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**He Kura Whenua, He Kura Reo, He Kura Tangata: Relationships
over time between the land, the language, and the people**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**at Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa, Turitea Campus, Massey University,
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Hone Waengarangi Morris

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He tohi

Ka tohia iho rā koe ki te tohi tapu a Io-te-waiora
He tohi ā-nuku, he tohi ā-rangi
Ka whakaatamai i a koe ki te pūtiki wharanui o Rangitotohu
Ka rākeia koe ki te piki kōtuku, ki te rau-o-te-toroa
Ka tīparetia hoki koe ki te rau-o-tītapu, kia pai ai koe
tō rere arorangi ake ki Te Atua-o-Mahuru
te kōtīhitihi tapu o Ruahine
e mihia ai te kurahaupō, te kura mai tawhiti
te kura nui, te kura roa
I rangahaua koe i te hau-o-Tū, Tū-te-winiwini, Tū-te-wanawana
Tū-te-ihiihi o Tū
Ka tohia koe ki te wai o te kōpua kānapanapa
E rite mai ai koe ki ngā pakanga o te mātauranga
Ka poua koe ki te one ki Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa
Hei pou herenga kōrero, pou herenga tangata
Hei pou hihiko, hei pou rarama ki te Kāhui pou
Tēnei te pou, te pou tokomanawa
Te pou o ēnei kōrero
Hui te mārama, hui te ora ki Te Kahu-o-te-Kura
Uhi wero, uhi tāia
Haumi e hui e tāiki e

Taipitopito

Kei tua o te kupu tā he kura whenua, he kura reo, he kura tangata is the fundamental inspiration of this research. The phrase implies *beyond the written word, there lies another realm, another experience, another perspective*. This research will explore **the relationships over time between the land, he kura whenua, the language, he kura reo, and the people, he kura tāngata** within the narratives pertaining to the lands and waterways, the language on the land and the tūpuna connected to the land blocks, Rākau-tātahi, Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Waikōpiro, in the Tamatea *Central Hawke's Bay tribal district*, incorporating the townships of Takapau, Waipukurau, Waipawa, Porangahau and surrounding areas.

The ultimate wish in pursuing this area of research is provide access to the historical account of how the hapū of the Rākoutātahi, Takapau regions are connected to the land and each other. Through providing a detailed account of the ancestors movements, their settling of the lands, the daily activities and the intimate connection reflected in the kupu and the origins of place names left on the land, the present generation and future generations will forever be connected to the land and the language used by the ancestors to strengthen individual and collective identity fulfilling the fundamental aim of this thesis, *he kura whenua, he kura reo, he kura tangata*.

The relationship between the land the language and the people is the primary focus of this research drawing on traditional Indigenous lore and natural order: from time

immemorial Māori have believed, as with many Indigenous peoples, that they belong to the whenua rather than the colonised concept of the whenua which belonged to them. Reference to written law feeding the public domain and constraint of sovereign order will be applied for comparison and contrast through the unique narratives articulated by tūpuna from 1883 – 1892—when the four land blocks in this research were investigated—within the proceedings of the Native Land Court, Te Kōti Whenua Māori borne out of statutes, *Native Lands Act* of 1862 and given authoritative power under the *Native Lands Act* on 30 October 1865.

The moods of the land, the river, and its tributaries, conveyed by the stories and the perspectives of tūpuna underlie this research. For centuries narratives were conveyed orally by tūpuna, from generation to generation through the lens of traditional Indigenous lore and of the natural order to strengthen understandings that all living things are connected; within that understanding Māori possessed an inseparable collective connection to the land, the waterways, and the stories.

Rereata Makiha (2021) refers to a whakatauaākī by Tūkākī Waititi sharing the same reasoning as tūpuna regarding inseparable collective connection to the land, the waterways, and their respective stories, “Kāhore he aha i hangatia, i ahu noa mai rānei kia noho wehe i tēnei ao, ahakoa matangaro ka mōhiotia te mauri” *Nothing was ever created or emerged in this world to live in isolation, even a hidden face can be detected by its impact on something.*

This research dives into narratives expressed during times of peace and times of conflict, quintessentially revealing a mindset that once walked side by side with the Gods and communicated to all living things as a brother or a sister, a guardian or parent. This is the story of the hapū of Tamatea-Heretaunga district and their lived experiences with the land. The research draws largely on the evidence provided by tūpuna in Native Land Court cases from 1883 through to 1892.

Fundamentally, this research embodies the adage that, “the land is in the language and the language is in the land”, *kei te whenua te reo, kei te reo te whenua*, a phrase borne out of initial discussions with Professor Cynthia White, Pro Vice Chancellor, College of Humanities and Social Sciences about my research which can be articulated together with the phrase, “*the land remembers*” Logan (1975). To this I add the following thought, “*tukua te whenua kia kōrero*”, *let the land speak*, a statement I made to a group of tourist operators 23/06/19 when explaining the Te Waha-o-te-Kurī educational kiosk based at the eastern end of the Manawatū gorge, at Ferry Reserve. This thesis answers the following question, **“What was the relationship over time between the land, the language and the people within the specific land blocks bordering Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku and its tributaries?”**

He kupu matihere

Tuatahi nei, taku mihi kau ake ki te kaumātua taiea ki Te Ahorangi Piri John Ngārangikaunuhia Sciascia ONZM nō Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Raukawa me Kāi Tahu. Nāna he kupu whakatītina i whakapuaki mai ki ahau i te rangi whakamana rangahau. Ko Matua Piri tētahi o Te Pae Whakamana *Confirmation Panel* Thursday 7 November 2019.

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One cannot speak of te reo Māori and its infinite beauty without mentioning the kuia and kaumātua who selflessly gave their knowledge and wisdom in the Kura Reo of the 1990s and 2000s I attended through to the Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language, Te Panekiretanga o te Reo and its pillars, Sir Tīmoti Kāretu KNZM QSO CRSNZ and Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy CNZM QSO (1937-2019) and Sir William Te Rangiuwa Temara KNZM. These pioneers of our chiefly language to whom I owe my deepest gratitude for the guidance, the humour, and the staunch focus in ensuring te reo was spoken with accuracy and reflected true Māori thinking, “kia rere, kia tika, kia Māori!”

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I acknowledge the Native Land Court Minutes which fortunately for myself the whare pukapuka at the Turitea campus of Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa have copies of. I also used the manuscripts compiled by Captain John Blake (1853-1940) which (Parsons, 1996b) acknowledges as, “verbatim records of Land Court evidence, some of it in Māori, are often richer in detail than the official minutes.” Blake qualified as a licensed interpreter, 19 June 1889. This coincided with the beginning of the celebrated Ōmāhu case in the Native Land Court at Hastings to determine the succession to the lands of the chief Rēnata Kawepō. (Parsons, 1996a)

I have made every endeavour to ensure the words spoken by tūpuna are recorded and whakapapa connection have been vigorously checked. Any variation of thought or opinion opens the opportunity for further research. Heoi anō taku mihi kau ki ngā kaitautoko katoa.

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Kuputaka

ao hou	new world
ao kikokiko	physical world
ao wairua	spiritual world
ara kiore	rat track
aroaro whenua	scope
haka	posture dance
hākari	banquet, feast
hapū	subtribe, pregnant
hekenga nui	great migration
hiku-mauru-mā-tonga	south-west
hoe nuku roa	ocean going paddle
hohou rongo	to make peace
huahuatau	metaphor
huatau manene	strange concept
iho matua	main focus
kaihaukai	reciprocal feasting
kaikōrero	orator, speaker
kaioraora	cursing song
kaitiaki	guardian
kākā	large native parrot
kākā	parrot
kākahi	freshwater mussel
kākāriki	parakeet
kanohi taiaha	seeing both sides of an issue or simply being two-
faced	
karakia	formulaic reciting of words, an incantation, a ritual chant expressed in a particular vocal style to call on specific energies to assist in daily activities, from initiating a child, felling a tree, calling on better conditions weather wise
karanga	a call to welcome people
kaupapa here	policy
kererū	wood pigeon

kōkako	<i>Callaeas cinerea</i>
kōkopu	whitebait
kōpū	womb, uterus
korowai reo	cloak of narratives
korowai tangata	human cloak
korowai whenua	terrestrial cloak
kōwhaiwhai	scroll pattern
kukune	foetus
kukune	embryo, foetus, fertilised egg
kunenga	conception
kupu kōrero	narrative
kupu tā	printed word
kupu whakanikoniko	words of embellishment
kupu whakarite	simile
kura huna	quintessential knowledge
kura wānanga	quintessential knowledge
mahi toi	art
mahinga kai	traditional food gathering place
mana atua	godly authority
mana tangata	indigenous right, identity
mana whenua	authority from association with land
maraeātea	space in front of an ancestral house
mātauranga tuku iho,	knowledge handed down orally
mauri	life principle
mita	dialect
momo rāwaho	introduced plants, and animals
mōteatea	ancient song
ōhanga	economy
ope taua	war party
oriori	lullaby
Orongo-nui	Summer
pā tūwatawata	defensive fortifications
papatipu	ancestral home
pātaka kai	food storehouse
pātaka mātauranga	a storehouse of knowledge
pātere	defiant song
pepeha	tribal aphorism

pikopiko	fern shoots
pina mātauranga	spring of wisdom
pito	umbilical cord
pono	true
pūau	mouth of river
pūrakau	legend
rākau tāhere manu	snaring trees
rangatiratanga	sovereignty
raranga	weaving
reo	voice, language
riha rāwaho	introduced pests
taiaha	weapon
Tamatea	Central Hawke's Bay
tāmoko	tattooing
taniwha	a guardian
tapatapa	to claim land by naming
tātai hono maha	many connections
tātai kōrero	historical narrative
Tatauuru-ora	November
tauwi	settler
taunahanaha	to claim land by naming
tauparapara	incantation to clear the way
taura here tangata	human thread
tāwhara	bracts of kiekie
Te Māhia-mai-tawhiti	the sound heard from a distance
Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa	Pacific Ocean
tī kōuka	cabbage tree
tikanga	cultural practice
tipua	a supernatural being
tiritiri o te moana	the vast ocean
tohunga	an expert, an adept
toki	adze
tuakiri	identity
tūāpapa mātauranga	foundation of Māori knowledge
tūhua	obsidian
tūī	parson bird
tukanga	process

tukutuku	lattice work adorning the walls of ancestral houses relating specific and generic stories
tuna	eel
tupuna	ancestor
tupuna	ancestor
ture	law, rule, statute
wāhi ngaro	invisible realm
wāhi tāhere manu	bird snaring place
wai māori	fresh water
waiata aroha	love song
waiata tangi	lament
Waikawa	Portland Island
waiora	life giving water
waiū	place of sustenance
weka	woodhen
whai	string game
whaikōrero	oration, speech
whakairo	carving
whakapapa	genealogy
whakapono	faith, belief, religion
whakatauākī	personal quote
whakataukī	proverbial saying
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	relationships
whao	carving chisel
wharau	temporary shelter
whare tangata	female, house of humanity, womb
whare wānanga	house of learning, university
wharekai	dinging hall, restaurant
wharenuī	meeting house
whenua ararau	land of many pathways
whenua taurikura	peaceful pristine land
whiti	verse, section of a song

Upoko 1: He kupu whakataki

This research will demonstrate the interrelationships between the language, people and land—both peaceful and contested—over time. It will consolidate identity through providing an overall view of mātauranga Māori **2.4 He kupu kōrero** fused into the many facets of the daily activities of tūpuna to survive through connecting their voice to the whenua, each other and te wāhi ngaro.

The focus employed in this research is founded on the wish to provide a “pātaka mātauranga for the hapū and those connected through narrative to the four land blocks: to Rākau-tātahi, Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Waikōpiro **2.3 He kupu arataki**. For those hapū of other marae in the Tamatea rohe, some standing physically with a tūpuna whare, Te Tāpairu marae at Waipawa with Te Whaea-o-Te Katoa, Rongomaraeroa marae in Porangahau with Te Poho-o-Kahungunu, Mataweka just east of Tāpairu marae with Noho-mai-te-rangi, Keke Haunga at Pukehou marae and others with future vision, Te Rongo-a-Tahu at Takapau, and Te Pāwhare at Waipukurau. Not forgetting those wharenui on school sites, Te Kupenga-a-Te Huki at Central Hawke’s Bay College, and Tāne-nui-a-Rangi at Te Aute College.

The narratives will be brought to life in this research, through the voice of tūpuna who stood in the Native Land Court *Te Kooti Tango Whenua* weaving a korowai tangata, a korowai whenua, and korowai reo to remind us of our tātai hono maha, our taura here tangata reinforcing our human connection. Professor David V. Williams is acknowledged for his detailed record in *Te Kooti Tango Whenua: The Native Land Court 1864–1909*

(1999) as a concise body of the origins of the Native Land Court and the statutes and laws that impacted heavily on the land and tūpuna.

The hapū of Rangitāne south of Te Awa pokere-a-Tama-kuku mentioned in this research have strong ties to the four land blocks being researched in this thesis through the narratives spoken and present in environmental kaupapa such as the 'Tū te Manawa' project spanning the length of the river, and the 'Ngā Ara Tupuna' project in the Waipukurau district.

The recording of this unique identity by tūpuna will be accomplished through oral sources; **2.5 He kupu tuku iho** karakia expressed in a particular vocal style to call on specific energies to assist in daily activities, from initiating a child, felling a tree, calling on better conditions weather wise, karanga, whaikōrero, whakapapa, mōteatea, haka, all heard and performed in functional protocols, and formal learning in the whare wānanga providing a connection, a passport, "kia renarena te taukaea o ngā matemate-ā-one" (Milroy, 2007a) *to strengthen the connections of profound affection to one's land and each other*. Through artistic sources, **2.6 He kupu toi** through whakairo, raranga, tāmoko, kōwhaiwhai, and whai. In essence, the daily lives of tūpuna revolved around the continued connection to the land and each other.

I acknowledge the many researchers who have set about looking at either land, language, and/or tangata whenua, the mana whenua. This research utilises the Indigenous perspective recorded by Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the

University of New Mexico, Keith H. Basso (1940-2013) who through his research with the Western Apache of the Cibecue *My House* region, Arizona have recorded the words of the Cibicue tūpuna and their thoughts regarding the land in his acclaimed book *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (1996). Brian Burkhart's work in indigenising philosophy (2019) through land speaks of narratives where all beings had voice and taught human's how to respect the land. Intrinsic connection of Indigenous people to the land, those who have drawn on Indigenous narrative to serve as a bridge to modern issues. This research supports those previous works in these fields and will enhance future researchers diving into Indigenous connection to land and the land speaking through narrative placed on Papatūānuku by tūpuna in Aotearoa.

Connection and identity provided through similarity of thought of our Indigenous relatives **4.1.1 Ngā whanaunga taketake** and their own unique thinking towards land and language **4.1.2 He reo taketake** and each other providing a foundation of knowledge on which the iho o te whakaaro, *the core concept*, for this research is founded. That is, **the relationships over time between the land, *he kura whenua*, the language, *he kura reo* and the people, *he kura tāngata*.**

The research navigates recent centuries, and the journeys undertaken physically **2.8 He kupu whakaterere** spiritually, and orally **4.2.1 He reo ā-waha** by tūpuna who landed on the shores of Aotearoa and crafted a lifestyle intimately connected to the new land and its resources **2.10 He kupu whakatau.**

The interruption of another lore, another reo, **4.2.2 He reo ka whiti** another method of recall **2.7 He kupu tā**. is discussed via the Te Tiriti o Waitangi covenant, the ture created to initially confirm the words of Hobson, “He iwi tahi”, *Together we are one nation* Shortland (2020) and the impacts of this new law and the kupu tā. Kupu tā recorded in the newspapers of the time covering pertinent issues **4.3.1 – 4.3.5** such as, the hunger of tauiwi for whenua, a new reo, which slowly devoured the language of the tūpuna via kaupapa here in schools, te ture, te whakapono, and issues directly related to the four land blocks in this research, specifically, in the evidence provided by tūpuna in the Native Land Court proceedings **4.4 He reo tā mō Tamatea takiwā**.

The quintessential component of this research ‘te whenua’ **2.11 He kura whenua** is linked to the language and the language to the whenua **2.12 He kura reo** and to the people respectively **2.13 He kura tangata**. The land being the central thread that weaves this narrative together and expands on it in **Upoko 3: he kura kāinga i hokia, he kura whenua i nōhia**.

The lands of the Tamatea rohe, whenua taurikura, whenua ararau travelled by the myriad of tūpuna **3.1 Hekenga Tangata** who fought in traditional and modern warfare for the land **3.2 Raupatu**. Tūpuna who changed the name of their hapū in memory of major incidents **3.3 Hapū** who loved and married through whakapapa connection to acquire peace **2.2.1 Hohou rongō**.

Tūpuna who laid down boundaries, **3.4. Whakaroherohe** organised feasting competitions **3.5 Kaihaukai** had a huge impact on the relationship to land in the Tamatea region. Like the arrival of the musket at the hands of the various war parties **3.6 Haramai te pū** and the consequences of the wave of settlers and the Scandinavians felling the pristine forest. The thesis then discusses land from an Indigenous perspective **Upoko 4: He reo puiaki, he reo hou.**

Through kupu tā and the impact it had in **4.1 He whenua matenui** indigenous connection to land **4.1.1 Ngā whanaunga taketake** the transition from word of mouth **4.2.1 He reo ā-waha** to a word carved with a new chisel and the collision of oral and written voice **4.2.3 He reo tukituki**. The advent of the printed word **4.2.4 He reo tā** quickly embraced by tūpuna and emotional expression reflected in letters to newspapers in both te reo Māori and English. Letters that became the new taiaha, the new toki, crafting words to reflect the depth of passion towards the land **4.3.1 Mō te whenua** and the new ture **4.3.3 Mō te ture**. Ture imposed through subtle legislation and majority voice. The new taiaha sometimes expressed as a kanohi taiaha utilised by tūpuna from the Tamatea region to inform, to caution, or to protest **4.4.2 He rīrii tara ā-whare** to seek solution regarding their lore via the ture conveyed through the processes of the Native Land Court.

Issues felt strongly, creating tension and hostilities that could only be solved through the creation of legislation to seek solution. **Upoko 5: Te kōti tāhae whenua** records the years 1862 and 1865 that will forever be etched in the Māori mind. Years of introduced legislation to established Te Kōti Whenua Māori, the Native Land Court, Te Kōti Tango

Whenua, *Land Taking Court*, Te Kōti Tāhae Whenua, *Land Stealing Court*. It's evolution, its impact, the protestations of tūpuna are discussed in **5.2 He tautohe** along with the attempts of court staff to speak te reo Māori **5.3 He reo nanunanu** the challenges of distance and accommodation **5.3.1 He utu anō te utu** Legislation crafted to deny tūpuna their rights **5.4 Kātahi ka hē** exposing clandestine activities of both blood brethren and ture **5.6 He māminga, he kūare**. Seeking solution through the process of ture was the only avenue, available albeit flawed in many ways. The saving grace was it allowed the land to speak and its voice to be recorded via the voices of tūpuna.

This research relies heavily on the evidence recorded in the Napier Minute Books (NMB) of the Māori Land Court and the Personal Notes of John Blake during the Native Land Court Hearings 1883 – 1892. The evidence provided by tūpuna was conveyed as if the land was speaking **Upoko 6: Tukua te whenua kia kōrero**. The land given opportunity to express itself **6.3 Ōtāwhao Rerewei**, **6.4 Whenuahou**, **6.5 Ōtāwhao**, **6.8 Te Waikōpiro**, and **6.13 Te Rākau-tātahi**.

Some of Blake's manuscripts are held in the Hastings Central Library Archive. Parts of the Blake Collection are held by Te Kura-I-Awarua at Te Aho-a-Māui, Eastern Institute of Technology, and some remain in the guardianship of the whānau. Copies of the manuscripts I refer to in this research were given to me by my younger brother Brian. The various types of hearings are collated in **Āpitihanga 4: Blocks and case types**.

A list of tūpuna who gave evidence, foundational to this research, is added to each land block in **Upoko 6: Tukua te whenua kia kōrero**. I acknowledge the Māori newspapers as one source of finding the gender of tūpuna, especially *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* and Jock McEwen and his book *Rangitāne—A Tribal History* and the whakapapa contained within which I have used to correct or support the whakapapa given as evidence in the 7 cases being researched. I also utilised the website *Family Search* with caution. I note that in one instance the name of the tūpuna Te Ahi-kauri in McEwen's book is spelt Ahi-kāuru and in another source Ahi-kaora. Ahi-kauri makes sense as it was the fire that supplied the ash for tāmoko. I have also utilised *The Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette* to cross check names of tūpuna. Hapū and whakapapa of the kaikōrero in the cases, where relevant are recorded.

Overall, the thesis will demonstrate the relationships between the land, the people and the language was contested and that these relationships were shaped and changed over time. The findings of this research are summarised in **Upoko 7: Ngā Kitenga**.

Turning to **Upoko 2: Kei tua o te kupu tā; he kura whenua, he kura reo, he kura tangata** which lays down the initial spark of finding the extensive whakapapa for the Rākauātāhi block, the encouraging words of Ahorangi Piri Ngārangikaunuhia Sciascia. The thesis then begins from the time of Tama-kuku, c.1300 conveying the central theme of the thesis, **the relationships over time between the land, he kura whenua, *treasured land*, he kura reo *treasured language/voice* and he kura tāngata *treasured people*** expanding on these concepts.

Upoko 2: Kei tua o te kupu tā; he kura whenua, he kura reo, he kura tangata

Te toto o te tangata, he kai; te oranga o te tangata, he whenua. *“The blood of man's body is formed from his food; it is land which grows that food to sustain him.”* That is to say, *“Do not part with your land; do not yield the fertile soil which is the source of your life”* (Te Waka Māori o Niu Tīrani, 1873b; Tohunga, 1933, p. 37).

In the year, 1980 whilst employed as the Senior Education Officer at Mt Eden Prison the phone rang, a normal occurrence for the position. However, it was my younger sibling ringing me with an air of excitement in his voice. He told me that he had just spent 3 days at the Māori Land Court [based in Palmerston North at that time] searching for narratives regarding our tūpuna that settled the land of Rākau-tātahi. Two days had been spent optimistically searching for any narrative relevant to Rākau-tātahi and our tūpuna but to no avail. He continued to say that on entering the Māori Land Court on the third day he collected the minute book again—NMB24. On placing it on the table it just fell open as if a mysterious hand had opened the book, there in plain view was a large comprehensive genealogy covering 12 pages, behold, it was the genealogy of our tūpuna. This exchange between my sibling and myself in 1980 was the catalyst that stirred my interest in our ancestry on our mother's side—those from who we descend and, in the land, and its associated narratives, *“me he korowai e rangahia ana ki ngā muka tāngata”*, *like a cloak woven with human fibres*.

I salute the optimism, the resilience and perseverance of my younger brother in providing the impetus to begin paving the way for the land to speak again. “Cultural

heritage and knowledge is passed on throughout each generation by language. Language is integral in affirming and maintaining wellbeing, self-esteem, and a strong sense of identity” (House of Representatives, 2012). “Me tuku te whenua kia kōrero” *Let the land speak*, a statement I made to a group of tourist operators 23/06/19 when explaining the Te Waha-o-te-Kurī educational kiosk based at the eastern end of the Manawatū gorge, at Ferry Reserve.

Figure 1:
Te Waha-o-te-Kurī Whare Mātauranga

Erected under the Tū te Manawa project at Ferry Reserve on the Eastern side of the Manawatū Gorge called Te Waha o te Kurī named by the tupuna Tarāwhata. <https://www.manawaturiver.co.nz/activities/tu-te-man>



2.1 He kupu akiaki, he kupu maioha

Another positive sign that occurred to encourage me in this research was the seating of the revered kaumātua taiea Te Ahorangi Piri John Ngā-rangi-ka-unuhia Sciascia ONZM Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Raukawa and Kāi Tahu on Te Pae Whakamana 7 November

2019. As part of his words of encouragement he mentioned that through reading my research abstract he had learnt something new about his relationship with the lands being researched by me. Those encouraging words of Professor Sciascia are but one connecting aspect of this research. The concept of kaihaukai and the name of the wharekai Uaua Tamariki-a-Te Rangiawāhāia at Rongomaraeroa marae in Porangahau, the papakāinga of Professor Sciascia, and the whakapapa of tūpuna from Porangahau who gave evidence embody the phrase “kia renarena te taukaea o ngā matemate-ā-one” *consolidating the deep affection to one's land and people* Moorfield (2011).

Sadly, some six weeks after Professor Sciascia spoke those encouraging words to me he passed away on 18 January 2020. It is with deep respect and acknowledgement that I dedicate this research to Professor Sciascia and the descendants of our related tūpuna and express he kupu maioha *these words of thanks* to Matua Piri,

“Kei te tautōhito, te mumu reo, te kaihāpai tikanga ki te motu, te māngai o te Kāwana-Tianara e moe i tō moenga roa i roto i te manaakitanga o ōu mātua tūpuna. Koutou o te wāhi ngaro ki a koutou, hoki mai ki te wāhi kikokiko me tēnei kupu tā. He mauri ora.”

Ultimately this research will hopefully answer the question regarding my own whakapapa connections and that of my immediate family, my extended family and hapū members associated with Rākau-tātahi marae. As well as the dedication to Professor Piri Sciascia and his extended family of the Ngāti Kere, Ngāti Pīhere and Ngāti Manuhiri hapū of Porangahau. I also dedicate this research to the Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu and Ngāti Mārau hapū on the side of my mother Pine Kaihou Morris nee Hanita) of Rākau-tātahi. That is, I am Rangitāne as much as I am Kahungunu, I am Kahungunu as much as I am Rangitāne. So where are the narratives to reflect this on Rākau-tātahi marae? This

research will add clarity to this “marriage of mana”. The karangatanga hapū *subtribe relationships* of the Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Waikōpiro block are also remembered as it is the inter-connected nature of the land that binds us.

At present, on Rākau-tātahi marae, there is a strong emphasis on Ngāti Kahungunu narrative whereas my research reveals there exists an equally relevant Rangitāne narrative associated with the Tamatea district and its associated marae. As Gudgeon (1897, p. 179) mentions, “The Ngāti Kahungunu, true to their old tradition, intermarried with the people of the Bay, and thus obtained a footing, which they could not have secured by force.”

2.2 Te Awa Pokere

Two of my hapū associated with Rākau-tātahi marae have both strong Rangitāne links through Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu and Kahungunu links through Ngāti Mārau relationships to Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku *The Dark Meandering River of Tama-kuku*—the original name given to the river on the eastern side of the Ruahine mountain range by the tupuna Tama-kuku circa 1300 Tanguru Tūhua (1889a, p. 51). Tanguru is of Te Aitanga-o-Marupākira, Ngāti Hinekura and Ngāi Tahu Mākakanui people. Following are his words on opening his evidence for the Waikōpiro block where he stated, “I can trace my descent from Tama-kuku, who left a mark on this block, regarding the Manawatū river, He dug its bed ... When Tama-kuku had obtained just influence, he said that he had dug out the bed of the Manawatū and it passed into a proverb.”

The following is from Tanguru Tūhua (1889b, p. 2) recorded in Captain John Blake’s manuscript which is slightly different than the Native Land Court record,

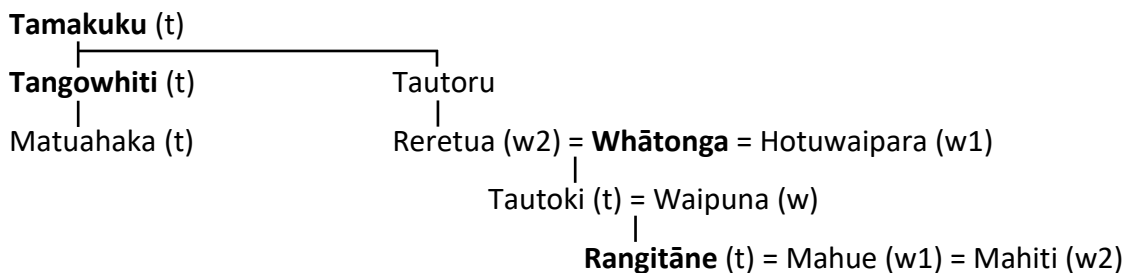
“Tama-kuku left a mark on this block, which is the Manawatū river itself. He dug out the channel of that stream. Nāna i haehae taua awa. When Tama-kuku dug out that channel of the Manawatū it passed into a proverb that was an “awa pokere” of his. The source of that stream is in the Ruahine mountains”.

Tanguru Tūhua (1892, p. 236) also spoke about Tama-kuku and his son Tango-whiti and his grandson, Matuahaka,

“Tama-kuku was a great man on this land. He said the Manawatū was his – the whole of that river and the land on both sides of it. Tango-whiti, his son was also a great man. Matuahaka, his son (Tango-whiti) was the same. He and his father had landmarks on this block (Ngāpaeruru) and Waikōpiro. “Ngāpaeruru-a-Matuahaka” was how he named this block.”

Figure 2:

Whakapapa: Tama-kuku and Tango-whiti to Rangitāne



The Manawatū River got its name—along with many other places—from the tupuna Haunui-a-Nanaia circa 900 of the Kurahaupō and Aotea waka and his well-known pursuit of his wife Wairaka and an interloper from Whenuakura near Pātea up to Pukerua Bay, north of Te Whanganui-a-Tara. On his arrival in the Manawatū region he was struck by the beauty of the river, “At Manawatū he saw a heart-stopping sight” Māori Studies Department (1986), or as some others mention, by the power of the river, its coldness, and the need of Haunui to cross. In both instances he stood amazed, and “i tū tōna manawa” *his breath stood still*, thus Manawatū. This naming of the river by Haunui-a-Nanaia occurred on the western side of the Ruahine Mountain range

producing a unique occurrence where a river possesses two names according to which side of the mountain range you live. The narratives spoken by tūpuna in the investigations and the hearings conducted for the four land blocks in this research tell me that whilst standing on my Rākau-tātahi marae and facing north I am Kahungunu, facing south I am Rangitāne. Narrative north of Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku lean towards Kahungunu, narrative south of the river lean towards Rangitāne. Notwithstanding the fact that in many instances these narratives have both a Rangitāne and Kahungunu perspective brought about by intermarriage and is covered fully in this research.

2.3 He kupu arataki

The following words provide a view into the fundamental inspiration of this research, *Kei tua o te kupu tā he kura whenua, he kura reo, he kura tangata* is a phrase that implies something beyond the written word, another realm, another experience, another perspective. This research explores **the relationships over time between the land, he kura whenua – a treasured land, the language, he kura reo – a treasured language, and the people he kura tāngata – a treasured people** within the narratives pertaining to the lands and waterways, the language on the land and tūpuna connected to the land blocks, Rākau-tātahi, Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Waikōpiro, in the Tamatea *Central Hawke's Bay* tribal district, incorporating the township of Takapau and surrounding areas. Land long covered in dense bush called Tāmaki nui-a-Rua, originally known as Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga more recently as Tāmaki nui-a-Rua. The English names were Forty Mile Bush, Seventy Mile Bush and Ninety Mile Bush depending on where it started and ended.

“At Tahora-iti there was a clearing in the forest of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga. This section of the forest which stretched from Ngā-awa-pūrua *confluence of two rivers, of the Manawatū and Tiraumea, then Mangahao into Manawatū* north to Rākau-tātahi became known as the Forty Mile Bush in colonial times” Parsons and Rōpiha (2003, p. 39).

This region was untouched by European settlement until 1870 when Scandinavians arrived to clear the bush and created, and named the settlements of Norsewood, Dannevirke and Woodville. Land nourished by the life-giving waters of Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku me ōna mangawai *and its tributaries*.

Figure 3:

Seventy Mile Bush . <https://tararualibrary.wordpress.com>.



My younger brother Brian in his contribution to a Manawatū River wānanga held at our Rākau-tātahi marae 28-29 August in 2015 concerning hapū knowledge wrote,

“Rivers like the Manawatū, that are of a significant length, pass through areas that are different in their geography and geology. These differences are reflected also in the moods of the river, in the people associated with it and in their stories and perspectives.” Brian Morris (2015b).

The moods of the land, the river, and its tributaries, conveyed by the stories and the perspectives of tūpuna are discussed in this research. Narratives conveyed orally through the centuries by tūpuna, from generation to generation through a lens of traditional Indigenous lore and natural order to strengthen their understanding that all living things are connected and within that understanding they possessed an inseparable collective connection to the land, the waterways, and its stories. Makiha (2021) refers to a saying by Tūkaki Waititi sharing the same reasoning, “Kāhore he aha i hangatia, i ahu noa mai rānei kia noho wehe i tēnei ao, ahakoa matangaro ka mōhiotia te mauri.” *Nothing was ever created or emerged in this world to live in isolation, even a hidden face can be detected by its impact on something.*

2.4 He kupu kōrero

He kupu kōrero conveyed orally through pūrākau are “portrayals of larger-than-life heroes and tales of engrossing magical beings ... he rongo mai whiti, *the language that came from Hawaiki* and others firmly grounded in Aotearoa and its landscape” Ihimaera and Hereaka (2019), He kōrero takurua Mead and Grove (2001, p. 87); narratives told beside the winter fires, narratives recited through karakia within the whare wānanga and in ceremonial activity. Narratives sung through mōteatea, “te mataaho ki te pā o te hinengaro” Ngata (2009, p. 1), he “pātaka whakairinga kōrero” Nikora (2006, p. 1),

within oriori to soothe an unborn baby in the womb and during the suckling years, a waiata tangi, composed mainly by female, to vent grief at the loss of a loved one,

“Ahakoa i a Tainui, ahakoa i a Te Arawa, i a Mātaatua, i a Horouta, i a Takitimu, i a Aotea ka whakaputa he wahine nāna i tito ngā tangi, ngā waiata aroha, ngā pātere, ngā kai-oraora, ngā oriori ... Ko ngā waiata tangi mō ngā toa i huinga i te parekura ka kitea anō he wahine hei tito ... Engari, ki te āta whakaarohia tērā e tika ana mā te wahine anō e mahi te hanga nei te waiata.

Whether it be of the Tainui, Te Arawa, the Mātaatua, the Horouta the Takitimu or of the Aotea there would emerge an outstanding woman who composed laments ... Laments composed on the death of warriors in battle were usually the composition of women... Actually, when one really considers the matter carefully women should be the composers of songs” Tā Apirana Ngata (1961, pp. x-xi).

Waiata aroha where lay “the nature of the spirit of womankind”, pātere the proud declaration of an oral atlas of exploration and settlement, kaioraora to respond to a disparaging remark. Ngata (2009, p. 6) alludes to the reasons tūpuna composed songs,

“He tika hoki, ahakoa he aha te take, he riri, he tangi, he taunu, he aroha, he akoako, ka waiatatia, ka mōteateahia e te Māori hei whakaputa i te whakaaro Māori ki tētahi āhuetanga o te noho a te Māori.”

It is also correct that regardless of the reasons, whether it be through anger, mourning, insult, love, learning, it was sung, it was chanted by Māori to express thoughts about the Māori way of life.

Narrative transmitted orally on the “umu pokapoka a Tū-mata-uenga” *fiery ovens of Tū of the flashing eyes, and distorted face*, the maraeātea. Beginning with a sacred karanga, issued to link te ao wairua with te ao kikokiko, then heard in tauparapara, pepeha, whaikōrero, the eloquence of the spoken word, punctuated with a myriad of kupu whakanikoniko. Kupu whakarite, huahuatau, whakataukī, whakatauākī, possessed of mana atua, mana whenua, and mana tangata proudly articulated through narrative taught to nominated youth following long established lore and esteemed natural order within the institution of the whare wānanga.

2.5 He kupu tuku iho

He kupu tuku iho handed down through generations are the tūāpapa mātauranga. Narratives, teachings, mātauranga tuku iho, also known as kura wānanga, kura huna and rongo mai whiti Wharehuia Milroy (2007b), embodying traditional concepts, learned within the traditional whare wānanga post Hawaiki in Aotearoa through an intimate relationship to the land. The recitation of whakapapa to confirm mana whenua, mana wai and mana tangata. Whakataukī expressed to embody the subtle nuances of the Māori mind, whakatauākī recalled reinforcing the poignant knowledge of tūpuna towards the moods of the land and the flowing waters to instruct and guide thinking for future generations.

Kura wānanga, kura huna intrinsically tied to whenua, to water, to whanaungatanga to tuakiri, to rangatiratanga to te ōhanga and mātauranga, Kermoal and Altamirano-Jimenez (2016). Knowledge that shaped identity through lived experiences on the land and waterways, lived experiences etched forever in narrative and laid upon the land. Narrative, oral voice, memorialised on the land as a pātaka whakairinga kōrero, as a whare wānanga, infused in a unique voice known as te reo Māori. Kāretu (2013a) expresses that uniqueness, “It needs to be borne in mind that the only feature that differentiates us from other peoples of the world is our language”.

2.6 He kupu toi

Narrative notched in mahi toi, in whakairo to illustrate unique personal characteristics and deeds of tūpuna, kōwhaiwhai, tukutuku all created and designed as a pātaka

mātauranga, a puna mātauranga to manifest historical connection to the land and assist in the retention of knowledge.

2.7 He kupu tā

This understanding, this knowledge—intrinsically interwoven with the moods and voice of the environment, and the heavens, the rhythms, the unseen mauri, a lens—suddenly interrupted by the unexpected imposition of another medium of communication, another lens; a lens through words on paper, a lens of another law, of another order, sovereign order, identified as te kupu tā, *the written word*.

For many Māori, learning to read was a powerful incentive in accepting the early missionaries' religious message. As demand for printed material increased, the missionary-printer William Colenso was sent to New Zealand, arriving 30 December 1834 on the schooner Blackbird from Sydney. He man of great energy, dedication and perseverance. The failure of the CMS to supply proper equipment and stationery for his small Stanhope press hampered Colenso's work for the first few years. He showed great ingenuity, and his early productions were a considerable achievement. The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand was a 16 page translation into Māori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, which appeared on 17 February 1835(McKay, 1990).

During Colenso's time with the press up until 1842, about thirty-six items were printed in Māori, varying in size from a single leaf to the 356-page New Testament in 1838. Colenso's next major undertaking was 27,000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer in

Māori. By 1840 he had produced over 74,000 copies of books and pamphlets, not all of them religious publications. It is believed that this was the press used to print copies of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The written word of ecclesiastical perspective transformed into a window to another world of belief readily accepted as pono, as whakapono. The written word of colonialist explorers, of botanists, of a different regulation and sovereign order. McRae (2000, p. 1) mentions this transition,

“The history of the transition of Māori oral tradition to the published book is clearly underwritten by the 19th-century circumstances in which Māori as oral Indigenous people and Pākehā as literate colonisers met and lived. Their extraordinarily different lives and the political drama which changed Aotearoa into New Zealand ensured that all their encounters would be tentative and mediated, including those over utilisation of the book as a new means of preserving and publishing Māori knowledge.”

For it was not only the book that changed lives but the written word of parliamentary proceedings, of statutes, policies, and laws. In Phaedrus Socrates discusses the value of writing as opposed to memory using a story about a King called Thamus who is approached by a subject called Theuth who boldly claimed that the invention of the kupu tā would “improve the wisdom and memory of the Egyptians”, he responded thus,

“Theuth... my paragon of inventors, you who are the father of writing have out of fondness for your offspring attributed to it quite the opposite of its real function. The discoverer of an art is not the best judge of the good or harm which will accrue to those who practise it, those who acquire it will cease to exercise their memory and become forgetful; they will rely on writing to bring things to their remembrance by external signs instead of their own internal resources. What you have discovered is a receipt for recollection, not for memory. And as for wisdom, your pupils will have the reputation for it without the reality: they will receive a quantity of information, without proper instruction, and in consequence be thought very knowledgeable when they are for the most part quite ignorant. And because they are filled with the conceit of wisdom instead of real wisdom, they will be a burden to society”(Postman, 2011).

No truer words spoken by Thamus about the impact of the kupu tā on the ability of people to retain knowledge through memory rather than by reading to recollect.

This new tool, the paper and the pen would challenge a long-standing tradition of knowledge conveyed orally, of understandings of communal lore, of pre-destined communal connection harnessed in the traditional social hierarchy. The intimate relationship of tūpuna with the environment would also be challenged by the introduction of huatau manene regarding relationship to the environment engraved in te kupu tā; in individual title, in private use, in the introduction of momo rāwaho, and riha rāwaho.

The relationship between the land the language and the people—impacted by imposition of initially well-intended motive—and resulting consequence weaves its way through this research leaning on traditional Indigenous lore and natural order. From time immemorial Māori have believed like many Indigenous peoples that “they belong to the whenua” rather than the colonised concept of the whenua belonging to them. Reference to written law of the public domain, sovereign order with its constraints, is applied in this research for comparison and contrast through unique narrative articulated by the elders within the proceedings of the Native Land Court, Te Kōti Whenua Māori borne out of exploitive statutes, such as the *Native Lands Act* of 1862 originally created under the *Native Lands Act* 30 October 1865.

The written word, once conveyed orally, once vocal and all powerful, was now the new whakairo, the new art. The coded notches etched into solid wood speaking narrative intricately hewn by greenstone whao to hold their stories for eternity were now shaped by a new whao, the quill, the pen onto a new surface also made from wood but in a much less sustainable form. Paper, a new medium to record and store the spoken word, words that could now be erased, forgotten, manipulated. Words given power through authoritarian legality carefully hewn, then carved into a new law. The lore of Indigenous understanding was now challenged by a law of colonialist majority. To understand how this battle of lore against law occurred we need to return to the time from whence the lore of Indigenous knowledge brought the spoken word to Aotearoa.

2.8 He kupu whakatere

The waterways tūpuna paddled and sailed, by following expert knowledge of those versed in the art of navigation, the stars and moods of the ocean. Powered by te hoe nuku roa and ngā hau o Tāwhiri-mātea *winds of the guardian of weather* to traverse te tiritiri o te moana, Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, utilising tried and true navigational knowledge and referencing their tupuna Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga whose exploits are well known throughout Polynesia.

Figure 4:

Whakapapa: Taranga, Māui and his siblings.

Makea-tūtara (t) = **Taranga** (w)

Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (t) = Hurunga-i-te-rangi (w) = Hina-i-pōuri Hine-kura (w)

“Four generations following the voyage of Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga, a descendant of Māui Pae named Toi, lived in Hawaiiiki now known as Rangiatea, Tāhiti. He

was known as Toi-te-huatahi as he was the first born and was originally from Samoa. He was also known as Toi-kai-rākau, as a vegetarian” Napier City Council (2021).

The sea-faring tūpuna during the period of 750 AD through to 1350 AD became familiar with the heavens, using the stars, the sun and moon as navigational aids, along with the currents, the winds, cloud formations and migrating birds. While bird migration may have first suggested the existence of land in certain directions, the main methods of navigation employed by the Polynesians were guiding stars on the horizon at dusk and, before dawn, zenith stars and bearings on sun, wind, and waves Lewis (1964, p. 364).

The tūpuna were aware of the exploits of Kupe, he tohunga, he taniwha, he tipua who in pursuit of an octopus of his adversary Muturangi, “te wheke a Muturangi” Te Rangi Hīroa (1949, p. 6) followed the navigational instructions, “Sail a little to the left of the setting sun in early November” Lewis (1964, p. 371). In the account of Te Matorohanga recorded by H.T. Whatahoro and translated by S. Percy Smith regarding Kupe and his directions, he uttered, “Let it be to the right of the setting sun, or the moon, or Venus. Go during Orongo-nui in the month of Tatauuru-ora when food is plenty” “that the bow of the canoe should be directed to the right hand of sun, the moon, or of Venus, which all set in the south-west, though Venus sets rather to the hiku-mauru-mā-tonga.”

Best (1976, p. 413), records the following, “In making the run from Rarotonga to New Zealand we are told that the bow of the vessel was directed toward the setting sun, moon, and Venus, or just to the left of them.” The most accurate of directions given by

Kupe are found in *Te Kauwae Raro Part II* when asked by high-chiefs and chiefs in the Hui-te-rangiora whare-wānanga,

“E Kupe! Hei te pō, me takoto te ihu waka ko whea?” Ka mea atu a Kupe, “Tukua te rā ki te taha katau o te ihu o te waka, me te marama, me Kōpū; kia tā mātonga-māuru te whakaheke o te ihu waka. Ko taua whenua e takoto tūtangatanga ana te pito ki te marangai-māuru i te ngaunga a Hine-moana, engari he pai ngā whanga me ngā awa e whakaputaputa ana ki Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.” (Smith, 1915, p. 198)

“O Kupe! During the night, how shall the bows of the canoe be placed? He answered, “Leave the Sun, the Moon, and Venus on the right hand, a little south-westerly, lay the bows. That land on the north-westerly part is cut into indentations by the eating away of Lady Ocean, but the bays are good as are the rivers falling into “The Great-Sea-of-Kiwa” Smith (1915, p. 216).

Another version of this account from Moihi Te Matorohanga, a.k.a. Moihi, or Mohi, Torohanga, belonged to the Ngāti Whakawhena and Ngāti Moe hapū of Te Wairarapa. He was trained in the traditional knowledge within the whare wānanga,

“Ka ui atu ngā tāngata, “E Kupe! Me tau te ihu waka ki whea e eke ai ki uta?”

Ka mea atu a Kupe, “Waiho i te taha mauī o te rā ata ura poutū kia tākiri Matariki ki runga o te kare moana, kia eke ai ki uta.”

Then the people asked, “O Kupe! To what point should a vessel's prow be turned in order to reach that land?”

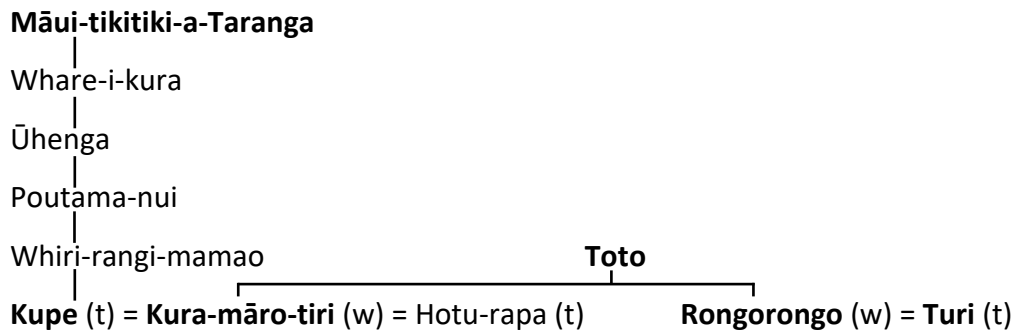
Kupe replied, “Let it be directed to the left of the rising sun and until it is well up the heavens, and so continue until the Pleiades rise above the ocean surge, that you may reach land” Best (1927, p. 266).

Recalling the voyage of Kupe with his wife Kura-marō-tiri a.k.a. Hine-te-aparangi to the new land and her elated call, “He ao, he ao, he aotea!” *A cloud, a cloud a white cloud!* on seeing what her husband Kupe had seen, “He pou-kapua e whakatarawai mai rā i tawhiti; he ihu whenua!” this expression, *some peculiar clouds hanging there in the distance; it surely is a point of land* Best (1927, p. 215) is now forever memorialised and etched onto the land known as Aotearoa. Aotearoa and its indigenous connection to the

homelands, Rarotonga, Tahiti, and Hawaiki, through the names placed on the land. Could the elated call of Kuramārotiri possibly be the absolute beginning of the layering of the language on the land of Aotearoa?

Figure 5:

Whakapapa: Daughters of Toto and marriages to Kupe and Turi.



The tūpuna brought with them memories of the homelands and memorialised these memories through place names still spoken today. Many of these names have the phrase, “mai tawhiti” place after them to acknowledge the origin of the names brought from Hawaiki. The following names are found on the East Coast of the North Island: Hikurangi-mai-tawhiti, Whāngārā-mai-tawhiti, Kawakawa-mai-tawhiti, a.k.a. Te Araroa, Motatau-mai-Tawhiti, Te Māhia-mai-tawhiti. Ruawharo gave the name Te Māhia to the peninsula because it resembled a part of his tribe’s original homeland, Te Māhia-mai-tawhiti. Before that, the place had been known as Nukutaurua, a name that is still applied to parts of the area. Ngā Heru-mai-tawhiti, a whare wānanga which belonged to Ruawharo that was established on Waikawa. Tā Hekenukumai Puhipi *Sir Hector Busby* named one of two voyaging canoes Ngahiraka Mai Tawhiti after his wife.

I turn to the beautiful words of Sir James Hēnare of the NZ Geographic Board (1990) to round off this acknowledgement to our voyaging tūpuna,

“E kore e mōnehunehu te pūmahara ki ngā momo Rangatira o neherā nā rātou nei i toro te nuku roa o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa me Papatūānuku. Ko ngā tohu o ō rātou tapuwae i kākahutia ki runga i te mata o te whenua – he taonga, he tapu” Tā Himi Hēnare.

Time will not dim the memory of the special class of Rangatira of the past who braved the wide expanse of ocean and land. Their sacred footprints are scattered over the surface of the land, treasured and sacred.

2.9 He kupu taketake

Indigenous narrative is supported by the *United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)*, recognizing that respect for Indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment United nations (2007a). Narrative carries knowledge learnt in the designated whare wānanga and passed down through generations. It is in fact the teachings of some of the old tohunga as taught in the whare-wānanga, or Māori College, for such that ancient institution was in reality. Smith (1915).

The kupu tā expressed orally during Native Land Court proceedings by tūpuna from hapū with Rangitāne and Kahungunu whakapapa and recorded as evidence in the four land blocks of this research Smart (2016, p. 6).

When Māori speak of the land, it is spoken about deeply as if it came from inside of the speaker, showing that there was a connection rather than spoken factually such as from a non-Māori person ... In the understanding that it is, a living being, and it is letting the people know what it needs.

Recorded knowledge shared by tūpuna; their connections to the land, and waterways, their memory of events, of persons and situations that shaped narrative. Davis et al., (1990, p. 5) says,

“The names on the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place, recording some aspect of feature of the traditions and history of a tribe. If the name was remembered it could release whole parcels of history to a tribal narrator and those listening. The daily use of such place names meant that history was always present, always available.”

I am a strong advocate of identifying myself through hapū then iwi. In this research I promote the fact that the prominent social grouping pre-European in Aotearoa was the hapū. In the first article of He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nū Tīreni *Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand* is the phrase, “Ko te Wakaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nū Tīreni” translated by Dr Mānuka Hēnare as, “*The sacred Confederation of Tribes of New Zealand*”, here Dr Mānuka uses the word ‘hapū’ for tribe.

Hapū, mana whenua, and the thought of Davis et al. embody the land blocks being discussed in this thesis with those ‘pegs of memory’, with those ‘parcels of history’ through which this research will focus. Those ‘pegs’ and ‘parcels’ of memory being the language placed on the lands that border Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku and its myriads of tributaries. This land being in part, Rākau-tātahi also termed ‘te takahanga o Tūwhirirau’ a phrase used to give mana whenua descended from the tupuna Tūwhirirau and her descendants of the Ngāi Tūwhirirau hapū on the Rākau-tātahi land block with the meaning – ‘*the land tramped/occupied by Tūwhirirau*’.

Figure 6:
Whakapapa:

Tūwhirirau and her sons Whare-rau-aruhe and Kahu-pupuni from which the hapū of Rākoutātahi a Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu and Ngāti Mārau descend

Tūwhirirau (w) = Tāmanuhiri (t)

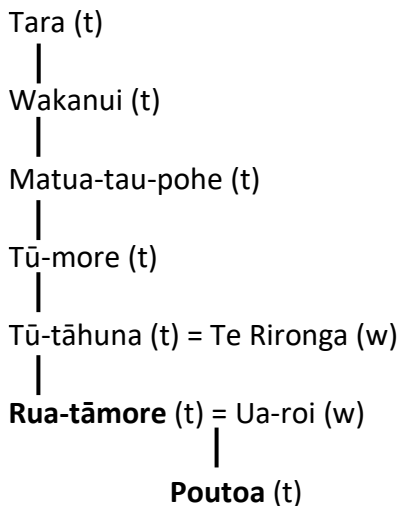
Whare-rau-aruhe (t1) = Te Rongo-pātahi (w) = Kahu-pupuni (t2)

Hika-rere-pari (t) = Kai-ariki (w1) = Te Ao-pōkeka (w2)

The land called Waikōpiro from an incident named “Te Waikōpiro-o-Rua-tāmore” *The internal organs of Rua-tāmore*,

Figure 7:

Whakapapa: Rua-tāmore from Tara and his son Poutoa (McEwen, 1986, p.35)



In wānanga held at Puketōtara by knowledgeable tūpuna of the Manawatū and surrounding hapū c. 1850—Mohi Tākawa, Tanguru-o-te-rangi, Kīngi Te Aweawe, Nēpia Pōhūhū, Manahi Paewai, Te Rangiotū, Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, Te Whata-nui and many others, including kuia—tūpuna well versed in whakapapa recorded the mother of Poutoa as being Mā-roi. This is another example of the slight variations that do occur in recording whakapapa. In this instance I lean towards whakapapa recorded by tūpuna rather than recorded in the Native Land Courts or by well-intentioned European authors as mentioned previously in **He kupu whakataki**.

To Tama-i-waho at Ōtāwhao land block and Toro-i-waho at the land block Whenuahou and Waikōpiro, both having played a part in collecting food for the kaihaukai Uaua Tamariki which will be elaborated on in due course.

Figure 8:

Whakapapa: Tama-i-waho connection to Rākai-māro and Te Rangi-whakaewa.

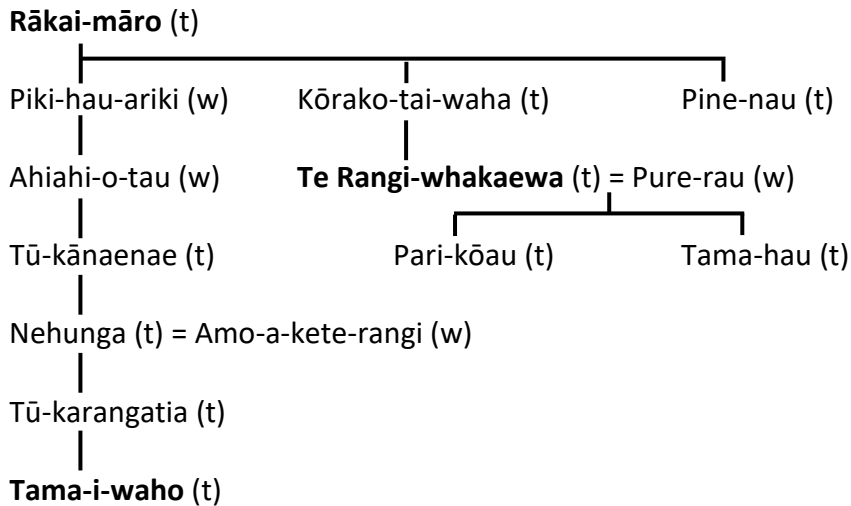
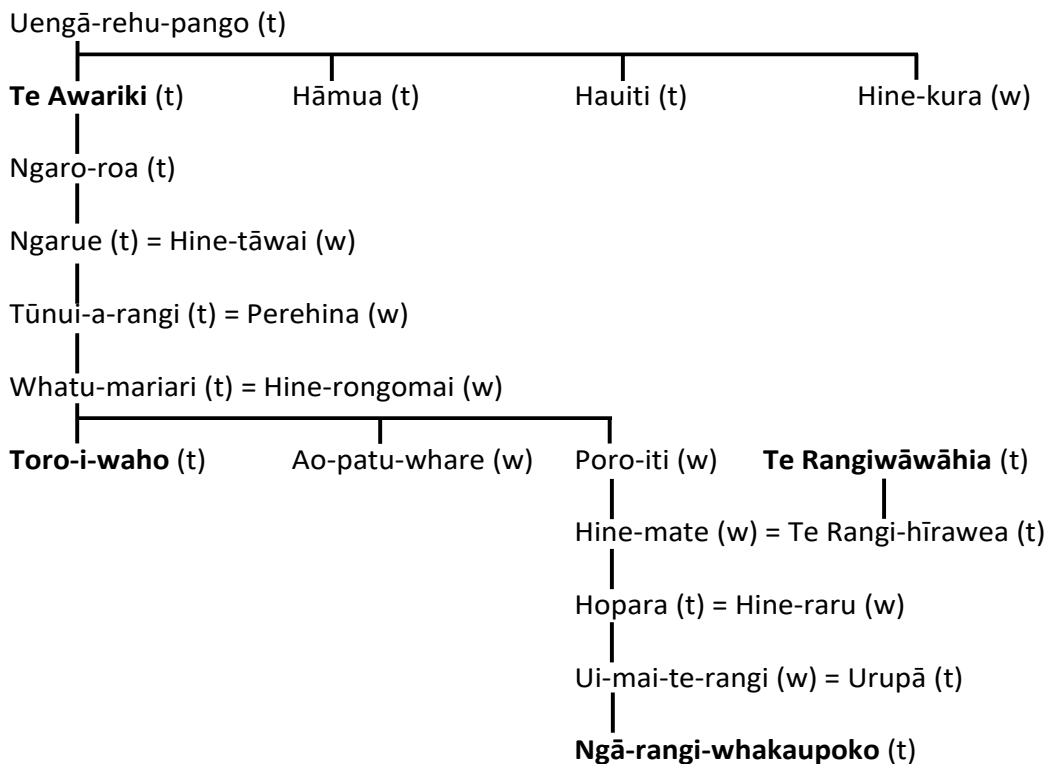


Figure 9:

Whakapapa: Toro-i-waho to Te Awariki, Te Rangi-wāwāhia and Ngā-rangi-upoko



The main waterway Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku supplying sustenance to the four blocks, the Mākāretu river feeding the Rākau-tātahi block, the Porangahau stream and its many smaller streams dividing the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks. Waiora, wai māori for the four land blocks being researched. Both the land and waterways being the quintessential holders of the language used in confirming connection, identity, mana whenua, mana wai, mana tangata.

Other early publications such as manuscripts, newspapers, letters, mōteatea will also be perused as a trace to support or discuss other views of evidence. We are fortunate to have the Māori newspapers and the words of tūpuna preserved within.

Mā koutou hei titiro mai i konei ēnei kohikohinga whakaaro i puta i ō tātou tūpuna, e whakairo nei i ō rātou whakaaro, te huarahi titiro ki tō tātou ao, me ngā take huhua katoa i kitea, i whakawhitia he kōrero, i whakanuitia, ahatia atu e rātou. (Curnow et al., 2006)

It's for you to examine here this collection of opinions offered by our ancestors which shaped their thinking and lens to our world, and the vast amount of issues seen, discussed, celebrated and all manner of activity by them.

2.10 He kupu whakatau

In summary, through this trace of language in the land, and the land in the language a window into the social milieu and activities of the time will be developed providing a lens of analysis to the place names, words and phrases laid on the whenua by tūpuna, the mana whenua, and their quintessential relationship they had with the whenua.

Almost every stretch of river or swamp that afforded some kinds of food or area of bush that afforded others, every hill or valley, headland, or beach, where some event happened in the past was named” (New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990, p. 7).

This analysis will embody the thought, “kei te whenua te reo, kei te reo te whenua”. This phrase was borne out of initial discussion about my research with my learned scholar and supervisor Professor Cynthia White in 2017. Professor White articulated her perspective of what I was intending in my research through this statement, “the land is in the language and the language is in the land”. (Williams, 1977) and (Logan, 1975) also articulate this thought in the title of their books, *“The Land Remembers: A View of Wales”* and *“The Land Remembers: The Story of a Farm and Its People”*, respectively. Logan’s words, *“Once you have lived on the land, been a partner with its moods, secrets, and seasons, you cannot leave. The living land remembers, touching you in unguarded moments, saying, “I am here. You are a part of me”*, reflect those of the tūpuna and their intimate association to land.

Evidence provided by tūpuna in the Native Land Court will also provide a lens in connection to mana whenua or kura whenua, mana reo or kura reo and mana tangata or kura tangata. I have deliberately chosen the word ‘kura’ to form the aforementioned phrases through my personal understanding that the word ‘kura’ epitomises the following pre-European concepts as laid out in (Williams, 1975, p. 157),

“3. Precious. Tō whenua kura ka mahue (M. 40)

8. Treasure, valued possession, darling. He kura kāinga e hokia; he kura tangata e kore e hokia (P.). Ka mea rāua kua whiti mai te kura, arā, te kao kūmara o Hawaiki ki Aotearoa—Taku kura tangi whakaingoino (M. 330).

10. Chief, man of prowess. Nāna te kāhui kura, ngā taonga whakamanamana (M. 10). He toa kura, he toa pāhekeheke (P.)

11. Knowledge of karakia and other valuable lore. = **wananga. Kura huna**, knowledge of a specially important nature. The whare kura was a building devoted to instruction in this knowledge.

14. Ceremonial restriction. = **tapu**. Kua whati hoki te kura, arā, te kura o te tapu. **Horahia te kura**, an expression for *making peace*. Me tango ki te kura mahora, nā, kātahi ka horahia, nā, ka mau te rongo (T. 166.) Houhia ki te rongo, horahia ki te kura (M. 16).”

Kura whenua encompasses culture, relationships, ecosystems, social systems, spirituality, and law. For many people, land means the earth, the water, the air, and all things that live within these ecosystems. (Warne, 2020) wrote in his E-Tangata blog,

“Anne Salmond is one of many who believe that solutions for social and environmental challenges must come from whakapapa relationships with whenua and tangata — that is, deep connectedness to land and people. There is a growing sense that Indigenous people, who have been knowledge holders and flame keepers for multiple millennia, are of critical importance in this process. To borrow from ecological terminology, they are keystone species in this novel ecosystem. Their understanding and practice of relational thinking may hold the key to human survival.”

The Native American Siksika chief Crowfoot--his Blackfoot name was Isapo-Muxika, circa 1836 – 25/4/1890) of the Blackfoot Confederacy gives a succinct Indigenous view of the value of land, during the negotiations preceding Treaty 7 when he met with a government spokesman, (Thunder, 1987, p. 35).

Crowfoot stood and watched as the white man spread many one-dollar bills on the ground,

“This is what the white man trades with; this is his buffalo robe. Just as you trade skins, we trade with these pieces of paper.” When the white chief had laid all his money on the ground and shown how much he would give if the Indians would sign a treaty, Crowfoot took a handful of clay, made a ball out of it, and put it on the fire. It did not crack. Then he said to the white man. Now put your money on the fire and see if it will last as long as the clay.

The white man said, No....my money will burn because it is made of paper. With an amused gleam in his eyes the old chief said, Oh, your money is not as good as our land, is it? The wind will blow it away; the fire will burn it; water will rot it. But nothing will destroy our land. You don't make a very good trade.

Then with a smile, Crowfoot picked up a handful of sand from the riverbank, handed it to the white man and said, you count the grains of sand in that while I count the money you give for the land. The white man said, I would not live long enough to count this, but you can count the money in a few minutes.

Very well, said the wise Crowfoot, our land is more valuable than your money. It will last forever. It will not perish as long as the sun shines and the water flows, and through all the years it will give life to men and animals, and therefore we

cannot sell the land. It was put there by the Great Spirit and we cannot sell it because it does not really belong to us.

You can count your money and burn it with a nod of a buffalo's head, but only the Great Spirit can count the grains of sand and the blades of grass on these plains.

As a present we will give you anything you can take with you, but we cannot give you the land."

I promote the following thought, *tukua te whenua kia kōrero, let the land speak*, and in allowing the whenua to tell its stories we begin to understand the relationships over time between the whenua, the reo and tāngata within the chosen land blocks bordering Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku and its tributaries. Ultimately, this research is encapsulated in the whakatauākī, "Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua", *The permanence of the language, prestige and land* (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 405). "Without the language, without prestige and without land, Māoritanga will cease to exist. These three: language, prestige and land are the life of Māoritanga" (Īhaka, 1957, p. 42) credits this whakatauākī to Tinirau of Whanganui.

I use my own phrasing to move into the next part of my research, i.e., "He pōkai whenua, he pōkai kupu." This reflects tūpuna travelling the whenua, stated metaphorically as *rolling out the land*. The term *taunahanaha bespeaking the land*, placing a word or a phrase onto the whenua to memorialise a tupuna, an incident, a settlement, a food source, a track, a burial place. The term 'pōkai' is found in the name of one of the tūpuna Tamatea-pōkai-whenua on my Kahungunu side,

Figure 10:

Whakapapa: Tamatea-pōkai-whenua showing connection to Toto of the Aotea canoe.

Toto (w) = Tamatea-ariki-nui (t)
|
Rongo-kako (t) = Muri-whenua (w)
|
Tamatea-pōkai-whenua (t) = Iwi-pupu-te-awhirau (w2)

Tamatea the tupuna is memorialised in the name of the district Tamatea and a hill near the kāinga of Porangahau, and close to my birthplace Waipukurau, Te Waipukurau-a-Ruakūhā, *The waters of Ruakūhā to clean the net fungus called pukurau*. Porangahau is the papatipu of Professor Piri Sciascia, he maimai aroha, he kura i tangihia. There are a few versions of the name reputed to be one of the longest place names in the world, Taumata-whakatangihanga-koauau-o-tamatea-turi-pūkaka-piki-maunga-horo-nuku-**pokai-whenua**-ki-tana-tahu, *The summit where Tamatea, with big knees, a mountain climber, a land-devourer who rolled up the land, played his flute to his loved one*. The phrase ‘pōkai whenua’ as stated previously literally means to *roll up the land*, to travel the land, to lay language on it, taunahanaha, thus reiterating the quintessential understanding of tūpuna as to how important whenua is, he whenua taurikura, he kura whenua.

2.11 He kura whenua

Land-whenua, whenua-land, treasured land. In this section I discuss the use of terminologies applied by the ancestors to the land strengthening the intimate connection that we as Māori, kaitiaki o te whenua have to the land. The following discourse looks at these terms in relationship to the human body.

The word whenua as well as meaning land also refers to the placenta which encapsulates succinctly the Māori perspective of land, that is, the land's function is precisely the same as the function of the placenta; to nurture, to provide sustenance; supplying nutrients and oxygen to the kune, the kukune through the pito. The placenta being the organ that nurtures the growing baby within the kōpū ensuring it develops to its optimum potential providing oxygen and nutrients and acting as a filter to remove waste products from the baby's blood (Mayo Clinic Staff, 2024). Papatūānuku, Mother Earth, whenua, supplying nutrients through her umbilical cord, the waters, to all living beings, to assist the growth of food to sustain the cycle of life. How could there be any other word for the placenta?

Traditionally, from te kunenga to the development of the kukune in the kōpū, the whare tangata during and post birth of a baby there were many practices governed by karakia and reference to higher energies. The female in Māori perspective represents the sheltering and nurturing bed, “Ko te kaiwhakaahuru ko te wahine, e tipu ai ngā mea katoa” (Best, 1976, p. 11). *The female element is the sanctuary from which all things grow and thrive.*

The pito once severed by a flake of tūhua or other such sharp stone which was preserved along with the whenua and buried or placed in a crevice of a tree or rock. Sometimes the pito would be buried, “on a boundary line of land in which the infant would have rights of ownership” (Best, 1976, p. 11).

The whenua was buried in a place that would not be walked on by any person. There was a period when the forces of colonisation came into play again to challenge the centuries old tradition of intimate relationship between the human body and the

environment. So called colonisation' and introduced health perspective where the placenta was seen as and is still seen as "medical waste or biohazard material", considered human tissue, "which the law says must be incinerated at a high temperature or buried at a significant depth and not placed in domestic or council waste bins." (UHL Women's Quality & Safety Board, 2023). If there were ever statements or phrases to reveal the western world's absolute dissociation as to the importance of the placenta and its significance to supporting the creation of life and human existence it is these; "medical waste", "biohazard material", so distant from the Indigenous perspective, (Royal, 2007) explains, "the place where one's umbilical cord was severed is called *"te wāhi i kotia ai te pito"*. This is a place of special importance for each person. It is their place of first emergence into the world, of first maturation and foundation."

More recently, sensibility and respect of traditional practice has allowed family to take possession of the whenua and pito to continue the tradition of again linking the whenua to the whenua.

'Whenua ki te whenua' describes the traditional practice of returning the afterbirth of newborn babies to their ancestral lands. Through this tikanga, the link to Papatūānuku is acknowledged, and the life-sustaining role that both whenua—the land, and whenua—the placenta, play in feeding the people is forever connected ("Quarter 2 Preformance Report," 2022).

Jill Gallagher, CEO of the Victorian Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation, expresses her thoughts regarding the burying of the placenta as being "like

giving back to mother earth to let her know that a child has been born, so that mother earth can continue to nurture that Boorai, in particular the spiritual soul of that little person” (Owen & Miller, 2021).

He kura whenua, is explored in more depth in relationship to the land blocks being discussed in this work. The whenua and its voice, its voice expressed through the intimate relationships of our tūpuna. This strong sense of intimate connection to whenua led to many battles and death, reflected in the whakataukī, “mā te whenua me te wahine ka mate te tangata” *through land and women people perish*.

This intimate connection between tūpuna and the land they walked, the land they belonged to and shared is reflected in the terminology they placed on the land. To them the environment and the human body were one and the same, “Te taiao, te tinana, e rua e rua”.

The term awa *river* has an association with the breaking of waters before birth. Not having any clear written narrative regarding this phenomenon, we can connect this concept through other narratives such as the term ārai **awa** which refers to a person blocking the kūaha *doorway* of an ancestral house. The kūaha reflects the tai**awa** *a term for the female reproductive organ* which reinforces the notion that the term awa could refer to the breaking of waters before birth. The phrase te awa o te atua in Māori perspective refers to the menstrual cycle, and to a river that chooses its own path as if guided by a higher energy.

Starting at the māhunga *head*, other words are, mātenga, pane, upoko and uru we look towards the whakataukī,

Horo maunga ki tua, pākira te tangata kotahi

As a landslide denudes land, baldness comes to a person
(Williams 1971:147, 254)

Here we see the connection between the land and the human body by comparing the slow approach of baldness to the slipping of land on a hill or mountain and how it takes away the flora and fauna of Papatūānuku.

The word *rae forehead* (Tahitian, Rarotonga *rae*, Samoan, Hawaiian, Tongan *lae*) is the word and base word for words used to describe a headland, a promontory or peninsula, ***rae, kūrae, pukerae, mātārae***. The term mātārae also refers to the *mind's eye*. Once again, a geographical feature of the environment encapsulated in the human body to reflect the idea that Papatūānuku is also seen as a living being. Another example of indigenous perspective when Māori walk the earth and acknowledge landforms and the environment.

Moving down from the forehead, we come to the waha *mouth*. The word waha found in other words kū**waha** *doorway*, **waharoa** *gateway or entrance to an ancient pā* and the modern-day space **marae** where a community gather. The word pū**waha** *mouth of a river* also reflects the Māori mind when it views the mouth as being like an entranceway. Other words for the river mouth **ngutu awa**, again using a body part **ngutu lips** to describe a part of Papatūānuku. Tūpuna refer to pūau for river mouth or the confluence of two streams in this research. The town of Ūawa on the East Coast known

as Te Ūawa-nui-a-Ruamatua refers to the river mouth (Walker, 2024). Other parts of the human body reflecting the meaning of this word are the **waha whare tangata** *cervix or the pudenda muliebria*.

The word for kakī *neck, throat* found in the one of the terms for the source of a river pūkākī is also the word for a brook or stream paralleling the narrowness of the flow of these waterways to that of the shape of the neck or throat upon Mother Earth.

The word hiwi *ridge of a hill* is found in the words for shoulder *pokohiwi/pakihiwi/pokihwi* illustrating again the thinking of tūpuna in seeing a connection of the body to the lay of the land, the lay of the land to the human body. Other words for a ridge are *tuahiwi* and *kāhiwi*. (Hawaiian *hiwi*, a flat or depressed summit of a protuberance; Tahitian *tuaivi*, a slope of a mountain ridge; Mangaiian *tuaivi*, a hill, *kaivi* a ridge, crest of a hill; Marquesan *tuaivi*, a mountain; Paumotan, *tutaivi*, a hill) (Tregear, 1891, p. 75).

The word puke *hill, hillock, mound, swell up*, is the term also used for pubes, mons veneris of female. This word is also combined with other words to reflect other environmental elements, with wai, *water* we get waipuke *flood swelling or mounting up of water*, with huruhuru, *feather, pubic hair in some dialects* we have puke huruhuru *puberty*, with moana we get moana pukepuke *choppy seas*. On the first sighting by the ancestors of a ship ploughing through the ocean creating a wake, the tūpuna viewed it as though the ship was devouring the swell, thus the term kaipuke *ship* reflects the perspective of a ship eating or consuming the swell.

Turning to words used to describe internal parts of the body that reflect the environment we begin with the word *manawa* *physical heart*, used also for deep underground—the bowels of both the earth and the human bowels—and to describe an unfailing deep spring of water, **manawa** *whenua*, more lately used to describe an aquifer. An oasis is termed a *puna manawa*.

The word *iwi*, *bone* is a common term also for people, tribe and nation and used widely in the phrase, “Ko wai tō iwi?” “*Who are your bones/people/tribe?*” when discussing tribal connections. In the term **iwi** *whenua*, it refers to people of the land like the term *tangata whenua*. Another word for bone and for skeleton is *kōiwi* also the word for a trunk of a tree (Morris, 2020).

(Fleming in Fleming & O'Connor, 2019, p. 78) reflects on her readings and the Māori perspective to land as opposed to the Western view of land,

“What I find consistently in Māori writings were these ideas of connections to the *whenua* (land); to people; to people outside of the parenting couple, so to *whānau*, to grandparents, to aunties and uncles, to *hapū* and *iwi* also. The importance of knowing their connections to those things and also understanding the knowledge of certain aspects of *Te Ao Māori* so, for example, *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*. Of course, all those things underpin *wairuatanga* so that was really consistent throughout Māori themes of development and attachment. I could not really find anything like that in the Western literature I was reading.”

The *whenua* and Māori, a reciprocal relationship conveyed by the sounds of the *taiao*, and the words expressed by *tūpuna* through, *karakia*, *whaikōrero*, *mōteatea*, *whakataukī*—all voiced to acknowledge the intimacy of connection to the land. Intimate connection evident in the names left on the land in the four land blocks being discussed in this thesis: *he kura reo* *treasured words*, *treasured voice*.

2.12 He kura reo

“I te tīmatanga ko te kupu...” (*Te Pukapuka o ngā Inoi*, 1951) *in the beginning was the treasured voice (He kura reo)*, the spoken word, shaped by the human tongue of over 6,000 languages (SIL, 2009) to convey the thoughts of the individual.

“Language is a solemn thing: it grows out of life—out of its agonies and ecstasies, its wants and weariness. Every language is a temple in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined” (Holmes, 1859, p. 43).

Kolik jazyků znáš, tolikrát jsi člověkem. (A Czech proverb)

You are human as many times as the number of languages you speak. You live a new life for every new language you speak. If you know only one language, you live only once.

Sadece bir dil konuşan bir kişidir, iki dil konuşan iki kişidir (A Turkish proverb)

One who speaks only one language is one person, but one who speaks two languages is two people.

The people living in the valleys of Wales believed, “Cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb gallon”,
A nation without language is a nation without heart (Brislen, 2016).

(Fishman, 2007, p. 72) succinctly articulates the relationship between language and culture,

“The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in

the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left?"

"Language is our unique relationship to the creator, our attitudes, beliefs, values, and fundamental notions of what is truth. Our languages are the cornerstone of who we are as a people. Without languages, our cultures cannot survive" (McDonald, 2007).

Until the arrival of the written word to Aotearoa, te reo Māori was solely an oral language, "ko te reo te waka kawē i te wairua me te whakaaro Māori, e whakatinanatia ai ngā āhuatanga katoa o te ao Māori" – *"the Māori language is the medium by which the spirit and Māori thought personify all aspects of the Māori world"* (Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 1996). The whakatauhākī of Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy CNZM QSO, "Ko te reo te taikura o te whakaaō mārama", tells us that *"language is the key to enlightenment"*, and te reo Māori enlightens us to the Māori world, to the way our tūpuna saw the world and how their intimate relationship with the natural world was expressed. The learning matrix for Te Reo Māori NCEA expresses the notion that, "Te Reo Māori lays the foundation of communicative skills and cultural knowledge to enable students to be bilingual and bicultural with an appreciation and consideration of a Māori worldview" (NCEA Education). Sir James Hēnare (1984) stated, "Ko te reo Māori te kākahu o te whakaaro, te huarahi i te ao tūroa", *The Māori language cloaks Māori thought and provides a pathway to the wider world.*

The findings of the Te Paepae Motuhake report *Te Reo Mauriora*, a review of the Māori language strategy and sector, identified seven primary values attributed to te reo Māori with the intrinsic value being the value most discussed as it is considered, "the essence

and foundation to the identity of the Māori people” (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011, p. 63). The less obvious values that emerge from the report but equally important as well are the social, cultural, educational, intellectual, and spiritual values with monetary value also having a place. These values were intrinsically positioned in the psyche of tūpuna as they laid the language on the whenua.

Dialectal variants of te reo Māori heard from the different hapū and iwi reflect the environment in which each hapū lived. The Tūhoe people generally speak using softer sounds reflecting the quietness of the bush; the soft sound of the word “tanata” rather than the hardness of the word ‘tangata’, or ‘takata’ of the Kāi Tahu people the softer sound of the passive suffix ‘-hia’, usually reserved for the Whare-a-Rongo, *ancestral meeting house*, rather than the harsher ‘-tia’ sound, used on Te Umu Pokapoka a Tū, *The Firey Ovens of Tū-mata-uenga*, the maraeātea during fierce debate. As mentioned above the Kāi Tahu people substitute the ‘ng’ sound with the ‘k’ sound.

To better illustrate the variations of mita the word for listen in te reo Māori is a good example: *whakarongo* (Te Tai Rāwhiti); *hakarongo* (Te Tai Tokerau); *wakarongo* (Te Tai Hauāuru); *whakarono* (Tūhoe); *whakaroko* (Kāi Tahu). This work reflects the dialect used by the Rangitāne and Kahungunu tūpuna that gave evidence in the Native Land Court cases for the land blocks that form the basis of this thesis.

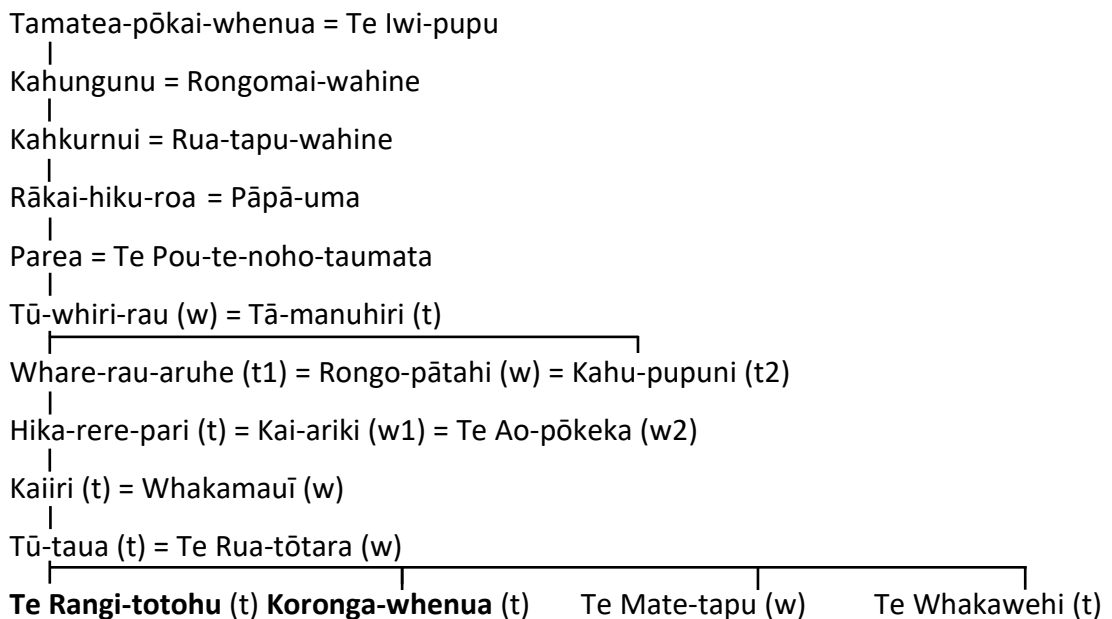
2.12.1 Te mana o te kupu

In this section I talk about the mana o te kupu, *the power of the word*. In the Māori world, especially at the time of our tūpuna, the word was paramount, there are many

recorded occasions in mōteatea, in whakataukī, whakatauākī when the deliberate utterance of a demeaning remark caused hostilities and, in many cases, led to warfare and even the loss of life. One incident relates to Te Koro-o-ngā-whenua a.k.a. Te Koronga-whenua

Figure 11:

Whakapapa: Children of Tū-taua and Rua-tōtara who were strategically placed at the exits of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga



Te Koro-o-nga-whenua was the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Koro of the Woodville-Pahiatua area and the younger brother of my tupuna Rangī-totohu. The following narrative concerns Te Koro-o-nga-whenua attending a hākari hosted by Ngāti Apa of the Rangitīkei area. The following is a summary of that incident as recorded in (McEwen, 1986, pp. 118-119),

“Te Ngawhā, a Ngāti Apa rangatira, made a disparaging remark regarding Te Koro-o-ngā-whenua, “Ko te koro mangō i te moana e kitea ana e au; ko te koro tangata kātahi anō au ka kite! (I am familiar with the old man shark in the sea; now I see the human old man). On leaving the hākari Te Koro stood up and said to Te Ngawhā, “E Whā, hei konei. Ko te koro mangō i te moana mā te tangata e hoatu. Tēnā, ko te koro tangata mā te hau tonga e kawē mai.” (Farewell, Whā, the old shark in the sea will be given to you by men, but the old man will be brought here by the south wind).

In due course, the south wind conveyed an ope taua of the Rangitāne to Te Awamate, an island in a lagoon north of the Rangitīkei river, between Parewanui and the coast. Te Koro-o-ngā-whenua was part of the ope taua. A battle ensued and Rangitāne won the day with the insult to Te Koro-o-ngā-whenua being repaid in full.

Another incident occurred in the Tamatea district involving a slight by Ruānuku towards a tupuna of mine, Rangi-totohu. This account was relayed by Nepe Te Apatū (1825-1904) in the Rākau-tātahi case, and recorded by Captain John Blake,

“I muri i tēnā he kanga nā Ruānuku i pēnei, he whakarite i a Rangi-totohu ki te kōkako. Ka tīkina e ia (e Rangi-totohu) a Te Korongawhenua, ā, ka uru mai a Ngauahau, e haere mai ana taua ope ka tukuna e ia he tāngata kia haere mai ki a ia, ka tae ake ki te Ruatītī o Ngauahau, Te Korongawhenua i whiti ki Te Kēhou, ko Ngauahau i haere atu ki Mākāretu, nō reira tēnā ingoa Taumata o Ngauahau...” Nepe Te Apatū (1891, p. 41) .

The official Native Land Court minutes (NMB24, pg. 41) record the following evidence given by Nepe Te Apatū,

“After this a curse was uttered by Ruānuku who said he was going to hunt up a crow (kōkako). He alluded to Rangi-totohu. Latter heard of it and sought the assistance of Korongawhenua, and it was then that Ngauahau joined in. Heard they were coming Rangi-totohu sent a messenger to them to turn off and come to him at Te Kēhou. The party came via Ruatītī o Ngauahau and gave that place its name. It is on the opposite side of Manawatū and not on this block. Korongawhenua crossed over and went to Te Kēhou and Ngauahau came straight along road to Mākāretu. The halting place was called Te Taumata o Ngauahau on the Mākāretu **pg. 299**. Koronga-whenua went out on a lead hunting expedition and came up with Ngauahau and crossed the Mākāretu where Ruānuku was killed. Ngauahau then went back to Tāmaki and Te Koro, Ngāi Te Rangi-te-kahutia, the descendants of Rangi-totohu and Ngāi Te Rangi-te-kahutia occupied this block.”

(Tanguru Tūhua, 1889b) gave an example when speaking about mana through making peace,

A woman uttered a curse about Te Whare-haehae, the sister of Te Rōpiha. Te Rōpiha came from Parimahu to obtain payment *utu*. He came to my father [Tūhua] at Te Reinga-o-Mahuru and asked him to assist him in avenging this insult. He consented and went with his people Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Ngarengare and Toro-i-waho to Te Wainui pā which they attacked and entered killing some of the people. Te Kākaho the husband of Kete-punga who had uttered the curse saw my father and they made peace but Te Rōpiha was angry and continued to attack the people. The tuakana of Te Rōpiha, Te Rāhui remonstrated saying as Tūhua had made peace, fighting must cease, the fighting ceased accordingly. Te Rōpiha said, “We brought them [the party of Tūhua] as soldiers not to make peace.” It was on this occasion that Te Kākaho uttered the words, “Paremata ki Tūhua, ko te Raewhiti nei!” meaning that Tūhua was the peace maker.

Many tūpuna lost their lives through loose lips and others such as Kete-punga were fortunate to live to see another day. This research delves further into the power of the word in relationship to the four land blocks in question, the words left on the land by tūpuna, and the words spoken to confirm mana whenua or dispute evidence given in the Native Land Court, words expressed by the living descendants of tūpuna, during the period 1880 to 1892, he kura tangata.

2.13 He kura tangata

He kura i tangihia, he maimai aroha ki ngā tūpuna nāna nei te whenua i takahi, nāna anō te kupu i whakatakoto i runga i te whenua, ā, nāna anō hoki i whakapuaki kupu i roto i Te Kōti Whenua Māori. Mei kore ake rātou kia tāraia mai e au ā rātou kupu kōrero hei pātaka kōrero mā ngā reanga kei te tū mai nei.

A treasure mourned, an affectionate thank you to the ancestors who walked the land, who placed names onto the land and who expressed their thoughts in the Native Land Court. It is with deep gratitude that their words in this research create a storehouse of knowledge for the coming generations.

The mana tangata pertaining to the four land blocks begins in the early settlement of the Heretaunga region and the Tamatea district which was vigorously debated by the kaumātua of the time. Their words are the foundation, the essence of the findings of this research in strengthening the adage, “kei te whenua te reo, kei te reo te whenua”.

2.13.1 He mana whenua

Although the focus of this research is the “language on the land” and the “land in the language”, the concept of mana whenua is integral and is discussed as part of this research into the four land blocks interweaving the land, the language, and the people as evidenced in the cases investigated by the Native Land Court.

Early recordings vary in perspective, but it is generally accepted that Rangitāne initially held mana whenua over the Heretaunga district. (Maraea Puri, 1888, p. 21) in giving evidence in the Waihuahua case NMB16 said that “the land to the east of the Manga-tahi river was owned by Rangitāne at the time of Puhi-kai-ariki. They are of the same people as Puhi-kai-ariki. Manga-tahi stream was the division line between the land of Puhi-kai-ariki and the land of Rangitāne.” (McEwen, 1986, p. 6) records Maraia Puri

words also where she said that “Puhi-kai-ariki and Rangitāne owned all the land in the Heretaunga including what is now the Napier district.”

Hēnare Matua (1891b, p. 1) in his opening address in the Rākau-tātahi case stated,

“I a Rangitāne tēnei takiwā katoa me te poraka e whakawāhia nei i mua. I raupatutia a Rangitāne e Te Ao-mata-rahi rāua ko Taraia. I takoto anō he rohe mā rāua i muri i tā rāua raupatutanga.” It originally belonged to Rangitāne who owned the whole of this district. It was taken from them by conquest by Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia. After conquest, boundaries were laid down (1891c, p. 14 NMB24).

From the words of Te Moihī Matorohanga regarding the *Te Kauwae Raro* the following was recorded expressing the mana whenua of Rangitāne,

“Na, ko Whātonga i a Reretua ko Tautoki-ihunui-a-Whātonga. Nāna a Rangitāne; koia tēnei te pūtake mai o Rangitāne e rongō nei tātou, e mōhio nei. Ēnei tūpuna e rua, a Tara, a Rangitāne nā rāua i patu a Te Koaupari i Mōhaka, i Tukituki, i Raukawa; nā rāua anō i patu a Tini-o-Rua-tāmore i te Ruataniwha, e noho ana i te Kōpua, i te Wai-kōpiro-o-Rua-tāmore tērā wāhi. Ka panaia a Orotū i Heretaunga, te rangatira o Ngāti Mamoe, noho rawa atu rā i tērā motu. Ka nohoia mai a Mōhaka, a Heretaunga, a Wairarapa, a Tāmaki ki Tahora-iti nei, tae mai ki Manawatū, tae atu ki Horowhenua, ki Ōtaki, ki Pae-kākāriki, ka mutu mai a Rangitāne i konā. Ka riro ko te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (i Pōneke nei) i a Tara, tae atu ki Porirua, ki Mana, ki Kapiti; koia a Kapiti i kīia ai, “Ko te waewae kapiti o Tara rāua ko Rangitāne”, koia Kapiti. Kāti, ko Mana, ko te Mana o Kupe ki Aotearoa nei” Whakahoro and Smith (1915, p. 94).

“Whātonga by Reretua had Tautoki-ihunui-a-Whātonga, who was the father of Rangitāne, from whence the name of that tribe is derived. It was these two tūpuna, Tara and Rangitāne, who killed the Ngāti-Koaupari at Mōhaka, at Tukituki [both in Hawkes Bay] and at Rau-kawa [near Te Aute]. It was they also who killed the Tini-o-Rua-tāmore of the Rua-taniwha plains, where they were living at Te Kōpua, called “Te Waikōpiro-o-Rua-tāmore” [near Te Takapau railway station]. It was also at this time that they drove out Orotū [after whom Napier harbour—Te Whanganui-a-Orotū—is named] from Heretaunga [Hastings district], who was the head chief of Ngāti-Mamoe, and fled to the South Island. They [Rangitāne] then occupied Mōhaka, Heretaunga, Wairarapa, Tāmaki [near Dannevirke], Tahora-iti [near the above], right down to Manawa-tū and on to Horowhenua, Ōtaki and Pae-kākāriki [on the West Coast], where the Rangitāne conquests and occupation cease. Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara, including Porirua, fell to Tara's share, including the islands of Mana and Kapiti, and hence is the latter island called “Te-waewae-kapiti-o-Tara-rāua-ko-Rangitāne” [in other words, where the boundaries of Tara and Rangitāne joined]

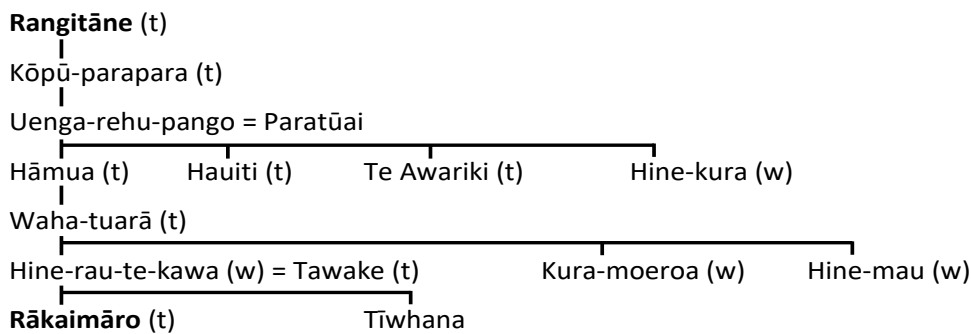
Mana island is “Te-mana-o-Kupe-ki-Aotea-roa” [The ability of Kupe to (*cross the ocean*) to Aotea-roa.]” (Whakahoro & Smith, 1915, pp. 117-118).

