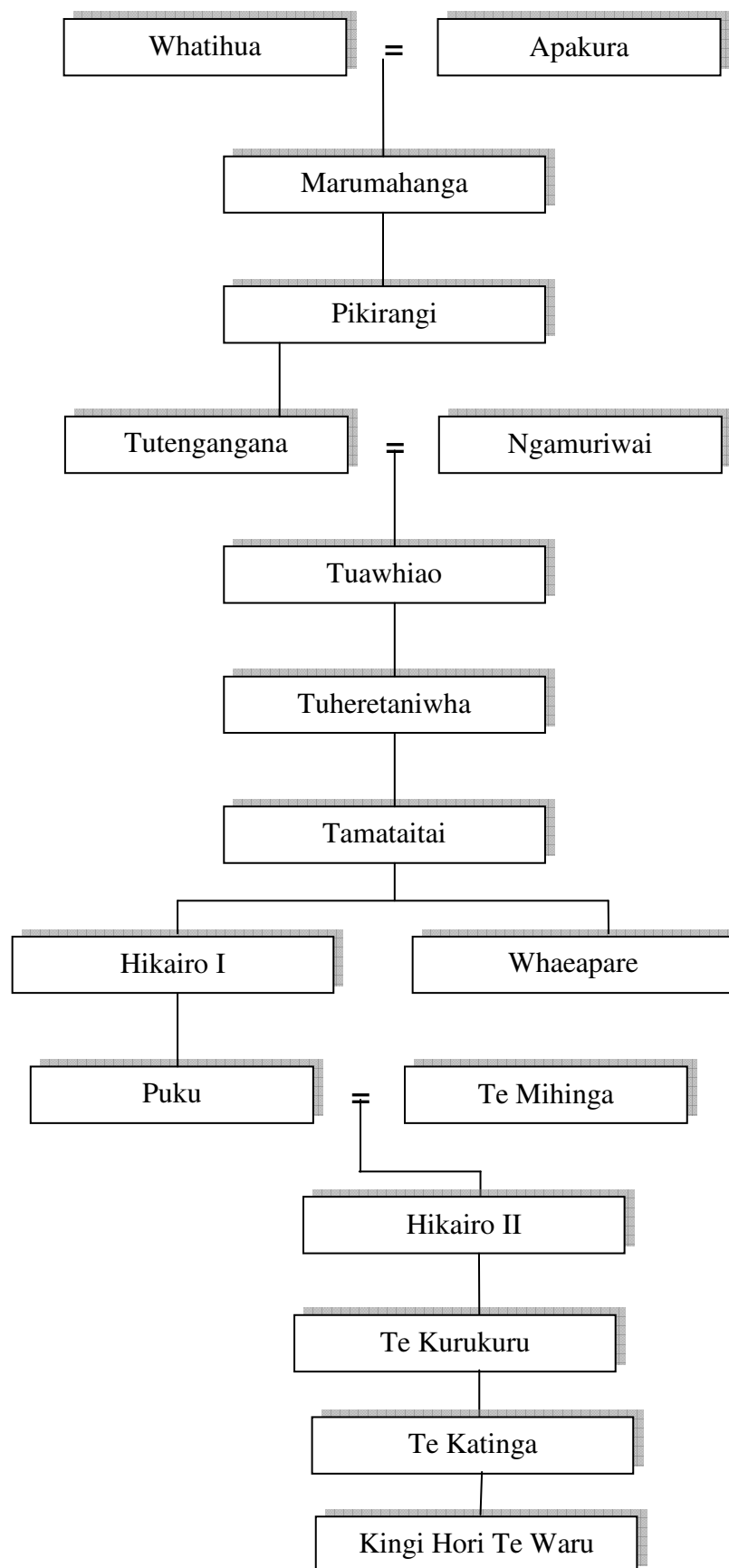
**Hoani Pāpita.** Hoani Papita was known as Kahawai Pungarehu up until the 1840s. Pungarehu's principle pā was Ngāhuruhuru also known as Rangiaowhia (also known as Rangiaohia). Pungarehu signed the Treaty on behalf of Ngāti Apakura. He seems to have had mana whenua over both Otāwhao and the later settlement of Rangiaowhia. He was proactive in gaining equipment for the harvest of wheat and encouraging his people, Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu to gather funds for equipment. Notwithstanding having signed the Treaty of Waitangi, by 1858, Hoani Pāpita warned iwi against the sale of land sales. He was a strong advocate for the formation of the Kīngitanga.



Apakura Rangatira: Kahawai Pungarehu or Hoani Pāpita by George French Angus<sup>61</sup>

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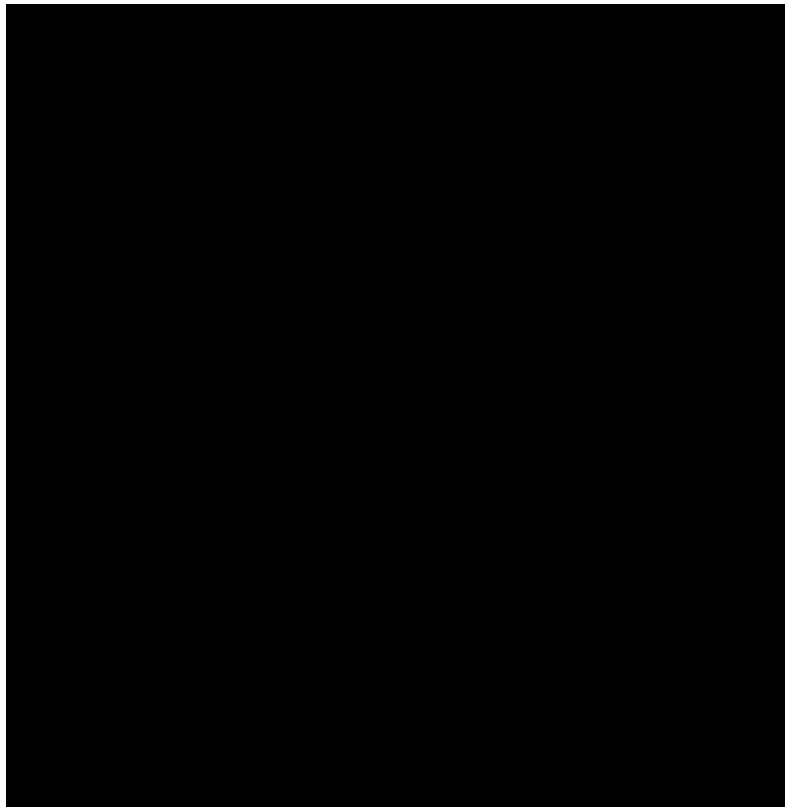
<sup>61</sup> Angus, G. F. *The New Zealanders* (1847, Reed Facsim., 1966).



Ngāti Apakura Whakapapa Table 22: Kingi Hori Te Waru<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Whakapapa recorded by Gwen P Howe, (Private Manuscript, 2 June 1986, Onehunga, Auckland).

**Hori Te Waru.** Hori was a principle leader of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu. He signed the Manukau-Kāwhia copy of the Treaty of Waitangi on the 25th May 1840 at Kāwhia on behalf of Ngāti Apakura. Ngāti Apakura held hui to build their own flour mill. The task to go to Auckland to find someone to build a mill was given to Hori Te Waru. When Hori got to Auckland, he immediately went in search of a certain person whom Hori knew was able to speak Māori. It was left to that Pākehā, who knew te reo Māori and English, to find a Pākehā who could build their mill.



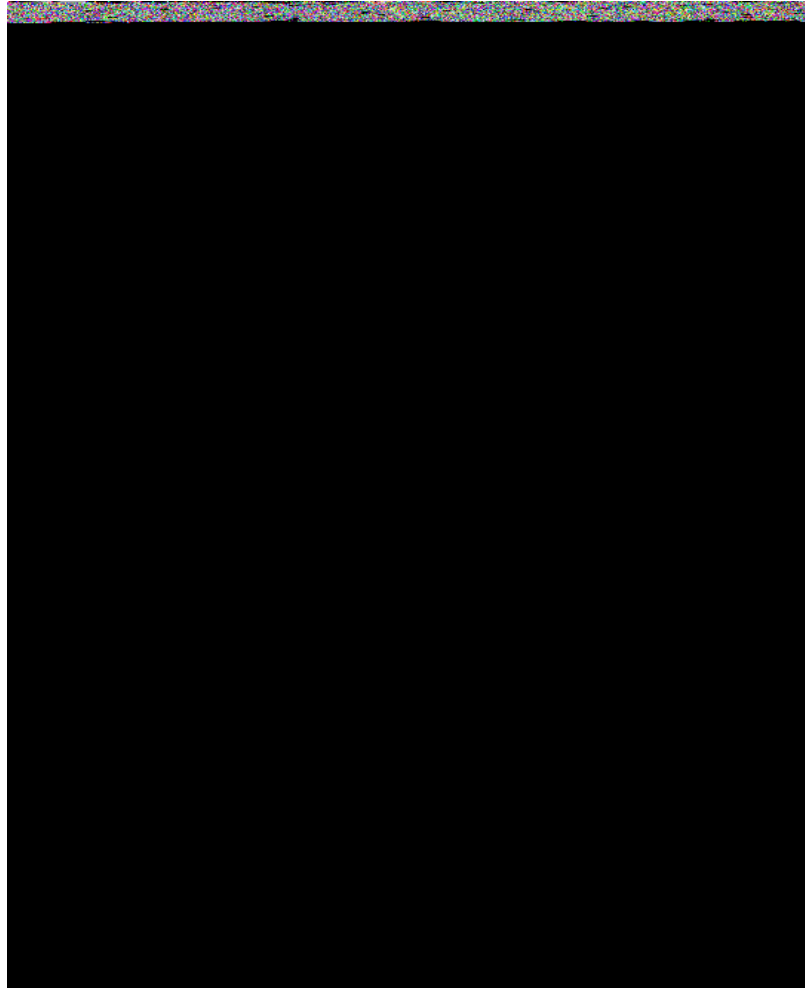
**Hori te Waru and Haupokia Te Pakaru**<sup>63</sup>

**Hongihongi:** The sketch below is of Hongihongi, one of the leaders who lived at Ngahuruhuru Pā (Rangiaowhia). The sketch was one of a collection published in 1847. However it must have been made a few years before 1847 given the numerous other sketches in the Angas collection and the time lapse between collection and publication. This time lapse explains why Angas identified the pā as Ngahuruhuru and not Rangiaowhia. Once the Catholics moved to Ngahuruhuru, the name was changed to Rangiaowhia, a pā over which Ngāti Apakura held mana whenua.

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

The huge carved posts in the background figured prominently in the pā throughout the district of Waikato. Hongihongi, Te Waru and Pungarehu were leaders of equal standing in the 1840s.



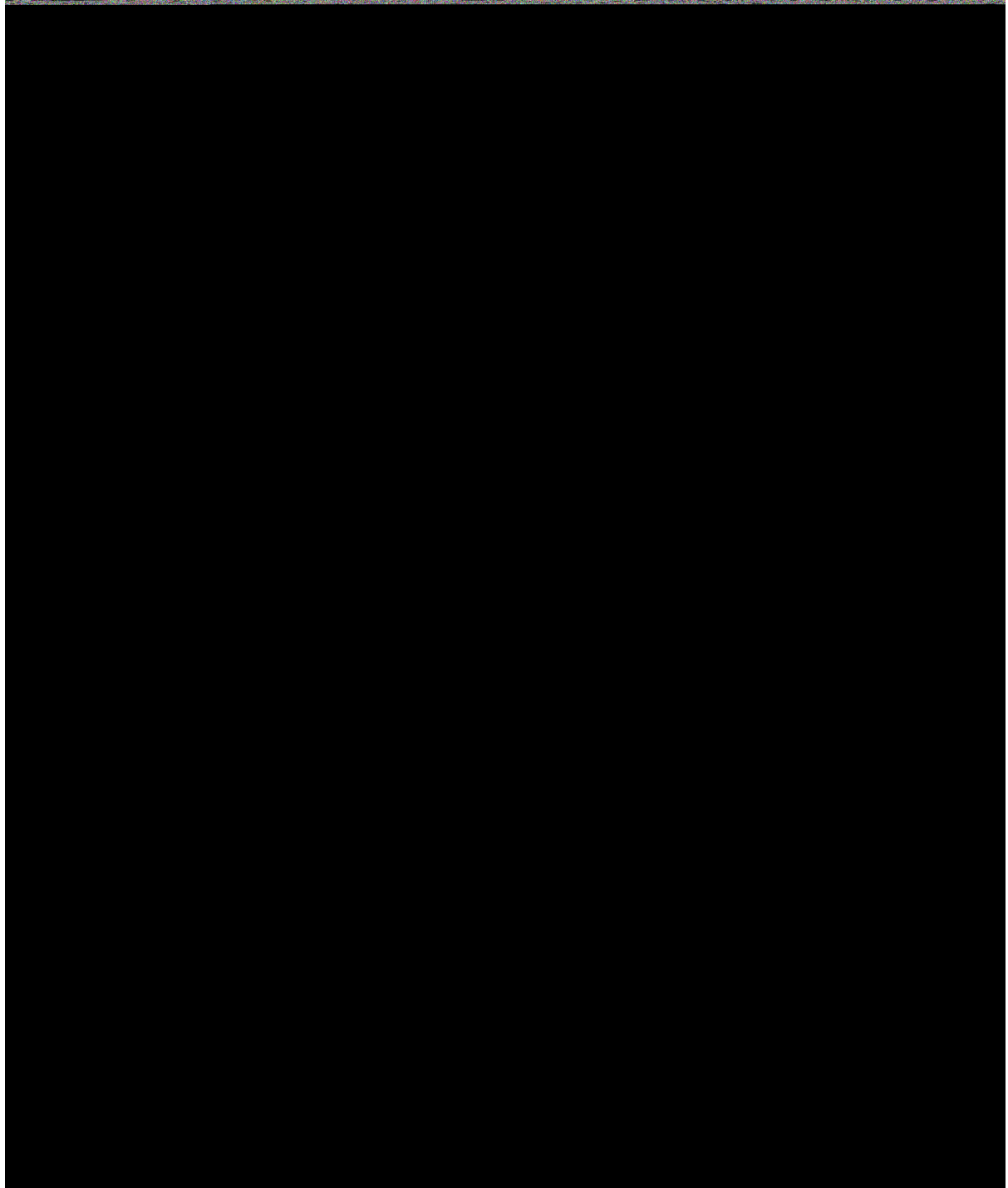
**Hongi Hongi**

THE Pah of Ngahuruhuru, which is situated about four miles from Otawhao, in the Waipa district, is inhabited by a portion of the Ngati hinetu tribe; one of their principal fighting men is the warrior Hongi Hongi, or Nga Toki, whose portrait is given on the accompanying plate. At the taking of Taranaki, Hongi Hongi captured sixty slaves, and drove them before him with his green-stone meri, like a flock of sheep, over mountains and through forests, for a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. Hongi Hongi is a man of the most determined courage and bravery, and though looked upon with dread by his inferiors, he is courteous and polite to strangers.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Angas, G. F. *The New Zealanders* (1847, Reed Facsim., 1966), Plate XI, 1847 at 33.

A more recent Ngāti Apakura whakapapa line is provided below connecting the many strands of Ngāti Apakura to tūpuna such as Pukewhau Penetana.

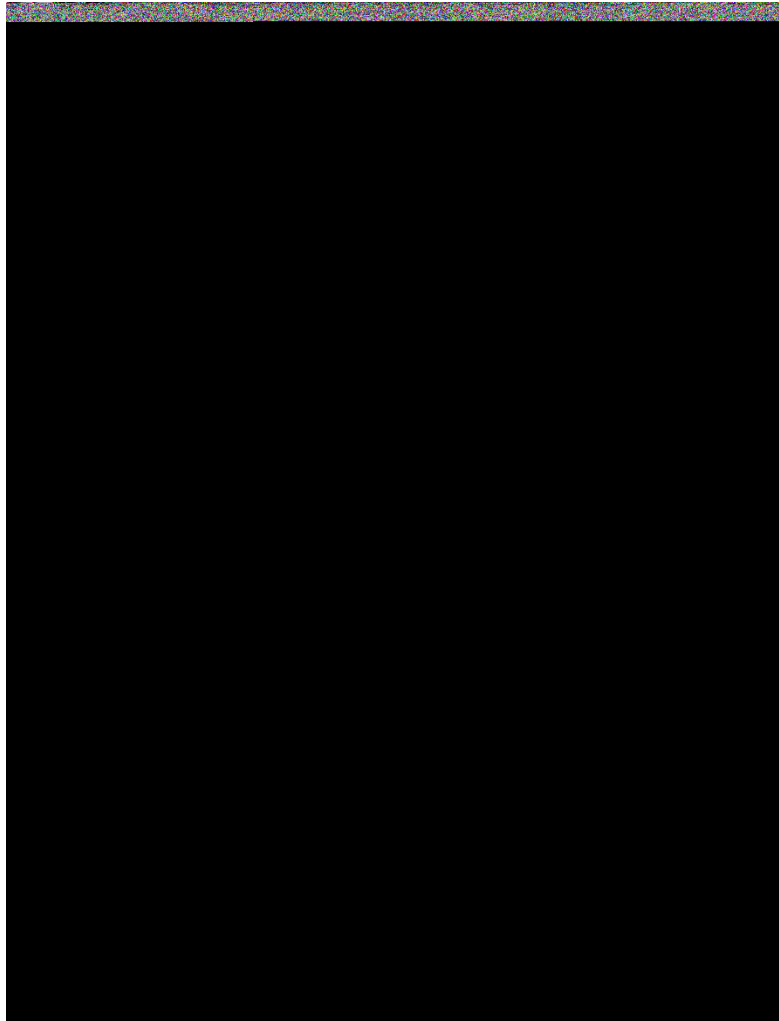


**Lennox Ngāti Apakura Whakapapa Table 23<sup>65</sup>**

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<sup>65</sup> This Ngāti Apakura whakapapa table was compiled by claimant Gordon Lennox. Mr Lennox kindly allowed the researchers to include his whakapapa tables within this report which is acknowledged with gratitude.





**Ngāti Taheke Apakura Rangatira Pukewhau Penetana**

The above whakapapa tables 1-23 and pictures provide some of the context for intra-tribal Ngāti Apakura relationships and some Apakura rangatira. The whakapapa tables also highlight the shared descent lines from Whatihua and Apakura and show that Ngāti Apakura was acknowledged traditionally as an iwi in its own right with strong whakapapa lines and relationships including with the Kāhui Ariki of Tainui. Being an iwi then, Ngāti Apakura also had an extensive iwi population which was recorded in 1857 by Fenton and is included in Appendix 2. The report will now turn to the second strand of the test for assessing whether Ngāti Apakura was an iwi with constituent hapū or sub-tribes.

## **2) NGĀTI APAKURA HAPŪ**

At a time when the science of anthropology was undeveloped, some early 20<sup>th</sup> century ethnologists, when examining Māori society, set out a tidy catalogue and socio-political hierarchy comprised of iwi (tribes) composed of numerous hapū (sub-tribes) in turn made up

of whānau (extended families). Indeed, early ethnologists posited iwi as the organ at the apex of a tribal pyramid. While traditional pre-colonial Māori society was allegedly organised along these predominantly tribal lines, the image of a classical hierarchy of social groups, chiefs and tribal members may be misleading. Maharaia Winiata noted in this respect:

It was not until the external pressures of European society that there was any movement towards a closer association of groupings joined by descent from a waka, and occupying the same territory.<sup>66</sup>

Winiata added that there was a sentimental attachment between Māori social groups and the ancestral waka. This backward looking sensitiveness rather than a political unity characterised social relations in the waka.<sup>67</sup> Andrew Erueti, however, noted that:

Since the late 1840s, Māori kinship groups have been described in terms of a tidy taxonomy of iwi, hapū and whānau.<sup>68</sup>

Dame Joan Metge identified this tidy classification system as a ‘simplified version of a complex reality.’<sup>69</sup> Before 1840 hapū had a much greater degree of political freedom than is commonly recognised, and the iwi was more of an alliance of comparable groups than a unified polity, except occasionally under particularly able chiefs. Since 1840 however, hapū and iwi alike have had their powers of political self-governance progressively reduced: in this and the last century they have been able to assert their mana only in Māori settings, principally through oratory and hospitality on the marae.<sup>70</sup>

Cheater and Hopa<sup>71</sup> asserted that from 1840, it has been difficult to differentiate iwi from hapū and hapū from extended families [whānau], especially ‘large-families’ numbering 30 – 50 people.<sup>72</sup> An examination of pre-colonial self-governance and representation

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<sup>66</sup> Winiata, M ‘Leadership in Pre-European Māori Society’ *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 65, The Polynesian Society Inc, Wellington, 1956) at 213. See also Buck, P *The Coming of the Māori* (Māori Purposes Fund, Wellington, 1949) at 336; Firth, R *The Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Māori* (Routledge, London, 1929) at 101; Grey, G, *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* (Vol. 1, Māori Texts, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed) (Edited by H.W Williams, Board of Māori Ethnological Research, Wellington, 1928) at 194 and Ngata, A ‘Anthropology and the Government of Native Races’ in *New Zealand Affairs* (New Zealand Institute of Pacific Relations, Christchurch, 1929) at 30.

<sup>67</sup> Idem (Winiata).

<sup>68</sup> Boast, R, Erueti, A, McPhail, D & Smith, N, *Māori Land Law* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed)(LexisNexis, Wellington, 2004) at 30.

<sup>69</sup> Metge, J ‘Customary Māori Land Tenure and the Status and Representation of Iwi’ (Unpublished paper prepared for the Crown Forest Rental Trust, in author’s possession) at 3, para 3.3.

<sup>70</sup> Idem.

<sup>71</sup> Cheater, A & Hopa, N ‘The Historical Construction of the Tainui Māori Trust Board’ (Unpublished Manuscript, 2004, in author’s possession) at 1.

<sup>72</sup> Metge, J *The New Zealand Māoris: Rautahi* (Routledge & Kegan & Paul, Auckland, 1976) at 131.

practices reveals a fluid form of social and political organisation, with an emphasis on relationships over hierarchy, and with authority exercised at many levels. According to Ballara, ‘in spite of periods of relative stasis, Māori society was dynamic in all its phases and ‘traditional Māori society’ is itself something of a myth.’<sup>73</sup> Webster added that we should avoid any assumptions of a timelessly ‘traditional’ Māori society, especially with regard to particular institutions such as hapū, iwi and whānau.<sup>74</sup> Webster even held that iwi and waka took no clear shape until the Musket Wars of the 1820s.<sup>75</sup>

Professor Mason Durie added that kāinga, in the sense of a community, was also a component of traditional Māori social organisation with the fundamental difference that it was not entirely dependent on whakapapa or descent. Kāinga highlighted the importance of rules and norms that did not necessarily require bloodlines for example; rules of reciprocity and mutual advantage were probably more about survival than relatedness.<sup>76</sup>

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, new and existing tribal and hapū institutions evolved with changing circumstances, including attempts to retain land ownership in the face of the insatiable demand of new immigrants. Indeed, Durie noted that:

The contact period was marked by unprecedented social change with major migrations and relocations and a marked increase in warfare between unrelated groups.<sup>77</sup>

At the same time, pan-tribal movements were working with tribal and hapū leaders to unite Māori and ‘confront the problems of colonisation’,<sup>78</sup> such as the confederation of Northern Tribes with the Declaration of Independence 1835,<sup>79</sup> the Kīngitanga in 1858, the Kotahitanga movement in 1892 and the various Messianic movements such as Pai Mārire, Te Kooti with the Ringatū Church, Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka, and the Rātana Church.

The traditional fluid and dynamic processes for assessing Māori lineage, identity, representation and social organisation have been complicated (some would say compromised)

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<sup>73</sup> Ballara, A, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1998) at 219.

<sup>74</sup> Webster, S, ‘Hapū as a Whole Way of Struggle: 1840-50s before the Land Wars,’ in *Oceania* (Vol. 8. No. 3, 1998) at 15.

<sup>75</sup> Idem. See also Groube, L.M ‘Settlement Patterns in Prehistoric New Zealand’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1964) and Meijl, T van ‘Māori socio-political organisation in Pre- and Proto-history’ in *Oceania* (Vol. 65, 1995) at 304 – 330.

<sup>76</sup> See Law Commission, *Māori Custom Law and Values in New Zealand Law* (Study Paper 9, Wellington, 2001) at 43 para 175.

<sup>77</sup> Durie, supra, n. 61 at 13.

<sup>78</sup> Ballara, supra, n 72 at 335.

<sup>79</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the Declaration of Independence and the reflexive move towards a pan-Māori nation, see Henare’s chapter ‘The Phenomenon of the Māori Nation’ in Henare, M ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society – From Tribes to Nation’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, August 1003) at 107 – 199.

by both written genealogies which were often treated as secret documents,<sup>80</sup> and by nation-state recognition and misappropriation of 'iwi' and 'hapū' through legislation,<sup>81</sup> official records, and also census categories. It is conceded, however, that much of these state misappropriations of Māori identity and representation were based to a large extent on the persuasions of high-ranking Māori bureaucrats and politicians. Indeed, the early ethnologists who posited iwi as the organ at the apex of a tribal pyramid were almost certainly influenced by the proclamations of Māori of their day.

In more contemporary times however, Erueti commented:

From the late 1970s, this 'iwi model' has increasingly come under attack from historians and anthropologists who see it as too simplistic and static, ignoring the role of hapū as a functioning corporate group, the absence of clearly defined hapū and iwi boundaries, and the tendency for all Māori descent groups to wax and wane over generations.<sup>82</sup>

Ballara reached a similar conclusion about Māori forms of social organisation when she argued that:

The Māori political and social system was always dynamic, continuously modified like its technology in response to such phenomena as environmental change and population expansion.<sup>83</sup>

Like all Māori tribes then, the whakapapa, whenua and constituent hapū for Ngāti Apakura are somewhat complex and diverse and they wax and wane with time and space. A close analysis of Ngāti Apakura identity reveals the complexities involved in ascertaining Apakura identity and rohe with precision given that tribal identity and whenua were traditionally fluid, situational, pragmatic and often fundamentally political. Referring to Waikato identity generally and Apakura tribal identity specifically, it appears that one among numerous results of the colonial process was the over-simplification of a complex reality.

Notwithstanding the complexities, the researchers have attempted to identify the hapū and whenua of Ngāti Apakura. The following tables show the names and numbers of Ngāti Apakura hapū acknowledging it as an iwi in its own right at certain times. But Ngāti Apakura was also referred to as a hapū of both Waikato and Maniapoto at other times in official lists between 1840 and 2010, to illustrate some of the complexities. Still, it is noted here that Apakura were a distinct iwi but due to the colonial process among other events,

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<sup>80</sup> See Metge, supra n 71 at 120.

<sup>81</sup> Such as the Māori Trust Boards Act 1955.

<sup>82</sup> Erueti, supra n 67 at 30.

<sup>83</sup> Ballara, supra n 72 at 21.

some Apakura whānau and hapū came to view themselves as part of the closely connected Maniapoto and Waikato iwi while others kept alive their Apakura iwi affiliations. This issue is acknowledged and urgently needs to be fleshed out further. The rest of this section outlines some of these Ngāti Apakura tribal identity complexities.

#### **Ngāti Apakura Hapū**

To understand the hapū of Ngāti Apakura, we have to explore the whakapapa again. To this end, below are some of the whakapapa connections and relationships between some of the hapū of Ngāti Apakura.

#### ***Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Puhiawe***

Ka moe hoki a Whatihua i a Apakura, arā ko te tūpuna tēnei mō Ngāti Apakura.

Tokorua ā rāua tamariki, he māhanga. Ko Marumahanga rāua ko Rakamahanga.

Ka moe a Marumahanga i a Tuimete, ka puta ki waho ko Pikirangi.

Ka moe a Pikirangi i a Waitawake, he tamaiti tēnei nā Rakamahanga, ā, ka puta ki waho ko Tuihu rāua ko Tutengangana.

Ka moe a Tuihu i a Ngamuriwai, ka puta ki waho ko Te Aotutahanga.

Nā Te Aotahanga ko Rakamoana. Nā rāua ko ngā māhanga ko Reipae rāua ko Reitū. (Kei runga iho nei ngā kōrero mō tā rāua hononga ki te Taitokerau.)

Nā Rakamoana, ko Puhiawe, arā ko te tūpuna mō Ngāti Puhiawe.

Ka moe a Tutengangana i a Waikauhoea, ka puta ki waho ko Tuawhio.

Nā Tuawhio ko Tūheretaniwha.

Nā Tūheretaniwha ko Tamatātai rāua ko Hinetātai.

Nā Tamatātai ko Whakatau.

Nā Whakatau ko Tamatea.

Ka moe a Tamatea i a Tumarourou, ka puta ki waho ko Hikairo rāua ko Whaeapare.

#### ***Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Puhiawe***

Whatihua married Apakura, the ancestor of Ngāti Apakura. This marriage produced two children - Marumahanga and Rakamahanga. Marumahanga married Tuimete and begat

Pikirangi. Pikirangi married Waitawake who was a child of Rakamahanga and begat Tuihu and Tutengangana.

Tuihu married Ngamuriwai and begat Te Aotutahanga. Te Aotutahanga begat Rakamoana and the twins Reitū and Reipae. Rakamoana begat Puhiaawe, ancestor of Ngāti Puhiaawe.

Tutengangana married Waikauhoea and begat Tuawhio. Tuawhio begat Tūheretaniwha. Tūheretaniwha begat Tamatātai and Hinetātai. Tamatātai begat Whakatau. Whakatau begat Tamatea. Tamatea married Tumarourou who begat Hikairo, and Whaeapare.

### ***Ngāti Hikairo***

Nā Hikairo ko Puku.

Nā Puku ko Hikairo II, arā ko te tūpuna tēnei mō Ngāti Hikairo.

Kua kōrerotia ake nei te moenga a Whaeapare ki a Te Kanawa, arā, ko te tūpuna mō Ngāti Te Kanawa.

### ***Ngāti Hikairo***

Hikairo begat Puku who begat Hikairo II, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Hikairo.

Whaeapare married Te Kanawa who is the ancestor of Ngāti Te Kanawa.

### ***Ngāti Hinetū***

Mō Hinetai, ka moe ia i a Wahitutaua, ka puta ki waho ko Te Rereapakura.

Ka moe a Te Rereapakura i a Hinehua, ka puta ki waho ko Hinetū, arā ko te tūpuna tēnei mō Ngāti Hinetū.

### ***Ngāti Hinetū***

As for Hinetai, she married Wahitutaua who begat Te Rereapakura. Te Rereapakura married Hinehua who begat Hinetū, the ancestor of Ngāti Hinetū.

These are some of the descendants of Whatihua and Apakura. In a similar manner, the above whakapapa highlights some (but not all) of the hapū of Ngāti Apakura showing that Apakura was an iwi.

Ngāti Apakura claimants in the 1887 Puahue Block hearings in the Native Land Court provided in Table 1 the following constituent hapū of Ngāti Apakura – thus acknowledging Apakura again as a distinct iwi:

**Hapū Table 1: Ngāti Apakura Hapū as Listed by Claimants in the Puahue Native Land Court Hearings 1887<sup>84</sup>**

|             |          |           |
|-------------|----------|-----------|
| Apakura     | Rahui    | Tukemata  |
| Hikairo     | Takekore | Waikohika |
| Pareterakau | Te Rau   | Waitapu   |

Total 9 Hapū

Roberton and Te Huia added that in later days, Ngāti Apakura was composed of the following hapū again acknowledging it as an iwi in Table 2:

**Hapū Table 2 Ngāti Apakura Hapū as Listed by Roberton and Raureti Te Huia 1949<sup>85</sup>**

|                                                                |                                              |                       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Ngāti Rangimahora (principal hapū, Taurangamirumiru, Ngāroto), | Ngāti Hinetu at Taurahi pa (on Hairini hill) | Ngāti Rahui (Kaipaka) |
| Ngāti Puhiaawe (Te Kawa)                                       | Ngāti Hikairo (now at Kāwhia)                |                       |
|                                                                |                                              |                       |

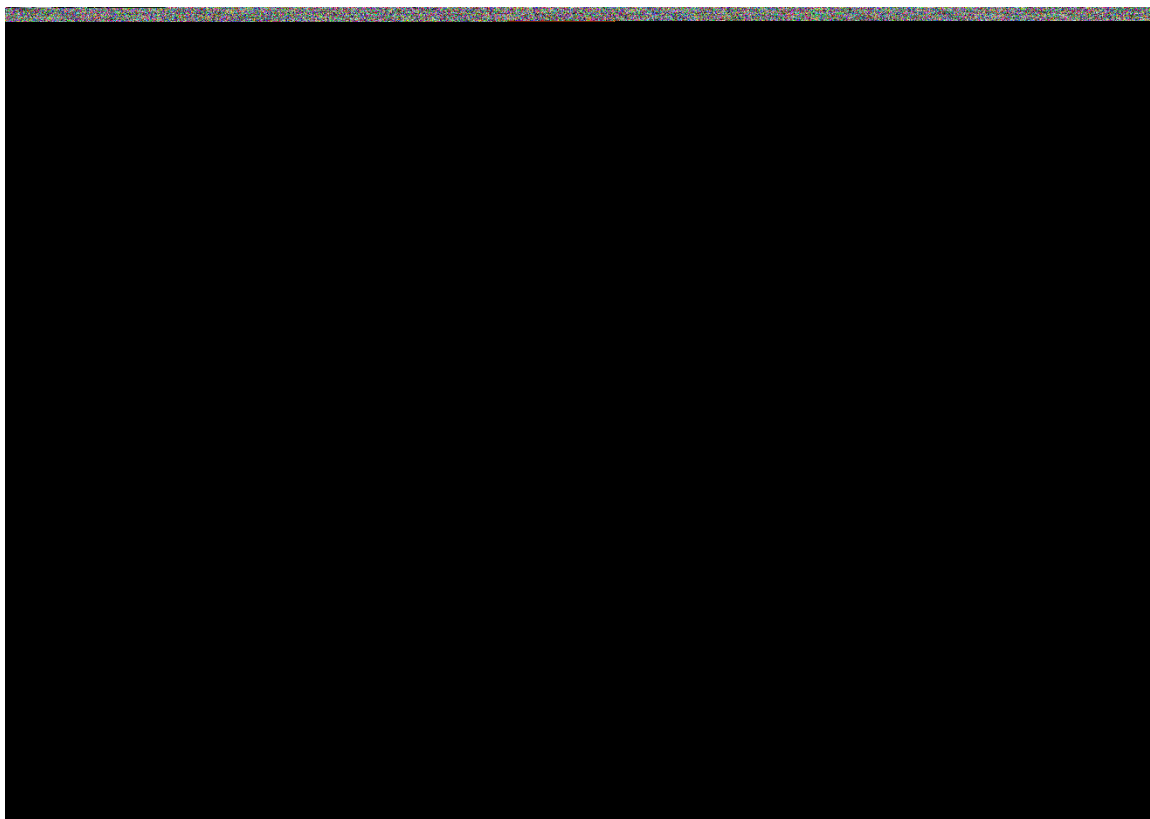
Total 5 Hapū

Ngāti Apakura occupied much of the Te Awamutu district, including part of the Maungatautari foothills, which had been first settled by their kin Ngāti Kauwhata. Among their settlements were those of Ngāti Hinetu at Tuitahi, Hairini and Rangiorahia. Living among the swamps near Te Kawa and Kakepuku were Ngāti Puhiaawe<sup>86</sup>, descendants of Tuihu, the eldest son of Pikurangi.

<sup>84</sup> Puahue Land Block Hearings, *Waikato Minute Book* (No. 2, Waikato Maniapoto District, Judge John Rogan, Cambridge, 1887) at 243-244.

<sup>85</sup> *Idem*.

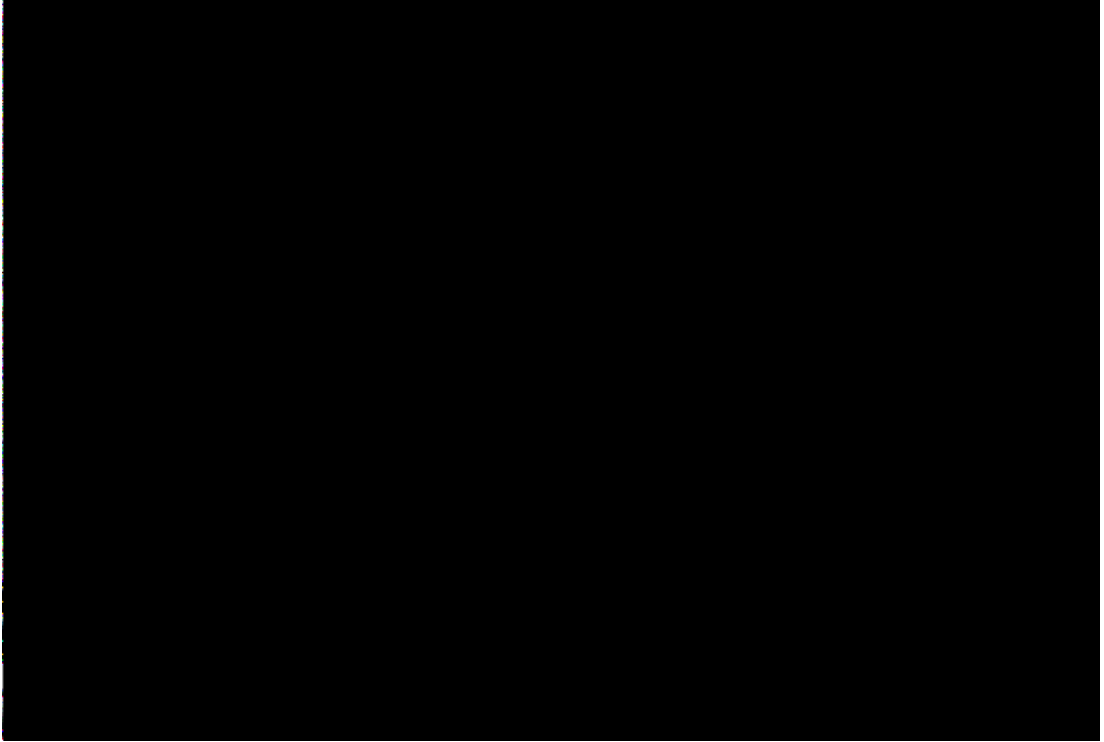
<sup>86</sup> *Supra*, n 55, Roberton, at 13.



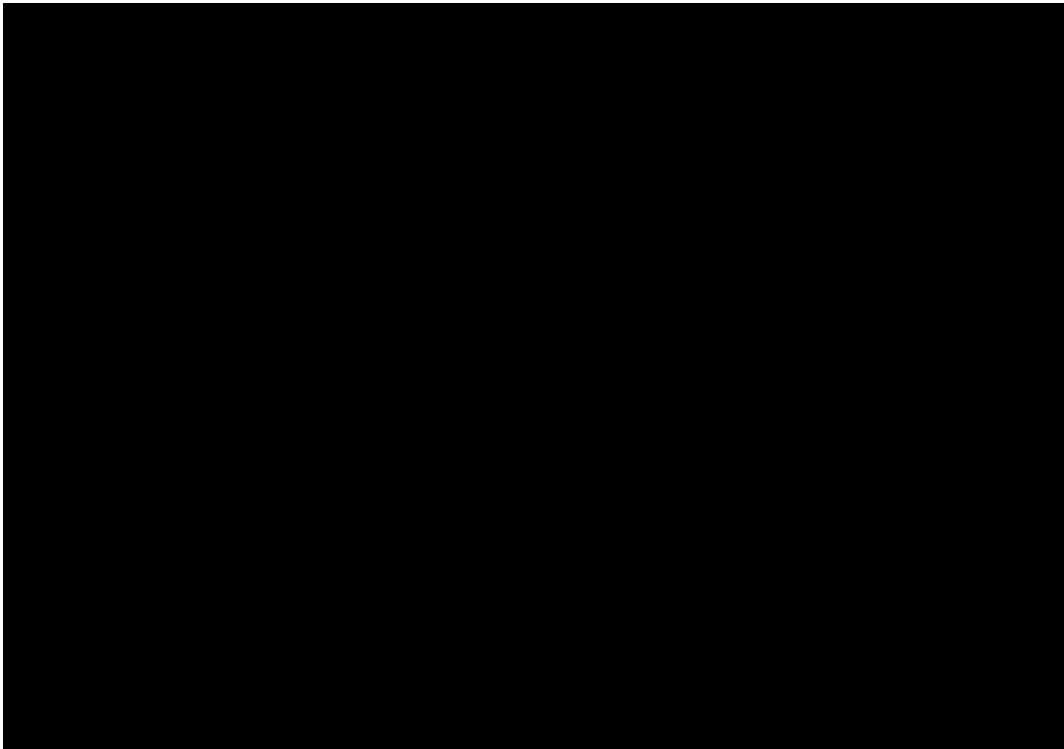
**Map 4: Kakepuku and Te Kawa Map 1880s**

At Kaipaka was Ngāti Rahui until driven out by Ngāti Hauā in 1825. Still, Taurangamirumiru remained the heartland of Ngāti Apakura and was occupied by Ngāti Rangimahora. Leading up to the Waikato Wars, the heartland of Ngāti Apakura appeared to be Ngāroto and Rangiaowhia.





**Map 5: Taurangamirumiru Pā, Ngāroto 1840s**



**Map 6: Te Awamutu District 1864.<sup>87</sup>**

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<sup>87</sup> Supra, n, 32, Cowan.

Map 1 above shows the Te Awamutu area in 1864 just after the invasion when it was a stronghold of the Ngāti Apakura hapū Apakura, Hinetu and Rangimahora. Tables 1 and 2 above also provide a useful starting point for the constituent Ngāti Apakura hapū to measure the development and partial demise of Ngāti Apakura iwi and hapū identity. From Tables 1 and 2 above, we can deduce the following as the constituent hapū of Ngāti Apakura to assess identity shifts in this iwi:

**Hapū Table 3: Ngāti Apakura Constituent Hapū to Assess Apakura Tribal Fluctuations**

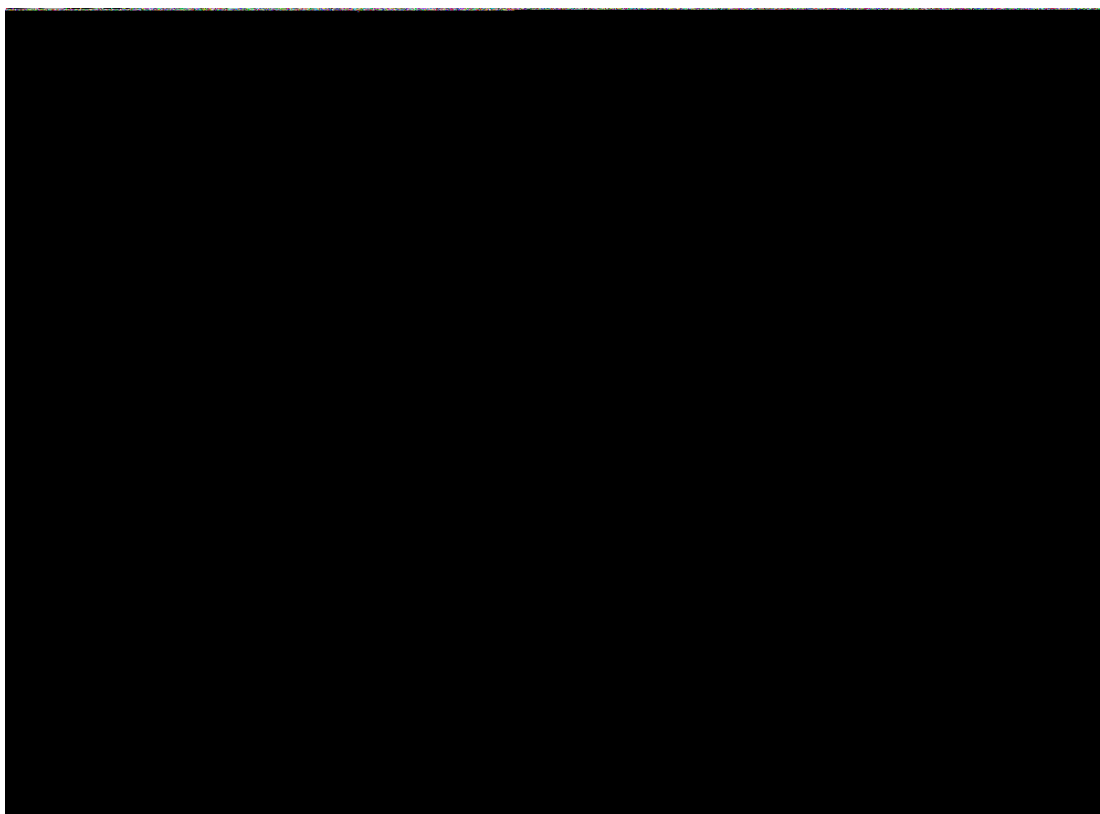
|             |             |           |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| Apakura     | Puhiawe     | Te Rau    |
| Hikairo     | Rahui       | Tukemata  |
| Hinetu      | Rangimahora | Waikohika |
| Pareterakau | Takekore    | Waitapu   |

Total 12 Apakura Hapū<sup>88</sup>

Some of the constituent hapū and their place in the Ngāti Apakura socio-political whakapapa framework are provided in the whakapapa tables that follow.

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<sup>88</sup> It is acknowledged that Maori nouns are sometimes notoriously miss-spelled or cut short at times. For example, Ngāti Apakura might be miss-spelled as Ngāti Apakuru while Ngāti Tukemata might be dropped to Ngāti Tu, Ngāti Pareterakau to Ngati Pare, Ngāti Rangimahora to Ngāti Rangi(Ma)hora or Ngāti Rangi, and Ngāti Waitapu to Ngāti Wai in places. The point is mentioned here to highlight that in assessing the identity shift in names and numbers of Ngāti Apakura hapū, any appropriate miss-spelling and/or shortened hapū name derivations may be referred to by the researchers as including the above hapū names.



**Ngāti Apakura Whakapapa Table 24 with Hapū<sup>89</sup>**

Whakapapa Table 12 shows the intra-tribal relationships of the Ngāti Apakura hapū Puhiawe, Hikairo and Rangimahora. Although not included in Table 12, Tohitohi was the son of Taikiterangi above and Tohitohi married Hinetu, eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Hinetu. In the Ngāti Kauwhata Commission of 1881, Hape Te Pahere stated that he was from Ngāti Hinetu and that he settled on the Puahue block. Major Mair then asked Hape if Ngāti Hinetu was a ‘sub-tribe’ of Ngāti Apakura to which Hape consented.<sup>90</sup> Others have recorded more Ngāti Apakura hapū such as Ngāti Te Mihinga, Ngāti Paretaiko, Ngāti Taheke and Ngāti Ngahia.

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<sup>89</sup> Robertson, J.B, ‘The significance of New Zealand tribal tradition’ in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 67, No. 1, 1958) 39 at 46-47.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Ngati Kauwhata Claims Commission’ in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (hereinafter AJHR) 1881, (G-2A) at 22.

### **Tainui and Apakura Identity Pre-Treaty of Waitangi 1840**

The period prior to the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 in the Waikato and Waipā Districts must be discussed here because it was a turbulent period of social upheaval and tribal diaspora particularly with the effects of the Musket Wars. To claim mana whenua over land and resources often depended on ringakaha – the group’s ability to successfully defend their lands and resources which came to the fore during the Musket Wars period (1805-1845). To this end, parts of Ngāti Marutūāhu moved inland from the Hauraki coast into Ngāti Hauā and Waikato territory; Ngāti Raukawa was first pushed east from Maungatautari towards the more barren areas of Arapuni, Waotu, Arohena and Mangakino, and parts of Raukawa departed with Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa from Kāwhia to invade the lower half of the North Island and the top of the South Island hence Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga of the Horowhenua District, and Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Toa in both Porirua and in the north of the South Island.<sup>91</sup> The ‘traditional’ hapū and iwi of the Waikato-Tainui area therefore were very different prior to 1840. But 1840 became the fixed political and legal date in time for tradition. Yet Māori tradition and identity transcends arbitrary boundaries and dates on a calendar thus exacerbating the ambiguity of the ‘traditional’ Ngāti Apakura hapū and iwi of this area.

Still, the complex process of waxing and waning Waikato-Tainui iwi and Ngāti Apakura as an iwi or hapū from 1840 to 1995 follows to illustrate, inter alia, the fluid and dynamic nature of traditional Apakura, Waikato and Maniapoto social organisation and identity politics since the Treaty of Waitangi. As mentioned earlier, the socio-political organisation of Apakura as an iwi and/or hapū needs to be fleshed out and examined more by examining the historical accounts – both written and oral – in more depth. This section merely provides a starting point for this analysis but it is definitely not the end of the discussion. What it does highlight however, is the dynamic, fluid and situational nature of Māori and Ngāti Apakura tribal identity.

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<sup>91</sup> For an extensive discussion of the Musket Wars and the social upheaval of the period, see Crosby, D *The Musket Wars* (Reed Publishers, Auckland, 1999); Jones, P T & Biggs, B *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1995) and the relevant biographies in Orange, C (ed) *The Turbulent Years: The Māori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1870-1900* (Vol. II) (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1994). For a discussion on the Tainui tribal diaspora, see Jones, P.T, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King* (Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1959).

### Waxing and Waning of Waikato Hapū and Apakura Identity 1840-2010

The waxing and waning of Apakura hapū and Waikato hapū identity who ‘suffered from the raupatu’ have been officially recorded in the Appendices of the Journal of the House of Representatives in 1857 and 1900, the *New Zealand Gazette* in 1879, and in the 1908 and 1949 Māori electoral lists. Moreover, Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones provided a map<sup>92</sup> and tribal list on the centenary of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1940 which provided details of Tainui ‘sub-groups’ in 1840. In each of these lists, Apakura and Waikato iwi and hapū identity differ quite considerably in terms of both name and number again highlighting the fluid and situational nature of Māori socio-political group identities.

#### Dr Jones’ 1840 List

In 1940, Ngāti Maniapoto tohunga, Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones, provided the Department of Internal Affairs with a map listing the Tainui tribes and sub-tribes as at 1840 when the Treaty was signed. Each of the Tainui tribes identified by Dr Jones have survived into the present day and are listed in Table 4.

**Table 4: Jones’ Tainui ‘Tribes’ 1840**

| Tainui ‘Tribes’ 1840 |         |           |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|
| Haua                 | Hauraki | Maniapoto | Raukawa | Waikato |

Total Tribes = 5

Dr Jones also went on to list ‘sub-tribes’ (hapū?) for each of these Tainui tribes which information is displayed in Table 5 below.

**Hapū Table 5: Dr Jones’ ‘Tainui’ ‘Sub-Tribes’ 1840**

| Iwi              | ‘Sub-Tribes’ 1840                                |                                                     |                                                                |                                                            | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <b>Haua</b>      | Haua (proper)                                    | Hinerangi                                           | Koroki                                                         | Wairere                                                    | 4     |
| <b>Maniapoto</b> | Hari<br>Huiao<br>Kinohaku<br>Matakore<br>Paemate | Pahiri<br>Paiairiki<br>Raerae<br>Rangatahi<br>Rarua | Rereahu<br>Rora<br>Rungaterangi<br>Te Ihingarangi<br>Te Kanawa | Tutakamoana<br>Uekaha<br>Urunumia<br>Waiora<br>Whakaterere | 20    |
| <b>Raukawa</b>   | Paretekawa                                       | Raukawa                                             | Whaita                                                         | Wairangi                                                   | 4     |

<sup>92</sup> Jones, P T ‘Tainui Canoe Area 1840’ (Unpublished Map, Photostat of MS prepared by P Te Hurinui Jones for Centennial Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940).

| Iwi            | 'Sub-Tribes' 1840                                             |                                  |                                      |                                            | Total |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------|
|                |                                                               | (proper)                         |                                      |                                            |       |
| <b>Waikato</b> | Amaru<br><b>Apakura</b><br>Haurua<br><b>Hikairo</b><br>Mahuta | Naho<br>NgāIwi<br>Pou<br>Tahinga | Tai<br>Tainui<br>Tamainupo<br>Te Ata | Te Waiohua<br>Te Wehi<br>Tipa<br>Whawhakia | 17    |

Total 'Sub-Tribes' 45

As shown in Table 5, Dr Jones included Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hikairo as Waikato hapū in 1840. But a review of other official Government iwi and hapū lists provides different names and numbers of Ngāti Apakura which provides important context on the shift in Ngāti Apakura identity commencing with Fenton's list in 1857.

#### Francis Fenton's 1857 Waikato Tribe List

The *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) provided another more extensive list of Waikato hapū in 1857 complete with hapū, districts and leaders. Francis Fenton,<sup>93</sup> who was a Resident Magistrate in the Waikato before the Waikato Wars, compiled a list of tribes in the district. The 14 officially recorded Waikato 'Tribes' for 1857 are listed below in Table 6.

**Hapū Table 6: Fenton's Waikato District 'Tribes' 1857**

| Waikato District 'Tribes' 1857 |           |         |         |
|--------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------|
| <b>Apakura</b>                 | Mahanga   | Rewha   | Te Ata  |
| Haua                           | Mahuta    | Ruru    | Temaoho |
| Hine                           | Maniapoto | Tahinga | Tipa    |
| <b>Hinetu</b>                  | Pou       |         |         |

Total Tribes = 14

Of all the Waikato District 'tribes' listed in 1857, Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu were included again as Waikato tribes further highlighting another discrepancy between perhaps the 'official' view of what constitutes a tribe and that of the grass roots people. From the research above, Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu appeared to consider themselves as iwi in their own right rather than tribes of Waikato.

However, Fenton also included a detailed list of what he coined 'family' of the above 'tribes' in the Waikato district. Fenton's use of the word 'family' was synonymous with the

<sup>93</sup> Fenton, F *List of the Tribes and Hapus of the Waikato District* AJHR 1860 B-No.9 – F-No.3, at 146-149.

contemporary use of ‘hapū’ which he referred to later in his list. As expected, there were several more Ngāti Apakura ‘family’ (hapū) than the two Apakura hapū listed by Dr Jones in 1840. Table 7 below shows Fenton’s extensive list.

**Hapū Table 7: Fenton’s Waikato District ‘Family’ (Hapū) 1857**

| ‘Tribe’          | ‘Family’                                                                                               |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Apakura*</b>  | <b>Apakura±</b>                                                                                        | <b>Raparapa</b>                                                                                      | <b>Waitapu</b>                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Hauā*</b>     | Hanui<br>Haua±<br>Heke<br>Hiniuira                                                                     | Hourua<br>Hua<br>Kahukura<br>Koroki±                                                                 | Ngarangi<br>Pari<br>Purangataua                                                                       | Taka<br>Te Ruarangi<br>Teao                                                                                                             | Tehura<br>Wairere±<br>Werewere                                                                                 |
| <b>Hine*</b>     | Hine±                                                                                                  | Tau                                                                                                  | Turangerua                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Hinetu</b>    | <b>Hinetu<br/>Kaiotaota</b>                                                                            | <b>Kiri</b>                                                                                          | <b>Marotaua</b>                                                                                       | <b>Rangimahora</b>                                                                                                                      | <b>Te Urikopi</b>                                                                                              |
| <b>Mahanga*</b>  | Iwikairakau<br>Kuku                                                                                    | Mahanga ±<br>Pakura                                                                                  | Taka                                                                                                  | Tohe                                                                                                                                    | Wai                                                                                                            |
| <b>Mahuta*</b>   | Hapi<br>Huaki<br>Hurumangiangi<br>Kahuono<br>Kaiawhi<br>Karere<br>Korehe<br>Kotara<br>Koura<br>Mahuta± | Makirangi±<br>Mango<br>Mariu<br>Moana<br>Naho±<br>Nainai<br>Ngahia<br>Ngamuri<br>Ngawhainga<br>Pango | Paratai<br>Parehachaeora<br>Parewehi<br>Pari<br>Pehi<br>Rangi<br>Reko<br>Ringatahi<br>Rori<br>Ruahine | Tamainu±<br>Tapa<br>Te Ahiwaru<br>Te Iwipoaka<br>Te Kawerau<br>TeMatetakahia<br>Te Ngaungau<br>Te Patukohru<br>Te Patukoko<br>Tekeriwai | Temaoho±<br>TeMaungaunga<br>TePatuahora<br>TePatupo<br>Tewehi±<br>Tu<br>Tupango<br>Whaiakai<br>Whao<br>Whauroa |
| <b>Maniapoto</b> | Awekaha<br><b>Hikairo±</b><br>Hua<br>Huiao<br>Kaputuhi<br>Kinohaku                                     | Mahuta±<br>Makahori<br>Makino<br>Maniapoto<br>Matakore<br>Ngawaero                                   | Ngawai<br>Paiariki<br><b>Puhiawe±</b><br>Rereahu<br>Rora                                              | Ruaroa<br>Te Kanawa<br>Te Pairangi<br>Te Rahurahu<br>Umarouru                                                                           | Urunumia<br>Waha<br>Wai<br>Waiora<br>Wera                                                                      |
| <b>Pou*</b>      | Amuri<br>Hapi                                                                                          | Kahu<br>Karewa                                                                                       | Manoki<br>Pou±                                                                                        | Rua<br>Tehoru                                                                                                                           | Tekaitutai<br>Tekehau                                                                                          |
| <b>Rewha</b>     | Rewha                                                                                                  | Taha                                                                                                 |                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Ruru*</b>     | Hangare                                                                                                | Ruru                                                                                                 | Waenganui                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Tahinga*</b>  | Koata<br>Kura                                                                                          | Tahinga±                                                                                             | Tainui±                                                                                               | Teika                                                                                                                                   | Whanga                                                                                                         |
| <b>Te Ata*</b>   | Kahukoka                                                                                               | Te Ata±                                                                                              | Te Iwiware                                                                                            | Te Uringahu                                                                                                                             | Te Urioteoro                                                                                                   |
| <b>Temaoho*</b>  | Te Akitai±                                                                                             | Te Aua                                                                                               | Te Uriotapa                                                                                           | Waiohua                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Tipa*</b>     | Hua                                                                                                    | Karewa                                                                                               | TeWatuhihi                                                                                            | Tipa±                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                |

Total ‘Family’ (Hapū?) = 148 \* Tribes officially acknowledged in the Waikato Raupatu Constituent Hapū 1995 ± ‘Family’ groupings officially acknowledged in the Waikato Raupatu Constituent Hapū 1995

Fenton listed approximately 148 ‘family’ (hapū) groups in the Waikato District in 1857. Interestingly, Fenton listed Ngāti Apakura as a ‘Tribe’ or Iwi in its own right with three constituent hapū – Apakura, Raparapa and Waitapu. Fenton also listed an earlier Ngāti

Apakura hapū as a 'Tribe' (Ngāti Hinetu) with its own constituent hapū – Hinetu, Kaiotaota, Kiri, Marotaua, Rangimahora and Te Urikopi. In addition, two Ngāti Apakura hapū from the Ngāti Apakura constituent hapū in Table 3 above are included as hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto – Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Puhiawe.

What is also essential to emphasise at this point in time is that Francis Fenton compiled a census (including names, sex, adults and children, birth and death rates) of the Ngāti Apakura iwi population in Rangiaowhia in 1858 which he compared with an 1844 Rangiaowhia Ngāti Apakura census. Fenton noted that the Ngāti Apakura population of Rangiaowhia in 1844 was 740 which slowly decreased to 630 in 1858. This census information is critical to establishing Apakura as an iwi after the Treaty of Waitangi. This important Ngāti Apakura population constituency list is included as Appendix 2.

Furthermore, effective iwi leadership is critical for maintaining a cohesive iwi community. Given that Ngāti Apakura was a strong community in the past, they must have had effective leaders to keep the people together. It is important then to uncover Ngāti Apakura rangatira. To this end, the principal rangatira for Ngāti Apakura listed by Fenton in 1857 included Ngāti Hinetu - Hoani Pāpita, Aperahama Te Nga, Te Kapara Hongihongi, Nopera Whakamau and Waretini Te Ariki Whakapo; Ngāti Puhiawe – Kingi Kikikoi; Ngāti Hikairo – Wiremu Te Ake; and Ngāti Apakura – Hori Te Waru, Tepene Te Naihi and Wetere Taumaihi.<sup>94</sup>

The researchers uncovered another interesting Apakura rangatira list in 1860 when the chiefs of Rangiaowhia wrote a letter to the editor of the 'Māori Messenger' on the subdivision of their lands to Apakura members. The list included the following rangatira: Wiremu Toetoe Tamohi, Taati Wareka Te Waru, Taatihou Te Huriwai, Tamati Te Tarahanga, Te Wirihana Mutu, Te Munu, Paki Whero Noho Motu, Te Ara Noho Motu, Pene Tita Te Warunga, Turi Manu, Rotohiko Ngahape, Rotohiko Tutaku, Te Matenga Te Wi, Mamuka, Hoani Ngarongo, Te Kingi Te Warangi and Te Wano Tarakaka.<sup>95</sup>

Finally for this section, Francis Fenton and his work were well received by Ngāti Apakura. In 1860, Hone Wetere of Ngāti Apakura was questioned before the Waikato Committee:

Do you consider the work of Mr Fenton to have been a benefit to the people? – Yes.  
I know of Mr Fenton's work; the people approved of his work.

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<sup>94</sup> Idem.

<sup>95</sup> 'Letter to the Editor from the Chiefs at Rangiaowhia Relative to Subdivision of Their lands' in *Appendix to the Report of the Waikato Committee* (29 August 1857) at 161.



Did the people in your district desire to have a Magistrate under the Queen? – Yes, the people of my side waited for Mr Fenton to go to Kāwhia and when I heard that he had arrived at Te Awamutu, at Mr Morgan's house, I at once went there to see him.

For what purpose? – To follow Mr Fenton's work.

Do you mean that you desired to have the same work at Rangiaowhia?

I was told of Mr Fenton's work there. Taati said 'Mr Fenton's work at Rangiaowhia, Kihikihi, Waipa and Waikato is very good. When I went to Te Awamutu I talked there with Mr Fenton on the subject of law. Mr Fenton said to me 'Be strong to do the work of the law.'

When you returned to your people, did you describe to them the nature of the work that Mr Fenton was doing? – I did.

Did they desire to adopt the English laws? – My tribe desired to have the Pākehā law.

Have your people since joined the King party? – It is only of late they have engaged in that work, because Mr Fenton had given up going to Waikato.<sup>96</sup>

#### Māori Censuses 1874, 1878, 1881 and Waikato Hapū

Māori censuses were held constantly after Fenton's Waikato District iwi and hapū list in 1857 and his census in 1858. Tables 8-10 show respectively the hapū that were identified as Waikato hapū in the 1874, 1878 and 1881 Māori censuses which included some Ngāti Apakura hapū.

**Hapū Table 8: Waikato Hapū from the Māori Census AJHR 1874<sup>97</sup>**

| 'Tribe'            | 'Hapū'                                         |                                   |                          |                         |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>Hikairo</b>     | <b>Puhiawe</b>                                 |                                   |                          |                         |
| <b>Mahanga</b>     | Hourua<br>Ngamuri                              | Ngarape                           | Ruru                     | Tohe                    |
| <b>Mahuta</b>      | Naho                                           | Ngahia                            | Te Patupo                | Tehuaki                 |
| <b>Pou</b>         |                                                |                                   |                          |                         |
| <b>Reko</b>        | Reko                                           |                                   |                          |                         |
| <b>Tahinga</b>     | Huru<br>Kohiko<br>Kura                         | Mataruahine<br>Pare<br>Pehi       | Pou<br>Raeroa<br>Tahinga | Te Wera<br>Whaine       |
| <b>Tai</b>         |                                                |                                   |                          |                         |
| <b>Tainui</b>      | Koata                                          |                                   |                          |                         |
| <b>Tamainu</b>     | Huaki                                          | Kotara                            | Tamainu                  |                         |
| <b>Te Ngaungau</b> | Tai                                            | Tu                                |                          |                         |
| <b>Te Wehi</b>     | Paiaka                                         | Paipai                            | Reko                     |                         |
| <b>Tipa</b>        | Karewa                                         | Rangi                             | Tipa                     |                         |
| <b>Waikato</b>     | <b>Apakura</b><br><b>Apakuru</b> [sic]<br>Haua | <b>Hinetu</b><br>Hourua<br>Koroki | Mahuta<br>Mahutu<br>Naho | Pou<br>Tamainu<br>Teata |

Total 'Tribes' = 13 and Total 'Hapū' = 46

<sup>96</sup> Henry Sewell (Chair), *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Waikato Committee* (27 Sept 1860) at 67.

<sup>97</sup> 'Approximate Census of the Māori Population, 1874,' in AJHR 1874, G-7 at 4-6.

From the above tables, one can already see the shift in perception and socio-political grouping of Ngāti Apakura who was an iwi in its own right with constituent hapū in 1857, to being subsumed as a hapū of Waikato by 1874 – 13 years later, and 10 years following the Battles of Rangiaowhia and Orākau. Not surprisingly, this trend of Ngāti Apakura losing their status as an iwi after Rangiaowhia and Orākau continued on in subsequent official records.

**Hapū Table 9: Waikato Hapū from the Māori Census AJHR 1878<sup>98</sup>**

| ‘Tribe’        | ‘Hapū’                                                                                            |                                                                            |                                                                                   |                                                                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Reko</b>    | Reko                                                                                              |                                                                            |                                                                                   |                                                                                       |
| <b>Tahinga</b> | Koata<br>Mata                                                                                     | Paretenenga<br>Pihikeria                                                   | Raeroa<br>Tahinga                                                                 | Te Kura<br>Te Wera                                                                    |
| <b>Te Ata</b>  | Kahukoka<br>Karewa<br>Ngatapare                                                                   | Pare<br>Rua<br>Tawhaki                                                     | Te Uri Ngahu<br>Te Uri o Te<br>Oro                                                | Te Uri Tawhaki<br>Te Whānaupani                                                       |
| <b>Tipa</b>    | Hika<br>Karewa                                                                                    | Mateharakeke<br>Peke                                                       | Rangi<br>Rangihaea                                                                | Te Waotuhuhu<br>Wauwau                                                                |
| <b>Waikato</b> | Amaru<br><b>Apakura</b><br>Haua<br>Hihau<br><b>Hikairo</b><br>Homua<br>Hourua<br>Hua<br>Huierangi | Kaiawhi<br>Karere<br>Koata<br>Koro<br>Mahanga<br>Mahuta<br>Naho<br>Ngarape | Paiaki<br>Paipai<br>Pou<br><b>Puhiawe</b><br>Reko<br>Tahinga<br>Tainui<br>Tamainu | Tamaoha<br>Te Aua<br>Te Kawerau<br>Te Patupo<br>Tehuaki<br>Tekauawa<br>Tewehi<br>Tipa |

Total Tribes = 5 and Total Hapū = 59

**Hapū Table 10: Waikato Hapū from the Māori Census AJHR 1881<sup>99</sup>**

| Principal <sup>100</sup><br>Tribe | Sub-tribe or Hapū                                                                                                |                                                                                                |                                                                                                |                                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ngāti Tai</b>                  | Tai                                                                                                              |                                                                                                |                                                                                                |                                                                                                            |
| <b>Te Koheriki</b>                | Te Iwi<br>Pungarehu                                                                                              |                                                                                                |                                                                                                |                                                                                                            |
| <b>Waikato</b>                    | Amaru<br><b>Apakura</b><br>Hape<br>Haua<br><b>Hikairo</b><br>Hine<br>Hineahi<br><b>Hinetu</b><br>Horua<br>Hourua | Karewa<br>Karewa<br>Kea<br>Kiore<br>Koroki<br>Mahanga<br>Mahuta<br>Maru<br>Naho<br>Parehikairo | Reko<br>Ruru<br>Tahinga<br>Tai<br>Tainui<br>Tamainu<br>Tamaoho<br>Tapaea<br>Taramatou<br>Tarau | Te Mata<br>Harakeke<br>Te Patupo<br>Te Uriaro<br>Te Wehi<br>Teoro<br>Tepopuni<br>Tipa<br>Tiru<br><b>Tu</b> |

<sup>98</sup> ‘Enclosures’ in AJHR 1878, G-2 at 14-17.

<sup>99</sup> ‘Census of the Māori Population, 1881’ in AJHR 1881, G-3 at 13-15.

