NGĀTI MANIAPOTO MANA TANGATA

SCOPING REPORT FOR A NGĀTI MANIAPOTO ORAL AND TRADITIONAL HISTORY PROJECT

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

Paul Meredith, Rewi Nankivell and Robert Joseph

November 2010
THE AUTHORS

Paul Meredith is Ngāti Kaputahi, a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. He has a law degree and a first class honours in Māori Studies from Waikato University. Previously a Senior Research Fellow with Te Mātāhauariki Institute, Paul was a key researcher for a major historical project on Māori customary legal concepts. He has also provided historical research and translations for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT), the Office of the Treaty Settlements (OTS), the Crown Law Office and Iwi. Paul is currently employed in the Office of the Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori at Victoria University of Wellington where he has also taught Māori land law in the School of Law and nineteenth-century Māori-Pakeha history in the History Department.

Rewi Nankivell is of Ngāti Rora, a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. He holds several qualifications including a Master of Arts degree in Māori Development / Māori Studies and a Postgraduate Diploma in Management Studies. Rewi has a library / research background working at the University of Waikato (Hamilton) Library and the New Zealand Film Archives (Wellington). Rewi has also worked at the Waitangi Tribunal (Wellington) before taking up a senior management position at Raroera Campus, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Hamilton. Rewi currently works at Head Office, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa as a kaiarahi / programme manager of the Business Programmes, 2009.

Robert Joseph is of Ngāti Paretekawa, a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. He holds a PhD in law from Waikato University. Dr Joseph is a former Senior Research Fellow with Te Mātāhauariki Institute. Dr Joseph is currently a lecturer in Te Piringa Faculty of Law at the University of Waikato. He is a published academic and has experience researching with and for Iwi organisations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge and thank Verity Smith of the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for her advice, support and patience. Among Maniapoto kaumātua who met with us, we wish to thank all for their time and willingness to share. Though the opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors, the project was a collaborative enterprise.

Disclaimers –The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, the Waitangi Tribunal, the Office of the Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori at Victoria University of Wellington, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Hamilton, or Te Piringa Faculty of Law at the University of Waikato. The researchers also apologise for any editing errors in this scoping report. While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the information provided in this report, no warranty or representation is provided regarding the accuracy of such information, and the authors and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust do no accept liability for any losses or damage arising directly or indirectly from reliance on the information.
## CONTENTS

### A INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................................................. 7
- THE SCOPING REPORT .......................................................................................................................... 7
- ORAL AND TRADITIONAL HISTORY PROJECT .................................................................................. 9
- ROHE PŌTAE INQUIRY ...................................................................................................................... 10
- REPORT OUTLINE ............................................................................................................................... 12
- METHODOLOGY ................................................................................................................................... 12

### B NGĀTI MANIAPOTO TE IWI ............................................................................................................... 14
- INTRODUCTION ..................................................................................................................................... 14
- Ngāti Maniapoto me nga Korero Whakapapa ...................................................................................... 14
- Written Form ....................................................................................................................................... 15
- Native Land Court Records ................................................................................................................ 17
- Written and Recorded Whakapapa .................................................................................................... 17
- Debatable Whakapapa ....................................................................................................................... 19
- Whakapapa Hui ................................................................................................................................... 23
- He Whakapapa Timata i a Io .............................................................................................................. 25
- Tainui te Waka, Hoturoa te Tangata - Tainui is the Canoe, Hoturoa is the Man ............................ 32
- Tainui Taonga ..................................................................................................................................... 36
- Tūrongo .............................................................................................................................................. 38
- Maniapoto – Te Manu Whatukura .................................................................................................... 45
- Te Kawairirangi ................................................................................................................................... 47
- A Tribal Motto .................................................................................................................................... 47
- Maniapoto Iwi and Hapū Identity ..................................................................................................... 48
- Hapū ................................................................................................................................................... 48
- Marae .................................................................................................................................................. 55
- Te Rohe Pōtae o Maniapoto ............................................................................................................... 55
- Whenua Tautohetohe ....................................................................................................................... 57
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Maniapoto and Waikato/Ngāti Apakura</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beyond the Puniu River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eastern Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Western Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tama</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Eastern Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tuwharetoa</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Central Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Haua/Whanganui</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey Plans and Maps – Simplified Version of a Complex Reality</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohe Pōtae Conceptually</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Taenga mai o te Pākehā - Coming of the Pākehā</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pākehā–Māori Unions</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Ventures</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniapoto me te Kingitanga: Te Pūna Roimata 2010</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nga Pakanga – New Zealand Wars</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ohaaki Tapu: Ngāti Maniapoto and its Sacred Compact</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1883 Petition</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 December 1883 Letters</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahanui’s addresses, House of Representatives and Legislature, November</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.................................................................................106

INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................................106

1) DICTIONARY OF NEW ZEALAND BIOGRAPHIES ........................................107

2) THE NEW ZEALAND RAILWAY MAGAZINE............................................... 124

3) APPENDICES TO JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (AJHR) ....133

4) NATIVE LAND COURT MINUTE BOOKS .......................................................135

5) Ngāti Maniapoto Māori Land Court Records 1880-1930 ..........................141

6) NIUPEPA MĀORI .......................................................................................148

7) PEI TE HURINUI JONES COLLECTION .................................................. 176
8) NGA MOTEATEA SERIES ........................................................................................................ 198

OTHER SECONDARY SOURCES ................................................................................................. 223

9) ROHE PŌTAE RESEARCH REPORTS .................................................................................... 223

10) FAMILY REUNION BOOKS ............................................................................................. 230

11) MARAE INVENTORIES ....................................................................................................... 231

OTHER RESOURCES .................................................................................................................. 232

SUMMARY ........................................................................................................................................ 233

D ORAL SOURCES ....................................................................................................................... 234

INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 234

CURRENTLY AVAILABLE ORAL HISTORY RECORDINGS ...................................................... 234

1) NGA MOTEATEA .................................................................................................................. 235

2) MĀORI PURPOSES FUND BOARD RECORDINGS ............................................................... 237

4) MERVYN McLEAN & JENY CURNOW COLLECTION ......................................................... 238

5) MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND CYLINDER RECORDINGS .................................................... 240

6) ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY ARCHIVE ....................................... 240

7) FILM ARCHIVES WELLINGTON RECORDINGS ............................................................... 245

8) OTHER RESOURCES .............................................................................................................. 259

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT ......................................................................................................... 260

Identifying People to Interview ................................................................................................. 261

Subjects to Discuss ..................................................................................................................... 263

Personal ....................................................................................................................................... 266

Kinship Groups ........................................................................................................................... 266

Traditions ....................................................................................................................................... 267

Land Occupation, Resource Use ............................................................................................... 267

Claims Issues ............................................................................................................................... 267

THE ORAL HISTORY GROUP ................................................................................................... 268

Ethical Considerations .............................................................................................................. 269
E  RECOMMENDATIONS .................................................................................................................283

F  BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................................................................................292
    Te Ao Hou ...................................................................................................................................295
    Niupepa Māori ....................................................................................................................298
    Papers Past ..........................................................................................................................299
    Journal of the Polynesian Society .......................................................................................300
    Books and Reports ............................................................................................................302
    Genealogies ..........................................................................................................................305
    Articles and Chapters ........................................................................................................306
    Primary Sources ..................................................................................................................307
    Oral Sources ........................................................................................................................311
    Video ......................................................................................................................................311
    Sound Archives ....................................................................................................................311
    Sources on Specific Places ...............................................................................................312
    Electronic Resources ........................................................................................................313

APPENDICES ....................................................................................................................................314
    Appendix 1: Ngāti Rora and Other Tainui Whakapapa Tables ...........................................314
    Appendix 2: Rohe Pōtae WAI 898 Claims .............................................................................322
    Appendix 3: Letter from a Claimant Outlining Issues in the Rohe Pōtae Claim – Ngāti Wharekokowai, Rereahu and Urban Māori .................................................................329
    Appendix 4: Te Heuheu’s Claim to Get his Children into the Rohe Pōtae Block: A Case Note....337
    Appendix 5: List of Ngāti Maniapoto Individuals on the Māori Voters Roll 1908 ..............358
    Appendix 6: Ngāti Maniapoto Māori Land Court Block Details ...........................................396
A INTRODUCTION

This is a Petition from us the Maniapoto, Raukawa, Tuwharetoa and Whanganui tribes, to Parliament; greeting.
Your petitioners pray that you will look into and carefully consider the matters which are the cause of much anxiety to us, and are raising a barrier in front of us, because these matters that are causing us anxiety have principally emanated from you, the Europeans, in the form of legislation.¹

- Wahanui, Taonui, Rewi Maniapoto and 412 others, 1883.

THE SCOPING REPORT

This scoping report is the first in a series of steps towards the completion of an oral and traditional history project. The scoping report is designed to determine whether a substantive report is required in the context of the Ngāti Maniapoto claims. Our view is that a substantive oral and traditional history report is merited for the following reasons:

Crucial to many of the Ngāti Maniapoto claims is the importance of establishing who Maniapoto was, his whakapapa, where he came from, who his descendants were/are, the hapū they established, their rohe and their relationship with other kinship and tribal groups from first settlement of the Rohe Pōtae area to the present;

To give kaumātua the opportunity to tell their story, speak of their relationship to the land and resources and that of their parents and grandparents, and to ensure that the traditions passed on to them by their parents and grandparents and elders are recorded and presented, where possible and appropriate, with what their ancestors have said in earlier contexts;

This information is essential to the investigation of Ngāti Maniapoto claims and cannot be obtained in any other form than through a detailed research project.

The project is substantial and is detailed in the last section of this report. There is a considerable volume of documentary and recorded oral evidence to locate and review and a significant number of kaumātua who have already been identified as possible participants in the interviews and small group discussions.

¹ Petition 45/1883 printed in Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, (1883, J1; King Country Petitions Document Bank) at 50-54.
The approach proposed will involve all Ngāti Maniapoto claimants as far as possible and in partnership with a small team of researchers who can provide certain technical research skills. Timeframes are also critical which must be met for the Ngāti Maniapoto Rohe Pōtae Inquiry. Planning an appropriate timetable for this project therefore needs to be decided upon but a balance needs to be achieved between the volume of work which can be contemplated and the need to have the report completed in time to meet the Waitangi Tribunal’s hearing plan. The final scoping report is due to be submitted in circa. November 2010. This will require a period of at least four weeks for consultation with the cluster groups and other Ngāti Maniapoto claimants. The Ngāti Maniapoto rohe and cluster groups (the cluster groups) comprise the following:

- Maniapoto ki Te Raki Regional Claims Forum (Northern Maniapoto) – Te Kotahitanga Marae; Otorohanga
- Maniapoto ki Waenganui Regional Claims Forum (Central Maniapoto) – Te Tokanganui-a-noho Marae, Te Kuiti
- Tuhua Hikurangi Regional Management Committee comprising:
  i) The Regional Forum (Maniapoto ki Te Tonga Regional Claims Forum) - Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui and
  ii) Te Hauauru Claimant Collective - Waipapa Marae, Kawhia.

In order to have a report ready for the Waitangi Tribunal, it is suggested that the project have a timeframe of approximately twelve months. This provides a period in which to undertake the research, conduct the interviews and small group discussions, process the recordings and provide them to claimants, counsel and other researchers, analyse all this material, draft the report, circulate the draft report to claimants for feedback and comment, review the draft in light of the feedback and complete the final report for filing. The objective would be to have the oral and traditional history project (including the report) completed by the end of September 2011 but with the proviso that further time would be available if required with an absolute deadline of December 2011. Some flexibility will be necessary as the circumstances (and timetable) in which the claimants must produce their evidence could change considerably.

For these reasons, we are recommending the project be undertaken by a Ngāti Maniapoto research team comprising the following:

- Lead researcher: to co-ordinate the project, direct research, participate in the interviews, small group discussions and wānanga and write the report;
• Oral history group: a small team of four or five claimants who will organise, facilitate and participate in the interviews, small group discussions and wānanga;

• Two research assistants: to work under the direction of the lead researcher to locate, copy and organise the documentary evidence for the project.

We strongly recommend therefore that a Ngāti Maniapoto research team be put together with some sort of overall leadership and supervision. A research team member could then be allocated a specific topic (e.g. Te Ohaaki Tapu, Maniapoto te tūpuna and so on), and be charged with producing a research paper on the topic(s). These papers could then be collated and edited as a collection of papers or even as chapters for an edited book on the oral and traditional history of Ngāti Maniapoto. We believe there are a number of suitably qualified people within Maniapoto to carry out this work. We believe it is too much for one or two individuals but that a collective effort could produce a significant written resource that is more widely owned.

The proposed approach outlined below (including the extent of documentary research and interviews/small group discussion) has been developed with a twelve month timeframe in mind. It is designed to ensure that the report is sufficiently comprehensive and robust to withstand rigorous cross-examination from the Crown and other claimants.

**ORAL AND TRADITIONAL HISTORY PROJECT**

An oral and traditional history report is presented to the Waitangi Tribunal by claimants in support of their claims. It is distinct from technical research in that it is filed by the claimants and, for this reason, the consent of the claimants is necessary for the report to be filed. The report is considered independent and expert evidence in the inquiry, but it must tell the story the claimants want told. The purpose of the oral and traditional history report is to present to the Tribunal the claimant’s view of themselves to assist the Tribunal in determining who was affected by actions of the Crown. This story is told through the oral interviews with kaumātua but also through the documentary records when their tupuna stood up and spoke at different times in the past about who their tupuna were, where they came from and where they lived. The best oral and traditional history reports are those where the modern day stories of identity are related to the whakapapa and evidence given by witnesses in the nineteenth and early twentieth century’s. It shows that what people are saying today have a much longer history and is not simply a more recent invention.
Another important key function of the report is to show the relationship between Ngāti Maniapoto and their natural resources within the Rohe Pōtae. These resources include land, forests, fisheries and waterways and other ‘taonga.’ The report will do this on the basis of evidence of occupation given by tūpuna in the Native Land Court when they speak of where they fished, caught birds, lived and died. There will also be heavy reliance on the oral interviews as kaumātua speak of the things them and their parents, and grandparents did on the land during the twentieth century. This will include discussion of how decisions made by others (such as Crown officials or Judges) affected their ability to live on their land and exploit their resources (for survival, for profit or for some other reason). These are the stories which will feed back directly in the claims against the Crown in that the consequences of Crown actions, the basis for the grievances out of which the claims have arisen, can be shown.

ROHE PŌTAE INQUIRY
The Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry (Wai 898) encompasses around 250 Treaty of Waitangi claims. Among others, it involves claimants from Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and Whanganui groups, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Mahanga and Tainui Awhiro. The Waitangi Tribunal Panel hearing the claims consists of Judge Ambler, Professor Sir Hirini Mead, John Baird, Dr Robyn Anderson and Dr Aroha Harris.

Major Treaty of Waitangi issues in the Rohe Pōtae inquiry include the Crown’s relationship with the Kīngitanga, the creation of the Rohe Pōtae, the construction of the main North Island trunk railway through the district, the operation of the Native Land Court, and the alienation of Māori land in the nineteenth century, the management of Māori land in the twentieth century, waterways, environmental impacts, and public works takings.

This research report involves the preparation of the Ngāti Maniapoto Oral and Traditional History scoping report on behalf of Ngāti Maniapoto claimants’ traditional history for the Rohe Pōtae Inquiry. The scoping report will locate tribal sources and other documentary and oral evidence concerning the origins, whakapapa, history and customary tenure of Ngāti Maniapoto and its constituent hapū. Furthermore, the scoping report will address questions of methodology, issue identification, report structure or evidential format, sources, required
expertise, resources and human resource issues including ethics and training, quality control and project timeframes.\(^2\)

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

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

REPORT OUTLINE
This research report first discusses issues of methodology in section A. Section B outlines Ngāti Maniapoto identity and relationships with other tribes, settlement patterns and tribal boundaries, the coming of the Pākehā into the Maniapoto rohe, trade, the Kīngitanga, tribal leadership, involvement in the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, establishing the Rohe Pōtēae, the Ohaaki Tapu, the opening up of the Rohe Pōtēae with the railway line, and subsequent loss of lands through, among other means, the Native Land Court, and the consequent loss of rangatiratanga through similar processes.

Section C outlines extensively the documentary sources for the oral and historical report including prominent male and female Maniapoto biographies, the Mōteatea series, Native Land Court records, Appendices to the House of Representatives, prominent local journals, and the Niupepa Māori – the Māori Newspaper collection. Section C summarises the different sources available and the customary and historical issues these sources shed light on.

Section D discusses the extensive oral sources available for the report including recordings of prominent Maniapoto people that are open for inspection. The chapter also discusses the requirement for interviews and small group discussions among Maniapoto cluster groups and proposals to carry these meetings out in a professional, efficient and ethical manner.

Section E lists the researcher’s recommendations to successfully carry out the research and interviews to complete the Maniapoto oral and historical report. Section F lists the extensive annotated bibliography and section G the detailed appendices.

METHODOLOGY
We believe central to any traditional report for Ngāti Maniapoto is Maniapoto’s voice. Any attempt to understand the multi-dimensional traditions, histories and relationship complexities should, where possible, be engaged with Maniapoto informants and Maniapoto scholars. Ngāti Maniapoto is fortunate to have a scholar such as Pei Te Hurinui Jones but there are others such as Hari Hemara Wahanui, Raureti Te Huia, the Rev. Rapata Emery and in more recent times, the late Dr Tui Adams, Tutu Aranui, Rovina Maniapoto, Piripi Crown and Shane Te Ruki to name a few.
Maniapoto voices are also recorded in letters, newspaper articles, petitions, manuscripts, Native Land Court minutes, whakapapa books, waiata, sound recordings and video recordings. The written records are, among other things, testament to the growth of literacy among Ngāti Maniapoto. Many of these are in te reo Māori and indeed te reo o Maniapoto. These Maniapoto sources offer the opportunity to examine Maniapoto history as seen through Maniapoto eyes, especially when writing in their cultural present. Their ‘Native voice’ provides the important Indigenous perspective on their history.

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

We do however single out the writer James Cowan noted for his books on colonial history and Māori ethnography. Cowan was a fluent Māori speaker who grew up around Orakau. His father’s farm was partly on the Orakau battle site. He interviewed many Ngāti Maniapoto elders, including in particular, Raureti Te Huia. We have reviewed his numerous works on Maniapoto subject matter and are of the opinion that in representing their stories, Cowan generally stayed faithful to his Maniapoto informants. For example, in 1920 Cowan sent his typed notes of his interview with Te Huia back to Te Huia to check and sign off. Part of that interview appears in his publication *The Māori of Yesterday*. It is attributed to Te Huia and is a very accurate translation. We therefore recommend Cowan’s works as useful sources of Maniapoto history.

In the main however, we believe the substantive report should essentially be a collection of Maniapoto/Tainui voices telling Maniapoto’s stories.
B NGĀTI MANIAPOTO TE IWI

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

The report does not include all Ngāti Maniapoto whānau, hapū, marae, boundaries and histories. If captured, these stories would fill numerous books. Ideally, the researchers subscribe to and have sought to implement a policy of inclusion. However and with respect, time and resources constrain the researchers visiting every community, whānau, hapū and other groups who represent the great strands of te Iwi o Ngāti Maniapoto. Furthermore, the whakapapa tables, and lists of hapū and marae that follow are a starting point for further discussions. They are not necessarily comprehensive and any suggestions of other hapū and marae will, as far as possible, be collected for the substantive project through documentary research and the interviews/small group discussions for presentation in the report. In this section, the researchers have simply sought to provide an outline of Ngāti Maniapoto as an iwi to those unfamiliar with such details.

Ngāti Maniapoto me nga Korero Whakapapa
We believe that any Ngāti Maniapoto traditional history must start with an appropriate discussion of whakapapa or genealogy. Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones discussed the importance of whakapapa in understanding tribal histories:
The Māori placed great importance on his genealogies and on the genealogical method of fixing the sequence of events... [and] it is necessary that a wide knowledge of the tribal lines of descent should be acquired. Before attempting a critical evaluation of the traditions of our people as handed down through successive generations, the whakapapa lines should be carefully examined in conjunction with the history.  