(Wī Te Roikuku, 1889) speaking on 1 May 1889, in response to being cross examined by Hamiora Tūpaea in the Waikōpiro case mentions his mana Rangitāne through his tupuna Rākai-māro,

“I live at Rākau-tātahi, and Waipawa I know the land before the court. I have a claim to it. I claim the whole of it through, 1. Ancestry, 2. Gift, 3. Permanent occupation, 4. Mana, 5. Bravery “Ringakaha”, 6. Conquest. I claim through Rangitāne. I am a descendant from Rangitāne, but I claim through Rākaimāro.”

Figure 12:

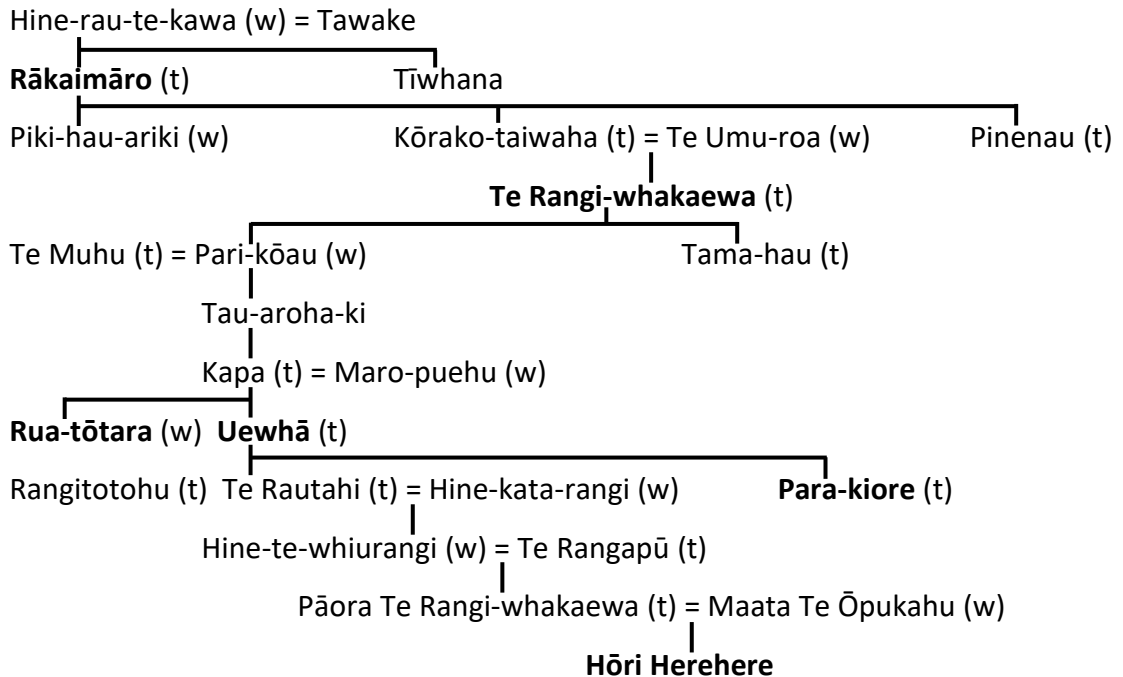
Whakapapa: Rangitāne to Rākaimāro



(Hōri Herehere, 1889), in giving evidence in the Waikōpiro case stated that, “My principal tribes are, Rangitāne, Kahungunu and Ngāti Hautū-moana”. He then adds, “The hapū under which I claim this block is Ngāti Te Rangiwhakaewa, that is my hapū name”. Rangiwhakaewa was a chief and a Rangitāne tupuna.

Figure 13:

Whakapapa: Hōri Herehere connection to Te Rangi-whakaewa and Rākai-māro



This research delves deep into the concept of mana whenua during the discussion of the origins of the language placed on the land, specifically on the four land blocks under consideration here.

2.14 He kupu whakakapi

In summary the aroaro whenua of this research is laid out, **2.3 He kupu arataki** to introduce the research. **2.4 He kupu kōrero** to scope the oral narrative, **2.5 He kupu tuku iho** reflects knowledge handed down through the generations, **2.6 He kupu toi**—looks at artistic narrative **2.7 He kupu tā** discusses written word resources—the laws, statutes the creation of the Native Land Court and its recordings, a vital part of this research **2.8 He kupu whakatere**—navigational narrative **2.9 He kupu taketake**—Indigenous perspective, **2.10 He kupu whakatau** to weave together the main themes of

the research; **2.11 He kura whenua** **2.12 He kura reo** and te mana o te kupu; and finally **2.13 he kura tangata** and **2.13.1 He mana whenua**.

The research continues to weave these three themes together through in-depth discussion of each theme producing its own narrative, its own pātaka whakairinga kōrero for the living descendants of the four land blocks and future generations. This research will provide a model for other hapū researchers to follow in unravelling, the language on the land and the land in the language *te reo kei te whenua, te whenua kei te reo*.

2.15 He rerenga wai, he rerenga kupu

To begin the full narrative, **Upoko 3: He kura kāinga i hokia, he kura whenua i nōhia** recalls the tipua Māui and his deed of fishing up Te Ika-a-Māui, and the tupuna Kupe circa 750. I liken it to the beginning of the migration of my tūpuna from Hawaiki-pāmamao—Whātonga on the Kurahaupō canoe circa 1000-1100 and Tamatea-ariki-nui on the Takitimu canoe circa 1350. Followed by te hekenga nui to Aotearoa the migration of tūpuna from the Tūranganui-a-Kiwa district to the Tamatea-Heretaunga districts is discussed **3.1 Hekenga tangata**. The first occupants of the Tamatea district are discussed in **3.1.1 Ngā iwi** which were Te Tini-a-Toi and **3.1.2 Te Tini-o-Rua-tāmore** an important tupuna in the Waikōpiro block narrative, **3.1.3 Whātonga** discusses this major ancestor in Rangitāne narrative, and **3.1.4 Apa-hāpai-taketake** looks at the Ngāti Apa connection through his father Ruatea of the Kurahaupō waka and a personal connection through my tupuna Hika-rere-pari.

The division of land by Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia in **3.2 Raupatu** once they had gained dominance is outlined here. Several battles were fought but, in many instances, battles were resolved by intermarriage of two prominent families. In **3.3 Hapū** I look at the formation of hapū and the changing of names of hapū through various events.

After the raupatutanga of Rangitāne further division of the land between Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi took place which are discussed in **3.4 Whakaroherohe**. Following the battle at Tūranga to avenge the death of Hikawera, the father of Te Whatu-i-āpiti, peace reigned over the Tamatea-Heretaunga region, and the chiefs began to entertain each other through the unique process of kaihaukai (*reciprocal feasting*) which is discussed in **3.5 Kaihaukai**.

Gifting of the land allowed each hapū to settle on their respective blocks of land and to utilise the land and waterways of those blocks to procure food. Another major intrusion into the Tamatea district was the Āmio Whenua **3.6 Haramai te pū** and the land being left isolated for several years **3.6.1 Hāhā te whenua**. Through the obtaining of muskets and the arrival of Christianity to the Tamatea-Heretaunga region in the 1840s, mana whenua of the Tamatea region remained intact and the respective hapū re-settled on the land through the various “take whenua” that allowed them to do so. Having two or more settlements for food gathering and defence is discussed in **3.7.2 Kāinga rua** and the challenges that the movement of Europeans into the region brought to the hapū of Tamatea. Established rights to land are discussed in **3.8 Ngaru wai, ngaru tangata** and the many types of rights in **3.7.1 Take whenua**. **3.8.1 Ngaru tangata, ngaro whenua** looks at the wave of European settlement generally, the dubious practices brought on pressures to purchase land leading up to the creation of the Native Land Court in **3.8.2**

Kaitaonga. Donald McLean’s impact on land sales is discussed in **3.9 Nau mai te Karauna** which in turn encouraged clandestine activities by both European and Māori **3.9.1 He rahurahu kei raro.** **Upoko 3** ends with a look at the impact the ngaru tangata had on the four land blocks **3.11 Takapau-Te Rākoutātahi.**

Upoko 4: He whenua taurikura, he reo puiaki discusses Māori perspective to land and language initially through a tauparapara then explores a wider indigenous perspective of land and language in **4.1 He whenua matenui, 4.1.1 Ngā whanaunga taketake** and **4.1.2 He reo taketake** with examples specific to Aotearoa tūpuna. The language is looked at in depth **4.2 He reo puiaki, he reo anō** from being originally an oral form of communication **4.2.1 He reo ā-waha** to an imposition of another language **4.2.2 He reo ka whiti** to the subtle synthesis of the English language into all aspects of life **4.2.3 He reo tukituki.** The introduction of the written word and how tūpuna adapted quickly to it to utilise it to inform in **4.2.4 He reo tā** in **4.3 He rongō ate** and **4.4 Te Reo tā mō Tamatea takiwā** closes off **Upoko 3** by looking at newspaper articles pertaining to the Tamatea district in which European pressure to sell, court cases against tūpuna, internal disputes between hapū over boundaries and the advent of “packmen”—the early version of the scammer. All the above issues led to the land blocks being taken to the Native Land Court. Before we look at the cases for the individual land blocks an overall look at the Native Land Court is necessary which is covered in **Upoko 5.**

Upoko 5: Te kōti tāhae whenua delves into the pros and cons of this court and the challenges that this institution beset tūpuna. The issues from the signing of the Tiriti o Waitangi through the 1850s **5.1 He ture** to the actual passing of laws the immediate

opposition **5.2 He tautohe** to the spirit of the language in the Acts **5.3 He reo nanunanu** to the introduction of subtle laws **5.3.1 He utu anō te utu** to disenfranchise Māori ownership such as the ‘ten-owner rule’ **5.4 Kātahi ka hē** that tūpuna of the Tamatea-Heretaunga districts experienced and strongly objected to. Influence and power tested the honesty and integrity of tūpuna is recorded in **5.5 Ka hē rawa atu** and the selective ignorance of Europeans to te reo Māori is discussed in **5.6 He maminga, he kūare**. The location of the Native Land Court and the challenges tūpuna faced is discussed in **5.7 He wero tō te ao hou** then through summary of the trials and tribulations faced by tūpuna and the continued release of the spoken word by them without resolve left only one option, “tukua te whenua kia kōrero!” let the land talk **5.8 Tukua ki te kōti**.

Upoko 6: Tukua te whenua kia kōrero examines the evidence presented in the Native Land Court, specifically regarding places and incidents that impacted on the four land blocks, with a focus on the origin of place names and on the “mana whenua” pertaining to each block. **6.1 Ngā Kehi**. lists the cases then interprets the concept of **6.2 Ahi kā** with specific reference to the Takapau area and the variations of ahi kā. The origin of the land for the railway is recorded **6.3 Ōtāwhao Rerewei** and then the actual case is discussed. **6.4 Whenuahou** takes up that case with respective tūpuna giving their evidence **6.4.1 Pāora Rōpiha** kōrero using ‘strategic narrative’ **6.4.2 He rautaki**. The origin of the place Kōpua in **6.4.3 Te kōpua kānapanapa** is presented along with other places on the block and then the judgement is summarised **6.4.4 Te whakatau**. **6.5 Ōtāwhao** begins with listing those who brought the claim to the Native Land Court and the counterclaimants **6.5.1 Whakatakoto kōrero** followed by a brief summation of previous evidence **6.5.2 Whakatau o mua** and how proving occupation of the land and mahinga kai, urupā and

pā overrode whakapapa in crafting a strong claim. I utilise the wealth of knowledge provided by Tanguru Tūhua in **6.5.3 Taunaki tika** and **6.5.4 He kapunga oneone**. The comprehensive list of place names **6.6 Toitū te whenua** from **Kāinga** through to opens spaces **Pārae** are then listed and explained. The research then turns to **6.8 Te Waikōpiro**, the six years since the Whenuahou case **6.8.1 Orokotīmatanga** the initial cases then through the words of Tanguru Tūhua begins the Waikōpiro block discussion through **6.8.2 Te Whakataunga tuarua** with a detailed recording of the judgement in **6.8.2.1 He kupu whakakore** and **6.8.2.2 He kupu whakaae**. **6.8.3 Nau mai te whenua** looks at important places to the tūpuna on Waikōpiro with a detailed account of the well-known tree **Taupā-ki-Heretaunga** the comprehensive knowledge of Hōri Herehere regarding places in from **Kāinga** through to **Huanui**. An important pā tūwatawata **6.8.4 Te Reinga-o-Mahuru** is discussed. In **6.9 He piko rākau** sums up my thoughts about some of the evidence given in this case. The evidence of **Tanguru** and **6.9.1 Īhāia – Ko tōku iwituaroa** is laid out and then I look at the way some tūpuna embellished narrative in **6.10 He piko ngākau**. The well-known whakatauākī regarding the placing of ancestors at the exits of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga is discussed in **6.11 He kupu rongonui** then a short look at a bold individual interpretation of narrative in **6.11.1 He manawanui**. Concluding remarks in **6.12 He kupu whakakapi**.

The last land block **6.13 Rākau-tātahi** is comprehensively discussed through **6.13.1 He tātai kōrero**, **6.13.2 He tātai tangata** and culminating in **6.13.3 He tātai whenua** discussing specific places from **kāinga** through to **pā tuna**. **6.13.4 He kōrero parau** looks again at tūpuna embellishing narrative to gain mana. **6.13.5 He whakatau**

whakamutunga lays out the final judgement and a short summary **6.13.6 He whakatepe**.

This thesis concludes with a personal composition that succinctly sums up the land, the language and the people associated with Te Rākau-tātahi **6.14 He Hiki Tapuwae** from the derivation of the name Rākoutātahi **6.14.1 Tara**, the naming of the ancestor **6.14.2 Hika-rere-pari**, the whakatihi kai **6.14.3 Whakaara raumati**, the gift of Te Angiangi **6.14.4 Tuku whenua** the placing of ancestors **6.14.5 He putanga, he tangata** and mana derived from Rangitotohu **6.14.6 Mana tangata** concluding with whakapapa **6.14.7 He puna rua** that gives the author his inherited mana to stand as Rangitāne and Kahungunu on Te Rākau-tātahi.

Upoko 7: Ngā Kitenga makes concluding remarks weaving together all that has been laid down in this overview of the movement of tūpuna, their trials and tribulations with each other, with tauiwi and the written word and with the institution of the Native Land Court to ensure the land was given a voice and in so doing shaped a pātaka whakairinga kōrero to store their knowledge for the descendants of the hapū connected to each block. Kawea ake te mānuka!

Upoko 3: He kura kāinga i hokia, he kura whenua i nōhia

Ka toha rikiriki ki te nuku o te moana

Koia tō tupuna a Toi-te-huatahi

I kōhau ai i Tiritiri-o-te-moana nei

Nāna tāua i makere mai nei ai i Hawaiki

I runga i a Kurahaupō

Ka tau ana Tongaporutu

Ka tau ana Whakatāne

Ka tangi te mapu toiora i a tāua

E tama ... e ... i McEwen (1986, p. 170)

Although Māui is accorded the deed of fishing up the North Island, the tupuna Kura-marō-tiri wife of Kupe in most narratives, is accorded the honour of the discovering Aotearoa. Te Rangi Hīroa (1949, p. 5) records the following,

“Most traditions, though they vary in detail, award the honour of the discovery of New Zealand to Kupe. The genealogies which include the name of Kupe are confusing, for some are long and others are short. There may have been two men named Kupe, for the two names are separated by a mean of 15 generations. To fit with historical developments, Kupe, the discoverer, must have figured in the long genealogies which, according to Percy Smith (81 p.53), average 39 generations setting the date at approximately the year 925 A.D.”

As part of the Rangitāne narrative to consolidate mana whenua, mana wai, mana tangata in the Deed of Settlement between Rangitāne o Wairarapa, Rangitāne o Tāmaki nui-a-Rua, the trustees of the Rangitāne Tū Mai Trust and the Crown the following was written,

“Rangitāne traditions record that Kupe made landfall at several places along the Wairarapa coast and Te Whanganui-a-Tara (*Wellington Harbour*). He left members of his travelling party at various locations, including his brother

Nukutoea, and these people established small communities and became important tūpuna within Rangitāne whakapapa” The Crown (2016).

According to the narrative regarding Whātonga and his desire to find his tupuna Toi-te-huatahi he was given the following whakatauākī as an instruction, “He iku waka, he iku whenua, he iku whenua, he iku tangata”. *When the nose of the canoe hits land, the nose of the land will take you and you will finally meet him nose to nose* termed a hongi [and is just one of the ways Māori greet each other by touching noses; others touch foreheads, others breathe in through the nose whilst touching noses.

Rangitāne o Wairarapa and Rangitāne o Tāmaki nui-a-Rua state that Whātonga was the chief on the Kurahaupō canoe, “which made its final landfall at Nukutaurua on the Te Māhia Peninsula. Nukutaurua was to play an important part in the lives of tūpuna of the Tamatea-Heretaunga district in the 1820s through to the late 1840s. Whātonga established his people at Heretaunga and had two sons, Tara-Ika, the tupuna of the Ngāi Tara people and Tautoki, the father of Rangitāne” The Crown (2016). Durie and Durie (2005) record that,

“Whātonga eventually settled in Heretaunga (the Hastings area). He married Hotu-wai-para, and their son Tarataraika became the tupuna of the Ngāi Tara people in the Wellington region. The harbour there is called Te Whanganui a Tara (the great harbour of Tara). The second wife of Whātonga, Reretua, bore him a son, Tautoki, and a daughter, Rerekitaari. Tautoki married Waipuna, a great-granddaughter of the great navigator Kupe, and their child was named Rangitāne (a.k.a. Rangitānenui, Tānenui-a-rangi and Rangitānenui-a-rangi) – from whom the tribe took its name.”

“There was an enduring relationship between the descendants of Tara-Ika and Rangitāne, and Ngāi Tara in Wairarapa were eventually absorbed into Rangitāne” The Crown (2016).

3.1 Hekenga Tangata

Thus began the hekenga tangata, the *takahi i te nuku o te whenua* tūpuna walking the whenua and settling on various tracts of land. Rangitāne as a people populated the land from Nukutaurua in the east to Te Whanganui-a-Tara in the south.

3.1.1 Ngā iwi

The earliest recordings of the settlement of the Tamatea district by tūpuna from the Pukehou marae in the north out to Kairākau marae on the coast to Rongomaraeroa marae at Porangahau in the south-east and Rākau-tātahi to the west below the Ruahine ranges speak about a people termed the “Te Tini-o-Toi people descendants of Toi-te-huatahi, a.k.a. Toi-kai-rākau” Te Rangi Hīroa (1949, p. 23). There were three groups of people originally living in the Tamatea district prior to the 1600s: Ngāi Tango-whiti who descended from the ancestors Tama-kuku and Tango-whiti, Ngāi Tahu who originated from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and eventually moved to Te Waipounamu, and Rangitāne who moved from the Heretaunga district.

Tango-whiti occupied the area around lake Whatumā near Waipukurau and possessed a lot of mana through his knowledge of the occult. The name Whatumā originates from the whakataukī, “te wāhi i mākona ai te whatumanawa o te tangata” *a place to satisfy the soul of the people* expressed by tūpuna as to the reason they visited Whatumā as it was a mahinga kai, a pātaka kai. The tūpuna saw Whatumā as a waiū a place “to satisfy the soul” Brian Morris (1990), where fish, freshwater mussels, eels, were obtained from the lake and, birds, particularly kererū, tūi—called kōkō in the mating season, and kākā

in the surrounding bush. Growing up in Waipukurau we only knew the lake as Lake Hatuma, a corruption of the original name Whatumā, which was its natural name until 25 October 1951, when a petition of local residents got it changed to Hatuma, Toitū te Whenua (1951, p. 1607). The original, and correct name has now been officially recorded in the New Zealand Gazetteer Toitū te Whenua (2018).

Figure 14:

Lake Whatumā south of Waipukurau. An important mahinga kai "Kia mākona te whatumanawa" (to satisfy the soul).



“The key to occupation at Waipukurau in ancient times was the prized eeling lake of Whatumā, now modified to Hatuma [since renamed correctly as mentioned previously]. Significant stands of native timber surrounded Whatumā Lake in those days and kererū were snared in abundance” (Central Hawke’s Bay Museum)(n.d.). Lake Whatumā is where the waterways, Mākāretu, Mangatewaiiti, Tukipō, Tukituki, Māharakeke and Porangahau used to meet prior to European occupation.

In the Heretaunga Tamatea Trustees (2018) report, a concise record of the mana whenua who utilised Lake Whatumā and the food gathered there is recorded,

Whatumā was a significant mahinga kai for Tamatea tangata whenua. It has been suggested that the settlement surrounding Waipukurau arose due to the lake and its abundant resources. It was a major source for eel. Around the lake was a forest known as a source for kererū. The name of the lake is said to be a reference to the lake's first discoverers eating until they were fully satisfied. Records exist of there being competition over the lake's resources. Over time many hapū utilised the lake's resources. Tūpuna identified as having fished the lake include Toro-i-waho, Te Ao-mata-ura, Rangi-totohu, Te Rangi-te-kahutia, Te Kīkiri, Para-kioire, Te Hau-apu, Tapu-hara, Te Rangi-ka-taepa and Pareihe. Ngāti Mārau has a strong affiliation with Whatumā. Current hapū associated with Whatumā are Ngāti Toro-i-waho, Ngāti Mārau and Ngāti Tahu ki Te Takapau.

The lake remained an important mahinga kai. It was said that around 900 tangata whenua lived around the lake's edges in 1852. The lake and its environs contained eels, freshwater mussels. Toitoi, patete, kōkopu, birds and kōareare. Up until the 1940s the hapū located at Tāpairu, Whatarākai, Mataweka and Takapau undertook regular food-gathering excursions to Whatumā, particularly for tuna, kōkopu, kākahi and native birds.

A newspaper article published in 1896 gives an account of Hōri Rōpiha welcoming the then Prime Minister Richard Seddon (1845-1906) and asking for the right to fish Lake Whatumā,

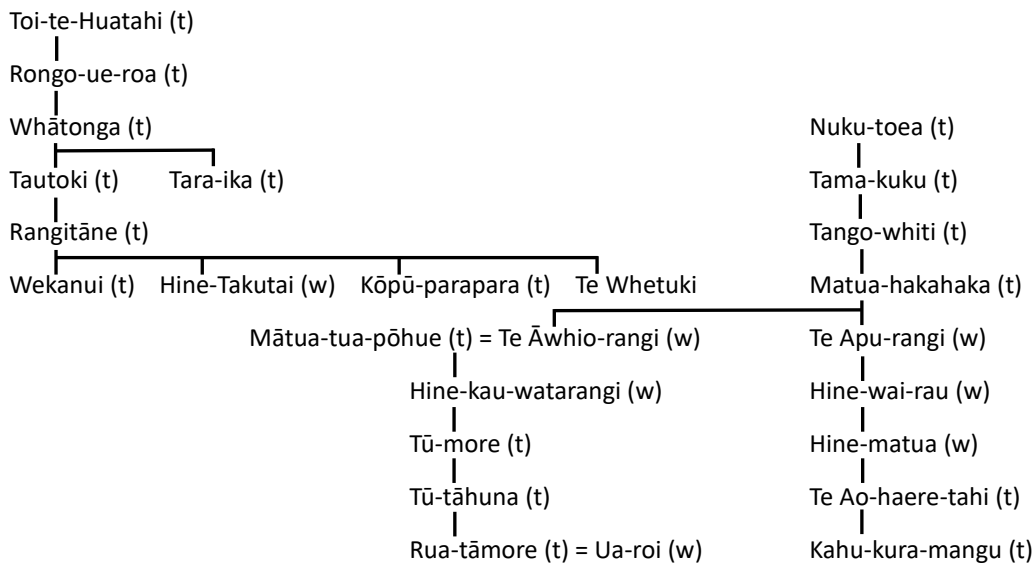
“While the Premier was in the Waipawa district on Monday he was welcomed by a number of prominent natives, the band also being in attendance. After being conducted to the meeting house Hōri Rōpiha addressed Mr Seddon on behalf of the tribe. He stated that the railway station was wanted near the pā, the one at Waipawa being too far away; they considered that leave should be

granted them to fish in Whatumā Lake: and they desired the Government to pass an Act to prevent Māori selling their land in the Rākautātahi block (Hawke's Bay Herald Vol XXXI, Issue 10313, 27 May 1896, Pg 2).

There came a time when the tupuna Tango-whiti and another tupuna Whata disputed the ownership of Whatumā so they decided to resolve the issue through a competition rather than through battle to see who could weave a hīnaki (*wicker eel trap*) the quickest and place it in the lake before dawn. Both Whata and Tango-whiti were versed in the occult and recited karakia—Tango-whiti to lengthen the night, Whata to shorten the night. “Apparently Whata had the best contact with the authorities as the dawn appeared as soon as his hīnaki were in position” McEwen (1986, p. 29). This resulted in Whata winning the mana of Whatumā.

In memory of the incident and Tango-whiti not being able to lengthen the night and delay the sunrise he named his land Paeroa *long Horizon – where the sun didn't rise in time*. The range of hills to the east of Te Takapau bear the name Ngā Kai Hīnaki-a-Whata Te Taiwhenua-o-Tamatea and Te Taiwhenua-o-Heretaunga (2012) a.k.a. Ngā Kaihīnaki-a-Tarāwhata. Tanguru Tūhua (1889b, p. 2) talks about both Whata and Tango-whiti with Tango-whiti comparing the hills on Waikōpiro to his eel pots. This is how certain hills Whetū-kura, Whakataka-te-pō, Tangotango-rau and Manukura were called after these eel pots *Ngā Hīnaki-a-Tangowhiti*. And Whata naming the hills Puena, Tangotango-rau and Horehore after his eel pots *Ngā Hīnaki-a-Whata*. The upper most point of Horehore pā has the name Te Rangi Tapu-a-Whata, sometimes written as Te Rangitapu-a-Whata, a.k.a. Te Toi-a-Uru from which he recited his karakia, and where the chiefs held wānanga.

Figure 15:
Whakapapa: Main Rangitāne tūpuna associated with the Waikōpiro block



Tara-ika as Smith (1906, p. 73) states,

“must have been a man of importance in his time for the following are called Ngā Puna-o-Tara: Ahuriri Harbour, Poukawa Lake, Te Roto-a-Tara, near Te Aute, Whatumā Lake, near Waipukurau, Wairarapa Lake, and Port Nicholson, which is called Te Whanganui-a-Tara after him—also called Te Wheke-nui-a-Tara; and the inference that he discovered it.”

The mana whenua of the Ahuriri region in providing Indigenous narrative to the Napier

City Council for their draft district plan stated,

Ngāi Tara descend from Tara-ika, son of Whātonga and his first second wife Hotu-wai-para. Tara was born at Te Kauae-a-Māui and is named Tara-ika due to Hotu-wai-para pricking her finger with a fish spike shortly before he was born.

Through his third wife Reretua, Whātonga had a grandson named Rangitāne. Reretua was a descendant of Kupe, whose people were migrating north from the Wairarapa.

Rangitāne established Tāne-nui-a-rangi Pā on the south bank of the Ngaruroro River on the Heretaunga plains. The descendants of Rangitāne under the tribal name of Rangitāne occupied country in Te Matau-a-Māui, Manawatū, Horowhenua, Ōtaki, and Paekākāriki.

The Ngāi Tara and Rangitāne who remained in Heretaunga occupied land south of the Ngaruroro river with coastal settlements at Te Kauae-a-Māui, Rāngai-ika, Waimārama and Kairākau. (Napier District Council, 2011).

3.1.2 Te Tini-o-Rua-tāmore

An important descendant of Tara-ika was Rua-tāmore who features in the narrative of the naming of the land block Waikōpiro. (McEwen, 1986, p. 36) writes,

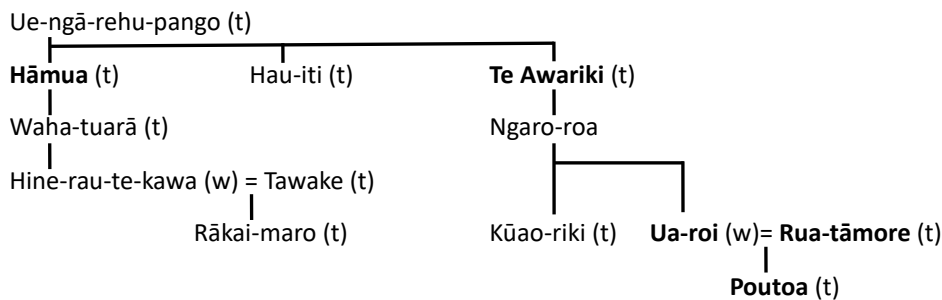
“AFTER his marriage to Ua-roi [Mā-roi in other whakapapa **2.9 He kupu taketake** Rua-tāmore and his relatives grew in numbers and became known as Te Tini a Rua-tāmore. As mentioned previously, this was one of the tribes which, according to Te Whatahoro Jury, occupied vast areas of the North Island at the time of the arrival of Whātonga arrival here in the Kurahaupō. It was, in reality, a small tribe which came into being about two centuries later and had a very short existence.

Rua-tāmore showed scant gratitude for the help he had received from the Rangitāne tribe. He repaid their help by and hospitality by murdering his wife’s grandfather, Te Awariki.

A battle took place on the bank of a stream near Takapau and finally Rua-tāmore was killed and his people almost annihilated. The stream beside the battlefield was filled with bodies and was given the name Te Wai-kōpiro-o-Rua-tāmore, the stream steeped with Rua-tāmore (now known as Waikōpiro).”

Figure 16:

Whakapapa: Poutoa son of Rua-tāmore and Ua-roi (Mā-roi rānei) granddaughter of Te Awariki. McEwen (1986), p.35)



Poutoa, the son of Rua-tāmore lived with his mother’s Rangitāne people and moved to a place near the Manawatū gorge and,

“... established his pā Te Motu-o-Poutoa, circa 400-500 years ago. It became one of the earliest and most longstanding fortified pā in the area. It was also a place of residence. The pā was strategically placed with views over the river, the main route north and south, and protected the cultivations across the river. It also provided access to food and resource from the surrounding bush, waterways, and wetlands” (Historic Places Manawatu-Horowhenua Inc, 2013).

The pā is a very important cultural site in Te Papa-i-oea *Palmerston North* above the Manawatū river. Poutoa is descended from Tara through his father, see whakapapa in

2.9 He kupu taketake.

3.1.3 Whātonga

The Rangitāne people named after the eponymous tupuna Rangitāne or Tane-nui-a-rangi had settled the expanse of the Tamatea-Heretaunga district. Hōri Rōpiha stated in (Tuhua & Smith, 1906, pp. 69-93) and (McEwen, 1986, p. 27),

“Ko te iwi nō rātou a Heretaunga tae noa ki Wairarapa, Whanganui-a-Tara, Porirua, Ōtaki, Manawatū, Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua, Ruahine, ko Rangitāne (*the people who originally owned Here-taunga (the country around Hastings) right away to Wairarapa, Whanganui-a-Tara, (Wellington) Porirua, Ōtaki, Manawatū, Tāmaki (the Seventy Mile Bush) and the Ruahine mountains were Rangitāne*).”

Smith (page 72) expands on what Hōri Rōpiha says by mentioning that,

“although as H. Rōpiha says, Rangitāne may have been the general name applied to all the people occupying mid and southern Hawke’s Bay, there were many divisions—amongst others Te Tini-o-Awa, Whatumamoa, Te Tini-o-Rua-tāmore, Te Upokoiri, Ngāi Tara etc., etc., all believed to be *tangata whenua* tribes, occupying the district when the fleet from Hawaiki arrived at these shores.”

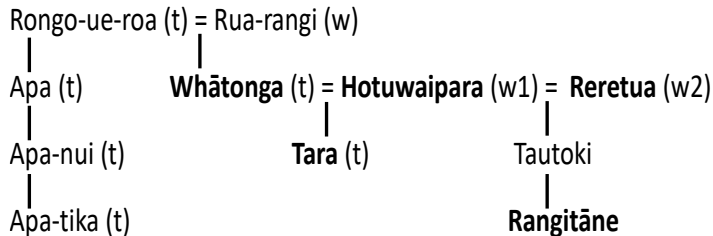
(Tanguru Tūhua, 1906), also (McEwen, 1986) mentions the Rangitāne tupuna Whātonga arriving in the Heretaunga area from Nukutaurua—where the Kurahaupō canoe made land—building a whare and calling it Heretaunga. The name of the house also became the name of the land and in modern times refers to the city of Hastings. (Buick, 1903, pp. 13-14) records his version of the movement of Whātonga from Nukutaurua to Heretaunga,

“Here they built their pā, planted the kūmara and karaka, and from this centre they extended their settlements and their influence over the country now known as Hawke's Bay. Ruatea, the principal chief, stayed with the larger part of his people at Nukutaurua, but Whātonga, prompted by the adventurous spirit which led him to New Zealand, went further afield, and settled near the present

town of Hastings. His pā was one of exceptional strength, and within its palisade stood a house called "Heretaunga" which was known far and wide as a dwelling of great beauty, as beauty is expressed by Māori art."

Figure 17:

Whakapapa: Whātonga and his two wives and sons



Whātonga after arguing with his wife (Hotu-wai-para) left Heretaunga with Rangitāne his mokopuna,

“Whātonga and his wife quarrelled, the former went into [the] bush with Rangitāne, his grandson, leaving his wife behind with Tara, the first-born. He took his second wife (Reretua) with him also. He abandoned Heretaunga altogether. Whātonga and his grandson went and settled on Rākau-tātahi which became their principal settlement. Te Koru, Horehore, Tātai-whetū, Te Kātea were their pā. These pā are on Takapau and Rākau-tātahi” (Hoani Meihana, 1892, p. 223).

3.1.4 Ngāti Apa-hāpi-taketake

Ruatea, the navigator of the Kurahaupō also moved south from Nukutaurua and his son Apa-hāpai-taketake. There are several stories regarding Apa-hāpai-taketake, some say he was the son of Ruatea and is the eponymous tupuna of both Ngāti Apa in the north and Ngāti Apa ki-te-Rā-Tō in the south. Others consider him to be the grandson of Ruatea (McEwen, 1986, p. 15).

Apa-hāpai-taketake and descendants lived in the area east of the Tukituki River around the Te Hemo-a-Te Atonga (Havelock North) area and on the coast at Waimārama.

Reliable sources suggest Ruatea was the captain, and Ruatea, Whātonga and Popoto were the main chiefs on the Kurahaupō.

Apa-hāpai-taketake is the eponymous tupuna of the Ngāti Apa people of the Rangitīkei region. They initially lived in the Heretaunga area then moved to their present lands in the Rangitīkei area.

My connection to Ngāti Apa ki Rangitīkei is through my tupuna Hika-rere-pari who having ventured over the Ruahine range to the Tū-tae-nui fight, Hika-rere-pari took Kai-ariki from Ngāti Apa as a wife for himself and brought her back to Rākau-tātahi.

3.2 Raupatu

Mitchell (1972, pp. 106-115) records the movements of Taraia from Tūranganui-a-Kiwa after his elder brother Tūpurupuru through jealousy and deceit did away with the sons of Kahu-tapere, Tara-ki-uta and Tara-ki-tai. This was the beginning of a series of events that led to Rākai-hiku-roa uttering his whakatauākī, “Waiho rā kia tū takitahi ana ngā whetū o te rangi, *Let it be one alone that stands among the other stars of the sky*” Grove and Mead (2001, p. 419). Mitchell (1972, p. 108) provides another translation, “*Let there be only one star shining in the sky.*”

Kahutāpere turned to his cousin Māhaki-a-Tauhei to seek revenge and eventually Tūpurupuru was killed by Whakarau. This led to Rākai-hiku-roa leaving the Tūranga region, “unable to bear the shame brought upon his people, and the sights around him that brought back memories” Mitchell (1972, p. 109) along with his sons Taraia, Te Ao-mata-rahi, Tāwhao and others, moving south via Te Māhia, Wairoa, Ara-paoa-nui,

Heipipi and Ōtātara pā notwithstanding the skirmishes that occurred at each place, eventually settling in Heretaunga circa 1640. Parsons & Rōpiha (2003, p. 19) state that the Ngāti Kahungunu migration to Heretaunga led by Taraia 1 and his father Rākai-hikuroa is estimated to have taken place in the period 1525 – 1550.

"According to the generally accepted traditions, the lands of Hawke's Bay originally belonged to the Rangitāne tribe. This tribe was partly conquered in the 16th century and inter-married with the conquerors, the Ngāti Kahungunu" Hēnare T. Hūtana (1941).

In the evidence provided by Hēnare Matua (1891b, p. 1) in the Rākau-tātahi case, he also mentions the initial ownership of the entire district was in Rangitāne hands, "I a Rangitāne tēnei takiwā katoa me te poraka e whakawākia nei i mua." *Rangitāne held sway over all of this district and the block being investigated previously.* He then continues to talk about the two whanaunga *distance relatives by whakapapa* Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia who forced Rangitāne out of the district through a series of battles where many Rangitāne chiefs lost their lives, as did those of Ngāti Kahungunu.

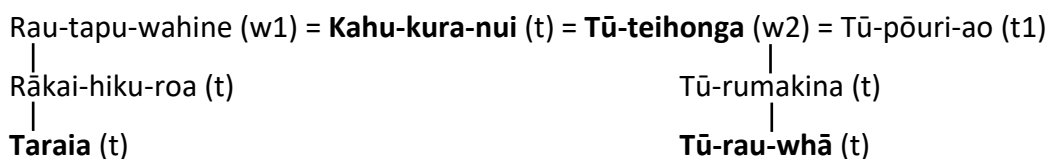
Smith (1906, p. 72) writes that "when Ngāti Kahungunu and other northern tribes arrived in the Rangitāne territories, they found it overspread by a numerous population, many of whom they fought with, expelled, or amalgamated with". There were many expeditions into the Tamatea-Heretaunga district from the north and from the west but the arrival of Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi was the event that was to have a significant impact on the people and land in the Tamatea district.

The fight at Heipipi pā between the warriors of Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi and the people of Heipipi, “known as the Ngāti Awanui-ā-rangi, better known as Te Tini-o-Maruiwi *the multitude of Maruiwi* Mitchell (1972, p. 112) was not successful. There through the occult powers of the tohunga Tūnui-ā-rangi in the Heipipi pā the Ngāti Kahungunu warriors felt their arms grow weak and could not continue the fight, so peace was made.

Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi moved on to the Ōtātara pā a stronghold of Tū-rau-whā who “held sway from the sea to the ranges” Mitchell (1972, p. 113). The Ōtātara pā was situated on the banks of the Tūtae-kurī. McEwen (1986, p. 42) records that, “the occupants were again mixed elements of Ngāti Awa and Whatumāmoa as well as the Ngāti Hotu-wai-para hapū of Ngāi Tara. The chiefs were Hika-nui, Whatu-pounamu, Paretararoa and others.” Over a period of days Ōtātara was assaulted but eventually peace was made through the relationship of Taraia to Tū-rau-whā through both Kahu-kura-nui and Tū-teihonga Mitchell (1972, pp. 114-115).

Figure 18:

Whakapapa: Taraia and Tū-rau-whā

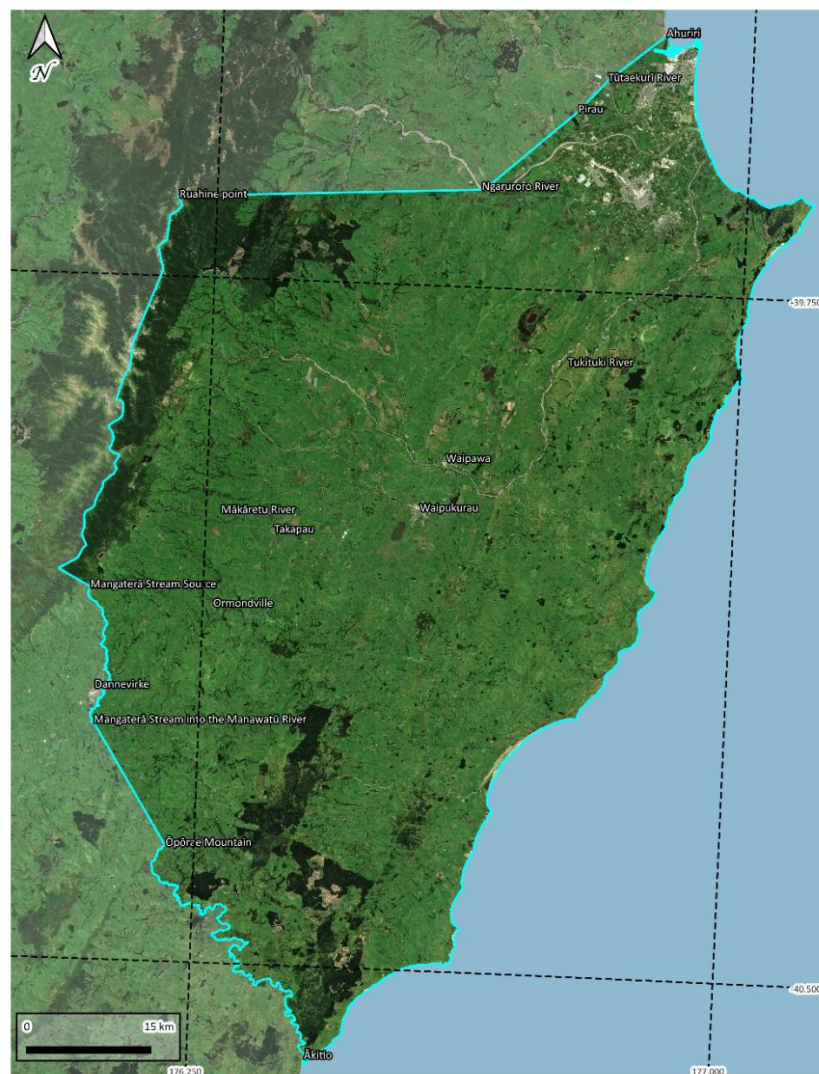


The people occupying the Ahuriri area were Whatumamoa, Ngāti Awa, and a branch of Ngāi Tara and Rangitāne, Ngāti Hotu-wai-para. The Rangitāne people were occupying the Heretaunga plains and inland towards Te Waipukurau and Te Takapau. Te Aitanga-a-Whata were at Takapau and Ngāi Tara were along the coast from the Tukituki River

south to Wairarapa. McEwen (1986, p. 42) in his research asserts, “There is some difficulty sorting out precisely where the different tribes were as various accounts contained in the Māori Land Court records and elsewhere refer to Rangitāne as including other tribes and particularly Ngāi Tara. It seems that by this time the Rangitāne tribe held some sort of pre-eminence in the district.” Hēnare Matua (1891b) stated at the opening of giving evidence in the Rākau-tātahi Case, “I know the block before the Court. It originally belonged to Rangitāne who owned the whole of this district. It was taken by conquest by Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia.”

Figure 19:

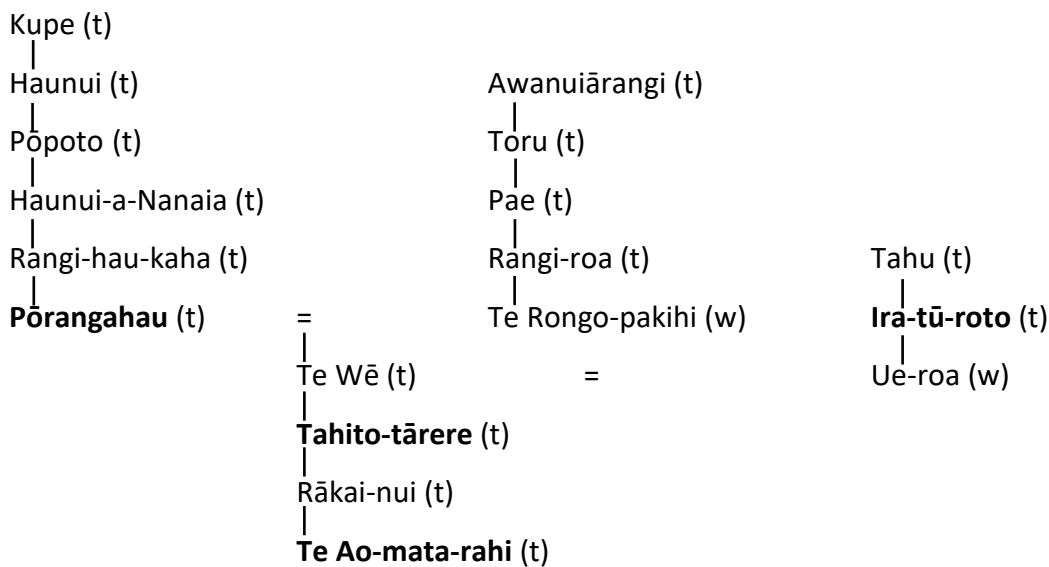
Initial boundaries of Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi



I refer again to McEwen (1986, p. 41) where he writes, “Te Ao-mata-rahi was not of Ngāti Kahungunu; he was descended from Pōrangahau and from Ira-tū-roto who had been mentioned earlier. His grandfather Tahito-tārere had been killed at Wairoa in fighting with Ngāti Kahungunu and others. Presumably he had been brought up by Ngāti Kahungunu after that incident. Many of the descendants Te Ao-mata-rahi were subsequently known as Ngāi Tahu or Ngāti Ira.”

Figure 20:

Whakapapa: Te Ao-matarahi



3.2.1 Hohou rongō

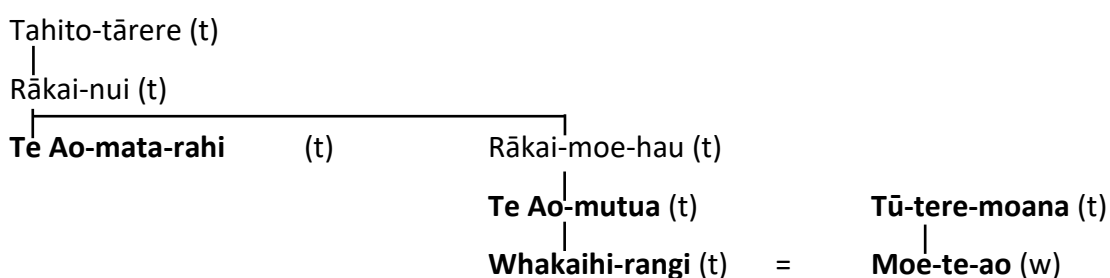
In many cases *Hohou rongō* was made through the marriage between warring parties. In an incident where Rangitāne ambushed Te Rangi-kohea, the son of Taraia and others whilst they were gathering poles to erect stages to dry a huge amount of kahawai, they had caught caused friction. Taraia immediately pursued them and rescued Te Rangi-kohea at Wai-tahora on the banks of the Ngaru-roro. The Rangitāne scattered and fled to Poukawa and then to Te Roto-a-Tara.

Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi pursued them to Te Roto-a-Tara attacking both Rangitāne and Ngāi Tara. Tara-whakarewa, younger brother of Tū-tere-moana and a prominent Ngāi Tara chief escaped McEwen (1986, p. 43). He made a saying to the effect that they would not catch him. Te Ikatiere was where he escaped to and where he resided. Ngāi Tere was a hapū of the Muaupoko largely of Rangitāne descent which supports the notion that the name of the pā was Te Ika-a-Tiere McEwen (1986, p. 44).

Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia then proceeded to attack Te Ikatiere pā where Tara-whakarewa had fled to from Karamea pā and peace was made once again through marriage. This time it was the marriage of Te Whakahirangi, son of Te Ao-mutua a nephew of Te Ao-mata-rahi to the daughter of Tū-tere-moana, Moe-te-ao. Moe-te-ao was the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Moe of Hūpēnui *Greytown*. The name Hūpēnui suggests that that place experienced extreme cold in winter.

Figure 21:

Whakapapa: Whakahirangi and Moe-te-ao



At a battle at the Matanginui pā in the Waimārama area they made peace with Kohipu and Hinengātira descendants of Tūnuiārangi of Heipipi pā. This peace was strengthened through the marriage of the son of Te Ao-mata-rahi, Rongomai-pure-ora to Hinengātira. Further battles took place between Tū-whakawhiu-rangi of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāi Tara and Maruiwi then against Rangitāne at Rākau-tātahi and Te Kōpua. Tāmanuhiri

then joined Taraia and Rangi-tawhiao in the Wairarapa taking a number of pā in the area and again peace was made through marriage. Gudgeon (1897, p. 179) records,

“Taraia and Tāmanuhiri were her grandsons (Ruatapuwahine) and they, after the death of Tūpurupuru, were driven into exile, and migrated to Heretaunga (near Hastings), where their descendants now claim to have conquered the county from the ancient tribe known as Tini-o-Awa, Tini-o-Rua-tāmore, Whatumamoa, Rangitāne and the descendants of Tama-kuku. This conquest rests on the very slender foundation; in fact it may be taken for granted that the only tribe dispossessed were the Tini-o-Awa or Maruiwi who at best were only squatters in Hawke’s Bay. The Ngāti Kahungunu, true to their old tradition, intermarried with the people of the Bay, and thus obtained a footing, which they could not have secured by force.”

This last sentence is especially important as it consolidates the knowledge that many battles were resolved through the strategic process of marriage or genealogical relationships. Morris (2021) mentions that these strategic marriages,

“... usually involved high-ranking people and it generally involved a marriage between two from two different areas or two different hapū or even two different iwi. It was to form alliances, strategic alliances, it was part of a selected security, it was also a way of strengthening a position in a particular time or in a particular area and also to create a safety net against any threats that might occur in the future.”

3.3 Hapū

Previous to these marriages each hapū lived independently, hapū being a social grouping identified by an eponymous tupuna and his or her descendants and the extended families of that tupuna. Some hapū hold on to the notion that they originated from the land of Aotearoa.

Through the battles, women were taken as wives creating new social groupings or hapū. Māori also identified themselves from waka groupings and iwi groupings at various times, but the initial social grouping was the hapū.

Ko tēnei mea te hapū tētahi o ngā wehewehenga tāngata i roto i te iwi, ā, i roto i ngā wā o mua ka maha haere ngā whānau, ka wehea he hapū anō. He maha ō tātau hapū kua tapaina ki te ingoa o tētahi tupuna, inā hoki ko ia tonu te rangatira o taua hapū i roto i tōna wā, ā, mate noa, ka mau tonu tōna ingoa hei ingoa hapū mō ngā tipuranga o muri. Arā anō ētahi hapū, ka puta mai te ingoa i tētahi kaupapa nui whakaharahara i pā mai. Nā taua kaupapa anō i tōpū ai, i wehe ai ngā whānau hei hapū anō.

A hapū is one form of social grouping within a tribe, and as families grew there were further hapū were created. Many of our hapū are named after a tupuna, as s/he was the eponymous tupuna of that hapū in their lifetime and their name was retained after their death for generations. Other hapū acquired their names through an important incident that occurred. That incident consolidated hapū names or created other hapū names Morris (2011).

3.3.1 Ngāti Te Rangiwhakaewa – Pakapaka/Mutuahi

Each hapū grouping were well informed regarding their connection to the whenua and each other. Hapū names were taken from the name of a common tupuna but in some cases from important events. Two hapū of Rangitāne, Ngāti Pakapaka and Ngāti Mutuahi are examples of this change of name in not so pleasant circumstances. McEwen (1946, pp. 25, 105) recorded a battle that occurred at the pā Waikareau near Eparaima *Wanstead* between Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa. Two Rangitāne chiefs were killed, and another man, Ngārara, was taken away to Paranui pā near Motuiti at Te Awahou *Foxton* Where he was killed and baked *pakapaka* for food. The hapū adopted the name Ngāti Pakapaka in memory.

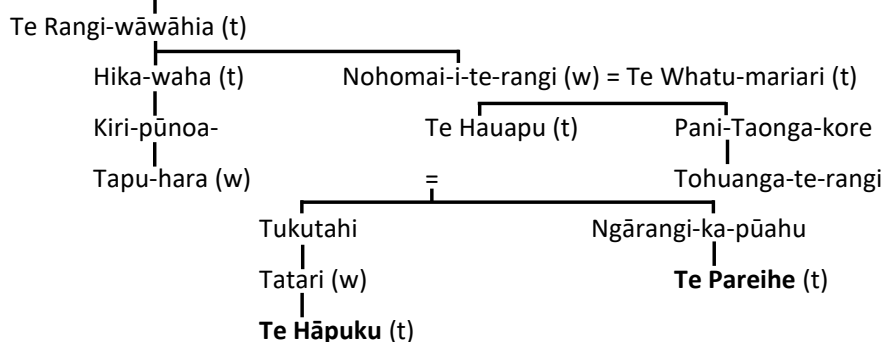
In another incident involving Te Hāpuku a.k.a. Te Ika-nui-o-te-moana of Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Pareihe of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti, a.k.a. Te Kai-a-te-kōkopu and Hōri, Ballara (1990c) and Te Wera Hauraki from Ngāpuhi travelled from Nukutaurua to avenge losses inflicted by Rangitāne on Ngāti Kahungunu. They attacked Rangitāne at Ngātoto pā where Haereroa, the son, of the chief Hirawanu, was captured, killed, and eaten after

being cooked by Te Hāpuku, hence ‘mutuahi’. “The cooking of the son of Te Hirawanu led to the adoption of the name Ngāti Mutuahi *mutuahi = cut off by fire* by the Rangitāne sub-tribe, formerly known as Ngāti Te Rangihakaewa” McEwen (1946, p. 134). McEwen (1946, p. 25) discussing the same incident states that Haereroa was a daughter and translates ‘mutuahi’ as consumed by fire.

Figure 22:

Whakapapa: Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Te Pareihe and Te Hāpuku

Te Whatu-i-āpiti (t) = Kura-mahi-nono (w1) = Te Ao-patu-whare (w2)



3.3.2 Ngāi Tūwhirirau – Ngāti Mārau

Another example of a hapū changing its name through an unfortunate incident is one of my own hapū, of Ngāti Mārau on the side of my mother Pine Kaihou Hanita connected to the land block Rākau-tātahi.

Originally my tūpuna who lived on the Rākau-tātahi block went under the hapū name of Ngāi Tūwhirirau after the tupuna Tūwhirirau. Five generations later the hapū name changed to Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu after the tupuna Te Rangi-totohu, then to Ngāti Mārau through an incident involving one of the chiefs Tanguru Motumotu at Te Roto-a-Tara.

It has its origins at the time of riri tara ā-whare *inter-hapū fighting* in the Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua-Heretaunga district in the early 1800s. This account was recorded in the Kahungunu Matangi Rau journal by my younger brother Brian,

He tuhinga tēnei nāku Morris (2011) hei whakamārama i te ingoa o te hapū o Ngāti Mārau. Ko tētahi tēnei o ngā hapū o roto i a Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea. Ehara ia i te ingoa tupuna, engari he ingoa i pūtake mai i ngā pakanga i puta ake i roto o Heretaunga i ngā tekau tau mātāmua o te rautau 1800.

I roto i ngā wā e kōrerotia nei i runga ake nei, e rua ngā pakanga nui i tū i Te Roto-a-Tara. I te tuatahi o ngā pakanga, i nohoia te pā e Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti me ōna piringa, ā, ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa te hoa kakari. He mea toro a Ngāti Tūwharetoa e Ngāi Te Upokoiri hei taituarā mō rātau. Ka tutū te puehu, ā, kāore i taea e rātau te pā o te moutere. Ka mutu, ka hinga ētahi o ngā rangatira o te ope taua. Ko te hokinga atu tērā o Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki tō rātau kāinga me te ito i te puku e mau ana.

Ka toro a Ngāti Tūwharetoa i ōna kāwai, ā, ka huihui mai ko ngā iwi o Waikato, arā, ko Ngāti Maniapoto, o Ngāti Raukawa, me ērā o Hauraki. He pū te rākau a ētahi. Ka takoto anō te ara taua ki Te Roto a Tara. Ko te ara i haerea, ko ngā pae maunga o Ruahine, ā, ka heke atu ki Ruataniwha. Mōhio tou a Tūwharetoa ki te takoto o te whenua me te āhua o te pā o Te Awarua o Porirua.

Ka tae ki Te Roto a Tara, ka karapotia te wāhi rā e rātau. I te mea kāore ō rātau waka, ka huri rātau ki te hanga kahupapa kia taea te pā e rātau. Ka kite te iwi o roto i te pā i ngā mahi rā, ka huri rātau ki te hanga pūhara, hei pikinga mō rātau ki te mātaki, ki te whakararu hoki i ngā mahi a ngā tāngata o te ope taua. Tata ana ki te toru marama rātau e whakapa kaha ana kia oti mai he kahupapa hei whakawhitinga mō rātau ki te moutere.

Nā te roa o te noho, nā te aha rānei, ka noho rangirua ētahi o roto i te pā. Kāore i ngaro i a rātau te rahi o te ope taua, mōhio tou, ko rātau kē te whare o te mate. Ko ētahi i kī, me whakarere e rātau te pā, ko ētahi i kī me noho, me whawhai kia mate ā-ururoa. Nā konei, ka noho tōtara wāhi rua rātau.

Ka taka te pō, ko te rerenga tērā o ētahi mā ngā waka. Ko tētahi o ngā rangatira i runga te waka ko Tanguru Motumotu. Kua kaumātua rawa ia, ā, kua māioio, kua ruha. Nō te hapū o Ngāi Te Rangī-te-kahutia ia. Kia kore ai e kitea mai e te hoariri, ka ahu atu mā te taha tonga o te roto. Kia kore ai e rangona, kāore i whakamahia te hoe, engari ka kau haere ētahi ki te wai me te pana haere i te waka.

Ka haere, ā, ka hē ngā mahi, ka tahuri te waka. Ka taka ngā mea o runga ki te wai, arā, ngā tāngata, ngā taonga me ngā kākahu. Nā te taumaha o ōna kākahu, ka totohu a Tanguru, ā, ka paremo. Ko ngā tāngata i ora mai, ka wehewehe. Ko ētahi i hoki ki te moutere, ko ētahi i rere ki uta.

Ka tīkina he mārau tuna, ā, ka mau ake ngā kākahu o Tanguru i te mārau. Na konei, ka tapaina tonutia iho tōna hapū ko Ngāti Mārau. Ka mau tonu tēnei ingoa mai i tērā wā, ā, ki nāianei. Nō muri i te pakanga i Te Roto a Tara, ka rere ngā purapura ora o Ngāti Mārau ki te rohe o Manawatū, ā, ka noho i reira tae atu ki te tekau tau 1850 -1860. Ka hohou te rongo i waenga i a rātau me ngā hapū o Heretaunga, kātahi ka hoki ki ō rātau ake whenua i ngā rekereke o te pae maunga o Ruahine. Kei reira tonu ngā pitopito whenua o Ngāti Mārau me tōna marae o Te Rākau-tātahi i tēnei rā.

This narrative of mine is to explain the name of the hapū Ngāti Mārau. This is one of the hapū residing in the Tamatea Ngāti Kahungunu district. It is not name of a tupuna, but a name originating from the battles that occurred in the Heretaunga in early decades of the 18th century.

There's a saying that says, fighting was the main occupation in days of yore. This saying is directly related to the hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu i those times. According to reports from the Heretaunga district south to Seventy Mile Bush (*Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua*), there were several inter-hapū skirmishes. Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti and their allies were one faction and Ngāi Te Upokoiri, and their allies were the others involved. Several tūpuna lost their lives during the battles of that violent time.

There are several accounts about the battles in those times, referring to them as "he ahi rarauwhe i tere murara kia kapi te whenua" (*constant flare ups throughout the land*). Within the Ngāti Kahungunu region Te Roto-a-Tara was a place where titanic battles took place, and it was a place where several war parties from all over arrived. This lake is situated at Pukehou not far from Te Aute College. However, due to the agricultural activities of the Europeans it can no longer be seen these days. During the rainy seasons and heavy rains, the lake returns to its former glory.

Previously there were two pā at Te Roto-a-Tara. Kahotea was one which stood at the eastern end of the lake. This was the pā of Mahinārangi i her time and where Tūrongo came. Ko Te Awarua o Porirua the other one. This pā was situated on an island in the middle of the lake. It was a place where ancestors fled when war parties arrived. If the war party didn't possess a canoe, they could not reach the pā. There are lots of accounts about that pā but here's a short account.

During those times mentioned earlier there were two major battles that took place at Te Roto-a-Tara. Ngāti Tūwharetoa were one of those war parties that returned home unsuccessful. Ngāti Tūwharetoa then reached out to their relations and gathered together Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto Ngāti Raukawa and sone o Hauraki. Some of these people possessed guns. They returned to Te Roto-a-Tara via the trails over the Ruahine range and descended to the Ruataniwha plains. Ngāti Tūwharetoa knew the lay of the land well and layout of Te Awarua o Porirua pā.

When they arrived at Te Roto-a-Tara they surrounded the pā. As they had no canoes, they began building a causeway so they could attack the pā. When the

people in the pā saw that the in tur built a tower where they could observe and create trouble for the war party. Close to 3 months was spent building the causeway to access the island. Due to the length of time spent in the pā or through other reason the inhabitants of the pā became confused and on seeing the size of the war party they felt they were destined to die. Some suggested to flee the pā while others said let's stay and fight to the death. This resulted in confusion.

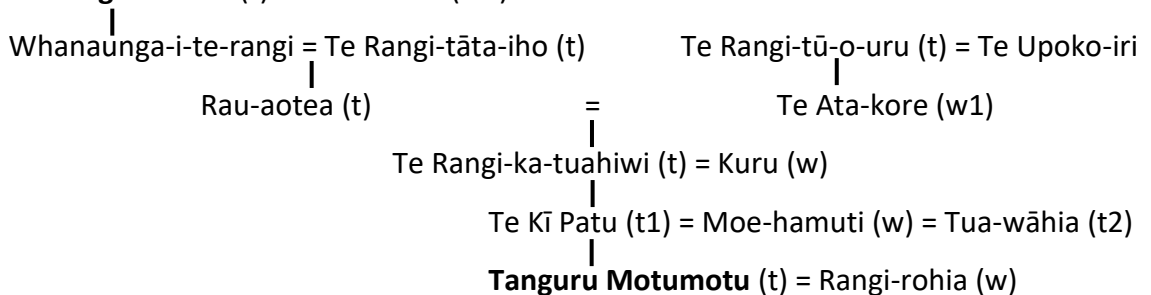
When night fell some of the people fled on canoes. One of the chiefs was Tanguru Motumotu. He was elderly and weak. He belonged to the Ngāi Te Rangikahutia hapū. So went via the south end of the lake so as not to be seen by the enemy and so as not to be heard they never used paddles, some of them swam and pushed the canoe. As they continued, they made a mistake, and the canoe capsized. The people fell into the water along with their possessions. Due to the heaviness of his clothes Tanguru sank and drowned. Those that survived fled, some back to the pā others to land.

A 'mārau' was used and caught hold of the clothing of Tanguru. From this incident his hapū was named Ngāti Mārau. This name was retained from that time down to the present. Following the battle at Te Roto-a-Tara those of Ngāti Mārau that survived fled to the Manawatū region and stayed there until the 1850-1860 period. When peace was made between them and the hapū of Heretaunga they returned to their lands at the base of the Ruahine range. Ngāti Mārau still resides on the remnant of their lands and their marae Rākau-tātahi.

Figure 23:

Whakapapa published with the above narrative

Te Rangi-kahutia (t) = Rākai-koao (w1)



Another account of the name Ngāti Mārau was mentioned in refuting the authenticity of the origin of a waiata and published in the Māori newspaper Te Toa Takitini,

“Tēnā kōrua ngā kaihautū o Te Toa Takitini. Heoi ngā mihi. Kei te whakahē ahau ki ētahi o ngā kōrero a Te Taite Te Tomo i puta rā i roto i Ngā Mōteatea mō te waiata 154.

Ko taua waiata nā Waipuarangi nō Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāi Te Upokoiri, i waiatatia ki Mōkai-Pātea kei Te Awarua, he whenua nō Te Perohuka nō Ngāi Tūwhirairau (Te Tomo says that Perohuka was from Ngāti Whiti and Ngāti Tama).

I ngā rā o te pōuritanga haere tahi tonu ai ēnei iwi, ka mate ki Ōtaparoto ki Te Roto-a-Tara. He matenga o Tanguru ka mārautia, koia a Ngāti Mārau, ka roia ngā piro o ētahi ka kīia ko Te Roikuku. Ahakoa ngā noho roa i Horowhenua tūturu tonu te noho tahi a ēnei hapū i reira, i Moutoa, i Manawatū.

Nō te hokinga mai o ngā hapū nei ki Heretaunga, ka mauria mai a Te Wiremu me tōna whānau, ka whakanohoia nei ki Te Aute Kāreti. Ko ngā uri a Waipuarangi ko Hanara mā e noho mai rā i Ōmāhu, ā, ko a Te Perohuka ko Nepe rāua ko Tipene Te Apatū, heke mai ki a mātou ko aku tāina. Kia ora rā kōrua” Ngāruma Apatū (1930, pp. 2207-2208).

Salutations to you two the producers of Te Toa Takitini. Apart from my greetings. I refute some of the narrative of Te Taite Te Tomo published i Ngā Mōteatea regarding the song 154.

That song was composed by Waipuarangi from Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Upokoiri and sung at Mōkai-Pātea a Te Awarua land which belonged to Perohuka from Ngāi Tūwhirirau. In the times of fighting these people went together to Ōtaparoto to Te Roto-a-Tara. When Tanguru died he was retrieved with an eel spear and that’s where Ngāti Mārau got their name, the intestines were grated with mussel hence we have Te Roikuku. Even though they stayed at Horowhenua for a long time it was appropriate that they stayed together there and at Moutoa and Manawatū.

When these hapū returned to Heretaunga they brought with them Te Wiremu and his family and settled at Te Aute College. The descendants of Waipuarangi are Hanara and others who are living at Ōmāhu, that’s Te Perohuka, Nepe and Tipene Te Apatū, down to myself and my siblings. May you two remain well. Ngāruma Apatū, Waipawa.

Smith (1910b, p. 292) records another version but does not indicate his source,

“In after times the Pane-iri [aka Ngāi Te Upokoiri] people dwelt at Te Roto-a-Tara, for it was their own country, and then came the descendants of Kahungunu, who, after a time, claimed for themselves the exclusive rights to the productions of these lakes, which led to fighting, and then the Raemoiri people came to the assistance of the Pane-iri. The descendants of Kahungunu had the intention of ousting the true owners of the soil together with the Pane-iri tribe. They besieged the pā in the lake, and took it from the Pane-iri people, whose chief at that time was Tanguru. The latter attempted to escape on a small mōkihi or raft, but being encumbered with his heavy clothing—parawai, kaitaka, and tōpuni mats—he sank. When the people of Kahungunu saw him drowning they fetched a mārau-tuna, or eel rake, and dragged for and secured his body, and eventually buried it in the sacred cave of his tūpuna. The particular people who rescued the body of Tanguru are called to this day Ngāti Mārau, from that circumstance.”

Figure 24:

Whakapapa: Tūwhirirau eponymous ancestor of Ngāi Tūwhirirau of Rākau-tātahi, and Rangi-totohu from which the hapū Ngāi Te Rangitotohu originates.

Kahungunu (t) = Rongomai-wahine (w)
|
Kahukuranui (t) = Rua-tapu-wahine (w)
|
Rākai-hiku-roa (t) = Pāpā-uma (w)
|
Parea (w) = Te Pou Te Noho Taumata (t) (Mātaatua)
|
Tū-whirirau (w) = Tā-manuhiri (t)
|
Whare-rau-aruhe (t1) = Te Rongo-pātahi (w) = Kahu-pupuni (t2)
|
Hika-rere-pari (t) = Kai-ariki (w1) (Ngāti Apa)
|
Kai-iri (t) = Whakamāui (w)
|
Tū-taua (t) = Rua-tōtara (w)
|
Rangi-totohu (t) = Te Ringa (w1) = Rere-rākau (w2)

Hapū changed their name to remember certain incidents that deeply affected them, and to ensure a particular incident was not forgotten, possibly in the hope that future descendants or generations would seek retribution ‘kia ngakina te mate’ (*to avenge the death, to balance the books*).

3.5 Kaihaukai

The kaihaukai process had an element of competitiveness in that the chief who could not reciprocate the hospitality of the other had to forfeit land. The land blocks in question were the result of these kaihaukai competitions.

Hēnare T. Hūtana (1984) gave an account in the local Waipukurau paper, The Central Hawke’s Bay Press of the kaihaukai called “Uaua Tamariki” and the extent of the food gathering that took place for that feast,

When the tribes and the sub-tribes were at peace, they engaged each other in fest competitions. The chief of one sub-tribe would challenge a chief of another sub-tribe to the collection of food. The challenger would estimate his collection in length, breadth, and height. (Actually, these ran to many chains in length and were very high and wide) ... The thousands of men he had gathered (Te Whatu-i-āpiti) some to their canoes, and over the breakers with fishhooks of human bone to hook the mangō, the hāpuka and other game sea fish ... some would go to the sandy foreshore, to gather pipi tairaki, the tuangi... some would venture to the rocks to gather the kuku, the pāua... others would hie themselves to the channels. They would be the expert divers. They would catch the kōura (*crayfish*) in hundreds of thousands... into the nearby bush at Blackhead (*Parimahu*) would go the bush experts to snare the kōkō (tūī), the parera (*duck*), the weka (woodhen), the korerū (*pigeon*) and many other birds... On to the cliffs go the tītī hunters (*mutton bird collectors*) ... Then there were the river-men, the eel fishers, who used eel baskets, spears, and nets. There were also the men for the lakes, the brave men, who caught the kōkopu, tuna an eel the size of a bullock. There was the freshwater shellfish, the kākahi (*freshwater mussel*). Then there were the agriculturalists, who would bring their crops of kūmara, of kōuka (*cabbage tree*), of fern root (*aruhe*).

The kaihaukai that had the most impact on the land blocks in this research was the kaihaukai that occurred between Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Angiangi, where “an immense tract of country, including Aorangi and the adjacent land blocks” (“Aorangi Judgement,” 1924a). The reciprocal feasting initially began between Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Rehunga the feast Whareponga being the last one between them. Then Te Angiangi “appeared on the scene” Hēnare Matua (1891c, p. 14). Hōri Rōpiha related his version of events which are recorded in White (1891, p. 100),

“I mahi haukai (*hākari*) a Te Whatu-i-āpiti rāua ko Te Angiangi, nā Te Whatu-i-āpiti ki mua, ā, ko taua hākari rā te ingoa ko Whare-ponga, ka utua taua haukai rā e Te Angiangi ko te hākari ko Te Korokoro, ā, ka utua anō e Te Whatu-i-āpiti te hākari Te Uaua tamariki o Te Rangi-wāwāhia, ā, ka kore he kai a Te Angiangi hei haukai māna ki a Te Whatu-i-āpiti, ka tukua ki te whenua hei haukai, ki a Te Whatu-i-āpiti, ā, ka utua anō e Te Whatu-i-āpiti ki ngā rangatira nā rātou ngā whakatihi (haupū kai o aua hākari āna haukai) ko te hākari e kīia ana tōna ingoa ko Whakaara-raumati o taua whakatihi, a Hika-rere-pari hei utu mō tā Te Whatu-i-āpiti, ā, ka utua anō tēnā e Te Whatu-i-āpiti ko te whenua i Rā-i-katia, Paeroa, Tūtūrewa, ā, ko te utu tērā o te whakatihi (*hākari*) a Hika-rere-pari, ā, waiho nei aua whenua ki ōna uri, ā tae noa mai ki ēnei rā.”

Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Angiangi held feasts, Te Whatu-i-āpiti went first and the name of that feast was Whareponga, Te Angiangi reciprocated with the feast called Te Korokoro, Te Whatu-i-āpiti countered that feast with Te Uaua tamariki

o Te Rangi-wāwāhia. Te Angiangi was unable to reciprocate so he gifted land to Te Whatu-i-āpiti. Te Whatu-i-āpiti gifted land to the chiefs that collected the piles of food, the pile of food called Te Whakaara-raumati was collected by Hika-rere-pari so Te Whatu-i-āpiti gave land at Rā-i-katia, Paeroa, Tūtūrewa, that was in payment for the pile Hika-rere-pari collected and the land was left for his descendants right down to these days.

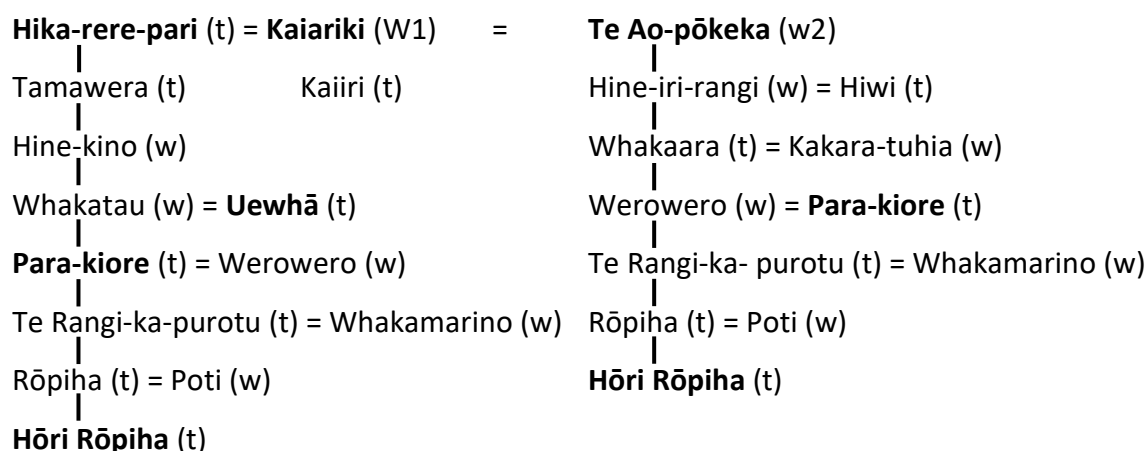
See previous whakapapa **Fig 29** showing the whakapapa connections of Te Angiangi and Te Whatu-i-āpiti. Hēnare Matua (1889, p. 219) in his evidence in the Waikōpiro hearing mentioned who collected the five whakatihi kai (*piles of food*),

“Whakaara-raumati was one of the heaps of food that was not paid for by Angiangi. It belonged to Hika-rere-pari and Tama-i-waho. Tore-o-puanga was another heap of food which belonged to Kaitahi, Tau-rito, Huinga-waho, Te Tatū and others. Rurupō was another heap of food which belonged to Manu-ki-te-rangaia, Hika-taniwha, Tūkonohi and others. Rurea and Taiwha were other heaps of food which belonged to Mutu and Kanewai and others. These people all belonged to a hapū called Te Aitanga-a-Tātai. These were the heaps of food not paid for in kind but in land.”

Te Whatu-i-āpiti was an old man at that time so the food was collected by the younger chiefs, by Rangi-wāwāhia, Hika-rere-pari, Te Tatū, Te Rangiwhakaewa and others. This is the reason the feast was called “Uaua-tamariki” *Sinews of Youth*. Hōri Rōpiha supplied his whakapapa connections to Hika-rere-pari through both his wives,

Figure 25:

Whakapapa: Given by Hōri Rōpiha to John White showing Hika-rere-pari and his two wives descending to Hōri



Hōri then mentions Tau-rito another tupuna of his to whom he attributes the pile of food called Tore-o-punga and adds the whakapapa connection,

“Nā, nō tā Tau-rito whakatihi (hākari) i taua kai anō i Te Uaua-tamariki, ko Tore-o-punga (sic) te ingoa o te whakatihi a Tau-rito, ka utua e Te Whatu-i-āpiti ki te whenua ko Porangahau, ko Tawa-pū-tahi, ā, waiho iho tēnei whenua ki ōna uri, ā, ko te whakapapa mai tēnei...”

Now, the pile of food of Tau-rito in the Te Uaua-Tamariki feast was called Tore-o-punga (Ko Te Tore-o-punga was the name of that pile), Te Whatu-i-āpiti gifted land (to Tau-rito), Porangahau, Tawapūtahi [This is commonly known as Te Awapūtahi the spiritual mountain of the Porangahau people], and, the land was left for his descendants, this is the whakapapa ...

Hōri Rōpiha did not give the full boundary of that kaihaukai and the boundary of the land Te Whatu-i-āpiti gifted to Hika-rere-pari.

The following whakapapa also shows the tūpuna son of Tau-rito, Kere, who is the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Kere of the Porangahau. Kere is memorialised in the place name Omakere ‘Te Oma-a-Kere’ J. B. Smith (2006 Personal Communication).

Figure 26:

Whakapapa: Tau-rito to Hōri Rōpiha, Rōpiha (1890)

Tau-rito (w) = Rangi-wāwāhia (t)
|
Kere (t) = Ariuru (w)
|
Ahurangi (w) = Te Niho
|
Hine-i-taua (w) = Kūkānga-o-te-rangi (t)
|
Whakamarino (w) = Rangi-ka-purotu (t)
|
Rōpiha (t) = Poti (w)
|
Hōri Rōpiha

The website *Ngā kōrero ā-ipurangi o Aotearoa New Zealand History* records the meaning of Omakere as “Ō: place of; makere: to be lost, abandoned, or to die, i.e. A

place where someone was lost or died” (NZ History Website). This is an example of not contacting mana whenua for the meaning of place names.

3.4 Whakaroherohe

Returning to the conquest of Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi. Having found a footing within the Tamatea-Heretaunga district they both set about laying down boundaries for themselves.

Hēnare Matua (1891b, p. 3) on giving evidence in the Rākau-tātahi case declared,

“Mutu ana te whawhai ka tahuri a Taraia rāua ko Te Ao-mata-rahi ki te whakatakoto rohe. Tīmata i Ahuriri mau ki te awa Tūtaekurī, tae ki Te Pirau ka mau ki Ngaruroro, ka whiti ka ahu atu ki Ruahine, ka rere whakatetonga i runga o Ruahine, mau atu ki te kāuru o Mangatērā awa, ka rere i roto o Mangatērā ka tae ki Manawatū ka whiti i Manawatū, ka rere tika tonu ki Ōporae. I Ōporae ka rere i runga i Puketoi mau ki te kāuru o Akitio, ka rere ki roto o taua awa, puta atu ki te moana, ka rere i te taha moana, ā, tutuki ki te tīmatanga. Ko rāua me ō rāua uri me ō rāua hapū e noho ana i runga i tēnei whenua.”

Once the fighting had ceased Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi laid down the boundaries of their conquest. They began at Ahuriri and went to the Tūtaekurī stream, as far as Te Pirau and then across to Ngaruroro river, crossed it and then went to the Ruahine, then southerly along the Ruahine ridge to source of the Mangatērā also called Piripiri thence down Mangatērā stream to its mouth at Manawatū river, crossed that river and then in a straight line to Ōporae, thence following Puketoi range to Wahatūara, thence to source of Akitio stream and down to the sea and following coast to Ahuriri. They and their descendants were living on this land.

Figure 27:

Boundaries set by Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi



Here I note that Blake’s manuscript omits a section of the evidence given by Hēnare Matua, from the line, ‘Puketoi range to Wahatūara’. Further boundaries were laid down as Hēnare Matua recalls in giving his evidence,

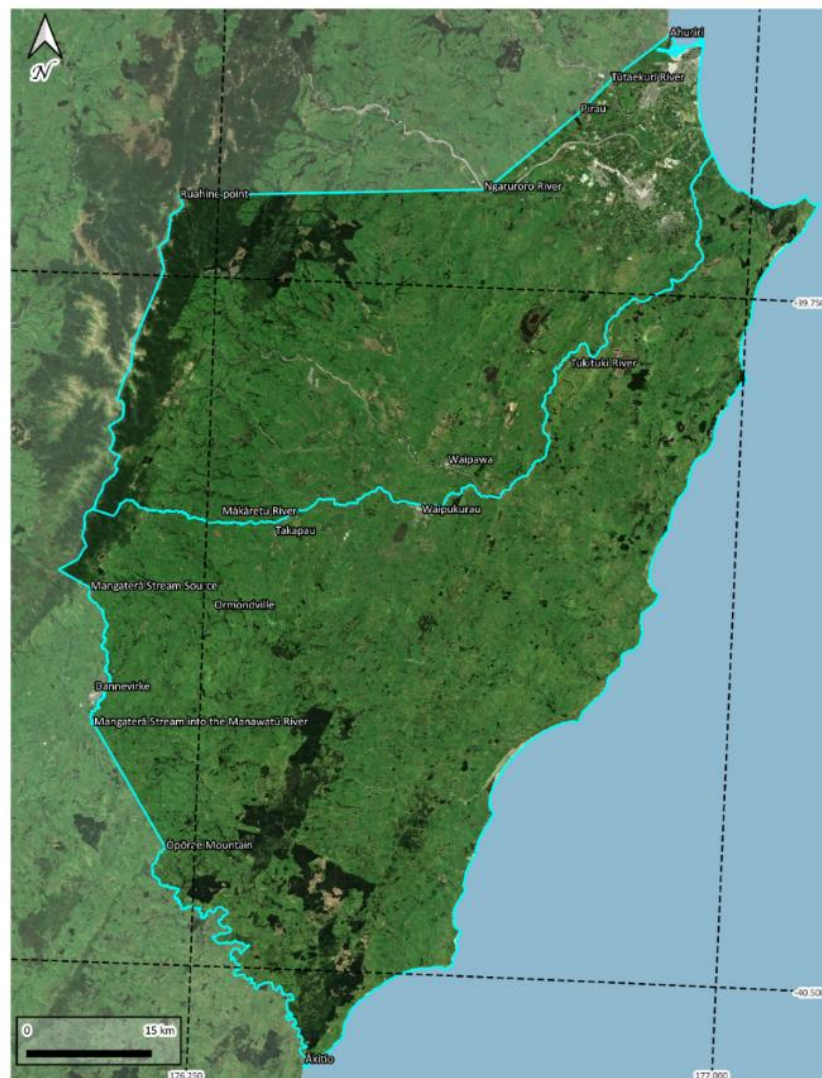
“I muri i tēnei ka hanga rohe anō rāua i waenganui anō i a rāua. Mōhio ana au ki taua rohe. Tīmata i Waipureku, kei waenganui i Tukituki me Ngaruroro. Mau ki Wairua, ka mau ki Te Puroto, mau ki Te Kaokaoroa, ka mau ki Ngā Wakatatara [spelt Ngā Whakatatara by the Court’s recorder. This could be due to the pronunciation and/or Blake’s or the recorder’s listening skills], ka mau ki Tukituki, ka ahu whakarunga tae mai ki te pūau o Mākāretu. Ka ahu ki roto i taua

awa tae noa ki te mātāpuna i Ruahine, te taha whakatetonga i a Te Ao-mata-rahi. Ko ngā uri o Te Ao-mata-rahi i noho ki te taha tonga o taua rohe tae noa ki a Te Angiangi me Tūmapuhia” Hēnare Matua (1891b, p. 3).

After boundaries were laid down, they made divisions between themselves (Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia). I can give particulars, they began at Waipureku, between Tukituki and Ngaruroro. Thence to Wairua, thence to Te Purotu, thence to Kaukauroa (Havelock [North]), thence to Ngāwhakatatara, thence to Tukituki stream and up it to the mouth of Mākāretu. Up that stream to its source on Ruahine range, which formed part of the boundary of their conquest. South of that was for Te Ao-mata-rahi, east of that went to Taraia (Hēnare Matua, 1891c).

Figure 28:

The second division of land by Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi



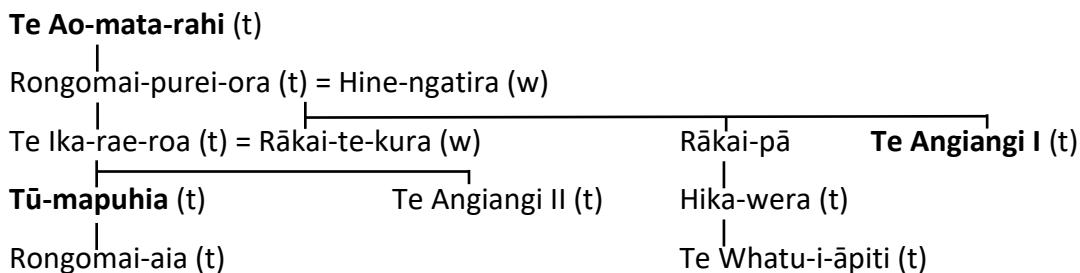
In the course of time, the country to the south of the Tukituki came into the possession of Tūmapuhia and Te Angiangi, descendants of Te Ao-mata-rahi. Hēnare Matua gave the following boundaries,

“I taua takiwā ka wāhia te whenua e ngā uri a Te Ao-mata-rahi, arā, e Te Angiangi rāua ko Tū-mapuhia, he mōhio ana anō ahau ki taua rohe. Tīmata i Ōuepoto e tata ana ki Pourērere, mau atu ki Ōteka, mau atu ki Manuhiri, mau atu ki Mangawhero, mau atu ki Mangamāhaki ka puta ki Tukituki i Tamumu. Ko te taha ki te rāwhiti i a Tū-mapuhia e noho nei i nāianeī ngā uri a Tū-mapuhia. Ko te taha tonga i a Te Angiangi” (1891b, p. 4).

At that time the land was divided by the descendants of Te Ao-mata-rahi, that is, by Te Angiangi and Tū-mapuhia, I know that boundary. It begins at Ōuepoto close to Pourērere, then goes to Ōteka, then to Manuhiri, over to Mangawhero, on to Mangamāhaki and comes out at the Tukituki at Tamumu. The eastern side went to Tū-mapuhia, where his descendants are now living. The south side went to Te Angiangi.

Figure 29:

Whakapapa: Te Ao-mata-rahi and Tūmapuhia



One major incident that impacted on the land blocks was a battle that occurred at Tūranga nui-a-Kiwa (*Gisborne*). This battle was in revenge for the death of the father of Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Hika-wera at the Te Kauhanga fight at Tūranga. Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Hika-rere-pari and Te Rangi-whakaewa went to Tūranga where they sacked the pā Kahupongia and many people lost their lives along with Uaki-te-rangi a chief.

The impact that the death of Hika-wera at Te Kauhanga and the revenging of his death at Kahupongia was that it brought an end to all fighting for the hapū of the Tamatea and

Heretaunga districts. Once peace reigned over the Tamatea-Heretaunga region the chiefs began to exchange food through a process called ‘kaihaukai’ (*reciprocal feasting*).

3.5.1 Ko tā Hēnare Matua

For a fuller account of this particular kaihaukai and the boundaries of the gifts of Te Angiangi to Te Whatu-i-āpiti and that of Te Whatu-i-āpiti to Hika-rere-pari, I take up the evidence given by Hēnare Matua (1891b, p. 6) in the Rākau-tātahi case as recorded by Blake,

“Ka takoto pai te whenua ka tahuri a Te Whatu-i-āpiti rāua ko Te Rehunga ki te mahi kai mā rāua anō, tā rāua kai whakamutunga ko Whareponga. Ka tae ake a Te Angiangi ka tīkina e Te Whatu-i-āpiti te kai i Te Rehunga i homai ki a ia, ka hoatu mā Te Angiangi, ka mauria e ia ki tōna kāinga Ōuepoto.

Ka tonoa e Te Angiangi ōna tāngata kia mahia he kai, ka rongo a Te Whatu-i-āpiti kei te mahi kai a Te Angiangi ka whakamā ia kātahi ka whakahaua e ia Te Whatu-i-āpiti a Toro-i-waho me Te Tatū me Hika-rere-pari kia mahi he kai.

Ka tū te kai a Te Angiangi ki Parimahu, ka tonoa a Te Whatu-i-āpiti me ōna hoa kia haere mai. Ka kitea i reira ka hipa atu ngā kai a Te Whatu-i-āpiti i ā Te Angiangi.”

Once peace settled on the land Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Rehunga set about organising feasts for themselves. The last feast was called Whareponga. Te Angiangi arrived on the scene and Te Whatu-i-āpiti gathered the food Te Rehunga had collected for him and gave it to Te Angiangi. Te Angiangi took the food back to his village Ōuepoto.

Te Angiangi asked his people to gather food, when Te Whatu-i-āpiti heard of this he was embarrassed, so he commanded a Toro-i-waho, Te Tatū and Hika-rere-pari to gather food.

Te Angiangi arranged his feast at Parimahu and invited Te Whatu-i-āpiti and his younger chiefs to the feast. It was there that it was obvious that the food of Te Angiangi did not match the food of Te Whatu-i-āpiti.

At this point there is further evidence from Hēnare Matua (1891c, p. 14) as recorded by the Native Land Court recorder, as Blake did not include the portion regarding the placing down of the sticks to indicate the size of the pile of food in his manuscript,

“Te Angiangi having collected his food at Parimahu invited Te Whatu-i-āpiti and his brother chiefs to a feast. Te Whatu-i-āpiti took a bundle of sticks to represent the piles of food they had collected. The sticks represented the number of calabashes of food he and his people had collected, Te Angiangi placed the food before them and Te Whatu-i-āpiti put the sticks at certain distances and his sticks showed that his own feast would be a larger one.

Te Karokaro was the place of Te Angiangi’s feast. When Te Angiangi saw the number of Te Whatu-i-āpiti’s sticks he said, “It is a fact that you have strength enough to collect such a present!” and the reply was “Yes when I came here the food was being collected.” He was alluding to Rangiwāwāhia who was collecting his food, Te Angiangi said, “How can a youngster collect so much food?” Te Whatu-i-āpiti replied, The caller pigeon can fly up to the white pine tree and get its food!”

Another whakataukāki related to the utterance of Te Whatu-i-āpiti is, “He iti te kōpara kai te rerere ana i runga i te puhi o te kahika”, *Although the bellbird is small it flies to the crown of the white pine* Mead and Grove (2001, p. 77).