<sup>100</sup> The authors recognise the change in grouping terminology from ‘Tribe’ to ‘Principal Tribe’ and from ‘Hapu’ to ‘Sub-tribe’ and ‘Family Grouping.’ This is after the manner in which the lists were officially recorded.

| Principal <sup>100</sup><br>Tribe | Sub-tribe or Hapū |                |              |           |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
|                                   | Huakore           | Paretawhaki    | Tawhaki      | Urupikia  |
|                                   | Huia              | Parikirangi    | Te Akitai    | Wai       |
|                                   | Kahu              | Pou            | Te Iwi       | Werewere  |
|                                   | Kahukura          | <b>Puhiawe</b> | Pungarehu    | Whawhakia |
|                                   | Kamuaua           | Rangi          | Te Kaingaahi | Whia      |
|                                   |                   |                | Te Kaitutae  |           |

Total Tribes = 3 and Total Hapū = 57

In the 1874 Māori Census (Table 8), Ngāti Hikairo is listed as a tribe with Ngāti Puhiawe as its hapū and Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu are listed as being hapū of Waikato. In 1878 (Table 9), Apakura, Hikairo and Puhiawe are all listed as Waikato hapū, and in 1881 (Table 10), Apakura, Hikairo, Hinetu, Puhiawe and Ngāti Tu are all listed as Waikato hapū. Yet again, the above data highlights the fluctuation and variance among Waikato and Apakura tribal and hapū social organisation. The researchers also acknowledge that the census tables above were compiled after the raupatu grievance when Apakura as a people were experiencing diaspora and were unifying with their kin – Waikato, Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa and other tribes – which could have been interpreted as integrating their identity into these tribes. Robertson for example recorded in 1967 that:

Ngāti Apakura had not played a large part in the war but they had nevertheless lost the whole of their land, and as a result, they have been scattered to the four winds and have lost their identity through absorption into other tribes.<sup>101</sup>

Further, the dynamics around the compilation of the census data needs to be explored further in terms of the drafting census questionnaires and compiling tribal information under the guise of prevailing Government policy of the day based on predetermining tribal outcomes for certainty, simplicity and often political efficacy purposes.

#### **Waikato Raupatu Hapū List 1879**

Following the Battle of Oākau in 1864, the New Zealand Government confiscated 1.2 million acres of prime land in the fertile Waikato Basin and its surrounding area under the auspices of Proclamations and Orders in Council pursuant the New Zealand Settlement Act 1863 and amendments. However, some lands were later returned. Section 4 of the Confiscated Lands Act 1867 stated:

<sup>101</sup> Robertson, J.B.W, 'The Edwards Family' in *The Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* (Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1967) at 9.

... it shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time, as he shall think fit, by Proclamation in the New Zealand Gazette, to reserve out of lands under 'The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863,' as amended by 'The New Zealand Settlement Act 1864' and the 'New Zealand Settlements Amendments and Continuance Act 1865' such lands as shall seem fit, and thereat to grant such portion or portions thereof as he shall think fit to such person or persons of the Native race as shall have proved to his satisfaction to have been in rebellion, and have subsequently submitted to the Queen's authority.

When some of the confiscated lands were returned to hapū members within the Waikato raupatu area, many of those individuals and their respective hapū were listed in the *New Zealand Gazette 1879*, which provided an interesting list<sup>102</sup> of Waikato hapū (including Ngāti Apakura hapū) as shown below in Table 11.

**Table 11: Returned Raupatu Lands to Waikato 'Hapū' AJHR 1879**

| Waikato 'Hapū' |                 |              |                 |             |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Amaru          | Koheriki        | Paoa         | Rangiherehere   | Tehuaki     |
| <b>Apakura</b> | Koroki          | Parakirangi  | Rangituruturu   | Tekahurangi |
| Hape           | Koura           | <b>Pare</b>  | Raparapa        | Temihi      |
| Haua           | Kura            | Parehiawe    | Raukawa         | Teohinga    |
| <b>Hikairo</b> | Mahanga         | Parehina     | Rewha           | Teoro       |
| <b>Hine</b>    | Mahuta          | Parehuia     | Ruarangi        | Tewhe       |
| Hinepare       | Maingako        | Paretoka     | Ruru            | Tupaea      |
| Hinetore       | Mango           | Parewehi     | Tahinga         | Uweroa      |
| Hineuira       | Maniapoto       | Patukoko     | Tai             | Waenganui   |
| Hinewera       | Manuwhakaaweawe | Patupo       | Tainui          | Waikai      |
| Hourua         | Moenoho         | Pehi         | Tamaho          | Wairere     |
| Huakatoa       | Naho            | Peke         | Tamainu         | Werewere    |
| Kahukura       | Nainai          | Pihere       | Tamanga         | Whānaunga   |
| Kahutakiri     | Ngamuri         | Pikiahū      | Tangiaro        | Whanga      |
| Kaiaua         | Ngā Puhi        | Pou          | Tapa            | Whao        |
| Karewa         | Ngaungau        | Pukauae      | Tapaea          | Whawhakia   |
| Kiora          | Ngutu           | Purangataua  | Te Whetui Apiti | Whearua     |
| <b>Kiri</b>    | Pango           | <b>Rangi</b> | Teata           | Whetui      |

Total Hapū = 90

Table 11 clearly lists at least three Ngāti Apakura hapū (Apakura, Hikairo and Kiri) as being Waikato hapū who received some returned raupatu lands in 1879. Ngāti Hine, Pare and Rangi may also be shortened derivations of the Apakura hapū Hinetu, Pareterakau and Rangimahora from Tables 9-11 above.

Remember the Ngāti Apakura 1887 Puahue Block hearings in the Native Land Court where an Apakura claimant provided the following constituent hapū of Ngāti Apakura:

<sup>102</sup> See *Raupatu Document Bank (RDB)* (Vol 70) at 26989.

**Hapū Table 12: Ngāti Apakura Hapū as Listed by Claimants in the Puahue Native Land Court Hearings**

**1887<sup>103</sup>**

|             |          |           |
|-------------|----------|-----------|
| Apakura     | Rahui    | Tukemata  |
| Hikairo     | Takekore | Waikohika |
| Pareterakau | Te Rau   | Waitapu   |

Total 9 Hapū

From the above tables, it appears that by 1879, there had been a significant shift in Ngāti Apakura tribal identity in terms of its status as an iwi in its own right, or as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto or Waikato, and similarly with some Ngāti Apakura hapū such as Ngāti Hinetu with its own constituent hapū (Hinetu, Kaiotaota, Kirikiri, Marotaua, Rangimahora and Te Urikopi) in 1857 and Ngāti Hikairo (Puhiawe) in 1874.

Moreover, the names and numbers of Ngāti Apakura hapū have shifted significantly over time and space. Approximately half (six) of the Ngāti Apakura hapū appear to have disappeared or to have been reduced, not necessarily in social organisation but possibly in commentator's perceptions of which groups are important. There is likely to have been a discrepancy between the 'official' perception of tribal names and numbers and that of the grassroots people. Either way, a decrease from 12 to 6 hapū or 50 per cent is a considerable decline in social organisation.

Those hapū who sought redress and compensation for raupatu in the Māori Land Court or some other forum are likely to have drafted these lists and they do provide some important details for the present discussion on Ngāti Apakura identity.

#### **Individuals and Hapū Who 'Suffered Raupatu' List 1900**

The AJHR provided another list of Waikato hapū in 1900 that, again, differs from the official Waikato and Apakura hapū lists heretofore mentioned. This 1900 list also provides specific names of individuals and their respective hapū who 'suffered from the raupatu.' The hapū listed in 1900 are displayed in Table 13 and the 'sub-hapū' that were categorised are shown in Table 14. Note the use of the word 'sub-hapū' to identify groups in Table 14 as opposed to the word whānau in current use.

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<sup>103</sup> Puahue Land Block Hearings, *Waikato Minute Book* (No. 2, Waikato Maniapoto District, Judge John Rogan, Cambridge, 1887) at 243-244.

**Hapū Table 13: Waikato Landless Native Hapū List AJHR 1900**

| Hapū           |                  |                      |                        |
|----------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Amaru          | Mahuta           | Pou                  | Teata                  |
| <b>Apakura</b> | Mahuta           | Poututeka            | Tekiriwai              |
| Hine           | Makirangi        | Pukaue               | Tekura                 |
| Hinekaraka     | Mango            | <b>Rangi(Ma)hora</b> | Teuritaniwha           |
| <b>Hinetu</b>  | Marae            | Ranginui             | Tipa                   |
| Hinewai        | Mataruahine      | Raromanoturi         | Toheaia                |
| Hourua         | Moeahu           | Reko                 | Tu                     |
| Iranui         | Moenoho          | Ringatahi            | <b>Tukimata/Okapue</b> |
| Kaho/Ngao      | Naho             | Tahinga              | Tunahore               |
| Kahu           | Ngahia           | Tamahapai/Rangitaua  | Tupoukeka              |
| Kāhui          | Ngāitauho        | Tamainui             | Tutengangana           |
| Kahukura       | Paitukuhi        | Tamaoho              | Unuwai                 |
| Kaiamo         | Pareteuaki       | Tangaroa-a-Whai      | Wairere                |
| Kaiawa         | Paretoka         | Tawhake              | Wehiwehi               |
| Karewa         | Paretuaki        | Te Kanawa            | Whau                   |
| Kautata        | Peehikiria       | Te Poa               | Whauroa                |
| Koko           | <b>Pirirakau</b> | Te Wera              | Whawhakia              |
| Koroki         | Po               | Te Wero              |                        |

Total Hapū = 71

**Hapū Table 14: Waikato Landless Native Sub-Hapū List AJHR 1900**

| Sub-Hapū |          |               |                 |
|----------|----------|---------------|-----------------|
| Amaru    | Kahukoka | Manuki/Monoki | <b>Rangi</b>    |
| Hape     | Karewa   | Naenae        | <b>Raparapa</b> |
| Hekenui  | Koro     | Pareteuaki    | Tautuku         |
| Hourua   | Koura    | Pareue        | Tupu            |

Total Sub-Hapū = 16

Four of the Ngāti Apakura hapū (Apakura, Hinetu, Rangi(Ma)Hora and Tukimata, possibly Pirirakau too) are clearly listed in 1900 as landless hapū in Table 13. One sub-hapū – Ngāti Raparapa – is also a Ngāti Apakura hapū in Table 14. If the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 (WRCSA) is, inter alia, about acknowledging the individuals and hapū who suffered raupatu, then one questions why this list that was compiled in 1900 was not consulted to identify the specific hapū and descendants of those who ‘suffered from the raupatu’ which included many Ngāti Apakura hapū and whānau neither listed in Tables 13 and 1 or the subsequent WRCSA hapū lists.

With regard to a robust methodology, the researchers acknowledge that the above official lists may not have been the most accurate system of recording Apakura tribal identity. For example, the ‘Returned Raupatu Lands’ list from 1879 (see Table 11) which included Ngā Puhi as an official Waikato hapū, despite Ngā Puhi being outside the Waikato raupatu

region, and remotely connected through whakapapa through Reitū and Reipae as outlined above.

In addition, accuracy depends on the definitions of the words being used in the lists, that is, words such as ‘hapū,’ ‘iwi,’ ‘tribes,’ ‘sub-tribes’ and ‘family.’ Furthermore, criticism may even emerge suggesting that Māori did not compile such lists traditionally and, therefore, the credibility and reliability of these tribal lists may be questionable which may be correct. One could seek better clarity perhaps by consulting a subjective list of Ngāti Apakura hapū whereby Apakura Māori self-identified their iwi and hapū affiliations. The following two lists in the next section meet this criterion to some extent but are still somewhat imperfect for ascertaining Apakura tribal identity (see Tables 15 and 16).

#### **Māori Electoral List 1908**

Another valuable list of Māori iwi and hapū, located in the National Archives in Wellington, is the 1908 Māori Electoral Roll. In contrast to the lists mentioned previously, the 1908 Māori Electoral Roll is a subjective self-identification list of Waikato and Apakura (and other tribal group) ‘iwi’ and ‘hapū.’ Māori who voted in 1908 listed their full name, iwi, hapū, place of residence and gender on the Eastern, Western and Northern Māori Rolls. Hence, the Māori Electoral Rolls provide a subjective snapshot of Māori social organisation as at 1908.

Māori were entitled to vote by declaration and were not required to enrol until 1956. This explains why the roll is a list of those who voted rather than those who were registered as electors. Persons entitled to vote on the Māori Roll in 1908 had to be over the age of 21 years and had to have at least ‘half, or more, Māori blood.’ Māori with exactly half Māori blood were entitled to vote on either the Māori or European rolls.

The Western Māori Electoral Roll takes in, inter alia, the tribal districts of Waikato, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Raukawa ki Waikato and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga thus providing vital information on the traditional socio-political organisation of the Tainui ‘tribes’ in 1908. It is important to remember too that many Māori were still domiciled within their somewhat traditional tribal domains at that time, although significant tribal shifts are acknowledged in between two significant and turbulent ‘World’ wars for Māori – the Musket Wars (1805-1845) and the New Zealand Wars (1860-1880). Urbanisation moreover, occurred extensively following World War II (1939-1945), hence the current Māori diaspora throughout other parts of New Zealand and the rest of the world.

However, the 1908 Māori Electoral Rolls provide an interesting snapshot of iwi and hapū identities and their general locale at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century prior to the social upheaval of post-World War II urbanisation.

Still, one has to remember that following the raupatu grievance, Ngāti Apakura were dispersed among the rohe of their Maniapoto, Waikato, Tūwharetoa and other tribal kin and so were outside much of their traditional tribal rohe and were perhaps perceived as being integrated within these tribes.

The use of hapū lists in the current analysis may lead to questions and possible criticisms regarding this type of research methodology. Possible criticisms may include the accuracy of the information that was collected as well as the accuracy of information gathering procedures. In addition, one must be mindful of the purpose for which this information was collected and the accompanying motives of those gathering the data. It is possible that some Māori may have been influenced with a suggested list of iwi and hapū given while they voted, or were perhaps influenced by some of their own kinsfolk which needs to be explored further.

Interestingly, some members of the same whānau recorded different hapū. In a discussion with a kaumātua, it was mentioned that whānau members often recorded different hapū affiliations compared to their siblings in order to maintain the family's connections to all of their respective hapū and hapū resources.<sup>104</sup> Still, the 1908 Māori Electoral Roll provides an invaluable Māori self-identification list thus adding to the current discussion about the fluid and dynamic nature of Māori and Apakura socio-political organisation. Table 15 listed Apakura and some of its constituent groups as 'hapū' of Waikato in 1908.

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<sup>104</sup> This point was mentioned by a Ngāti Porou kaumātua to the researchers.





Given that Table 15 is a subjective self-identification list from the people rather than an objective Government list, it provides a more comprehensive list of Ngāti Apakura hapū ‘on the ground’ which includes at least 12 lucid Apakura hapū mentioned in previous tables (Apakura, Hinetu, Marotaua, Pareterakau, Puhiawe, Rahui, Rangimahora, Raparapa, Te Urukope, Tukemata, Waikohika and Waitapu).

What is interesting however is that the Apakura people in Table 15 referred to themselves as a hapū of the tribe Waikato. What is also interesting is that some Ngāti Apakura hapū (Hikairo and Rahui) were often referred to as hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto, while Hikairo was referred to as a hapū of Waikato and Tuwharetoa by a few Māori but in the main, Hikairo was referred to as a hapū of Maniapoto in the 1908 Māori Electoral Roll highlighting Robertson’s point that Ngāti Apakura had been scattered to the four winds and had lost their identity through absorption into other tribes.<sup>106</sup>

#### **Māori Electoral List 1949**

Another valuable self-identification iwi and hapū list was recorded in the 1949 Māori Electoral Roll. This list is particularly useful given that it provided the tribal and hapū affiliations of approximately 35,000 Māori adults. According to the 1951 Māori census, approximately three quarters of the adult Māori population were recorded in the 1949 Electoral Roll. Significantly, this list included the information from a generation of Māori who were commencing massive social upheaval caused by urbanisation and the general Māori diaspora. It is likely that this group would have been relatively domiciled within their tribal domains and somewhat familiar with their iwi and hapū affiliations. Again, Ngāti Apakura was subsumed as a Waikato hapū in the 1949 Māori Electoral Roll as illustrated in Table 16.

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<sup>106</sup> Supra, n. 100, Robertson, at 9.

**Hapū Table 16: Waikato ‘Hapū’ from the Māori Electoral Roll 1949<sup>107</sup>**

| Waikato Hapū         |                   |              |                    |                  |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Aaua                 | Kaiaua            | Maru         | Pou-Amaru          | Tarao            |
| Ahiwaru              | Kanawa            | Matakore     | Pourahui           | Taratikitiki     |
| Ahuru                | Kanohi            | Mataruahine  | Pou-Tarao          | Taratiti         |
| Amaru                | Kaputahi          | Matira       | Puehutore          | Tarawa           |
| <b>Apakura</b>       | Kaputuhi          | Miru         | <b>Puhiawe</b>     | Tauaiti          |
| <b>Apakura-Rahui</b> | Karewa            | Moana        | Pukauae            | Tawhaki          |
| Araukuku             | Karewa-Te Kura    | Moenoho      | Pukeko             | Te Ata           |
| Ata-Rahiri           | Kauwhata Ngako    | Moko         | Rahui              | Te Ata-Paretaua  |
| Hahu                 | KauwhataNgamuri   | Naenae       | Rangi              | Te Patu          |
| Hainatira            | Kawiti            | Naho         | <b>Rangimahora</b> | Te Pau           |
| Hangarau             | Kea               | Nako         | Rangimarama        | Te Uri o Tai     |
| Hape                 | Kirihika          | Ngaha        | Rangiwaharoa       | Te Uru           |
| Hapo                 | Kiriwai           | Ngaho        | Rangiwahitu        | Te Waha          |
| Hari                 | Kiwarangi         | Ngāiterangi  | <b>Raparapa</b>    | Te Wehi          |
| Haua                 | Koata             | Ngako        | Raukawa            | Te Wera          |
| Hawea                | Koheriki          | Ngamahana    | Reko               | Te Werekoko      |
| <b>Hikairo</b>       | Kohirihi          | Ngamuri      | Ringatahi          | Teika            |
| Hikairo-Horotakere   | Kohua             | Ngatapa      | Ruanui             | Tipa             |
| Hikairo-Te Mihinga   | Koroki            | Ngawaero     | Ruru               | Tonganui         |
| Hine                 | Koroki Tukorehe   | Ngutu        | Tahi               | Tourua           |
| Hinehape             | Koroki-Hua        | Noho         | Tahinga            | <b>Tu</b>        |
| Hinemutu             | Koroki-Kahukura   | Ono          | Tahiwaru           | Tukorehe         |
| Hinepare             | KorokiPukauae     | Oro          | Tahora             | Ueroa-Kahukura   |
| Hine-Pou             | Koroki-Ueroa      | Oro-Kahukura | Tahunga-Te Ika     | Ui               |
| Hinerangi            | Kotara            | Oro-Waihoru  | Tai                | Urikaraka        |
| Hinerongo            | Kounga            | Pa           | Tainui             | Waenganui        |
| <b>Hinetu</b>        | Kowhatu           | Pakanae      | Tainui-Hounuku     | Wairere          |
| Hinga                | Kura              | Pakura       | Tainui-Mahuta      | Wai              |
| Hora                 | Kura-Tahinga      | Paoa         | Tainui-Tamainu     | Waihoru          |
| Horotakere           | Mahaka            | Papapapa     | Tainui-Tipa        | <b>Waikohika</b> |
| Hounuku              | Mahanga           | Paratai      | Takihiku           | Waiohua          |
| Hourua               | Mahanga-Hourua    | <b>Pare</b>  | Tamainu            | Wairere          |
| Hourua-Whare         | Mahuta            | Parekino     | Tamainupo          | WairereTamaoho   |
| Hua                  | Mahuta-Hikairo    | Pare-Tahinga | Tamainupo-Kinohaku | Wehi-Taupiri     |
| Huakatoa             | Mahuta-Huiarangi  | Paretaua     | Tamainupo-Kotara   | Werewere         |
| Huaki                | Mahuta-Kawiti     | Paretekawa   | Tamaki             | Werokoko         |
| Huanui               | Mahuta-Po         | Pareua       | Tamaoho            | Whaene           |
| Huerangi             | Mahuta-Pou        | Pareue       | Tamatera           | Whakamaru        |
| Hui                  | Mahuta-Rangitaka  | Patupo       | Tamatira           | WhakamaruRangi   |
| Ika                  | Mahuta-Tai        | Pawa         | Tanewai            | Whānaunga        |
| Kahu                 | Mahuta-Te Kiriwai | Pehikeria    | Tangaroawhai       | Whangaparaoa     |
| Kahukoka             | Makirangi         | Pekeria      | Tangata            | Whare            |
| Kahukura             | Makirangi-Pawa    | Po           | Tangowahine        | Whatua           |
| Kahukura-Tipa        | Maniapoto         | Poa          | Taramatau          | Whauroa          |
| KahukuraUeroa        | Marae             | Pou          | Taramatua          | Whawhakia        |
| Kahuone              | <b>Marotaua</b>   |              |                    |                  |

Total Waikato Hapū = 227

<sup>107</sup> Mako, C *Nga Iwi Me Nga Hapu i te Tau 1949: An Analysis of the Tribal and Sub-Tribal Affiliations of 1949 Māori Electors* (Working Paper, Wellington: Department of Māori Affairs, 1989) at 75.

At least eight Waikato hapū from Table 16 are actually Ngāti Apakura hapū that have been listed in previous Apakura tables – Apakura, Hikairo, Hinetu, Marotaua, Puhiaawe, Rangimahora, Raparapa and Waikohika. There is possible scope for three other Apakura hapū in abbreviated form – Kiri – Kirihihi or Kiriwai, Pare – Pareterakau and Tu – Tukemata. But as mentioned earlier, similar issues exist in terms of the method and questionnaire for listing one's iwi and hapū which need to be examined in more detail.

#### **Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement 1995 Complicates Matters Further**

The Waikato raupatu claim was finally settled in 1995 pursuant to the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 (WRCSA). As part of the settlement, Waikato-Tainui had to list its constituent hapū which was an interesting process in identity politics. The constituent hapū were compiled from the hapū list of the 1946 Waikato-Maniapoto Claims Settlement in 1946. The following tables show the names of Waikato hapū and some Ngāti Apakura hapū of Waikato and Maniapoto at times that were officially listed between this period of 1946 to 1995 and up to 2012 to further illustrate some of the identity shifts and complexities within Ngāti Apakura tribal groupings.

It is important to note here another shift in tribal identity from Waikato to Waikato-Tainui or Tainui as an iwi which needs to be acknowledged and explored further. Tainui were previously regarded as the waka but here it appears to refer to an iwi perhaps to unite the diverse Tainui socio-political groupings of Waikato, Maniapoto, Apakura, Raukawa and Hauā for political purposes – to settle the raupatu grievance highlighting again the fluid, situational and fundamentally political nature of Māori tribal identity.

The 33 hapū comprising the former 'Tainui' Māori Trust Board (TMTB) were named as the 'hapū of Waikato' in the first schedule to the Rules of Te Kauhanganui o Waikato Incorporated, the new governance entity for Waikato to manage the returned settlement assets in 1999:

**Hapū Table 17: The ‘33’ Waikato Raupatu Settlement Constituent Hapū 1995<sup>108</sup>**

| <b>Waikato Raupatu Constituent Hapū 1995</b> |                        |                      |              |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Amaru                                        | Mahuta (North & South) | Ngāitai              | Taratikitiki |
| <b>Apakura</b>                               | Makirangi              | Raukawa ki Panehakua | Te Ata       |
| Haua                                         | Ngutu                  | Ruru                 | Te Akitai    |
| <b>Hikairo</b>                               | Naho                   | Tahinga              | Te Wehi      |
| Hine                                         | Paretaua               | Tai                  | Tipa         |
| Koheriki                                     | Paretekawa             | Tainui-a-Whiro       | Wairere      |
| Koroki                                       | Pou                    | Tamainupo            | Werokoko     |
| Kuiarangi                                    | <b>Puhiawe</b>         | Tamaoho              | Whawhakia    |
| Mahanga                                      |                        |                      |              |

Total Hapū = 33

At least three Apakura hapū are listed in Table 17 above – Apakura, Hikairo and Puhiawe. Ngāti Hine (Hinetu) and Raukawa ki Panehakua are other possible Apakura hapū within the WRCSA constituent hapū. A detailed analysis of the development of these constituent hapū of Waikato-Tainui is required to analyse the place of Ngāti Apakura as an iwi vis-à-vis the WRCSA.

#### **Tainui Māori Trust Board Hapū List 1946**

In 1946, the New Zealand Government partly settled the protracted raupatu grievance pursuant to the Waikato Maniapoto Māori Claims Settlement Act 1946 (WMMCSA). A prerequisite for settlement was the need to establish a trust board to administer the compensation funds received, hence the Tainui Māori Trust Board (TMTB). The WMMCSA used both the names of Waikato and Maniapoto because of their traditional origins in the Tainui waka<sup>109</sup> and because Princess Te Puea (niece of King Mahuta) favoured the option to enable the TMTB to consolidate her welfare schemes.<sup>110</sup> In addition, the WMMCSA identified ‘Tainui’ as comprising the named hapū that allegedly suffered from the raupatu confiscations.<sup>111</sup> This is where *the* 33 hapū of Waikato, according to Mahuta, allegedly originated albeit in a complex and disputed manner. The ‘Waikato Māori Claims Settlement Bill’ (forerunner to the WMMCSA) originally defined the ‘Tainui Tribes’ as:

<sup>108</sup> Idem.

<sup>109</sup> New Zealand, *NZPD 1946* (Vol. 275, Government Printer, Wellington, 1946) at 181.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, at 180, 183, 313.

<sup>111</sup> Cheater, A & Hopa, N, ‘Representing Identity’ in James, A, Dawson, A & Hockey, J (eds) *After Writing Culture* (Routledge, London, 1997) at 212, 220.

The Tainui tribes or sections of the Tainui tribes who were formerly the owners, according to Māori custom, of the areas of land in the Waikato District which were affected by the confiscations referred to in the preamble to this Act ... and includes their descendants.<sup>112</sup>

Tainui scholar, Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones forwarded a letter commenting on this provision of the Bill to the Minister of Māori Affairs recommending that the Tainui ‘tribes’ be amended as the ‘Tainui tribes of the Waikato, Raglan, Tāmaki, Waipā and Pūniu districts whose lands were confiscated as hereinbefore mentioned in the preamble of this Act.’<sup>113</sup>

#### Gazette Hapū List 1947

Interestingly, the WMMCSA actually commenced with 30 hapū in 1947 that were listed in the *New Zealand Gazette* of that year as shown in Table 18 below.

**Hapū Table 18: Waikato Constituent Hapū 1947 as Listed for the WMMCSA<sup>114</sup>**

| Waikato Constituent Hapū 1947 |                       |              |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Akitai                        | Naho                  | Tamainupo    |
| Amaru                         | Ngāitai               | Tamaoho      |
| <b>Apakura</b>                | Ngutu                 | Taratikitiki |
| Hine                          | Paretekawa            | Te Ata       |
| Koheriki                      | Pou                   | Te Wehi      |
| Koroki                        | Raukawa-ki-Panehakura | Te Werokoko  |
| Kuiarangi                     | Ruru                  | Tipa         |
| Mahanga                       | Tahinga               | Wairere      |
| Mahuta (North & South)        | Tai                   | Werewere     |
| Makirangi                     | Tainui                | Whawhakia    |

Total Hapū = 30

Interestingly, in 6 May 1946 a faction led by Aupouri Whitinui and three others wrote to Mason, the Native Minister, protesting against the choice of the TMTB’s representatives. The group traced their descent from Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Marotaua and stated that they preferred to select their hapū representatives themselves.<sup>115</sup> Interestingly, Ngāti Marotaua was neither included amongR the Waikato constituent hapū lists in the

<sup>112</sup> ‘Waikato Māori Claims Settlement Bill’ in *Raupatu Document Bank (RDB)*, Vol 58 at 22204-22205; 22167-8.

<sup>113</sup> Letter to the Native Minister from Pei Jones, 30 May 1946, *RDB* Vol. 58 at 22200-2220.

<sup>114</sup> New Zealand Government *The New Zealand Gazette* 1947 (No. 30, Government Printer, Wellington, 1947) at 710.

<sup>115</sup> Native Minister from Aupouri Whitinui and three others, 6 May 1946, *RDB* (Vol. 58) at 22165.

WMMCSA of 1947 and 1948 nor was it included in the WRCSA 1995. Furthermore, these Apakura leaders wanted to select their own representatives suggesting that they may have viewed themselves as an iwi in their own right and not as part of the Waikato-Tainui tribal group.

In 1947 however, Ngāti Werewere was omitted from the TMTB's constituent hapū and Ngāti Hauā as well as Ngāti Hikairo, Paretaua and Puhiawe were added.<sup>116</sup> In addition, Panehakua was spelt correctly from the misspelled Ngāti Raukawa-ki-Panehakura. One can already see a pattern emerging of changing Waikato and Apakura identity. The very act of making lists has these effects. The WMMCSA legislation prescribed Waikato hapū as those that suffered from the raupatu whose lands were within the arbitrary raupatu boundary. Such a legal prescription was an arbitrary identity marker antithetical to traditional Māori identity. As mentioned earlier, traditional Māori identity was fluid, dynamic, and multiple and adaptable, it was not static and compartmental as was the case here.

Hence it appears that the process of listing *the* 33 hapū of Waikato-Tainui was a manifestation of the construction and reification of 'traditional' Waikato hapū identity that was subsequently legitimated and institutionalised through legislative social engineering. In addition, through the WMMCSA the term 'Tainui,' which up to that point had identified a waka (i.e. a group of iwi stemming from crew of a colonising ship) was used as an 'iwi' name. The following information (Table 19) shows the 1948 constituent hapū for Waikato which later formed the basis of the 1995 Waikato Raupatu Settlement hapū which included Apakura hapū.

**Hapū Table 19: Waikato Constituent Hapū 1948<sup>117</sup>**

| Waikato Constituent Hapū 1948 |                        |                                    |              |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Amaru                         | Mahuta (North & South) | <b>Puhiawe</b>                     | Taratikitiki |
| <b>Apakura</b>                | Makirangi              | <b>Raukawa ki Panehaku<u>a</u></b> | Te Akitai    |
| Haua                          | Naho                   | Ruru                               | Te Ata       |
| <b>Hikairo</b>                | Ngāitai                | Tahinga                            | Te Wehi      |
| Hine                          | Ngutu                  | Tai                                | Tipa         |
| Koheriki                      | Paretaua               | Tainui                             | Wairere      |
| Koroki                        | Paretekawa             | Tamainupo                          | Werokoko     |
| Kuiarangi                     | Pou                    | Tamaoho                            | Whawhakia    |
| Mahanga                       |                        |                                    |              |

Total Hapū = 33

<sup>116</sup> New Zealand Government *The New Zealand Gazette* 1948 (No. 41, Wellington: Government Printer, Wellington) at 906-7.

<sup>117</sup> Idem.

An important note regarding the Table 16 tribal list in contrast to Tables 17-19 is that the Waikato-Maniapoto Settlement and the discussions surrounding the Waikato hapū (that eventuated in the current 33 Raupatu hapū in Table 17) occurred between the years 1946-1948. The Waikato hapū list in Table 16 was compiled in 1949, one year later, and shows a considerable discrepancy in the names and number of Waikato and Apakura hapū. In 1949, the Māori Electoral Roll recorded over 200 Waikato hapū as identified by the ‘people on the ground’ whereas only 30 hapū were identified by the WMMCSA in 1947 and 33 in 1948. There appears to have been at this time, therefore, a large hiatus between the views of Government and official Waikato leadership on the one hand, and the grass roots people on the other, at least in terms of hapū identity and ontological social organisation.

Tom Roa quoted the late and esteemed Ngāti Apakura rangatira Henare Tuwhangai as asserting: ‘Ngāti Apakura is a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto.’<sup>118</sup> Tom Roa responded however that: ‘Apakura were a faithful iwi, they were not just a mere hapū. At that time during the wars [the Waikato Wars], they were an iwi.’<sup>119</sup>

As an appropriate final word on Apakura whakapapa then, Tom Roa asked a very poignant question to Ngāti Maniapoto and others at a hui in 2010:

Tēnei te whakapapa ko wai o tātou o Ngāti Maniapoto ehara 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.<sup>120</sup>

Most if not all within Maniapoto and Waikato share Ngāti Apakura whakapapa as well. Given the propensity for iwi and hapū such as Maniapoto, Waikato, Hikairo, and others with overlapping and competing claims for Ngāti Apakura lands, resources (mana whenua) and mana tangata to contest whether Apakura is an iwi or hapū, Tom Roa correctly asserted: ‘suffice to say we are all kin ... and it is impossible to separate and individualise.’<sup>121</sup>

## Summary

Over the past century and a half, hapū and iwi identities within Waikato (and likely within Māoridom) have changed with processes of hapū formation, amalgamation and

<sup>118</sup> Tom Roa, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 216.

<sup>119</sup> Idem.

<sup>120</sup> Idem.

<sup>121</sup> Tom Roa, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Te Tokanganui-a-noho Marae, Te Kuiti, 9-11 June 2010) at 242.



disappearance being very active, concurrently with perceived iwi change that has legislatively (in a Waikato and Apakura context) converted, ossified and compartmentalised 33 hapū into *the* exclusive ‘Waikato tribes.’

The considerable change in the perception, socio-political organisation, and names and numbers of Ngāti Apakura as an iwi and hapū over 150 years or so highlights again the dynamic and fluid nature of Waikato hapū and Apakura identity. It appears that at times Ngāti Apakura was an iwi in its own right with at least five but sometimes 17 hapū (including Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Hinetu at times), while at other times; it was perceived to be either a hapū of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto. Referring to Waikato identity generally and Apakura tribal identity specifically, it appears that one among numerous results of the colonial process was and perhaps continues to be the over-simplification of a complex reality in terms of Apakura identity and constituent hapū. But one point is clear, Ngāti Apakura were a very strong and vibrant iwi with their own hapū before Rangiaowhia and Orākau in 1864. It is apparent to the researchers that many individuals, whānau and hapū have struggled to uphold their Apakura identity up until the present day.

Hazel Wander perhaps captured the legal-political issue of trying to clearly define Ngāti Apakura tribal identity when she articulated:

We went from one map to having some land, and being burnt, to the next map, where we have disappeared, and so our claim, our raru is about our loss, our loss of land, our loss of identity. We had gone off the map. ... And one of her [my mother's] really deep mamae's was that she could not identify herself. The statistics and all of those census things, they have changed – they have changed, and we are no longer represented there. This is one of our claims, is to claim our identity and to say who we are – our whakapapa, and that we are here and we are alive.<sup>122</sup>

Rahera Hawke added:

How do we say to our tamariki, there is a place for you to stand when the map is changed? How do I teach my children - “Your nanny had her own iwi? She had – they came from an iwi, not some little hapū that was so small they could take it off the map.” The effects are on-going.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Hazel Coromandal-Wander, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 190.

<sup>123</sup> Rahera Hawke, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 191-192.

Similar challenges emerge with attempting to precisely define and map out Ngāti Apakura's traditional tribal takiwā or rohe boundaries or spheres of influence.

### 3) NGĀTI APAKURA ROHE

#### Ngāti Apakura Tribal Territory

Outlining clear tribal boundaries is fraught with numerous challenges given that Māori identity and tribal affiliations and associated tribal boundaries are complex, fluid and political. Māori society was not traditionally, and is not contemporaneously, precise, clear and unambiguous. In an insightful study into 'Māori land boundaries' for example, Lyndsey Head illustrates traditional Māori descriptions of land in terms of names and landmarks that expressed an intimacy with the history of their relationship with their territory.<sup>124</sup> For example, the Tainui rohe was broadly conveyed by the pepeha (maxim):

Ko Mōkau ki runga  
Ko Tāmaki ki raro  
Ko Mangatoatoa ki waenganui.  
Pare Hauraki, Pare Waikato  
Te Kaokaoroa-o-Pātetere.  
Ki te Nehenehenui

Mōkau is above  
Tāmaki is below  
Mangatoatoa is between.  
The boundaries of Hauraki, the boundaries of Waikato  
To the place called 'the long armpit of Pātetere – the sheltering bastion of Raukawa'  
To the Great Forest - Waipā.

This pepeha in part retells the story of Maniapoto's son, Te Kawairangi, who journeyed north to the great pā Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) in the present-day Auckland district. There he married the twins Mārei and Māroa. Te Kawairangi was treacherously killed in Tāmaki, as was his son Rungaterangi in the Mōkau district to the south:

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<sup>124</sup> Head, L.F. 'Māori Understanding of the Impact of Crown Purchase, Native Reserve and Crown Grant Negotiations on Customary Land Rights.' (Report, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1992).

Ka hinga a Te Kawa ki Tamaki, ka hinga a Runga te Rangi ki Mōkau. Ka waiho i konei ko te whakatauki: 'Mōkau ki runga, Tamaki ki raro.'<sup>125</sup>

Māori scholar Hari Hongi noted that 'history was regularly related by father and grandfather to son and grandson. Few youths remained ignorant of the facts relating to their boundaries, nothing being too minute for the record.'<sup>126</sup> Judge Rawson of the Native Land Court commented that there was 'not an inch of land in the Islands which is not claimed, not a hill, nor valley, stream or forest, which has not a name.'<sup>127</sup>

The confusing effects of European legal requirements for absolute accuracy and certainty in land description under the Torrens system and for Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes however, have had a major malign impact on the delineation of tribal boundaries. This was evident in the workings of the Native Land Court and other early Commissions of Inquiry. Many Māori witnesses before such bodies voiced their frustration with the need for such definitive boundaries. For example, one Māori witness, Te Ngakau before the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Claims Commission responded when questioned whether there was a division between the relevant hapū:

I heard that you had divided the land- that is the Europeans... Maungatautari belonged to all these hapūs. Since you white men came it has been divided. I did not agree to them. I say the land was common property of ours. There are no divisions, either into blocks or hapū lands.<sup>128</sup>

In a similar manner, Hote Tamihana of Ngāti Hauā and grandson of Te Waharoa, made an accurate statement in the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Commission:

When the Pākehā system prevailed came the confusion. ... The Pākehā customs have divided us.<sup>129</sup>

Ngatoko Kupe of Ngāti Taiwa, a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto, offered these instructive words to the Native Land Court during the course of a discussion into the boundaries of Otorohanga:

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<sup>125</sup> He mea tango mai ēnei kōrero i te roanga ake o nga kōrero a Pahiri Wiari i te *Toa Takitini* (Nama 53, Tihema 1925. Whārangi 340.

<sup>126</sup> Hongi, Hari 'Maori Land Rights, Marriage Customs, Kinship,' (Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-5717, (n.d)).

<sup>127</sup> Judge Rawson's 'Treatise on Native Land Law', (National Archives MA 16/3).

<sup>128</sup> Evidence given 16 February 1881, 'Ngati Kauwhata Commission of Inquiry', AJHR, G-2A, p. 29.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, at 18.

According to Māori custom after a rohe is laid down, people may cross the rohe and occupy the other side providing they do not so in an aggressive spirit, that would not affect the validation of the rohe laid down.<sup>130</sup>

Unlike British and European concepts of property and borders which are exclusive and jealously patrolled, Māori concepts of property were fluid, practical and were more about respectful relationships between groups rather than keeping people out.

Mead contended that in the nineteenth century, boundaries became maps. Other contemporary commentators have recognised the unhelpfulness of stringent geographical boundary lines. It is widely accepted that Māori identified themselves individually by more than one hapū. Alan Ward, a leading Treaty Claims historian, commented in this regard:

The flux of migration, shifts of local residence and inter-hapū marriage, together with the acceptance (or rejection) of the mana of senior non-resident chiefs, meant that the boundaries of hapū and hapū clusters, and hence the limits of their land, were not immutable.<sup>131</sup>

Ward concluded that this complex and somewhat flexible arrangement makes the search for neat continuous boundaries and neat hierarchies of authority inappropriate. Ward did concede however, that descent from founding ancestors imposed ‘some shape and definition to the complexity, and whakapapa established some sense of priority in claims’, although such claims were intermingled and overlapping with others.<sup>132</sup>

### **Whenua Tautohetohe**

It is important to discuss here the pitfalls of attempting to stringently define and delineate tribal boundaries for legal description, particularly among those areas bordering neighbouring tribes. Professor Hirini Mead, in a paper prepared as part of a report presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in support of Ngāti Awa’s claim,<sup>133</sup> outlined the basic idea of contested land or what he termed ‘whenua tautohetohe’ which may be a useful concept in understanding those areas bordering between tribes.<sup>134</sup> Mead argued that there were zones of contested land lying between iwi groups that were characteristically rich in resources and exploited by both sides and that it was difficult to fix a boundary within the zone:

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<sup>130</sup> ‘Otorohanga Block’, *Otorohanga Minute Book* (Maniapoto District, No. 4, 25/7/1888) at 185.

<sup>131</sup> Ward, Alan, *Whanganui ki Maniapoto* (Preliminary Historical Report, Waitangi Tribunal, 1992) at 10.

<sup>132</sup> Idem.

<sup>133</sup> The paper is reproduced in his collection of essays in Mead, S. M., *Landmarks, Bridges and Visions: Aspects of Maori Culture: Essays*, (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1997) at 238.

<sup>134</sup> Idem.

As military strength fluctuates, so did the boundary, so there was always the element of contestability in land zones regarded as whenua tautohetohe.<sup>135</sup>

Mead continued by explaining that the concept of whenua tautohetohe:

... embraces the idea that the boundary between tribal territories is not so much like a surveyed line, although a line may exist, but rather is like a band of land which may be likened to a zone of no-man's-land.<sup>136</sup>

In 1890, a collection of papers offering various opinions on Native Tenure was published in Appendices to the House of Representatives. Included in the collection was the opinion of Chief Justice Sir William Martin who described the term 'kāinga tautohe' which he translated as 'debated lands':

But between territories of different tribes there are often tracts of land which are called "kainga tautohe" or (literally) debatable lands.<sup>137</sup>

Mead concluded that Martin's notion of 'kāinga tautohe' is the same idea as 'whenua tautohetohe'. The early Māori scholar Hari Hongi (Henry Mathew Stowell) also supported the notion of 'debatable lands' when he conceded: 'There were, it is true, debatable lands lying contiguous to certain boundaries'<sup>138</sup> but as Mead rightly pointed out, some parts of the boundary are likely to be more 'debatable' than others.<sup>139</sup>

What these whenua tautohetohe areas were not however, was a 'no mans' land which is how local historian Dr J. B. W. Robertson described the land between the Pūniu River and the Mangapiko Stream.<sup>140</sup> Mead later conceded himself that such a notion was not generally applicable:

It is not wise to describe the zone as 'no-man's land' as this gives a wrong impression. It is not an area of land that belongs to no one. At any one time some Iwi has political and military control over some or all the land. And while the period of dispute might continue for decades, eventually a resolution is worked out, a peace agreement is negotiated and ratified, and stability reigns in that part of the land.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid, at 238.

<sup>136</sup> Idem.

<sup>137</sup> 'Opinions of Various Authorities on Native Tenure', *AJHR*, 1890, G.-1, at 3.

<sup>138</sup> Hongi, Hari 'Maori Land Rights, Marriage Customs, Kinship,' (Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-5717, (n.d)).

<sup>139</sup> Supra, n 131, Mead, at 236.

<sup>140</sup> J. B. W. Robertson, 'Maori Settlement Pattern of the Te Awamutu Region (1800-1850)', *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, (No. 1, June 1975) at 3.

<sup>141</sup> Supra, n. 131, Mead, at 240.

Furthermore, Moana Jackson added a Kahungunu view of passageways:

In Ngāti Kahungunu a notion of kauhanga or ‘passageways’ developed as the means to facilitate access by others on approved and negotiated terms. In certain circumstances access or use rights might therefore be granted to others with whom Iwi sought a relationship, while in other cases they might be developed in new ways without diminishing the mana or integrity of the tūpuna title itself.<sup>142</sup>

#### **Gorst’s Ousting from Te Awamutu and Whenua Tautohetohe**

The rohe of Ngāti Apakura in places appears to be a kauhanga and whenua tautohetohe. Indeed, when John Gorst was being ousted out of Te Awamutu in 1863, it polarised Ngāti Apakura and Waikato against their Ngāti Maniapoto relations. Gorst held that one reason for the heated arguments that followed Rewi’s taking the printing press and other equipment of Gorst at Te Awamutu was because the area was whenua tautohetohe:

It must not be forgotten that Te Awamutu was a debated territory, claimed by both Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto. This was the chief reason why so decided a stand was taken against Rewi [when he ousted Gorst from Te Awamutu].<sup>143</sup>

Once Gorst finally returned to the office in the evening, Ngāti Maniapoto told him unless he consented to go in the morning, he would be shot. Early the next morning, a Ngāti Apakura herald arrived to announce that Ngāti Apakura was on its ways to judge Ngāti Maniapoto. Hoani Pāpita’s word was ‘We have been treated like slaves by Ngāti Maniapoto.’<sup>144</sup>

Interestingly, the Apakura herald after making a speech and singing a warlike song in the road went into a garden and Aporo of Ngāti Maniapoto ordered him to leave. The Apakura herald replied: ‘Is this your place, O Aporo? No, it is ours; it is for us to spoil our own place. You have treated us like slaves.’<sup>145</sup>

What followed was a hui among Maniapoto and Apakura rangatira to decide this situation. Hoani Pāpita, Ti Oriori and Taati from Apakura; Rewi and Wharetini from Maniapoto and others gathered and sat down on the public road. Ngāti Apakura expressed indignation at Rewi’s unwarranted violence especially in carrying these actions on Ngāti Apakura’s lands. Rewi responded that he was carrying out measures for the common good to oust the Governor’s office sent among them to do the work of Satan. Rewi added that he was

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<sup>142</sup> Jackson, M, Correspondence with Researchers, 2012.

<sup>143</sup> Gorst, J *The Māori King or the Story of Our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand* (MacMillan & Co, London, 1864) at 343.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, at 342.

<sup>145</sup> Idem.

tired of waiting and negotiating and was determined to act and so the Governor's office should be removed.<sup>146</sup>

What transpired next was condemnation by King Tawhiao over what happened and another hui at Rangiaowhia was convened which included Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa, Ti Oriori and others. At the hui, the Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hauā rangatira unanimously condemned Rewi Maniapoto and Wi Karamoa of Ngāti Apakura and they rode to Kihikihi to protest. Rewi eventually consented to restore the press and pay for the damage done but he refused to budge on the question of expelling the Governor's office. Eventually, Waharoa told Gorst that he must go as did King Tawhiao. Consequently, Gorst left Te Awamutu reluctantly.<sup>147</sup>

In a similar spirited approach, all of the boundaries surrounding the Rohe Pōtae have been highly contested and negotiated with some form of resolution being worked out. However, every Rohe Pōtae border continues to be challenged today and requires urgent analyses. The next section will explore the various whenua tautohetohe around the Rohe Pōtae in the north which is in part contested as being Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato territory.

### **Tainui Territory**

The tribes of waka usually occupied contiguous territory such as Tainui in the Waikato Basin, Hauraki in the Coromandal, Raukawa in the lower Waikato, and Maniapoto in the south. The famous Tainui aphorism below sets out the traditional boundaries of this ideological confederation as illustrated in Maps 7 to 10 below:

Ko Mōkau ki runga, ko Tāmaki ki raro,  
Ko Mangatoatoa ki waenganui;  
Ko Pare Hauraki, ko Pare Waikato,  
Ko Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere  
Ki Te Nehenehenui.

From Mōkau in the south,  
To Tāmaki – Auckland – in the north,  
Mangatoatoa – Tokanui centre wise  
Hauraki to the east,  
Waikato to the west,  
And the sheltering bastion of Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere – Raukawa  
To Te Nehenehenui – the Great Forest of the Waipa.

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid at 343-344.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid at 350-351.

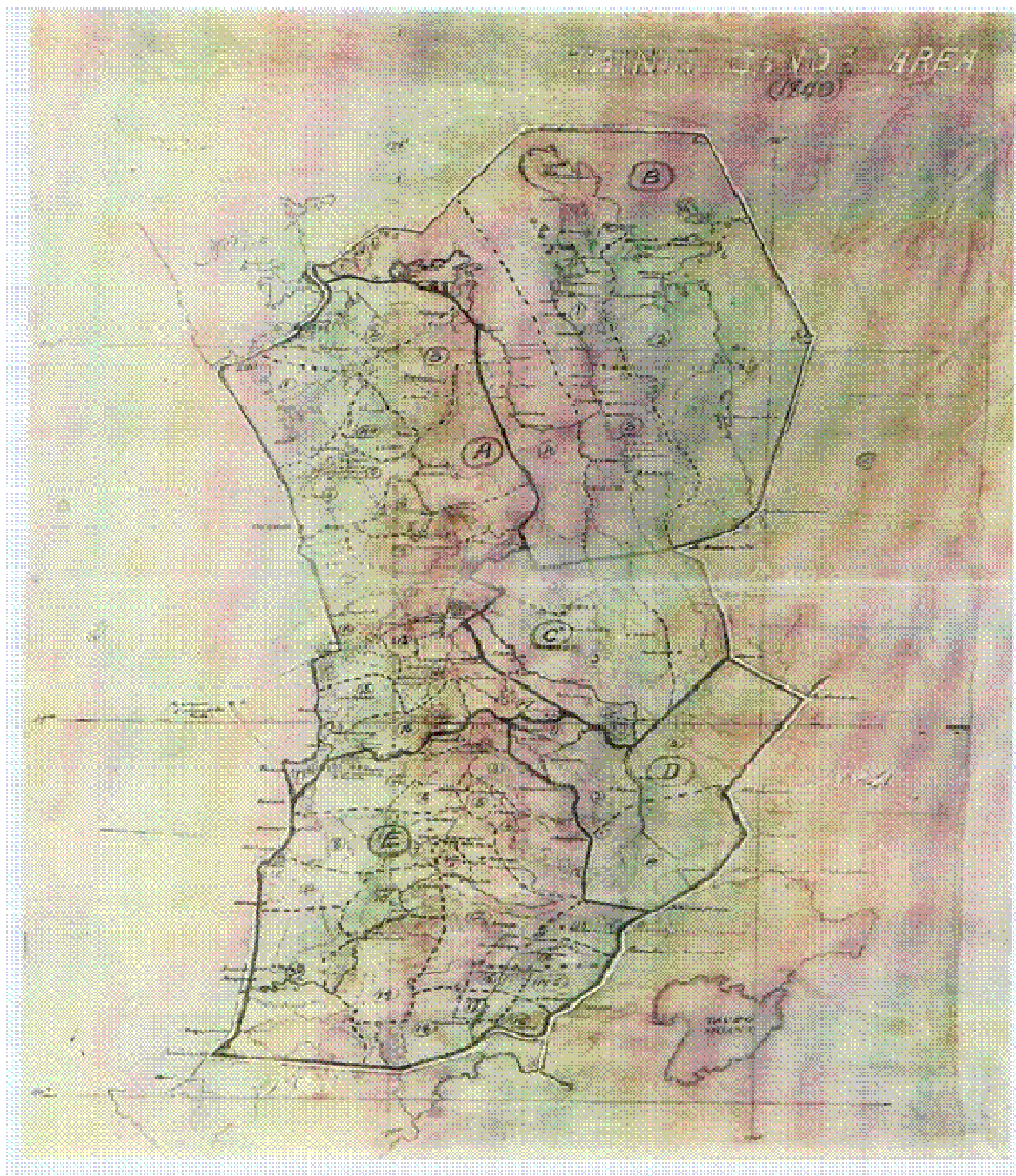
**Map 7: Tainui Waka Tribal Territory<sup>148</sup>**

Map 7 above shows the boundaries of the Tainui tribes. However, the clearness of these perceived boundaries is misleading. A key challenge of the Tainui tribal boundaries from Map 7 is that the tribal boundaries and areas of influence are like Māori identity and tribal affiliations – fluid and political. To illustrate the point, Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones listed the Tainui tribal boundaries as at 1840 in Map 8 and its accompanying Key Map 9 below:

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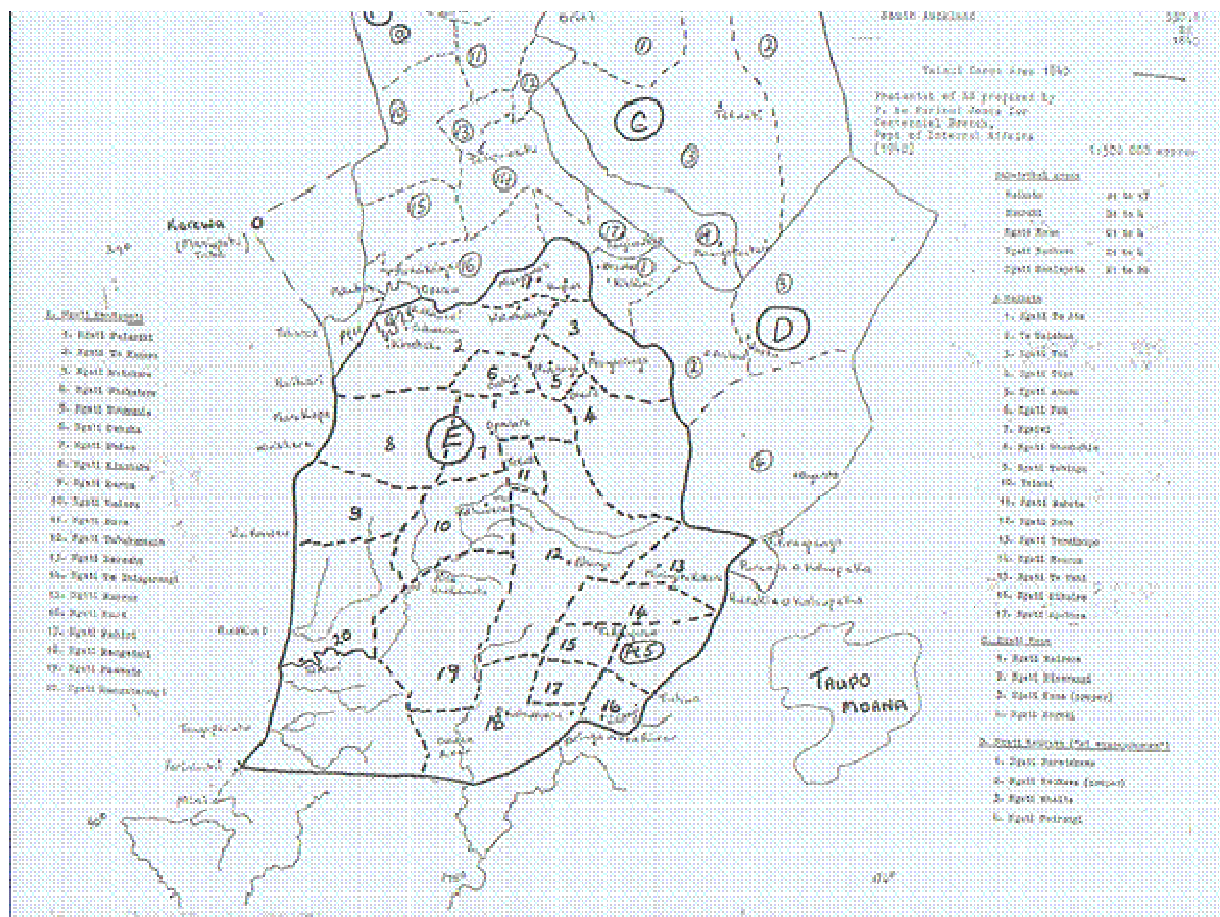
<sup>148</sup> Map 1 comes from the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, Kīngitanga Centenary Report, 1998.





Map 8: Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones' Tainui Tribal Map 1840<sup>149</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Jones, P T 'Tainui Canoe Area 1840' (Unpublished Map, Photostat of MS prepared by Pei Te Hurinui Jones for Centennial Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940).



Map 9: Key to Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones' Tainui Tribal Map 1840<sup>150</sup>

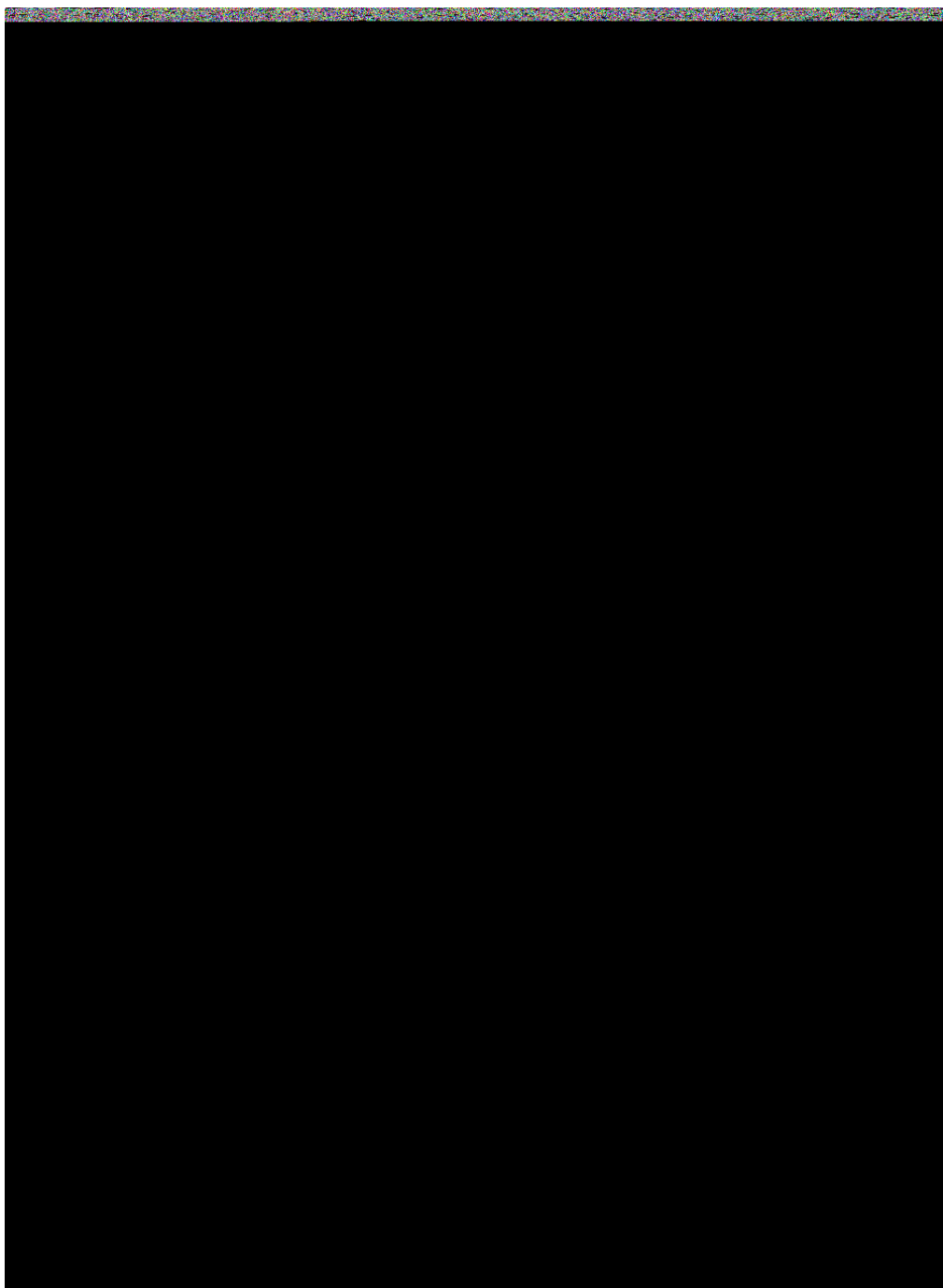
Dr Jones drafted Map 8 and its accompanying key Map 9 above in 1940 on the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Dr Jones outlines the Ngāti Apakura boundaries in Maps 8 and 9 above in the area listed “E-17” which is still quite ambiguous.

Many current Apakura hapū would most likely take issue with Dr Jones' hapū lists and boundaries in Maps 8 and 9 above because (among other reasons) some traditional Apakura hapū have been excluded from Dr Jones' list and boundaries on his map. Dr Jones listed Ngāti Apakura as a sub-tribe of Waikato as at 1840. However, Ngāti Apakura was listed as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto in 1949<sup>151</sup> and 2005.<sup>152</sup> Given the disparity in names and number of Ngāti Apakura identity as an iwi or hapū, there will commensurately follow similar disparities in tribal boundaries and spheres of tribal interest.

<sup>150</sup> Idem.

<sup>151</sup> Supra, n. 106, Mako, at 36-38.

<sup>152</sup> Maniapoto Maori Trust Board, 'Tribal Registration Form' (Maniapoto Maori Trust Board, Level 1, NZ Post Building, 123 Rora Street, PO Box 36, Te Kuiti, 2005) at 2.



**Map 10: Tainui Tribal Boundary Map**<sup>153</sup>

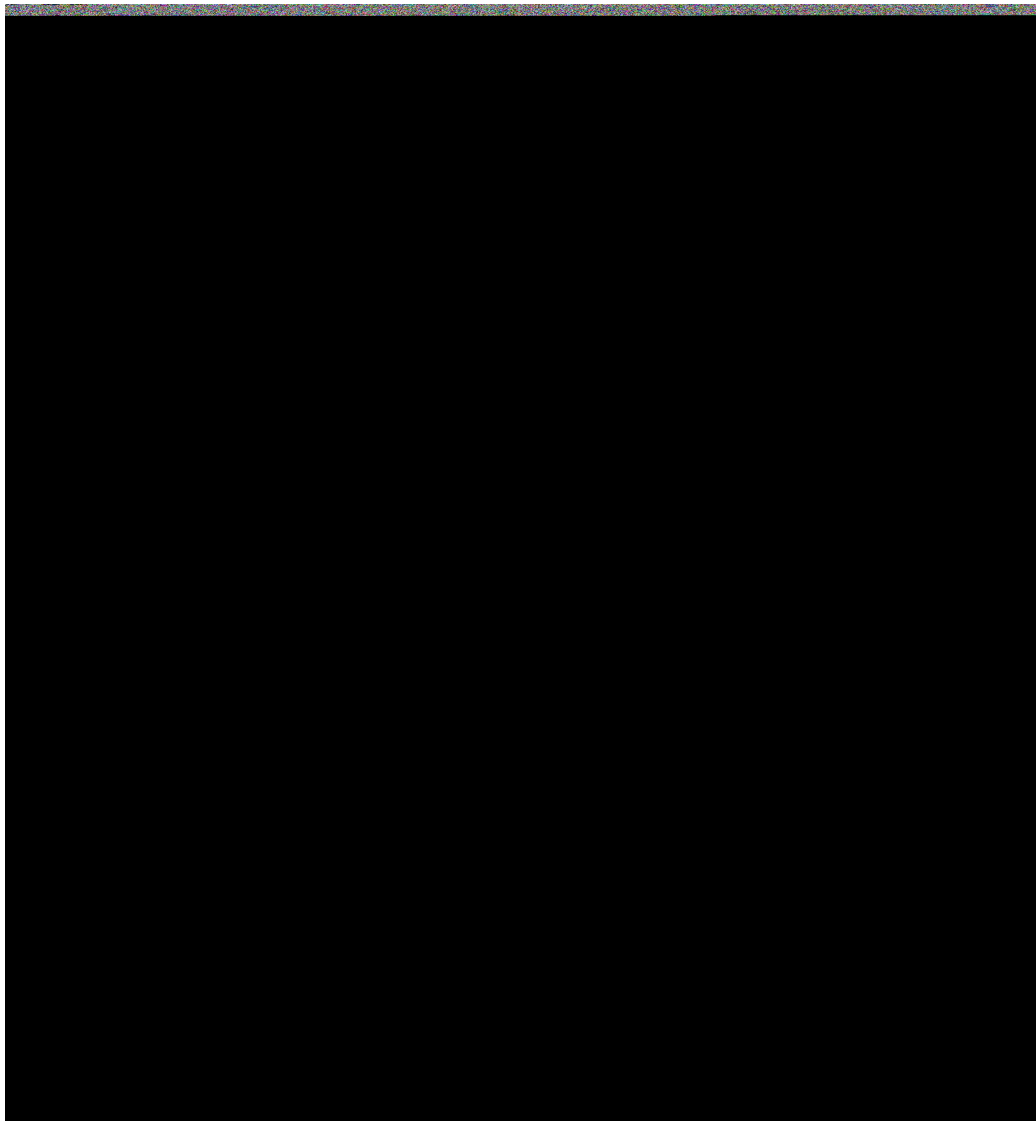
Furthermore, like tribal names and numbers, tribal boundaries are fluid and situational and, as is the case with Māori challenges generally, identifying clear cut tribal boundaries is a misnomer and a simplified version of a complex reality. It appears to the research team that Ngāti Apakura tribal geographical boundaries are not clear cut lines on a map but more shared zones of influence between whānau, hapū and even other iwi. Stokes' map 10 above

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<sup>153</sup> Stokes, E 'Representation' in Stokes, E *Bicultural Methodology and Consultative Processes in Research: A Discussion Paper* (Hamilton: Department of Geography, University of Waikato, 1998) at 36.

for example shows Ngāti Apakura spheres of influence as being along the Mangapiko and Waipā Rivers and bordering with Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Korokī and Ngāti Hourua with unclear lines between the tribes highlighting again the fluid nature of Māori property rights. Land boundaries appeared to be more shared zones between tribes rather than clearly demarcated lines.

Leslie Kelly provided a map in 1959 of the Tainui tribal boundaries, including those of Ngāti Apakura, which again were unclear and amorphous. Kelly's map is reproduced as map 11 below:



**Map 11: Leslie Kelly Map of Tainui Territory<sup>154</sup>**

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<sup>154</sup> Kelly, L, *Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants* (Polynesian Society, Wellington 1949) inside cover.

Notwithstanding the fluid nature of Māori property rights, some authorities cite the Ngāti Apakura rohe boundaries as follows:

The boundaries of the Ngāti Apakura territory were the Waipa River on the west; the Manga-o-tama stream on the north – this stream flows at first north-west from the northern end of Lake Ngāroto, and then west to the Waipa River north of Te Rore. Further east the northern boundary included the twin lakes near Ōhaupo. Here, about the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, occurred a skirmish between Ngati Apakura and Ngati-Kauwhata when the latter tried to claim the eel weir called Whariki-rauponga. From here the boundary ran to the Moanatuatua (Cambridge) swamp, including Te Rahu, Rangiaowhia and Hairini. The eastern boundary followed the edge of the swamp, and Ngati Kauwhata owned the upper reaches of the Mangapiko streams at Puahue and Roto-o-rangi. The southern boundary here was the Manga-o-hoi stream, flowing through heavy Kahikatea swamp, with Ngati-Raukawa on the other side at Orākau and Kihikihi. Later the people here, Ngati-Paretekawa, transferred their allegiance to Ngati-Maniapoto. In this angle at the junction of the Manga-o-hoi and the Mangapiko streams was Kaipaka Pa, the headquarters of the Ngati-Rahui hapū of Ngati Apakura. From here, the Awamutu (end of the navigable stream), there was an indefinite frontier with Ngati Raukawa (or later Ngati Paretekawa) to the Pūniu River, which formed the southern boundary to the Waipa River. The site of Te Awamutu town, and the length of the Mangapiko ridge, were for many years a virtual no-man's land.

To the north of Ngati Apakura, on the Waipa River, Ngati Tamainupo were established when Tamainupo, born and brought up at Kāwhia, but of Ngati-Awa extraction, married Tukotuku, daughter of Mahanga, who came from Whaingaroa (Raglan), and settled at Whatawhata, early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>155</sup>

### **Ngāti Apakura Battles**

This section will briefly discuss some of the battles that Ngāti Apakura fought amongst themselves – hapū against hapū, and with other tribes, including Ngāti Unu and the famous Battle of Hingakākā said to be the biggest pre-European battle fought among Māori. The section will also briefly discuss the Musket Wars period (1805-1845) and the battles of Mātakitaki and Kaipaka which directly involved Ngāti Apakura. The significance of Ngāti Apakura battles shows that the strength of hand (ringakaha) of Ngāti Apakura to defend its people, lands and resources is a log book of Ngāti Apakura whenua customary rights and how they waxed and waned through time.

It is important to remember then that rohe boundaries and mana whenua rights were time and place specific. One hapū would have mana whenua for a time but could lose it either through ringakaha and raupatu (war and conquest) or abandonment over a period of

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<sup>155</sup> Supra, n. 139, Robertson, at 4-11.

generations. The same hapū could regain the land after subsequent successful battles and skilled diplomacy.

As highlighted in the discussion below, the Māori propensity for conflict is well known and Ngāti Apakura was certainly no exception to this rule. In fact, there is a whakatauki about the main causes of conflict within Māoridom which states:

He whenua, he wāhine, e ngaro ai te tangata - Men will die for land and women.

As the aphorism emphasises, Māori historically were willing to die for their land and women. Many battles have been fought over Ngāti Apakura rohe lands and resources (and women too!) with the loss of many lives which the researchers will now address.

Ngāti Apakura occupied much of the neighbouring district, including part of the Maungatautari foothills, which had been first settled by their kin Ngāti Kauwhata. Among their settlements were those of Ngāti Hinetu at Tuitahi and Rangiwahia. Living among the swamps near Te Kawa mountain were Ngāti Puhiawe, descendants of Tuihu, the eldest son of Pikirangi. At Kaipaka was Ngāti Rahui until driven out by Ngāti Hauā. Still, Taurangamirumiru remained the heartland of Ngāti Apakura and was occupied by Ngāti Rangimahora. Rangiaowhia later became a Ngāti Apakura heartland following the peace making after Kaipaka during the Musket Wars period.