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

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

Written Form

In post-European times, with the advent of literacy, Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa was recorded in numerous whakapapa booklets. Indeed, Ngāti Maniapoto as an iwi is not wanting for sources of whakapapa. Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones was an extensive collector and writer of whakapapa. The Pei Jones collection held in the Waikato University Library holds a number of his whakapapa books and the relevancy to Ngāti Maniapoto is evident in their titles – Whakapapa Book 2 –

‘Taonui Hikaka and others’;

‘He Pukapuka Whakapapa – Ngāti Maniapoto and others’; and

‘A Tainui Genealogy’.

---


5 ‘The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand’, (ATL Ref. qMS-1587, 1929).
The latter reference contains a 7 page “Tainui genealogy” from Hoturoa to Rora, eponymous ancestor of the Ngāti Rora sub-tribe, compiled by Dr Jones on 31 July 1974. The Ngāti Rora table also provides a very useful model for other hapū in terms of presenting their whakapapa.

There are a number of other relevant whakapapa manuscripts in various archival and library institutions which are noted in the next chapter on documentary sources. There is, for example, the ‘Te Rangituatahi Te Kanawa manuscripts, a Māori genealogy of Waikato tribes, copies of which are held in the Auckland and Waikato University libraries. The manuscript includes a historical record of the King Country in the late 19th century which was written by Tuheka Hetet. Other Maniapoto records within the manuscript include the Māori genealogy and family book of the Hetet family; the Māori genealogy of Waikato tribes, and records of the Hetet and Taituha families and others. We are also aware that many whānau will hold copies of their own whakapapa books which they may wish to make available to the authors of the full report. For example, Biggs talks of Wahanui’s 1898 manuscript consisting mainly of genealogies of the Ngāti Maniapoto people living currently (or traditionally) in the northern King Country. The authorship of the first 150 pages is however, unknown. The remainder of the book was almost certainly written by Tahana Wahanui’s father, Hari Wahanui. The large-format, pigskin-bound book was in the possession of Tahana Wahanui of Otorohanga until his death in 1994.

In addition, there are several Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa tables published in newspapers which were often published in obituaries. For example, the following whakapapa korero was published in the Māori newspaper, Te Toa Takitini, and was given by Pahiri Wiari in an obituary for Takerei Kingi Wetere who died on 11 November 1925:


---

6 See the Ngāti Rora whakapapa table in Appendix 1.
7 Te Rangituatahi Te Kanawa Manuscripts, a Maori genealogy of Waikato tribes, (Vol.4a and vol.4b).
8 Ibid, Waikato District – (Vol. 5).
9 Ibid, at Vols 6 and 7.
10 Wahanui, Tahana, ‘Ngati Maniapoto Whakapapa Book 1898’ (Unpublished Manuscript, 1898) at 388.
Kawa II., tana ko Te Rangitua-taka, tana ko Te Kawa III., tana ko Takerei, tana ko Te Rere-ngā, tana ko Kingi, tana ko Takerei II.\textsuperscript{11}

Furthermore, many of Ngāti Maniapoto’s principle whakapapa lines have been published in various secondary sources such as family reunion booklets (again refer the next chapter), Pei Jones’ \textit{Nga Iwi o Tainui},\textsuperscript{12} Phillips’ \textit{Landmarks of Tainui},\textsuperscript{13} Kelly’s \textit{Tainui}\textsuperscript{14} and Te Ruki and Crown’s \textit{Founding Ancestors of Maniapoto}.\textsuperscript{15}

**Native Land Court Records**

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

> The absolute necessity to admit whakapapa as evidence very soon impressed itself upon the notice of the Court, and it received them, firstly in proof of tribal membership, and secondly, as aids to discover the owners of tribal lands.\textsuperscript{16}

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

> While disputed whakapapa were of frequent occurrence, their general value as evidence was so great that no investigation of title could proceed without them; and in addition, their use was in accordance with Māori custom. As a rule too, any discrepancy in whakapapa could be corrected by reference to those submitted in other investigations, and their authenticity decided fairly correctly by the weight of testimony submitted during the course of an inquiry.\textsuperscript{17}

We note, in particular, a very extensive whakapapa of Ngāti Maniapoto in a Wellington Minute Book\textsuperscript{18} under the jurisdiction of the Takitimu Māori Land Court District, formerly the Ikaroa District. It is not known how this whakapapa found its way into the Wellington Minute Book collection. It appears that it has been transcribed from the book of a Mr Brian Stockman of Piopio in 1951.

**Written and Recorded Whakapapa**

The claim to land in the Native Land Court through ancestry and concerns for the loss of traditional knowledge among a dwindling Māori population undergoing a period of

\textsuperscript{11} Te Toa Takitini, (1 December 1925) at 340-341.
\textsuperscript{12} Jones, P, \textit{Nga Iwi o Tainui} (Auckland University Pres, 2004).
\textsuperscript{14} Kelly, L, \textit{Tainui} (Polynesian Society, Wellington 1949).
\textsuperscript{15} Te Ruki, S & Crown, P, \textit{Founding Ancestors of Maniapoto} (Kowhai Consulting, Te Kuiti, 2004).
\textsuperscript{16} ‘The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand’, in ATL Ref. qMS-1587, 1929
\textsuperscript{17} Idem.
\textsuperscript{18} ‘Wellington Minute Book,’ (Takitimu District, Reel 2982).
acculturation intensified the writing down of whakapapa for preservation purposes around the turn of the 20th century. Some Māori however, were concerned with whakapapa in written form. Hiki Makawa for example, questioned the practice of the recording of whakapapa on paper in a letter to the editor of Te Puke ki Hikurangi in 1902:

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

Translation - With regard to genealogies which are going around on paper, leaving aside the genealogies of the prominent persons, I believe we should return genealogy to the houses of learning where this great treasure can be recited. The reason I move this motion that we stop this practice with genealogy on paper is because this is the second year where I have seen whakapapa in the paper which I don’t believe is true or it is being debated. Where does it all end, a copy on paper which will be taken as gospel, adopted by the law and followed by those youngsters seeking the knowledge and the truth.19

We acknowledge therefore that some Ngāti Maniapoto members may have concerns about the recording of their whakapapa in any report. This should be a matter for consultation between the authors and relevant Ngāti Maniapoto claimants. There may be some whakapapa information that is appropriately included while other information is appropriately omitted. The Waitangi Tribunal has dealt with this issue on several occasions. In the Tribunal hearings into the Turangi Township claim, a copy of the Ngāti Turangitukua whakapapa was produced as exhibit 7 before the Tribunal. The whakapapa included the descendants of the main Turangitukua lines. The whakapapa of 29 tūpuna were all identified in a ‘Master Whakapapa’ as descendants of Turangitukua. In his affidavit, Mr Nepia, on behalf of Ngāti Turangitukua, asked that the whakapapa material be treated in a way that respects the mana of the whakapapa. He requested that no one should be permitted to inspect the whakapapa without their prior approval. He also asked that the Tribunal return exhibit 7 once the report on remedies were completed. The Tribunal’s response was:

The Tribunal considers that one copy of exhibit 7 to Mr Nepia’s affidavit should remain on the register of the Ngāti Turangitukua claim known as Wai 84. The registrar is

directed to note on the register that no part of the whakapapa identified as exhibit 7 to the affidavit of Mr Nepia dated 18 November 1997 and recorded in the Tribunal’s record of documents as e 22 may be inspected without the prior approval of The Ngāti Turangitukua Charitable Trust. The registrar is further directed to return to the claimants, the copies of exhibit 7 in the possession of the members of the Tribunal and all other copies (if any) in the possession of the Tribunal, other than the one copy to be retained on the Tribunal’s register of documents. The Tribunal also directs that the Crown copy be returned to the registrar for forwarding to the claimants.\(^\text{20}\)

The Waitangi Tribunal’s precedent in the Turangitukua claim above provides an appropriate option for handling the sacred whakapapa information if requested by Maniapoto claimants.

**Debatable Whakapapa**

Whakapapa has always been the subject of debate at tribal gatherings and any full report should discuss the more prominent of these within Ngāti Maniapoto. One particularly debateable whakapapa line is that of Hotuawhio which we provide as an example that is well recorded in a compilation of a series of Letters to the Editor in the 1961 volumes of *Te Ao Hou*, the Māori Affairs newsletter.\(^\text{21}\) Paahi Moke questioned Pei Te Hurinui Jones’ inclusion of Hotuawhiao in a whakapapa published in an earlier issue of the magazine.\(^\text{22}\) Moke maintained that Hotumatapu, not Hotuawhio, was the father of Motai to which Pei Jones replied:

\[
\text{Ko te whakahe mo Hotuawhio he take i tino nui te tautohetia i te tau 1950; i tu ai te Rūnanga o nga Kaumātua. Ko ahau te Tiamana o ta ratou hui i tu ai ki Te Tokanganui-a-noho i Te Kuiti i taua tau.}
\]

\[
\text{Ko nga tatai o te whakapapa nei i tautohetia e toru:}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nama 1</th>
<th>Nama 2</th>
<th>Nama 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoturoa</td>
<td>Hoturoa</td>
<td>Hoturoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotuope</td>
<td>Hotuope</td>
<td>Hotuope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotumatapu</td>
<td>Hotumatapu</td>
<td>Hotumatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motai</td>
<td>Hotuawhio</td>
<td>Hotumatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ue</td>
<td>Motai</td>
<td>Motai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raka</td>
<td>Ue</td>
<td>Ue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{21}\) *Te Ao Hou* (No. 36, 1961) at 41.

\(^{22}\) Ibid, No. 34.
Nama 1: Ko ta Waikato puta atu ki te Hauauru me ona rohe katoa tenei tatai. Ko Roore Erueti te kaumātua i ki koiane te kaupapa tika. I tautoko hoki a Ngāti Raukawa i ta Roore. Ki ta Roore kōrero he teina ke a Hotuawhio no Hotumatapu.

Nama 2: Ko Peehitu to Ngāti Maniapoto i korero na Hari Te Whanonga a ia i ako ki nga whakapapa o Tainui. Ka ki a ia no mua mai ano te whakanoho i a Hotuawhio hei tamaiti ma Hotumatapu.

Nama 3: Ko nga kaumātua na ratou tenei kaupapa ko Aihe Huirama me Te Ngahua Huirama, engari mate ke raua i mua atu. Ko nga pukapuka i tuhia ai a raua whakapapa me etei atu nga kaupapa i mahue ake.

No muri noa mai i taua hui ka kite ahau i te pukapuka whakapapa na Kingi Te Rata. Ko te tangata nana i tuhi taua pukapuka whakapapa ko Te Matau, he hekeretari na Kingi Te Rata. Ko te tatai o te whakapapa nei ki taua pukapuka i whai i te Nama 2. He pera ano hoki te whakapapa kei runga i te kohatu kei te marae o Te Tokanganui-a-noho i Te Kuiti e tu ana.

Hei mutunga iho. ... Ki tako whiriwhiri iho inaianei ko Ngāti Maniapoto anake i peka ke i te nuinga o nga iwi o Tainui, a ko te ahua nei no Ngāti Maniapoto te tangata nana i tatai te whakapapa i tuhia ai e Te Matau ki te pukapuka whakapapa a Kingi Te Rata ...

[Translation]
The difference of opinion over Hoturoa was a major subject debated at a Kaumātua Rūnanga in 1950. I was the chairman of their meeting held at Te Tokanganui-a-noho at Te Kuiti that year.

There were three whakapapa lines debated:

[See above]

Number 1: This is the line of Waikato through to the West Coast and all its districts. Roore Erueti was the kaumātua who said this was the right line. Ngāti Raukawa also supported Roore. According to Roore, Hotuawhio was instead a younger brother to Hotumatapu.
Number 2: According to Peehitu of Ngāti Maniapoto, Hari Te Whanonga taught him Tainui whakapapa. He states Hotuawhio was placed as a child of Hotumatapu way back.

Number 3: This line comes from Aihe Huirama and Te Ngahua Huirama, but they died before this hui. They left behind their whakapapa books and other korero

After that hui, I saw the whakapapa book of King te Rata. His secretary Te Matau wrote that whakapapa book. That whakapapa book follows the line in Number 2. The whakapapa on the memorial stone at Te Tokanganuia-noho, Te Kuiti is the same.

Conclusion: I am now of the opinion that Ngāti Maniapoto is the only one who differs to the rest of the Tainui tribes, and it would appear that it was someone of Ngāti Maniapoto that gave the whakapapa recorded by Te Matau in King Te Rata’s book.

Another additional debateable whakapapa example is the ancestor Te Rangituatea who assisted Te Rauparaha in his flight from Kawhia which Dr Jones recorded:

Te Rangituatea had no wish to see things carried to the bitter end so far as Te Rauparaha personally was concerned ... Te Rangituatea approached the entrance to the pa and addressing the sentries from high ground overlooking the spot, asked them to fetch Te Rauparaha as he wished to speak to him. Te Rauparaha came and Te Rangituatea said, “ Withdraw from here and go before it is too late. Go all that can and leave those who are unable to travel as cinders for your dying fires. Go to Taranaki, to Ati Awa tribe) and to safety!” ... Te Rangituatea arranged for canoes that same night.

Pei Jones noted, in particular, two Te Rangituatea tupuna who various people have claimed to be the Te Rangituatea who assisted Te Rauparaha. Pei Jones considered that it was Te Rangituatea whose mother was Rauramarama and who married Te Hokotahi of Ngāti Rora, who assisted Te Rauparaha as illustrated in the whakapapa below:

Tutaimaaro
Paruparu
Te Hokotahi

Te Rangituatea

Hutia
Ngaipu
Rangituatahi
Te Rerenga Wetere on the other hand, claimed that it was Te Rangituatea Kingi who has been noted as a man possessed of great mana in the district extending to Kawhia whose whakapapa is as follows:

Taitengahue = Kaputuhi

Maniauruahu

Te Purangi o Tainui

Te Uhunga

Maniauruahu

Te Rangituatea

Pani Waaka

Rawiri Te Hauparoa

Another further whakapapa line of interest in this debate is the Hetet line. Many Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa lines trace Taonui Hikaka as the father of Mata Rangituatahi who married Louis Hetet. George Ngatai however, referred to Haereiti as being the father of Rangituatahi. Haereiti was the younger brother of Te Rangituatea Kingi. An interesting account is provided in the Native Land Court hearings into the Otorohanga block:

Someone contended erroneously that Te Tumu was the father of Mata Rangituatahi. If it was made in Te Kawa’s time, he would have killed the person who made it. After Mata Rangituatahi was born, Hikaka took her mother Ngaipu for wife and she lived with Ngāti Rora. When we lived in Te Kuiti, we were known as Ngāti Rora. In this locality (Otorohanga) we were known as Ngāti Hinewai. The war party of Haereiti was because of the charge that his wife Ngaipu had committed adultery with Te Tumu. Haereiti cursed his wife for being charged with having committed adultery and the war party went from here to Hauai. Ngāti Rora took Ngaipu away and she lived with them at Hauai where Rangituatahi was born. That is the reason Haereiti took his taua. Afterwards Hikaka took Ngaipu as wife. Te Rangituatea went with them and when they got to Hauai, they were reinforced by Ngāti Hinewai and Ngāti Kaputuhi. On arrival, they challenged Ngāti Rora and Kahiroa was struck he then wero’d the war party and Kiore was killed. That settled the quarrel and Rangituatea said they may keep the
mother but let us have the daughter, which accounts for Hikaka saying to Ngaipu” I did not prevent her from being taken by her matua’s.

A further Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa debate of note is found in Maraea Erueti’s 1932 book which claims that Maniapoto had four wives and that his first wife was actually Pakurarangi.

Te Ara o Pakurarangi, wahine o Maniapoto:

Na Mahanga = Paratai

Tupanamaiwaho

Kurakino

Pakurarangi = Maniapoto (a Rereahu)²³

It is generally written that Maniapoto had three wives - Hinemania, Hinewhatihua and Paparauwhare and that Hinemania was the first wife: E toru nga wahine a Maniapoto ko Hinemania, ko Hinewhatihua, ko Papa-rau-whare. Heoi ano, ko Hinemania te manu mua, te wahine tuatahi.²⁴

Whakapapa Hui

The publication of whakapapa in written form intensified debate around various lines of descent which led to specific calls in the late 19ᵗʰ and early 20ᵗʰ centuries for numerous inter- and intra-tribal gatherings to discuss genealogical matters. Raureti Te Huia recalls one such hui at Kihikihi in 1912:

Tena, i te whitu o nga ra o Hune, kotahi mano, e waru rau, tekau ma rua ka tu tetehi hui i Kihikihi. Ko taua hui, na nga rangatira hei whakatakoto i tetehi kaupapa, i te kaupapa o nga tutuku mei o Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa, Waikato me Maniapoto ahu atu ki roto o Whanganui.

Ko nga mema whakahaere i tenei take, ko Te Whiwhi Mokau o Ngāti Maniapoto. Ko ia te tiamana. Ko Raureti Te Huia te hekeretari.

Ko Te Winitana Tupotahi o Ngāti Paretekawa.

Ko Te Kaponga Tekowheto o Ngāti Raukawa.

²⁴ Te Ruki, S & Crown, P, Founding Ancestors of Maniapoto (Kowhai Consulting, Te Kuiti, 2004) at 44.
On the 7th of June 1912, a hui was held at Kihiko. This hui was for the chiefs to talk over this topic, the topic of the histories of the Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa, Waikato and Maniapoto right down into Whanganui. The members who organised this matter were Te Whiwhi Mokau of Ngāti Maniapoto. He was the chairman. Raureti Te Huia was the secretary. The others were:

- Te Winitana Tupotahi of Ngāti Paretekawa.
- Te Kaponga Tekowheto of Ngāti Raukawa.
- Mita Taupopoki of Te Arawa.
- Whakataute Raureti of Ngāti Tuwharetoa.
- Panei Titipa of Ngai-te-rangi.
- Poupatate Hughes of Ngāti Unu.
- Matengaroa Te Hate of Ngāti Apakura

The hui members sat and sorted through the books and their genealogical accounts. Raureti stated that they worked over 16 days, that is 222 hours in total. The books gathered together at that hui included:

I te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau, e waru tekau ma ono (i Haurua), na Hauauru. Na, me nga whakapapa a Wahanui Huatareo taua tau ano. Na Hone Kaora etehi o nga whakapapa. Na Te Oro etehi ... I te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau, e waru tekau ma iwa, ka tuhia o a Karipa Te Ngaha. He rangatira tenei no Ngāti Kaputuhi. He uri ano tena tangata no Kiharoa.

[Translation - In 1885 [there was one] by Hauauru and the genealogies of Wahanui Huatare, also in that year. John Cowell also had some genealogies. And there were some by Te Oro ... In 1889 those of Karipa Te Ngaha were written down. He was a chief of Ngāti Kaputuhi. This man was also a descendent of Kiharoa.

Raureti continued:

Ko a ratou putake korero ko nga tutuku o te iwi Māori mai i a Io-matua, a, tae noa mai ki te hekenga iho ki nga rangatira o nga waka, te hoenga mai i era moutere ki renei

[Translation - Their topics which were discussed were the histories of the Māori people starting with Io-matua and going right down to the chiefs in the canoes, which were sailed from those islands to these. Now they said there were seven taniwha canoes, that is waka atua. In addition, there were seven human canoes. They also explained about their settlement at Kawhia.

Raureti then provided his whakapapa from Io: ‘Me hoki atu ano taku korero ki a Io-matua.

Translation – I shall now return to Io-matua.’