I return now to Hēnare Matua (1891b, p. 7) and his giving evidence in the Rākau-tātahi case, recorded by Blake where the Māori metaphor of a canoe is used in describing the food laid out,

“Ka mutu taua hākari ka hoki a Te Whatu-i-āpiti, ka kī atu ki a Te Angiangi māna e whai ake, tae atu a Te Whatu-i-āpiti ka poua te kai, tae rawa atu a Te Angiangi kua tū te kai, e rima ngā whakatihi kai, ko Tore-o-puanga te ihu o te waka, ko Whakaara-raumati i te kei – ko Rurupō, ko Rurea, ko Taiwha i waenganui. Ki te kōrero a ngā tāngata kia kotahi maero me te hāwhe te roa o taua kai.

Ka tukua te kai ki a Te Angiangi, ka mutu ka hoki a Te Angiangi ka kōrero ki ōna tāina me ōna irāmutu kia whakautua taua kai. Ko ia ka haere ki tērā motu mahi kai ai ki ōna tuāhine ki a Rongomai-whāinga me Hine-tāwai kia mahi he tītī, he toroa hei whakautu i te kai Uaua-tamariki. Ka riro mai aua kai ka eke ki runga i ōna waka, tahuri ana ngā waka, mate ana tana pāpā Te Ika-rae-roa. Ko tōna waka i ora ka hoki mai a Te Angiangi.

Ka tae mai, ka ui atu ki ōna irāmutu, “He kai rānei ā koutou?” Ka mea atu, “He kai anō, engari nō hea e ea ai taua kai, he kai paku?” Ka tae atu ki a Te Whatu-i-āpiti ka kī atu, “kāore i ea tōu kai i a au, kua kōrero au ki aku hoa, he ahakoa kāore i ea te kai ka hoatu e au he whenua!”

Once the feasting was over, as Te Whatu-i-āpiti was leaving he said to Te Angiangi to follow him, Te Whatu-i-āpiti arrived back at his village and arranged the food, when Te Angiangi finally arrived the food was laid out, there were 5 piles of food, Tore-o-puanga was at the nose of the canoe, Whakaara-raumati was at the stern – Rurupō, Rurea and Taiwha were in between. According to people the food stretched for a mile and a half.

Te Angiangi was invited to partake of the food, once the feasting was over, Te Angiangi returned home and asked his younger siblings to reciprocate that feast. He went to the South Island to gather food where his sisters Rongomaiwhāinga and Hinetāwai lived. He gathered mutton birds (salty shearwater) and albatross to reciprocate the Uaua Tamariki feast. Once the food was obtained, they boarded their canoes, the canoes were swamped, and the father of Te Angiangi drowned. The canoe Te Angiangi was in survived.

On returning he asked his nephews, “Have you collected food?” They replied, “Yes we have, but how can we reciprocate that food, ours is small!” When Te Whatu-i-āpiti arrived Te Angiangi said to him, “I have not reciprocated your feast, I have spoken to my friends, so therefore, as I cannot reciprocate, I will give you land!”

3.5.2 He whenua ka tuku

The boundary of the land Te Angiangi gifted to Te Whatu-i-āpiti was vast and included the four land blocks discussed in this research, according to the evidence of Hēnare Matua,

“Tukuna ana te whenua ki a Te Whatu-i-āpiti me te whakaatu i ngā rohe mō ngā whakatihi e rima. Tīmata te rohe i Te Upoko o Te Haemata, mau ki Paerahi, ka rere ki roto o Porangahau, mau ki te pūau o Manga-o-Rapa, ka haere i roto, mau ki te pūau o Tangarue, mau atu ki Te Horo, mau ki te Rotoiti, mau ki Rākaupuhi, ki Warupara, ka whati whakaterāwhiti ki Te Horo-o-Tehewai, mau ki Rā-i-katia, mau ki Te Hore-a-Rua, mau ki Te Umu-o-Pua, rere ki Rangitoto, rere ki Mākāretu kāore au e mōhio ki te wāhi i tau ai ki Mākāretu, ka haere i roto i Mākāretu, ka tae ki te mātāpuna i Ruahine, ka haere i runga i te raina o te raupatu tae noa ki Mangaterā, ka rere atu ki te makeretanga o Mangaterā ki Manawatū, ka whiti i Manawatū, rere tika tonu ki Ōporae, thence along Puketoi ridge (this boundary line was omitted in Blakes record) mau ki Wahatuara, mau ki Kaitūwatawata i Akitio, puta ki te moana, taha moana, ā, tae ki Te Upoko-o-Te Haemata” (1891b, p. 8).

The land was given to Te Whatu-i-āpiti, and the boundaries were for the five piles of food were established. They began at Te Upoko o Te Haemata, over to Paerahi, then into Porangahau and to the mouth of the Manga-o-Rapa, from there to the mouth of Tangarue, then over to Te Horo, then to Rotoiti, to Rākaupuhi, ki Warupara, breaking off to the east to Te Horo-o-Tehewai, then to Rā-i-katia, on to Te Hore-a-Rua, to Te Umu-o-Pua, to Rangitoto, then to Mākāretu, not sure where on Mākāretu, following the Mākāretu to its source on Ruahine, following the line of the conquest to Mangatērā, then to where the Mangatērā meets with the Manawatū, then directly to Ōporae, along the Puketoi ridge to Wahatuara, to Kaitūwatawata at Akitio out to the ocean and following the coast back to Te Upoko-o-Te Haemata.

According to the hapū of Porangahau, Ngāti Kere, Ngāti Pīhere, Ngāti Manuhiri, Ngāti Te Rangi-wāwāhia and others, “Te Angiangi never conceded all of the land he possessed. He retained a portion from Ōuepoto stream to Rangitoto (*Parimahu*) for himself. He also gifted land from Ngā-puna-waitai to Taurekaitai River, to Manuhiri. Land was gifted to Kere (Kere-tipi-whakairo), Hine-te-wai, Paki-ua and other hapū” Wakefield and Walker (2005, p. 12).

3.5.3 He tuku hē

There was a dispute regarding another kaihaukai that occurred between Tama-i-waho and Te Rehunga. Hōri Niania explained his understanding of this issue in the Waikōpiro case. It was the gift of these lands Whenuahou and Ōtāwhao to the Heretaunga chiefs Manawakawa and his son-in-law Te Rehunga which led Rangitāne to war and brought about the demise of Tama-i-waho Parsons and Rōpiha (2003, p. 42). Hōri Niania gave a good account of the issue when giving evidence in the tile investigation of the Waikōpiro block,

When Rangitāne heard of the gifts of Tama-i-waho and Te Angiangi [two separate gifts] the Rangitāne, I mean on both sides of the Manawatū Gorge, those and joined these forces and went to Manga-toro from Tāmaki and put up the post there at Manga-toro and returned. It was especially a protest against the gift. Pua-ki-te-ao was the name of the post. [note, this was the name of the second post of this name and not to be confused with the earlier one further up

the river.] Rangitāne returned. The post was put between Tūtūrewa and the Manga-toro stream, on the Manga-toro block. Don't know particular spot.

Pāora Rōpiha (1883a, pp. 18-19) in giving evidence in the Ōtāwhao case, recorded by Blake,

"I know of the gift of land by Tama-i-waho because he was killed by giving away the land without authority – I did not hear that this land was ever given away in return for a kaihaukai to Te Rehunga. I heard that the gift of food of Te Rehunga was returned in kind by Tama-i-waho. The feast of Te Rehunga feast took place at Te Takapau, and the feast given by Te Rehunga at Te Pakaroa."

Arihi Te Nahu (1883, p. 1) a descendant of Te Rehunga in her evidence in the Ōtāwhao block stated,

I claim as a member of the Ngāti Te Rehunga and Ngāti Manawakawa tribes – I know the land on plan before the court – I have a claim to it through being given to my tūpuna in payment for a feast ... The name of my tupuna to whom the land was given by Tama-i-waho was Te Rehunga ... as payment of the feast...

Figure 30:

Whakapapa: Arihi to Te Rehunga

Te Rehunga (t)
|
Wā-ki-te-rangi
|
Te Pakaru
|
Tama-i-whitia (t)
|
Te Heipora
|
Karanema
|
Arihi

Karaitiana Te Korou (1883, p. 5) of the Ngāi Tahu and Rangitāne hapū (Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāi Tahu and Toro-i-waho) offered a slight variation as to the gift through kaihaukai as stated by Arihi Te Nahu,

"I claim through the same descent as Hōri (Niania). Te Angiangi gave land to Te Whatu-i-āpiti. The gift by my tupuna Te Angiangi was never in dispute – The land was given in payment because my tupuna had no food to return the gift, therefore the land was given. I dispute Tama-i-waho giving the land to Te Rehunga – The land was given but I mean I dispute the right of its having been given."

Hēnare Matua (1883a, p. 38) stated in giving evidence in the Ōtāwhao case, “What I have heard for many years is that this land was given to Manawakawa and Te Rehunga. It was given in payment for food – a return gift in kind. I have heard of no other cause for this land being given except in payment for return of food.”

The end result of this kaihaukai feasting competition between Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Angiangi was that the land in this research has a narrative of origin and forms the foundation of each land block’s narrative. Before I discuss the separate land blocks, I record incidents that led up to each land block being investigated by the Native Land Court.

3.6 Haramai te pū

The period 1815 – 1835 was the one of the most turbulent times in the history of Rangitāne, as was the case in Heretaunga as well (Parsons & Rōpiha, 2003, p. 47). Another challenge that presented itself to the hapū of the Tamatea district and other districts was ope taua armed with the musket obtained initially by Ngāpuhi.

The famed Āmio-Whenua circa 1820 was one of these expeditions which ventured south from Kaipara in the north, eventually arriving at Te Horehore pā, “its full name is Te Horehorenga-o-te-upoko-a-Whata, *The bald head of Whata*, indicating that there were no trees on top” (Maaka, 2020). It was occupied by the Ngāi Tahu Mākakanui people from around 1525 [this date is deduced by (Smith, 1906) from genealogies], (Smith, 1910b, p. 212) recorded,

“After this, the expedition pursued their way southerly over the Ruataniwha Plains to Horehore, which is an old pā on the range just to the east of Takapau railway station called Ngā Hīnaki-a-Tarāwhata (sic). This pā is still fairly preserved and has some of the old palisading still lying on the ground. The northern taua first occupied the hill on the north of the pā and commenced a fusillade into it; but without doing any damage. They then occupied a similar hill on the south side and kept up a brisk musketry fire for some days, but without result, seeing which they moved on. The pā at this time was occupied by the Ngāi Tahu tribe, under the chiefs Te Kiri-o-Hāwea, Toatau, Ngā-Oko-i-te-rangi, Ngā-rangi-ka-hīwera and Tūhua.”

In writing an introduction to his visit to interview the Ngāi Tahu chief Tanguru Tūhua along with Major Hoani Parāone Tunuiarangi, (Smith, 1906, p. 2) wrote,

“...we induced Tanguru, the principal man of the tribe there living, to write the history of the occupation of Horehore pā, which was connected with his tribe—the Ngāi Tahu—and had been their headquarters for a great many generations... the pā is situated on a high ridge, about three-quarters of a mile east of Takapau Railway Station, from which it is a prominent object. Compared with many others, this old pā does not present high ramparts and deep ditches as in most cases, but the position is a fine one, on a peak of the limestone range called Ngā-Kai-Hīnaki-a-Tarāwhata... There are several lines of defence still visible, and on top is a large group of limestone rocks called Te Toi-a-Uru, which was the tihi, or toi of the pā, where the old chiefs assembled to discuss questions of importance to the tribe.”

The words of Smith clearly reveal the reason the pā Horehore was unable to be sacked by the forces of the northern tribes that made up the Āmio-Whenua expedition and are supported by accounts told by modern day descendants.

“Horehore Pā was never conquered in battle. As well as the built fortifications, natural features of the landscape made this a strong defensive site. The pā was on the steepest peak of the range – sheer drops made it almost impossible to scale. The tūpuna hurled rocks and boulders down the hill at would-be attackers” (Mana Whenua, 2020).

The Ngāi Tahu Mākakanui people maintain their mana whenua to Horehore pā and the surrounding land at Te Takapau.

3.6.1 Hāhā te whenua

The battles that occurred at Te Roto-a-Tara with Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the arrival of the Āmio Whenua ope taua and their excursions into the Wairarapa and Tamatea-Heretaunga district in the 1820s forced many of the people of the area to flee to either Nukutaurua, Manawatū or the Wairarapa. Some decided to hide in Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga, others remained in isolated places to maintain ‘ahikā’ *title to land through occupation*,

A large section of Te Hika-a-Pāpāuma and other coastal hapū went to Nukutaurua. They were joined there by some of the Rangitāne people of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga (Seventy Mile Bush), including a section of Ngāti Parakiore... Some Rangitāne hapū went to the Mangatainoka area, while other from Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua, Porangahau, Takapau and northern Wairarapa sought refuge with their Rangitāne relatives to the west of the mountains in Manawatū. (Paewai, 2010).

The main chief who led the people to Nukutaurua was the Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti chief Te Pareihe through his “fortuitous alliance with Te Wera Hauraki and the prophecies of Te Ngoi from Ngāi Te Whatu-i-āpiti” (Bright, 2015, pp. 15-16) and most of the hapū affiliating to Kahungunu in the Wairarapa area migrated out of the Wairarapa in late 1823. These people were with Te Pareihe and the people of Heretaunga in the first wave to Te Māhia. (Bright, 2015). (Te Teira Tiakitai, 1889f, p. 5) mentioned Pareihe and his reason for going to Nukutaurua and quoted a whakatauākī of Hauwaho,

Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Whiti, Ngāti Tama and the descendants of Rangitotohu were defeated at Te Whiti-o-Tū. Pareihe then went to Nukutaurua because Ngāpuhi were returning, they alone possessing arms. Pareihe urged Hauwaho to go with him, The latter replied, “If my neck is severed, let it be on my own land!” “Ki te motua tōku kakī me motu i tōku ake whenua.” Pareihe replied, “Stay here and become payment [utu] for Te Whiti-o-Tu.”

The people of Rākau-tātahi went to the Manawatū and stayed with their Pane-iri and Rangitāne relatives at Awhimate pā on the Manawatū river and Motuiti in the Foxton area.

After securing muskets at Nukutaurua, Te Wera Hauraki, Whareumu and an ope taua from Nukutaurua journeyed to Heretaunga to assist Pareihe in driving out the invaders from Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Raukawa and recovering Te Roto-a-tara. “It was the guns of Ngāpuhi and of Ngāti Whatu-i-āpiti under Pareihe, who had secured guns at Nukutaurua, that secured a victory over the Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Raukawa at Roto-a-Tara” (“Aorangi Judgement,” 1924b).

Owing to the influence of Christianity which was introduced into Hawke’s Bay by William Williams 1833 and William Colenso 1844 and owing mainly to the general peace and respect for law and order that followed the Treaty of Waitangi and made safe the return of the refugees from Nukutaurua and the Manawatū. The people who left from Rākau-tātahi to the Manawatū returned around 1851.

3.7 Tūtohu whenua – mana whenua

In 1835 Mana whenua made an agreement between themselves that was called He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nū Tīrene – *Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand* to assert that,

“Ko mātou ko ngā Tino Rangatira o ngā iwi o Nū Tīreni i raro mai o Hauraki kua oti nei te huihui i Waitangi i Tokerau 28 o Oketopa 1835. Ka wakauputa i te Rangatiratanga o tō mātou wenua a ka meatia ka wakauputaia e mātou he Wenua Rangatira kia huaina ‘Ko te Wakaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nū Tīreni’

We, the absolute leaders of the tribes (iwi) of New Zealand (Nū Tīreni) to the north of Hauraki (Thames) having assembled in the Bay of Islands (Tokerau) on 28th October 1835. [We] declare the authority and leadership of our country and say and declare them to be prosperous economy and chiefly country (Wenua Rangatira) under the title of ‘Te Wakaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nū Tīreni’ (The sacred Confederation of Tribes of New Zealand) (Dr Mānuka Hēnare, 2021).

Mana whenua also signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi—this particular mana whenua being the leaders of respective hapū. The renowned expert on matters of mana whenua Moana Jackson CRSNZ (1945-2022) when being interviewed said,

“One of the things, I think, that is important to remember about the Treaty in terms of how I believe our people have understood it, is that the site of political and constitutional power prior to 1840 rested in the hapū, and so He Whakaputanga is an agreement between hapū.

In Te Tiriti, the worlds in the Reo refer to hapū, and that is because hapū is also the word which means to be pregnant or to be swelling with life. And so, it was at the hapū level that the important life and death decisions were made, decisions to go to war, to make peace, to treat.

And in a big iwi like Ngāti Kahungunu, where there are literally dozens and dozens of hapū, that was acknowledged really clearly, because the interests of a hapū in Wairoa in the north might be quite different to the interests of the hapū in the Wairarapa in the south” (Moana Jackson, 2017).

He tangata mātau, he ngākau whakaiti, he tautōhito a Moana e kore rawa e warewaretia āna mahi taiea, āna mahi rangatira i kōrero noatia ai hei kai mā Hinengaro.

Rights to whenua and its resources were held by hapū prior to the arrival of the European, individuals of hapū shared a common interests and rights to the whenua,

rights established by their eponymous tupuna and through various other traditional occupational rights, take whenua. Signs on the land to indicate occupation were,

- (i) tūāhu – sacred mounds or stones erected on first settlement,
- (ii) tohu – signs marking human occupation, such as markings on trees and rocks,
- (iii) burial sites of iho of chiefly children and burial sites of bones,
- (iv) knowledge and evidence of eeling, fishing, hunting, and gathering sites,
- (v) ātete – evidence of successful defence of resources against challengers.

From time immemorial Māori have believed as Indigenous peoples do, that “they belong to the whenua” rather than the colonised concept of the whenua which belonged to them. The right to live on the land was sustained through ahi kā roa *continuous occupation*. Indigenous people see themselves as caretakers or stewards of the whenua, rather than private owners of specifically defined areas. The spiritual beliefs and worldviews of Indigenous peoples are deeply rooted on their connection with whenua, often with the related subsistence activities of hunting, fishing, and gathering OECD (2020).

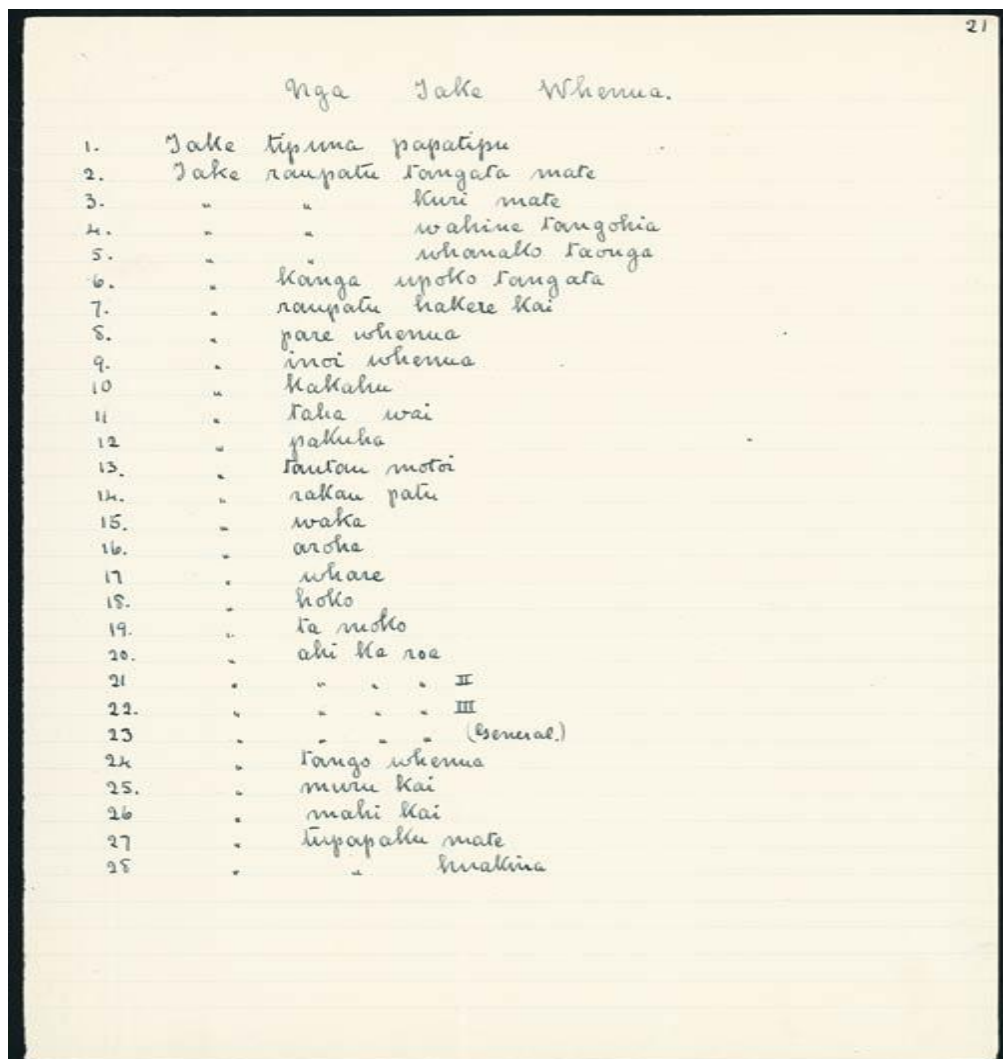
3.7.1 Take whenua

The following list of 28 take whenua was recorded by Rāpata Wahawaha of the Te Aowera hapū of Ngāti Porou in a letter to the ethnographer Elsdon Best. This list of terms giving reasons why Māori connected to land reflects the many types of relationships

tūpuna had to the whenua. Take whenua and other customary practices were fluid to accommodate changing tribal relationships, which led to shifting claims and rights to land. I have attempted to explain some of these reasons with a list of explanations which is possibly a further research task for those interested researchers,

Figure 31:

Take Whenua written by Rāpata Wahawaha Elsdon Best Collection. Ref: MS-Papers 0072-39E



My explanations,

- (i) Take tupuna papatipu – ancestral right through the tupuna/s growing up on the land,

- (ii) Take raupatu tangata mate – through conquest and the killing of enemies,
- (iii) Take raupatu kurī mate – conquest due to someone killing a pet dog
- (iv) Take raupatu wahine tangohia – conquest due to someone kidnapping a female of prominence,
- (v) Take raupatu whanako taonga – conquest due to a prized possession being stolen,
- (vi) Take kanga upoko tangata – an insult,
- (vii) Take inoi whenua – land obtained through request.
- (viii) Take kākahu – a place to gather resources to make clothes (harakeke, bird feathers, mud for dying),
- (ix) Take taha wai – occupying land close to a water source,
- (x) Take pākūhā – land obtain through gift for marriage,
- (xi) Take rākau patu – land where trees were used to make weapons,
- (xii) Take waka – land where trees were taken to fashion canoes,
- (xiii) Take aroha – land gained by allowing close relatives to live on the land,
- (xiv) Take whare – place where a whare stood,
- (xv) Take hoko – land purchased,
- (xvi) Take tāmoko – place where tattooing took place,
- (xvii) Take ahi kā roa – land through continued occupation over a long period of time
- (xviii) Take ahikā roa II,
- (xix) Take ahikā roa III,

- (xx) Take ahikā roa (general),
- (xxi) Take tango whenua – land obtain through muru,
- (xxii) Take muru kai – incident where food was plundered,
- (xxiii) Take mahi kai – land used for cultivation or procuring food,
- (xxiv) Take tūpāpaku mate – land where tūpuna died and/or are buried/or hidden,
- (xxv) Take tūpāpaku huakina – land where tūpuna remains have been moved.

Through well organised social structures based on specific customs and beliefs embracing the experiences of their tūpuna, hapū maintained a long-lasting intimate relationship with the environment.

As McAloon (2008) states, “Traditional Māori society had complex ideas about rights over land. Hapū and whānau had rights to use the same piece of land for different purposes. For example, one group might be allowed to fish in the stream, while another could grow food on the land nearby”. A narrative written for the *Ngā Ara Tupuna* project in Waipukurau and Takapau supports the reasoning of Tūkākī Waititi (2021, p. iii),

I te ao Māori, he whakapapa ō ngā mea katoa. Mā te whakapapa e tūhonohono ai te tangata ora, tētahi ki tētahi, mā te whakapapa anō e hono atu ai ki te hunga kua ngaro ki tua o te ārai, waihoki, ki ngā uri kāore anō kia whānau mai, tae atu ki ngā mea katoa o te ao tūroa.

Ko tētahi whakaaro nui ‘ko te hono tūngaengae ki te whenua’: te hononga o te tangata ki tōna ūkaipō. E kī ana te kōrero, ko te oranga o te tangata he whenua, arā, he oranga ā-tinana, ā-wairua hoki. Ko tā te tangata anō he manaaki, he tiaki i tōna whenua, i tōna taiao.

In te ao Māori, nothing exists in isolation. All people are connected by whakapapa to those who have passed on and to those who have yet to be born, and to all things in the natural world.

An important concept is “hono tūngaengae ki te whenua” the umbilical link between the land and people. The land is an essential source of physical and spiritual nourishment for the people who live on it. It is the responsibility of people to care for their environment.

These “take whenua” were adopted in some manner or form by claimants and counterclaimants when giving evidence in the Native Land Court which is expanded on in the next Upoko.

The land was explored, settled, and spoken of through discovery and the system of taunahanaha or tapatapa. As noted earlier, Māori had many traditional forms of claiming connection to the land termed as mentioned previously as ‘take whenua’. These ‘take whenua’ were validated through whakapapa, through tātai kōrero, to taumau, take whenua kite, *discovery* from being born on the land, to mahinga kai, from pakanga *battles* to taumau, pākūhā’ *arranged marriages*, to kaihaukai and other ‘take’.

Regardless of hapū having these long-sustained connections to the land, the imposition of the “western perspective” to land brought to Aotearoa by the colonisers, such as individual title—the idea of land being a product to be bought and sold—reflected a disconnection spiritually to land and created a new order conflicting with the Indigenous intimacy of communal connection to whenua. The introduction of trading and churches to the various tribal regions brought another challenge to the idea of kāinga rua *places of settlement*.

3.7.2 Kāinga rua

The proverb *Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua* attributed to Tama-mutu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa Fletcher (1922, pp. 29-26) reflects the practice of hapū possessing two or more places of settlement in line with seasonal food gathering practises and for defensive needs. Having two settlements, such as food gathering places and fortified pā also provided hapū with a place to defend themselves against adversaries. Post colonisation a second settlement was set often up to move closer to trade routes, to attend church and to minimize the costs of travel and accommodation to attend Native Land Court cases.

The proverb *Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua* has taken on modern interpretations and forms, sometimes simply said as “*mate kāinga tahi, ora kāinga rua*”, This proverb speaks of resilience and improvisation, on the one hand. It is commonly applied to any situation in which a ‘plan B’ is required, or when one system gives way to another Brickell (2018).

Other interpretations are,

From adversity comes opportunity to make change

If something does not bring benefit the first time around, it will the next

If one thing fails, another opportunity will come up

If one door closes another one opens

A common thread is perseverance combined with hope to keep adapting towards a better outcome Bakker (2020).

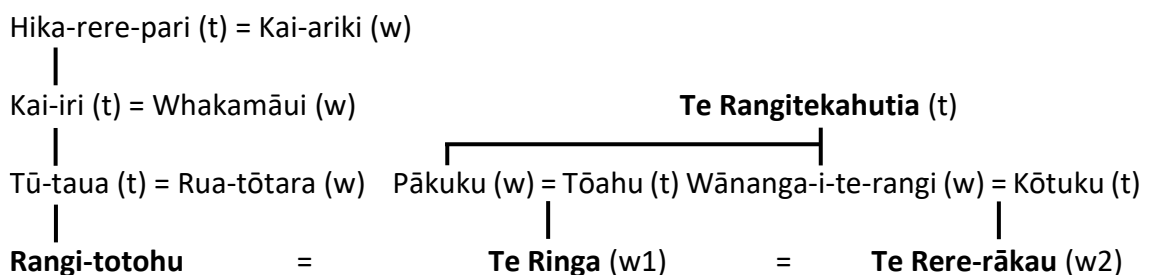
Always have a plan B.(Moorfield, 2000)

There's always an alternative, Author (2023).

My Ngāti Mārau, Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu and Ngāti Te Rangi-te-Kahutia people of Rākau-tātahi as well as other hapū of the district had a second food gathering place at Whatumā lake, southwest of Waipukurau which is acknowledged in the pepeha of the Rākau-tātahi marae, “Ko Whatumā te waiū”. The hapū had another settlement, Tāpairu pā, at Waipawa, established by tūpuna in 1872, “ki te whakarongo ki te rongopai” *to listen to the good news, the gospel* where the descendants of Ngāti Te Rangi-te-kahutia and Rangitāne also stayed. Rangi-totohu eventually married the two granddaughters of Te Rangi-te-kahutia, Te Ringa and Rererākau.

Figure 32:

Moe whakawhitiwhiti. The relationship of Rangi-totohu to Te Rangi-te-kahutia through marriage



There are examples of both mahinga kai and pā tūwatawata *fortifications* for defence purposes on each of the blocks. These mahinga kai and pā tūwatawata of the respective hapū in this research is expanded on in full when the individual blocks are fully discussed. ‘Take whenua’ allowed hapū to utilise their mana whenua in establishing mahinga kai and defensive fortifications. Both the food gathering places and places set up as sanctuaries were an important part of the overall survival for hapū and mana whenua was an integral facet post arrival of the colonist in interpreting land value.

3.8 Ngaru wai, ngaru tangata

The early 1800s saw the beginning of the 'ngaru tangata', from the arrival of sealers, followed by whalers—many of them ex-convicts from New South Wales—who set up temporary places to stay along the southern coasts to traders in flax, timber, and fish. The whalers eventually moved north to The Bay of Islands, to Kororā-reka which became a hub for trading and a place for the whalers to anchor, and replenish supplies, and refit their ships. Arrivals of settlers increased a hundred-fold, and it signalled a time of rapid change in Aotearoa. Even though Māori were quick to adapt to this 'paringa tai tangata' *human wave* and even though hapū were keen to be involved in trade, there was a downside to this 'paringa tai tangata', as it included lawlessness and unruly behaviour from whalers, sealers, and traders. Seventy crew of the ship 'Boyd' along with women and children were slaughtered at Whangaroa in 1809 in retribution for the ill-treatment of the chief Tara (Manatū Taonga).

Missionaries had also arrived and as well as preaching the word they sought land to establish mission stations. They also encouraged Māori to form their own independent government but failed through the inability of the chiefs of the time to agree. The missionaries divided the Europeans who came to New Zealand in the early 19th century into two groups: the agents of virtue *themselves* and the agents of vice *almost everyone else* (Manatū Taonga - Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016).

As Baker notes in his electronic article, "By the early 1830's trade between New Zealand had become so intense that there could be up to 30 ships at anchor and 1000 seamen

on shore at any one time but still no law to control them or the Māori". In 1834 some of the crew of the *Harriet* were killed by Taranaki Māori when it ran aground at Cape Egmont. There were calls from Māori to seek protection from the British. There was also the threat from the French and in 1831, 13 Northern chiefs sent a letter to King William IV requesting that the King become a "friend and guardian of these islands". The letter expressed concern about a possible takeover by the French and suggested that unless the King acted to control the misconduct of British citizens living in or visiting New Zealand, the rangatira would be forced to enforce their own laws,

(Enclosure 3 in No. 1.)

To King William, the gracious Chief of England

King William,

We, the chiefs of New Zealand assembled at this place, called Kerikeri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee.

We are people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork, and potatoes, we sell these things however to your people then we see property of the Europeans. It is only thy land is liberal to us. From thee also comes missionaries who teach us to believe in Jehovah God and on Jesus Christ his son.

We have heard that the tribe of Marian (France), is at hand coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these lands, lest the teasing of other tribes should come near us, and lest strangers should come and take away our land.

And if any of thy people should be troublesome and vicious towards us (for some people who are living here who have run away from the ships), we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them.

This letter is from us, of the chiefs of the natives of New Zealand. The foregoing is a literal translation of the accompanying document.

William Yate Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, New Zealand.

Ware-ahi, Chief of Pāroa.

Rewa, Chief of Wai-mate.

Patuone

Nene (Two brothers), Chiefs of Hokianga.

Kekeao, Chief of Te Ahuahu.

Tī-tore, Chief of Kororā-reka
Tamo-ranga, Chief of Tai-a-mai
Ripe, Chief of Mapere
Hara, Chief of Ōhaeawai
Atua-haere, Chief of Kaikohe
Moe-tara, Chief of Pākauai
Matangi, Chief of Waimā
Taunui, Chief of Huta kura, Turton (1883, p. A. 1.).

I note the wording “without possessions” reflecting the new order imposed on the minds of the post-colonial chiefs who valued land above all but here their “possessions” did not include land, contrary to the perspective of the Siksika chief Crowfoot **2.10 He kupu whakatau 9.**

As a result of the unrestrained lawlessness of British subjects—not withstanding those from other nationalities—and the fear that France could declare sovereignty over Aotearoa, 34 Chiefs and the then British representative James Busby signed He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene, *The Declaration of Independence of the United tribes of New Zealand* in 1835. 18 other chiefs signed, including Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Pōtatau Te Wherowhero of Tainui. “Through He Whakaputanga, these 52 rangatira asserted that Aotearoa New Zealand was an independent Māori state, that power resided fully with Māori, and that foreigners would not be allowed to make laws” Manatū Taonga (2016).

The late Whangaroa elder, Nuki Aldridge, was a strong advocate for upholding He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene. Nuki shared thoughts with Warne (2017), co-founder, and initial editor of *New Zealand Geographic* magazine notes, where

he spoke about his tūpuna seeing, “that their world was about to face unprecedented change and they acted to respond actively to it. “They could see what was coming, Nuki told me, A wave was forming on the horizon — the old people called it te ngaru, *the wave* — and it threatened to swamp them.”

3.8.1 Ngaru tangata, ngaro whenua

The insatiable appetite for land by the wave of early traders, missionaries, and settlers in the early 1820s through to the late 1830s brought about a scenario of ‘land grab’ through fair or foul means. The concept of ‘land sales’ was not part of the Māori psyche about land when the tide of Pākehā settlers washed ashore with unbridled desire to obtain land. This clash of perspective was to have a major impact on the customary lore and cultural understanding of tūpuna. Boast and Black (2011, p. 43) comment, “Some chiefs allowed Europeans to settle on a piece of land in exchange for goods, but did not see this as granting them absolute ownership – they saw it as a transfer of particular rights which remained subject to Māori rights to the land.”

Trade in land reached a peak in 1839 with Sydney traders indulging in what they called “bona fide speculation” but in what officials called “land sharking and grabbing” eventually forcing the forbidding of land sales by Governor George Gipps (1791-1847) except to the Crown in January 1840 McLintock (1966). One month later on 6 February 1840, the Tiriti o Waitangi was initially signed by approximately 40 chiefs. Copies of the treaty were taken around the country and 8 months later in September 1840 over 500 chiefs had sign the Tiriti. It is pertinent to note here that nearly all of the 500 chiefs only

signed the version that was written in te reo Māori. It didn't take long before the mana and wairua of the words of the Treaty were tampered with, reflecting quite possibly the underlying motive of the colonisers—to procure land for sale and settlement.

3.8.2 Kaitaonga

In the year of the signing of the treaty, George Clarke (1798-1875) a product of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was given the position of “chief protector of aborigines” for the Native Protectorate Department set up under the *Land Claims Ordinance* 1841 where he stated that, “Nothing will be done affecting the New Zealanders [the Māori] but through me and those who are placed under me” Grover (1990). Clarke was also put in a conflicting position of working to obtain land whenever and wherever possible for the Crown, whilst supposedly protecting Māori. Grover (1990) continues,

“Clarke came under scrutiny from three separate groups: the government, the settlers, and the Māori people. None accepted Clarke's view of his role, although at first the government, because of its lack of resources and expertise, paid heed to Clarke and used him successfully in intertribal and inter-racial disputes.”

However, it became abundantly clear that Clarke's role on the one hand was to protect Māori interests and on the other hand was to act for the government in land sale negotiations.

Governor George Grey (1812-1898) disbanded the Native Protectorate Department in 1846 as he held concerns that there were those who wanted “to influence the Māori” and he wished to be the only one with that power. Within the six years from 1840-1846,

- (i) the Treaty of Waitangi gave the Crown pre-emptive right of purchase of Māori land,
- (ii) land purchases prior to 1840 were investigated,
- (iii) Māori were deemed to be under Crown authority,
- (iv) the “Wairau Incident” occurred in 1843, when a dispute over land sales between Māori and the New Zealand Company led to the Ngāti Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha (?-1849) and Te Rangihaeata (1870s-1855) disrupting surveyors by burning down their hut, the then Nelson police magistrate, Henry Thompson (1804-1843), the New Zealand Company representative, Arthur Wakefield (1799-1843) and an armed force of 47 “special constables” arrived to arrest them. A musket accidentally went off killing Te Rongo, the wife of Te Rangihaeata. 28 people were killed 6 Māori and 22 Europeans (including 9 who had surrendered who were murdered for utu for the death of Te Rongo and the other 5 Māori).
- (v) regardless of Te Tiriti o Waitangi giving the Crown exclusive right to purchase Māori land, the then Governor Robert Fitzroy waived that right in 1844 allowing Māori to sell land direct to settlers,
- (vi) finally in 1846, the British government instructed that all Māori landownership was to be registered; land deemed to be unused, or “surplus to requirements” was to become Crown land.

“Governor George Grey reinstated the exclusive Crown right to purchase Māori land provided for in the Treaty of Waitangi” Manatū Taonga (2023). The idea of surplus land, like individual title was another European construct that clashed with Māori perspective of all land providing sustenance for communal wellbeing. “Crown agents developed dubious practices to persuade Māori to

sell, and they could offer whatever the government was prepared to pay, rather than a market rate. The government was the arbiter as well as the defendant when Māori complained” Manatū Taonga (2023).

3.9 Nau mai te Karauna

When the Native Protectorate Department under George Clark was disbanded in 1846 by Governor George Grey, he appointed Donald McLean (1820-1877) head of the Native Land Purchase Department. McLean's attitude regarding race relations was based on the belief that European dominance was inevitable and desirable, and that the best chance for Māori was complete assimilation Manatū Taonga (2017).

In the late 1840s, Tamatea-Heretaunga rangatira invited the Crown to acquire land in their rohe in the expectation of gaining economic opportunities from European settlement. A letter written by Te Hāpuku (?-1878) to Governor Grey was one communicate that supported the settlement of the “European gentleman” in the Tamatea-Heretaunga district,

This is from your loving friend, who has agreed to give Mr McLean the land for you, that you, the Governor, may have the land and send me Europeans as soon as possible, at the same time with the payment that we may have respectable European gentleman. I am annoyed with the low Europeans of this place. Let the people come direct from England—new Europeans to live on our lands at Tawitikura. Let it be a large, very large town for me. Old Colonist (1868, p. 3)

In December 1850 Donald McLean, under instruction from Governor Grey, began negotiations with Māori of Tamatea-Heretaunga to purchase blocks of land. McLean's success in purchasing land led to his securing the first land purchase in the Tamatea region of 279,000 acres which was the Waipukurau block [sometimes referred to as Te Hāpuku's block] in 1851.

Figure 33:

Te Waipukurau block 1851 - Archives NZ, ref. R12153199, File 3

https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE37791268



Before the end of 1851 at the urging of McLean the Government had purchased between 600,000 and 700,000 acres of “some of the finest land in New Zealand” for the price of £6100. In the opinion of the ‘Old Colonist’ a blogger from that epoch, the few tūpuna who had the position of negotiating land sales “were evidently prompted as much by a desire to obtain European settlement throughout the country, as by the money which they were to receive — of the real value of which they had but imperfect knowledge” (Old Colonist, 1868).

McLean went on to purchase two more blocks of land, the Ahuriri block and the Mōhaka block. In all, the total amount of land purchased from Hawke's Bay Māori was 254,547 hectares [628,999.335 acres].

Figure 34:

Māori Land Court – Te Kōti Whenua - 'Te kōti tango whenua', 1865–1873', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/36136/donald-mclean-land-purchases-1851> (accessed 28 February 2024)



The purchase of these blocks of land in 1851 was the beginning of land sales in the Tamatea region. Buchanan (1973) records that “European settlement in the area occurred mainly after 1850 and some parts which were densely bushed were not opened up until 1870”. Karaitiana Takamoana (?-1879) along with Te Hāpuku, Kurupō Te Moananui (?-1861) a.k.a. Kurupō, and other chiefs supported the Waipukurau sale as they foresaw towns being established which would attract Europeans and trading opportunities.

“Takamoana remained an enthusiastic land-seller during the 1850s and much of the 1860s ... By the late 1860s Takamoana became less willing to sell land. He began to question the methods of both government and private land purchasers, particularly the pressure they placed on those, like him, who were heavily in debt to local storekeepers” Manatū Taonga (2017).

However, there were several factors that directly impacted on the land blocks being discussed in this research and the Māori perspective of which belonged to the land rather than owning the land began to weigh heavy on the minds of the chiefs. Some settlers attempted to reinterpret the Treaty by suggesting that land rights guaranteed to Māori by the Treaty only concerned land they continually used for cultivations and for housing. In a report written by William Spain (1803-1876) on purchases claimed by the New Zealand Company he followed the belief of the 1840 select committee that the “possessory rights of the natives to their land be retained in full... so long as their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession” Riseborough and Hutton (1997, p. 9).

Days before the Waipukurau deed was signed in 1851, Crown officials arranged for a large area to be added to the block without the knowledge of the area’s occupants The Crown (2014). The added block was the Aorangi block [the land where now stands the Silver Fern Farm’s freezing works just south of Takapau], and the Crown acknowledged this lack of consultation in the *Tamatea-Heretaunga Claims Settlement Act 2018 Part 1* s9,

“The Crown acknowledges that, in 1851 it failed to investigate the customary ownership of a 3,500-acre area known as Aorangi before arranging to include it in a large extension of the Waipukurau block before the deed was signed; and it never obtained the consent of the customary owners to its acquisition of this portion of Aorangi; and it purchased a further 3,700 acres of Aorangi from a small number of customary owners in 1854, again without investigating customary ownership; and it failed to uphold an agreement it made with some customary owners in 1858 to return 1,870 acres of Aorangi "Heretaunga-Tamatea Claims Settlement Act 2018" (2018, p. 13).

The report continues to say, that the Crown acknowledged “that from 1854, it conducted negotiations that became known as ngā hoko tāhae or *the secret purchases* for a number of Tamatea-Heretaunga blocks with small groups or individuals in Auckland and Wellington without adequately investigating the customary ownership of these blocks” “Heretaunga-Tamatea Claims Settlement Act 2018” (2018, p. 14).

The Waipukurau block purchase was the first act of land alienation whereby Māori no longer held mana whenua through the leasing of their lands. The actual sale rested on the consent of Hine-i-paketia and it took a visit from Donald McLean and encouragement from Te Hāpuku for Hine-i-paketia to agree. The underlying factor for Hine-i-paketia agreeing was revealed at a hui of the people when she expressed her sadness at the whenua no longer supplying the food of her tūpuna, “The birds and other game—the fruits of the land—had been destroyed by introduced predators. She wanted the land to be settled by Europeans with whom her people could trade for “goods for all young and old” Ballara (1990a).

Hine-i-paketia was involved in legitimate land sales but in other sales she along with her male relations Hōri Niania (fl. 1816-1876) and Te Hāpuku sold land illicitly. Hōri Niania was dominant in these sales and often misspent the money received whilst other owners remained oblivious to the sales. The blocks that were sold illegitimately were the Aorangi, Ōmarutāiri, Tautāne and Ruataniwha blocks. Hōri talks about his selling land in the Ōtāwhao railway line case **6.3 Ōtāwhao Rerewei** p.221

“They objected to my sale at the time of the King movement. People in general objected, not Te Rehunga only ... All the people disapproved of my selling land. They objected about the year 1859 and the objection continued for 18 years.”

William Williams (1861) in recording his thoughts on land purchases,

“But I am sorry to say I cannot speak with equal satisfaction of other purchases which have followed ... In the year 1857, I visited the Natives of that province [Tamatea-Heretaunga] while the Tribes respectively of Te Hāpuku and of Te Moananui were fighting. I gathered from the people of Te Moananui that the ground of a quarrel, which cost them many lives on both sides, was the land; that their first land sales had been managed by Te Hāpuku, at their request; and that the proceeds had been fairly divided; but that subsequently Hāpuku had taken upon himself to dispose of lands to which he had only an indirect claim, reserving to himself the larger share; and in some cases, the whole of the payment - that at the time when they made this statement to me, Hāpuku was living upon their land; and that they were determined he should live no longer upon it, lest he should sell that also.

In a letter written by Renata Kawepō, the principal Chief of the Te Pane-iri tribe a.k.a Ngāi Te Upokoiri, to the Superintendent of the Province of Napier, the native feeling in reference to the late purchases of land is put forth in forcible language. He writes,

“Listen, while I tell you of the last errors of Mr. McLean, after we had wiped out his former ones; the mistakes that were made subsequently, viz; Ōmarutāiri and Ngāpaeruru ... When Mr. McLean went to Te Aute, it was reported that this land was sold. The owners went straight off, and said, - "Mr. McLean, don't buy that land." They remained three days repeating this; and then went away; and afterwards the money was secretly paid to two persons [Hōri Niania and Hine-paketia]”.

The subsequent purchases by the Crown of the Ahuriri and Mōhaka blocks opened the flood gates and, in a letter, written 29 June 1859 by the Chief Commissioner Donald McLean in Napier to the Assistant Native Secretary T. H. Smith, McLean wrote,

“With regard to lands already acquired, I find on reference to published returns and purchases already made, 1,404,700 acres have been purchased, that 500,000 acres may be considered waste and useless, and that from 200,000 to 300,000 acres may be required for the present and future wants of the Natives” out of an estimated provincial area of 2,700,000 acres” McLean (1859).

In another letter to the “Ētita o Te Wānanga” newspaper, eleven leaders from the Ngāti Kahungunu people appealed to Tā Hōri Kerei *Sir George Grey* regarding officers of the previous administration,

Kotahi tā mātou kupu kei muri nei; he whakamahara atu ki ngā tāngata o te Kāwanatanga tawhito kua hinga atu nei, me ā rātou āpiha katoa, ahakoa e mahi tonu ana ētahi i aua Āpiha ki tēnei Kāwanatanga, me mutu rawa tā rātou haere mai ki ō mātou kāinga me ō mātou takiwā, ki te kōrero ki a mātou mō tētahi mea, ahakoa iti, ahakoa rahi rānei, nō te mea, kua mate mātou i ngā mahi a aua tāngata, ā, ka totohe aua tāngata ki te haere mai ki ō mātou kāinga me ō mātou takiwā, tērā rātou e panaia kinotia e mātou, nā, kia mōhio kua puta tā mātou kupu, ā, e koro, e rerekē atu tā mātou mahi. Kua mutu tā mātou whiriwhiri i ēnei mea katoa, heoi anō ngā tāngata e pai ana mātou kia haere mai ki a mātou, ko ngā tāngata o tēnei Kāwanatanga me ā rātou Āpiha hou, kāore i uru ki ngā mahi io te Kāwanatanga tawhito.

Ko ngā kupu katoa i mua ake he mea i oti i a mātou i te hui ki Te Wai-o-hiki, te whiriwhiri, i te pō o te 15 o ngā rā o tēnei marama 1877.

We also wish to give utterance to the following words, which is to remind all the officers of the late Government, including also any who may be officers of the present Government, that all said officers refrain from coming to our settlements, or district, to speak to us on any matter, whether of great, or little importance, because we have been ruined by the work of those men. If such officers do persist in coming into our districts, we will cause them to depart in a manner disagreeable to themselves. Now (let such officers) take notice that we have spoken our words, and we will not act in any other way than we have (herein) stated. We have fully considered, and carefully pondered over all these matters. All the people who may come to us in accordance with our approval, will be the men of this Government and their new officers, who may not have been in the employ of the late Government.

All the above was agreed to by us at a meeting at the Waiohiki on the night of the 15th of this month December, 1877 Tāreha Te Moananui, Kawepō, et al. (1877, pp. 22-23).

The letter signed off with a plea to the rest of the tribes of Aotearoa,

Heoi, nā mātou katoa, nā ngā iwi e Ngāti Kahungunu e mau ake nei ngā ingoa, engari kotahi te kupu, kei te toe, mā ngā iwi o te motu nei e pai, e kino rānei, koia tēnei, me whai mai tā koutou mahi i tā mātou, kia kotahi ai ā rātou mahi me ō tātou whakaaro, mā reira hoki tātou e ora ai i ngā tinihanga, i ngā whakawai e karapoti nei i a tātou.

But there is one word more (we wish to give expression to). Let the tribes of these islands approve the following or not. Let your word be in accordance with ours so that we may act as one and have but one thought, so that we may escape from the deceit and duplicity which now envelops us all.

3.9.1 He rahurahu kei raro

There were deceitful practices and duplicity undertaken by runholders, store owners, politicians and even some of our own in the Tamatea-Heretaunga region. The Crown acquired land secretly without seeking the consent of all customary owners. Here we see McLean being deceitful,

Two men came to sell their land, by stealth, to Mr. McLean. The owners heard of and wrote a letter to Mr. McLean not to pay any money to those men. When they reached Mr. McLean one of us saw them there; Karaitiana Takamoana, who suspected they must have come to sell the land secretly. Karaitiana put Mr. McLean upon his guard, who replied, - "You are right, for I have got a letter from Pāora Tama-i-hotua." Karaitiana read the letter; and then said to Mr. McLean, - "This letter is correct. Don't you give any money for the land to these men but pay your money into the hands of the tribe on the spot; that the land may pass with a clear title to you." Mr. McLean consented to this; and as soon as Karaitiana was gone he paid £400 as the price of Ngāpaeruru William Williams (1861).

Runholders were leasing land illegally. The "ten-owner rule" created an enticing opportunity for some Māori to exploit that rule. Tensions in the Heretaunga region simmered through the voracious appetite of Government officials to obtain land. Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Kurupō Te Moananui of Ngāti Hāwea and through his father Te Whatu-i-āpiti were heavily involved in the Waipukurau purchase organised by Donald McLean, Chief Land Purchase Commissioner at the time [the fact that McLean was only 31 years old in 1851 is interesting in that he had a lot of power for a young man]. After the Waipukurau purchase Te Hāpuku remained keen to continue offering up land.

William Colenso (1811-1899) who had arrived in Hawke's Bay in 1844 conscious of Māori land disappearing encouraged Heretaunga chiefs to set aside land as reserves for themselves and their children, but at that time Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku were more

focussed on selling land rather than preserving land. After several sales by Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku, Te Moananui began to realise that the land was disappearing so he along with the other rangatira living in the Heretaunga region, Tāreha, Hēnare Tōmoana (?-1904), Karaitiana Takamoana and Rēnata Kawepō “expressed their opposition to further sales of land and advised Te Hāpuku of their desire to hold on to their remaining lands” Cole (1977, p. 6).

Some of the sales in which she was involved were agreed to after discussions with other legitimate claimants. But in other sales, particularly those blocks sold in 1854, Hine-i-paketia was one of three, with her cousins Te Hāpuku and Hōri Niania Te Aroatua, who plotted to sell the land clandestinely, sometimes in Wellington. These sales were often secretly negotiated by Hōri Niania, the money squandered, and the major claimants to the land left in ignorance of the sale. Such blocks included the Tautāne and Ruataniwha blocks.

Te Hāpuku wasn't to be “dictated to” and remained focussed on selling land expressing his desire for land “around Whakatū which he occupied only with the consent of Te Moananui. When Te Hāpuku started to build a pā, Te Moananui took umbrage” Cole (1977, p. 6).

W.T.Prentice (1939, pp. 108-109 in Wilson et al.) takes up the issue,

Pakiaka Fight: This was the last of the fights between Māori and took place in the year 1857. It was between Te Hāpuku and the Chiefs of Heretaunga. Te Hāpuku had been living at Te Ngaue pā. Whilst there one of the periodical floods came and he was obliged to escape to Whakatū, where he settled.

By this time the Crown had acquired land in the district for settlement. Among the first to sell their lands were the Ngāi Te Upokoiri. Te Hāpuku also sold land freely. Some of the Heretaunga Chiefs objected to his selling their tribal lands. Te Hāpuku now had designs on Pakiaka, some bush-land near Whakatū, and also on Whakatū itself. His desire to appropriate these places led to the fight. Opposing Te Hāpuku were the Chiefs Karaitiana and Te Moananui. ... Tāreha joined forces with Karaitiana ... Rēnata Kawepō was at this time living with Tāreha at Pāwhakairo. He had had a quarrel previously with Te Hāpuku and Tāwhara. This served as an excuse to for him to join Karaitiana. Others in the district, including the Chiefs Hēnare Tōmoana, Karawa, Te Mātenga and Te Meihana, also joined ...The fight was then carried on by the other Chiefs and ended in defeat of Te Hāpuku. The Chiefs ordered him out of the district and told him never again to come into their territories.

William Williams (1829-1916) in his roll of Bishop of Waiapu wrote to the then Governor George Grey on 5 June 1861, reporting on a visit he undertook to the Heretaunga region,

“... while the tribes respectively of Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui were fighting. I gathered from the people of Te Moananui that the ground of a quarrel, which cost them many lives on both sides, was the land—that their first land sales had been managed by Te Hāpuku at their request, and that the proceeds had been fairly divided—but that subsequently Hāpuku had taken upon himself to dispose of lands to which he had only an indirect claim, reserving to himself the larger share, and in some cases the whole of the payment—that, at the time when they made that statement to me, Hāpuku was living on their land, and that they were determined he should live no longer upon it, lest he should sell that also” Williams (1861).

Ballara takes up the incident in more detail,

“He (Te Hāpuku) was camping at Whakawhiti, close to Te Pakiaka, a stand of bush where his followers had the permission of Te Moananui to gather firewood. However, when Te Hāpuku's people began to cut standing timber for a new pā, the limit of the tolerance of Te Moananui was reached. He erected a pole as a sign of his claim to the timber, and on 18 August went within hail of Te

Hāpuku's camp, telling him not to remove the timber that had been felled the previous day. When a party of Te Hāpuku's men reached the felled timber and refused to go back, firing began. Both sides sustained casualties but Te Hāpuku's party came off worse" (Ballara, 1990b).

Harawira Te Tātere (1857, pp. 8-11) gives a detailed account in his letter to McLean

Nau mai rā, haere rā, e taku reta, ki Ākarana, ki a Te Kāwana, ki a Te Makarini. E tā, tēnā rā koe, arā, kōrua ko te Kāwana o Niu Tirenī. Tēnā pea ka rongo mai koe i te hē a ngā tāngata o Heretaunga ... heoi, tēnei te mea e mōhio nei au, he tikanga Māori e kōhuru nei i ngā rangatira o te Māori, ara, he kupu atu, he kupu atu, he kupu mai, he arero atu, he arero mai; heoi, te taea te wakararata, e rite ana ki tā Hēmi 3, 8 [James 3:8] ... ko tāku tēnei i roto i tā Te Hāpuku, me whakaoti te whawhai, ka oti, ka mau te rongo ki ngā tāngata kātahi ka haere i runga i te rangimārie. Ko te pukapuka tēnei o te parekura i te 18 o ngā rā o Ākuhata, 1857. Ko te rā tēnei i hinga ai te parekura i a Paiaka, ka tae mai te tangata i roto i te parekura ka kī mai ki a au, ka uru te tangata ki te mate; ka putu mai te aroha i a au mō ngā tāngata ka maumau noa ki te mate, ka tīmata taku karakia i roto i te whare karakia, kia tohungia rātou e te Atua ... Ka puta mai te wakaaro i roto i ahau, me haere pea ahau ki te whakamātau i tētahi kapa māku ki a Te Hāpuku rāua ko Pūhara, kia whakamutua te pupuhi, me kore e whakaae mai rāua; ka haere matakū ahau, ā, pā ana hoki ki a au te wehi ki te mate ... Ka tae atu ahau ki a ia [Te Moananui] tēnei taku kupu ki a koe, arā, ki a koutou katoa, me wakaoti e koutou tēnei whawhai, kia mutu, inā hoki e takoto nei tō tātou tamaiti [Paiaka Tiakitai]. Me tuku mai te pou ki ahau, me whakarere tēnei whenua kia takoto kau ana mō tō tātou tūpāpaku. Kāhore i aetia e Ngāti Kahuhunu. Ka kī mai anō a Te Moananui ki a au, me tahuri atu koe ki ō tuākana kōrero ai, ki a Te Hāpuku, ki a Pūhara, ki a rātou katoa ... Ka ki atu ahau ki a Te Hāpuku. Tēnei taku kupu ki a kōrua ko Pūhara, kia whakamutua te pupuhi, kia haere ahau ki te tiki i taku tamaiti. Ka whakaae mai ia, Āe, kia tae, ka riro mai, ka whawhai anō ... Nāu anō e te Makarini, i kōrero mai ki a au kia tuhituhi pukapuka atu ki a koe; nō reira taku reta i haere anō i a koe: māu rānei e tuku i taku pukapuka ki te kaiperehi o te Karere Māori. Otirā, kei a koe te whakaaro. Tēnei anō mātou te tangi nei ki a koe; he ahakoa, kino ana mātou, hohoro mai ki te homai kupu whakamārie mai ki a mātou. Nāku tēnei pukapuka, ki a te Makarini, Nā to hoa aroha, Nā Te Harawira Te Tātere.

Harawira's letter is an important documentary of the Paiaka incident, so I have included

the full narrative in **Āpitihanga 6: He Reta Inoi** as it is a good example of te reo Māori describing in vivid detail Harawira's emotions in "te mura o te ahi" *the heat of battle*.

Harawira also includes the names of those who were killed and wounded.

After this defeat Te Hāpuku returned to Te Haukē to see out his days there. I moe ia i te i te 23 o ngā rā, o te marama o Haratua, o te tau 1878 *He died on the 23 May 1878.*

3.11 Te Takapau-Te Rākau-tātahi

Minor skirmishes occurred on the four blocks post-colonial but nothing of the magnitude of the Paiaka fight. The four blocks did not go untouched by the unscrupulous actions of various individuals both European through their voracious desire for land and Māori intent on securing monetary gain at the expense of the collective good creating tensions internally between closely connected hapū “riri tara ā-whare” *in-house fighting* covered fully in **4.4.2 He ririri tara ā-whare**.

Tanguru Tūhua mentions an incident involving Hōri Niania and Te Hei and their sale of the Ōmarutāiri with the boundaries extending into the Ōtāwhao block,

“When the Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toro-i-waho heard of these sales they objected. Tūhua on behalf of Ngāi Tahu asked Karaitiana to assist them in opposing the sale. The sale was opposed and Karaitiana demanded the purchase money from te Kuru and Wī Matua. He got the money and returned it to the Government, That sale fell through” (Tanguru Tuhua, 1892, p. 5 Ōtāwhao A - Partition).

In 1864 members of the Ngāti Para-kioire and the Māori king people disputed the right of Hōri Niania a.k.a. Hōri Aroatua Niania and his claim to sell Ōmarutāiri, (Blake, 1883).

“My sale of Ōmarutāiri was disputed. It was the rūnanga of the king that disputed the sale ... [?] was the principal man at that rūnanga.

By Court to Hōri Niania...

On what ground was it condemned or disputed?

Because it was infringing the King’s rules – Previous to my selling I had mana over my land. To prevent my selling the land and so a restriction against selling was put on the lands – the people then went to Rēnata (Kawepō) and Karaitiana

– Karaitiana then came up to look after my tribe – I went then to live with Te Hāpuku and Whatu-i-āpiti...”

The year 1862 saw the passing into legislation of the *Native Lands Act* containing thirty-seven parts and summarised in this short paragraph,

An Act to provide for the ascertainment of the Ownership of Native Lands and for granting Certificates of Title thereto and for regulating the disposal of Native Lands and for other purposes "Native Lands" (1862, pp. 195-196).

The Native Lands Act 1862 passed to individualise and register Māori land in a form that was recognisable under English common law to allow land to be traded. The abolition of the Crown's right of pre-emption provided an avenue for the settlers to directly purchase land from individual Māori. The establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865 and the laws enacted over the following 50 years saw vast tracts of Māori land move out of Māori control.

Historian Judith Binney DCNZM, FRSNZ, FNZAH (1940-2011) described the *Native Lands Act* as an “act of war” Boast (2015, p. 241). Philippa Mein Smith saw the Native Land Court as “worse” than land confiscation under the New Zealand Settlements Acts, and asserts also that the Native Land Court “certainly earned its contemporary title of the ‘land-taking court’” Smith in Boast (2015, p. 242).

The present Māori Land Court, Te Kōti Whenua, was/is, an institution and part of the paringa tai whenua *flood the land* of colonisation the function of which, “affected Māori

more strongly than any other colonial institution” Whatu Ora Waitaha (2023). The operations of the Native Land Court led Māori to label it “Te Kōti Tāhae Whenua” – *The Land Stealing Court*. The impact of the Native Land Court, its establishment in Waipawa in the Tamatea district, its challenges to Māori were immense.

The 1870s became a crossroad in Tamatea-Heretaunga—the period the Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga began to be cleared by the Scandinavians who entered the district through free passage and the promise of 10 acres each. At the same time, devious land purchasing practices, government Acts, and the “ten-owner rule” were in play. For Māori it was “a time of discontent with their grievances and resentment of their treatment by the Europeans mounting up until the breaking point was reached and the Māori united into the Repudiation Movement” Cole (1977, p. 4). Hēnare Matua along with Karaitiana Takamoana led the Repudiation Movement and worked together with sympathetic Pākehā to question land sales that it believed had been undertaken fraudulently. Many of the Māori leaders of the repudiation movement later went on to be leaders within the Kotahitanga movement. The movement established its own newspaper, *Te Wānanga* in 1874.

Te Wānanga financed by Hēnare Tōmoana became an alternative Māori voice to the then Government newspaper *Te Waka Māori o Niu Tīrani* backed by Donald McLean. The Repudiation Movement “prided itself in the fact that the paper was genuinely Māori” Cole (1977, p. 79). Even the local newspaper the *Hawke’s Bay Herald* commented on its significance, “It has the merit, at any rate, of being to all appearance, a genuine native product, brought out together without Pākehā intervention” “Te Wānanga”

(1875, pp. 79-80 in Cole 1977). Karaitiana was later to receive land in the Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Waikōpiro blocks due to his work in resisting the indiscriminate sales of land.

From the time of Tama-kuku c 1300 through to the period of Taraia and Te Ao-matarahi this chapter has set the scene and theme of this thesis through the relationships tūpuna had over time with each other and with the land. Oral traditions reflecting an intimacy to land,

1. conveyed by important tūpuna and connection established through whakapapa and marriage
2. Oral traditions embodied in narrative, pūrākau, artistic expression, whakapapa to connect to each other and the whenua
3. Language carved in to the land through narrative and the land spoken about with deep affection and belonging.

Upoko 4 explores this deep affection through indigenous eyes and the written word.

Upoko 4: He whenua taurikura, he reo puiaki

Mai i a Ruahine, ka papī noa ake ngā wai o ngā awa rere tēnā i tōna waimatua, tēnā i tōna waimatua.

He waimatua, he wai ahupuke
He wai ahupuke, he waitohi,
He waitohi, he waioira

Kia hoki atu au ki ngā mātāpuna wai papī,
Ka rere mai te wai
i ngā tāheke wawara
i ngā kokoru au kore
i ngā kōpua kānapanapa
i ngā kokori inanga, i ngā wai tāhere, i ngā mahinga kai
i ngā riponga o Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku.

From the Ruahine mountains, the waters of different rivers ooze and flow, each from its own source of pure, clean water.

Pure waters of the earth
sacred mountain waters
ceremonial waters
pure/living waters

I return to the headwaters that spill forth
as murmuring streamlets and babbling brooks.
Flowing on to the quiet, calm recesses, and deep dark pools.
Through the hidden coves where whitebait were caught.
Passing the bird-snaring places and food cultivations.
Winding on through the curls and swirls
of the river formed by Tama-kuku Morris (2015a).

Beginning with the wai matua-o-tūāpapa *water used for ceremonial purposes* Best (1976, p. 343), virgin water as it flows from the earth and manawa whenua *an eternal spring of water* providing water for te kāuru *source of a river, headwaters*. The term te kāuru used by tūpuna in giving evidence in the Rākau-tātahi Case in the Native Land Court 1891 – 1892), the source of the river originating in the Ruahine ranges, Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku begins its journey, its mātātū *to begin to flow (of the tide)* Williams

(1975, p. 191), the arawaru *onomatopoeia* - *gentle babble*, the river's voice in time creates a steady flow sharing time and space with the inhabitants of the forest. Its *tārere* *flow* emanating from the various punawai *springs* along the way and from ngā rau matatiki *artesian wells* increases the tempo. Every now and then, the flow of the river would form a kōpua kānapanapa *a deep pool*. Occasionally, the water will move back on itself and create a muriwai *backwater*, an area of water where the current is minimal to non-existent, water reflecting a peaceful isolation. Ngā hīrere, ngā tāheke *waterfalls*, gushing torrents appear when the land suddenly drops, here the water becomes karekare *talkative*, creating kōmiro *whirling currents*, riporipo *whirlpools* affecting the immediate environment resulting in a change to the voice of the river.

This chapter encompasses these moods, these movements of the water as the thesis discusses “kura whenua” as seen by Indigenous peoples and specifically, the whenua on which the land blocks appeared through gifting, as seen by tūpuna, then through the laying down of boundaries. The language, te reo o te awa—the voice of the river—the “reo kura” uttered by tūpuna taunahanaha *to bespeak the land*, on which the water flowed reflecting the intimate understanding of these moods of the water and the land to reinforce the inseparable connection of tangata and whenua—tangata whenua.

4.1 He whenua matenui

“This we know; the earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth. This we know. All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. All things are connected”(Fitzroy-Hardy, 1854).

Chief Seattle a chief of the Suquamish and Duwamish tribes is accorded this quote as part of his famous speech believed to have been delivered in December 1854 as a response to the treaty of the American Government for buying the land of native Americans. There is a lot of debate around the speech, but I include it here as the words speak for the whenua.

Land, whenua, has and always will be—as expressed by Chief Seattle—an intrinsic aspect of Indigenous people’s existence, of the Māori people’s existence. “Ko Papatūānuku te matua o te tangata” Kōhere (1951), Papatūānuku, Mother Earth is the parent of the human race. I, as fellow Māori believe, as an Indigenous people that we belong to the whenua *nō te whenua mātou* rather than the colonised concept of the whenua which belonged to them, *nō mātou te whenua*. “Whenua ki te whenua”, both land and the placenta. The placenta returned to the earth along with the pito or placed in a tree or cave. Modern times sees the planting of a tree over the placenta. “Whenua ki te whenua”, a powerful Māori adage reflecting the intimate understanding Māori have to our human existence in reminding us we are but temporary occupants of mother earth, of Papatūānuku.

Terra firma, Papatūānuku, Whenua, Ūkaipō, the mother from which all living things originate and who nurtures and feeds us in our vulnerable early days during the night and continues to provide nourishment as we develop and live on te mata o te whenua, *the face of the earth*. “In Māori, your birthplace is known as *te ū kai pō*, the place where you drank your mother’s milk at night” Salmond (2018, p. 184). I reiterate the first words of this research, “te toto o te tangata, he kai, te oranga o te tangata he whenua”.

After giving birth the traditional practice is to bury the whenua and the pito supporting again the notion held by Māori that we came from the whenua, from Hine-ahu-one, the maiden formed from the flesh of Papatūānuku, the oneone *the soil*. Papatūānuku formed by Tāne at Te One-i-Kurawaka *the strand at Kurawaka*—termed the puke *mon veneris* of Earth Mother Best (1976, p. 122). Shaped by Tāne in his search for the uha *the female element*. “He taonga nō te whenua, me hoki anō ki te whenua” *What is given by the land should return to the land* Te Papa Tongarewa (2006). From time immemorial Indigenous people, have had,

“... deep spiritual, cultural, social, and economic connections with their lands, territories, and resources, which are basic to their identity and existence itself. Their tradition of collective rights to lands and resources – through the community, the region or the state—contrast with dominant models of individual ownership, privatization and development” UN Department of Public Information (2018).

The tūpuna of Aotearoa were so connected to the whenua that many proverbial sayings were uttered to reflect this deep connection and the will to fight for it if indeed there was cause, “Me mate au, me mate mō te whenua” *If I am to die, let me die for the land* (Stafford, 1967, p. 248). This view is also held by our Indigenous cousins. The connection of the whenua to women te whare tangata *house of humanity – referring to the womb* is also the origin of the proverb, “Ko ngā take whawhai, he whenua, he wahine”, *The causes of warfare are land and women* Mead and Grove (2001, p. 238).

4.1.1 Ngā whanaunga taketake

Our Indigenous cousins view the land as we do, as a living entity. The Native Americans of North America and Central America call Papatūānuku, Turtle Island, who believe their land was formed on the back of a turtle Robinson (2018). We Māori call Australia Te

Pāpaka-a-Māui Moorfield (2011). The Aboriginal folk of Australia have no collective name for the continent of Australia as there are many regional dialects which offer individual names.

An Indigenous person's sense of self is not separate from the land, the interconnectedness with the land and the natural world is a lived experience Currie (2021). The deeply spiritual and practical relationship between Indigenous cultures and the earth is one founded on a holistic worldview where everything and everyone is interconnected Harrop et al. (2022).

Due to their close relationship with the land, Indigenous communities thrive by living in harmony with their surroundings. This involves a deeply held respect for the balance of life, and not taking more than they need in order to allow an ecosystem to flourish, that ecosystem including their own flourishing, United Nations Development Programme (2021). Our Indigenous whanaunga across Te Moana Tāpokapoka-a-Tāwhaki *The Tasman Sea*, view Papatūānuku as,

“... much more than a place. Rock, tree, river, hill, animal, human – all were formed of the same substance by the ancestors who continue to live in land, water, sky. Country is loved, needed, and cared for, and Papatūānuku loves, needs, and cares for her peoples in turn. Country is family, culture, identity. Country is self” Kwaymullina (2005).

The Executive Director of the *Nkwusum Language Institute* on the Salish, Kootenai, Flathead Indian Reservation, April Charlo, shared her experience when conversing with a fluent native speaker found out from the fluent speaker that her people [and other Indigenous folk] “never use the word “MY” with anything from the natural world” Charlo (2015).

In an interview a Yankunytjatjara elder Bob Randall the traditional custodian of Uluru Ayers Rock, Australia, he talks about his people's perspective to land ownership,

“... see my people see land ownership as totally different to the English way of ownership ... ours used to be the land owns us, and it still is to us. No human is older than the land itself, no marsupial is as old as the land itself” (Korff, 2021).

From the Haudenosaunee people—called the Iroquois Confederacy by the French, and the League of Five Nations by the English, they call themselves the *Haudenosaunee Confederacy* meaning *People of the Long House*. From the Haudenosaunee Confederacy we learn that,

They believe that in the beginning there was the Sky World. In the middle of the Sky World was a great tree that gave life to that world, but the tree was uprooted, and the Sky Woman fell through the hole. Below her was water, but two swans flew up and carried her to the back of a great turtle. On the turtle the animals put mud, and the mud grew into the earth. The Sky Woman had brought seeds with her to the earth and planted it, Doherty and Doherty (1991, pp. 22-24).

The Haudenosaunee people of Tkaronto—now called Toronto, “... a Mohawk word, a place in the water where the trees are standing, the place where the fish weirs are.” Roque and Mills (2019), hold a similar belief to Māori in that we borrow Papatūānuku from our children's children, we are but mere kaitiaki, and it is our duty to protect and look after the land, its stories and human connection for future generations.

When making decisions the Haudenosaunee include future generations, who will inherit the earth. The Six Nations—the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora (Wallenfeldt, 2018), learn to respect Ranginui and Papatūānuku on which they live as they are borrowing it from future generations. The Haudenosaunee follow the philosophy of, “been given the duty to live in balance and harmony with each other and all living things” Stokes and Benedict (1993).

As Indigenous peoples, we cannot remove our experience—our genders, bodies, and disassociations—from our relationships to territory, Burning and Nixon (2018). When the Canadian government formally recognized the Inuit claims to the whenua—Inuktitut *the people*—the majority of whom inhabit the northern regions of Canada. An Inuit person is known as an Inuk Freeman (2010). The inhabitants changed the name of the region to Nunavut (**noo**·nuh·vuht), which means, tō tātou whenua *our land*, in the Inuktitut tongue reflecting the meaning of home and a deep relationship and interconnectedness with the whenua.

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard (United Nations, 2007b).

(Burkhart, 2019) of the Cherokee nation of Oklahoma articulates,

“... land as kinship to describe land as a relational ground of kinship (our Mother Earth), where land is not an object but a kinship relationality or a relational ground for kinship and humans do not float free from land but are fundamentally intertwined with this relational kinship ground.’ Joenia Wapichana, the only Indigenous woman elected to the Brazilian Congress, voices a long-held value, ‘nature and life are inseparable for Indigenous peoples ... we have a responsibility towards nature and towards the environment to treat her like a mother, the mother who deserves all the care and protection, the mother who provides life, the mother who gives us food, the mother who cares for all of us.”

Our Indigenous whanaunga who have populated the Amazon basin for centuries, living a sustainable existence, living together with Papatūānuku and in so doing ensuring that no harm comes to the plants and animals that also share the rainforest. Societies such as the Yanomamo and the Kayapo have cohabitated with the Amazon for thousands of

years gaining a deep knowledge of the rainforest and have adapted their lifestyle and daily practices to live at one with it. Dario Kopenawa, vice president of the Hutukara Yanomami people expresses their connection to Papatūānuku in his plea to the Brazilian government as *garimpeiros gold prospectors* invade their lands,

“Without our land we don’t exist, and without land there is no biodiversity, rivers, or animals. We Indigenous people, cannot survive without land. There is no harmony, no health, and there is no knowledge or movement of planet earth” “In the Amazon rainforest, an indigenous tribe fights for survival” (2022).

Abad Espinoza (2019, pp. 149-190) maintains, “The amazon rainforest is a portion of the planet in which for thousands of years its human dwellers have been interacting with nature that it is understood beyond its physical condition.” According to the Wajapi, animals of the rainforest, despite their appearance, are actually human beings with souls. They live in societies that are similar to ours. The trees and most plants are also recipients of human souls, but only the healers or shamen are able to communicate with them (World Wildlife Fund, 1997).

4.1.2 He reo taketake

All Indigenous cultures through their Indigenous language, their Indigenous voice view Papatūānuku as their historian, their educator, their provider of food, medicine, clothing, and protection. Papatūānuku is the mother of all races. For Māori, Papatūānuku is the place that Rongomātane *guardian of cultivated food* and Haumietiketike *guardian of uncultivated food* fled to after the separation of their parents and the consequential battle at Te Paerangi between their older siblings, Tāne-māhuta *guardian of the forest and its inhabitants*, Tangaroa *guardian of the sea and its inhabitants*, and Tāwhiri-mātea *guardian of the weather*.

Māori, and their Indigenous relatives see themselves as caretakers or stewards of the whenua, rather than private owners of clearly defined areas. Davis (1993, pp. ix-x) writing a discussion paper opines,

“First, Indigenous peoples – in contrast to Western economists and development planners do not view land as a "commodity" which can be bought and sold in impersonal markets, nor do they view the trees, plants, animals, and fish which cohabit the land as 'natural resources' which produce profits or rents. To the contrary, the Indigenous view—shared by our tūpuna prior to the rise of the modern industrial market economy—is that land is a substance endowed with sacred meanings, embedded in social relations and fundamental to the definition of a people's existence and identity. Similarly, the trees, plants, animals, and fish which inhabit the land are highly personal beings (a 'kinship' idiom is used to describe these beings) which form part of their social and spiritual universes. This close attachment to the land and the environment is the defining characteristic of Indigenous peoples; it is what links together, in a philosophical and cosmological sense, numerous geographically disparate and culturally diverse peoples throughout the world.

Indigenous perspective towards land transcends distance and identity of place reflecting a common human understanding.

There has been a lot said about the sacredness of our land which is our body; and the values of our culture which is our soul; but water is the blood of our tribes, and if its flow is stopped, or it is polluted, all else will die and many thousands of years of our communal existence will come to an end.”

Indigenous peoples’ intrinsic and reciprocal relationships with their land, territories and resources constitute the foundation of their identities and cultures, spirituality and values, health, and collective well-being. Springing from these relationships with their homelands are their diverse contributions towards enriching nature, engendering diversity, and maintaining balance with the natural world (Carino, 2019, p. 80).

The Indigenous voice speaks directly from the land reinforcing the inalienable identification of language with the land (Shaw, 2010, pp. 39-55). Similar to Māori here in Aotearoa, specifically part of a traditional whakataukī of the Whanganui people, “E rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa. Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au.” (*The great river flows freely, from assembly of mountains to the sea, I am the river, and the river is me*). With variations of the above proverb being heard in modern times,

Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au - I am the land, the land is me (Townsend, 2014).

Ko au te taiao ko te taiao ko au - I am nature and nature is me (Taiao Ora, 2014).

In recognition of the long-held belief of the people of the Whanganui River that the Whanganui River is a tupuna, a living entity, the *Te Awa Tupua Whanganui River Claims Settlement Act* was passed in 2017. This act recognises Te Awa Tupua as,

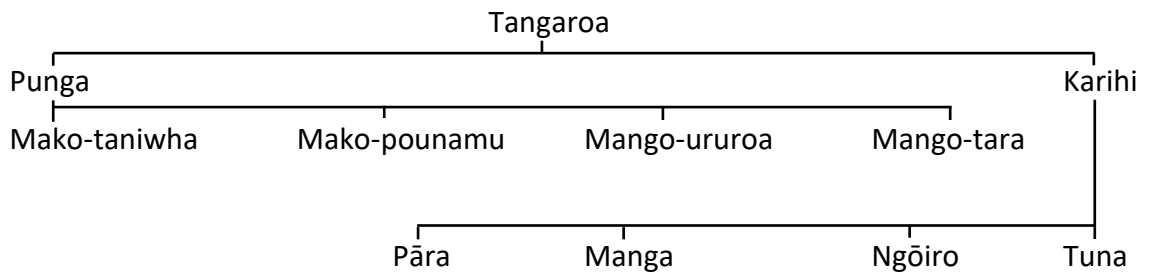
“... an indivisible and living whole comprising the Whanganui River from the mountains to the sea, with all its tributaries, physical and metaphysical elements. It recognises a unique legal status for the Whanganui River and creates a framework at law to support the innate values of the Whanganui River, practised for centuries by Whanganui hapū and iwi” (Ngā Tāngata Tiaki o Whanganui, 2014).

“One thing I always carried with me, which was always told, was the river [Whanganui] is a supermarket, a chemist, and a highway ... You’ve got the saying, “E rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te Kāhui Maunga ki Tangaroa, ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au” Bennett (2017).

This perspective of the environment and its parts being living organisms, living entities, a supermarket, a chemist, that Indigenous people relate to through an intimate personal relationship—quintessentially a Māori world view—reflected in the creation of genealogies linking the environment to the person and the person to the environment. For example, here is a genealogy of Punga, son of Tangaroa, brother of Karihi who appears in several legends but generally is assumed to have flown too close to the sun and perished (Best, 1982, p. 423). Tūhoe believed he survived, and Tāwhaki, like Karihi can be found in several narratives as is represented as the origin of four kinds of shark. His brother Punga being the origin of other fish.

Figure 35:

Whakapapa: Species of fish showing their connection to each other



The Mako-taniwha, a.k.a. Mangō-ururoa, commonly known as the Great White shark, Pāra is the Frostfish, an eel like fish, Mangā is the Barracouta and Ngōiro is the Conger Eel.

This world view of Māori will surface time and again within the oral narratives recorded as evidence in the cases of the Native Land Court pertaining to the four land blocks in support to answering the question regarding **the relationship over time between the land, *he kura whenua* the language *he kura reo* and the people *he kura tāngata*.**

Through addressing this research question, the issue of mana whenua, mana reo, mana tangata given as evidence—and in many cases disputed and debated—by tūpuna will be borne out. An accompanying corpus lists the names of kāinga, mahinga kai, mana wai, huanui, urupā. and many other places supporting the notion of belonging to the land through taunahanaha.

Garnering all that is Indigenous in perspective towards the whenua, the language on the land and the people who placed that language on the land I look to the four land blocks of the Tamatea district and the stories they hold. Part of my identity emanates from

these stories and my connection to the land through the voice of my tūpuna. Their voice is my voice, their voice and my voice expressed orally through karakia, whaikōrero, pepeha, mōteatea, whakataukī, and the female karanga reinforces my spirituality, my mana all originating from the land walked by my tūpuna, *te takahanga o rātou mā* and their voice infused in the land's totality.

The narratives conveyed through the voice of tūpuna, their language is the Māori language, the Māori voice. Te reo Māori is the key, the code by which the origin of the phrases and words left on the land speak to me and have been handed down to exist as a pātaka whakairinga kōrero, *a storehouse of traditional narrative* for present and future descendants of my hapū and the descendants of the other hapū possessing mana whenua within the land blocks of Tamatea whenua: Te Waikōpiro, Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Te Rākau-tātahi. Language of the land, language of the people. Whenua, Reo, Indigenous connection to the whenua through the language. He reo puiaki *a rare precious valued language*. However, the purity pristine nature of te reo Māori pre-European contact was about to face devastating challenges.

4.2 He reo puiaki, he reo anō

At the beginning of the 19th century, circa 1814, te reo Māori was the predominant language *he reo puiaki* spoken throughout Aotearoa and used extensively for trading and everyday conversation. As English-speaking settlers arrived with their different voice *he reo anō* the use of te reo Māori diminished in the populated areas but remained

the primary language in small, isolated settlements. In the main ports and other places where trading occurred the English language became the dominant language spoken.

The transition of Māori oral tradition to the published book is clearly underwritten by the 19th-century circumstances in which Māori as oral Indigenous people and Pākehā as literate colonisers met and lived (McRae, 2000).

Regardless of the initial suspicion and challenges the colonial imposition brought to their way of life, tūpuna were quick to utilise the “rākau a te Pākehā”—a phrase from a Tā Apirana Ngata whakataukāki he wrote in the autograph book of a young girl Rangi Bennett in 1949 to encourage her to learn the new ways for the benefit of her future—as a means to express their sentiments and emotions via the written word. Opinions that are just as topical today—concerning Māori representation, land wars and the Treaty of Waitangi (Curnow et al., 2006). Laughton (1947, pp. 290-294), however, reminds us that there was “no need for Māori to be dependent on the English written language to express themselves”. Laughton also refutes the idea of English linguists taking credit for the acuity and poetic nature of te reo Māori,

“Of course, it is not true that the work of the European grammarians and linguists has developed the Māori language to its present capacity as a vehicle for human thought. The Māori language had evolved to that standard before the first white man ever sighted these shores. The language abounded with poetry of rare beauty, and through the common speech ran metaphors and similes and pictures of the mind”.

Albeit the transition from an oral convention of a self-governing people to retain historical narrative, to an orthographic configuration imposed by external influence raises differing opinions as to the impact this foisted on the oral traditions that governed

for centuries the intergenerational transference of knowledge. Kāretu (2013) in addressing the colonial impact on the hapū of the districts of Heretaunga and Tamatea at the Whare Kōrero of the Heretaunga-Tamatea Settlement Trust held at Te Aute College 2013 stipulated that,

“No matter where one looks in terms of colonisation by the British, loss of language and culture have followed in their wake along with land taken by fair means or foul. The imposition of their way of life is the major aim with not the slightest cognisance taken of the rights of the Indigenous people of the country concerned”.

McRae (2000, p. 6) records another aspect of the colonial strategy was to turn the Māori away from all written material other than the Bible, but this strategy revealed challenges for both races,

“The missionaries wanted Māori to find in the Bible a way out of their culture, and to this end they discouraged access to other books. Māori wanted it as a way into European culture, as Grey had wanted to know theirs. The oral tradition met another of its kind in the Bible: the genealogies, songs, moral stories, and an opaque, lyric mode of telling. But the missionaries were not of a disposition and Māori arguably not sufficiently trained to make a different mythology, another bible, of the oral tradition.”

Māori had for centuries, as Desdemaines-Hugon (2010, p. 75) asserts, “transmitted traditions, rigorously and accurately ... in order to survive in all their subtlety, and in the smallest of details”. Māori preserved and upheld their distinctive perception of the world by means of oral traditions combined with etched symbolism in skin, wood, bone and rock. Preserved and upheld through their inseparable connection to the environment in which they lived, embracing their bountiful knowledge exclusively linked to the rhythms of the land, sea, and sky. This knowledge base of the early tangata whenua fashioned, shaped, moulded and created orally over centuries, through an uninterrupted, intimate relationship with the environment. McRae (2000, p. 2) adds,

“The residue of this time-honoured orality is apparent in late 20th-century society, most obviously in the formal speeches, songs and chants which are

habitual when Māori meet. Continuance of the oral arts depends on the questionable matter of survival of the language, but books at least offer the opportunity of preserving them as a refined literature.”

Archytas (435 - 410 BC) as cited by Simplicius professed, “Place is the first of all beings, since everything that exists is in a place and cannot exist without a place” Basso (1996, p. 3).

Richard and Nena Benton’s survey 1973 – 1978 reported that most native speakers were over 30 years of age and only two per cent of children spoke te reo Māori as their first language. A 1995 National Māori Language survey noted a continued decrease in fluent speakers, but an increase in learners. Te Puni Kōkiri undertook a survey on the health of te reo Māori (2001), based on the 1970s survey and surveys on the attitudes to te reo Māori (2000, 2003, 2006, 2009). More recently is the Te Ahu o te Reo research project (2017) commissioned by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori which looked at the “health of te reo in kāinga and hapori Māori ... as a process for transformation ... re-establishing te reo Māori as a secure, living language and a normal means of communication in daily life.” Te Mātāwai established as an independent statutory entity as required by Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016 (*Māori Language Act 2016*) will address the recommendations of the research.

4.2.1 He reo ā-waha

In 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada, in the *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* trial, ruled that oral histories were just as important as written testimony. Of oral histories, it said “that they are tangential to the ultimate purpose of the fact-finding process at trial – the determination of the historical truth” (Supreme Court of Canada, 1997).

Language is our unique relationship to the Creator, to lo-matua-kore *The parentless one*, our attitudes, beliefs, values, and fundamental notions of what is truth embodied in the many genres of language transmission that recognised the Creator of all things. lo-matua-kore often understood as the supreme being in Polynesian narrative, particularly of the Ngāti Kahungunu people through Smith (1915) and his translation of the Hoani Te Whakahoro lectures on the *Lore of the Whare wānanga*.

Our languages are the cornerstone of who we are as People. Without our languages, our cultures cannot survive (Secretariat, 1990). The Sicilian poet Ignazio Battista (1899-1997) during his career, never hid his pride in being Sicilian, and his love for the language of the island. In one of his most famous poems, *Lingua e dialettu Language and dialect*, he explicitly talks about language as a key issue for his people, and implores his fellows Sicilians to preserve their language, following are the first three verses of that poem

“Un Popolo
mettetelo in catene
spogliatelo
tappategli la bocca
e ancora libero

Levategli il lavoro
il passaporto
la tavola dove mangia
il letto dove dorme
e ancora ricco

Un Popolo
diventa povero e servo
quando gli rubano la lingua
ricevuta dai padri
e perso per sempre”

A people
put them in chains
strip them naked
gag their mouths
they are still free

Take away their livelihood
their freedom to travel
the table where they eat
the bed they sleep in
they are still rich

A People
become impoverished and servile
when taken from them the language
endowed by their fathers
is lost forever

Kāretu (2013) when giving evidence to the Crown in support of the Heretaunga-Tamatea Settlement Trust claim introduced his “whare kōrero” with his translation of Battitta’s poem,

Inā herea te tangata ki te mekameka
Tangohia rānei ko ōna kākahu
Whakapurua rānei ko ōna waha
Ka herehere kore, ka noho wātea tonu ia

Tangohia atu tana mahi, tana uruwhenua
Te tēpu e kai ai ia, te moenga rānei e ai ia
E tangata whairawa tonu ia

Ka rawakore, ka pōhara te tangata
Ā te wā, tangohia atu ai te reo
I ōhākītia mai rā e ōna tīpuna ki a ia
Hei reira, kua iho ngaro mō ake tonu atu

In 2019, the year recognising the Indigenous languages of the world I quote Briggs-Cloud of the Muskoke Nation, the Indigenous Youth Caucus spokesperson and appointed Cultural Survival board member. He expressed the following when he addressed the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues,

“Language is identity, language is history, language is culture, language is education, and language is a bridge between the past, present, and future. Language is vital to the efficacy of Indigenous being; it gives us the knowledge of our ancestors. Language is not used solely as means of communication; rather it encompasses intricate complexities of our identity”(Briggs-Cloud, 2010)

4.2.2 He reo ka whiti

The arrival of a different people to Aotearoa in the 17th and 18th century brought with them—along with material possession and explicit belief—a new chisel, a new medium to record tradition, the paper and the quill, the written word. From the time of Tasman in 1642, and Cook 127 years later in 1769 through to the increasing settlement of

Aotearoa in the late 1700s and early 1800s te reo Māori was “still the overwhelmingly dominant language of Aotearoa in 1814 and was used extensively as the mode of communication between Māori and Pākehā” (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, 2024).

Colenso (1811-1899) noted in his writings when discussing his observations of tūpuna,

“... fine perception of the beautiful, the regular and symmetrical... and this high faculty of theirs which they possessed in an eminent degree ... In their language, hence great grammatical precision, its duals and double plurals, its euphony, its rhythm, and its brevity, and its many exquisite particles and reduplications, both singular and plural, all highly pregnant with meaning, which almost defy translation into English.” (1878, pp. 80-82)

Dr John Savage (1770-1838) also felt similar to Colenso that, “The language of these people, I have reason to believe, is copious, and it is by no means wanting in harmony... I think I am warranted in saying that the language of New Zealand possesses a considerable degree of softness” in Smyth (1946, pp. 14-15). Smyth (1946, p. 13) himself observed that,

“The Māori language of the present day is recognized as a most euphonious one, representing the sound of a quietly running stream heard from a distance. Its music is continually commented upon. We can but dream of what its beauty must have been before its contact with the European language, and the entry of inevitable harshness consequent upon the effort to transfer its oral beauty to print in an alphabet supplied from a foreign tongue.”