#### **Battle of the Canoes 1680**

Franke Thorne once discussed the propensity of Ngāti Apakura hapū to quarrel among themselves:

Pirongia ... the Waipā River ... [and] the Mangapiko River. ... is the heart of Ngāti Hikairo. ... We of Ngāti Hikairo are kin to the Waipā people and the Kāwhia people because at the time of the wars, we were steadfast in the battles on both sides.<sup>156</sup>

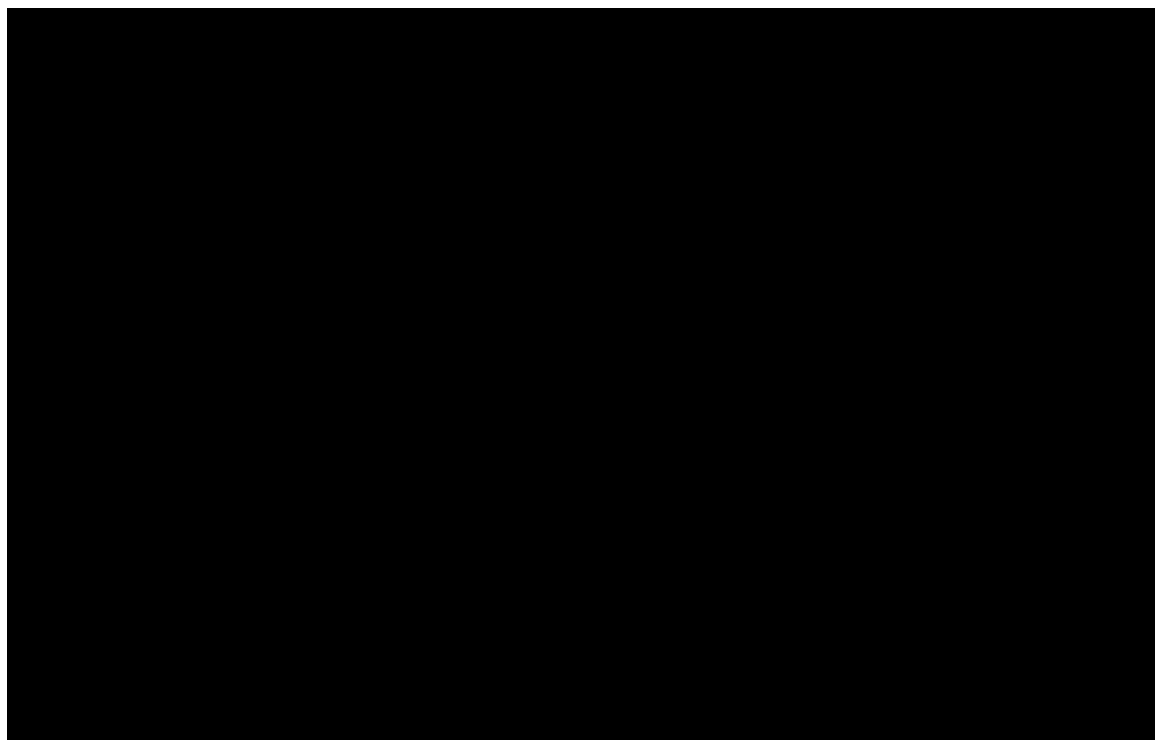
The tribal tenure was not undisputed. Recurring quarrels arose between Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Apakura and other hapū. An example is the quarrel that arose between Ngāti Puhiawe and Ngāti Apakura over the prized weirs on the Mangaotama Stream on Ngāroto. This bitter dispute, regarding the pā tuna named Tautepe, led to an eruption of conflict when

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<sup>156</sup> Frank Thorne, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Waipapa Marae, Kāwhia, 29-30 March 2010) at 239.

waka manned by the disputing tribes met upon Lake Ngāroto. The fighting started on the lake and then spread to the shore. After some time, Ngāti Puhiawe gained the advantage over

No doubt other battles occurred between Ngāti Apakura hapū and with other neighbouring tribes.<sup>157</sup> But the biggest battle to be fought within the Apakura rohe and some allege in Māoridom was the Battle of Hingakākā at Ngāroto.



Map 13 Significant Apakura Sites<sup>158</sup>

#### **Battle of Hingakākā 1780**

The site of Taurangamirumiru Pā near Ngāroto was where Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Apakura with their allies assembled for the great Battle of Hingakākā. Hingakākā is a famous battle fought in about 1780 between the paramount chiefs of Ngāti Toa (Pikauterangi) and Ngāti Mahuta (Te Rauangaanga) and their allies. The battle was fought at Ngāroto, the heart of Ngāti Apakura at the time. This battle is said to have been the largest in Māori history and included tribes from as far away as Whanganui in the south, Kahungunu and Rongowhakaata in the east, and Kaipara in the North, about 10,000 participated.

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<sup>157</sup> Te Anga Toheroa, *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. 16) at 95. Toheroa refers to battles between Ngati Unu and Ngati Apakura against Turahui at Mue Pa on the Waipa for example.

<sup>158</sup> Map 13 comes from Laird, E, *The Missionary Period in the History of Te Awamutu District* (Te Awamutu Historical Society Inc., Te Awamutu, Bulletin No. 5, 1979).

The following extracts from Tupotahi and Waretini Tukorehu recount the events leading up to Hingakākā:

Ka tahi ka whiriwhirihe tikanga e Waikato, e Maniapoto, e Huiao, e Ngāti Apakura. Ara ka hanga enei pa a Mangatoatoa, Waiari, Ngāroto, Nukuhau, Maniapoto, hei upoko mo nga pa whawhai ki nga Iwi o waho. Ka tahi ka hapainga ake a Waikato me Maniapoto katoa mai ki Mangatoatoa.

Ka rokohanga e tetehe ope i ahu mai i Kāwhia. Ka noho Waikato me Maniapoto ka hanga te pa ko Mangatoatoa, ka oti. Ka whakatakotoria he tikanga e aua Iwi. Ara, i penei ta ratou whakaritenga, me hanga he pahu ki ia pa, tae noa ki Taupiri, mo te huaki o te ope o runga nei. Ma nga pahu e whakaatu. No te otinga o enei tikanga ka hoki Waikato ...

Ka roa e noho ana ka puta mai tetehe ope nui whakaharahara no te taha ki te hauauru, no Kāwhia, no Taranaki, no Whanganui, me tetehe atu Iwi. He mano tini taua ope. Ka ahu mai na Mōkau, ka haere mai i te takiwa o Ngati Maniapoto me te hui mai hoki o Maniapoto ki Mangatoatoa.

I te taenga mai o te rongo ka patua nga pahu, ka rongo Waiari, ka tangi ta reira pahu ka rongo Ngāroto, ka tangi to reira ka rongo Taupiri me Waikato katoa.

Ka hapainga mai Waikato ka tae mai ki Te Mangeo i Ngāroto. Ka puta taua ope ka maro tonu te haere o taua ope ka tika na Te Awamutu he whai I Waikato. Ka rongo a Ngati Te Kanawa me Ngati Maniapoto kua pahemo te ope.

Ka whaia mai atu I muri ka tae atu kia Waikato i Te Mange. Ka puta atu taua ope katahi ka whawhai ki te Mangeo. Ka hinga taua ope ia Waikato me Ngati Maniapoto. He mano ki te hinganga. Ki Hingakākā te ingoa o taua parekura.<sup>159</sup>

Translation<sup>160</sup>:

Then they considered what Waikato, Maniapoto, Huiao and Ngāti Apakura should do. And so they built these pā: Mangatoatoa, Waiari, Ngāroto, Nukuhau, and Maniapoto as leading fighting pā, to combat any foreign invader.

Then Waikato and Maniapoto gathered and reinforced themselves at Mangatoatoa.

They were met by a party that had come from Kāwhia.

Waikato and Maniapoto stayed at Mangatoatoa and completed the building of the pā at Mangatoatoa. These people set their strategy, which was as follows: to build an alarm at each pā, through to Taupiri, to warn of an attack by any war party. When these strategies were set, Waikato went home.

After a considerable time a war party of considerable size came from the west, from Kāwhia, Taranaki, Whanganui and other iwi. There were thousands in that war

<sup>159</sup> Maniapoto, H, Charman, J & Roberts, G, *Hingakaka-Ngaroto Iwi Management Plan* (Nga Iwi Toopu o Waipa, Waipa District Council, Environment Management Services Ltd, Hamilton, September 2006) at 5.

<sup>160</sup> Translation completed by Tom Roa (2012).



party. They came via Mōkau, through the Maniapoto lands, with Maniapoto gathering at Mangatoatoa.

When word came the alarms were sounded, Waiari heeding the warning and sounding their alarm; Ngāroto similarly with the alarm from there warning Taupiri, and all of Waikato.

Waikato set off with reinforcements for Te Mangeo at Ngāroto. That war party came straight through Te Awamutu in strong pursuit of Waikato. Ngāti Te Kanawa and Ngāti Maniapoto heard that the war party had been defeated.

They followed on and came to [the] Waikato [party] at Te Mangeo. That war party escaped, and so the fight took place at Te Mangeo. They were defeated by Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto. Thousands fell. The name of that Battle is Hingakākā.

Although Pīkauterangi's army was numerically superior it was severely routed by the Waikato-Maniapoto and Apakura allies. The name Hingakākā refers to the many high ranking chiefs who fell on the battlefield that day, slaughtered in great numbers like parrots! An account of the battle of Hingakākā and ancient Waikato wars was narrated by Noka Hukanui of Ngāti Apakura to George Graham.<sup>161</sup> Tui Adams also provided his perspective on Hingakākā:

Around the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Pīkauterangi, a descendant of Tupahau was living with his tribe of Ngāti Toa at Marokopa. Fishing was an important occupation .... At one such feast, Kahawai was divided into customary piles and shared out among those present. Pīkauterangi however took offence at what he considered the poor quality of the fish apportioned to his party, and as a result of this dissatisfaction, a number of Ngāti Apakura were killed. ...

Soon after this event Pīkaterangi set about enlisting the support of other tribes with a view to taking up arms against Waikato. He travelled south towards Wellington back up along the east coast and back inland, eventually to Hingakākā. His force, now considerable, was made up of Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa, Te Arawa, Urewera, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Wanganui, Ruanui and Te Atiawa.

Waikato, and its sub tribes were under the command of Te Rauangaanga, Te Kanawa, Tetuhioterangi, Hikairo, Tiriwa and Huahua.

It is said that Ngāti Raukawa alone lost 1,600 men at Hingakākā among whom being their chiefs Iwitaha and Tahaeroa.

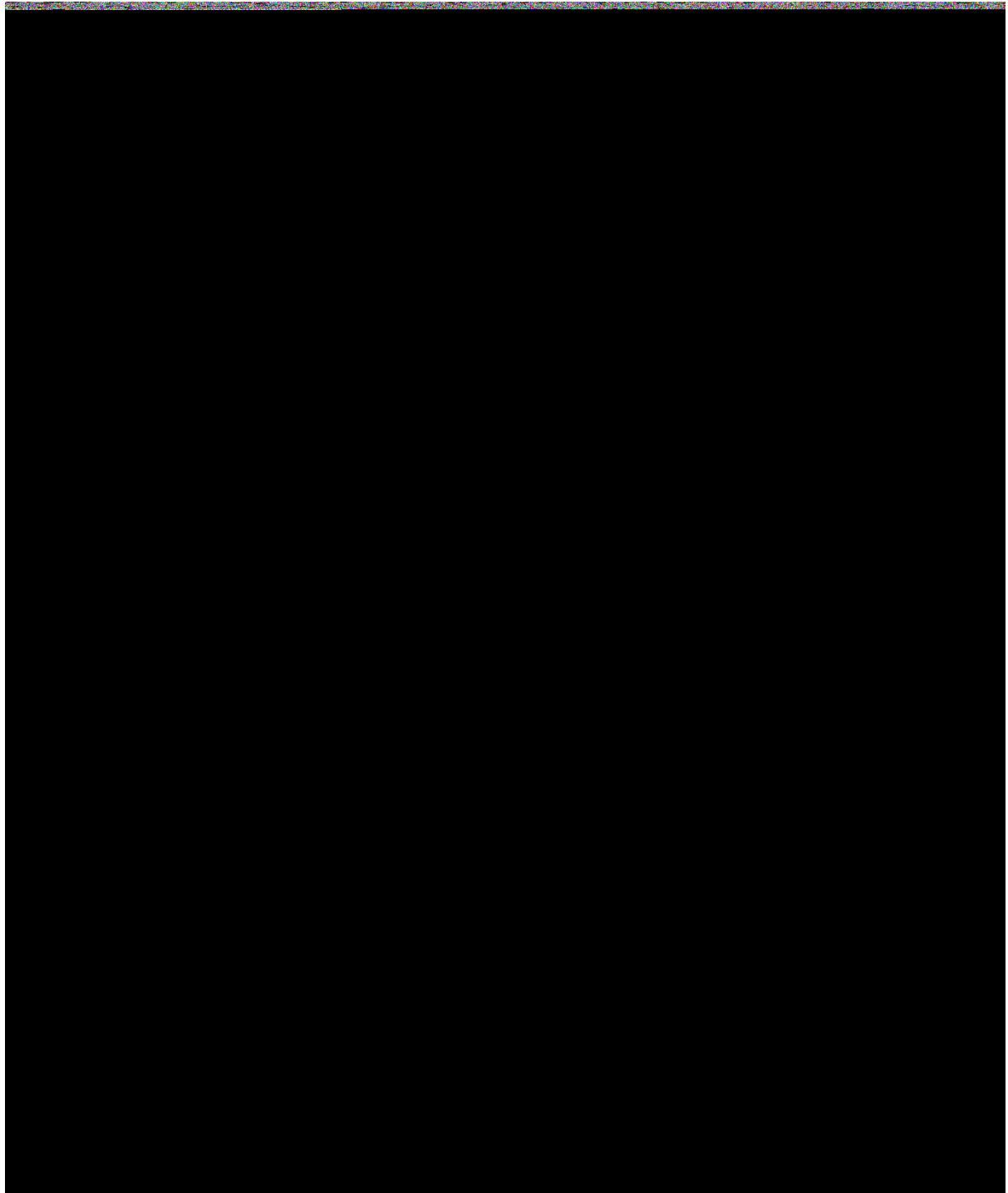
Ngāti Toa lost heavily, both in warriors and chiefs among the latter being Pīkauterangi himself, his brothers Te Rakaherea and Maui as well as chiefs Tahuaroa and Te Maunu.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Refer to Appendix 3.

<sup>162</sup> Affidavit of Tuhūatahi Arama Adams, (Mangai Singh, Barrister and Solicitor, Hamilton, 1 April 1995) at 7-8.

Hingakākā was a prelude the ensuing and devastating Musket Wars of the next century.



**Map 14: Ngāti Apakura Battles**

**Ngā Puhi Invasion and the Battle of Matakitaki 1821**

The Musket Wars period (circa. 1805-1845) in Aotearoa New Zealand was a very turbulent period of Māori tribal history. Numerous battles were fought between warring tribes for decades which resulted in much loss of lives, lands and resources. The period severely disrupted the balance of power among tribes where those with the muskets held the

power and used it ruthlessly to settle the ledger by annihilating whole rival tribes. Ngā Puhi was the first with muskets and they led bloody retaliatory raids around the country. The distasteful Battle of Mātakitaki was one such battle for the Tainui tribes directly within the rohe of Ngāti Apakura.

Early in about 1821, the Waikato and Waipā regions were invaded by Hongi Hika of Ngā Puhi at Mātakitaki Pā near Pirongia on the eastern side of the Waipā River where it meets the Mangapiko Stream. The Tainui tribes heard about Ngā Puhi and they assembled from far and wide at Mātakitaki Pā. Also present in the pā were survivors and refugees of previous Ngā Puhi raids in Tāmaki (Auckland) and Hauraki (Thames) – particularly Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Marutūāhu and Ngāti Whatua. It is believed there may have been as many as 5,000 people in the pā by the time Ngā Puhi arrived.<sup>163</sup> Ngāti Apakura was also present at Mātakitaki.

#### **Reason for Ngā Puhi Invasion – Utu – Reitū, Reipae and Te Aranui**

The reason why Ngā Puhi invaded the Waikato and Waipā regions was for utu. Apparently, in about 1793, Hongi Hika had suffered a defeat at the hands of Ngāti Paoa of Tāmaki and Ngāti Marutūāhu of Hauraki. He was finally successful against both in about 1821 with his musket wielding Ngā Puhi warriors. However, Hongi did not feel avenged with these successes.<sup>164</sup>

The other reasons for the Ngā Puhi invasion was because of the Ngāti Apakura tūpuna Reitū and Reipae. As discussed earlier in the report, Reitū and Reipae were the beautiful twin daughters of the rangatira Tuihu, grandson of Whatihua and Apakura, who lived at Taurangamirumiru Pa at Ngāroto. Ueoneone from Pāwarenga of the northern tribes (Ngā Puhi) visited Ngāroto and wanted to marry Reitū. Reipae followed her sister up to the north. Reipae alighted at Whangarei hence the name Te Whanga-a-Reipae – the tarrying place of Reipae. There she married Tahuhu-potiki of Ngāti Tahuhu. Reitū travelled to Whangape and married Ue-oneone.

In later generations, the Ngāti Mahanga rangatira, Te Aho-o-te Rangi, visited Ngā Puhi and enquired about the descendants of Reitū. As a result, Te Aranui, nephew of Hongi Hika, accompanied Te Aho-o-te Rangi back to Waikato. Te Aranui later participated in a battle between Ngāti Māhanga and Ngāti Toa at Kāwhia and was subsequently killed in the

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<sup>163</sup> Supra, n. 90, Crosby, at 108.

<sup>164</sup> Kirkwood, C, *Tawhiao – King or Prophet* (Turongo House, Hamilton, 2000) at 10.

battle. Hongi Hika and Ngā Puhi blamed Waikato for the death of Te Aranui and were determined to seek utu which was the main reason for Ngā Puhi attacking the Tainui tribes at Mātakitaki.<sup>165</sup>

### **Disaster Begins**

Te Wherowhero and his men had very limited numbers of muskets but they seized the opportunity to surprise attack the small Ngā Puhi group on the Mangapiko side of the pā. Over 150 were killed or wounded and nearly 100 muskets were captured. However, on the western side of the pā where the main body of Ngā Puhi were camped, they began to shoot and kill the people in the pā. For many, this was the first time they had experienced the power of the musket. As a result, panic began to spread throughout the people who began to scatter and press back to the eastern side of the pā. Fear had taken over the pā as the people stampeded to break out and cross the deep sides of the Mangapiko Stream but to no avail. Kirkwood stated that the people were bewildered and terrified and it was felt that a makutu (curse) gave the long sticks the power to kill from afar.<sup>166</sup>

Hundreds more poured out into the ditch and fell as they attempted to leap across it suffocating those below and dragging back those attempting to climb to the other side. The ditch became full of suffocating struggling people. Ngā Puhi quickly crossed the Mangapiko to block anyone from escaping and mercilessly began to slaughter the people.

### **Survivors Disperse**

Te Wherowhero and his warriors managed to escape but many were killed and taken prisoners as Mātakitaki fell to its Ngā Puhi invaders. Many died as a result of panic and terror of the unknown. It is believed that over 1,500 people were killed and hundreds were taken prisoner. Those who escaped sought sanctuary at Kāwhia and Otorohanga while the Ngāti Paoa and Ngāti Marutūāhu survivors obtained sanctuary at Haowhenua, the Ngāti Maru pā, near Cambridge. Te Wherowhero regained contact with his wife Whakāwi who was pregnant. Te Wherowhero went from pā to pā in te Nehenehenui seeking refuge but all were full until he reached Ōrongokoekoeā on the banks of the Mangaongaonga Stream where his son Tukaroto Matutaera (later Tawhiao) was born.

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid, at 101-12.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, at 14.

### **Te Wherowhero's Utu and Peace**

Meanwhile, Hongi Hika captured Mangauika Pā then he split his forces with most warriors proceeding to Kāwhia. The other Ngā Puhi leader Huipūtea and a smaller group proceeded to Orahiri near Otorohanga with a large number of Waikato women as prisoners. Te Wherowhero and his warriors met up with one woman who escaped at the junction of the Waipari Stream with the Waipā River and told her to return and to tell the women to practice their feminine wiles during the early hours of the morning which would help deliver them from slavery.

Te Wherowhero subsequently led the assault successfully and every Ngā Puhi was killed. Te Wherowhero also obtained around 90 muskets which began to constitute a serious rebalance of power and threat to Ngā Puhi. Consequently, Hongi Hika hastily returned from Kāwhia for Mātakitaki and departed for the north. Before leaving however, Hongi released a number of prisoners including Te Kanawa's wife as a first step in making peace with Te Wherowhero.

### **Battle of Kaipaka 1825 and Taumatawīwi 1830**

The flight of Ngāti Marutūāhu from Hauraki to Horotiu (Waikato) due to the invasion of Ngā Puhi in the region caused repercussions in relationships between Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Apakura among other iwi. The flight of Ngāti Marutūāhu to Haowhenua following the Mātakitaki disaster added to the tension. Ngāti Korokī under Tioriori was at Tamahere while another section of Ngāti Korokī moved into Te Awamutu – the lands of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu. Although Ngāti Korokī and Ngāti Hinetu were kin, a dispute occurred which ended in a fight where some Ngāti Korokī were killed at Kaipaka near Te Awamutu. In about 1825, when Ngāti Hauā heard of the mutilation of their dead kinsmen and in support of Ngāti Korokī kin, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa of Ngāti Hauā led a retaliatory attack on Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Apakura at Kaipaka Pā. Ngāti Hauā took advantage of the absence of the Apakura people, who were fleeing at Ngāroto, and fell on the pā and captured it. In the battle Rangianewa, younger sister of Te Kahurangi, was killed.

The late Dame Evelyn Stokes recorded that if the Waikato and Apakura people had not been so preoccupied with troubles on other battlefronts (Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Maru), there might have been much stronger retaliation measures taken against Ngāti Hauā.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Stokes, E, 'Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa: A Study of his Life and Times' (Department of Geography, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1999) at 9.

Be that as it may, in 1881, Hori Wirihana provided his perspective on the Musket Wars in the Waikato and Waipa regions and specifically at Kaipaka:

This Kaipaka battle was in connection with Ngatiapakura. Disturbances had arisen on account of Ngatimaru at this time. They ended in a battle. I have heard that Te Whakaete was the first man killed. ... Whakaete was a Waikato and grandfather of Te Wheoro. Ngatikoura went to revenge his death. Ngatikoura was defeated at Putoetoe and at Mangapiko. After this all of Ngatihaua went to avenge their death. ... Ngatihaua were also defeated at Kariaruhe. After this Te Waharoa is said to have made peace. ... After that Marutuahu behaved very arrogantly towards Ngatihaua. Many small battles occurred. ... Taumatawiwi was fought, Marutuahu were defeated and Ngatihaua victory was complete. The land came back to its former position of owners. Each hapū went back to the lands of its ancestors.<sup>168</sup>

Ihaia Tioriori also gave evidence in the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Commission where he discussed Kaipaka and the general upheaval of this period:

At the battle of Kaipaka, Wiwini and Ngatikauwhata left Pukura.... They took their quarters at Maungakawa. Before Kaipaka they lived on friendly terms with Marutuahu on Pukekura. After they went to Maungakawa a fight took place between Ngatihaua and Ngatimaru. ... After this an army of Waikatos went to Haowhenua. Waikato was defeated. Te Waharoa assembled the people against Marutuahu in Haowhenua. Ngati Haua was defeated. ... We fought another battle and Marutuahu was fought also; then came Taumatawiwi, when we retook Maungatautari, Pukekura and the surrounding country.<sup>169</sup>

Reprisals from Ngāti Apakura were averted when Te Waharoa allowed Ngāti Apakura to settle on lands at Rangiaowhia which had been occupied by Ngāti Korokī and Ngāti Kauwhata. Rihia Te Kauae discussed how following Kaipaka and Taumatawīwī, Te Waharoa divided up the lands retaken:

At the time of the division and after an especial piece was marked off for Ngatiapakura; this was because we had defeated them at Rangiaowhia and wished to make peace with them. This we did, and gave them this piece to seal it. This piece was at a little distance from the barracks at Huikokako. It was Te Waharoa [who] cut this piece off for them. I will give the names along the boundary line, beginning at Huikokako, to Putoetoe, to Matai Korari, to Mangaohoi, and by that stream to Te Awamutu. This was the gift to Ngatiapakura.<sup>170</sup>

Hence Ngāti Apakura retained mana whenua at Kaipaka, Te Awamutu. The example also highlights how land boundaries were hotly disputed and negotiated even between kin groups.

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<sup>168</sup> Supra, 127, Ngati Kauwhata Commission, at 17

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, at 15.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, at 13.

### **Puahue Block Investigations 1887, Kaipaka 1825 and Taumatawīwī 1830**

In 1887, the Māori Land Court conducted an investigation to determine the owners, according to Māori custom, of 3,250 hectares lying south-east of the raupatu confiscation line and extending from the Mangaohoi Stream in the south some 15 kilometers to the Mangapiko Stream in the north. Before the raupatu confiscation, the block undoubtedly included all the area between the two rivers and their confluence at Te Awamutu. The confiscation line ran from Otihi Pa about three kilometers north-east of Orākau, on a bearing of 42°41'. It was at Otihi that Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Raukawa and other tribes gathered while they awaited an opportunity to reinforce the beleaguered garrison at Orākau in April of 1864.

The investigation of title to this region is recorded as that of the Puahue Block, although many witnesses claimed that the correct name was Panehakua. In fact, that name originally belonged to an open village in a forest clearing between two clumps of karaka trees about one kilometer east of Raroera.

The Native Land Court enquiry shows that the region had been wrested from Ngāti Kauwhata by Ngāti Apakura, who held it for several generations before being defeated by Ngāti Hauā. Witnesses spoke of this latter conflict occurring at Kaipaka, but that place does not seem to have been established as a fort until Tūkorehu, the rangatira of Ngāti Paretekawa, asked his Ngāti Maniapoto allies to help hold the land against Waikato.

The evidence given at the investigation of title was that after Ngāti Apakura were defeated, they withdrew to Kāwhia and remained there for some years until requested to return by Te Waharoa, the rangatira of Ngāti Hauā. No doubt he realised that he could not hold the whole region without help and preferred Ngāti Apakura to the Hauraki people, who had dispossessed Ngāti Raukawa of so much of their land on the eastern slopes of Maungatautari and Karapiro.

Among the pā to whence Ngāti Apakura returned was the extremely strong site at Whanake. It seems that a Ngāti Hauā hapū, Ngāti Ruru, whose stronghold was at Puahue, thought they had a better claim to Whanake. Accordingly, they interfered with Ngāti Apakura cultivations near Whanake until Te Waharoa was forced to intervene. He seems to have awarded Whanake to Ngāti Ruru and established Ngāti Apakura further down the ridge, where they could remain in possession of the much-coveted eel weirs.

The original division upon the return of Ngāti Apakura was made at a great meeting at Ōtāwhao Pa. When further disputes arose, Te Wiwini, the wife of Tarapipipi Te Waharoa, son of Waharoa, came bearing a spear and a dog skin cloak as proof of her authority, and

pointed out the boundaries that had been told her by Te Waharoa. Tūkorehu had learned of a meeting held at Nukuhau (near the Narrows), on the Waikato, where the chiefs of Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetu, Ngāti Ruru, Ngāti Marohau and others proposed to rearrange tribal boundaries. That meeting was held when the threat of a further Ngā Puhi invasion had passed and the people were returning from the places where they had sought refuge from Hongi Hika and his muskets. The proposals put forward at the Nukuhau meeting included many of the lands that Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hauā claimed as their own and were therefore matters on which they should have been consulted.

The rangatira whom Tūkorehu asked to hold the land against Waikato was Paewaka. He agreed and came from Otauhau and built his first pā close by, calling it Perekiahua. He also built a pā at Otauhau. It is said that when Ngāti Apakura saw the latter pā, they crossed the Mangaohoi Stream, intending to take possession of Te Awamutu and Otauhau. Paewaka then attacked and defeated them, and thereupon laid down a boundary distinguishing their land from that he was to hold. He also defined portions for Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Korokī, in the direction of Cambridge. This occurred before the capture of Hangahanga Pā on Maungatautari which pushed sections of Ngāti Raukawa led by Te Whatanui and Te Paerata to settle in Hawke's Bay and subsequently the Horowhenua.

Evidence given before the Court was that after the Nukuhau hui, Ngāti Apakura had also attempted to seize land at Wharepuhunga, where they killed the chief Tangihaere, of Ngāti Takihiku. They then killed Te Kanehihi and Apoakane. The area defined by Paewaka seems to have been much greater than the 3,250 hectares involved in the Puahue claim, for it included Te Ruahine, Orakonui, Otupune, Manukarere, Wharepapa, Arowhenua, Katikati and Kauwairoa. The Court however, did not adjudicate upon the owners of these other places as part of its decision in the Puahue claim.

Conflicting accounts were given of the attack upon Kaipaka. To reach Kaipaka, the Ngāti Hauā taua passed Taurangatahi, at Hairini Hill, without making an attack upon it, because of an injunction by the chief Paewaka. Another account was given during the investigation of title by the Māori Land Court of that remnant of the Puahue Block that had escaped confiscation. Piripi Whenatanga, of Ngāti Korokī, said that his people built a pā for themselves outside Kaipaka which they called Ruakotire. It was located some 600 meters from Kaipaka. At that time Ngāti Korokī lived peacefully with the people at Kaipaka, but then became involved in a skirmish with the Hauraki people who had come to escape Ngā Puhi. Only one of Ngāti Korokī was killed, but they then built Te Konehu Pā on the



Mangapiko Stream, opposite a cultivation of Ngāti Hinetu. Ngāti Korokī then turned upon Ngāti Hinetu and drove them from their cultivation and from Rangiaowhia.

Ngāti Apakura retaliated by mounting an attack upon Ngāti Korokī and killed 10 of their people. Waharoa then joined Ngāti Korokī at Te Konehu and from that base made an attack upon Kaipaka, killing many Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu people. The survivors fled to Taurangatahi and to Taurangamirumiru, near Lake Ngāroto. The victory of Kaipaka was not followed up by Waharoa, but nevertheless many Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu migrated to Kāwhia. Later, the Waikato chiefs Te Kanawa and Te Utu persuaded them to return to Raroera some time before the Battle of Taumatawiwi in 1830.

Ngāti Korokī and some of the Hauraki people under the chief Taharua lived peacefully together at Te Konehu until a dispute occurred. Ngāti Korokī then treacherously turned on their guests and killed Taharua and about 100 of his people, allowing the remainder to escape. Further conflict between these two tribes merged into the large conflict between Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Korokī with the Hauraki tribes at the great Battle of Taumatawīwī. As a result of that engagement, the Hauraki people were forced to return to their homes.

At the end of this Puahue Block hearing,<sup>171</sup> Judge Rogan awarded the boundaries between Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hauā as follows:

We award to the Ngāti Apakura all the land between the government confiscation line in the following points: Beginning at Te Whakamate and Te Kahupapa at a point on the Mangapiko stream 22 chains 23 links distant from the confiscation line by a line running from latter at right angles from it. Thence thro [sic] a place marked on map by the surveyor as Matai Kauri (?) by a straight line to the foot of Tuturu o Manaia 1 chain from the embankment of the pah on the N.W side and thence by same straight line till it strikes the existing Native track leading to Rangiaowhia thence along that track to its junction with the Government confiscation line. The remainder of the block was awarded to Ngāti Haua.

The above section on Ngāti Apakura battles within the Waipā and Waikato regions affirms that Ngāti Apakura iwi historically was willing to die for their land (and for women of course!). Many battles have been fought over Ngāti Apakura rohe lands and resources hence the rohe boundaries of Ngāti Apakura are fluid and situational depending on the time period being discussed, and who is telling the story. At the end of the day, it appears that ringakaha – the strong hand – held sway where might makes right. Te Waharoa's conceding

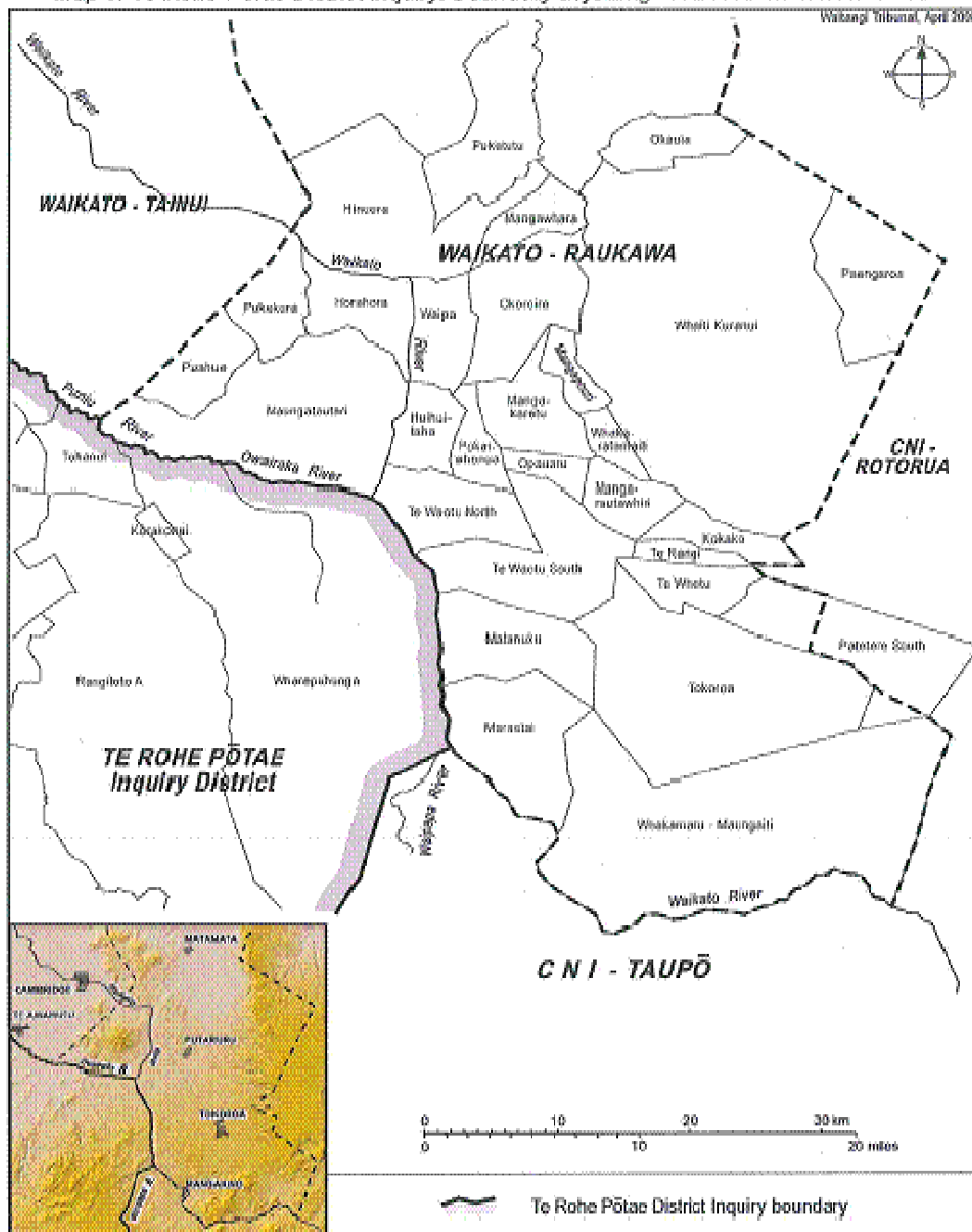
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<sup>171</sup> Puahue Land Block Hearings, *Waikato Minute Book* (No. 2, Waikato Maniapoto District, Judge John Rogan, Cambridge, 1887) at 243-244.

Rangiaowhia to Ngāti Apakura following the Battle Kaipaka in 1825 is a rare exception to this rule.

The situation highlights the fact that Ngāti Apakura rohe boundaries, like all other iwi and hapū boundaries, shifted because they were fluid, situational and fundamentally political. Many battles continue to be fought over Ngāti Apakura rohe lands and resources. In earlier years, blood was shed and men did die; today battles tend to occur in the Māori Land, Environment and High Courts as well as the Waitangi Tribunal, but are just as passionate.

Map 5: Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry: Boundary adjoining Waikato-Raukawa District

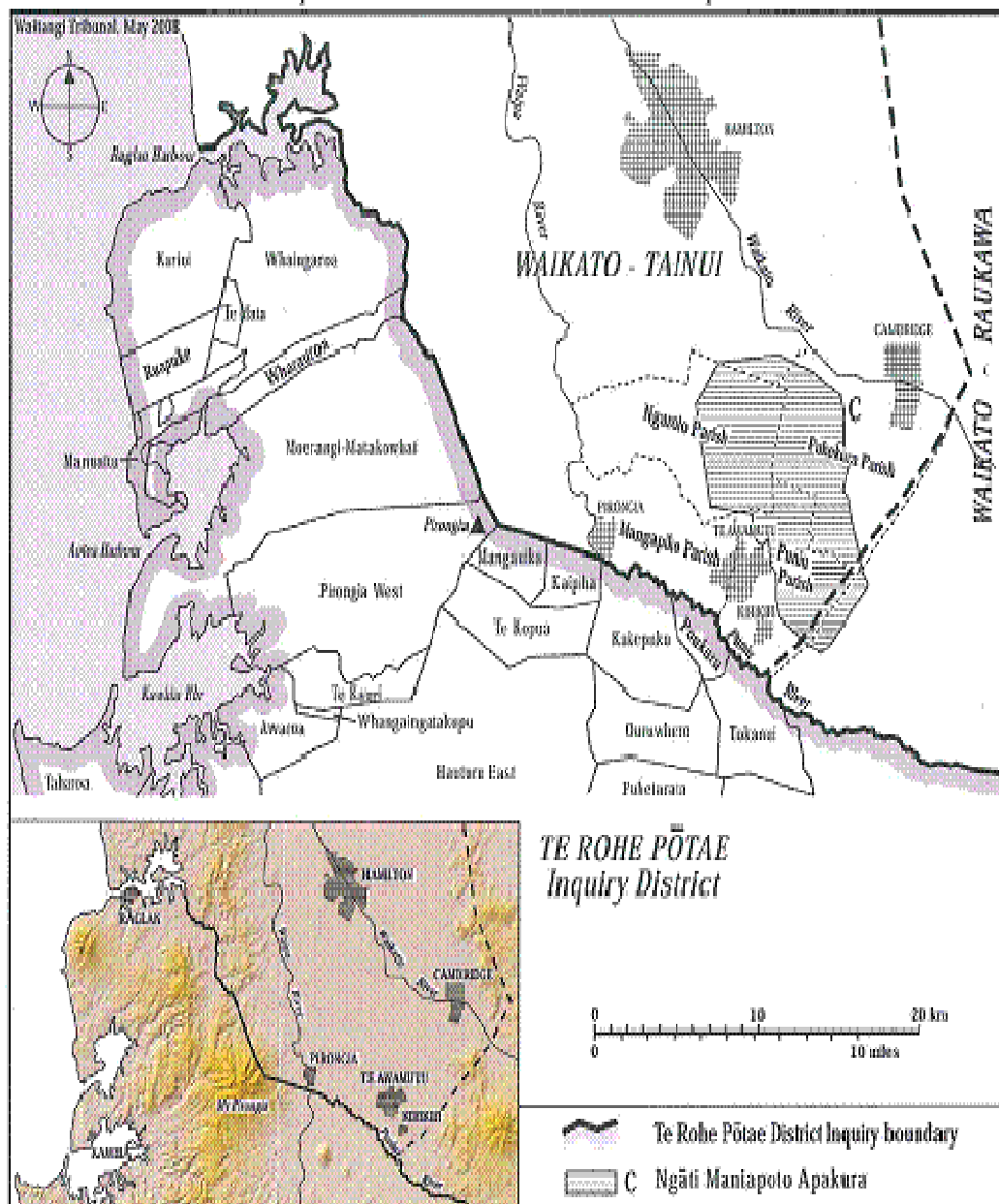


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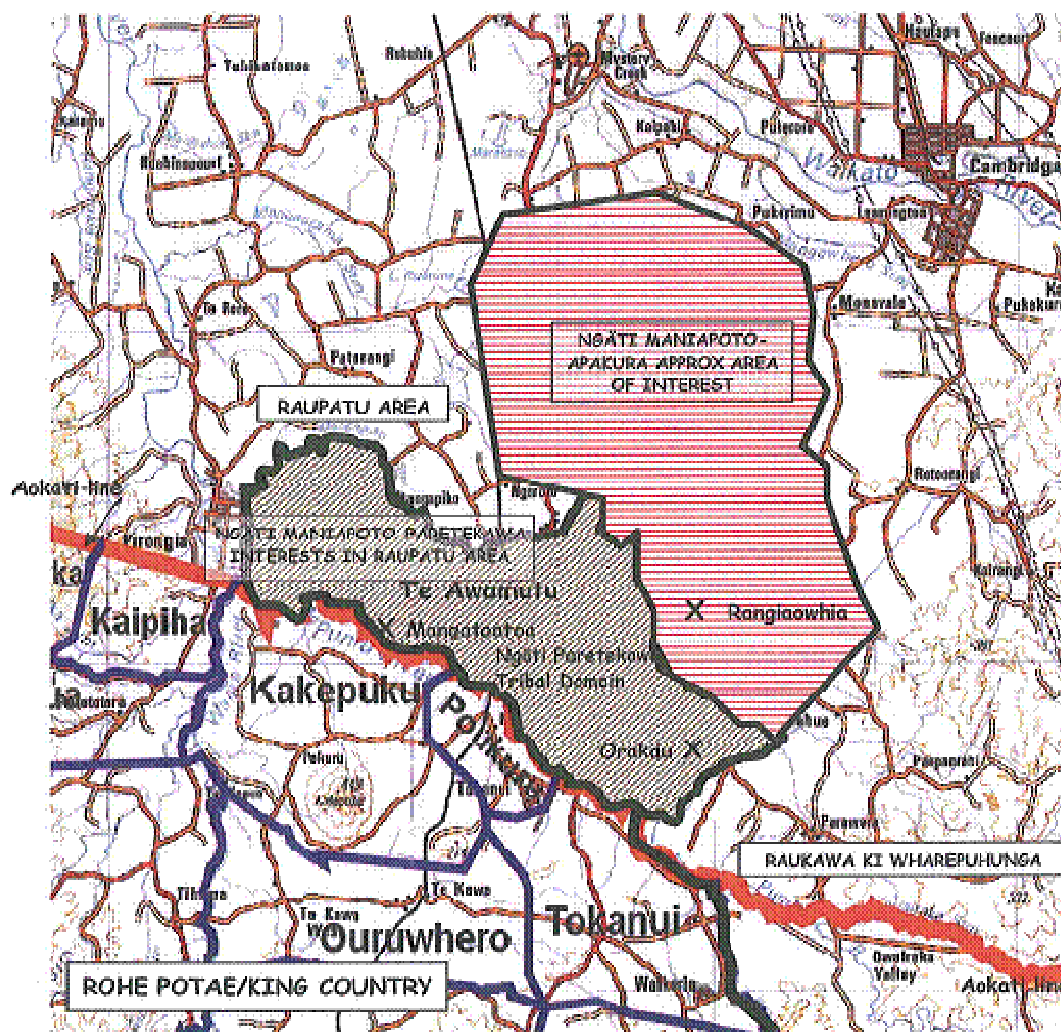
Map 15: Rohe Pōtae North East Boundaries Showing the Puahue Block<sup>172</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Bendall, A, Barclay, K & Stowe, D, *Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry Revised Boundary and Maps*, (Waitangi Tribunal Unit, Wellington, May 2008) at 19.

Map 4C: Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry:  
Non-raupatu claims within the Waikato-Tainui raupatu area



Map 16: Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry and Ngāti Apakura Boundaries



Tom Roa provided his perspective on Ngāti Apakura boundaries when he noted:

The boundaries of Apakura are not quite clear these days. However, there is some evidence ... I acknowledge Ngāti Mahanga and Ngāti Haua and all of us because these territories were of a certain time, they were not permanent, these partitions of lands were explained by mother to me.

Below the hospital was a settlement, the home of Hone Te One and coming towards Melville and the town of Ōhaupo, carrying on through Rukuhia to Ngāroto those were the territories of Ngāti Apakura unto the time of the Battle of Hingakākā.<sup>173</sup>

In contrast, in 2009 Harold Maniapoto provided an outline of the Ngāti Maniapoto tribal boundaries as follows:

Ngāti Maniapoto derives its originations from the Tainui Waka. Their rohe stretches from the Waipingu River south of Mōkau, and extending 20 Miles out to sea proceeds northward to opposite Kārewa Motu outside the Aotea Harbour and from there eastwards to Te Rore then northwards to Nukuhau in the (vicinity of the Narrows) and then south-eastwards to Puahue. From there it extends westward to Orākau and follows the swamp southwards from there to the Pūniu River, then turns up the Pūniu River to Mangatutu River, up the Mangatutu River to Rangitoto, then southwards along the Rangitoto Ranges to Tuhua including the Hurakia, Pureora, and Titirapenga ranges, thence to the Whanganui river, then westwards back to the Waipingu River on the western coastline.<sup>174</sup>

There are some inevitable differences between Apakura claimants in the Native Land Court, and the views of Dr Pei Jones, Tom Roa and Harold Maniapoto, among others, regarding Maniapoto and Apakura tribal boundaries which in some ways highlight again the fluid nature of Māori society generally. Tom Roa articulated the challenge when he noted:

The Crown and English law expect of Ngāti Maniapoto [and Ngāti Apakura] that there are clear boundaries between this hapū and that. It has already been shown that that fixed physical geography is a western invention. Each of the stories today has shown a fluidity in those boundaries in both space and time. What most surprises us is the consistency of story and in the whakapapa, the landmarks, the waterways, the groupings and the activities. There would almost seem to be an invisible, indefinable guiding hand leading us. We did not plan it like this. We could not have.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Supra, n. 117, Roa, at 31.

<sup>174</sup> Indicatory rohe description provided by Harold Maniapoto, in Schedule 1 Contracted Services, in Contract with Hohonu Ltd for provision of research services to the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, (12 October 2009 to 5 April 2010, Correspondence CFRT 2035, November 2009). See also Waitangi Tribunal, 'Errata for the Rohe Pōtae/ King Country Inquiry Boundary Discussion Paper,' (Wai 898#6.22, Waitangi Tribunal, January 2007) at 3.

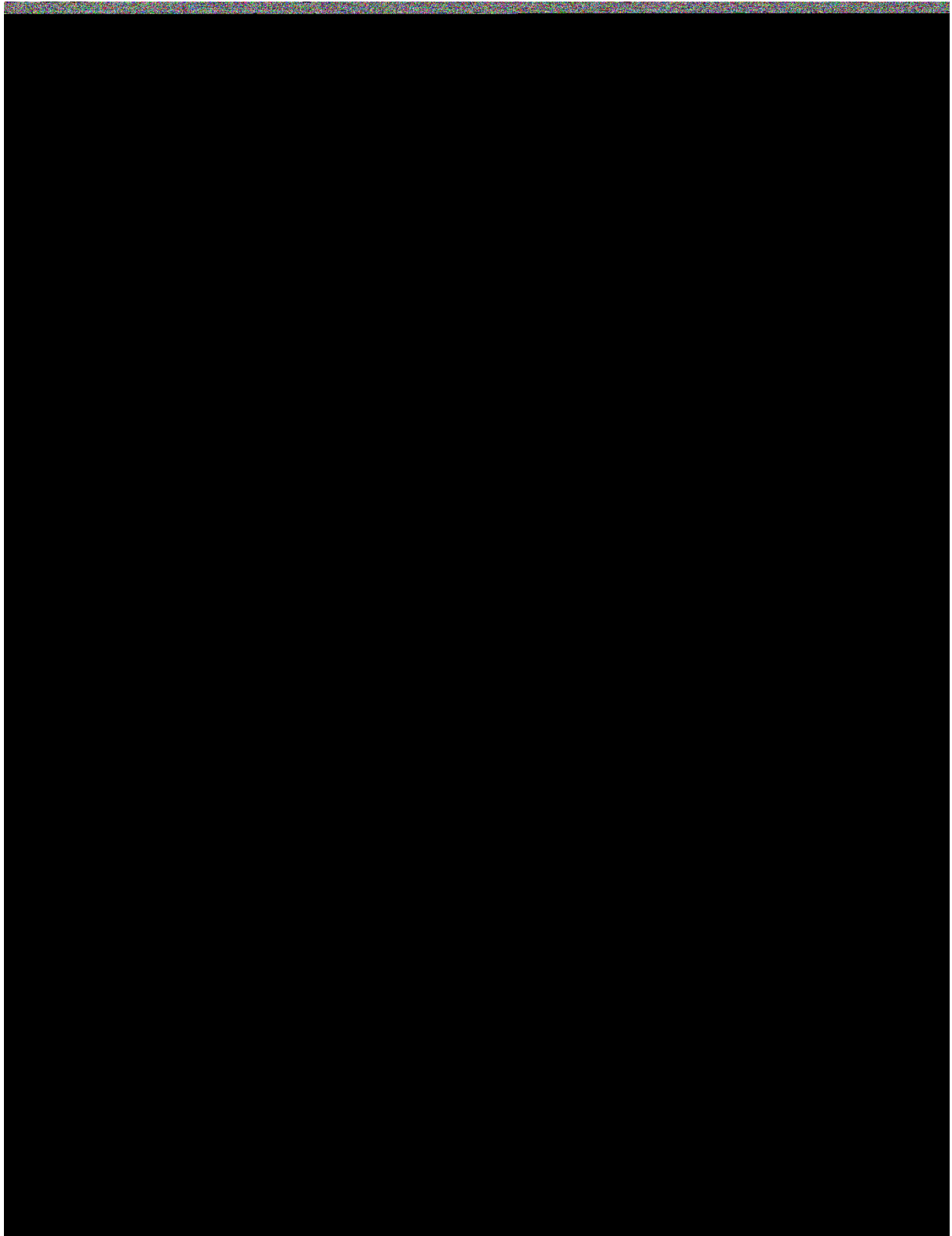
<sup>175</sup> Supra, n. 117, Roa, at 108.

## Summary

The tribal lines or boundaries Dr Jones and others referred to above show some of the customary interests of Ngāti Apakura and its kin in the Waikato and Waipā regions. The boundaries follow rivers and ranges but even these are not clear cut. Rivers shift course as they meander out to sea and where are the actual boundary lines in the ranges? What side of the ranges? Do the boundary lines run along the centre of the ranges or along the base of some maunga? Were there any shared areas between the tribal boundaries or were the areas the exclusive possession of tribes? These and numerous other questions are important when discussing the vexed area of tribal boundaries and identity. As mentioned earlier, tribal boundaries appear to be more zones rather than lines on a map. Tribal boundaries were not clear-cut and precise like Pākehā deposit plans and certificates of title under the Torrens system. Many if not most areas of the Māori world are fluid. Tribal boundaries were often shared areas of interest with other whānau, hapū and iwi which made them less precise and certain.

Like tribal identity, acknowledgement of the complexities of the Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Maniapoto tribal landscape and boundaries as being fluid, complex and not fitting neatly into a square box for certainty is significant. The Māori world is flexible, situational and opaque not lucid. Forcing Māori tribal identity and boundaries into clear, precise and lucid lists, tables, maps and categories simplifies the complex reality, exacerbates the propensity for inevitable cross claims, and may be cause for further Treaty of Waitangi grievances. The Crown and Māori claimants need to acknowledge that such complexities exist before engaging in and attempting to settle Treaty of Waitangi grievances. Granted the steps in the process for settling Treaty grievances are neither easy nor simple. Life is fluid, situational and complex no matter what the culture. The sooner groups acknowledge that these challenges and complexities exist, the better in terms of starting to address the complex layers of Treaty grievances rather than contributing to them.

Finally, from the earlier discussed criterion for ascertaining whether a group is an Iwi or not, the above discussion appears to clarify that Ngāti Apakura clearly (ironically) had rohe spheres of interest around Te Awamutu, Kaipaka, Hairini, Rangiaowhia, Puahue, Ōhaupo, Tuhikaramea, Ngahinapouri, Pirongia and Kāwhia. What is unclear is the exact boundaries of these spheres of influence but Ngāti Apakura did have spheres of influence, a rohe or takiwā as it were, which is the point hence meeting the third criterion for establishing status as an iwi.



**Map 18: Ngāti Apakura Rohe ‘Spheres of Influence’**

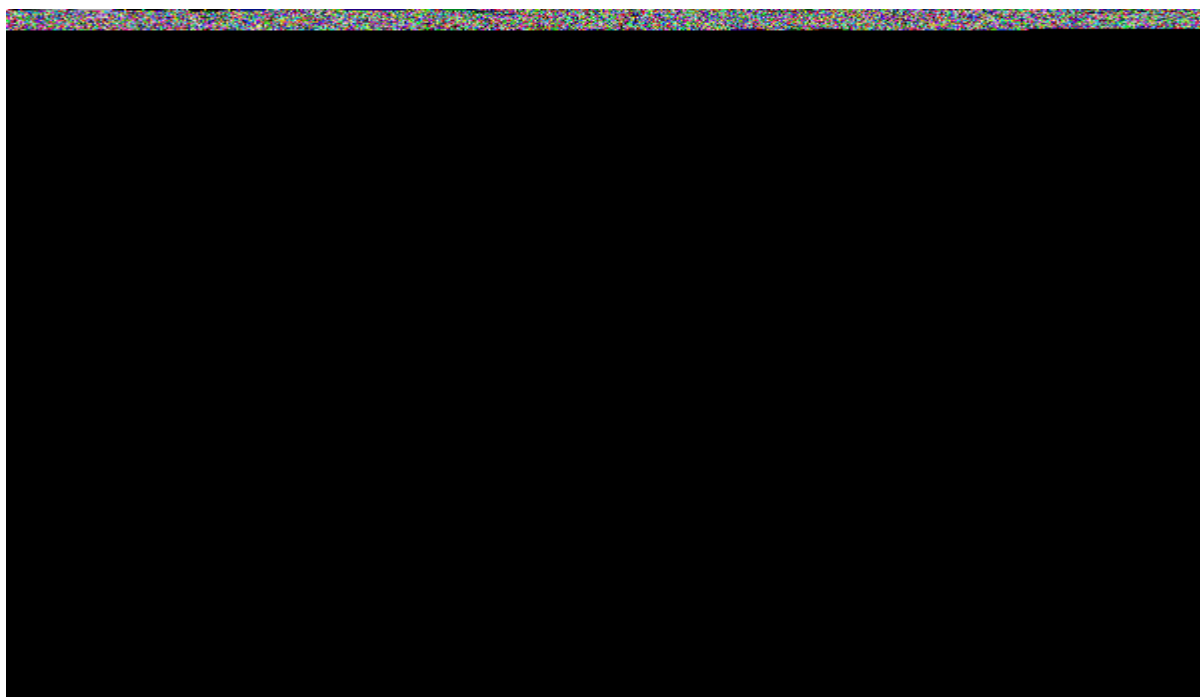


#### 4) NGĀTI APAKURA MARAE AND PĀ

##### Apakura Marae

Marae are considered to be the ‘pātaka kōrero’ of tribes. Stories about the construction, ownership, location and relocation of meeting houses feature frequently in the histories of Māori communities. Information around their origins, stories of any carved figures, associated key tūpuna and hapū affiliations are a useful source of information, particularly for constituent hapū associated with respective marae. Consequently, historic and contemporary Ngāti Apakura marae are an important source of research in terms of, inter alia, Apakura identity and mana whenua.

The next section will briefly discuss the historic Apakura marae – Maketu, Raroera and Ngahuruhuru which were located near Ōtāwhao. The subsequent section will discuss contemporary Apakura marae.



**Maketū Tūpuna Whare (Ōtāwhao)<sup>176</sup>**

The whare Maketū was built by a rangatira named Puatia of the Ōtāwhao district. The whare was sketched by Angas in 1847 at which time the pā had been abandoned. Angas noted:

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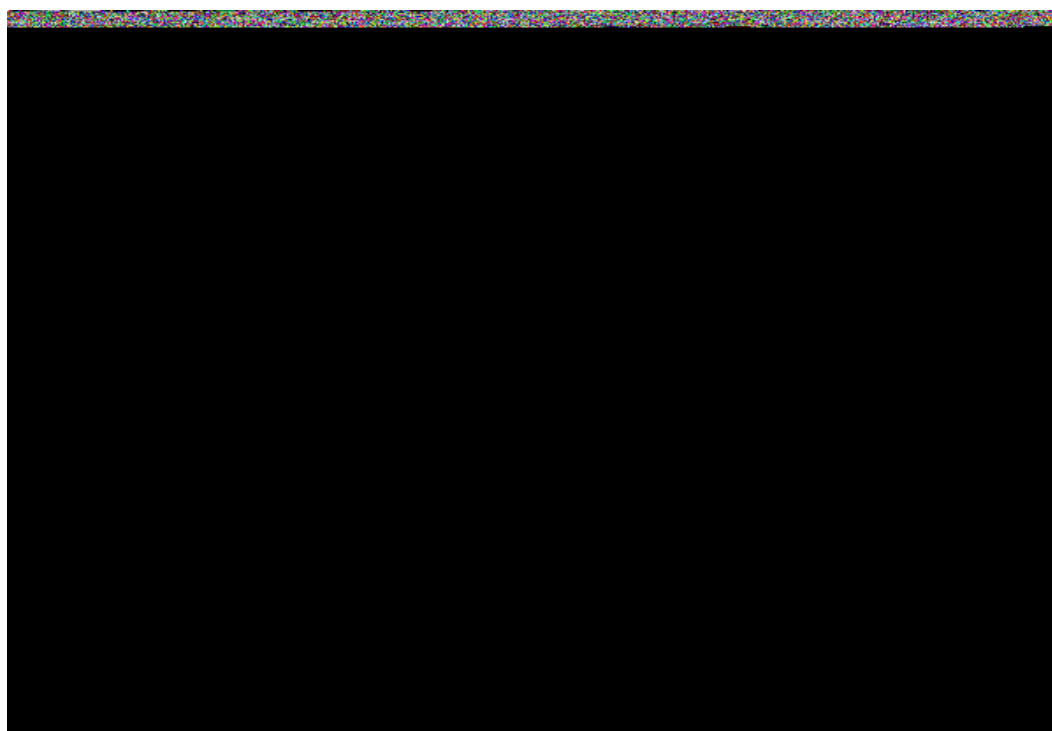
<sup>176</sup> Supra, n. 60, Angas. Image of page 61, plate XXV. 1847.

The interior rafters are beautifully painted with spiral arabesque work, and the carving bestowed upon the figures that so profusely adorn this "war temple," exhibits a wonderful degree of labour and skill.<sup>177</sup>

Angus stated that the whare memorialised battle leaders who died at Tauranga, Rotorua, Taranaki and Maketū. He also stated that one of the pou represented "Pokana, the present chief of Matamata."<sup>178</sup> Other whakaīro and pou on the whare were said to represent significant events.

### **Raroera Whare**

According to Angus in 1847, Raroera Pā belonged to Pōtatau. Pōtatau's daughter had died prior to Angus visiting Raroera so Raroera Pā had to be abandoned. To Angus, the "ruins of Raroera" were similar to the architecture found in Egypt and Mexico.<sup>179</sup>



**ENTRANCE TO A DWELLING HOUSE AT RAROERA PĀ, WAIPĀ<sup>180</sup>**

According to William J. Phillips, the name of the whare located at Raroera Pa was Urutomokia.<sup>181</sup> Phillips noted that the doorway was unusually placed at the side of the house. Phillips added:

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid

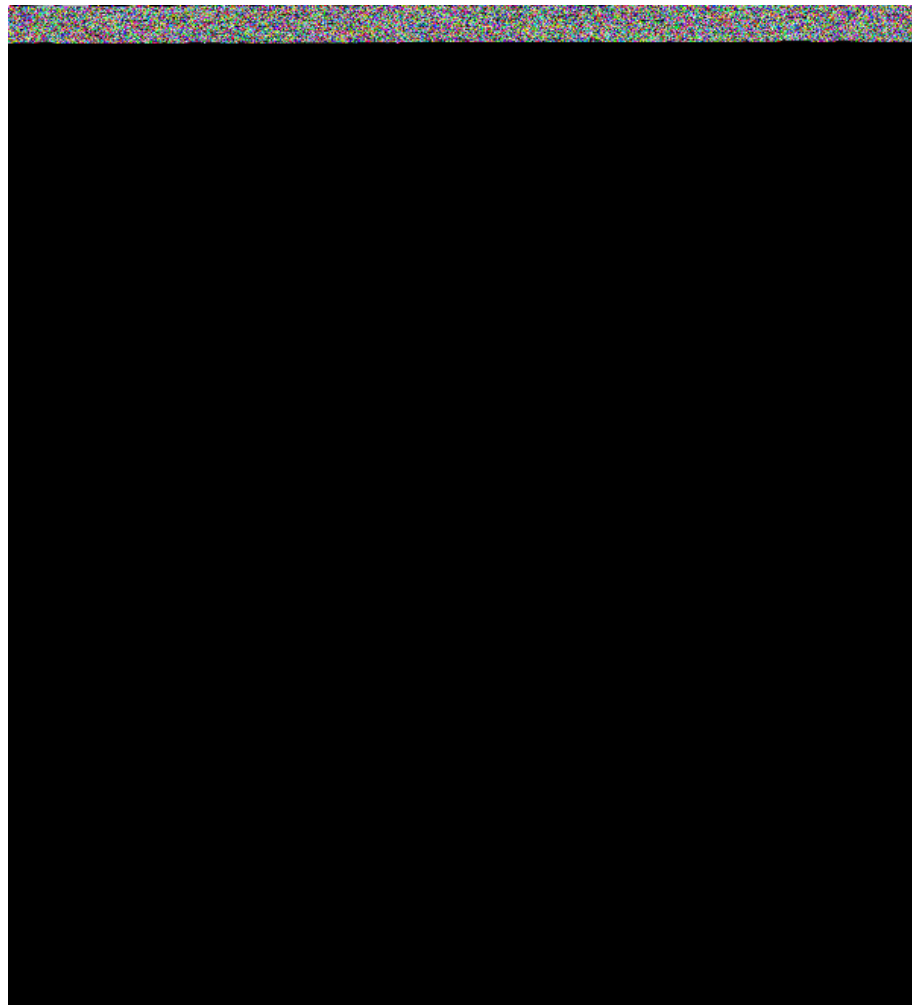
<sup>178</sup> Ibid, Image of Plate XXXVIII, at 89.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, Plate XXXVIII.

<sup>181</sup> Phillips, W J, *Carved Maori Houses* (Reed, Auckland, 1955) at 220.

The carvings on Urutomokia...The beam or architrave above the door corresponds to the maihi and has the typical takarangi spirals at each end with manaia figures on each side of the spirals. A central figure above the door belongs to the curious type of squat human figure found on this coast. The amo or beam supports also appear to be related to the central architrave figure in that the heads are highly treated and shoulders are present; but the rest of the body is missing....Urutomokia was the carved house of Ruarangi and Tawhai after the episode with the fairies...Apparently Urutomokia is a name which was preserved for the main whare whakairo at Raroera Pa.<sup>182</sup>



**MONUMENT TO TE WHEROWHERO'S FAVORITE DAUGHTER AT RAROERA**<sup>183</sup>

A few yards away from the whare Urutomokia there stood a papatūpāpaku (above), which was built in memory of Pōtatau's daughter.<sup>184</sup> Raroera Pā had been visited in 1841 by a missionary who described the mausoleum as the most beautiful and elaborate piece of

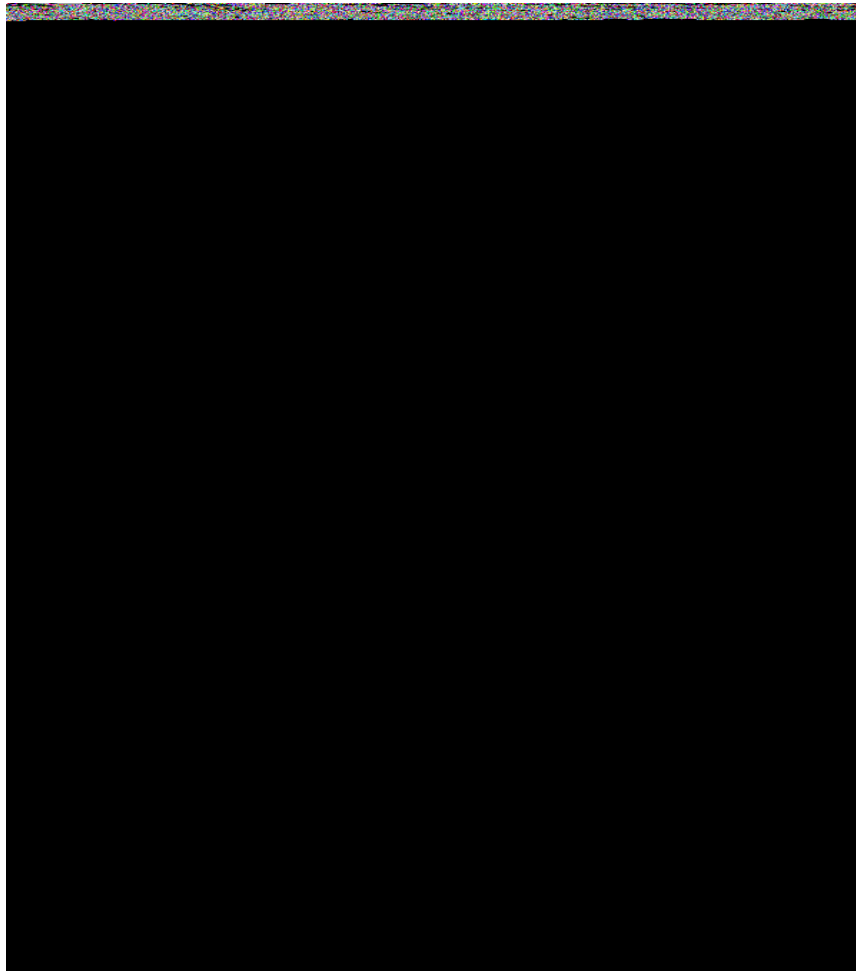
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<sup>182</sup> Supra, n 60, Angus.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. Image Plate X at 31.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, Plate X.

carving he had ever seen.<sup>185</sup> When Angas visited six years later, he too described the designs as intricate works of art. He estimated that the structure was about 14 feet high. Phillips stated that 'the monument to Te Wherowhero's daughter is remarkable for its admixture of Waikato and Taranaki carvings'.<sup>186</sup>



**A Tiki at Raroera Pa**<sup>187</sup>

Near the intricately designed papatūpāpaku stood a number of 'colossal tiki' painted red from the pigment of kōkōwai. Phillips identified these tiki as 'pou matau or carved pa posts'. He described the purpose:

The carved pa posts represented various ancestors, notably Tiki and others. The ancestors carved thereon usually linked up with the ancestors carved on the house... The carved posts (seen above) are another outstanding example of Waikato carving and shows some relationship to Taranaki.

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<sup>185</sup> Reported in Hurst, M, 'Evidence Points to Raroera Pa Site being at Rangiaowhia' in *Footprints Through History*, (Vol. 15, 1995) at 2.

<sup>186</sup> Supra, n 184, Phillips, at 222.

<sup>187</sup> Supra, n 60, Angas, Plate LX., at 135.

Immediately behind these structures stood an enclosed area defined by wooden stakes. It is likely that the enclosed area was sacred and that the tiki and pou, as well as the wooden fence, all served to keep intruders away. It is interesting to note that when Hochstetter travelled through the Mangapū Valley in 1859, his second camp was erected beside a burial site which was marked by a tiki.

#### Ngahuruhuru Pā

Angus provided another sketch this time of Hongi Hongi of the Ngāti Apakura hapū Ngāti Hinetu which alludes to another Apakura Marae located in the Ōtāwhao area in the 1840s. Angus provided the following notes to accompany his sketch of Hongi Hongi:



PLATE XI. HONGI HONGI.

The Pah of Ngahuruhuru, which is situated about four miles from Ōtāwhao, in the Waipa district, is inhabited by a portion of the Ngāti hinetu tribe; one of their principal fighting men is the warrior Hongi Hongi, or Nga Toki, whose portrait is given on the accompanying plate. At the taking of Taranaki, Hongi Hongi captured sixty slaves, and drove them before him with his green-stone *meri*, like a flock of sheep, over mountains and through forests, for a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. Hongi Hongi is a man of the most determined courage and bravery, and though looked upon with dread by his inferiors, he is courteous and polite to strangers.

After I had painted Kahawai, the old chief of Ngahuruhuru, the Taranaki warrior put on his choicest mats, and flourishing his *meri* of greenstone in his hand, insisted upon my taking his portrait also, and refused to let me leave the Pah until I had complied with his desire, saying that he also was a *Rangatira*, or great man, and he would make the *Pākehā* (stranger) paint him, that his name might go to England to the Queen, with that of Kahawai.