He Whakapapa Timata i a Io

The discussion of the hui on whakapapa back to Io-Matua is an appropriate place to commence a discussion in this report on whakapapa to the beginning. Indeed, we would expect any Ngāti Maniapoto history to commence with the beginnings of time and we have cited several such sacred whakapapa lines from Maniapoto sources. One example is a whakapapa provided by Rewi Maniapoto and Hauauru at the 1878 meeting at Waitara with Sir George Grey which was recorded by Te Whatahoro Durie. Edward Tregear published a whakapapa from Io down to Takerei Wetere Te Rerenga in his Māori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary. Tregear claimed this genealogy was collected by Major Wm. Mair, Judge of the Native Land Court.25 A further whakapapa to Io was recorded in the He Kurarere/ Kavenata o Maniapoto by Pepene Eketone, John Ormsby and others. A similar whakapapa said have been given by Wahanui appears unpaginated in the Journal of Polynesian Society26 and in James Cowan’s The Māori of Yesterday and Today in 1930.27 We however, present the whakapapa given by Te Rerenga Wetere in December, 1859 at Whatiwhatihoe. At an earlier hui at Whatiwhatihoe in January 1859, Potatau called on the Tainui tribes to return to Io:

---

E Waikato, Maniapoto, Haua... Hoki atu ki te take ki a Io kia Taanemahuta ki Wharekura ki te wahi i paiherea mai ai te tangata te hiringa taketake. He aha nga taonga o roto o ia whare, kaua te poo e waiho hei hoa nohoatahi, titiro ki te paerangi, i wehe ai Whiro te tipua, a Tumatauenga me te whānau a Rangi e tu nei, a Tuanuku e takoto nei. Waiho tatau i a Taane matua Tawhirimatea i te Putea aronui i tikina e i roto i Rangiatea ko nga hirlinga e toru whakawhaititia enei taonga e nga iwi, he Taane nui a Rangi heke iho heke iho ki o koutou matua, ina tatau e po-kai kaha noa Tawhirimatea i te Putea aronui. [Translation Needed. Discuss with Tom Roa]

Ngāti Maniapoto leaders in attendance at this hui were Te Rangituataka, Taonui Hikaka. Paku, Wahanui, Rainuha, Te Aoroa Haereiti, Nahona Tarahuia, Kahu, Tumokemoke, Haupokia te Pakaru, Tukorehu, Te Wetini, Rewi Maniapoto, Te Rerenga, Hauauru, Taingakawa and Te Ngakau. What transpired next was recorded as follows:

At the December hui: ka tu a awa o Waikato, kia oti nga take o nga hui ka tu a Te Rerenga ka mea [Wahanui Waikato River, let us complete matters Te Rerenga then stood and said]:

Ko Io
Whetu
1 Te Ra
2 Te Marama i whakaea
[whānautahi]

Ko Te Marama
Te Po-nui
Te Po-roa

Wahanui, ka mea ki nga iwi o te tuatahi i tenei hui a tatau. Katahi, stood and said to the tribes of the from the first gathering. Te
Te Po-papakina
Te Po-ki-tua
Te Po-ki-roto
Te Po-ki-tawhito
Te Po-ruru
Te Po-aiao
Te Po-akaaka
Te Po-maruu
Te Po-mumura
Te Po-hahana
Te Po-maa
Te Po-kiwakiwa
Te Po-kakarauri
Te Po-pangopango
Te Po-whakaruru
Te Po-kumea
Te Po-whakaritorito
Te Po-i-runga
Te Po-i-raro
Te Po-i-matau
Te Po-i-maui
Te Po-i-tamaua
Papatuanuku kia Ranginui e tu nei.

Ko Te Ra

Te Ao-nui
Te Ao-roa
Te Ao-papakina
Te Ao-pakarea
Te Ao-tarunui
Te Ao-ki-tua
Te Ao-ki-roto
Te Ao-ki-tapiritu
Te Ao-ki-tawhito
Te Ao-ruru
Te Ao-tapuru
Te Ao-aio
Te Ao-matakaka
Te Ao-maruu
Te Ao-mumura
Te Ao-maa
Te Ao-kiwakiwa
Te Ao-kakarauri
Te Ao-pangopango
Te Ao-whakaruru
Te Ao-kumea
Te Ao-whakaritorito
Te Ao-i-runga
Te Ao-i-raro
Te Ao-i-matau
Te Ao-i-maui
Te Ao-i-tamaua

Ranginui e tu nei kia Papatuanuku

1 Rongo
2 Taane
3 Tangaroa
4 Tawhirimatea
5 Haumia
6 Ruaumoko
7 Tumatauenga

[whānautahi]

Ko Tumatauenga

Aitua

Aitu-rere

Aitu-kikiri

Aitu-tamakirangi
Aitu-whakatika
Te Kore
Te Kore-nui
Te Kore-roa
Te Kore-para
Te Kore-whiwhia
Te Kore-te-rawea
Te Kore ka oti atu ki te poo
Ngana
Ngana-nui
Ngana-roa
Ngana-ruru
Ngana-moeahuru
Ngana-moemoea
Hotuawaiariki
Tapatai
Tiki
Tiki-te-pounamu
Tiki-pouroto
Tiki-ahua-mai-i-Hawaiki
Whiro-te-tipua
Toi
Whatonga
Rakaiora
Tahatiti
Tama-ki-te-rangi
Te Atitirauwhea
Piro
Noa
Hemaa
Tawhaki
Matirehaohao
Rutupahu
Tangipahu
Ngai-nui
Ngai-roa
Ngai-pehu
Hauraki
Mapuna-ki-te-rangi
Ohomairangi
Ruamuturangi
Taraao
Whoene
Kuao
We stop that whakapapa here at Hoturoa, commander of the Tainui waka. Further presentation of whakapapa is interspersed with the wider discussion of the events and happenings of Ngāti Maniapoto traditional history. Whakapapa does not sit outside that history. Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa is interwoven with Ngāti Maniapoto–Tainui tribal, hapū and whānau history. The recounting of whakapapa also calls to mind historical events such as that which referred to the stormy days when Rungaterangi’s body was brought ashore.

**Tainui te Waka, Hoturoa te Tangata - Tainui is the Canoe, Hoturoa is the Man**

Ngāti Maniapoto descends from the people of the Tainui waka who voyaged across Te Moananui a Kiwa – the Pacific Ocean - from Hawaiiki to Aotearoa/New Zealand. The commander of that waka was Hoturoa. Eketone and other Maniapoto Kaumātua provided a summary of the voyage and settlement:

Ko Hoturoa te tangata. Ka u mai tenei waka a Tainui – Ka tau ki Kawhia moana. E kiia ana na te mana me nga karakia na nga taniwha i kawe mai tenei waka a tainui i whiti ai te moana. Ka nohoia e enei tupuna e Hoturoa e Hia a Kawhia ahu mai ki uta. Timata mai i a Hoturoa tae iho kia Maniapoto e kotahi tekau ma tahi whakatupuranga.

Ko te pakarutanga mai o nga uri o Hoturoa ki enei iwi ko Ngāti Maniapoto me Waikato.

I roto i nga whakatupuranga maha mai i a Hoturoa kia Maniapoto ka tupu te tangata ka tini haere. Ka nohoia tenei whenua – mai Kawhia ki Hurakia maunga te taha rawhiri – ka ahu ki te tonga ki Mokau awa, puta noa ki te wahapū ki te raki tae atu ana ki Manukau ahu atu ki Hauraki.

Na nga noho, katahi ka wehewehe a nga urui o Hoturoa, a, ka takoto hoki nga roherohenga whenua.

Ko Hiaroa tetehi o nga tangata o runga i tenei waka i a Tainui. Ko ia hoki tetehi o nga pu o tenei iwi o Ngāti Maniapoto – ia ia te mana o te manu, a, nana te manu i powhiri ki uta. Ko Raka tetehi pu o Ngāti Maniapoto. Ko Panairara tona waka i whiti mai ai ki tenei motu.”

---

28 For further whakapapa detail following on from Hoturoa, see the whakapapa tables in Appendix 1.
Pei Te Hurinui Jones in his seminal work *Nga Iwi o Tainui* provides a very detailed account of the origins of the waka, its crossing of the Pacific Ocean, and the initial settlement at Kawhia. Rewi Maniapoto moreover, in 1857 forwarded to the *Te Waka a te Iwi Newspaper* a well known karakia associated with the Tainui Waka for publication:

> Toia Tainui, tapotu ki te moana; Mawai e to?
> Ma te Whakarongo ake he tara wainuku, he tarawairangi.
> Tinia manoa, naumai, naumai ra e Tane.
> Ka kau tautia matakitakina koe e te tini o te tangata,
> Naku koe i tiki atu ki te wao nui a Tane,
> He tane miroi, he Tane koakoa, he Tane Rangahau,
> E patua, ana mai e te komuri hau, na runga o Waihihi, paneke ihu o waka,
> Turiki, turiki paneke, paneke.29

Perhaps a less well known account is that given by Rihari Tauwhare in the 1886 Native Land Court hearing at Otorohanga of the Aotea-Taupo-Parihini block. We quote this Tainui source in some length, partly to reiterate the fact that there is much traditional history recorded by Maniapoto and Tainui informants:

I will now narrate the events which occurred in connection with the immigration of the chiefs Hoturoa and Raka and their followers from Hawaiki to New Zealand in the Tainui canoe. Hoturoa was the chief in the stern of the canoe. Raka had control of the bow, where the altar of the priest of Tainui was. While they were crossing the ocean Raka fell in love with Kahurere, Hoturoa's daughter. When Hoturoa discovered this he was very angry with Raka. The canoe arrived at Otahuhu, or at the Otaiki stream (Tamaki). Raka and all the people jumped on shore, and urged that Tainui should be dragged overland into Manuka Harbour. Raka ordered the crew to get rollers to place beneath the canoe, so that she could be hauled across the portage. It was here that Raka composed his song:—

“No wonder the canoe went off the rollers (or skids) on to the ground!”

It was here that Raka planted a pole and tied Tainui to it. There it remained. Then Raka left the place and with his section of the crew went forth into the country (travelling southwards). They went bearing *mauri* ("hapai-mauri") to set them up and cause the birds of the land to be abundant. He said to his followers: “Go to the interior of this land, even to the mountains, and set up *mauri-manu*, while I myself will go to Manuka.” These *mauri* were called *Tanekaitu* and *Moekakara*. The people travelled

---

29 Te Whakahau o Tainui mo te Toanga ki te Wai. Ki te Niupepa, *Te Waka a te Iwi*, (Putanga 1, Nama 2, Noema 1857).
inland and beheld the mountain Te Pukapuka, from which they saw Motakiora. On ascending this they saw another range, Hakarimata. They went up to this mountain whence they saw another, Mt. Pukehoua (Pirongia). There Rotu settled, at a place called Paewhenua, so called because of a phrase used at Hakarimata, “Behold the mountain” (“paewhenua.”) At Pae-whenua (near Pirongia range) there stood a mangeo tree, resorted to by my ancestors for bird-snaring. The tree was called Pukehoua. When Maru and Takupu-o-te-rangi were alive they divided the tree, so that one branch should belong to Maru, the other to Takupu. They placed a stone in the middle of the tree, and that was the origin of the name Puke-houa through the insertion (houa) of the stone in the tree. There was a kaka perch on the top of the tree. It was Rotu's birding tree. It was burned by Waikato recently. Ten of Raka's people carried mauri with them to set up at various places. Hiaora and others came over and occupied Pu-kakaramea.

Moekakara is a sacred spot. It is at Pu-kakaramea (Maunga-rangi). Hiaora there repeated the karakia:—

“Pi-mirumiru te manu i whakataungia ai te pae-tapu-a-Tane,” &c.

When this incantation was repeated all the birds came to the spot. The biggest bird came and settled upon a mangeo tree at Paewhenua. Rotu endeavoured to spear this bird but missed it and struck a branch of the tree instead. So the bird escaped and fled to the southward. It died at Mokau. Its name was Tauherepu. All the great birds disappeared there. Hiaora saw numbers of the other birds flying away and asked: “Ko wai, ko wai tera e tapahi mai ra i te Ika-a-Hiaora?” (Who? Who is that who is cutting the Ika-a-Hiaora?)

Rotu replied: “Ko au, ko au, ko Rotu; waiho, waiho kia whakaraua ake.”

The smaller kinds of birds (manu-ririki) remained on the mountains. All those who occupied the mountains for the purpose of establishing the mauri were under the orders of Raka.

Tainui Canoe (being unable to cross the portage at Tamaki) steered northwards along the Nga-Puhi Coast. Raka and his sister awaited the arrival of the canoe at Puketapapa and Manuka. When they saw Tainui outside Manuka, Raka lighted a fire and invoked the gods to send the canoe away from land so that she could not enter Manuka. When Hoturoa saw this (or became aware of it) he steered out to sea. Then Raka and his sister went to Waikato and then they separated, Raka going to Pukerewa, on the sea-beach. He crossed Whaingaroa, and at Karioi he set up his tuahu named Tuahupapa. He blocked the entrance to Whaingaroa in order to prevent Tainui landing there, and the canoe was accordingly compelled to continue southwards. Aotea and Kawhia harbours were also obstructed to prevent Tainui from entering. Raka travelled along and built an altar at Heahea; Ahurei was the name of the altar. The canoe went on until she came to Taranaki; the crew of Tokomaru had already occupied this country. Then Tainui returned and landed at Mimi (near Pukearuhe). There Hoturoa planted a pohutukawa tree, which is known to the people there as “Hoturoa's Pohutukawa.” Hoturoa then went to the Mokau, where the crew landed. There were three poles planted there. Tainui's anchor is also there. Raka went to Te Ranga-a-Raka, a beach between Moeatoa and Tirua. Then he went to Whareorino.

Hoturoa, travelling along the Coast, arrived at Te Ranga, where he saw Raka's footprints. He said: “The deformed foot has come here also.” Then the two chiefs met
on the beach and greeted each other. Hoturoa then said: “I forgive you, I will give you Kahurere to wife”

Raka asked where the canoe had been left. Hoturoa replied that it had been left at Mokau. Raka then said “Your people should go to fetch it. Let us go to Kawhia.” The people went to fetch Tainui, while Hoturoa and Raka went on to Kawhia. Upon their arrival at Moeatoa, they built their altar there and called it “Te Tuahu-a-Raka-taura-rauako-Hoturoa.” They proceeded further and settled at Maketu, on Kawhia Harbour. On the arrival of Tainui here it was dragged on shore.

Raka married Kahurere. Their issue were Houmea, Tu-hianga, and lastly Kakati. “I will make a covenant between us,” said Raka to Hoturoa. “I will plant here a rock as a covenant between us.” Then Puna (Whakatupu-tangata) was planted by the shore. Inland he planted Hani, a “destroyer of men” (Whakarere-tangata). Hani represented Raka whilst Puna was Hoturoa.

Then Raka desired to travel and spy out the country. Raka knew at the time that others were occupying the interior of the land. Raka's children grew up. He said to Houmea “Your brother Tu-hianga will occupy Moeatoa, you yourself will occupy Ahurei; Tuahu-a-papa at Korioi should be handed over to Kakati.” Raka said to Hoturoa, “Here remain with your grandchildren, I will depart.” Hoturoa said, “How shall we see each other?” Raka said, “We will salute each other with the clouds of heaven.” (Me mihi taua ki nga purehurehu o te rangi). “There shall we meet.”

Kahurere and Raka then went on to Pirongia. He called that place “Pirongia-o-Kahu,” and then he called another mountain “Kakepuku-o-Kahu.” A child was born there. He was called Hape-ki-te-Tuaraki. Afterwards they came and settled at a place where Kahu took ill. “Ka purea e Raka” (the cleansing ceremony is performed) and Kahu recovered. This place was called Purē-orō-o-Kahu (a mountain, Hurakia Ranges).

At this time, Nga-toro-i-rangi foresaw that Tongariro mountain would be climbed by someone, so he ascended the summit of that mountain himself. Raka ascended the summit of Puke-o-Kahu; this was where Kahu died, that was why it was called Te Puke-o-Kahu. Raka then went towards the West, where Hape was left. Upon his arrival at Te Aroha, he called that place “Te Aroha-a-uta,” because he felt regret and love for Hape and his mother who were left behind. “Te Aroha-a-tai” was so called because of his love for his children left at Kawhia. Raka then married another wife at Te Aroha named Hine-marino. Here Raka died.

The above account outlines briefly some of the adventures of the ancestors of the Tainui waka. Others on board the Tainui waka were several key Tainui ancestresses including Whakaotirangi. Ngāti-Maniapoto-Tainui traditions speak of this ancestress Whakaotirangi carrying the kūmara to New Zealand. Tainui speak of ‘te kete-rukuruku-a-Whakaotirangi’ (the small basket of Whakaotirangi). Hone Nahe of Tainui provides this account as follows:

Na, whakarongo mai e nga iwi katoa o tenei motu o Nui Tirenī, Māori, Pakeha ano hoki, na tera iwi ano ana kumara, na tera iwi ano ana kumara i na runga mat ano i ona waka; Naku ano aku kumara i na runga mai ano i a Tainui i te waka o Hotonui raua ko
From the waka Tainui and numerous other events, there are a number of taonga which are worthy of note in any Ngāti Maniapoto traditional history. One is the historic punga or anchor stone of the Tainui waka which, as noted above, was left at Mokau at the time of the arrival of the waka. In 1894, the anchor was surreptitiously taken away to Waitara by a Pakeha but eventually returned after Ngāti Maniapoto protests and Government intervention. Ngāti Maniapoto claims the punga is the mauri or life force for local fisheries. The punga was eventually taken to the tribal cemetery, between Mokau and Awakino Heads at Maniaroa marae. There it was cemented into a concrete canoe representing the Tainui waka.

30 He mea tango mai mai i te Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani, (Pukapuka 8, Nama 23, 12 Tihema 1972, wharangi 155). Ko te kaituhi, ko Hoani Nahe no Hauraki.
Map 2: Tainui Waka Territory according to the Māori World View (the right way up)
Tūrongo

Ngāti Maniapoto belongs to the Tainui confederation of tribes who particularly claim lineage from the noted ancestor Tūrongo:

**Hoturoa** = Whakaotirangi
Hotuope = Hineihi
Hotumatapu = Hineraku
Motai = Pareauru
Ue = Kahupeka
Rakamaomao = Taiarohia
Kakati = Ururangi
Tawhao = Marutehiakina

**Tūrongo** \(^{31}\)

The story of the union of Tūrongo and Māhinaraangi is well recorded particularly by Pei Jones in his bi-lingual work ‘Māhinaraangi and Tūrongo’ published in *Te Ao Hou* in 1953.\(^{32}\) Tūrongo’s union with Māhinaraangi brought together both the Tainui and East Coast tribes which union is still observed and respected today. That line of descent is celebrated in the following chant:

Taku ara rā, ko Tūrongo;
I wawaea ki Te Tai Rāwhiti,
Ko Māhinaraangi! I au e!
Ko te rua rā i moe ai a Raukawa
Nā Raukawa ko Rereahu;
Nā Rereahu ko Maniapoto
He ara tau-tika mai ki ahau.

---

\(^{31}\) Refer to Appendix 1.

\(^{32}\) *Te Ao Hou* (No 3. (Summer 1953) online at: [http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao03TeA/e11.html](http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao03TeA/e11.html) (Last accessed February 2010)
My pathway is that of Tūrongo;
He proceeded to the land of the sunrise;
None other than Māhinaarangi!
And I applaud: I au e!
For from that exquisite abode,
Came forth the great Raukawa!
Raukawa begat Rereahu;
Rereahu begat Maniapoto,
And here, I boast of this my noble line.

Turongo brought Māhinaarangi to Rangiātea which is east of the Happy Valley and Cottle Road junction, Korakonui in Otorohanga. Rangiātea is another example of a site of significance to the Maniapoto and Tainui peoples. Indeed, the Reverend Hone Teri Te Paerata recalled the significance of that name and place:

Ko Rangiātea, he Tuahau. Kei Hawaiki. Ko tenei mea ko te Tuahau, he wahi tino tapu no tenei iwi no te Māori ma nga tohunga anake taua wahi e tu, ko ana mahi i taua wahi, he Karakia. Kati, i Te haerenga mai o Hoturoa ki tenei motu. Ka tikina atu e ia nga oneone o Rangiātea ka haria mai ki runga i tana waka i a Tainui. Ka u mai ki tenei motu, Ka aohia nga oneone ra ki uta hei Tuaahu, ara ki Kawhia i te taki o Waikato. I te takiwa ka puta a Turonga ka tikina atu e ia aua oneone i haria mai ra e Hoturoa. Ka kawea ki Rangitoto i te takiwa ano o Waikato, hei Tuaahu mana. I muri i tena ka haere a Turongo ki Heretaunga, ka moe i te wahine rangatira o reira i a Mahinaarangi. I te takiwa i hoki ai a Turongo ki Waikato, ka ki iho ki tana wahine, i muri nei, e whānau to tamaiti he wahine, tapa ki tau ingoa i pai ai. E i e whānau he taane, tapa ko Raukawa. Ka tata te whānau o Mahinaarangi ka haere ki Waikato, Whānau rawa, atu i te takiwa o Patetere, he tane te tamaiti. Te taenga atu kia Turongo, Ko haria te tamaiti ki runga i te Tuaahu i Rangiātea, katahi ka tohia, ara ka iriria te ingoa, Ko Raukawa.” [Translation -
Rangiātea was an altar in Hawaiki. This thing an altar was a very sacred place of the Māori where only the priests were allowed. Here he conducted prayers. When Hoturoa came to this island, he brought with him the soil of Rangiātea. Upon arrival, the soil was brought ashore and used in the erection of an altar at Kawhia in Waikato. In the time of Turongo, a portion of the soil brought by Hoturoa was taken by Turongo to Rangitoto, again in Waikato, where he erected another altar... Afterwards Turongo went to Heretaunga and married the chieftainess there, Māhinaarangi. When it came time for Turongo to return to Waikato, he said to his wife, when your child is born and if it is a girl, call her what you like. But if it is a boy, call him Raukawa. When Māhinaarangi was near to giving birth, she set off for Waikato. She gave birth in the Patetere district to a boy. When she reached Turongo he took the child to the altar at Rangiātea and baptised him with the name Raukawa.34

33 Some of this section was written by Paul Meredith on the internet and can be accessed online at http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/ngati-maniapoto/1#1# (Last accessed April 2010).
34 He mea Whakamarama e te Rev. Hone Teri Paerata tenei ingoa, ko Rangiātea i te Niupepa, Te Pipiwharauroa: He Kupa Whakamarama, (Nama. 7, I Hepetema 1898).
Hence, the significance of the name and place Rangiātea for Ngāti Maniapoto and the other Tainui tribes is eminent.