Early attempts at recording te reo Māori were of an amateurish nature with those who attempted it being the only ones who understood what they wrote. Following are examples of a written attempt to reflect the pronunciation of te reo Māori according to the English ear of Savage (1807, p. 74),

Figure 36:

Early attempts at writing te reo Māori phonetically

Pākehā	Savage	Māori
sun	dar	rā

moon	marrammah	marama
star	whytoo	whetū
woman	wyeena	wahine
boy	tamoneke	tamaiti
girl	coetedo	kōtiro
foot	wyewye	waewae
hair	ooroo-ooroo	huruhuru (Ngāpuhi)
chin	coway	kauae
beard	payow	pāhau
house	wurrie	whare
four	cawha	ka whā

A korao nō New Zealand, written by Kendall (1815), followed by Kendall's, *A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand*, 1820, developed alongside Professor Samuel Lee a scholar of oriental languages and two Ngāpuhi Chiefs, Hongi Hika, and his nephew Hōhaia Parata Waikato at Cambridge University. The purpose of the trip was to establish the accuracy of Kendall's work in producing literature on the grammar and vocabulary of te reo Māori.

Being able to write in Māori became increasingly important as Europeans attempted to buy land Higgins and Keane (2013). Some of the earliest examples of written Māori are found in documents pertaining to land purchases, so interpreters on both sides were highly valued (Derby, 2014). Some Europeans who lived amongst the Māori were termed 'Pākehā-Māori' and were considered to be a "medium of communication between the New Zealand Company and Māori in all their affairs" (quoted in Bently, 1999), some early interpreters could only interpret using what was called 'whaler jargon' but eventually some missionaries became fluent and began to translate parts of sacred texts and publish them. William Williams (1800-1878) translated the scriptures in te reo Māori

published in Sydney in 1827, and his brother Henry Williams (1792-1867) translated the Treaty of Waitangi.

Jones and Jenkins (2011, p. 5) in *He Kōrero: Words Between us - First Māori-Pākehā Conversations on Paper* enlighten us to “the intense decades before 1830, when Māori-Pākehā relationships were being negotiated in conversations, many elements which were recorded or conducted on paper”. “Certainly, once our ancestors mastered the art of writing as well as an introduced orthography they became very prolific correspondents” Kāretu (2002, p. 1), utilising the written word to its fullest potential to convey their pleasures, their aspirations, their beliefs, their disappointments, their frustrations, their anger. Through this acquisition of new knowledge of the written word, they developed an instantaneous acuity towards the new etched symbolism—marks on paper—and all its nuances to record their unique perspective of living in tune with the terrestrial and celestial rhythms.

In 1834 William Colenso arrived in Aotearoa with a Stanhope printing press and published the first book—sixteen pages of Ephesians and Philippians written in te reo Māori. Three years later he printed five thousand copies of the Māori New Testament and then 27,000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer in te reo Māori.

In 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi was written in both languages—in later years the cause of much debate and differing opinions regarding the accuracy of the interpretation of te reo Māori—and 2 years later on 1 January 1842, the first newspaper *Ko te Karere o Nui*

Tireni written in te reo Māori was published in Auckland. Following are the first words published on 1 January 1842.

He pukapuka hou tēnei kātahi ka tāia e ui mai ana pea te tokomaha o te tangata he pukapuka aha rā tēnei. He pukapuka rā tēnei kia mōhio ai te tangata Māori ki ngā tikanga me ngā ritenga o te Pākehā, kia mōhio ai anō hoki te Pākehā ki ngā ritenga o te tangata Māori. E wakaaro ana te tokomaha o ngā Pākehā me ngā tāngata Māori he pukapuka pai tēnei, ka mutu hoki te noho kūare a tētahi ki tētahi. Nā, ko ia ēnei ko ngā mea e tuhituhia ki te pukapuka nei.

This is a new paper only just published and perhaps people are asking what type of paper this is. This is a paper where the Māori people can get to know the customs and practices and the European can also know about Māori customs. Many Europeans and Māori think that this is a positive publication, whereby, the ignorance of one to another ends. Therefore, these are the subjects that will be written in this paper.

This government newspaper edited by the missionary George Clark (1798-1875), a.k.a. Hōri Karaka, was the government appointed—howbeit reluctantly—Protector of Aboriginies. The paper went on to publish 49 issues between the years of 1842 and 1846, the last issue published on Thursday 15 January 1846 owing to war breaking out in the north.

In the following years, William Williams published further books about te reo Māori, *A dictionary of the New Zealand language* and grammar in 1844. Williams was also responsible for a second edition. His son, Bishop William Leonard Williams (1829-1916) published the third and fourth editions, his grandson, Bishop Herbert William Williams (1860-1937) published the fifth edition. By 1845 there was a bible or a prayer book for every adult Māori.

Five years later in 1850 te reo Māori was no longer the major language spoken in Aotearoa. However, despite the declining nature of te reo Māori, in 1858 the *Native*

Districts Regulation Act and the *Native Circuit Courts Act* were the first government acts printed in Māori. In 1865 standing orders of Parliament provided that petitions in te reo Māori needed to be in English as well, and that bills—especially affecting Māori—should be translated and printed in te reo Māori (Higgins & Keane, 2013). In the period of the mid-1800s up to the early 1900s a certain tension became evident between the two languages when te reo Pākehā was perceived to be a panacea for all matters and Māori were encouraged to turn towards the English language.

4.2.3 He reo tukituki

The keenness of the early missionaries to promote temperance and the Christian way of life led to the establishing of newspapers such as *Te Haeata* produced by the Wesleyan missionaries in 1859 and edited by Te Patara (*Reverend T. Buddle* 1812-1883), “hei kawē kōrero pai ki ngā tangata e hiahia ana ki te mātauranga”, covered the subject of “Ngā tikanga e rangatira ai ngā tamariki” (*Reasons to empower children*).

Ko te reo Pākehā ka kake, ka tupu, ka teitei rawa ko ā tātou tamariki ka pāpaku iho, ka kore iho. Koia ahau ka mea ai ko te reo Pākehā! Ko te reo Pākehā! Koia tēnā hei rangatiratanga mō ā tātou tamariki. Ka pai hoki! Nā te reo Pākehā hoki i kawē mai ngā taonga nunui ki tēnei whenua. Nā te reo Pākehā te kaupuke, nā te reo Pākehā te pukapuka, nā te reo Pākehā te karakia, nā te reo Pākehā te tini noa atu ngā taonga e rangatira ai te tangata ki tēnei ao ki tērā ao atu. Ka pai kia riro pūtaka ai tēnei taonga nui i ā tātou tamariki, arā, te reo Pākehā. Kei roto kei te reo Pākehā ngā mātauranga katoa, ngā taonga katoa, ngā pai katoa e rangatira ai te tangata. Kei te hiahia ngā Pākehā kia riro tō rātou reo i a koutou, arā, kia mōhio tahi te Māori me te Pākehā ki te reo Pākehā kia uru tahi ai ki tēnei mātauranga kia rangatira tahi ai (Patara, 1859).

As the English language grows and rises in importance our children remain small and insignificant. That is why I say the English language! the English language! It is this that will uplift children. It is great! It was the English language that conveyed the greatest treasures to this land. The English language brought ships, books, prayers, and the many other gifts to enhance people in this world and the other world. It is good that our children obtain this great treasure, that is the English language. Within the English language is all knowledges, all treasures, all things good to make uplift people. The English people wish that you learn

their language, that is, both Māori and Pākehā know the English language to learn together and be upstanding together.

Buddle continued using his editorial position to tell parents that te reo Māori will disappear eventually and the English language will be the language of the land and spoken by children,

“Kei mea koutou ko te mau tonu te reo Māori ki tēnei whenua. Kāhore, ka ngaro te reo Māori ka iti haere hoki, ko te reo Pākehā hei reo mō tēnei whenua me ō tātou tamariki hoki hei Pākehā, hei rangatira”.

Don't be saying that we need to retain the Māori language in this country. No, the Māori language will disappear, it will gradually decline as well, the English language is the language for this nation and our children, to be Anglicised and well off.

There is no mention by Buddle regarding the value of the early settlers or missionaries learning te reo Māori. As the years passed, and the tide of colonialism flowed unfalteringly across Aotearoa Māori initially encouraged the learning of the English language and the new customs. Missionaries continued to encourage Māori parents to educate themselves and their children in things European. Even the then Headmaster of Te Aute College, John Thornton expressed his thoughts about the future of te reo Māori,

I puta i a Te Tātana, māhita o Te Aute, tētahi kupu āhua poropiti nei; i kī ia "Ko te reo Māori, e kore e tae ki te rua whakatupuranga, ka kore atu ai taua reo". Heoi, i whakahē ngā mema o te hui o Te Kotahitanga o Te Aute, i tū ki Rotorua i te tau 1905. Otirā, i tēnei wā, kua tutuki taua kupu, nā te iwi Māori anō i takahi tōna reo rangatira mā te Pākehā e hāpai taua reo, reka ana ki te taringa, kāore ōku wehi ki te whakaputa i ēnei kupu, arā, nā te ao hou i tūkino, i whakahāwea ēnei, te Māoritanga me te reo Māori (Paratene Ngata, 1921a).

John Thornton, Headmaster of Te Aute, uttered a somewhat prophetic saying; he said, "The Māori language won't survive 2 generations, and it will disappear". However, the members of Te Kotahitanga o Te Aute disputed that at Rotorua in 1905. Indeed, that prophesy of Thornton has come to fruition, it has been the Māori themselves that have disregarded his chiefly language, it's the Pākehā who are promoting it, sweet to the ear, I'm not afraid to voice my opinion, that is, it's the new world that is abusing and showing contempt towards the Māori culture and the Māori language.

Maslen et al. (1997, p. 28) comments on the speed of change that occurred in the early 19th century,

“Māori use of writing and print in the 19th century occurred in a time of profound, often aggressive change. If writing had been introduced without colonisation and Māori had chosen at their own pace and in their own way how, even if, to use these arts, there would have been a different story. But very soon after the introduction of writing, Christianity and British government were exerting considerable force on their way of life”.

The decline of the speaking of, and the writing in Māori happened within a generation—usually over a span of 25-30 years—after a tenfold increase of Europeans into Aotearoa, between the years 1840 - 1850¹. Previous to this human wave, Māori had settled all parts of Aotearoa, and the land and waterways were under the mana *the control* and interest of hapū and iwi. This tukinga ā-ahurea *cultural clash* tukinga ā-reo *linguistic clash* coupled with the ever-increasing arrival of missionaries and new settlers impacted powerfully on Māori of that time, on their natural way of life and their everyday existence, although Māori living in isolated regions had little contact until much later.

When Willam Hall, Thomas Kendall and Samuel Marsden (1765-1838) arrived in 1814 they saw the Māori as being ripe and ready for conversion. William Hall was a builder. He was joined by Thomas Kendall, a primary-school teacher. These men were not ordained ministers, but Marsden believed that introducing European civilisation, culture and industry to Māori was the first step towards them becoming Christians (Lineham, 2011).

1

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/population#:~:text=As%20a%20result%20of%20these%20colonising%20efforts%2C,beginning%20of%201840%20to%2022%2C108%20in%201850.>

Kendall established the first school in Aotearoa for Māori in 1816 at Rangihoua that followed European processes. It focused on the English alphabet, grammar, and the scriptures. In the following years Methodists established schools at missions set up in 1822 and by Catholics. George Clarke established a school for Māori children, after his arrival in 1824 at which he taught elementary school subjects and useful crafts.

Missionary schools operated on the premise that they were “to further the spread of Christianity and show the natives the way to salvation” Barrington & Beaglehole in Naylor (2006, p. 14). Using the ‘direct method’ which consisted of teachers teaching in their language whilst avoiding using the learner’s native tongue, they promoted the idea of an English-speaking society. In 1930 the New Zealand Federation of Teachers attempted to include te reo Māori as part of the school curriculum but was refused by the then Director of Education Thomas Banks Strong (1861-1944) who held the view that, “The Native is gradually losing knowledge of his own language ... a knowledge of the Māori language unnecessary to Natives who know only English. The Māori language has no literature ... the natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss to the Māori” Barrington and Beaglehole (1974, p. 192), a view also held by the “dominant European society and, sadly, by some Māori” Moorfield (2006, p. 109).

4.2.4 He reo tā

The establishment of newspapers, initially published by the government, was strategically political in informing both races of each other’s culture to allude Māori to new customs and laws and was also in response to the rapid increase in settlers arriving.

The first newspapers were edited by missionaries, but Māori were excluded from having any control over these even though the content was aimed towards them (McRae in Maslen et al., 1997). Following on from the newspapers published by the government were those established by the churches, then those owned by Māori.

The first Māori owned newspaper published was *Te Hokioi* followed by *Te Paki o Matariki* both produced by the Kīngitanga, by Pōtatau Te Wherowhero (?-1860) and Tāwhiao (?-1894) respectively and *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* produced under the authority of Hamuera Tamahau Mahupuku (1837/42-1904) in Pāpāwai, Hūpēnui. “These newspapers illustrate the high degree of Māori confidence in printing their own language and are invaluable historical and cultural taonga” (N. Frean in Griffith et al., 1997, p. 137). The *Te Wānanga* newspaper mentions in the first four issues the following, “Nā Hēnare Hira, i ta, i raro i te mana o Hēnare Tōmoana, Pākōwhai" *Printed by Henry Hill under the authority of Hēnare Tōmoana, Pākōwhai*. This later changed to, “He mea tā e Hēnare Hira, ā, he mea pānui e Hēnare Tōmoana, e te tangata nāna tēnei nūpepa, i te Whare tā o “Te Wānanga” i Pākōwhai, Nēpia" *Printed by Henry Hill, published by Hēnare Tōmoana, the proprietor of this newspaper, at the 'Wānanga' Press, Pākōwhai, Napier*.

An interesting letter written to *Te Karere O Nui Tireni* in 1843 by a person with the nom de plume, ‘Kai Wakarongo Kōrero’ [I’m assuming from the dialect used—either from Whanganui, or Taranaki] reflects on the desire of Pākehā tae hou mai ki Niu Tereni” *New European arrivals* to insert the letter “h” into te reo Māori, into the language the writer

understands and suggests that if this is agreed to then it would become the beginning of the anglicising of te reo Māori,

“Kua kōrerotia mai ki ahau, hiahia ana ētahi Pākehā tae hou mai ki Nui Tereni, kia purua te reta h, ki waenganui o te reta w, me te reta a, hei tohu wakapuakanga, e ai tā rātou mō te ware nohoanga tangata, mō te ingoa pononga, e mea ana ahau e ngāwari ana, e pai ana tō te tangata Māori reo i tōna tikanga tawito mō ngā tātanga katoa; otiia, ki te purua e rātou taua reta wakapuakanga kore ki roto ki taua wāhi, ko te tīmatanga tēnā o te whakapākehātanga o te reo Māori ...” Kaiwhakarongo Kōrero (1843, p. 36 Vol 2(9)).

I have heard that some new European arrivals to New Zealand wish to put the letter “h” between the letter “w” and the letter “a” to pronounce, according to them for house, servant, let me say that the Māori language is both easy and fine and the old ways for everybody; however, if they put that letter of no significance that will be the beginning of anglicising the Māori language...

Another example of the subtle imposition of the English language onto te reo Māori was the action of government officials not catering for Māori by allowing Walter Harsant who could not converse in te reo Māori being part of the discussions at the Kohimarama conference of 1860. At that conference Hēmi Mātini of the Ngāti Māhanga people from Whāingaroa requested a ‘Pākehā’ that could speak te reo Māori as they did not understand what he (Harsant) was saying,

Ko tō mātou Pākehā tuatahi, i tukua mai e te Kāwana, ko Te Penetana. Ka nui te mārama o ana tikanga, me te mārama katoa anō ki a mātou. Ko te tuarua ko te Rata. E pōuri ana mātou, he reo Pākehā hoki tana, e kore e mōhiotia e mātou. Ko taku kupu tēnei ki a kōrua ko te Kāwana kia tukua mai tētahi Pākehā mōhio ki te reo Māori hei whakamārama i ngā tikanga Hēmi Mātini (1860, pp. 14-15).

Our first Pākehā sent us by the Governor was Mr. Fenton. His explanations were very clear and were understood by us. The second was Doctor (Harsant). We do not understand him. For he speaks the English language (only): we do not understand it. This is my word to you and the Governor. Send us a Pākehā (Magistrate) who understands the native language, so that the laws may be explained to us (The Māori Messenger - Ko te Karere Māori, 1860).

Te reo Māori remained the language of communication in the home and in Māori villages but the subtle introduction of the English language into every aspect of public

life in the main centres began to take its toll, along with the increasing overbearing behaviour of the missionaries such as Buddle in his role as editor of *Te Haeata*. The following narrative reflects the overt encouragement of Māori parents to educate their children in the Pākehā ways, comparing them to dogs,

E kore e mōhio te kurī ki ōna tau, tōna i whānau noa, tōna tupu noa, tōna mate noa, ā, kūare noa iho ki ōna tau, e hia rānei? E pēnā ana anō ētahi tāngata Māori, e kore e mōhio ki ōna tau, e kore e mōhio ki te tau i whānau ai e kore e mōhio ki te marama i whānau ai, e kore e mōhio ki te rā i whānau ai, nō te mea kīhai ōna matua i tuhituhi Patara (1859, p. 1 Vol 1 (8)).

A dog doesn't know its age, when it was born, growing up and when it died, totally ignorant to its own age and how old it is. The same as some Māori, who don't know how old they are, they don't know the year they were born, the month or the day they were born, because their parents didn't write it down.

What could be argued as a powerful influence was the Education Ordinance introduced by George Grey (1812-1898) and passed 7 October 1847, considered an assimilation policy, which decreed that “every school to be established or supported by public funds under the provision of this Ordinance, religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language shall form the necessary part of the system to be pursued therein” (1848, p. 189).

Twenty years later in 1867 the *Native Schools Act* was passed for the purpose of “assimilating Māori into Pākehā society”. The ruling that the English language be the language of instruction in the New Zealand education system for all added hastened the decline in the use of te reo Māori. Gradually te reo Māori was banned from being spoken on the playground and in many cases corporal punishment was administered.

The Māori newspapers continued to be published discussing issues facing the government and Māori with the prolific writing by Māori contributors to the papers discussing and debating a vast array of topics.

A letter to the *Te Waka Māori* newspaper (2/10/1878, p. 54 Vol 1(4)) reflects a time when Māori themselves began to question the quality of the Māori language being printed in newspapers.

Me pānui e koe ēnei kupu āku ki roto ki tō nūpepa, nō te mea he mea nui ia, arā ko tētahi Perehi Māori, ko Te Wānanga tōna ingoa, e kīia ana nā ētahi Māori taua perehi, e whakahihi ana ki tōna reo Māori, e mea ana kei a ia te reo Māori tika rawa. I te tau 1875 taku kitenga tuatahi i taua nūpepa. I whakaaro au i reira ai, kāore pea ngā Māori e mōhio ana ki te mahi nūpepa, nō reira ka poka kē te reo. Te kupu Māori mō taua tū reo, “he reo āwhio haere i te motu”. I te tau 1877, ka kite au i te ingoa o te ētita o taua nūpepa, he Pākehā ia. Nō konei pea i poka kē ai tōna reo i te tino reo tika rawa o te Māori. Tana mahi tonu a taua ētita he whakahē ki ngā whakamāoritanga kōrero a te Kāwanatanga. Otirā, kāore e tika te reo o Te Wānanga e tangohia ana ētahi kupu kē hei tīmatanga mō ētahi atu kupu. Kei te kōrero e 250 ai ngā kupu a Te Wānanga, me he mea he reo Māori tika kua māmā te tikanga o taua kōrero i te 200 tonu kupu. Nā, ka 50 ngā kupu amiki noa a Te Wānanga. Ehara i te reo nō Ngāpuhi, me titiro hoki ki te whakamāoritanga o te Karaipiture. Ehara hoki i te reo o te iwi nāna taua Perehi, nō te mea kāore e whakahuatia ana te kupu *hika* nei. Ehara anō hoki i te reo o Waikato. E mea ana ahau me titiro Te Wānanga ki te reo o tōna tupuna, o Te Waka Māori, hei reo mana; ko tōna reo āwhiowhio me tanu ki roto ki te rua o te whēkau nui o Tai. Ehara tāku i te kī kia tango ia i te tikanga o Te Waka Māori. me waiho tēnā i te korokoro o te moana Porikapa Te Mākūkū (1878, p. 54 Vol 1(4))

Would you please insert these my words in your newspaper, for it is also an important matter, that is a certain Māori Press, Te Wānanga by name, said to be owned by Māori, and which (Te Wānanga) boasts for itself (as uttering) the idioms of the pure Māori language. In the year 1875, I first read that paper. I then thought possibly the Natives were unaccustomed to newspaper management, hence its language being different (unlike pure Māori). The Native saying for such language is, “a language that beats round the country.” In 1877, I saw the name of the editor, and that he was a European. Hence, perhaps, the difference of his language to the true and correct language of the Māori. That editor continually finds fault with the language of Government translations. But the language of the (or used by) the Wānanga is not correct—some words are brought to commence other words. If the Wānanga uses 250 words, it should in the true, correct Māori, only require 200 words to convey the meaning. The Wānanga’s gain is 50 words by its round-about language. It is not the Ngāpuhi dialect, for look at the translation of the Scriptures. It is not the dialect of the tribe which owns that Press, because it does not use the word *hika*. Again, it is not the Waikato dialect. I am inferring that the Wānanga should study the

language of its tupuna, Te Waka Māori, as a (model) language for itself, and bury its round-about language within the sepulchre of the great bowels of Tai. I am not advising his adoption of the policy of Te Waka Māori. Let that remain in the gullet of the sea. ("Te Wānanga," 1878, p. 54 Vol 1(4))

The tide had comprehensively turned to such an extent that despite efforts from Māori to abate this flow, the attraction of the English language and its cultural elegances created tension between the generations of Māori until the elders of the time realised that their children and grandchildren were becoming divorced from their own identities, their own language, and customs. Paratene Ngata (1849-1924) and Reweti Kōhere (1871-1954) began expressing their collective concern regarding the state of the Māori language,

E kī ana a Te Reweti, ko te tino take i kino ai te reo Māori he kore e āta whakaakona i ngā kura, e āta whakaakona rānei e ngā mātua ki ā rātou tamariki. He tino kōrero marama tēnā mā ngā mātua, mā ngā kaitiaki e whakarite ana tēnei take i tēnei wā anō, arā, kia tahuri ngā mātua ki te whakarite, ki te ako i te kōrero Māori ki ā rātou tamariki Apirara Ngata (1921b, pp. 3-4 Issue 3).

Reweti is saying that the real reason te reo Māori is in decline is because it is not being taught in schools or the parents are not teaching their children thoroughly. It is explicitly clear for parents, for guardians to respond to this situation immediately, that is, for parents to begin to teach speaking the Māori language to their children.

Nā Paratene Ngata tētahi reta kua tāia e Te Kōpara i whakapuakina ai e ia ētahi kupu tika mō te āhua o tō tātou reo o tō te Māori. I amuamu ia mō te takakino o ngā tamariki i te reo Māori. E hiahia ana au ki te tautoko i ngā kupu a Paratene Ngata, ā, ki te whakaputa hoki i ōku whakaaro, ehara anō i a au i te tohunga e tika ai kia whāwhā atu ki tēnei take. He reo tangi reka te reo Māori he reo ngāwari. Kāore aku whakahē mō te kōrero o ngā tamariki i te reo Pākehā – he hua tēnā nō ngā kura nō te āhuatanga o ēnei rā Reweti Kōhere (1921, p. 3 No 89).

Paratene sent a letter published by Te Kōpara expressing quite appropriately his thoughts about our Māori language. He complained about the children abusing the Māori language. I wish to support Paratene Ngata, and also express my own opinion, I'm no expert appropriate to hoe into this topic. The Māori language is beautiful, is a easy language. I'm not disapproving of children learning the English language – it's a benefit of the schools and an aspect of the times.

The Reverend Frederick Bennett (1871-1950) a.k.a. Pererika Pēneti mentioned the concerns of Apirana Ngata (1874-1950) about the influence of the English language and its customs,

Ko ētahi o ngā kupu a Apirana e whakahua ake e au. I mea ia kotahi rawa tāna e wehi ana mō te whakaako i ngā kōtiro Māori, arā, kei tino mōhio ki ngā tikanga Pākehā ka mārena ki te Pākehā, kāore e pīrangi ki te Māori (1902, p. 8 No 49).

Some writings of Apirana that I mentioned. He said there was the one sole factor causing him concern was the teaching of young Māori girls, that is, in case they become really proficient with Pākehā culture, marry a Pākehā, and don't want to know their Māoritanga.

4.3 He rongo ate

Māori newspapers of the time are a great resource to get the feel of the mindset of tūpuna and the connection between their oral and written voice in expressing their opinions in regard to the multitude of issues that impacted directly on their daily lives.

Between the years 1842-1932 there were 34 Māori newspapers published with 70% of the newspapers being written in te reo Māori, 27% of the articles were bilingual and approximately 3% were written in English (Alexander Turnbull Library - National Library of New Zealand, 1997). The last of the Māori newspapers was *Te Toa Takitini* Volume 1 No 7 and its final issue was published on 1 January 1932 comprising twelve pages.

Following are extracts taken from the various Māori newspapers published over those 90 years concerning the land, the language, law, education, religion, and articles related to the four land blocks in this research. I have chosen to include these articles to reflect the dynamics of the times impacting on tūpuna and their responses.

4.3.1 Mō te whenua

The following articles not only illustrate the various issues that impacted Māori but also their express concern regarding the imposition of a different culture, a different world with values about land contrary to their own,

E kore e tika kia puta he kupu whakatau a te Kooti mō tētahi whenua i runga i ngā tikanga o taua Ture ki te mea kāore anō kia mārāma te take o ngā Māori ki taua whenua i runga i ngā tikanga o "Te Ture Whenua Māori, 1873" Tekiona 16. Te Waka Māori o Niu Tīrani (1876a, p. 216 Vol 12, No. 18).

It is inappropriate for the Court to make its decision regarding land based on the that Law due to the fact that the Māori relationship to that land has not been explained within the meaning of the Māori Land Act 1873 Section 16.

Ko Karaka Maki o Maraekākaho, Ahuriri, mō runga i tā mātau kōrero ki ngā Māori kia kaha rātou ki te ahu whenua, e kī mai ana kua kore he whenua. E mea ana mai ko te Whakapono i kawea mai e te Pākehā i te tuatahi, muri iho ko te "Mōkete".

Karaka Maki, of Maraekākaho, Ahuriri, in answer to an article of ours urging the Natives to industry in agricultural pursuits, informs us they have now no land to cultivate. He says the Pākehā first introduced Christianity and then "Mortgages". (Te Waka Māori o Niu Tīrani, 1873a)

“Nō te tau 1892 ka pāhitia e te Paremata te ture e kīia nei ko Te Ture Whenua 1892 hei whakatutuki i tēnei kaupapa a te Makenihi. Ā, nō taua tau anō ka tāhuri mai ia ki te kati i ngā whenua Māori kei hokona noatia ki ngā tāngata noa. Ka pēneitia kia katia aua whenua mā te Karauna anake e hoko. Ka hangā he tikanga hei rāhui, ka whakawhiwhia ki te Kāwana te mana whakaputa i te Kāhiti hei kati i ngā whenua Māori e hiahiatia ana e te Karauna ki te hoko kia kaua e whaimana ētahi atu tāngata ki te hoko i aua whenua” Apirana Ngata (1906).

In 1892 Parliament passed the act known as the Native Land Purchases Act 1892 to achieve McLean’s wish. Also in that year, he moved to stop Māori land being sold to just anyone. This was arranged so that only the Government could purchase land. A rule was created to prohibit sales and allocate the power to purchase Māori land to the Government, and they published in the Gazette the Māori lands the Government wished to purchase preventing anyone else from purchasing those lands.

He Ture i kitea e au i roto i ngā Kāhiti i tukua mai ki a mātou i muri tata ake nei, mō ngā whenua a ngā tamariki Māori kua mate nei ō rātou mātua, kīhai nei i tae ō rātou tau ki te 21. Ka kīia i taua Ture, ka tika ngā kaitiaki, me ngā kaiwhakawā tiaki o taua whenua o aua tamariki kia hokoa atu e aua kaitiaki ki tā rātou i pai

ai. Ko au e whakahē ana ki taua Ture, taku nei mō runga i taua Ture, me pupuri tonu e aua kaitiaki ā rātou whenua Hōhaia Rangīāuru (1878, pp. 577-578 No 46).

There's a Law I saw in the Gazettes sent to us recently regarding land which belonged to Māori children who parents had passed away and who had not yet turned 21 years old. That Law says that it is okay for the guardians and the judges looking after those lands that the guardians can sell those lands to whomever they wish. I object to that Law, and I believe that that Law should instead say that the guardians must retain their lands. Hōhaia Rangīāuru, South Island.

The following article, written by the then Governor Robert Fitzroy (1805-1865), is one of the earliest articles published regarding land and issues around Pākehā buying land and not being aware of who actually owns the land,

He maha ō koutou e hiahia ana kia tukua ētahi o ō koutou whenua mō te Pākehā, ā, e hiahia ana kia noho te Pākehā ki roto i a koutou i te maha ngā Pākehā e hiahia ana kia hokona ō koutou whenua kia noho ki roto i a koutou, otiia he maha ngā mea i wakatūpatoria ai e te Pākehā. Māku e wakaatu atu te mea, i tūpatō ai ngā Pākehā ko te take o te whenua, tētahi; ko te tangata māna e tuku te whenua tētahi; ko te tangata e whiwhi ki te utu, tētahi. He maha ō koutou tikanga, he tikanga kē pea tō tēnei iwi, he tikanga kē tō tērā iwi, ā, e kore e mōhiotia e te Pākehā... ka nohoia te kāinga e ngā Pākehā, ka hangā he whare, ka ngakia te whenua, ka tuhituhia he pukapuka ki tāwāhi ki ngā whanaunga e noho ana ki reira, ka mea ia, Koia anō te pai o tēnei motu koia tino te pai o ngā tāngata Māori, haere mai ki konei tātou noho ai. Kīhai i roa, ka puta mai ngā tāngata nā rātou ake anō te kāinga, te mea i haere mai ai rātou, i rongō rātou kua tukua tō rātou whenua ki te Pākehā ka riri rātou, ka mea rātou kia nui te utu, ka tutū rātou ki te Pākehā, ka peia e rātou ngā Pākehā, ko te hira kino rawa ka whawhai, ka hinga tētahi, ka hinga tētahi Kāwana (1844, pp. 55-56 Vol 3(11)).

There are many of you who would really like to give some of your land to the Pākehā and for them to live amongst you due to the number of Pākehā who wish to buy your land and live amongst you, however, there are many things for the Pākehā to be cautious of. I will reveal the things why Pākehā are apprehensive, the issue of land is one; the person selling the land is another and the person receiving the money is another. You have many customs, perhaps each tribe has their own custom that Pākehā aren't aware of.... when the Pākehā live on the land, they build a house, till the land, write a letter overseas to their relations telling them, this country is good, the Māori people are really good, come and settle here. But it's not long before the people that really own the land appear, they've heard that their land has been given to the Pākehā, and they're angry, they demand lots of money, they revolt against the Pākehā they expel the Pākehā, the worst thing is that they fight, and people die.

The following article—*Ngā tikanga e mutu ai te whawhai, Reasons to stop fighting* I assume written by the editor of the time Rev. Thomas Buddle (Te Patara) under the nom

de plume 'Rongomau', pertaining to land, clearly reflects the underlying thinking of the missionaries towards Māori land using the threat of invasion by a foreign people (but not the English) to give up land for settlement. The following is a short segment of that article,

“Kāhore he pai o te whenua takoto kau. Kīhai te Atua i hanga i te whenua, hei takoto kau. Kia mahia e te tangata, kia nohoia, e te tangata, te pai ai. I tukua mai ō koutou tūpuna e te Atua, hei noho i tēnei Motu ... Whakaaro ana a Ingarani ki ōna Mihinare kua tae kē mai, kei haere mai he iwi kē, whakararuraru ai i a tātou, koia rātou i haere mai, hei noho i te whenua, hei tiaki i a tātou, hei whakarangatira i a koutou. Nā, mea ana ngā Pākehā, ko ētahi o te whenua nei, mō rātou, ko ētahi, mō koutou ... Waihoki, i ngā tini haerenga o ngā iwi ki ngā tini whenua, kīhai i mea kia hokona. E tango noa ana, noho noa iho ana, riro noa atu ana i a rātou. Tēnā ko tēnei, he tino atawhai nō Ingarani ki a koutou, i mea ai, me utu tētahi wāhi o tō koutou whenua. Otiia, kei mea koutou, kia nui noa atu te utu; kāhore, kīhai koutou i utu i tēnei whenua. Nō te Atua anō ngā whenua katoa, māna e tuku ki tana iwi i pai ai ...” (Te Haeata, 1861, p. 1 Vol 3(7)).

There's no benefit in idle land. God never created land for it to sit idle. It needs to be worked by people so it can be lived on by people is the best option. Your tūpuna were sent here by God to settle this Island. England thinks about its Missionaries who have already arrived here in case a different people arrive and cause us trouble, this why they [the missionaries] came to live on the land and protect us and treat you with dignity. Now, some English are saying that some of the land is for them, and some is for you... Furthermore, of all the many peoples travelling to the many lands I'm not saying to solely buy land. To just take land, to just settle to obtain it. On the other hand, England really cares about you and wishes to pay for some of your land. Just in case you say that the price is high; no, you didn't buy this land. All lands were created by God, he gave it to the people to prosper...

Another article published in *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri* compares deceitful practices of Pākehā and the Māori of the time to a fish being lured into taking the bait,

HE nui te kōrero a ngā Māori e puta tonu ana i te takiwā kua taha atu nei mō ā rātou whenua e riro ana i te mōketi, i te tinihanga noatanga atu hoki a te Pākehā ki tā rātou i kī ai. Nā, e mea ana mātou he tika tētahi wāhi o ā rātou kōrero, e hē ana tētahi wāhi. He tika te poapoa a ētahi Pākehā i a rātou ki te hanga. E rite ana taua mahi ki te tangata e maka ana i tana aho ki roto ki te wai hei hopu ika māna; ka kite mai te ika i te maunu ka āhuareka mai, nō te maunga ka mau te matau ki roto ki te whēkau kātahi ka mōhio, auē! he matau ia kei roto i te kai nei! te ai he kounutanga te ai he aha. Otirā nā te tangata te hē ki te rere atu ki taua maunu. Kua oti hoki e mātou te ako ki a koutou i mua i roto i te nūpepa nei. Kua kī atu e mātou he mea kino te tango taonga, he mea kino te mōketi, he mate kei roto (Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri, 1870, p. 73 Vol 6(16)).

There has been lots said by Māori recently regarding their land obtained through mortgages and unbridled deceit of Pākehā in what they say. Now, we agree that some of what they say is true and some not so. It's true that some Pākehā do entice them. That practice is similar to a person throwing their fishing rod into the water to catch fish for themselves; the fish sights the bait and warms to it, once biting it and the hook is secured within the gut, only then realises, damn! the bait had a hook in it! it couldn't be removed, nothing could be done. However, it was the person's error in taking that bait. We have educated you previously in this newspaper, We have stated that it is wrong to steal, and mortgages are harmful, they contain trouble.

4.3.2 Mō te reo

This first narrative appeared in the newspaper *Te Manuhiri Tūārangi Māori Intelligencer* promoting the English language as the Māori language was destined to be lost. It also mentions schools and money for books and clothes for Māori children. There is no indication as to who authored this piece, or who translated into te reo Māori, but Walter Buller, 'a barrister, specialising in Native Land Court business was the editor at the time. The commentary of the newspaper mentions six contributors so it could also be one of them,

3. Otiia, kei roto hei te reo Pākehā te tino tikanga o ēnei mea. Ko te tino pūtake tēnei, arā, ko te puna tēnei e pupū ake ai te mātauranga mō ā tātou tamariki. Koia ahau ka mea ai, kia mōhio ā tātou tamariki ki te reo Pākehā. Kei reira te pukapuka, kei reira te tikanga o te whika, kei reira te taonga o te mātauranga e rangatira ai ā tātou tamariki. Kei mea koutou, ko te mau tonu te reo Māori ki tēnei whenua! ka ngaro te reo Māori, ka iti haere hoki; ko te reo Pākehā hei reo mō tēnei whenua, me ā tātou tamariki hoki, hei Pākehā, hei rangatira. Titiro hoki! Ko te reo Pākehā kua tae ki ngā wāhi katoa o te ao, ā, kua mōhio kua kōrerotia e ngā iwi maha kua tangohia hei reo mōna; a, ka tangohia ai tēnei reo e ā tātou tamariki, i ngā tau e takoto ake nei, hei reo mō rātou, hei mātauranga mō rātou, hei taonga mō rātou, hei rangatiratanga mō rātou. Ka kore, ka aha? Heoi rā; ka kore ā tātou tamariki e mōhio ki te reo Pākehā, ko te reo Pākehā te nui haere, ko rātou te iti haere. Ko te reo Pākehā, ka kake, ka tupu, ka teitei rawa; ko ā tātou tamariki. Ka papaku iho, ka kore iho.

Koia ahau ka mea ai, ko te reo Pākehā! Ko te reo Pākehā! Koia tēnā, hei rangatiratanga mō ā tātou tamariki. Ka pai hoki! Nā te reo Pākehā hoki i kawē mai ngā taonga nunui ki tēnei whenua. Nā te reo Pākehā le kaupuke, na te reo Pākehā le pukapuka, na to reo Pākehā te karakia, na te reo Pākehā te tini noa atu ngā taonga e rangatira ai te tangata ki tēnei ao, ki tērā ao atu. Ka pai kia riro pūtake ai tēnei taonga nui i ā tātou tamariki, arā, te reo Pākehā. Kei te hiahia ngā Pākehā kia riro tō rātou reo i a koutou, arā, kia mōhio tahi te Māori me te

Pākehā ki te reo Pākehā, kia uru tahi ai ki tēnei mātauranga, kia rangatira tahi ai. Nō reira a Kāwana i whakarite ai i ngā Kura, me te tuku anō i ngā moni hei hoko kākahu, hei hoko pukapuka mō ngā tamariki Māori: me te whakaae anō ngā rangatira Pākehā ki tēnei tikanga, hei rangatiratanga mō ngā tamariki Māori.

3. But the chief of these things is to be found in the English language.

This is the main source, that is, the spring from which will arise knowledge for our children. I therefore advise that our offspring be acquainted with the English language. There are the books, there are the illustrations of arithmetic, and there the treasury of knowledge for raising the position of our children. Say not that the Māori tongue will always obtain in this land. By no means, the Native language will be lost by constant decrease, and the language of the Pākehā will be the language of this country and of our children, so that they may become Pākehā and rangatira. Observe! the English tongue has reached every part of the world, and is understood and spoken by many people, who have adopted it as their own language; and this language will be received by our children, in future years, and will be a source of intelligence and wealth, and respectability for them. But if they are not possessed of it, what then? Enough: if our children do not know the English language, that language will increase, and they will decrease. The Pākehā tongue will advance and grow, and reach very high, but as for our children, they will be low and insignificant.

And hence I exclaim, the English language! the English language! That is, it which will provide a position for our children: and it will be good. By the Pākehā language have been brought the greatest treasures to this land. By the Pākehā language have come the ship, the book, the worship; by that foreign tongue (have come) the greatest of all treasures whereby man can be benefited, both in this world and the other... The Europeans are desirous that you should accept their language, that is, that the Māori and the Pākehā should equally understand the English language, that they might receive equal knowledge and be equal in station. For that reason the Governor has established schools, and granted money for the purchase of clothing and books for the Māori children, and the English gentlemen have consented to this system for the raising of the Native youth (Te Manuhiri Tūārangi Māori Intelligencer, 1861).

4.3.3 Mō te ture

The following letter was written by George Wilkinson a Pākehā and Licensed Interpreter expressing his concerns as to how his “native friends” near Shortland town in Hauraki were being treated.

“E hoa ko te take o tēnei reta i tuhia ai he titiro nāku ki te mate o ō tātou hoa Māori e noho ana ki ngā tāone, ki ngā wāhi tūtata rānei. Ko tēnei mate e kitea atu ana e ahau ehara nō rātou, engari nā tāua i hoatu tēnei mate mō rātou. Koia tēnei he kaiponu nō tāua ki te tuku atu ki a rātou ngā ture a te Pākehā e whai tikanga ana mō ngā tāone, kia tuhia hoki ki te reo Māori kia mārama ai ō tātou hoa.”

“I am induced to write this letter because I see that our Native friends who reside in or near our towns labour under certain disadvantages. It is an evil which does not proceed from themselves, but from us, we have put it upon them. It is this. We have neglected to give them in their own language the laws appertaining to towns, so that they may know clearly what is required of them” George Wilkinson (1873, p. 181 Vol 9(19)).

Here is the response of the editor James Grindell (1823-1900),

“Ko ngā ture e kī nei a Hōri Wirikihana, he ture ia nō ngā Porowini, nō ngā tāone hoki; ā mā ngā Kāwanatanga o ngā Porowini te tikanga kia whakamāoritia. Ko ngā ture o te Kāwanatanga Nui o te motu nei e tau ana ki te iwi Māori e whakamāoritia ana ināianei, ā, ka tukua ki ngā takiwā Māori a te wā e oti ai” [TE KAI-TUHI].

The laws to which George Wilkinson refers are provincial or municipal laws, and it is for the Provincial authorities to take measures to have them translated. The General Government laws which affect the Native race are now being translated and will be circulated in Native districts. [EDITOR].

When the Native Land Sales Bill of 1880 was being introduced by Donald McLean there were a myriad of petitions sent in by Māori. Even John Sheehan (1844-1885) a.k.a. Hīana to the Māori, “the first native-born Pākehā parliamentarian” (Waterson, 1993) and member of the house of representatives voiced his concern about the actions of McLean and the then Government,

TE TURE HOU A TĀ TĀNARA MAKARINI MŌ TE HOKO I NGĀ WHENUA MĀORI. Ka mea a Te Hīana. “E mea ana ahau, ā ngā rā e rongō ai te Māori ki ngā tikanga o te Ture hou a Tā Tānara Makarini, ka tukua mai ā rātou Pitihana ki te Paremata nei, kia kore taua Ture. Ā, ka whakahē anō hoki te Māori ki taua Ture, nō te mea kī anō rātou i tino rangona ā rātou kōrero ki te Paremata nei. E hara te mahi nei i te mahi hangahanga noa. He nui anō hoki te kī a te Paremata nei, hei tautoko i te hiahia a te Māori, ā, kīhai noa ake i mana. E hara aku kupu i te mea mō taua Ture hou a Tā Tānara Makarini anake, e kōrero ana ahau mō ngā mea katoa ki te taha Māori. E mea ana ahau, e kore e tika kia mahia e te Paremata nei ngā Ture mō te Māori, i te mea kāhore anō te Māori i rongō noa, ā, i kite noa i ngā Ture me ngā tikanga o aua Ture, e mahia ana e te Paremata nei mō te iwi Māori, ā, ki te mea ka mahi te Paremata nei i ngā mahi mō te iwi Māori, ā, ki te mea e kore e whākina aua mahi ki te Māori, kia rongō ai te Māori, ā, kia kōrero mai ai te Māori i ā rātou whakaaro ki te Paremata nei, pēnei ka āhua whakahāwea te Māori ki te mana o te Paremata nei”.

THE NEW BILL OF SIR DONALD MCLEAN FOR SELLING MĀORI LAND

Mr Sheehan: “The bill now introduced will have a very great effect upon the Natives when they come to know something about it; and by the time that it is

passed into law you will have petitions and suggestions and proposals from the Native people, simply because they have not had the opportunity to be heard in this house. This is not a matter, The house has over and over, taken steps to protect the Native interests in this House, but these steps have not been effective. I am not speaking on the measure now. I am speaking simply for the purpose of pointing out that it is not fair to the Native people, it is not right for this house to pass measures affecting the Native people until they have had an opportunity of hearing something about them: it is not just to this House because it lowers the standard of this House in the mind of the Natives when they find important business done in such a manner” Sheehan (1876, p. 348).

4.3.4 Mō ngā kura

The following examination of Te Hāpuku regarding the establishment of Te Aute School after Te Hāpuku gave the land for the school but due to delay from the Government it took several years,

TE HAPUKU, one of the Petitioners, in attendance and examined.

49. [The Chairman.] You live at Pākōwai? – “Yes”.

50. [Hon. Captain Fraser.] Did you give this endowment of land? – “Yes”.

51. How long ago? – “About thirty years ago”.

52. What was your object in making that endowment? – “For educational purposes. There were, at that time, a great many children in our tribe; perhaps exceeding 100, and the object I had was to get them educated”.

53. Were they so educated? – “They were not”.

54. Why not? – “I could not say why. Nothing was done in accordance with this Trust until the Government had taken the matter in hand and established schools. As soon as Mr. Williams saw that the Government were taking the matter in hand he set up his school.”

62. [Fraser.] You complain in your petition that the intention of the Trust has been diverted. How can that be the case if you have no children to send to school? – “If the school had been started at the time it was proposed, there would have been a great many children sent; but the children now are not being sent”.

63. Have you any objection to the school being kept open for the children of other tribes? – “We think that as the land was given for a special purpose, and the purpose was not carried out, the land should be given back to us. We do not think the Ngāti Porou should have the benefit of our land” (1877, p. 454 Vol 4(45)).

E kite ana i roto i ngā kōrero mō ngā kura Māori kua nui anō te tika o te mahi a te Kāwanatanga ki te whakaako i ngā tamariki Māori ki te reo Pākehā. Ko te Wikiri Niuhi, nūpepa o Ākarana, e kī ana: "He mea whakahari i te ngākau te kitenga i te mahi a ngā Māori e manaaki nei i taua mahi whakaako, e tuku nei i ā rātou tamariki ki ngā kura, e tuku moni anō hoki i roto i ngā tau hei oranga mō aua kura.

The reports on Native schools show that the efforts of the Government in the matter of educating the Native children in the English language have been attended with considerable success. "It is satisfactory," says the Auckland Weekly News, "to find that the Natives not only appreciate these efforts in availing themselves of the schools for their children, but contribute to some extent towards the annual cost of maintenance of the schools" (Te Waka Māori o Niu Te Waka Māori o Niu Tīrani, 1876b, p. 4 Vol 12b(1)).

4.3.5 Mō te whakapono

The following extracts are from the *Te Haeata* newspaper which was a newspaper dedicated to religious matters and published entirely in te reo Māori by the Wesleyan missionaries "to convey the good news to people desiring knowledge, particularly of the church, and to instruct them in the good customs of the Pākehā."

"Tēnei taku hua pītiti, mā koutou e rapu. He kupu whakarite tēnei. E mōhio ana pea koutou, i te mea ka whakatōkia te pītiti, tētahi atu mea rānei, i te tupunga ko ngā puāwai, muri iho ko ngā rau, muri iho ko ngā hua. He whakaritenga mō te ngākau o te tangata. Mā ngā hua ka mōhiotia ai te rākau, waihoki mā ngā mahi, mā te whakapono hoki, ka mōhiotia ai te tangata" A. Barton (1860, p. 4 Vol 2(6)).

This is my two cents: for you to decipher. This is an analogy. Perhaps you know because you plant the peach tree, or some other fruit tree, from its growth comes the blossom, after that the leaves and then the fruit. This is an analogy regarding the spirit of people. Through the fruit you know what the tree is, through faith as well you know the person.

"Kāhore he whakapono ki a te Karaiti, kāhore he oranga. Ka hē te whakapono ka mate anō te tangata. He whakapono ngutu kau, he whakapono whakarite kau e kore e ora. He whakapono e mahi ana i te aroha, he mahi nā te ngākau, he mea homai nā te Wairua Tapu, he oranga tonutanga tēnā" A Barton (1860, p. 4).

If there's no belief in Christ, there's no life. If the belief is false, the person dies. If the belief is mere lip service, an empty promise then there will be no wellbeing. Faith expressed through love and actioned from the heart given by the Sacred Spirit, leads to eternal life.

From the previous examples of relevant topics discussed by the tūpuna of the time in the Māori newspapers I now focus on articles pertaining directly to the four land blocks in this research.

4.4 Te reo tā mō Tamatea takiwā

Between the years 1860 to 1895 there were 2 local papers published in the Tamatea district:

Waipawa Mail

The first of the southern Hawke's Bay newspapers, the Waipawa Mail, was first published on 14 September 1878 by Hugh Thomson an experienced journalist who had edited a number of newspapers including the New Zealand Times and the Inangahua Herald. It survived until 24 January 1941 when it ceased publication. The first issue of the new Waipawa Mail came out on 25 July 1946. It was eventually sold to the Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune in 1978. In 1980 the weekly Mail was merged with the Central Hawke's Bay Press to form the Mail (Waipukurau), later known as the CHB Mail (Papers Past, 1878).

Bush Advocate

James Clayton established the Bush Advocate in Dannevirke (in the Manawatū) on 8 May 1888. The paper intended to cover a wide area, which can be seen from its rather long subtitle: "the Takapau, Ormondville, Norsewood, Makōtuku (The full name of this settlement is Mākotukutuku meaning the stream where the fuschia tree was prominent and produced berries), Dannevirke and Wainui District Advertiser." The Thursday May 24, 1888, edition stated, "In the opening remarks addressed to the settlers in the first issue of the Advocate, we indicated that one of our first and foremost cares would be to espouse everything likely to promote the common welfare of the Bush districts." It continued until 1912 when the paper was sold and merged with the Dannevirke Evening News (Papers Past, 1888).

These two publications contained articles—along with the usual news of the times—covering land purchases and the pressure put on the government of the time to "acquire" land and open it up for settlement. In this instance some of the place names are still found on contemporary maps, others are confined to the annals of memory,

In response to several enquiries, we have taken some pains to ascertain the probable main and branch roads through the Waikōpiro Block when it is opened for settlement. The result has been to confirm the opinion formed by a member of our staff from his knowledge of the country, that there can be no doubt that the main road will be formed up the Waikōpiro Valley, which debouches into the Manawatū opposite Papatū. This road will connect with the existing road system somewhere about Pūrimu, and thence to Blackhead either by the present Wallingford route, or by a deviation through the Huatokitoki Valley... The Manga-puaka valley, dividing the Waikōpiro Block from Manawakaitoi, will

be used as a branch road only, for the purpose of cutting up the land ("Waipawa Mail," 1890).

Figure 37:

Contemporary map still showing the Huatokitoki stream, Papatū.



The second article reveals the relief of an anonymous contributor to the paper to the intended settlement of Waikōpiro block and the court decision to only allow 20 names of 'owners' to expedite the lease of or sale of the land,

Sir, — At last the Court has settled down to complete the ownership of the Waikōpiro Block. It is not, I think, generally known that upon application at the time of judgment of a case, that the Court has to so apportion the land that not more than 20 owners should be in claimants' application, so that it can be dealt with either for lease or sale. I am, &c., Waipawa (1889, p. 2 Vol XII(2267)).

Here we find local hapū expressing their concern and opposition to the leasing arrangements of land set up by John Sheehan for Hobson a local run owner.

NOTICE. "THE undermentioned HAPUS, who have been found to be part owners of the ŌTĀWHAO and WHENUAHOU Blocks, Hereby state that we DID NOT AGREE to LEASE to Thomas Hobson, or his adviser or agent Mr Sheehan. We will never agree, owing to the bad conditions in that lease. We, the Māori, do not understand them."

NGĀTI PARA-KIORE,
NGĀTI MĀRAU,
NGĀTI KAIWARU,
NGĀTI TOIOMAHŌ [sic], (Toro-i-waho)
NGĀTI TŪRĀHUI (The Waipawa Mail "Notice," 1885, p. 3).

Three years later another dispute arose between sheep farmer Hobson and Wātene Hāpuku over Hobson's destroying a fence and illegally felling timber on a Māori reserve on the Ōtāwhao block. Here are the articles taken from the Daily Telegraph a newspaper first published in Napier in 1871 pertaining to this case.

Thomas Hobson was charged this morning with having on the 10th of December last, broken a certain fence, the property of one Wātene Hāpuku, thereby doing damage to the amount of £5 Mr Creswell appeared for the informant, and Mr Lascelles for defendant.

Wātene Hāpuku deposed he was a native chief residing at Te Aute. Was part owner of the Ōtāwhao reserve at Takapau. He resided there sometimes; claimed interest in the timber on that land and gave no one authority to remove timber therefrom. Mr Lascelles objected to these questions regarding the timber being put. They were charged with breaking the fence, and the question of the timber would be settled in the Supreme Court, as they had been served with a writ claiming £600 for cutting and removing timber (Daily Telegraph "Untitled [Alleged Injury to Property]," 1888, p. 2 Issue 5117).

WATENE HAPUKA AND OTHERS V. HOBSON. This was an action claiming £600 damages and specific relief, in reference to some land at Takapau. Mr Cresswell appeared for the plaintiffs and Mr Lascelles with Mr Carlile for the defendant. Mr Lascelles took the objection that the whole of the owners of the land should be joined as plaintiffs, as only four out of one hundred and twenty had been so joined. His Honor said it was too late to raise such an objection to stop the action. Mr Cresswell said the plaintiffs were acting on their own rights and the other owners of a block at Takapau. The defendant was a sheep farmer residing at Takapau. Defendant in 1885 took possession of certain lands which he used as a grazing run, and he had no right to cut any timber off the land. Defendant met two of the plaintiffs and told them he wanted the right to cut timber. They refused, but afterwards they met, and Hobson asked them to sign an agreement allowing him to cut timber and he would give them a bonus of £50, and if they gave him the right to cut on two thousand acres, he would pay the natives £250 a year for the timber. The two signed and took the £50. The natives had never received the £250... In October 1886, Mr Hobson was cutting trees wherever the tramway was running on both sides. That was not only on the leased portion, but also on Māori reserve.

At that time a considerable quantity of timber had been cut down on both sides of the tramway. The timber was cut outside of the grazing run. Wātene Hāpuku deposed he lived at Te Aute, Takapau, and Waipawa. Knew the Ōtāwhao block, and to the best of his belief he was one of the owners of that block, as were also his children. Knew Hobson, and leased part of the Ōtāwhao block to him, the grazing lease. The lease (produced) was the one he signed. His Honor: All this is admitted. The whole question to be decided is this: Was timber cut outside the leased land, and to what extent? The witness was cross-examined at length by Mr Lascelles. The Court then adjourned till this afternoon ("Untitled [Civil Sitings]," 1888).

The taking of evidence in this case was concluded on Saturday afternoon at four o'clock, and counsel addressed the Court. His Honor reviewed the evidence at length, going very carefully over all the various points which had been raised. The jury retired at five o'clock. They returned a verdict that the defendant had trespassed but found it impossible to assess the damages. After some remarks by His Honor, the jury agreed to allow nominal damages, assessed at £2 with costs on the lowest scale ("Untitled [Watene Hāpuku V. Thomas Hobson]," 1888).

These articles reflect the overt assumption of earlier settlers and landowners that Māori land was open for personal use and in this instance, initially demanding that he, Hobson, should be able to fell timber wherever he wished and when not getting his way, destroyed a fence to fell timber with complete disregard for the agreed arrangement and the law.

The following article reveals another issue arising from land ownership and the lure of cash whereby Māori from Heretaunga, led by Hēnare Tōmoana (1820/30-1904), challenged the ownership to land in the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks. There were attempts of other "outsider" hapū to gain land in the 4 blocks of this research as we will witness later.

Native Lands Court! Sitting this Court on Monday, decision was given in the matter of the dispute Over the Ōtāwhao block, Takapau. Claim was made by Henare Tōmoana and others to obtain possession of the block, the repellents being Hōri Niania and Pāora Rōpiha, on behalf of their respective tribes. Hēnare Tōmoana conducted his own case, and Te Peeti te Aweawe appeared on behalf of repellents. The case was decided in favour of Hōri Niania and Hine-i-paketia.

The tribes of Ngāi Tahu and Te Kikiri were also admitted having claims on the block, but the Rangitāne tribe had no claim whatever. On account, however, of Karaitiana Takamoana withholding all the land from sale, the Court awards one twentieth of the block, not to exceed 500 acres, to the heirs of Hāwea and Karaha. In the action brought by Hēnare Tōmoana against the same parties to obtain possession of the Whenuahou block, Takapau, judgment was given on Wednesday. The decision is generally in favour of Hōri Niania and Hine-i-paketia, also in part to Ngāi Te Kikiri. The following tribes also, on proving their claims as to ancestry and actual occupation, have a share in the land: —Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Para-kioire, Ngāi Tahu, and Ngāti Ngarengare. The Court was engaged yesterday in enrolling the names of those persons who belong to the above tribes (Waipawa Mail "Native Lands Court," 1883a, p. 2 Vol 5(535)).

Nepe Te Apatū and Hōri Tāwhai one of the established leaders with mana whenua on Rākau-tātahi felt the need to inform people of that fact and to caution people as to trespassing and stealing stock. This notice was published both in te reo Māori and English 31 times from 19 January 1888 to 14 April 1888,

NOTICE. ANY person found trespassing on my Reserve Te Rākau-tātahi at Takapau, will be sued for a penalty of £10. Any persons found destroying my flock of sheep and cattle will be sued for a penalty of £50. NEPE TE APATU, Overseer Hōri Tawhai.

PANUITANGA. KI TE kitea ngā Pākehā ngā Māori rānei e haere ana i runga i taku whenua i Te Rākau-tātahi kei Te Takapau. Ka tāmanatia ki te ture kia utu i te £10. Ki te kitea anō e patu tāhae ana a aku kau hipi rānei ka tāmanatia ki te ture kia utu i te £10. NEPE TE APATU, Kaiwhakahaere Hōri Tāwhai (Nepe Te Apatū & Tāwhai, 1888, p. 3 Vol XI(2091)).

The following notice published in the *New Zealand Gazette* has been added as it appeared as part of the search into the land blocks in the two local newspapers and has been included here as the notice pertains to two of the land blocks in this research,

TURE KOOTI WHENUA MĀORI, 1886.

He Pānuitanga ki ngā tāngata e whai take ana ki te whenua kia mōhiotia ai te wāhi me te rā e tū ai te Kooti hei whakawā i ō rātou take.

Nā, he Pānuitanga tēnei kia mōhiotia ai, ko te take a ngā tāngata nō rātou ngā ingoa e mau nei i te rārangi tuatahi i raro nei, ki ngā piihi whenua e mau nei i te rarangi tuarua, ka whakawākia ā te 6 o ngā rā o Nowema, 1888, e te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori ki Hēhitingi,

Figure 38:

Ko Te Kāhiti o Niu Tīreni 1888 Issue 31, pg. 123

Te Hira Tū-te-ata, Riria Te Rere, Matiria Parekura	Rākau-tātahi
Nepe Te Apatū, Pāora Rōpiha, Pahimata Whareraupō, Erueti Tanguru	Rākau-tātahi
Hōri Rōpiha, Keita Ruta, Pāora	Waikōpiro

Native Land Court Act 1886

This is a Notice to inform of the rights of the people whose names are in the first row below, to the allotted lands in the second row will be adjudicated on the 6th of November 1888 by the Native Land Court in Hastings (Kōti Whenua Māori, 1888).

The advent of the Māori newspaper became a formidable channel for Māori to express their concerns, their successes, their pain, their happiness. This next discussion centres on articles relating to the four land blocks and the rise of land issues which eventually leads to the land blocks being taken to the Native Land Court.

4.4.1 Mō ngā poraka whenua

The following articles pertain to the four land blocks

Hei te 17 o ngā rā o Nowema (1869) e takoto ake nei ka tū ki Waipawa te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori. Ko ngā ingoa ēnei o ngā kainga e whakawākia ana me ngā tāngata kua tuhia ki raro iho nei.

Ko **Whenuahou** te kāinga: ko Heta Tiki, Manihera, Pire, Retimana, Tōmai Patiriki, Hoani Tokotoko, Te Tāhana, Pukepuke, Te Tohare, me Pāhono ngā tāngata. **Rākau-tātahi** te kāinga; ko Nōpera Kuikāinga, Pāora Rōpiha, Hōri Rōpiha, Heta Hungahunga, Porikapa, Nepe, Hanita Erueti, Pine, Eraitā, Matiria, me Pahimata ngā tāngata. (Te Kooti Whakawā Whenua, 1869, p. 27 Vol 6(6)).

*On the 17th of November just gone the Native Land Court was held in Waipawa. These are the names of the settlements that were investigated, and the claimants written below. The **Whenuahou** settlement: Heta Tiki, Manihera, Pire, Retimana, Tōmai Patiriki, Hoani Tokotoko, Te Tāhana, Pukepuke, Te Tohare, me Pāhono, claimants. **Rākau-tātahi** settlement: ko Nōpera Kuikāinga, Pāora Rōpiha, Hōri Rōpiha, Heta Hungahunga, Porikapa, Nepe, Hanita Erueti, Pine, Eraitā, Matiria, me Pahimata are the claimants.*

Tuarua o ngā whenua kua whakahaerea e māua i runga i tēnei ritenga, ko **Te Waikōpiro** Nama 3 B, kotahi wiki o māua e whakahaere ana ka mutu, ka tukua atu ki te Kooti, tekau noa pea meneti ka whakataua mai te Oota. E hoa mā tirohia mai tēnei mahi, ki taku whakaaro he mahi māmā rawa tēnei, mō te pani, mō te rawakore, me te pouaru, me ngā tāngata iti, heoi anō aku whakamārama (Rupuha Te Hīanga, 1902, p. 6 Vol 4(24)).

The second of the land blocks being overseen by us two under these arrangements is **Te Waikōpiro** Nama 3 B., we oversaw the block for one week then lodge it in the Court, in 10 minutes the Order was decided. Friends observe this action, in my opinion this was really easy to do for the orphans, the widows, and those destitute. Just an explanation. From Rupuha Te Hīanga.

The notice below reflects the mana whenua of Hōri Tāwhai and Nepe Te Apatū and their right to govern what events occurred on their lands at Rākau-tātahi.

Kaua ngā tāngata haere i **Te Rākau-tātahi** i Te Takapau e mau i te kurī peropero, nō te mea ka kitea te kurī i reira ka patua kia mate. Hōri Tāwhai. Nepe Te Apatū.

Anyone going over the land known as **Te Rākau-tātahi**, at Takapau, are cautioned not to take dogs with them, as all dogs found on said land will be killed. (Hōri Tāwhai & Apatū, 1877, p. 24 Vol 4(2)).

The next article is one of many recording the dispute of the ownership of the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks by the Heretaunga people led by Hēnare Tōmoana,

Native Lands Court – At this Court on Monday, decision was given in the matter of the dispute over the **Ōtāwhao** block, Takapau. Claim was made by Hēnare Tōmoana and others to obtain possession of the block, the repellants being Hōri Niania and Pāora Rōpiha, on behalf of their respective tribes. Hēnare Tōmoana conducted his own case, and Te Peeti te Aweawe² appeared on behalf of repellants. The case was decided in favour of Hōri Niania and Hine-i-paketia. The tribes of Ngāi Tahu and Te Kikiri were also admitted to having claims on the block, but the Rangitāne tribe had no claim whatever. On account, however, of Karaitiana Takamoana withholding all the land from sale, the Court awards one twentieth of the block, not to exceed 500 acres, to the heirs of Hāwea and Karaha. In the action brought by Hēnare Tōmoana against the same parties to obtain possession of the **Whenuahou** block, Takapau, judgment was given on Wednesday. The decision is generally in favour of Hōri Niania and Hine-i-paketia, also in part to Ngāi Te Kikiri. The following tribes also, on proving their claims as to ancestry and actual occupation, have a share in the land: Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Para-kioire, Ngāi Tahu, and Ngāti Ngarengare. The Court was engaged yesterday in enrolling the names of those persons who belong to the above tribes. ("Native Lands Court," 1883b 26 October).

² <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t27/te-aweawe-te-peeti>

Tensions over mana whenua of the four land blocks continued to grow between hapū of the Tamatea-Heretaunga district.

4.4.2 He rīrii tara ā-whare

The following narrative published on 10 March 1875 in the Māori newspaper *Te Wānanga* discusses who the rightful owners of the lands of Takapau and Rākau-tātahi were and the need for those lands to be surveyed and the issue to be heard in the Native Land Court. This article was sent to *Te Wānanga* by Karaitiana Takamoana who had both Rangitāne and Kahungunu whakapapa, and Hēmi Ngārangi-e-ngana and Hiraka Tūhua who were descendants of Ngāi Tahu Mākakanui, who also had Rangitāne whakapapa,

Ki te kaituhi o te Wānanga

E hoa, māu e tuku atu ki ngā rohe o tēnei porowini o Heretaunga nei, ā, tae atu ki ngā porowini o tēnei motu o Aotearoa, kia kite ai rātou i te take i tukua ai ō mātou whenua ki te kāwanatanga kia rūritia, kia tae atu ki te Raana Kooti Whenua Māori. Hei whakaatu i ngā take o ngā tāngata kāore nei mātou e mōhio ki ō rātou nei take tūpuna, e tika ai rātou te noho ki runga ki ō mātou whenua, i Te Takapau atu nei anō, ā, tae atu ki ngā wāhi i a mātou i **Te Rākau-tātahi**. Hei whakaatu, hoki i tō mātou hē, i tō ngā tāngata e mōhio ake nei mātou, he take tupuna tō mātou take ki runga i ēnei whenua, i Te Takapau: tae atu ki **Te Rākau-tātahi**. He pānuitanga kia mōhiotia ai te take i hoatu ai e mātou ki ngā kaihapai o te Ture, māna e ata whiriwhiri, ka kitea e te Ture, ko ngā tāngata kore nei ōna pūtake hei tika ki runga ki ō mātou whenua, e pai ana. Nā te Ture i whakahē i a mātou, kāore kau he ahatanga. Otiia, tēnā anō te Ture e mātau, ko mātou pū anō ngā tāngata tūturu nōna ēnei whenua, a Te Takapau, me **Te Rākau-tātahi**.

I roto i ēnei tau ka pahure, ka nui haere mai te raruraru, i tīmata mai hoki i te tau 1859, te raruraru ki ēnei whenua a tae noa mai ki te whakamutunga o te tau 1874. Ka whakahaerea e mātou ki ngā kaihapai o te Ture, kia whakaritea mai he tikanga e pai ai ngā ritenga mō aua whenua, mō Te Takapau, me **Te Rākau-tātahi**, kātahi ka whakahaerea e mātou ki te Ture. Ā, ahakoa kāwanatanga, ahakoa Pākehā e whakahoa ana ki ngā komiti Māori o Tamatea, oti katoa i a mātou te whakaatu ngā ritenga i tupu ai te raruraru ki aua whenua. Ko te kupu aua kaihapai o te Ture; kotahi tonu, me tuku ki te Raana Kooti, kia mutu ai ngā raruraru ki runga i ō mātou whenua. Koia nei te take i tukua ai e mātou ki te kāwanatanga kia rūritia i muri o te ruritanga, ka tukua atu ki te Raana Kooti, mā taua Kooti e kite ō mātou hē, ehara i a mātou ēnei whenua, a Te Takapau rāua ko **Te Rākau-tātahi**, e pai ana. E mate ana i ngā kupu, e ora ana te tinana o ngā tāngata, ina te mea hē; he ngau puku, te patunga ki waho, he mate nō te

tangata. Kāti, māu e Te Wananga, e tuku atu ēnei kupu ā mātou. Nā te iwi nui tonu nōna aua whenua tēnā pānui ki te ao katoa (Karaitiana Takamoana et al., 1875, p. 70 (7)).

To the Editor of the Wananga. Friend, will you forward to all the boundaries of this Province of (Heretaunga,) and to all other Provinces of this Island, (Aotearoa). So that they will know the reason; that we gave our Lands to the Government to be surveyed and go to the Māori Land Court. And show the right claims of persons that we do not know of their claim of ancestry to qualify them to reside on our land at Takapau and also to other sections of ours at **Rākau-tātahi**. To also show our error to persons we known our claims on these lands at Takapau and **Rākau-tātahi**. Notice! is to show the reason we gave it to the Law to select, and the Law will see, that the persons who have no root, is to be right on our Lands, well and good. It was by the Law we were in the wrong, there would no more of it, but the Law will see that we are the proper, and permanent people that owns these Lands Takapau and Rākau-tātahi in these years that has past, greatly came the difficulties.

The difficulties commenced in 1859 on these Lands, and to the end of 1874. We applied to the supporters of Law to make a method for those Lands Takapau and **Rākau-tātahi** to be good. We have now taken it to Law. Whether Government, whether Pākehā, who makes friends with the Māori Committees of Tamatea, we have shown them all the difficulties of the said Lands brewed, the word of the said supporters of the Law is only now is, let it go to the Land Court so that the difficulties of our Lands will be settled, this is the reason we have given it to the Government to be surveyed and after it is surveyed to be put through, the Land Court. And the said Court will see our errors, that these Lands is not ours the Takapau and **Rākau-tātahi**, well and good, dead in words, and the body of a person is alive. And not to gall in the mind, and when it comes out. it is death, to the body of a person conclude, you the Wananga send these words of ours. That notice from the whole tribe who owns the lands (To the whole globe).

Two years later, 3 March 1877, another letter was sent to Te Wānanga by Horomona Tūkati who resided at Ōkahukura a settlement near the present town of Takapau and now the name of the Ngāi Tahu urupā. He discusses growing tensions between the Ngāi Tahu folk of Takapau and the Ngāti Mārau people of Rākau-tātahi over the erection of a fence shortly after resolving a previous issue,

E hoa, tukua atu ki runga ki te tuarā o Te Wānanga kia kite iho ai te tangata nāna tēnei reta, e kī nei mō te reta whakahē a Ngāi Tahu mō ngā timuaki, e tā, whakarongo mai, kāore tonu au a Ngāi Tahu i ora noa, kei te mate tonu. Tuatahi, ko te Kōwao whakawākia ana, whakataua tahitia ana a Ngāti Mārau rāua ko Ngāi Tahu, muri tonu ka maranga te taiepa a Ngāti Mārau. Kīia ana he taiepa hōiho, muri tonu mai ka maranga ki Te Awariki, ā, waiho tonu iho hei tupuna rohenga whenua, te kupu a te timuaki, mehemea mā Ngāi Tahu te ātete i a Ngāti Mārau, mehemea mā Ngāti Mārau te ātete i a Ngāi Tahu, ka whakataua anō te hē ki a

Ngāti Mārau. E tā, kai whea ianei ngā kōrero o taua whakawākanga i mua, ināianei, mahue tonu ki runga ki tēnā whenua ātete ai, ko te whare o Inia tētahi ātete anō a taua iwi, mahue tonu atu tēnā e tā, kai whea anō tā Ngāi Tahu titiro iana muri tonu mai ko Te Pā o Tūkauwae nā Ngāti Mārau anō he hanga i te taiepa ki te wāhi nō Ngāi Tahu, kāti, he kī nā Ngāi Tahu, hei tōna rohe anō o mua ... kāore e pai o taua tumuaki kia kōrero i roto, ka haere ki waho kī ai, he iwi kino a Ngāi Tahu, he iwi kōhuru, e tā, he ture tonu i reira, kātahi ka waiho hei mauāhara mai ki nāianei he iwi pai a Ngāti Mārau, he iwi rangimārie, kāore he kino ki roto (Horomona Tūkati, 1877, p. 87 Vol 4(9)).

Friend, release this onto the back of Te Wānanga, for people to see who wrote this letter about the wrongful letter of Ngāi Tahu about the Judges, by crikey, listen up, Ngāi Tahu are not prospering, they are still troubled. Firstly, the wild judgement, given initially for Ngāti Mārau and Ngāi Tahu, then immediately afterwards Ngāti Mārau erected the fence. They said it was a fence for the horses, then after that erected one at Te Awariki, which has become an ancestral land boundary. The judge questioned whether Ngāi Tahu were insulting Ngāti Mārau or whether Ngāti Mārau were affronting Ngāi Tahu, the decision made was that Ngāti Mārau were in the wrong. This is ridiculous, where indeed is the decision of the previous judgement, now, it's been left on that land as a grievance, Inia's house is another issue of grievance for that people, leave it be, look here, where is the Ngāi Tahu perspective, then after this was Te Pā o Tūkauwae where Ngāti Mārau erected a fence on Ngāi Tahu land, enough, Ngāi Tahu is saying that that was their land previously... it's not appropriate that the judge talks about this, then speaks outside saying that Ngāi Tahu are an evil people, a murderous people, heck, there's a law for that, and ill feelings remain until the present, Ngāti Mārau are a fine people, a peaceful people there are no bad feelings. From Horomana Tūkati, Ōkahukura, Takapau.

Kaumātua and general spokesperson for Ngāti Mārau hapū of Rākau-tātahi Nepe Te Apatū sent in the following words regarding the tensions between Ngāti Mārau and Ngāi Tahu that had arisen because of a fence. Nepe repeats the Ngāi Tahu proclamation then responds,

Ki te Ētita o te Wānanga

Tēnei tā mātou kupu mō te pānui a Ngāi Tahu, māu e tuku atu ki runga i a Te Wānanga kia rongō aku hoa Pākehā, me aku hoa Māori i taku whakahoki mō te pānui a Ngāi Tahu. Koia tēnei taua pānui: - Ki te Ētita o Te Wānanga, māu e tuku atu tā mātou pānui ki te reo Pākehā, ki te reo Māori hei whakaaturanga kupu ki ō mātou hoa i te ao, mō tō mātou whenua, mō Te Pā o Tūkauwae. Ka noho mātou ki runga i tēnei rā, ko tō mātou whenua he papatupu, e tautohetia ana e Ngāti Mārau, hei papa hipi mā rātou, ko mātou kāore e pai ki aua tū mahi a ngā Timuaki Māori mō te Taiepa a Nepe rātou ko tana iwi, kia hangaia ki runga ki tō mātou whenua tā mātou kupu, kāore mātou e pai, nō te mea he whakatupu raruraru tēnei tū mahi, engari, ki tā mātou titiro, ko ēnei rauraru kino, ēnā, ehara ki te Ture, koia te take i pānuitia ai kia rongō aku hoa i te Motu nei. Tuarua, me hanga taua taiepa ā rātou ki tō rātou takiwā, ka kati ki te rohe ki Te Manga-a-te-

Rangiapu, kaua e whitikia, engari ko tā mātou kupu tūturu, me hanga te taiepa ki te rohe tūturu **Ōtāwhao** kotinga o **Te Rākau-tātahi** e takoto nei tōna ingoa i tō mātou takiwā, ā, he rohe tūturu nō ō mātou tūpuna iho, heoi ngā kupu pānui a Ngāi Tahu. Tā mātou kupu, māu e uta atu ki a Te Wānanga kia kite ō mātou hoa Pākehā, Māori hoki. Tā mātou kupu mō te kī a Ngāi Tahu kia noho rātou ki te Pā o Tūkauae, me kore rātou e noho ki taua wāhi, me puta atu rātou ki waho i taua whenua, nō te mea, ehara i taua iwi taua whenua, i a mātou taua wāhi. Ko Ngāi Tahu, me hoki ki tōna Pā o mua iho, ki Te Pakaroa, ki Te Ewe-o-Taunoa, tēnā me pokanoa mai ki tō mātou nei takiwā hanga kāinga noa ai mō rātou, e kore e tika, nō te mea, kei a mātou tonu tēnei whenua a Te Wai-o-Te-Ata-a Te Pā o Tūkauae, kei reira anō ngā papa whare, ngā mahinga. Tēnā, ko tēnei iwi, kātahi mātou ka kite ake, ina e whakanoho tāhae nei i ō mātou whenua, e tango nei i **Te Rākau-tātahi** mō rātou, kia rongo mai koutou, kore rawa a **Te Rākau-tātahi** e pakaru, e mahi ana pea taua iwi kia riro tētahi wāhi o **Te Rākau-tātahi** i a rātou, e kore. E hoa mā, tuhia mai he reta ki a Ngāi Tahu, kia hoki ki Te Pakaroa, ki ōna papa whare, me āna mahinga kai māna. Kia rongo mai koutou, ka mahi tonu ahau i taku taiepa hei orange mā aku hipi, me aku kau, me aku hōiho, mātou ko taku iwi, nō te mea, nā te Ture taku taiepa i whakaae, ko tāu nā tō mahara Māori, āhua whakahē ki ngā Timuaki Māori, heoi ngā kupu utu mō te reta a Ngāi Tahu. Nā Nepe Te Apatū, Waipawa (Nepe Te Apatū, 1877, p. 250 Vol 4(25)).

To the Editor of Te Wānanga.

This is our response to the proclamation of Ngāi Tahu, please can you publish this in Te Wānanga so my European friends and Māori friends can hear my response to the announcement of Ngāi Tahu. This is that announcement: - To the Editor of Te Wānanga, please can you publish our proclamation in English and Māori to show our friends of the world about our land, Te Pā o Tūkauae that we live on at present., our land is our customary land being contested by Ngāti Mārau, as a sheep paddock for them, we are not happy about that type of action of the Māori leaders regarding the fence of Nepe and his people to be built on our land, our word to them is we aren't happy, because this type of action can cause trouble, but, from our perspective, these troubles are not because of the Law, that's why the issue is published so my friends can hear nationally. Secondly, that fence should be built in their district and stopped at the boundary at Te Mana-a-te-Rangiapu, do not cross it, but our lawful word is to build the fence at the original boundary between Ōtāwhao and Te Rākau-tātahi its name sits on our district, and it's an original boundary of our tūpuna down to us, that was the proclamation of Ngāi Tahu. Can you load our response on to Te Wānanga so our European and Māori friends can see it. Our response to the word of Ngāi Tahu for them to reside at Te Pā o Tūkauae, they had better not reside at that place, they had better move out of that land, because, that is not their land, it belongs to us. Ngāi Tahu had best return to their previous settlement, to Pakaroa to Te Ewe-o-Taunoa, now, if they wish to move onto our land without permission to randomly build a settlement for themselves, that's not okay, because we still own that land Te Wai-o-Te-Ata of the Pā of Tūkauae, there still exists our dwellings and cultivations. This people we have only just seen, if and when they wish to squat on our land taking Te Rākau-tātahi for themselves, you better listen up, Te Rākau-tātahi will never be broken up, that people perhaps are working towards gaining a piece of Te Rākau-tātahi, it will never happen! Friends, write a letter to Ngāi Tahu, to return to Pakaroa, to their

own dwellings and cultivations for them. Listen up people, I will continue to make my fence for the wellbeing of my sheep, my cows and my horses, my people and I, because the Law agreed to my fence your memory is somewhat disagreeing with the Māori leaders, accordingly this is the response to the Ngāi Tahu letter. Nepe Te Apatū, Waipawa.

The above two articles reflect the tensions between the two peoples during the 1870s, even though they lived only a few miles apart. The tensions were possibly due to the pressure placed on tūpuna by the government to sell their lands, thus needing to clearly identify their lands through European eyes.

4.4.3 He reo akiaki, he reo ohiti

The intense demand for land by settlers through any means to encourage tūpuna to part with land *reo akiaki* is seen in articles written in the newspapers and the cautionary stance adopted by Māori *reo ohiti* over selling land. The first two articles, published on the same day, are from the Hawke's Bay Herald regarding Samuel Locke (1836-1890) and Sheehan's visit to Takapau encouraging Māori to sell land. The second article submitted by Hēnare Matua to the *Te Wānanga* newspaper is his response to the Herald article.

The recent visit of Messrs Locke and Sheehan to Takapau was made, we understand, with the view of negotiating with the native grantees in the Seventy-mile Bush blocks, who have not as yet parted with their interests, in order to obtain some settlement of the matter; and a settlement, we are happy to learn, is now in a fair way of being arrived at...

At the close of last week, he and Mr Locke, as above remarked, visited Takapau, and held a long interview with the natives on the subject of settlement. The latter appeared willing to come to an arrangement, and, in the end, it was determined to hold another meeting in a few weeks' time, with the view of bringing the matter to a definite conclusion. We trust that the negotiations will end satisfactorily, and that they may inaugurate a new order of things in which the two parties, if there are still to be two parties in Hawke's Bay, will vie with each other in promoting the common good ("Untitled [Seventy-Mile Bush natives]," 1877, p. 2).

This article mentions the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks on which the railway line was being constructed.

Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XX, Issue 3931, 13 June 1877, P. 2

The Seventy-Mile Bush natives, we understand, intend shortly putting in the market, in the shape of farms and town sections, a block of land 10,000 acres in extent, lying between Takapau and Kōpua (Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou). The land adjoins the railway line in course of construction. It is level and suitable for agriculture. A large proportion of it is still forest clad. Townships will be laid out at each end, and the sections will no doubt command high prices. Mr Locke and Mr Sheehan both made speeches on the subject during their recent visit to Takapau, commending the project to the natives. Mr Locke reminded them that, seven years ago, when the negotiations for the purchase of the Bush were first started, he had pointed out to them the fact that the increased value which the whole Bush would obtain by the sale of a portion of it to the Government would render such a project feasible. The intention is to sell and lease alternate blocks and sections. The Government, owing to the discretion they possess in regard to the fixing of the sittings of courts, &c, can do much either to obstruct or facilitate the sale of native lands. We trust that on the present occasion they will spare no effort to facilitate ("Untitled [Seventy-Mile Bush natives]," 1877).

This article corrects the thinking of the Europeans by informing them that the land in question was not available for sale but was available for leasing only from Māori.

RETA I TUKUA MAI KI TE ETITA O TE WANANGA. Tukua atu tēnā reta kia kite ngā Pākehā o te Tāone nei, mō te reta o te Haaku Pei Herora, e mea ana kua tino whakaae ngā Māori kia hokona ngā wāhi kua whakaritea nei hei tāone i Te Takapau, i Te Kōpua. E hoa mā, whakarongo mai, i te tāima i tonoa ai aua wāhi kia tukua hei tāone, ka kīia, me rīhi mō ngā tau i whakaritea, ka oti, ka hoki te whenua ki ngā Māori, kātahi ka whakaae ngā tāngata nō rātou aua wāhi. Heoi, ko ngā kupu i āhua mārō ai taua kōrero, nō te kīanga kia kōtitia ka puta he Karāti ki ngā tāngata Māori, ka hokona ētahi tekiana, ko ētahi ka waiho. Koia ngā kupu āhua mārō, nō te mea, ko aua wāhi kei waenganui o te whenua papatipu, i kīia hei whenua tūturu mō ngā Māori. Heoi, tērā pea aua wāhi e pakeke, ina tukua ki te Kōti, nō te mea he nui ngā tautohe mō aua wāhi, ka rima, ka ono rānei ngā whakawātanga o aua wāhi e ngā Māori anō, kore rawa i oti, nā konei ahau i whakaatu ai kia mōhio koutou ka oti rānei, kāhore rānei, heoi (Hēnare Matua, 1877a).

Give a place in your paper for the following so that the Europeans of this town of Napier may learn in respect to a local in the Hawke's Bay Herald which says that the Māori has fully agreed to sell portions of land which have been talked of as townships at Te Takapau and Te Kōpua. Friends, hearken at the time that it was requested to allow those portions of land to be laid out as towns, it was then said let them be leased for a certain number of years, and when the lease expired the land would belong to the Māori, to this the owners of the land in question agreed, but the point which was not quite agreeable to the owners of the land was the question of putting the land through the Native Lands Court, so

that when a Crown grant was obtained by the owners of the land, they could sell some of the sections and some of the sections they could keep for themselves. Those were the matters that the Native owners did not fully agree to, because the lands that were spoken of as the best for sites for towns were in the centre of land, which all belongs to the Māori, and which the Natives do not wish to alienate. But, even if these lands are taken into the Native Lands Court there maybe dispute about them, as there have been disputes in regard to them, and there have been six or seven investigations by the Māori people amongst themselves in regard to these lands and the disputes were not settled. Hence, I inform you, so that it may be known that such is the case, and these disputes may not perhaps be settled. Enough (*Te Wānanga*).

In the same issue of *Te Wānanga* Hēnare Matua (1877b) writes a precautionary word to his relatives about ‘European Packmen’ and their unscrupulous activities, and encouraging them to expel them, he also warns these Packmen,

“Ki te Ētita o Te Wānanga

Tukua atu tēnei reta kia kite ngā hoa Māori. E hoa mā, tēnei taku kupu ki a koutou. Ki te tae atu tētahi Pākehā, me ōna taonga ki ō koutou kāinga hokohoko haere ai, panaia atu, kaua e tukua atu ki te kāinga, mehemea hoki ka tukua mai e koutou ki te kāinga wetewete ai i ōna taonga, ka whakahoa anō koutou ki aua tū Pākehā. Heoi, ki te ngaro ētahi rawa ō taua Pākehā ki ō koutou aroaro, ki te whakapae ia ki a koutou, ka kīia e te Ture. Ka tika tau whakapae mō koutou, i kore e titiro iho ki tēnā pānui. Heoi, ki ngā Pākehā harihari taonga ki ngā kāinga Māori hokohoko haere ai. Taku kupu ki a koutou, me whakamutu tā koutou hari taonga ki ngā kāinga Māori, mehemea hoki ka haere koutou ki ngā kāinga Māori, me ō koutou taonga i muri iho o tēnei reta, ki te māmingatia e ngā tamariki Māori, ki te murua ōu rawa, ka whakahē ai koe ki aua tamariki, kāore, ko koe ka hē, nō te mea, kua kite koe i tēnei pānui haere atu ana anō koe ki ngā kāinga Māori. E ngā hoa Pākehā, me mutu tō haere me ō rawa ki ngā kāinga Māori, me hanga Toa koe mōu ki ngā tāone, mā ngā Māori rātou ko ngā Pākehā e haere atu ki tō whare hoko ai. E ngā hoa Māori, kaua aua tū Pākehā e tukua mai ki ngā kāinga Māori, panaia atu kia haere i te rori haere ai me ōna rawa, ki te hiahia koutou ki te taonga, haere ki ngā tāone kia mahia ai ngā Toa, kei reira ka iti ētahi utu o ētahi taonga, ka whiwhi ki ngā mea tika o tēnei hanga o te taonga, heoi”. Nā Hēnare Matua.

To the Editor of Te Wānanga

Friend, the Editor of the Wānanga, let the following be put in your paper for the information of the Māori people. Friends this is my word to you. If any person comes with his goods for sale to your settlement send him away. Do not let him stay at your place. If you let him remain at your place, and if they untie the bundles which contain their goods at your place, you thereby make yourself friends of such men, so that if such Europeans lose some of their goods in your settlements and those Europeans (Packmen) make a charge against you the law will say that he is justified in making you responsible for his lost goods. Hence, I say take heed of this caution to you.

To European Packmen

To those who carry goods to Māori settlements. This is my word to you. Cease to take goods to the Māori settlements. If you persist to take goods to the Māori settlements after the publication of this my notice to you, and if you are outwitted by the Māori children, or if your goods are stolen, and if you make a charge against such children, they will not be in the wrong, but you will be wrong, because you have seen this notice and afterwards you took your goods to the Native settlements.

Friend European, cease to take your goods to the Native settlements. Build a shop or store for yourself in some town to which the Māori and Europeans may go to purchase goods from you.

My Māori Friends: do not let such Europeans come to your settlements. Send them away and let them go on in the road with their goods. If you wish for goods go to the town and buy them where you buy goods at lower prices than you can obtain from packmen, and where you can get the exact goods, you are in want of - Enough from Hēnare Matua.

The above words of Hēnare Matua suggests that that activity of packmen luring Māori into purchasing overpriced goods was strategic in placing Māori into legal jeopardy, possibly with the result of gaining land. Packmen and aggressive land purchase tactics from Europeans are well recorded.

He toki huna

The initial protection of Māori land offered through the Crown pre-emption policy from 1840 through to 1860 was a subtle form of land purchase as the Crown could obtain land cheaply and on sell for a higher price. The abolishing of the Crown's right of pre-emption under the *Native Lands Act* of 1862 provided Europeans with a direct path to purchase land from individuals. *The Native Land Act 1865* reinforced this policy and with the Native Land Court individualising Māori land tenure Sorrenson (1956, p. 186) notes, created a scenario of "free trade in Māori Lands". Cowie (1996, p. 203) in his report to the Waitangi Tribunal noted that,

“the *Native Land Act* (1865) introduced direct private purchase of Māori land, with licensed interpreters as the only intermediaries and no other legal protections. In Hawke’s Bay, one of the first sites sittings, the result was a rapid loss of land and the impoverishment of various chiefs and hapū. In 1870 the Crown made a belated recognition of its responsibilities to its Māori subjects to protect them from fraud, in special circumstances where the ordinary protection of lawyers and the courts had proved inoperative. The Assembly passed the Native lands Fraud prevention Act, and H.R. Russell expressed the hope that it would prevent ‘the scandalous transactions which have made Hawke’s Bay so notorious’”.

On the 1 August 1872 Rēnata Kawepō presented a petition on behalf of 553 members of the hapū of Heretaunga outlining what they thought initially the Native Land Court would provide for them, the issues around Crown grants and the unscrupulous actions of Europeans,

“That your petitioners bade good-bye to their old customs when the Native Land Court was introduced, thinking that prosperity and peace would be the result; and they believed also, that, by a careful division of their lands among the proper owners thereof, they would obtain knowledge and would progress, so that in time they would be equal to the Europeans... Much land has been granted to persons not entitled to the lands comprised in the grants; also much land was granted, the grants being to few persons, who were to be trustees for the tribe; and because no restriction on alienation was inserted in the grant the grantees acted towards the others interested as if they were out of sight and living at a distance...the persons living among Europeans, who sell goods and are able to entrap people, where wheedled into mortgaging each one’s share on account of credit given, without knowing what money or goods were to be given afterwards; and through the fraudulent statements contained in those mortgages, the land was all consumed by one man... the storekeepers urged the grantees to sell the portions for which they were trustees for others, stating that no more goods could be supplied, and the sale was urged before the grantees were aware of what they were doing; consequently they sold for a small price, and they did not receive a statement of the accounts showing what they owed and what rents were due to them” Rēnata Kawepō (1872 I No. 2.).

There were many complaints issued by Heretaunga Māori as Sorrenson (1956) directs the reader to the AJHR 1873 report G-7, 1-17. Listed in that report are the 32 complaints against Richard Maney and the 64 complaints against Frederick (Fred) Sutton (Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission, 1873) see **Āpitihanga 7: AJHR Māminga** for

their unscrupulous activities one of which was to hound individual chiefs to gain their signatures.

“European purchasers could nearly always find one or two individuals of the tribe who were willing to sell land. If they did not make a cash advance, they called on the assistance of the local storekeeper or publican, who often acted as “Native land agents” and who offered the Māori liberal supplies of goods and liquor on Credit. Through debts a hold was obtained on the Māori and his land, and the next stage was to bring the law to bear on transactions... Once land-selling individuals had taken tribal lands before the Court there was virtually no way that other members of the tribe could save even their own share of land. The non-sellers had to attend the court or lose their interest” Sorrenson (1956, p. 186).