The huge carved posts in the background are the usual supports for the railing or fence-work of the native pāhs: they are hewn out of the trunks of the large forest trees, and are sunk several feet into the ground; the smaller paling is tied together with flax rope, or the stem of the wild vine.<sup>188</sup>

What is interesting about the above sketches and notes is that Angus discusses how Raroera Pā appears to have been occupied by Pōtatau Te Wherowhero because the Kīngitanga Kāhui Ariki (royal line) has a strong Ngāti Apakura whakapapa connection. Moreover, the Pa was abandoned because of a tapu placed on it by Pōtatau which was challenged by the Rangatira Te Waro who could possibly have been Hori Te Waru of Ngāti Apakura. The other important point is that iwi and hapū marae indicate mana whenua customary interests in an area hence it appears that Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu had mana whenua in the Ōtāwhao and Rangiaowhia areas in the 1840s.

The researchers do not doubt that other Ngāti Apakura marae and pā existed such as Whakanamu Pā in Kāwhia, Taurangarimurimu Pā at Ngāroto, and Kaipaka Pā in Te Awamutu. Ngāti Apakura as an iwi had mana whenua in the general Te Awamutu area. Today, a number of marae acknowledge Ngāti Apakura as their constituency base.

#### Apakura Marae within the Rohe Pōtae Boundary

Table 18 below provides the contemporary Ngāti Apakura Marae within or near the Rohe Pōtae. The marae below are acknowledged within the Rohe Pōtae boundary as being either partly or wholly Ngāti Apakura marae<sup>189</sup>:

**Table 20: Ngāti Apakura Marae and Constituent Hapū 2010**

| Marae          | Location   | Hapū 1        | Hapū 2         | Hapū 3   | Hapū 4       |
|----------------|------------|---------------|----------------|----------|--------------|
| <b>Kahotea</b> | Otorohanga | <b>Hinetu</b> | <b>Apakura</b> | Matakore | Pare te Kawa |

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

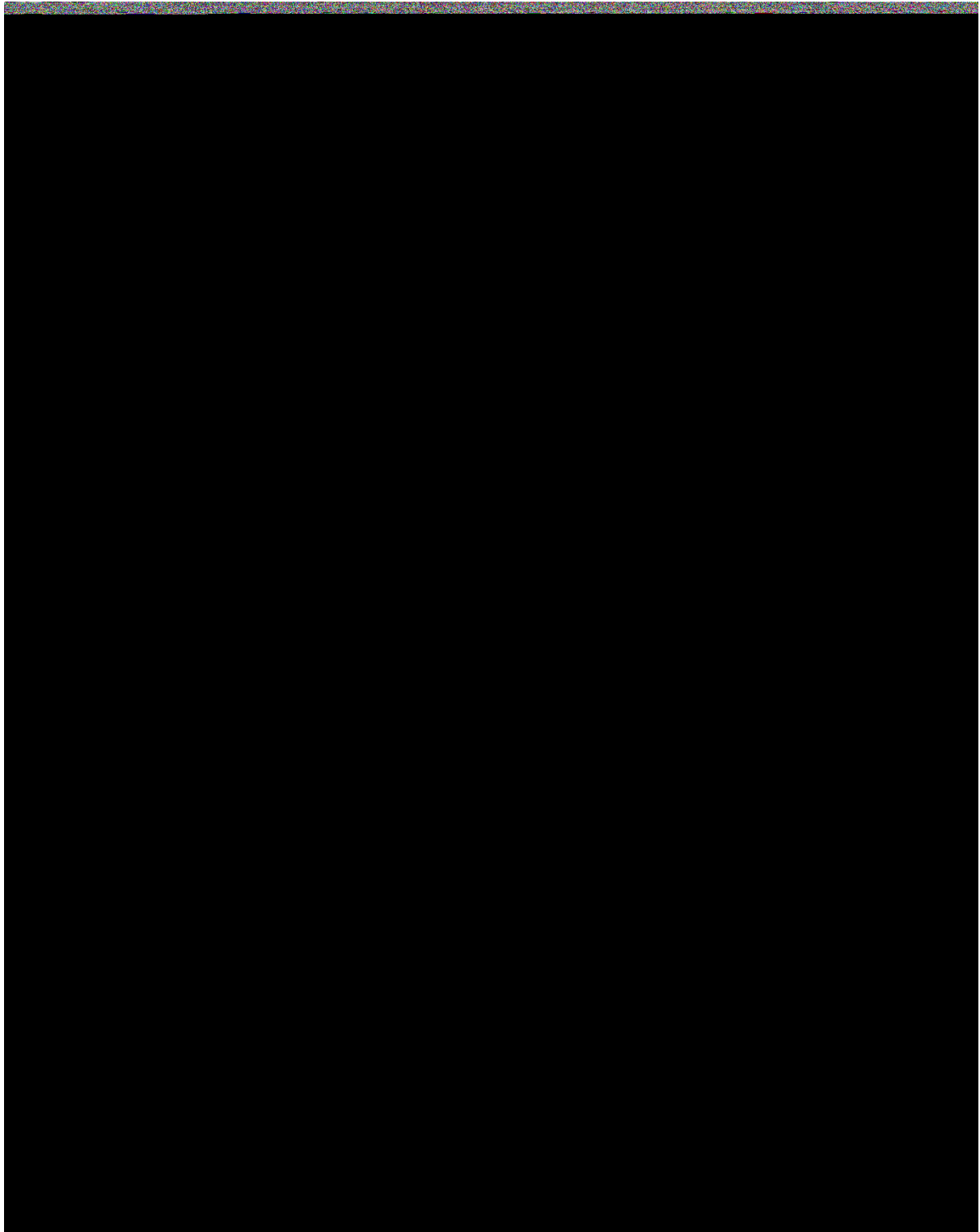
<sup>189</sup> Maniapoto Maori Trust Board, *Tribal Registration Form*, (49 Taupiri Street, Te Kuiti, 2010). Accessed on the Maniapoto Maori Trust Board internet website at <http://www.mat.maori.nz.maniapototrustboard> (Last Accessed June 2010). See also William Wetere, *The Maniapoto Maori Trust Board: A Brief History* (Maniapoto Maori Trust Board, Te Kuiti, 2009) at 32-33.

|                             |            |                |                |                |  |
|-----------------------------|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| <b>Maketu</b>               | Kāwhia     | Mahuta         | <b>Apakura</b> | Hikairo        |  |
| <b>Mangarama</b>            | Te Kuiti   | <b>Apakura</b> |                |                |  |
| <b>Mana Ariki</b>           | Taumarunui | <b>Apakura</b> | Ngutu          | Rora           |  |
| <b>Mokai Kainga</b>         | Kāwhia     | <b>Apakura</b> | Hikairo        |                |  |
| <b>Mōkau Kohunui</b>        | Piopio     | Wairoa         | Kinohaku       | <b>Apakura</b> |  |
| <b>Parekaitini/Tomotuki</b> | Te Kuiti   | Parekaitini    | <b>Apakura</b> | Rora           |  |
| <b>Pūrekireki</b>           | Pirongia   | <b>Apakura</b> | Hikairo        |                |  |
| <b>Rakaunui</b>             | Awaroa     | <b>Apakura</b> | Ngutu          | Tamainu        |  |
| <b>Tāne Hopuwai</b>         | Te Kuiti   | <b>Apakura</b> |                |                |  |

Total 10 Marae

The above official Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Marae table notes that a number of marae are acknowledged as either solely Apakura Marae (Mangarama and Tane Hopuwai) or Apakura is the one of the primary hapū . Given that the Apakura rohe appeared to be north and west of Kakepuku (Pūrekireki, Maketu and Mokai Kainga), one is inclined to question how, when and why did Apakura become a principal hapū in Otorohanga (Kahotea), Te Kuiti (Mangarama, Parekaitini and Tāne Hopuwai especially given that Tāne Hopuwai is solely an Apakura Marae but is located deep into the Rohe Pōtae at Te Kuiti), and even as far south as Piopio (Mōkau Kohunui), Awaroa (Rakaunui) and Taumarunui (Mana Ariki).

Whatever the reason, from the context of our discussion on the test for a Māori community to be officially recognised as an iwi, having marae and pā is another essential characteristic which Ngāti Apakura had historically, and continues to have in modern times as well.



**Map 19: Apakura Marae and Pā**



## **5) AN EXISTENCE TRADITIONALLY ACKNOWLEDGED BY OTHER IWI**

The final criterion for assessing whether a Māori community is an iwi or not is that the Māori group was traditionally acknowledged by other 'iwi.' In many respects, this criterion has already been discussed.

The whakapapa tables above highlight the shared descent lines from Whatihua and Apakura and that Ngāti Apakura was acknowledged traditionally as an iwi in its own right with strong whakapapa lines and relationships including with the Kāhui Ariki of Tainui. The fact Ngāti Apakura had a vibrant population with proactive and effective rangatira leading up to the Waikato Wars acknowledges Ngāti Apakura traditionally as an iwi. The involvement of Ngāti Apakura rangatira in iwi politics particularly regional and international trade, Kīngitanga hui, the Waikato Wars, and the general well being of the Te Awamutu and Ngāroto areas, acknowledges Ngāti Apakura traditionally as an iwi. The iwi and hapū battles between and among Ngāti Apakura hapū and kin, and neighbouring tribes acknowledges Ngāti Apakura traditionally as an iwi. The historic and contemporary Ngāti Apakura pā and marae acknowledge Ngāti Apakura traditionally as an iwi. Ngāti Apakura was a vibrant and cohesive iwi leading up to the Waikato Wars in 1863-1864. Everything changed for Ngāti Apakura following Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau but prior to this point, Ngāti Apakura was acknowledged traditionally as a powerful iwi.

## **SUMMARY**

This section of the report has outlined extensively Ngāti Apakura historically as an iwi and briefly, its subsequent losses following Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau early in 1864. The researchers believe the methodology for ascertaining whether Ngāti Apakura was an iwi according to legal prescription from the commercial fisheries settlement in 1992 and the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 was appropriate for this chapter. Although importantly however, the methodology has its limits. The legal criterion did provide a convenient framework for assessing whether Ngāti Apakura was an iwi historically, which it was and many Ngāti Apakura claimants today argue that it still is.

The legal criterion for ascertaining whether a Māori community is an iwi or not is dependant upon the Māori community complying with the following essential and objective iwi characteristics:

- shared descent from tūpuna (ancestors);

- hapū (sub-tribes);
- marae (meeting houses);
- belonging historically to a takiwā (territory);
- an existence traditionally acknowledged by other 'iwi.'

The criterion is however, a legal attempt to simplify the complex realities of Māori socio-political organisation. Still, from the extensive discussion above, the researchers believe they have highlighted that Ngāti Apakura passed each of the criterion above historically. The next question is whether Ngāti Apakura passes the criterion in a 21<sup>st</sup> century context. As noted previously, Tom Roa asked a very poignant question of Ngāti Maniapoto in this regard at a hui in 2010:

Tēnei te whakapapa ko wai o tātou o Ngāti Maniapoto ehara 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.<sup>190</sup>

Many within Maniapoto and Waikato for that matter share Ngāti Apakura whakapapa. But is there scope now for Ngāti Apakura to become an official iwi again in 21<sup>st</sup> century Aotearoa New Zealand with its own recognised mana whenua, bonded by whakapapa, with cohesive hapū and whānau consolidating into Ngāti Apakura marae and pā within their own takiwā or rohe? Ngāti Apakura was acknowledged traditionally by other iwi as a powerful iwi. Is there scope for Ngāti Apakura to be recognised as a coherent powerful iwi again today? That is the question which ultimately comes from and must be answered by the people themselves.

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<sup>190</sup> Supra, n 117, Roa, at 30.

## SECTION 3: NGĀTI APAKURA TRADE, PROSPERITY AND KĪNGITANGA

### INTRODUCTION

In many ways, Christianity and commerce characterise the early contact period among Ngāti Apakura and the other tribes of te Nehenehenui. As European traders forged relationships with Māori for a multitude of locally grown products, so did the missionaries like John Morgan at Otāwhao assist Māori in realising the economic opportunities available to them. But trade links had already been established between the coastal Apakura and Maniapoto tribes and the outside world before Joseph Rudolphus Kent lay anchor in the 1820s. Indeed, the coming of the Pākehā in its many facets had a huge impact on the lives and well-being of Ngāti Apakura as a people.

Ngāti Apakura responded to the changes around them in a remarkable manner. Ngāti Apakura embraced settler trade and prospered; they embraced Christianity and education; they signed and endorsed the treaty of Waitangi. After a while however, Ngāti Apakura began to be too successful. With the pending loss of lands and mana motuhake, Ngāti Apakura responded by taking lead roles supporting the Kīngitanga. This chapter will discuss in detail each of these developments.

#### Ahikā

Whatihua and Apakura (with other iwi and hapū) established mana whenua over Kāwhia. Robertson described how Apakura and Whatihua had moved from their initial kāinga, Wharenui, on the shores south of Aotea Harbour to the north of Aotea Heads at Manuaitu.<sup>191</sup> Subsequently, many of the descendants of Whatihua and Apakura moved into the interior<sup>192</sup> but, 'ahikā' was preserved by those who remained at Kāwhia.

#### Ngā Hekenga - Pikirangi

Pikirangi, Whatihua and Apakura's grandson, married his cousin Waitawake. Pikirangi and Waitawake established themselves at Ngāroto, at Turangamirumiru Pā which was a 'fortified pā in the hills to the west of the lake.'<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Supra, n 35, Robertson, at 46.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Rovina Anderson. Kahotea Pa, in 'Belgrave's Environmental Waahi Tapu Research Hui', (7th November 2010) at 37.

Mary Hurst identified Ngāhuruhuru, some five miles from Ngāroto, as being a significant Ngāti Apakura settlement in what is now called the Waikato region. When the Catholic Mission came to the Waikato in 1844, the settlement and surrounding district then known as Ngahuruhuru, became Rangiaowhia.<sup>194</sup>

The original name Raroera is indicative of abundance. This abundance was to be magnified throughout the district with the introduction of Pākehā cultivations and orchards, the fruits of which were harvested and traded by Ngāti Apakura and the many surrounding hapū in the district.

As discussed in the previous section, the settlements over which Ngāti Apakura held influence were situated northward at Tuhikaramea,<sup>195</sup> eastward to Maungatautari,<sup>196</sup> and southward into the Nehenehenui,<sup>197</sup> and westward at Kāwhia. Armitage, a Government Commissioner acknowledged that in 1862, there were four major hapū at Kāwhia - Apakura, Hikairo, Mahuta and Maniapoto.<sup>198</sup>

Koipō in the Nehenehenui was another Ngāti Apakura area of influence. Koipō was built in the Tawarau forest midway between Kawhia and the Mangapū Valley. According to Phillips, the settlement was attacked by Ngā Puhi in about 1822. He stated that all the people from Koipō were slaughtered or taken as slaves.<sup>199</sup> Phillips named Ngāti Kinohaku as Koipō's principal hapū.

According to Phillips, when Ngā Puhi later became Christians, they allowed one of the slave children, Ketetahi, to be educated with the Christian Mission Society (CMS). Ketetahi later became a secretary in Governor Grey's office.<sup>200</sup> Ketetahi subsequently gave to the descendants of Koipō a patu as a tohu for those who died at Koipō which patu is held by the people of the Mangapū Valley to this day.

#### Ngā Hononga

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<sup>194</sup> Supra, n 188, Hurst, at 4-5.

<sup>195</sup> Phillip Piripi Crown. 'Te Rohe Pōtae Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Te Tōkanganui ā noho Marae Te Kuiti, 9-11 June 2010) at 353.

<sup>196</sup> *Otorohanga Minute Book* (OMB 14) at 242.

<sup>197</sup> Nehenehenui land similar in boundaries to Tē Rohe Pōtae. See Ikatere 'A Seer's Song', in Apirana Ngata, (ed), *Nga Moteatea* (Part 1, Wellington 1928, Song 86) at 288.

<sup>198</sup> AJHR, 1962, E – 9.

<sup>199</sup> Supra, n 22, Phillips, at 182.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

It seems that through whakapapa and marriage alliances, the descendants from Koipō achieved mana whenua over lands within the Mangapū Valley of Tē Nehenehenui. The Mangapū River issues forth from underground at a place named Tengānui yet the source of the Mangapū is just a short walking distance from the Mōkau River, not far from Arapai.<sup>201</sup>

Descendants in those lands have held mana whenua along with tuakana teina hapū since early times. Ngāti Apakura can be easily traced to Koipō in the 1830s. Below is one of many whakapapa lines from the Mangapū Valley that shows connections to many hapū including Ngāti Apakura of Rangiaowhia:

Hari = Rangihapainga

Iriaka = Whakarawe (Wakarawe)<sup>202</sup>

Titi Kahunui = Huirua<sup>203</sup>

Harori = Puhia Te Roma

Iriaka = Rerehau Haupokia<sup>204</sup>

Te Raumarara = Henry Borell<sup>205</sup>

#### **Whakapapa Table 25: Mangapū Valley**

The Mangapū Valley opens out into the Whataroa, Mangarama and Mangawhitikau Valleys. The famous German explorer, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, visited the district in 1859. Hochstetter's book, entitled *New Zealand*, listed a number of settlements extant at that time: Tahuahu, Mangawhitikau, Te Mania and Whataroa. He also noted stately orchards and abandoned fields at a pā close to the confluence of the Mangawhitikau and Mangapū Rivers.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Tuti Aranui, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Maniaroa Marae, Mokau, 17-18 May 2010) at 97.

<sup>202</sup> Whakarawe was Ngāti Apakura who recorded at Rangiaowhia in Fenton's 1859 census.

<sup>203</sup> This couple along with other whānau and hapū members established Motiti Pā.

<sup>204</sup> Rerehau's grandfather is pictured with Te Waru in a later section of this report.

<sup>205</sup> Henry Borell was a descendant of Emil Borell and Roha Tangike of Rangiaowhia.

<sup>206</sup> von Hochstetter, Ferdinand, *From the Waipa through the Mokau and Tuhua districts to Lake Taupo* (1867) at 341.

Robert Te Huia spoke about the orchards and fields in the Mangapū. Te Huia stated that Ngāti Apakura brought knowledge of agriculture to the Rohe Pōtae:

Ngāti Apakura...sought refuge in the rohe and according to my kaumātua, brought into the rohe, special skills only they possessed, but shared with Maniapoto in preparing, planting that was comparable to the gardens and fruit trees...in the lands of Rangiaowhia.<sup>207</sup>

According to Hochstetter, the Mangapū Valley, being largely made up of limestone, was a haven for freshwater kōura which thrived in the many underground streams and tomo. Hochstetter recorded that on the land itself were large swamps on which stood forests of large kahikatea. From these trees were hewn canoes large enough to safely transport cargo to the Auckland trade of which some loads could comprise 30 pigs, along with the weight of passengers.<sup>208</sup>

The industry that hapū created in the Mangapū Valley has disappeared. The old pā no longer exist but close to the original sites there now stand other pā including Mōtītī, Ōpāpure, Parekaitini-Tomotuki, Mangarama and the dedicated site of Tānehopuwai. Whānau who affiliate to these modern pā have grown up knowing that their pā are tuakana teina to each other.

The collective whānau of those five pā remember and still speak of the once plentiful supply of kōura gained from the many streams, and the orchards and gardens that surrounded their pā up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>209</sup> which appears to echo the prosperity of Rangiaowhia.

In the Mangapū Valley remnants of the orchards are still visible today with large but now barren fruit trees.<sup>210</sup>

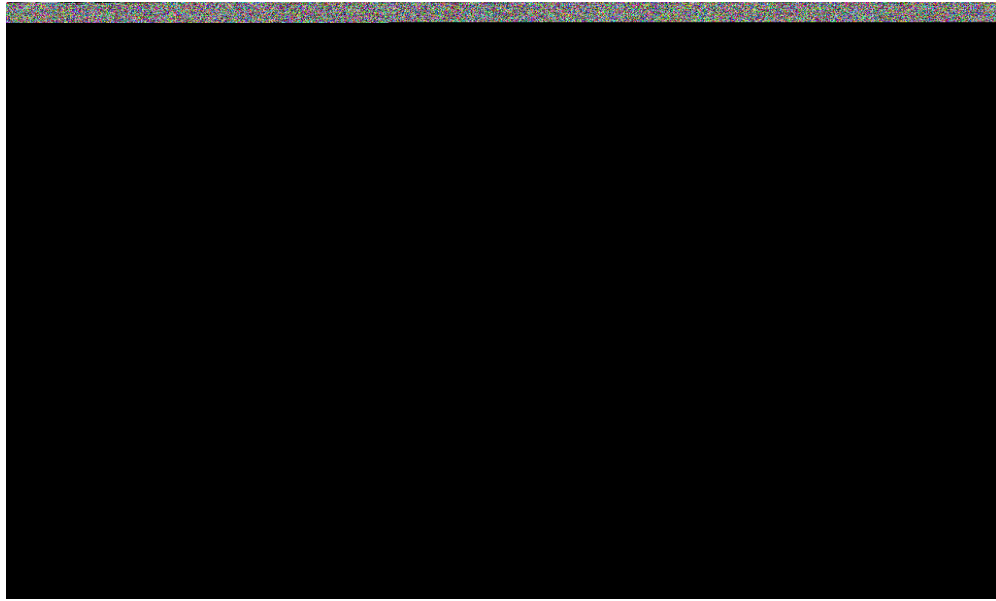
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<sup>207</sup> Robert Te Huia, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 177.

<sup>208</sup> Supra, n 209, Hochstetter, at 341.

<sup>209</sup> Freda Te Raumarara Borell, Te Ra Wright, Kelly Ngatai, Waka Huia Television Program. (10th June, 2007).

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, Te Ra Wright.



The last of the fruit trees which were once part of the orchards in the Mangapū Valley. Just below the hill beneath the pear trees is the Mangapū River.<sup>211</sup>

### **Ko Pirongia te Maunga**

Traditional kōrero from the hapū of the Mangapū Valley pā continue to acknowledge Pirongia as their maunga tūpuna. ‘Kā tītiro mātou ki te kōroua raka. Mēnā he pōtae tāna, ka koa mātou! No school.’<sup>212</sup> The phrase describes how the old people at the various pā would look out to Pirongia mountain and if Pirongia had cloud on top of him (his pōtae), the old people would tell the children to stay home from school because the pōtae was a sign of rain.<sup>213</sup>

When Te Raumarara was asked why she acknowledged as her own a maunga so far away, she did not know why. She just knew, he was their maunga.<sup>214</sup>

Pirongia is situated in lands that Ngāti Apakura once held influence and, arguably, continue to do so. It is in that region where Ngāti Apakura's principal pā Ngāhuruhuru - Rangiaowhia was situated.

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<sup>211</sup> Photograph by Doug York, Mōtītī Pā, Committee Member.

<sup>212</sup> Supra, n 212.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

## Start of Trade

The Kāwhia coast, rivers and bushlands were also well known for their abundance of food and resources for building kāinga, pā, and waka. This abundance is reflected in the whakataukī - Kāwhia Kai, Kāwhia Moana, Kāwhia Tangata.

Before the missionaries arrived in Kāwhia, flax was gathered for ships waiting in the harbour.<sup>215</sup> According to Francis, hapū sent a 60 ton shipment of flax to London valued at £2,600 prior to 1818.<sup>216</sup> From the inception of trade at Kāwhia, leaders invited hapū of the interior to join them along the coast in this new economy.<sup>217</sup>

In 1821, Ngā Puhi, armed with muskets, attacked and decisively defeated hapū at Mātakitaki Pā in the Waikato basin and surrounding district. Those who survived Mātakitaki, just as those who survived Koipō, fled southward into te Nehenehenui.

When peace was established, hapū were free to return to their haukāinga. This tikanga, to take back the lands when peace returns, mau ngā rongo ki te whenua, was established before tauwi law prevailed. Hapū leaders with sufficient mana, could sanction the return of a hapū to their lands if they had been wronged. As one witness commented in the Native Land Court:

I remember the fight at Kaipaka. It was between Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hauā. They (Apakura) went away to Kāwhia. They afterwards returned to Rangiaowhia and Panehukua .... Te Waharoa was alive then. He gave words of peace at Ōtāwhao near Te Awamutu .... his words were; one side of Mangatautari ... to him, the other side to Ngāti Apakura ... the land was returned because someone [Rangianewa] had been killed.<sup>218</sup>

Although those in the Mangapū Valley were now free to return to the Waikato, some preferred to stay with the people who sheltered them. It is likely that those people who sheltered Ngāti Apakura could also claim lines of descent from Whatihua and Apakura given the dispersal from Kāwhia after Whatihua's death.

Those who returned to the Waikato district re-established their ahikā.<sup>219</sup> Those who remained in the Mangapū Valley strengthened their whakapapa through inter-marriages with the tangata whenua; thereby gaining some mana whenua in the land that had sheltered them.

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<sup>215</sup> *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. MB, 2, 04.08.1886, OMB) at 7- 8.; *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. 3, 26.05.1888, OMB) at 345.

<sup>216</sup> Francis, A, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Commercial Economy in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century c1830-1886' (CFRT Draft Report, 2010) at 5.

<sup>217</sup> *Supra*, n 218, OMB 2, at 21.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, at 218

<sup>219</sup> F. D. Fenton, 'Observation on the State of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand 1859.' Tables I-XVI .



Some 40 years later, the Mangapū Valley would shelter Ngāti Apakura from the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia.

### Muskets and Traders

Boulton discussed the necessity of Māori to acquire muskets after the tragedy of Mātakitaki.<sup>220</sup> Kāwhia leaders set about bringing traders into their hapū and area for this purpose.<sup>221</sup> Te Puuaha of Kāwhia seems to have been the first in the Kāwhia district to seek out European traders.<sup>222</sup> In about 1824, Te Puaha visited the Ngā Puhi in the north and returned with the Pākehā trader, Joseph Rudolphus Kent or Amukete.<sup>223</sup>

Amukete introduced muskets and powder to trade for flax in Te Nehenehenui. The constant demand for muskets brought about the arrival of three other traders from Sydney - Te Kaora or J.V. Cowell, Te Rangi-Tera and Tamete.<sup>224</sup> Meanwhile Haupokia travelled to Australia in the 1830s to convince European investors to establish a flax trade in Kāwhia<sup>225</sup> where he met Montefiore and Kemmis who agreed to his proposal.<sup>226</sup>

When the European traders arrived in Kawhia, they were attached to various chiefs in the expectation that the chief's hapū would quickly gain the trade advantage. These traders were also allocated women of rank as wives.

These different Pākehās were appropriated by various chiefs, who settled them as follows; Hamu-kete was taken by Te Wherowhero, and settled at Heahea (near Kāwhia Heads, north side); Te Tuhi took Te Rangi-tera and settled him also at Heahea; Kiwi took Te Kaora and settled him at Powewe (Kāwhia township); Te Kanawa took Tamete and settled him at Maketu (near the above).<sup>227</sup>

Pei Te Hurinui Jones, recorded that Ngāngihā, a close relative of Pōtatau, was the first woman of high birth given in marriage to a Pākehā.<sup>228</sup> Some records show that Ngāngihā or

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<sup>220</sup> Boulton, F, 'Hapu and Iwi Land Transactions with the Crown and Europeans in the Te Rohe Pōtae Enquiry District C. 1840-1864' (CFRT Report, 2009) at 19.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, at 28.

<sup>222</sup> J. F. Mandeno, 'Early Settlers of the West Coast, Waikato and Waipa', in *Footprints of History* (Vol 9, 9 Nov 1992) at 199.

<sup>223</sup> Smith, P, 'History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand, prior to 1840', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1910) at 338.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid

<sup>225</sup> Supra, n. 219, Francis, at 6.

<sup>226</sup> Idem.

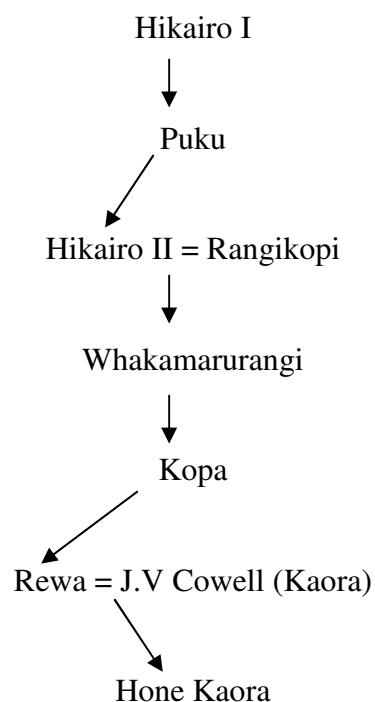
<sup>227</sup> Ibid at 9.

<sup>228</sup> Jones, P, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero the First Maori King* (The Polynesian Society, Roydhouse & Son, Wairarapa, 1960) at 172.

Tiria was actually Pōtatau's daughter. Amukete and Ngāngihā settled at Heahea on the north side of the Kāwhia Heads.<sup>229</sup>

Each trader was given a woman of rank as a wife along with parcels of land which were considered 'gifts' with reciprocal obligations to remain with the hapū and establish trade for the continued prosperity and well-being of the hapū.

The Cowell (Kaora) whānau was a significant arrival for Ngāti Apakura. John and Mary Ann Cowell and their 15 year old son, John Vittoria Cowell, arrived in Kāwhia in 1828. Mary died in 1832 and John subsequently married Rewa of Ngāti Hikairo. John and Rewa had a son Hone Kaora (John Cowell) who was born in 1838.<sup>230</sup>



According to Percy Smith, within a year of John Cowell Senior arriving in Kāwhia, he obtained a 20,000 acre block of land extending from the Kāwhia coast into the interior. Cowell was not gifted the land but he purchased it with six muskets, eight casks of powder and other tools and equipment. The transfer was dated 11th January 1840 but a comment regarding the deed read, 'no doubt, the purchase took place many years before that.'<sup>231</sup>

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Supra, n. 219, Francis, at 12.

<sup>231</sup> Supra, n. 226, Smith, at 322.

By the age of 18, Vittoria Cowell, was employed as a ship's master and later became a trader in his own right. In 1839, Ngāti Apakura invited Vittoria to set up a trading post on their behalf which occurred at Te Rore. Vittoria married Martha Ridsen, a woman of rank.<sup>232</sup>

Mandeno also noted that a senior hapū of Ngāti Apakura had made their settlement at Te Rore and it was here in 1839 that Cowell Junior established a trading station.<sup>233</sup> At the time, the land belonged to Ngāti Puhiawe, a hapū of Ngāti Apakura.<sup>234</sup> Boulton noted that Vittoria had also been gifted 40,000 acres with conditions.<sup>235</sup>

#### WOMEN OF MANA

Marriages of women of mana to men from other hapū or Europeans created strong political alliances. These women commanded respect as indicated in the two whakatauki:

E kore ē whatia te āio kua meatia ē te wahine ariki.  
The peace made by a woman of rank is never broken

E kore ē wareware ki te kōhurutanga wahine āriki  
The murder of a woman of rank is never forgotten.<sup>236</sup>

Traditional kōrero also highlights the respect demanded by a woman of mana. When Te Rauparaha and his people killed Te Arataura, a Maniapoto woman of rank, Maniapoto promptly marched into Kāwhia to seek revenge. Te Rauparaha's younger brother was killed and his two women of rank were taken, but were spared. Maniapoto then attacked Te Rauparaha's pā, Te Arawī, after which the two women of rank were released back into the pā.<sup>237</sup>

Women did not always rely on their hapū to rectify a hara against them. Ruapūtahanga, Whatihua's wife, mentioned in the earlier section of this report, felt her mana was abused when Whatihua used Ruapūtahanga's mauri to lure fish for his senior wife, Apakura. Ruapūtahanga immediately began her return trek along the coast towards her homeland in Taranaki. Whatihua pursued Ruapūtahanga but she warned him to return to Kāwhia 'lest he drown' in the Kāwhia channel.

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<sup>232</sup> Supra, n. 219, Francis, at 12.

<sup>233</sup> J. F. Mandeno, 'John Vittoria Cowell "Seeking the Truth" in *Foot Prints of History* (Vol 22, June 1999) at 12.

<sup>234</sup> Supra, n. 219, Francis, at 12.

<sup>235</sup> Supra, n. 223, Boulton, at 28.

<sup>236</sup> Supra, n. 218, OMB 2, at 6.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid, at 7.

Pei Te Hurinui described how Ngāwaero being a daughter of the well-known chief, Peehi Tukorehu, was offended at the occasion of her marriage to Pōtatau. She had overheard complaints about the lack of a certain delicacy at the occasion of her wedding kaihākari (feast).<sup>238</sup> Ngāwaero called her people together to help uphold her mana (thus their mana). They set about trapping and preserving birds in preparation for a kaihākari that would be offered to the very people who had caused the offence. Ngāwaero then composed a waiata for the occasion in which she named the whenua over which she had mana to collect the birds and the ancestors whom she had entreated to assist her and her people. This waiata is recorded in Shane Te Ruki's collection of waiata, *Toitū Te Pūoro*.<sup>239</sup> Each mountain, river and ancestor named in the waiata reconfirmed Ngāwaero's mana.

### Conditional Gifts

To Apakura rangatira, Vittoria Cowell's acceptance of a woman of high birth and land bound him to the hapū with an expectation that he would bring trade to Ngāti Apakura. If however Cowell were to leave the district, then the gift of land was annulled and his wife would remain with the hapū.

In about 1840, Cowell claimed the gift of 40,000 acres situated on the banks of the Waipā River in the Waikato district. Cowell recorded that he was given the land in 1839 by Ngā Taki and others in consideration of his living in New Zealand and for his 'service to the natives'.<sup>240</sup> However, the precise boundaries were unclear.

Part of Cowell's service is recorded in a letter dated 28 August 1898. Gordon's Lennox's tūpuna, Penetana Pukewhau wrote the letter:

O tāku whakahaere mō te mahi ahuhenua a tēnei iwi Apakura...nā ngā mea o rātou i noho ki Kāwhia i tuatahi te mahi i tēnei taonga i te witi huri ai ki ngā mira *Pirorinei* ā rātou Pākehā a Hone Kaora me tētahi atu hoki o ā rātou Pākehā.<sup>241</sup>

Translation: Regarding my work to deal with matters of harvesting the land for the iwi of Apakura. They had, at Kāwhia in the first place a 'taonga' to work the wheat. The wheat is turned and turned in the mill *Pirorinei* which belongs to their Pākehā, John Cowell, and another of their Pākehā.

<sup>238</sup> Supra, n. 231, Jones, at 133 – 136.

<sup>239</sup> Shane Te Ruki, *Toitū Te Pūoro* (1994) at 5.

<sup>240</sup> Turton, Hanson. Maori Deeds of Old Private Land Purchases in New Zealand from the year 1815 to 1840, with pre emptive and other claims. deed no 431author Hanson Turton. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/teo-TurOldP-t1-g1-g3-g1-t6-body-d2.html> (Accessed June 2012).

<sup>241</sup> Unpublished Pukewhau writings in files belonging to Pukewhau whānau, Gordon Lennox Collection.

The expectations regarding gifts of land were clearly set out with Montefiore who responded to Haupokia's request to visit Kawhia:

...but when I was in Kaffea [Kāwhia] I obtained a Grant of Land from a Chief, which I have here; it is a very small quantity: it is under a Condition that I should establish a mercantile Establishment there. I did not purchase it; it was given to me.<sup>242</sup>

Montefiore was giving evidence to a Select Committee in Parliament where he explained that although he and other Pākehā were in Kāwhia as established business people, they had no power. He explained that if a dispute arose between themselves and Māori, they would have no system of support except to rely on the mana of the chief who invited them to Kāwhia.<sup>243</sup>

Montefiore explained that he had accepted the gift through an oral agreement. Montefiore added that the area of land that he was gifted had been marked out by burning debris around the border of the one and a half acre block and that the land was 'made taboo or sacred and the line of demarcation burnt out.'<sup>244</sup>

Once the European traders were established under each of the hapū, trade began to flourish in the area. James Cowan provided an account of trade in Kāwhia prior to 1860 by Ngārongo who grew up in Kāwhia in the 1840s:

I remember the vessels our people had in our part of Kāwhia. There was the *Aotearoa*; she was owned and sailed by Paiaka. There was the *Nepukaneha* (Nebuchadnezzar), which was [the Ngāti Apakura rangatira] Hone Te One's vessel. These craft traded to Ōnehunga, and they carried much produce from Kāwhia. We shipped in them wheat and maize, fruit, pigs, pumpkins, vegetable marrows, and dressed flax. Many hapū were concerned in this trade; we all shipped cargo for sale to the Pākehā, and all was done agreeably; there were no quarrels among the people over trade.<sup>245</sup>

## SUMMARY

The abundance of flax growing along the Kāwhia coast ushered in the development of trade in 1818. Inland hapū came to the coast to join in the trade and were designated land.

Meanwhile the musket trade had already begun with northern Iwi. The 1821 Ngā Puhī victory at Mātakitaki resulted in an arms race.

Pākehā traders were targeted to live and work for the various hapū. In exchange, they were gifted land and women. The women commanded respect and retribution was demanded

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<sup>242</sup> Supra, n. 223, Boulton, at 21.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Supra, n. 32, Cowan, at 196.

where breaches occurred. Montefiore's misunderstanding of the gift of land indicated that Pākehā traders were at the behest of Māori. The importance of trade and strengthening mana motuhake were some among other reasons why Māori entered into the Treaty of Waitangi with the British which is what the next section will address.

### **Ngāti Apakura and the Treaty of Waitangi - Pungarehu Signs the Treaty**

The Treaty of Waitangi (the Treaty) is New Zealand's founding constitutional document.<sup>246</sup> The Treaty was signed on 6 February 1840 at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands by representatives of the British Crown and approximately 500 Māori chiefs representing many, though not all, of the hapū of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson had the task of securing British sovereignty over New Zealand and he relied on the advice and support of the British Resident, James Busby, among others, to assist him in the task.<sup>247</sup> The Treaty was drafted in a few days although a Treaty language and policy did exist so Hobson did have some precedent and instructions to follow. The missionary Henry Williams and his son Edward translated the English draft into Māori overnight on 4<sup>th</sup> February. About 500 Māori debated the document for a day and a night on the 5<sup>th</sup> it was signed by 40 rangatira on 6<sup>th</sup> February.<sup>248</sup>

### **Signing the Treaty**

Hobson and others stressed the Treaty's benefits while playing down the effects of British sovereignty on rangatiratanga (chiefly authority).<sup>249</sup> The Treaty is an agreement, in Māori and English, where promises were exchanged between two sovereign peoples giving rise to obligations for each party. Under the Treaty, Māori ceded to the British Crown some political power to govern in New Zealand and in exchange, the Crown promised to protect

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<sup>246</sup> The Waitangi Tribunal suggested that the Treaty of Waitangi must be seen as a 'basic constitutional document' in Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāi Tahu Report* (WAI 27, Brooker and Friend Ltd, Wellington, 1991) at 224. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council commented that the Treaty is of the 'greatest constitutional importance to New Zealand' in *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1994] [1992] 1 NZLR 513 per Lord Wolf at 516. The High Court held that the Treaty is 'part of the fabric of New Zealand society' in *Huakina Development Trust v Waikato Valley Authority* [1987] 2 NZLR 188 at 210 (HC). The late Lord Cooke of Thorndon, speaking extra-judicially, concluded that the 'Treaty is simply the most important document in New Zealand's history' in Cooke, R, 'Introduction' in *New Zealand University Law Review* (Vol. 14, No. 1, June 1990) at 1.

<sup>247</sup> See generally Orange, C, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Allen & Unwin Press & Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987).

<sup>248</sup> See Colenso, W, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1890).

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

their chiefly authority including their rights to their lands, forests, fisheries and other possessions.<sup>250</sup> The Crown also promised to extend to Māori the same rights and privileges as British citizens.<sup>251</sup>

Māori were reassured that their status would be strengthened so many chiefs supported the agreement. About 40 chiefs, starting with Hōne Heke, signed the Māori version – Te Tiriti o Waitangi - on 6<sup>th</sup> February. By September 1840, another 500 had signed the copies of the document that were sent around the country. Some signed while remaining uncertain; others refused or had no chance to sign and almost all signed the Māori version of the Treaty.<sup>252</sup> The Colonial Office in England later declared that the Treaty applied to Māori tribes whose chiefs had not signed and British sovereignty over the country was subsequently proclaimed by Governor Hobson on 21 May 1840.

We pick up the story with the Waikato-Manukau signing and the Manukau-Kāwhia signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Manukau Treaty version was received by the missionary Robert Maunsell at his station at Port Waikato in March or April of 1840, 'just as a large number of Māori were gathering for a meeting'.<sup>253</sup> The Manukau version was written in English only, unlike the original document which was in both English and Māori.

Maunsell and fellow missionary, Benjamin Ashwell, were witnesses to the first 32 signatures. Of the total 39 signatures documented, Maunsell identified that 32 were leading men mostly from the Waikato region. On 26<sup>th</sup> April, at Manukau Harbour, seven other signatures were added and witnessed by W.C. Simmonds.<sup>254</sup>

Maunsell was able to identify the Iwi, hapū and sometimes principal settlements of each rangatira. Maunsell also recorded that the 15<sup>th</sup> signature was that of a female, Hoana Riutoto (also known as Te Riutoto) highlighting that women were also rangatira.

The table below records the Manukau signatories witnessed by Robert Maunsell and Benjamin Ashwell.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Elias, S, 'Treaty of Waitangi and the Separation of Powers' in Gray, B & McClintock, R, (ed) *Courts and Policy: Checking the Balance* (Brookers, Wellington, 1995) at 206.

<sup>251</sup> See Kawharu, I.H (ed), *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1989).

<sup>252</sup> Moss, R, 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts and Translations' in *The New Zealand Journal of History* (Vol. 6, No. 2, 1972) at 129.

<sup>253</sup> Robert Maunsell in The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (TENZ), A.A. McLintock, ed, [www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/maunsell-robert/1](http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/maunsell-robert/1) (Accessed June 2012).

<sup>254</sup> 'Waikato - Manukau Treaty Copy', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/interactive/waikato-manukau-aty-copy> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 16-Jun-2011 (Accessed June 2012).

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

**Table 21: Waikato-Manukau Signatories to the English Version of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840**

|                                                                                                                                    | <b>Signed as</b>         | <b>Probable name</b>         | <b>Tribe</b>       | <b>Hapū</b>                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Signed in late March or early April 1840, at Waikato Heads, witnessed by Robert Maunsell and Benjamin Ashwell, dated 11 April 1840 |                          |                              |                    |                                  |
| 1.                                                                                                                                 | Paengāhuru               | Paengāhuru                   | Waikato            | Ngāti Tipa                       |
| 2.                                                                                                                                 | Kiwi Ngārau              | Kiwi Ngārau                  | Waikato            | Ngāti Tahinga                    |
| 3.                                                                                                                                 | Te Paki                  | [Hone Wetere] Te Paki        | Waikato            | Te Ngaungau                      |
| 4.                                                                                                                                 | Ngāpaka                  | Ngāpaka                      | Waikato            | Ngāti Tipa                       |
| 5.                                                                                                                                 | Kukutai                  | [Waata?] Kukutai             | Waikato            | Ngāti Tipa                       |
| 6.                                                                                                                                 | Te Ngoki                 | Te Ngoki?/Te Ngohi?          | Ngāti<br>Maniapoto | from Kāwhia                      |
| 7.                                                                                                                                 | Muriwenua                | Muriwhenua                   | Ngāti Haua         | from Aotea                       |
| 8.                                                                                                                                 | Te Pakaru                | Te Pakaru                    | Ngāti<br>Maniapoto | from Kāwhia                      |
| 9.                                                                                                                                 | Waraki                   | Te Waraki                    | Ngāti<br>Maniapoto | from Kāwhia                      |
| 10.                                                                                                                                | Kiwi (te Roto)           | Kiwi Te Roto                 | Waikato            | Ngāti Mahuta<br>from Kāwhia      |
| 11.                                                                                                                                | Te Paerata               | Te Paerata                   | Waikato            | Ngāti Pou                        |
| 12.                                                                                                                                | Te Katipa                | Te Katipa                    | Waikato            | Ngāti Pou                        |
| 13.                                                                                                                                | Maikuku                  | Maikuku                      | Waikato            | Ngāti Te Ata                     |
| 14.                                                                                                                                | Aperahama<br>Ngākainga   | Aperahama Ngākainga          | Waikato            | Ngāti Te Ata                     |
| 15.                                                                                                                                | Hoana Riutoto            | Hoana Riutoto                | Waikato            | Ngāti Mahuta                     |
| 16.                                                                                                                                | Te Wairakau              | Te Wairakau                  | Waikato            | Ngāti Te Ata                     |
| 17.                                                                                                                                | Hako                     | Hako                         | Waikato?           | Ngāti Te Wehi<br>from Aotea      |
| 18.                                                                                                                                | Wiremu Te Awa-i-<br>taia | Wiremu Nera<br>Te Awa-i-taia | Waikato            | Ngāti Mahanga<br>from Whaingaroa |



|     |                      |                      |                |                                                |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------|
|     |                      |                      |                | (Raglan)                                       |
| 19. | Tuneu Ngāwaka        | Tuneu Ngāwaka        | Waikato        | Ngāti Tahinga?                                 |
| 20. | Kemura Wareroa       | Kemura Whareroa      | Waikato        | Ngāti Tahinga                                  |
| 21. | Pohepohe             | Pohepohe             | Ngāti Haua     | from Matamata                                  |
| 22. | Pokawa<br>Rawhirawhi | Pokawa Rawhirawhi    | Ngāti Haua     | from Matamata                                  |
| 23. | <b>Te Puata</b>      | <b>Te Puata</b>      | <b>Waikato</b> | <b>Ngāti Ruru at<br/>Ōtāwhao<sup>256</sup></b> |
| 24. | <b>Te Mokorau</b>    | <b>Te Mokorau</b>    | <b>Waikato</b> | <b>Ngāti Ruru at<br/>Ōtāwhao</b>               |
| 25. | <b>Pungarehu</b>     | <b>Pungarehu</b>     | <b>Waikato</b> | <b>Ngāti Apakura<br/>at Pārāwera</b>           |
| 26. | Pokotukia            | Pokotukia/Pohotukia? | Ngai Te Rangi? | from Tauranga?                                 |
| 27. | Tekeha               | Te Keha?             | Waikato        | Ngāti Naho at<br>Te Horo                       |
| 28. | Te Warepu            | Te Wharepu           | Waikato        | Ngāti Hine at<br>Taupiri                       |
| 29. | <b>Te Kanawa</b>     | <b>Te Kanawa</b>     | <b>Waikato</b> | <b>Ngāti Hine at<br/>Taupiri</b>               |
| 30. | Te Whata             | Te Whata             | Waikato        | Ngāti Tipa at<br>Whāingaroa<br>(Raglan)        |
| 31. | Ngāwaka (te Ao)      | Ngāwaka Te Ao        | Waikato        | Ngāti Whauroa at<br>Putataka                   |
| 32. | <b>Peehi</b>         | <b>Peehi</b>         | <b>Waikato</b> | <b>Ngāti Ruru at<br/>Ōtāwhao</b>               |
|     |                      |                      |                |                                                |

<sup>256</sup> Otawhao now known as Te Awamutu. James Cowan, Chapt IV. 'The Golden Age Before the War,' in *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the Story of The Waipa Valley: The Missionary, the Soldier, The Pioneer Farmer, Early Colonisation, the War in Waikato, Life on the Maori Border and Later-day Settlement* (Waipa Post, Printing and Publishing Ltd, Te Awamutu, 1922) at 20.

| Signed on 26 April 1840, at Manukau Harbour, witnessed by W.C. Symonds |                |                    |          |              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------|--------------|
| 33.                                                                    | Wiremu Ngāwaro | Wiremu Ngāwaro     | Waikato  | Ngāti Te Ata |
| 34.                                                                    | Hone Kingi     | Hone Kingi         | Waikato  | Ngāti Te Ata |
| 35.                                                                    | Ko te ta Wha   | Te Tawa?/Te Tawha? | Waikato  | Ngāti Te Ata |
| 36.                                                                    | Tamati         | Tamati             | Waikato? |              |
| 37.                                                                    | Rapata Waiti   | Rapata Waiti       | Waikato? |              |
| 38.                                                                    | Te Awarahi     | Te Awarahi         | Waikato  | Ngāti Te Ata |
| 39.                                                                    | Rehurehu       | Rehurehu           | Waikato? |              |

Pungarehu was the 25<sup>th</sup> rangatira to signatory to the Manukau version of the Treaty of Waitangi. Pungarehu was identified as a Ngāti Apakura rangatira of the Waikato district. Pungarehu's principal place of residence in 1840 however, was Otāwhao. The names Te Pūata, Te Mokorau and Peehi are recorded at lines 23, 24 and 32 respectively. These leaders indicated that they also held mana whenua at Ōtāwhao, and represented Ngāti Ruru.

Te Kanawa was the 29<sup>th</sup> rangatira to sign the Treaty at Waikato Heads on the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1840. His whakapapa includes descent through Apakura. His principal place of residence was Waikato. It is important to note that a person named Te Kanawa also signed the Kāwhia version on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1840.

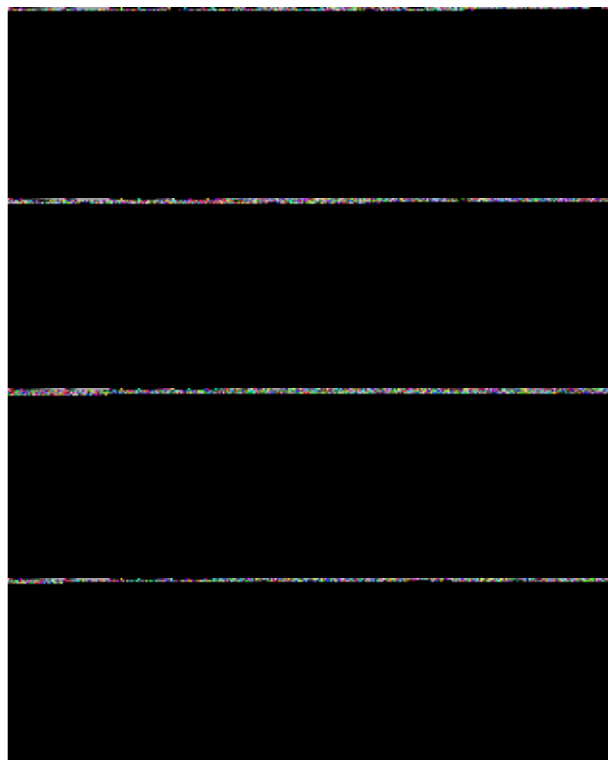
The Kāwhia version of the Treaty was sent to Captain William Symonds in the Manakau Harbour on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1840. This copy was written in Māori. Symonds held two hui at Kāwhia to gain signatures. Te Wherowhero attended the second meeting. Te Wherowhero however refused to sign the Treaty given that he had earlier signed the Declaration of Independence.

**Table 22: Documentation of the Manukau - Kawhia Māori- Language Copy of the Treaty of Waitangi  
1840**

|                                                             |                      |                                |                           |                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Signed on 21 May 1840, at Kawhia witnessed by John Whiteley |                      |                                |                           |                        |
| 5                                                           | <b>Te Kanawa</b>     | <b>Te Kanawa</b>               | <b>Waikato</b>            | <b>Ngati Mahuta</b>    |
| 6                                                           | Tariki               | Tariki                         | Waikato? Ngati Maniapoto? | Patupatu Pa            |
| 7                                                           | Haupokia             | Haupokia (Te Pakaru)           | Ngati Maniapoto?          |                        |
| Signed on 25 May 1840, witnessed by John Whiteley           |                      |                                |                           |                        |
| 8                                                           | <b>Te Waru</b>       | <b>(Hori) Te Waru (Haunui)</b> | <b>Waikato</b>            | <b>Ngati Maniapoto</b> |
| Signed on 15 June 1840, witnessed by John Whiteley          |                      |                                |                           |                        |
| 9                                                           | Taunui               | Taonui                         | Waikato? Ngati Maniapoto? | Patupatu Pa            |
| 10                                                          | Hone Waitere         | Hone Waitere                   | Ngati Maniapoto?          | Aotea?                 |
| 11                                                          | Te Matenga Te Wahapū | Te Matenga                     | Te Wahapū?                | Te Wahapū              |
| Signed on 27 August 1840, at Kawhia                         |                      |                                |                           |                        |
| 12                                                          | Ngamotu              | (Wiremu Hopihana?)<br>Ngamotu  | Ngati Maniapoto?          |                        |
| Signed on 3 September 1840 (at Kawhia?)                     |                      |                                |                           |                        |
| 13                                                          | Warekaua             | Wharekaua/Wharekawa?           | Waikato?                  | From Whakatiwai?       |

Hori Te Waru, on behalf of Ngāti Apakura, was the seventh rangatira to sign the Kāwhia version of the Treaty which he signed on 21st May. Te Waru was another prominent

Ngāti Apakura rangatira. It was to Hori Te Waru that Ngāti Apakura assigned the task of organising the construction of a mill at Rangiaowhia. Haupokia was the eighth rangatira to sign the Treaty at Kāwhia on 21st May, 1840. Te Pakaru Haupokia was an adult living at Kāwhia in 1840. Te Pakaru signed the Manakau version at Waikato Heads on 11th April. This is the same Te Pakaru who brought the trader, Montifiore, to Kāwhia mentioned earlier. Te Pakaru's son, Haupokia Te Pakaru of Kāwhia, is pictured with his two sisters immediately below. The sketch was made before 1847. It seems that Haupokia, a minor, also signed the Kāwhia version or that Te Pakaru signed twice but used his other name, Haupokia when he signed the second time.



**Children of Te Pakaru, The Chief of Kaiohia (Kawhia)**<sup>257</sup>  
 "One of the...chiefs of the Ngatimaniapoto tribe is Te Pakaru, or Apokea "

Of the 500 or more rangatira who signed the Treaty of Waitang in 1840, perhaps seven represented Ngāti Apakura, including the prominent rangatira Pungarehu and Hori Te Waru.

#### **Pungarehu's Mana**

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<sup>257</sup> Supra, n.60, Angus.

About four years after Pungarehu signed the Treaty of Waitangi, he changed his name to Hoani Pāpita (John the Baptist). John the Baptist features prominently in the Christian Bible. John the Baptist paved the way for the Messiah of the Jewish people.<sup>258</sup>

Hoani moved to Rangiaowhia in 1844. In 1854 a land deed witnessing the transfer of 298 acres in the Rangiaowhia district to the Catholic Church was signed by six Ngāti Apakura leaders including Hoani Pāpita.<sup>259</sup>

Governor George Grey supported Ngāti Apakura to boost wheat production by supplying them ploughs and horses. In return the new settlers had a plentiful and cheap food supply in Auckland. When Grey left New Zealand in 1852, Hoani Pāpita acknowledged him for his support of Ngāti Apakura in providing gifts of ploughs, horses, carts and other property. Cowan recorded a farewell speech by Pāpita

Our love to you and our remembrance of you will not cease; Go hence, O friend, go to the Queen and carry with you our love to her in return for the gifts which we have....If the Queen should send another governor let his love for the Māoris be like yours, and we will repay him with our love.<sup>260</sup>

When Hoani (Pungarehu) signed the Treaty of Waitangi, Ngāti Apakura's prosperity was increasing. However, some 17 years later, Hoani asserted that Ngāti Apakura prosperity, based on European wealth paled in significance to the primacy of tribal identity and mana whenua.

At one of the hui organised to establish the Kīngitanga, Hoani Pāpita, highlighted the importance of maintaining tribal identity when he opined: 'Fresh water is lost when it mingles with salt'. When he completed his speech he sang a waiata about the need for hapū to keep their land whereupon 2,000 people at the hui joined in the chorus.

Pōtatau was anointed the first King of the unified tribes in 1858.<sup>261</sup> In the years leading up to the Crown attack on hapū settlements in the fertile Waikato basin, Hoani Pāpita remained a strong adherent to the Kīngitanga notwithstanding having signed the Treaty of Waitangi on behalf of Ngāti Apakura.

From 1818 to 1840, Māori had successfully adapted to the new methods of farming. Ngāti Apakura was a driving force behind this advancement. Once traders and missionaries

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<sup>258</sup> *Te Paipera Tapu: The Holy Bible*, (King James Version, 1611), Chapter 3: vs 11-17.

<sup>259</sup> Catholic Diocese of Hamilton Catholic Archives: (Correspondence, Deeds of Gift 1854 2<sup>nd</sup> January) at 788.

<sup>260</sup> Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Railways Magazine*, (Vol. 8, Issue 2, June 1 1933) at 19.

<sup>261</sup> *Supra*, n. 231, Jones.

were integrated into the community, according to Montifiore, traders were very aware of the obligations which tied them to hapū leaders.

The word, Kawanatanga is a transliteration of the word Government. But the word rangatiratanga is a Māori concept. It is critical to note that imbedded in the status of rangatiratanga is mana whakapapa, mana whenua, mana wairua and many other endowments all of which bring mana to the hapū. Perhaps a more appropriate term is 'mana motuhake' - separate authority.

Ngāti Apakura in 1840 along with other iwi and hapū in the Waikato and surrounding districts were a prosperous people. They far outnumbered the Pākehā settlers. By their produce, they fed the Pākehā population; the Pākehā was their whāngai.<sup>262</sup> They did not, at the height of their prosperity, agree to give to the Queen of those they whāngai'd, their sovereignty, their mana motuhake.

Ngāti Apakura, in signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, agreed that the Pākehā Queen would govern her people and that relationships would continue to develop between Pākehā and hapū; thus Ngāti Apakura would continue to prosper. Ngāti Apakura had no reason to, and did not; relinquish their mana motuhake when they signed the Treaty of Waitangi. Any variance from these understandings would have been caused by an unintentional or intentional incorrect translation of the Treaty.

### **Missionaries and Ngāti Apakura**

There were a number of Christian Mission stations in the Waipā district. Sonny Te Whiwhi Maniapoto noted: 'Reverend Morgan set up the Church of England at Te Awamutu, there was a Roman Catholic mission at Rangiaowhia and there was a Wesleyan mission at Te Kōpua.'<sup>263</sup>

### **Roman Catholic Mission**

The Catholic Mission station was originally based in Matamata.<sup>264</sup> During the development of the Mission it became apparent that the Ōtāwhao district was a preferable base. Permission was sought to move to Ngāhuruhuru which request was granted. The site

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<sup>262</sup> Whangai literally means to give food to but it also means to adopt and thus give protection to.

<sup>263</sup> Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript, (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 49.

<sup>264</sup> Rev E. R. Simmons. Letter sent to Mr Pryor, Catholic Archives Diocese of Hamilton, 21.10.1980.

decided on was Karangapaihau which was at the highest part of the Rangiaowhia ridge at the north-western end of the village.<sup>265</sup>

Petrina Paki stated that the Catholic Mission Station was opened at Ngāhuruhuru in 1844 by Father Jean Pezant.<sup>266</sup> A presbytery (building for formal religious leaders) and the framework of a chapel were completed in 1844. It seems that these two structures were made of raupō given that ‘the chapel and presbytery were built Māori fashion.’<sup>267</sup>

Within a short time, the Mission succeeded in baptising a large Ngāti Apakura following in the district. When the Catholic Church arrived in Rangiaowhia, 153 baptisms, 145 confirmations and 12 marriages were conducted. In 1848 Bishop Viard alleged to have ‘confirmed 577 people’.<sup>268</sup>

Hapū subsequently supported the Catholic Mission to build a wooden presbytery and church. Two Frenchmen, Louis Bidois and Emile Borel, were brought in to saw the timber for the buildings.<sup>269</sup> Bidois and Borel, along with the hapū at Rangiaowhia, worked with Father Pezant to cut, saw and cart the timber to Rangiaowhia. The buildings were completed in 1851 under the leadership of Father Garavel.<sup>270</sup>

According to Paki, Emile Borel married Roha Tangike of Ngāti Apakura. Roha lived at Ngāhuruhuru and was a close relative of Hoani Pāpita. She held mana whenua over the hill called Karangapaihau where the church was built.<sup>271</sup>

Although Father Pezant left Rangiaowhia in 1851, just before the buildings were finished, Pezant’s memoirs describe his service to a baptised chief, Peter Te Whareponga, when he was close to death, ‘I anointed him and the following Sunday supplied the ceremonies ... the sick man died some days later.’<sup>272</sup>

Whareponga was a leader in the district of Rangiaowhia and was closely related to Potatau. As expected, Pōtatau and many other rangatira of the Waikato gathered in Rangiaowhia to grieve Te Whareponga’s passing. Father Pezant, after seeking advice from hapū adherents to the faith, petitioned Potatau directly to be able to bury the deceased

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Paki, Ngā Taonga o Paparoa Marae, ‘An account of Paparoa Marae and an account of the Treasures which it holds’ (Unpublished, Massey University, 1999) at 6.

<sup>267</sup> Rev E. R. Simmons letter sent to Mr Pryor. in Catholic Archives Diocese of Hamilton , 21.10.1980.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Supra, n 269, Paki, at 6.

<sup>270</sup> Idem.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid, at 5.

<sup>272</sup> Pezant Father Jean, Marist Archives Wellington, *The History of the Station of Rangiaowhia (Waikato) up to 1st March 1846* (Extracts Father Jean Pezant’s Memoir of his Mission at Rangiaowhia 1836 – 1854) at 26.

‘according to my religion’, to which Potatau agreed.<sup>273</sup> Potatau, himself was never baptised but was always interested and encouraging of the new Christian faith.<sup>274</sup>

In 1854, hapū leaders arranged with the Crown for the transfer of 298 acres to the Catholic Mission for the purpose of building a school and for carrying out the objectives of the Roman Catholic Church:

We the chiefs of Rangiawhia in the Northern Island of New Zealand have agreed on this day the second day of January in the year One thousand eight hundred and fifty four and consented freely to give up without consideration to the Queen of England a portion of land to be by her transferred to the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church at Auckland for the purposes we desire most viz – for a School for education for our children and for the objects of our Roman Catholic Church...That piece of land containing two hundred and ninety eight acres...we surrender for ever for...a sitting place, as land for cultivation, as a site for a School and for other purposes for the Priests and Teachers and for the followers of the Roman Catholic Church who have been approved by the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church at Auckland.<sup>275</sup>

The Deed of Gift was signed by the following leaders who were recorded as being the “Chiefs of Rangiaowhia” - Hoani Pāpita, Hone Te Waru, Turimanu, Penetita Te Wharaunga, Te Wana Tarakaka, Tehemara Piritahi, and Werahiko Te Rongotoaa. The Deed was translated by Donald McLean (Land Commissioner), and witnessed by Charles Henry Strauss, and Thomas Power. H. Hanson Turton’s name was typed immediately under the line that read ‘A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation’.<sup>276</sup>

The Deed itself was not formalised through the courts until October 16<sup>th</sup> 1874. Notwithstanding the protracted ‘deed formalities’, a school with boarding accommodation for 17 boys was built in about 1851. However, it appears that only 197 acres was transferred to the Mission.<sup>277</sup>

## **Missionary Outreach**

Missionaries were known to spend many days traveling to distant villages for their work. Even in the late 1850s when relationships between hapū and Pākehā were becoming strained, missionary work was still evident. Hochstetter recorded that in the Mangapū Valley two of the villages in which he stayed were Christian followers to some degree. Hochstetter observed that the adherence to certain Christian tenets was such that the Māori could not be

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid, at 26.

<sup>274</sup> Supra, n 231, Jones, at 159.

<sup>275</sup> Catholic Diocese of Hamilton Catholic Archives, (Correspondence, Deeds of Gift 1854 2<sup>nd</sup> January) at 788.

<sup>276</sup> Idem.

<sup>277</sup> Supra, n 270, Simmons.



prevailed upon to assist with his explorations, preferring, he said, to strictly adhere to the Christian day of rest. As he travelled further into the Valley, he came upon another settlement where:

...they refused the use of a canoe for crossing the river near the village; next, they would not allow us to put up our tents...we had,...to put up with the disagreeable necessity of fasting for to-day, the teacher of the place forbidding most rigidly the sale of provisions. Those Māories seemed to esteem more highly the commandments of their missionaries, than the words of their Lord and Master.<sup>278</sup>

Within five years of Hochstetter's exploration of the Waipā and Mangapū districts, the relationship between Māori and Pākehā completely failed. British troops attacked hapū in the Waikato region. Among the many casualties of the invasion was the razing to the ground of the Rangiaowhia School for boys, built only 13 years earlier on land that had been gifted by Hoani Pāpita and other Apakura leaders.<sup>279</sup>

The very large Māori Catholic population of the Rangiaowhia mission and district, headed by the chief Hoani Pāpita and his Ngātihinetū people, mostly retreated beyond the aukati or confiscation line south of Kihikihi after the war and the Rangiaowhia mission became largely a European mission station.

Ngāti Apakura indeed retreated into the Waipā and Mangapū districts, which were the very same districts that Hochstetter had explored with the help of his guide Wahanui Te Reihana Nuitone earlier. This same Wahanui was an advisor and protector of the Kīngitanga and, later, a guardian of the aukati line.

#### **Morgan and the Church Missionary Society (CMS)**

Many accolades have been bestowed upon John Morgan for his part in 'civilising' the Waipā people and introducing Apakura hapū at Rangiaowhia to agricultural technology and trade. Morgan was the first minister to arrive in Te Awamutu.<sup>280</sup> He took charge of the mission station at Ōtāwhao (so named after the pā in that place) in 1843 where he worked with Ngāti Maniapoto and related tribes including Ngāti Apakura. Morgan was welcomed to Ōtāwhao as were all missionaries at that time but it was not just because of the Rongo Pai (the good news of the gospel and Holy Bible) that missionaries were welcomed.

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<sup>278</sup> Supra, n 209, Hochstetter, at 338.

<sup>279</sup> Supra, n 270, Simmons.

<sup>280</sup> Supra, n 218, OMB. 2 at 221.

Trade began along the west coast of New Zealand in 1818. Thus hapū were well aware of the technology and trading opportunities that missionaries could bring.<sup>281</sup> Morgan believed that the best way to help 'the natives' was to convert them to the Christian religion and educate them in the ways of the Pākehā. He hoped that they would forsake their wars, adhere to the rule of the English Queen, and eventually fully contribute to the Colonial economy. Morgan anticipated that through Māori taxes and the sale of lands, they would help pay for roads and rail which would boost colonial farming endeavors.<sup>282</sup>

Morgan's expectation of hapū contributing to the payment of roads had already been surpassed before his input into the Rangiaowhia wheat trade took hold. Governor Grey estimated that in 1847, the Māori population was 100,000 while the settler population was a mere 4,500 people. Grey acknowledged that Māori were also contributing largely to the revenue of the country and he projected that Māori would continue to contribute far more to the economy than Europeans:

The large native population still form the majority of the population, contributes largely to the revenue and each year as they continue to advance in civilization, will contribute still more largely to it; so that the proportion paid by the European population will form but a small part of the whole revenue.<sup>283</sup>

Morgan also envisaged that Māori would gain all of the comforts of small English farmers:

Each family with their neat boarded cottage, surrounded by their orchards and wheat fields, the men employed in driving their Carts...their women...engaged with their sewing...training their children in the habits of honest industry.<sup>284</sup>

Hargreaves recorded that Morgan began expanding the type of crops at Rangiaowhia by introducing wheat and later oats and barley.<sup>285</sup> Morgan appealed to the people he knew to gain seeds for the gardens in both Rangiaowhia and Ōtāwhao:

My dear Sir...to thank you in...this note for the *furze* seed which you kindly sent me...and your kind offer to procure me some more should an opportunity

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<sup>281</sup> K. R. Howe. 'Morgan, John - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m55/1> (Accessed July 2012).

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> AJHR, 1883, A-03A.

<sup>284</sup> Supra, n 284, Howe.

<sup>285</sup> Hargreaves, 'The Maori agriculture of the Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth Century' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 68, No 2. 1959) at 69.

offer of procuring more furze or other seeds, I shall gladly pay the expense of gathering them.<sup>286</sup>

The first hapū owned flour mill operated in Aotea near Kāwhia in 1846.<sup>287</sup> Likewise states Hargreaves, Morgan successfully encouraged hapū around Ōtāwhao to collect funds to construct flour mills in Ōtāwhao and Rangiaowhia. Morgan went about contracting a millwright for this purpose.<sup>288</sup>

The timber for the mills was contributed from hapū living in Maungatautari. No payment was made for the timber suggesting, as mentioned previously, that Ngāti Apakura also had some influence over Maungatautari. The timber was felled, sawn and then carted to the Waikato River. From there it was floated to the Waipā River whereupon it was carted to the mill site.<sup>289</sup> According to Barber, the Rangiaowhia mill produced six tons of flour in 1848 and by 1851, 150 tons.<sup>290</sup>

For a time, the Church Mission Society (CMS) was fully supportive of Morgan's works and supplied fruit trees into the upper regions of the Waikato.<sup>291</sup> In the meantime Morgan taught several of the hapū the art of budding and grafting. Thus by the late 1850s it became common to see 'orchards of first-class peaches, pears, plums, quinces and almonds and bushes of gooseberries' in the wider Waikato area.<sup>292</sup>

Governor George Grey was also anxious to support Morgan's goals of Māori advancement into the colonial fabric. Grey set about funding the purchase of farm machinery for Māori. In these early years, hapū contribution to the economy obviously exceeded that of the colonial settlers as noted in a letter from Sir George Grey to Earl Grey in 1847.

The native population...now own many vessels, horses and cattle...they have in some instances considerable sums of money at their disposal and are altogether possessed of a great amount of wealth and property in the country; of the value of which they are fully aware.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Morgan to Sir Donald McLean, (McLean Papers, MS Papers 00320459. Collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscripts & Pictorial. Nov 1848).