In addition, Māhinaraangi connects Maniapoto with descendents of the Horouta and Takitimu waka as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horouta</th>
<th>Takitimu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAIKEA = Ruturangi</td>
<td>TAMATEA = Iwipupu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pouheni = Uekaiehu</td>
<td>Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarawhakatu</td>
<td>Kahukuranui = Ruatapuwhahine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaia = Nīwaniwa</td>
<td>Rakeihikuroa = Ruaraughanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porourangi = Hamo</td>
<td>Tupurupuru = Hinetemoa (Tukohuru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ueroa = Taketewainoa</td>
<td>Te = Rakaitekura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokerouwhahine = Iro</td>
<td>Rangituehu = Ruaraughanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwipupu = Tamatea</td>
<td>Tuaka = Tuaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine</td>
<td>Mahinaarangi = Turongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahukura = Ruatapuwhahine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakeihikuroa = Ruaraughanga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupurupuru = Hinetemoa (Tukohuru)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te = Rakaitekura</td>
<td>Tuaka = Te Angiāngiotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangituehu</td>
<td>MAHINAARANGI = Turongo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inter-tribal whakapapa that connects Ngāti Maniapoto to other iwi throughout the country was and is still is important for Ngāti Maniapoto identity. Dr Tui Adams spoke to one of the authors of the
importance of the ability to make these genealogical connections when welcoming visitors of other tribes or indeed standing on the marae of others. This view is premised on the whakatauki: Tangata ako ana i te whare, te turanga ki te marae, tau ana - A person trained at home will stand on the marae with dignity.

Makereti Papakura of exulted Te Arawa lineage commented further on the significance of whakapapa for the travelling Māori groups in establishing identity and associations:

Every Māori, especially if he came from a good family, knew his or her genealogy and exact relationship to every relative. This was most important to a Māori. If he went to a strange place, he would only need to repeat his genealogy to make himself known to any relatives whom he might have there. Though these relatives lived under the clan name of another ancestor, he and they would claim relationship through the genealogy.35

The Te Arawa and other waka connections to Ngāti Maniapoto have been given as follows:

**Te Arawa**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{TAMATEKAPUA} & = \text{Moetapu} \\
& \quad \text{(Motuotoka)} \\
\text{Kahumatamoe} & = \text{Hineitapaturangi} \\
\text{Tawakimoetahanga} & = \text{Tupariwhaitata} \\
\text{Uenokumairaraotonga} & = \text{Askapuakirangi} \\
\text{Rangiti} & = \text{Rongomaturihiua} \\
\text{Kawatapuwarangi} & \\
\text{Fikiao} & = \text{Rereiao} \\
\text{HEKEMARU} & = \text{Hekeiterangi} \\
\text{Parehuri} & = \text{Maramatuatahi} \\
\text{WAIHARAPEPE} & = \text{Motokore}
\end{align*}
\]

Tokomaru

AWANGAARIKI = Oponga

Tumahau = Tanumi

Te = Taha
Kemo

Tokona = Maru

Rakeiora = Topoto

Rakeiwhakairi = Te Aka

Tumonui = Reke

Mawoke = Neumia

Whatakai = Wheururangi

Whaerere = Kuarari

Whaita = Tapuaereinge

Huiao = Mapau

TUIRIRANGI = Kinoheku
Aotea

Rongorongo = TURI → Hinekewa
Taneroa

/\       Turimataakina = Ruamoewai
Ruanui     Turimataoneone = Tatairangi

Whaeatomokia     Turimataorehua = Kahuororo
\|
Whareirua

[2] Te
Kaokao = Kautuotarangi

[1] Te
Kautuotarangi = Kaokao

Te = Puruora
Kapungaoterangi

Houtaepo = Hitarere

RUAPUTAHANGA = Whathua
Mataatua

Toroa

Ruahono   Wairaka

Tahingaoteraroa

Awanuiarangi

Awstope

Kaiahi = Pehanui

Manutonga = Wawara

Kokako = Whaetapoko

Tamainupo = Tukotuku

Wairere = Tukapua

Maramatutahi = Parstaburi

Waiharapoto = Matakore

Kurahaupo

TAUMAURI = Kuha

Tuoho = Toseanu

Puhire = Kikitai

Puhisau = Te Ako

Puhiarahina = Whanui

Hoea = Putaarrangi

URURANGI = Kakoti
Finally, the connections between the Tainui tribes and those of the Tai Tokerau (the North) are celebrated in the story of Reitu and Reipae and the Ngapuhi ancestor Ue-oneone: Ka tuhonohono i a Reitu raaua ko Reipae nga kawei nunui o runga i a Tainui me nga iwi o te Tai-Tokerau.

**Maniapoto – Te Manu Whatukura**

Having traced the whakapapa lines from Io-Matua to Hoturoa, Turongo and Raukawa, it is now appropriate to discuss Rereahu first and then Maniapoto, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Maniapoto the tribe. Maniapoto lived in the 17th century and he established himself with numerous powerful tribes. To understand how he came to be the leader of his people involves returning to the time of his father Rereahu’s impending death.

Piripi Crown and Shane Te Ruki have documented an excellent account of Rereahu. Piripi Crown is a leading orator and authority on Rereahu (and Maniapoto history) who derived so much of his learning from his paternal grandfather – Te Manawa-nui-o-rangi Pehi-kino. Much of Crown’s knowledge of Rereahu and other Ngāti Maniapoto ancestors has been collated by Shane Te Ruki, another Maniapoto historical authority, into the publication *Te Kete Kōrero, He Kohinga Kōrero Kaumātua, Ngā Tūpuna Taketake o Ngāti Maniapoto: The Founding Ancestors of Maniapoto.*

Of Rereahu, Crown states:

Ko te tupuna nei a Rere-ahu he tamaiti na Raukawa raua ko Turongo-ihi. I whānau mai a ia i te taumarumaru o rangi-nui-o-Kahurere i tetehi ana i te riu e karangahia nei ko Te Manga-i-tutu-ai-a-Raukawa. Ko Kai-tangata te ingoa o taua ana engari no muri mai ke tenei ingoa i te whānauntanga a Rereahu. I te po tonu i whānau mai a Rere-ahu i kite atu e tona matua he tohu kairangatira e rere ana i te rangi, he matakokiri ko Tama-kai-uru. I te putanga mai o Rere-ahu ki te ao i korure te matakokiri rere ahu mai ki Raukawa, ko ia e matakikaki ana mai i te wha o te ana whānau. Ko te tohu miharo nei te putake o te ingoa Rere-ahu.

He tupuna atamai a Rere-ahu, he tupuna mohio hoki ki nga kaupapa maha kaupapa hohonu o te whare wānanga. Na Rere-ahu te mana o te whenua, mana e pupuru ko enei whenua he mea tuku iho na ona matua na ona tupuna no te tupuna nei hoki a Rakamaomao.

Rere-ahu was the son of Raukawa and Turongo-ihi. He was born beneath the shadow of Rangi-nui-a-Kahurere in a cave in the Te Manga-i-tutu-ai-a-Raukawa valley. The name of that cave is Kai-tangata.

On the night of Rere-ahu’s birth, his father Raukawa witnessed a wondrous sight in the night sky, a meteor. As Rere-ahu came into this world, the meteor changed course and flew towards Raukawa as he stood watching from the mouth of the birthing cave. This auspicious sign is the origin of the name Rere-ahu.
Rere-ahu was a brilliant mind, versed in the many aspects and essentials of the whare wānanga. Rere-ahu held sway over the land, these were his to hold. These lands were inherited from his parents and ancestors, and from the ancestor Raka-maomao.  

Rereahu’s first wife was Rangianewa to whom was born Te Ihingarangi. Rereahu subsequently married Hineaupounamu to whom was born Maniapoto, Matakore, Tuwhakahekeao, Turongotapuarau, Kahuariari, Kinohaku and Te Rongorito. Ko nga tamariki enei a Rerehu nga pu tangata o tenei iwi o Ngāti Maniapoto tawhio noa ona rohe – whai tonu ia ratou nga ingoa hapū o ratou uri.

It was the custom for chiefs to select the person who would take on their chiefly mana. Rereahu’s eldest son by his first marriage was thus Te Ihingarangi. This son naturally expected that his father’s mana would pass to him. However Rereahu preferred Maniapoto, the eldest son by his marriage to Hineaupounamu. While Te Ihingarangi was away, Rereahu summoned Maniapoto before him.

The dying chief instructed Maniapoto to bite the crown of his head, which he had anointed with red ochre. This act signified the passing of Rereahu’s chiefly mana to Maniapoto. By the time Te Ihingarangi had returned, Rereahu was dead. Te Ihingarangi observed the red stains on Maniapoto’s lips and realised that he himself had been denied the mana of his father.

After attempting to promote himself over his younger brother, Te Ihingarangi went with his children to settle in the Maungatautari district. Te Ihingarangi’s people there came to be known as Ngāti Korokī, Ngāti Hape and Ngāti Haua. However, after his death, many of his followers returned to the Ōtorohanga area. They can still be found there today as Ngāti Te Ihingarangi.

Ko te mana whatukura i a Rereahu. Ko te tikanga me heke taua mana ki a Te Ihingarangi, ki te tama matamua a Rereahu.

Na Rereahu ano te take i riro ai i a Maniapoto taua mana.

Ko nga tamariki a Te Ihingarangi. Ko Te Kahuiaio, ko Uehaeroa, ko Turakiwai, i noho tonu ratou i te takiwa o Tuhua. Te putanga o nga uri o Uehaeroa, ka moea e Maniapoto hei wahine maha. Ko nga uri, waiho tonu iho hei ara tahuho mo nga rangatira o tenei iwi o Ngāti Maniapoto.

Na runga i te rironga o te mana o Rereahu i a Maniapoto me tona kaha ki te hapai i te iwi me tona rangatiratanga apiti ki te toputanga o ana teina, ki te hapai i taura mana, tae noa iho ki te karapitanga o ratou ko ana tuakana me ana teina, tuahine me nga uri o Hia me Raka i runga i te moemoenga, ka uhi te mana o Maniapoto ki runga i a ratou katoa.

Koia e karangatia nei ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi ko nga uri o tana tuakana o ana tenei, tuahine hoki ka noho hei ingoa hapū.

---

I puritia tonutia taua mana o Rereahu i tena whakatupuranga, i tena whakatupuranga, tae mai ana ki tenei whakatupuranga – me te topu o te iwi i mau tonu i roto i aua whakatupuranga maha kua taha nei.

Maniapoto histories and traditions are therefore recorded in the works of Ngāti Maniapoto scholars such as Jones, Phillips, Crown and Te Ruki as well as in Native Land Court Minutes books. The subsequent history of Ngāti Maniapoto centres on Maniapoto and his younger siblings, and several other key tupuna and his son Te Kawairirangi.

**Te Kawairirangi**

The son of Maniapoto’s first marriage to Hinemania was the celebrated Te Kawairirangi who journeyed north to the great pā Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) in the present-day Auckland district. There he married the twins Mārei and Māroa. He was treacherously killed in Tāmaki, as was his son Rungaterangi in the Mōkau district to the south. From these deaths came the saying: ‘Mōkau ki runga, Tāmaki ki raro’ (Mōkau above, Tāmaki below), as a reminder to Ngāti Maniapoto of these episodes in their history. The saying would later be expanded to signify the boundaries of the entire Tainui confederation of tribes.

**A Tribal Motto**

In his later years Maniapoto lived in the cave, Te Ana-uriuri, in the limestone region of Waitomo. When he was close to death, he went to Pukeroa at Hangatiki, where he called the people before him. He gave his farewell speech, and instructed the men to perform war dances. Before Te Kawairirangi died, his younger brothers and their children then performed under and followed his leadership. Finally, Maniapoto gave his approval instructing his people:

Kia mau tonu ki tēnā; kia mau ki te Kawau mārō. Whanake ake! Whanake ake! Stick to that, the straight-flying Cormorant!

Maniapoto was referring to a fighting force that, like the Cormorant, darts forward in the charge, unyielding. It was adopted by Ngāti Maniapoto as their tribal motto.

All of the above korero has provided the foundation for understanding initially the whakapapa and relationships, the lives and feats of the numerous peoples comprising the tribe of Maniapoto.
Maniapoto Iwi and Hapū Identity

The following lists of Ngāti Maniapoto hapū and marae have been compiled for the Rohe Potāe Inquiry claim. But this list is a starting point for further discussion. The hapū and marae lists are not necessarily comprehensive and any suggestions of other hapū and marae which should be added would be welcomed. Further information on all these hapū and marae will, as far as is possible, be collected for the substantive project through documentary research and the interviews/small group discussions for presentation in the report.

Hapū

Like all Māori tribes, the whakapapa connections and hapū lists for Ngāti Maniapoto are somewhat complex, diverse and they wax and wane with time and space. For example, the CFRT terms of reference for this scoping report lists the following information on Ngāti Maniapoto tribal identity and hapū representing Ngāti Maniapoto in 2010:

**Maniapoto Hapū in the Rohe Potāe Claims Inquiry 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apakura</th>
<th>Hari</th>
<th>Hikairo</th>
<th>Hitetu</th>
<th>Hinewai</th>
<th>Huiao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kahu</td>
<td>Kerapa</td>
<td>Kinohaku</td>
<td>Kiriwai</td>
<td>Mahuta</td>
<td>Makino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manga</td>
<td>Matakore</td>
<td>Ngawaero</td>
<td>Ngutu</td>
<td>Paemate</td>
<td>Pahere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parekahuki</td>
<td>Parekaitini</td>
<td>Paretakewa</td>
<td>Parewaeono</td>
<td>Pehi</td>
<td>Pourahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putaitemuri</td>
<td>Raerae</td>
<td>Rakei</td>
<td>Rangatahi</td>
<td>Raukawa</td>
<td>Rereahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewa</td>
<td>Rora</td>
<td>Ruapuha</td>
<td>Rungaterangi</td>
<td>Ruroa</td>
<td>Takiari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamainu</td>
<td>Tauhunu</td>
<td>Te Ihingarangi</td>
<td>Te Kanawa</td>
<td>Te Rukirangi</td>
<td>Te Urupare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Waha</td>
<td>Tupu</td>
<td>Uekaha</td>
<td>Unu</td>
<td>Urunumia</td>
<td>Waiora</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 48 Hapū

But a close analysis of Ngāti Maniapoto identity reveals the complexities involved in ascertaining Maniapoto identity with precision given that tribal identity was traditionally fluid, situational, pragmatic and political. Referring to Māori identity generally and

---

Maniapoto tribal identity specifically, it appears that one among numerous results of the colonial process was the over-simplification of a complex reality.

Ngāti Maniapoto Hapū Listed in the Western Māori Electoral Roll 1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngāti Maniapoto Hapū</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aiariki</td>
<td>Koata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arawaere</td>
<td>Korokino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awaroa</td>
<td>Kouparranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanuku</td>
<td>Kouparranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari</td>
<td>Maringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harotake</td>
<td>Marotaua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harotaki</td>
<td>Mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haua</td>
<td>Matakore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heke</td>
<td>Mauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikairo</td>
<td>Mihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinato</td>
<td>Moenoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinekino</td>
<td>Motemote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinekuia</td>
<td>Muriwaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinetera</td>
<td>Ngaungatahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hineuru</td>
<td>Ngautauhunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinewai</td>
<td>Ngawaero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hinewhare</th>
<th>Ngutu</th>
<th>Raerae</th>
<th>Tauhuru</th>
<th>Waikorara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hopu</td>
<td>Paeahi</td>
<td>Rahere</td>
<td>Te Ake</td>
<td>Waimahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houtakiri</td>
<td>Pahi</td>
<td>Rahiri</td>
<td>Te Aranui</td>
<td>Waimaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huahua</td>
<td>Paemata</td>
<td>Rahui</td>
<td>Te Ihingarangi</td>
<td>Waiora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huiao</td>
<td>Paemate</td>
<td>Rahurahu</td>
<td>Te Ika</td>
<td>Wairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huiau</td>
<td>Paerangi</td>
<td>Rairai</td>
<td>Te Kanawa</td>
<td>Waiuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inurangi</td>
<td>Paeriki</td>
<td>Rakei</td>
<td>Te Mihinga</td>
<td>Wera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaahu</td>
<td>Pahere</td>
<td>Rangi</td>
<td>Te Ra</td>
<td>Werewere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahu</td>
<td>Paia</td>
<td>Rangimahinga</td>
<td>Te Rau</td>
<td>Werokoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaputuhi</td>
<td>Paiariki</td>
<td>Rarua</td>
<td>Te Waha</td>
<td>Whakairi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karewa</td>
<td>Paratai</td>
<td>Rereahu</td>
<td>Te Whānaupani</td>
<td>Whakatere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinohaku</td>
<td>Parekahuke</td>
<td>Rongo</td>
<td>Terewai</td>
<td>Whetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiri</td>
<td>Parekahuki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Hapū = 142

Ngāti Maniapoto Hapū from the Western Māori Electoral Roll 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngāti Maniapoto Hapū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apakura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouparanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parekahuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangatahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawhaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parekaihina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Kanawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parekaitini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangimahora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Paemate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parekaruhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangitaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Waha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngāti Maniapoto Hapū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hekewai</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hikairo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hine</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hinemanu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hinemihī</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hinetu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hori</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hounuku</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hua</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huiiao</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ihingarangi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kahu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kahukura</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kaiapa</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kaputai</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kaputuhi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kauwhata</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kinehaku</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kineohau</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kinohaku</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Ngāti Maniapoto Hapū

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiriwai</th>
<th>Paiariki</th>
<th>Pukenga</th>
<th>Tauhinu</th>
<th>Wairere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kohera</td>
<td>Pakira</td>
<td>Puta</td>
<td>Tauhuna</td>
<td>Whakairi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohua</td>
<td>Pamoana</td>
<td>Rahiri</td>
<td>Tauhunu</td>
<td>Whakamarurangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koi</td>
<td>Pare</td>
<td>Rahurahu</td>
<td>Tauhuru</td>
<td>Whatua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreperenga</td>
<td>Parehe</td>
<td>Rairora</td>
<td>Taupiri</td>
<td>Whawhakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroki</td>
<td>Parehuia</td>
<td>Rakei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Hapū = 148

### Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Constituent Hapū 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngāti Maniapoto Constituent Hapū 2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apakura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikairoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinemihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huiaoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinohaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahuta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total ‘Official’ Hapū = 47

---

40 Maniapoto Māori Trust Board ‘Tribal Registration Form’ (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, Level 1, NZ Post Building, 123 Rora Street, PO Box 36, Te Kuiti, 2005) at 2
What is interesting from the Maniapoto lists in the tables above in terms of Ngāti Maniapoto tribal identity is the differences in terms of name and number and how they have waxed and waned from 1840 up until 2009 and on into the present.