Cole (1996) extensively covers the unscrupulous actions of Sutton, Maney and other Europeans.

Pari tonu ana te tai

The unscrupulous activities of Europeans such as Maney and Sutton were just one of many challenges tūpuna faced from the mid-1860s onwards until the 1880s in the Tamatea-Heretaunga district. Another challenge was the arrival of the Scandinavians. In 1870 New Zealand's agent general, Isaac Featherston, toured Norway, Sweden, and Denmark recruiting settlers through the promise of free passage and 10 acres of land.

1871 saw the arrival of the Scandinavians under the vigorous immigration policies of the then Colonial Treasurer and Immigration Minister Julius Vogel himself of Dutch descent on his father's side. They initially settled between Foxton and Palmerston North but eventually moved into Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga with the Norwegians establishing the settlement of Norsewood in 1872, and the Danish Dannevirke. As previously mentioned the lure of free passage to Aotearoa and 10 acres of land was not to be scoffed at.

He raru kei te kāinga

As mentioned in **4.4.2 He rīrii tara ā-whare**, the letter written by Karaitiana Takamoana and members of the Ngāi Tahu to the Te Wānanga newspaper 10 March 1875 (it was also published 12 April 1875), highlighting the 15 years of ongoing tension between Te Takapau and Te Rākau-tātahi and the reason the government became involved, “i te take i tukua ai ō mātou whenua ki te kāwanatanga kia rūritia, kia tae atu ki te Raana Kooti Whenua Māori” (*the reason that we gave our Lands to the Government was to be surveyed and sent to the Māori Land Court*).

Tensions also erupted between tūpuna, and Europeans as reflected in the following article. This article reflects two issues, firstly, it exposes the growing tensions between the mana whenua and settlers in the Takapau, Ōtāwhao, and Whenuahou areas where Pākehā began felling trees illegally. Secondly, it reveals an element of a perhaps subconscious racism in the titles chosen by the newspapers of the time from throughout Aotearoa and the grammar used; “Pah” for Pā and the collective term “Waipawas” for tūpuna.

Troublesome Natives - Ashburton Guardian (Volume IV, Issue 818, 14 December 1882, P. 2)

THE NATIVE OUTRAGE NEAR NAPIER - New Zealand Times (Volume XXXIX, Issue 6759, 15 December 1882, P. 2)

NATIVE DISTURBANCE. MĀORI WRECKING BRIDGES AND FENCES - South Canterbury Times (Issue 3032, 15 December 1882, P. 2)

THE NATIVE DISPUTE AT TAKAPAU - Lyttleton Times (Volume LVIII, Issue 6802, 15 December 1882, P. 6)

THE NATIVE DISTURBANCE AT TAKAPAU - Daily Telegraph (Issue 3567, 14 December 1882, P. 2)

NATIVE DISTURBANCE ON EAST COAST - Taranaki Herald (Volume XXX, Issue 4216, 15 December 1882, P. 2)

PARTICULARS of the TAKAPAU TROUBLE - Hawera & Normanby Star (Volume III, Issue 370, 14 December 1882, P. 3)

Lawless Natives - Thames Star (Volume XIII, Issue 4356, 16 December 1882, P. 4).

It must be clarified here that Māori living within the Tamatea district were closely related through whakapapa. In respect to the Ngāti Mārau, Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu and Ngāi Te Rangi-te-kahutia hapū they had two kāinga, kāinga tahi *main settlement* at Rākau-tātahi and kāinga rua *secondary settlement* at Tāpairu, Waipawa. “Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua”, *One Dwelling place is overcome, but the second is secure* Mead and Grove (2001) is a well-known proverb alluding to the Māori custom of having two places of residence. There are many interpretations of this proverb, ranging from, *there’s always an alternative, to having two strings to your bow.*

Similar with my whanaunga from hapū of the Porangahau district, from Ngāti Kere, Ngāti Pīhere, Ngāi Tamatea and Ngāti Manuhiri, some of whom had connections to the land blocks Waikōpiro, Whenuahou and Ōtāwhao through their tupuna Para-kiore.

The article published in the Daily Telegraph (Napier), Issue 3567, 14 December 1882, page 2,

“With regard to the destruction of the bridge and tramway by Natives at Takapau, Hawke’s Bay district, the following further particular have been ascertained: At daybreak on Dec. 11 about 15 Natives from the Waipawa Pā (Tāpairu), armed with guns and axes, proceeded to the land known as Takapau, and destroyed the bridge and a portion of the tramway constructed by Messrs Wilding and Bull, who were cutting timber on the land. The damage was done before the Takapau Native knew what was going on; and the Waipawa people had returned to their pā. A threat was given that they would return, and it was feared that if they did there would be a serious conflict. It appears that the Waipawa and Porangahau Natives have lately objected to timber cutting on this land; they held several meetings on the subject, and in the end, they determined to destroy the bridge and tram. On Government being informed of this, they advised that the Natives should be warned that whatever their rights were they could not be permitted to take the law into their own hands, as they were now doing. The land in dispute has not been passed through the Native Lands Court, and the Natives have been urged to allow everything to stand over until the title is decided. They were also told that if further violence was resorted to the Government would interfere. When this was being urged on the natives, Messrs

Wilding and Ball were sent for, and it was arranged that a week should be allowed them to remove the logs they had out; after which neither party was to go on the ground for six weeks. In the meantime, application is to be made to the Land Court to hear the case, and have the whole matter decided by law. The Takapau Natives, who gave Messrs Wilding and Bull permission to cut timber, have been in occupation for a number of years”.

Even though Māori connected to the land blocks at that time were not too keen to put the lands through the Native Land Court, the inevitable occurred due to a continued series of disputes between local hapū concerning rightful ownership, boundaries, and historical incidents. For example, the following narrative placed in the local paper by Hōri Niania (1882, p. 3 Vol XXI) was the beginning of the Ōtāwhao land block being investigated,

“Sir, We are informed that a notice (having no signature) appeared in the evening paper on the 11th instant stating that “at a meeting of native chiefs held at Te Takapau on the 8th instant Tangatake Hāpuku and Pohuka Hāpuku were admitted to be part owners in the block of land known as Ōtāwhao, and their claims to the same fully recognised.” Now, in order that the European public may not be misled, allow me to say, through the medium of your paper, that those men have no right or title whatever to the land in question. We are not disposed to submit to the arbitration of a prejudiced and self-appointed body of Māori in matters affecting lands which we inherit by right of ancestry and occupation. We are making arrangements to have our title investigated by an impartial tribunal — the Native Land Court — and have sent in our application for that purpose” — I am, &c., HŌRI TE AROATUA. 25 November 1882.

4.5 He Kapinga

In summary this chapter **4.1 He whenua matenui**—beginning from the source of the Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku, a.k.a. the Manawatū river—we have traversed Indigenous perspective of the land, **4.1.1 Ngā whanaunga taketake**, from North America to Brazil to Australia land to all is whenua taurikura. The intimate connection of the language of Indigenous peoples to the land was discussed in **4.1.2 He reo taketake**. Then the focus of the language moved to Aotearoa **4.2 He reo puiaki, he reo anō** to a once oral language etched onto paper to craft a new medium of communication for tūpuna which

presented a double edge sword. Double edged in that historical narrative **4.2.1 He reo ā-waha** could be recorded for future generations but also used to craft rules and regulations **4.2.2 He reo ka whiti** that created tensions and new challenges **4.2.3 He reo tukituki** towards the land and the language. The advent of the printed word **4.2.4 He reo tā** looked at the printed word, the use and quality of te reo Māori being spoken, the government moves through education to suppress te reo Māori, the opportunity for Māori to publish their own newspapers **4.3 He rongo ate** to express their thoughts and opinions in te reo Māori. The series of articles extracted from the various newspapers from the mid-1800s to the time the blocks were passed through the Native Land Court, **4.3.1 Mō te whenua, 4.3.2 Mō te reo, 4.3.3 Mō te ture, 4.3.4 Mō ngā kura, and 4.3.5 Mō te whakapono** provide us with a window into the world of our tūpuna via the written word and the reality they faced.

The proverbial saying *Ko ō rātou kainga waewae the places they have been*, literally *the places their feet have consumed or walked*, is a personal take on a proverb in Mead and Grove (2001, p. 240) *Ko ōku kainga waewae, My feet have walked here*. I interpret it as *the scope of my leg's activity, the places my feet have travelled, the places I am familiar with*. A sense of history and association with the land is implied. I also lean towards the idea of 'déjà vu' from whence we can capture again a unique understanding and perspective of a world epitomised in a word, articulated in the turn of a phrase.

4.4 Te reo tā mō Tamatea looked at the two local newspaper and articles relevant to the Tamatea district, and the four land blocks **4.4.1 Mō ngā poraka whenua**, discussing rising tensions **4.4.2 He rīrii tara ā-whare**, the subtle influence to sell land and the

cautionary words of tūpuna **4.4.3 He reo akiaki, he reo ohiti**, due to tensions in the Heretaunga district through the unscrupulous activities of the Europeans such as Maney and Sutton.

The tensions **He toki huna** that flowed into the Tamatea and the arrival of the Scandinavians in 1870 **Pari tonu ana te tai**, to the local tensions **He raru kei te kāinga** that ultimately led to the blocks being sent to the Native Land Court.

While the purpose of the Native Land Court was to adjudicate Māori land titles, in practice it became a tool for land alienation through the breaking up communal ownership, a court that through its colonial processes stole whenua, and became known as 'Te kōti tāhae whenua'. *The Court that steals land*.

Upoko 4 has explored the meaning of land to Māori, the intimate connection between the land and the human body supported by similar perspective of indigenous peoples. the chapter has reinforced the central theme of the thesis through,

1. discussing the transmission of language through oral mediums to the introduction of the written word
2. using the media of the time providing examples of events and activities that reflected the need of tūpuna to protect their intimate relationship to the land
3. the written word articulated by tūpuna to express their relationship to land paper contained a tone and nuance in the words as if they were speaking aloud

4. the deep affection to land was such that any transgression or attempt to procure land by people not related to the hapū was answered by threat of death.

The many events impacting directly on the land associated with the four land blocks created many tense moments both with blood relatives and foreign intervention which eventually led to a course other than traditional bloodshed and that was the Native Land Court.

Upoko 5: Te kōti tāhae whenua

I kā tonu tōku ahi i runga i tōku whenua (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 145).

The creation of the Native Land Court began after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Prior to the Treaty being signed various land purchases occurred with no legal oversight or control. However, in 1840 moves were made to control land purchases,

On 14 January 1840, while New Zealand was under shadowy jurisdiction of New South Wales, Governor Gipps issued a proclamation forbidding future land sales except to the Crown. Subsequently, land commissioners were appointed to investigate all purchases.

A similar proclamation was issued by Hobson on 30 January 1840, following his arrival at the Bay of Islands as British Consul McLintock (1966).

By signing the Treaty Māori conceded the sole right to buy their lands to the Crown,

“... the exclusive rights of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.”

From 1840 to 1862 there were many Acts passed related to land purchase, the *Land*

Claims Ordinance 1841 already mentioned in **3.8.2 Kaitaonga**,

An Act to empower the Governor of New South Wales to appoint Commissioners with certain powers to examine and report on claims to grants of land in New Zealand, and also to terminate any commission issued under the same, and to authorize the Governor of the Colony of New Zealand to appoint Commissioners with certain powers to examine and report on claims to grants of land therein, and to declare all other titles, except those allowed by the Crown, null and void. (The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 1842, p. 4)

In the 1850s there were even thoughts raised about giving Māori equal voting rights, but the following article ("Justice to Natives," 1857) reflects the dominant thinking around that idea,

The phrase "Justice to Natives" is differently interpreted by different people ... Ideas shape destinies. Perfect political union may be possible between peoples whose mental growth is equal or nearly so. But between two varieties of the human race, when one variety radically and essentially differs in mind from the other, no perfect political union can be realised.

Now, Native mind agrees as little with European mind as oil does with water. Our habits of thought differ widely from theirs. Neither mutual action nor mutual understanding can be arrived at. Their feelings are not as our feelings; their interests are not as our interests; and, as a matter of course, their ways are not our ways.

The phrase "Justice to Natives" seems to imply that Natives should not only vote for those who make the laws but be eligible to a seat in our National Assembly.

Now, suppose we had done with shamming, and that these rights were exercised by the Native population. Who then, would govern? That question is worth considering?

In this colony there are more Natives than Europeans. At the game of counting noses, we should lose. If we are mentally superior to them, it cannot be denied they are numerically superior to us; and therefore the "numerical basis" is unsafe. Nothing in arithmetic clearer than the fact that Europeans put on the same footing with Natives would by Natives be outvoted in the proportion of six, seven, or perhaps ten, to one.

But Natives out voting us at our own polling booths and putting us into Provincial Council or General Assembly minorities would only be one phase of the new order consequent upon realising "Justice to Natives."

This very brief thought of entertaining the idea of giving equality for the Natives quickly disappeared into the realm of "never-going-to-happen" in the political climate of the 1850s in Aotearoa. It took until 1867 with the passing of the *Māori Representation Act* to establish four Māori seats in the House of Representatives and in 1868 the first elections were held with Tāreha Te Moananui securing the seat for Eastern Māori.

The Northern Māori seat was held by Frederick Nene Russell (fl. 1868-1886), the Western seat by Mete Kīngi Te Rangi Paetahi (c. 1813-1883) and the Southern seat by Hone Paratene Tamanui-a-Rangi (c. 1821-1899). But even then, the Act was only temporary, and it wasn't until 1872 that the Māori seats became a permanent political fixture in Aotearoa. Until then all Acts previously passed by the ruling elite in Aotearoa were passed without mana whenua participation.

5.1 He ture

1862 saw the passing into legislation the *Native Lands Act* containing 37 parts and summarised in this short paragraph, “An Act to provide for the ascertainment of the Ownership of Native Lands and for granting Certificates of Title thereto and for regulating the disposal of Native Lands and for other purposes” (“Native Lands,” 1862).

The *Native Lands Act* was a more detailed document that stated it was,

An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws relating to Lands in the Colony in which Māori Proprietary Customs still exist and to provide for the ascertainment of the Titles to such Lands and for Regulating the Descent thereto and of other purposes (*Native Lands Act 29 Victoriae*, 1865).

These two Acts gave rise to the Native Land Court being established under its first Chief Judge Francis Dart Fenton who drafted the *Native Land Act*.

The Native Land Court had two primary functions, to “investigate the titles of persons to Native land” and to determine “the succession of Natives to Native land and to hereditaments of which the Native owner shall have died intestate” (*Native Land Act*, 1865 Section 5) but soon acquired the name of “Te Kōti Tango Whenua” (*The Court that Takes Possession of Land*).

For Māori the Native Land Court became a taniwha *a monster*, an institution that through its long clumsy processes and the attitude of those responsible for its workings cost Māori immense loss both in mana, wairua and whenua. “And while the Native Land Court did not directly alienate land it provided a mechanism through which pressure could be created on communities of Māori to sell land” Mitchell (2004, p. 80).

Williams (1999) provides a robust and thorough history of the Native Land Court, its creation as “an obliging instrument of Government policy” and the profound effects it had on the land, the language, and the people. That is, the language of ‘customary title’ of reserves promised to Māori, “were swept into the general category of ‘all lands’ to which the Land Court jurisdiction would apply” (pp. 133-134).

Williams details the Acts passed to consolidate the “mechanisms of the engine of destruction” from the actual passing of The *Native Lands Act* 1862 and 1865 through to the many Acts all designed “to empower the court to further the process of individualisation of land ownership” and “to take land for lines of road (without payment) of up to five acres out of every 100 acres purchased under this Act” (p. 135).

5.2 He tautohe

At a hui held at the Ōmāhu marae in Heretaunga a resolution was passed to protest at the Acts passed by the Government in respect of Māori land,

“I tūturu i te hui te whakahē katoa i ngā Ture e hangaia ana e te Kāwanatanga mō ngā whenua Māori. Te take o te whakahē, he riro mā te Kāwanatanga anake e hanga, kāore he whakaaturanga ki ngā iwi o ngā Motu nei”.

“This meeting condemns all the Acts framed by the Government in respect to Native Lands, and the reason for the tribes condemning these Acts, is, that the Government alone frame such Acts without the knowledge and co-operation of the New Zealand tribes of these islands” Moananui, Takamoana, et al. (1877, p. 18 *Te Wānanga* Vol 4(2)).

At an investigation regarding Te Aute College [on the lands transferred to the Crown in 1857 by Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti and later granted to the Bishop of New Zealand], Hēnare Matua (1878, pp. 29-30 *Te Wānanga*, Vol 5) expressed his thoughts about the Native Land Court when questioned by the chairperson,

[*Tiamana*] 267: I tae koe ki te hui i te wā i tū ai te hākari kai a Te Hāpuku? I reira ahau.

268: Ā, ko ēhea take kōrero i pānuitia, hei take kōrero mā tāua hui? He tini noa atu ngā take i pānuitia.

269. Kōrerotia mai ētahi kia toru kia whā? Huihui katoa ngā take, e rua tekau mā rima.

270: Kīia mai te ingoa o ētahi o aua take, kia toru, kia whā rānei? Kotahi o aua take, he mea kia kore te Kooti whakawā whenua Māori. Tētahi take he whakahē atu ki te ture hou mō ngā whenua Māori, ko ngā rīhi Māori i te whenua, mō ngā mōkete, me tēnei anō hoki, me te whenua o Te Aute, heoi nāku e mahara nei ahau.

[*Chairperson*]267: Witness was at the meeting when Te Hāpuku gave the great feast, was he not? I was there.

268: What particular subjects were read out to be discussed at the meeting? There were a great many subjects.

269: Tell us three or four of them. There were altogether twenty-five subjects.

270: Tell us the names of three or four of these subjects. One subject was to do away with the Native Lands Court; another subject was disapproving of the new Land Bill; the Native leases of lands, mortgages also, and this Te Aute business was likewise brought up.

In one issue of the *Te Wānanga* Volume 5 (19), ("What the Native Land Court is, and what the Native Tribes of New Zealand want.," 1878, pp. 210-211) [the full title of the article was, *Te Āhua me ngā Tikanga o te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori o Ēnei Rā. Ā, ko te Āhua me ngā Tikanga o Tā Te Māori Kooti Whenua Whakawā Whenua Māori e Tono nei kia tū hei Mahi i ngā Whenua a ngā Iwi Māori katoa o Ēnei Motu*]. It possibly recorded the thoughts of Hēnare Tōmoana and others as he was the editor of *Te*

Wānanga at the time regarding the Native Land Court being the “greatest mistake the government has ever made”.

“E mea ana mātou, he Ture tino pōhēhē te Ture o Te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori, i mahia i ērā tau, i te mea kāhore kau he tikanga Māori i mahia ki aua tikanga o taua Ture, anō taua Ture hei mahi i ā te Pākehā whenua. Ā, kāhore he tikanga o ā te Māori whenua a ōna tupuna ake, i āhua hāngai ki ō te Pākehā Ture, mō ō te Pākehā whenua.

We look upon the passing of the present *Native Land Court Act* as one of the greatest mistakes which the Assembly of New Zealand has ever made due to Māori protocol not been administered in that Act equivalent to that Act that administers Pākehā land. There are no customary lore of Māori and of their tūpuna that relate somewhat to European laws and European land.”

In the same article a certain judge’s comments [anonymous] and his attitude towards Māori whakapapa were also responded to,

“Ā, nō te tūnga anō o taua Kooti i te tahi o ngā rā o Mei nei, i pēnei ai anō ngā kōrero a taua Tiatī, “Ko te tikanga e rapua nei, e te Kooti nei he rapu i ngā take a ngā tūpuna, ā, ki te mea e kore aua take e kitea i ngā rā e rua e kore anō e kitea i ngā rā maha atu anō, ā, e kore e pai kia tū anō he Kooti, hei rapurapu anō i aua tikanga,” kāhore he aha atu ō mātou ki ēnei tū kōrero, āna kīia e ngā Tiatī o te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori. He mea hoki nā mātou, ki a mātou kupu mō aua Tiatī i mua, i mea hoki mātou, e kore te Tiatī Pākehā e mōhio ki te whakawā i ngā whenua Māori, i te mea, kāhore a te Pākehā mōhio ki ā te Māori tikanga e pā ai, ā, e mana ai ā te Māori pupuri i āna whenua i ā te Māori ki a ia.”

At a subsequent adjourned sitting on the 1st of May the same judge stated, "that, the case was purely one of genealogy, and if it could not be settled in two days, it never would be settled, and it would be useless appointing the Court again." We are not surprised that such language should proceed from the lips of those who are the present judges of the Native Land Court, as it is one more proof of the truth of our past assertions in regard to the efficiency of the officers appointed to administer justice to the Native owners in regard to Māori hereditary claims to land.

5.3 He reo nanunanu

The language of the Acts was also a concern as the interpretation of legal terms changed the meaning of understandings long held by Māori such as ‘Māori land’, ‘ancestral land’ and ‘Māori customary land’ are sometimes used interchangeably. In legal definitions however, almost all ‘Māori land’ is not customary land but is known as ‘Māori freehold land’ Williams (1999, p. 255).

The term ‘Native land’ originally meaning all land in Aotearoa had additional meanings added to it during the 31 years following the *Native Lands Act 1862*. From being interpreted as “lands over which native title not extinguished” in 1862 (Section 35 of the 1862 Act) through to the *Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act 1888*, Section 2, where, “Native lands means land owned by Natives under their customs or usages the ownership of which has not been determined by the Native Land Court” Williams (1999, pp. 256-257). There were even further adjustments to the terms, but I only refer to the period of time up to the years 1883 – 1891 when the four land blocks in this research were investigated.

Changing the meaning of terms was not the only challenge tūpuna faced. The competency of judges to speak te reo Māori well was another barrier as expressed by some Māori attending a court case in Wellington and being interviewed by a ‘pressman’, “To one after another he put the same question, and their answers were almost identical. They could not hear what the judge said; he could not speak Māori well; he

spoke it like a Pākehā; he mumbled” (Telegraph Correspondent, 1908, p. 6 Vol XLV, Issue 13666).

5.3.1 He utu anō te utu

The distance to travel and the time taken to resolve cases was another challenge. Cases were heard even when parties were not in attendance. The expense of living far from home became a burden as food and accommodation needed to be paid for. During the hearing of the Waikōpiro case the following was recorded in the Daily Telegraph,

Some of the natives complain of the high prices charged for their accommodation, but I have only heard of one authentic case. A party let his vacant premises for 15s per week, and at the end of the first week demanded 30s. The natives in question said they would leave, next morning he offered to take 25s, but the others would not pay it. Later he wired that they could remain at 15s but the natives said he evidently did not know his own mind, and cleared out. ("Waipawa," 1891)

In 1891 on the eve of the Rākau-tātahi case there were applications by some to have the case heard in Hastings and in Waipawa rather than in Dannevirke to which the Judge O'Brien commented that,

“... these applications were becoming very frequent. The complaint at Dannevirke was that the accommodation was insufficient. At Waipawa the complaint that exorbitant prices were charged. He had been informed that £1 a week was charged as rent of a small house. He made this remark so that those who desired the Court to sit at Waipawa should make arrangements accordingly and moderate the charges. It was not yet settled whether the Court would take Ngāpaeruru or Rākau-tātahi first. If the former block was dealt with, it would be either at Dannevirke or Waipawa. At present he could only say it would not be taken at Hastings” (Waipawa Mail, 1891, p. 3 Vol XIV(2627)).

The local folk Kaninamu Honi et al. (1891, p. 2 Vol XIV (2623)) from Tāpairu pā in Waipawa made an appeal to their ‘European friends’ through an advertisement which appeared twice on the 20 and 23 June 1891, to ease the burden of expense through retaining the Native Land Court in Waipawa,

“Salutations to you—As soon as the present block that is before the Native Land Court is disposed of it is the intention of a number of natives from a distance to apply to the Native Land Court, to have all the blocks they are interested in adjourned to various places which they consider more convenient. The reason they give for doing this, is on account of the great expense they are put to whilst attending to the Court here. We the undersigned therefore suggest that the tradespeople of Waipawa should agree to assist the natives in the way of reducing the rents charged for the dwelling houses and should also assist in the way of contributing some food towards their maintenance. What is being asked of you is a very small favour and will go a long way in keeping the Court here, We would also point out that this practice is not new, for in many other towns in the colony where the Native Land Court sits, the tradespeople always assist the natives in the manner above indicated” We are yours, &c., Kaninamu Honi, Matiu Meke, Ahitana Nōpera, Wī Matua.

On one particular occasion due to the refusal of tūpuna of the hapū Ngāti Te Rangi-te-kahutia and Ngāti Mārau of Waipawa, to travel to the Native Land Court in Hastings left the officials no choice but “kia haria the tumu ki te waka” (*take the anchor post to the canoe, the harbour to the ship*),

Judge Brookfield and the Native Lands Court officials left here (Hastings) for Waipawa this morning, where the Court will be sitting for about a week. It appears that considerable time has been wasted, in patient expectation for the Waipawa Māori to attend the Land Court here, but they did not seem inclined to come down, so the Lands Court had in consequence to adjourn to Waipawa (Daily Telegraph, 1886, p. 3 Issue 4706).

The length of time cases took to be heard forced Māori to return home after travelling for days to get to the court and then finding out that their case was not put before the court. The impartiality of Native assessors was also questioned when they were from the same area as the case being heard, and in some hearings, there was no interpreter available,

Another grievance is the slowness of the Court as at present conducted. It was stated that some judges are accustomed to put through 40 single unopposed cases in a day, while another judge only dispatches four or five. The result is that the natives get tired of waiting. Some have gone back to places as distant as the Upper Whanganui without a hearing. The expense of long journeys and staying for weeks in the city is no light matter. The choice of the native assessor in another grievance. No objection, apparently, is taken on personal grounds to the Māori gentleman who is occupying that position at the present Court, but it seems that a valued custom has been disregarded. The assessor is usually a

native from some other part of the colony other than that which is the scene of the proceedings and where the lands dealt with are situated, otherwise it may be possible that he may be personally interested in some of the blocks of land that are concerned, and, at any rate, it is held that impartiality comes easier to one who is a comparative stranger to all the parties. In the present instance, however, the Court is dealing with cases from the territory stretching from Wellington to the Upper Whanganui and the assessor is from Ōtaki. The Native Land Court usually includes an interpreter but in the present instance there is no such official (Telegraph Correspondent, 1908).

Notwithstanding the changing definition of legal language, the ability of judges to speak te reo Māori, the expense of travel, accommodation and food, and the length of cases there was also the effects of actions of deceitful Europeans who manipulated parts of the Act such as the ‘ten-owner rule’.

5.4 Kātahi ka hē

Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti leader Karaitiana Takamoana expressed concern regarding some of the aspects of the Native Land Court, the ‘ten-owner rule’ and the unscrupulous actions of some Europeans,

“Ehara i te take amuamu, whakatete, whakakino rānei, engari e whakaatu ana i ngā take e tau ana te hē mō runga i te taha ki a mātou, ki te iwi Māori.

Kia kotahi te mea e kōrerotia e ahau i konei—he whakahē nāku ki tēnei hanga ki te Kooti whakawā whenua Māori—ko tōna hē tēnei. Ko te whakarongo ki ngā kōrero parau a te tangata kāore nei ōna take tika ki te whenua. E hoa mā, kino atu tēnei ritenga; engari anō tō mātou ritenga, Māori e pai ake ana i tēnā.

Tēnei hoki ētahi, ko te ritenga o te karauna karaati te hē o tēnā kia rongu mai koutou. He kotahi rau (100) ngā tāngata neke atu rānei, whakaurua ana e Te Kooti he kotahi tekau (10) anake ngā tāngata ki roto ki te Karauna Karaati, ko te kotahi rau (100) rukea noatia ana ki waho o tō rātou whenua tahi, ko te hē o tēnā.

Tētahi hē anō o taua Karauna Karaati, ka tono te Pākehā ki taua tangata whai Karauna Karaati kia kai waipiro, ka kī atu ai taua tangata Māori kāore rā aku moni, ka kī mai te Pākehā rā, ko tō moni ko tō Karauna Karaati ko tō whenua—ka titiro ahau mō tēnei he kōhuru rawa tēnei i ngā tāngata Māori kia tino kore rawa he whenua” Karaitiana Takamoana (1869 AJHR A-No 22).

(Translation)

This is not a grumble, a protest or condemnation, but to show the reasons harm has befallen on us the Māori people.

Let there just one thing I wish to discuss here—I disagree with this thing called the Native Land Court—its fault is this. It listens to the falsehoods of people who have no rights to the land. Friends, this is offensive, rather than our Māori customs which are better than that.

Here indeed is some, the crown grant arrangement is the fault, listen here. One hundred people or more are registered by the Court but only ten are listed in the Crown Grant, the one hundred are simply cast aside and outside of their land, that's the fault of that.

Another harmful aspect of the Crown Grant is that Europeans command that person who has a Crown Grant to consume alcohol, the Māori says he has no money, that European says, your Crown Grant, your land is your collateral—I view this as an extremely treacherous act on Māori people to dispossess them of their land.

The concerns of Karaitiana were expressed seven years after the passing of the *Native Lands Act 1862* and four years after the revised *Native Lands Act* of 1865. The *Native Lands Act* of 1862 preamble declares that it was “An Act to provide for the ascertainment of the Ownership of native Lands and for granting Certificates of Title thereto and for regulating the disposal of Native Lands and for other purposes” (Statutes of New Zealand, 1862). The ‘ten-owner rule’ and its successors which caused fragmentation of land titles rendered Māori land difficult to manage communally and contributed to its alienation (Mitchell, 2004).

Karaitiana had every right to express his concerns as the evolution of the Native Land Court originated from the pre-emption policy embedded in the Tiriti o Waitangi where chiefs granted to the Queen the exclusive rights of purchasing any land the Māori owners wished to sell. This gave the Crown complete control over purchasing Māori land

so could command low price in purchase then on sell to hungry-for-land settlers for marked up prices. The pre-emption doctrine was also included in the *Land Claims Ordinance 1841* that existed until 1865.

Section 23 of the 1865 Act allowed the Native Land Court to entrust blocks of land that were larger than 5,000 acres to tribes. Any blocks less than 5,000 acres had to be consigned by law to individual owners “who could not be more than ten people in any single block of land”. Thus began the ‘ten-owner rule’, which lasted from 1865 to 1873. Boast, R.P (2015). During the existence of the ‘ten-owner rule’ 5,519,204 acres were investigated by the Native Land Court.

5.5 Ka hē rawa atu

With the arrival of Europeans to the Tamatea-Heretaunga region in the 1840s, whalers, traders, and missionaries, the political environment began to dominate the lives of the local hapū. Whaling took place out from Ahuriri in the harbour known as Te Whanganui-a-Ruawharo, until due to excessive hunting the practice ceased in the 1860s. The missionary William Colenso arrived in February 1844 to set up a mission with his wife Elizabeth on the Waitangi stream at Waipureku—present day Clive. That mission station was, as Tāreha Te Moananui said to Colenso, a place only for tuna “No one has ever dwelt on this spot before; it has always been the dwelling place of an eel” Dinwiddle (1916, p. 12).

Europeans moved south to the Tamatea district with Frederick Abbott (1825 – 1901) founding the town of Waipawa in 1860 and Henry Russell (1817-1891) founding Waipukurau. Both of these Europeans were pastoral runholders, so land was either leased or sold for the grazing of sheep and cattle.

After 1862 the new arrivals could purchase land directly for Māori. Henry Russell was a notable figure in the Tamatea region after purchasing land in 1867 and setting up the town of Waipukurau. He was known affectionately by Māori as 'Rata' and had an uneasy relationship with the chiefs. He was involved in land purchases and was accused of being as he said in his own words, "the prompter of all sorts of mischief and trouble in regard to the Native lands of Hawke's Bay" Russell (1876, p. 113 Te Wānanga). Investigations into this accusation led to the establishment of the *Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act*, whereby Russell moved to insert the following clause into the bill,

"That in all cases in which the Natives of any tribe shall complain to the Trust Commissioner to the effect of any sale of lands in which they are interested has been fraudulently or illegally made, it shall be the duty of the said Commissioner to inquire into such a complaint. Should it appear to him that such a complaint is well founded, it shall be his duty to report the same to the Colonel Secretary, with a view to such proceedings being taken as the Governor may deem proper" (p. 113 Vol 3 Te Wānanga).

Initially carried by 19 votes to 8 it was eventually thrown out in a session "after midnight in a very thin House".

Russell's reply to the accusations and suggestions of other Europeans, recorded by Hēnare Matua (1876) regarding his support of Māori was, "If I can see that the Māori can obtain justice. I will then cease to act for them, if not, the grave alone shall put a bar to my exertions to obtain redress for them". And again in December of 1876, "I refer

honourable gentlemen to the report of the *Native Lands Alienation Commission* in regard to that case (Little Bush Case), which will show that the charge against me was unfounded, and that I was fully exonerated” Russell (1876, p. 86 Vol 3 No 6).

The ‘ten-owner rule’ had a major impact on the lands in the Tamatea-Heretaunga region. In 1866 the ‘ten-owner rule’ was applied to all land in the Tamatea-Heretaunga district whereby only the maximum number of owners to be listed for any one block of land was ten. Other regions were also affected by this rule but the focus here is on the Tamatea-Heretaunga district, Boast and Black (2011).

(Williams, 1999, p. 341) covers the ‘ten-owner rule’ thoroughly mentioning what the Parliament called ‘equitable owners’ who were members of the hapū and also owners but were excluded from registering their names. He then talks about Chief Judge Fenton and his racist approach to Māori land,

However, the legal effect of certificate of title was that the ten named owners were absolute owners who could deal with the land and proceeds from leases or sales without any obligation to consult or share with others claiming customary rights. Those excluded from ownership came to be referred to by Parliament as “equitable owners.”

The Native Lands Act 1867 attempted to make provision for registering the names of all those interested in the land. In practice however, owing to the forthright opposition of Chief Judge Fenton, who was unwilling to recognise tribal rights over land in any form, the ten, or fewer, named owners continued to be able to exercise absolute ownership.

Boast and Black (2011, pp. 169-211) summarise the findings of their research into the effect of the “ten-owner rule” in Hawke’s Bay,

In short, the ten-owner rule was not even a ten-owner rule in practice. Many blocks were allocated to one or two owners. Large areas were investigated under the rule until its abolition in 1873 and alienation rates were very high, dominated by private-sector buyers rather than the state. The ten-owner system suddenly created a new private land market in ten-owner shares out of virtually nowhere, and a small group of well-placed merchants, brokers and land speculators were there on hand in Napier to take advantage of the new opportunities. We have shown also that the ten-owner system was, while revolutionary in its effects and the types of legal interests that it created, was also conservative in that it reinforced the power and authority of the traditional elite. This was only a temporary phenomenon, but while it lasted the effects were significant and deleterious for the Māori people of Hawke's Bay in the long run.

5.6 He māminga, he kūare

Some Māori leaders began to see the 'ten-owner rule' as a means to assert a false authority *He māminga* over the land. In Richmond's report of the *Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission*, included initially, a rather brash claim by Karaitiana Takamoana that the Heretaunga block was his and no other person was entitled to be a grantee, he later waived any objection after being told that no one grantee had absolute power,

"I had a discussion with Henare and Karaitiana on the subject and urged that as there were a great many interests in the block, they should have the full complement (ten) of grantees. Karaitiana said the land was his especially—he looked upon that block as his block, over which he would have, and had, the supreme control; and that he would not consent to have any other persons named as grantees if it gave them any authority or control in the block. I told him that was a question to ask the judge of the Native Lands Court. He said he would; and did ask the question. I believe I was present. Mr. Munroe, I believe, was the judge. Karaitiana asked the question of the judge: if he were to allow other names besides his own to be included in the Crown Grant, whether that would give them any authority to sell or deal with the block in any way? Mr. Munroe's answer was, "that one grantee could not sell without the consent of the remainder." I recollect that distinctly as an answer given by the judge. I believe that he spoke in Māori, and that someone sitting near translated it into English. Karaitiana understood, beyond any doubt, that no native would have any power to deal with it without his consent, and that of the remaining grantees. Then Karaitiana waived all objection to other names being admitted, and went outside, telling the judge that they would have a talk about it amongst themselves—but acquiescing in the introduction of other names into the grant

besides his own." This evidence substantially agrees with the statement made by Karaitiana himself in his letter to the General Assembly, dated 29 July 1869.

Hēnare Tōmoana in his evidence gave the Commissioners some further details of what occurred. He said,

"When the Crown Grant was ordered, the Court told us to go outside to arrange whose names should be in. We went outside—perhaps one hundred of us. We picked out those who were to be in the grant. I was selected as one. I was to look after my hapū." The witness then gave us the names of the other nine grantees: Tāreha te Moananui, Karaitiana Takamoana, Waaka Kawatini, Manaena Tini, Paramena Oneone, Apera Pahoro, Noa Huke, Matiaha (deceased), and Arihi te Nahu. He also named sixteen hapū as interested in the block and represented by the ten grantees. (Richmond, 1873 AJHR 1 G-07)

Pāora Kaiwhata had interests in lands at Ōīngo, Mōteo and Ōmarunui, and when Kurupō Te Moananui sold the lands Pāora disputed the mana of Te Moananui in selling those lands resulting in Te Moananui confining the sale to the Ōkawa block Parsons (1994, pp. 39-41). Pāora also supported a hui in 1873 to retract land sales in the Heretaunga district in attempt to protect his lands, but owing to advice given to him regarding sales and mortgages he became discontented, and his people lost their lands. Pāora saw the Native land court "as nothing but evil." He was justified in his thoughts about the Native Land Court as the processes employed by the Native Land Court were questionable. "Thus Native Land Court process actively undermined the system of tribal (and hapū) authority over land, and created fragmented and unmanageable titles which in turn led to loss of collective control over the land and contributed to land alienation" Mitchell (2004, p. 80).

In his report on the *Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission* Manning (1873) commented that of the 301 complainants regarding validity of titles, "Dispute validity of all alleged alienations. Request inquiry. Call for production of all documents, and

particulars of all alleged considerations paid. Require settlement of past rents.” Manning also suggested that some were dispossessed of the shares by others,

He mea anō kei te wā e riro ai i te hoko tētahi wāhi o te whenua e mau ana ki te iwi, tērā ētahi tāngata o te iwi e kore e āhei te whai tikanga ki runga ki te hokonga ki te puritanga rānei o taua whenua, engari nō te roa o te nohoanga kua whai oranga rātou ki runga ki taua whenua, kāore hoki e whakahēngia ana e te iwi, ā, i te hokonga o te whenua ka ngaro taua oranga i a rātou.

It not unfrequently happens that when a portion of the land held by a tribe is sold, there are members of the tribe who, although neither having the right to sell those lands nor to prevent the sale, have not- withstanding, by custom long exercised, derived, without opposition, certain minor advantages from the land, which advantages they lose when the land is sold.

and that the complainants were not against the decisions of the Native Land Court,

Mehemea e whaitake ana ēnei tū kupu whakahē ki runga ki tētahi tikanga takoto nui, nā e kitea ana i roto i taua tikanga te whakaaro ki ngā whakataunga a te Kooti Whenua Māori ehara i te whakataunga tūturu rawa, ko ngā Karauna karaati hoki e tukua ana i runga i aua whakataunga ehara i te mea hei whakatūturu rawa i te whenua ki ngā tāngata anake i roto i te karaati, ehara hoki i te mea whakakore rawa i te take Māori. Otirā, i runga, i āku i kite ai, kāore au e whakapono, ana kai te mahi ngā Māori tono kerēme ki runga ki te whakaaro pērā, ā, he mea tautoko ake i tēnei whakaaro te kore kupu whakahē ki ngā whakataunga a te Kooti.

Supposing, however, this class of complaints to be founded on any general principle, it cannot be doubted that that principle must involve the theory that the decisions of the Native Land Court are in no case to be considered final, and that Crown grants founded on such decisions do not confer exclusive ownership on the grantees, or perfectly extinguish Native title. I do not, however, from anything I have seen, believe that the Native claimants act on any such idea, and the absence of complaints against the decisions of the Native Land Courts, seems to support the opinion.

Another factor during hearings of the Native Land Court was the inability of Europeans to understand Māori perspective and tikanga left by tūpuna towards their papatipu, their *customary lands* and their intimate relationship to it. The following narrative published in *Te Wānanga (Kooti Whakawā Whenua, 1878, pp. 1-3 Vol 5(1))* discusses limitations of the Native Land Court, the lack of true understanding of tikanga Māori and lists further ‘take whenua’ initially discussed in **3.7 Tūtohu whenua – mana whenua,**

Ka nui noa atu te rapurapu a ngā iwi Māori o ngā motu nei i te tikanga e puta tika ai te Karauna Karāti o ngā whenua Māori, ki ngā tino tāngata nōna pū ake te whenua, koia mātou i mea ai, ka kōrero mātou i ā mātou kupu, mō ngā tikanga me te mahi a te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori o ngā motu nei.

He tika anō kia kīia e te Kāwanatanga, me mahi ngā whenua Māori, kia puta ai he Karauna Karāti ki ngā Māori nā rātou pū ake te whenua, kia tika ai hoki te hoko a aua Māori ki tā rātou tangata e pai ai.

E kore hoki mātou e mea, he iwi kūare te Pākehā ki tēnei mahi ki te Whakawā. Ā, e kore hoki mātou e mea, e kore e taea e te Pākehā, ngā mea tino pakeke te rapu e ia, e kitea ai te tikanga o ngā mea ngaro. Otiia, ko tā mātou e tino mea nei, kia waiho mā te Māori anō e whakawā ngā mea e tino mōhiotia ana e te Māori, he mea hoki, he iwi tino mōhio ki ngā tikanga a ōna tūpuna i pā ai ki ōna whenua. He tika anō, he iwi mōhio te Pākehā, ki te mahi i ngā whakawā noa iho, i ngā whakawā, kāhore nei, ōna riroi-kētanga i ngā tāngata me ngā Ture a ngā tūpuna Tangata Māori i whakatakoto ai. Tēnā, ko te mahi whakawā i ngā whenua Māori, ko te mahi i ngā mea e kīia e ngā tūpuna, kia mate, mate mō te whenua, e kī ana mātou e kore rawa te Pākehā e mōhio ki aua tikanga Māori, engari mā te Māori anake e mahi ana i aua mahi, i te mea hoki, ko te Māori anake e mōhio ana ki ngā kōrero oha, ki ngā tikanga me ngā take o aua whenua i mau ai i a ia, ā, e puta ai hoki he Karauna Karāti ki aia mō aua whenua.

E kī ana hoki ngā kōrero upoko o te Ture o te Kooti Whakawā Whenua Māori, ko te tikanga mahi e whakawā ai taua Kooti i ngā whānau Māori, me mahi aua whakawā whenua, ki te tikanga me ngā Ture a ngā tūpuna Māori i waiho iho ai ki aua whenua. Koia mātou i mea ai, kāhore anō te Pākehā kotahi o ngā motu nei, i tae noa atu tana mōhiotanga ki ngā tikanga a ngā iwi Māori, e mōhio tika ai taua Pākehā hei whakawā i ngā whenua Māori. Ā, e mea ana anō hoki mātou, ki te mea ka haere te Pākehā mōhio o Ngāpuhi ki ngā whenua o Waikato rānei o Taranaki rānei, ā, ka whakaputa taua Pākehā o Ngāpuhi tana mōhiotanga o Ngāpuhi i ako i aia, hei whakawā mō ngā tikanga o ngā iwi o Waikato, o Taranaki, ka raru taua Pākehā i aua iwi, i te mea hoki, e rerekē ana ngā tikanga e pā ai ētahi iwi ki ā rātou whenua, i ngā tikanga e pā ai ētahi iwi ki ā rātou whenua.

E toru anō iwi o Aotearoa nei, i noho tonu i te whenua o ōna tūpuna i noho ai i ngā rā i ū mai ai i Hawaiki ko Te Arawa, ko Ngāti Porou, ko Taranaki ki Pātea, otiia he tini noa atu ngā take e pā ai te Māori ki ana whenua, he parekura ka riro te whenua. He whenua hoatu hei whenua mā te kōtiro moea e te tangata i paingia e ngā mātua. He whenua tuku mā te tohunga mahi i te tūroro. He whenua mā te ohu kai mō te hākari. He whenua riro mō te kōhuru, me te mano noa atu o ngā tikanga Māori e riro ai te whenua i tangata kē. Ā, he whenua anō, i kīia iho i te rā i poroaki iho ai te tūpuna rānei te matua rānei, e muri nei, mā mea taku māra kūmara rānei, māra taro rānei, taku Pākehā roi rānei. Ā, he whenua anō ngā whenua e tukuna mā ngā uri tāne o ngā kōtiro i moe i te tāne iwi kē.

THAT which is now fully occupying the minds of the various tribes of New Zealand, viz., by whom can the rightful Māori owners obtain a title to their lands:

leads us to make a few remarks on the constitution and working of the Native Lands Court of this Colony.

We do not ignore the fact that it is the bounden duty of the Crown to compel the hereditary owners of land, which lands have become their property by the acknowledged power of laws or customs admitted by themselves, to obtain a title from the Crown in order to entitle the Māori in New Zealand to execute a good and valid title to anyone to whom he may alienate his land.

Nor would we attempt to ignore the power of the European educated mind to grasp any argument or matter to be investigated, which may be laid before it. Nor would we deny that such power is superior and better able to grapple with or solve a doubt which may have been entangled by acts of savage life, than a mind which has not been under the influence of civilized teaching. But we do demand for the Māori people that right to try, and by their own acknowledged rules and customs to decide on questions relating to titles to lands, in which the Māori alone are interested. The educated mind of the European may be far superior to the Māori mind where matters under consideration are not to be weighed by customs or known and acknowledged rites of a savage people, but where the matter under consideration is the title to land (a subject which, for at least six hundred years, has been a matter of life and death with the tribes of New Zealand) is the one point to which the judges in such cases are to bring all the knowledge they possess to bear.

In order, and in accordance with the preamble to the Native Lands Court Act, which Act is the sole power and authority by which the Court can try and give any legal decision on or give any title to land tried by it says, that all titles to land shall be tried in accordance with the manners and customs of the New Zealander. Such being the case, we most emphatically assert that there is not one European now, nor ever has been in New Zealand, who is sufficiently educated in the manners and customs of the New Zealander to entitle him to act as a judge to try and to give a righteous and just decision in, or a title to land claimed by the Māori. We also assert that those who may be conversant with the history, traditions, and customs of the Māori tribes of one part of New Zealand, admit that such knowledge does not suffice them to understand the claims to land put forward by the tribes of other parts of New Zealand.

The Māori not only claims land by right of discovery and occupation, as the only three tribes of New Zealand can do now, viz: Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, and Taranaki, but he also claims by right of conquest, gift in marriage, gift for help in obtaining food for feasts, help in time of sickness (or payment to priests for supposed protection from the power of witchcraft), for the dead being carried over the land, for relations murdered, on the land, and a thousand other claims of such nature. But there are other claims even more complicated than these. Gifts of chiefs of certain blocks to pet grandchildren: also, the claims to land by the offspring (male line of descendants) of daughters (to land of their grandfathers) who have married chiefs of other tribes.

The Native Land Court was initially set up in Napier and Hastings in the Heretaunga district and in the settlement of Waipawa in the Tamatea district. The fact that there were three Native Land Courts in the region created factors that worked against tūpuna who expressed their rights to the land blocks in question. Fortunately, howbeit the location of the Native Land Courts, the traditional custom practice of 'kāinga rua' lessened the impact to a small degree.

5.7 He wero tō te ao hou

The customary practice of having two or more settlements **3.7.2 Kāinga rua**—usually based on seasonal food gathering—mahinga kai was utilised by the hapū of Rākau-tātahi in the 1880s and early 1890s for the purpose of attending the Native Land Court hearings held in Waipawa. Other hapū weren't so fortunate. When a hearing was moved to Hastings, tūpuna protested by not turning up, resulting in the court being moved back to Waipawa.

Judge Brookfield and the Native Lands Court officials left here (Hastings) for Waipawa this morning, where the Court will be sitting for about a week. It appears that considerable time has been wasted, in patient expectation for the Waipawa Māori to attend the Land Court here, but they did not seem inclined to come down, so the Lands Court had in consequence to adjourn to Waipawa (Daily Telegraph, 1886, p. 3 Issue 4706).

The rightful descendants who lived on the Rākau-tātahi, Waikōpiro, Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks were met with the challenges of travel, accommodation and supplying food. Fortunately, the existence of the Tāpairu pā and the Waipukurau pā their 'kāinga rua' eased the burden.

The first Chief Judge of the Court, Francis Fenton (1824-1898), maintained that judgements could only be based on evidence before the Court— so all claimants had to attend, whether they wanted to or not. Many Māori racked up large legal bills as a consequence. Those coming from out of town also faced the costs of food and accommodation. Lawyers, shopkeepers, surveyors, and the like granted Māori credit while they awaited the outcome of their case. These expenses forced many Māori to sell the land they had been defending in order to settle their debts.

This process of alienating Māori land concerned some settler politicians. Former Attorney-General Henry Sewell had protested against the government's policy of confiscating the land of Māori deemed to be 'in rebellion'. Back in office in 1865, he asserted that the Native Land Court was designed to, "destroy if possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Native race into our own social and political system" Manatū Taonga (2021)

A long-standing dispute arose between Māori of Waipawa and a local settler John Harding, claiming that Māori land (5 acres, 28 perches) had been included in a Crown grant given to Harding and that they still owned the other 15 acres, resulting in the issue being heard before a Select Committee and a special Bill created called the *Waipawa Land Dispute Act 1881*. The following is part of what was published in the Hawke's Bay Herald ("Waipawa Land Dispute," 1881).

... a dispute has long existed between some Māori and Mr John Harding respecting the ownership of about 20 acres of land near Waipawa, in Hawke's Bay, and that, from the evidence given before a Select Committee, five acres of

a native reserve appeared to have been erroneously included in a Crown grant of these 20 acres to Mr Harding, while the natives believed that the other 15 acres also belonged to them, and had not been sold to the Crown on the strength of which belief they persisted, in occupying it against Mr Harding, and both parties refused to settle the dispute ... Mr Bryce when Native Minister, put that beyond question by one of his forcible and lucid reports. In his memorandum dated 9th March 1880 and written at Napier immediately after a full investigation of the case, Mr Bryce says: — "There is no dispute as the legal boundary of Mr Harding's land, nor is there any as to the boundaries of the native reserve, Waipawa. The present boundaries, as described in the grants, were laid out substantially in accordance with the original, and no breach of faith or accidental error has been committed by the Government in the issue of the Crown grants in question. It is possible that some of the older natives concerned may have supposed that some portion of the original traverse lines, run at some distance from the true boundary, was, in fact, the boundary, and this possible misconception on their part constitutes their only claim to consideration ... The natives resist the police and set the European Court at defiance. It is admitted that they could be turned off and the law enforced without any difficulty, but the Government, apparently, shrunk from their course, and now ask Parliament to sanction their conceding to the law-defying natives all they demand, and forcibly depriving Mr Harding of his land ... We hope, therefore, that the Waipawa Land Dispute Bill will be among the "slaughtered innocents" of the session. It is much to be regretted that it was brought in at all, as even its mere introduction is calculated to produce an undesirable impression on the part of the natives that the law itself can be made to sanction their unlawful actions.

5.8 Tukua ki te Kōti

The government eventually bought the land off Harding and then sent the issue to the Native Land Court to ascertain the owners. This issue was settled but there were many other incidents and signs that all was not well in the Tamatea district. With the encroaching land sales and clandestine activities of Europeans, tūpuna began to protect their lands and the following examples of advertisements reflect the concern they held regarding trespassers advertised 3 years before the Rākau-tātahi case was heard,

Figure 39:

Waipawa Mail Vol XI Issue 2089 24 Jan 1888

NOTICE.

ANY person found trespassing on my Reserve Te Rakautatahi at Takapau, will be sued for a penalty of £10.
Any persons found destroying my flock of sheep and cattle will be sued for a penalty of £50.

NEPE TE APATU,
Overseer Hori Tawhai.

PANUITANGA.

KITE kitea nga Pakeha nga Maori ranei e haere ana i runga i taku whenua ite Rakautatabi kei te Takapau. Ka tamanatia kite ture kia utu ite £10 Kite kitea ano e patu tahae ana a sku kau hipi ranei ka tamanatia kite ture kia utu ite £50.

NEPE TE APATU,
124 Kai-whakahaere Hori Tawhai.

Figure 40:

Te Wānanga 13 January 1877 pg.4

NOTICE.

ANY one going over the land known as Rakautatahi, at Takapau, are cautioned not to take dogs with them, as all dogs found on said land will be killed.

29

HORI TAWAI.
NEPA APATU.

Following is a list of the trials and tribulations experienced by tūpuna associated with the four land blocks in this research,

- (I) through the initial push south of Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia from Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, resulting in skirmishes with Rangitāne and their laying down of boundaries,

- (ii) to the gifting of land of Te Angiangi to Te Whatu-i-āpiti and subsequent gifting by Te Whatu-i-āpiti to the younger chiefs who collected the respective piles of food,
- (iii) the inter-tribal skirmishes and the settling of battles through strategic marriage,
- (iv) the battles at Te Roto-a-Tara and arrival of the Āmio Whenua expedition and the musket, the exodus to Nukutaurua, to the Manawatū and Te Wairarapa,
- (v) the effect of Christianity and return from Nukutaurua and Manawatū,
- (vi) the clash of law and lore with the establishment of the Native Land Court through the Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1865,
- (vii) the influx of Europeans into the Tamatea-Heretaunga district culminating in the Waipukurau sale of 1851,
- (viii) the arrival in 1870 onwards of the Scandinavians to clear the bush,
- (ix) the tensions felt in the Tamatea blocks through clandestine activities of both Europeans and Māori.

We arrive at the call for the four land blocks to be investigated in various forms and hearings: investigations, partitions, sales, appeals, successions, and surveys concerning each land block but as mentioned the focus is on the evidence provided by tūpuna.

The cases are found in the Napier Minute Books **Āpitihangā 4: Blocks and case types**, Wanganui Minute Books (24, 38), Judge Ward's Minute Books (24,38), the Ōtaki Minute Book 3A, and Wellington Minute Book 14. Cases were held in the Native Land Courts of

Hastings (117), Waipawa (65), Dannevirke (16), Napier (6), Wellington (6), Palmerston North (2), Woodville (2).

The following specific cases this research focuses on narrative embodying the phrase, “kei te whenua te reo, kei te reo te whenua” are,

Figure 41:

List of cases specific to this research

1	Ōtāwhao Railway Line	Title Investigation	Waipawa 31/1/1883	6
2	Ōtāwhao	Title Investigation	Napier 11/11/1883	6
3	Waikōpiro No 1	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
4	Waikōpiro	Title Investigation	Waipawa 4/3/1889	17
5	Rākau-tātahi	Title Investigation	Waipawa 12/10/1891	23
6	Waikōpiro	Rehearing	Waipawa 8/4/1891	22A
7	Ōtāwhao	Enquiry-Petition-Succession	Waipawa 26/9/1892	26A
8	Whenuahou	Title Investigation	Napier 20/10/1892	6

I return to the iho matua of this research, **the relationships over time between the land, he kura whenua, the language, he kura reo, and the people, he kura tāngata** by turning to the land itself and its voice letting it talk through the words, the voice of tūpuna. in the evidence they provided in the following cases to consolidate their mana whenua, their ahi kā. The following chapter dives deep into the relationship between the people, and the land.

Upoko 6: Tukua te whenua kia kōrero

He kura tangata e kore e rokohanga; he kura whenua ka rokohanga (Best, 1924)

6.1 Ngā Kēhi

In total, there were 80 partitions of the four land blocks *Poraka Whenua*, both sections of and the main blocks themselves, and 19 case types heard for the four land blocks which are recorded on the Māori Land Court database. The following is a breakdown of those types,

- Title Investigation (23)
- Compensation (3)
- Partition (99)
- Sale (1)
- Confirmation of alienation (26)
- Appeal (5)
- Appeal-Relative Interests (1)
- Appeal-Partition (2)
- Rehearing-Succession (3)
- Rehearing (2)
- Survey (25)
- Removal of restrictions (5)
- Enquiry (13)
- Negotiations in progress (10)
- Trustees (2)
- Court Business (1)
- Amend Order (1)
- Road Access (1)
- Payment of Monies (5)

The above cases are found in the Napier Minute Books **Āpitihangā 4: Blocks and case types**, Wanganui Minute Books (24, 38), Judge Ward's Minute Books (24,38), the Ōtaki Minute Book 3A, and Wellington Minute Book 14. Cases were held in the Native Land

Courts of Hastings (117), Waipawa (65), Dannevirke (16), Napier (6), Wellington (6), Palmerston North (2), Woodville (2). This research utilises the following hearings.

Figure 42:

Case types in this research

1	Ōtāwhao Railway	Title Investigation	Waipawa 31/1/1883	6
2	Ōtāwhao	Title Investigation	Napier 11/1/1883	6
3	Ōtāwhao A4	Enquiry-Partition- Succession	Waipawa 26/9/1892	26A
4	Rākau-tātahi	Title Investigation	Waipawa 12/10/1891	23
5	Waikōpiro	Title Investigation	Waipawa 4/3/1889	17
6	Waikōpiro No 1	Title Investigation -Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
7	Waikōpiro	Rehearing	Waipawa 8/4/1891	22A

Due to the many issues that impacted the four land blocks as discussed previously in **5.4 Kātahi ka hē**, **5.5 Ka hē rawa atu** and **5.6 He maminga, he kūare**, the only avenue left to resolve issues was to send each land block to the Native Land Court. Here, I draw on the whakataukī, *He mate kei te ora, he ora kei te mate* *There is death in and there is life in death* to lead this part of the thesis.

The hearing of the cases for blocks Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou, Waikōpiro and Rākautātahi, in the Native Land Court was part of a broader colonial strategy to dismantle Māori land tenure and authority. Even though the ancestors believed and trusted the Native Land Court ‘system’—he ora—the eventual result was devastating loss of land—he mate.

However regardless of the processes of Te Kōti Tango Whenua and the subtle alienation of land through individual title, making it easier to sell land, the following collection of names of places through evidence provided by tūpuna gave the whenua a forum to speak, *he ora kei te mate*.

The first of the land blocks to be totally investigated was the Ōtāwhao block concerning the railway line that ran through it from Takapau to Te Kōpua and is still the eastern-southern railroad route seen today. This case was heard on 31 January 1883.

The tūpuna who gave evidence—termed witnesses in the MLC Database were Hōri Te Aroatua Niania, Arihi Te Nahu, Tanguru Tūhua, Te Teira Tiakitai, Hēnare Matua, Hēnare Tōmoana, and Karaitiana Takamoana. In all of the cases, as expected, there were many disagreements as to who held mana whenua over the land.

The following are extracts from the Ōtāwhao and Waikōpiro cases concerning ‘mana’, The judgment in the Ōtāwhao case states, “The Rangitāne have no mana over this land” (Native Land Court, 1883, pp. 251, NMB 6). The decision in the Waikōpiro rehearing case stated,

“Originally Waikōpiro and other blocks belonged to Rangitāne. By the conquest of Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia all the ancestral rights of the Rangitāne were completely swept away, and the Ngāti Kahungunu became the dominant power in the land. The Rangitāne people who had been occupying these lands receded before their conquerors to that part of the country near what is now called the Manawatū Gorge. Many of the Rangitāne people in the course of time drifted back on to the land that had been theirs and intermarried with the dominant Ngāti Kahungunu tribe, and so a sort of half-caste race sprang up, the ‘mana’, however, still remaining with the Ngāti Kahungunu. That which was taken by a strong hand was never recovered by a strong hand . . . By an agreement between Rangitāne, of the one part, and Te Angiangi and Whatu-i-āpiti, of the other part, the northern boundary of the Rangitāne line was fixed at the Pua-ki-te-ao, a post erected near Dannevirke” (Native Land Court, 1891, pp. 332, NMB 22a).

The concept of ‘mana tangata’ in this research is a ‘mana’ that was developed through connection to the land, and to the language, and is applied through acknowledging those tūpuna who through their status of position and knowledge articulated their truth—

sometimes embellished strategically—to leave a legacy that allows me the opportunity to formulate my own understanding.

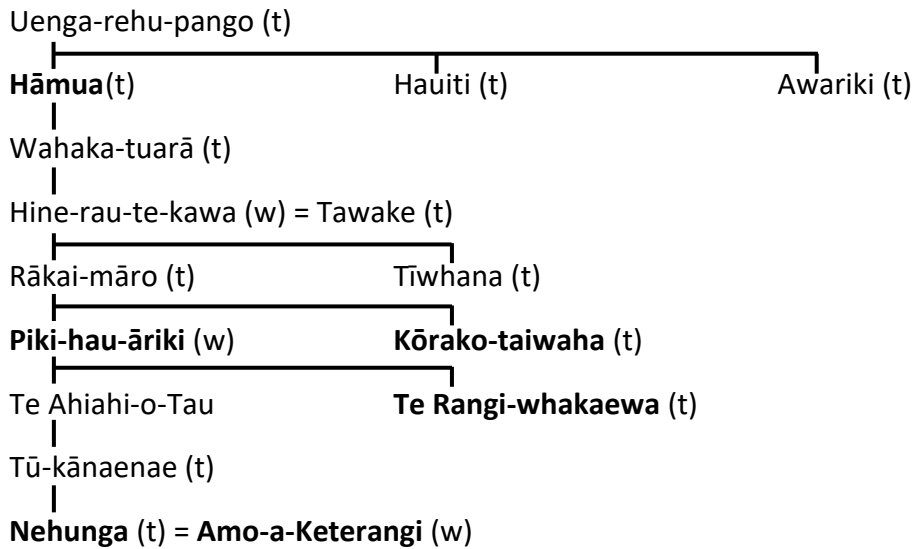
This research through recording the language ‘mana reo’ placed on the land ‘mana whenua’ spoken in the narratives of the tūpuna, kaumātua mai, kuia mai in the respective cases. The collation of narrative, of ‘tātai kōrero’ constructs a ‘pātaka mātauranga’, a ‘whare whakairinga kōrero’ for the present and future descendants of the hapū of Tamatea to clearly understand the concept of ‘mana tangata’.

6.2 Ahi kā

McEwen (1986, pp. 103-104) records that after Kōrako-taiwaha, the father of Te Rangi-whakaewa left Takapau to live in the Tāmaki district his older sister Piki-hau-ariki remained at Takapau. Nehunga the great-grandchild of Piki-hau-ariki married Amo-a-kete-rangi of Ngāi Tahu and from that marriage the Takapau people have been known as Ngāi Tahu, although their ancestry is largely Rangitāne. There are many instances in the cases pertaining to the four land blocks—and other cases from the Tamatea-Tāmaki district where the Ngāi Tahu tūpuna “claimed various lands by virtue of their Rangitāne descent.”

Figure 43:

Nehunga and Amo-a-kete-rangi marriage showing Rangitāne whakapapa line



“Ka wera hoki i te ahi, e mana ana anō” *While the fire burns the mana ki te whenua is effective*, (1975, p. 172). For each case, tūpuna who gave evidence will be listed along with whakapapa and narrative related to the concept of mana whenua. Mana whenua is being defined in modern terms as being “customary authority exercised by a hapū (or iwi) in an identified area”. During pre-colonisation and early post-colonisation it was interpreted by Māori as “long uninterrupted possession of land that holds the history and narrative of a hapū (more recently an iwi)” “Resource Management Act” (1991). The terms ‘ahi kā’, ‘ahi teretere’ or ‘ahi tere’, ‘ahi mātaotao’, and ‘ahi tahutahu’, are used to refer to the relationship to land. Members of a hapū who fires burned continuously on the land through long occupation were ahi kā, those who moved away from their land for a long period of time [usually over three or four generations] and did not maintain the fires were ahi teretere *erratic flickering of a fire*, those who moved back and forth and occupied land occasionally were ahi tahutahu *limited or occasional occupation* and those who never returned to lands for more than three or four

generations were ahi mātaotao *fires gone cold*. Te Teira Tiakitai (1889a, p. 5) although not having heard of the expression ‘ahi tere’ mentions, “that if a woman goes away to another district tribe and remains away with her children and grandchildren they lose their right. This law does not apply to marriages amongst hapū in the district. The first case heard regarding land in the Takapau district to be used for a railway line.

6.3 Ōtāwhao Rerewei

The wish of the government to purchase land to establish a railway line from Ahuriri to

Te Kōpua began with a meeting with hapū from both Rangitāne and Kahungunu,

TĀMAKI. Ko Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua tēnā e kōrerotia ana e te Kāwanatanga kia hokona hei whenua takotoranga Rerewei kia tika ai te whakanoho ki te tangata. Kei te kāuru o Manawatū taua whenua e takoto ana, he ngāherehere katoa, he pārae paku ōna pārae. Nō te Parairei, te 18 o ngā rā o Ākuhata kua Hōri nei, i pakaru ai te hui o ngā iwi ki Waipawa i Ahuriri. I hui ki te kōrero mō te hoko o taua whenua ki te Kāwanatanga. Ka rua wiki o taua hui e kōrero ana, rātou ko ngā Pākehā i whakaritea e te Kāwanatanga hei whakahaere i taua mahi, arā, ko Raka Kōmihana [Locke Commission] rāua ko te Karini [James Grindell] te kaituhi o Te Waka Māori. Ko ngā iwi i tae mai ki taua hui ko Rangitāne, ko Ngāti Mutuahi, ko Ngāi Tahu, ko Ngāti Para-kio, ko hea atu. Ko Hoani Meihana mā, rātou ko Te Peeti te Aweawe, ko Huru te Hiaro, ngā tāngata o Manawatū i tae ki taua hui; ko Karaitiana Takamoana te tangata mai o Nēpia. I roa te hui ki te whanga ki ngā tāngata i ngaro atu, nō te taenga mai kātahi ka kōrero. I te otinga o te korero ka tūmau ngā moni utu mō te whenua ki te kotahi tekau mā ono mano pauna (Te Waka Māori o Te Waka Māori o Niu Tīrani, 1871, p. 6 Vol 8(1)).

TĀMAKI. Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua is being discussed by the Government to buy land for a Railway to assist with settlement. That land is at the head of Manawatū, covered in bush with only a few small clearings. On Friday the 18th of August just passed a meeting was held by the Waipawa people at Napier. The purpose of the meeting was whether to sell that land to the Government. The meeting went on for two weeks between Māori and Government officials, that is, the Locke Commission and James Grindell, the Editor of Te Waka Māori [Newspaper]. The tribes who took part were Rangitāne, Ngāti Mutuahi, Ngāi Tahu and others. Hoani Meihana, Peeti Te Aweawe, Huru Te Hiaro were those of Manawatū who attended; and Karaitiana Takamoana from Napier. The meeting was long due to having to wait for people who went missing and spoke when they arrived. At the conclusion of the discussion the price for the land was fixed at 16,000 pounds.

After the usual establishing of claimants and counterclaimants the actual case opened at 10.15am 1 February 1883 in Waipawa at the OddFellows Hall. Tūpuna who gave evidence were Hōri Niania, Arihi Te Nahu, Tanguru Tūhua, Te Teira Tiakitai, Hēnare Matua Hēnare Tōmoana and Karaitiana Takamoana. Hēnare Tōmoana was asked to open his case “fully” and Arihi Te Nahu spoke first, and claimed through Ngāti Te Rehunga, with non-specific words regarding food gathering,

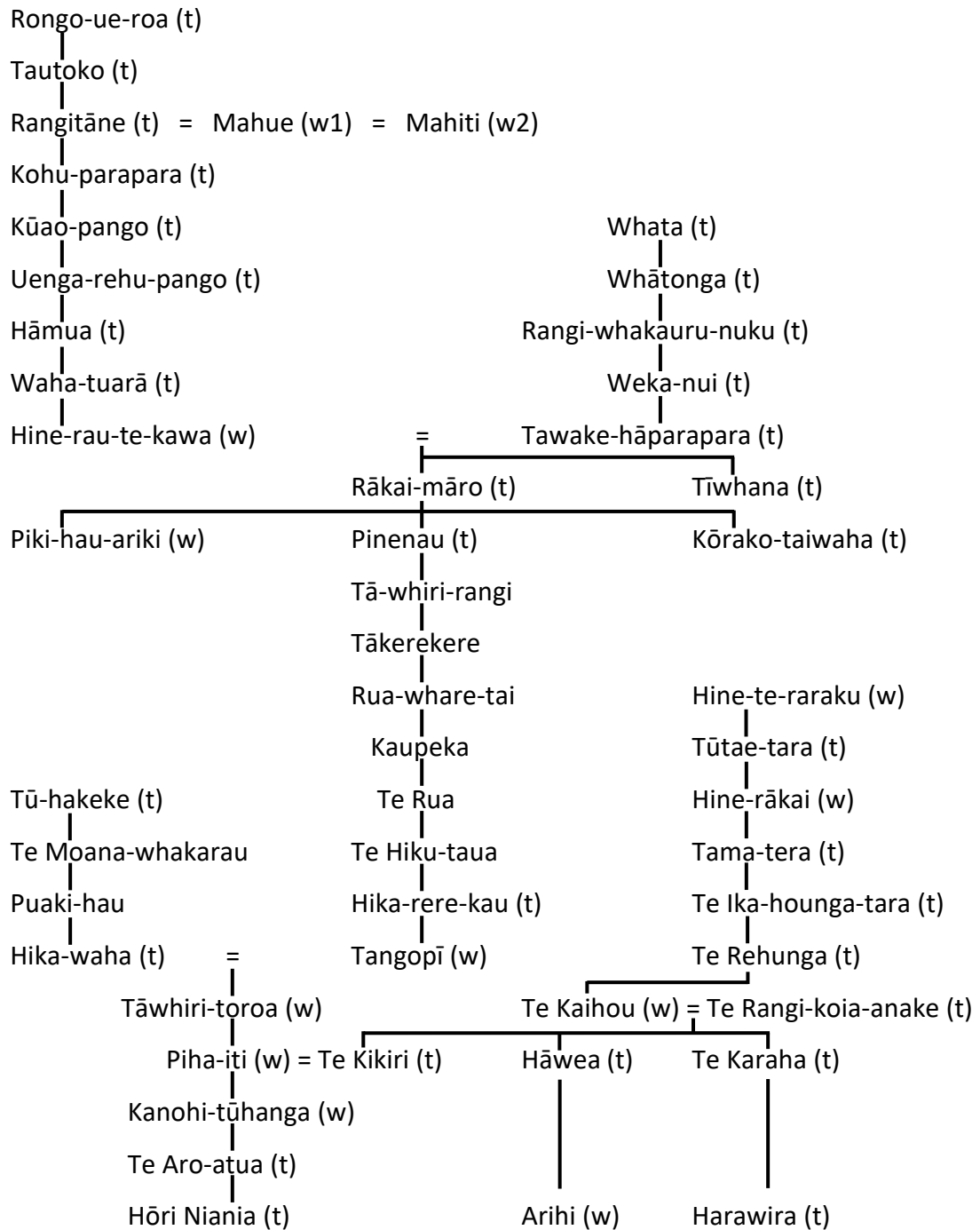
“I claim through two tūpuna Manawakawa and Te Rehunga. Te Rehunga and Tama-i-waho had a great feast. Te Rehunga did not receive a return feast, but the land was given to him instead. Tama-i-waho belonged to Ngāi Tahu and gave the land to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa. They occupied the land thence forward, and we are their descendants. There has been no dispute of our occupation. The descendants of Tama-i-waho also lived on the land. The land was bush land. We planted on parts of it and caught rats and birds. There was a permanent settlement at Te Kōpua, we planted there, and on other favourable places. We object to the claim of the other co-claimants, except Hōri and one or two others.” (1883, p. 112)

The evidence of Arihi was immediately refuted by whom the Minute Book records as Karaitiana (1883, p. 113), [this could not be Karaitiana Takamoana as he died four years previous in 1879, also mentioned by Te Teira Tiakitai (p. 126), the only other Karaitiana that was from the hapū of the Takapau district was Karaitiana Te Korou],

“We dispute the statement of Arihi. Tama-i-waho was killed by Rangitāne, the actual owners of the land. Tama-i-waho owned part of the land and there were disputes, and he was killed. The descendants of Te Rehunga did not occupy the land. Hōri (Te Aroatua Niania) was the only one who did so, and this was through inter-marriage. The descendants of Te Rehunga who did not intermarry did not occupy the land... the actual owner of this land is Tū-hakeke”.

Figure 44:

Whakapapa from NMB 6 corrected as the NMB has Hine-rau-te-kawa as the wife of Rākaimāro, but she was the wife of Tawake-hāparapara and Rākaimāro was their son (McEwen, 1986, p. 36).



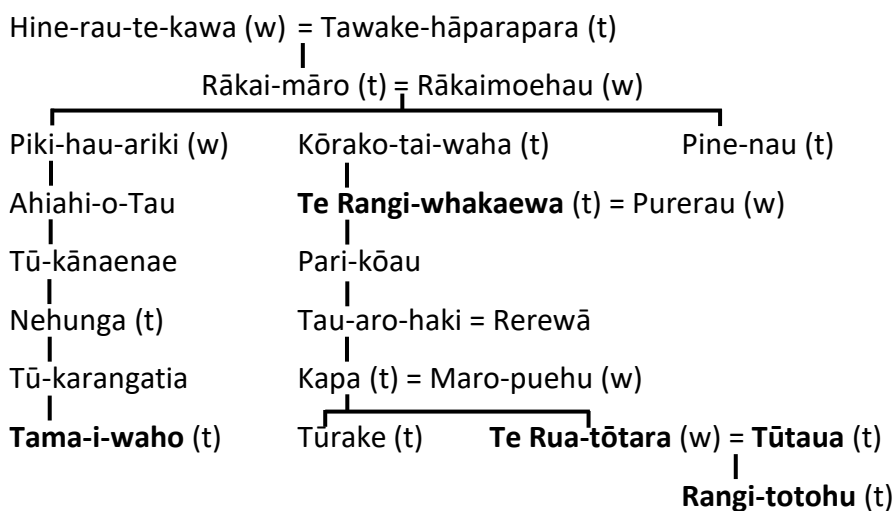
His whakapapa shows his descent and the descent of Arihi Te Nahu from Rangitāne, from Whata, down through several generations to Te Rehunga, to his daughter Te Kaihou, and her son Te Kikiri. Hōri talked about specific places [contrary to Arihi speaking

generally] strengthening his mana whenua status. Hōri then went on to refute the right of Te Rehunga, and supported the narrative regarding Tama-i-waho,

“My tūpuna had a track on this railway line and other marks near. Ōmarutāiri is the name of the track, it went to Te Kōpua. Kainoke was another track from Rangitoto to Kōpua. From Takapau to Porangahau, on to Kōpua are places on the railway line. They were kāinga of ours ... Te Rehunga had no right to the land. None of his descendants occupied the land. Ngāi Tahu brought Te Kikiri inland. My family divided from that of Arihi at the intermarriage of Te Kaihou with Te Rangi-koia-anake. The land was given by Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga, but the gift was disputed and Tama-i-waho was killed because he had given it away. This nullified the gift, but my tūpuna remained on the land. I have never seen Arihi on the land” (1883c, p. 115).

Figure 45:

Whakapapa: Tama-i-waho to Rangitotohu descendant of Hika-rere-pari who received the land from Te Angiangi through Te Whatu-i-āpiti.



Hōri continued to provide places and their historical relevance to himself and the land,

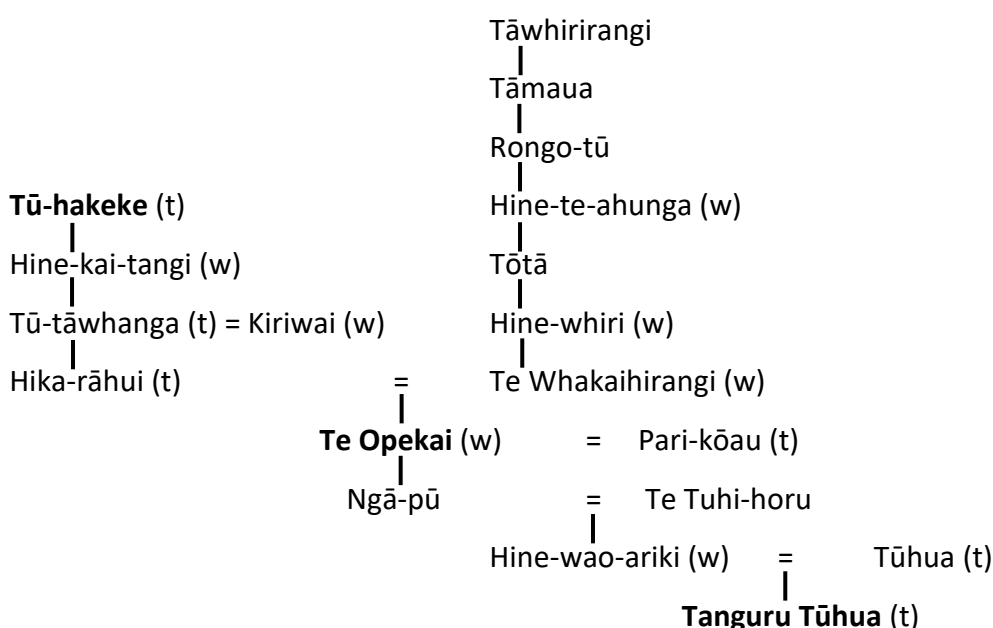
“I can give names of places near the railway though not actually on it. I made the railway the western boundary of the block. There was a pā called Kātea near Kiriwai, the extreme north end of the block, Horehore was another pā, detailed in 3.6 Haramai te pū, Ōkōrako was another on the Eastern boundary near the centre ... houses called Takatū-rangi at Te Rua-raupō. We had a place on the land called Whenuahou. Tū-hakeke gave it that name ... Near this place were two roads, one led to Porangahau [stream] the road which belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa road was called Kahungunu and went through the bush. Ōtarata was another road.”

Tanguru Tūhua when being cross examined by Karaitiana Korou in the Waikōpiro title investigation gave the full name of Kātea pā, “Te Awariki was murdered at Whenuahou. There is a pā at that place named Te kateatanga a ngā papa kai a Te Awariki” *The scattering of food gathering places of Te Awariki*. (1889c, p. 3).

Hōri also spoke about places named after the various attributes of Tū-hakeke, his eating worms and his physical appearance, “Kainoke was another path, so called because Tū-hakeke ate worms there. Ōtūpaka was a place so called because the beard of Tū-hakeke was red. Ōtūpōhatu was so called on the account of the hardness of his head.” Tanguru Tūhua (1883, p. 116) on beginning to give his evidence, presented his whakapapa,

Figure 46:

Whakapapa: Tūhakeke through Opekai to Tanguru



Tanguru then presented a narrative to connect himself to the land through mentioning houses, rat tracks and cultivations, consolidating his knowledge of the land and his mana whenua status,

“I have cultivated on both sides of the railway line commencing at Takapau ... I supplied timber for the railway as far as Te Kōpua... I have houses at Te Kōpua now, they have been there for 7 years... The descendants of Te Rehunga never disputed our claim until now. I also caught rats on the land in several places at Kainoke. Te Kōpuru, Puta-wara-nuku, Tahu-a-rongotea, Whiti-rarunga, Punga-rehu-nui, Ōtara-kai-āhua, Ōtarata, Tauwhare-rata, Te Papa-taua are rat tracks of mine”.

Tanguru spoke of the battles that occurred, the gifting of land by Tama-i-waho, and his subsequent demise at the hands of Rangitāne for giving away their land.

“There was a fight at Ōpunua, Te Whata-iwi was killed there. There was another fight at Pakihi-hura, Te Kiore was killed there. Te Rehunga and Manawakawa asked for a certain maro to be given to them ... they gave the maro to Tama-i-waho and lived with him for some years... food was prepared 2000 rats, 2 greenstones and other things ... Tamai-i-waho again prepared food and presented at a place called Ruatangaroa to Te Rehunga. Then Te Rehunga gave a return feast, fish, kūmara at Takapau. The food was called Ngā tau tuku roa. Tama-i-waho then prepared food and sent for Te Rehunga to fetch it. Te Rehunga went and divided the land about Takapau and put up posts Numia-te-rangi and [Kau-te-āwhā] ... Tama-i-waho objected to Te Rehunga claiming the land by the rāhui posts. But he afterwards gave the land to Te Rehunga, who went and occupied it. A post was put up at Tuhimata by Rangitāne called Pua-ki-te-ao. The people of Te Rehunga heard about it and pulled it down. Rangitāne put a stone up in its place, this still stands. There was a fight about it and the people of Te Rehunga were killed. Another fight took place. Mangatarata was the place where Tama-i-waho was killed by Rangitāne” (1883, p. 121).

The Ruatangaroa pā is situated near the present town of Waipukurau and has been brought back to life through the Ngā Ara Tupuna project (Hapū o Te Taiwhenua o Tamatea & Central Hawke's Bay District Council, 2021).

McEwen (1986, p. 105) records the narrative in the following manner,

“When Te Rehunga and Manawakawa heard of the erection of the post [Pua-ki-te-ao] they had it cut down. Rangitāne immediately re-erected it and prepared for war. They defeated Te Rehunga in the battle of Pakaroa and again at Tātai-whetū near Takapau. They then took the Ngāhore pā and the Moana-i-rokia pā near Whatumā (Hatuma) lake, at which latter place Kahutoroa the mother of Te Rangi-te-kahutia was killed. After this they pursued Tama-i-waho, who had been responsible for handing over the Ōtāwhao block to Te Rehunga and killed him at Mangatarata”.

The following is part of an account of the Tama-i-waho incident written by Rēnata Hāpuku and published in the *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri*, which also contains the origin of the place name Takapau,

“Ka tae atu ki a Tama-i-waho ka kainga, ka whakatauaākī a Tama-i-waho i reira.

“Ngā kai a taku hoa. Ko Heretaunga te kāinga, ko Te Rehunga te tangata; he kūmara tana kai, he tuna.”

“Me au hoki, ko Tama-i-waho te tangata, ko te Tuatua te kāinga, ko Ōtāwhao; ko tōna kai he kererū, he kioire, ki ētahi tau he whīnau te kai.”

Ka noho, muri iho ka kite a Tama-i-waho i ngā kai o tōna kāinga, i te manu, i te kioire, i te whīnau. Kātahi anō ka utua mai ngā kete kūmara e waru, e toru tekau te kai a Tama-i-waho, he kererū, he kioire, he whīnau ngā kai. Kātahi anō ka kī mai a Tama-i-waho ki a Te Raruraru anō rāua ko Apohia, he tuarua tēnei nō ngā kīnga mai a Tama-i-waho; “Haere ki taku hoa, ki a Te Rehunga, kati hoki tēnei kai, āna, te kūmara, engari me waru mai e ia ki te kao kia kite hoki au i tēnā kai.” Kātahi ka tae mai te kupu rā ki a Te Rehunga. Kātahi ka mahia ki te waru he kūmara hei whakarite i taua kupu a Tama-i-waho.

Mahia ake ngā kao e whā rau ngā kete. Kātahi ka kawea atu, ka mahora ana ko Puoka, (he kāinga kei Te Takapau). Nā te mahoratanga, kātahi ka whakawhitia aua kete e whā rau, ā, oti ana te whakatihi ka whitu tekau ngā kete, whakarērea iho ngā kīnaki, e whā ngā kākahu. Ko ōna ingoa o aua kākahu, e rua kei te mōhio nei i a au, e rua hoki kua wareware, ko Mangapāhekeheke tētahi, ko te Iri-motumotu tētahi. Ākuanei, kei te karakia māoritanga, arā, **te whakatakapautanga i taua kai**, kia ngaro tonu atu ai ki a Tama-i-waho, kia kore e utua mai hoki. Kātahi ka kīia te ingoa e karangatia nei, “**ko te Takapau o te kai a Te Rehunga rāua ko te Manawa-a-kawa**” (Rēnata 1864, pp. 3-4).

When it [the food] arrived at Tama-i-waho it was eaten and Tama-i-waho uttered the words there,

“The food of my friend. Heretaunga is the settlement, Te Rehunga is the man, kūmara and tuna his food.”

And myself also, ko Tama-i-waho the man, Tuatua and Ōtāwhao are my settlements his food is wood pigeon, rats and in some years whīnau.”

Tama-i-waho sat and observed the food of his settlement, birds, rats and whīnau. Then he reciprocated the eight kits of kūmara, thirty kits of Tama-i-waho full of wood pigeon rats and whīnau. Then Tama-i-waho said to Raruraru and Apohia for the second time, “Go to my friend, to Te Rehunga, and give this food, te kūmara, but he should make kao [dried kūmara] so I can see that food.” The word arrived at Te Rehunga, and he prepared the kao to the request of Tama-i-waho.

Four hundred kits of kao were made and conveyed to Puoka (a settlement at Te Takapau). When they were laid out those four hundred kits were stacked, seventy kits, then the relish and four cloaks. The names of those cloaks I know, two I've forgotten, Mangapāhekeheke was one, Iri-motumotu was another. After a while an incantation was delivered, that is, to put a charm on the food so Tama-i-waho could not return in kind. That was when the name was proclaimed, "the food ritual of Te Rehunga and Manawa-a-kawa."

Another account written by Ngāti Kahungunu and recorded by Elsdon Best reflects the fact that this narrative was well known amongst the hapū of Heretaunga and Tamatea,

Ka tonoa e Tama-i-waho tōna iwi e toru tekau kia haere ki te kawē i a Te Apohia mā; ka tukua ngā kai a Tama-i-waho me tōna iwi, e rima ngā pātua manu, e toru ngā kete kiore huhuti nei, e rima ngā mātā tuna. Ka kī atu a Tama-i-waho: "E tā mā! Haere, e tae koe ki a Te Rehunga rāua ko Te Manawa-kawa, māku tētahi kumutanga kūmara nā hei purapura māku".

Ka tae te iwi nei ki roto i te pā o Te Rehunga, ki Tāpae-rā-rauhe i Poukawa, ka tukua te kai nei ki a Te Rehunga, me te kupu a Tama-i-waho he purapura māna. Ka tukua te karere a Te Rehunga ki Pourērere, ki Parimahu i Heretaunga, i te Wairoa, he ika maroke, he ika paka, he pāua maroke, he kōura mahiti, he pipi maroke, he manu tahu e whitu ngā tahā, e rua ngā tahā pakake, e rua ngā tahā kākāpō, kotahi tekau ngā tīraha tuna rārā, he hao te tuna. Ka mauria kotahi tekau ngā kete kūmara purapura, kotahi tekau ngā kete kumara kao. Ka haere ngā iwi o Te Rehunga ki te kawē i te kai nei ki a Tama-i-waho. Ka karakiatia e ngā tohunga o te ope nei kia kore e ea te kai nei, nō reira te ingoa nei a te Takapau (Best, 1977, p. 400).

Tama-i-waho sent thirty of his people to convey a Te Apohia and others to give the food of Tama-i-waho and his people [to Te Rehunga and Manawa-kawa], there were five bark receptacles of birds, three kits of plucked rats, five kits of fermented eel. Tama-i-waho said, "Alright folks! Go, when you get to Te Rehunga and Manawa-kawa get a handful of kūmara as seeds for me."

When the people arrived the pā of Te Rehunga, at Tāpae-rā-rauhe at Poukawa, the food was given to Te Rehunga, along with the words of Tama-i-waho about obtaining seeds for him. Te Rehunga sent a messenger to Pourērere, to Parimahu, to Heretaunga and to Te Wairoa, to get dried fish, fish cakes, dried abalone, choice crayfish, dried shellfish, and preserved birds, seven gourds, two gourds of whale meat, two gourds of kākāpō, twenty bark receptacles of eel caught by net. There were twenty kits of kūmara and twenty kits of dried kūmara. The people of Te Rehunga took the food to Tama-i-waho. A charm was chanted by priests of the group so the food could not be reciprocated, from that incident originated the name of Te Takapau.

Te Teira Tiakitai (1889f, p. 9) in his evidence in the Waikōpiro case provides his account,

“When they [Te Rehunga and Manawakawa] reached the settlement of Tama-i-waho they spread out the food, the tohunga of Te Rehunga uttered an incantation “Whakatakapau” to prevent the people of Tama-i-waho from returning the food in kind. The name of that incantation was “Whakatakapau”.

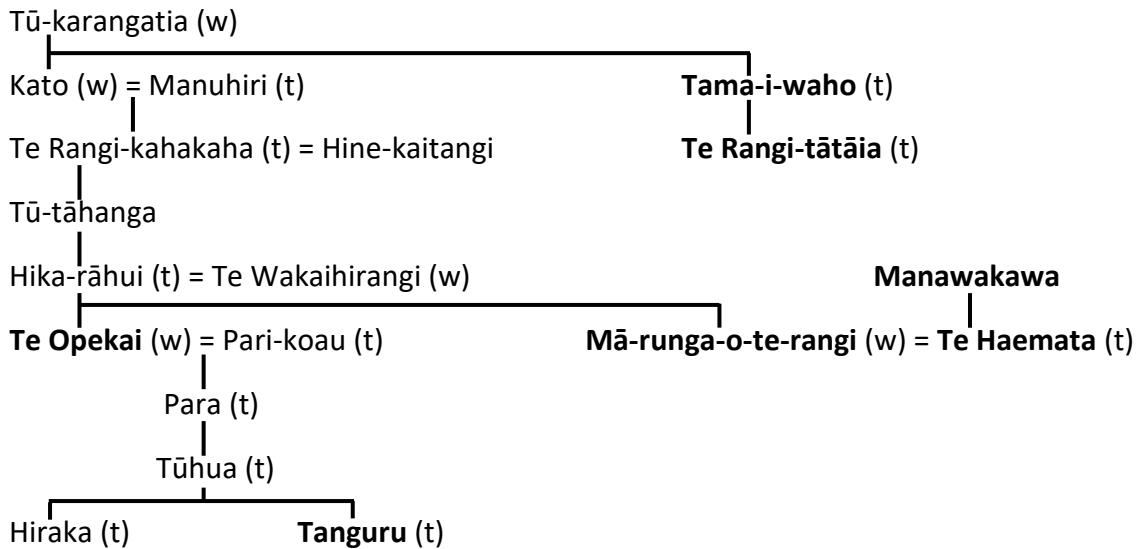
One more account of the demise of Tama-i-waho was spoken at the Native Land Court in Waipawa on 1 September 1870 to discuss the Government purchasing land to build a “*rori rerewei*” (*railway line*) in the Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua district. A terse discussion was had as to the mana of the whenua in question. Hoani Meihana (1870, p. 59) stood up and spoke,

“Tēnā anō te whawhai mō Tāmaki, ko te tukunga a Tama-i-waho ki a Te Rehunga, ki a Te Manawakawa, te whenua nei a Tāmaki. Kātahi ka whakatika ngā tūpuna a Rangitāne ka poua te pou ki Tuhimata, ko Pua-ki-te-ao te ingoa o te pou. Ka peke atu ngā tūpuna o Ngāi Tahu (arā, o Ngāti Kahungunu i a Te Hāpuku) ka unuhia. Ka whakatika atu anō ngā tūpuna o Rangitāne ka poua anō taua pou i Tuhimata. Ko te whakaaranga o taua pou e Rangitāne i ara ai, kātahi ka rewa mai ki te patu i te iwi nāna i turaki—te iwi o Tama-i-waho. Te patunga tuatahi ko Pakaroa, te tuarua ko Tātai-whetū, āpitiria tonutia atu ko Ngāhore—he pā tahuri, āpitiria tonutia atu ko te riri i Mangatarata, ka mate i konā a Tama-i-waho—te tangata nāna i tuku te whenua ki a Te Rehunga”.