<sup>287</sup> Hargreaves, 1959, at 62.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Supra, n 218, OMB 3, at 24.

<sup>290</sup> Cited in supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 34.

<sup>291</sup> *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 68, No 2, 1959) at 61.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, at 61.

<sup>293</sup> AJHR, 1883, A-03A, at 4.

George Grey left the colony from 1852. A collection of farewell speeches to George Grey was compiled by Davis. It is clear from the speeches that hapū had much respect for Governor Grey. Hoani Pāpita offered one of the speeches as follows:

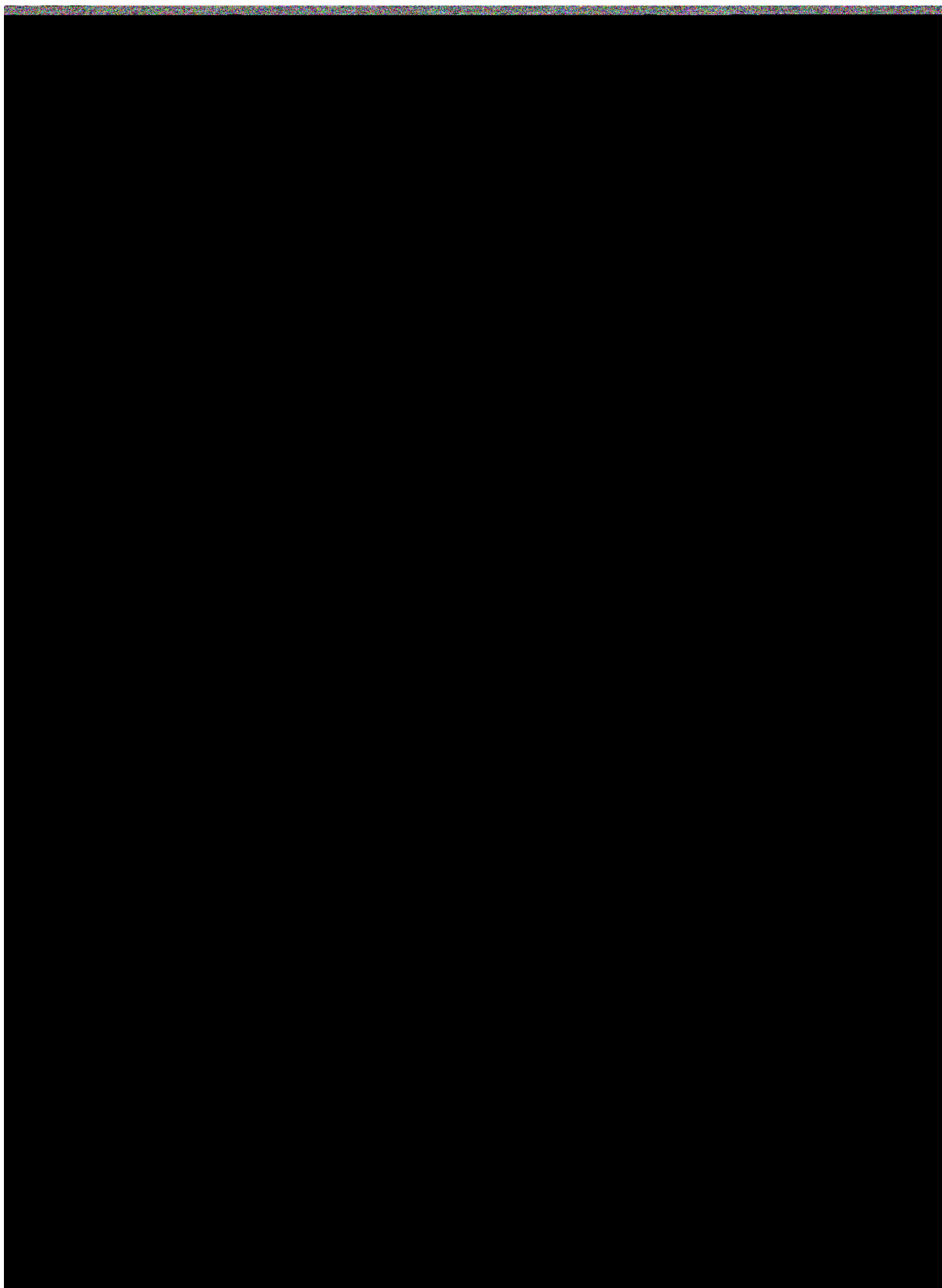
Go hence, Go O Friend! Your personal presence will be lost to us, but your name and your endearing love will remain with us. We will not forget the marked kindness and regard you have manifested towards us, the people of Rangiaohia. Nor will we forget the treasures which the Queen and yourself have given us, namely, ships, carts, horses, and ploughs by which we have been assimilated to the good usages of the Europeans. You have made both our lands and property important. Our love to you, and our remembrance of you will not cease; no, never.<sup>294</sup>

By 1845, the hapū around Ōtāwhao had 300 acres of wheat growing, and the area around Rangiaowhia became known for its grain fields and water mills.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Hoani Papita, 'Farewell Address to Sir George Grey from Chief John the Baptist in Momentos From the Chief John Baptist Kahawai and Other Members of the Roman Catholic Church' (ENZB, 1855) at 33.

<sup>295</sup> Supra, n 280, Hargreaves, at 70.



**Map 20: Mission Stations in the Rohe Pōtae**

## Half Caste Children

By 1849, the CMS became concerned about the large and increasing number of children who were of both European and native descent. Gorst recorded of half castes:

Books on New Zealand have not revealed the shameful extent to which half-caste children...have been abandoned by their European fathers...In every village in the Waikato, these abandoned little half castes are to be seen running about wild like dogs.<sup>296</sup>

These were the children that Morgan targeted when he proposed to open his school. Morgan was able to gain land through a gift from Te Wherowhero:

I also made application personally to Te Wherowhero for a piece of land, as a free gift to the school. The land was given...The Governor will give us a title for it and thus secure it to the institution.<sup>297</sup>

In 1849, the CMS placed an article in the "New Zealander" advising of the opening of the school for 'native children'.<sup>298</sup> The article highlighted what the CMS viewed as a pressing need for the education of half caste children:

A BOARDING SCHOOL, for the Education of Native Children is about to be opened at the Church Mission Station at Otawhao, in the District of the Waikato...It is, with the sanction of the Bishop of the Diocese, and of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, to admit into this School a limited number of Children, the offspring of European fathers and Native mothers. The large and increasing number of Children of this class imperatively requires that some provision should be made for their Education. It is with the view of supplying this acknowledged and pressing want that the present undertaking has been commenced.<sup>299</sup>

The school fees ranged from five guineas for those who could afford it to being free for orphans. All children were to be instructed in "good plain English education, based, as all

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<sup>296</sup> J. F. Mandeno, 'John Morgan - Missionary, Teacher, Farmer, Builder' in *Foot Prints of History* (1992) at 170.

<sup>297</sup> Letter from Rev John Morgan in Otawhao to Sir Donald McLean in Taranaki Region. Object t#1000236 from Reference Number MS-Papers-00032-0459. Dec 1849

<sup>298</sup> 'A Boarding School for the Education of Native Children is About to be Opened,' in *The New Zealander*, (August 14<sup>th</sup> 1849).

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

true Education must be, upon sound Religious Teaching, and combined with industrial training, of which spinning, weaving, &c., will form part."<sup>300</sup>

It seems that half caste children from other districts could be referred to the school by any interested party. In a letter from Morgan to Sir Donald McLean, Morgan wrote: 'I shall be very glad to take care of Mr Cooke's little boy and any other half caste children either in or beyond your district.'<sup>301</sup> By the end of 1849, Morgan's school had an expected role of 28 half caste children.<sup>302</sup>

Cowan described the student's roles in developing trade at Otāwhao:

The wheat grown by the natives in the Rangiaowhia-Te Awamutu district was ground at the mills, bagged, and sent down to the white settlements for sale. The flour-bags were sewn by the native girls in Mrs Morgan's sewing class at the mission boarding school; and when the flour was being ground there would be sewing-bees at the mills, where the girls stitched up the bags as they were filled.<sup>303</sup>

Surprisingly, the opposition that Morgan faced came from within his own ranks. The CMS had begun to disapprove of Morgan's focus on the physical well being of the Māori rather than their spiritual wellbeing. For those reasons, the CMS began to criticise Morgan's efforts. They complained that he had not directed sufficient time and energy to pass on the spiritual message. To the CMS leaders, Morgan was neglecting his spiritual duties by spending too much effort encouraging hapū to become successful farmers.<sup>304</sup>

Barber concluded that Morgan failed to understand that neither baptism, nor the possession of a farm, nor affluence was a sufficient price for the purchase from the Te Awamutu Māori of their mana and their birth right.<sup>305</sup>

How the CMS were able to acquire the land needed for the school and Church is a matter of dispute. Harold Maniapoto of Ngāti Paretekawa asserted that the CMS became owners of land through having conducted purchases with hapū who did not belong to the

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid .

<sup>301</sup> Letter from Rev John Morgan in Otawhao to Sir Donald McLean in Taranaki Region (Dec 1849, Object t#1000236 from Reference Number MS-Papers-00032-0459.

<sup>302</sup> Letter from Rev John Morgan in Waikato Region to Sir Donald McLean in Taranaki Region, (Object #1021162 MS-Papers-0032-0459, Dec 1849).

<sup>303</sup> Supra, n. 259, Cowan, at 21.

<sup>304</sup> Supra, n. 284, Howe.

<sup>305</sup> Supra, n.280, Hargreaves, at 36.

area, and therefore did not have the right to sell or gift the land (mana whenua) in the first place.<sup>306</sup>

Harold Maniapoto explained that many hapū had been pursued by Ngā Puhi into the wider Waikato rohe after Mātakitaki. These hapū from the 'lower regions of Te Ika ā Māui' remained in the Waikato for a few years after the Mātakitaki battle had finished. It was these hapū, Mr Maniapoto alleged, who sold land in the Te Awamutu district to the Pākehā. Yet these sales were endorsed by Te Wherowhero for the purpose of a school for the children.<sup>307</sup> According to Rihi Huanga, then aged 89, recorded by J. Oliphant in 1935, it was Waikato who sold the land:

I will tell you now of the sale of the land for Te Awamutu. The Waikato people who were sheltered here sold. The boundary was on the east Kaipaka, on Mangapiko, now Pollard's place opposite Green Hill thence to McCarroll's corner thence to the sale yards and back to Kaipaka following the northern side of the main street.

The purchase price was blankets, shirts, tobacco, clay pipes, one mare with foal at foot. Pairama, Hua(s), Kaukau, Hiranga disputed sale. The Waikatos then handed over blankets to the rightful owners at Te Awamutu. The sale was I think to Morgan the Missionary.<sup>308</sup>

The Roberts whānau submitted an account about Otāwhao school which was initially recorded by their grandmother, Elizabeth (Rihi) Huanga in 1935 when Rihi was 90 years old.<sup>309</sup> According to that account, Elizabeth and her older sister (Sarah Ngaueko) were 2 of the half caste children educated in Morgan's school. Elizabeth talked about when the St John's church was being built. According to Elizabeth, her sister, Sarah, had run across the palings whilst they were being varnished. As there was no more paint, the imprints were left and the roof was constructed. Her memory was that, when the danger of war came, her people came and got them and they lived with their Māori family.<sup>310</sup>

Rihi also established her and her husband's mana whenua in, and personal knowledge of, the battle of Orākau and the consequence of the sale of land in Otāwhao. Rihi and Te Whareiti were, 'married in the house of Tupotahi at Mahirua on the western side of Hui-te-rangiora by the Reverend Morgan in about 1861.' Rihi's husband, Te Whareiti:

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<sup>306</sup> Harold Maniapoto, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 96.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, at 96.

<sup>308</sup> Private collection, Jude Roberts and whānau, recounted here with kind permission.

<sup>309</sup> Rihi Huanga, 1935. Recorded by J. Oliphant, 17.04.1935. Written collections of Elizabeth (Rihi Huanga) Mainwaring held by Amy Hamana and Chris Roberts.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid.



... was a rangatira of the Ngāti Ngutu tribe. He fought at Orakau and at Taranaki. He was wounded at Orakau, he was shot through the side. Te Whareiti lived on until 1920.<sup>311</sup>

After establishing mana whenua at Otāwhao, Rihi Huanga discussed the sale of the land and she identified those who received the profits of the sale:

I will tell you now of the sale of the land for Te Awamutu. The Waikato people who were sheltered here sold it. The boundary was on the east Kaipaka, on Mangapiko, now Pollards place opposite Green Hill thence to McCarroll's corner thence to the sale yards and back to Kaipaka following the northern side of the main street.

The purchase price was blankets, shirts, tobacco, clay pipes, one mare with foal at foot. Pairama, Hua(s), Kaukau, Hiranga disputed sale. The Waikatos then handed over blankets to the rightful owners at Te Awamutu. The sale was I think to Morgan the Missionary<sup>312</sup>

When the seat of the war moved to Kihikihi I left here and went to Wynyards Hill, known as Kawaunui and from there to Otewa in the heart of the King Country. I was at the time married and had a son, Te Wharau Rapata.<sup>313</sup>

#### **Kīngitanga and Ngāti Apakura**

In the late 1850s, hapū in the area became increasingly anxious about the loss of land to Pākehā. A practical solution came by uniting all hapū. As Vincent O'Malley opined the idea of Māori uniting under one leader (a King) was first mooted by Matene Te Whiwhi in 1853.<sup>314</sup> It was envisaged that the King movement would operate on a complementary level to that of the New Zealand Government. It was expected that the Government and Kīngitanga would establish non-antagonistic relationships with a view that controlled settlement of hapū districts would be possible.<sup>315</sup>

After much deliberation at hui and rūnanga with many hapū and Iwi throughout the country, the Kīngitanga was established in 1858.<sup>316</sup> The hapū in Ōtāwhao and Rangiaowhia were among the King's leading supporters. Morgan, being an active missionary in the

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<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> O'Malley, V, *Agents of Autonomy: Māori Committees in the Nineteenth Century* (Huia, Wellington, 1998) at 17.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Supra, n. 231, Jones, at 190-200; 206-208; 220-225.

district, was invited to hui including the coronation of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as the first King.<sup>317</sup>

It appears however, that rather than being supportive of the Kīngitanga, Morgan was in fact obsessed with bringing it to an end. From his mission site in Ōtāwhao, Morgan sent regular messages to Government officials based in Auckland about Māori activities. He encouraged the Government to continue land purchases in the area. Morgan developed regular communications between himself and the Governors, George Grey and Thomas Gore Browne, contrary to CMS policies.<sup>318</sup>

An incident at the 1858 coronation of King Pōtatau indicated tension between Morgan and hapū in the area. After speeches of salutations were made to Pōtatau as the new King, Morgan stood up and implored the congregation to pray. But Tapihana also stood and overrode Morgan's request by leading a biblical chant that paralleled Māori with oppressed people.<sup>319</sup> Māori joined in the chant with Tapihana and ignored Morgan.

Morgan saw the growing solidarity of the hapū as a rejection of European authority. In his opinion, the purpose of the Kīngitanga was to prevent Europeans from buying and settling Māori land. Morgan reported that the Kīngitanga proposed to adjudicate on their own disputes and that some Māori had proposed to adjudicate over Europeans in certain circumstances.<sup>320</sup>

Morgan viewed the Kīngitanga supporters and the Taranaki war as being inextricably linked, so he wholeheartedly supported the Government's war efforts. Morgan even sent detailed reports to colonial officials regarding the numbers of warriors leaving Ōtāwhao for the Taranaki front.<sup>321</sup>

## Summary

Trade was established in the Waikato basin before the missionaries arrived. However Morgan's works seem to have increased the size and scale of productive agricultural trade which advantaged hapū. Morgan's concern for the abandonment of half caste children provided the impetus to establish a boarding school at Ōtāwhao. Morgan obtained land for the school from hapū leaders, although their right to assign land has been disputed. Although Morgan did much benevolent work, which increased trade and prosperity for Ngāti Apakura,

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<sup>317</sup> Supra, n. 284, Howe.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Supra, n. 231, Jones, at 223.

<sup>320</sup> Letter from John Morgan to Sir Donald McLean, Object #1004484. Refer MS-Papers-0032-0459, Oct 12, 1858

<sup>321</sup> Howe, Sep 2010.

he vehemently opposed the establishment of the Kīngitanga believing it was a direct denial of the English Queen and her Government.

#### **SECTION 4: TE TŌNUITANGA: THE PROSPERITY OF NGĀTI APAKURA**

##### **Ngāti Apakura me Nga Tohu Whenua**

By the 1800s, various hapū of Ngāti Apakura had established mana whenua over lands which extended from Kāwhia along the coast and into the interior.<sup>322</sup> Harold Maniapoto and others stated that Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū and others established pā at Kakepuku, Pirongia, Waipā and Ngāroto<sup>323</sup> George Nelson acknowledged that Ngāti Apakura also lived at Ngāroto with Hikairo, Puhiaawe and Ngutu.<sup>324</sup> Tom Roa added that Ngāti Apakura had mana whenua in what is now the southern portions Hamilton city.<sup>325</sup>

Letters written in the 1800s within the collection of Gordon Lennox endorse the mana whenua of Ngāti Apakura in Rangiaowhia and Kāwhia: ‘Rārangi tuatahi tēnei o tāku whakahaere mo te mahi ahuwhenua a tēnei iwi Apakura. Koia tēnei ā rātou kāinga e rua ko Rangiaowhia, ko Kāwhia.’<sup>326</sup>

Robertson wrote in 1949: ‘Ko ngā whenua i noho ai a Ngāti Apakura ko Rangiaohia, ko Ōhaupō, ahu atu ki te awa o Waipā te takiwā ki Pirongia.’ These landmarks are all situated within a short distance of Te Awamutu. Robertson’s kōrero seems to confirm Māori Land Court records that identify Rangiaowhia not only as a settlement but as a district in the vicinity of today’s township of Te Awamutu.

The Puahue hearings subsequent to the Crown attack on Ngāti Apakura, were claims of Ngāti Apakura mana whenua in the foot hills of Maungatautari and Puahuē – Panehaku. The different lands which Ngāti Apakura held mana whenua over, are a reflection of what has been identified as the “fluid and complex” world in which hapū lived prior to the

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<sup>322</sup> AJHR E no 9 sec ii 1862, at 37.

<sup>323</sup> Harold Maniapoto, Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript, (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 41 – 43.

<sup>324</sup> George Nelson, Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript, (Unpublished, Te Tokanganui a Noho Marae, Te Kuiti, 9-11 June 2010) at 290.

<sup>325</sup> Tom Roa, Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript, (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 33.

<sup>326</sup> Gordon Lennox, Unpublished Private Collection, Letters and Documents in private whānau collection Auckland.

1850s.<sup>327</sup> Hapū lived and worked communally. Resource availability changed with the seasons and those changes affected hapū population at given times. Thus mana whenua over land could correctly be claimed by a number of hapū with the only significant distinction being, that each hapū had one or more principal settlements.

### Ngā Rawa Whenua

The Waipā and Waikato districts are a highly fertile stretch of land.<sup>328</sup> In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the streams flowing out of Ngāroto (the lakes) were dammed so that it became a great expanse of water.

Ngāti Apakura, they had many settlements. At Ngāroto is the pā Taurangamirumiru, that was the pā where Reitū and Reipai were born, they are our link to the northern tribes. Ngāroto in those times was a place, it was a great expanse of water. The waters were dammed by the elders of the time. They dammed the streams flowing from that lake, so that lake was very big, and the ancestors were involved in aquaculture and that has been spoken of these days and they farmed the birds, the ducks, the weka there and the freshwater crayfish and the freshwater fish, the eels can all be found there. And according to the records of Hori Maikuku there were three pā that were floating pā, they did not just stay at Taurangamirumiru, there were about 200 people residing on those pā, floating on the lake.<sup>329</sup>

Gordon Lennox recorded that an island and floating pā had been built in the middle of the lake. The haukāinga had brought in tons of soil and floated the pā by using tree trunks, woven mats and thousands of tons of soil that they carried over themselves. Professor Belgrave's research team added:

...that the island was built by laying freshly cut timber on raupo, securing some of the timber to the lake bed using posts and laying manuka brush in bundles over the

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<sup>327</sup> Meredith, P, Nankivel, R, Joseph, R, 'Scoping Report for Ngāti Apakura Oral and Traditional History Report; (CFRT, 2010).

<sup>328</sup> Belgrave, Michael, Belgrave, David. Anderson, Chris Doctor. Millner, James Doctor. Gardiner, Steven. Bennett, April, *Harbours and Coast, Inland Waterways, Indigenous Flora and Fauna, Sites of Significance, Environmental Management and Environmental Impacts* (Scoping Report – Massey University, A report Commissioned by the Crown Forest Rental Trust For the Waitangi Tribunal's Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry. 05 March 2010) at 57.

<sup>329</sup> Tom Roa, Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript, (Unpublished, Waipapa Marae, Kawhia, 29-30 March 2010) at 33 - 34.

top of the timber. Initially twelve inches of soil was spread over this platform and it occupied an area of about an acre. ..by the mid 1960s it was 11 feet 6 inches above the lake level at that time...Archaeological investigation shows that occupation occurred as the mound was built up over time. It would also appear that the mound was continuously occupied as there was no sign of any plant growth.<sup>330</sup>

Before the beginning of the 20th century, Lake Ngāroto covered 218 hectares but by the end of that century, it measured a mere 74.86 hectares. Successive organisations had made decisions to drain the lake in order to expand farmland and accommodate leisure activities.<sup>331</sup>

Ngārongo Rangitaawa had an intimate knowledge of all the streams and bays around Kāwhia and the rich abundance of resources there. Ngārongo knew all the pipi banks and the fishing places. This knowledge and the part she played in gathering food enabled her to help supply food for her home. Ngārongo Rangitaawa placed on record her recollections of the prolific variety of food that was harvested all year around by the many hapū at Kāwhia:

The waters of Kāwhia Harbour were our chief food supply – they were waters of abundance...The pipi shellfish was one of our most abundant foods; our hapū'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 pūpū 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 tāmure (snapper), and mangō (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.<sup>332</sup>

South of Kāwhia towards Kinohaku, the Paeroa Range was an area where Ngārongo and her people would go to catch birds. They used waituhi, a water trough which was covered with flax or cabbage tree nooses so that after the birds had eaten the berries and came to the troughs for water they were snared. Ngārongo spoke of the birds in the forests: the fruit of the miro, the hīnau, and the mangeo were particularly prolific.

She explained that different seasons required different hunting and trapping skills. Tūī and kōmako (bell-bird) were taken during the bird season. The poroporo shrubs when in fruit

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<sup>330</sup> Supra, n. 330, Belgrave et al, at 43.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Supra, 5, Cowan, at 193.

were the easiest place to catch kōmako. In the season of birds, whānau were busy snaring (tākiri) the tūi, and also the kōmako. It was not unusual to take 100 birds in a day.

There was a season for catching tītī (the petrel called muttonbird). The best place was at Te Rau-o-te-huia. Fires were lit at night so that when the tītī flew over they would be attracted to the sparks or korakora from the fire. When the birds flew low toward the sparks, people would stand by the fires armed with sticks and would strike and kill them.<sup>333</sup>

Food was also collected from the forests at different times. The root of the fern, the centre of the mamaku fern-tree, and large berries of the hīnau and tawa trees; these were gathered, dried and treated in various ways.<sup>334</sup>

### **Ngā Rawa o te Pākehā**

Even with this natural wealth of whakapapa, whenua, whakairo and kete kai, Ngāti Apakura was alert to the added advantages that the new European economy could bring.

Before long the Pākehā arrived and brought with them their foreign foods such as apples, peaches, figs, pears, and grapes...the best fruits were sent for sale to Auckland on vessels owned by the hapū and that all this work was done with the collective support of all the hapū.<sup>335</sup>

Reverend Morgan at Ōtāwhao supported Ngāti Apakura's trade of produce grown in the district. Auckland in the 1840s was the largest area of European population. It was also the major exporting port so it became the principal market to which hapū took their produce.<sup>336</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the larger Māori population in those years paid far more into the country's revenue than that of the settler population.<sup>337</sup> Ngāti Apakura held hui to discuss this precious commodity that they themselves were producing. They felt they were ready to build their own mill. A letter from the Pukewhau files reads:

Kua nui haere taua taonga te witi ka takoto ano te whaka aro o Ngarangatira o Ngatiapakura. Kahui ka whaka taka to tikanga kia ma hia he mira maratou ka oti te whiriwhiri ka whaka etia kia haere a Hori Te wari ki akarana kite kimi Pākehā mohio kite Hanga miro ma ratou... teTahi ra kahaere katoa Nga Māori kia kite I Taua Pākehā karahina ratou e Harereweti kia kite I Tara tou Pākehā kia rongo hoki

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid at 196.

<sup>334</sup> Idem.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 73.

<sup>337</sup> Grey, Governor to Earl Grey.' *The New Constitution* Copy of a Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1847 <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NENZC1> (Accessed July 2012).

ratou Nga Māori I te whakaetang(a) a taua Pākehā a whakae ana taua Pākehā nei heoi ka ora te ngakau O te Iwinei O Ngati Apakura ki toratou taonga karite to ratou hiahia I haerea atuai.<sup>338</sup>

Translation:

This taonga, wheat, was very precious. The rangatira of Ngāti Apakura gathered to discuss whether they themselves could have a wheat mill built for their people. After they had discussed the matter they agreed. They decided that Hori Te Wari [Waru] should go to Auckland to find a Pākehā who knew how to build a mill for them... The next day all the Māoris went to see this Pākehā and Harere Weti showed them where he lived so they could see their Pākehā, and so they could hear him agree (to their request). And so the Pākehā agreed and the hearts of the people of Ngāti Apakura was greatly pleased because the purpose that they had come to Auckland for, had been achieved.<sup>339</sup>

Cowan provided a detailed account of Ngāti Apakura's securing of a flour mill. An illuminating account of the growth of agricultural enterprise among these Upper Waikato people and the position about 1850 is contained in an unpublished manuscript journal written by the Rev. John Morgan. The missionary prefaces the narrative of the temporal side of his labours at Te Awamutu with the statement that wheat was introduced among the natives chiefly by the missionaries. The Ven. Archdeacon Williams encouraged its cultivation in his district of Waiapu, East Coast. "It was small in quantity," said Mr Morgan, "for it was contained in a stocking, but it was sown and re-sown, and at the present time the increase from the little seed contained in a stocking is being sent by the natives to the Auckland market. Much is also ground by the Māoris in steel mills for their own use.

"Shortly after the formation of the Otawhao (Te Awamutu) station," the missionary's story continued, "in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining supplies of flour from the coast I procured some seed wheat. After the reaping of the first crop I sent Pungarehu, of Rangiaowhia, a few quarts of seed. This he sowed and reaped. The second year he had a good-sized field. Other natives now desired to share in the benefit, and the applications for seed became so numerous that I could not supply them all, and many obtained seed from Kawhia and Aotea (West Coast), where wheat had been introduced either by the Wesleyan missionaries or the settlers,

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<sup>338</sup> Supra, n. Lennox private collection

<sup>339</sup> Supra, n. 328, Lennox private collection.

As a large quantity of wheat was now grown at Rangiaowhia, and the natives had not purchased steel mills, I recommended them to erect a water-mill. At the request of Kimi Hori, I went to the millwright who was then building a mill at Aotea. In March, 1846, the millwright arrived, and I drew up a contract for the erection of a mill at a cost of £200, not including the carriage of timber, building of the mill dam, and the formation of the watercourse, all of which were performed by the natives themselves. Seven men were set to work, the natives promising to pay the first £50 instalment within a very short time. Instead of leaving immediately for Auckland with pigs to raise the required amount, they began to take up their potatoes and then the kumara to store them for winter use. They then promised to leave for town as soon as the crops were secured. An invitation, however, arrived from Maketu, and the entire tribe left Rangiaowhia to partake of a feast at that place, the millwright threatening to give up the contract. On their return they accepted a second invitation, and went to another distant village. It was with the greatest difficulty that I now detained the millwright. In this manner four months passed away. The millwright demanded compensation for loss of time, and a chief agreed to give him a piece of land of about 200 acres, but for which no Government grant has as yet been made. Still the natives delayed. The required sum (£200) was large for a tribe of New Zealanders to raise. The Aotea mill was now useless, and many feared that this (Rangiaowhia) would also be a failure, and there were several Europeans who had come up to trade in pigs who from interested motives freely gave their opinion that the whole scheme would fail. In this way two months passed away, and it required many personal visits to Rangiaowhia—first, to persuade the millwright, who was several times on the point of leaving, to remain, and, secondly, to urge the natives to take their pigs to town. At length they started. In a few weeks the £50 was raised, and paid into my hands to be paid to the millwright. After this I had no more trouble. The work went forward while the money was being collected, and the last instalment of £50 being paid into my hands, I had the pleasure of handing it to the millwright the day the work was completed.”

This water-driven flour-mill, it may be explained here, was built at Pekapeka-rau, the lower part of the swampy valley between Hairini Hill and Rangiaowhia, through which a watercourse flows toward the Mangapiko. Here a dam was constructed, and a lagoon was formed; the water collected here turned the mill-wheel.



Later, another mill was constructed, on the watercourse called Te Rua-o-Tawhiwhi, on the eastern side of Rangiaowhia village.

Mr Morgan, continuing his story of the new flour-mills, wrote:

The Rangiaowhia mill was not completed before other tribes became jealous and wished for mills. I drew up two more contracts, one for the erection of a mill at Maunga-tautari, and the other at Otawhao, at the cost respectively of £110 and £120, not including native labour. Both of these mills have been erected. A new difficulty now arose at Rangiaowhia, that of finding a miller to take charge of the mill. In the arrangement I experienced more vexations and difficulty than in the erection of the mills. There was a person ready to take charge, but the natives, not knowing the value of European labour, refused to give him a proper remuneration. One old chief offered one quart of wheat per day! At length, after two months, this knotty point was settled. On the following day the miller commenced work. In the year 1848 the natives of Rangiaowhia took down some flour to Auckland, which they sold for about £70. The neighbouring tribes, seeing the benefit likely to arise from the erection of mills, began earnestly to desire them. One was contracted for at Kawhia, and the sum of about £315 has been paid on account. About 1850 a contract was entered into for the erection at Mohoaonui [near Otorohanga], on the Waipa, of the largest mill yet built, at a cost of £300. The natives of Kawhia are anxious for the erection of a second mill, and the natives at Whatawhata and two other villages on the Waipa, and of Kirikiriroa and Maungapa, on the Waikato, and also Matamata, propose to erect mills; at several of these places the funds are being collected.

Wheat is very extensively grown in the Waikato district. At Rangiaowhia the wheat fields cover about 450 acres of land. I have also introduced barley and oats at that place. Many of the people at various villages are now forming orchards, and they possess many hundreds of trees budded or grafted by themselves, consisting of peach, apple, pear, plum, quince, and almond; also gooseberry bushes in abundance. For flowers or ornamental trees they have no taste; as they do not bear fruit, it is, in their opinion, loss of time to cultivate them.

The missionary, concluding his interesting narrative, described a visit paid to the district by Sir George Grey, Governor.

“His Excellency,” wrote the missionary, “spent half a day at Rangiaowhia, and expressed himself much pleased with the progress of the natives at that place. He visited the mill, which was working at the time. Two bags of flour were presented to him for Her Majesty the Queen, and they have since been forwarded to London. The Governor has since that time presented the Rangiaowhi'a natives with a pair of fine horses, a dray and harness, and a plough and harness.”<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Cowan, J, Chapter III — Plough and Flour-Mill' in *The Old Frontier : Te Awamutu, the story of the Waipa Valley : the missionary, the soldier, the pioneer farmer, early colonization, the war in Waikato, life on the*

However Māori tikanga ensured that any support gained was repaid in kind. Thus when Ngāti Apakura built their mill, they remembered the English Queen who, through her agents, brought the new agriculture into their lives. Ngāti Apakura rangatira decided that the first harvest from the mill, would be sent, via Governor Grey, to Queen Victoria.

...I te otinga o taua mi ra nei ka whiri whiri tikanga ano nga Rangatira o Ngatiapakura tara tou whiri whiri nga tenei kite huri te mira nei i te Tua tahitanga me tuku atu Kingrangi mate kuini me hoatu kia Horikerei hei tuku i aua Paraoa ki Ingarangi ma Te Kuini ko aua paraoae Rua 200, tukua ana aua Paraoa tae atu ki Ingarangi.<sup>341</sup>

Translation:

...when the the mill was completed the Rangatira of Ngati Apakura gathered to discuss what was the correct thing to do. They decided that when the mill brought fourth her first harvest of flour then it would be sent to England to be given to the Queen. Governor Grey was to ensure that the gift was taken to England. Two hundred loaves were sent to England.

This is an ancient tikanga where the first fruits must go back to its beginnings. Although the flour was grown in Aotearoa, and therefore in its raw form belonged to Papatūānuku (earth), the mill from which the flour was made, was a creation from England and therefore from the English Queen. Thus tikanga required that rangatira from Ngāti Apakura, acknowledged the English Queen for her kindness.

Ka kite ate Kuini ka mana ki tia mai e te Kuini ka tukua mai eia ko tona whakaahua me tana Tane me ana Tamariki katoa, heoi tenei<sup>342</sup>

Translation

When the Queen saw (the gift) the Queen blessed us and she sent her image (picture) with those of her husband and her children all together. This is complete.

To reciprocate for the gift from Ngāti Apakura, Queen Victoria acknowledged the rangatira of Ngāti Apakura for their thoughtfulness. Our researchers have found that one of the three portraits presented to Ngāti Apakura from the English Royal Family in the 1840s is now

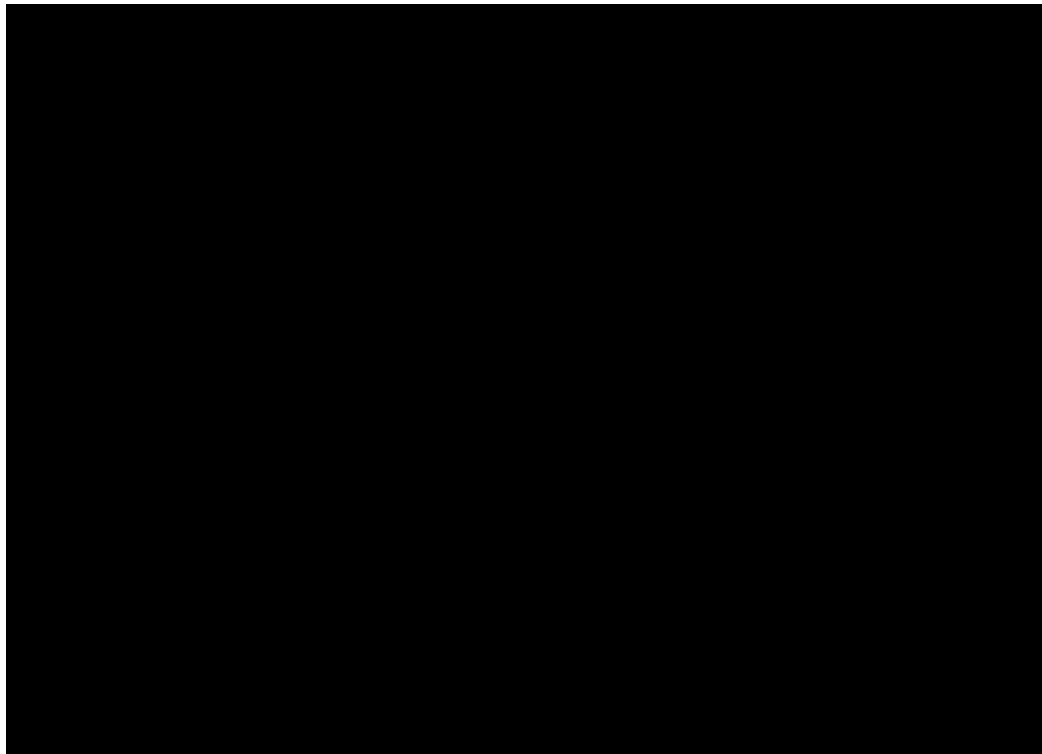
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*Maori border and later-day settlement* (The Waipa Post Printing and Publishing Company Limited, Te Awamutu, 1922) at 16-18.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

stored in the archives section of the Te Awamutu Museum. We present a photo copy of the remaining portrait below:



Thus Rangiaowhia boasted one of the earliest Māori-owned water flour mills in the Auckland Province. In 1847, the Rangiaowhia flour mill with its two grinding stones was able to produce wheat at the rate of six bushels an hour.<sup>343</sup> The cost of the first mill was £200. Ngāti Apakura and other hapū were able to keep these costs to a minimum by doing the preparatory work before the actual construction of the mill. Hapū provided the labour to clear rivers and cut and organise timber for the construction of both the mill and dams. If costs could not be minimised by providing labour, they were paid for by the sale of flax and pigs.<sup>344</sup>

The district became known as “the granary of the North Island.”<sup>345</sup> By 1851, production was up to 150 tons of flour of which 100 tons of flour was sent to trade in Auckland. Implements used by the hapū at Rangiaowhia reflected the new form of

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<sup>343</sup> Supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 1.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> A bushel in fluid weight is 4 gals, 8 pints or 8litres.

agriculture: 10 ploughs, seven carts and drays, with sufficient cart and plough harnesses for 20 of the 50 horses which belonged to the hapū.<sup>346</sup>

In the 1850s, Ōtāwhao was a showpiece of this new rural agriculture. There were hundreds of acres of wheat fields, vegetable gardens, and orchards as recorded by Cowan:

I can well remember the first sight we got in the distance of the steeple of the church at the Rev. Mr Morgan's mission station at Te Awamutu, for some of the party were getting a bit tired when it came into sight, and it seemed to put new life into them. The natives at Rangiaowhia had made preparations for a goodly party, as they had two days racing in hand. They allotted to us a large, newly-erected whare, the floor being covered with native mats, and it was on them that we indulged in sweet sleep. There was a line of whares erected on the crown of Rangiaowhia Hill, from which we could obtain a fine view of the surrounding country, and it all had a grand appearance in our eyes. There was a long grove of large peach trees and very fine fruit on them. Such a waste of fruit it seemed to us, but of course they were of no value there. One never sees such trees of peaches now. We, the Europeans, must be the cause by the importation of pests from other countries. A large portion of the ground round the hill was carrying a very good crop of wheat, for the Māoris believed in that as a crop, and they used to convert it into flour at the various flour-mills they had. It was of a very good quality, and some of the Waikato mills had a name for the flour they produced, a good deal of which was put on the Auckland market, being taken down the Waikato, via Waiuku and Onehunga. It had taken our canoe party about three weeks to reach this, our journey's end, but there was no iron horse then by which to make a rapid journey. Now it is only part of a day's journey to get to the same spot.

We spent several days in our camp on the Rangiaowhia Hill, taking walks and viewing the country. We attended the races, which afforded some good sport, all being managed by the natives, assisted by some Pākehā-Māoris of the neighbourhood. They were white men living a Māori life.<sup>347</sup>

Oxen and carts could be seen filled with produce heading for sale in Auckland. European visitors to the Rangiaowhia district commented:

This settlement in appearance is similar to an English village. Neat homesteads dotted here and there with hay-stacks, ploughs, harrows and other implements of husbandry...and scenery enlivened by several flour mills. The natives are extensive cultivators of wheat, which is ground at their mills and sold at Onehunga and Auckland.<sup>348</sup>

In 1853 there were 18 mills in the Waikato district. Europeans were employed to oversee the erection of the mills, some of whom were not qualified to do so and consequently

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<sup>346</sup> Supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 72.

<sup>347</sup> Supra, n. 259, Cowan, at 18.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

some of the mills were so badly built that they quickly became dysfunctional.<sup>349</sup> The government supplied an inspector of Māori mills whose main tasks were to draw up plans, to supervise the erection of mills and to help in maintaining them. Māori were trained to run the mill themselves.

In the same year the canoe trade alone was valued at almost £13,000 while the following year it was over £16,000. These figures were the end products. They gave no indication as to the amount of produce brought into Auckland by hapū who were owners or joint owners of schooners. By lumping enterprise into one great cache a distorted picture of the impact that Māori had on trade resulted. Ultimately it was always hapū who created the produce for exchange and transferred it to Auckland whether Māori or Pākehā owned the vessels.<sup>350</sup>

Ngāti Apakura initiated the purchase of machinery for flour production. Hoani Pāpita wrote to McLean:

Friend, McLean, Smith's (Thos. H. Smith, A.N.S.) letter has come regarding the wheat thresher in town at a cost of £110. Listen, I would like to obtain that thresher for myself. I am collecting the money now and am close to having the right amount for it. You should have a look at the thresher, as to whether it is good or bad. So that the thresher will have wheels, the people will go now to bring the payments for that. That's all about that.

From Hoani Pāpita.<sup>351</sup>

In 1855 three mills were under Māori management.<sup>352</sup> This peak in the district's agriculture corresponded with the expanding European population in Auckland.

Trade levels dropped for a time but rallied again from 1857- 1860 although at a decreased level. Some mills had been neglected and were in need of repair though. Hapū placed notices in local papers encouraging mill owners to retain the services of an inspector to ensure that mills were maintained to the required operating level such as the following article.

Friends the owners of the Waikato mills, listen to what we have to say. We wish the inspector of our mills to be reappointed by the governor...and that we should pay for his services...if we have no inspector our mills will go to ruin. The first mill requiring a visit from the inspector is at Waiharakeke: the second is at

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<sup>349</sup> Supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 70.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, at 73.

<sup>351</sup> National Digital Heritage Archives: Letter from Hoani Papita to McLean Reel 106 271, Folder 0681A <http://natlib.govt.nz/content-aggregator/getIEs?system=tapuhi&id=1117288> (Accessed July 2012).

<sup>352</sup> Supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 70.

Rangitaiki: the third is at Mangapapa. These mills are at Kāwhia. At Aotea, there is one: at Whaingaroa, two; at Waiuku, one; at Tihorewaru, one; at Tuakau, one; at Karakariki, one; at Whatawhata, one at Tireki, one; at Maungakawa, one; at Maungatautari, one. These mills belong to Waikato. At Waihakari, one; at Rangiaowhia, two; at Kihikihi, two; at Mangarewarewa, one; at Orahiri, one. These mills belong to Ngatihinetu, Ngatiapakura, Te Patupo and Ngatimaniapoto. At Patetere, one; at Tauranga, two; at Rotorua, one or probably two. The inspector knows as he has seen. And at Hauraki, one. These are the mills which have been completed; there are two mills which are yet to be built for Ngātīmāniapoto at Mokau and at Tuhua.<sup>353</sup>

It was recommended that the proposed inspector should live in a central location. They recommended Rangiaowhia as the best location suggesting that the inspector would have quick access to the mills in the district.

Māori were clear that the salary for the inspector was to be paid for by the mill owners and were against the inspector visiting distant areas such as the Bay of Islands given the distance. Māori were against any activity that would delay work on their mills but instructed the inspector on the mills that they agreed he should visit:

These are the mills which should be visited by the inspector, who should reside at Rangiaowhia, which is a central situation that he may be near to Kāwhia, to Waikato, to Hauraki, to Tauranga and to Rotorua. The inspector should look after these mills only, and he should visit these mills four times each year, but not go to the Bay of Islands, lest he should be delayed.<sup>354</sup>

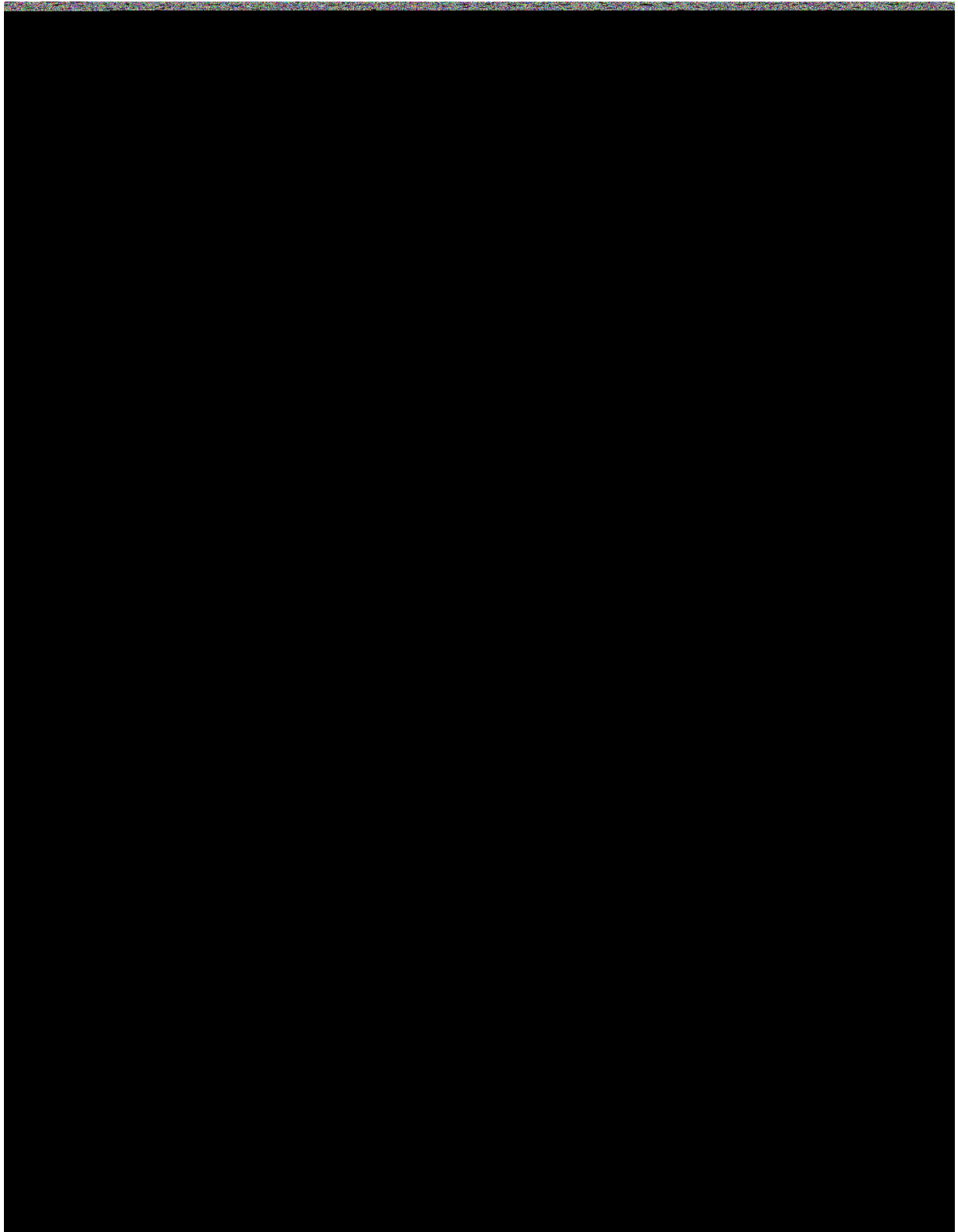
Ngāti Apakura along with tuakana and teina hapū in the Waikato basin had the population and the machinery to respond to the demand for produce from the increased Auckland settler population. It was Māori who were successfully doing the farming and vigorously taking advantage of trade and economic development. The trade routes also included Australia and California.<sup>355</sup> It was this incredible success however, which would prove detrimental in the long run.

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<sup>353</sup> *Te Karere Māori (The Māori Messenger)* (31<sup>st</sup> August 1857) at 4.

<sup>354</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>355</sup> *Supra*, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 33.



**Map 21: Māori Flour Mills in the Waikato Region, 1848-1861<sup>356</sup>**

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid, at 71.

## Transporting Produce

Getting the produce to the Auckland market was difficult. Two main cart roads used to transport wheat and flour to the Auckland market were from the Pāterangi hills to Te Rore.<sup>357</sup> It required several changes to the mode of transport. The flour, wheat, maize and potatoes were first carried by bullock dray to a landing place on the Pūniu River. Produce was loaded into canoes and paddled downstream into the Waipā River, then the Waikato River at Ngaruawahia.<sup>358</sup>

A number of miles before the mouth of the Waikato River, the canoes headed up the Awaroa Creek. The produce was then carried across the portage at Waiuku then reloaded into canoes or cutters and taken to the Manukau Harbour. While some of the produce was sold here most of it was packed onto drays and carted across the narrow strip of land to the Auckland market.

Mrs Crispe was brought up in Te Awamutu in the 1850s. She left an account of how the wheat was transported to Auckland:

The flour was carted in bullock drays to Te Rore, where it was loaded into canoes. The cargoes were paddled down the Waipa and Waikato, along the Awaroa to Waiuku, there loaded into a cutter for Onehunga, and finally carted across the isthmus to Auckland town, a journey of over a hundred miles from the Rangiaowhia water-mills. The Māoris would invest the proceeds in clothes, blankets, tea, sugar, and all kinds of European goods, and then begin their homeward journey. Time was no object in those golden years, and a marketing party from Rangiaowhia and Te Awamutu would sometimes spend several weeks on the trip, returning with Pākehā commodities to delight the hearts of their families and endless tales of all the sights they had seen in the distant town.<sup>359</sup>

## Trade Decline

In 1861 the mere rumour of war facilitated a general decline in trade so much so that less acres were planted than in previous years. In some areas of the Waikato, which had once been among the most abundant producers, the area planted dropped to less than a tenth of that planted just a few years earlier.

Hapū no longer focused on cultivations as the prospect of war became imminent. Settler and English troops were gathering in the town of New Plymouth. It seemed to Māori,

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<sup>357</sup> Supra, n. 280, Hargreaves, at 72.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid.

<sup>359</sup> Supra, n. 259, Cowan, at 21.



a hopeless waste of energy to be concerned with cultivations when in all likelihood they would lose their lives in the war that was about to erupt in Taranaki.

Again we refer to the records left by Ngārongo Rangitaawa. After describing the abundance of food and industry at Kāwhia, Ngārongo turned to the events that caused the downturn in the Kāwhia economy as she had known it. Ngārongo said it was when a threat of war was eminent in Taranaki that all things changed. Rewi Maniapoto came with a ‘war party’ from Kihikihi to Ahuahu. It was then that “the tribes of Kāwhia assembled and joined him and they all marched off for the south by way of Marokopa.” Although Rewi defeated the Queen’s soldiers, more fighting followed.

The wars stopped our accustomed industry on the shores of Kāwhia. All the old work in which the whole of the people shared stood still...the trading vessels lay deserted at anchor, for there was no one to man them. The soil was not cultivated, the flourmill wheels ceased to turn...Only the feeble old men and the women and children were left here. And when those who were left returned after the wars it was a different life at Kāwhia.<sup>360</sup>

Te Rā Wright acknowledged the economic development of Ngāti Apakura for a secure future and what happened:

You know, we were actually building an empire in Rangiaowhia and due to the missionaries who taught them how to use the plough, how to do the gardens, they provided all the produce and the food for Auckland for the settlers in those days. And so there was a future for our old people to look forward, to the extent where they then started to trade with overseas people, they had their own ships. And then suddenly in the swoop of one or two/three days all those things were gone.<sup>361</sup>

## Summary

Ngāti Apakura prosperity existed long before the arrival of traders and missionaries. Records indicate that Ngāti Apakura had influence over lands that extended along the west coast from Waikawau to Kāwhia and inland across Ngaroto and the Waikato basin into the Maungatautari foothills, northward to Tuhikaramaea, and southward into the Mangapū Valley. These lands provided an abundance of food and resources for the people and their economy.

Ngāhuru (later Rangiaowhia), one of the principal homes of the Ngāti Apakura people, gained a reputation for its abundance of food and resources that were introduced by traders and missionaries. The harvests from these supplies brought a different kind of wealth

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<sup>360</sup> Supra, n. 263, Cowan, at 198.

<sup>361</sup> Te Ra Wright 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Waipapa Marae, Kawhia, 29-30 March 2010) at 3.

to the many hapū who lived in the Rangiaowhia region, and indeed the lands surrounding the Waikato basin up until 1863.

**Ngāti Apakura and the Kīngitanga**

Ka ngapu te whenua; Ka haere ngā tāngata ki whea?

E Rūaumoko! Purutia! Tawhia!

Kia ita! A—a—a ita!

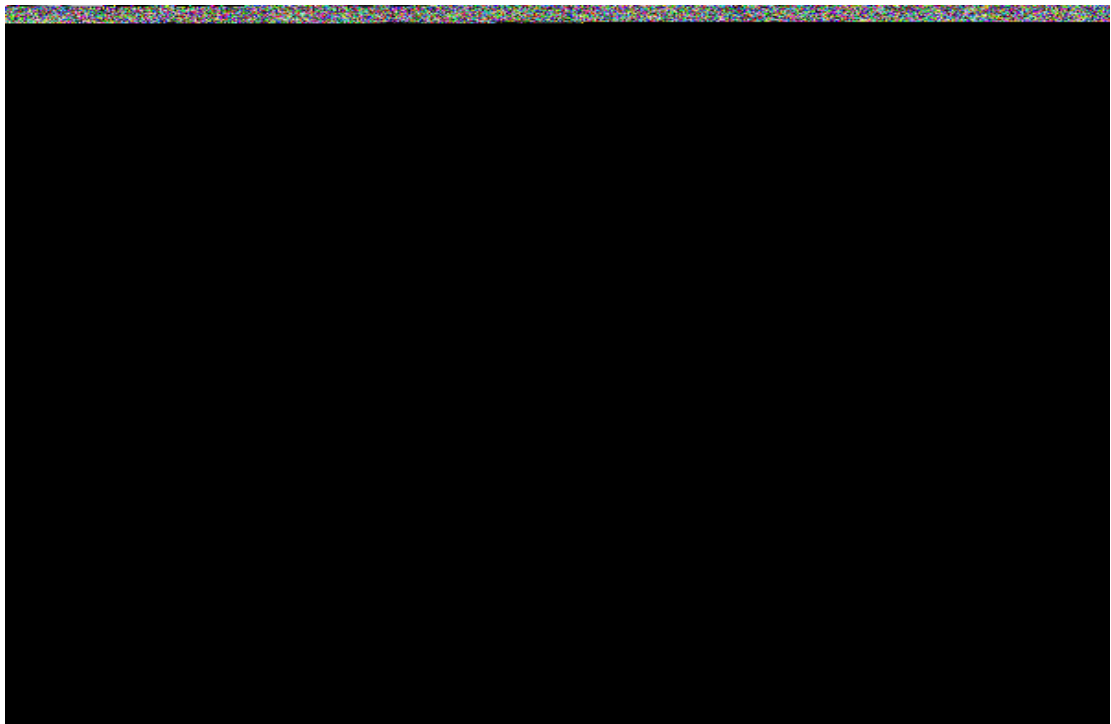
Kia mau! Kia mau!

The earthquake shakes the land; Where shall men find an abiding place?

O Rūaumoko! Hold fast our land!

Bind tightly! Be firm! Be firm!

Hold tightly! Hold tightly! <sup>362</sup>



TU KAITOTE, THE PAH OF TE WHERE WHERE, ON THE WAIKATO.

TAUPIRI MOUNTAIN IN THE DISTANCE. <sup>363</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Supra, n. 32, Cowan, at 232.

<sup>363</sup> Supra, n. 60, Angas, at 41.

The term *mana motuhake* is an expression chosen by the King movement as their motto. It features on the coat of arms of the Kings of the United Hapū which is referred to as 'Te Paki o Matariki' - the widespread peace.<sup>364</sup>

In 1847, there were murmurings of Government plans to take the land from hapū particularly what were alleged to be 'wastelands – land Māori were allegedly not using'. Te Wherowhero himself sent a letter to Queen Victoria asking if the rumour was true that the Queen's Ministers were planning to take away 'the land of the Natives without cause'.<sup>365</sup>

The idea of establishing the Kīngitanga was to prevent further loss of lands, to stop intertribal warfare, and to preserve Māori tribal self-government.<sup>366</sup>

Pōtatau's *mana* over lands in the Rangiaowhia district and the coastal area of Kāwhia, along with his prestigious *whakapapa* and *mana* in historic battles made Pōtatau a likely candidate to carry the mantle of the Kīngitanga. Nevertheless, the invitation to take on the mantle of King was taken around the North Island to all those deemed to have the *mana* needed to hold such a position.

Hoani Pāpita held *mana tangata* with Ngāti Apakura at Rangiaowhia. He was also *tuakana* to Pōtatau.<sup>367</sup> After a number of hui in 1855, Te Heuheu Iwikau, paramount chief of Taupō, travelled to Waikato and charged Hoani Pāpita to take the message of Kingship to Pōtatau.<sup>368</sup> The message was duly taken but Pōtatau refused the position.

Another meeting of tribal leaders was held in Pūkawa, Taupō, in 1856. The name of the meeting was "Hinana ki uta, hinana ki tai", which translates as 'search the land, search the sea,' Again, Pōtatau was chosen.<sup>369</sup> Finally, Ngāti Maniapoto relatives of Pōtatau called a meeting at Haurua near Te Kuiti. Some of the leaders at that hui included Te Kanawa, Tūhoro and Hauāuru.<sup>370</sup>

When the decision was made at the Haurua meeting, Tanirau, on behalf of the leaders addressed Pōtatau and stated, "Ko koe hei Kīngi" (you are to be King). To which Pōtatau immediately replied "E Tā kua tō te rā." (the sun is about to set, meaning 'I am an old man'). Tanirau responded:

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid

<sup>365</sup> Ibid at 160.

<sup>366</sup> Supra, n. 231, Jones, at 196.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid, at 197.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid, at 190.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid, at 196.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid, at 203.

E tō ana i te ahiahi, e aru ana i te ata, e tū koe hei kīngi - The sun sets in the evening and rises again in the morning. Stand and be King.<sup>371</sup>

Pōtatau was anointed the King in 1858. The occasion was celebrated with large hui at Ngāruawāhia and Rangiaowhia.<sup>372</sup> All were invited to the celebrations, including missionaries and traders. Rangiaowhia was one of the Kīngitanga's principal gathering places. The settlement was well endowed to be able to cater for the large numbers, being plentiful in wheat, maize, potatoes, kūmara, fruit and, from nearby Ngāroto and Te Kawa, tuna.

A more detailed account of the raising up of Potatau Te Wherowhero as King at Rangiaowhia was recorded in a Māori Newspaper in 1858 as follows:

THE MĀORI KING. NATIVE MEETING AT RANGIAOHIA. (Concluded from our last.) [TRANSLATION]

On the 9th of the month of June, the tribes went from Waikato to Rangiaohia. The numbers were (— Ngatihaua 267 Ngatikoroki 30 Waikato 240 Ngatimaniapoto .. 200 Ngatihau 60 Ngatituwharetoa.. 100 Ngatihinetu 1 „,\* Ngatiapakura f " When these tribes assembled, the king came outside the railing, and they met the king and his guard, 240 men. The king and his people tarried at the entrance of the gate, and Te Ngatihaua, numbering 297, went forward to make their obeisance to the king. Next in order came the people of the place, and then the tribes of Taupo, Ahuriri, Whanganui, Kawhia, and Mokau. They all stood in the entrance of the gate, so that they might meet King Potatau. '

There was present also a youth named Keremeta, brother of Wi Karamoa, holding in his hand «a paper, which he read. This is the first portion, —"Welcome hither, O king Potatau. Establish thou the nationality of New Zealand !" The remaining sentences I do not know. After this address was read, the people walked backward and fired a salute, even three volleys, and the sound thereof was as the roar of thunder. After this they did obeisance, and arranged themselves in procession. First came the people resident in that locality, bearing aloft the flag of New Zealand ; then followed the king with his own people ; then followed the other tribes ; and lastly the women.

Those who went before the king were the inhabitants of the settlement and the visitors (that is, the Ahuriri and Whanganui people. On arriving at the camp they halted, and ranged themselves on each side of the court yard in rows three deep. Then stood up Te Tapihana, a teacher of the Ngatihikairo, and said, "Name the king, O Io, O Io !" [Io is a Māori deity dwelling in the heavens, and represented as being all powerful, wise, and good.] He meant, "Name the king, O William, O William." [William Thomson Tarapipipi, one of Potatau's chief supporters,] After this though did obeisance to the king, and the 23rd hymn was given out by the same

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid at 206.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid at 241.

monitor— "From Egypt lately come, Where death and darkness reign, We see a new, a better home, Where we our rest shall gain : Halleluia, I We are on our way to God, &c. After this Te Heuheu spoke, but his speech was not of consequence.

The tribes now dispersed to their encampments, met on the 9th, when the chiefs spoke. ... When all was arranged, Kiwa the brother of Hoani Papita [of Ngati Apakura] stood up and said, — "Welcome, O son, welcome, welcome, to your people. Hold the authority of your ancestors and your fathers. You shall be king."\* Wiremu Te Akerautangi stood up and said, — " Welcome O King; —welcome to Waikato. The shame I feel is great For thou hest made a hapless exit. And now thou art as fish caught from the sea And placed upon the stalls to dry. Are we to feed upon the things that came Promise lands far distant? O son, thou gayest this to me And caused these lips to be polluted Which once were sacred. Lo, I'll lop it off Lest it should lead me to adopt its measures."

[The Poet feels shame that the sun of the Māori nation should have gone down. The present social condition of his countrymen is compared to fish once healthful swimming at ease in its native water, but now ruthlessly cast upon the stalls no longer to be admired, but simply looked upon as an article of food. He asks whether the New Zealanders should be satisfied with the systems of foreign people which they have been called upon to adopt. He then censures the natives who were so credulous as to take for granted that the foreigner sought only the benefit of the New Zealanders by coming to this land and introducing other customs that came into collision with their own sacred usages; and concludes with a determination to maintain the national independence of the Māories.]

Kingi Waikawau said, — " Welcome, O son, welcome. " The pangs I feel are of a two-fold nature, Some are without and as the wind beyond my grasp. O King, welcome, and be thou enthroned." Toma spoke and chanted a song" complimentary to the King.

Te Awarahi [Te Katipa] now stood up; he said,— " O my elder brethren and my children, you have given us a hearty welcome. " O thou deafening noise and dread confusion , How am I pained for thee O wife Gone from me to another !" [O wife gone from me, &c— i.e., the lands sold to the Government. He bitterly regrets that his wife— i.e., Māori lands— should have been sold, and now that he is anxious to raise the Māori standard, and organize a Māori system, impediments will arise from the fact that many valuable native lands are in the possession of power they are not prepared to either respect or obey.

The above speech is a reply to those which preceded it] Then rose up Te Mutumutu, grandson of Turoa, the Chief of Whanganui. He said, — Return hither, O my relative, and steer the canoe [guide the people]. 11 Mat which Hotunui and Hoturangi Reclined upon, thy face was broken, Thy face was beaten, and yet thy face was worn as ornaments around the neck. Thy face too was concealed, yet it was grand, And beautiful the while hither bring my treasures— " The treasures that I got me from the northern countries, And from the eastern lands, that I may Cover now tint face. Lo, the mat is spread,— how great a treasure ! Give the King to beautify the features of each man And rid the land of evil." [Hitunuku and Hoturangi. Deified men. If we understand the thing rightly, mats were made and offerings presented to these deities, and when the priests prayed and muttered their

incantations, the gods came and reclined upon the new mats spread for them. Of course the mats were highly venerated, and although broken, or beaten by accident, or trampled upon and partially destroyed by enemies in war, the fragments were collected and worn as relics. Although thus debased they were considered grand & so in like manner, Te Wherowhero, or Potatau, though denuded of his native dignity by residing in the heart of a European settlement, still the tribes looked upon him with a feeling of veneration."

His return to his kindred and people is embodied in the figure "Lo the mat is spread." Lest there should be any doubt, however, on the minds of the audience, in reference to the metaphorical language used, the poet concludes in plain terms, "Give the King" &c. Tuhikitia stood up, and said,— " Welcome O Te Mutumutu ; welcome O Wi Pakau ; welcome O Te Moananui ; welcome O Te Heuheu ; welcome O Te Poihipi ; welcome O Pakake ; welcome O Te Wetini Pahukohatu ; welcome O Takerei Hikuroa; welcome O Waikawau and Wiremu Te Ake. "Oh sacred glory! how I love to dwell on thee, Streaming forth along the narrow way. Come hither daughter, let us go together To Io, he will make us Teachers ; And he'll gather us together That we may seize upon the Word of God, And lean upon the Saviour. Welcome ; let us be one ;— let us cling to God and the King."

Hori Te Waru [of Ngati Apakura] stood up, and said, — " Let us be one,— one with God and the King." Te Heuheu rose up and said, — " " O Hoani, be energetic; O Hori, be energetic; O Tamihana, be energetic ; O Te Wetini be energetic for the King, and drive away wickedness and disorder." Then rose up Kapara Ngatoki he said, — " Let those who have been named be brave, and add here to the King."

Then Wiremu Pakau [a Southern Chief] stood up ' and said, — "Ye have called, and bid me welcome. Lo, I have journeyed hither to Waikato. 11 It is being flung that way where the clump of forest trees are growing, Even at Tongaporutu, herewith shall cease The sorrow for my land." [Being flung that way,— i.e., he is drawn to Waikato the people of which are compared to forest trees growing luxuriantly, he hopes by joining the king confederation to secure the well being of his countrymen, and mitigate the sorrow he feels on account of their present degraded state.]

On this day a collection was made for the printing press. The monies collected were,— for the printing press, £100; for King Potatau, £73 16s. 6d. It was now determined that the kingship should be abiding,— that it should stand henceforward. The Moananui of Ahuriri has consented thereto; also Te Mutumutu and Wi Pakau of Whanganui; Te Heuheu and Te Poihipi of Taupo; Pakire, Te Paerata, and Pakake of the Ngatiraukawa; and all the conversation was about the King.

On the following day a committee was called to appoint a council [i.e., executive] for the King. Puta relative of King Potatau, said, "Ngatihaua, do you seek out a man known by you [for his ability] as a member for the council at Ngaruawahia— [the head quarters] — so that matters relative to the people may be attended to." The NgatiHaua consented to this, and Te Wetini Taiporutu was chosen ; he is to stand on the right hand [be chairman or speaker]. Then it was said,— "Ngatikoroki, do you look out a man from among you," and Te Area was chosen. The Patukoko sent

Epiha Hihipa Then Rewi Maniapoto was chosen, and then Te Waitai. These are to form King Potatau's council, and to assist him, and to make known his sentiments to all the people.

O Mr., if you approve of the contents of this paper being published, well; if not, cast it aside. O friend of the native people, salutations to you. Lo this is the end. (Signed) William.

Following the Rangiaowhia meeting, Potatau wrote to the Governor expressing his desire to maintain Christianity, good-will and obedience to the law.

Harold Maniapoto stated that Pōtatau lived at settlements with Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū in Ngāroto, Kakepuku, Waipā and Pirongia until 1857 whereupon Pōtatau returned to Taupiri.<sup>373</sup> O'Malley recorded a meeting held in April 1859 and attended by Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, of Ngāti Hauā who resolved to establish the Kīngitanga Rūnanga to ensure that no more land would be sold to the Government. However, all sales of land already made were to be respected, and any sale negotiations still in progress should be completed.<sup>374</sup> The rūnanga was also to be a forum for adjudication on hapū and Pākehā matters when such circumstances arose. The Rūnanga was an important part of the Kīngitanga.

#### **Kings Army under Reihana Te Huatare Wahanui**

Hochstetter provided his observations on how Māori name the whenua:<sup>375</sup>

It is really astonishing to observe how minutely the Māoris know their country, and how they have named not only each plant, bird, or insect, but also nearly every place. Every single cave and cleft, every rock and every hole in these parts has a special name with some legend or other attached to it. In order to learn the names and legends, it is necessary to inquire of the older chiefs; the common man knowing but little...my source of information was in Mangawhitikau the chief Reihana te Huatare.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Harold Maniapoto 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Waipapa Marae, Kawhia, 29-30 March 2010), at 41.

<sup>374</sup> Supra, n. 316, O'Malley at 17.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Supra, n. 209, Hochstetter, at 340.

Reihana Te Huatare of Ngāti Maniapoto more commonly known as, Wahanui was described as “a man of considerable influence amongst the Māori ... [and] was one of King Tāwhiao’s principal advisors.”<sup>377</sup>

Following the Taranaki Wars, hapū agreed that they too would create armies of young men, uniformed and drilled for the purpose of protecting the King. These armies were to be known as the “King’s Soldiers”. Armies were established in Rangiaowhia, Whataroa, and Hangatiki.

In 1862, Wahanui trained and made ready 80 young troops at his pā in Whataroa.<sup>378</sup> Wahanui made it clear that his army was solely for the purpose of protecting the King. Thus when asked by the King himself to take his army to Coromandel to oversee the gold mines, Wahanui declined replying that his soldiers would take care of the King and that was all; that the people of Coromandel could take care of their own gold.<sup>379</sup>

#### **Kīngitanga Printing Press – Te Hokioi**

The Commander of the Kīngitanga troops was a young man by the name of Hemara Rerehau.