Given the clear differences in Maniapoto hapū names and numbers, Maniapoto identity has shifted over time. However, we think it is important for any report to allow claimants to articulate and elucidate their own hapū identity rather than imposing it. To assist Maniapoto whānau members, the following questions that help elucidate hapū identity might include:

**Te Ingoa o te Hapū**

*What is the name of your hapū? What is the significance of the name? Was your hapū known by another name/s in previous times?*

**Te Pepeha o te Hapū**

*What is the pepeha of your hapū? What is your ancestral mountain and waterway?*

**He Whakapapa**

*What are the major whakapapa/whānau lines of descent of the hapū?*

**Te Rohe**

*What is considered to be the rohe of the hapū? It is not necessary to give hard and fast boundaries but rather the general area/s. Where were people living? Where did they exercise various customary rights?*

**He Hekenga?**

*What, if any, were the migratory movements of your hapū? What were the circumstances of the migration/s?*

**Nga Tupuna/Rangatira**

*Who were the prominent tupuna/rangatira of the hapū at particular periods in history? What were their feats and/or misfortunes?*

**He Whakatauki/Moteatea/Haka/Waiata**

*Are there any whakatauki/moteatea/haka or waiata that are relevant to your hapū?*

**Te Whakawhānaungatanga i waenga i nga hapū me nga iwi**
What are the relationships with other neighbouring hapū and hapū/iwi throughout the Rohe Pōtae region and beyond? How are they linked by whakapapa, geography, history etc.?

He Mahinga Kai

What sort of fishing, hunting and gathering rights were exercised by the hapū and where were they exercised? Did the hapū share land and resources with other hapū? If so, on what basis?

He Kaitiaki

Is there any kaitiaki/taniwha associated with the hapū? If so, what is the significance of these kaitiaki/taniwha?

He Pa/Kainga

Where were pa and kainga located?

Nga Tamariki a Tane, a Haumietiketike, a Tangaroa hoki

Are there any native flora and fauna associated with the hapū?

He Parekura

What major conflicts have the hapū been involved in? Who were they allied with and what were the circumstances of the fight?

He Wāhi Tapu

What are the wāhi tapu within the hapū including where ancestors were buried?

He Wāhi Tupuna ano

What are the other historical sites of special significance to the hapū? Why are they special?

Marae

Which marae are considered to be the marae of the hapū? Who or what are the wharenui named after? Why are those tupuna or events remembered?
Speaking of marae, the following list outlines some of the Ngāti Maniapoto marae:

**Marae**

1. Hia Kaitupeka  
2. Hiona  
3. Kahotea  
4. Kaputuhi  
5. Kakepuku Papakainga  
6. Ko te Hokingamai ki te Nehenehenui  
7. Maketu  
8. Mangarama  
9. Mangatoatoa  
10. Maniaroa  
11. Manu Ariki  
12. Marokopa  
13. Mokai Kainga  
14. Mokau Kohunui  
15. Motiti  
16. Napinapi  
17. Omokoroa  
18. Parekatini/Tomotuki  
19. Petania  
20. Pohatuiri  
21. Purekireki  
22. Rakauhu  
23. Rereahu  
24. Rereamanu  
25. Tane Hopuwaiti  
26. Taarewaanga  
27. Te Ahoroa  
28. Te Aruka  
29. Te Hape  
30. Te Ihingarangi  
31. Te Kauae  
32. Te Keeti  
33. Te Kopua  
34. Te Koraha  
35. Te Korapatu  
36. Te Kotahitanga  
37. Te Koura  
38. Te Kumi  
39. Te Mahoe  
40. Te Miringa te Kakara  
41. Te Paemate  
42. Te Piruru Papakainga  
43. Te Rongaroa/Ko Uehaeroa  
44. Te Rukirangi Papakainga  
45. Te Tokanganui a noho  
46. Tokikapu  
47. Tokopiko  
48. Tu Whenua  
49. Turitea  
50. Waipapa  
51. Waipatoto  
52. Waipu  
53. Te Kauaw Papakainga  
54. Wharauroa  
55. Te Whakaaro Kotahi

**Te Rohe Pōtae o Maniapoto**

Outlining clear tribal boundaries is fraught with numerous challenges given that Māori identity and tribal affiliations and associated tribal boundaries are complex, fluid and political. Māori society was not traditionally, and is not contemporaneously, precise, clear and unambiguous. In an insightful study into ‘Māori land boundaries’, Lyndsey Head illustrates traditional Māori descriptions of land in terms of names and landmarks that expressed an intimacy with the history of their relationship with their territory.\(^{41}\) For

example, the Tainui rohe, which incorporated Ngāti Maniapoto, was broadly conveyed by the pepeha (maxim):

\[
\begin{align*}
Ko Mōkau & \text{ ki runga} \\
Ko Tāmaki & \text{ ki raro} \\
Ko Mangatoatoa & \text{ ki waenganui.} \\
Pare Hauraki, Pare Waikato & \\
Te Kaokaoroa-o-Pātetere. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Mōkau is above 
Tāmaki is below 
Mangatoatoa is between.

The boundaries of Hauraki, the boundaries of Waikato 
To the place called ‘the long armpit of Pātetere’.

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

Ka hinga a Te Kawa ki Tamaki, ka hinga a Runga te Rangi ki Mōkau. Ka waiho i konei ko te whakatauki: ‘Mokau ki runga, Tamaki ki raro.’

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

The confusing effects of European legal requirements for absolute accuracy and certainty in land description have had a major malign impact on the delineation of tribal boundaries. This was evident in the workings of the Native Land Court and other early Commissions of

---

42 He mea tango mai ēnei kōrero i te roaanga ake o nga kōrero a Pahiri Wiari i te Toa Takitini (Nama 53, Tihema 1925, Whārangni 340).
43 Hongi, Hari ‘Maori Land Rights, Marriage Customs, Kinship,’ (Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-5717, (n.d))).
44 Judge Rawson’s ‘Treatise on Native Land Law’, (National Archives MA 16/3).
Inquiry. Many Māori witnesses before such bodies voiced their frustration with the need for such definitive boundaries. For example, one Māori witness before the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Claims Commission responded when questioned whether there was a division between the relevant hapū:

I heard that you had divided the land— that is the Europeans… Maungatautari belonged to all these hapūs. Since you white men came it has been divided. I did not agree to them. I say the land was common property of ours. There are no divisions, either into blocks or hapū lands.45

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

According to Māori custom after a rohe is laid down, people may cross the rohe and occupy the other side providing they do not so in an aggressive spirit, that would not affect the validation of the rohe laid down.46

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

The flux of migration, shifts of local residence and inter-hapū marriage, together with the acceptance (or rejection) of the mana of senior non-resident chiefs, meant that the boundaries of hapū and hapū clusters, and hence the limits of their land, were not immutable.47

Ward concluded that this complex and somewhat flexible arrangement makes the search for neat continuous boundaries and neat hierarchies of authority inappropriate. Ward did concede however that descent from founding ancestors imposed ‘some shape and definition to the complexity, and whakapapa established some sense of priority in claims’, although such claims were intermingled and overlapping with others.48

Whenua Tautohetohe
It is important to discuss here the pitfalls of attempting to stringently define and delineate tribal boundaries for legal description, particularly among those areas bordering neighbouring tribes. Hirini Mead, in a paper prepared as part of a report presented to the Waitangi Tribunal

45 Evidence given 16 February 1881, ‘Ngati Kauwhata Commission of Inquiry’ in Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR), (G-2A, 1881) at 29.
46 ‘Otorohanga Block’, Otorohanga Minute Book (Maniapoto District, No. 4, 25/7/1888) at 185.
48 Idem.
in support of Ngāti Awa’s claim,49 outlined the basic idea of contested land or what he termed ‘whenua tautohetohe’ which may be a useful concept in understanding those areas between tribes.50 Mead argued that there were zones of contested land lying between iwi groups that were characteristically rich in resources and exploited by both sides and that it was difficult to fix a boundary within the zone:

As military strength fluctuates, so did the boundary, so there was always the element of contestability in land zones regarded as whenua tautohetohe.51

Mead continued by explaining that the concept of whenua tautohetohe:

... embraces the idea that the boundary between tribal territories is not so much like a surveyed line, although a line may exist, but rather is like a band of land which may be likened to a zone of no-man’s-land.52

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

But between territories of different tribes there are often tracts of land which are called “kainga tautohe” or (literally) debatable lands.53

Mead concluded that Martin’s notion of ‘kainga tautohe’ is the same idea as ‘whenua tautohetohe’. The early Māori scholar Hari Hongi (Henry Mathew Stowell) also supported the notion of ‘debatable lands’ when he conceded: ‘There were, it is true, debatable lands lying contiguous to certain boundaries’54 but as Mead rightly pointed out, some parts of the boundary are likely to be more ‘debatable’ than others.55

What these whenua tautohetohe areas were not however, was a ‘no mans’ land which is how local historian Dr J. B. W. Robertson described the land between the Puniu River and the

50 Idem.
51 Idem.
52 Idem.
53 ‘Opinions of Various Authorities on Native Tenure’, *AJHR*, (1890, G.-1) at 3.
54 Hongi, Hari ‘Maori Land Rights, Marriage Customs, Kinship,’ (Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-5717, (n.d)).
Mangapiko Stream. Mead later conceded himself that such a notion was not generally applicable:

It is not wise to describe the zone as ‘no-man’s land’ as this gives a wrong impression. It is not an area of land that belongs to no one. At any one time some iwi has political and military control over some or all the land. And while the period of dispute might continue for decades, eventually a resolution is worked out, a peace agreement is negotiated and ratified, and stability reigns in that part of the land.\textsuperscript{57}

All of the boundaries surrounding the Rohe Pōtae have been contested and negotiated with some form of resolution being worked out. However, every Rohe Pōtae border continues to be challenged today and require urgent analyses. The next section will explore the various whenua tautohetohe around the Rohe Pōtae commencing in the North.

\textsuperscript{56} J. B. W. Robertson, ‘Maori Settlement Pattern of the Te Awamutu Region (1800-1850)’, \textit{Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society}, (No. 1, June 1975) at 3.

Northern Rohe Pōtæ Boundary - Maniapoto and Waikato/Ngāti Apakura beyond the Puniu River

Whenua tautohetohe is arguably an appropriate expression for the northern Rohe Pōtæ area around Kihikihi - Te Awamutu. For example, John Gorst, the Resident Magistrate in the early 1860s remarked:

It must not be forgotten that Te Awamutu was a debated territory, claimed both by Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto.⁵⁹

---


⁵⁹ Gorst, J. E. The Maori King. (First Published in 1864, Reed Books, Auckland, 2001) at 141.
Gorst recalled how Te Awamutu was an area once rich in resources when ‘any one recently visiting this district would have been struck with the signs of bygone wealth and prosperity.’ In particular, Gorst observed that part of Kihikihi belonged to Ngāti Maniapoto:

Indeed Ngatimaniapoto claims a great extent of the land about Kihikihi, concerning which there is chronic feud between them and the Waikatos of that place and Rangiaowhia.

Gorst provided the example of a dispute over the ownership of trees:

The Waikatos of Rangiaowhia, and even Kihikihi, persisted in selling timber; though at the latter place, the Ngatimaniapoto expressed strong indignation, and stormy Rūnanga were held over almost every individual tree.

Gorst also noted that a dozen years earlier, the Waikato tribes sold a few acres of their land to settlers which caused dismay among Maniapoto:

The jealousy of the Ngatimaniapoto was aroused; they asserted a claim to the land, and re-occupied a part of it.

In addition, Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones claimed Maniapoto interests north of the Puniu River into the Te Awamutu and Kihikihi District. Commenting on the ‘Waikato land’ confiscations in his biography of Potatau, the first Māori King, Jones observed:

The Maniapoto … got off almost scot free, losing only a small strip of their tribal lands between the Mangapiko and Puniu streams.

The Mangapiko Stream runs behind Te Awamutu. Furthermore, in correspondence to the Native Minister offering suggestions as to the form of the Waikato-Maniapoto Claims Settlement Bill in 1946, Jones noted:

Over ninety per cent of the people for whom the funds are to be expended are Waikato tribes (and it is proper therefore, for the Board to be called “The Waikato Māori Trust Board”), but there are sections of two important Tainui tribes also concerned, namely;

---

60 Ibid, at 13.
61 Gorst noted that Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi were the largest districts in the Waikato district.
62 Ibid, at 123.
63 We are unsure of what sale Gorst was referring to here. In 1841 there was a land sale to the Governor of Otawhao by Titipa. A notice appears in the Governor’s Maori newspaper *Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, (Vol 1, No. 7, 1 July 1842) at 30. Turton’s Maori Deeds Vol.1, at 572, Deed No. 412 records the sale of the Paiaka Block at Otawhao, Waipa District to the Crown by Porokoru Titipa, Rewhi Ngahuru and Hakopa Ngaruhi. Perhaps this was the land sale referred to.
64 Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, *King Potatau: An account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the First Maori King*, (Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1960) at 178.
the Ngāti Maniapoto and the Ngāti Raukawa – the district around the Puniu, Te Awamutu and Kihikihi area being their former tribal lands.65

**The Eastern Rohe Pōtæ Boundary - Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto**

We believe at times too much attention has been paid to tribal names and the search for definitive boundaries and too little attention is given to genealogical connections that blur identities and commensurate tribal boundaries. For example, around 1800 Peehi Tukorehu quarrelled with his Ngāti Raukawa relatives and became associated with Ngāti Maniapoto. His followers thenceforth became known as Ngāti Paretekawa and regarded themselves as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto.

Perhaps this division provides some context to Rewi Maniapoto’s statement when he asserted: ‘there was no Ngāti Maniapoto, they are really Ngāti Raukawa. Ngāti Maniapoto were only known from the time of Te Akanui.’66 Te Akanui was Rewi’s grandfather and a contemporary of Peehi Tukorehu. Rewi claimed that the murder of ‘Taikato by Tieketi and Hinerau’ caused the division of the people into Maniapoto and Raukawa.67 Hitiri Te Paerata from Ngāti Paretekawa gave evidence before the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Royal Commission of Inquiry where he asserted:

Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa are one people. Ngatimaniapoto are also of Waikato, and came in the same canoe (Tainui)…. The tribes I have named are from Tainui. Ngatihaua is the same… One tribe; Tainui is the canoe. Canoe and tribe are synonymous terms… Lately they are divided into Waikato, Ngatiraukawa and Ngatimaniapoto.68

The question as to when Ngāti Maniapoto emerged as a distinct tribe is something to be explored in the substantive report. In the meantime, we quote Wahanui Huatare giving evidence during the investigation of the Otorohanga Block: ‘There was no subdivision of the land in Raukawa’s time; it did not take place until Te Kawa’s time.’69 Te Kawa of course, is Te Kawairirangi, a son of Maniapoto.

We also note the boundaries presented to the Native Land Court by the Ngāti Matakore rangatira subsequent to the Rohe Pōtæ Block hearing. Much discussion outside the Court

66 See the ‘Maungatautari Case’, in *Waikato Minute Book* (No. 13, 1884) at 28.
67 Idem. Rewi was perhaps referring here to the northern hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto rather than those hapū southwards.
68 Minutes of Evidence, *Appendices to the Journal of House of Representatives* (1881 G-2A) at 23.
69 *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. 3, 1888) at 249.
had taken place between tribal representatives. Hauauru presented the boundaries between Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Whakatere as follows:

It begins at Ohahau thence to Te Kopure, Tapararoa, Te Hiwiroa, Rukookahu, Opa, Te Kahikatoa, Mangatutu, Kokaputaki, thence by the stream of Mangatutu to Te Ana Kopae, the mouth of Horoweka to Tarapounamu, Tauaraia, Mangamairo, Te One a Taratioa, Te Tiheru with Puniu on the external boundary of the Rohe Pōtæ and by that boundary to Waikeria thence to Wharekorino thence to Kopua Patiki, thence to Mangaruruahoe, thence to the mouth of the Puniu River where it connects with the Rohe Pōtæ boundary, then E’wards along that line to the Waikato River, then up to the latter to Waipapa stream, then up the latter following the Rohe Pōtæ and Tauponuiatia boundary to Okahou the point of commencement.

That boundary line represents the division between Takihiku and N’Raukawa. Takihiku is on the E side and N’Whakatere on the W side, at a place called Taratioa. The boundary marks the European rohe on one side, the halfcastes of Raukawa and Maniapoto on the other side and the rohe on the other side is owned by N’Raukawa. When their rohe reaches as far as Wharekorino on the Puniu River then they cease to be N’Raukawa people and become N’Maniapoto.70

While many of these place names have disappeared and are therefore difficult to demarcate on a map today (although it still may be possible), what the above evidence shows is that tribal boundaries were ambiguous and complex, shared whakapapa played a clear role in blurring tribal boundaries particularly around whenua tautohetohe refining who had use rights to certain lands and resources that were often shared lands.

**Western Rohe Pōtæ Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo**

A similar challenge presented to the Native Land Court was the boundary between Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo on the western Rohe Pōtæ boundary which according to Taonui was the subject of much debate. Tupotahi gave his version of the Ngāti Maniapoto – Ngāti Hikairo boundary in 1888 but noted that no settlement between the tribes had been arrived at:

The rohe commences at Mangauika on the Waipa River, from there goes westward and ascends to Pukehoua, a Manaéo tree called Paewhenua is standing there where birds used to be snared. It has two branches, one belonged to Ngāti Hikairo and the other to N’Maniapoto. Te Moeihua was the chief of the people on the Ngāti Maniapoto side and Whakamarurangi was the chief on Ngāti Hikairo side. The boundary then goes along the ridge called Te Paroa until it reaches Ngangao[?] thence it follows to Hipokorua, thence to Te Whitiura, thence to Tiritiri Matangi, thence it goes along the Kawhia Harbour to Onenui (a sand bank) thence to Taneowhanga also a sandbank, thence to Puremu (a rock) then it goes northward to the entrance to the Kawhia harbour thence to Te Kapa o te Whete (a wave) on the bar thence to Karewa

---

70 *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. 3, 1888) at 43-44.
Island, this is an ancient boundary and is the boundary between Ngatimaniapoto and N’Hikairo.\textsuperscript{71}

Tupotahi’s boundary differed however, to that presented by John Ormsby on behalf of Ngāti Hikairo.\textsuperscript{72} Much of the evidence of the Rohe Pōtae hearing was related to the competing interests claimed around Kawhia by Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hikairo and Waikato. Interestingly, Tupotahi commented that hapū from both iwi had claims on the other side of the boundary dividing them. This again reminds us within such whenua tautohetohe, hapū did not exist as discrete entities with discrete and absolute boundaries.

**South Western Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tama**

The boundary relationship between Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Maniapoto has been explored in the preliminary hearings in the 2001 Waitangi Tribunal Report on the *Ngāti Maniapoto/ Ngāti Tama Settlement Cross Claims*. In this report, the Waitangi Tribunal wisely recommended where ever possible that the Crown eschew the use of lines on a map which define, or may be presumed to define, traditional or modern tribal boundaries. The Tribunal asserted:

> Mana was, and is, we think, much more to do with areas of influence, which were often identified by reference to landscape features rather than by lines on maps. Such lines are simplistic and bald, and bear no relation to tikanga. While convenient, they will usually be wrong.\textsuperscript{73}

Ngāti Maniapoto had expressed their sense of affront at the use of the confiscation line boundary in the Ngāti Tama Treaty Settlement Heads of Agreement and the revised settlement offer to Ngāti Tama. The Crown had explained that its use of the line was for ‘convenience’ only, and that there was no intention on their part to define a rohe. The Tribunal did not inquire comprehensively into the claims of Ngāti Maniapoto. An historical report by David Young stated that Ngāti Maniapoto’s interests in the area were strongest in the north and weakest in the south. The Ngāti Maniapoto/Ngāti Tama rohe relationship will need to be more fully explored.

In the interim, we note a letter dated 14 March 1882 from Rewi Maniapoto that he wrote to Bryce claiming the mana of the land from Mokau to the confiscation line:

> He Kupu atu tenei nuku kia koe mo Mokau. Kei whakaae koe ki te tono a Ngāti tama mo tetehi moni ki a hoatu kia ratou mo nga whenua timata I Mokau tae ana ki te raina

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, at 52-53.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, at 48.
a te Kawanatanga i Waipingao. Kaore hoki tena iwi e tika ana ki tena whenua engari kei au te ritenga me te mana o tena whenua. Kaore he mana i a ratou ...” [Translation - This is my word to you about Mokau. Lest you agree to Ngāti tama’s request for money for the lands commencing at Mokau down to the Government’s line. That tribe has no rights to that land. However, we have the rights and authority to that land. They have no authority.]