Returning to Tanguru and his evidence he spoke about the revenge of the death of Tama-i-waho by his son Rangi-tātaia, but peace was eventually made and Rangi-tātaia moved to Maungaraki in the Wairarapa. Opekai and others remained at Takapau where several marriages took place, the son of Manawa-kawa, Te Haemata-o-te-atua married Mā-runga-o-te-rangi the daughter of Hika-rāhui, and the other daughter, Opekai married Pari-kōau.

Figure 47:

Whakapapa showing Te Opekai, Mā-runga and husbands.



As this case only involved 153 acres there was limited references to places given by both Hōri Niania and Tanguru Tūhua. I will leave the decision of the Native Land Court to those who are interested in researching that aspect of the case. I remain focused on the land the language and the people. In summary the key relationships evident in this case are:

1. Tūpuna who would be considered “ahi tahutahu”—used whakapapa to stake their claim whereas the people who were considered “ahi kā” used narratives directly related to the language on the land, regarding mahinga kai, kāinga, whare, pā sites and urupā
2. Through interrelationships of tūpuna through the kaihaukai Ngā Tau-tuku-roa feasting origin of the name of the Takapau township is revealed.
3. Whakapapa and kōrero tuku iho were contested and sometimes strategically altered to suit alliances, revealing the challenge to memory when in the heat of cross examination.

This contesting of the truth of narrative will again be evidenced in **6.8 Te Waikōpiro**.

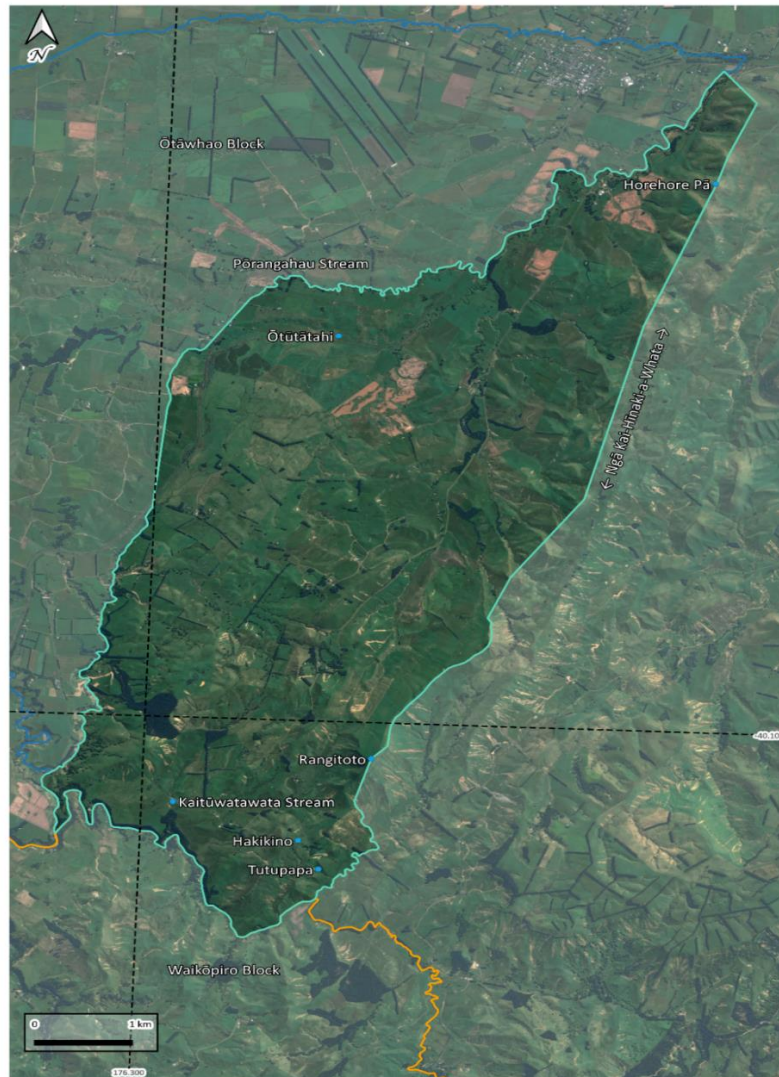
6.4 Whenuahou

This case was heard in Napier on the 20/10/1883 and involved 7077 acres. The land block shares a border with the Ōtāwhao and Waikōpiro blocks. This case also contains rich narrative of whakapapa and historical connection, which was strongly contested and, in some instances, strategically altered to suit alliances, revealing the fragility of memory when under pressure of cross examination. The case opened with Hēnare Tōmoana, seeking an adjournment to the Monday [the case was held on a Saturday]. The judge, Edward Walter Puckey said that time was limited and was desirous to continue. All the parties involved sought an adjournment until 2pm which was agreed on then at 2pm both Hēnare Tōmoana and Hōri Niania requested an adjournment until Monday which was agreed to with the wish that the time in the interim “would not be wasted.”

Tūpuna who spoke in this case were, Hēnare Tōmoana, Pāora Rōpiha, Eru Te Hopu, Meihana Tākihi, Arapeta Meha, Rupuha Te Ngairo, Pine Te, Īhāia Hūtana, Horomona Te Rangapāora, Retimana Te Wharehaunga and Arihi Te Nahu.

Figure 48:

Whenuahou block showing shared borders with Ōtāwhao and Waikōpiro block



6.4.1 Pāora Rōpiha

Pāora Rōpiha (1883b, p. 259) opened under cross examination by Hēnare Tōmoana and explained how he prevented the land from being sold by Karaitiana Takamoana then mentioned that he had cultivations on the land, and spoke about two urupā,

“Ōtūpaka is the name of the cultivation spot of mine on this land. My father [Rōpiha] made the cultivation. Rōpiha cultivated after return from Nukutaurua. The descendants of Toro-i-waho lived there also with Rōpiha, Te Tāhana was one, Te Horomona Rongo-pārae, Kawekawe, Pāteriki Hawaiki, Te Kātene and Raharuhi Kōuka. Those are all I know of. These people left this cultivation and went to Nukutaurua. Te Tohu is a relative of mine buried there, close to Rangitoto. I have another burial ground at Te Kōau, Papakia is buried there, Te

Koru is another, Te Iki plus a great many others. Rangitoto pointed out on map and marked 1A, It is a bush hill. Te Kōau (marked 2A) is a pā These are the only two places I know of where people are buried”.

Pāora then spoke about his right of claim,

“I don’t base my claim to this land through the dead people buried there alone. I claim through other sources. Firstly, through my tūpuna, Para-kiore and Rangitāne. My tūpuna have also pā on this land. Te Kātea is the name of one pā. Waitangi, Taipuaapa, Tutupapa, Hakikino, Kōrako. All of these pā are within the boundaries of block before the court ... Para-kiore was the principal man of these pā... some of the hapū who have lived in the pā are Para-kiore, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toro-i-waho”.

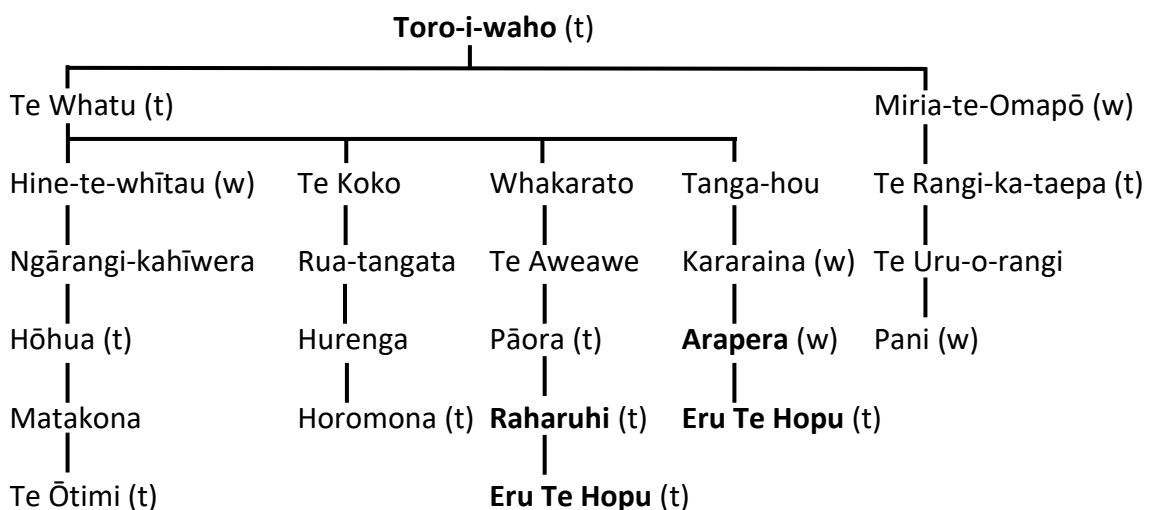
Pāora then disputed the claim of Te Rehunga and his descendants,

“None of the descendants of Te Rehunga occupied these pā unless it is Hōri [Niania]. I dispute the mana of Te Rehunga who are striving to come into this block... Rupuha and his relatives are some of those I object to, they have no right to this land though they are descendants of Toro-i-waho, and have lived on the land... Ngāi Tangihia is the correct name of the hapū of Rupuha... My father [Rōpiha] went on to this block on his return from Nukutaurua. We went from Whenuahou to Nukutaurua”.

After Pāora Rōpiha spoke Eru te Hopu (1883, pp. 264-265) of Ngāi Toro-i-waho spoke, gave his whakapapa then disputed all that Pāora said, also disputed the boundary line, then he placed Toro-i-waho as principal man. His parents were Raharuhi and Arapera,

Figure 49:

Whakapapa showing Eru Te Hopu parents and connection to Toro-i-waho



“We are on the land since the gift of Tama-i-waho... I was told by my parents that they lived on this land. Kararaina my mother is buried on this land [the whakapapa given by Eru shows Kararaina as his grandmother] ... I did not hear Pāora disputing the right of Te Rehunga at the time of the Railway investigation. Raharuhi is my father, Pāora Te Ngairo is the father of Raharuhi and Te Aweawe is the father of Pāora Te Ngairo. I deny the descendants of Para-kiore and Ngāi Tahu to this land. I also deny that Pāora [Rōpiha] has these pā on this land, they belong to Toro-i-waho. The names of the pā given by Pāora are correct but do not belong to him ... The line on plan before the Court dividing Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou is wrong. I said that Toro-i-waho had the biggest mana over this land, yesterday, and I maintain it”.

6.4.2 He rautaki

Some of those who gave evidence in the land cases—not restricted to the Tamatea land block cases—sometimes gave evidence to suit their own motives and/or to assist relatives or those who had influence. Although Eru Te Hopu refuted the evidence given by Pāora Rōpiha in this particular case Whenuahou No. 1 Title Investigation (7077 acres), three years later in the Whenuahou A Partition case (6314 Acres) the Court reminded him of his turn around and admonished him for his change of narrative,

“Note: Witness evidence at the first hearing of this block was read to him and he admits that his present evidence is at variance with it, because circumstances have now altered between Hōri [Niania] and Pāora [Rōpiha].

The Court: informs the witness that this evidence is of no value whatever and severely reprimanded him for his gross falsehood before the Court” (Court, 1886, p. 30).

My initial purpose in reading the cases pertaining to each block was to gather narratives of land and the language placed on the land by tūpuna. In this specific case, Whenuahou No. 1 Title Investigation (7077 acres), my analysis of this case is that whakapapa, people connection and hearsay rather than connection to land and knowledge of specific places remained a contentious issue.

6.4.3 Te kōpua kānapanapa

In gathering narrative about the language on the land the Te Kōpua settlement was mentioned. The place Te Kōpua and its well-known story appears all the cases for the respective land blocks as was the basis of providing proof for mana whenua by many kaumātua of the time. Following are a sample of those narratives from the various cases,

He [Tama-i-waho] considered the number of people followers of Manawakawa and said to Te Rehunga, “My lands will not go to you, but rather to the people of many houses, the hapū of Manawakawa.” Te Rehunga replied, “Though I am few in numbers I come from a shining centre.” Te Kōpua means a deep pool. He meant they did not come from shallow water. He was a great chief. Te Kōpua on the railway line took its name from this circumstance (Īhāia Hūtana, 1889, p. 4).

When they arrived a Pakaroa, Manawakawa and Te Rehunga each erected temporary houses, Tama-i-waho then gave this feast (Ngā tau tuku roa), during this feast Tama-i-waho said to Te Rehunga,

“Your wharau [house, temporary shelter] is very small, my land will not be taken by it, but by that of Manawakawa which is larger.” Te Rehunga replied, “Although my house is small I come from the shining centre – “Kōpua kānapanapa” Inia Whangataua (1889b, p. 7).

Te Teira Tiakitai on being cross examined by Lewis,

“On arrival [at Pakaroa] there the visitors erected shelters. Three temporary houses were put up, one belonged to Te Rehunga, one to Manawakawa and one to Rangi-koia-anake. Tama-i-waho went to the shelter of Te Rehunga and asked him to come outside – He did so and Tama-i-waho said to him “In my opinion my land will not go to you but to the more numerous Manawakawa and Rangi-koia-anake. Te Rehunga said, “Do not consider the smallness of my house – I come from the shining centre.”

“Kaua koe e titiro ki te iti o tōku wharau. Ahakoa iti i haere mai ahau i Te Kōpua Kānapanapa”

Do not judge by the smallness of my shelter for I am one coming from the dark deep pool.” This meant that he [Te Rehunga] was a man of rank, of mana and has many under him to obey his commands” (1889b, p. 9).

The reply of Te Rehunga to Tama-i-waho “*Kaua koe e titiro ki te iti o tōku wharau. Ahakoa iti i haere mai ahau i Te Kōpua Kānapanapa*” is a good example of a whakatauākī, a proverb where it is known who uttered the words, known in modern terms as a quote.

Hōri Niania had a different take on the origin of the name,

“From a remark made at Pukeroa, Te Waiwai said Te Rehunga would not get his lands, he said, “You will not get my lands, your house is too small, my lands will go to those with large houses... That remark made by Te Rehunga is not the origin of the name of the block of that name near this land. The origin of Te Kōpua was from Whata fishing for eels there and placing his net there for that purpose. The eel pots are still there. Whata was not a man but a god” (1883b, p. 10).

The narrative surrounding the place name Te Kōpua demonstrates how whakatauākī placed on the land by tūpuna provided identity and authority. Metaphors like this accentuated the intimacy tūpuna had to land and was never viewed as ‘property’—it was, it is and forever will be a living archive of tūpuna histories and their voices.

6.4.4 Te whakatau

The judgement given in this case for Whenuahou No. 1 Title Investigation begins, “This is an application made by Hēnare Tōmoana and others to this Court to determine the owners according to Native custom of the Whenuahou block containing 7077 acres.” The phrase “according to Native custom” is a misnomer as the whole process was determined under colonial law in a courthouse run by European Judges and distant from the papa kāinga of the hapū. I leave it to the Waipawa Mail to summarise,

Figure 50:

Waipawa Mail pg. 2, 26 October 1883

NATIVE LANDS COURT.—At this Court on Monday, decision was given in the matter of the dispute over the Otawhao block, Takapau. Claim was made by Henare Tomoana and others to obtain possession of the block, the repellants being Hori Nia Nia and Piora Ropiha, on behalf of their respective tribes. Henare Tomoana conducted his own case, and Te Peeti te Aweawe appeared on behalf of repellants. The case was decided in favor of Hori Nia Nia and Hineipaketia. The tribes of Ngaitahu and Tekikiri were also admitted to have claims on the block, but the Rangatane tribe had no claim whatever. On account, however, of Karaitiana Takamona withholding all the land from sale, the Court awards one-twentieth of the block, not to exceed 500 acres, to the heirs of Hawea and Karaha. In the action brought by Henare Tomoana against the same parties to obtain possession of the Whenuahou block, Takapau, judgment was given on Wednesday. The decision is generally in favor of Hori Nia Nia and Hineipaketia, also in part to Ngoitekikiri. The following tribes also, on proving their claims as to ancestry and actual occupation, have a share in the land:—Ngaitorowaiho, Parakioro, Ngaitahu, and Ngatingarengare. The Court was engaged yesterday in enrolling the names of those persons who belong to the above tribes.

In summary the interrelationships of tūpuna and the land in the Whenuahou case emphasised,

1. Connection to the land through events and through whakatauākī made by prominent tūpuna became part of the memory of the land
2. The importance of occupation in determining a relationship with the land and its voice reflected both historical connection through the language on the land and connection through the language of law.
3. Those who could prove a relationship either by themselves or their parents, were entitled to come in as owners along with those found to be the principal owners of the block.

4. There were many versions of singular events, but agreement was met through a common thread in the narrative

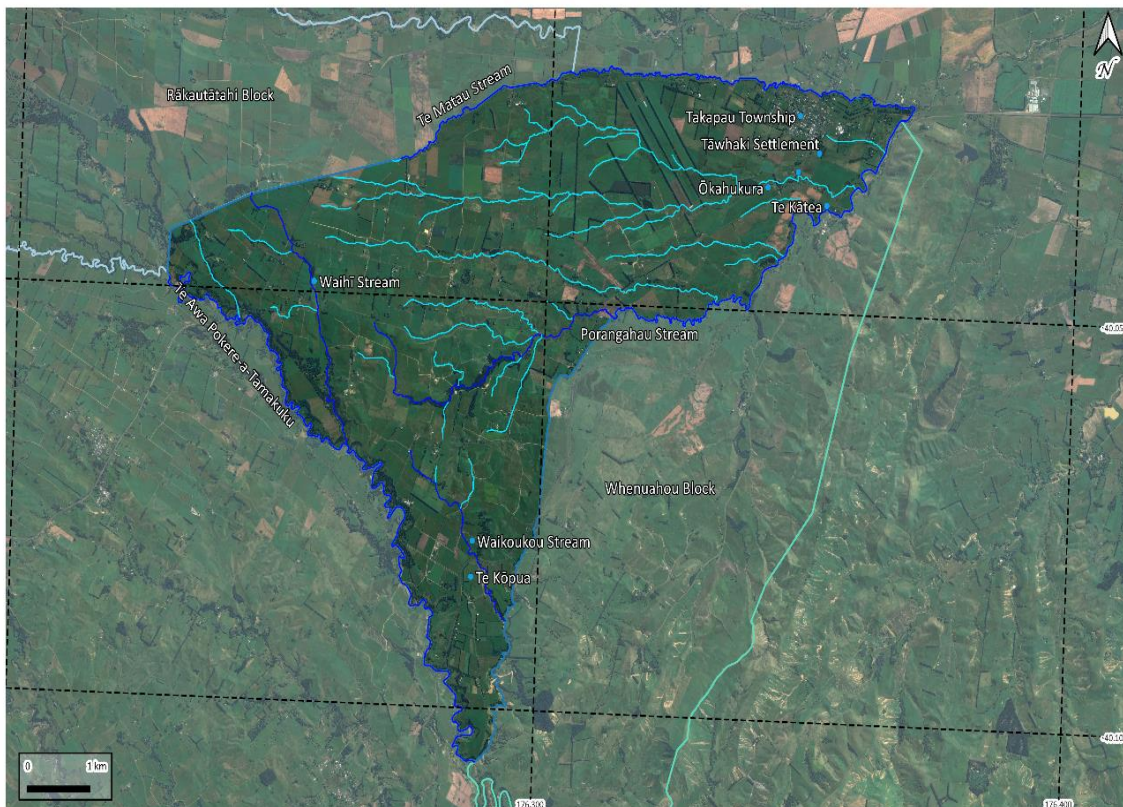
The next case was the Ōtāwhao case held one month later.

6.5 Ōtāwhao

The main Ōtāwhao block case was heard in Napier on the 11/11/1883, ten months after the Railway hearing. This block was part of the gift of Te Whatu-i-āpiti to Hika-rere-pari and Tama-i-waho.

Figure 51:

Ōtāwhao block showing the many waterways that existed but now exist as a mere trace



I have chosen to identify the streams that flowed on the Ōtāwhao block to illustrate the sad loss of the language as the names of many of those streams are lost forever. Ben Jolly explains the technical process,

“The streams are from the NZ River Name Lines (Pilot) layer from LINZ (Toitū Te Whenua, 2024). That layer was then brought into the “QGIS” GIS software package which I used to make the maps. All the streams have a “name” field, but for most this field is blank meaning LINZ has no recorded name for that stream in the New Zealand Gazetteer (the official LINZ repository of all place names). The NZ Gazetteer was double-checked see and all named streams are shown on the Ōtāwhao block with no surprise extras.”

The claim to this block was brought by Hēnare Tōmoana and others. The counter claimants were Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kikiri and Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti. Hēnare Tōmoana directed the case on behalf of himself and his claimants, and Peeti Te Aweawe on account of all the counterclaimants except Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti who were represented by Rēnata Puketutu.

The kaumātua who gave evidence were Karaitiana Korou, Hōri Niania, and Pāora Rōpiha for Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Para-kiore of Ngāti Toro-i-waho and Rangitāne Peeti Te Aweawe and Hōri Niania guided the case for Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāi Toro-i-waho and Ngāi Tahu. Rēnata Puketutu is recorded as “conductor”, as spokesperson, who presented the case for Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Ngāti Te Kirikiri [Kikiri]. Te Teira Tiakitai, and Hēnare Matua for Ngāti Te Rehunga.

6.5.1 Whakatakoto kōrero

The evidence provided by Karaitiana Korou followed the narrative regarding Tama-i-waho similar to that given in the Ōtāwhao Railway Line case and extended to the Piripiri fight where Rangitāne was victorious. Karaitiana also voiced his disapproval of the right

of Tama-i-waho to gift the land. He supported the right of Ngāi Tahu to the land, “up to the present time the Ngāi Tahu have been living on this land since their return from Nukutaurua [around 1843]. Hōri Niania stated, “We returned from there [Nukutaurua] about this time myself and my hapū came back in 1847.” He also mentioned the two prominent urupā Ōkahukura, still in use today and another called Takapau and the right of the ancestress Tāwhiri-toroa who held mana over the land. Hōri Niania explained how Pareihe obtained the land of Ōtāwhao through a gift by Te Kaihou because Pareihe avenged the death of her brothers at the Mangatoetoe fight by defeating the descendants of Rangi-totohu at Pukekaihou.

Pāora Rōpiha established his right to the Ōtāwhao block through Para-kiore who is a descendant of Rangitāne as given by Karaitiana on a former occasion.

“And the fact that the pā Te Kātea belonged to Para-kiore as he built it for protection... It [Te Kātea pā] is on the boundary line of Ōtāwhao, I pointed it out or the boundary line of the block before the court. By boundary line I mean the line between Whenuahou and Ōtāwhao. The boundary line between these two blocks is a creek, namely Porangahau ... that creek is the ancient boundary between Whenuahou and Ōtāwhao. Pāora also shared the narrative when Te Rehunga came to mark out boundaries Para-kiore challenged him to a fight with Te Rehunga refusing and fleeing to Heretaunga. Te Rehunga returned again with calabashes of preserved birds. The calabashes belonged to Te Kikiri and Pakaru and Para-kiore smashed them and on turning to kill the bringers of the calabashes they fled never to return” (1883a, p. 17).

The sales made by Hōri Niania and Hine-paketia were mentioned by Pāora to consolidate his mana,

“I was powerful enough to interfere with his [Hōri] sales, my power in that instance was being able to refund the money paid by the Government to Hōri Niania. The money was raised from the adjoining blocks outside of this land. I gave the money to Karaitiana to hand to the Government as he was connected with the Government and a descendant of Te Rehunga. Karaitiana gave his objection to the sale, and I gave mine. Ōmarutāiri is the place Karaitiana and myself strove to have excluded from being sold.”

Rēnata Puketutu spoke at length about battles, a prophet named Toroa and his prediction regarding Waikato and the Pakake pā in Ahuriri, about Pareihe taking Hōri Niania and Hine-paketia to Nukutaurua, about peace being made between hapū and the feared Ngāti Upokoiri. Rēnata finished his talk with the following words, “I have no claim, I only want the Court to see the amount of courage that my tūpuna have shewn” (1883, pp. 27-31).

Te Teira Tiakitai presented his case based on the gift of Te Kaihou to Pareihe and refuted the mana of Rangitāne but then included Ngāi Te Rua-tōtara who is Rangitāne and as stated by Te Teira, “these hapū went on to this land with Toro-i-waho and Kaiwaru” (p.32). During cross examination by Peeti te Aweawe he revealed his knowledge was from hearsay regarding the Rangitāne connection of Toro-i-waho and Para-kiore,

“I say that Rangitāne have no mana over this land, Rangitāne, Para-kiore, Ngāi Toro-i-waho have no mana over the land through Rangitāne, Ngāi Toro-i-waho and Para-kiore have mana over this land through Ngāti Kahungunu but not through Rangitāne, I never knew until the other day when I heard it here in the Court that they were Rangitāne, I only know by hearsay that those declared to be Rangitāne as such... Hōri stated that he had mana on his Rangitāne side” (1883, p. 34).

Te Teira was another person claiming land through whakapapa but not through residing on the land, so he was considered ahi mātaotao. He mentioned people who cultivated on the land but provided no actual places. He later confirms this when giving evidence in the Waikōpiro case, “I say it is custom nowadays for only certain people to live on the land. Some set up claims who have never seen the land. They depend on others for information” (1889f, p. 5).

Hēnare Matua spoke about the mana over Ōtāwhao and stated that Rangitāne had no mana and only had mana through Kahungunu, but got confused as to the reason Tama-i-waho was killed, he also did not know who owned Te Kātea pā and spoke in general terms rather than specific knowledge,

“Kahungunu was the man who owned the whole of this island, Rangitāne through Kahungunu have no right to this land, Rangitāne and Whata and all the people in this Court are descendants of him ... I never heard that the gift of Tama-i-waho was ever disputed, I have heard that Tama-i-waho was killed but not for having given this land away to Te Rehunga, he was killed out of revenge by Rangitāne, Tama-i-waho belonged to Rangitāne. I have heard of the pā Te Kātea, it's an old pā and I don't know who owned it as several have lived there, Para-kiore lived there but not on any grounds of claim that he had to it, he was merely asked to come there to assist in fights” (1883b, pp. 38-39).

Hōri Herehere in sharing his extensive knowledge of war parties that attacked the pā Te Reinga-o-Mahuru see talked about a Ngāti Kahungunu war party from Te Wairarapa led by Pūrākau and Kawe-kairangi. Te Reinga-o-Mahuru was not taken,

“The war party went on and attacked Te Kātea. They found Ngāi Tahu there – Te Kātea is at Takapau – They took Te Kātea pā – Some of the inhabitants escaped and some were captured. All those that were captured were spared by Te Rangi-ka-taepa because he was married to the sister of Tūhua, Te Hoko. When Te Rōpiha saw that all Ngāi Tahu had been spared he went and killed the sister of Whangataua, Te Wao. Te Rangi-ka-taepa joined the war party because he was still fighting against Pareihe under whom Ngāi Tahu were at the time. Te Kātea belonged to Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Toro-i-waho—principally to Ngāi Toro-i-waho” (1889, p. 8). See **6.8.4 Te Reinga-o-Mahuru**.

On speaking directly to Peeti Te Aweawe, (1883a, p. 41) Hōri talks about Rangitāne the tupuna of Peeti,

“Rangitāne have no claim to this block, Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua is the district name of this land, I am not aware that it belongs to Rangitāne. I know that in the year 1870 you passed land through the Court outside of this block under the name of Tāmaki. I did not know that the statement of Meihana [Tākihi] was substantiated by Te Hāpuku that Tama-i-waho was killed for the gift of this land. The one end was awarded to Rangitāne and the other to Ngāti Mārau, this end of the Tāmaki block. The Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāti Mārau, Ngāti Rua-tōtara got in through their tūpuna”.

6.5.2 Whakatau o mua

The judgement passed included the words,

“When the evidence is conflicting it is not always easy for the Court to say who is speaking the truth and who is not, but it appears to the Court ... It now remains with the Court to say in its judgement who are the owners, and it will proceed to say so in as few as words as possible and it bases its decision on both ancestry, occupation, and mana, which is a matter of great importance from a Māori point of view.”

The Chief Judge, James Edwin MacDonald in summing up the case explained the connection between this case and the Ōtāwhao Railway Line case,

“Having just decided in the present case it is right that we should make reference to the fact that in the case of the “Railway Line” land involving practically the same question of right title as this, the Court came to a conclusion in a great measure contrary to that now arrived at.

The explanation is this, that in the present proceeding the counter claimants have put their case as to the evidence in a more satisfactory position, than they were able or took the trouble to do at the earlier hearing” MacDonald (1883).

The judge’s words support my initial thinking in regard to the evidence given by some of those who spoke in both cases was based more on whakapapa rather than occupation of the land and mahinga kai, urupā, and pā. The question to ask is whether those tūpuna had any knowledge of the language on the land left by previous occupiers?

6.5.3 Taunaki tika

For the language on the Ōtāwhao land block I turn to the evidence of Tanguru Tūhua and his evidence presented not in the initial case of 1883 but in the Enquiry-Partition-

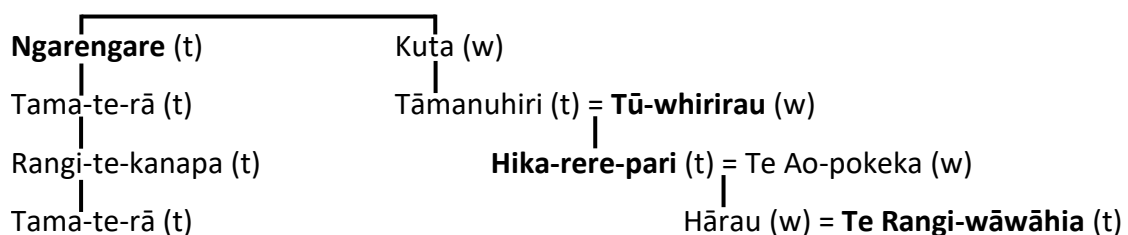
Succession case of 1892 regarding 6,233 acres spread over blocks Ōtāwhao A, A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, A7, A8, A9, A10 and A11.

What I noticed reading through the evidence from the initial 3 cases for the Ōtāwhao Railway Line, Whenuahou and Ōtāwhao Title Investigation in 1883 through to the Waikōpiro case of 1889 and the Rākau-tātahi case of 1891 is that tūpuna became more proficient at providing the “right” type of evidence, evidence that reflected knowledge of the land and its stories. The evidence provided by Tanguru Tuhua (1892) case begins with him listing his hapū, Ngāti Kikiri, Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Ngāti Ngarengare and Ngāi Tahu. When asked to explain “who are Ngāti Ngarengare?”, he responded,

“I mean the Ngarengare descended from the sister of Te Rehunga, Te Hei Taramea. They are also of Ngāi Tahu, known as such. Another Ngarengare were descendants of the wife of Te Rehunga from Rangitāne [Te Hore] whose daughter was Te Ahi-kāuru, known as Ngāi Tahu. Another section of them are descendants of Hine-iwi who married Toro-i-waho, they are known as Ngāi Toro-i-waho”, (p.2)

Figure 52:

Whakapapa: Ngarengare to Hika-rere-pari through his sister Kuta



Whakapapa in this case is asserted by knowledge of the land, he kapunga oneone (*a handful of earth*).

6.5.4 He kapunga oneone

Tanguru then provides the names of 113 sites, which he reiterates are “the signs of our occupation”, and “on our return our elders showed us these places”. The numbers in brackets after place names refers to a number that was placed on “the plan” [the map] that is not available for this research, the whereabouts of that map is not known by me. I have included the numbers in the eventual possibility by some miracle that the original map turns up. The letters ‘NoM’ [Name on Map] after place names refer to places that were written on the map.

Tanguru lists 34 kāinga and he distinguishes between a ‘kāinga’ and a settlement, it appears that the term kāinga had a broad meaning to include any place where tūpuna inhabited or worked a mahinga kai. The cultivations mentioned by Tanguru grew modern vegetables, wheat, potatoes, oats, maize, cabbage, and carrots. There is no mention of what was grown or gathered in ancient times such as aruhe, tī kōuka, tāwhara, and pikopiko which suggests that cultivations were post-colonial. The only mention of an uncultivated food was the ‘wild cabbage’, an introduced plant growing on Puke-rangiora.

Only a few of the kāinga had houses. There is a distinction made between ancient settlements and more modern ones. Some kāinga, Te Kororā, Ōtōtoto, and Paki-hau were also bird snaring places, or tracks, and in the case of Ōkahukura which was a kāinga, but is now the permanent urupā used nowadays by Ngāi Tahu.

An interesting comment, almost an aside made by Tanguru but very important in terms of tūpuna moving away from their traditional kāinga—in this case moving from tradition kāinga to Takapau in 1866 “for the sake of prayers”.

Listed are 11 bird snaring places and one place where kākā were speared, Te Mauī-a-Torea. The names of the wāhi tāhere manu and rākau tāhere manu (*snaring trees*) informs us that the people who lived on the Ōtāwhao block caught a variety of birds from, weka to kākāriki, to kōkako, to kākā. Some streams were also a source for snaring birds such as Ōrangi-taua.

Other places listed are 5 urupā, including the ancient method of interning people in caves, 10 pā tuna on the many streams on Ōtāwhao, 6 pou rāhui and their narrative, 14 mangawai, 21 ara kiore (*rat track*) which suggests that the kiore was a prominent food source along with manu and tuna.

The full list has been taken from the evidence provided by Tanguru Tūhua with a precautionary note that some of the names may be incorrect due to the handwriting of the recorder or due to their ability to correctly hear the names that were spoken. I have recorded names of tūpuna and wāhi to my best ability and my understanding of te reo Māori. I will leave future research and correction, if need be, of the names of tūpuna that don't appear on whakapapa and their narratives not found on other written resources, for the direct descendants of those who walked the lands of Ōtāwhao, the mana tangata who left their oral footprints mana reo on the land to consolidate their

connection, mana whenua. Placenames and oral traditions are not just memories but living expressions of belonging to the land, kia toitū te whenua.

6.6 Toitū te whenua

The following locations are grouped under purpose of land use whilst remembering that the term 'kāinga' was interchangeable and appears to have been used by tūpuna to identify any piece of land or stretch of water that was lived on or worked on for the gathering of food, or defence.

Kāinga

Te Riponga (1)

A locality on the banks of the Porangahau stream. It belonged to Horomona and us [Ngāi Tahu] after the return from Nukutaurua – Maaka Whangataua, Hiraka Tūhua, Ahipene Manawa – It was deserted it in 1868.

Ko Tātai-whetū (2)

An ancient kāinga close to Te Riponga. It was formed after the gift by Tama-i-waho and occupied by Hine-i-waikura, Te Kekehu. It belonged to Ngāti Ngarengare at the time of the gift ... It was deserted at the time Rangitāne was defeated there. Hine-i-iri and those mentioned were tūpuna of Ngāti Ngarengare.

Te Whītau-a-Kumia

A settlement which belonged to Ngāti Kikiri, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Tama-i-waho and Ngāti Ngarengare, it was formed before Te Kikiri. It is a settlement at present and has cultivations which belonged to Hōri [Niania] and ourselves. There are houses which belonged to Anaru Te Roroku, Te Ngaera Pita, Hiraka Tūhua, Horomona Rongo-pārae, Emiri Tiweta. There are houses a short distance from those of Irimana Tūhua, Tamehana Kauhanga, Eru Te Hopu. We have cultivations all over that place.

Ōkahukura (3)

A large settlement which belonged to Ngāti Te Kikiri, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Ngāti Ngarengare. It was an old settlement before Tama-i-waho and until the time of the gift these hapū occupied it. The principal houses were Whakarongo-tū, Tahito-kao-ware.

The hapū who occupied this settlement before the gift were the Ngāi Tahu to whom Tama-i-waho belongs. Whakarongo-tū was built in the time of Te Kikiri, they were living with Ngāi Tahu. Tahito-kao-ware is comparatively modern. It was built by Tahana Tahito and his family. Hēmi Te Uranga was the most constant resident there.

Huanui-a-rangi (4)

Close to Ōkahukura – a kāinga built shortly after the gift of Tama-i-waho. It belonged to Ngāti te Kikiri, a section of Te Opekai of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Ngarengare, a section of Roroku and Ngāi Toro-i-waho. It is occupied at the time of the court case 1883, there were two large houses. One, Niu-paramata was burnt down, the other was Tāwhaki. Tāwhaki was built in 1883 about the time Ōtāwhao was heard, after the judgement was given. Niu-paramata was rebuilt in 1886. These houses belonged to Hōri [Niania] and Ngāi Tahu.

Te Takapau (5)

A kāinga, it belongs to Ngāti te Kikiri and Ngāi Tahu. Hāwea Kai-ngata and Wikitōria Kanohi-tūhanga occupied it and also the descendants of Te Opekai, Te Iwi Kai-ngata, Para-houhou and the descendants of Mārunga[o-te-rangi] and Papa-kea, Ngāti Ngarengare, i.e. the section of Te Roroku also lived there. It was abandoned at the time of the heke to Nukutaurua [1823] but re-occupied when we returned. We are not cultivating there now. I forget when we ceased cultivating there, it was after the land passed through the court. Inia Whangataua was the last person to cultivate there.

Te Rongo-o-Marama (6)

Located a short distance from Te Takapau. An ancient kāinga in the time of Tama-i-waho and his children. At the time of the gift, it was occupied by Te Rehunga and Manawakawa. When they returned to Heretaunga their hapū continued to reside there, i.e. Ngāti Te Kikiri, a section of Hāwea and Kanohi-tūhanga, Ngāi Tahu and the descendants of Te Opekai and also the descendants of Mārunga[o-te-rangi] and Papa-kea. On return from Nukutaurua the people did not live there but cultivated on it. Inia Whangataua Oriwia and Hōri cultivated there last. Rangi-tātaia named the house of the same name.

Hikurangi (7)

A kāinga, opposite the track to Te Rongo-o-Marama, it was a pā in the time of Tama-i-waho and occupied by Te Rehunga and Manawakawa at the time of the gift. It was not occupied after the heke to Nukutaurua or at the time of the case. Ahi-taina and Ngāi Tahu were the last people to occupy. There were cultivations there from 1855 to 1870 and then abandoned.

Te Wai-manu (8)

An ancient kāinga, a little beyond Hikurangi. It was in the time of Te Kikiri, Ngāi Tahu and Toro-i-waho. It was abandoned in 1865. Ahipene and Horomona were the last to live there.

Ō-te-rango (9)

A kāinga, also called Pū-taiore. it belonged to Ngāti Te Kikiri and Ngāi Toro-i-waho. The Tanguru section of Ngai Tahu did not live there. The owners were Kanohi-tūhanga and Ngāi Toro-i-waho. It was occupied until the heke. It was cultivated after the return from Nukutaurua but was not lived on. Tanguru cultivated at Pakiaka and Kūao-pongo (10) and had a house there made of slabs of timber sunk in the ground, but it was burnt down. When the people moved to Ōkahukura they ceased cultivating there.

Tau-maihi (11)

A very old kāinga. It belonged to Para-houhou down to Tūhua [the father of |Tanguru]. It was abandoned at the heke, but re-occupied in 1870 by Iri-mana Tūhua, he had houses and cultivations there. A European occupied the house which went with the lease of the land.

Ōtekena (NoM)

A kāinga Ngāti Te Kikiri owned it and the Te Pata-o-te-rangi section and also the Tāwhare section of Ngāi Tahu. It was abandoned at the heke Ngāti Te Kikiri and the children of Hōri went to cultivate there in 1870, wheat, potatoes, oats, and maize. Those cultivations were known by all in the district. They did not exist at the time of the case.

Te Rakehou (12)

A kāinga and cultivation which belonged to Ngāti Ngarengare the section of Te Ahi-kauri, daughter of Te Rehunga by his Rangitāne wife [Te Hore] to Hine-ao-riki. It was abandoned at the heke. In 1863 Ahipene Hiraka and Tanguru felled the timber and cultivated there. Manihera Perohuka and Oriwia Te Hōri, Hataraka Pōhutu and my mother also cultivated there. Planting ceased in 1866 and the people lived together at Te Takapau “for the sake of prayers”. Manihera was a Ngāti Mārau and husband of Oriwia Te Hōri, a relative of ours. Hataraka Pōhutu was of Ngāti Mārau. It was a Tanguru relative that invited him there to assist in planting, but he had no right there.

Upoko-o-ngāwā (13)

A kāinga and cultivation which belonged to Ngāti Te Kikiri, the section of Kanohi-tūhanga and Ngāi Toro-i-waho represented by Parāone Te Hapū. It was a temporary kāinga while

cultivating took place but was abandoned at the time of the heke. The above kāinga were all the kāinga located at the northern end of the block.

Kiriwai (NoM)

This kāinga belonged to Ngāi Tahu, a large settlement before the heke. It was occupied in 1883. There was a cultivation there, houses and fences. The cultivations belonged to Hiraka [Tūhua], Ngaera Pita, Tamehana Kauhanga, Eru Te Hopu, and Anaru Te Roroku.

Kai-te-rua (14)

A very large settlement in older times. It belonged to Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Te Kikiri, and the Te Roroku section of Ngāti Ngarengare. A large settlement in the time of Tama-i-waho down to the heke but not occupied after that. Tūhua [father of Tanguru], Kanohi-tūhanga, Kereopa Te Hei, Tahana Tahito and others were the last to live there.

Tūtai-heka-nui

Near Kai-te-rua but was not placed correctly on the map. It was near the banks of the Ōhine-kota (15) and belonged to Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Ngarengare, the Mārunga and Papa-kea section of Ngāi Tahu, Te Opekai, and the Ngarengare section of Te Roroku. It was a residential kāinga, an old kāinga from the time of Tama-i-waho.

Ōtōtoto (NoM)

A kāinga of Ngāi Tahu and Toro-i-waho, Ngāti Te Kikiri and the Matua-waipū section of Ngāti Ngarengare, it was a kāinga for catching birds. It was abandoned at the time of the heke and not occupied after. It was used by Horomona and others.

Te Whare-o-Panake (17)

Near Ōtōtoto. A permanent settlement of Ngāti Te Kikiri and Ngāi Toro-i-waho. Ngāi Tahu of which Tanguru belonged to have no right there. Kanohi-tūhanga lived there and her hapū, Pire and others. The elders of Rupuha lived there. It was abandoned at the time of the heke and never occupied after that, except when shooting.

Te Whareumu-a-Tama-kaiwhare (18)

An extensive and permanent settlement of Ngāi Tahu, Te Wāwāhanga and Te Opekai and the Te Ahi-kauri section of Ngāti Ngarengare. It was abandoned at the time of the heke.

Motu-a-Maea (19)

A permanent kāinga and a cultivation of Te Opekai and her descendants, Te Iwi-kai-ngata, Ngāpū, Para, Te Ahi-kauri. It was abandoned at the time of the heke. We have been there shooting.

Mati-tao (20)

A kāinga, residential and a cultivation, it belonged to Mārunga a Papa-kea section of Ngāi Tahu and was abandoned at the heke in the time of Horomona and his brothers. Oriwia Te Hōri also occupied there before her marriage to Manihera of Ngāti Mārau.

Kaipū (21)

A kāinga, a large settlement at the exit of the bush, a permanent settlement which belonged to Ngāi Tahu and Te Opekai giving all her descendants a right there. It also belonged to Ngāti Te Kikiri, Kanohi-tūhanga, Hāwea Kaitangata and Ahi-kauri section of Ngāti Ngarengare. It was abandoned at the time of the heke and not occupied after the return.

Te Kōpua (NoM)

A kāinga, a locality which belonged to the Kai-o-Pitana section of Ngāti Ngarengare and his son Te Roroku, Ngāti Te Kikiri i.e. Hāwea Kaitangata, Kanohi-tūhanga, and Te Opekai section of Ngāi Tahu. It is a very old kāinga, long before Tama-i-waho and the gift. It was abandoned at the heke. It was re-occupied the return from Nukutaurua and was occupied at the time of the case. Irimana, Tanguru and family, Pane-te-ururangi, Ahipene occupied it permanently. They had weatherboard houses there. They cultivated on Kōpua and Tanguru kept sheep 3900 there from 1871. He had to sell all of them when Rākau-tātahi and Ngāpaeruru went through the court [1891]. Tanguru had three houses at Te Kōpua, he built one himself, Iri-mana built one and some sheep yards i.e. the woolshed. Hōri, Hiraka and Irimana bought the other house from Wilding. Food cultivated there were potatoes, cabbage, carrots, maize.

Te Papa-a-Ruamano (22)

A permanent kāinga of Te Rehunga and Manawakawa, Te Roroku, Te Kikiri, Hāwea Kaitangata, Kanohi-tūhanga and the Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Toro-i-waho hapū. It was first occupied and a house Papa-o-Ruamano built there in the time of Te Rehunga. Tāwhiri-toroa had a right to that house. It was abandoned at the heke when Tūhua was living there.

Tahitahu (23)

A kāinga of which belonged to Tore and Ngārangi-e-nganga, they were elder brothers of Tūhua. It was abandoned in the time of Tūhua. A large house was there called Whakarongo-tāiaia. The remains of the house could not be seen as it was rooted up by wild pigs.

Paki-hau (24)

A kāinga which belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa, Ngāti Te Kikiri, Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Ngāi Tahu, and the Rangi-ka-taepa section of Ngāti Ngarengare. Tūhua was also an owner there. It was a kāinga used when catching birds, it was a permanent settlement but abandoned about the time of the heke.

Kahukura-a-Taraia (25)

A very large kāinga which belonged to Rangi-ka-taepa and Ngāi Toro-i-waho. The Tanguru section of Ngāi Tahu had no right there. Tāwhiri-toroa and Piha-iti had rights there. It was abandoned about the time of the heke when all these places were deserted. Pāora Te Ngaero, Wirihihi Matekato a daughter of Whakarata and others lived there. It was re occupied after the return.

Te Kororā (26)

A kāinga near the Porangahau stream which belonged to the Te Opekai section of Ngāi Tahu, the Te Roroku section of Ngāti Ngarengare, Ngāpū child of Te Opekai, and Te Iwi-kai-ngata. It was a bird catching place. It was abandoned in the time of Tūhua and Whangataua at the heke to Nukutaurua and not reoccupied.

Takapuna-hea (4)

A kāinga and an open locality. It belonged to Ngāti Te Kikiri, Hāwea and Kanohi-tūhanga. Tanguru Hiraka and others were the last to live there in 1873. It was close to the stockade erected against Ngāti Mārau. The cultivations were at Ōtekena.

Te Ahi-kōkō-a-Matatarā - A hill and locality.

Te Motu-ngārara - A clump of bush.

Te Kiri-Pāwhare (41) – Was located where two tracks met.

Urupā**Ko Tātai-whetū (2)**

A very old burial ground. Te Hei-taramēa was buried there, also Te Ata-wana-kei-rangi, Hine-iwi, Hine-waikura, Te Kekehu. These are all my father [Tūhua] told me of. They

belonged to Ngāti Ngarengare and are all descendants of the sister of Te Rehunga, Te Hei-tarama.

Huanui-a-rangi (4)

Rā-kuru, Rā-rama, Hine-i-kora of the Te Roroku hapū were buried there in olden times in a cave, a great many others were buried there. A burial ground of recent date is at the same place, Tūhua is buried there and Hōhepa Wiremu, Inia Whangataua, Hōhepa Torohū, Kereopa Te Hei, Nahi Kau-ngātahi, Maaka Whangataua, Kerehi Tūhua, Hine-aoriki, Kerehi Inia, Tuhi-ata Anaru, Koau Anaru, Aporo Hungahunga, Mātenga Kurukore of Ngāti Mārau, Miriama Hēmara nō Waitōtara, she was the younger sister of the wife of Hiraka, Arihi Te Atarangi, a daughter of Miriama Hēmara and others. Te Hei Maaka also buried there as well as Oriwia-te-Hōri who was buried by Tanguru. Hoana Te Hoko and Matariki nō Waimārama.

Ōkahukura (3)

Hine-i-ara, Retimana, Irawaru, Arapata Hōri, son of Hōri Niania, Niniwa-tū-te-rangi daughter of Hōri, Rāpana Wiremu, Te Ōhurenga, Te Aroatua Nīkora, Petaha nō Ngāti Piki-ahu. There were children also buried there. Arapera Te Ngira 2nd wife of Hōri Niania was also buried there. Ngāmotu the grandson of Hōri Niania was buried there.

Te Takapau (5)

Korehe of Ngāi Tahu was buried there, also Nirai of Ngāi Tahu but he was disinterred and taken to Te Kēhou, Te Hā was a place. Te Ngira was partly Ngāi Tahu, Merehana Ngāihi was also taken to Te Kēhou.

Ō-te-rango (9)

Hariata Maha was buried here by Hiraka and Tanguru. She was the wife of Te Kātene of Ngāi Toro-i-waho, she died suddenly and alone. Apikara Kōmau of Rangi-totohu and Rangitāne, she was the foster mother of Kīngi, it is since Kīngi went there to live, these are all I can remember. Ngāti te Kikiri, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāi Toro-i-waho have burial places at Whenuahou and Waikōpiro.

Wāhi tāhere manu

Te Maire (16)

A bird snaring place of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Te Kikiri and Toro-i-waho wrongly placed on the map. Tanguru went there to shoot but never lived there. It was occupied by Hiraka, Horomona and others before the heke.

Kāpui-te-roa (17) - Belonged to Te Kikiri.

Papaka-a-kaumoana (27) - Belonged to Te Roroku.

Horahora-kākahu (28) - Belonged to Papa-kea and his sister Mārunga[-o-te-rangi].

Tīpapa-nui (29) - Te Kikiri and Rangi-ka-taepa of Ngāi Toro-i-waho worked here.

Turi-o-Te Roroku (30) - Belonged to Tūhua and his elder brothers.

Wai-tāhere - A bird snaring water.

Rākau tāhere manu

Kake-wahine

A Kahikatea (white pine) tree at Te Takapau which belonged to Tūhua and Whangataua where parrots were caught.

Te Mauī-a-Torea (31)

A white pine where kākā was speared, it belonged to Torea and Tūhua.

Pū-taiore (9)

A name of a tree and track, it belonged to Ngāti Te Kikiri. Parāone Te Hapū worked there. Kīngi Tohunga lived at Pū-taiore in 1871. Hine-i-paketia took Kīngi there to cultivate for her. When Hine-i-paketia moved to Te Haukē, Ngāi Tahu were angry that Kīngi still resided there so Hine-i-paketia went to Hēmi-te-urunga and Mātenga Kurukore. Hēmi supported Hine-i-paketia but Mātenga wanted nothing to do with saying that Ngāi Tahu should sort it. That is how Kīngi resided there although Tanguru and others opposed it. Only Kīngi and his children live there.

Te Rakehou (12)

A tree and locality it belonged to Ngāpū.

According to Tanguru, there are many other trees, but he had forgotten the names of them.

Pā tuna

Mākirikiri (32) - Stream on map wrongly placed. [I know this stream as it is just outside the present township of Takapau as you head south towards Te Kōpua].

Kōpani turi (32)

Name of weir (was marked on the map with an **X**). It belonged to Kawahanga, elder brother of Te Opekai. Hiraka worked there and the stakes were still visible in 1883 at the time of the court case.

Pakiaka (33)

A weir on the Mākirikiri stream which belonged to Papa-kea the tupuna of Horomona. Hiraka was the only one who worked that weir in 1883.

Mānuka (34)

A weir at the mouth of Pinepine stream where it joins Mākirikiri which belonged to Hāwea Kai-ngata but was not worked after. There were other weirs on Mākirikiri, but Tanguru had forgotten them.

Te Karamū (35)

A trench dug across a bend in the Pinepine stream owned by Te Roroku. Hāwea worked that pā tuna as well as Hiraka.

Te Pōhui (36)

A weir on the Pinepine stream which belonged to Te Iwi-kai-ngata and his son Whangataua. Hēnare Tītiti was seen fishing there in 1863.

Te Rere (37)

On the Matau stream which belonged to Para-houhou, Para-kou II younger brother of Tūhua worked there and Te Pēhi father of Roro-te-pēhi was the last tupuna to work there.

Te Kokoti (38)

A weir higher up the Matau stream which belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa, the brother of Piha-iti Makahua worked it. Tama-iti and Iri-mana worked there as well.

Te Whakapuni (39)

A weir on the Atekera stream called “Te Whakapuni-a-Te Whata”, it belonged to Te Pata, it was a trench and was also worked by Nahi Te Kaunga-tahi.

Te Awariki - On the boundary of Rākau-tātahi [see **Rākau-tātahi map** p. 300].

Te Ahi-tāparapara - A weka snaring place (near **6**) which belonged to Mārunga and Papa-kea.

Te Hakune A track (near **10**) where weka were caught which belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa.

Pou rāhui

Te Kiri-pāwhare - A place where two tracks meet.

Te Pou-a-Te Rehunga (42)

A rāhui post erected by Te Rehunga before his going to Tama-i-waho, to show his possession of the land. He was dividing the land as he put it up. The post of Manawakawa Numia-i-te-rangi was put up on Ōmarutāiri. These posts carried mana with them on account of the gift by Tama-i-waho.

Mahumahu

Kaiwaru a tupuna of Te Kuru put up other posts in the time of Ringa-nohu and others one was it was called Mahumahu which was erected close to Te Takapau.

Whānau

Another post erected by Kaiwaru as Kaiwaru was taking possession of that part, but he failed, and those posts had no mana. Firstly, it was on account of a feast given to Whakatō by Ringa-nohu and the former giving a return feast at the same time at Te Awanga. Ringa-nohu divided it amongst his hapū, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Ngarengare and Ngāi Toro-i-waho, also Ngāi Tūrāhui. When Kaiwaru saw that some valuable mats were presented to him (on his pile) Te Ao-puka-hau son of Te Mārunga took possession of these, Te Ao-puka-hau regained them, they fought and Kaiwaru got worsted, Te Ringa-nohu separated them. It was then Kaiwaru separated with his hapū and came to take possession of this block, this all occurred at Te Awanga when the feasts were given. Te Kaiwaru came with his hapū Ngāti Tūrāhui. Te Ao-puka-hau returned to Takapau. When he and Ngāi Tahu saw these rāhui of Kaiwaru they burnt them and went to the house Rongo-a-marama occupied by Kaiwaru and had a dispute. Hāwea Kai-ngata separated them, The Ngāi Tahu, and the Te Roroku section of Ngāti Ngarengare and Toro-i-waho turned off Kaiwaru who went to Karitaki on Rākau-tātahi. When Te Rangi-koia heard of this, he turned Kaiwaru away from there. Kaiwaru then crossed the Mākāretu and built a pā. Before it was finished a war party sounded at Te Rākau-o-te-atua, blown by Ringa-nohu and Rangi-koia. Kaiwaru left this pā accompanied by his son Materoa and his father Tūtaki-whāki-rangi. Kaiwaru fought at Te Rākau-o-te-atua and his father and son were killed. Kaiwaru was defeated and he went to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru and never came back to this block to live until the period of his death.

Te Kāpuia (44)

Another post which was put up by Takitahi of Rangitāne. It was long after the Tama-i-waho gift in the time of Te Roroku, Makahua and Kanohi-tūhanga. At the time of the

fighting between Para-kiore and Tāhiwi, Rangi-kōrere was killed. Para-kiore gave his shoulder to be eaten by Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Rangitāne heard of this and sent a war party to avenge this insult, Takitahi was their leader. They came to where the post was erected and called it “Te Kāpuia”, it was taking possession of Ōtāwhao, they then attacked Horehore pā. Makahua and Whatu-ngoru were the chiefs of Ngāi Toro-i-waho and the people in the pā. There were not many people in the pā, Whatu-ngoru speared Takitahi and killed him. The invaders fled to Tāmaki, and that post had no mana as those who erected it were defeated.

Te Rongo-a-marama (6)

A post put up to mark the peace between Rangi-tātaia and Mārama of Rangitāne. Rangi-tātaia was the son of Tama-i-waho. It was put up after the death of Tama-i-waho. Rangi-tātaia named the house Te Rongo-o-Mārama, “The Peace of Mārama”.

Ara Kiore

Te Kōpuru - A rat track near Ko Tātai-whetū which belonged to Mārunga and Papa-kea.

Putā-wharo-muku (3) - Another rat track which belonged to Mārunga and Papa-kea.

Whiti-a-runga (3)

Another rat track which belonged to the same people. It was after the gift when Te Kōpuru came in possession of Te Ahi-taina.

The following are rat tracks belonged to Te Opekai; **Punga-rehu-nui** (NoM), **Te Ara-wāhi-a-Tūhoropunga** close to **Kopani Turi (32)** where weka were snared, **Ōtara-kai-ahu** where it is written “sawmill” on the map, **Te Ahi-mounga-a-Puhitahi** and **Karikari-patuiwi** (near **43**), **Ōtarata**, the descendants who had a right to these tracks were Te Iwi Kai-ngata, and Para-houhou. These names were generally known to people. After the gift Te Roroku and Pari-kōau made use of these tracks. **Te Rau-a-Te Huia** (near **7**) belonged to both Te Opekai and Wāwāhanga. After the gift Te Haemata, Matua-waipō and Te Roroku used these.

Tauwhare-rākau - Near **(6)** which belonged to Mārunga and Papa-kea. After the gift Te Haemata made use of it.

Te Papa-taua

A travelling track, used by Te Opekai and Wāwāhanga as a rat track which came out at **Te Kōpua** (shown by yellow line on map going from Kau-te-awa and coming out at Te Putanga-o-Ōmarutāiri).

Te Tapuae - Rat track near **Te Wai-manu (8)** which belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa.

Kūao-ponga

A main track, (NoM), comes out at **Te Whare-o-Panake** (not carried far enough on map) – it should be from **Te Whare-o-Panake (17)** to **Te Whareumu-a-Tama-kai-whare (18)**. There were rat tracks on each side, Te Wāwāhanga owned one side and Tāwhiri-toroa the other. After the gift Tapi-rahira worked one end and Matua-waipō and his brother Te Kai-o-Pītana the other.

Pūtai-ore

That was also the name of a bird snaring place and rat track near **Ō-te-rango (9)**. Belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa and Kanohi-tūhanga. Ngāi Toro-i-waho as a people used it.

Tāwhiti-pakiaka

A rat track where the **Kūao-ponga** track leads out of the bush i.e. near the track. It belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa.

Te Arawhata-Ponga (13) - Tāwhiri-toroa owned this rat track.

Te Rakehou (12)

A track, a pathway, and a rat track which belonged to Te Ahi-kauri son of Te Rehunga by his Rangitāne wife [Hore].

Te Pai-ponga

A rat track (near **12**) which belonged to Te Ahi-kauri and Ngāti Ngarengare. When Ngāpū married Tuhi-horu he worked the tracks. The following tracks were on the boundary of Te Rākau-tātahi and Ōtāwhao.

Kai-punua

A track that runs through this block leading from **Kai-te-rua (14)** to **Te Kororā (26)**, thence to **Te Whare-o-Panake (17)**, to **Te Whareumu-a-Tama-kaiwhare (18)** to near **Motu-a-Maea (19)**. Te Motua, thence to **Pakaroa (NoM)**. It was an old track used by Māori.

Ōmarutāiri

A track starting from Te Kātea pā and came out at **Te Ahi-Kōkako-a-Rua-tōtara** (NoM) thence to **Turi-o-Te Roroku (30)** on the other track.

Te Whana-a-te-ika

A track near that track of Tāwhiri-toroa and Ngāi Toro-i-waho on the Waihi creek (NoM) not taken far enough on map, it falls into the Manawatū

Te Ara-kariwai

A rat track from **Kaipū (21)** to **Motu-a-Maea (19)** which belonged to Te Ahi-kauri and Te Opekai, Ngāpū the son of Te Opekai worked it.

Ōhine-ira

A track from the Te Whiti Block crossing the Manawatū to **Mati-tao (20)** thence to **Te Whareumu-a-Tama-kai-whare (18)** Papa-kea and Mārunga owned it.

Te Mā-ngarongaro

A track from **Te Whareumu-a-Tama-kaiwhare (18)** to **Turi-o-Te Roroku (30)** which belonged to Tāwhiri-toroa and Piha-iti.

Puke-rangiora (45)

A hill covered with Miro trees and wild cabbage [hāria/nanī]. There were hīnau trees there used for snaring. Tawheto and Pāora Te Ngaero caught rats there.

Mangawai

Tanguru told the court, “I know all the streams on this land and all the principal ones are marked on the map” Tanguru Tuhua (1892).

Ōrangi-taua

A stream used to snare birds, it came out of a rock, all the hapū, Ngāi Tahu, Te Opekai, in fact, all of the Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Ngāti Te Kikiri, Ngāti Ngarengare used it. Tūhua and Tāhana Tahito and Pāora Te Ngaero were the last to use it. Te Roroku looked after the interests of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Ngarengare. Rangi-ka-taepa looked after the interests of Ngāi Toro-i-waho and Ngāi Tahu under Tāwhiri-toroa and of the Ngāti Ngarengare under himself and also of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Ngarengare under Te Haemata. Rangi-ka-taepa, Te Haemata, te Roroku were the chiefs who looked after the interests. When the food was collected by these people, they brought it to Te Kikiri who gave it to outside tribes. Return food given to Te Kikiri by those tribes was in turn

distributed amongst those who collected for him. Te Kikiri gained a great name for open-handed generosity.

These streams are all on the map, **Te Matau**, **Pinepine**, **Mākirikiri**, **Ōhine-kota**, **Ō-tū-tautahi** and **Te Manga-hōhonu**.

Porangahau - A large stream, the source of the main Porangahau stream.

Te Wai-kōkō - Runs through Te Kōpua, marked but not named on map.

Waihī - Written on map and not named.

Whakarakuraku - Lists near **Tīpapa-nui (29)** but not on map.

Te Roto - A swamp along the railway line, drained when laying the railway line.

Ō-pī-kōkī - (NoM)

Manga-hautō - Falling into Pinepine stream, it rises near **Te Wai-manu (8)**.

Pārae

The following were open country; **Wai-o-Ngāpūkia**, **Te Kōpua**, **Te Kōau**, **Takapau**.

6.7 Te whakataunga tuatahi

The decision given in both the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou cases emphasised the importance of occupation in determining “take whenua”. In the Ōtāwhao case the Court held the opinion “that ancestry alone without occupation cannot confer any title to land” and stated that it based its opinion on both ancestry and occupation.

According to the judgement given for Title Investigation case of 1889 heard by Judge Spencer William Von Stürmer (1836 – 1921) and the Native Assessor Ākuhata Tūpaea (c.1839 – 1894). The opening summary spoke about the “gifts of large areas of land by

important chiefs as consideration for presents of food, or for services rendered, by one tribe or hapū to another in time of war.” The gift spoken of first was the gift of Te Angiangi to Te Whatu-i-āpiti, second, the gift of Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa which was part of the gift of Te Angiangi. A third gift allegedly made by Te Whatu-i-āpiti to Hika-rere-pari, but the evidence was not clear—this gift has already been discussed in **5.5 Kaihaukai** and will be expanded on again when looking at the nature of the evidence given by some regarding this particular gift. The fourth gift was that given by Te Kaihou to Pareihe for avenging a death at the battle that took place at Pukekaihou at Te Waipukurau **6.5.1 Whakatakoto kōrero**.

The court also recognised the impact the ope taua Āmio Whenua and other war parties had on the people of Heretaunga and Tamatea in the 1820s forcing them to flee to Nukutaurua or the West Coast—the Manawatū area—clarified in **3.6.1 Hāhā te whenua**.

The judgement then mentions the return of the people from Nukutaurua about the year 1840 and subsequent years when peace again had settled over the land and Christianity began to “acquire the minds of the Natives.” The fact that the local people had also acquired firearms and were able to defend themselves made a difference. A known fact was that for a number of years the four blocks being researched were almost entirely abandoned due to the threat of ope taua and tūpuna fleeing the land.

In the case of Waikōpiro, after the return of tūpuna from Nukutaurua to the Tamatea area this block was used solely for gathering food through hunting wild pigs and wild

cattle by the surrounding hapū who ventured onto the block whenever it suited them, and sometimes they came onto the block to seek refuge from outside assault. Because of this fact and the fact that there were no internal boundaries and those who did live on the block only resided for short periods of time and only built wharau the court decided that those who were claiming through ahi kā were denied.

The court “listened to a vast amount of evidence, a great deal of it of an extremely conflicting nature.” I allude to this fact shortly when discussing some of that evidence. In brief the court arrived at the following judgements as published in the Waipawa Mail,

1. Hōri Herehere spoke for his people and had made a strong claim to a large part of the block through his Ngāti Para-kioire connection under “mana” and “occupation” so were awarded 9,000 acres (Block 1). The Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Rangiwakaewa under Hōri claimed as one hapū and gained 3,500 acres (Block 2). Ngāti Tangihia again under Hōri got 1,000 acres (Block 3) and Ngāti Rua-tōtara received 2,500 acres (Block 4).
2. Hōri Niania collaborated with Te Teira Tiakitai, Hāmana Tiakiwai, Meihana Tākihi and Karaitiana Takamoana. They gained land through Te Rehunga and Manawakawa and as hapū members of Ngāti Ngarengare and Ngāi Toro-i-waho. The court did address the issue of Karaitiana being given rights in the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks as well as Waikōpiro. He gained rights through his “mana” in fighting the indiscriminate sales of land in the Tamatea area especially for Ngāi Tahu. Karaitiana also gained an unusual right through the felling the large tree Taupā-ki-Heretaunga along with Hāmana Tiakiwai. The court states

this action “is strong evidence of right.” This group were awarded 6,500 acres (Block 5).

3. The court suggested that the claim of Tanguru Tūhua of Ngāi Tahu should have been joined with that of Hōri Niania, “the acknowledged chief of Ngāi Tahu” but recognised Tanguru as the supplier of “intimate knowledge of the block and has given reliable evidence. His claim gained 2,500 acres (Block 6).
4. Eru Te Hopu a close relative of Te Kātene gave a good case and claimed under Ngāi Toro-i-waho and Ngāi Tangihia. Te Kātene was one of the few who remained when others fled the area and hunted on the block. Eru and the immediate relatives of Te Kātene were given 700 acres (Block 7).
5. Wī Te Roikuku though not a strong claim was awarded 490 acres (Block 8) as there was evidence that his elders occupied.
6. Inia Whangataua claimed under Tango-whiti who lived in ancient times making his claim “a very weak one” and was awarded posthumously along with the children of Rīpeka Pakipaki, 400 acres (Block 9) (Waipawa Mail, 1891).

In summary of the Ōtāwhao cases, the thesis weaves the relationship over time

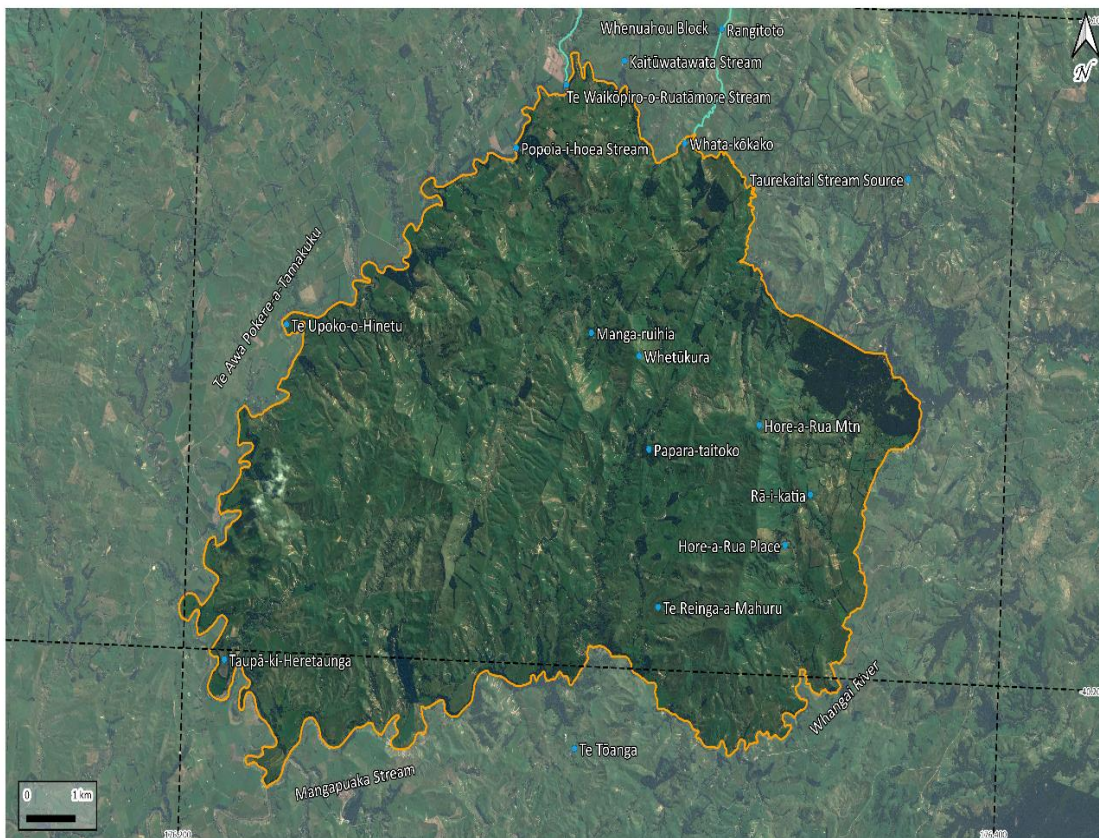
1. through the testimonies **kura reo** of tūpuna **kura tangata** in recording places important to them, **kura whenua**, such as cultivations, urupā, kāinga and other important places
2. Ancestry alone without occupation did not “confer any title to land”
3. Occupation to land and knowledge of specific places such as kāinga, urupā, mahinga kai with rich detail consolidated mana and identity and belonging.

6.8 Te Waikōpiro

Six years after the Ōtāwhao case the Waikōpiro case was heard in Waipawa. This block of land, as mentioned in **2.9 He kupu taketake** takes its name from an incident involving the tupuna, Rua-tāmore and the murder of Awariki. Awariki was the grandfather of Uaroi the wife of Ruatāmore discussed in **3.1.2 Te Tini-o-Rua-tāmore**. The Waikōpiro block shares a border with Whenuahou. Tūpuna who gave evidence in the rehearing case of 1891 case were, Hōri Rōpiha, Pāora Rōpiha, Hōri Niania, Eru Te Hopu, Maraea Te Awaiti, Inia Whangataua, Te Teira Tiakiwai, Te Kani Hōri, Hāmana Tiakiwai, Tanguru Tūhua, Karaitiana Te Korou, Arapeta Meha, Roa Te Pēhi, Īhāia Hūtana, Wī Te Roikuku, Hōri Herehere, Hēnare Matua, Maata Pōraerae, Noa Huke.

Figure 53:

Waikōpiro block put together by Ben Jolly of Manaaki Whenua



6.8.1 Orokotīmatanga

In the six years since the Whenuahou case was heard, the many land cases held regarding land in the Heretaunga Tamatea district that the tūpuna had to attend appears to have increased their knowledge of the processes of the Native Land Court and applying specific narrative, albeit suspect, to support their claims. On reading the evidence given by some of those that spoke for the Title Investigation of the Waikōpiro block it was strikingly obvious that “te mahi a Tama-arero” Mead and Grove (2001, p. 32) was in full flow embellishing evidence according to what was needed and “strategic collaborations” were arranged between certain parties to support each other’s perspective regarding historical narrative, “Hui tātou ka tū!” Mead and Grove (2001, p. 142). A lot of the evidence provided focused on specific tūpuna, battles, and events, that occurred elsewhere and not on the Waikōpiro block itself.

There were 3 initial cases held for this land block. The first being 4 March 1889 held in the Oddfellows Hall in Waipawa where 26,590 acres of the Waikōpiro block was heard for a Title Investigation and Partition, recorded in NMB 17 and again 9 April 1889, recorded in NMB 18. The sections included Waikōpiro No1, No.2, No.3, No. 4, No. 5A, No. 5B, No. 5C, No. 5D, No. 6, No. 7, No. 8, and No. 9. However, due to disputes and protest regarding the first judgement, a rehearing was held 8 April 1891 and judgement for this rehearing was given in June 1891. The judgement in its entirety was recorded in the Waipawa Mail newspaper (“Judgement in the Waikōpiro Block 20,590 Acres,,” 1889). It was also published in the Daily Telegraph, issue 5547, 10 June 1889.

The following is part of a narrative published in 1906, post the Waikōpiro Cases by Tanguru Tūhua which succinctly begins this discussion about the Waikōpiro block,

“Ko te pūtaka mai o tēnei tupuna o Whata, ko Pou-heni. He tamaiti a Pou-heni nā Paikea. I te whakatupuranga mai i a Pou-heni, ko Tūranga-nui-a-Rua tō rātou whenua nohoanga, kei te takiwā o Te Tai-rāwhiti, me ērā atu whenua, tō rātou nohoanga.

Ā, i te whakatupuranga mai i a Pou-heni tae noa ki te whakatupuranga i a Whata, ka tuaono ngā whakatupuranga, ka eke a Whata ki runga ki tēnei whenua noho ai. Ka nohohia e ia tētahi o ngā puke whenua i te takiwā o ngā maunga nei, ko Rangi-tapu-a-Whata tōna ingoa. Ko tōna nohoanga tēnā i te tīmatanga o tana noho i te whenua nei.

Ā, i te wā i a Whata ka noho tūturu ki runga ki te whenua nei, ka tipu tētahi pakanga i waenga-nui i a rāua ko Tango-whiti; ko te pūtaka o tā rāua tauwhāinga, mō te moana tuna, mō Whatumā. Ka kōrero a Tango-whiti, ko te rārangi hiwi o te takiwā o te whenua e noho rā ia hei poa tātairanga hīnaki māna, mō ngā tuna o Whatumā. Heoi, ka rongo a Whata i te whakaaro o Tango-whiti e tango ana i te moana māna anake.

He mahinga tuna i taua wā tonu; ka mahia e Tango-whiti ngā pō, kia roroa; ka mahia hoki e Whata ngā rārangi hiwi kei runga i te whenua e noho rā ia hei tātairanga hīnaki māna. Ā, i te otinga, ka tīkarohia te pō e Whata kia tere ai te awateatanga. Heoi, riro ana te moana i a Whata, riro tonu ake i a ia te mana o te moana. Ā, waiho tonu iho hei kupu whakataukī mō ō mātou tūpuna, “Ko ā Whata tātai hīnaki i puta ki waho, ko ā Tango-whiti i pae-a-rau.” Koia i tapā ai e Tango-whiti te ingoa o tōna whenua ko Paeroa.

Ā, i muri iho o te whakatupuranga mai o ngā uri mokopuna a Tango-whiti, ka kōhurutia a Te Awariki e Rua-tāmore rātou ko tōna iwi. Ā i muri iho ka ngakia e Ngaroroa te matenga o tōna pāpā, o Te Awariki, ka hinga te parekura ko Tī-kōuka-nui, ka mate a Rua-tāmore me tōna iwi. Ka tuatia te ingoa o te whenua e noho rā ngā uri mokopuna o Tango-whiti, ko Te Waikōpiro-o-Rua-tāmore, ā, e mau nei taua ingoa tae noa ki tēnei rā” Tanguru Tūhua (1906, p. 61).

The origin of this ancestor of ours, of Whata, was Pou-heni, who was a son of Paikea. Pou-heni lived all his life at Tūranga-nui-a-Rua (Poverty Bay) together with the tribe, and also at other parts on that coast.

From the period in which Pou-heni flourished down to Whata, there are six generations, at which time Whata settled in this country (*i.e.*, near Te Takapau). He first occupied a hill on the range named Rangi-tapu-a-Whata. This was the first place he settled at.

After Whata had settled down permanently in this land, there grew up a quarrel between him and Tango-whiti (of the Rangitāne tribe), about the Whatumā Lake (close to Wai-pukurau). Tango-whiti declared that the range of hills where

Whata was living was a bait-procuring ground for the lake. Whata at once understood this meant that Tango-whiti intended to retain the eel-fishing of the lake for himself alone.

The time for eel-catching was just on at that time; so, Tango-whiti proceeded to lengthen the nights (by incantations), whilst Whata went on preparing the hīnaki or eel baskets on the land where he lived. In the end, Whata proceeded to hasten the daylight (by incantation), and so the lake came into the possession of Whata, together with all authority over it. This proceeding has given rise to the “saying,” which descends to us from our ancestors, “the eel-basket making of Whata won; whilst those of Tango-whiti were set aside.” Hence Tango-whiti named his land Paeroa (from *pae-a-rau*, (?) set aside).

In the days of the generations of the grandchildren of Tango-whiti, Te Awa-riki was murdered by Rua-tāmore and his people, which deed was avenged by Ngāro-roa the former's son, in the battle called Tī-kōuka-nui, where the tribe of Rua-tāmore was defeated with great slaughter. This land on which the descendants of Tango-whiti descendants lived, was then called Te Waikōpiro-o-Rua-tāmore, which obtains to this day (Smith, 1906, p. 69).

For this block I concentrate initially on the two judgements given and then look at the language of the land and the nature of the evidence given by tūpuna.

6.8.2 Te whakataunga tuarua

The judgement for the rehearing which began 8 April 1891, two years after the Title Investigation. The judgement was given by Judges Robert Ward (1840 – 1901) and Laughlin O’Brien (1821 – 1901). The judgement began by the court reiterating the well-known narrative regarding Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia including some of the Rangitāne returning to the block and intermarrying with those of Ngāti Kahungunu, “and so a sort of half-caste race sprang up, the “mana” however remaining with the Ngāti Kahungunu.” The court identified Te Angiangi as a descendant of Te Ao-mata-rahi and a Rangitāne through marriage who after the division of land between himself and Taraia gained the land south of the Tukituki.

The gift of land by Te Angiangi to Te Whatu-i-āpiti which included the Waikōpiro block was acknowledged, and the approach made by Rangitāne [elders of Te Rangi-whakaewa] to Te Angiangi and Te Whatu-i-āpiti after the land was given was also acknowledged. The following is evidence given by Hēnare Matua in the Rākau-tātahi Case, noting that Blake recorded that Te Rangi-whakaewa was sent by his elders whereas the NMB 24 record states that it was Te Rangi-whakaewa that sent his elders...

“Ka rongo ngā mātua a Rangiwhakaewa e noho ana ki Tāmaki, ka tonoa e Rangiwhakaewa a Rākai-rā-kaahu rāua ko Pua-ki-te-ao kia haere ki a Te Whatu-i-āpiti rāua ko Te Angiangi kia whakahokia te rohe ki Manawatū. Whakaaetia ana e Te Whatu-i-āpiti me ngā tāngata katoa nāna i mahi a Uaua Tamariki, ka kī, nō Rangitāne tērā, nō Rangitāne tēnei Hēnare Matua (1891a).

When Rangiwhakaewa and his elders who were living at Tāmaki heard of this gift he sent Rākai-rā-kaahu and Pua-ki-te-ao his elders to Whatu-i-āpiti and Angiangi to ask them to shift the boundary back to Manawatū for the food that had been collected by these for their contribution to the feast. It was agreed to, all assented as all were Rangitāne Hēnare Matua (1891c).

The last sentence, “*It was agreed to, all assented as all were Rangitāne*” confirms one of my intended aims of this research, that is, that connections to Rangitāne on Rākau-tātahi marae are strong. Hōri Rōpiha (1889, p. 8) also confirms the fact that the tūpuna all had Rangitāne connection when he mentions Pua-ki-te-ao in his evidence for the Waikōpiro block, “The post Pua-ki-te-ao was erected between Rangitāne and Rangitāne, it was put up to be a mark on the land so that people might know that the land still belongs to Rangitāne.”

The judgement records that the chiefs agreed that the western boundary of the gift of land should be the Manawatū river, and the court believed that the post ‘Pua-ki-te-ao’ was put up as a testimony of that arrangement.” The court also agreed that the post had

no reference to the gift made by Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa. The following is the actual border of that agreement,

Ruahine, mau ki te kāuru o Manawatū, ka rere whakararo o Manawatū mau atu ki te pūau o Mangatoro, ka ahu i roto i taua awa, mau atu ki Ōpōrae. Ko te wāhi tēnei i whakaaetia, ka poua he pou ki Tiratū, ko Pua-ki-te-ao taua pou. He pou whakaatu tēnei i te rohe o te whenua i a Te Rangi-whakaewa Hēnare Matua (1891b).

It was settled on the request of the two sent that the boundary should be from Ruahine to the source of the Manawatū down it to the mouth of the Mangatoro up it to Ōpōrae, then other side of Manawatū was for Rangiwhakaewa. The two messengers put up a post at Tiratū on the other side of the Manawatū and called it Pua-ki-te-ao. It indicated that that was the boundary of land given to the two elders sent Hēnare Matua (1891c).

The well-known narrative concerning the hākari ‘Uaua Tamariki’ was acknowledged as occurring and the fact that Te Whatu-i-āpiti was in his twilight years,

“Te Whatu-i-āpiti was an old man at that time ... and we can [the court] give no other explanation for his dividing the lands immediately afterwards, than that he associated with the chiefs whose names have been given to us, in collecting the food and making the gift thereof. A glance at the genealogies supports us in the conclusion we come of his being an aged man at the time. it seems to us that the term “Te Uaua Tamariki” the name of the feast given to Te Angiangi, was owing to the fact that a large portion of the food was collected by young men.”

The giving of land by Te Whatu-i-āpiti to Hika-rere-pari for the “heaps of food” [whakatihi kai] Hika-rere-pari collected was described in the following manner, We find that one of the heaps of food at that feast was called “Whakaara Raumati”, that Te Whatu-i-āpiti gave land to those chiefs who collected that heap **3.5 Kaihaukai** and **3.5.1 Ko tā Hēnare Matua**. That he gave land to Hika-rere-pari and others for doing so. That this land or rather much of it as lies westward of the Rā-i-katia range, formed a part of the land so given, and that it was retained by Hika-rere-pari for himself and his descendants.

Another important finding of the court was that regardless of some of the tūpuna believing that Waikōpiro was part of the gift of Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga and

Manawakawa, this judgement reaffirms the fact that although Tama-i-waho and Toro-i-waho were given portions of the land “so given to te Whatu-i-āpiti, their portions did not include this block [Waikōpiro].”

6.8.2.1 He kupu whakakore

In concluding the court’s understanding the historical context concerning the Waikōpiro block and surrounding lands they gave the judgement in the following manner,

1. The case of Raina Te Rangi-koia-anake and her list of two different groups, firstly there was Raina and her siblings and secondly the children of Inia Whangataua [who had passed away during the hearing] to whom the court recommended that they be placed with Ngāi Tahu, and this was agreed to by Ngāi Tahu. As for Raina, the opinion of the court was that “their mother did not occupy or own any part of this block. So, we say that her descendants have no right, and therefore we disallow their claim.”
2. For the claims made by Hāmana Tiakiwai, Te Teira Tiakitai, Te Kani Hōri, and Hōri Niania the decision referred to the evidence given by the above in stating that Waikōpiro was part of the gift of Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa. The court said, “Proceeding now to the gift by Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa, we say that we have given this matter careful and earnest consideration and conclude that that gift did not include this block; and by our decision on this point, we disallow the claims.”
3. The claim of Wī Te Roikuku and party the court states “that though they may be descendants of Hika-rere-pari, they have (excepting with respect to some whose

names are in another list under a different title) no occupation on this land, and that their lands are outside this block. We therefore disallow their claim.

4. The claim put forward by Ngāi Tahu and Toro-i-waho was based on ancestral connection and they “repudiated all gifts as regards to land.” The court stated that “we have already shown that all the old ancestral rights have been annulled by the conquest of Te Ao-mata-rahi and Taraia, so their claim under that title falls, and they have only a claim under the gift of Te Rehunga, but this they repudiate. These Ngāi Tahu are the descendants of those who remained after the “exodus” by the general body to Wairarapa and intermarried with the people of Te Rehunga. We are satisfied that at the time of that exodus, these people were not living on the block; and consequently, as this block was not included in the gift to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa, they have no right to this land from that source. We disallow their claim.

The court then referred to their omission of the narrative regarding the whakatauāki concerning the four exits to Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga,

“In giving a brief history of these lands, we had omitted to mention the marriage of Tū-tauā, a descendant of Hika-rere-pari with Rua-tōtara, a descendant of Rangitāne **Fig. 11**. We have it in evidence, and see no reason to doubt, that Tū-tauā placed Para-kiorē at Papara-taitoko, on this block, Te Rangitotohu his son at Rākau-tātahi and Te Whakawehi, another son of his at Te Tōanga just south of this block.

It appears that the Ngāi Tangihia, at a later period, joined with Para-kiorē and were adopted by him as well as his own people, and that they assisted him and strengthened him in maintaining his position on this block, and helped to give him strength to defend the land. It will be seen that what has been said about this block does not refer to the land on the east side of the Rā-i-katia range. We will refer to this matter presently.”

In respect of the claim of Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāi Tangihia, Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Rua-tōtara the court decided that “they had established rights to the land and that they were permanent occupiers and actually possessed the land for some generations before the exodus to Nukutaurua.”

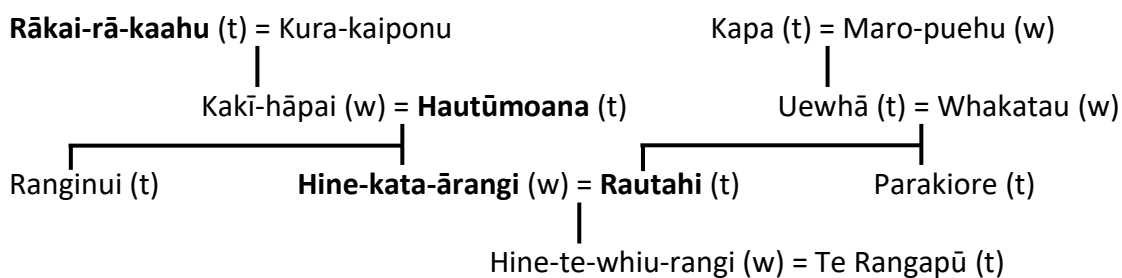
6.8.2.2 He kupu whakaae

The court’s decision regarding Ngāti Rua-tōtara was that they had a share in the land on the east side of Rā-i-katia range. The court’s words, “How the Rua-tōtara acquired their right is not made clear to us, but it is a fact that they have been exercising their rights over a portion of it at the south end, whether by encroachments from Te Tōanga or not, we cannot say, but we find them there and the Ngāti Para-kiore people admit that they have some rights.”

The final decision as to the claims made in this rehearing was for the Ngāti Hautū-moana people whom the court decided that they “may be entitled by occupation that portion of this block” [southwest of the block]. Their rights came from the gift of Rautahi, a younger brother of Para-kiore, who married the daughter of Hautū-moana.

Figure 54:

Whakapapa: Rautahi to Hautū-moana through his marriage to Hine-kata-ārangi



The court awarded the people of Hautū-moana who were entitled by occupation the following area,

“Commencing at the Manawatū river, at a point opposite the dividing line between Tiratū and the Otaanga blocks, from thence inland in a straight line to Ōtaumu Kahukahu, from this straight line to the junction of the Wai-aruhe stream and Pā-mānuka stream, down that stream to the junction with the Manga-puaka and down that stream to the Manawatū river to the point of commencement.”

The court then awarded the following pieces of land, to Ngāti Rau-tōtara 2,000 acres, “starting at a point on the junction of the Tōanga stream with the Manga-puaka stream, and then a straight line to the Whāngai stream, so as to include between the last two named streams and that line 2,000 acres.” The remainder of the block was awarded to Ngāti Para-kioire and Ngāi Tangihia.

Having summarised the judgements with the “official” word of the Native Land Court for both the Waikōpiro block Title Investigation of 1889 and the Waikōpiro Rehearing of 1891 I will allow the land to speak. I will discuss the language on the land, on the Waikōpiro block by taking up proven evidence of those tūpuna who were respected for their knowledge and who gave evidence based on fact and not on *te mahi a Tama-arero*, the flexibility of narrative and/or strategic collaborations of parties.

6.8.3 Nau mai te whenua

I begin this section looking at important places to the tūpuna. The origin of the name of the block was discussed previously in **3.1.2 Te Tini-o-Rua-tāmore** regarding the death of Te Awariki by Rua-tāmore and consequent revenge by Ngarorua.

Taupā-ki-Heretaunga

A significant narrative within the Waikōpiro story is a narrative concerning a huge tōtara tree called Taupā-ki-Heretaunga see **Map** p.264 named to identify the boundary.

Respected Rangitāne kaumātua Manahi Paewai recorded an account for the Tiratū-Tipapa-kūkū district reunion 1994,

“On the way to the pā [Te Reinga-o-Mahuru] the party passed a huge tōtara tree which Te Whatanui was so impressed with that he suggested it be set aside and be commemorated as a fitting symbol of his victories. Following appropriate karakia and ceremony, this huge tree was set apart and was named ‘Te Taupā-ki-Heretaunga’” Paewai (1994).

This tree was eventually cut down by Hāmana Tiakiwai and Karaitiana Takamoana, Hāmana Tiakiwai (1889, pp. 17-18) explains,

“A post called Pua-ki-te-ao was put up to limit the extent of the gift on the opposite bank of the Manawatū to Taupā-ki-Heretaunga a tōtara tree cut down by me. It was called by that name because it was the boundary of the Heretaunga district (one of the ancestors gave it that name I cannot tell his name) ... I only went onto this block on the occasion I went to get the tree Taupā-ki-Heretaunga. Karaitiana and myself were stopping at Puehuta with our elder Hirawanu [Kaimokopuna]. He told us about that tree, he said, “it belongs to you and grows on your own land. The boundary of that land given to Te Rehunga is at that tōtara tree. Karaitiana and I then went on to the land, we started at Puehuta. Ngāti Pakapaka saw us start. Hōri Herehere saw and heard of us going. It became known that we were going to cut down Taupā-ki-Heretaunga. Two questions were asked of us, we took 5 axes with us. Thirty of us went. Some of Ngāti Mutuahi accompanied us. We reached the tree about this time of the day and began to cut it down. It stood close to the bank of the Manawatū. We continued to chop at it during the night, it was 28 feet around, it would be 8 spans of the arms, 28 feet in circumference. When it was lying on the ground a man could not reach the top with his hands, “E whā ngā pae te rahi o taua rākau.” Four times the length of the height of a man could reach standing – from the soles of his feet to the tips of his fingers stretched above his head, “e whā tūtaki would be four spans.”