In 1857, a Ngāti Apakura representative, Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe of Rangiaowhia, and Te Hemara Te Rerehau Paraone of Ngāti Maniapoto, visited Austria on board the frigate *Novara*. From their account published in *Te Ao Hou* in 1958, it appears likely that they went to Vienna with the express purpose of learning the art of printing. The Emperor of Austria presented them with a "printing press and types" which they brought back to Mangere, New Zealand, where Potatau resided at the time. The press was used to print the Māori King's proclamations. Rerehau had visited Vienna in Austria with Hochstetter where he learnt the art of printing.<sup>380</sup> The *Te Ao Hou* article is reproduced below:

‘Austria and the Māori People’ by Walter Brookes<sup>381</sup>

A CENTURY AGO, when the Austrian Empire included the ports of Trieste and Venice, Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Franz Josef and head of the Imperial Navy, ordered an exploratory world cruise to be made by the frigate

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<sup>377</sup> ‘Death of Wahanui, A Famous Maori Chief. in Auckland Star’, in *New Zealand Railways Magazine* (Volume XXVIII, Issue 283, 6 December 1897) at 5.

<sup>378</sup> Supra, n. 209, Hochstetter, at 305.

<sup>379</sup> John Gorst Resident Magistrate, AJHR, E no 9 sec iii, 1862 at 8.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> *Te Ao Hou* (1958) 42-43.



*Novara*, with a staff of seven scientists. She visited Auckland from 22nd December 1858 to 8th January 1859.

When she left for Trieste, a geologist, Dr Ferdinand von Hochstetter, stayed behind, at the request of the New Zealand Government, to investigate Auckland coal deposits. The *Novara* signed on two Māoris, Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone, as members of the crew.

The Māoris reached Vienna in October. It was arranged for them to work at the State Printing House; a member of the staff knew Māori, and taught them English and German, all branches of printing, and drawing. They spent nine months there, and were presented to many prominent people, including the Emperor. When they left they were given a printing press (now in the Te Awamutu Museum), and they returned home after a visit to England, where they were presented to Queen Victoria.

Meanwhile Hochstetter had spent nine months in New Zealand, working with Sir Julius von Haast in Nelson as well as Auckland. Returning to Europe, he kept up his interest in New Zealand, corresponded with von Haast, and exchanged botanical and other specimens. He published his book *New Zealand* in German and English. Later he became Director of the State

‘Diary of Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone’

We are pleased to offer our readers a manuscript of great interest to students of Māori history and language. It is a diary kept by Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau who went to Europe on board the Austrian frigate “*Novara*” with Dr Hochstetter. They spent from September 1859 to May 1860 in Vienna, learning the printing trade at the Imperial Printing Press.

They were introduced to the Emperor. The Archduke Maximilian showed them all over the city and on parting asked what they would like as a present. They asked for a printing press and types, which were later sent to New Zealand and used by the Māori King to print the paper called “*Te Hokioi*”.



In 1862 Governor Grey commissioned a technical school for boys in what had been the Te Awamutu Mission School, to be led by John Morgan and Gorst:

One of the major objects of the school was "the exhibition before the eyes of the Waikato Natives of the advantage to be derived from the British Government. That it might be clearly seen, especially by the young men, who are the most dangerous class in the Native community that the Queen's Government was able to give physical comfort and civilization in exchange for the barbarous independence which is cherished by them."<sup>384</sup>

Armitage was also a Resident Magistrate in the Kāwhia district in the early 1860s. On Governor Grey's behalf, Armitage went about the Waikato encouraging hapū to establish rūnanga. These Government-created institutions were to have a number of Native Magistrates and Police who would adjudicate on matters of minor crimes. Their decisions were to be based on English law and they themselves would be answerable to an English Regional Magistrate.

However the, 'rūnanga', as they were called, fell far short of 'traditional rūnanga', under which Potatau and his Counsellors operated. Armitage described a hui near Kāwhia where he was escorted by 30 horsemen and approximately 100 people following on foot. These, said Armitage, were the people of Ngāti Patupō who were known to be adherents of the King.<sup>385</sup> The British ensign was flying on a staff to welcome his arrival. The Ngāti Hikairo were on the opposite side of the bay where the King's flag flew. Ngāti Apakura, although known to be 'the King's people', greeted Armitage with much enthusiasm.<sup>386</sup>

Apart from the welcome, Ngāti Apakura preferred to take no part in the rūnanga and were impartial to decisions made by Ngāti Hikairo. The outcome of the hui was to be a disappointment for Armitage. He stated, "When afterwards I found that three quarters of the tribe publicly declined to accept the institutions I felt I had no alternative than to decline to establish a runanga here."<sup>387</sup>

Armitage stated that he met later with Reverend Schnachenberg who estimated that the Māori population living in Kāwhia and district at that time was 1,000 souls. Schnachenberg surmised that there were four main hapū including Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Mahuta, and that the largest hapū was Ngāti Maniapoto.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> AJHR E-no 1, p. 1, 1863.

<sup>385</sup> AJHR, E- no 9 sec ii, p. 39, 1962.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid, at 38.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

According to Patene and Mikaere of Ngāti Hinetū, both of whom lived in Rangiaowhia during Armitage's campaigns, the only real interest that hapū had in the Government's rūnanga was the inducement of pay.<sup>389</sup> The practice of Government officials openly promoting rulership by the Government in lands in which the Kīngitanga held much influence became more and more offensive to some followers of the Kīngitanga. Consequently, in 1862, Patene and his army ordered Armitage out of Ōtāwhao.

Armitage responded by complaining to the King's rūnanga and asking for their protection. Hoani Pāpita was a member of the King's rūnanga at the time<sup>390</sup> and a letter was sent to Patene strongly reprimanding him for his over-zealous actions.<sup>391</sup>

#### **Media Battle - Word of the Kīngitanga**

On receipt of Rerehau's aforementioned printing press, the Māori newspaper Te Hokioi was established. Wiremu Patara Te Tuhi became the Editor. Te Hokioi cited the Treaty of Waitangi as a basis of sovereignty.

Gorst, on the other hand, established a Government Press in Ōtāwhao just four miles from Rangiaowhia. The press was called 'Pihoihoi Mokemoke'. Gorst replied to the, Te Hokioi article on sovereignty. He made it clear that two sovereigns could not rule in one land. Again, some Kīngitanga supporters found the article offensive. It is also likely that offence was taken at the Government Press Office being situated in Ōtāwhao, a strong hold of the Kīngitanga.

An article written by Gorst that Māori took issue with was 'The Evil of the King's Government' which noted the inability of the King and his Council to prevent or punish crime. Gorst concluded that 'King Tawhiao either had or had not power to punish crime – if he had power, he deserved punishment for not exercising it – if he had not, he deserved equal punishment for pretending to be a King.'<sup>392</sup>

The article naturally caused much anger among Māori given the mocking tone and undermining of the mana of the Kīngitanga. Rewi Maniapoto seized the opportunity by writing to King Tawhiao of his intention to expel the press and Gorst from Te Awamutu.

Rewi Maniapoto and his army reacted by breaking into the Government Press office and confiscating the printing press. Gorst's letter of complaint to the King gained him

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> AJHR, E no 9 sec iii, 1862, at 9.

<sup>391</sup> AJHR, E no 9 sec iii, 1862 at 5.

<sup>392</sup> Cited in supra, n. 142, Gorst, at 337.

support but within six months relationships between the government and hapū crumbled so that all Pākehā in the area were called back to Auckland.

In addition, Michael King described how Rewi Maniapoto's army assisted Te Āti Awa's call when Government troops were ordered to take Tataraimaka in Taranaki in 1863.<sup>393</sup> King stated that Governor Grey used the battle in Taranaki and the rumour of pending attacks by hapū on Auckland as sufficient reason to 'bring the Kīngitanga to its heels'.

Although the Kīngitanga was against any further sale of land, hapū from dispersed central districts were looking for short term land leases. But Europeans of the 1860s were opposed to lease arrangement claiming that they would be putting themselves at risk of losing capital invested into the leasehold.<sup>394</sup>

Jenny Charman of Ngāti Apakura brought to light the way attacks on the foundations of the Kīngitanga and the mana of the hapū were carried out simply by taking a united group and giving land to one and not to the other:

We are still dispossessed by all the other iwi around us...We haven't died and...we ask ...why did you [the Crown] give our lands to Waikato? Why?<sup>395</sup>

Jenny Charman's remarks are a good preface for the next chapter – war and its consequences.

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<sup>393</sup> King, M, *Penguin History of New Zealand* (Penguin Publishers, Auckland, 2003) at 21.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

<sup>395</sup> Jenny Charman, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Waipapa Marae, Kawhia, 29-30 March 2010) at 22.

## SECTION 4: CONFLICT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

### INTRODUCTION

Rangiaowhia and Ngāroto were the heartlands of Ngāti Apakura with Rangiaowhia also being the breadbasket of the Kīngitanga. Belich noted that the economic bases of the Kīngitanga at the time included Rangiaowhia, Matamata and Hangatiki.<sup>396</sup> Prior to the Waikato invasion, a local newspaper article in 1851 predicted that Rangiaowhia in a few years will be the granary of Auckland.<sup>397</sup> A similar article the following year reported positively on Ngāti Apakura community development at Rangiaowhia:

They are no less industrious than they are honest and well behaved. ... Who can predict the immense conclusions of small beginnings? ... The natives are among the chief producers of colonial wealth, and best examples of morality. The spear and the musket are now the axe and plough. ... What then may a few more years do?<sup>398</sup>

What may a few more years do for Ngāti Apakura as a people indeed was a pressing question in 1852. Ngāti Apakura should have become a politically, socially, culturally and economically strong and healthy community in the years following these observations. But this did not occur. Ngāti Apakura have struggled to survive as a people and tribe in name and number due largely as a result of war.

The geographical features of the Waikato basin and the navigable Waikato River allowed for a British invasion proper of the area – a continuous offensive attack – of the Kīngitanga by the British Imperial army. Governor Grey knew it would be difficult for the Kīngitanga warriors who were semi-permanent in the field which meant that a continuous offensive attack would place great pressure on tribal economies and man power.

This section will discuss the specific battles of the Waikato Wars that directly affected Ngāti Apakura as a people, namely, Waiari, Pāterangi, Rangiaowhia, Hairini and Orākau. It is acknowledged that all of the battles of the Waikato Wars affected Ngāti Apakura indirectly but these battles were fought in the Waipā region on Apakura whenua and resulted in the loss of Ngāti Apakura lives, lands and, it seems, as a living growing community. The confiscation of Ngāti Apakura lands crushed Ngāti Apakura as a people and a coherent,

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<sup>396</sup> Belich, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1986) at 122.

<sup>397</sup> 'A Sketch by a recent visitor at Rangiaowhia' in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol. VI, Issue 404, 13 May 1851) at 3.

<sup>398</sup> 'By a recent visitor to Wairoa and Kaipara' in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol VII, Issue 471, 2 January 1852) at 6.

vibrant political, economic and cultural community. A somewhat in depth analysis of each of these battles is therefore warranted followed by an analysis of the detrimental consequences of these conflicts for Ngāti Apakura as a people.

#### **Waikato War Overview**

The British desire for control over the New Zealand realty – the land base, natural resources; and sovereignty led to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and ushered in the subsequent loss of Māori stewardship of both Māori whenua and mana motuhake. Under Article II of the Treaty, the British Government secured a Crown right of pre-emption which meant that the Crown had a monopoly on purchasing land from Māori but only if Māori were willing sellers. Māori refused to sell land in places including in the Waikato where they placed their lands in trust under the mana of the Kīngitanga. The New Zealand Government on the other hand became impatient with the Kīngitanga halting land sales. The final solution was the introduction of a confiscation policy (raupatu) through war for lands Māori refused to alienate.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s period, Governor George Grey pursued a double policy of war and peace simultaneously. Grey likely knew that the assertion of sovereignty would ultimately have to be accomplished by force of arms. An invasion of the Waikato had been mooted as early as April 1861 by Frederick Whitaker, the Attorney-General, to Governor Gore Browne. Whitaker and his partner Thomas Russell, Minister of Defence, also founded the Bank of New Zealand. Both politician entrepreneurs had plans for agricultural investment in the Waikato even though Māori refused to alienate these lands. These two were moreover, responsible for formulating the policy of confiscation of large areas of Māori land. As Cabinet Ministers, they secured a loan through their own bank of £3 million in 1863 for ‘defence purposes’ and therefore stood to profit from the promotion of an invasion of the Waikato.<sup>399</sup>

#### **Rumours of War**

Grey subsequently drafted a Proclamation of War but before it was issued, General Duncan Cameron’s forces invaded the Waikato by crossing the Mangatāwhiri River on 12 July 1863. By the time the General Assembly met in October that year, unfounded rumour of a Māori invasion of Auckland was used to justify the pre-emptive strike by the Imperial

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<sup>399</sup> Refer to Miller, H, *Race Conflict in New Zealand 1814-1865* (Blackwood and Janet Paul, Auckland, 1966) at 71.

Army.<sup>400</sup> Governor Grey declared that the Waikato tribes planned 'indiscriminate slaughter' of Europeans and the Ministers claimed that Parliament would be justified in adopting measures of 'exceptional severity' to rid the colony of such a menace.'<sup>401</sup> Whitaker characterised it as a 'struggle for the possession of Auckland.' The Southern Cross newspaper at the time noted the alleged situation of Waikato Māori and their lands as follows:

The Waikato people are blood-thirsty murderers ... there is only one way of meeting this, and that is by confiscation and the sword ... the natives have forced it upon us. ... At the very least large tracts of lands must be the penalty.<sup>402</sup>

Given such views, the Waikato invasion, war and raupatu appeared to be planned in advance. The British military invasion of the Waikato was in part about accessing the rich Waikato, Maniapoto and Apakura lands and resources while simultaneously crushing the Kīngitanga. Consequently, a number of battles were fought in the region - Meremere (31 October-1 November 1863), Rangiriri (20-21 November 1863), Pāterangi (January 1864), Waiari (11 February 1864), Rangiaowhia (Sunday 21 February 1864), Hairini (22 February 1864) and the Battle of Orākau (31 March-2 April 1864) which was the last of the Waikato Wars. Māori responded by defending their lands, lives and liberties.

Following the Battle of Rangiriri and the taking of Ngāruawāhia in 1863, the Imperial troops did not need to advance further into the Waikato for much of the Kīngitanga lands were now ready to be confiscated. Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa, rangatira of Ngāti Haua and the King Maker, sent his mere to Cameron which was seen as a token of submission. Māori leaders even expressed a willingness to negotiate with the Government. Consequently, on 8 December 1863, Māori allowed Cameron to occupy the Kīngitanga capital of Ngāruawāhia unimpeded. Governor Grey informed Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, that 'there can, I think, be no doubt that the neck of this unhappy rebellion is now broken.'<sup>403</sup>

A mute truism exists however which espouses that the first casualty in war is truth itself. Governor Grey received a communication from the Aborigines Protection Society expressing concern at the turn of events in the Colony. The Society urged Grey to accept

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<sup>400</sup> Supra, n. 398, Belich, at 124.

<sup>401</sup> Supra, n. 401, Miller, at 108.

<sup>402</sup> Cited in *ibid*, at 105.

<sup>403</sup> Grey to Newcastle, 9 Dec. 1863, AJHR 1864, E-3, at 3. See also Williams to CMS, 8 Dec. 1864, CN/O, 96(c); and *The Times*, (14 February 1864).



overtures of peace from Māori and expressed alarm at proposals to confiscate land. The Society warned:

We can conceive of no surer means of adding fuel to the flames of war; of expending the area of dissatisfaction; and of making the Natives fight with a madness of despair, than a policy of confiscation.<sup>404</sup>

The Ministers responded by denying that Māori asked for peace and alleged that Māori could drive Europeans out of the country and planned a desperate attack upon Auckland. The Ministers noted that Te Waharoa the leader of the rebels wrote in his own handwriting his determination to carry the war to the utmost extremity not even sparing unarmed persons. The Ministers added:

Acting in this spirit, the Māori threw themselves into the heart of the settler districts of the Provinces of Auckland, murdering and destroying the settlers within 17 miles of the town. ... So sudden was their onslaught, and so completely did they succeed in getting possession of the country close around Auckland, that it was not until after the fall of Rangiriri, five months at least after the struggle commenced that they were driven back and routed out of the wooded ranges.<sup>405</sup>

Interestingly, this memorandum was signed by William Fox on 5 May 1864, a month after the Battle of Orākau.

The Imperial troops needed to take Rangiaowhia to crush the Kīngitanga. Moreover, the fertile Waipā plains around Rangiaowhia were an important economic base. The Imperial soldiers had come too far to stop at Ngāruawāhia. Crown officials were concerned to push onwards to obtain the rich lands of Ngāti Apakura around the Rangiaowhia district by delaying peace. The Kīngitanga Māori held 7.6 million hectares of land and the war was about wresting the land from them by force of arms for Pākehā settlement. Over time, the British gained more and more land through confiscations and through sales in the Native Land Court.

Ngāti Apakura as a people were known to be very cooperative with the Crown up to the war and would have preferred peace. Contemporaries noted that they were industrious and wanted to work alongside Pākehā settlers rather than against them. While they joined in the fighting, it was defensive and they may have deliberately kept away from the frontline fighting and undertook work supplying the Kīngitanga forces in the field. Still, Government actions forced Ngāti Apakura to take up arms in defence of their lands.

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<sup>404</sup> AJHR, 1864 E No. 2 at 16.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid, at 18.

The next section will focus on the battles of Waiari, Pāterangi and Rangiaowhia simultaneously, then Hairini and the Battle of Orākau and will analyse these battles from a general perspective first, followed by a Ngāti Apakura perspective.



**Map 22: Waikato Campaign**<sup>406</sup>

#### **British Advance**

The British occupied Ngaruawahia on 9 December 1863. 2 weeks later the soldiers occupied Whatawhata. On 1 January 1864, Cameron occupied Tuhikaramea but it was not until 27 January that he continued up the Waipa River towards Māori when he reached Te Rore. Redoubts were established at Whatawhata, Tuhikaramea, Ngahinapouri and Te Rore. A major supply depot was established at Te Rore from where Māori had built a dray road to Te Awamutu under missionary John Morgan. On 28 January 1864, the field force began to advance overland. However, the British army halted in its tracks. On 8 February, the

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<sup>406</sup> Supra, n. 170, Stokes, at 198.

steamer *Avon* struck a submerged tree in the Waipa River and sank. The *Avon* and the *Pioneer* steamers were the centrepieces of the military transport system carrying thirty tons of supplies so the sinking halted the British army in its tracks for a period. When the replacement steamer *Koheroa* arrived at Te Rore on 18 February with thirty tons of supplies, Cameron proceeded on and confronted the Pāterangi Line but first experiencing an altercation at Waiari.

### **Waiari**

To consolidate his supply lines, General Cameron paused his advance for three weeks before Pāterangi. But an advanced post under Colonel Waddy for 600 men of the 40<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> Regiments was established on a ridge near Pāterangi where the 6-pounder Armstrong guns shelled the Pāterangi defences. A period of long range and largely ineffective sniping between the forces ensued during which time Māori attempted to counter attack.<sup>407</sup>

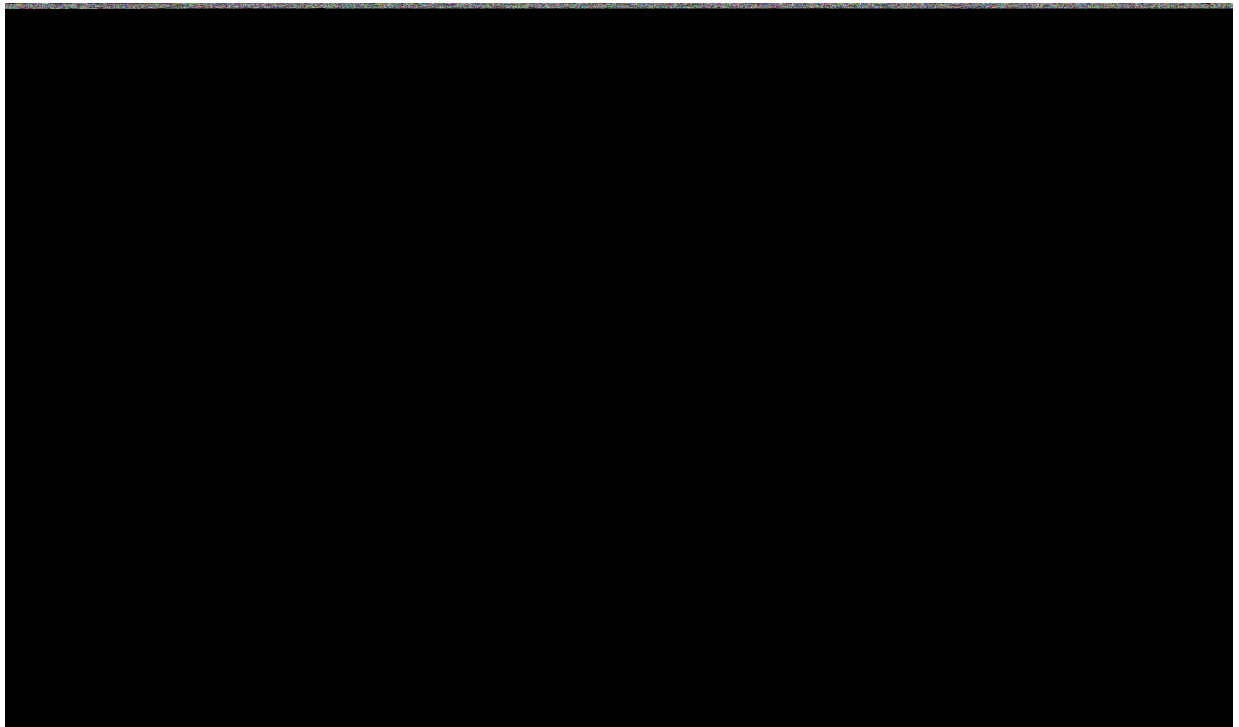
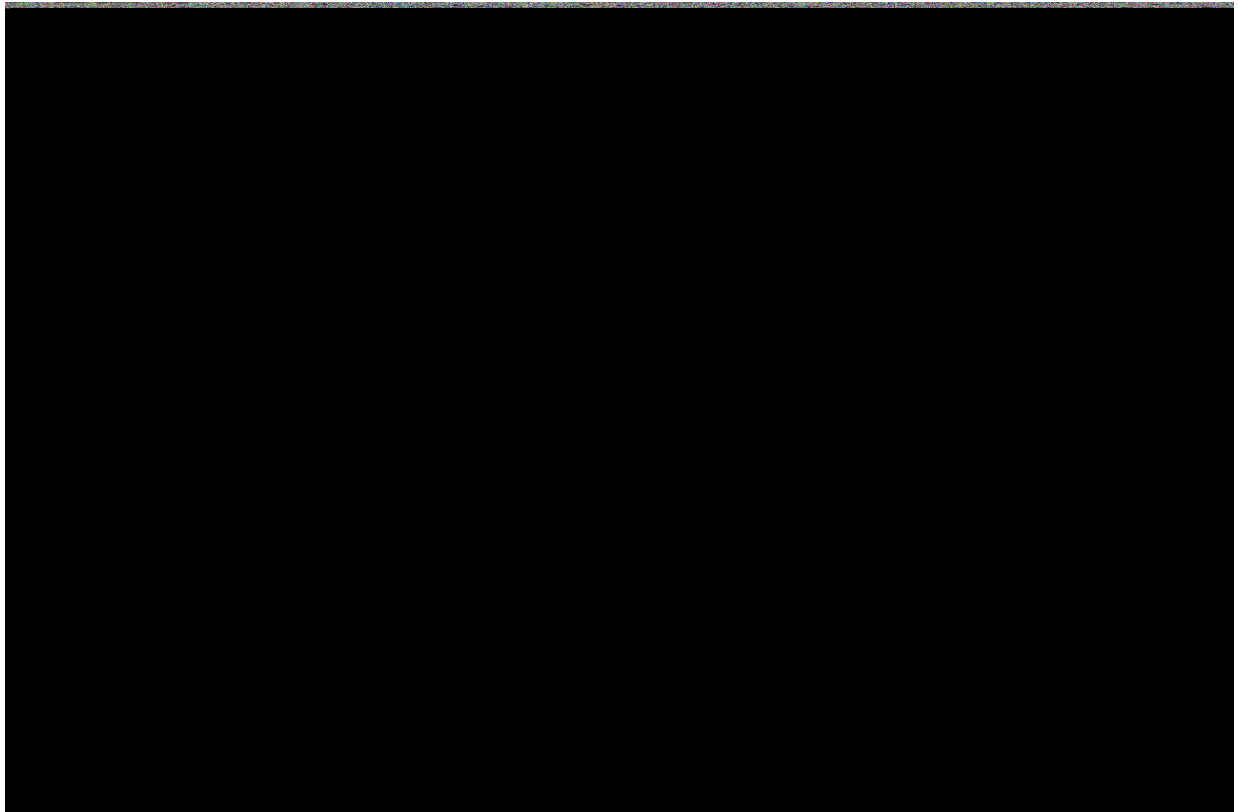
On 11 February 1864, approximately 100 Māori warriors hid in the old Waiari Pā which was an old Ngāti Apakura pā. Near the pā was a bathing hole in the Mangapiko Stream which the soldiers frequented. As the soldiers were bathing, the warriors opened fire. A running close-quarters battle ensued with both sides being reinforced. The British soldiers were reinforced by the Forest Rangers under Gustavus Von Tempsky. Darkness ended the fighting and both sides pulled back. A number on both sides were killed at Waiari. Māori casualties according to Captain Havelock numbered 28 dead and two wounded. The British lost 55 soldiers with six severely wounded.<sup>408</sup> Heaphy however alleged that 52 Māori died and 13 were wounded.<sup>409</sup> Although the incident was an ambush, Ngāti Apakura and other Iwi were ultimately acting against Crown forces which had wrongly labelled them rebels and invaded their lands.

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<sup>407</sup> See Ritchie, N, *The Waikato War of 1863-64* (Te Awamutu and District Museum, Hamilton, 2001) at 20.

<sup>408</sup> Reported by Captain Havelock in AJHR, 1865, Session I E-No 13, at 3.

<sup>409</sup> AJHR 1865, Session I E-No 13, at 4.



**Maps 23 & 24: Waiari Pā<sup>410</sup>**

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<sup>410</sup> Leadley, F, *Te Awamutu Yesterday and Today* (Te Awamutu College Social Studies Department, Te Awamutu, 1967) at 9 and 11.

## Māori Accounts and Views of Rangiaowhia

The following is an account by Pōtatau (not Potatau Te Wherowhero who became the first Māori King) who was a child at the attack on Ngāti Apakura and others during the Rangiaowhia encounter in 1864. His account was recorded as follows:

Ko nga korero enei a Pōtatau. Ko tona kainga kei Korakonui, e korero ana ia mo tana i kite ai ia. E tamariki ana ia i te whawhai ki Rangiaohia, I tuhia ana korero me te titiro tonu mai ia, na tetahi hawhe kaihe e noho ana ki nga Māori nana i whakaPākehā, koia nei ana korero:— No te ata o te Ratapu tenei whawhai. I te atu tu ka puta atu ahau ki waho o te whare, ka kite ahau i etahi turupa e haere ana ki tua o te whare. Oma tonu atu ahau ki te whare o taku papa, kihai ahau i roa ki reira ka tae mai ko taku tūpuna ko Hoani tona ingoa, he mohio nona kei reira matou i haere mai ai ia kia mate tahi ai matou, i reira ano hoki a Ihaia Rawiri me tona tama. No tenei wa ka puta maua ko taku whaea ki waho ka noho ki te whatitoka o te whare. Ka rongo atu ahau i taku papa e ki atu ana ki taku tūpuna me waiho a tatou pu me puta marie tatou ki waho. Ki ana mai taku tūpuna kei te nui ake koia au i o matua i riro herehere nei i Rangiriri? Ki ake ano taku papa, me haere marie tatou i runga i te ture, oti kihai taku tūpuna i whakaae I tenei wa ka tae mai nga hoia ka patai reo Māori mai ki taku whaea. "Kahore he Māori i roto i te whare," ki atu ana taku whaea "kahore." Ki tonu ake toku papa ae he Māori kei konei, katahi ka peke mai taua Pākehā reo Māori ki te whatitoka o te whare hopukia ana taku papa tukua atu ana ki nga hoia. . Ka tomo atu taua Pākehā ki te whare, na taku tūpuna tonu ia i pupuhi, mate rawa, katahi ka kumea te tupapaku e etahi o ratou ki roto ki te whare. Katahi maua ko. taku whaea ka whakatika ka ra roto i nga hoia haere ai, kihai maua i puritia tukua ana maua kia haere marie, ahu ana ta maua haere ki te whare o Tamati Pawa, he wahine Māori tana wahine. No muri ka rongo maua i nga hoia e pupuhi ana. I a maua e noho ana i te whare o Tamati Pawa ka tae mai te kai whakaMāori o te Kawanatanga, i tenei wa kua tokomaha nga wahine me nga tamariki i hui mai ki reira. Ki ana mai te kai whakaMāori ki a matou ma te Tianara te whakaaro mo matou, ki te wha- kaae kia haere matou e pai ana me haere matou, ki te tonoa matou ki te Awamutu me haere matou ki reira, otira ki mai ana ia me noho marie matou i taua whare. Ka hoki i konei te kai whakaMāori, kua mutu ano hoki te pupuhi. Whakatika tonu ake matou oma ana ki te ngahere a ahu ana ta matou haere ki Rangitoto.<sup>411</sup>

Gudgeon noted that Pōtatau was a little boy at the time but he recorded in English Pōtatau's eyewitness account of Rangiaowhia (which translation Gudgeon noted was rough but accurate and it was given as it was received<sup>412</sup>):

<sup>411</sup> Cited in Meredith, P, Nankivell, R & Joseph, R, 'Ngati Apakura Mana Tangata: (CFRT Scoping Report, 2010) at 100.

<sup>412</sup> Thos. Wayth Gudgeon, *The Defenders of New Zealand being a Short Biography of Colonists who Distinguished Themselves in Upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in These Islands* (H Brett Printer, Shortland Street, Auckland, 1887) at 178-179

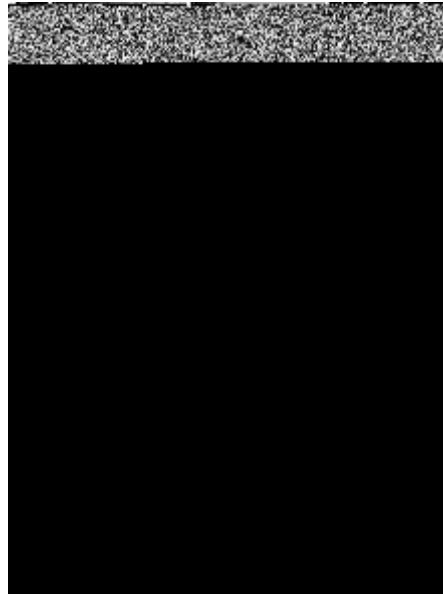
It took place on Sunday morning. Early in the morning I had reason to go outside the house. I then saw some troopers passing behind the house. I at once ran to my father's house. I had not been long there when my grandfather came to the same house. His name was Hoani [Papita?]. It was because he knew we were there that he came, so that he might die with us – Ihaia, Rawiri and his son. At this time myself and my mother went outside the house and sat at the door of the house. I heard my father say to my grandfather: 'Let us lay down our guns and give ourselves up as prisoners.' My grandfather said: 'Am I greater than your uncles who were taken at Rangiriri?'. My father again said to my grandfather: 'Let us go in peace, and according to law.' My grandfather would not agree. At this time the soldiers came to us, and asked my mother in Māori: 'Are there any Māoris in the house?' She replied: 'No, there are no Māoris in the house.' My father replied at once and said: 'Yes, there are Māoris here.' The European who spoke Māori came to the door of the house, and caught hold of my father, and handed him over to the soldiers. The European went inside the house. My grandfather shot him and killed him. Some of the others dragged the body in the house. At this time my mother and self arose and went through the soldiers and between the troopers. They did not interfere with us, but allowed us to pass. We went to the house of Thomas Power, who had a Māori woman to wife. After we left we heard the soldiers firing. Whilst we were at the house of Thomas Power, the Government interpreter came there. I may say that by this time a large number of women and children of our people had come to Thomas Power's house. What the interpreter said to us was that the general would have to deal with us. If he would allow us to take our departure it would be well; we could do so; if he sent us to Te Awamutu it would have to be so; but he told us to remain at this house. After this the interpreter left us. At this time the firing had ceased. We at once left the place and ran off to the bush, and made for Rangitoto.<sup>413</sup>

It appears that the attack on Rangiaowhia, a mission station for both the Catholic and Anglican Churches, occurred while most of the Māori were assembled for Church in a large raupo whare.<sup>414</sup> The fact that an attack was made on Sunday, a day which was strictly set aside for worship, caused much anguish to Māori. Moreover, the presence of Bishop Selwyn who was chaplain to the British Forces and was present at Rangiaowhia alarmed Māori. Māori even believed that Bishop Selwyn had something to do with the burning at Rangiaowhia. A local reaction was hatred by many of missionaries, a loss of faith for the Churches, and an appeal to a new hybrid Māori-Christian faith - Pai Marire – sometimes referred to as Huahauism.

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<sup>413</sup> Idem.

<sup>414</sup> Grace, J H, *Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District* (Reed Books, Auckland, 1959) at 419.



**Bishop George Selwyn**

### **Who Burned the Whare?**

A mute truism during war exists which espouses that the first casualty in war is truth itself which appears to be the case surrounding much of the facts regarding the Rangiaowhia encounter. A highly disputed and controversial fact of the Rangiaowhia encounter was how the whare with at least 10 Māori inside caught fire. Did the Imperial soldiers deliberately set the whare on fire with Māori men, women and perhaps children inside it? Some of the neighboring whare were now on fire, either ignited by the firing through the thatch or set on fire by the troopers.<sup>415</sup> Captain Wilson admitted that ‘when the Māoris did not surrender when challenged the second time, the infantry fired the house.’<sup>416</sup> Cowan noted that one of the troopers had run round to the rear of the whare and set it alight.<sup>417</sup>

The Forest Rangers however, contended that the whare may have been ignited by the firing of guns. ‘We put the muzzles of our carbines close to the raupo walls,’ William Johns said, ‘and fired through the thatch. The Māoris inside were doing the same, and naturally the inflammable walls would soon catch fire from the flash and the burning wadding.’<sup>418</sup> William Johns even contended that ‘a great deal of wild talk arose as to the burning of the Māori whares designedly, but the firing of Māori guns and of soldiers’ rifles at close range

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<sup>415</sup> Ibid, at 355.

<sup>416</sup> Captain Wilson, ‘The fight at Rangiaowhia’ in *supra*, n 431, Gudgeon, at 176.

<sup>417</sup> Idem.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid, at 356.

into dry raupo whares is a sufficient explanation.”<sup>419</sup> John’s account however, is doubtful given the evidence from others admitted above.

The strongest evidence of the soldier’s actions was officially reported in 1864 by General Cameron himself which although brief is clear:

I arrived at Te Awamutu at day break on 21<sup>st</sup>, and immediately pushed on to Rangiaohia, which I found nearly deserted. The few natives who were in the place were completely taken by surprise, and refusing to lay down their guns, fired on the Mounted Royal Artillery and Colonial Defence Force, whom I sent out in advance of the column. The natives were quickly dispersed and the greater part escaped; but a few of them taking shelter in a whare, made a desperate resistance, until the Royal Rangers and a company of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment surrounded the whare, *which was set on fire*, and the defenders either killed or taken prisoners [emphasis added]. ... I have detained 21 women and children who were found in the village.<sup>420</sup>

Another controversial fact was when the troops refused to save any Māori who surrendered from the burning whare. The Imperial troops instead clustered about the burning whare and shot any Māori who tried to escape. It was alleged that these troops were not under the immediate control of their officers and that there were many who wanted to avenge the fall of Colonel Nixon hence no mercy was shown here.<sup>421</sup> What is not clear in the soldier’s accounts however was whether Māori women and children were among the dead from the burnt whare. What is clear though is the reaction from Māori.

Prior to the Battle of Orākau in March 1864 is a recorded conversation between Rewi Manga Maniapoto and his brother Te Huia Raureti.<sup>422</sup> Raureti reproved Rewi for not taking part in any of the fighting leading up to Orākau including at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia and Hairini.<sup>423</sup> Rewi’s response was: ‘I am not ashamed because anger does not come back. ...The fighting with the Europeans will not cease quickly.’<sup>424</sup> Rewi’s nephew, Hitiri Te Paerata, noted that on account of the deaths of Māori at Rangiaowhia, ‘our hearts were very dark and our old men were angry.’<sup>425</sup> Hitiri added that he was present at the fights at both

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<sup>419</sup> Supra, n. 418, Cowan, at 364.

<sup>420</sup> General Cameron, ‘The Native Insurrection’ in *AJHR*, 1864, Enclosure No. 26, E-No. 2, at 29.

<sup>421</sup> Supra, n. 418, Cowan at 176.

<sup>422</sup> ‘The Battle of Orakau: A Maori Version of a Stubborn Fight’ in *Otago Daily Times* (Issue 8284, 10 September 1888) at 4.

<sup>423</sup> Idem.

<sup>424</sup> Idem.

<sup>425</sup> Hitiri Te Paerata, *An Account of the Battle of Orakau by the Maori Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngati Raukawa Tribe* (Interpreter Captain Gilbert Mair, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, G Didsbury Government Printer, 4 August 1888) at 4-5.



Pāterangi and Rangiaowhia.<sup>426</sup> A Kīngitanga letter in 1868 commented further on the Rangiaowhia encounter:

The women and children were left at [Rangiaowhia]. The gathering of the men was at Pāterangi. During the night the troops moved in to Rangiaowhia, where they burned the houses, and the children with their mothers, and the women were pierced by the bayonet. For this, indignation of the Māoris has been aroused, and houses of Europeans have been burned, but not at Waikato. All the Māoris continually look on at these things. From these doings the hidden things have become manifest, namely good and evil.<sup>427</sup>

Tāwhiao's sorrow and anger over the Rangiaowhia encounter was that the troops knew that the settlement was without defence except for the aged, women and children.

The reports of the burning of Māori at Rangiaowhia also made a deep impression on the Ngāti Haua rangatira Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa. Tamihana recorded in a discussion with James Mackay that: 'My hand did not strike the Pākehā during the war until the battle at Hairini; then for the first time my hand struck, my anger being great about my dead, murdered and burnt with fire at Rangiaowhia.'<sup>428</sup> Hazel Wander noted what happened to her kuia Wikitoria at Rangiaowhia:

My korero is on my great grandmother who was at Rangiaowhia and that was handed down to my mother in 1930 when she went to stay with our kuia at Puketerata. ... Wikitoria was only a young girl at that time. ... Wikitoria who was a child ... when she woke up in the morning she was told to go down and have a wash, her and her friends ... while they were down there having a wash, kua tae mai a Cameron. ... Wikitoria ... was down in the raupō, they went to hide in the raupo. ... They hid there until it was night because they were only young then. They heard the gunfire. They heard the tangi's. They smelt the smoke. ... And that's what they did, they hid in the day and they travelled in the night.<sup>429</sup>

Walker noted that those killed in the burning whare at Rangiaowhia included two daughters of the Te Arawa rangatira Kereopa Te Rau.<sup>430</sup> Kereopa subsequently sought fierce utu for this atrocity of war for what he regarded as the murder of his daughters.<sup>431</sup> Sir Apirana Ngata opined in this respect:

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<sup>426</sup> Ibid at 11.

<sup>427</sup> 'Important Letter from the King Party' in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol XXIV, Issue 3437, 22 July 1868) at 2.

<sup>428</sup> GBPP 1865, vol 14 at 141.

<sup>429</sup> Wander, H, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 27-28.

<sup>430</sup> Walker, R, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1990) at 124. Refer also supra, n. 433, Grace, at 419.

<sup>431</sup> Supra, n. 433, Grace, at 419, where Grace states: At Opotiki, Kereopa asserted: 'Friends, this is a word from God to you. If any missionary or other European comes to this place, do not protect him. He must die, die, die!' See also Sutherland, I.L.G (Ed), *The Maori People Today* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940) at 348. True to his word, Kereopa later caught, tried and executed Reverend Carl Volkner on 2 March 1865. Kereopa was subsequently captured and executed in January 1872. Ironically, the British and

The Māori had been used to the connection between the tohunga and the war party, and Bishop Selwyn's connection with the British forces here and elsewhere was one of the things that damned Christianity and its representatives among its Māori converts... This burning had another consequence: it was one factor leading to what has become known as perhaps the outstanding example of Māori savagery during the Hauhau fighting, namely, the murder of the missionary, Volkner by Kereopa. All that lay behind this is not known to the Pākehā historian. Two of Kereopa's daughters were burnt to death at Rangiaowhia and he swore vengeance on all missionaries ... Kereopa killed one man in revenge for his two daughters, and expiated his sin by hanging at Napier; but the burning of his daughters was never punished.<sup>432</sup>

William J. Phillips discussed the Church House at Rangiaowhia.<sup>433</sup>

This was the house of Hauauru, a relative of the first Māori King. It was used as one of the first Christian churches south of the Mission Station at Otawhao, Te Awamutu, probably as early as 1840, and is of interest today because of the manner of its destruction by British troops. It is probable that of all houses of importance dating from the early years of last century none evokes more bitter memories to the Māoris, for it was burned after the battle while women and children still were within it, too much afraid of Pākehā bullets to venture forth.

It was on the morning of Sunday, 21 February 1864, when the British troops (whom Bishop Selwyn accompanied as Chaplain) attacked the Māori villages of Te Awamutu, Rangiaowhia, and Kihikihi.<sup>434</sup>

Accounts from the Te Rohe Pōtae Oral and Traditional hui revealed that a person named Hongihongi was in the church when it was set alight. He and his sister Rangiāmoa dragged Te Wano out of the church to escape the flames. The name of the path on which the elders fled was Tomotomo Ariki.<sup>435</sup>

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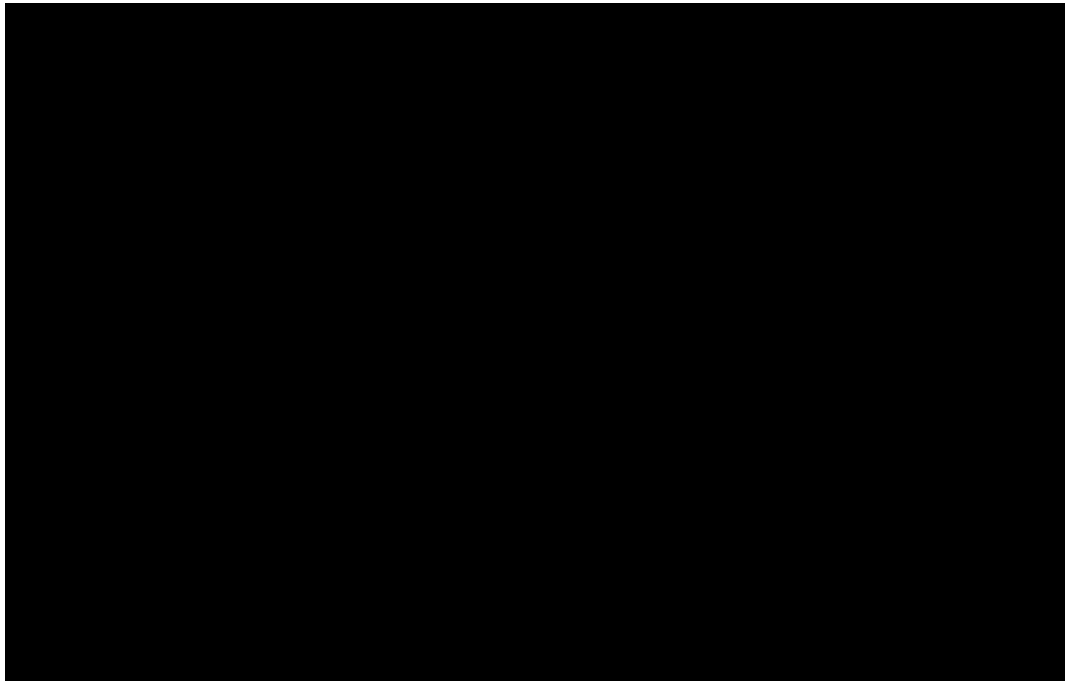
mainstream public viewed the death of Reverend Volkner as a barbaric atrocity but the burning of innocent Maori men, women and children at Rangiaowhia while attending Church by Imperial soldiers was barely mentioned in the public records.

<sup>432</sup> Supra, n. 184, Phillips, at 233

<sup>433</sup> Ibid, at 230 - 231

<sup>434</sup> Idem.

<sup>435</sup> Phillip Crown, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Te Tokanganui a Noho Marae, Te Kuiti, 9-11 June 2010) at 397.



**Map 28: Orākau and Surrounding Country Showing the routes of the British march, 1864.**<sup>436</sup>

Another Māori account of Rangiaowhia noted that General Cameron told Māori to concentrate themselves in one Pa and the women and children were to be left elsewhere (such as at Rangiaowhia).<sup>437</sup> Rangiaowhia it appears was supposed to be a sanctuary for Māori non-combatants particularly given it was CMS and Catholic mission village, albeit an extremely prosperous village. Belich recorded that Bishop Selwyn and General Cameron sent a message to the Kīngitanga agreeing to set Rangiaowhia aside as a place of safety for the women and children.<sup>438</sup> Convincing Māori evidence indicates such a message was in fact sent<sup>439</sup> which highlights again the tragedy of Rangiaowhia for all Māori present but also for Ngāti Apakura as the tangata whenua.

Kowhai Ngutu Kaka of Waikato provided a more detailed Māori account of the Rangiaowhia encounter.<sup>440</sup> Kaka fought at Meremere and Rangiriri which he noted were ‘dreadful battles with severe losses on both sides.’<sup>441</sup> Kaka briefly noted how Māori were betrayed by what he termed a ‘halfcaste’ and how the Imperial troops crept around Pāterangi for the shameful attack on Rangiaowhia:

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<sup>436</sup> Supra, n. 421, Cowan.

<sup>437</sup> ‘Important Letter from the King Party’ in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol XXIV, Issue 3437, 22 July 1868) at 2.

<sup>438</sup> Supra, n. 398, Belich, at 164.

<sup>439</sup> Wiremu Tamehana, Petition to the General Assembly, 5 April 1865, AJHR, 1865, G-5; statement of Te Waharoa Piripi, Cowan Papers, 41B; and statement of Whitiora Te Kumete, in Caselberg, J (Ed) *Maori is my Name: Maori Historical Writings in Translation* (Dunedin, 1975) at 106.

<sup>440</sup> Kaka, K, ‘A New History of the Maori War’ in *Wanganui Herald*, (Vol. XIX, Issue 5280, 9 February 1884) at 2.

<sup>441</sup> Idem.

Traitors [James Edwards or Himi Manuao], however, were at work. A halfcaste (just what a halfcaste would do – they are a bad lot for a few shillings), betrayed us, and offered to show the General a way round our pas, so that he could get to the back country and cut off our supplies, rendering our positions useless. We knew nothing of this until one day a mounted man rode into our camp covered with dust and foam and astounded us all with the information that Te Awamutu, Rangiaowhia, and Kihi Kihi were in the hands of the enemy, and that severe loss had been inflicted upon us at the village of Rangiaowhia, and that a number of people had been burnt in a house there, also that a number of prisoners had been captured. On receipt of this news we put on our belts and at once evacuated our pas and fell back inland of Te Awamutu, where we found the troops had encamped. *We wept bitterly over our dead in the burnt and once beautiful Rangiaowhia* [emphasis added], and prepared to dislodge the enemy from the position they had taken up at the Awamutu mission station. It was a Sunday morning the troops attacked Rangiaowhia, and on the following day we advanced from there to give them battle.<sup>442</sup>

The number of people who died in the 'Church House' at Rangiaowhia is another difficult fact to establish given the differing accounts. However, Gordon Lennox noted that his tūpuna, Wiremu Toetoe<sup>443</sup> was also burned in the Church House at Rangiaowhia. Lennox substantiated Toetoe's death from kōrero tuku iho hearings as well as from an old whakapapa book which noted beside the name of Wiremu Toetoe – 'killed and burned at Rangiaowhia by the Pākehā soldiers.'<sup>444</sup>

As one can see from the above British and Māori narratives, the surprise attack by the Imperial troops on mostly non-combatant Māori at Rangiaowhia was not a gallant victory but a tragedy – depending on one's perspective. The Imperial troops knew the Pāterangi line was formidable and considered avoiding it was the better course. The strategy to counter Pāterangi was to attack the supply lines to the Pa – Rangiaowhia – where mostly non-combatant Māori deliberately gathered to be out of harms way. The strategy was unfair and dishonourable but a brilliant military tactic although the cost was terribly high for Ngāti Apakura.

Soldiers and history books do not often record dishonourable military victories let alone discuss them. For Māori, the Rangiaowhia encounter was a dishonourable military act hence the phrase: 'the hidden things have become manifest, namely good and evil.'<sup>445</sup> For Ngāti Apakura, the Rangiaowhia encounter to counteract Pāterangi was the beginning of great suffering and loss for Ngāti Apakura as a prosperous people and a thriving community.

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<sup>442</sup> Ibid, at 4.

<sup>443</sup> Named after the editor of the King's Printing Press, Hokio.

<sup>444</sup> Supra, n. 328, Lennox archival collection.

<sup>445</sup> 'Important Letter from the King Party' in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol XXIV, Issue 3437, 22 July 1868) at 2.

What followed were the final battles of the Waikato Wars – Hairini and Orākau. It is not well known but some Ngāti Apakura people were present at Orākau.

#### **Hairini 1864**

The immediate day following the Rangiaowhia encounter on 22 February 1864, a large body of Māori came from Pāterangi and re-occupied Rangiaowhia and began entrenching their position on Hairini ridge, about 1 km west of Rangiaowhia. General Cameron decided to attack immediately before the defensive works had progressed too far and he did so at 1.30 pm. Wiremu Tamehana provided his perspective on Hairini as follows:

On the night of Sunday, the pas of Pāterangi, Puketoke and Awheteki were evacuated. By the time the moon went down we had assembled at Te Raho, and when the morning star arose we were all at the Catholic Church. We cooked some food and when appetites were satisfied, had prayers. After prayers, crossed over to Hairini to Tomo's pa. I proposed that I should lead the van with Ngatihaua, Ngatimaru, and Ngatipaoa; that Ngatiraukawa, Tuwharetoa and Urewera should have the flanks, and Ngatimaniapoto the rear. I preferred that there should be but few to advance in front, to be light, so as not to be eager to fight. I spoke three times but they would not listen; so Ngatiraukawa took the lead; after them Urewera; after them Tuwharetoa; and after them Ngatimaniapoto. I called out, 'I shall not go with you; I shall stay and make entrenchments with Ngatimaru, Ngatipaoa and Te Aua.' Those tribes went on and came to close quarters; the one with the bayonet and the other with the tomahawk.<sup>446</sup>

As Armstrong guns pounded the Māori position, the hasty defence appeared to be no match against the concerted attack by Cameron's troops backed by cavalry and artillery support. A vigorous assault commenced by the 50th Regiment and its supports. The few Māori fell hurried back before the leading files of the 50th Regiment could reach them. General Cameron launched his cavalry in pursuit but was checked by volleys of the Māori reserve lead by Wiremu Tamihana. Tamihana continued:

20 Pākehās fell. It was a fight hand to hand. Then came the cavalry and Māori fled. In return Te Rangikaiwhirea, Pakira's sons was killed, also Amitai. The Ngatiraukawa lost two, Te Urewera two. Of Rangiwewehi, Taikata was killed by a stray bullet. They now came to our party. I called out: 'Fire' one volley was fired, and every horse was killed, none escaped. There was an end of them. The infantry then charged. Three volleys were poured on them, and that was finished. Another charge was then made, and Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiraukawa and

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<sup>446</sup> Wiremu Tamihana, Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in AJHR, 1864, Enclosure in No. 30, at 2.

Tuwharetoa fled. My party then retired. Not one was taken, nor a single Ngatipaoa or Ngatimaru. Of Te Aua tribe, Keto Ki Waho was (taken and killed), and Paora Pipi of Ngatitahinga. Ngatiraukawa lost three, Urewera lost two, Tuwharetoa lost one. These were all our dead. As for the Pākehās, they had the bed of death to themselves.<sup>447</sup>

Kowhai Ngutu Kaka added in his account of Hairini:

We attacked them in three columns and drove in their pickets. The troops poured out of their camps and came at us. A short conflict took place; they drove us at the point of the bayonet to some distance, to a swamp. Here we rallied and had another fight; but two bodies of cavalry, one on each side of the troops on foot, charged us, and one party of cavalry came upon us in a corn field. Then we had a bad time of it and our men were cut down with the swords right and left. Our other wing and centre had been defeated. We were utterly routed with heavy loss.<sup>448</sup>

British reports noted that Māori casualties at Hairini did not exceed 30 while Tamihana noted only 9 were killed with 1 wounded and taken prisoner. Kaka alleged 25 were killed and ‘many wounded and prisoners.’<sup>449</sup> The British had 22 casualties with 2 killed.<sup>450</sup>

Belich however, concluded that Hairini was a delay tactic to enable Māori to evacuate the Pāterangi Line and Rangiaowhia with all supplies that could be carried. Hairini enabled Māori to get all people, guns and ammunition out safely. Hairini allowed the Māori warriors to break up but not lose coherence. Rewi Maniapoto and his division of troops withdrew south of the Pūniu River and Wiremu Tamihana and his division retreated to Maungatautari. For Ngāti Apakura however, Hairini was another nail in the coffin sealing their loss of land, lives and group coherence. Cameron then occupied the Rangiaowhia district and prepared to move against Tamihana but before doing so, Orākau beckoned.

#### **Battle of Orākau 1864**

The Battle of Orākau was the last battle between Māori and the British Imperial troops in the Waikato in 1864. This battle was fought at Orākau Pa near Kihikihi from 31 March to 2 April 1864. The battle involved 1,700 seasoned British and colonial soldiers (including cavalry and artillery units) against 300 Māori (including women and children) led by Rewi Manga Maniapoto.

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<sup>447</sup> Wiremu Tamehana, Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864’ in ‘Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection’ in AJHR, 1864, Enclosure in No. 30, at 2.

<sup>448</sup> Supra, n. 459, Kaka, at 2.

<sup>449</sup> Idem.

<sup>450</sup> Cameron’s Report, AJHR, 1864, E-3 at 31-32.

At Orākau Pā, Rewi Maniapoto and his people defended gallantly against General Cameron's British army for three days. After two and a half days of relentless artillery fire and many assaults on the pā, the Māori defenders still held out. By the second day, Māori were short of ammunition, food, water and other supplies while Cameron's forces dug a sap so they could progress unhindered by the Māori defenders.

General Cameron was so impressed by the courage of the Māori that he called a truce and offered Māori the chance to surrender. It was then that Rewi and others uttered the immortalised reply: "Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake, ake, ake!" "We will never give up and will fight on forever and ever!" Cameron's intermediary, Major William Gilbert Mair then asked that the woman and children be allowed out of the pā, to which Ahumai Te Paerata replied: "Ki te mate nga tane, me mate ano nga wahine me nga tamariki" "If the men die, the women and children will die also."

By this time, Cameron's troops had dug the sap so close to the pā's earthworks that they could fire at the Māori defenders with artillery from point-blank range and, as they began to enter the pā, the defenders fled. The outcomes of the Battle of Orākau were mixed. Many of them were cut down by the cavalry in the retreat. Rewi escaped unscathed but of the 300 Māori defenders, 150 were killed in the breakout. Many were wounded and 33 were taken prisoner. British casualties numbered 17 dead and 54 wounded. The Pūniu River became the border between the British and Māori. The south became known as the King country because Māori under the Kīngitanga led by King Tawhiao relocated south of this River.

The New Zealand Government subsequently confiscated 1.2 million acres of Māori land north of the Pūniu River which Māori refer to as the raupatu grievance. The loss of the land for Māori had a devastating effect on their culture, economy, health and wellbeing. But Māori continue to fight for their rights to their lands; resources and way of life guided by the defiant stand of their ancestors at Orākau – 'Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake, ake, ake!'

### **Orākau Battle**

The Battle of Orākau<sup>451</sup> was fought in 1864, near Kihikihi. The Imperial and Colonial troops numbered 1,700, and were under the command of Brigadier General George Carey

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<sup>451</sup> For a detailed account of the battle of Orakau, see Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1922) at 366. For an account from a Māori perspective, see Hitiri Te Paerata *Description of the Battle of Orakau as Given by the Native Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngāti*

and General Duncan Cameron. Māori numbered 300, including women and children. The Māori contingent was made up of representatives from Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Te Kohera, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare, Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Rongowhakaata.

James Cowan provided a detailed account of the Battle of Orākau in English.<sup>452</sup> Cowan lived on a farm where the battle took place and he interviewed a number of Māori who fought in the battle including Raureti Te Huia. Cowan noted:

No heroic episode in New Zealand's history surpasses in fame the siege and defence of Orākau Pa, where the Kingite Māoris made their last stand in the Waikato War, and no call to valour equals in dramatic inspiration the defiant reply of the garrison to the British General's demand for surrender. The chief figure in the defence, Rewi Maniapoto, was the most vigorous and uncompromising of the Māori Nationalist leaders throughout the war. He and his near kinsmen, whose moving narratives are condensed into this article, were known to the writer from his early years on the sacred soil of Orākau battlefield and the King Country frontier.

The present main road from Te Awamutu towards Arapuni is the Via Sacra of the Waikato, for it followed the old army track to Orākau. This cross-section of historic ground is not by any means the only part of the great southward route rich in human associations. There are stories all the way from Auckland, for it is all more or less the trail of the soldier and the pioneer. But in more than usual measure authentic hero-tradition steepens the farm lands from Pāterangi and Te Awamutu to Orākau and the Pūniu River. In some ten miles of the old road and the new is concentrated the memory of the final scenes in the conquest of the Waikato, just on seventy years ago. It must be a very dull traveller who does not wonder now and again about the human background of the country through which he passes, or who, if he knows anything at all about the past, does not feel some stirring of the imagination along the quickly-changing highway. Even in the most serenely peaceful places it was not always butterfat.

#### **Rewi's Homeland**

Kihikihi township, midway between Te Awamutu and Orākau, was before the war the headquarters village of the powerful Ngāti-Maniapoto tribe. Like Orākau, and the neighboring beautiful farm country of Rangiaowhia, it was a land of abundant food, a place of rich soil and great crops. The Māoris grew wheat and ground the corn in their own flourmills, driven by waterpower on the streams, and everywhere there were the most prolific of peach groves. Every village was embowered in peach trees. In Kihikihi stood the tribal council-house, called by the famous ancestral name “Hui-te-Rangiora.” In that carved whare-rūnanga Rewi Maniapoto, the fighting head of the tribe, and his fellow-chiefs held their council meetings,

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*Raukawa Tribe* (At the Parliamentary Buildings, 4 August, 1888, Government Printer, Wellington, Interpreter - Capt. Gilbert Mair) at 3-7.

<sup>452</sup> Cowan, J, ‘Famous New Zealanders — No. 5 — Rewi Maniapoto — The Story of Orakau’ in *The New Zealand Railways Magazine*, (Volume 8, Issue 4 August 1, 1933) at 25.



debated Kingite politics, and planned the campaigns of Taranaki and Waikato. The great house went up in flames when General Cameron's conquering army invaded these Waipa Valley lands in the early part of 1864, and Ngāti-Maniapoto were driven out of their ancient homes and forced across the classic river Pūniu into the territory that became known as the King Country. Then came Orākau; on that greatly prized garden-land a band of men—and women, too—fought their last despairing fight for a broken cause. They lost the battle, but they won an enduring name, and won the admiration and affection of their Pākehā antagonists, for their amazing bravery, devotion and self-sacrifice.

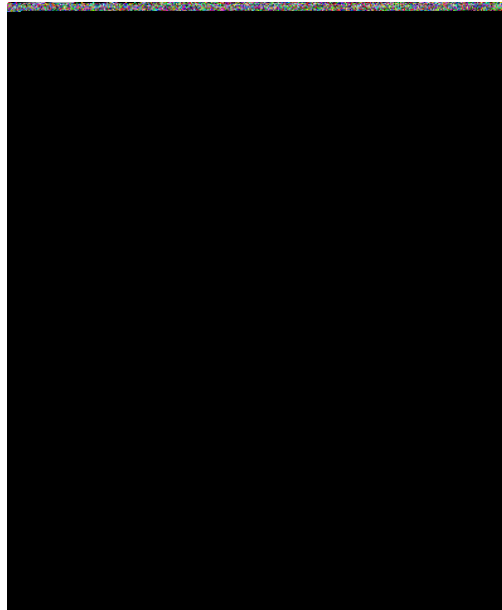
And nearly twenty years after the war, the State restored to Rewi a measure of his mana over the old home. A Government house was built for him on a piece of land close to the site of his destroyed council-whare, and to that house Ngāti-Maniapoto, with touching speech and chant, gave the treasured name, Hui-te-Rangiora. On that spot, in the soil for which he fought, his bones lie to-day, a sacred shrine of Māori patriotism in the heart of a Pākehā village.

Rewi Maniapoto, as I remember him, was a man of rather small, compact build, quick-moving, keen-eyed, an active man even in his old age, a complete contrast to his fellow-chieftain, the great orator Wahanui—the Māori Demosthenes as someone once called him—who weighed 24 stone and could never find a pair of trousers big enough for him in the country stores. Rewi was a warrior born. He marched on his first fighting expedition when he was not yet fourteen years old—the Māori boy was often initiated into the arts of war when he was about twelve. This first war-path of his, with an army of his people, was an attack on Pukerangiora, the great stronghold of the Taranaki tribes. That was in the era of cannibal warfare in 1832. Twenty-eight years later, he was the most determined of the chiefs who led the attack on No. 3 Redoubt, in the Waitara campaign. Fifty of his comrades fell in that desperately brave attempt to carry a British earthwork with the tomahawk. He fought on many fields in North Taranaki; then in 1863 he turned his attention northward.

### **Eviction of John Gorst**

Te Awamutu, with its mission and Government establishment, was an outpost of Pākehā influence in the heart of the Māori country. Young John Gorst (afterwards Sir John), lately come from England, was there as Governor Grey's officer, half magistrate, half school superintendent; he carried on a pro-Government propaganda with his little newspaper, the “Pihoihoi Mokemoke,” a vigorous counterblast to the Kingite gazette “Hokioi,” which the chief Patara te Tuhi and his brother Honana printed at Ngaruawahia, the Māori capital. King Tawhiao and Wiremu Tamehana tolerated Gorst; not so Rewi. In his fiery way he marched a war-party of his tribe down to Te Awamutu, seized the objectionable printing press and type, thrust Gorst out (or rather forced his recall by the Governor), and sent his printing gear off to Auckland after him. This precipitated the Waikato War.

The researchers interject here in Cowan's record to briefly note the involvement of Ngāti Apakura regarding the eviction of John Gorst. An article written by Gorst that Māori took issue with was 'The Evil of the King's Government' which noted the inability of the King and his Council to prevent or punish crime. Gorst concluded that 'King Tawhiao either had or had not power to punish crime – if he had power, he deserved punishment for not exercising it – if he had not, he deserved equal punishment for pretending to be a King.'<sup>453</sup>



John Gorst 1905

The article naturally caused much anger among Māori given the mocking tone and undermining of the mana of the Kīngitanga. Rewi Maniapoto seized the opportunity by writing to King Tawhiao of his intention to expel the press and Gorst from Te Awamutu. Wi Karamoa<sup>454</sup> of Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Apakura encouraged the ousting of Gorst by responding with a Māori song:<sup>455</sup>

Oh Kahukura<sup>456</sup> at the sea  
 Oh Ruamano<sup>457</sup> at the sea  
 Hearken! Our treasures are being borne away,  
 By Whiro, Whatino and Wharona<sup>458</sup>,  
 By thieves wind-swift, by thieves headlong.  
 Cast then down! Dash them down!

<sup>453</sup> Cited in supra, n. 142, Gorst, at 337.

<sup>454</sup> Karamoa was an advisor to King Tawhiao I'm assuming on behalf of Ngati Apakura.

<sup>455</sup> Supra, n. 142, Gorst at 338.

<sup>456</sup> Deity of Waikato.

<sup>457</sup> Deity of Waikato.

<sup>458</sup> The genii of lies, plunder and their associates.

A prey to be dashed down,  
 A prey to become the spoil of the far-famed.  
 Arise! Gird on!  
 Cast down! Dash down!  
 Let there be a shock,  
 The shock of army meeting army;  
 Let there be a prayer to overturn them,  
 To lash them.  
 Oh Tangaroa!<sup>459</sup> Whet thy teeth,  
 Sharpen thy teeth.  
 If thou liftest thyself up on high,  
 Tangaroa shall gather together all his, against thee.

On 24 March 1863 at 3.00pm, 80 Ngāti Maniapoto armed with guns arrived at Te Awamutu to oust Gorst. Rewi came with his men as far as the Native House then he sat and waited. Aporo, of Ngāti Maniapoto, led his men to the printing office, had karakia, then they began to break down the door. They then began to remove the contents dragging out the press and loaded it upon bullock drays.<sup>460</sup>

Interestingly, as soon as the news reached Ngāti Apakura at Rangiaowhia, Ti Oriori and Taati came on horseback to Te Awamutu to protest what had happened reciting that Pōtatau said: 'Be kind to Pākehās.' Ngāti Maniapoto responded that they acknowledged no other King but their ancestor Maniapoto. Taati called for a pen and paper, took down this speech, and then sent it off to Ngāruawāhia.

Once Gorst finally returned to the office in the evening, they told him unless he consented to go in the morning, he would be shot. Early the next morning, a Ngāti Apakura herald arrived to announce that Ngāti Apakura was on its ways to judge Ngāti Maniapoto. Hoani Pāpita's word was 'We have been treated like slaves by Ngāti Maniapoto.'<sup>461</sup>

Interestingly, the Apakura herald after making a speech and singing a warlike song in the road went into a garden and Aporo ordered him to leave. The Apakura herald replied: 'Is this your place, O Aporo? No, it is ours; it is for us to spoil our own place. You have treated us like slaves.'<sup>462</sup>

What followed was a hui among Maniapoto and Apakura rangatira to decide this situation. Hoani Papita, Ti Oriori and Taati from Apakura; Rewi and Wharetini from Maniapoto and others gathered and sat down on the public road. Ngāti Apakura expressed indignation at Rewi's unwarranted violence especially in carrying these actions on Ngāti

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<sup>459</sup> Water demon.

<sup>460</sup> Supra, n. 142, Gorst at 340.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid, at 342.

<sup>462</sup> Idem.

Apakura's lands. Rewi responded that he was carrying out measures for the common good to oust the Governor's office sent among them to do the work of Satan. Rewi added that he was tired of waiting and negotiating and was determined to act and so the Governor's office should be removed.<sup>463</sup>

Gorst then recorded what happened next:

A chair was placed in the middle of the road on which I was invited to sit down. Aporo then advanced and said, 'Get up and go.' I said: 'I shall not.' He repeated the order several times receiving the same reply. He then said: 'If you will not go, I shall use force to drive you away.' I told him he had committed a great wrong by invading my land and taking away my printing press; and I had a proclamation of Matutaera's Council recently issued against molesting Europeans read aloud, at which they all laughed. I said Aporo was disobeying his Kings commands. He said he would disobey his master by driving me away, unless I disobeyed my master by going at once. I replied that nothing but Sir George Grey's orders would induce me to leave the place and after saying this, I left the meeting.

The debate then resumed. Taati pointed with his spear to the house and said: 'If you use violence, I am there.' The Waikatos declared that, though agreeing with Ngatimaniapoto in the desire to get rid of the officer of Government, they would not permit violence to be used. Rewi and his men sat on the ground in dogged silence merely observing that they should not stir from the spot until their object was accomplished.<sup>464</sup>

Rewi finally conceded but warned Gorst to leave. Rewi then wrote the following letter to Governor Grey:

Te Awamutu, 25 March 1863

Friend Governor Grey,

Greeting. This is my word to you. Mr Gorst has been killed by me. The press has been taken by me. They are my men who took it – eighty, armed with guns. The reason is, to drive away Mr Gorst, that he may return to the town; it is on account of the great darkness caused by his being sent to live here, and tempt us, and also on account of your saying that you would dig round our King till he fell. Friend, take Mr Gorst back to town; do not leave him to live with me at Te Awamutu. If you say he is to stay, he will die. Let your letter be speedy to fetch him away within three weeks.

From your friend  
Rewi Maniapoto.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Ibid at 343-344.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid, at 345-346.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid, at 246.

Rewi then withdrew his men allowing Gorst three weeks grace from being attacked by Maniapoto. Rewi also refused to give up the property seized stating he would send it to Mangatawhiri.

Governor Grey ignored Rewi's letter and warned Gorst to return to Auckland at once in the event of danger. One of the Ministers did however; stop the inland mail between Auckland and Ōtāwhao which was an affront to Taati whose Ngāti Apakura men were the mail-carriers.