Furthermore, it was recorded that when Wahanui stood up at a gathering at Hikurangi on 17 May 1881 and stuck 34 poles into the ground representing the 34 props or supports of the land which were placed under the Kingdom of Potatau, one of those pou whenua was Parininihi which he associated with Ngāti Maniapoto.

**South Eastern Rohe Pōtāe Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tuwharetoa**
The Waitangi Tribunal’s *Pouakani Report* has also addressed in a preliminary manner the Maniapoto-Tuwharetoa boundary. The Report noted that some arguments had been settled outside the Native Land Court in January 1886 when Te Heuheu Horonuku conceded some areas of the Tauponuiatia Block to other tribes, including Ngāti Maniapoto, as part of the deliberations on tribal subdivisions. However, Te Heuheu did not concede the Maraeroa Block, and this land became the focus of contention between Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto. The debate over the boundary between Maniapoto and Tuwharetoa is a classic illustration of the mixing of boundaries and political complexities.

The boundary debate must be viewed in the context of the Aotea Agreement and the decision by the Tuwharetoa leader to treat independently Tuwharetoa lands. It was to the fury of Ngāti Maniapoto leaders when on 31 October 1885, Te Heuheu Horonuku formally made an application to the Native Land Court for a hearing of the Ngāti Tuwharetoa lands. Te Heuheu had not been content with the way the Rohe Pōtāe boundary had split the Ngāti Tuwharetoa claim. Te Heuheu asserted his alleged right to have all his territory heard in the Native Land Court as a whole block - Tauponuiatia. The acceptance of this application struck a heavy blow at the whole Rohe Pōtāe concept as Taonui remarked: ‘With regard to Te Heuheu’s claim, he has already crucified us with Tauponuiatia.’

---

76 ‘Rohe Potae - Te Heuheu’s Case,’ in *Otorohonga Minute Book No.3*, (Maniapoto District, 1888) at 45.
Pei Jones, nonetheless, provided the following boundary between Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tuwharetoa in a letter to Joan Metge in 1966 outlining Tainui’s boundaries:

The main dividing line commences from Titiraupenga peak near Mangakino in the north and then turning in a southerly direction follow the range to Pureora peak thence to the Tuhua peak thence by the Taringamotu river to the Pukuweka hills on the south side of the Taringamotu and westerly along the Pukuweka hills to the Ongarue River about three miles from its junction with the Whanganui River.

The claim by Te Heuheu to have his children’s names readmitted on the Ngāti Raukawa list of owners for the Rohe Pōtae Block and the subsequent Maniapoto, Matakore and Raukawa opposition is a useful reminder that shared whakapapa connections crossed geographic boundaries.\(^{77}\) Paul Meredith has written a paper on this issue which is attached in Appendix 4.

South Central Rohe Pōtae Boundary - Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Haua/Whanganui

Pei Jones also outlined some of the tribal boundaries around Taumarunui. Referring to Ngāti Haua, Jones asserted:

The Ngāti Haua is a full iwi with two hapū: - Ngāti Rangatahi which links up with the Maniapoto and the Ngāti Hekeawai which link’s up with the Tuwharetoa. The Ngāti Haua are also linked with the N. Maru of Taranaki and the N. Hau of the Wanganui River ... The inclusion of Taumarunui in Maniapoto territory as shown above in the Turnbull library copy of the Rohe Pōtae map and based on the Māori Land Court decision is due to the protracted litigation over Pukuweka Block which at one time was awarded to the Maniapoto Claimants ... Finally, however, the N. Haua were the victors (at one stage of their history most of their fighting men went off south with Te Rauparaha and, as a matter of fact, if they had remained there would have owned all or most of the land around Johnsonville) ... The N. Haua of the Ohura and northern Taumarunui are --- of the N. Rangatahi hapū and the boundary between N. Haua and Maniapoto is roughly an east and west line from a point just south of Te Kouora on the Ongarue River.

The tribal subdivision presented by Matakitaki in 1886 defining the boundary between N’Maniapoto & Whanganui was given as follows:

Tawhitiaupeka, Waiaraia, Mahoe Waruwaru, Mangaparo, Te Korako, Mangaroa, across Te Paekura, Otirotu, Te Matawai a te Pahii, then down to its mouth of Taraunui, then across Ohura to the South, to Ngarupiki, Ngaurukehu, Waipapa, Te Horopaako, Te Waingongo, Te Tawa, then eastward to Otunui stream, across to Te

---

\(^{77}\) ‘Rohe Potae - Te Heuheu’s Case,’ in Otorohonga Minute Book No.3, (Maniapoto District, 1888) at 112-119, 124, 173-174, 178-252, 254; ‘Te Heuheu Tukino - Claim to have his children's names inserted in the Rohe Potae list,’ (Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-4760-5); ‘Collection Record: Grace, John Te Hererekieke (Sir), 1905-1985’: ‘Grace Family Papers’ (MS-Group-0218).
Papara to the mouth of Aramahoe, then up that stream to Te Ararinui, then up Rangiriri hill to the source of Okaihæ, then up that stream to Ongarue to the mouth of Taringamotu, then up that stream to Mangapakura, then to Te Anapungapunga, Te Rotoroa, Te Wharowharo, Pareouenuku, Te Huru, Te Arakowhai, to the mouth of Ngakonui stream up that stream to Te Puarao, Waewaewahie, Pakingahau, then to the South by the Western side of the Rangiteihi hill to the source of Pakurukuru stream then up that stream to Te Pungapunga, connecting at Maniati.  

Matakikaki stated that Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Wera, Ngāti Whaiti were on the south side. Earlier, Te Rerenga Wetere presented his own boundary in this area:

I will commence my boundary from a point 20 miles out at sea, thence to the mouth of the Waipingao stream, a boundary between the N’Maniapoto & the pakeha, thence up that stream to Taumatawhetu, thence inland to Waitara crosses that river, thence to Te Matai, the European land ends there. From thence begin the boundary between N’Maniapoto & Whanganui. The boundary continues to Te Ihu o Tawhiriraupeka, descends the other side of that mountain to the valley to Mangakara, and continues to Tapuaetaroro at Waitewhenua creek. My district ends there ... The boundary I have given is that between the N’Maniapoto & the Whanganui. 

Again these boundaries should be viewed with caution within the context of land court hearings and title contestation.

Survey Plans and Maps – Simplified Version of a Complex Reality
The Otorohanga Minute Books are full of boundary descriptions as hapū asserted their interests. Kairuri or surveyors produced survey plans and while the boundaries are expressed in measured and delineated lines, they are nonetheless a source of locating sites of historical significance discussed during hearings. We have an image of the original Kakepuku Block georegistered onto a topographic backdrop to provide a better idea of where sites were located:

---

78 Otorohanga Minute Book (No. 3, 1888) at 37
Map 4: Kakepuku Block

Note the location of the Searancke and Emery homesteads near the Waipa River.\(^{80}\)

Another source of Tainui cartography is Pei Te Hurinui Jones who was not only a scholar of Tainui history and traditions, but also an accomplished cartographer.\(^{81}\) Jones produced two maps for the Treaty of Waitangi centennial celebrations in 1940. The first depicts the Tainui area in 1800 showing the main tribal areas, pa sites and prominent landmarks.\(^{82}\) The second shows the Tainui canoe area in 1840 and includes principle tribal areas of Waikato, Hauraki, Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Raukawa and most importantly Ngāti Maniapoto.\(^{83}\) The map and its accompanying key outline the Ngāti Maniapoto boundaries and listed some of the Ngāti Maniapoto hapū as at 1840 (but not all):

\(^{80}\) See Appendix 8 of the Waitangi Tribunal’s ‘King Country Rohe Pōtae Inquiry Boundary: A Discussion Paper’, (Wai 898 #6 2.2, for a list of land blocks in the King Country inquiry district and corresponding survey plans). The Waitangi Tribunal holds a CD containing digital copies of the original survey plans which can be made available upon request.


\(^{82}\) ‘New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs Centennial Publications Branch Tainui area prior to 1800, names given by crew of Tainui on arrival. Sgd. P H Jones. [ms map]’, Alexander Turnbull Library MapColl-CHA-2/4/10-Acc.36926.

\(^{83}\) ‘Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, 1898-1976 Tainui area as in 1840 [map with ms annotations]. 1840’, Alexander Turnbull Library MapColl-832ecd8/1840/Acc.26084.
Map 5: Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones’ Tainui Tribal Area 1840

---

84 Jones, P T ‘Tainui Canoe Area 1840’ (Unpublished Map, Photostat of MS prepared by Pei Te Hurinui Jones for Centennial Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940).
Pei Jones’ maps above provide the Tainui tribal boundaries including those of Ngāti Maniapoto. However, the clarity and precision of these boundaries is misleading. Tribal boundaries and spheres of interests are like tribal identity – fluid, situational and political.

**Aukati Lines**

Furthermore, in his map above, Pei Jones follows aukati lines. When the Government fixed the confiscation-lines, the Puniu River became a border and formed part of the ‘aukati’ or

---

85 Jones, P T ‘Tainui Canoe Area 1840’ (Unpublished Map, Photostat of MS prepared by Pei Te Hurinui Jones for Centennial Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940).
frontier between Ngāti Maniapoto and the Europeans.\textsuperscript{86} Rewi Maniapoto referred to the term ‘\textit{puru}’ or ‘stoppage’ in referring to the aukati along the Puniu.\textsuperscript{87}

\textbf{Map 7: Part of the Plan of the Rohe Pōtai/Aotea block depicted in survey plan ML 5851 SA}

There was/is a danger however that such an ‘aukati’ might be interpreted as an affirmation of a traditional Ngāti Maniapoto tribal boundary. The ‘Sim Commission’ for example, was established in 1926 to investigate the matter of confiscation of Māori lands and whether Ngāti Maniapoto had suffered confiscations as well. The Commissioner of Crown Lands prepared a lithograph depicting the boundary between Waikato and Maniapoto which generally followed the aukati boundary. Consequently, he advised that no Maniapoto land was included in the confiscated area.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{86} This was not the first time the Puniu was declared an aukati. According to Pei Jones during his short reign, King Potatau ‘set a boundary for the Waikato people to the south, and this line was the Puniu River.’ In proclaiming this boundary, Potatau said to the Waikato tribes: ‘You must not step over this boundary. This is pekehawani!’ Pekehawani literally means to break a truce. The reason why King Potatau took these actions was because Ngati Maniapoto had joined the fighting in Taranaki under Rewi Maniapoto. When Maniapoto went on their way, Potatau said to them: ‘\textit{Haere hei kai ma nga manu o te rangi}’ Go and become food for the birds of the air. See Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, \textit{King Potatau: an Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the First Maori King}, (Polynesian Society, Wellington) at 228.

\textsuperscript{87} Refer comments by Major William Gilbert Mair corresponding with the Under-Secretary of the Native Affairs Department in \textit{AJHR}, (Vol. II, G-2B) at 3.

\textsuperscript{88} K. M. Graham, Commission Crown Lands, Department of Lands & Survey, Auckland to C. Taylor, Crown Law Office, Wellington, 2 June 1927. National Archives MA 85 7/7 ‘Area of Ngāti Maniapoto Land within Waikato Confiscated Area.’ The boundary was based on investigation of titles to certain blocks, an interview with Judge McCormick and Mr George Graham, a local student of Māori history.
Cathy Marr observed however, that the aukati boundaries were in many ways an artificial construct, limited by war and the Native Land Court, and did not include the full extent of all traditional Ngāti Maniapoto interests. Marr noted:

Some of those interests had extended outside the aukati but had been circumscribed by war and confiscation… As the Native land Court was introduced and became operational from 1865, the aukati boundaries were further restricted by Land Court activity and the transformation of customary into Crown-derived title.\(^{89}\)

Even the Waitangi Tribunal warned against viewing an aukati as the delineation of a tribal boundary.\(^{90}\) Certainly, both Hauauru Poutama and Wahanui Huatare, two further important figures in 19\(^{th}\) century Ngāti Maniapoto history,\(^{91}\) attested before the first sitting of the 1886 Native Land Court at Otorohanga that the aukati boundaries of the Rohe Pōtæ as they affected Ngāti Maniapoto were not traditional boundaries. In this respect Hauauru added:

I consider Maniapoto claims extend as far as Wairaka. The boundary of the Rohepotai (sic) is not an ancestral one, it is of more recent date & was laid down at the time of Mr Bryce’s visit to Kihikihi. I do not know the old tribal boundaries; the present line is to distinguish our lands from the pakehas.\(^{92}\)

On cross examination as to the rights of Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Hourua and Ngāti Maru to obtain any title to the land, Hauauru commented:

The immediate boundaries of Maniapoto preserve their title to the country… I object to your boundaries at Puniu, & altogether.\(^{93}\)

Wahanui Huatare was instrumental in the opening up of the King Country to the railway and the North Island main trunk line but he explained:

I have said that in laying down the boundary from Raukumara to the Waikato River, it was not the old line I followed but the confiscated line as between the Government and ourselves.\(^{94}\)

---


\(^{92}\) *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. 1, 1886) at. 318.

\(^{93}\) Ibid, at 321.

\(^{94}\) *Otorohanga Minute Book* (No. 2, 1886) at 46.
Ngāti Maniapoto leaders seemingly reclaimed the confiscation line by instituting an aukati and imposing their own terms on those Europeans who would seek to cross it. But this action did not necessarily render it as the traditional tribal boundary.

Rohe Pōtai Conceptually
The Rohe Pōtai is the term commonly attributed to Ngāti Maniapoto lands in the King Country, although we note another name, Te Nehenehenui, which reflected that much of this land was once thickly covered in forest. According to Ngāti Maniapoto tradition, the name Te Rohe Pōtai refers to a meeting between Sir George Grey and Tawhiao where the latter threw his hat on a large map of the North Island in order to demonstrate the area he claimed. We do no dispute that this event may have taken place but it is questionable whether the phrase originates with this act.

95 Interestingly in 1871, some 167 nervous Waikato settlers petitioned the Government to establish their own ‘aukati’ - the term they actually used. They noted that while Maori were able to come across and ‘spy’ on them and observe their weaknesses, they in return were not able to cross over into the King Country. The petitioners wanted a boundary fixed prohibiting any Maori from crossing with the ‘penalty of pain of death’ and any European from engaging in trading across with ‘severe penalty’ in AJHR, (1871, A-9).
Map 8: Boundary of Rohe Pōtæ, 1885, AJHR, G9
Judith Binney in her study of Te Rohe Pōtae for Tuhoe suggests that the term almost certainly originated as a description for land held under Māori authority, rather than under Crown law. Binney surmised that the term may have been a direct imitation of Ngāti Maniapoto as both iwi sought to assert autonomous territories.\(^{96}\)

Our own research demonstrates that reference to Rohe Pōtae as a concept was not limited to Ngāti Maniapoto and Tuhoe and seemed to convey the meaning of ‘borders’. In 1873, Hohepa Tamamutu of Ngāti Tuwharetoa proposed the establishment of a “Rohe Pōtae” to prevent unscrupulous dealings in their lands by outsiders that has reduced their mana. *Te Rohe Pōtae o Taupo* was subsequently established with a Council to organise affairs.\(^{97}\) The land was to be subject to underlying Māori authority although Tamamutu welcomed some Crown recognition.

In 1875, Sir Donald McLean, in a speech to Te Arawa chiefs, noted their proposal that the external boundaries of their intertribal claims should be first defined and settled. The Māori translation for external boundaries was given as ‘Rohe Pōtae’.\(^{98}\) The phrase ‘te Rohe Pōtae’ was also used as a translation for the confiscation line of Rongowhakaata. Paora Te Apatu and others had made an application for the adjudication of the lands within the confiscated boundary. Rongowhakaata did not apply, as their land had all been taken:

\[
\text{I tono a Paora te patu me etahi atu kia whakariteritea a ratou whenua i roto i te } \text{rohe Pōtae}; \text{ kahore a Rongowhakaata i pera, no to mea kua riro katoa ona whenua.}^{99}\]  
[Emphasis added].

For reference sake, we need to explore the etymology of the word Pōtae. The William’s Dictionary provides one of the meanings for Pōtae being to encircle or envelope. One questions whether the use of Pōtae for hat in fact derives from this notion of the encircling of the head. More research is required in this area.

We further surmise that the term Rohe Pōtae was initially employed to refer to external boundaries or as Judith Binney describes them, encircling boundaries, and that the hat metaphor probably developed subsequently in the figurative speech of Māori. Binney stated

\(^{97}\) ‘He Hui Ki Tokanui’, *Te Waka a te Iwi*, (Volume 9, No. 7, 14 May 1873) at 51.
\(^{98}\) ‘Te Korero a Ta Tanara ki a Te Arawa, Te Waka a te Iwi’, (Volume 11, No. 12, 22 June 1875) at 133.
\(^{99}\) ‘Te Haerenga o Te Makarini ki Te Tai Rawhiti me Te Takiwa ki Rotorua’, *Te Waka a te Iwi*, (Volume 10, No. 1, 13 January 1874) at 5.
that the term Rohe Pōtae was used to describe the area of Ngāti Maniapoto by the late 1860s, but we have found no evidence of this proposition. Our research seems to suggest that it came into popular usage for Ngāti Maniapoto after Wahanui consented to survey the external boundaries, as one newspaper reported:

… kua oti te whakaatu te korero mo te ruri Pōtae i hapaininga e Manga raua ko Wahanui. Ko te ruri o te rohe Pōtae ma nga Māori e utu...."[Translation - We have already mentioned the external survey promoted by Manga and Wahanui. The survey of the external boundary will be paid for by the Māori].

In a journal record in May 1884, John Ormsby outlined the boundaries of the district that the four iwi wished protected. Ormsby described in detail the area in the 1883 petition and he noted the first of Wahanui’s *take* (issues) to be discussed by Ngāti Maniapoto:

Ko te *rohe pōtae* nei kia tino whakatapua kia kore ai te ringa o waho e totoro mai ki roto me te ringa o roto e totoro atu ki waho.” [Translation – That the external boundary be made tapu so that no hand can reach in and no hand can reach out.]

It appears to us that Ormsby’s use of the phrase ‘Rohe Pōtae’ here is as an adjective to describe the boundaries outlined in the 1883 petition. The ‘Rohe Pōtae’ or ‘external boundaries’ were to be made tapu to protect their territory which they understood was still under customary authority. By the time the land within those boundaries came before the Native Land Court, it was referred to as the ‘Te Rohe Pōtae’. More research is required but James Cowan in his 1901 article, *The Romance of the Rohe Pōtae*, noted:

This term means an external boundary line. Wahanui was one of those to originate the name early in the eighties, and at his instigation, a survey was made of the Rohe Pōtae boundaries.101

**Te Taenga mai o te Pākehā - Coming of the Pākehā**

For Ngāti Maniapoto, like many other tribes, early European contact was with whalers, traders and missionaries. Many early European settlers had a big impact on the tribe including those who took prominent Maniapoto women as their wives.

100 ‘Te Ruritanga o te Rapa-tupu’, *Te Korimako*, (Volume 0, No. 23, 15 January 1884) at 5.
101 *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, (Volume IV, 1 April 1901) at 519
Pākehā–Māori Unions

One example is Louis Hetet, a French settler, who married a Maniapoto woman. He first visited New Zealand around 1835 on a whaling ship and returned in 1842 to settle at Paripari (near Te Kūiti). He married Te Rangituatahi, daughter of the influential Maniapoto chief, Taonui Hīkaka. They had four children: George Ngātai, John Taonui, Henry Mate-ngaro, and Mere Te Wai. The three sons proved themselves as businessmen in the early days of the King Country. Their descendants are well-known members of Ngāti Maniapoto.

Mere Te Wai married Te Toko Turner, the son of another prominent Pākehā–Māori, William Turner, who gave rise to the large Turner family. Numerous notable Maniapoto families grew from other mixed marriages – the Searancke’s, Barretts, Ormsbys, Bells, Andersons, Emerys, Hughes (Huihi) and others. 102 Their descendants have and continue to feature prominently in the affairs of Ngāti Maniapoto and the Rohe Pōtae region.