A canoe was supposed to have been built from the tree by Puatai the brother-in-law of Hāmana but after the Waipukurau sale Hāmana took him to Wairoa where he passed away shortly afterwards. Karaitiana said that the canoe would be built when Hāmana and Puatai return from Wairoa, so the canoe was never built. Hāmana states that his cutting the tree down qualifies as occupying the land, “Te Māipi-tahia did not live on this land but I did when I went to cut the tree down.”

Inia Whangataua (1889a, p. 5) gave his understanding of the issue, “I heard of and was present when Karaitiana and Hāmana went to fell that tree. The canoe was not completed. They were turned off by the father of Hōri Niania [Te Aroatua]”. Inia says on p. 11 of his testimony, “... they were driven away by Te Rangi-whakaewa and Hau-e-rangi after the tree was cut down and the tree was never made into a canoe and remains to this day where it was fallen.”

I rely on the evidence given by Hōri Herehere and Tanguru Tūhua as these two tūpuna were acknowledged by the court as having “a strong claim” in respect of Hōri and possessing “intimate knowledge of the block and gave reliable evidence” in respect of Tanguru. The following evidence was given in the Title Investigation Case of 1889.

The evidence presented by Hōri Herehere (1889) originated from his tūpuna living permanently on Waikōpiro, the following places were part of his evidence. He does state whilst explaining the places information that he didn’t know, “I don’t know much about the country beyond this place – other witnesses will tell about it – this was the only part of the block my elders made me acquainted with – I have not been on to the Waikōpiro side although I have heard about it.”

This statement of Hōri Herehere reminds me of a statement made by Tā Tīmoti Kāretu, “Me mōhio koe ki tō kore mōhio!” (Kāretu, 2023) (*Know what you don’t know!*) which reflects the willingness of Hōri to say what he doesn’t know, which is a rare skill these days.

Ka kā tonu tōku ahi

To collate the following list of places given by Hōri in his evidence I initially accessed Blake's manuscripts Volumes 1 -3 98/1046, 98/1047 and 98/1048 from the Hastings Central Library Archive and the NMB 18 pp. 127 – 136. Blake's notes are more of a summary of what Hōri said, for example the first place Hōri mentioned was Te Karaka. Blake records his evidence as, "Is a crossing at the mouth of the Manga-puaka stream used by my ancestors in crossing from Tāmaki – the road ran to Porangahau." The recording in NMB 18 says, "Te Karaka at the mouth of the Manga-puaka was a crossing of my ancestors coming from Tāmaki. The road ran on from there to Porangahau." The second place spoken of, "Ngā Manako" in NMB 18, "Ngā Manako was a residence and a cultivation of my ancestors. Hautū-moana and his children occupied that place. It was occupied up to the time of my father Pāora and others." Blake's summary, "A cultivation residence of my ancestors Hautū-moana and his children occupied that place. It was occupied up to the time of my father Pāora and others."

Although these examples show minimal variation in meaning I do so to ensure that the tenor of the evidence given by Hōri reflected more his thoughts than a summary of his thoughts written by a third party. With this in mind I found myself referring more to NMB 18 than Blake's notes. Another reason I referred more to NMB 18 was that Blake left out what I consider extremely important narrative if one is to ensure the retention of historical record, for example in describing the place Te Rapu-o-Ranginui, Blake left out the following information, "My ancestors procured the young from there and I [Hōri Herehere] continue to the practice." When describing Te Waka-a-Tī, Blake left out the name of the opening that the road went up to "Putā-a-wheke."

I will use the words of Hōri to describe places he had knowledge of as the judgement of 1889 mentions that “The claimants united with Hōri Herehere have made a strong claim to a considerable portion of this block.” I indicate by the use of an * next to the name of a place if Tanguru Tūhua also gave evidence to the name of that same place.

Kāinga

Ngā Manako

A cultivation residence of ancestors of Hōri, Hautū-moana and his children occupied that place. It was occupied up to the time of Pāora and others.

Ketekino

Is above Ngā Manako, it is an opening, a cultivation, and a residence, it was occupied by Hautū-moana and his children.

Ngā Pirau - A kāinga occupied by Uewhā and the descendants of Hautū-moana.

Takapū-a-Tamanāna

A residence, an opening where aruhe (*fernroot*) was dug, also a cultivation. The descendants of Hautū-moana and Uewhā dwelt there.

Ruamaire

Below Takapū-a-Tamanāna, was a pool called Ruamaire where īnanga were caught.

Manga-tāwai-nui Was a settlement belonging to Ngāti Para-kiore.

Manga-papa A stream and a “kāinga” which belonged to Ngāti Rua-tōtara.

Te Wai Whakarukuruku

A residence and a cultivation which belonged to Ngāti Rua-tōtara. Hōri had two marks at this place a “tutu kākā” and a “hīnau” tree which he procured berries to eat. There is a well-known proverb connected to this kind of food. This is the whakataukī, “Kia whakaoho koe i taku moe, ko te whatutūrei-a-Rua” [If you wish to wake me, let it be for the food of Rua], Mead and Grove (2001, p. 220). Hōri used this tutu kākā himself.

Pāwhare

A ridge further up from Te Ana-a-Rongomai cave. Along the sides of this ridge were cultivations and residences used by the Ngāti Hautū-moana, Ngāti Rua-tōtara, Ngāti Uewhā and Ngāti Para-kiore elders. Occupied by the elders until they went to Nukutaurua.

Ōtaumau-o-Te-Kahukahu

Further on and inland. There was a “kāinga punanga”, a hiding place from war parties – it is on a hill.

Motu-houi [Lacebark]

This was where the road crosses which goes over the Kākā ridge – it is a camping place for war parties and travellers – it was also a kāinga which belonged to Maata Pōraerae, Pāora Rōpiha and his younger brothers, Matiu Meke, his younger brother and children, the children of Nōpera and Te Kuru – they lived there.

Te Whare-hanga

In the forest, a house was built formerly to hide property in time of war – hence the name.

Ōhine-patu

A kāinga near Whakamatuku. A very large and important settlement, like a fortified pā. It belonged to Ngāti Para-kiore.

Whakapunake

A kāinga near Whakamatuku. It was an important kāinga, a cultivation and an opening where fern root was obtained.

Whakarongo Haukū

A large kāinga and cultivation in the middle of the block. It was near Pāhuri and Te Reinga-o-Mahuru on the eastern side of Pāhuri between Kapuarangi and Tāmituri streams. Kapuarangi is the name of the upper portion of the Apuraho stream. Tāmituri also runs into Apuraho. It comes out at Rā-i-katia. There is a flax swamp near its source. Kapuarangi rises on the eastern side. The cultivations named belonged to Ngāti Rua-tōtara and Ngāti Matetapu. The other hapū I have named used to go to that settlement and eat the food grown there. In the time of Matiu Meke that settlement ceased to be occupied when he and all of Ngāti Para-kiore went to Nukutaurua.

Te Umu-kurī

A settlement close to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru, to the west of it. It was partly on a plain and partly on a hill. It belonged to Ngāti Te Whakawehi, Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Te Rākau-rua. It was last used in the time of Pāora Rōpiha and Matiu Meke when they went away to Nukutaurua.

Ō-tū-tomokia

A kāinga that belonged to Ngāti Te Rākau-rua, Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Te Whakawehi. It is close to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru at Paeroa. It was last cultivated by the elders of Hōri and Matiu Meke. It was also occupied by Pāora Rōpiha and Nōpera Kuikāinga when they were children.

Te Pūkahu

At Paeroa and belonged to Ngāti Te Rākau-rua, Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Te Whakawehi. It is a very large settlement and was used when snaring birds and rats at Paeroa. It was last occupied in the time of Matiu Meke, Pāora Te Rangiwhakaewa and Wī Te Huata.

Mataweka

It was owned by Ngāti Te Rākau-rua, Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Te Whakawehi. It was last occupied by my elders the elders of Matiu Meke. There was an incantation about this place.

Te Waro-o-te-Atua

A large kāinga and cultivation near to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru where food was grown for that pā. Belonged to Ngāti Te Rākau-rua, Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Te Whakawehi. On the western side of the pā.

Taipu-a-Motipu

Close to Te Waro-o-te-Atua and on the western side of Te Reinga-o-Mahuru. It was last occupied when the people went from Te Reinga-o-Mahuru.

Te Tīwera

Close to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru on the Porangahau side of Rā-i-katia, up on a hill, a spur running from Rā-i-katia to Te Whāngai. It was last occupied at the exodus.

Ngā Māhanga

On the eastern side of Paeroa on a hill. Last occupied at the exodus and belonged to Para-kioere, Ngāti Te Rākau-rua.

Rua-kākahi

A kāinga in the Manawatū river which belonged to Para-kiore and Ngāti Tangihia.

Te Rangi-a-Tahua On Paeroa.

Mahinga kai

Whāngai

At this place Hōri and his younger brothers had a plantation – they planted European trees there – they were raspberry trees planted and were still growing there at the time of the Waikōpiro case – George Hamilton had a sheep station on the opposite of the Manga-puaka – Hōri and others lived here for some time prior to Hamilton going there and up to the time he left that place and went to Tāmaki when they went away also. Not sure of the year. There were large cultivations there in Hamilton’s time and before. The grandchildren of Para-kiore lived in this place – also of Rua-tōtara, of Uewhā and of Hautū-moana – Maata Pōraerae, Pāora Rōpiha and his younger brothers, Matiu Meke, his younger brother and cousin, the children of Nōpera and Te Kuru – these were the people who lived there.

Ōtoka-a-Kura

A cultivation which belonged to Matiu Meke – he ceased to use it when he went away to Nukutaurua in the exodus.

Te Ahi Tahu-hinu

This was an important settlement where “huahua’ was made of the birds collected on this block. It belonged to Ngāti Hautū-moana, Ngāti Uewhā, Ngāti Para-kiore.

Te Ahi Kōura Above the last place [Ketekino], a bend in the river where whitebait (īnanga) was taken.

Te Kapekape Above the last place [Te Ahi Kōura] another place where whitebait was taken.

Pipimou Another whitebait catching place, Ngāti Hautū-moana used these places.

Te Rua-kahikatea A similar place.

Tahitahi Raupō A similar place.

Matuku-hāro

Another ford and īnanga catching place – here the road from Pūtaka recrosses the Manawatū river to Waikari.

Te Kawa

Near the mouth of the Manga-puaka where a road comes down and crosses that stream – Hōri, his brothers and his elders planted peach trees. This road went on to Heretaunga one way, the other way it went to Manawatū.

Manga-paruparu It is above Te Kawa, a stream where ancestors got crayfish.

Pā-mānuka

A stream which takes its source at Whetū-kura – our ancestors obtained eels in this stream.

Motu-Mataī

A place beyond - it is a small, isolated bush (at crossing of Te Whāngai) on the banks of the river.

Pūhara-ariki A slope where we got flax for weaving garments, and roots for making eel pots.

Te Motu Kōwhai

Kākā was procured here when kōwhai was in bloom by the grandchildren of Rua-tōtara and Para-kioe.

Tarata-hika-wehea A place on this block where birds were snared by Ngāti Rua-tōtara.

Kauranga**Te Karaka**

Is a crossing at the mouth of the Manga-puaka stream used by my ancestors in crossing from Tāmaki – the road ran to Porangahau.

Te Waha-a-Tī

A ford in the Manawatū river where the road crosses over and goes up to an opening called Puta-a-Wheke. This road was used by war parties coming up the Manawatū.

Pā Tūwatawata

Waikoukou

This is a fortified pā which belonged to Ngāti Hautū-moana and Ngāti Rua-tōtara. It was last occupied by the fathers of Matiu and Hōri. Matiu may have lived in it himself. It is on a flat on the bank of the Manga-puaka.

Te Upoko-o-Hinetū*

It belonged to Para-kioire and his descendants. It ceased to be occupied in the time of the descendants of Te Rangi-ka-purotu, that is in the time of Te Rōpiha, Apiata Kuikāinga. Hōri saw this pā when he went to take back Ngāi te Upokoiri, the year Sir Donald McLean came to Heretaunga [circa 1848]. No one was in it at the time. Parāone Te Hapū and Aperahama Te Rautahi told Hōri the name while they were paddling up the Manawatū when it was pointed out to him.

Whata-kōkako*

Hōri said that it was built by Para-kioire, Rākau-rua and the descendants of Te Whakawehi at the time of the Waikari fight. It is on this block near the Waikōpiro stream. McEwen (1986, p. 36) recorded the words of Ranginui Rautahi, “the number of bodies set out on racks after the battle, the name Whata-kōkako (stage of crows) was given to a terraced pā nearby which was later occupied by Ngāti Parakioire hapū of Rangitāne.”

Te Rere-a-Taikura A waterfall in Manga-puaka.

Te Ana-a-Rongomai

A cave inland of the Te Rere-a-Taikura waterfall – “the cave is as high as this Courthouse. As high as the walls of this house” (18ft).

Te Waka-a-Rongomai

Is a deep pool below Te Ana-a-Rongomai which no man could cross – there is a flat rock extending across the river, a natural stone bridge used as a crossing place. The Te Rere-a-Taikura waterfall is below the pool.

Te Reinga-o-Mahuru

A pā on this block on a hill which rises abruptly from the flat/ridge. It is on the southwest of the Whakaneke stream. Hōri mentioned that he had often been inside this pā with his elders. There were very deep ditches dug around the pā. The water for the pā was obtained from a spring. The pā was last occupied just before Te Rōpiha and his relatives

fled to Nukutaurua. It was attacked by war parties in former times. Pareihe was one who attacked it. It was not taken **5.6.4. Te Reinga-o-Mahuru**, p. 281.

Pā-huri It runs into Apuraho a tributary of Manga-puaka.

Manga-ruihia* A pā on this block, apparently belonging to Para-kiore.

Te Hore-a-Rua* It is on this block, it is on one end of Rā-i-katia, the eastern end.

Tuhi-papa

Hōri mentioned this pā but could not say whether it was inside or outside the block. He had heard that it belonged to Para-kiore

Papara-taitoko*

A place heard a great deal about. It was the first place on this block occupied by Para-kiore between Puke-whīnau and Whetū-kura. Hōri recalled the whakataukī regarding Para-kiore being set up to have mana at Papara-taitoko which Hōri believed showed that Para-kiore was the owner of the block. He was brought from Tahora-iti by Tūrake, Uewhā, Te Rua-tōtara and Tūtaua. Tūtaua was the husband of Rua-tōtara. Para-kiore was set up at that place to have mana and keep back attacking parties from going on this block, **5.9 He kupu rongonui** p.304 and **5.12.5 He putanga, he tangata** p.340.

Taupā-ki-Heretaunga

Is further on from Te Wai-whakarukuruku, a place where the tūpuna of Hōri preserved trees for making canoes. This was where the tōtara tree was cut down by Hāmana Tiakiwai and Karaitiana Takamoana, p.274. That place did not belong to them, and they never informed the owners of the land they were going to cut that tree. They told the people they were going to view the scenery. The tree was not taken away. When they returned to get axes to build the canoe Te Pūtai the father of Hōri heard of it became angry and the canoe was not built.

Mangawai

Ōtaita A stream up from Ōtokia-a-Te Tira.

Apuraho

Is a stream which falls into Manga-puaka, it takes its source at Rā-i-katia. Its full name was “Apuraho-o-te-tamāhine-a-Matuahaka”.

Kākā

A stream runs up to the end of the Rā-i-katia range – this was a stream by which the taniwha “Whāngai-mokopuna” travelled.

Manga-korokino A stream – the road crosses there and goes to south to Ngāpaeruru from Heretaunga.

Manga-te-werowero Which runs down from Rā-i-katia.

Whakamatuku It is a tributary of Manawatū on this block. It rises in Paeroa and runs to the Manawatū.

Te Rere A waterfall in the Whāngai stream.

Whakaneke

A stream with some references to the Te Reinga-o-Mahuru pā. This stream separates Te Reinga-o-Mahuru from one called Pāhuri. It runs into the Apuraho tributary of Manga-puaka.

Huanui

Haere-te-warū

Further up the Manga-puaka where a spur comes down from Rā-i-katia range into the river and a road follows along it – this road runs from the mouth of the Whāngai stream to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru.

Kākā

A hill on the eastern side of the Whāngai stream – the road Hōri talked about, Haere te Waru goes up a hill further up the Whāngai stream and joins the Manga-puaka.

Urupā

Ōtokia-a-Te Tira This was a burial ground of ours and was used by the descendants of Hautū-moana.

Te Reinga-o-Mahuru* There was a burial ground here, **5.6.4 Te Reinga-o-Mahuru.**

Papara-Taitoko* There was a burial ground here.

Rua-kākahi A cave at the mouth of Papai-hoea. I never saw it, only heard of it.

Te Rapu-a-Ranginui

A lagoon frequented by shags [kawau] where they bred. My ancestors procured the young from there and I continue to the practice.

Whetū-kura Is a mountain, a very high hill on this block.

6.8.4 Te Reinga-o-Mahuru

This pā was an important pā tūwatawata of the district and was mentioned in a number of cases brought to the Native Land Court and extensively in McEwen (1986, pp. 110-114). The narrative provided by Hōri Herehere in the Waikōpiro case gives an extensive account of the battles that took place at this pā,

A war party under Pareihe, it was not taken. He was defeated. Pareihe wanted to kill Te Rangi-ka-taepa by pursuing him from Waipukurau and Whatumā until he took refuge with our elders at Te Reinga-o-Mahuru ... Hōri states that “Pareihe was angry because Te Rangi-ka-taepa had procured eel pots from Te Nahu to catch eels at Ōngatoro [a small lake once linked to Whatumā lake by the Kiore-rau stream now Ōngatoro swamp after being drained by farmers (Council, 2019), **3.1.1 Ngā Iwi**. McEwen (1986, p. 111) however, records that, “On one occasion Taepa [short for Rangi-ka-taepa] and others set hīnaki (*eel traps*) in the Manga-a-Toro [now Mangatoro] stream to gather eels on behalf of Te Nahu. Both Hōri and McEwen agree that Pareihe burnt the eel pots but only Hōri mentions that he also destroyed eel weirs. Te Rangi-ka-taepa initially lived at Te Waipukurau under his own mana but while at Te Reinga-o-Mahuru he lived under the mana of the Ngāti Para-kiore chiefs, Te Rāhui and Te Rōpiha.

Te Heuheu Tūkino also attacked Te Reinga-o-Mahuru. He found Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāti Te Rangi-whakaewa and Ngāti Rua-tōtara in the pā and made peace with Te Rāhui-o-Kehu the grandchild of Para-kiore and an older brother of Te Rōpiha. There were no other hapū in the pā. Te Heuheu went away.

Te Whatanui also led a war party against that pā. He was a great chief of Ngāti Raukawa. When he got to this pā he made peace with Te Rōpiha Tākou and there was no fighting. Rōpiha was the grandchild of Para-kiore. Ngāti Para-kiore and Ngāti Rua-tōtara were in the pā at the time. My elders came with the attacking party having joined them at Tahora-iti. Pāora Te Rangi-whakaewa, Aperahama Te Rautahi, Te Huata, Wakapū and others were of our people who joined Whatanui. I heard of this circumstance from my elders.

The grandfathers of Hēnare Matua attacked the people on this block, Te Iriwhare, Te Kāhui Tangaroa, Māpere and others were some of these. They came from Akitio to Tuku-parapara outside this block near Te Reinga-o-Mahuru, Pare-o-Harakeke where they met a war party going to attack people at Rangitīkei with whom they fought and defeated them. Parepare-maheno was the name of that fight. Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāti Te Rangi-whakaewa, Ngāti Rua-tōtara and Ngāi Te Upokoiri were the people attacked. The principal people killed at that fight were Taunaha, grandson of Tūrake, Whakaara of Ngāti Rua-tōtara, Te Angahiri of Ngāti Marama of Rangitāne, Kōpāpari and Tu-te-ata of Ngāti Upokoiri ... the bodies of the killed were eaten and the captives taken to Akitio by the people of Hēnare Matua. The tribe of the defeated party followed the enemy and overtook them at Mangatoro and defeated them and recaptured their relatives. Te Iriwhare and Kāhui-Tangaroa were killed.

Ngāi Te Upokoiri also marched to this pā they having heard of the bravery of Ngāti Para-kiore, Ngāti Rua-tōtara and the descendants of Uewhā and Hautūmoana. Pou-āwhā, Whiuwhiu and Te Puke were the chiefs. They asked the descendants of Para-kiore to go and avenge their defeat at Kai-īnanga by Ngāti Apa. The people of the pā consented to go. The request of Pou-āwhā was carried out and Ngāti Apa were defeated at Tai-korea in the Palmerston District. They also won a victory at Kariri and then came back to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru and made “huahua” of the dead and presented them to Pou-āwhā, Whiuwhiu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri.

Pēhi Tūroa came onto this block from Whanganui with a war party. He was a great chief. He found Te Rāhui and his brothers living at Te Hore-a-Rua. Te Rāhui made peace with him. The war party of Tūroa then went on to Porangahau where all the people were taken as prisoners to Whanganui. Wī Matua, a chief, was one. Hōri Rōpiha went to Whanganui and brought back Te Ahuroa who had been taken prisoner. The elders of Atareta, Taupe, the wife of Pāora Rōpiha are still at Whanganui. Topia Tūroa knows about the peace making between Te Rāhui and Tūroa, so does Hēnare Matua. Wī Matua and my people also know of it. Te Rāhui-nui-o-Keha had Ngāi Te Rua-tōtara [Ngāti Rua-tōtara], Ngāi Te Matetapu and Ngāti Para-kiore with him at Te Hore-a-Rua. They were living in a kāinga there.

6.9 He piko rākau

The title of this section **6.9 He piko rākau** and the following section **6.10 He piko ngākau** are derived from the whakataukī, “He piko rākau e taea te titiro, he piko ngākau e kore e kitea”, “*The crookedness of a tree can be seen but not that of a heart*” Mead and Grove (2001, p. 108), which perfectly sums up my thoughts about some of the evidence given in this case.

Tanguru - Ko te tangata ki mua

Tanguru was imprisoned for perjury, and he mentions this during the Waikōpiro case, “It was in 1863 that Karaitiana gave permission for Ngāti Mārau to live at Rākau-tātahi - I had just come out of jail 4 years before this occurred” (p. 13). However, notwithstanding this early indiscretion, Tanguru was acknowledged in the judgement for the Title Investigation of 1889 as “displaying an intimate knowledge of the block before the court and had given reliable evidence.” Tanguru begins by speaking about Tama-kuku **2.1 He kupu akiaki, he kupu maioha**, and gave the name of the of “Te Awa pokere-a-Tama-kuku” that exits at Te Awahou (*Foxton*) as ‘Te Tuahiwi-ki-Raukawa’.

Tanguru gave his version of the narrative regarding Whata-kōkako which relies a little bit on the imagination as to how could one man could kill so many birds in one action, maybe through some form of incantation or sorcery which some tūpuna were reported to have had, “It was at this time that Matuahaka gave names to places on the block. He went up a hill and whilst there saw a flight of kōkako, he killed a number and made a platform and hung then on it. That is why it was called Whata-kōkako, that is the pā Whata-kōkako.”

McEwen recorded an account of Ranginui Rautahi (1986, p. 36) regarding Whata-kōkako, already partly mentioned in **3.1.2 Te Tini-o-Rua-tāmore** “From the number of bodies set out on racks after the battle [on the banks of the Waikōpiro], the name Whata-kōkako was given to a terraced pā nearby which was later occupied by the Ngāti Para-kioire hapū of Rangitāne.” I record both versions for the individual to ponder.

Tanguru spoke about himself seeing this pā being built being what he believed to be “proof of mana” because “common inferior people were not capable of building pā. To do so required a considerable number under command of chiefs.” He then added the following activities as signs of mana, “protection of the people by a chief, extending hospitality, procuring food, entertaining guests, leading war parties and making peace.”

Tanguru then spoke about Te Opekai and Pari-kōau,

“The ancestors of Te Opekai lived at Ōtāwhao, Te Reponga and Kiriwai. Te Opekai came back onto this block when she married Pari-kōau. They lived on both blocks. Tara-houhou was their child and born on this block at Ōmaru-a-Tipua and she lived permanently at Whata-kōkako. She married Roroku Ngāoko-i-te-rangi ... Pari-kōau was born at Whata-kōkako, died and was buried at Te Reinga-o-Mahuru, he went there from Whata-kōkako and died through a sickness on a ridge at Ahi-weka and his body was taken to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru” Tanguru Tūhua (1889c, p. 6).

The following table is a list of places named by Tanguru. I have kept these separate from the list given by Hōri Herehere “kei manawa hēhē te tangata”. I indicate by the use of an * next to the name of a place if Hōri Herehere also gave evidence regarding that same place. Tanguru talks about the tupuna Matuahaka naming places through personal incidents.

Kāinga

Te Moteko Matuahaka went on a hill and named it this.

Manga-ruihia*

He [Matuahaka] was crossing a stream and slipped and wet his clothes. He shook off the water and gave that place the name.

Papara-taitoko*

Matuahaka climbed a hill and waited for the sun to appear to dry himself, “to whakapapara himself” hence the name Papara-taitoko.

Te Hore-a-Rua*

Matuahaka went east to the top of a certain hill and sat down on a rock. He called it Te Hore of his own head [bald]. His descendants named that place Te Hore-a-Rua.

Rā-i-katia

A ridge. Matuahaka went south to the top of this hill and sat down and took a stone in his mouth, hence the name of the place “Rā-i-katia-ngā-niho-o-Matuahaka”.

Te Reinga-o-Mahuru*

Whilst on Rā-i-katia certain signs appeared to Matuahaka, thunder, lightning, hail, wind, rain, and snow. He stayed in a cave until fine weather arrived then it occurred to him that his lizard [Tūnui-a-Tara] was grieving for him. He then gave a name to this name of “Te Reinga-o-Mahuru-a-Matuahaka”.

Ngā Pā

Whata-kōkako* Was the place where they [Ngā-toro-matahau and others] collected food.

Puke-whīnau Was formed into a pā and food was obtained from “Ōmaru-a-Tipua.”

Manga-ruiwhia*

A small hill was constructed into a pā, a hill about the size of this hall [Oddfellows Hall Waipawa].

Te Wao-tapu Food was collected at this pā.

Whakataka-te-pō Food was also collected at this pā.

Papara-taitoko Was also formed into a pā. Kaiwai was where food was cultivated for that pā [Papara-taitoko].

Te Reinga-o-Mahuru* Was formed into a pā. Te Hīwera and Te Pāhuri was where food was collected for that pā.

Te Upoko-o-Hinetū*

A pā built by the descendants of Maru-pakira to protect themselves against possible attacks from te Whatu-i-āpiti after he fled to Te Wairarapa after the Te Roto-a-Tara fight. See below for an extended narrative.

Ō-tū-tāhuna A cave and burial place of Maru-pakira who died there. Many tūpuna were buried there.

Tangotango-rau A ridge on the north-western side of the block. Inia called it Pai-te-rangi or Mātai-rangi.

Mana-kura A ridge running from Whakataka-te-pō to Manga-puaka called Whakataka-te-pō by Inia.

Ngā Whare

Tuanui-o-Tāmaru A whare at Whata-kōkako.

Te Rongo-o-Ngārangi-ka-uruhia Another whare at Whata-kōkako owned by Pari-kōau.

Ō-tū-a-Rehua A whare at Manga-ruihia belonged to Te Wī and Te Wāwāhanga.

Te Kiritahi-a-Hāmaru A large whare at Ōmaru-a-Tipua.

Te Whakatomotomo-a-Ngāuru-ki-te-rangi A whare in the Te Upoko-o-Hinetū pā.

Tapuae tahi-a-Pari-kōau A whare the Te Upoko-o-Hinetū pā.

Hīmata-nui A whare in Te Reinga-o-Mahuru owned by Te Awhenga, the father of Te Rangi-ka-taepa.

Te Rongo-o-Te Kōtuku

A whare at Te Reinga-o-Mahuru. Named from a journey of the tipuna Te Kōtuku and his party were undertaken to Mangatoro to visit Te Rangi-ka-purotu, the hunaonga (son-in-law) of Te Kōtuku. Te Rangi-ka-taepa and Kaiwaru hearing of the intended visit built a house and invited Te kotuku to the opening, hence the name. Te kotuku was a grandchild of Te Whatu-i-āpiti – Kēkē – Whata-iwi – Te Kōtuku.

Wāhi atu anō

Te Ewe-o-Ruakūhā The place where Ruakūhā was born, not known where she died.

Te Upoko-o-Te Urunga-paewai A pointed stone at Whata-kōkako pā.

Te Taumata-o-Te Wī A place on the bank of the Waikōpiro stream opposite the mouth of the Manga-te-Waiora.

Ara Kiore

Ngā Meroriki A path along which rats were caught.

Te Mangamanga A path along which rats were caught which commenced at Ōmaru-a-Tipua and ran to Māpou-riki.

Wāhi tāhere manu

Ōhia-kai A grove of miro trees near a stream called Ngā Māhanga (wrongly marked on the map as Papa-i-hoea).

Ruha-nui A grove of miro trees near a track Māpou-riki.

Tūranga-a-Rongomai A stream below Whata-kōkako where birds were snared.

Te Motu-a-Tuarongo An isolated bush.

Mangawai

Kawa-hoe A stream running into the Manawatū. It cuts through the Tangotango-rau range.

Pā-mānuka A stream (marked on map, p. 259)

Tāmi-turi A stream (marked on map, p. 259)

Huanui

Pōpō-tahi A road that runs from Te Upoko-a-Hinetū to Ōhine-kautuku where rats were caught.

Te Ara-pakiaka

A road running from Ōhine-kautuku to Te Iringa also where rats were taken.

Ahi-weka

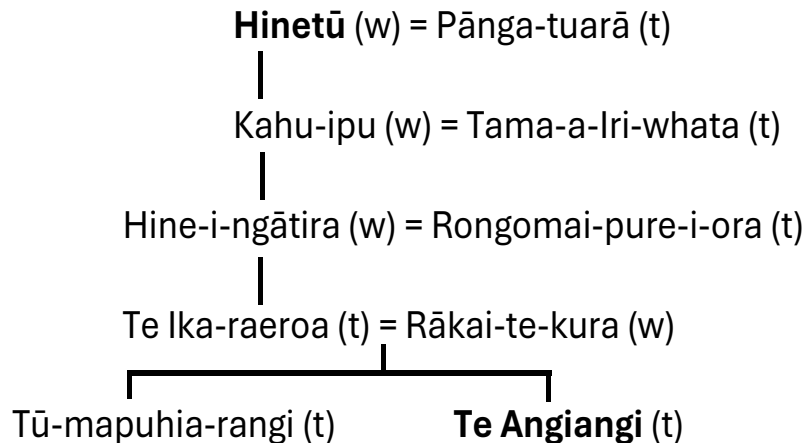
A road along ridge, Pari-kōau died through a sickness on a ridge here and his body was taken to Te Reinga-o-Mahuru.

Tanguru spoke about the period when Maru-pakira and Hinetū were thriving and a division of land was made between the two,

“... of the eastern side outside this block, Hinetū and Maru-pakira retained the land including this block. I can give the boundary between these two persons, It commences at the mouth of the Manga-tarata stream then went to Ariki-rau, then to Ngāhapa, then onto the eastern side of Te Umu-o-pua, then to Whāngai, then to Ōpōrae turning to Mangatoro which it follows down to Manawatū and up the latter river to the mouth of the Waikōpiro stream and on to the mouth of the Manga-te-waiora, up that latter stream to the source of Tūtae-kākahu stream to where it runs into the Mākāretu and following the latter down to Tukituki down that stream to Manga-tarata. This was the land owned by Maru-pakira and this block was included within it. The boundary line I have given became a permanent one. Hinetū retained her own portion bequeathing to her descendant Te Angiangi who gave it to Te Whatu-i-āpiti. That gift was never put aside” Tanguru Tūhua (1889b).

Figure 55:

Whakapapa o Hinetū showing connection to Te Angiangi.



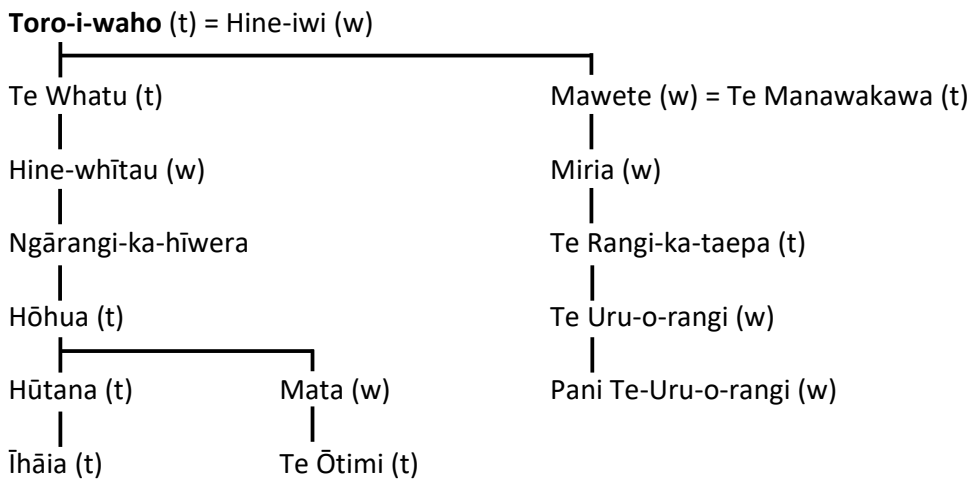
The descendants of Maru-pakira gave no objection or opposition to the gift of Hinetū to Te Angiangi. I leave the above-mentioned placenames as a testimony to the intimate connection Tanguru Tuhua had to this block and in so doing make available to the descendants a “pātaka whakairinga kōrero”.

6.9.1 Īhāia - Ko tōku iwituaroa

Īhāia Hūtana (1844-1938) of Ngāi Toro-i-waho began his evidence by saying, “my grounds of claim are the same as those given by Hōri Niania” and then produces his whakapapa through Toro-i-waho,

Figure 56:

Whakapapa given by Īhāia Hūtana



Īhāia establishes his connection to land through the places he lived at, Ruawharo, Takapau, Waipukurau, for many years then moved to Whenuahou when the Waipukurau block was sold (1851). He states that when he moved to Whenuahou the Ngāi Tahu were living at Takapau and the Toro-i-waho hapū were living at Whenuahou and he himself lived there until 1864.

Whilst living at Whenuahou he says he went to the Waikōpiro block to collect food when he says, “my beard was just sprouting.” Using the development of bodily characteristics as a chronological marker by the ancestors was common as with Hōri Niania commenting, “Since my beard became grey we used to hunt wild pigs on the land, latterly we go to shoot wild cattle” (1889a, p. 11).

Īhāia mentions a place called Whakataka-te-pō where he used to go to collect food, sometimes only staying for “a couple of days if successful and if food was scarce, for over a week”, staying at a whare which belonged to Te Kātene. He mentions the pā he had heard of, whilst at Whenuahou, Te Reinga-o-Mahuru, Te Pāhuri, Matuku and Whata-kōkako which belonged to Ngāi Toro-i-waho and Ngāi Tahu.

In conclusion, Tanguru stated, “Te Waikōpiro was the boundary of the land given by Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga, it did not include this block.” This statement of Tanguru was supported by those tūpuna who were respected for their knowledge and mana of the word. I now give a brief summary of other evidence presented in the Waikōpiro cases.

6.10 He piko ngākau

Hāmana Tiakiwai (1889, p. 9) in speaking about mana whenua of the Waikōpiro block stretched the narrative slightly to gain some type of claim to the land and this is evidenced in his declaration that through the bravery of Te Rangi-ka-mangungu and his descendant’s in defending the land it amounted to coming on to the land and thus gave them a right. Another narrative that Hāmana promoted was his refuting of the gifting of land by Te Whatu-i-āpiti to my tupuna Hika-rere-pari,

“I will not say that I am well informed about native matters and that Hēnare Matua is ignorant. He is a well-informed man, his knowledge commenced at Kaitahi. Hēnare is very clever at inventing stories. I will not say that he is better informed than I am. If Hēnare Matua stated in the Porangahau court that Te Whatu-i-āpiti gave this land to Hika-rere-pari, I would still deny it. I have never heard of this gift to Hika-rere-pari. The mana of Rangitāne ceased over this block, it ceased at the post Pua-ki-te-ao” (1889, p. 7).

Inia Whangataua like Hāmana refuted the narrative that Te Whatu-i-āpiti gave the land to Hika-rere-pari,

“Hika-rere-pari did not obtain any right through Te Whatu-i-āpiti returning the lands. Hika-rere-pari was not born at the time that the food was collected by Te Whatu-i-āpiti, for the feast to Te Angiangi ... I can’t reconcile the statements made that Hika-rere-pari collected food on this block whilst at the time he was not born. I heard Wī Matua and Hēnare Matua state in Porangahau hearing that land was given to Hika-rere-pari for food collected by him, that evidence is false” (1889a, p. 4).

This particular narrative of Inia and Hāmana concerning Hika-rere-pari not collecting food to give to Te Angiangi has been disproven many times. “Te Whatu-i-āpiti was an old man at that time so the food was collected by the younger chiefs, by Rangiwāwāhia, Hika-rere-pari, Te Tatū, Te Rangiwakaewa and others” **2.5 Kaihaukai** p. 89 and that is why the kaihaukai was called “Uaua Tamariki”, The Sinews of Youth. On the narrative given by Inia regarding the death of Whare-rau-aruhe I turn to McEwen (1986, pp. 64-65). In the Aorangi Judgement the following was accepted as being the reality,

The feast given to Te Angiangi was called the “Uaua Tamariki” because Whatu-i-āpiti, being then an old man had to obtain the assistance of the young chiefs of the hapū under him to collect the food required for this great festival. Whatu-i-āpiti distributed among the leaders of these hapu the lands he obtained from Te Angiangi the chief donees being Tama-i-waho, Toro-i-waho and Hika-rere-pari, the last named receiving a portion to the west of the Rā-i-katia range and including Waikōpiro and the other two getting a portion of land including Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou and Aorangi (“Aorangi Judgement,” 1924a).

Hōri Aroatua Niania proclaimed his status as a basis for gaining mana in respect of his evidence,

“I am now the representative of Pareihe’s mana”, “they [the pā] belong to me”, “I am the chief of the Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Toro-i-waho, Ngāti Ngarengare and Ngāti Kikiri”, “I have exercised my authority by selling land to the Queen, that is, the whole of the Waipukurau block” [There were several chiefs involved in the Waipukurau sale, and Te Rōpiha and others objected to the selling of other lands by Hōri]. “I had authority over the land, myself and my hapū had the mana”, “my mana is greater than theirs [Tūrake, Uewhā and Rua-tōtara] over this land”.

Then Hōri stated that Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Ngarengare owned the land but admitted that he could name Te Whata-kōkako and Te Reinga-o-Mahuru pā but could not point them out or the places they snared birds or where they lived as he said, “I have never been on this land.” This last statement of Hōri reflects the substance of his evidence as there are many instances in the evidence provided by Hōri where he says, “I do not know.”

Te Teira Tiakitai from Ngāti Kurukuru of Waimārama presented his evidence similar to the evidence that he presented for the Whenuahou case and the Ōtāwhao Rerewei case. He based it on his whakapapa connection to Te Whatu-i-āpiti through Manawakawa.

Figure 57:

Whakapapa showing Te Teira link to Manawakawa



However, he did not claim land at Waikōpiro through whakapapa but instead through the gift of Tama-i-waho. Te Teira mentioned previously in **6.4.3 Te kōpua kānapanapa** his account about the origin of the settlement of Te Kōpua, then gave new narrative

including the whakataukākī uttered by Tama-i-waho about Raupī of Ngāti Tangihia, who Tama-i-waho considered an ‘inferior’, “he huruhuru nō ō tāua waewae, *he is like the hair on our feet.*”

The evidence supplied by Te Teira mentions ‘conquest’ of Rangitāne as grounds for claim but provides scant knowledge of the actual history of the block. For example, his comment, “I know nothing of any portion of the land being given for the food of Hikarere-pari ... I don’t know the reason why the name Waikōpiro was given to this block.” Although judgement given for the Waikōpiro Title Investigation in 1889 awarded Te Teira in collaboration with Hōri Niania and Hāmana Tiakiwai 6,500 acres (Block 5), in the judgement for the Rehearing in 1891 his claim along with Hāmana Tiakiwai, Te Kani Hōri, and Hōri Niania was disallowed.

Whilst mentioning the battles that occurred in Heretaunga, Tamatea, and Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua (Pukekaihou, Te Aratipu, Roto-a-Tara, Whiti-o-Tū, Pakake, Tarawhitiwhiti and Piripiri), Te Teira misplaced the battle Tarawhitiwhiti, saying it occurred on Ōtāwhao, but it was actually on the Rākau-tātahi block but was corrected in evidence by Hōri Niania, “When Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Kurukuru were “killed” at Te Aratipu by Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāi Te Upokoiri Te Pokanga invited Pareihe to avenge this defeat. Pareihe attacked and defeated Ngāi Te Upokoiri at Tarawhitiwhiti on Rākau-tātahi” Hōri Niania (1889c).

The following are the actual words of Te Teira when being pressed by Aperahama Te Kume reflecting his lack of knowledge specific to the land blocks of this research,

“I have not heard of the battles which you call Ngā Horo, Ko Tātai-whetū and Te Moana-i-rokia... (1889e, p. 3)

Pareihe and the hapū named by Hōri Matua obtained payment for the defeat at Te Aratipi [near Waimārama] by killing Ngāi Te Upokoiri at Ōtāwhao at the battle called Tarawhitiwhiti ... (1889d, p. 16)

I have heard about Ngā Kapa being killed the crossing at Waipawa, also Tama-i-waho being killed at Mangatarata, those were family quarrels – these were not fights in consequence of Tama-i-waho giving the land... I heard Tama-i-waho was killed in a family quarrel, had it been a protest against his gift of the land the gift would have fallen through... I never heard previously that he was killed for giving the land, I never heard that he fled to Mangatarata. That was his place of residence. This place is near Waipukurau. Had he been killed for giving the land, Waipukurau block would have been taken also.”

The last statement is disputed by Tanguru Tūhua (1883, p. 121) **6.3 Ōtāwhao Rerewei**, and in McEwen (1986, p. 105) which was generally agreed to by the tūpuna of that time that the gift of Tama-i-waho pertained only to the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks. Te Teira continued to include Waikōpiro in the gift of Tama-i-waho to Te Rehunga and Manawakawa. To say also that the Waipukurau block would have been taken also is a reach too far.

Te Teira was also unaware of the Ngā Horo, the Moana-i-rokia and the Ko Tātai-whetū fights. In speaking about these battles Te Teira refers back to Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi and their conquest of Rangitāne and uses that as a ground for claim.

6.11 He kupu rongonui

The following discussion centres on the well-known proverb regarding the four exits to Te Tapere nui-a Whātonga and the attempts to minimise or even discard the narrative.

Te Teira Tiakitai (1889f, p. 23) refuted the existence of the well-known whakatauaāki regarding the protection of the exits to Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga by placing Te Rangi-totohu at Rākau-tātahi, Para-kiore at Papara-taitoko, Te Matetapu and Te Whakawehi at Te Tōanga and Koronga-whenua at Te Ahu-a-Tūranga, “I never heard this proverb formerly, this proverb is a pure invention”.

This whakatauaāki was mentioned as a ‘well-known whakatauaāki’ in many cases pertaining to the land blocks in this research. Hōri Niania (1889b, p. 10) expands on the whakatauaāki and includes Te Waha-o-te-Kurī rather than Te Ahu-a-Tūranga,

“I know the proverbs, “Te Rangi-totohu kei te putanga ki Te Rākau-tātahi (Te Rangi-totohu at the (protects) exit of the road at Te Rākau-tātahi.” “Para-kiore kei te putanga ki Papara-taitoko” Para-kiore at the (protects) exit of the road at Papara-taitoko. “Te Whakawehi kei te putanga ki Te Tōanga” Te Whakawehi at (protects) the exit of the road at Te Tōanga. “Te Koronga-whenua kei te putanga ki Te Waha-o-te-Kurī” Te Koronga-whenua at (protects) the exit of the road at Te Waha-o-te-Kurī. “

Hōri Niania provides further details of the placement.

“Para-kiore closed the road at Tāmaki and not on this land [Waikōpiro] I know the proverb following:

Te Rangitotohu kei te putanga ki Te Rākau-tātahi
Para-kiore kei te putanga ki Papara-taitoko
Te Whakawehi kei te putanga ki Te Tōanga
Te Koronga-whenua kei te putanga ki Te Waha o te Kurī”

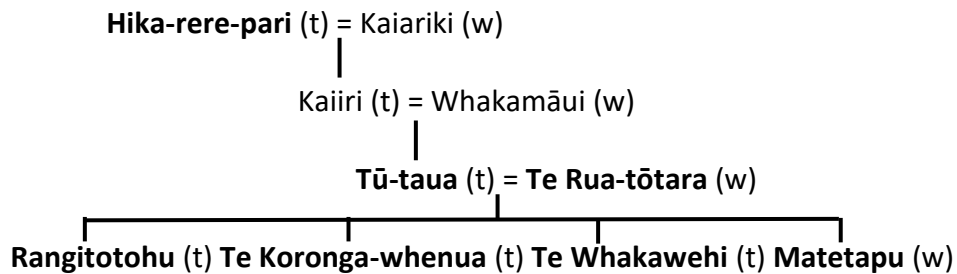
The narrative regarding the whakatauaāki about protecting the 4 exits to Te Tapere nui-a Whātonga was presented in all the cases either to support or refute mana whenua, Hōri Herehere declared,

“I did hear the mana of certain persons mentioned in this court [Waikōpiro] in connection with this land. I can’t remember any proverbs in connection with “mana” of certain persons. I remember that Para-kiore was set up to have mana at Papara-taitoko which shows I think that he was the owner of this block. He

was brought from Tahora-iti. He was brought by Tūrake, Uewhā, Te Rua-tōtara and Tū-taua. Tū-taua was the husband of Te Rua-tōtara,”

Figure 58:
Whakapapa:

Tū-taua and Rua-tōtara and their children who were placed at the exits of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga.



Parakiore was set up at that place to have “mana” and keep back attacking parties from going on the block. This is all I know about the proverb connected with Para-kiore. (1889, p. 10).

Finally, Nepe Te Apatū (1891) gave his understanding of the whakataukī,

I te takiwā i a Tū-tāua ka wehea e ia taua whenua ki āna tamariki,
 Ka wehea a Te Rākau-tātahi ki a Rangi-totohu,
 Te Koronga-whenua ka wehea ki Te Ahu-a-Tūranga, tōna taha Rangitāne,
 Te Whakawehi me Te Matetapu ki Te Tōanga ahu atu ki Porangahau,
 Ko Para-kiore ki Papara-taitoko.
 Haere ana rātou ki ā rātou wāhi, noho ana a Rangi-totohu ki Te Rākau-tātahi, he
 whaimana ēnei tāngata katoa.

In the time of Tū-taua he divided that land amongst his children,
 He separated Rākau-tātahi to Tangi-totohu
 Te Koronga-whenua was sent to Te Ahu-a-Tūranga his Rangitāne side,
 Te Whakawehi and Te Matetapu were sent to Te Tōanga out from Porangahau
 Para-kiore was sent to Papara-taitoko
 They went to their respective places, Rangitotohu occupied Rākau-tātahi, all
 these people held mana.

6.11.1 He manawa nui

Te Teira Tiakitai (1889f, p. 17) had many re-interpretations of historical narrative which appears to have been a strategy adopted by many who gave evidence in the Native Land

Court. Specific to Te Teira is his explanation to Whatahoro (John. A. Jury) regarding Ahikā roa and Ahi mātaotao, in relationship to his claiming of land,

“I gave occupation as one of my rights to this land. I consider occupation from the time of Taraia to the present, that is my meaning of “occupation”, “Ahikā roa”. “Ahi mātaotao” means that when people have left the land and not returned their fires went out. I should say that Ahi mātaotao only applies to those driven off the land by force and arms.”

Te Teira continued to voice his claim through the gift of Tama-i-waho even though the other parties agreed that Waikōpiro was not in the gift. On this understanding Teira made the following proclamation while being cross examined by Captain John Blake, “Notwithstanding that if all parties say that Waikōpiro is not included in the gift of Tama-i-waho I will still adhere to my story” (1889c, p. 10).

6.12 He kupu whakakapi

“He kokonga whare e kitea, he kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea”, *The corners of a house can be seen but not the corners of the heart*. “E kore e kitea he toki huna” *A hidden adze cannot be seen* is other whakataukī expressed to warn of hidden motive, ill-intention, and unscrupulous actions. As the saying goes “All is fair in love and war” perfectly reflects the thinking to the extent that some tūpuna saw an opportunity to gain a foothold in places they perhaps had no right to.

The Waikōpiro case has provided us with an abundance of narrative regarding the language on the land, the relationships of tūpuna over time and how they expressed their intimate knowledge and belonging to the land through the naming places. The interrelationships of tūpuna in this case revealed,

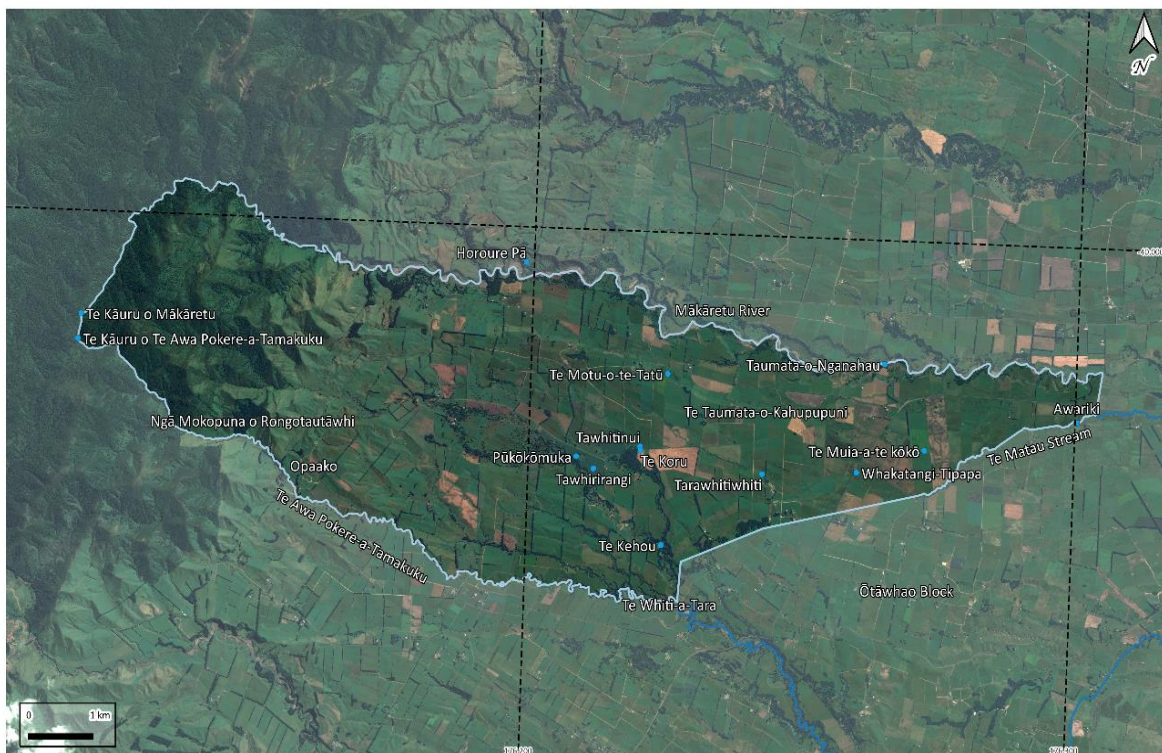
1. The seven places named by both Hōri Herehere and Tanguru Tūhua, out of the 104 listed emphasised the importance of those places to the people.
2. Tanguru Tūhua was acknowledged as “displaying an intimate knowledge of the block before the court and had given reliable evidence”.
3. Waikōpiro was strongly contested and strategic alliances to strengthen cases proved to be fruitless.
4. Some of the evidence provided by some witnesses for places and the well-known whakataukī was disproven many times

I now turn to Rākau-tātahi, the land and its stories that inspired this thesis.

6.13 Te Rākau-tātahi

Figure 59:

Rākau-tātahi with boundary taken from original survey map of 1891

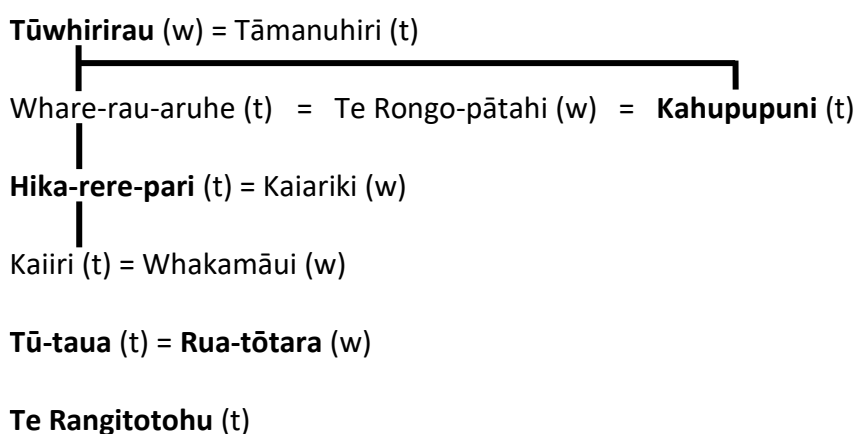


The last land block to be discussed in this research is the Rākau-tātahi block. Rākau-tātahi is the block I am strongly associated with through my hapū Ngāi Te Rangitotohu ki Rangitāne and Ngāti Marau ki Kahungunu and is the original spark of inspiration that hit me back in 1980. The origin of the name is discussed fully in **6.14 He Hiki Tapuwae**.

The name Rākau-tātahi was used to describe the area of land, 11,819 acres in the court case of 1891, but according to accounts from the tūpuna of that time, the given name of that area was Te Taumata-o-Kahu named after the tupuna Kahupupuni.

Figure 60:

Whakapapa: Kahupupuni connection to Tūwhirirau the eponymous ancestor of Rākau-tātahi down to Rangitotohu te tangata o Rākau-tātahi.



6.13.1 He tātai kōrero

Rākau-tātahi is situated on the land that once stood at the edge of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga, a.k.a. the 70-mile bush and/or Tāmaki nui-a-Rua which went from the Rua-taniwha plains southwards to Woodville where the rivers Manawatū, the Tīraumea and the Mangahao further down merge giving those particular confluences the name Ngā-awa-pū-rua (*the confluence of two rivers*). The southern part of the bush was called the 40-mile bush, when measured from Kōpūaranga to Woodville and called the 90-mile

bush when measured from Kōpūaranga to the Ruataniwha plains. This land south of Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku through to Kōpūaranga belonged to the Rangitāne people.

Further to the boundaries given by Hēnare Matua (1891b) in **3.4 Whakaroherohe** regarding the division of land between Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi is the additional statement,

“Ko te taha tonga i a Te Angiangi ko te Rākau-tātahi i roto i te wāhi i a Te Angiangi ... nā Tama-i-waho tana wāhi i tango, nā Toro-i-waho tōna, nā Hika-rere-pari tōna” The southern region was given to Te Angiangi where Te Rākau-tātahi is situated ... Tama-i-waho took his part [Ōtāwhao], Toro-i-waho took his [Waikōpiro], Hika-rere-pari took his [Rākau-tātahi].

Hēnare reiterated the division of land between Hika-rere-pari, Tama-i-waho and Toro-i-waho after giving the boundaries obtained through the Whakaara-raumati pile of food,

“I a Tama-i-waho te whenua i te taha ki Ōtāwhao o tēnei rohe kua kōrero nei au, ko Tama-i-waho te hoa o Hika-rere-pari i te mahinga o te whakatihi Whakaara-raumati. I rongo au i tangohia e Tama-i-waho a Ōtāwhao māna ... Ko Hika-rere-pari te mea i noho ki runga i tēnei whenua [Rākau-tātahi]. Ko Ngāi Tūwhirirau te ingoa hapū o Hika-rere-pari ki taku rongo. Ki taku mōhio atu tēnei me taku rongo, ko ngā tāngata e noho nei i runga i tēnei whenua, arā, Ngāi Tūwhirirau me Ngāti Tangimoana.”

Tama-i-waho possessed the land Ōtāwhao of this region I have spoken about, Tama-i-waho was the companion of Hika-rere-pari in gathering the pile of food Whakaara-raumati. I heard Tama-i-waho took Ōtāwhao for himself ... Hika-rere-pari is the person who lived on this land. Ngāi Tūwhirirau is the name of the hapū of Hika-rere-pari I have heard. I know and have heard also that the people that settled on this land were Ngāi Tūwhirirau and Ngāti Tangimoana.

It is fact that Hika-rere-pari was given the land Rākautātahi stands on and the descendants of Tūwhirirau, and her sons Whare-rau-aruhe and Kahu-pupuni possessed all rights to the land. For narrative relating to places on Rākau-tātahi I refer to the tupuna Nepe Te Apatū who gave reliable evidence recorded over 79 pages in the NMB24 of the Native Land Court. My research leans towards the evidence recorded in te reo Māori by Russell (1891) and was in the possession of an uncle of my brother Brian and I, Ngāti

Mārau Foxy Russell (1914-1990). My uncle Mārau was given the name of our hapū, and he was well versed in whakapapa and narrative pertaining to the Tamatea-Heretaunga region. Brother Brian was given access to the book by uncle Mārau and copied the evidence from which I use. Unfortunately, after the passing of uncle Mārau in 1990, and brother Brian asking as to the book's whereabouts it was missing. In giving evidence Nepe Te Apatū supplied the Native Land Court with whakapapa from which I use a basis for this research. Nepe stated,

“E kereeme ana ahau i te poraka katoa nei,
He tūpuna
He tuku ki a Hika-rere-pari
He ringa kaha
He ahi kā
He mana
He whakahē i ngā hoko

Koia nei aku take ki tēnei whenua. Ko Tūwhirarau taku tupuna. Ko Tūwhirarau te tupuna i noho tuatahi ki runga i tēnei whenua, i muri i a ia ko Hika-rere-pari. He tuku tētahi o aku take ... i muri i te tuku i ngā uri a Hika-rere-pari me tana hapū Ngāi Tūwhirarau tēnei whenua (Nepe Te Apatū, 1891, p. 9).

*I claim the whole of this block,
Through ancestry
Land given to Hika-rere-pari
Strength of arm
Continuous occupation
Authority
Opposing sales*

This is my claim to this land. Tūwhirarau is my ancestor. Tūwhirarau was the ancestor who first settled on this land, after her was Hika-rere-pari. Giving the land is one of my claims ... after receiving the land the descendants of Hika-rere-pari and his people Ngāi Tūwhirarau possessed this land.

6.13.2 He tātai tangata

The hapū mentioned in the case were, Ngāti Mārau, Ngāi Tūwhirarau, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tangimoana, Ngāi Tūrāhui, Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Ngāti Tangihia, Ngāti te Rangi-te-

kahutia, Ngāi Te Upokoiri, Ngāti Hokotahi, Ngāti Hōri, Ngāti Toto-i-waho, Ngāti Ngarengare, Ngāti Wharona and Ngāti Hine-whītau.

The tūpuna who gave evidence in the Rākau-tātahi case as listed in NMB24 were, Hēnare Matua, Horomona Rongo-pārae, Noa Huke, Pine Hurunui-a-rangi, Eru Te Hopu, Pūrākau Maika, Tanguru Tūhua, Wī Māhuri Tiweta, Maata Pōraerae and Nepe Te Apatū. It will be the evidence of Nepe te Apatū that guides the narrative for the various types of land use and other places on Rākau-tātahi.

Nepe states that, “Ngāti Mārau i noho tautahi ki Te Rākau-tātahi. Ko Waione te tangata i noho tuatahi, i mahi kai ki Mākāretu awa.” *Ngāti Mārau were the first to reoccupy Te Rākau-tātahi and Waione was first to live there [in 1855] and gather food on the Mākāretu river.*

Figure 61:

Whakapapa showing the descent of Waione from Rangi-totohu.

Rangi-totohu (t) = Te Ringa (w)
|
Mariro-i-te-rangi (w) = Mana-o-te-rangi (t)
|
Tama-i-whakawaha (t)
|
Rōnaki (t)
|
Waione (t)

The tūpuna—who left Te Rākau-tātahi due to the fighting—returned from Manawatū circa 1851 to find the land desolate and no one living either on Te Rākau-tātahi or Te Takapau. They initially stayed at Te Whiti-a-Tara [see map below], went to Te Waipukurau, and then returned again to Manawatū for a year returning back in 1852

was shown to him for Rākau-tātahi, Ōmarutāiri and Te Takapau. 600 pounds to stop the leasing and 100 pounds from Te Rōpiha for Whenuahou. Altogether 700 pounds was placed in the hands of Karaitiana and Tamihana. [Tamihana died in 1865].

According to Nepe, “Kāore a Karaitiana i hoatu ngā moni ki te Kāwanatanga, i pau i a ia” *Karaitiana didn’t give the money to the Government, he spent it.* After settling the closing off of the leases in 1870, the following tūpuna returned to Te Rākau-tātahi, Ngaihi, Hataraka, Te Mātenga, Peraniko and Mehaka. At that time, they were living in tents and working on building the road alongside Ngāi Tahu. Once the road was completed Ngāi Tahu returned to te Takapau. In 1874, both parties began erecting fences. Under the guidance of Nepe a fence was erected from Toko-pāroa to Te Awariki. Tanguru hired Europeans to erect their fence from the Ōtāwhao block to Te Awariki.

Tensions rose in between Ngāti Mārau and Ngāi Tahu **4.4.2 He ririri tara ā-whare** regarding the erecting of fences and Ngāti Mārau land being ploughed by Ngāi Tahu “ki te ngangare ki a mātou, ka kite atu mātou e parau ana i te wāhi ki a mātou, ka rere atu au ka unuhia e au ngā pou” *to quarrel with us, we saw them ploughing land which belonged to us, I rushed over and pulled up the pegs.* The Europeans employed by Tanguru to erect their fence threw the fencing wire which belonged to Ngāti Mārau into the river resulting in Nepe stopping the Europeans from fencing. At a hui held at Pākōwhai, and chaired by Hēnare Tōmoana, the hui agreed with Ngāti Mārau and that they and Ngāi Tahu should live peacefully. “Kāore a Ngāi Tahu i noho ki runga i taua whakatau” Nepe Te Apatū (1891) *Ngāi Tahu didn’t honour that decision.* The following narrative from Nepe gives an account of the events after the hui at Pākōwhai,

“Ka hoki mai ki te kāinga ka mahia e mātou te whenua, ka parautia, e whakangāwari ana au i taua tāima, tuhia ana e au te pukapuka [letter] ki a Ngāi

Tahu kia haere mai ki te whakaara tahi mātou i te taiepa i te tohu 'E' tae atu ki 'F', i muri tonu iho i tēnā ka tono anō ahau ki a Ngāi Tahu kia haere mai ki te whakaara taiepa. Kāore a Ngāi Tahu i whakaae. Nāku tonu me aku taina taua taiepa i whakaara i te tau 72. I muri iho i tēnā ka ara anō he raruraru i a Hēnare Tītiti. Ka kite mātou kua wāhia e ia tō mātou taiepa kia parautia e ia, ka panaia e mātou, i muri iho ka wāhia anō e ia taua taiepa, ka whakaaro ia ka tukua ki te komiti ki Ōmāhu".

When we returned home, we worked the land, ploughed it, I was feeling quite relaxed at that time and wrote a letter to Ngāi tahu to come and erect a fence together from point 'E' to point 'F', after that I requested that Ngāi Tahu come and erect the fence. Ngāi Tahu refused. So, myself and my siblings erected the fence in 72. After that trouble arose again by Hēnare Tītiti. We saw him pulling down the fence and ploughing, we sent him away, after that he pulled the fence down again and decided to send the issue to the committee at Ōmāhu.

After this there was more trouble when Ngāi Tahu allowed a European to graze cows on Te Rākautātahi. The above quarrels led to a meeting being held at Kaikanohi which was attended by Samuel Locke, a Government official, to intercede and suggested that the issue be sent to court to end the troubles. Mehaka, the father of Nepe, laid down the boundary at that meeting between Ōtāwhao and Te Rākau-tātahi,

"Nā taku pāpā Mehaka i whakatakoto te rohe o waenganui o Ōtāwhao me Te Rākau-tātahi, i kī anō ia i reira, ko Ngāi Tahu ki te taha ki Ōtāwhao, Ngāti Mārau ki te taha ki Te Rākau-tātahi. Tīmata i Te Awariki, ka haere ki runga o Te Matau awa, mau ki te ngutu awa o Te Manga-o-Te Ao-pōkeka, mau ki Te Manga-o-Rangi-apu, i reira ka rere poupu ki te Waihi awa i roto ngahere, ka haere whakarunga o Waihi ki te Hīwera, ka rere tika tonu ki Kaipū, ka mau ki ngā huinga o Māhu-rau-nui me Manawatū. Ka rere whakarunga o Manawatū tae noa ki Ruahine, ka whati ki te rāwhiti ka tae ki te kāuru o Mākāretu, ka rere ki taua awa mau ki Te Tūtae-o-Pohue ka whati ki te tonga ki Awariki. Kāore he tangata i tū mai ki te whakahē i taua rohe a Mehaka. I mea mai a Te Raka te mea tika me tukua tēnei whenua me ngā whenua o waho tae noa ki Te Takapau ki Te Kōti kia whakawāhia" Nepe Te Apatū (1891, p. 4).

My father, Mehaka laid down the boundary in between Ōtāwhao and Te Rākau-tātahi, he stipulated there that Ngāi held the land Ōtāwhao and Ngāti Mārau held the land at Te Rākau-tātahi. It began at Te Awariki, and followed the Te Matau stream, to the mouth of Te Manga-o-Te Ao-pōkeka, then to Te Manga-o-Rangi-apu. From there it went up the Waihi stream into the bush, upwards to Hīwera, then directly to Kaipū, then to the confluence of Māhu-rau-nui and Manawatū. It went up the Manawatū until the Ruahine range, then broke off to the east to the headwaters of Mākāretu, down that river to Te Tūtae-o-Pohue, then south to Te Awariki. No person stood to refute that boundary of Mehaka. Locke then said it was appropriate to send this land and the land outside including Te Takapau to the Court to be investigated".

In another attempt to usurp the mana of Ngāti Mārau, Te Matenga took Pūhara and Hoera of Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti onto the land and began pointing out places. With the group were Raharuhi and Ngaihi who steadfastly expressed their disapproval of Te Mātenga “giving their land” to Te Whatu-i-āpiti and disputed what Te Mātenga was saying, when he spoke about Kōhanga-kārearea and Motu-kaikōmako being cultivations of Te Whatu-i-āpiti,

“I reira ka riri a Raharuhi me Hoani Ngaihi ki ngā kōrero a Te Mātenga, ka mea atu, e tā, he aha tēnei mahi āu, kawē mai i ēnei tāngata [Pūhara and Hoera] ki runga i ngā whenua a ngā mokopuna a Rangi-totohu me Ngāi Tūwhirirau, pērā anō ngā kōrero a Hoani Ngaihi”

It was there that Raharuhi and Hoani Ngaihi became angry at what Te Matenga was saying, Raharuhi said to him, what are you doing, bringing these people on the lands of the grandchildren of Rangi-totohu and Ngāi Tūwhirirau, Hoani Ngaihi expressed the same sentiments.

Nepe became so angry that he returned to Kaikanohi and Ngāti Mārau met and disagreed with the visit of Pūhara and Hoera. Eventually a hui was called at Ōmāhu, along with other issues where Pūhara continued the false narrative about boundaries and the mana of Pareihe **6.5.1 Whakatakoto kōrero** on Te Rākau-tātahi along with Rāpata Tiakitai and Hōri Niania,

“Kāore au i rongō i tae a Pareihe ki tēnei whenua ... i tae ake ngā taina a Pareihe ki Horoure, ko Pareihe i noho atu ki Te Roto-a-Tara me Whatumā ... Kāore au i rongō i tēnā kōrero a Rāpata Tiakitai nā taua whawhai [Manga-toetoe] i uru tēnei whenua ki roto i te tuku a Te Kaihou ki a Pareihe ... i pēnei ngā kōrero a Rāpata i runga i te pātai a Rupuha, nō te ngakinga i te mate o ngā tungāne a Te Kaihou e te Pareihe i tukua ai tēnei whenua a Te Rākoutātahi me Horoure ... Kāore kore rawa he take a Pareihe me ōna taina ki tēnei poraka, ki Te Rākoutātahi ... e hē ana tēnā kōrero a Hōri [Niania] i tukua ngā whenua a Ngāti Te Raro me ngā mokopuna a Rangi-totohu ki a Pareihe e Te Kaihou” Nepe Te Apatū (1891, pp. 8, 20, 28)

I never heard that Pareihe came to this land ... the younger siblings of Pareihe went to Horoure, Pareihe went to Te Roto-a-Tara and Whatumā ... I never heard that talk of Rāpata Tiakitai, due to that fight [Manga-toetoe] this land was included in the gift of Te Kaihou to Pareihe ... similar to the words of Rāpata when questioned by Rupuha, that because of the revenge of the brothers of Te Kaihou

by Pareihe this land Te Rākau-tātahi and Horoure were gifted. Pareihe and his siblings have absolutely no right to this block Te Rākau-tātahi ... that talk of Hōri [Niania] is false that the lands of Ngāti Te Raro and the grandchildren of Rangi-totohu were gifted to Pareihe by Te Kaihou.

Nepe had the ominous task during the Te Rākau-tātahi case to refute several falsehoods regarding whakapapa, tūpuna and incidents. Rather than spend pages recording all of the evidence of Nepe I record the places Nepe spoke about.

6.13.3 He tātai whenua

Nepe Te Apatū, in discussing the following places, consolidates his mana of the land, his mana whenua, his mana from tūpuna, his mana tangata and his mana reo, his knowledge of the places. I have added narrative based on the position of places written on the original survey map drawn up by Reardon (1891) and left the number indicating places for future reference if the original map surfaces.

Kāinga

Te Taumata-o-Kahu

A resting place, a ridge and a settlement which belonged to Rangi-koia, Te Tuatahi and Mariro-i-te-rangi and her children Tama-i-whakawaha and Te Rarawaru.

Pūkōkōmuka

Occupied by the families of Whare-rau-aruhe, Kahu-pupuni lived here. Indicated on the original map at point **(46)**. Hika-rere-pari died here.

Te Umu-o-Kahungunu

This place was given its name after the birth of a child to Hine-i-kihia, a dog named Kahungunu was cooked as part of the celebration of that birth.

Ngā Motu-riki - A settlement and a cultivation.

Kōhanga Kārearea A settlement and a cultivation, this name suggests there was a kārearea (native falcon) nesting there.

Motu-kaikōmako

A large important settlement and cultivation located on a large point similar to the location of a pā. Near a grove of kaikōmako trees. Mana-o-Tāwhaki was burnt at this place by Tau-tāpatu.

Kumu-tāpatu

A settlement and crossing on the Mākāretu river above the confluence of the Kaitiritiri stream and the Mākāretu river.

Te Rua-o-Paerangi A settlement situated between the Māhu-rau-nui and Māhu-rau-iti streams.

Te Taumata-o-Kahu A settlement and resting place on a ridge behind the present Rākau-tātahi marae.

Toko-pāroa A settlement which belonged to Te Okanga.

Ōtāwara

A settlement where a forest used to be. The stumps of the trees could still be seen in 1891. It is close to the Matau stream.

Kaikanohi A settlement which belonged to Te Okanga.

Te Āwhā-pōuri

A settlement and a clearing where a cultivation was. A place where Ngāti Mārau worked.

Te Harakeke-a-Hinekai A settlement until the time of Tamihana Whareraupō who died in 1865.

Te Arawhata-a-Pōkākā A settlement on an isthmus on the Mākāretu river below the Kaikanohi urupā.

Paramahoe A settlement which was next to the road from Takapau to Norsewood which belonged to Waione and elder of Nepe te Apatū.

Te Taumata-o-Nganahau

A settlement where Nganahau went to after assisting in the fight to avenge the insult of Ruanuku to Rangi-totohu.

Te Owha-pōuri A settlement and a clearing on the Mākāretu where Ngāi Tūwhirirau cultivated.

Wharawhara A settlement and camping place given to Rangi-koia by Rangi-totohu. Situated on the upper reaches of the Toto-kura-mata-whereo.

Whare**Tāwhirirangi**

A house built on Rākau-tātahi, initially by Hika-rere-pari outside of the Tawhitinui pā then moved inside that pā. Later moved to Te Koru pā. Later renovated by Nepe Te Apatū.

Tāwhirirau A house built on Te Kēhou under Tū-taua. The house stood through to the time of Rangi-totohu.

Te Whare-o-Tāmai-ōna-rangi

A house built by Tāmai-ōna-rangi when he and his wife were travelling from Heretaunga to Tāmaki. This house was built near Te Kēhou.

Pā**Te Kēhou**

A pā built by Tū-taua and his hapū on the confluence of Māhu-rau-nui and Māhu-rau-iti. The house Tāwhirirau was built in that pā and occupied firstly by Tū-taua then Rangi-totohu. Rangi-totohu occupied Te Kēhou for 2 generations and when the people went to the Manawatū it was deserted.

Tawhitinui

Situated on the Māhu-rau-nui stream where the families of Whare-rau-aruhe, Kahupupuni lived as well as at Pūkōkōmuka.

Te Koru

A pā situated on the Māhu-rau-iti stream. This pā became infected by illness and was abandoned in the time of Tū-taua.

Patu-kōtore Belonging to Tū-taua, Rauaotea and Takuao.

Ōtāngutu

A pā on the upper reaches of the Māhu-rau-nui stream and identified on the map used in the Native Land Court by the number **(32)**. This pā belonged to Tū-taua.

Pāhuri

A pā above Ōtāngutu Māhu-rau-nui stream also on the Māhu-rau-nui stream also built by Tū-taua. Ngāi Tūwhirirau, Ngāti Te Rangi-te-kahutia and Ngāi Tangimoana lived in this pā at the number **(47)**.

Taupahi

Ōtūhane A camping place near the upper part of Māhu-rau-nui above Tawhitinui pā.

Te Upoko-whakapiri At the point **(48)**.

Pōtaka-a-rangi A camping place of Hika-rere-pari where the Papa-aruhe track emerged.

Patu-kauae A camping place which belonged to Mariro-i-te rangi and her children.

Mahinga Kai

Arero-parera A cultivation near Kōhanga-kārearea.

Tūtae-tāmia A garden which belonged to Rangi-koia and Ngāti Wharona.

Paramahoe A cultivation above Te Taipu-a-Te Aihi where peach and cherry trees grew which belonged to Wehi Manene.

Te Ara-karuwai Located on the bush side of Tarawhitiwhiti and a track also.

Te Upoko-o-Te Rangi-haupū A cultivation where the aruhe was obtained. It was also a settlement.

Hūtoi A place where aruhe was dug at the mouth of the Paramahoe stream where it meets the Mākāretu river.

Kai-a-tirotiro

An open space and plantation in between the Paramahoe stream and the Te Matau stream near the eel weirs at Te Awariki.

Te Tūpaki-a-Hine-kōpae On the upper reaches of Māhu-rau-nui where birds were snared.

Tauranga-a-Wharekohu A track and place on the Māhu-rau-iti stream where kōura were obtained.

Urupā**Kaikanohi**

Still in use today was until recently an urupā where only descendants of Ngāti Mārau were buried. My mother, her father Waengarangi Hanita and my uncle Sonny of the same name have been laid to rest here.

Te Mangamutu Below where the Tarawhitiwhiti fight took place, he rua kōiwi (a grave).

Rākau

Kohi-tāne - A whīnau tree which belonged to Rangi-totohu.

Rākau-tao

A bush where you crossed at Mangapatē, the patē being a tree called seven fingers. A “tao” was a long spear used to spear birds.

Rākau-whakaporoporo

A bush part of Pōtaka-a-rangi, on the northern side was Te Tawa and another part was in the Manawatū river was called Te Koutu-o-Tahuoi. (*The dipping place of Tahuoi*).

Tarawhitiwhiti

A tutu tree which was spoken about by a few speakers where Mehaka the father of Nepe Te Apatū climbed and saw the fires of Pareihe and others.

Whakatangi-tīpapa

A miro tree where kererū were snared above the Te Matau stream. This tree was fought over by Poururu and Te Poki. In the fray Te Poki was stabbed by Tau-tāpatu.

Kaikanohi

A tutu tree which belonged to Hika-rere-pari who bequeathed it to Rangi-totohu. Unfortunately, it was burnt down. “Nō taua rākau tēnei ingoa Kaikanohi” (From the name of that tree comes the name Kaikanohi” Nepe Apatū (1891, p. 7) [Kaikanohi is the name of the urupā for Rākau-tātahi marae.

Mui-a-te-kōkō

A tutu tree used for bird snaring by the descendants of Hika-rere-pari. And Ngāi Tangimoana, Huru and Erueti.

Te Koao A grove of trees used for snaring birds in older times and kiore (rats).

Te Whīnau-a-Te Aketahi A whīnau tree near the Papa-aruhe track and the headwaters of the Māhu-rau-nui stream.

Huanui

Te Umu-o-Parikoau Above the Manawatū river where a track which led to Motu-karamea [a plant used for its fragrance].

Te Tāwai A track on the Mākāretu river crossing over at Te Kuha-o-Hinekura.

Pae-ponga A track from Te Taumata-o-Meroiti climbing that ridge to Karitake on the Mākāretu.

Te Ara-wāhi-a-te-Tīpatu He ara tāwhiti kiore (*A track used for snaring rats*).

Ara-karuwai A track and cultivation on the bush side of the Tarawhitiwhiti clearing.

Hiwi

Ōpaako

A ridge above the Manawatū where birds were caught, the track there was called Papa-aruhe and was an old track which came out at Pōtaka-a-rangi.

Ngā Mokopuna-a-Rongotautāwhi

A ridge consisting of two peaks personified as mokopuna and a name shortened to Ngā Mokopuna being one name given to the town of Norsewood.

Titi-maire - A ridge with sharp peaks.

Te Pou-a-te whare - A ridge which belonged to Ngāi Tangimoana near Te Koao.

Te Taumata-o-Meroiti

A ridge and a track leading to te Manga-o-Te Ao-pōkeka and to Te Matau and Patukauae. The name of that track is Pae-ponga.

Ngaru-wahine A ridge where the bird snaring trees stood and where the source of Te Manga-o-Te Ao-pōkeka was.

Pārae

Te Maurea

An open part of land between the Māhu-rau-nui and Māhu-rau-iti streams where you cross from Māhu-rau-iti to Te Tūpaki-o-Hinekopai.

Tarawhitiwhiti

An open area above the Te matau stream where the only battle to occur on Rākoutātahi took place. Where in payment for the defeat at Te Aratipi [near Waimārama] “Pareihe attacked and defeated Ngāi Te Upokoiri at Tarawhitiwhiti on Rākau-tātahi” Hōri Niania (1889c).

Kaitirotiro An open space on the eastern side of the block below the ridge Te Taumata-o-Meroiti.

Manga

Kaitiritiri A stream running into the Mākāretu river just above Te Takahanga-o-Tau-te-rangi.

Paramahoe

Above the cultivation also called Paramahoe. The headwaters began at te Motu-o-Te Tatū and ran into the Mākāretu River.

Te Manga-a-Te Ao-pōkeka

A stream with the name of the second wife of Hika-rere-pari below the ridge called Ngaru-wahine is the kāuru (*headwaters*) and fed the Te Matau stream.

Moko-pūawhea

A stream feeding into the Matau stream. Also, the name of that particular area. “pūawhe” = strong winds.

Te Ngaere - On a ridge feeding into the Paramahoe stream.

Toto-kura-mata-whereo

A stream flowing into the bush where its mouth comes out at the Māhu-rau-iti where the Te Koru pā is.

Manga-hōhonu

A stream below the house built by Tāmai-ōna-rangi where kanga (*corn, maize*) was steeped to ferment, Tanguru Tūhua attempted to give ownership of this stream to his relatives but was corrected by Nepe Te Apatū **5.11.4 He kōrero parau**, p.325.

Puna wai**Te Roro-o-Te Aoroa**

A spring near the house which belonged to Hōri Tāwhai and where Nepe Te Apatū resided as well.

Te Motu-o-Te Tatū - A grove of mānuka and a hāpua wai (*spring*).

Pā tuna**Te Awariki**

An eel weir on the boundary between Rākau-tātahi and Ōtāwhao which belonged to Te Rangi-te-kahutia and Ngāi Tangimoana and worked by Pine Huru-nui-a-rangi and Erueti. No other people worked these eel weirs.

Te Awa-o-te-Rā-ka-tō

This eel weir was named after Rā-kā-tō. This weir and the others were worked by Te Waipārae, Te Rarawaru, Takurangi, Ngaihi, Raharuhi, Mehaka and Tama-i-tauiā.

Pahuri-o-taonga

An eel weir which belonged to the tūpuna of Pine Hurunui-a-rangi on the Te Matau stream.

Te Kokoti-a-Paha

Te Kokoti-a-Te Rangi-i-whitihi

Eel weirs worked by Nepe at the time of the case.

Wāhi atu anō

Haere - An unusual wind with negative connotations.

Ruaki-a-te-pō - An exit to the bush.

Te Waitua-a-Waione A hāpua repo (*a swamp*), a roto (*wetland*) on the low-lying lands below Te Taumata-o-Kahu-pupuni.

6.13.4 He kōrero parau

The Rākau-tātahi was not exempt from the embellishment of narrative by tūpuna. Here we have Tanguru Tūhua attempting to give ownership to a stream where corn was fermented in the Manga-hōhonu stream but is corrected by Nepe Te Apatū (1891, p. 3),

“Ko reira [Manga-hōhonu] te wai kanga i kōrero ai a Tanguru nā Ahipene me Te Mātenga, he kōrero parau tēnā kōrero, nā Tamihana tēnā wai kanga. Kāore i noho tahi a Mātenga rāua ko Ahipene.”

At that place [Manga-hōhonu] is where corn was steeped and Tanguru said that it belonged to Ahipene and Te Mātenga, that is absolutely false, it belonged to Tamihana. Te Mātenga and Ahipene never lived together.

Tanguru was corrected again when he attempted to locate people at a house that stood at Te Kēhou pā and again he was called out by Nepe,

“E hē ana te kōrero a Tanguru ko ngā tāngata i noho ki Te Kēhou ko Motu-hanga-ariki a Te Haemata. He manawa nui a Tanguru ki te kōrero i tēnā whare lere-nui nō Te Haemata i roto i Te Kēhou, he kōrero parau. Pērā anō i te kēhi o Te Waikōpiro, tere tonu tōna whakahua whare.”

The words of Tanguru are incorrect regarding people who lived in at Te Kēhou, Motu-hanga-ariki from te Haemata. Tanguru has a cheek to talk about a house called lere-nui which belonged to Te Haemata being in Te Kēhou. Similar to the Te Waikōpiro case where he was very quick to mention houses.

6.13.5 He whakatau whakamutunga

Before I look at the judgement, I wish to include newspaper articles regarding the drawn-out nature of the Rākoutātahi case to reflect the mood of the community at that time towards the case being settled,

The Rākoutātahi case still drags wearily on in the Native Land Court, and it is uncertain it will be concluded before the Christmas vacation. It was intended that the court should adjourn on the 16th inst. In any case we understand the court will renew its sittings in January. (Waipawa mail, Vol XIV, Issue 2696, 8 December 1891, Pg 2)

As we anticipated, it has been impossible to finish the Rākoutātahi case before the Christmas vacation, and the Native Land Court now sitting at Waipawa will adjourn tomorrow, resuming it's sitting on January 12th next. (Waipawa Mail Vol XIV, Issue 2696, 17 December, Pg 2)

The officers of the Native Land Court accompanied by representatives of the different claimants to the Rākoutātahi block, proceeded to view the ground yesterday and are expected to return today to Waipawa. (Waipawa Mail Vol XIV, Issue 2710, 19 January 1892, Pg 2)

Yesterday morning the Native Land Court concluded the taking of evidence in the Rākoutātahi case, and on Monday the court will proceed to the land to visit the different localities referred to in evidence. Afterwards addresses will be delivered in court on behalf of the various claimants and counter claimants (Waipawa Mail Vol XIV, Issue 2709 16 January 1892, Pg 2)

On 29 January 1892 the following was published in the Hawke's Bay Herald,

The arrival of crowds of natives by the morning train indicated the interest felt in the proceedings of the Native Land Court, as it was well known that judgement was to be given at 2 p.m. in the Rākau-tātahi block. At the appointed time Judge O'Brien read the judgement, which is very lengthy, and occupied an hour in delivery in English and Māori. The Court was crowded with natives interested ... It contained some very severe strictures on the contradictory statements of witnesses—some made, possibly, in ignorance, others wilfully, and the result of invention (HB Herald "Rākau-tātahi Block," 1892, p. 3).

I record the first words of Judge O'Brien's judgement (Waipawa Mail Waipawa Mail, 1892, p. 2),

"We have little doubt that the parties to this case have a fair idea who have rights to this land, but unfortunately, like too many cases now presented to the Court, the litigants, in their anxiety to limit the rights to themselves, involve the

case in complexity. History, which in many cases is obscure, is made still more so by contradictory statements—some no doubt in ignorance—other we fear, inventions.”

The Court recognised the intermarriage of tūpuna which belonged to Rangitāne and Kahungunu, reflected in my own whakapapa in the marriage of Tū-taua to Rua-tōtara.

“We believe that it the conquest of Taraia and Te Aomatarahi **2.2 Raupatu** p.71 introduced a mixed race of Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne, which in course of time modified the position of the tribes existing at the time of that conquest. That the Rangi Tane or most of them at that time may have receded towards the Gorge is not unlikely. That some may have remained and intermarried with the N. Kahungunu is probable. And that some may have come back, and by intermarriage and other causes have maintained or re-established rights in certain parts of the district is also probable ... with these remarks we come to deal with the claims.”

6.13.6 He whakatepe

1. Rupuha, Pirihiira and party claimed certain parts but could give no boundaries.

They were awarded a small part of Ōpaako who Pirihiira said that her father pointed out as extending from a hill on Ruahine to the plain. Urupene Pūhara also claimed Ōpaako including a large extent of land. The Court found that (i) the ancestors he set up had no right, (ii) the hapū he put forward had no right and (iii) the Tarawhitiwhiti fight did not affect the title to this land. Through Kōkiri-tānga-hoe the tupuna of Pūhara being brought onto Rākau-tātahi by Whānau of Ngāi Tangimoana and her husband Kiri-haunga and Pūhara living there was awarded a small interest along with Rupuha commencing at the,

“... old kāinga of Ōpaako (16) on the south side of the Māhu-rau-nui stream up that stream and into one of the branches to Ngā Mokopuna-a-Rongotautāwhi on the Ruahine, then south-east to the upper waters of the Manawatū river, down the river to Te Kuri-a-Tarāwhata (a root of a tree in river) then back to Ōpaako”.

2. The Court believed that the right of the descendants of Rangi-totohu was “dominant over the whole block”. And in addressing the claim of Hōri Niania stated that “there is no doubt that he has no right”. Hōri could not name any of his immediate ancestors who worked on the land. He attempted to claim through the gift of Tama-i-waho and the land was part of Ōtāwhao. All the other parties denied that claim of Hōri and he admitted that he consented to the present boundaries of Rākau-tātahi. The Court disallowed his claim.
3. Matiu Meke descendant of Te Whakawehi as Rua-tōtara, Te Whakawehi and Te Matetapu had no right, there right was at Te Tōanga and Waikōpiro. Matiu claimed to be a descendant of Hika-rere-pari but never lived on Rākau-tātahi. His claim was dismissed.
4. Ngāi Tahu attempted to claim through a “pākūhā” gift made by te Rangi-whakaewa to Tūhoro-punga and Purerau descendants of Ngāi Tangimoana. The Court did not believe such a gift occurred. Some descendants of Te Aketahi were given a right but were asked to prove occupation. The names of Hēnare Tōmoana and Pene Te Ua-mai-rangi were disallowed.
5. The Court agreed that “the Claimants [Nepe Te Apatū and others] had the majority right to Te Rākau-tātahi. There was no refuting the gift to Hika-rere-pari and that Rangi-totohu lived on the land, of which, the Court had evidence that Rangi-totohu was “appointed guardian”. They recognised the descendants of Rangi-totohu as having “the dominant interests” in Rākau-tātahi. The court also admitted that Ngāi Tangimoana, Ngāti Wharona, Ngāi Tūwhirirau, and Ngāti Te Rangi-te-kahutia lived on Rākau-tātahi and “exercised rights more or less on it”.

6. The Court in estimating the interests of the parties, measured the interests at 600. Rupuha and Pirihiira and party were awarded 20 interests in the Ōpaako part awarded to Urupene Pūhara. Urupene Pūhara and party were awarded 10 interests. Maika Iwi-kātea and his party got 40 interests. Ngāi Tahu as members of Ngāi Tangimoana were awarded 50 interests. The remaining 480 interests were awarded to Nepe te Apatū and party.
7. The final words of the Court were “If the parties will agree on the individual interests, we shall give effect to their wishes”.

Returning to the whakataukī, “He mate kei te ora, he ora kei te mate”, the interrelationships of tūpuna on Rākau-tātahi with each other with the land became the vessel of memory to retain the land and its stories, this chapter revealed,

1. .the occupation of Rākau-tātahi over time left physical signs on the land to consolidate the voice of tūpuna when giving evidence
2. . oral evidence giving by tūpuna recorded through the written word brought back to light the many relationships they experienced with the land and each other
3. seeds of knowledge were sown in the stories recorded forever in the Native Land Court minutes.

This thesis posits as a puna mātauranga a *spring of knowledge* from which flow the words of our tūpuna that will never dry up *kia kore tēnei puna e mimiti anō. He ora kei te mate!* I have chosen to use the words of a waiata I composed in the 2000s to close the narrative for Te Rākau-tātahi.