What transpired next was condemnation by King Tawhiao over what happened and another hui at Rangiaowhia was convened which included Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa, Ti Oriori and others. At the hui, the Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Haua rangatira unanimously condemned Rewi Maniapoto and Wi Karamoa and they rode to Kihikihi to protest. Rewi eventually consented to restore the press and pay for the damage done but he refused to budge on the question of expelling the Governor's office. Eventually, Waharoa told Gorst that he must go as did King Tawhiao. Consequently, Gorst left Te Awamutu reluctantly.<sup>466</sup>

#### **Back to Orākau**

We now pick up the Orākau story by Cowan where we left off:

Rewi was determined to have a final decision by force of arms. He and his cousin, Tupotahi—a man of like physique and energetic character to himself—made a recruiting expedition to the distant Urewera Country. There by his thrilling appeals and his chanted war songs he infused a fighting spirit into the mountain men—indeed, they did not need much urging, although they had no quarrel with the Pākehā. They would go far for the sheer love of using gun and tomahawk. So it came about that presently considerably more than a hundred Urewera warriors were on the battle trail in Waikato; at Orākau there were nearly a hundred and forty of them, and they furnished the backbone of the defence there.

#### **Building Orākau Pa**

No need here to repeat the story of the gradual forcing back of the Kingites, from fort to fort and camp to camp. I take up the story on the gentle mound of Rangataua, at Orākau, the Place of Trees. There, at the end of March, 1864, three hundred and ten Māoris of various tribes, with many women among them—and even some children—mustered to build a kind of challenge redoubt, a final gesture of defiance and of love for the lands they were losing. (The Urewera, it was true, were not in danger of losing any land, but they were ready to give their lives in the

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<sup>466</sup> Ibid at 350-351.

cause of their fellow-Māoris.) Rewi really was forced into the desperate affair against his own better judgment. He had his doubts from the beginning; he saw with the eye of a practised soldier the unsuitability of the site which the old men had selected for a pa. The venerable Te Paerata, chief of Ngāti-Tekohera and Ngāti-Raukawa, struck his staff on the ground at Orākau and said: "This is my land; let me die here." Rewi urged the Urewera to return to their mountains. But their leader replied: "We are carrying heavy burdens [guns and ammunition] and we must use them; we have come a long way." Of Rewi's own tribe there were not more than fifty; the rest remained southward of the Pūniu.

All the shrewd Rewi's advice was in vain; the Urewera and West Taupo and Orākau men were resolved on the last fight. So he reluctantly consented to the general wish. Once he did so, he threw himself into the defence with all his fiery energy and warrior skill.

The Māori redoubt, a small and really insignificant earthwork, was about eighty feet in length by forty feet in width. It was a rectangular entrenchment, with inner and outer trenches, some interior dug-outs and shallow covered ways, and a low parapet, outside of which a post and rail fence around part of the little fort made a further obstacle, but a flimsy one. The diggers were working there as busy as bees under Rewi's direction when a military surveyor at Kihikihi descried through his theodolite telescope the flashing of the spades and shovels in the sunshine, and reported it to the commander of the troops.

#### **British Attack**

"We were at prayers outside the pa in the early morning," said Tupotahi, Rewi's cousin and lieutenant, in describing to me the siege and defence, "and had our hands over our eyes, so, when I looked up and saw the look-out on the parapet beckoning to me and pointing, and there, looking in the direction of Kihikihi I saw the fixed bayonets of the soldiers glittering in the sun. The army was marching against us. So we ran to our stations, each tribe, loaded our guns, and prepared for the battle that we all felt was a battle of desperation [whakamomori]. Still we were in good spirits; we were elated at the prospect of a battle in which we would uphold our names and defend our rights to the land of our ancestors." The tattooed veteran described the moving events of the three days' defence. He and Te Huia Raureti and their surviving comrades all gave Rewi the credit for the management of the defence. He was in supreme command. It was Rewi who gave the first orders of defence, "Fire, the outer line," "Fire the inner line," when the British infantry made the first charge against the redoubt, and the Māori volleys swept the glacis.

#### **Three Days' Battle**

For three days and two nights the Māoris held the fort, a noble three hundred and ten against six times their number of well-armed, well-fed soldier foes. The siege began on the morning of March 31; it ended late in the afternoon of April 2. "We lived in a circle of fire and smoke," said Paitini, a man of the Urewera, who was severely wounded there. There was a supply of food, but the water was exhausted

by the end of the first night. To the rifle fire of hundreds of soldiers, a bombardment with two six-pounder Armstrong guns was added, and on the third day hand-grenades were thrown into the pa from the head of a flying-sap dug up to the northern outwork. Ringed with a line of steel, earthworks battered by shell fire, men, women and little children tortured with thirst, the valorous little band held out; there was no thought of surrender. The defenders ran short of ammunition for their double and single-barrel guns, so short that in the night firing they used small pieces of apple and manuka wood as bullets, saving their lead for the day-time. They repulsed repeated charges, and Rewi directed sorties from the redoubt.

Tupotahi, Rewi's cousin, one of the leaders in the defence of Orākau. He was severely wounded there.

#### **Fortune of War**

On the second morning of the siege, a thick fog enveloped the battlefield. The straits of the defenders were so serious that Tupotahi made request of the council of chiefs that the pa should be abandoned under cover of the fog. The council debated this, and decided to hold the fort. This was the announcement made by Rewi, which clinched the decision:

“Listen to me, O chiefs of the Rūnanga and all the tribes! It was we who sought this battle, wherefore then should we retreat? This is my thought: Let us abide by the fortune of war. If we are to die, let us die in battle; if we are to live, let us survive on the field of battle.”

“So,” said Tupotahi, continuing his narrative, “we all remained to continue the fight. The fog presently lifted from the battlefield, and then again began the firing.”

By that evening, the sufferings of the garrison had become intense. Dead and wounded were lying about the pa. Rewi now considered it advisable to evacuate the place in the night. But the Taupo men and the Urewera were stubborn in their decision to remain and continue the fight to the death. “So be it,” said Rewi.

#### **Last Day**

The third morning dawned in the haze that presaged a hot day. Tupotahi now proposed to Rewi: “Let us charge out before it is day. If we go now we may fight our way through the soldiers.” Rewi smiled grimly, and bade Tupotahi consult the other chiefs. “We shall remain here,” they declared; “we shall fight on.”

The morning haze swept away; the roar of the Armstrongs and the crack of rifles and carbines answered the bang of the Māori shotguns. It is recorded that forty thousand rounds of Enfield ammunition were fired by the troops in the siege. (No wonder we youngsters found bullets in the ground turned up by the plough, and explored the scarred old peach trees with our pocket knives for bits of lead.) The Māoris were of necessity far more sparing of their powder and lead; still they

made the troops keep close to cover. But the sap, the artillery and the hand-grenades spelled the doom of Orākau. The end was near.

#### **No Surrender**

The story of that afternoon of April the second, 1864, imperishably remains as an inspiration to deeds of courage and fortitude. No-where in history did the spirit of pure patriotism blaze up more brightly than in that little earthwork redoubt, torn by shellfire and strewn with dead and dying. The grim band of heroes proudly refused the terms offered by General Cameron, who certainly did not wish to sacrifice them.

To the General's request, delivered by the interpreter from the head of the sap, the reply was delivered by a chief who was Rewi's mouth-piece: "Peace will never be made, never, never!" A further reply, in words that will forever live, was delivered: "Friend, I shall fight against you forever and ever!" (in the Māori, "E hoa, ka whawhai tonu ahau ki a koe, ake, ake!")

The interpreter, Mr. Mair (afterwards Major) said: "That is well for you men, but it is not right that the women and children should die. Let them come out."

A noble-looking woman, the chieftainess Ahumai, made reply: "If the men are to die, the women and children will die also!"

#### **Through the Valley of Death**

So went on the hopeless fight, but not for much longer. Rewi gave the word; his warriors loaded their guns with their last cartridges, and with the women and children in their midst, they charged out in a body, going at a steady trot at first, until the amazed soldiers opened a fearful fire upon them. Eye witnesses actually recorded that the Māori were in a solid column, the women and children and the great chiefs were in the centre, and they marched out as cool as if they had been going to church.<sup>467</sup> All accounts agree that before just before 4.00pm on 2 April, Rewi and most of his garrison broke through a section of palisading on the south side and walked out en masse. They were not fired at nor did they open fire.<sup>468</sup> The Māori disappeared as suddenly as they had emerged from the Pa.

That retreat through the fern and swamp to the Pūniu River and beyond was, like the defence of the pa, full of deeds of gallantry and self-sacrifice. Rewi himself was surrounded by a small bodyguard of his devoted kinsmen; one of those gallant fellows, his nephew, Te Huia Raureti, still lives on the Pūniu banks, a white-headed veteran of over ninety, the very last of the warriors of his clan who fought through to safety that day of mingled gloom and glory.

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<sup>467</sup> Incidents and Sketches of the Maori Wars' in *Otago Witness* (Issue 2332, 10 November 1898) at 66.

<sup>468</sup> Peter Maxwell, *Frontier: The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand 1860-1872* (Celebrity Books for Waitekauri Publishers, Auckland, 2000) at 82.



When the sun went down on Orākau a hundred and sixty Māoris lay dead on the battlefield and on the line of flight to the border river. More than half the garrison, and of the survivors, half, probably, were wounded. Of the British, seventeen were killed and fifty-two wounded. There is a lament of Ngāti-Maniapoto for their dead in Taranaki that also applies to Orākau:

“The land is swept and desolate,  
Mournfully rolls the tide of Pūniu,  
The waters sob as they flow.”

So fought Rewi his last fight for his people and his country. He survived to live in peace and honour in near neighbourhood with his Pākehā antagonists. We on the old frontier lived on the very ground that was salted down with the flesh and blood and bones of scores of the gallant dead, the men—and women too—of Orākau. Cattle graze on that sacred soil; maybe the present owner wonders why years of cultivation have not smoothed out that rough bit of turf. Forty men and women were buried there, within the fence on the north side of the road as you drive over Orākau. Their parapets were just tumbled in on them. When the trench graves were filled in, the clenched hand of a Māori protruded above the ground, and a soldier trampled on it to tread it under. The last gesture! Defeated, shot and bayoneted; dead, but unconquerable.<sup>469</sup>

#### Māori Account of Orākau

From a Māori perspective, the Battle of Orākau was captured by Raureti Te Huia whose father Te Huia Raureti also fought there. We pick up Raureti’s account following the attack on Rangiaowhia and the skirmish at Hairini:

Ka hinga matou i konei, katahi ka horo marara noa atu ... ko matou i heke ki Kihikihi ahu atu ki Piraunui ka whiti i Pūniu awa ka huri i Puke-kawakawa, ka tae ki Tokanui no reira ka kite matou kua eke te Pākehā ki Kihikihi, kaore i roa kua pawa te ahi ko Huiterangiora tenei kua tahuna e te Pākehā ki te ahi.

Heoi ahu atu matou ki Otewa, no reira ka karangatia nga Iwikatoa kia hui ki Wharepapa no reira katahi ka turia te runga ko nga take tenei:-

1. Me hoki ano ki te pakanga kaore ranei.
2. Me hanga hepa ki tera taha o Pūniu ki tenei taha ranei.
3. Heoi, oti ake te whiriwhiri a te rūnanga are a nga Iwi katoa a, me hoki ano ki te pakanga.

Ko te whakatau mo te waahi hei turanga paa, me kaati atu i tera taha o Pūniu awa i te rohe o te pakanga ara i Waikato. Ka oti tenei ko rangataua tenei ka huiana tena pa ko Orākau. He tika te kino o tena waahi otira heoi ano te take i noho ai te pa nei

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<sup>469</sup> Cowan, J, ‘Famous New Zealanders — No. 5 — Rewi Maniapoto — The Story of Orakau’ in *The New Zealand Railways Magazine*, (Volume 8, Issue 4 (August 1, 1933) at 25.

ki konei no te mea kua tata te Pākehā kaore he waa hei hanganga paa ki te waahi totika o te whenua/ tuarua i riera te wahi i nga kai a he papaku ki raro kaore e tere te kitea e te Pākehā ko te wai i te taha herawhiti o te pa he mata-a-puna nei ki reira. Kaati no te ata ka timata matou ki te hanga i tena pa a ahiahi noa mahi tonu i te poo a awatea noa ..

Ko ga whaka nohonga tenei i nga Iwi ki root i tenei paa:

Timata i te hauauru-ma-tonga, i a Ngāti Te Urewera me Waikato.

Timata i te hau-a-uru-ma-raki, i a Ngāti Maniapoto me Parekaawaa

Timata i te tuara-ki-marangi, i a Ngāti Tuwharetoa me era tau hapū maha.

Ko nga rangatira whakahaere i roto i tenei paa mo ia Iwi, mo ia Iwi

Mo Te Urewera

Mo Waikato

Mo Tuwharetoa

Mo Parekawaa

Mo Maniapoto

Ko enei rangatira katoa e mahi ana i raro i te mana o te rangatira kotahi, ara o Rewi Manaipoto.

Ko te ahua tenei o te paa me te noho a nga Iwi:-

Ngāti Maniapoto

Ngāti Tuwharetoa

Waikato

Te Urewera

Ngāti Tekohera

Karaponia

Puu repo

Urupa Tupapaku

He Waahi Rarauhe

He Take Harakeke

He Pititi

Te Meiha Mea.

I te ata o te raa tuarua, ka kitea to matou paa e te Pākehā, a, ka kite hoki to matou tangata whakaaraara i te pa, e ahu mai ana te Pākehā, me te mahi tonu. Nga tangata

keri i te paa, a tenei hoki te tangata whakaraara o te paa. Te mahi nei ko Aporo te ingoa, aana karanga enei:-

He pukeko kei te kawakawa

Kei te tumutumu te mea e tata ana.

No te mea ka whakaeke tonu mai te Pākehā katahi ka puhia e matou ka huri ki te takiwa ki Karaponia, no reira katahi te Pākehā, ka pupuhi mai kia matou kaore rawa i roa kua pakua mei te pu i tena waahi, i tena waahi, o waho, katahi hoki matou te paa, ka hinga ko Aporo. Kaati kaore te pa i taea, i te tuawha o nga whakaeke a te Pākehā ka hinga ko te tamaiti a Raharuhi. Kaati kaore to matou paa i taea e te Pākehā ka hing, ka poo tenei rangi i te poo nei. Ka kite matou i te ahi e ka ana mai i tera taha o Mangaohoi i uta tata atu o Waha-oneone (he pa tuna tenei).

Ko taua ahi na Ngāti Haua, me te nuinga atu o nga Iwi i pakaru ki Maungatautari, ki Patetere, ki Arohena, ki Whare-pu-hunga, kaati kaore i taea e ratou te whakauru mai i te mea kua karapotia te pa e te Pākehā. Ao ake i te ra tuarua o te whawhaitanga he kohu kapi tonu te paa i te kohu, a i te mea kua kite a Te Winitana Tupotahi kua kore he paura kua kore he mataa, kua kore hoki he wai kua kai mata nga Iwi i te kamokamo, i te kumara. Katahi a ia ka ino ki te rūnanga kaumaatua kia wahia te paa, kia ora ai nga Iwi, kaati i whiriwhirinui te rūnanga i taua take, kaati kaore i taea te ki me waahi te paa, anei hoki te kupu a manga:-

Whakarongo mai te rūnanga me nga Iwi? te whawhai tenei, i whaia mai ai e tatou a i oma hoki hei aha ki tooku mahara hoki me mate mate tatou ki te pakanga.

No te mea ka turoa te ra ka unuhia te kohu i runga i te paa, hoi ko te timatanga ano o te riri, ka poutu maro te raa, ka kokiri te paa he matara ki waho, kokiri katoa nga taha e wha o te paa, kaati ko matou nei i kokiri ki te taha rawhiri e kikone ki koo pea te matara (about 200 YD)

No te mea ka poutu maro teraa o te raa tuarua e whawhai ana kua mariri te haereo te mataa i te mea kua pau nga paura me nga mataa, ko te teonga ki etehi he rua kaririri, he kotahi oa etahi. Kaore kau ana oa etahi, heoi ka timata i konei te ahua mate, kaati i te mea ka tauhinga atu teraa ka tu mai te Pākehā (kua mariri hoki te pakuu o te puu). Ana kupu enei :\_

Whauwhia ki te rongo kia ora ai nga koroheke, nga wahine me nga tamariki.

Ka whakautua e raureti taua kupu:-

E pai ana engari me hoki koutou, me hoki matou.

Ka tuaruatia ano te kupu a te Pākehā nei:-

E hoa ma puta mai kia matou kia ora ai koutou,

Katahi a Rewi Maniapoto ka peke ki waho o te pa ka mea a ia:-

Kaore e mau te rongo, Ake, Ake, Ake.

Ko te rakau i a Manga i taua wa nei no Pakapaka-tai-oreore, he taiaha, me te patu paraoa i tana hope e titiana, no tenei waa katahi ka utua e te Pākehā:

E tika ana tena mo koutou mo nga taane engari nga wahine me nga tamariki tukuna mai ena ki waho o te paa.

Ka whakautu e te paa ? Kaore e mau te rongo ake, ake, ake.

No tenei wa tonu ka pakuu te puu a taku hoa a Weretaa kukume rawa mai ahau i a ia kua paku te pu. Heoi ko te timatatanga tenei o te paki o te puu, kaore i roa rawa ka timata te rere a te rakete ki roto i to matou paa. Naa te rakete katahi matou ka mate, ara i i te rukenga tuatahi mai i nga rakete. He roroa nga wiki ka tau mai kia matou ka whakahokia atu ano ki te Pākehā. No te ronga katahi ka popoto nga wiki tau kau mai kua pakuu, penei tonu te mahi no te mea ka penaa katahi matou ka mate he tino nui matou i mate,

No te mea kua nuku atu i te 100 o matou kua mate i te mahi a te rakete, no reira ka takoto te mahara i nga kaumātua kia wahia te paa tuarua, ka nui hoki te kaha mai o te puurepo e paku mai ana i Karaponia engari ko nga mataa e tau atu anaki Mangaohi, kotahi ano te mataa i pa ki te taha tonga o te paa, i runga oi te otinga o te whakaaro o te Iwi katoa katahi ka wahia te paa. I horo atu i te taha tong-rawhiti ka heke ki te taha rawhiti o karaponia. He taiepa titi nei i kona i reira te kati a te Pākehā ko Puhipi tonu i mua. No kona ka mate a Puhipi ka horo mai a mua ki muri katahi a Paiaka raaua ko Te Makaka, ka peke ki te waahi i te kati a te Pākehā ka pakaru ka puta matou no konei ka whakaheke nga Māori ki roto i te repo wehe noa atu a te kohika a i tuu a ia ki konaa, kaore i mate i ora a ia, kaati i te mea ka tae matou ki tetahi wahi he manga-ngarara, he Pākehā ki reira he kati ano tera na te Pākehā. Na paiaka ano tena kati i waahi ka pakuru te Pākehā ka puta matou i tata. A Ngatata te mate ki kona e tapahi ana ki te hoari na Raureti i whakaara atu i tana puu kaore kau he paura o roto ka wehi te Pākehā ko te huringa kaore to matou hoa, heoi ko to matou hekenga ki roto o Pūniu awa ka whiti, ka haere i roto o Moerika repo, tae noa matou ka Tokanui a i Hokokua te nuinga e noho ana tae tonu matou ki reira ao ake ka haere matou ki Ohinekura. Ko etahi o nga rerenga o Orākau i heke ki Korakonui, ki Wharepapa, ki te whiti ki Kauaeroa, ki Hangatiki.

Heoi, ko te mutunga tenei o te whawhai ki enei takiwaa, a, ko te whawhai mutunga hoki tenei ki ua i tooku aroaro, ka kite ahau koinei tetahi mahi kino mo te tangata kaati kaore e taea te aata tataku ake nga ahuatanga o tena mahi.

Translation<sup>470</sup>:

We were defeated here, and so we fled ... we escaped to Kihikihi, to Piraunui, crossing the Puniu River at Pukekawawa, to Tokanui where we saw that the Pākehā had got to Kihikihi, and not long after we could see the smoke from the fires at Huiterangiora which had been set alight by the Pākehā.

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<sup>470</sup> The translation was completed by Tom Roa, 2012.

Then we set off for Otewā, and from there the people were summoned to meet at Wharepapa, where these issues were raised:

1. Should we go back to fight or not.
2. Should we build a pa on this side of the Punui or not.
3. When the deliberations were completed, the meeting decided that we would go back to fight.
4. The decision for place to build the pā was for the other side of the Punui, in the Waikato where the war was waging.

After this, we marched for Ōrākau. It is true, that was a bad place, however the reason for building the pā there was that the Pākehā was too close, and there was no more appropriate place to build [a pa], secondly, there was food available there, and the land below was shallow so that the Pākehā could not quickly catch sight of the water source to the east.

So we began to build the pa in the morning, and continued on through the night into the next day ...

These are the camps of each iwi in the pā:

Starting from the south-west, Ngāti Te Urewera and Waikato.

From the north-west, Ngāti Maniapoto and Parekākāwā.

From the north-east and on, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and a number of other hapū.

The leading men in the pā from each iwi were from:

Te Urewera  
Waikato  
Tūwharetoa  
Parekākāwā  
Maniapoto

All of these fighting chiefs came under the command of one general, Rewi Maniapoto.

This was how it was in the pā, and how the iwi were situated:

Ngāti Maniapoto  
Ngāti Tūwharetoa  
Waikato  
Te Urewera  
Ngāti Te Kohera

Karapōnia  
Swamps  
A cemetery

Bracken  
Flax  
Peaches  
Major outlooks

On the morning of the second day our pā was sighted by the Pākehā and our sentry saw the Pākehā advance. Meanwhile our people were still digging the pā[‘s fortifications]. This was the call for the pā to be alert, Aporo was the name of the sentry, whose call rang out:

‘A pūkeko is near the kawakawa shrub  
And is nearing the stump.’

Because the Pākehā was attacking, we shot at them, and they turned aside towards Karapōnia. Then the Pākehā shot at us, and it wasn’t long before gunshots reverberated throughout the pā both within and without, and Aporo fell. The pā was not overtaken with the fourth Pākehā attack, Raharuhi’s son fell.

Our pā did not fall on that first day, and night came. We could see fires alight further on from Mangaohoi, near Wahaoneone (this was an eel weir).

That fire had been lit by Ngāti Hauā and many other iwi who had broken away to Maungatautari and further, places that had been surrounded by the Pākehā. Next morning on the second day of fighting the pā was covered with a mist, and because Te Winitana Tupotahi saw that there was no more powder or bullets, and no water, that people were eating raw kamokamo and kumara. Then he implored of the elders’ council that they break out of the pā so that the people could live. The council considered the issue at length, but couldn’t say that they break out of the pā. These were Rewi’s words:

“Listen, Council, and you who are fighting this war which we have followed eagerly, what for? To my mind, let us die in this fight.

As the day progresses the fog will lift from the pā, and fighting will resume. At midday, the pā will be under attack on all sides and we will make our way to the eastern side to about here (about 200 yards).”

At midday of the second day of fighting, our guns were not as effective because we had run out of powder and bullets, although some had a little left. There were two more attacks, with some having a little ammunition. Others had nothing, and so it began to get difficult, and with one side looking defeat in the face, with the Pākehā standing by (and the sounds of gunfire beginning to abate), these were his words:

‘Let us have a ceasefire and let the old men the women and children live.’

Raureti answered:

‘That’s good. But you withdraw and we will also.’

Then came the second word of the Pākehā :

‘Friends, come out to us so that you might live.’

Then Rewi leapt out of the pā and said:

‘There will never be peace, never, ever.’

Manga’s weapon at that time was Pakapakataioreore, a taiaha (long wooden club) with a whalebone club hanging at his hip. To this the Pākehā replied:

‘That’s fine for you, for the men, but the women and children, send them out of the pā.’

To which the pā responded, ‘There will never be peace, never, ever.’

Then my friend Weretās gun went off., I eventually pulled him back. His gun had gone off. That was the start of more gunfire, and not long after cannon balls fell on our pā. With the cannon balls, we began to die, ie, from the cannonball fire. Those with long wicks that fell on us we sent back to the Pākehā. When they found this out they shortened their wicks so that when they hit [us in the pā] they went off, and from this came our worst casualties.

Because more than a hundred of us had died from cannon ball fire the elders realised that we should abandon the second pā, with the strength of the fusillades firing across from Karapōnia but the bullets landing on Mangaohoi, one bullet striking the south side of the pā. Everyone came to the conclusion to break out of the pā. The south-east side was overwhelmed, and so we withdrew to the east side of Karapōnia. A pegged fence was there and the Pākehā cart with Puhipi in front. Pūhipi was killed there and the front overwhelmed. Then Puhipi and Te Mākaka jumped to the cart and we broke out and our Māori forces withdrew in to the swamp.

Te Kōhika had left some time before and stood there. He didn’t die, he survived. Then because we got to a certain place which was a ditch, and Pākehā were there along with a cart that belonged to the Pākehā.

Paiaaka broke that cart and hammered the Pākehā so we escaped nearby.

Ngātata fell there, cut down by a sword.

Raureti raised his gun without any powder in it. The Pākehā were afraid, turning aside.

But not our friend. So our retreat went into the Puniu River, across it and into Moerika swamp eventually to Tokanui. The majority were at Hokokua when we got there. Next morning we went to Ohinekura. Some of those who escaped Orakau went to Korakonui, to Wharepapa, across to Kauaeroa, to Hangatiki.

This was the last of the battles in this region, and the last fight I took part in. I saw that this was an evil thing for people to be involved with. Features of it are impossible to describe with any accuracy.

### Ngāti Apakura Involvement at Orākau

It is not well known but Ngāti Apakura were present at Orākau. Wiremu Karamoa of Ngāti Apakura was the lay reader or principal Minita of the Church of England in the garrison and he led the religious services.<sup>471</sup> Cowan listed Karamoa as being from Waikato<sup>472</sup> but other accounts correctly identify Karamoa as being from Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Apakura.<sup>473</sup> Cowan also stated that the Waikato contingent included Wiremu Karamoa (Tumanako), Te Paewaka, Aporo and Te Huirama who were all possibly Ngāti Apakura rather than Waikato although Aporo was the same person mentioned earlier who was Maniapoto.<sup>474</sup> Later in his narrative, Cowan admits that Karamoa was Ngāti Apakura.<sup>475</sup>

Cowan recorded that before the Imperial troops were first seen, Māori were holding morning prayers led by Wi Karamoa who prayed to Jesus Christ to ‘guard and uphold us, and protect us against the anger of the Pākehā.’<sup>476</sup> The people were bowed with their hands over their eyes during these prayers uttered by Karamoa. Following the prayer service, Aporo raised the alarm: ‘He whakaariki! He whakaariki! – e! A war party, a war party!’ and each man ran for his gun.<sup>477</sup>

On the first day, a British soldier had fallen just outside the pa. Te Waro called on some men to retrieve the body in order that he might cut out the heart for the rite of the whangai-hau. The heart of the first man killed (the mata-ika – the first fish) must be offered in burnt sacrifice to Uenuku – God of Battle. But Rewi and Wi Karamoa forbade a return to the war rites of ancient days.<sup>478</sup> Cowan moreover, noted that Aporo was Ngāti Koura and he was a kai-whakaaraara-pa or sentinel. Aporo was shot dead on the first day. On the second day, Māori sallied out of the pā against the Imperial troops. During this event, Te Huirama (who was with Wi Karamoa) was shot dead.

On the third day when Māori were urged to surrender at Orākau, all the people cried in chorus: ‘Kaore e mau te rongo, ake, ake, ake!’ (‘Peace shall never be made—never, never, never!’) or in other accounts: ‘Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake, ake, ake!’ ‘We will fight forever!’ Then stood up Wi Karamoa Tumanako, of Ngāti Apakura, and said: ‘I shall make

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<sup>471</sup> Supra, n. 471, Cowan, at 366.

<sup>472</sup> Idem.

<sup>473</sup> Incidents and Sketches of the Maori Wars’ in *Otago Witness* (Issue 2332, 10 November 1898) at 66. James Belich also noted that Ngāti Hinetu were present at Orakau. Supra, n. 398, Belich, at 167.

<sup>474</sup> Idem.

<sup>475</sup> Supra, n. 471, Cowan at 384.

<sup>476</sup> Ibid, at 370

<sup>477</sup> Idem.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid at 371.



peace.’ To this Rewi, Hone Teri Te Paerata, and Raureti replied: ‘We are not willing that the people should be made prisoners, but if we leave the pa you make your own peace.’<sup>479</sup> Wi Karamoa asserted: ‘I will instill the peace.’<sup>480</sup> But Rewi replied: ‘leave it until I go out before you settle any peace treaty.’<sup>481</sup> In this respect, Cowan opined:

Wi Karamoa was the only man who advocated acceptance of the General’s offer to surrender. When the council of chiefs resolved to continue the defence of the Pa, Karamoa stood up and declared that he would make peace.’<sup>482</sup>

Only one unwounded man remained in the Pa when the Imperial troops finally breached Orākau Pa – Wiremu Karamoa Tumanako of Ngāti Apakura. Major Gilbert Mair noted that once Orākau Pa was finally taken, the soldiers met a man with a bit of dirty white muslin on a stick. He was surrounded by Imperial soldiers with fixed bayonets. Major Mair, Major Greaves and Lieutenant Albert Jackson managed to send the soldiers away sparing this man’s life, unlike Rangiaowhia and the merciless fate of others at Orākau including the bayoneting of the woman Hineiturama who was from Maketu.

Wi Karamoa according to Mair was a chief of Ngāti Hinetu of Rangiaowhia.<sup>483</sup> Another account noted that to divert the attention of the troops, and before the rest of the Māori defenders fled out of the pā, a Māori sprang from the parapet with a white flag. Wiremu Karamoa of Ngāti Hinetu coolly walked towards the Imperial troops and surrendered.<sup>484</sup> Karamoa’s action may have also been used as a decoy to divert the Imperial soldiers from the quiet escape of Māori from the rear of the Pa. Major William Gilbert Mair recorded the scene as follows:

We met a man with a bit of dirty white muslin on a stick. In an instant he was surrounded by a crowd of infuriated soldiers with fixed bayonets. Fortunately they crowded each other so that they could not get at him. I tried to keep the men off him, and Major Greaves and Lieutenant Albert Jackson came up and sent the men away. The Māori was Wi Karamoa, a chief of Ngāti Hinetu of Rangiaowhia. .... Major Greaves handed him over to a non-commissioned officer. By this time the

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<sup>479</sup> Cowan, J, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the story of the Waipa Valley : the missionary, the soldier, the pioneer farmer, early colonization, the war in Waikato, life on the Maori border and later-day settlement* (The Waipa Post Printing and Publishing Company Limited, 1922, Te Awamutu) at 73.

<sup>480</sup> Raureti Te Huia, ‘The Battle of Orakau (Chapter 10, Unpublished Manuscripts of Raureti Te Huia, Cowan papers, 1895) at 2. Raureti Te Huia referred to Wi Karamoa as Tumanako Karamoa in this account.

<sup>481</sup> Idem.

<sup>482</sup> Supra, n. 498, Cowan.

<sup>483</sup> Major Gilbert Mair, ‘Capture of Orakau Pa’ in *Evening Post* (Vol. LXXXIV, Issue 2, 12, 13 July 1912) at 5.

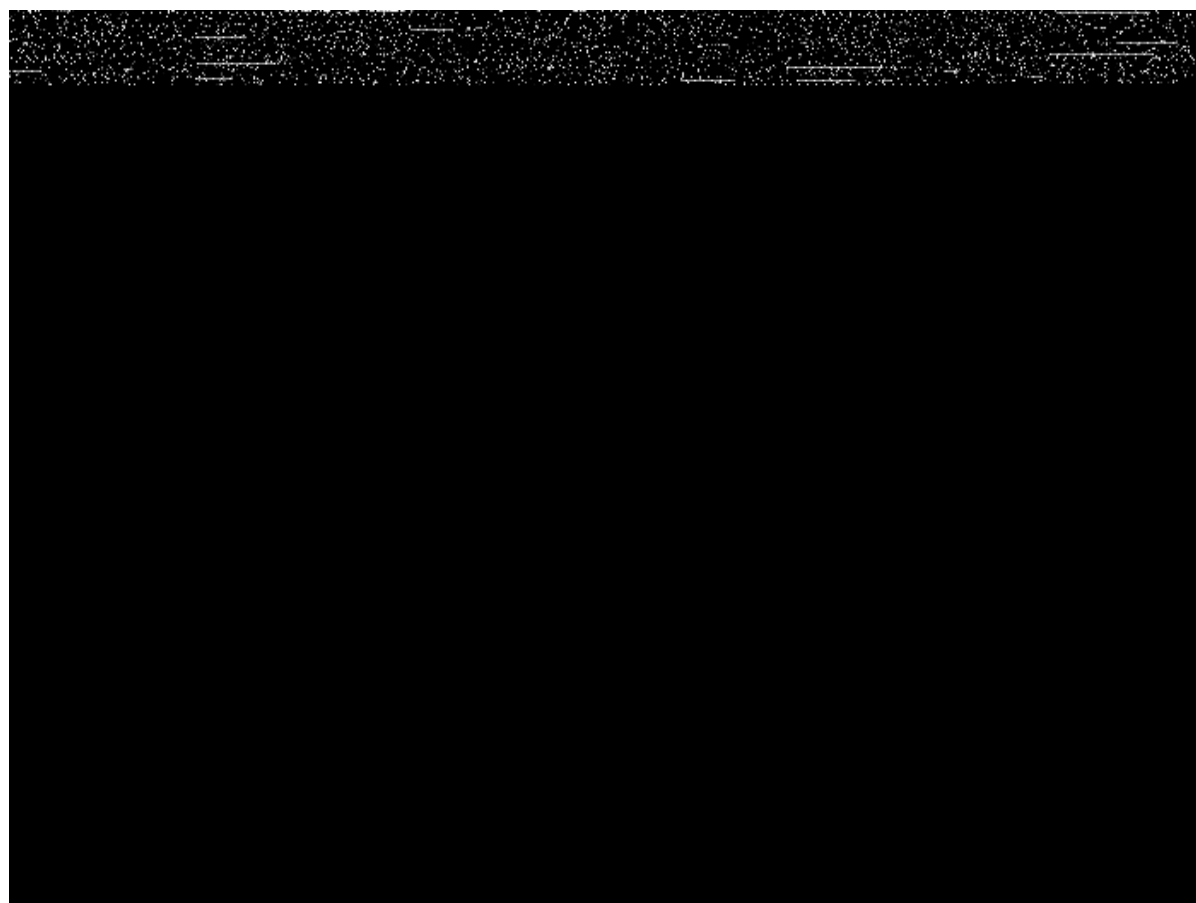
<sup>484</sup> Incidents and Sketches of the Maori Wars’ in *Otago Witness* (Issue 2332, 10 November 1898) at 28.

men were swarming into the place prodding everywhere with their bayonets and looking for loot.<sup>485</sup>

The following day which was a Sunday, working parties were sent out to collect the dead to bury them in mass graves. Wi Karamoa accompanied Mair who noted:

I took Wi Karamoa round to identify the dead. He had quite got over his funk, and did not like these tupapaku 'to come between the wind and his nobility,' so he held a handkerchief to his nose during the inspection. Most of the dead bodies had been stripped of even the wretched clothing they had worn.<sup>486</sup>

Mair noted that approximately 30 Māori were buried in a ditch close the Pa including Hineiturama (Te Arawa), Te Paerata, his son Hone Teri (Maniapoto, Raukawa, Te Kohera), Wereta (Te Kohera), Piripi te Heuheu (Tuhoe), and others.<sup>487</sup> According to Laird, Hoani Papita Pungarehu, chief of Ngāti Hinetu, also fought and died at Orākau in 1864<sup>488</sup> and was probably buried there although other accounts suggest Pungarehu was killed at Rangiaowhia.



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<sup>485</sup> Andersen, J.C and Petersen, G.C, *The Mair Family* (A. H & A. W Reed, Wellington, 1975) at 121.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid., at 122.

<sup>487</sup> Idem.

<sup>488</sup> Laid, E, *The Missionary Period in the History of Te Awamutu District* (Te Awamutu Historical Society Inc., Te Awamutu, Bulletin No. 5, 1979) at 33.

**Whakapapa Table 26: Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Apakura Whakapapa of Rewi Maniapoto and Karamoa (possibly Wiremu Karamoa).<sup>489</sup>**

**Post-Rangiaowhia and Orākau – Raupatu and Apakura Diaspora**

Following the Battles of Waiari, Pāterangi, Rangiaowhia, Hairini and Orākau in 1864, the whole of the central Waikato and the fertile plain of the delta between the Waipa and the Waikato Rivers were now under British occupation. General Cameron left detachments to garrison Te Rore, Pikopiko, Pāterangi and Kirikiriroa, the latter becoming the present city of Hamilton. The gunboats *Pioneer* and *Koheroa* steamed up the Waikato River for the first time on the 2nd March 1864 with a detachment of the 65th, and anchored below the deserted Māori settlement of Kirikiriroa. The next day the *Koheroa* ascended the strong river as far as Pukerimu (near present day Cambridge), and the officers and surveyors on board made a rapid reconnaissance of the country. Redoubts were built at Pukerimu and Kirikiriroa, and were garrisoned by detachments of the 18th and 70th Regiments. There were now nearly five thousand Imperial and colonial troops distributed in the occupied territory; the greater number was encamped at Te Awamutu, where the army spent the winter of 1864.

With the British invasion of the Waikato in 1864 somewhat complete, and the subsequent advancement of troops into the Waikato and Waipa areas, Ngāti Apakura were driven from their land which was subsequently confiscated (raupatu) under the auspices of the draconian Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 and its companion the New Zealand Settlement Act 1864. Most of their lands were confiscated. Most of the Ngāti Apakura people were left homeless and had to seek refuge elsewhere which led to the Ngāti Apakura diaspora. Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Puhia were able to survive across the aukati border of the King Country at Kāwhia and Whatiwhatihoe (Pirongia). But Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Rangimahora, Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Rahui were scattered by force.

A newspaper reported in 1864 the consequences of the War for Ngāti Apakura and other tribes:

The most serious result to the natives by the occupation of this portion of the country is, that in it are situated the greater part of the cultivations. Hundreds of acres of maize, wheat, and potatoes, peach gardens, melon grounds, and orchards are now in the hands of the troops. The loss of these supplies will be severely felt by the rebels and unless they speedily submit, the ensuing winter will prove a very trying season to them.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> Cited in Reports by Major Mair and Mr Bush, 'State of the Natives, Upper Waikato, Raglan and Kāwhia' in AJHR (Session I, G-02b, 1874) at 6.

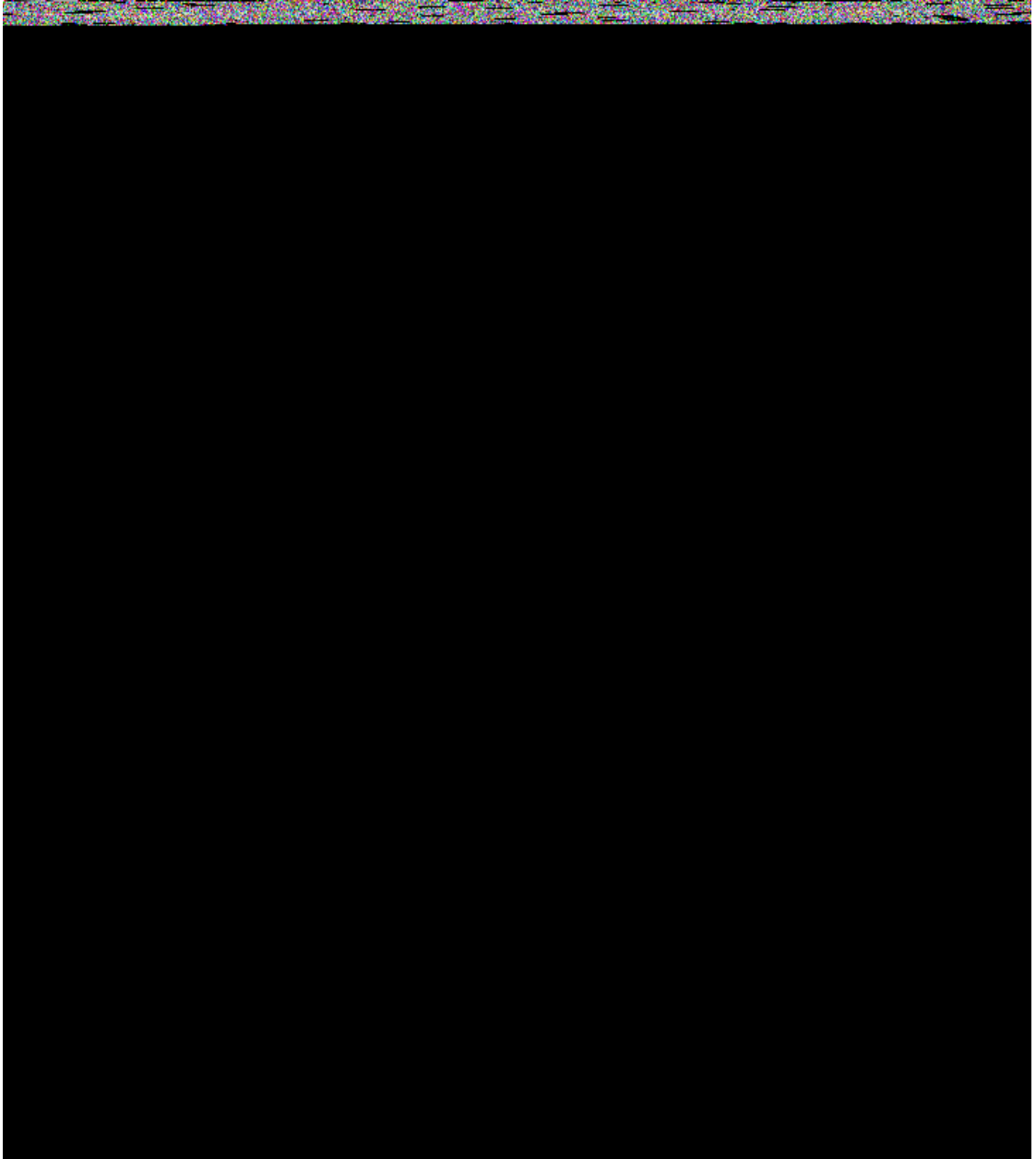
<sup>490</sup> 'Inveniam viam aut faciam' in *Otago Daily Times* (Issue 690, 4 March 1864) at 4.

The article then commented on the true reason for the wars – confiscation of Māori land to provide land for settlers:

The unfortunate wives and children of the military settlers from Victoria arrived at Auckland ... Even the Auckland papers are beginning to think it high time something was done towards putting the settlers on their lands and enabling them to do something for their pay and rations.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> Ibid at 4-5.



**Map 29: Raupatu following Rangiaowhia and Orākau**

## Summary

In short, the Waikato War and subsequent raupatu confiscations had a hugely crippling impact upon the identity, welfare, well being, economy and potential development of Ngāti Apakura as a people and as an iwi which has transcended down throughout the generations. In effect, the main consequence of the Waikato conflict for Ngāti Apakura was that it brought major losses and suffering to Ngāti Apakura as a community and as tangata whenua.

The destructive impacts of raupatu for Ngāti Apakura were felt both inside and outside the official raupatu boundary as well. Inside the raupatu boundary, Ngāti Apakura as an Iwi lost Ngāroto, Ōhaupo, Tuhikaramea, Ngahinapouri, parts of Pirongia, Kāwhia, Te Awamutu and Rangiaowhia. But Ngāti Apakura also had spheres of influence inside the Rohe Potāe including around Kahotea, Te Kōpua, Kāwhia, Mangarama and Tāne Hopuwai, among other areas. The crippling impact of these Treaty of Waitangi grievances continue to be felt and experienced by Ngāti Apakura today.

## SECTION 5: KEI WAREWARE TĀTOU – LEST WE FORGET: 20TH & 21ST CENTURY NGĀTI APAKURA PERSPECTIVES

### Introduction

Having covered much of the past history of Ngāti Apakura and the tragedies that befell this once great iwi, the researchers will now briefly discuss some of the consequences that continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and that continue to plague Ngāti Apakura in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This section will briefly cover some of the ongoing consequences of the losses and grievances that Ngāti Apakura suffered and continue to suffer as a result of Rangiaowhia, Hairini, Orākau and raupatu.

### Consequences of Conflict for Ngāti Apakura

James Fitzgerald wrote an editorial in 1864 regarding the reasons for the Waikato Wars and the consequences for Māori including Ngāti Apakura:

No human situation can be conceived more desperate or more hopeless – their lands gone, their race melting away like snow before the sun, and their own turn come at last, with enemy surrounding them on all sides, and nothing but certain death staring them in the face. ... They will say it was not a war for safety or for law, or for truth or liberty, but it was a war dictated by avarice and prosecuted by spoliation. It was a war to remove a neighbour's landmark, to destroy a race that we might dwell in their tents.<sup>492</sup>

In a similar manner, that same year Lady Martin, wife of Chief Justice William Martin, visited Rangiaowhia and later retrospectively recorded her observations of the district:

Our eyes were gladdened on all sides by sights of peaceful industry. For miles we saw one great wheat field. The blade was just sowing, of a vivid green, and all along the way, on either side, were wild peach-trees in full blossom. Carts were driven to and from the mill by their native owners; the women sat under trees sewing flour bags, fat, healthy children and babies swarmed around, presenting a floury appearance.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> James Edward Fitzgerald in *Christchurch Press* (16 April 1864) cited in Stowers, R, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand Wars* (R Stowers, Hamilton, 1996) at 113.

<sup>493</sup> Lady Martin, *Our Maoris* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1884) at 116.

Lady Martin then admitted: ‘We little dreamed that in ten years the peaceful industry of the whole district would cease and the land become a desert through our unhappy war.’<sup>494</sup>

George Rusden noted in 1883 that Ngāti Apakura elderly, women and children were wantonly shot and burned in their houses at Rangiaowhia.<sup>495</sup> Rusden added that when the whare at Rangiaowhia were set on fire and the defenders were either killed or taken prisoners, this was the official method of telling or concealing that women and children were burned to death.<sup>496</sup> Rusden then asked the question:

Of what avail was it to preach peace to the Māoris and tell them to be merciful when a British force, commanded by a general and accompanied by a bishop [Bishop Selwyn], burned women and children in a Māori house?

Rusden further opined that the Māori were enraged not by being outwitted by the flank movement which left them idle and destroyed their food and plantations, but by the burning of their wives and children.<sup>497</sup> Kowhai Ngutu Kaka added that they had wept bitterly over their dead in the burnt and once beautiful Rangiaowhia. Hitiri Te Paerata noted that Māori hearts were very dark and our old men were angry at what happened at Rangiaowhia. Te Waharoa evinced that his anger was ‘great about my dead, murdered, and burnt with fire at Rangiaowhia.’<sup>498</sup> Tohe Rauputu recorded that his great grandfather was shot at Rangiaowhia and the children were bayoneted and thrown into the fire.<sup>499</sup>

Shane Te Ruki discussed another unrecorded heinous crime in the oral accounts committed by the Imperial soldiers during the Waikato Wars that often accompanies war – rape:

On Kakepuku mountain there is a stream on the south western side ... within that is a rock puna called Mate Wahine. [The women] would go there as a cleansing for themselves, but also it was used at a time, especially after a number of peoples leaving or abandoning the Waikato district, came and made straight for Kakepuku, the women especially to Mate Wahine. Why? Because they had been raped. ... Many a disease was unfortunately spread by the incidences of rape and abuse that

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<sup>494</sup> Idem.

<sup>495</sup> Rusden, G, *History of New Zealand* (Second Edition, Mullen and Slade, Melville, Melbourne, 1883).

<sup>496</sup> Idem.

<sup>497</sup> Idem at 178. Rusden is famous for losing a defamation case about war atrocities on a technicality. Interestingly, Rusden’s comments on Rangiaowhia did not appear to be contested at the time - just left alone and forgotten.

<sup>498</sup> GBPP 1865, vol 14 at 141.

<sup>499</sup> Tohe Rauputu, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 201.



happened to women and children north of our district, and many of them came to Mate Wahine.<sup>500</sup>

Hazel Wander noted what happened to her kuia Wikitoria at Rangiaowhia:

My korero is on my great grandmother who was at Rangiaowhia. ... Wikitoria was only a young girl at that time.... And this is her kōrero: “Whakangarongia i roto i te ngākau ētehi kōrero mō te whānau anake me tana kōrero anō, kia kaua e wareware ki te mahi a te Pākehā Cameron. ... “Kaua e wareware ki te mahi kino o te Pākehā.” ... We concealed those words in our hearts. Some of these stories are just in the whānau, in the family. And she said, “Do not forget the evil works of the Pākehā, Cameron.” ... Her name was changed after Rangiaowhia to remember what happened, to remember that mamae that she heard, that she experienced as a child [Nanny Mamae]...<sup>501</sup>

She gave her children names to explain the tragedy, so they would never forget those who died and also how they died. The eldest was named Te Wera – which stood for the intense heat from the burning of the whare karakia, and the kāinga. Another son was Te Pupuhi – on that day the wind had fanned the fire, she also remembered the whistling sound of the bullets all around them. My nanny was named Maringi in memory of all the tears that were spilt at Rangiaowhia.<sup>502</sup>

As noted earlier in the chapter introduction, a local newspaper article predicted in 1852 that Ngāti Apakura at Rangiaowhia ‘are among the chief producers of colonial wealth, and best examples of morality. ... What then may a few more years do?’<sup>503</sup>

The loss of land through war and raupatu for Ngāti Apakura had devastating effects on Ngāti Apakura as a people throughout the generations. The loss of land meant a loss of identity which caused cultural devastation, the destruction of Ngāti Apakura political organisation and the loss of their economic base (pauperisation). The raupatu confiscation also resulted in the loss of control of the Waipā River system and other waterways including Ngaroto, and the loss of mahinga kai such as the surrounding swamps and forests. For Ngāti Apakura, they were left without substance.

#### **James Edwards the Half Caste<sup>504</sup>**

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<sup>500</sup> Shane Te Ruki, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 71.

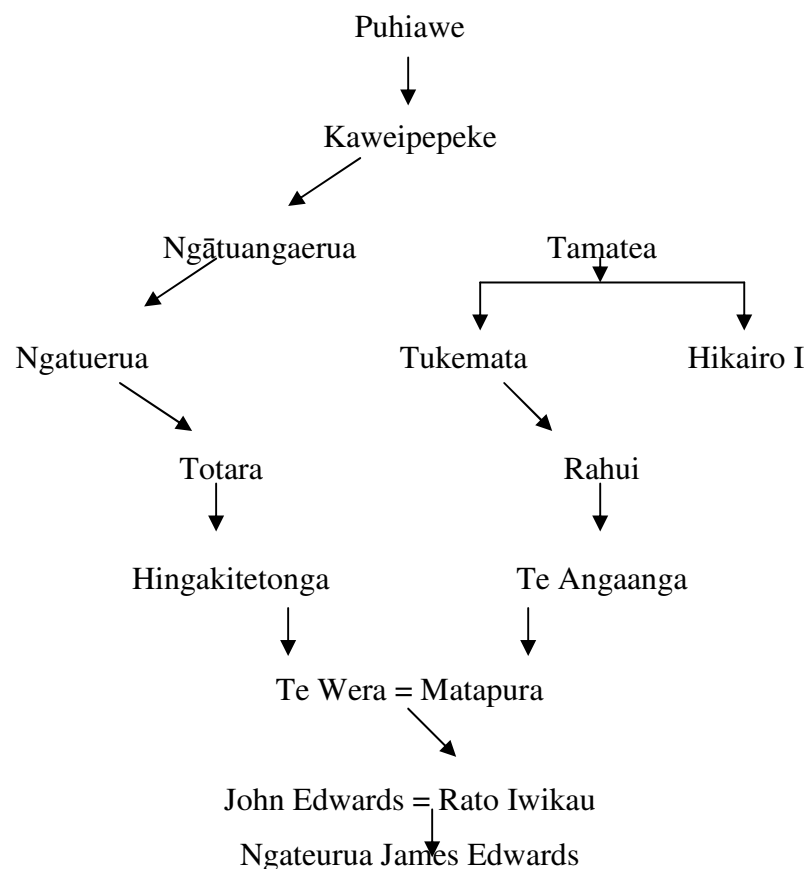
<sup>501</sup> Wander, H, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 27-28.

<sup>502</sup> Personal communication from H. Wander to N.K. Smith, reproduced here with kind permission (2012).

<sup>503</sup> By a recent visitor to Wairoa and Kaipara’ in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol VII, Issue 471, 2 January 1852) at 6.

<sup>504</sup> Ngāti Apakura claimants do not want to put any stigma on the descendants of Edwards today, and the researchers acknowledge that, as mentioned elsewhere in this report, there were many other individuals who faced similar circumstances to Edwards.

The researcher's interject here to briefly discuss half castes and the challenges of being a person of both worlds during the Waikato Wars. The half castes James Edwards and Tuapōkai are referred to, to show the challenges they faced – and many continue to face today. Robertson noted that James Edwards was born in Te Awamutu and was educated at John Morgan's school in Ōtāwhao.<sup>505</sup> Edwards later was taken to Auckland for further education which was where he was brought to the notice of General Cameron as an interpreter and guide. Robertson noted that Edwards was Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Rahui and Ngāti Puhiawe.



**Whakapapa Table 27: James Edwards**

Robertson recorded that Edwards' daughter, a Mrs. Sturmey, asserted that while the troops slept after Hairini, at considerable risk from the military, he stole away to Rangiaowhia and warned his people not to resist further. He said the soldiers were too strong, that they would always find the Māori by their smoke so that they could not escape,

<sup>505</sup> Robertson, J.B., 'The Edwards Family' in *The Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society* (Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1967) at 7-11.

and that if there was no resistance, they would be well treated.<sup>506</sup> But Robertson noted Mrs. Sturmeý was clearly confused with the sequence of events.<sup>507</sup>

Robertson then recorded how Edwards rode ahead with Captain Greaves as guide on the march from Te Rore to Rangiaowhia. On reaching Te Awamutu in the early morning, the Colonial Defence Cavalry Force went ahead and the action at Rangiaowhia started. Robertson did concede that Edwards may have gone ahead of the cavalry however, to arrange a surrender with the approval of the General.<sup>508</sup>

Mrs. Sturmeý did note that following the Rangiaowhia encounter, Edwards was called away from the district as an interpreter and by the time he returned, the raupatu confiscations were complete. From this point on, James Edwards seems to have identified himself entirely with his Māori people. Edwards moved to Kāwhia with his wife Tawehe.

In a similar manner, Shane Te Ruki shed light on the terrible situation that befell some Māori whānau during the New Zealand Wars period who were half caste. Referring to his half caste tūpuna Te Poupatete Hughes or Tamati (Thomas) Hughes and his younger brother Tuapokai, Te Ruki stated:

The government came with their guns and they attacked with their guns, and so Te Poupatete and Tuapōkai thought of a strategy to protect the people, and one said to the other, “Tuapōkai, you go onto the Pākehā side” – their father was a Pākehā. And so Tuapōkai went to the Pākehā side to assist the soldiers. But Tāmāti joined the war parties of Rewi and the other war leaders. They did that because they said to each other, “If you live, I live.” I weep for Tuapōkai because he was called a kūpapa. No, no, and that was an outcome of the gun, separating, dividing families.

After Ōrākau the survivors fled to the places that have already been referred to by previous speakers, and then the soldiers said to Tuapōkai, “Guide us, guide us to where the people are”. The guns of the soldiers were now pointed at his family, to Ngāti Unu, his kin of Ngāti Unu, and so Tuapōkai guided the Pākehā soldiers into the lands ... so that the soldiers could kill the survivors, the refugees.

If there are any descendants of Tuapōkai in this house I acknowledge you and your chiefly ancestor because he did something to save the people, however some people still hold that and he still has that stigma of kūpapa over him. No, no.

I wanted to extend to the table that the coming of the musket and its warfare activities on the land divided families – divided we were forced to divide to save ourselves. Some may call it kūpapa actions – it is not, it is a way of saving ourselves. ... However, the stigma and the stain still exist for some of the folks, and it should not. Under such circumstances you need to ask the question, “What would

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<sup>506</sup> Ibid, at 8.

<sup>507</sup> Idem.

<sup>508</sup> Idem.

you do when guns are pointed at your family, at your hapū?”, and we all know what we would do at that stage, we would have to make a decision either way. ... It was not easy for our tūpuna who were forced with all sorts of decision that they had to make.<sup>509</sup>

In recognition for his work for his people, James Edwards was given land at Te Puti (on the Mangaroa Block in Kawhia). Later he went to John Cowell (Hone Kaora) and stated: ‘My people, Ngāti Apakura, have no land,’ and asked for permission to give the land to them according to tikanga by seeking permission from the original owners. Cowell replied the land is yours so Edwards benevolently gifted the land to his people - Ngāti Apakura<sup>510</sup> which was an anomaly. In the main, Ngāti Apakura lost their land.

#### **Te Ara o Ngā Roimata - Ngāti Apakura Diaspora**

The loss of land for Ngāti Apakura by an unjust war and equally unjust land confiscations meant that Ngāti Apakura became refugees, strangers in their own land. Robertson observed in 1967 that:

Ngāti Apakura had not played a large part in the war but they had nevertheless lost the whole of their land, and as a result, they have been scattered to the four winds and have lost their identity through absorption into other tribes.<sup>511</sup>

An important point covered later in the report is the fact that some Ngāti Apakura members refused to subsume their identity within Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato and other tribes, notwithstanding their being refugees within the Rohe Pōtae and elsewhere.

Still, as a result of these Crown actions which clearly breached the guarantees of the Treaty of Waitangi, remnants of Ngāti Apakura sought refuge wherever they could find it. Tame Tuwhangai referred to the dispersion or long trek of Ngāti Apakura following Rangiaowhia and Orākau as Te Ara o Ngā Roimata:

After Rangiaowhia, Ngāti Apakura spent some nights hiding and emerged from the swamps. ... They gathered together after some time the men, the women and the children who accompanied the old Ngāti Apakura chief Te Wano and started on their long trek Te Ara o Nga Roimata. ... From here some went to Ngāti Rereahu but many traveled along the western bays of Taupo and were given food and shelter by those local hapū as they traveled. Finally they came to Horonuku Te Heuheu and

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<sup>509</sup> Shane Te Ruki, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 203.

<sup>510</sup> Ibid, at 10.

<sup>511</sup> Supra, n 522, Robertson, at 9.

Kingi Te Herekeke who gave Ngāti Apakura a place to stay. Ngāti Apakura lived in a kainga at Te Kane. ... Some went over to the vicinity of Rotoaira and lived with Ngāti Hikairo and others moved on to other areas. ... [Some] came to live on Te Horongopai beside the Taringamotu area with Ngāti Hari. ... And so it was that my tūpuna moved from place to place to Te Koura, Waimihia, Te Karu o te Whenua, Morehurehu and to Te Urutira. There were many other places. We'll still continue on as the Ngāti Apakura' journey has never stopped on Te Ara o nga Roimata.<sup>512</sup>

Ngāti Apakura remnants dispersed to their kin within the King Country and elsewhere. Some of the other areas where they fled to include Kāwhia,<sup>513</sup> Otorohanga,<sup>514</sup> Te Kuiti,<sup>515</sup> Taumarunui,<sup>516</sup> Kaiwha below Titiraupenga,<sup>517</sup> Taupō, Rotoaira and Tauranga.<sup>518</sup> Tahi Bidois noted that his Apakura tūpuna Pareamio and her husband Amiel Borrell fled to Tauranga Moana and settled there.<sup>519</sup> Koro Wetere added:

After the battle of Ōrākau, Ngāti Hikairo came to the request of our [Apakura] elders to come to their lands at Kāwhia and to live there and from that time unto this day they are still there. Our elders and ancestors, Tanerau, Maro Taua and Te Ariki, Te Pamu, those of our elders who resided at that place. So we are all aware, the land was gifted. Why? Because of the confiscation and that is why our elders and we reside on those lands at this point.<sup>520</sup>

Hori Te Waru of Ngāti Apakura stated in the Māori Land Court in 1891 before Judge Puckey some of the places where Apakura dispersed to after Ōrākau:

Our elders who remained at these places [Tahataharoa and Horoaruhe – West Taupo] were Turimanu, Raupatu, Nohomotu, Raurekau, Te Kewene, Haki, Aretema, Tuhua, Romana, Hone Riria, Te Wa, Tipa Te Ra Morunga, Te Iringa Te Ra Morunga, Paora Te Ra Morunga, Taunoa (None), Rawinia Te Ra Morunga, Tatia, Nikora, Pio and others. We lived at these places for one year. ... During that year when we were living there at Tahataharoa I used to go to Hapotea, Kaiawha,

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<sup>512</sup> Tame Tuwhangai, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Hui Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui, 26-27 April 2010) at 149-150.

<sup>513</sup> Koro Wetere, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 35.

<sup>514</sup> Kahotea Marae on the Puketarata Block was gifted to Apakura. Hazel Wander noted that her tupuna Wikitoria and whānau dispersed following the Rangiaowhia encounter to Puketarata now known as Kahotea. 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 18.

<sup>515</sup> Evidence of John Hetet, 16 December 1892, Otorohanga, 'Otorohanga Minute Book (No. 19) at 3.

<sup>516</sup> Whanganui Hearing Evidence. Tame Tuwhangai, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Hui Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui, 26-27 April 2010) at 149-150.

<sup>517</sup> Hori Te Waru, *Judge Puckey Minute Book* (No. 16) at 223 – 227.

<sup>518</sup> Tahi Bidois, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Maniaroa Marae, Mokau, 17-18 May 2010) at 21.

<sup>519</sup> Idem.

<sup>520</sup> Koro Wetere, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 35.

Tawere. ... After the lapse of a year we shifted to Kaiwha at the invitation of Ngāti Wairangi. ... Some of Ngāti Apakura who went on to Taupo came back and lived at Kaiwha.<sup>521</sup>

Te Ra Wright articulated the intergenerational effects of the wars, loss of lands and dispersion for Ngāti Apakura people today: ‘We are still refugees and are still looking over our backs to see if we are safe here.’<sup>522</sup> Te Ra continued:

Even today we turn constantly to see what is coming up behind us because really we can’t see clearly in front of us because we are coping with this [issue] today and it is those things really that are set up for us to attend to. How then can we be able to progress without any hindrance?<sup>523</sup>

#### **A Lament: E Pa To Hau**

The Ngāti Apakura diaspora led Rangiamoa to compose the famous Ngāti Apakura lament ‘E Pa To Hau.’ Rore Erueti of Ngāti Apakura asserted that the authoress Rangiamoa was a cousin of Te Wano who was also Ngāti Apakura. When Ngāti Apakura was expelled from their whenua, a section of them dispersed in the direction of Taupo. A consequence of their dispersion was sickness of both body and spirit. Not surprisingly, at Titiraupenga, Te Wano was ill and he asked his people to climb the mountain so that he might have a final view of the Ngāti Apakura land in the direction of their home. On Titiraupenga, Te Wano died and was buried.

Rangiamoa composed the song ‘E Pa to Hau’ as a lament for the loss of their lands which has been an enduring reminder to Ngāti Apakura throughout the generations of the pain caused by the losses Ngāti Apakura have suffered as a result of Rangiaowhia, Orākau and raupatu. The text is provided below in both Māori and English with a brief discussion on some of the contextual notes.

#### **HE TANGI MO TE WANO<sup>524</sup>**

Na Rangiamoa, Ngāti Apakura

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<sup>521</sup> Hori Te Waru, *Judge Puckey Minute Book* (No. 16) at 223 – 227.

<sup>522</sup> Te Ra Wright, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 99.

<sup>523</sup> Te Ra Wright, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Waipapa Marae, Kāwhia, 29-30 March 2010) at 215.

<sup>524</sup> The text and background of ‘E Pa To Hau’ is published with a translation in Ngata, A & Jones, P, *Nga Moteatea: The Songs: Scattered Pieces from the Many Canoes* (Polynesian Society & AH & AW Reed, Wellington, 1928) at 236-239.

E pa to hau he *wini* raro,  
He homai aroha,  
Kia tangi atu au i konei;  
He aroha ki te Iwi,  
5 Ka momotu ki tawhiti ki Paerau  
Ko wai e kite atu,  
Kei whea aku hoa i mua ra,  
I te tonuitanga?  
Ka haramai tenei ka tauwehe  
10 Ka raungaiti au.  
E ua e te ua e taheke  
Koe i runga ra;  
Ko au ki raro nei riringi ai  
Te ua i aku kamo.  
15 Moe mai, e Wano, i Tirau,  
Te pae ki te whenua  
I te wa tutata ki te kainga  
Koua hurihia.  
Tenei matou kei runga kei te  
20 Toka ki Taupo,  
Ka paea ki te one ki Waihi,  
Ki taku matua nui.  
Ki te whare koIwi ki Tongariro,  
E moea iho nei.  
25 Hoki mai e roto ki te puia  
Nui, ki Tokaanu.  
Ki te wai tuku kiri o te Iwi  
E aroha nei au, i.

#### **A LAMENT FOR TE WANO**

By Rangiamoa, Ngāti Apakura

Gently blows the wind from the north  
 Bringing loving memories  
 Which causes me here to weep;  
 'Tis sorrow for the tribe,  
 5 Departed afar off to Paerau.  
 Who is it can see,  
 Where are my friends of yesteryear,  
 Who all dwelt together?  
 Comes now this parting  
 10 And I am quite bereft.  
 Come then, O rain, pour down,  
 Steadily from above;  
 Whilst I here below pour forth  
 A deluge from mine eyes.  
 15 Sleep on, O Wano, on Tirau,  
 The barrier to the land,  
 Stretching forth to that home  
 Which is now forsaken.  
 Here we now are cast upon  
 20 The rocky shores of Taupo,  
 Stranded upon the sands at Waihi,  
 Where dwelt my noble sire,  
 Now placed in the charnel-house on Tongariro.  
 Like unto the abode wherein we sleep.  
 25 Return, O my spirit, to the thermal pool  
 Of renown, at Tokaanu,  
 To the healing-waters of the tribe  
 For whom I mourn.

#### NGA WHAKAMARAMA

Rarangi:

1. Wini.—Ko te kupu Pākehā “wind,” he hau. Ki etahi “he muri raro.” He kupu Māori te *wini* mo tetehi ahua kumara me tetehi ahua harakeke.



5. Paerau.—He ingoa kei te Rerenga Wairua.

15. Wano.—Kua whakamaramatia i runga ake nei

Tirau.—He whakapotonga no Titiraupenga.

18. Koua hurihia.—Kua whakarerea o ratou kainga tupu i Rangiaohia me era waahi.

20. Toka ki Taupo.—Ko nga pari me nga toka kohatu i nga tahatika o te moana o Taupo. E he ana te korero a Te Taite mo te pa o Te Rangiita, he toka kei waho o Waihi. Kei uta ke o Motuoapa te pa o Te Rangiita, kei tetahi taha ke o te moana.

21. Waihi.—E tata ana ki Tokaanu, Taupo.

23. Whare koIwi.—I haria hoki a Mananui Te Heuheu nui ki runga o Tongariro, te matenga ai i te horo i Te Rapa.

## NOTES

Line:

1. Wini - Wind.—The English word “wind,” Māorified. In some versions “he muri raro”; with the same meaning. The Māori word *wini* is the term for a dark variety of kumara, and also a variety of flax with a dark purple edge to the leaf.

5. Paerau.—One of the place names associated with spirits' journey to Te Rerenga Wairua, *Leaping place of Spirits*.

15. Wano.—Already explained in the head note.

Tirau.—Abbreviation for Titiraupenga.

18. Now forsaken.—An expression of regret on leaving their homes at Rangiaohia and other places in that locality.

20. Rocky shore of Taupo.—In reference to the rock cliffs and rocks on the shores of Lake Taupo. Te Taite was wrong in stating that the pa (fortified place) of Te Rangiita is a rock off-shore from Waihi. Te Rangiita's pa is inland from Motuoapa on the opposite side of the lake.

21. Waihi.—A place near Tokaanu, Taupo.

23. Charnel-house.—The body of the famous Mananui Te Heuheu II was taken to Tongariro after he was killed by a landslide at Te Rapa.