Economic Ventures

Louis Hetet managed one of several flour mills which supported the tribe’s thriving endeavours in cultivation and industry up until the 1850s. Wheat, oats and maize were grown, pigs were reared and flax was dressed and sent to the Auckland market and beyond. Ngāti Maniapoto also owned the ships Rere-wiki, Parininihi, Re-wini and Aotearoa.

An interesting account of life including trade before the war with the Pakeha, and the daily life of the people on the south side of Kawhia, can be found in James Cowan’s The Māori: Yesterday and To-day published in 1930. The account is given by the 85 year old kuia, Ngarongo-Herehere Rangitawa, to Raureti te Huia from the Waipa in the early 1900s. Raureti recorded this account in Māori and then sent his transcript to Cowan. We have cited the Māori version and note that Cowan provided a very faithful translation:

In my small girlhood, said Ngarongo, I lived at Te Arapukatea; that was my birthplace; and most of my life I have lived on this south side of Kawhia Harbour, and all this country and all these streams and bays I know, aye, and all the pipi banks in the harbour, and all the fishing places. As I grew up I learned all the things that made up the work of the Māori woman, and most of all I learned how to help supply our home with food. The waters of Kawhia Harbour were our chief food supply—they were waters of abundance. I shall enumerate the parts where we obtained our kai-mataitai, the food of the salt waters.

The pipi shellfish was one of our most abundant foods; our hapū’s ground was Taaro yonder; the kind of pipi found there was the kokota. There was another cockle called the pipi hungangi; this was very plentiful, and for it we worked the sand-banks and tide-washed flats at Tuhingara, Toreparu, Otoroi, Hakaha, Te Wharau, Tahunaroa, Te Maire, and other places. For the pupu shellfish we worked Tarapikau and other banks. Another food was the tuna, the eel. We had many eel weirs, too, but my food-gathering was chiefly on the seashore and in the estuaries. There were many places where we hauled the nets for fish of the sea; we had landing-places for tamure (snapper), and mango (shark) at Te Umuroa, at Te Maire, at Ohau, at Whangamumu, and many other beaches, where we brought the hauls ashore and split the fish up and hung them in long lines to dry in the sun. There was the patiki, too, the flounder.

It was most pleasant work, that fishing of old. There were three places in particular where our hapū brought its catches of sharks and dogfish ashore; they were Ngawhakauruhanga, Ohau, and Purakau. We had special places where we fished for moki (cod) and for the koiro (conger-eel), and there was also a place where the whai (stingray) abounded. That was at Koutu-kowhai. There was, too, small fresh-water fish called the mohi-mohi, and there was an appointed place for taking it.

Our best time for catching fish of all kinds was from November to March, when the north and north-east winds blew and the weather was pleasant and warm. That was when the nets were drawn. All the people were engaged in this work, and great numbers of fish were sun-dried for winter food.

And there was, too, the spearing of flounder by torchlight at night. My son, that was a delightful occupation, the rama patiki. There were certain nights when these patiki were plentiful on the sand-banks and that was when we got great numbers of them by means of torch and spear.

Then later in the year we turned to the land for our food. We went into the forests, we climbed the mountains, we snared and speared the birds of the bush. There was that range called Paeroa; that was where we set many wai-tuhi, which were wooden canoe-like troughs, or sometimes hollows in prostrate logs, which we filled with water; over these we arranged flax and cabbage tree nooses in which the pigeon and other birds would be caught as they came down to drink after feeding on the berries. All along the Paeroa Range (which is south yonder towards Kinohaku) we had these wai-tuhi. The forest was full of food for the birds: the fruit of the miro, the hinau, the mangeo, was in exceeding abundance. Many of us were busy in the season of birds in the work of snaring (takiri) the tui, and also the kokomako (bell-bird); the best place for catching those birds was on the poroporo shrubs, which were covered with delicious fruit for the
birds. A woman could often take as many as a hundred birds in a day's work, from morning till dark.

Also we took many titi (the petrel called muttonbird). The best place for killing the titi was at Te Rau-o-te-huia. The work was done at night. Fires were made at places over which the titi flew, and these attracted the birds, which came flying low, and were killed with sticks by the people around the fires. There was a season when these birds were abundant and in the right condition for killing.

Other foods of our people, which we got at various times, were fern root, the pith of the mamaku fern-tree, and the large berries of the hinau and tawa trees; these were dried and treated in various ways. And then, too, we had foods of the pakeha kind in great abundance. Kawhia was a most fruitful place. We had apples, peaches, figs, pears, and grapes. We sent the best of the fruit away to Auckland and sold it. We had our own small vessels (schooners and cutters) in those days before the war.

I remember the vessels our people had in our part of Kawhia. There was the Aotearoa; she was owned and sailed by Paiaka. There was the Nepukaneha (Nebuchadnezzar), which was Hone te One's vessel. These craft traded to Onehunga, and they carried much produce from Kawhia. We shipped in them wheat and maize, fruit, pigs, pumpkins, vegetable marrows, and dressed flax. Many hapū were concerned in this trade; we all shipped cargo for sale to the pakeha, and all was done agreeably; there were no quarrels among the people over trade.

At Ahuahu there was a large settlement, and there lived our missionaries, one after the other. Te Waitere (the Rev. John Whiteley, killed at Pukearuhe in 1869) lived there; after him came Te Tatana (Rev. Turton) and Henare too ['Henare' was the Rev. Schnackenberg]. It was there that I was married to Rangitawa; that was two years before the war began in Taranaki, and Rangi and the other men of Kawhia went away to fight there (1860).

That was how we lived here in Kawhia in the days of our youth. We were always employed and there was no trouble; we lived happily there, in the midst of abundance, and then when the war began our troubles came.

Rewi Maniapoto came out from Kihikihi and Te Kopua on his way to Taranaki with a war party. He came to Ahuahu and the tribes of Kawhia assembled and joined him and they all marched off for the south by way of Marokopa. Their first battle was at Pueta-kauere, on the Waitara; they defeated the Queen's soldiers there. But I need not tell of all the fighting that followed. It stopped our accustomed industry on the shores of Kawhia. All the old work in which the whole of the people shared stood still.

No more wheat or maize was grown, no flax-scraping was done, and the trading vessels lay deserted at anchor, for there was no one to man them. The soil was not cultivated, the flourmill wheels ceased to turn. The winds wailed over a deserted Kawhia, when the men, young and old, had girded themselves with the belt of war and gripped their guns and other weapons of war and marched away. Only the feeble old men and the women and children were left here. And when those who were left returned after the wars it was a different life at Kawhia.
Map 9: Flour Mills and Kainga in the Waikato and Upper Rohe Pōtae Areas in 1860.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{103} Waikato Museum of Art and History Map, Hamilton, 2000.
Maniapoto me te Kīngitanga: Te Pūna Roimata

In our opinion, a Maniapoto traditional and oral history must include a discussion of the tribe’s significant historical association with the Kīngitanga or Māori King Movement. As the memorial stone at Haurua states:

I tohuria ko Potatau hei Kingi e te hui a nga rangatira o nga iwi Māori I tu ai ki Pukawa I a Noema o te tau 1856. a, i mua I tana whakaaetanga ki taua tuunga ka mea a Potatau ko toni hiahia me tuku taua take ki ona tukana o roto i a Ngāti Maniapoto. [Translation on the other side of the stone] Potatau had been selected as King by a meeting of chiefs of the Māori tribes held at Pukawa in November 1856. But before he would accept the position, Potatau expressed his wish that the matter be submitted to his senior cousins among the Maniapoto tribe.

Concerned about growing European settlement and the increasing demand for land, Ngāti Maniapoto supported the establishment, according to Raureti Te Huia, of a Māori king, along the principles of:

kaati te whakaheke toto a te Māori ki te Māori, kaati hoki te hoko o te whenua Māori ki te Pakeha [ceasing any bloodshed among Māori themselves and halting any further sale of land by Māori to Europeans.]

There are a number of oral accounts recorded by Maniapoto-Tainui kaumātua which talk of the establishment of the Kīngitanga. These are kaumātua such as Raureti Te Huia, Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Dr Henare Tuwhangai, Rev. Robert Emery and Dr Tui Adams. These accounts are predominantly in the Māori language. We quote a very brief sample from Dr Tui Adams speaking at Haurua:

I te wa o te tau 1855, ka timataria ko te tikanga whakatū Kingi Māori. Na nga rangatira o te motu I timata tana whakahāere, no muri ka uru hoki a Ngāti Maniapoto, ko Haurua te kainga o tenei iwi i uru ai ki tena whakahāere i te tau 1857.

Koianei te wahi i hui ai nga kaumātua o Ngāti Maniapoto whanui tonu ki te tautoko i te whakaturanga o Potatau hei Kingi. Ka haere mai ratou ki konei ki te tautoko. Ko te whakakotahi o o ratou whakaaro. Na whakaetia ratou ko Potatau hei Kingi, ara mo te iwi Māori katoa.

[Free translation] Around 1855, the idea of establishing a Māori King began. The chiefs of the land started this and in time it came to Maniapoto. Haurua was the place where this tribe got involved. It was 1857.

This was the place where the elders of Ngāti Maniapoto met to support the institution of Potatau as King. They came here to support. They were all of one mind. They agreed that Potatau should be King for all the Māori people.]
Maniapoto’s affirmation then of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as the first King was expressed at this 1857 meeting at Haurua often referred to by Ngāti Maniapoto as ‘Te Puna o te Roimata’ – the ‘Wellspring of Tears.’ Pei Te Hurinui Jones provides an excellent record of this meeting in his book *King Potatau*, which he states is drawn from Maniapoto tribal sources:

The Maniapoto chiefs who took leading parts in the meeting at Haurua were Tuhoro, Te Kanawa and Hauauru. They issued the notices of the meeting and acted as hosts.

On the arrival of Potatau and the Waikato party they had ceremoniously presented the hat and formerly handed over the kingship to Hauauru and he, in turn, handed it over to his elder (his father’s first cousin) Tanirau. In turn the hat, which had by now become the symbol of the kingship, was presented to Tuhoro, Te Kanawa, Te Wetini and Haupokia.

The Maniapoto chiefs deliberated on the matter and it was unanimously decided that Potatau was the logical choice. It was also agreed that the decision of the Maniapoto was to be announced by Tanirau, because he was tuakana or senior line of descent in the tribal genealogy. Hauauru, who was tuakana to Tanirau, had deferred to the latter because he (Hauauru) on his male line of descent belonged to the same Waikato hapū or sub-tribe as Potatau.

The tribes were assembled on the marae at Haurua when Tanirau came forward wearing the hat and accompanied by a company of singers. A verse from the songs they sang was:

Na Tuhoro, Te Kanawa,
Na Hauauru!
I tu ai te Kingi
Ki Haurua e i!”

(It was Tuhoro, Te Kanawa,
It was Hauauru!
Who raised-up the King at Haurua!)

After announcing to the assembly the decisions of the Maniapoto chiefs, Tanirau advanced across the marae to the place where Potatau was seated. Passing in front of Potatau, Tanirau took off the hat and, in a loud voice, called out:-

Ko koe hei Kingi! Hei Kingi! Hei Kingi!
(You are to be the King! Be King! Be King!)

As he pronounced “King” for the third time, Tanirau placed the hat on the head of Potatau. Looking up at Tanirau Potatau said wearily:

“E Ta’: kua to te ra …”

(O Ta’ – Tanirau – the sun is about to set ….)
Potatau meant that he himself was too old to worry about being made the King. To this remark Tanirau replied: -

“E to ana i te ahiahi:
“E ara ana i te ata:
E tu koe hei Kingi.”
(It is setteth in the evening;
To rise again in the morning;
Thou art raised-up as King!)

Tanirau intended by this speech to make known the decision of the Maniapoto chiefs that the Kingship was to become hereditary. After remaining silent for some time, with Tanirau standing awaiting his reply, Potatau at last looked up and said simply, “E pai ana.” (It is good.)

The memorial stone at Haurua expressing Ngāti Maniapoto’s support for the Māori King movement.

Pei Jones also records that Potatau in his Ohaaki (oral will) to Tawhiao, advised his son to maintain his relationship with his Ngāti Maniapoto relatives in the Nehenehenui, again symbolising the historical bond:

When the end was drawing near Potatau spoke to his son Matutaera and said: “O son, my advice to you is: Hold fast to the Nehenehenui; to the Tapopokotea; and they will
give you a safe place of refuge. As for me, Ka pu te ruha; ka hao te Rangatahi (the “old net” is work and threadbare; a “new net” will now go a-fishing). In your days one bird will appear in the south, a pitongatonga. Its home will be among the snows, its cry will be titiro! Titiro! (look! Look!). In my last rest take me to sleep with my people; to my rauru; to the Tapopokotea. There is little else for me now. Remember me always. It will give you courage. Be thou upright in all you do. Be strong, so that all portals may be opened unto you. Should war come upon this land, hold fast to the Nehenehenui. Do not follow the carved ornamental canoe. Make fast your moorings lest they give way. Remain a fugleman on the humble pukatea canoe. Be one with the Tapopokotea in the Waonui-a-Tane; and lastly; Hold fast to the law; hold fast to love; hold fast to the faith. Nothing else matters much now—nothing else matters!

Rewi Maniapoto was a stalwart of the Kingitanga. Meredith has summarised his association:

I u a Rewi ki te tikanga o te Kingitanga i kiia ai hea kiaarahi ia mo te Kingitanga. Nana i tautoko i a Potatau hei Kingi ... Na Rewi te haki o te Kingi i whakatare i tona whakawahingia i Ngaruawahia i te tau 1858. Na Rewi hoki i whaiwahi ki te Rūnanga o Ngaruawahia, ara te Rūnanga o Potatau, hei mema. Hei ta Rewi ake, nana hoki te hira o Potatau i taia. [Free translation - Rewi held fast to the principles of the Kingitanga and was one of its leaders. He supported Potatau as King. Rewi raised the King’s flag at his coronation at Ngaruawahia in 1858. Rewi was also a member of the Ngaruawahia Council, the King’s Council. Rewi also claimed that he designed Potatau’s seal.]

Meredith also states that Potatau had his own Council at Kihikihi under the umbrella of the Kingitanga.

[I tona hokinga ki Kihikihi i whakaturia e Rewi ton a ake rūnanga i raro i te maru o te Kingitanga, ara ko te Rūnanga o Kihikihi tenei i tu ai i tona whare rangatira ko Hui-te-rangi-ora... Ko Rewi te tumuaki, otiia ra ko te tokomaha o tenei Rūnanga e 40 ona mema. He tini nga ture i mahia e tenei rūnanga mo te waipiro, mo te korero teka, mo te tahae me te tini atu. He nui noa iho te mahi o tenei rūnanga i te ao i te po ki te whakatakoto tikanga hei pehi mo te he, hei whakatu mo te tika. “[Free translation - When Rewi returned to Kihikihi he established his own Council under the auspices of the King movement. This was Council of Kihikihi housed in his principal meeting house – Hui-te-Rangi-ora... Rewi was the chair of some 40 members of this Council. The Rūnanga made a number of laws relating to alcohol, slander, theft and so on. The council worked tirelessly to promote uprightness and suppress wrongs.]

Maniapoto’s association continued with King Tawhiao. The King’s newspaper, Te Paki o Matariki, records that at a gathering in 17 May 1881 at Hikurangi, after Tawhiao had addressed the people, Wahanui stood up, and stuck 34 poles into the ground representing the 34 props or supports of the land which were placed under the Kingdom of Potatau over to Tawhiao. Wahanui explained the props which were placed under Potatau the day Potatau was proclaimed King, as follows:
Whakarongo mai e nga Rangatira, e nga Hapū, me nga iwi e pae nei …. Enei pou katoa, he pou whenua, no nga ra ano ia Potatau ka tukua. Koia tenei nga pou whenua: [Translation in the original - Hear ye, the Nations, Tribes, and Chiefs who are gathered here. … These posts are props of the land or supporters of the King from the day of Potatau. These are the props and supporters of the land;]


Wahanui continued:

Wahanui continued:

Nu, taku korero, me titiro katoa nga pou o raro. He taonga no runga i te waka o Potatau, ko enei pou e waru. Ara, ko Karioi, ko Titiokura, ko Taranaki, ko Putauaki, ko Kai-iwi, ko Ngongotaha, ko Tararua, ko to Aroha. Ko nga Pou tuatahi tenei o te ha-nganga o to Kingitanga. Ko Tongariro tenei ka tukua nei I tenei ra, ko nga pou ririki, no raro katoa I enei pou. Ko enei pou katoa, ko nga pou tuatahi tenei o te hanganga, i herea ki tongariro, ka tukua nei ano i tenei ra ki raro ki a Kingi Tawhiao ... He huia nga pou katoa, i te ra o te hanganga, tae mai ana ki tenei ra, ka tukua ki raro ki a Kingi Tawhiao...” [Translation in the original - When the first post or prop when the Kingdom was formed, this is Tongariro which is joined this day, all the small props or, supports are under these Props, those are the first Posts of the Kings movement, were Bound or tied to Tongariro, which is joined again this day, and placed under King Tawhiao ... gathered from the day of Potatau up to the present day and placed under King Tawhiao’s authority.]

Ngāti Maniapoto of course, supported King Tawhiao and his followers in the defence of Waikato in 1863 and 1864. Following that conflict, Tawhiao and the Waikato tribes made their new home in Ngāti Maniapoto’s territory which Europeans came to refer to the area as the King Country. Māori referred to the district as Rohe Pōtēa (‘the edge or brim of the hat’). According to Ngāti Maniapoto tradition, this name refers to Tawhiao throwing his hat on a large map of the North Island in order to demonstrate the area he claimed.
Nga Pakanga – New Zealand Wars

While Pei Jones’ *Nga Iwi o Tainui* offers much Maniapoto tribal history, it is written in the same genre of other tribal histories that have been written over the years with a seemingly preoccupation with accounts of battles and conflicts. The reader is consequently left with a one-dimensional view of pre-European Māori society, namely, the Māori as a warrior ceaselessly seeking *utu* or revenge. Yet we know through more thorough investigations that pre-European Māori society was much more multi-dimensional in its day to day existence. Te Rangihiroa for example, in a plea for Māori elders to pass on their knowledge, commented:

> Kati ehara i te mea ko nga korero pakanga me nga whakapapa anake nga korero e pai ana ki te whakarongo o te taringa, engari te ahua o te noho, o nga kai, o nga ngahau, o nga mahi me a ratou tikanga katoa.’ [Enough, it is not as if genealogy and battles are the only things the ears want to listen to, but also the nature of day-to-day living, the food, the entertainment, work, all their customary practices.]

Sir Apirana Ngata himself writing to Te Rangihiroa in 1950 referred disapprovingly to this genre of tribal histories, citing Leslie Kelly’s *Tainui* and George Leslie Adkin’s *Horowhenua*. Of Kelly’s *Tainui*, Ngata stated:

---

104 *Te Pipiwharauroa*, (No. 115 October 1907) at 9.
It was like the English histories of our youth, which revolved round battles and the succession of kings and told little of the prior occupants of the present … What of the culture?105

Bruce Biggs moreover, records that Pei Jones was distressed by the fact that a large part of the English version of the manuscript for Nga Iwi o Tainui was included, without authority and with inadequate acknowledgement, in Kelly’s Tainui book.106

Te Pakanga Pakeha – the Battle of Orakau 1864

The battle of Orakau107 was fought on the 31st March, 1st and 2nd April 1864, near Kihikihi. The Imperial and Colonial troops numbered 1,700, and were under the command of Brigadier General Carey and General Cameron. The Māori numbered 300, including women and children. About 100 Ngāti Te Kohera and Ngāti Parekawa, along with Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato and a contingent of 100 fighting men of Tuhoe and about 40 Ngāti Kahungunu participated in the siege of Orakau. From a Maniapoto perspective, the battle was captured by Rauretu Te Huia who fought there. We pick up Raureti’s account following the attack on Rangiaowhia and the skirmish at Hairini.

Ka hinga matou i konei, katahi ka horo marara noa atu ... ko matou i heke ki Kihikihi ahu atu ki Piraunui ka whiti i Puniu awa ka huri i Puke-kawakawa, ka tae ki Tokanui no reira ka kite matou kua eke te pakeha ki Kihikihi, kaore i roa kua pawa te ahi ko Huiterangiora tenei kua tahuna e te pakeha ki te ahi.