6.14 He Hiki Tapuwae

Takina ake te hiki tapuwae e Tara
whakatere e kite atu ai
Tana mōkai haere ko Mahu-rangi
E whitia te whitinga, Tara-whitiwhiti
Ki te taumata tū tātahi ngā tōtara
Te taumata tū piripiri e Kai-kanohi
Rākau-tātahi e

Te takahanga o Tū-whiri-rau
Nāna ka puta ko Te Whare-rau-aruhe
I ngaro i te pī o Mātāi-i-konā
Ki Kūpara rere ai Te Rongo-pātahi
He tama ka puta, he tūā maumahara
Auē e Hika e

Nōna ki tua ki Tū-tae-nui
ka moea a Kai-ariki, 'tahi Ao-pōkeka
Tū Tāwhiri-rangi ki Tawhiti-nui
Tū ruatia ki rō pā ki Te Koru
Pā kino rā o reira mate urutā
Nā Tū-taua te iwi i hiki rā
E ora tonu ai te whare e

Karanga Kauhanga tērā te ngakina
Hohou mai te rongo ki Heretaunga whenua
Awheke, Awa-rua, Whatu-mā,
Rua-taniwha e takoto mārire e
Te kaihaikai a Te Angiangi ki Te Whatu-i-āpiti taikoro e
Whakaara-raumati te whakatihī kai nā Uaua Tamariki i oti pai ai

Tē ea ai te tūmahana mō te kai
He tuku whenua te utu mai i Ruahine,
Ki roto Mā-kāretu, Rangi-toto ki Te Umu-o-Pua, ki Te Hore-a-Rua,
Whati ki Rā-i-katia, atu ki Te Horo-a-Tehewai, ki Warupara, pikia Tutu-rewa,
Kaitārau, ki rō Manga-a-Toro, ki rō Manawatū
Ki te tuatua o Ruahine e

He kupu whakatau nā ngā rangatira
Te Rangi-totohu ki Rākau-tātahi
Te Para-kioe ki Papara-taitoko
Te Whakawehi ki Te Tōanga
Te Koronga-whenua ki Te Waha o te Kuri
Te Ahu a Tūranga te āpiti e

He pou rangatira, he mana whenua
Ruahine kei runga
Rua-taniwha kei raro
Ko Te Rangi-totohu te tangata e

Composed initially to assist Wharekura students at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Takapau

to learn about the history of Rākau-tātahi marae as many are connected to Rākau-tātahi

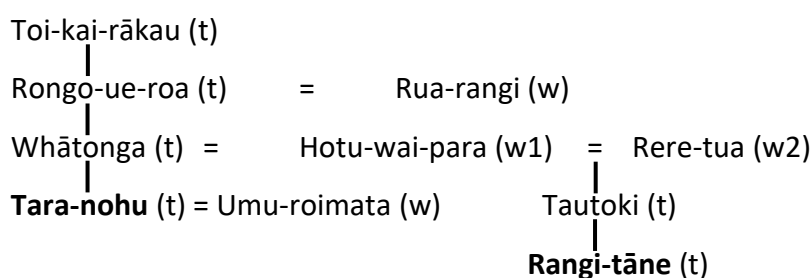
marae and its tātai kōrero. I offer the full composition to begin with and then take each whiti of the waiata expanding on the places and tūpuna mentioned. I also refer to other narrative from other sources and the evidence presented in Native Land Court case.

6.14.1 Tara

Takina ake te hiki tapuwae e Tara	Recited the incantation by Tara
whakaterere e kite atu ai	to hasten his gait to find
tana mōkai haere ko Mahurangi	his travelling companion Mahurangi
E whitia te whitinga ki Tarawhitiwhiti	Crossing over to Tarawhitiwhiti
Ki te taumata tū tātahi ngā tōtara	To where the tōtara stood apart
Te taumata tū piripiri e Kaikanohi	The ridge where I stand to gaze
Rākau-tātahi e	at the land called Rākau-tātahi

Figure 63:

Whakapapa showing the tūpuna Tara and Rangitāne



Tara-nohu was an uncle to Rangitāne who was the eponymous tupuna of the people who settled the Heretaunga district in former times, before Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi began to drive them southwards. Tara was on a journey with his pet dog Mahurangi [Tāmahurangi in another narrative] passing through what was known as the Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua section of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga.

I draw on two narratives. The first narrative involves the travels of the tupuna Māhu who was an exponent of the *whare mairi* (a house set apart for the instruction in sacred

lore related to the kete tūātea, to karakia and mākutū) which was based in Waimārama under the directorship of Taewhā.

During one of Māhu's sojourns, he travelled through the Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua bush and became separated from his dog which had run off ahead of him. Being a student of the occult, he uttered a karakia “hiki tapuwae” which increased his speed, and he was eventually united with his dog where the bush was not as dense and trees were further apart and it was through this that Rākau-tātahi got its name, which literally means 'the trees standing apart.

Māhu is also remembered in the names of two streams that run through the Rākau-tātahi block, Māhu-rau-iti and Māhu-rau-nui. He is also credited with the naming of other places in the Heretaunga area such as Ōmāhu.

Another account of events leading to the naming of this particular piece of land comes from the writings of Mātenga Kurukore (1872) who wrote that it was Tara [some references refer to a Tarāwhata] whilst searching for his dog Mahurangi who gave the block its name,

“Kātahi ka whai mai i tana kurī, i a Mahurangi. Nō te taenga mai ki te putanga, ka whiti a Tara ki mua i te kurī; koia a Te Whiti-a-Tara. Kātahi ka oma haere te kurī ki mua, ā, ngaro noa atu i te matomato o te tupu o ngā rākau. Ka taki a Tara i te karakia kia horo ai te oma, me te whai atu anō i tana kurī. Nō te mutunga o te karakia ko te putanga tērā o Tara i te ngahere, ā, kua mau anō i a Mahurangi i te wāhi e tū tātahi ana ngā rākau. Koia a Te Rākau-tātahi”.

Then he [Tara] followed his dog Mahurangi. When they arrived at a clearing Tara went in front of the dog, that place is named Te Whiti-a-Tara (The crossing of Tara). The dog then raced in front and got lost in the thick undergrowth of the bush. Tara recited an incantation called a hiki tapuwae] to hasten his gait and

pursued his dog. At the end of reciting his incantation Tara arrived at the edge of the bush where Mahurangi was caught again at the place where the trees stood apart. That place was named Rākau-tātahi [trees standing apart].

After crossing Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku Tara and mahurangi crossed over the land called 'Tarawhitiwhiti' where the only battle that occurred on Rākoutātahi took place,

Prior to the arrival of Tara and his travelling companion Mahurangi at the edge of Te Tapere-nui-o-Whātonga at Rākau-tātahi, they were travelling in the area of Te Āpiti *Manawatū Gorge*, at the eastern entrance, when Mahurangi became separated again from Tara. On approaching the entrance to the gorge Mahurangi barked. The echoing of his bark in that area led to Tara naming the eastern entrance to the gorge, Te Waha-o-te-Kurī *The voice/bark of the dog*. Before we take account of Rākau-tātahi, I recall the movements of the people of the Heretaunga district during the 1500s.

The incantation mentioned "hiki tapuae" is described in Mitchell (1972, pp. 239-240),

This charm was used to hasten and lengthen the strides of those who were travelling, fleeing, or pursuing others in war. In the case of a single person, he would stride off reciting the charm. A party would form in single file, three feet apart. If fleeing, the priest would take his position at the rear to conceal the track and hasten the party. He would implore the assistance of the moving skies and the freedom of the earth, as follows:

"Te kapua e rere i runga rā e, te papa e takoto nei."

(The skies that move quickly, and the earth that lies below.)

All would then spit upon their palms and slap their kneecaps while the priest cried:

"Tapuwae hiki."

At the above words the party would mark time, beginning with the left foot, while the priest continued:

Tapuwae nuku, tapuwae hāpainga

Te manu ki te kapua ko ia

Ko ia te kapua e rere i runga rā

Ko ia te papa e takoto nei
Toroa i runga, toroa i raro

The whole party would then move forward with the right foot a distance of three feet. Each man would tramp on the footprint of the man in front and the priest would drag his weapon behind as if to conceal the track. Each person would spring off the ground to reach an ordinary man's speed. The priest would continue the charm with the words:

"Whakarewa ia, whāotia te tapuwae."

This would increase the stride to six feet. The incantation would continue:

He aha te tapuwae?
Ko te tapuwae o te manu tipī
Ko te tapuwae o te manu topa
koia, koia
Ko ia hei hāpai ake
Kia puta ki te ao mārama
Haumi e e, tāiki e e

By this time the party would be taking strides of about five chains. Those who failed would be counted faithless to the rules of the charms. The swiftest would break away to the front and increase their pace and speed according to their individual strength.

The crossing over mentioned in this whiti is a place named Te Whiti-a-Tara and is now memorialised in the name of the land the Norsewood golf club stands on which contains the actual place where that crossing of Tara took place. Tara-whitiwhiti see **Fig 61:** p.301 is a wide-open space where a battle later took place—this was the only battle that took place on Rākau-tātahi.

The taumata mentioned is called Te Taumata-o-Kahu-pupuni. According to some, this ridge is where the tūpuna stood together [tū piripiri] on their return from Te Wairarapa and Manawatū where they fled to escape the Āmio Whenua expedition, and other war parties, “Nō te tau 1851 i tae tuatahi mai mātou, i tika mai mā Te Ahu-a-Tūranga me Te Rākau-tātahi, kāore he tangata i Te Rākautātahi e noho ana, kāore he tohu nohonga

tangata, i noho mātou ki Te Whiti” Nepe Te Apatū (1891, p. 7). (*We arrived for the first time in 1851, we came via Woodville and Rākautātahi, there was nobody living on Rākau-tātahi, there were no signs of human settlement, we lived at Te Whiti* [Te Whiti-a-Tara]).

6.14.2 Hika-rere-pari

Te Takahanga o Tūwhirirau	The land walked by Tūwhirirau
Nāna ka puta ko Te Whare-rau-aruhe	Who begat Whare-rau-aruhe
I ngaro i te pī o Mātai-i-konā	Who perished at Mātai-i-konā source
Ki Kūpara rere ai a Rongo-pātahi	At Kūpara Rongo-pātahi escaped
He tama ka puta, he tūā maumahara	A son was born and named
Aue e Hika e	Hika-rere-pari

According to the elders that gave evidence at the Māori Land Court which was held at Waipawa in 1891 regarding the Rākau-tātahi claim, the first people to settle or inhabit Rākau-tātahi were Ngāi Tūwhirirau. This subtribe comprised the descendants of the brothers Whare-rau-aruhe and Kahu-pupuni who were the sons of Tūwhirirau and Tā-manuhiri. Whare-rau-aruhe was caught in the wrong place at the wrong time and was killed at Kūpara located at the headwaters of the Mātai-i-konā stream by a war party which belonged to Te Whatu-i-āpiti. His wife Te Rongo-pātahi who was pregnant at the time escaped (*rere*) by jumping over a cliff (*pari*) and when the child was born he was named [tūā] Hika-rere-pari in memory of this incident (McEwen, 1986, p. 64). Te Rongo-pātahi later married the younger brother of Whare-rau-aruhe, Kahu-pupuni. The stream on the southern side of the Te Aute hotel bears the name Ōkahupupuni.

Figure 64:

Whakapapa: Kahungunu connection to Hika-rere-pari

Kahungunu (t) = Rongomai-wahine (w)
 |
 Kahu-kura-nui (t) = Rua-tapu-wahine
 |
Rākai-hiku-roa (t) = **Pāpāuma** (2) = Rua-rauhanga (w1)
 |
Parea (w) = Te Pou-te-noho-taumata (t)
 |
Tūwhirirau (w) = Tāmanuhiri (t)
 |
Whare-rau-aruhe (t1) = **Rongo-pātahi** (w) = **Kahupupuni** (t2)
 |
Hika-rere-pari (t) = Kai-ariki (w1) = Te Ao-pōkeka

Tāmanuhiri was from Ngāi Tahu, Te Pou-te-noho-taumata was from the Mātaatua canoe, and Kai-ariki was from the Ngāti Apa people of Rangitīkei which is covered in the next stanza.

Nōna ki tua ki Tū-tae-nui	While he was at Tū-tae-nui
Ka moea a Kai-ariki, 'tahi Ao-pōkeka	He took Kai-ariki then Ao-pōkeka
Tū Tāwhirirangi ki Tawhitinui	Tāwhirirangi stood at Tawhitinui
Tū ruatia ki rō pā ki Te Koru	Then taken to Te Koru
Pā kino rā o reira mate urutā	Where an epidemic hit
Nā Tū-taua te iwi i hiki rā	Tū-tāua moved the people
e ora tonu ai te whare e	so the people survived

Hika-rere-pari grew up and was accorded the mana of Rākau-tātahi from his father Whare-rau-aruhe. He played a prominent part in the events of his time. One of these events was to travel across the Ruahine ranges to Tū-tae-nui [*The great arrival*, now known as Marton] to take part in a battle of the same name against Ngāti Apa. Having defeated Ngāti Apa at that time he took one of the woman Kai-ariki as wife. He took a second wife Te Ao-pokeka at a later date. Hika-rere-pari was responsible for building the house Tāwhiri-rangi at a pā called Tawhiti-nui [Tawhiti-nui was the forest where the tree that became the Kurahaupō canoe stood]. The canoe was carved with greenstone adzes.

Another kāinga which belonged to Hika-rere-pari was Pū-kōkōmuka where he died and was buried. Tāwhiri-rangi was moved from the Tawhiti-nui pā to stand again [tū-ruatia] at another pā called Te Koru where a mate urutā (*epidemic*) took hold, and many died. Tū-taua the son of Hika-rere-pari from his first wife Kai-ariki moved all the people from Te Koru to Te Kēhou abandoning Tāwhiri-rangi. A new house was built by Tū-taua at Te Kēhou, and it was also called Tāwhiri-rangi. Te Kēhou is also an urupā where there are around 60 tūpuna buried there.

6.14.3 Whakaara raumati

Karanga Kauhanga tērā te ngakina	Kauhanga the place of retribution
Hohou te rongo ki Heretaunga whenua	Peace made at Heretaunga
Awheke, Awarua, Whatumā,	Poukawa, Awarua, Whatumā
Ruataniwha Tamatea	Ruataniwha, Tamatea
Takoto mārire e	A land at peace
Te Kaihaukai a Te Angiangi	Food given by Te Angiangi
ki Te Whatu-i-āpiti taikoro e	to an aged Te Whatu-i-āpiti
Whakaara-raumati te whakatihi kai	the pile of food Whakaara-raumati
nā Uaua Tamariki i pai ai	the Sinews of youth assisted

Returning to one of the missions of Hika-rere-pari which was to answer the call to revenge the death of Hikawera, the father of Te Whatu-i-āpiti and an attack on Te Kauhanga pā where Te Whatu-i-āpiti resided. These incidents were avenged by Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Hika-rere-pari and Te Rangi-whakaewa at a pā called Kahupongia. This was the last battle that tūpuna of Heretaunga, Tamatea and Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua were involved in.

The following account of Te Kauhanga was given by Hēnare Matua in the Rākautātahi case,

“... rongo au i te matenga o Hikawera [father of Te Whatu-i-āpiti], nā Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Rangi-whakaewa me Hika-rere-pari i ngaki, nā rātou i ngaki Te Kauhanga. Ko te hinganga o te Kauhanga me te ngakinga i te mate mō Hikawera, ko te whawhai whakamutunga tēnā. I whakatika atu a Hika-rere-pari me Te Whatu-i-āpiti i te Roto-a-Tara, Raukawa, Rangi-whakaewa i whakatika atu i Tāmaki.

I ngakina te mate o Hikawera me te hinganga o Te Kauhanga ki Tūranga. Ko Kahupongia te pā i horo. Te Uaki-o-te-rangi te rangatira i mate, engari he nui noa atu ngā mea i mate, te take i tīkina ai ki Tūranga patu ai, i patua a Hikawera i reira. I muri i tēnā ka hoki mai rātou, nō te taenga mai ki Te Wairoa ka riro mai a Ngāti Tangimoana. Nā Parari i kōrero atu i te haerenga ake, ki te hoki koutou, mauria atu ōu taina, kei waiho hai utu mā ā koutou waewae ... ka mauria mai ngā uri a Tangimoana i pēnei, ko ētahi i riro mai ia Hika-rere-pari, ētahi i riro mai i a Rangi-whakaewa. I te taenga mai ki Heretaunga ka noho te Ngāti Tangimoana i riro mai i a Hika-rere-pari ki Te Roto-a-Tara me [Rākautātahi] i te wāhanga whenua i a Taraia. Ka haere tērā i riro mai i a Rangi-whakaewa ki Tāmaki. Ko te mutunga tēnei o ngā whawhai (1891b, pp. 4-6).

I heard about the death of Hikawera, it was Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Rangi-whakaewa and Hika-rere-pari who avenge Te Kauhanga. The fall of Kauhanga and the avenging of the death of Hikawera was the last fight. Hika-rere-pari and Te Whatu-i-āpiti went from te Roto-a-Tara, and Raukawa, Rangi-whakaewa went from Tāmaki.

The avenging of Hikawera and the fall of Kauhanga occurred at Gisborne. Kahupongia was the pā sacked. Te Uaki-o-te-rangi was the chief killed but there were many others who died, the reason why Gisborne was attacked was because Hikawera was killed there. After the fight they returned via Te Wairoa where Ngāti Tangimoana was brought back. Parari said to them as they were leaving, take with you your younger cousins lest they become the object of revenge because of your actions ... the descendants of Tangimoana were brought back, and Hika-rere-pari took some and some were taken by Rangi-whakaewa. On their arrival at Heretaunga a faction of Ngāti Tangimoana that were with Hika-rere-pari stayed at Te Roto-a-tara and Rākau-tātahi, the land under Taraia. Those who were with Rangi-whakaewa went to Tāmaki. That was the end of fighting.

The following places are places in the Heretaunga Tamatea district, Awheke (*Lake Poukawa*), Awarua (*Awarua-o-Porirua is its full name*) is the island pā of Te Roto-a-Tara where Hika-rere-pari initially took the Ngāti Tangimoana to from te Wairoa, Whatumā lake, Rua-taniwha is the name of the plains which includes Waipawa, Ongaonga and Waipukurau, the places where peace reigned after the Te Kauhanga fight, as well as the Takapau plains and Rākau-tātahi.

During this time of peace feast kaihaukai discussed in depth in **3.5 Kaihaukai** were held between Te Whatu-i-āpiti and Te Angiangi, a younger brother of Tūmapuhia. Te Whatu-i-āpiti was an old man at this time so he enlisted the younger chiefs, Hika-rere-pari, Te Tatū, Te Rangi-whakaewa and their respective hapū to gather food for the feast called Te Uaua Tamariki-o-Te Rangiawāhāia Hōri Rōpiha (1890, p. 100 in White) in recognition of the gathering of the food done by the younger chiefs. There were 5 piles or whakatihi of food, Tore o Puanga, Whakaara-raumati, Rurupō, Rurea and Taiwha. The pile of food Whakaara-raumati was gathered under the mana of Hika-rere-pari.

6.14.4 Tuku whenua

Kore ea ai te tūmahana mō te kai	The food was not reciprocated
He tuku whenua te utu mai Ruahine	Land was the cost from Ruahine
Rere ki roto Mākāretu, Rangitoto	into Mākāretu to Rangitoto
Te Umu-o-Pua ki Hore-a-Rua	Te Umu-o-Pua to Hore-a-Rua
Whati ki Rā-i-katia, atu ki Te Horo	Rā-i-katia to Te Horo
Warupara, pikia Tūtū-rewa	to Warupara climbing Tūtū-rewa
Kaitārau, ki rō Mangatoro Manawatū	Kaitārau into Mangatoro, Manawatū
ki te tuatua o Ruahine e	to the top of Ruahine

Because Te Angiangi could not reciprocate the feast, he gave up part of his land to Te Whatu-i-āpiti **2.5.2 He whenua ka tuku**. In turn Te Whatu-i-āpiti, being an aged man gave land to the younger chiefs who collected food for “Uaua Tamariki”. The land given to Hika-rere-pari and Tama-i-waho for the whakatihi kai “Whakaara-raumati” begins on Ruahine and then into Mākāretu river, directly to Rangitoto on to Te Umu-o-Pua, to Te Hore-a-Rua then to Rā-i-katia, to Te Horo-a-Tehewai on to Warupara then to Tūtūrewa then a direct line to Kaitārau into the Mangatoro from there into the Manawatū and back to the beginning on Ruahine.

6.14.5 He putanga, he tangata

He kupu whakatau nā ngā rangatira	The elders decided to place
Te Rāngi-totohu ki Rākau-tātahi	Te Rāngitotohu Rākau-tātahi
Para-kiore ki Papara-taitoko	Para-kiore at Papara-taitoko
Te Whakawehi tukua ki Te Tōanga	Te Whakawehi at Te Tōanga
Te Koronga-whenua, Te Waha-o-te-Kurī	Te Koro at Te Waha-o-te-kurī
Te Ahu-a-tūranga	at Te Ahu-a-tūranga

The above whakatauāki pertaining to securing protection to the hapū living in the vicinity of the Tamaki nui-a-Rua or Seventy Mile Bush which was well known by tūpuna and mentioned many times in the Native Land Court cases for the Tamatea region. The intent of the placing of the children of Tū-taua and his nephew Para-kiore at the exits was to protect the exits to the bush.

Authorities differ on who placed the Te Rangitotohu, Te Koronga-whenua and Te Whakawehi sons of Tū-taua and Rua-tōtara and their nephew Para-kiore as guardians of the exits to the great forest of Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua. Most agree that their uncle Tūrake was involved. Some claim that Tū-taua, father of the children and uncle to Para-kiore participated in the placement. Others maintain it was their cousin Para-kiore, son of Uewhā. All agree however, that they were placed and held mana of the exits they controlled. Te Matetapu, sister to the brothers is said to have gone to Porangahau.

Rangitotohu was sent to the exit at Rākau-tātahi, Para-kiore was sent to Papara-taitoko, **Tanguru – Ko te tangata ki mua**, Te Whakawehi was placed at Tōanga and Te Koronga-whenua was sent to Te Ahu-a-Tūranga. Rangitotohu was the eldest child of Tū-taua and Rua-tōtara. Para-kiore the son of Uewhā a brother to Rua-tōtara the wife of Tū-taua. Te Ahu-a-Tūranga was named after the tūpuna Tūranga-i-mua,

“From Hawkes' Bay, Tūranga-i-mua made his way south through the other Tamaki district (Seventy-mile Bush) and then ascended the Rua-hine ranges, by the old native path, which, starting near the present town of Woodville, passed to the north of the Manawa-tū gorge, coming out on to the plains of the West coast, at the present village of Ashurst. It was a terribly rough track as the writer experienced in 1872. Near the summit crossed by the track, Tūranga-i-mua was set upon by the *tangata-whenua*, who were probably Rangitāne, and after a great fight he was killed, whilst most of his party made their way home to Pātea. After his death, the people stuck into the ground a *matipō* post to mark the spot where he was killed, and heaped up (*ahu*) earth round it, and hence arises the name of this spot (and the track) Te Ahu-o-Tūranga, or the mound of Tūranga. His body, however, was afterwards exhumed and taken to Pātea for final burial” Smith (1910a, p. 156).

Ko Te Rangi-totohu ki te putanga ki Te Rākau-tātahi
 Ko Para-kioire ki te putanga ki Papara-taitoko
 Ko Te Whakawehi ki te putanga ki Te Tōanga
 Ko Te Koronga-whenua ki Te Ahu-a-Tūranga.

6.14.6 Mana tangata

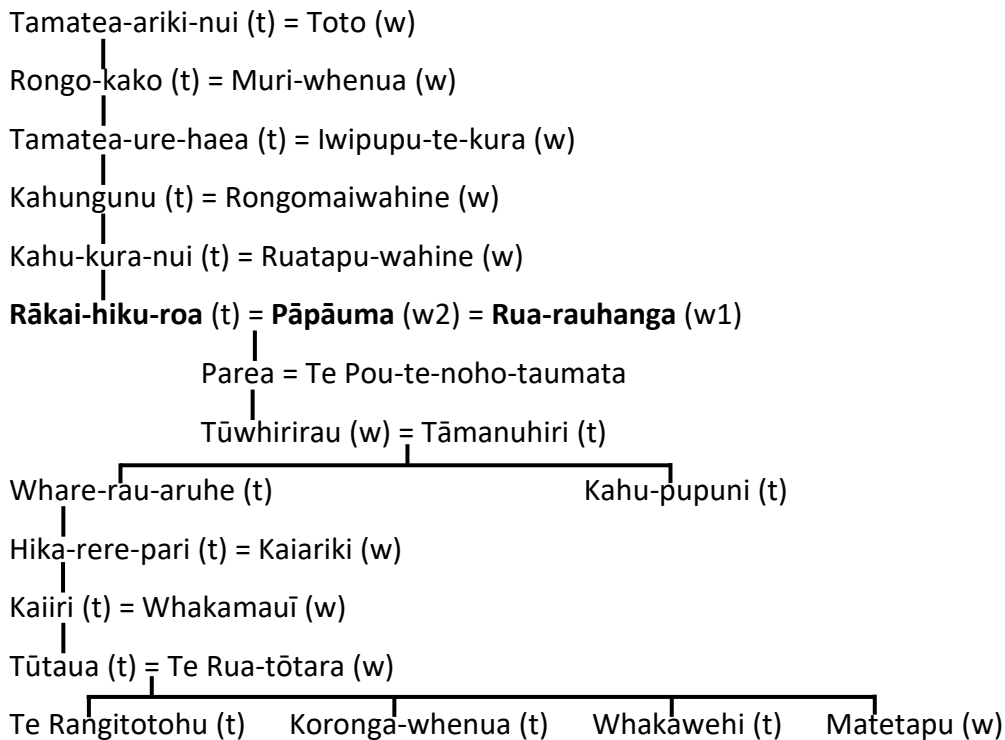
He pou rangatira, he mana whenua	Pillars of strength, authority
Ruahine kei runga	Ruahine above
Ruataniwha kei raro	Ruataniwha spread wide and long
Ko Te Rangi-totohu te tangata	Te Rangi-totohu is the mantle

So, this song finishes with mention of the oldest child of Tū-taua and Rua-tōtara Rangitotohu who is compared to a post, to a pillar with tying up the land and upholding the authority, “kia renarena te taukaea o ngā matemate-ā-one” (*to weave tight the human fibres*). Ruahine and Rua-taniwha being the mana whenua, Rangi-totohu being the mana tangata, the authority which binds us the people to Rākau-tātahi marae.

6.14.7 He puna rua

Figure 65:

Whakapapa: Two divisions from the wives of Rākai-hiku-roa with focus on Te Hika-a-Pāpāuma connection to Rākautātahi.

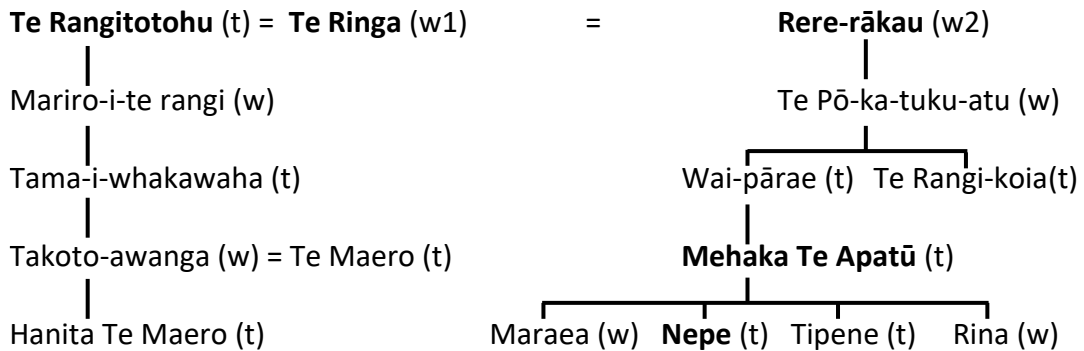


The puna rua *two springs/wives* here refers to the marriages of Rākai-hiku-roa to his first and second wives respectively, Rua-rauhanga and Pāpāuma. From the marriage of Rākai-hiku-roa to Rua-rauhanga arose the social grouping called Te Hika-a-Rua-rauhanga and from the union of Rākai-hiku-roa and Pāpāuma we get Te Hika-a-Pāpāuma. The descendants of the hapū of Rākautātahi are connected to Pāpāuma.

I will record evidence that was given by Nepe Te Apatū (1825-1904) descendant of Tūwhirirau through Hika-rere-pari and the second wife of Rangitotohu, Rere-rākau as Nepe was a prominent tupuna who lived on Rākautātahi and had a deep knowledge of the block and its history.

Figure 66:

Whakapapa: Nepe Te Apatū to Te Rangitotohu.



Nepe Te Apatū married Amiria Rōpiha (1826 – 1929) firming up another connection to the hapū of Porangahau. Rikirangi Hanita granddaughter of Hanita Te Maero and Huriana Manene also married into the Porangahau people by marrying Mātene Rōpiha. The following whakapapa shows link to Ngāti Te Koro (Te Koronga-whenua).

Figure 67:

Personal whakapapa showing descent from Te Koronga-whenua.



Rikirangi was the oldest of a family of ten, of which my grandfather Waengarangi Hanita (whose name I carry) belonged. Three of the ten died in the Spanish Flu epidemic of

1918 (Te Maero, Mōkai me Waengarangi I). Mōkai is said to have disappeared in the bush and was never found.

Figure 68:

Personal whakapapa showing descent from Tū-tāua.



I close off the narrative for the land of Rākau-tātahi with my pepeha, my identity, my passport to te ao Māori that was forged by my tūpuna who discovered, settled, lived and survived on the land of Rākau-tātahi. My pepeha acknowledges the mana whenua of the sacred Ruahine mountains, it acknowledges the mana wai to both the Mākāretu River and the Te Awa Pokere-a-Tamakuku River a.k.a. the Manawatū River giving sustenance to the land along with Lake Whatumā where tūpuna went “kia mākona te whatumanawa” (*to satisfy the soul*). Rākau-tātahi sits on the Ruataniwha plains and is the tūranga-waewae of my hapū Ngāi Te Rangi-totohu and Ngāti Mārau and my mana tangata connections to Rangitāne and Kahungunu and my tupuna Rangitotohu. Uhi wero uhi tāia, haumi e, hui e, taiki e.

Ko Ruahine te maunga tapu
ko Mākāretu me Te Awa Pokere-a-Tama-kuku ngā awa
ko Whatumā te waiū
ko Ruataniwha te mānia
ko Rākau-tātahi te marae
ko Ngāi Te Rangitotohu me Ngāti Mārau ngā hapū
ko Rangitāne me Kahungunu ngā iwi
ko Te Rangitotohu te tangata.

In summary, the interrelationships that my tūpuna had on the Rākau-tātahi block with each other has not only been the catalyst for this thesis but has supported the central theme of this research.

1. The pūrākau of Tara and Mahurangi turns full circle from Te Waha-o-te Kuri **Fig.1 p.11**
2. The expression of the whakataukī reflecting the strong alliance of siblings and first cousin Parakiore to defend Te Tapere nui-a-Whātonga
3. Narrative giving rise to kīwaha 'He manawanui nōna' to refute false evidence.
4. Tūpuna became more efficient at providing the 'right type of evidence' to reflect their belonging to the land
- 5.

Upoko 7: Ngā Kitenga

This thesis traverses 600 years of relationships tūpuna had to each other through disagreement—leading in some instances to death, through the act of ‘tīkai’, of ‘taunu’ *slighting others* and through raupatu, but the underlying reason was through ‘aroha ki te whenua’ *love of the land*—through strategic marriage to make peace and/or form alliances. Their intimate relationship to the land through placing their voice on the land. has left a receptacle of profound knowledge for the descendants of hapū of the Tamatea region.

The thesis has also identified the ease at which tūpuna recognised their Rangitāne-Kahungunu whakapapa connections ensuring peaceful resolution in many cases. Tūpuna became more efficient at providing the ‘right type of evidence’ to reflect their belonging to the land as opposed to using distant whakapapa. Each piece of evidence provided by tūpuna supports the central theme of the thesis in revealing the inseparability of

LANGUAGE, LAND, and PEOPLE

The practice of tūpuna giving a name to fights and battles was a method of retaining historical narrative as well as those mentioned in **2.5 He kupu tuku iho** and/or to record the event for later retribution. The act of taunahanaha by tūpuna gave life and spirit to the land, from the placing of names on puke on maunga, on mangawai and awa, on manawa whenua, to places such as mahinga kai, be it trees for tāhere manu, pā tuna, ara kiore, wāhi kari aruhe, kohikohi kākahi , or the simple māra kai all had names. Places of defence pā tūwatawata, urupā, whitinga all had names. Through these names the

land and waterways were given voice, given spirit, given life, forging a reciprocal identity between land and people, “Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au!” *I am the land, and the land is me!*. Identity intrinsic to those who understand, “Nō Rākau-tātahi ahau” *I belong to Rākau-tātahi*, identity through acknowledgement, “Ko Whatumā te waiū” *Whatumā is the sustenance*. All powerful in gaining a sense of belonging sadly lost to some in this ao hou.

The concept of ‘kāinga’ was given a broad definition when tūpuna gave evidence and it referred to a variety of land usages as well as a place of residence. Generally speaking, it was a place that supported everyday activities such as for planting food, cultivating natural food sources, for bird snaring and other food gathering activities and for flax gathering. The term settlement—as opposed to kāinga—appears to be the term used when a particular piece of land was occupied, lived on for a period of time. In some instances, a hapū on the same block of land had no right to another part of that block.

The whakataukī, “Tamatea kakari-rau, Tamatea momoe-iwi” *Tamatea of many battles, Tamatea of many marriages* succinctly ties together both the loss of life through the many battles and the intermarriages of both bloods, Rangitāne and Kahungunu. This whakataukī reflects identity, identity through connection to land, identity through connection to each other.

Evidence given by tūpuna in the 8 cases accessed in **5.8. Tukua ki te Koti** in the compilation of this research reveals that they were competent in the knowledge of their

identity through whakapapa and expressed this with informed understanding of mana tangata and mana whenua. Others utilised selective narrative and collaborated, sometimes clandestinely, to lay claim to land. In some instances, tūpuna on receiving power of administration to land, sold it without having authority to do so. This was particularly evident in the Whenuahou and Waikōpiro cases. This finding opens avenues for future research as to the rationale and reasons these clandestine activities took place.

Strategic marriages of Rangitāne tūpuna and Kahungunu tūpuna served two purposes; to “hohou i te rongo” and to form strategic alliances **3.2.1 Hohou rongo**. Through these marriages tūpuna of the Tamatea-Heretaunga region became what was termed in the cases, ‘half-caste’. Ultimately, the use of whakapapa to claim land came a distant second to occupation and knowledge of the language on the land. Following are statements made by tūpuna who gave evidence acknowledging their Rangitāne side.

Hōri Niania, (1883c, p. 114) “I claim this land through ancestry, through ancestors, Tūhakeke, Whata and Rongo-ue-roa”. Hōri continued, “I consider I have a claim to this land [Ōtāwhao] through Rangitāne. My tūpuna through Te Rehunga intermarried with Rangitāne (p. 8) ... The Rangitāne are living away over the mountains and the others near Napier. The greatest mana came from Ngāti Kahungunu and I belong to them both ... I attach a great deal of importance to mana and that mana is represented by myself, the mana on my side of Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu is very big on both sides” (1883a, p. 16).

Te Rehunga had Rangitāne whakapapa and his wife Te Hore was of Rangitāne, and they had two daughters, Te Ahi-kāuru (sic) and Te Rua-poupou McEwen (1986, p. 106).

The father of Karaitiana Takamoana was Tini-ki-runga of Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu descent; he belonged to the Ngāti Te Rangi-whakaewa and Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti people. Te Teira Tiakitai in the Ōtāwhao case said, “I myself belong to Rangitāne but do not claim through his mana” (1889b, p. 37). Ngāti Te Whatu-i-āpiti chief Te Rehunga had Rangitāne whakapapa and his wife Te Hore was of Rangitāne, McEwen (1986, p. 106).

Unfortunately, in these modern times we are experiencing a lack of informed understanding of identity through whakapapa. A prime example is the claim by some of my Kahungunu relatives that both Ngāti Hāmua and Ngāti Te Rangi-whakaewa are hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu which is totally untrue and proven so to be untrue through whakapapa. Tūpuna manipulated whakapapa and narrative in the cases through knowledge of whakapapa not through ignorance. Judges in the Native Land Court gave their opinions regarding the misuse of whakapapa stating, “some spoke no doubt in ignorance—others, we fear, inventions” Waipawa Mail Waipawa Mail (1892, p. 2) and manipulating narrative regarding occupation “visits are coloured or distorted ... and made to appear as acts of right ... what may have been acts of right are represented as mere visits—generalities are indulged in to cover a claim of occupation, or pure inventions are imported” Waipawa Mail Waipawa Mail (1892, p. 2) .

Notwithstanding these ‘pure inventions’, ‘selective narrative’, ‘clandestine collaborations’, ‘misuse of power’, the proven narratives provided by tūpuna have given life once again to the lands of the Tamatea region and beyond. The relationships over time between the land, the language, and the people have been fully covered in this research. A “pātaka mātauranga” has been fashioned for future generations and for future researchers.

The four land block cases—Ōtāwhao, Whenuahou, Waikōpiro, and Rākoutātahi—demonstrate the inseparability of land, language, and people, and how these relationships were forced through the structures of the Native Land Court. Tūpuna strengthened their *mana whenua* by naming specific kāinga, tracks, and pā, turning oral histories and placenames into living evidence of occupation. The careful recitation of narratives and genealogies shows how *mana reo* was bound to *mana whenua*, with the land itself speaking through the words of its people to the present and future generations, *mana tangata*.

Now when I stand on Rākau-tātahi marae, my tūrangawaewae: facing north I am Kahungunu, facing south I am Rangitāne. Narrative north of Te Awa Pokere-a-Tamakuku lean towards Kahungunu, narrative south of the river lean towards Rangitāne. Notwithstanding the fact that in many instances these narratives possess both a Rangitāne and Kahungunu perspective brought about by the spilling of blood and intermarriage to restore peace.

This thesis has demonstrated fully that through the interrelationships of the tūpuna **Kura Tāngata** through their voices **Kura Reo** to the four land blocks **Kura Whenua** the land has restored its voice and now speaks to those that wish to listen. Tangata ākona ki te kāinga, tūngia ana ki te marae, tau ana (Kāretu 1974:59).

**E kai ō mata ki te mata o te whenua kei reira te reo o Tuaiho mā e takoto ana hei kai
mā Hinengaro,**

**Areare atu ōu taringa ki ngā ororeo o te taiao, kei reira te reo hei mauru mai i a
Ngākau.**

Kei te whenua te reo, kei te reo te whenua

Rurukutia iho, kia ū, kia mau

Haumi e, hui e, taiki e!

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Ngā Āpitihanga

Āpitihanga 1: He kupu whakamārama

The following aspects allude to the specific conventions I have adopted in the writing of this thesis.

- (i) Tohutō. As there was no facility in the 1880s to reflect the long vowel sound via the macron, I have taken the approach to add macrons in narratives and evidence given by tūpuna where necessary to aid the revitalisation of te reo Māori and to assist students of te reo Māori with pronunciation and accuracy in the written genre.
- (ii) In referencing the words of tūpuna who provided evidence in the cases connected to the four land blocks, I add their first names in the reference as a sign of respect to them and to their words, ānō nei he whao kupu hei tārai i tētahi pātaka mātauranga (*as if a grammatical chisel shaping a storehouse of knowledge*). I use the phrase “te reo Māori” throughout when referring to the Māori language.
- (iii) I have utilised italicised font to indicate translations done by myself where no appropriate translation was provided.
- (iv) In the event of Māori words having an apostrophe added to them, I have adopted a convention of deleting the apostrophe and make no apologies. This is to give emphasis to the original way our tūpuna used the plural/singular possession structure, as seen in the grammatical Māori structure, (example: Hone’s land = te whenua o Hone). I trust that through adopting this convention in this thesis will not only assist in the revitalisation

of te reo Māori by applying part of the whakatauaikī of the Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Institute of the Māori Language, “kia tika, kia Māori”. Āpiti atu ko tāku ake (*adding my own phrase*), “kia tika, kia Māori, kia āwhina” to also assist students of te reo Māori to think more about adopting tūturu Māori phrasing when speaking or writing, regardless of the language used. Also, this convention adopts the understanding that words like hapū, Māori, Pākehā are both singular and plural.

Examples that have been adjusted to follow the above convention:

- his followers had Te Moananui's permission (the permission of Te Moananui),
- the limit of Te Moananui's tolerance was reached (limit of the tolerance of Te Moananui),
- I gathered from Te Moananui's people (I gathered from the people of Te Moananui),
- so that they may become Pākehās and rangatiras (so that they become Europeanised and esteemed),
- By the Pakeha's language (by the language of Pākehā),
- in the Ruahines (on the Ruahine range),
- law to control them or the Māori^s (or the Māori, as Māori is both singular and plural),

Te Rehunga's feast, Te Rehunga's gift (te hākari a Te Rehunga - the feast of Te Rehunga, te oha a Te Rehunga - the gift of Te Rehunga),

who offered the Māoris liberal supplies (who offered the Māori liberal supplies),
and the Waipawas had returned to their pah (and Waipawa people returned to their pā).

- (v) One practice of Native Land Court recorders was to shorten the words “Ngāti” and “Ngāi” to “N” with added apostrophe. I have written the full word so people will know whether the hapū or iwi was called either Ngāti or Ngāi. Example, nō N’Hinemanu me N’Upokoiri [nō Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāi Te Upokoiri]. In the case of Upokoiri they are usually mentioned in narratives as either Ngāti Te Upokoiri or Ngāi Te Upokoiri and in some cases Pane-iri but are the same people. I have chosen to identify them as Ngāi Te Upokoiri unless specifically named as Pane-iri.
- (vi) Some place names originally had the definitive particle “Te” placed in front of them, so I have followed this original convention if the name was part of a narrative or evidence of former times. Examples, Te Takapau, Te Waipukurau. In many instances the “Te” was part of the original narrative and has been recorded as such.
- (vii) I have chosen to utilise the hyphen to assist the reader and/or students of te reo Māori to better understand place names or of names of individual tupuna. Examples, Te Whatu-i-āpiti, Hika-rere-pari, Te Ao-mata-rahi, Te Motu-o-Te Tatū, Te Waikōpiro-o-Ruatāmore.
- (viii) I have used the square brackets [...] to indicate names, words or phrases left out in narratives that I have added for clarity and flow e.g. Numia-te-rangi and [Kau-te-āwhā], at Tukituki [both in Hawkes Bay] and at Rau-kawa [near

Te Aute p.221. In other cases, the court recorder only wrote half a name due possibly to not hearing correctly. The use of the round brackets/Parentheses () is reserved for translations which are in italics.

- (ix) I have acknowledged my Rangitāne side (and in some parts of Kahungunu) by using the words tupuna and tūpuna, even though some prefer to use either one or the other. Tūpuna also used the term “kāuru’ rather than “mātāpuna” and “pūau” sometimes rather than “ngutu awa” or “pūwaha”.
- (x) I have used the ellipsis “...” to indicate an intentional omission of words that have no relevance to the context of a narrative, or a passage provided by a tupuna as evidence.
- (xi) The traditional academic requirement of providing a Arotakenga Mātātuhi (*Literature Review*) has been met, not through a set chapter, but through comment and opinion dispersed throughout this research to assist the flow of the narrative.
- (xii) The usual order of words when discussing both the Heretaunga and Tamatea connection is that the word “Heretaunga” is placed first. Because this research is Tamatea district based when showing the regional connection, I have placed the word Tamatea first to emphasise this fact, “Tamatea-Heretaunga”.
- (xiii) To assist those not so versed in te reo rangatira (*the language of chiefs*) I have provided the meaning of the section headings (written in parentheses) in the first part of each section.
- (xiv) Whakapapa is an essential component of this research and to memorise whakapapa and recite whakapapa is a specific skill that some of our tūpuna

possessed and a very select few of present-day descendants also possess. To ensure the accuracy of recording whakapapa in this research I lean towards records compiled by tūpuna in wānanga whakapapa. I have also referred to the Auckland University website which houses the Māori Land Court Minute Book Index. <https://collections.library.auckland.ac.nz/mlcmbi/>. This enabled me to cross reference the information provided on this website with the evidence recorded in the respective minute books and other references found in published material such as Māori newspapers, the Journal of the Polynesian Society, (One must be cautious of information given by this Society as many Māori researchers including Smith, L. T. Somerville, A. T. Mikaere, A. and Jackson, M. have questioned the authenticity of some contributions, its selective editing, and interpretations of Māori origins have been discredited). Theses, and books, specifically J.M McEwen's *Rangitāne a Tribal History*. Jock McEwen was secretary of Māori affairs from 1963 to 1975. A Pākehā, he learned to speak Māori as a young man and began working for the Māori Affairs Department in 1935. (Derby, 2018) and J.H. Mitchell's *Takitimu a History of the Ngāti Kahungunu People*. Tiaki Hikawera Mitira was a dairy farmer and Māori interpreter, and in his later years he devoted all his energy and influence to the erection of the Takitimu Carroll meeting-house and the writing of Takitimu. An unusual feature of this history of Ngāti Kahungunu is that the book was not published for monetary reward, but was distributed gratis to libraries, Māori colleges and museums. He died within a year of Takitimu being published ("Two Māori Authors," 1952). McEwen was more relevant to this research as Mitchell's historical account of the Ngāti

Kahungunu people leans more towards the narratives and tūpuna of the Wairoa area and the whakapapa supplied show Kahungunu connection to other prominent iwi rather than to local hapū of the Tamatea district.

- (xv) Personal knowledge of the Rākau-tātahi block originates from holidaying there in my youth on the farm of my uncle Mātenga Pekapeka Snee (we knew him as “Uncle Tenga”, attending kaupapa at the Rākau-tātahi marae; tangihanga (*farewelling deceased*), hui komiti (*committee meetings*), hui ā-whānau (*family gatherings*), wānanga reo (*language symposiums*), hui ā-hapori (*community gatherings*). More recently through purchasing a 6-acre block of land on Rangitoto Road on the Waikōpiro block and living there from 2003 through to 2013 has strengthened my familiarity with the land the four blocks sit. This research is an opportunity to bring the land and the tūpuna who lived and died on it to life through its narratives.
- (xvi) One aspect that saddens the heart is that the maps mentioned in the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou cases have been misplaced or are in the hands of someone other than the Native Land Court. There are maps for the Rākau-tātahi and Waikōpiro blocks showing places marked but these are copies of the originals for which I am indebted to brother Brian for supplying. Another map of Te Whiti-ā-Tara was kindly given to me by Dr Roger Maaka. My work in identifying places on the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou blocks has been challenging due to the loss of the original maps therefore places I have marked on the Ōtāwhao and Whenuahou maps are an approximate positioning through evidence supplied by tūpuna.

(xvii) I have chosen to use the Reference Type “Interview” in referencing the words of tūpuna that provided evidence in the cases. The rationale being that using the Reference Type “Hearing” does not acknowledge the tūpuna who gave the evidence and is too generic for this type of research. When an article sourced from the Māori newspapers with no indication as to who contributed that article, I have referenced the newspaper rather than guess who wrote the article or who the editor or publisher of the newspapers were in that particular year.

(xviii) The word English word “section” appears to be synonymous with the word “hapū” in many instances

- “Matua-waipū section of Ngāti Ngarengare”
- “Ngāti Ngarengare – Te Roroku section”
- “Te Pata-o-te-rangi, section of Ngāi Tahu”
- “Te Ahi-kauri section of Ngāti Ngarengare”

Āpitianga 2: He Rārangi Tau

This research follow parts of a chronological table (*Rārangi Tau*) supplied by (Smith, 1906) in his Journal of the Polynesian Society article, *Incidents in the History of Horehore pā, Te Takapau* which is a translation of a narrative Tanguru Tūhua supplied. I have added relevant dates in italics that appeared in the evidence.

Figure 69:

Chronological Table. showing the movement of people and events

Tama-kuku lived around	1300
Tangowhiti born about	1450
Rangitāne born about	
Kahungunu, born about	
Te Ao-mata-rahi, born about	1475
Rākai-hiku-roa and Whata born about	1500
Tū-purupuru and Taraia born	1525
Whata, settles at Te Takapau	
Tūwhirirau eponymous tupuna of Ngāi Tūwhirirau	1550
Rākai-hiku-roa, Taraia and Te Ao-mata-rahi migrate to Heretaunga	
Ngarengare, migrates from Wairoa to Heretaunga	1625
Te Whatu-i-āpiti of Te Roto-a-Tara born	1650
Te Rehunga born about	
Manawakawa born about	
Rākai-marō born 1625, marries Hine-rau-te-kawa	1675
Whenuahou and Ōtāwhao to Te Rehunga – Ngā Tau-tuku-roa	1675 1700
Increased arrival of Europeans	1800
Te Āmio-whenua attacks Horehore pā	1820
Migration to Nukutaurua	1823
Migration to Manawatū	1830
New Testament published in te reo Māori	1838
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	1840
William Williams arrives on the East Coast	
Colenso arrives in Hawke's Bay	1844
Hēnare Matua returned to Porangahau	1841
Hapū return from Nukutaurua to Heretaunga	1846
Hapū return from Manawatū to Rākau-tātahi	1850

Waipukurau block sold – beginning of sales in Hawke’s Bay	1851
Whatumā lake populated (900 people)	1852
Native Lands Act	1862
Kōti Whenua Māori established	1865
Ten-ownership rule impact in Tamatea-Heretaunga	1866
Scandinavians arrive to clear Te Tāpere nui-a-Whātonga	1870

Āpitianga 3: Mahere Whenua

The following explanation supplied by Ben Jolly of Manaaki Whenua Landcare Research details the technology he used in creating maps to enhance the narrative. My respect and eternal thanks always to Ben.

Geographic Information System (GIS) software played an essential role finding and mapping historical Māori land block boundaries from recorded interviews. We used the QGIS free and open-source software tool (version 3.36.0) (QGIS) along with the following public data layers from the Land Information New Zealand (LINZ) Data Service (Toitū Te Whenua, 2024): NZ River Name Lines (Pilot) (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2019a), NZ River Name Polygons (Pilot) (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2019b), NZ Coastlines (Topo, 1:50k) (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2024a), NZ Topo50 Maps (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2024b), and North Island 0.5m Cyclone Gabrielle Satellite Imagery (2023) (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2023). As streams and rivers often serve as natural borders the River Name layers (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2019a) and (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2019b) were very useful for both finding (via text search) and then quickly defining substantial portions of land block boundaries. The Topo50 topographic 1:50,000 scale maps (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2024b) were also very useful for finding and following significant terrain features such as ridges, mountain ranges, and mountains. The 0.5 m satellite imagery (Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), 2023) was simply a convenient source of moderately high resolution imagery with consistent colour and time of acquisition.

In addition to the transcribed historical interviews, two historical paper maps surveyed for the Rākau-tātahi block Reardon (1891) and Waikōpiro block Unknown (1889) scanned and then georeferenced with the QGIS Georeferencer tool. This was done by finding significant features on each map that were still present in current imagery/topographic maps to use as ground control points (GCPs). The maps were then rotated, translated, and scaled using the “Helmert” transform option so that they aligned with contemporary imagery and the LINZ geospatial data layers and could be used to provide additional context to the historical narratives. Despite the 133-year and 135-year age gap between these maps and current imagery, alignment was generally very good, and it was easy to accurately digitise and record historical features in modern mapping software like QGIS.

There were often discrepancies or omissions between the official Crown data (LINZ data layers) and local narratives that required careful navigation and reconciliation, many issues were not resolvable. Local expert knowledge was an essential part of this process, as it provided contextual understanding and validation of both the oral histories and the Crown data sources. This collaborative approach ensured that the final maps reflected as well as possible both the technical precision of GIS and the cultural significance embedded in local narratives. QGIS allowed for the precise overlay and alignment of historical maps with current geospatial data, ensuring accurate spatial representation. This combination of historical and contemporary data sources enabled the identification and verification of land boundaries, accounting for natural and man-made changes over time. The resulting maps offer as accurate and robust a depiction of historical Māori land blocks as possible using historical descriptions.

Āpitianga 4: Blocks and case types

	Poraka	Take	Wāhi/Rā Tīmata	NMB
Ōtāwhao				
1	Ōtāwhao Rerewei	Title Investigation	Waipawa 31/1/1883	6
2	Ōtāwhao	Sale	Napier 28/1/1882	6
		Title Investigation	Napier 11/10/1883	6
		Compensation	Waipawa 19/4/1887	38
		Rehearing-Succession	Hastings 6/6/1895	12
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 24/10/1896	40
		Appeal	Hastings 25/2/1899	49
		Appeal-Relative Interests Partition	Hastings 25/2/1899 Hastings 8/10/1910	48A 62
3	Ōtāwhao A	Partition	Napier/Waipawa 10/3/1884	6
		Succession	Waipawa 11/4/1891	22A
		Survey	Waipawa 8/5/1891	22A
		Succession	Waipawa 8/5/1891	22A
		Succession	Waipawa 19/5/1892	26
		Succession Rehearing	Hastings 20/5/1892	25
		Succession	Waipawa 13/8/1892	25
		Partition	Waipawa 31/8/1892	25
		Enquiry-Partition-	Waipawa 26/9/1892	26A
		Succession	Hastings 14/12/1894	38
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 25/3/1895	38
		Negotiations in progress	Hastings 25/3/1895	38
		Survey	Hastings 29/3/1895	38
		Negotiations in progress	Hastings 3/4/1895	31
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 12/6/1895	38
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 22/6/1895	38
		Succession	Hastings 12/12/1896	41
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 28/2/1898	45
		Confirmation of alienation		
3	Ōtāwhao A1	Enquiry-Partition-	Waipawa 26/9/1892	26A
		Succession	Hastings 30/9/1895	35
		Confirmation of alienation	Dannevirke 31/1/1908	59

		Partition		
4	Ōtāwhao A1H	Partition	Hastings 15/1/1911	
5	Ōtāwhao A2	Enquiry-Partition-Succession Partition Partition	Waipawa 26/9/1892 Hastings 8/10/1910 Hastings 16/2/1911	26A 62 62
6	Ōtāwhao B	Confirmation of alienation Removal of restrictions	Hastings 22/6/1895 Hastings 8/3/1898	31 45
7	Ōtāwhao B (Whenuahou)	Partition	Napier/Waipawa 10/3/1884	6
8	Ōtāwhao B2	Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 12/12/1896	41
9	Ōtāwhao A3	Enquiry-Partition-Succession Negotiations in progress Confirmation of alienation Confirmation of alienation Compensation Partition Partition Compensation Partition Partition	Waipawa 26/9/1892 Hastings 18/3/1895 Hastings 30/9/1895 Hastings 3/12/1898 Hastings 13/12/1906 Waipawa 12/9/1907 Waipawa 12/11/1907 Waipawa 12/11/1907 Dannevirke 30/9/1910 Hastings 16/2/1911	26A 38 35 45 58 58 59 59 62 62
10	Ōtāwhao A4	Enquiry-Partition-Succession Partition	Waipawa 26/9/1892 Waipawa 25/11/1907	26A 58
11	Ōtāwhao A5	Enquiry-Partition-Succession Negotiations in progress Survey Confirmation of alienation Partition	Waipawa 26/9/1892 Hastings 25/3/1895 Hastings 24/6/1896 Hastings 3/12/1898 Waipawa 26/11/1907	26A 38 40 45 58
12	Ōtāwhao A6	Negotiations in progress Negotiations in progress Survey Confirmation of alienation Enquiry-Partition-Succession Partition	Hastings 11/3/1895 Hastings 25/3/1895 Hastings 24/9/1896 Hastings 3/12/1898 Waipawa 26/9/1892 Waipawa 12/10/1907	38 38 40 45 26A 58
13	Ōtāwhao A6C	Partition	Hastings 16/2/1911	62
14	Ōtāwhao 7	Enquiry-Partition-Succession	Waipawa 26/9/1892	26A

15	Ōtāwhao B (No2)	Trustees Negotiations in progress Confirmation of alienation Confirmation of alienation Partition	Hastings 12/1/1893 Hastings 29/3/1895 Hastings 25/9/1896 Hastings 26/2/1902 Hastings 10/6/1903	29 38 40 53 55
16	Ōtāwhao A8	Enquiry-Partition-Succession	Waipawa 26/9/1892	26A
17	Ōtāwhao A9	Partition Confirmation of alienation Enquiry-Partition-Succession	Hastings 18/2/1895 Hastings 3/1/1898 Waipawa 26/9/1892	38 45 26A
18	Ōtāwhao A10	Enquiry-Partition-Succession Confirmation of alienation Removal of restrictions	Waipawa 26/9/1892 Hastings 12/9/1903 Woodville 14/4/1904	26A 55 27
19	Ōtāwhao A11	Enquiry-Partition-Succession Removal of restrictions Survey Removal of restrictions Removal of Restrictions	Waipawa 26/9/1892 Hastings 4/4/1898 Hastings 6/4/1900 Woodville 14/4/1904 Hastings 18/12/1906	26A 45 52 27 58
20	Ōtāwhao 3A	Partition Partition	Hastings 9/10/1906 Hastings 19/10/1907	57 58
Rākau-tātahi				
21	Rākau-tātahi	Title Investigation Title Investigation-Partition Not recorded Court Business Appeal Succession Amend Order Partition (various) Partition	Waipawa 12/10/1891 Waipawa 25/11/1891 Hastings 12/1/1893 Waipawa 3/6/1889 Dannevirke 5/3/1900 Hastings 7/6/1893 Hastings 15/8/1896 Hastings 29/6/1897	23 24 29 18 49 26A 39 43
22	Rākau-tātahi No 1	Title Investigation-Partition Partition Partition Partition Partition	Waipawa 25/11/1891 Waipawa 22/8/1892 Hastings 27/6/1893 Hastings 7/7/1893 Hastings 5/7/1897	24 25 26A 27 44

		Title Investigation	Hastings 7/7/1897	44
		Appeal-Partition	Hastings 23/1/1899	49
		Appeal	Hastings 23/1/1899	48
		Appeal-Partition	Hastings 22/3/1899	48A
23	Rākau-tātahi 1A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
24	Rākau-tātahi 1B	Partition	Hastings 10/3/1907	57
25	Rākau-tātahi 1D	Partition	13/3/1899	46
26	Rākau-tātahi 1D2	Road Access	Waipawa 20/11/1907	58
27	Rākau-tātahi 1E	Succession Succession (Judge Ward's MB 42 Wanganui MB 42)	Dannevirke 28/8/1899 Waipawa 26/11/1907	58
28	Rākau-tātahi 1F	Partition Enquiry	Hastings 7/5/1906 Waipawa 13/11/1908	57 59
29	Rākau-tātahi 1 F2	Partition	Hastings 25/7/1911	62
30	Rākau-tātahi 1G	Succession Partition Partition	Hastings 27/4/1900 Waipawa 15/7/1908 Hastings 23/8/1910	52 59 62
31	Rākau-tātahi 1L	Succession	Hastings 23/6/1900	52
32	Rākau-tātahi 2	Title Investigation-Partition Partition Partition	Waipawa 25/11/1891 Waipawa 22/8/1892 Hastings 27/6/1893	24 25 26A
33	Rākau-tātahi 2A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
34	Rākau-tātahi 2B	Partition	Waipawa 18/12/1908	59
35	Rākau-tātahi 3	Title Investigation-Partition Partition	Waipawa 25/11/1891 Waipawa 22/8/1892	24 25
36	Rākau-tātahi 3A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
37	Rākau-tātahi 3B	Partition Appeal	Hastings 1/4/1898 Hastings 30/1/1899	45 49
38	Rākau-tātahi 3B3	Partition Appeal	Dannevirke 22/10/1902 Hastings 30/1/1899	55 48
39	Rākau-tātahi 4	Partition Title Investigation-Partition Appeal	Waipawa 22/8/1892 Waipawa 25/11/1891 Hastings 20/3/1899	25 24 48A
40	Rākau-tātahi 4A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
41	Rākau-tātahi 5	Partition Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 22/8/1892 Waipawa 25/11/1891	25 24

42	Rākau-tātahi 5A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
43	Rākau-tātahi 6A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
44	Rākau-tātahi 7A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
45	Rākau-tātahi 8A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
46	Rākau-tātahi 9A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
47	Rākau-tātahi 10A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
48	Rākau-tātahi 11A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
49	Rākau-tātahi 12A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
50	Rākau-tātahi 13A	Partition	Hastings 7/7/1893	27
Whenuahou				
51	Whenuahou	Title Investigation	Waipawa 31/1/1883	6
	Whenuahou	Rehearing – Succession	Hastings 6/6/1895	38
52	Whenuahou A	Partition	Napier or Waipawa 10/3/1884	6
53	Whenuahou B	Partition	Napier/Waipawa 10/3/1884	6
		Trustees	Hastings 12/1/1893	29
		Partition (B1, B2)	Hastings 15/8/1896	39
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 7/4/1900	52
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 28/5/1900	52
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 16/6/1900	52
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 9/7/1900	53
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 23/7/1900	52
54	Whenuahou C	Survey	Hastings 25/3/1895	38
		Negotiations in progress	Hastings 29/3/1895	38
55	Whenuahou C2A	Payment of Monies Wellington MB No 14	Wellington 23/11/1905	
56	Whenuahou B2	Negotiations in progress	Hastings 29/3/1895	38
57	Whenuahou DE2	Negotiations in progress	Hastings 29/3/1895	38
Waikōpiro				
58	Waikōpiro	Title Investigation	Waipawa 4/3/1889	17
		Payment of Monies Wellington MB No 14	Wellington 23/11/1905	
		Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 16/6/1893	26A
		Rehearing	Hastings 3/5/1890	20
		Rehearing	Waipawa 8/4/1891	22A
		Partition (various)	Waipawa 25/4/1894	32

		No recorded	Waipawa 22/8/1892	25
59	Waikōpiro No 1	Title Investigation-Partition Payment of Monies Wellington MB No 14 Payment of Monies	Waipawa 9/4/1889 Wellington 23/11/1905 Dannevirke 25/2/1897	18 41
60	Waikōpiro B	Survey Survey Partition	Hastings 25/3/1895 Hastings 12/3/1898 Hastings 4/9/1895	38 45 33
61	Waikōpiro B12	Confirmation of alienation Ōtaki MB No 3A	Palmerston North 9/3/1901	
62	Waikōpiro B13	Confirmation of alienation Ōtaki MB No 3A	Palmerston North 9/3/1901	
63	Waikōpiro B15	Confirmation of alienation	Hastings 5/12/1896	40
64	Waikōpiro B1-16	Survey	Hastings 16/12/1897	44
65	Waikōpiro 1B	Survey Survey Payment of Monies Partition	Hastings 25/3/1895 Hastings 12/3/1898 Dannevirke 25/1/1897 Dannevirke 5/2/1897	38 45 41 41
66	Waikōpiro 1B2	Partition	Hastings 31/3/1898	45
67	Waikōpiro No 1B2A	Survey Survey	Hastings 3/3/1902 Hastings 20/12/1909	53 61
68	Waikōpiro 1B2B	Partition (Judge Ward's MB 38 Wanganui MB 38)	Dannevirke	
69	Waikōpiro No 1B2B2	Survey	Hastings 3/3/1902	53
70	Waikōpiro No2	Title Investigation-Partition Survey	Waipawa 9/4/1889 Hastings 25/3/1895	18 38
71	Waikōpiro No 2A	Survey	Dannevirke 10/1/1910	62
72	Waikōpiro No 2B	Survey Survey Partition Partition (Judge Ward's MB 38 Wanganui MB 38)	Dannevirke 10/1/1910 Hastings 12/3/1898 Hastings 31/3/1898 Dannevirke	62 45

		Partition	Hastings 20/2/1911	62
73	Waikōpiro No 2B2	Survey Partition Partition	Hastings 3/3/1902 Waipawa 19/7/2013 Hastings 8/5/1911	53 58 62
74	Waikōpiro No 2C	Survey	Dannevirke 10/1/1910	62
75	Waikōpiro No 2D	Survey	Dannevirke 10/1/1910	62
76	Waikōpiro No 3	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
77	Waikōpiro 3B	Survey Survey Partition (Judge Ward's MB 38 Wanganui MB 38)	Dannevirke 10/1/1910 Hastings 12/3/1898 Dannevirke 17/8/1898	62 45
78	Waikōpiro No 3B2	Survey Partition	Hastings 3/3/1902 Hastings 7/8/1902	53 54
79	Waikōpiro No 4	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
80	Waikōpiro No 5A	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
81	Waikōpiro No 5B	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
82	Waikōpiro No 5C	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
83	Waikōpiro No 5D	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
84	Waikōpiro No 6	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
85	Waikōpiro No 7	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
86	Waikōpiro No 8	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18
87	Waikōpiro No 9	Title Investigation-Partition	Waipawa 9/4/1889	18

Āpitianga 5: He kohinga whakataukī-whakatauākī

General		
He kura kāinga e hokia, he kura tangata e kore e hokia	A treasured home endures, not so a treasured person	Brougham 1975:40 Parker 1979:8a Williams 1971:157
*He wahine, he oneone i ngaro ai te tangata	For land and women men perish	Best 1924:l:397 Buddle 1851:33 Grey 1857:29
He kura kāinga e hokia, he kura whenua e nōhia	https://youtu.be/leEfky_q2C8	Pou Temara <i>Te Kura Huna o Te Urewera: He Manu Kura (Part 1)</i>
*He wahine he whenua ka ngaro te tangata	For land and women men perish	Brougham 1975:126 Kōhere 1949:86 MacKay 1962:103
Ka wera hoki i te ahi, e mana ana anō	While the fire burns the mana is effective	Williams 1908:22 1971:172
I a au te one poto, i a au te one whero	Mine is a small piece of land with poor soil	Williams 1908:18
I kā tonu i tōku ahi i runga i tōku whenua	My fire has burned continuously	Māori Land Court records Stowell 1913:172
Kia mau ki tō toko; titiro, whakaute	Hold fast to your support; look after it	(land under cultivation Parker 1979:8a)
*Ko ngā take whawhai, he whenua he wahine		Buckle 1928:27
Ko te tangata ki mua, ko te whenua ki muri (muri iho ko te oneone)	People first, land second. Only by exterminating people will the land be gained	Davis 1974:141
Ko te toa ki uta e pikitia ana, ko te toa ki te wai tē pikitia	People who openly support a controversial issue By land easy to find, by sea not so	Grey 1857:60 Williams 1908:9, 1971:281
*Mā te whenua, mā te wahine ka mate te tangata		Graham 1925:69
Māu te wahine, māku te whenua kia ai koe i te tore tangata kia ai hoki au i te tore whenua	Giving up land by going with wife to her lands	Best 1905b:65 Brougham 1975:65
Nō Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua, nō Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga	The land is from Toi and Pōtiki, Tūhoe have the mana	Best 1977c:233 Gudgeon 1894:208
Ngā tamariki tāne ka whai i te uretū, ngā tamariki wahine ka whai i te ūkaipō	Sons inherit land, daughters inherit possessions	Brougham 1975:112 Shortland 1882:93
Ōku kainga waewae	Déjà vu – where one has been	Grey 1857:55 Williams 1971:239
Taku ahi kā i uta, taku mate ki te moana tē whakautua	Duty on land	Mitchell 1944:244
Tangata o te ākau roa, māna e ārai te kino	Hapū living on the coast as protectors	Mead 1981:10
Tāua ki uta, tāua ki wai	(Tangaroa's children Ikatere, Tū-te-wehiwehi)	Grey 1971:3 Taylor 1870:121 Williams 1908:16, 1971:474
Te toto o te tangata, he kai, te oranga o te tangata he whenua	A person's blood is obtained from the food eaten, and it is from land that sustenance is derived	Grey 1857:89 Kōhere 1951:16 Te Toa Takitini 1922:15:12

Desolation		
Hāhā te whenua, hāhā te tangata	Desolate land, desolate people	Brougham 1975:28
He māra pungarehu	A cultivation becomes an ash-field	Graham 1919:116
Ko te wai anake e rere ana (Whanganui)	Only the water flows – valley laid waste by inter-tribal fighting	Best 1977b:385
Tangi kau ana te hau ki roto o Whanganui	Only the wind blows in the Whanganui Valley – land desolate through warfare between tribes	Best 1977b:385 Smith 1905:153
Love		
Kia horoia tāku porokakī ki ngā wai o tōku ake whenua	Let my neck be washed by the waters of my own land	Stowell n.d.b
Kia mau ki Tāmaki	Hold fast to Tāmaki – Reference to land bordering the Tāmaki river (Dannevirke)	Grey 1857:50 Buchanan 1973:14, 179
Ko Papatūānuku te matua o te tangata	Papatūānuku is the mother of the human race – Māori loved their land just as they loved their mothers. In the throes of death, a bit of soil was brought to the bedside.	Kōhere 1951:16
Ko tōku iwituaroa tēnā	That is my backbone – referring to claiming land.	Brougham 1975 Grey 1857:57 Williams 1971:80
Me mate au, me mate mō te whenua	If I am to die, let me die for the land -	Stafford 1967:248 Wilson 1906:110
Fertility		
Ko Heretaunga haukū nui	Heretaunga of plentiful dew – noted for its fertile lands	
Ko Tūranga makau rau	Gisborne of a hundred lovers, many lovers, many battles	Brougham 1975:123 Ihaka 1956:53 Wikiriwhi 1955:12.49 Williams 1971:169
Formation		
Ānō nā te kāhu i hāro	As if a hawk scanned the land – a level plain devoid of trees	Brougham 1975:84 Grey 1857:2 Williams 1908:33 1971:84
Horo maunga ki tua, pākira te tangata kotahi	As a landslide denudes land, baldness comes to a person – connection between land and body	Turnbull n.d. 33 Williams 1908:17 1971:147, 254
Ko te whenua i horoia e te kāhu	Land scanned by a hawk – open country	
Me te pari hākoke	Like a laughing owl hawk – metaphor for land similar to an owl hawk's habitat	Best 1909:255
Loss		
He niho tō te Moni – whakatauākī nā Mōkena Kōhere	Money has teeth – reply to Government seeking land by offering money.	Kōhere 1949:60
Koia tēnei; ko te toroa noho au, e tangi ana ki tōna kāinga; e mihi ana	This is a fact; I live like an albatross crying out to its nesting place and greeting (in sorrow).	Mead 1982:409
Kua maoa te taewa – Nā te Whiti	The potato has been cooked – overcome by land confiscations	Stowell 1913:131
Mā wai anō e whai ngā tini rawe a te Pākehā	Feeling concerning much land that came into the possession of colonial settlers	Te Waka Māori 1876:XII.22.288

Tukua mai he kapunga oneone ki a au hai tangi	Give me a handful of land so I can weep over it	Best 1924a:397 Brougham 1975:63
Permanent		
He kura tangata e kore e rokohanga; he kura whenua ka rokohanga	A loved person will pass, treasured land remains	Best 1924: I:400 Brougham 1975:64 Ihaka 1959:26.55
He urunga tangata, he urunga pānekeke He urunga tangata, kāpātau he whenua e kore e pānekeke He urunga tangata, he urunga oneone, ko te urunga mau tonu	A human pillow is a slippery pillow but the land will never slip (away) A pillow of land is a secure pillow	Best 1902a:131 Brougham 1975:104 Mitchell 1944:244
He whenua taimaha te whenua, he tangata māmā te tangata	People fade away, land remains	McGregor 1903:62 Turnbull n.d. 17 Williams 1908:18
Ka ngaro reoreo tangata, kīkī e manu	No human voices, only the twittering of birds	Brougham 1975:7 Kōhere 1951:38 Williams 1908:14
Kaua hei riri mō te whenua, whenua i waiho	Waste of time fighting over land as it remains. Land remains long after we disappear	Williams 1971:342
Ko te kakī tangata anake i mate, ko te kakī whenua i ora	Ngāti Rangi Tauranga	White 1887: V.33
Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua	The permanence of language prestige and land	Brougham 1975:21 Ihaka 1957:20.42 Parker 1979:8a
Toitū he kāinga, whatungarongaro he tangata	Villages remain, people perish	Brougham 1975:63 Williams 1908:11; 1971:81,433
Whatungarongaro he tangata, toitū he whenua hoki	People die move on, migrate, disappear, land remains	Best 1902a:130, 1924: I.400 Grey 1857:96 Parker 1979:8a

Āpitianga 6: He reta inoi

I have edited the letter to include macrons and corrected what I consider typos. I have left words such as “Kahuhunu”, “wakararata” as I do not have access to the original letter, and they may have been how Harawira wrote them even though the letter contains both “wakararata” and “whakararata”.

TE PAKANGA O TE HĀPUKU RĀUA KO TE MOANANUI.

He reta tēnei nō roto i *Te Karere Māori o Ākarana*, Pākōwhai, Oketopa 2, 1857.

Nau mai rā, haere rā, e taku reta, ki Ākarana, ki a Te Kāwana, ki a Te Makarini. E tā, tēnā rā koe, arā, kōrua ko te Kāwana o Niu Tirenī. Tēnā pea ka rongō mai koe i te hē a ngā tāngata o Heretaunga: i konei hoki koe e kōrero ana, me Te Wiremu, Minita, me Te Pirihi Katorika, ko Rene te ingoa, me ahau hoki, me Aperahama Te Poha, me Noa Huke, kāore hoki kia rongō, ko tātou hoki ngā kaikōrero i waenganui o ngā hoariri, i te kupu o te Atua, i te ture a te Kuini. E tā, e te Makarini, e kore e whakahemo i ahau te kōrero atu ki a koutou ko a taua hoa Māori e noho ana ki Ākarana, ki Waikato, ki Rangi-aohia; e noho ana rātou i runga o te ture, o te aroha, o te pai, o te rangimārie: heoi, tēnei te mea e mōhio nei au, he tikanga Māori e kōhuru nei i ngā rangatira o te Māori, ara, he kupu atu, he kupu atu, he kupu mai, he arero atu, he arero mai; heoi, te taea te whakararata, e rite ana ki tā Hēmi 3, 8. Otirā, ko te arero ia e kore tēnei e taea e tētahi tangata te wakararata, he kino hoki e kore e taea te pēhi, kī tonu i te wai wakamate, ki tā te pukapuka tapu hoki, ki te tangata e kore e taea ngā mea katoa. Ko tētahi tēnei o aku whakaaro; mā Pī e kōrero tēnei hē; ko tā Ngāti Kahuhunu e oti ai te whawhai, ko Te Hāpuku kia haere ki tēnā kāinga; ki a Te Hāpuku, e kore ia e haere, ko tāku tēnei i roto i tā Te Hāpuku, me whakaoti te whawhai, ka oti, ka mau te rongō ki ngā tāngata kātahi ka haere i runga i te rangimārie. Ko te pukapuka tēnei o te parekura i te 18 o ngā rā o Ākuhata, 1857. Ko te rā tēnei i hinga ai te parekura i a Paiaka, ka tae mai te tangata i roto i te parekura ka kī mai ki a au, ka uru te tangata ki te mate; ka putu mai te aroha i a au mō ngā tāngata ka maumau noa ki te mate, ka tīmata taku karakia i roto i te whare karakia, kia tohungia rātou e te Atua; heoi, ka haere noa iho ahau i waenga koraha, rapu

whakaaro ai māku, i te pōuri noa iho; ka kī mai hoki tētahi Pākehā, ko Hoani, o Pākōwhai, kī mai ana, ko Paiaka, kua mate rawa; ka mea atu ahau, Mate rawa? Ka mea mai ia, Āe, ka puta mai te wakaaro i roto i ahau, me haere pea ahau ki te whakamātau i tētahi kapa māku ki a Te Hāpuku rāua ko Pūhara, kia whakamutua te pupuhi, me kore e whakaae mai rāua; ka haere matakū ahau, ā, pā ana hoki ki a au te wehi ki te mate, ka takoto iho mātou ki te whenua, ā, maranga ake ana mātou tokotoru, ko te tuahine o Paiaka e haere ana ki te whakamomori mō tēnā tungāne, ka mea atu ahau ki a ia, haere koe, e hoki. Ka hoki mai ia ki te pā, ka haere atu ahau, ka ngōki haere noa atu i te wehi o te mata; ā, ka tae atu ki te parepare, e noho ana, kotahi tekau: ka karanga atu ahau ki a Hāpata, E hoa, kai hea a Te Hapuka rāua ko Pūhara? Ka mea mai ia, Kei roto, kei roto i te parepare. Ka tata te tae ki te tūpāpaku, ki a te Paiaka. Ka mea atu ahau, He kupu nāku ki a rāua, kia whakamutu te pupuhi, kia haere ahau ki te tiki i taku tamaiti e takoto ana ki raro i te pou. Ka whakaae ake ētahi o ngā tāngata. Āe, kua tika tō kōrero. Ka oma atu taua tāhae nei, a Horomona, ki roto i te pare i a Te Hāpuku tae rawa atu, kua riro atu ki roto o te pā, ki Wakawhiti; ka kōrero atu i taku kupu ki a Te Hapuka; ka whakaae mai tērā, Āe. Ka oma mai taua tāhae, ka pā te karanga, E hoa, e te Harawira, haere ake; ka tahuri atu ahau, rā roto atu i te tahataha o te awa o Ngaruroro; ka oma atu hoki rā reira i te wehi o te māia, ka tae atu ahau ki Wakawhiti, kei reira e noho ana a Rene, te Pirihi, rāua ko Hoani, ki te rongoā i ngā tūpāpaku: ngā mea i tū, kotahi tekau mā rua rānei. Ka kī atu ahau ki a Te Hāpuku. Tēnei taku kupu kia kōrua ko Pūhara, kia whakamutua te pupuhi, kia haere ahau ki te tiki i taku tamaiti. Ka whakaae mai ia, Āe, kia tae, ka riro mai, ka whawhai anō. Heoi, ka haere atu mō te kara mā, kīhai hoki i puta atu ki waho, ka tangi mai, e whā ngā pū, haere ake ana ngā mata, ka tangi atu hoki ngā pū i tōku aroaro, ka karanga iho ahau, E hoa mā, whakamutua te pupuhi. Ā, mutu tonu iho; ā, ka tū mai te kara a Ngāti Kahuhunu, nā te kaiwhakaako i hāpai mai, nā Noa; ka tūtaki māua ki waenganui o ngā hoariri, ka mea ahau ki a ia, he kara tēnei hei tiki mai i tā tātou tamaiti, i a Paiaka. Ka kī mai tērā, e pai aua, me kohikohi katoa ngā tūpāpaku. Ka tae atu ki te pā, ka mea atu taku kupu ki ngā rangatira katoa, E hoa mā, e kore koutou rānei e pai kia whakamutua te whawhai? Kāore hoki kia hamumu mai te waha o ngā rangatira: ka pā te karanga o Te Moananui, haere rā e tama, haere rā, haere rā. Ka tae atu ahau ki a ia; tēnei taku kupu ki a koe, arā, ki a koutou katoa, me wakaoti e koutou tēnei whawhai, kia mutu, inā hoki e takoto nei tō tātou tamaiti. Me tuku mai te pou ki ahau, me whakarere

tēnei whenua kia takoto kau ana mō tō tātou tūpāpaku. Kāhore i aetia e Ngāti Kahuhunu. Ka kī mai anō a Te Moananui ki a au, me tahuri atu koe ki ō tuākana kōrero ai, ki a Te Hāpuku, ki a Pūhara, ki a rātou katoa. E tohe nei au, mātou ko ngā Pākehā, kāhore anō kia whawhai i muri nei, taea noatia te rā i tuhituhia ai tēnei pukapuka, ko ngā kōhue taipoa tonu ana ki runga i Heretaunga, kāhore he māramatanga: mā te Atua e homai rānei te rangaimārietanga ki a mātou, e kore e taea e ahau, e te tangata. Nāu anō e te Makarini, i kōrero mai ki a au kia tuhituhi pukapuka atu ki a koe; nō reira taku reta i haere anō i a koe: māu rānei e tuku i taku pukapuka ki te kaiperehi o Te Karere Māori. Otirā, kei a koe te whakaaro. Tēnei anō mātou te tangi nei ki a koe; he ahakoa, kino ana mātou, hohoro mai ki te homai kupu whakamārie mai ki a mātou. Nāku tēnei pukapuka, Ki a te Makarini, Nā to hoa aroha, NA TE HARAWIRA TE TATERE.

Ko ngā ingoa ēnei o ngā tāngata i mate rawa, tokoiwa; ko Paiaka Tiakitai, nō mātou katoa, nō Te Moananui rāua ko Te Hāpuku, he tamaiti rangatira hoki: Nō Te Hāpuku, tokowhā: Ko Pāora Tuari, nō Te Aute. Ko Aperaniko, nō Te Aute. Ko Patoromu Tamanoho, nō Te Waipukurau. Ko Kinokino, nō Ngāti Marau, nō Te Ruataniwha. Nō te Moananui, tokowhā: Ko Heaira Waewaeroa, no Waipureku. Ko Natanahira Te Wakatope, Ko Pāora Te Muri, nō Tāne-nui-a-rangi. Ko Hōhaia Te Kāuru, nō Tūtae-kurī.

Ko ngā mea i tū. Nō Te Hāpuku, tokowaru: Ko Maika Iwi-katea, te kaiwhakaako, Rota Porehu, nō Te Aute. Patariki, nō Waipukurau. Matiu Kawhi, nō Ngāwakatatara. Pāora Nonohi, nō Te Awa-o-te-atua. Taeto, nō Te Waipukurau. Te Hauwaho, nō Whakatū. Matia Kopera; ā, ora anake, haunga anō ngā mea i hohore te kiri. Nō Te Moananui, tokorima: Ko Rēnata Kawepō, nō Ngāti Upokoiri. Tiopira Te Rohe, nō Te Awa-o-te-atua. Pōwhatu, nō Ngāti Hōri. Hōtene Oneone, nō Ngāti Parau. Tere-mātaotao, Waipureku. He aha koa, houhia mai te rongō āpōpō, mō ngā tāngata ora anake te maungārongo; tēnā ko tēnei, e kore e taea te whakaora ake i ngā tūpāpaku i te mate a tēnei maungārongo.

Āpitianga 7: AJHR Māminga

Example 1 of the unscrupulous activities of Fred Sutton and Richard Maney

AJHR_1873_I_G-07-0005

LIST of COMPLAINTS—continued.

No. of Case.	No. of Com-plaint.	Name of Block.	Complainant.	Against whom Complaint made.	Nature of Complaint.
XIV.	74	Ohikakarewa ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	R. D. Maney ...	Sale. Beg matter be looked into.
	75	Koakoroa ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	F. Sutton ...	Mortgage. Beg transaction be looked into.
	76	Tautitaha ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	F. Sutton ...	Sale. Beg transaction be looked into.
	77	Mahanga ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	F. Sutton ...	Sale. Beg transaction be looked into.
XIII.	78	Whata Anga Anga ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	Rev. E. Reigner...	Sale. Beg transaction be looked into.
	79	Heretaunga ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	Purchasers ...	Sale, 300 acres of land, and £500 promised me, which they have not received. Beg transaction be looked into.
	80	Mangateretere (West) ...	Karaitiana Takamoana ...	R. D. Maney, F. Sutton, D. Lindsay; Interpreters, F. E. Hamlin, M. Hamlin, G. Worgan	Complains grantees were induced by Europeans giving grog to sell their shares; the first cause of trouble was the payment of rent being wrongly stopped. Complains his name was wrongly excluded from grant by Native Lands Court; that his mill, which stands on this land, has been taken by purchasers against intention of sellers; money have not been paid for educating his children at school as promised; a sixty-acre reserve has not been marked off as required; payments have been made in grog.
	81	Mangateretere (East) ...	Karaitiana Takamoana ...	R. D. Maney, F. Sutton, D. Lindsay; Interpreters, F. E. Hamlin, M. Hamlin, G. Worgan	Complains payments made in grog; begs transaction be looked into.
XIV.	82	Ohikakarewa ...	Karaitiana Takamoana ...	R. D. Maney, F. Sutton, D. Lindsay; Interpreters, F. E. Hamlin, M. Hamlin, G. Worgan	Complains two shares in this block were fairly told; the third share was sold for grog.
	83	Hiikutoto... ..	Karaitiana Takamoana ...	R. D. Maney, F. Sutton, D. Lindsay; Interpreters, F. E. Hamlin, M. Hamlin, G. Worgan	Complains that a reserve was promised to sellers of the Maraakakaho and other neighbouring blocks, which has not been made, but which they now claim to have set apart; Mr. McLean and Mr. Cooper were engaged in the purchase.
	84	Te Ranga ...	Te Hapuku ...	J. McDougall and J. G. Kinross	Complains that no settlement of rents has ever been made with grantees for the occupation of this land for many years, the rent agreed was £360 per annum; no lease executed since land passed Court; claims for arrears estimated about £1,500; complainant denies ever having signed any mortgage or conveyance of this block, although Kinross alleges to have such deed. When taken before the Commissioner, Mr. Turton, complainant denied any knowledge of mortgage or conveyance; any papers complainant signed about Raukawa he understood were for payments on account of rents.
	85	Raukawa ...	Te Hapuku ...	Commissioner Turton ...	Complains that Commissioner granted a certificate to Kinross of the sale of Raukawa, although complainant denied on oath that he had signed either mortgage or conveyance.
XXIII.	86	Raukawa ...	Te Hapuku ...	Hon. D. McLean	Complains that no settlement of rent for occupation of Ngatarawa has ever been made; never mortgaged this block to any one; was induced to sign a deed agreeing to sell this block to Mr. McLean by being told that all the other grantees had sold, which complainant afterwards found out was not true, as Karaitiana had not sold; no price was fixed before signing the deed, and immediately afterwards complainant refused to accept the £3,000 mentioned in deed, and has since constantly refused; complainant wants £7,000 or the land returned to him.
	87	Ngatarawa ...	Te Hapuku ...	T. K. Newton ...	Complainant denies ever having been told that the paper he was asked to sign was a mortgage to Newton; that he got no consideration for any mortgage, and does not owe Newton anything; Newton has been drawing his rents; complainant requires that his land, if mortgaged, shall be released. Signed Hapuku. Witness to Hapuku's signature, John Stevens, Licensed Interpreter.
	88	Koparekore (incalienable)	Te Hapuku ...	Lessee ...	Complainant has not received rent promised.
	89	Pukioio (part of Moteo, or Onaranui No. 1)	Paora Kaiwhata...	...	...

Example 2 of the unscrupulous activities of Fred Sutton and Richard Maney

AJHR_1873_I_G-07-0004

G.—7.

4

List of Complaints—continued.

No. of Case.	No. of Complaint.	Name of Block.	Complainants.	Against whom Complaint made.	Nature of Complaint.
XIV. XI.	47	Mangateretere ...	Ahere Te Koari ...	R. D. Maney ...	Mortgaged for £500. Mortgage foreclosed before expiration of term, or money paid. Begs matter be looked into.
	48	Ohikakawa ...	Ahere Te Koari ...	R. D. Maney ...	Sold for £100; only received £30 and some goods.
	49	Petane ...	Ahere Te Koari ...	R. D. Maney ...	Mortgaged for £200; only received goods and £26 in money.
	50	Raukawa (East) ...	Maraea Heketa and two others	Grantees ...	Have received no share of money from grantees.
XXXI.	51	Waipukurau (Native Reserve)	Hori Niania Te Aroaia	H. R. Russell ...	Agreement of sale not carried out. Begs matter be looked into.
	52	Tarewa (Native Reserve)	Hori Niania Te Aroaia	Karaitiana Takamoana ...	Karaitiana Takamoana has no claim in the block. Reserve made by Government for Hori's people. Wishes matter looked into.
XXIV.	53	Huramua, Nos. 2 and 3, Wairoa	Tiaki Kainga ...	J. Carroll ...	Begs matter looked into.
	54	Ngatarawa ...	Wi Te Ota and eight others	Hon. D. McLean ...	Lease. Beg manner of receiving money for rent and division thereof, be explained.
XXXIII.	55	Mangarube (East and West, Wairoa)	Hotene Makuru and two others	Lessees ...	Do not receive money for rent. Beg matter looked into.
	56	Pakowhai (Wairoa) ...	Tamihana Huata and three others	Dr. Ormond ...	Beg matter looked into.
	57	Te Ranga ...	Kerei Tanguru ...	Government ...	Begs matter looked into.
	58	Ngatarawa ...	Kerei Tanguru ...	Grantees ...	Receives no share in grants. Begs matter looked into.
XV. XXVII. XXIII. XXII.	59	Tanemuirangi (portion of Mangateretere West)	Piiti ...	F. Sutton ...	Not willing that land should go. Begs matter be looked into.
	60	Mangateretere (East) ...	Wirihana Ponomai ...	D. E. Lyndsay ...	Mortgage. Have only received £5, a cart, some goods, sugar, a blanket, some shirts, tobacco, trowsers, shoes, a cup, a coat, saddle, and 12 gallons grog.
	61	Waikahu ...	Paora Torotoro ...	R. P. Giffard ...	Begs matter be looked into.
	62*	Tikokino ...	Mita Karaka and Temuera	Grantees ...	Beg division of land and rent be looked into.
XXVII. XX.	63	Te Ranga ...	Renata Te Rewa ...	Government ...	Begs matter be looked into.
	64	Kiwi (Wairoa) ...	Erihi Whakia and twelve others	William Couper ...	Agreement of lease not carried out. Beg matter be looked into.
	65	Whakaea (portion of Heretaunga)	Renata Kawepo and Noa Huke	R. D. Maney and H. Peacock	Beg transaction be looked into.
	66	Baukawa ...	Renata Kawepo and Noa Huke	J. G. Kinross, Mr. McDougall	Beg transaction be looked into.
XXVII. XX.	67	Tikokino ...	Renata Kawepo ...	Government ...	Matter be looked into.
	68	Tunamui ...	Renata Kawepo ...	R. D. Maney ...	Begs transaction be looked into.
	69	Kopuaroa ...	Renata Kawepo ...	R. D. Maney ...	Begs transaction be looked into.
	70	Mangateretere (East) ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	R. D. Maney, D. E. Lyndsay	Sale. Beg transaction be looked into.
XXIII.	71	Mangateretere (West) ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	F. Sutton	Mortgage. Beg transaction be looked into.
	72	Hiikutoto ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	Government ...	Sale. Beg matter be looked into.
	73	Kakiraawa ...	Henare Tomoana, Peni Te Ua, and others	F. Sutton	Mortgage. Beg transaction be looked into.