As explained above, the text, tone, context and wairua of ‘E Pa To Hau’ convey the pain and anguish of Ngāti Apakura losing their lands and being forcibly dispersed throughout the motu as refugees. Te Ra Wright opined in this regard:

I hadn’t realised until later as I got older that as a matter of fact they [Ngāti Apakura] were these people who used to live in Rangiaowhia. I didn’t really understand that either until my father told me what really happened. ... Since I’ve been on this journey to look at these claims I’ve cried buckets. It’s almost like we’re refugees in our own country and we still have that upon us now. How can we be able to make a future for ourselves and look ahead? We’re dependent on the Crown; we’re dependent on the politics of the day. And so the whole thing about perpetuity is us. There are those things out there that we had to deal with everyday besides taking this opportunity to do our claims. This is our last chance.<sup>525</sup>

Maanga Ormsby added:

Ngāti Apakura heard at Rangiaowhia that soldiers were coming: “Gather up the old people and the sick and the ailed and the mothers and the children, gather them up and go, take them, flee, flee,” and so they fled and the land was left. So Apakura fled south ... there was no transport they walked, but they followed the rivers for sustenance.<sup>526</sup>

Rangiamoa’s lament is a poignant reminder to all Ngāti Apakura throughout the generations of the enduring devastating consequences of the Waikato War and subsequent raupatu of their lands and sense of community as a functioning, prosperous and coherent Iwi. Jenny Charman opined in this respect:

I’m here on behalf of Te Wano Turi Manu and I’m sure that there are other people who will talk about that lament of our tūpuna. I see it in my mind as someone that is up there on the mountain of Tītiraupenga, looking back to his homeland even though it’s some years after and still watching his village burn to the ground.<sup>527</sup>

Manga Ormsby continued:

Waihī was where Te Ruruhi lamented his [Te Wano’s] loss and she sung “E Pā tō Hau” Te Rangiamoa composed that as a lament for her people who had been evicted and you will hear her cry in the words of that song. In the end they reached Waihī on the great love shown to them by Ngāti Tūwharetoa and they were gifted a place to ease the pressure. Who knows how many weeks they were travelling the lands to reach that place. I went to look at the waters. In the second verse of that

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<sup>525</sup> Wright, T R, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 21.

<sup>526</sup> Manga Ormsby, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 25.

<sup>527</sup> Charman, J, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 24.

song it says, “Rain oh rain, the waters of the ancestors.” So let me conclude here, it is my earnest hope that these words ... and the pain from our hearts and we say to you, and to the power on you to relieve us of the pains of my ancestors which befell each generation and it is ongoing today.<sup>528</sup>

Tame Tuwhangai recounts:<sup>529</sup>

My father was Joe Tio Tuwhangai...Here he was brought up in and around Waimiha and the Pureora Region (Bennydale area)... My father’s great grandparents Hounuku Wharekoka of Ngati Hounuku and Ngati Tauhunu, hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto and his wife Karo who was of Ngati Tāheke, a hapū of Ngāti Apakura, both were at Rangiowhia on 21st Febuary 1864. My mother’s grand-aunt was also present at Rangiowhia her name was, Rina (Lena)Mataara Haututu of Ngāti Parekahuki...she was married to her Ngati Apakura Husband (I do not know his name at this present time). My tupuna, Hounuku and his wife and many of the Rangiowhia people managed to rush into the Catholic Church which had been the Parish of Father Garavel. As the soldiers fired volley after volley at and into the church, as it became quite desperate Hounuku pushing his back to one side of the church wall managed to break a plank or skirting board which formed part of the wall of the church with the back of his foot making a small opening for a small boy to get through then having him pull the rest of the board off from the outside and making it larger for those in the Church to make their escape.

Many of them had made their way by escaping to the refuge of swamp-land near Rangiowhia. Here they stayed and when it safe to come out they gathered together in small groups some even went back to see if they could gather their belongings at Rangiowhia but were turned away by soldiers who were guarding the village. They gathered together one section of our people left to go to the region of Taupō, it was in this group my tupuna Hounuku Wharekoka, his wife Karo, and my great grand-aunt Rina Haututu would travel arriving near Titiraupenga Mountain where they would stay for a short time ... As I have heard the story goes that most of that section of Ngati Apakura travelled and skirted along the western bays of Lake Taupo on the old walking tracks ... They finally arrived at Waihi the village of Ngāti Turumakina and the home of the Paramount Chief of Tūwharetoa, Horonuku Te Heu Heu and further on at the village at Tokaanu the home of Kingi Te Herekieke chief of Ngāti Te Aho (aka Ngāti Tūrangitukua) and Ngāti Karauia. Both these two men were avid Kīngitanga supporters who came with their tribemen, Ngāti Tūwharetoa to reinforce those in the Ōrākau, however [they] were barred from crossing to the Orakau side of the Puniu river by constant rifle fire by the British and Colonial Forces.

Ngāti Apakura was welcomed and given residence and at these places to where my tupuna lived and resided for a while for rest, respite and security. If nothing else could get any worse for them as they had settled in an epidemic swept through those unfortunate refugees, a disease called “Karawaka” decimated many of their numbers, including my great grand-Aunt Rina Haututu who succumbed to this

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<sup>528</sup> Supra, n 543, at 26.

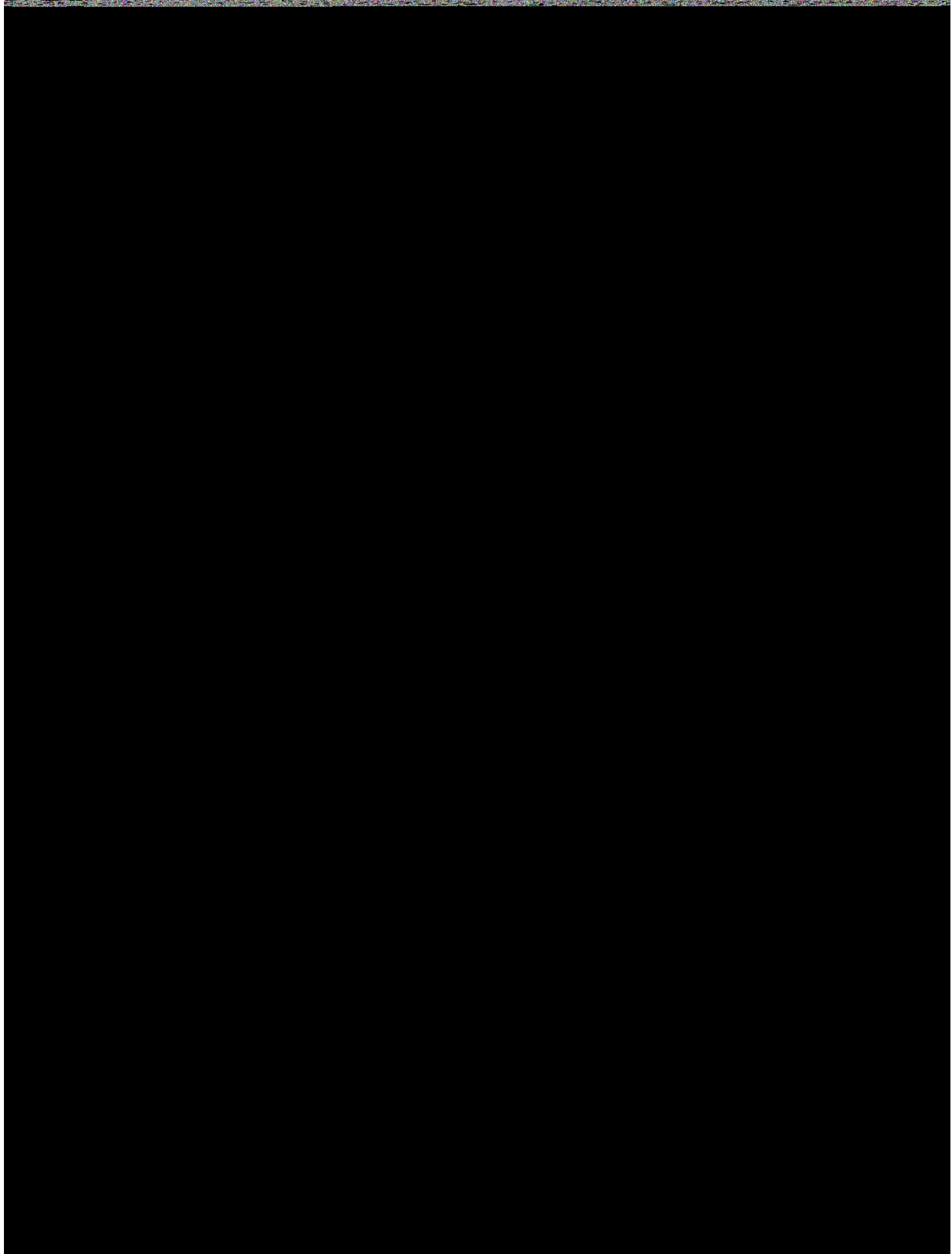
<sup>529</sup> Private correspondence, T. Tuwhangai to N K Smith (September 2012).

disease, she is buried in one of the several burial sites in the Tokaanu /Turangi area, here are some known Ngāti Apakura burial sites or named urupa as I know which follows; Piripekapeka, Pouorongo and Kaiawatea there are others but that is not known to me...

Everyone within the Te Rohe Potae had duties to perform and it was no different with this small band or section of Ngati Apakura, the men would have to patrol on horseback the aukati line in the south eastern area of the Te Rohe Pōtae as their families were provided for and protected by the local hapu, this may have been a form of utu or payment for living on the kindness at this time and place? ... I must add that it was not entirely or only Ngāti Apakura, as some may presume, that had suffered and how easily we forget those men and women from other tribal groupings who had married into this autonomous iwi and had supported Ngāti Apakura in their trials and tribulations so that this story can be permitted to be told.



**Tūhua Maunga**



**Map 29: Te Ara o Ngā Roimata: Trail of Tears: Ngāti Apakura Diaspora**

## Dying People?

European scholars at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century such as Elsdon Best, Edward Tregear and Percy Smith believed that the spread of European culture and modernity would lead to the gradual extinction and disappearance of Māori as a people. A particularly well-known exposition of this view came from the Superintendent of the Wellington Province, Dr Featherston:

The Māoris are dying and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good compassionate colonists is to smooth their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with.<sup>530</sup>

This was actually part of the larger late 19<sup>th</sup> century Western infatuation with theories of social Darwinism in which the inevitable, evolutionary extinction or its social equivalent, assimilation, of Indigenous Peoples within European colonies was widely assumed.

Following Rangiaowhia and Orakau, Ngāti Apakura as a people were dying. ‘E Pa To Hau’ is a lament for a dying people including of course Te Wano. From Titiraupenga, Ngāti Apakura went on and settled at Waihi and Tokaanu. There they were afflicted by *karawaka* (an epidemic) and most of them died there as well. Hongihongi Kapara, who was an infant at the time, was one of the survivors of this section of Ngāti Apakura.

In addition, John Wi stated that he was aware of evidence that had been presented in the 2010 Whanganui inquiry on behalf of the northern cluster of Ngāti Maniapoto hapū that related to Ngāti Apakura. John noted that an urupā had been discovered near Pihanga during the construction of the Tongariro hydro scheme. Ngāti Tuwharetoa knew of this urupā and that it belonged to Ngāti Apakura, they having fled to Horongopai and the district surrounding Pihanga after the Crown attacks on Waikato hapū in 1863.<sup>531</sup> Prior to Rangiaowhia, Ngāti Apakura were a healthy, wealthy and strong people. After Rangiaowhia, Ngāti Apakura were a dying people.

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<sup>530</sup> Cited in Buller, W ‘The Decrease of the Māori Race’ in *New Zealand Journal of Science* (Vol. 2) at 55. In 1882, the renowned Dr A. K Newman spoke to the New Zealand Institute on the topic ‘The Causes Leading to the Extinction of the Māori’, and in 1885, Dr Isaac Featherstone uttered his infamous phrase justifying a humane policy towards the Māori as ‘smoothing the pillow’ before a dying race. Cited in Belich, J *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland, 1996) at 247 – 8.

<sup>531</sup> Supra, n. 350, Belgrave, 2010 at 39.

### Loss of Taonga - Lake Ngāroto and Uenuku

The lakes of the Ngāroto region attracted many settlers, some of whom sought security by building pā on islands artificially constructed in the shallow waters upon foundations of green timbers and logs laid on masses of raupo. The outlet of Ngāroto is the Mangaotama Stream, which eventually discharges into the Waipā River near Te Rore. The construction of barriers in the stream was made to facilitate the taking of tuna heke during their migration downstream to the sea, and their renewal year by year slowly caused the lake level to rise. The artificial islands therefore had to be built up to keep above the lake waters and rose ever higher, during generations of occupation, reaching almost three metres.

The lakes also became larger until they were drained by European settlers, which process exposed details of construction of the artificial islands and revealed many artefacts that had been lost or concealed in the muddy lake waters. One such taonga was Uenuku, which now rests in the Te Awamutu Museum. J. B. W. Robertson's account of the discovery of Uenuku is recorded in the *Journal of Te Awamutu Historical Society*<sup>532</sup> which states that this taonga and other artefacts had been found in 1906 by a Mr Bourne when the lake level had fallen more than two metres following removal of the remains of ancient pa tuna at the Mangaotama outlet.

Uenuku, its identity a mystery to the finder, was originally loaned to the Whanganui Museum. However, about 1944, it was said that a kuia entered the museum, flung out her arms and cried, 'Uenuku! Where did you find it?' She explained that her grandfather had spent his life searching for the taonga, which had been hidden in the lake to prevent its falling into enemy hands.

The Whanganui authorities agreed to give the artefact to Te Awamutu Museum, where, as a result of suggestions from Mrs Rauhihi of Aotearoa Pā, Arohena, and Puti Toi Amoko Hughes, the museum society arranged for a Māori group to install Uenuku in the new museum building. At first there was some reluctance and the idea was shelved. Later, however, the society was informed that a Māori group would be happy to co-operate, but insisted that Uenuku must remain in the old building until the tapu was lifted. The society was happy to comply with this, and work proceeded on the setting up of a model of a meeting house, with an enclosure in front in which Uenuku was to stand. The society felt honoured on hearing that the ceremony would be conducted by Henare Tuwhangai, of Ngāti Apakura and

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<sup>532</sup> Robertson, J. B. W. 'Discovery of Uenuku' in *Journal of Te Awamutu Historical Society* (Volume 10, No. 2).

a tohunga for Te Atairangikaahu. The ceremony duly took place before a considerable crowd and was reported in the Te Awamutu Courier of 21 October 1975.

The ceremony was carried out on Saturday morning by Mr Henare Tuwhangai before Uenuku was moved from the old to the new museum. Before going from the new museum to the old one, the Rev. G. Kaa provided karakia. He was accompanied by Mr Rua Anderson, with whom he was associated in the building of a Māori meeting house porch, decorated by women with tukutuku, and a palisade in the museum. After the tapu was lifted, Uenuku, draped in a feather cloak, was removed from its glass case and carried by the Historical Society members in a solemn procession led by the elders.

Henare Tuwhangai explained that the ceremony consisted of three parts:

1. Clearing the path — preparing the new site to receive Uenuku. This was performed in the new museum.
2. Lifting the tapu — the tapu was lifted from Uenuku and returned to the forest, where the carving originated. This was performed in the old museum.
3. Lifting the tapu from the house — this tapu was also returned to the forest, the house being constructed of wood. This took place in the new museum.

Immediately after the ceremony, Mr Tuwhangai stated that the home of Uenuku was the island pa in Ngāroto, which belonged to Ngāti Apakura. Uenuku is the physical representation of the God, Uenuku. Uenuku was brought from Hawaiiki on the Tainui Waka.<sup>533</sup> He can also take the form of the Rainbow whereupon he takes the name, Kahukura Uenuku.<sup>534</sup>

Some know Uenuku as Uenuku Kaitangata and say that the hole in the centre of his whakairo is the eye of Uenuku which is where Uenuku's mauri was located. There have been other suggestions of the function of the large aperture in the figure of Uenuku, one being that within it sat Korotangi the mysterious carved dove which was found hidden on the southern side of Aotea Harbour in the area over which the mana of Whatihua and Apakura extended.

Although Uenuku the whakairo is now held in the Te Awamutu Museum, some say his mauri is at Kahuwera near Piopio.<sup>535</sup> According to Jenny Charman, Uenuku was a God of Ngāti Apakura.

The Atua for Ngāroto is Uenuku. His presence creates the life force, essence-mauri in this place. The Taniwha are kaitiaki for the land and waterways. They

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<sup>533</sup> Rahera Porou. 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Maniaroa Marae, Mokau, 17-18 May 2010) at 115

<sup>534</sup> Supra, n. 231, Jones at 252.

<sup>535</sup> Tuti Aranui 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Maniaroa Marae, Mokau, 17-18 May 2010) at 104.



are important because it is their job to protect these areas. They have spiritual importance.

The whenua was good growing land, covered in flax, rimu and kowhai, which attracted Kereru, Stitchbirds, Tui, and Bellbirds. The lower part of the lake was abundant with eels. There were even pigs found there. These resources provided materials for building, clothing and food.

The significance of the Hingakaka battle was that whānau were fighting for the taonga and whenua of this area. Food was given as the excuse for instigating this battle, but mana and wealth were the real reasons.

This battle meant whānau fought whānau. Day one was fought at the lake and the second part took place in Yarndley's Bush and Ngāroto area. Following this battle Lake Ngāroto area was placed under Rahui for a specified time of approximately four years.<sup>536</sup>

This was a time when both the spiritual and physical aspect of Uenuku was present at Ngāroto.<sup>537</sup> Rovina Maniapoto also noted how Uenuku protected the people:

They decided to make their [Hingakaka] defence at Ngāroto, with swamps and waterways known to them and which gave them a strategic advantage over the invaders. They looked for spiritual support from the taonga that had come with the Tainui waka. It was at this time that they sent for Uenuku, the pou tiki, and placed him in the Ngāroto as their protector.<sup>538</sup>

Uenuku was not a god of war, but controller of the gathering of food. Before engaging in eeling operations, for instance, Uenuku was propitiated, and to him was given the first fish. When the British troops began to invade Waikato in 1863, Uenuku and other valued relics were hidden in the lake. After the advance of the troops to Te Awamutu, all of Ngāti Apakura were driven from their lands and scattered.

Ngāti Apakura held mana whenua in Kawhia, Ngāroto and the Mangapu, Mangawhitikau Whataroa valleys at least since 1830 perhaps earlier. Tohe Rauputu stated that after his tūpuna escaped Rangiaowhia, she returned to Whataroa. Whataroa is situated between Te Kuiti and Piopio. Given that the mauri of Uenuku is at Kahuwera near Piopio, it seems that Ngāti Apakura have always been physically close to Uenuku.

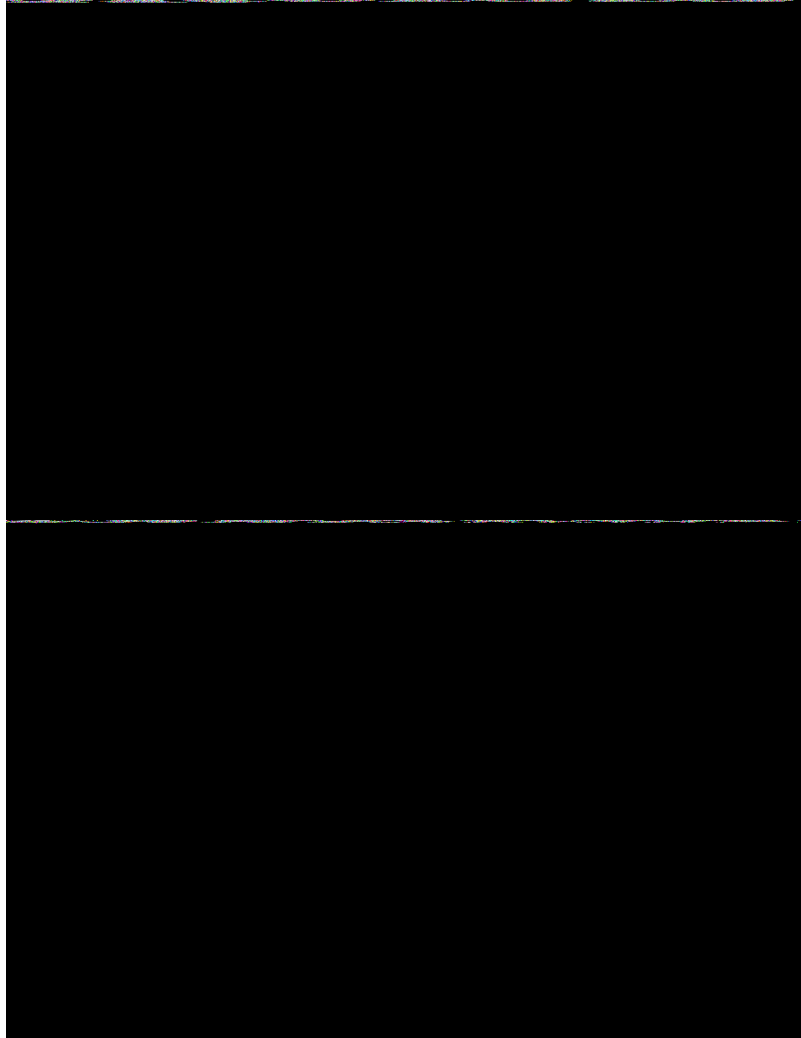
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<sup>536</sup> Jenny Charman, Unpublished Transcript presented for this Report, Hamilton, 2012.

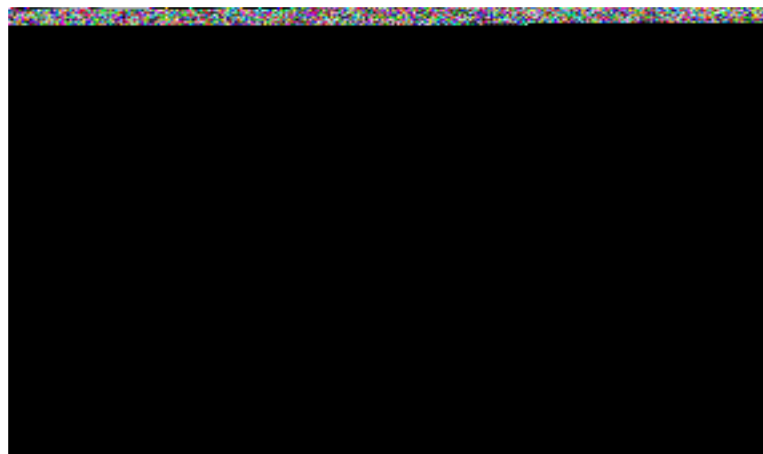
<sup>537</sup> Ibid.

<sup>538</sup> Maniapoto-Anderson, R 'Report of Environmental Waahi Tapu Research Hui' (Kahotea Pa, 7th Dec 2010) at 36.

However, after Rangiaowhia and raupatu, Ngāti Apakura not only lost their lives, lands, forests, fisheries, resources and community. Ngāti Apakura also lost their very important cultural taonga such as Uenuku.



**Uenuku located in the Te Awamutu Museum**



## Ongoing Consequences for Ngāti Apakura

Ngāti Apakura's most prosperous settlement at Rangiaowhia seems to have also become her 'Achilles heel'. In 1864, the Crown attacked Rangiaowhia as Cowan recorded:

...a surprise attack was planned on the Māori's chief sources of food supply by way of the mission settlement at Te Awamutu. On 20th February 1864 at 10.30 at night a force of 1000 men arrived at Te Rore. One thousand other troops were to follow the next day.<sup>539</sup>

Te Rore was part of the main arterial route to Auckland where the Crown troops were based. Te Rore is 8 miles from Te Awamutu. The next section will briefly discuss the experience of Rihi Te Rauparaha, one of the last Ngāti Apakura survivors of the Rangiaowhia encounter.

### Rihi Te Rauparaha

Rihi Rauparaha of Ngāti Taheke Apakura was at Rangiaowhia when the Crown troops attacked in 1864. Rihi continued on the battle to fight for her lands and people against the Crown many years after Rangiaowhia. Rihi was ten years old when the soldiers attacked Rangiaowhia but she was able to escape by hiding in the swamps below the settlement. Rihi's Apakura whakapapa is as follows:

Whatihua= Apakura  
Tutengangana = Ngamuriwai  
Tuawhio  
Tuheretaniwha  
Tamatatai = Hikamoeawa  
Taikiterangi  
Tohitohi  
Maui  
Paeahi = Marotaua  
Maruatara  
Inaki  
Taratoia  
Hekemona  
Paea  
Mereana = Riki William De Thierry  
**Rihi** = Rauparaha Penetana

### Whakapapa Table 29: Rihi Te Rauparaha

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<sup>539</sup> Supra, n. 498, Cowan.

In 1920, two years after World War I, the Kāhui Ariki were living back in the Waikato. In August 1920, Te Rata Mahuta, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero's great grandson, wrote to Rihi from Waahi Pā in Huntly.<sup>540</sup> In his letter, Te Rata acknowledged Rihi for having survived the Crown attacks during the Waikato Wars where many of their people were killed. Te Rata viewed Rihi as a remnant of those who had died.

King Te Rata went on to consider all the deaths during the New Zealand Wars and, in a form of speech making, asked the poignant question, what has been achieved? He immediately answered his own question by stating, those 'remnants' have survived so that future generations may be born through them. Te Rata then completed his letter with a whakatauki (proverb) from the Bible.

Ko te Rangi Ko te Whenua E Pahemo Ko aku kupu ia, mau tonu.

Though the Heaven and the Earth may pass away, my word is 'hold fast'.<sup>541</sup>

Rihi Te Rauparaha is one of those Ngāti Apakura remnants who did indeed, hold fast. Her letters, petitions and instructions to her whānau over five generations since Rangiaowhia, have not been in vain. Rihi's descendants have kept those petitions as evidence of the injustices that Rihi and all their Apakura ancestors suffered. The letters provide a foundation for evidence, instructions and inspiration for Apakura today to correct the hara and mamae brought about by successive Governments during and since the Rangiaowhia encounter.

Rihi asserted that no amount of money could compensate for what happened at Rangiaowhia. Rihi also held that the land still belonged to Ngāti Apakura – if not legally then at least conceptually. In her discussions with her Apakura whānau, Rihi continually reminded them that their ancestors were still at Rangiaowhia. One response she received was:

Ae ra hoki E Rihi Kote whenua tataua itono ai kia wha ka Hokia mai Kia Taua Kote Iwi te whenua a Rangiaowhia. Kotenei E Rihi Kei te tautoko Ahau i a Koe.<sup>542</sup>

Translation:

Yes you are right Rihi. We petitioned for our land at Rangiaowhia to be returned to us. On this matter Rihi, we all agree.

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<sup>540</sup> Letter from Te Rata Mahuta Waahi, Huntly, Waikato to Rihi Rauparaha (August 2nd, 1920, Lennox Collection, File Ref: TeRataMahutatoRihi).

<sup>541</sup> Ibid.

<sup>542</sup> Letter from Werahiko Borell of Te Puna to Rihi Rauparaha, (Lennox Collection, not date).

Rihi maintained a mass of letters and petitions addressing Government agencies and drawing their attention to land that had been unjustly taken from her Apakura people. A particular response to one of Rihi's letters, incorrectly addressed her as Rihi Te Rauparaha, *Esqr.* or 'Esquire'. It is an historic English form of address usually for a male. Although the date on the letter is difficult to decipher, it seems the letter was written in 1919. Colonial women during this period had very little rights. It was unusual for women to be corresponding with Crown agencies on legal rights given that such tasks were usually the domain of males. But Rihi was a Ngāti Apakura woman of mana who asserted her rights. The letter read as follows:

Rihi Te Rauparaha, *Esqr.*, Pirongia.

E Rihi, Tena Koe. I have received your letter of the 1st July in regard to the confiscation by the Government, for Scenic Reserve purposes, of the Mangaora Block and have to inform you that the matter has been referred to the Minister in Charge of Scenery Preservation.<sup>543</sup>

The land was the Mangaora No. 2 Block at Kawhia which was chosen by the Scenery Preservation Board to be put into a reservation for scenic purposes. Rihi wrote to the Native Minister (Pomare) inquiring about the reserve. The Lands and Surveys Department replied that the matter had been shelved during the war but was 'still under consideration' and taking the land for a reserve remained the 'ultimate object.'<sup>544</sup> Rihi responded with a letter to Pomare:

I want you to have that law waived from this land of my children and my relatives. I am neither in favour of a sale, nor of an exchange of it for other land. Let me have my land as I wish and, although it has pretty trees in the way of karakas and tree ferns and puriris, I myself can take care of these. You know yourself how Māoris prize these karaka trees and tree ferns, which is their best source of food when there are available some relishes (fish and shell fish) from the sea; and that the taste for these will continue through our coming generations. It is on this account that i had this partition made, and secured the seaside piece. ... So you exert yourself to have this land removed from the operations of that Act. It is the only piece we have that is exactly suitable for our support and occupation. It was leased for occupation.<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>543</sup> Correspondence from M Pomare of the Minister's Office: Cook and Other Islands Administration: Maori Council. Wellington to Rihi Te Rauparaha, *Esqr.*, Pirongia. 11th September, 1919.

<sup>544</sup> Under Secretary for Lands and Surveys to Undersecretary Native Department, 1 July 1919. Lands and Survey Head Office file 4/378. Supporting Papers #596.

<sup>545</sup> Rihi Rauparaha, Pirongia, to M Pomare MHR, 25 July 1919. Lands and Survey Head Office, file 4/378. Supporting Papers #597.

Although the owners of the block had been informed some years earlier of the Crown's intention to take the land, until 1920, the Crown was still undecided. So the matter was left to a later date and the land owners were not informed of the taking until being 'called to task' by Rihi in her letters.<sup>546</sup>

It seems that Rihi continued with her petitions to the Minister's office over the Mangaora 2 Block. Rihi repeated her objections in a second letter to Pomare in August 1922:

This is a request to you in regard to our interests (mine and my children's) in Mangaora No. 2. I have been living on it and I am being intimidated by the Pākehā and the Māoris by saying that I would be imprisoned in jail if my children and I continued to live there. My desire is that the land be declared no longer a scenic reserve. This is the only land we have. I will not agree to an exchange or to be paid for it in money. Do you utmost to prevent the operation of that Act, though it might be passed for you are the member for the West Coast. It is for you to save the Māoris from the injustice caused by this Act.<sup>547</sup>

The Minister in charge of Scenery Preservation replied to Pomare that further action to take the various reserves around Kawhia could not be taken until the Government had made a decision. Later, the Minister replied to Pomare:

So long as your correspondent is in occupation of the land and cultivates it for his [sic] own use, it is not proposed to interfere with his [sic] occupation.<sup>548</sup>

Subsequently, the Minister approved the taking of the proposed scenic reserves in Kawhia over the Mangaora 1, 3 and 4 Blocks but not Mangaora 2 Block because of the promise made to Rihi that she would remain undisturbed while in occupation and cultivation. The Minister asked Pomare for his comments and he stated: 'I cannot see why this land should be taken from the Native owners.'<sup>549</sup> The Minister decided 'no action meantime; bring up in six months.'<sup>550</sup>

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<sup>546</sup> Ibid, 11th Sept 1919.

<sup>547</sup> Rihi Rauparaha Penetana, Pirongia to M. Pomare MHR, 4 August 1922. Lands and Survey Head Office, file 4/378. Supporting Papers #603.

<sup>548</sup> Minister in charge of Scenery Preservation to M Pomare MHR, 19 September 1922. Lands and Survey Head Office, file 4/378. Supporting Papers #605.

<sup>549</sup> M Pomare MHR to Minister in charge of Scenery Preservation, 27 November 1923, on Under Secretary for Lands to Minister in charge of Scenery Preservation, 21 November 1923. Lands and Survey Head Office file 4/378. Supporting Papers #627-628.

<sup>550</sup> File note by Minister, 14 December 1923, on Under Secretary for Lands to Minister in charge of Scenery Preservation, 8 December 1923. Lands and Survey Head Office file 4/378. Supporting Papers #629.

Unfortunately, we are not able to cite all of Rihi's letters that she sent to the Ministry but clearly she was determined and persuasive. On the 25<sup>th</sup> September 1922, Rihi received a letter from Maui Pomare which stated:

Re Mangaora Block.

I am pleased to advise that I am in receipt of a communication from the Hon. Minister in Charge of the Scenery Preservation Department, stating that so long as you are in occupation of this land, and cultivate it for your own use, it is not proposed to interfere with your occupation.<sup>551</sup>

However, the Crown officials subsequently noted: 'no doubt in the future there will be a prospect of the Crown acquiring Block No. 2 [as] Rihi is an elderly person and when she dies the next owners will probably sell.'<sup>552</sup>

Rihi maintained her protesting however. In October 1933 wrote to the Minister of Public Works, Coates, asking him and Apirana Ngata to instruct scheme workers to desist entering Mangaora 2. She asserted: 'I refuse to allow my children and grandchildren to become wanderers on the road.'<sup>553</sup> As the opposition mounted, Pei Te Jones warned the Registrar that:

Unless some effective check is made ... opposition and obstruction will be encountered from other people too who, at present, are only awaiting the outcome of the Fentons' obstructive tactics with regard to Mangaora 2.<sup>554</sup>

Later, another Minister, E.J McInnes, lamented that 'Rihi and her large family are almost landless today.'<sup>555</sup>

Having viewed some of Rihi's letters, it is clear she was also committed to rebuilding the Kīngitanga and Ngāti Apakura as a people. Rihi pushed for her rights to be respected and fought for her Ngāti Apakura grievances through legal and political channels as best she could often through letters and petitions.

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<sup>551</sup> M Pomare MHR to Rihi Rauparaha, 25th Sept, 1922 (file ref; puti).

<sup>552</sup> Field Inspector Cleverdon, Te Kuiti, to Commissioner of Crown Lands Auckland, 11 December 1925, attached to Commissioner of Crown Lands Auckland to Under Secretary for Lands, 23 December 1925, approved by Minister 17 February 1926. Lands and Survey Head Office file 4/378. Supporting Papers #640-641 and 642.

<sup>553</sup> Rihi Rauparaha Penetana, Mangaora to Minister of Public Works, 2 October 1933 in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA 1 290 15/2/87 Part 1, *Supporting Documents*, Vol. 7 at 382ff.

<sup>554</sup> Field Officer, Te Kuiti to Registrar, Auckland 15 November 1933, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA 1 290 15/2/87 Part 1, *Supporting Documents*, Vol. 7 at 382ff.

<sup>555</sup> E.J McInnes, Takanini to Native Minister, 20 March 1936, in Archives New Zealand, Wellington MA 1 290 15/2/87 Part 1, *Supporting Documents*, Vol. 7 at 382ff.

Earlier in 1924, Rihi began organising Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetu and others into a collective under the Kīngitanga. She organised for donations to be gathered for the group. People's names were recorded along with donations. Sixty signatures are evident in one record although only some of the signatures are legible. The last two pages provide the total of the collection at £21.12/-. 6d. The record is written on what looks to be a calico sheet and is dated, Aperira 1, 1924 which would have made Rihi approximately 77 years old. Part of the parchment read as follows:

He Kohi Moni hei tohu mo te Kotahi ote Iwi Māori kiraro kia Kingi "Te-Rata Mahuta Tawhiao Pōtatau Tewherowhero". Hei murunga hara kite tangata, kite whenua, Te hara a ngawhakaturanga, Te hara mete mate tuku iho , tae mai ana kinga matua kia matou te hara mete mate kote ra tenei E pookai ai te hara mete mate He tahi, He rua, he toru, he wha onga whakatu-puranga, E whaka kahoretia, kote mate, kataka pauriatu nei kiraro kia koe, koau E wewete Ite whenua, E wete kina Ite rangi, kia ora te "Kingi" mate Atua Koe Etiaki Heoi nato mokai. Rihi Rauparaha.

Katuhi iho nei omatou Ingoa, mete moni, Ngatiapakura, Ngatihinetu, me oku hoa awhina Itenei take.

Translation:

We are collecting money to support the unitedness of the Māori people under our King, "Te Rata Mahuta Tawhiao Pōtatau Te Wherowhero". So that our people, our land, the generations and our descendants may be cleansed even to our fathers and ourselves that we may be cleansed and that is why we gather the sins of the 1st, 2nd 3rd and even the 4th generation and we (by our actions) free ourselves from those sins. Let sorrow be consumed under you as you free the land and the heavens so that our "King" may be safe. Let God comfort you.

This being your servant, Rihi Rauparaha.

These are our names and the money we have given Ngatiapakura, Ngatihinetu and my friends who support this cause.<sup>556</sup>

Another letter was addressed to Rihi from Princess Te Puea. Rihi sent a donation of £1 along with a list of names to Te Puea. Te Puea replied by first acknowledging Rihi as a respected woman of great age who has outlived many generations. However, Te Puea was unsure of the cause Rihi wanted to support at the time. Te Puea was involved with fund

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<sup>556</sup> Electronic copy of Pookai documentation written by Rihi Rauparaha, April 1st, 1924, Pirongia. (Lennox Collection, file ref 0018- 00123).



raising for the Red Cross as a means of supporting the Māori soldiers for World War II in 1939 even though she disagreed with the war. Te Puea noted:

Tenei ano tetahi take i oti ite komiti iraro ite tamaiti nei ite 24th ongara o Hepetema kotaua hui he tono kia waiho ano nga tamariki Māori ite nei motu hei tiaki. konga mea e hiahia kite haere kite whawhai kei a ia tena. konga mea kaore ehiahia me waiho kote mahi he mahi kai hei awhina atu inga hoia.<sup>557</sup>

Translation:

The 'Kīngitanga Committee' preferred that young Māori men did not go to war but would support them if they chose to go anyway. But if there were some that did not want to be enlisted, then the committee felt that they should be free to not enlist but instead they could help by preparing food for the soldiers.

Te Puea then explained the work she had been doing to Rihi:

Ko te mea tuatahi i mahia eau kote koha moni mote Red Cross 2/6 ite taane ite wahine inga tamariki. Ko nga mea kua uru ki taua mahi kua tae kite mano tangata (membership) hemea kia kite mai te Kawanatanga keite awhina atu tatou ite tehi ahua aha koa kaore e haere kite pakanga etae atu ana nga awhiana.<sup>558</sup>

Translation

I am now collecting money for the Red Cross. 2/6d from men women and their children. The numbers that have jointed this effort is 1,000. Let it be that the Government will see that we are supporting the war effort even though we don't promote going to fight we are nevertheless supporting.<sup>559</sup>

Te Puea in the opening lines of her letter acknowledged Rihi as the second to last survivor of the Rangiaowhia encounter when the Crown unjustly attacked the settlement in 1864. The correspondence between Rihi and the Kāhui Ariki and the tone of the letters indicate that there was a close respectful relationship between Rihi and Te Puea. Te Puea's letter sought clarity from Rihi regarding the fund.

Rihi, having survived the very heart of the Battle of Rangiaowhia, showed to her descendants that she could remember the past but still move forward. She carried on the fight for justice however in her war of words over the Mangaora No 2 Block, and through her

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<sup>557</sup> Letter from Princess Te Puea, Ngaruawahia, to Rihi Rauparaha, 20th Nov 1939 (Lennox Collection, file ref; TePueatoRihi1).

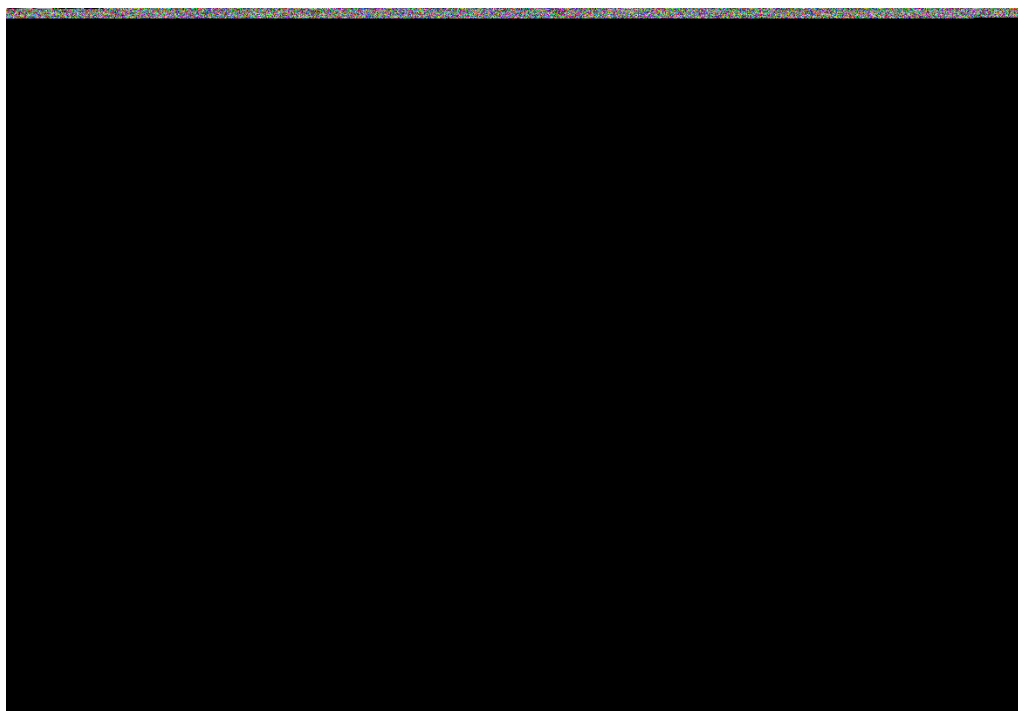
<sup>558</sup> Ibid.

letters and support for petitions. Rihi additionally followed her tūpuna by supporting the Kīngitanga.

Te Puea Herangi subsequently bestowed on Rihi the most prestigious acknowledgement in Māori oratory at the end of her letter in 1939. Te Puea wrote of Rihi:

E Kui, kanui te aroha iho ite kitenga iho ito ingoa emahara ana ahau kua mate noatu koe tenei ekui tena koe te wairua io tungane ite Iwi kua mene kite po mahue ake ko korua ko Hongihongi kangaro korua kua mutu te Māori tanga tena koutou koto whānau Heoi ano nato Karangarua Na, TePuea Herangi.

You of great age, when I saw your name on the letter, my heart was moved because I thought you had passed over. Rihi, I see in you the spirit of your brothers and those who have gone home, and left just you and Hongihongi. You of great knowledge, when you *do* return to the old people, then Māoritanga itself will end. These are our blessings to you and all your family. Your cousin, Te Puea Herangi<sup>560</sup>



**Te Rauparaha Penetana, Rihi Te Rauparaha and Whānau**<sup>561</sup>

Other notable Ngāti Apakura rangatira of the 20th century include: Hongihongi Te Kapara, Rangirereata Davis, Te Mamae Pahi Whakamau Te Wirihana, and Maringi Whakamau Te Kaa Taratu. Photographs kindly provided by Ngāti Apakura claimants and whānau appear on the following pages.

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<sup>560</sup> Te Puea Herangi letter 1939 (Lennox Collection, ref file TePueatoRihi1 - 3).

<sup>561</sup> Rauparaha whānau photo courtesy of the Lennox and Penetana whānau.

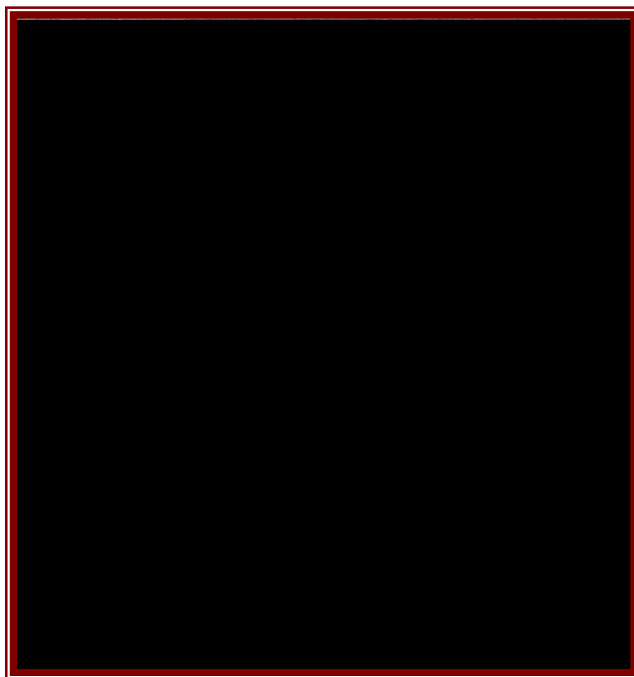


**Hongihongi Te Kapara**<sup>562</sup>

Hongihongi Te Kapara (1852-1945) was born at Rangiaowhia and was living there when the colonial troops invaded the pā. Hongihongi was the inspiration behind the building of the pā now known as Kahotea Marae.

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<sup>562</sup> Photo printed with the permission of Te Otaota Tukiri granddaughter of Hongihongi Kapara 2012 .

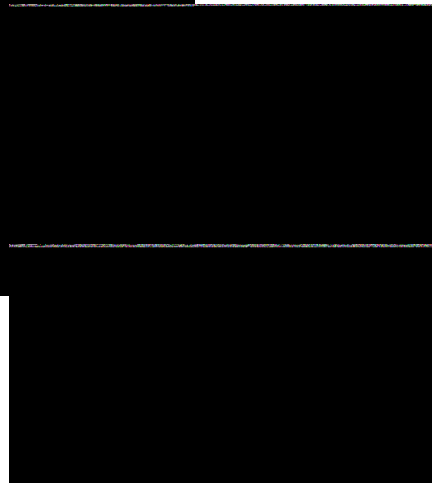
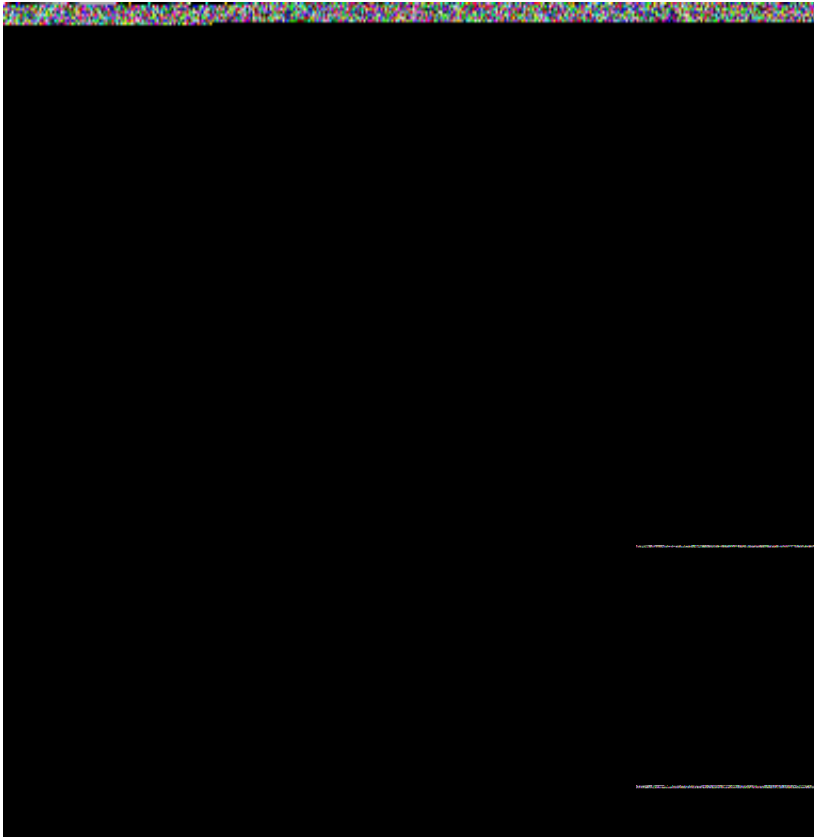


**Rangirereata and Green Davis<sup>563</sup>**

The late Rangirereata Davis, daughter of Hongihongi Kapara, was a Ngāti Apakura kaumātua and an original Trustee of Kahotea Marae.

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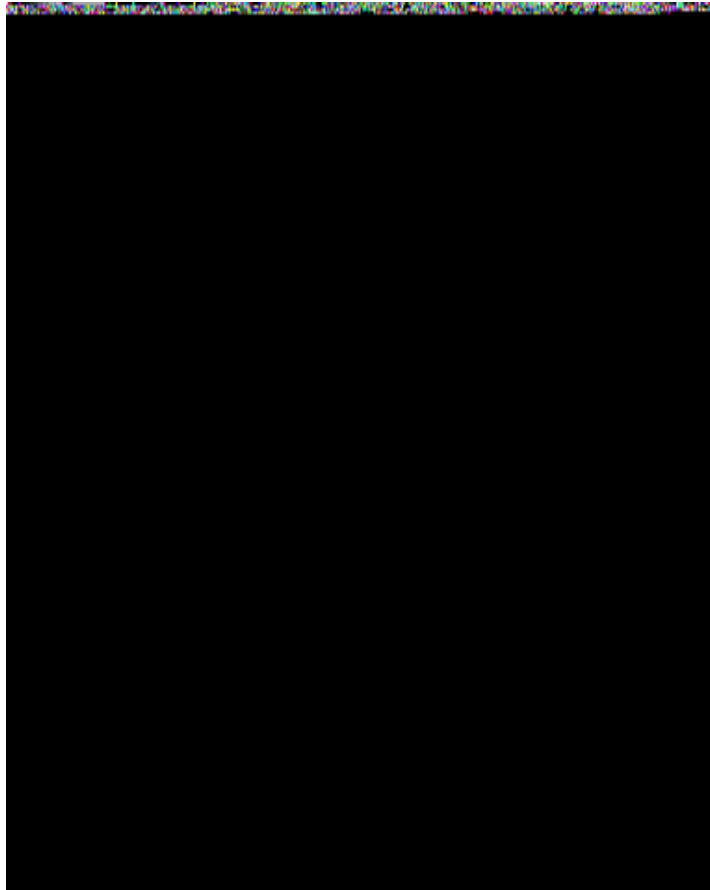
<sup>563</sup> Photo printed with the kind permission of Te Otaota Tukiri, daughter of Rangirereata and Green Davis (2012).



**Te Mamae Pahi Whakamau Te Wirihana<sup>564</sup>**

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<sup>564</sup> Permission to print given by Hazel Wander, great-granddaughter (2012).



**Maringi Whakamau Te Kaa Taratu<sup>565</sup>**

Maringi Whakamau Te Kaa Taratu was a Ngāti Apakura kaumātua and the daughter of Te Mamae Pahi Whakamau Te Wirihana pictured on the previous page.

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<sup>565</sup> Permission to print given by Hazel Wander (2012).

**Kei Wareware Tatou – Lest we Forget!**

Ngāti Apakura sought shelter with distant whānau and hapū and were mostly absorbed into the many hapū and Iwi where they settled. But there were some who maintained their Ngāti Apakura identity and tenacity including Rihi Te Rauparaha and others. In more recent

times, other kuia have kept the Ngāti Apakura fires burning brightly. Hazel Wander spoke of her mother's determination to preserve her Ngāti Apakura identity:

When I go and enrol at university, I have to enrol myself as 'other'...my mother, she died at the age of 82 and she would not put herself down as other. She would not put herself down under Waikato... That was one of her really deep mamae's... was that she could not identify herself [as Ngāti Apakura].

Others reminded their children and grandchildren throughout the generations of what happened at Rangiaowhia. For some, the utter tragedy of Rangiaowhia haunted them into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Rahera Hawke, her mother's experiences when she supported hapū at the Bastion Point protests of the 1970s reminded her of Rangiaowhia:

There they were on the front porch when once again the Crown came in with their military power. Mum witnessed it again [i.e. Rangiaowhia].<sup>566</sup>

Rahera's concern was for her mother and her children. In this predominantly non-Māori society that we now live in, how could Rovina carry herself and stand strong from the traditions passed down from her Apakura tūpuna:

How do I teach my children – your Nanny had her own Iwi [Ngāti Apakura]. She had. They came from an Iwi, not some little hapū that was so small they could take it off the map<sup>567</sup>

Some of the Ngāti Apakura survivors were vigilant in preserving their tragic experiences and grievances in the minds and hearts of the generations after them. It seems Ngāti Apakura had taken on another identity – first as refugees in their own land; second, as hapū subsumed with their kin relations in Maniapoto and Waikato; and third, as people with a deep mamae grievance against the injustices that occurred. Ngāti Apakura became a broken people.

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<sup>566</sup> Rahera Hawke, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 191-192.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid.

### **Contemporary Ngāti Apakura Pā**

There is a number of Pā today that continue to maintain their affiliations to Ngāti Apakura and in so doing, preserving Ngāti Apakura mana motuhake. In some respects, these contemporary Ngāti Apakura Pā bear testament to the resilience and tenacity of Ngāti Apakura as a people and as a community. These Pā include Kahotea, Tānehopuwai and Mangarama.

### **Tānehopuwai**

Tānehopuwai pā is situated 5 miles west of Te Kuiti in a valley near the Mangarama Stream. The stream flows into the Mangapū River then to the Mangaokewa Stream, into the Waipa and Pūniu Rivers where they all join the Waikato River. The Pā was so named because of historic floods in the Mangarama Valley. Te Ra Wright recalls some of the pā history which was told to her by her tūpuna:

The last time it flooded, the hills around Tānehopuwai came down with all the waters and with it they saw Tane Mahuta going down the river with Pane-iraira, and they said to me they were going back to Waikato... He (Tāne Mahuta) is keeping his word, he is going away, but they will come back for us.<sup>568</sup>

With regards to the land being gifted to Ngāti Apakura at Tānehopuwai, Te Ra Wright noted:

I had two uncles who kept reminding me, “Don’t forget. Don’t forget that the land you have at Tānehopuwai is very special and you really need to guard it with your life. They stressed that the rangatira of Maniapoto gifted us that piece of land, and this is my chance to thank them today.”<sup>569</sup>

Te Ra explained that when her tūpuna were given the land by Ngāti Maniapoto, her tūpuna built two pā close together - Tānehopuwai and Mangarama. Te Ra explained that Mangarama was built especially to house the Kāhui Ariki of Waikato. She was unable to say exactly how long the Kāhui Ariki stayed but offered that she had been told by her father that he and others grew up with the Kāhui Ariki children at Tānehopuwai and Mangarama. Te Ra

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<sup>568</sup> Te Ra Wright 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript', (Unpublished, Te Tokanganui a Noho Pa, Te Kuiti, 9-11 June 2010) at 373-375.

<sup>569</sup> Idem.



suggested that she and other Ngāti Apakura people, who were left behind after the Kāhui Ariki returned to Waikato, had suffered again through abandonment. Te Ra opined:

In a sense we suffered again. Ngāti Apakura came to the rohe Pōtae because of being defeated in war and years later, we were divided again when (only) some of our people were able to return to our Turangawaewae.<sup>570</sup>

The urupā at Tānehopuwai is named Taupiri Kuao (small Taupiri). It takes its name from Taupiri maunga in the Waikato. In the 1860s, some of the hapū from Waikato and many from Maniapoto marched to Taranaki to try to stop the Crown from taking land in that area which resulted in many deaths. When those who survived returned to the Waikato, they brought with them their dead. When they entered the hilly Nehenehenui lands of Te Rohe Pōtae, the people knew they were safe and began to bury their tupāpaku. Some were buried at Taupiri Kuao.

Three miles from Tānehopuwai is Motiti Pā. Te Ra Wright asserts her mana whenua over the land on which Motiti Pā was built. The old people of this pā have often recounted that when the taua came home from Taranaki and could carry their dead no further, they began burying them in the caves.

Some were buried in caves near Motiti Pā. One particular site is called, Tiakitia (to take care). Sometimes the district was plagued with earthquakes. The old people worried that the caves in the hills would crumble and disturb the tupāpaku. When this happened, the old people would be heard in prayer, ‘tiakitia era o mātou...’ (take care of these of ours).<sup>571</sup> Although the taua had come from Waikato, from the karakia, the haukainga were clear that the taua were whānau, they were related through whakapapa.<sup>572</sup>

Te Ra Wright today is committed to educating whānau at Tānehopuwai about their Ngāti Apakura legacy. Te Ra has been at the fore front in organizing hui and keeping members abreast of Treaty of Waitangi developments in Te Rohe Pōtae and what happened to Ngāti Apakura – to keep the fire burning.

### **Mangarama Pā**

Mangarama Pā is situated on the same land as Tānehopuwai and was built especially to house the ‘Kāhui Ariki’. Records are unclear on how long the ‘Kāhui Ariki’ stayed at

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<sup>570</sup> Ibid, at 373- 375.

<sup>571</sup> Idem.

<sup>572</sup> Idem.

Mangarama. However, the presence of the Kāhui Ariki at Mangarama was held in high esteem throughout the district. The descendants of Parekaitini Tomotuki are aware that Piupiu, Mahuta's niece, officiated at the opening of their wharenuī in 1936.<sup>573</sup> Meanwhile, the older descendants of Motiti Pā view it as common knowledge that Piupiu's husband carved the Tekoteko that stands at the apex of their wharenuī Te Hungaiti.<sup>574</sup>

#### **Kahotea Pā**

Some Ngāti Apakura also settled at Taraiwi, which is part of the Puketarata lands. These lands were gifted to Ngāti Apakura from their Ngāti Maniapoto relations during their diaspora. A section of this land, Kahotea Road, was provided in aroha to Ngāti Apakura and was subsequently taken by Public Works Act.<sup>575</sup> Kahotea Pā is situated at the base and south western side of Kakepuku. The whare tūpuna at Kahotea Pā is Whatihua - Apakura's husband. When you visit Kahotea, Kakepuku, the former area of Ngāti Apakura, is clearly visible.

#### **A New Name**

##### **Te Mamae**

One of the tūpuna of Kahotea Pā was Te Mamae. This name was passed on to her as a reminder to future generations of the mamae that Ngāti Apakura suffered when they were attacked at Rangiaowhia. Hazel Wander noted:

My korero is on my great grandmother who was at Rangiaowhia. ... Wikitoria was only a young girl at that time.... And this is her kōrero: "Whakangarongia i roto i te ngākau ētehi kōrero mō te whānau anake me tana kōrero anō, kia kaua e wareware ki te mahi a te Pākehā Cameron. ... "Kaua e wareware ki te mahi kino o te Pākehā." ...

"We concealed those words in our hearts. Some of these stories are just in the whānau, in the family." And she said, "Do not forget the evil works of the Pākehā, Cameron." ... Her name was changed after Rangiaowhia to remember what happened, to remember that mamae that she heard, that she experienced as a child [Nanny Mamae]. And some of her tamariki were Te Wera the burning of those whare, those kāinga that she grew up in. ... Rā Tapu was another grand uncle of mine. It was the Rātapu it was on Sunday, the day that those troops

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<sup>573</sup> Parekaitini- Tomotuki is located 4 miles from Mangarama Pā.

<sup>574</sup> Motiti Pā, is a quarter mile from Parekaitini- Tomotuki and 3 miles from Mangarama.

<sup>575</sup> Rohe Pōtae (Wai 898) Statement of Claim -#1.1.115.

stormed Rangiaowhia. ... [Another] tamariki was Maringi, Maringi was named after all those tears that they spilt – that the tūpuna spilt from Rangiaowhia.<sup>576</sup>

Te Mamae was first named Wikitoria or Victoria. It is a high honour to have a child named after you. Many Māori women were named after Kuini Wikitoria – Queen Victoria who was the reigning monarch when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, including by at least 4 Apakura rangatira. The child no doubt was named after Queen Victoria in the first instance. One is inclined to ask, when the whānau named the child Wikitoria in honour of the Queen, did the whānau expect the Queen to reciprocate by honouring the guarantees of Waitangi including protection of Ngāti Apakura lands, forests, fisheries and other treasures? Did the Apakura whānau have faith that Queen Victoria would protect them against attack from her seasoned British Imperial soldiers?

Once this faith was undermined, the girls name was changed to Te Mamae – the pain – to memorialise what happened at Rangiaowhia and the pain it caused the people. Te Mamae was so named so that the Apakura people throughout the generations would not forget what happened at Rangiaowhia and Orākau and the subsequent effects, the pain and the anguish, of these events.

Hazel Wander commented on other tūpuna whose names memorialise the plight of Ngāti Apakura. One of Te Mamae's descendants was Te Wera - 'the heat or the burning' - to memorialize the whare set on fire at Rangiaowhia. Hazel's grand uncle was Rā Tapu - 'sacred day or Sunday.' The Imperial troops attacked Rangiaowhia on a Sunday. These names bear witness to the tenacity and determination of the Apakura tūpuna to ensure that the succeeding generations preserve what happened to Ngāti Apakura, and to seek appropriate redress for the mamae.

Hazel Wander recalls the Rangiaowhia Committee with a membership of several marae which provided space and solidarity for the descendants of those tūpuna at Rangiaowhia. Gary Paki of Oparure Pā, Te Kuiti, recalled that for some years his father, Mahuri Paki, was Chairperson of the Rangiaowhia Committee. Gary is a tohunga whakairo and he explained that much of the carvings that are depicted as belonging to Maniapoto, are informed by those carvings that graced Raroera Pā in the 1840s. Gary moreover, noted that his father lived at Kahotea as a child. Gary's connection to Kahotea Pā is through their

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<sup>576</sup> Wander, H, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 27-28.

tūpuna, Hiriaki. Within the last year, Gary Paki discovered that his tūpuna, Titi Kahunui, was the son of Whakarawe who also lived at Rangiaowhia.

Today at Kahotea, Hazel Wander continues to memorialise the journey of Ngāti Apakura by planting the ‘whenua’ or afterbirth of each new-born child under a specially designated tree in the Kahotea Pā whenua. Such a practice is standard tikanga Māori but it is also a gentle reminder of all the ‘pito rakau’ that were burned at Rangiaowhia.

Kahotea Pā continues to host wānanga for the descendants of Apakura and Whatihua. Members often engage with the Waipa District Council to ensure that the history of Rangiaowhia and Ngāti Apakura descendants are appropriately acknowledged. Jenny Charman of Kahotea recently organized a presentation at the Te Awamutu Museum about Ngāti Apakura in 2012. Jenny Charman is also part of the forum involved in the upcoming 2014 sesqui-centenary memorial of the Rangiaowhia encounter. Jenny also questioned the inadequacies of the 1995 Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement in terms of its effects on Ngāti Apakura:

We are still dispossessed by all the other Iwi around us ... We haven’t died and we ask, why did you [the Crown] give our lands to Waikato? Why?<sup>577</sup>

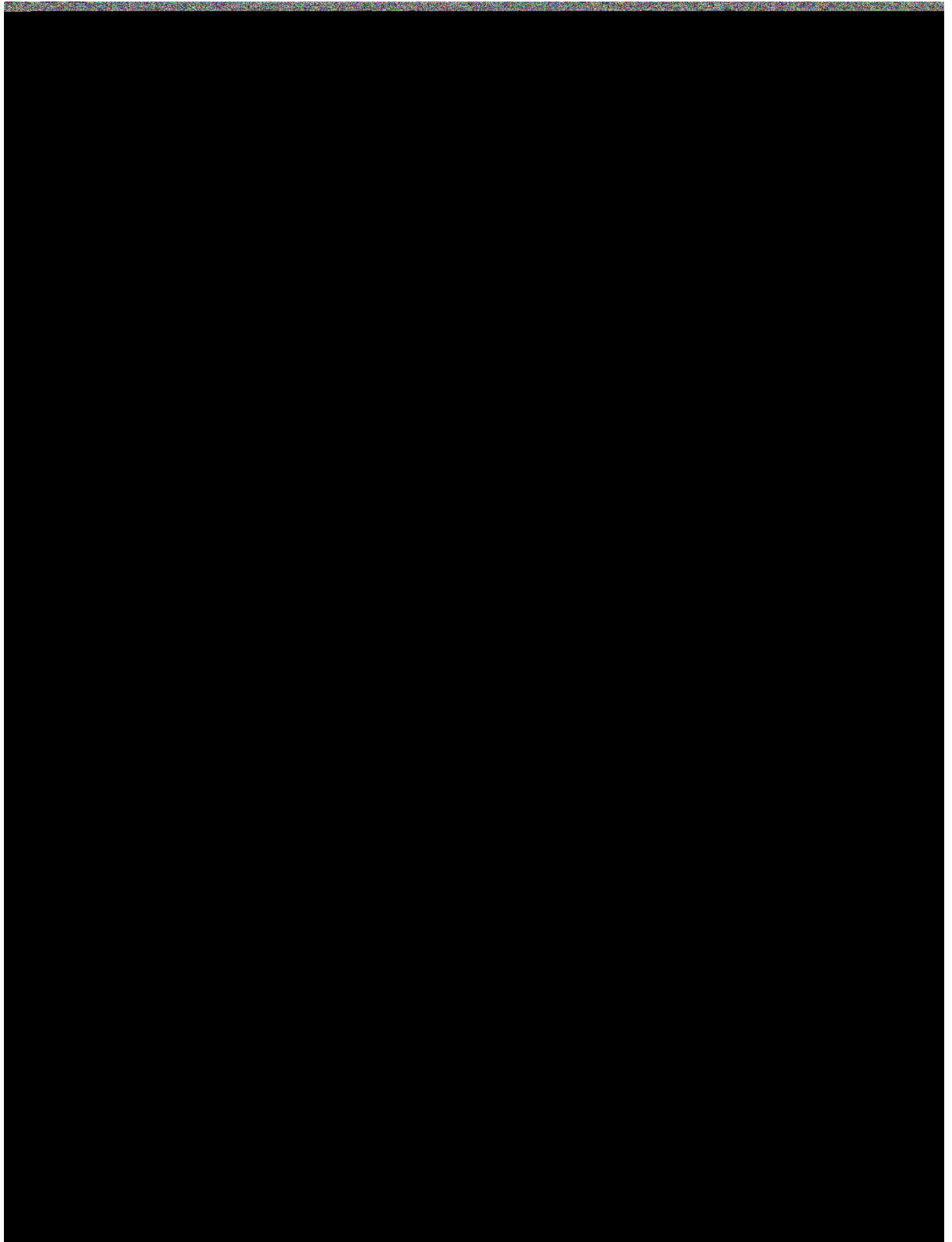
The legacy of pain and anguish continues for Ngāti Apakura in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as Manga Ormsby in 2010 surmised:

Let me conclude here, it is my earnest hope that these words ... and the pain from our hearts ... We say to you, and to the power on you to relieve us of the pains of my ancestors which befell each generation and it is on-going today.<sup>578</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Charman, J, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 24.

<sup>578</sup> Ormsby, M, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript’(Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 26.



**Map 30: Ngāti Apakura Areas in the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement 1995**

## SECTION 6: NGĀTI APAKURA TODAY

The loss of land through an unjust war and raupatu confiscation policies of the State has had devastating effects on Ngāti Apakura as a people throughout the generations. The loss of land has meant a loss of identity which caused cultural devastation, the destruction of Ngāti Apakura political organisation, the loss of their economic base, the loss of control of the Waipā River system and other waterways including Ngāroto, and loss of mahinga kai such as the eel and fowl rich swamps. For Ngāti Apakura, 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.

From the time of Rangiaowhia and the subsequent fall of Orākau in 1864, Ngāti Apakura claimants have been seeking redress for their historic Treaty of Waitangi grievances – inter alia, the invasion of their territory, loss of life, and the loss of control of lands and resources, lost economic development opportunities, and perceived loss of their identity as an iwi, as a coherent, functional and prosperous community. Numerous Ngāti Apakura petitions were sent to Parliament to seek redress for their grievances but to no avail.<sup>579</sup>

Today, Ngāti Apakura claimants are still seeking redress. However, Ngāti Apakura are now 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 amazing prosperity prior to the 1864 invasion.

Ngāti Apakura today are seeking to rebuild themselves as a people. The Rohe Pōtae Inquiry and Ngāti Apakura Treaty of Waitangi claims provide some impetus to rebuild this once great iwi. However, Ngāti Apakura was omitted legally as an iwi in the 2006 Census and in the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 Schedule of ‘official’ iwi. Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato are both recognised iwi in the Māori Fisheries Act 2004. Maniapoto was listed as having 33,627 people while Waikato had 32,429 in the 2006 Census. Given the multiple

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<sup>579</sup> Refer to Appendix 4. Claimant Gordon Lennox has a formidable collection of the Ngati Apakura Petitions throughout the generations. Refer to unpublished Lennox Archives Collection, 2012.

intra-tribal whakapapa lines between Ngāti Apakura with Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato (and Tūwharetoa and other iwi for that matter), one is inclined to ask how many of these people acknowledge their Ngāti Apakura whakapapa for this is the start of rebuilding Ngāti Apakura as a people. It helps that Ngāti Apakura have marae within the Rohe Pōtae region but more is required to rebuild Ngāti Apakura.

Many within Maniapoto and Waikato share Ngāti Apakura whakapapa. Given the propensity for iwi and hapū such as Maniapoto, Waikato, Hikairo and others with overlapping and competing claims for Ngāti Apakura mana whenua and mana tangata to contest whether Ngāti Apakura is an iwi or hapū, Tom Roa correctly opined: ‘suffice to say we are all kin ... and it is impossible to separate and individualise and the pains of Apakura are upon all of us’.<sup>580</sup>

As noted earlier, a local 1852 newspaper article predicted that Ngāti Apakura at Rangiaowhia ‘are among the chief producers of colonial wealth, and best examples of morality. ... What then may a few more years do?’<sup>581</sup> The same question that was asked in 1852 may be asked about Ngāti Apakura today – what then may a few more years do? Ngāti Apakura have been waiting not for a few more years but for almost 150 years to seek redress for the injustices committed against them as a people. The pains of Ngāti Apakura are upon all of us. What may a few more years bring for Ngāti Apakura today? Hopefully different results to those received in and following the year 1864 – relief from the pains of the past.

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<sup>580</sup> Tom Roa, ‘Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,’ (Unpublished, Te Tokanganui-a-noho Marae, Te Kuiti, 9-11 June 2010) at 242.

<sup>581</sup> By a recent visitor to Wairoa and Kaipara’ in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol VII, Issue 471, 2 January 1852) at 6.

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Jenny Charman

Te Ra Wright

Tohe Rauputu

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