Heoi ahu atu matou ki Otewa, no reira ka karangatia nga iwikatoa kia hui ki Wharepapa no reira katahi ka turia te runga ko nga take tenei:-

1. Me hoki ano ki te pakanga kaore ranei.
2. Me hanga hepa ki tera taha o Puniu ki tenei taha ranei.
3. Heoi, oti ake te whirihirihiri a te rūnanga are a nga iwi katoa a, me hoki ano ki te pakanga.

Ko te whakatau mo te waahi hei turanga paa, me kaati atu i tera taha o Puniu awa i te rohe o te pakanga ara i Waikato. Ka oti tenei ko rangataua tenei ka huihui tena pa ko Orakau. He tika te kino o tena waahi otihe otihe ano te take i noho ai te pa nei ki konei no te mea kua tata te pakeha kaorehe waa hei hanganga paa ki te waahi totika o te whenua/ tuarua i riera te wahi i nga kai a

107 For a detailed account of the battle of Orakau, see Cowan, J, The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period (Government Printer, Wellington, 1922) at 366. For an account from a Māori perspective, see Hitiri Te Paerata Description of the Battle of Orakau as Given by the Native Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngāti Raukawa Tribe (At the Parliamentary Buildings, 4 August, 1888, Government Printer, Wellington, Interpreter - Capt. Gilbert Mair) at 3-7.
he papaku ki raro kaore e tere te kitea e te pakeha ko te wai i te taha herawhiti o te pa he mata-
a-puna nei ki reira. Kaati no te ata ka timata matou ki te hanga i tena pa a ahiahi noa mahi tonu
i te poo a awatea noa ..

Ko ga whaka nohonga tenei i nga iwi ki root i tenei paa:

Timata i te hauauru-ma-tonga, i a Ngāti Te Urewera kme Waikato.
Timata i te hau-a-uru-ma-raki, i a Ngāti Maniapoto me Parekaawaa
Timata i te tuara-ki-marangi, i a Ngāti Tuwharetoa me era tau hapū maha.

Ko nga rangatira whakahaere i roto i tenei paa mo ia iwi, mo ia iwi
Mo Te Urewera
Mo Waikato
Mo Tuwharetoa
Mo Parekawaa
Mo Maniapoto

Ko enei rangatira katoa e mahi ana i raro i te mana o te rangatira kotahi, ara o Rewi Maniapoto.

Ko te ahua tenei o te paa me te noho a nga iwi:-
Ngāti Maniapoto
Ngāti Tuwharetoa
Waikato
Te Urewera
Ngāti Tekohera
Karaponia
Puu repo
Urupa Tupapaku
He Waahi Rarauhe
He Take Harakeke
He Pītiti
Te Meiha Mea.

I te ata o te raa tuarua, ka kitea to matou paa e te pakeha, a, ka kite hoki to matou tangata
whakaarāra i te pa, e ahu mai ana te pakeha, me te mahi tonu. Nga tangata keri i te paa, a tenei
hoki te tangata whakaraara o te paa. Te mahi nei ko Aporo te ingoa, aana karanga enei:-
He pukeko kei te kawakawa
Kei te tumutumu te mea e tata ana.
No te mea ka whakaeke tonu mai te pakeha katahi ka puhia e matou ka huri ki te takiwa ki Karaponia, no reira katahi te pakeha, ka pupuhi mai kia matou kaore rawa i roa kua pakua mei te pu i tena waahi, i tena waahi, o waho, katahi hoki matou te paa, ka hinga ko Aporo. Kaati kaore te pa i taea, i te tuawha o nga whakaeke a te pakeha ka hinga ko te tamaiti a Raharuhi. Kaati kaore to matou paa i taea e te pakeha ka hing, ka poo tenei rangi i i te poo nei. Ka kote matou te ahi e ka ana mai i tera taha o Mangaohoi i uta tata atu o Waha-oneone (he pa tuna tenei).

Ko taua ahi na Ngāti Haua, me te nuinga atu o nga iwi i pakaru ki maungatautari, ki Patetere, ki Arohena, ki Whare-pu-hunga, kaati kaore i taea e ratou te whakauru mai i te mea kua karapotia te pa e te pakeha. Ao ake i te ra tuarua o te whawhaitanga he kohu kapi tonu te paa i te kohu, a i te mea kua kite a Te Winitana Tupotahi kua kore he pauru kua kore he mataa, kua kore hoki he wai kua kai mata nga iwi i te kamokamo, i te kumara. Katahi a ia ka ino ki te rūnanga kaumatua kia wahia te paa, kia ora ai nga iwi, kaati i whiriwhirinui te rūnanga i taua take, kaati kaore i taea te ki me waahi te paa, anei hoki te kupu a manga:-

Whakarongo mai te rūnanga me nga iwi ?te whawhai tenei, i whaia mai ai e tatou a i oma hoki hei aha ki too ko mahara hoki me mate mate tatou ki te pakanga.

No te mea ka turoa te ra ka unuhia te kohu i runga i te paa, hoi ko te timatanga ano o te riri, ka poutu maro te raa, ka kokiri te paa he mataa ki waho, kokiri katoa nga taha e wha o te paa, kaati ko matou nei i kokiri ki te taha rawhiri e kikone ki koo pea te mataa (about 200 YD)

No te mea ka poutu maro teraa o te raa tuarua e whawhai ana kua mariri te haereo te mataa i te mea kua pau nga paura me nga mataa, ko te teonga ki etehi he rua karirir, he kotahi o etahi. Kaore kau ana o etahi, heoi ki te ahua mate, kaati i te mea ka tauhinga atu teraa ka tu mai te pakeha (kua mariri hoki te pakuu o te paa). Ana kupu enei :-

Whauwhia ki te rongo kia ora ai nga korohohe, nga wahine me nga tamariki.  
Ka whakautua e raureti taua kupu:-  
E pai ana engari me hoki koutu, me hoki matou.  
Ka tuarutuatia ano te kupu a te pakeha nei:-  
E hoa ma puta mai kia matou kia ora ai koutu,  
Katahi a Rewi Maniapoto ka peke ki waho o te pa ka mea a ia:-  
Kaore e mau te rongo, Ake, Ake, Ake.  
 Ko te rakau i a Manga i taea wa nei no Pakapaka-tai-oreore, he tiaha, me te patu paraoa i tana hope e titiana, no tenei waa katahi ka utua e te pakeha:  
E tika ana tena mo koutu no nga taane engari nga wahine me nga tamariki tukuna mai ena ki waho o te paa.  
Ka whakauta e te paa ? Kaore e mau te rongo ake, ake, ake.  

No tenei wa tonu ka pakau te puu a taku hoa a Weretaa kukume rawa mai ahau i a ia kua paku te pu. Heoi ko te timatatanga tenei o te paki o te puu, kaore i roa rawa ka timata te rere a te rakete ki roto i to matou paa. Naa te rakete katahi matou ka mate, ara i i te rukenga tuatahi mai i nga rakete. He roroa nga wiki ka tau mai kia matou ka whakahokia atu ano ki te pakeha. No
te rongā katahi ka popoto nga wiki tau kau mai kua paku, penei tonu te mahi no te mea ka penaa katahi matou ka mate he tino nui matou i mate,

No te mea kua nuku atu i te 100 o matou kua mate i te mahi a te rakete, no reira ka takoto te mahara i nga kaumātua kia wahia te paa tuarua, ka nui hoki te kaha mai o te puurepo e paku mai ana i Karapōnia engari ko nga mataa e tau atu anaki Mangaohoi, kotahi ano te mataa i pa ki te taha tongo o te paa, i runga oi te otinga o te whakaaaro o te ivi katoa katahi ka wahia te paa. I horo atu i te taha tong-rawhiti ka heke ki te taha rawhiti o karapōnia. He taepe titi nei i kona i reira te kati a te pakeha ko Puhīpi tonu i mua. No kona ka mate a Puhīpi ka horo mai a mua ki muri katahi a Paiāka raaua ko Te Makaka, ka peke ki te waahi i te kati a te pakeha ka pakaru ka puta matou no konei ka whakaheke nga Māori ki rito i te repo wehe noa atu a te kohika a i tuu a ia ki konaa, kaore i mate i ora a ia, kaati i te mea ka tae matou ki tetahi wahi he mangangarara, he pakeha ki reira he kati ano tera na te pakeha. Na pāiaka ano tena kati a waahi ka pakuru te pakeha ka puta matou i tata. A Ngātata te mate ki kona e tapahi ana ki te hoari na Raureti i whakaara atu i tana puu kaore kau he paura o rito ki wehi te pakeha ko te huringa kaore te matou hoa, heoi ko to matou hekenga ki rito o Puniu awa ka whiti, ka haere i roto o Moerika repo, tae noa matou ka Tokanui a i Hokokua te nuinga e noho ano a te tae tonu matou ki reira ao ake ka haere matou ki Obinekura. Ko etahi o nga rerenga o Orakau i heke ki Korakonui, ki Wharepapa, ki te whiti ki Kauaeroa, ki Hangatiki.

Heoi, ko te mutunga tenei o te whawhai ki enei takiwaa, a, ko te whawhai mutunga hoki tenei ki ua i tooku araroa, ka kite ahau koinei tetahi mahi kino mo te tangata kaati kaore e taea te aata tataku ake nga ahuatanga o tena mahi.

James Cowan provided a detailed account of the Battle of Orakau in English. Cowan lived on a farm where the battle took place and he interviewed a number of Māori who fought in the ballet including Raureti Te Huia. Cowan recorded:

No heroic episode in New Zealand's history surpasses in fame the siege and defence of Orākau Pa, where the Kingite Māoris made their last stand in the Waikato War, and no call to valour equals in dramatic inspiration the defiant reply of the garrison to the British General's demand for surrender. The chief figure in the defence, Rewi Maniapoto, was the most vigorous and uncompromising of the Māori Nationalist leaders throughout the war. He and his near kinsmen, whose moving narratives are condensed into this article, were known to the writer from his early years on the sacred soil of Orākau battlefield and the King Country frontier.

The present main road from Te Awamutu towards Arapuni is the Via Sacra of the Waikato, for it followed the old army track to Orākau. This cross-section of historic ground is not by any means the only part of the great southward route rich in human associations. There are stories all the way from Auckland, for it is all more or less the trail of the soldier and the pioneer. But in more than usual measure authentic hero-tradition steeps the farm lands from Paterangi and Te Awamutu to Orākau and the Puniu River. In some ten miles of the old road and the new is concentrated the memory of the final scenes in the conquest of the Waikato, just on seventy years ago. It must be

a very dull traveller who does not wonder now and again about the human background of the country through which he passes, or who, if he knows anything at all about the past, does not feel some stirring of the imagination along the quickly-changing highway. Even in the most serenely peaceful places it was not always butterfat.

**Rewi’s Homeland**

Kihikihi township, midway between Te Awamutu and Orākau, was before the war the headquarters village of the powerful Ngāti-Maniapoto tribe. Like Orākau, and the neighbouring beautiful farm country of Rangiaowhia, it was a land of abundant food, a place of rich soil and great crops. The Māoris grew wheat and ground the corn in their own flourmills, driven by waterpower on the streams, and everywhere there were the most prolific of peach groves. Every village was embowered in peach trees. In Kihikihi stood the tribal council-house, called by the famous ancestral name “Hui-te-Rangiora.” In that carved whare-rūnanga Rewi Maniapoto, the fighting head of the tribe, and his fellow-chiefs held their council meetings, debated Kingite politics, and planned the campaigns of Taranaki and Waikato. The great house went up in flames when General Cameron’s conquering army invaded these Waipa Valley lands in the early part of 1864, and Ngāti-Maniapoto were driven out of their ancient homes and forced across the classic river Puniu into the territory that became known as the King Country. Then came Orākau; on that greatly prized garden-land a band of men—and women, too—fought their last despairing fight for a broken cause. They lost the battle, but they won an enduring name, and won the admiration and affection of their Pakeha antagonists, for their amazing bravery, devotion and self-sacrifice.

And nearly twenty years after the war, the State restored to Rewi a measure of his mana over the old home. A Government house was built for him on a piece of land close to the site of his destroyed council-whare, and to that house Ngāti-Maniapoto, with touching speech and chant, gave the treasured name, Hui-te-Rangiora. On that spot, in the soil for which he fought, his bones lie to-day, a sacred shrine of Māori patriotism in the heart of a Pakeha village.

Rewi Maniapoto, as I remember him, was a man of rather small, compact build, quick-moving, keen-eyed, an active man even in his old age, a complete contrast to his fellow-chieftain, the great orator Wahanui—the Māori Demosthenes as someone once called him—who weighed 24 stone and could never find a pair of trousers big enough for him in the country stores. Rewi was a warrior born. He marched on his first fighting expedition when he was not yet fourteen years old—the Māori boy was often initiated into the arts of war when he was about twelve. This first war-path of his, with an army of his people, was an attack on Pukerangiora, the great stronghold of the Taranaki tribes. That was in the era of cannibal warfare in 1832. Twenty-eight years later, he was the most determined of the chiefs who led the attack on No. 3 Redoubt, in the Waitara campaign. Fifty of his comrades fell in that desperately brave attempt to carry a British earthwork with the tomahawk. He fought on many fields in North Taranaki; then in 1863 he turned his attention northward.

**The Eviction of John Gorst**

Te Awamutu, with its mission and Government establishment, was an outpost of Pakeha influence in the heart of the Māori country. Young John Gorst (afterwards Sir
John), lately come from England, was there as Governor Grey’s officer, half magistrate, half school superintendent; he carried on a pro-Government propaganda with his little newspaper, the “Pihoihoi Mokemoke,” a vigorous counterblast to the Kingite gazette “Hokioi,” which the chief Patara te Tuhi and his brother Honana printed at Ngaruawahia, the Māori capital. King Tawhiao and Wiremu Tamehana tolerated Gorst; not so Rewi. In his fiery way he marched a war-party of his tribe down to Te Awamutu, seized the objectionable printing press and type, thrust Gorst out (or rather forced his recall by the Governor), and sent his printing gear off to Auckland after him. This precipitated the Waikato War.

Rewi was determined to have a final decision by force of arms. He and his cousin, Tupotahi—a man of like physique and energetic character to himself—made a recruiting expedition to the distant Urewera Country. There by his thrilling appeals and his chanted war songs he infused a fighting spirit into the mountain men—indeed, they did not need much urging, although they had no quarrel with the Pakeha. They would go far for the sheer love of using gun and tomahawk. So it came about that presently considerably more than a hundred Urewera warriors were on the battle trail in Waikato; at Orākau there were nearly a hundred and forty of them, and they furnished the backbone of the defence there.

The Building of Orākau Pa

No need here to repeat the story of the gradual forcing back of the Kingites, from fort to fort and camp to camp. I take up the story on the gentle mound of Rangataua, at Orākau, the Place of Trees. There, at the end of March, 1864, three hundred and ten Māoris of various tribes, with many women among them—and even some children—mustered to build a kind of challenge redoubt, a final gesture of defiance and of love for the lands they were losing. (The Urewera, it was true, were not in danger of losing any land, but they were ready to give their lives in the cause of their fellow-Māoris.) Rewi really was forced into the desperate affair against his own better judgment. He had his doubts from the beginning; he saw with the eye of a practised soldier the unsuitability of the site which the old men had selected for a pa. The venerable Te Paerata, chief of Ngāti-Tekohera and Ngāti-Raukawa, struck his staff on the ground at Orākau and said: “This is my land; let me die here.” Rewi urged the Urewera to return to their mountains. But their leader replied: “We are carrying heavy burdens [guns and ammunition] and we must use them; we have come a long way.” Of Rewi’s own tribe there were not more than fifty; the rest remained southward of the Puniu.

All the shrewd Rewi’s advice was in vain; the Urewera and West Taupo and Orākau men were resolved on the last fight. So he reluctantly consented to the general wish. Once he did so, he threw himself into the defence with all his fiery energy and warrior skill.

The Māori redoubt, a small and really insignificant earthwork, was about eighty feet in length by forty feet in width. It was a rectangular entrenchment, with inner and outer trenches, some interior dug-outs and shallow covered ways, and a low parapet, outside of which a post and rail fence around part of the little fort made a further obstacle, but a flimsy one. The diggers were working there as busy as bees under Rewi’s direction when a military surveyor at Kihikihi descried through his theodolite telescope the
flashing of the spades and shovels in the sunshine, and reported it to the commander of the troops.

The British Attack

“We were at prayers outside the pa in the early morning,” said Tupotahi, Rewi’s cousin and lieutenant, in describing to me the siege and defence, “and had our hands over our eyes, so, when I looked up and saw the look-out on the parapet beckoning to me and pointing, and there, looking in the direction of Kihikihi I saw the fixed bayonets of the soldiers glittering in the sun. The army was marching against us. So we ran to our stations, each tribe, loaded our guns, and prepared for the battle that we all felt was a battle of desperation [whakamomori]. Still we were in good spirits; we were elated at the prospect of a battle in which we would uphold our names and defend our rights to the land of our ancestors.” The tattooed veteran described the moving events of the three days’ defence. He and Te Huia Raureti and their surviving comrades all gave Rewi the credit for the management of the defence. He was in supreme command. It was Rewi who gave the first orders of defence, “Fire, the outer line,” “Fire the inner line,” when the British infantry made the first charge against the redoubt, and the Māori volleys swept the glacis.

The Three Days’ Battle

For three days and two nights the Māoris held the fort, a noble three hundred and ten against six times their number of well-armed, well-fed soldier foes. The siege began on the morning of March 31; it ended late in the afternoon of April 2. “We lived in a circle of fire and smoke,” said Paitini, a man of the Urewera, who was severely wounded there. There was a supply of food, but the water was exhausted by the end of the first night. To the rifle fire of hundreds of soldiers, a bombardment with two six-pounder Armstrong guns was added, and on the third day hand-grenades were thrown into the pa from the head of a flying-sap dug up to the northern outwork. Ringed with a line of steel, earthworks battered by shell fire, men, women and little children tortured with thirst, the valorous little band held out; there was no thought of surrender. The defenders ran short of ammunition for their double and single-barrel guns, so short that in the night firing they used small pieces of apple and manuka wood as bullets, saving their lead for the day-time. They repulsed repeated charges, and Rewi directed sorties from the redoubt.

Tupotahi, Rewi's cousin, one of the leaders in the defence of Orākau. He was severely wounded there.

The Fortune of War

On the second morning of the siege, a thick fog enveloped the battlefield. The straits of the defenders were so serious that Tupotahi made request of the council of chiefs that the pa should be abandoned under cover of the fog. The council debated this, and decided to hold the fort. This was the announcement made by Rewi, which clinched the decision:

“Listen to me, O chiefs of the Rūnanga and all the tribes! It was we who sought this battle, wherefore then should we retreat? This is my thought: Let us abide by the
fortune of war. If we are to die, let us die in battle; if we are to live, let us survive on the field of battle.”

“So,” said Tupotahi, continuing his narrative, “we all remained to continue the fight. The fog presently lifted from the battlefield, and then again began the firing.”

By that evening, the sufferings of the garrison had become intense. Dead and wounded were lying about the pa. Rewi now considered it advisable to evacuate the place in the night. But the Taupo men and the Urewera were stubborn in their decision to remain and continue the fight to the death. “So be it,” said Rewi.

The Last Day

The third morning dawned in the haze that presaged a hot day. Tupotahi now proposed to Rewi: “Let us charge out before it is day. If we go now we may fight our way through the soldiers.” Rewi smiled grimly, and bade Tupotahi consult the other chiefs. “We shall remain here,” they declared; “we shall fight on.”

The morning haze swept away; the roar of the Armstrongs and the crack of rifles and carbines answered the bang of the Māori shotguns. It is recorded that forty thousand rounds of Enfield ammunition were fired by the troops in the siege. (No wonder we youngsters found bullets in the ground turned up by the plough, and explored the scarred old peach trees with our pocket knives for bits of lead.) The Māoris were of necessity far more sparing of their powder and lead; still they made the troops keep close to cover. But the sap, the artillery and the hand-grenades spelled the doom of Orākau. The end was near.

No Surrender

The story of that afternoon of April the second, 1864, imperishably remains as an inspiration to deeds of courage and fortitude. No-where in history did the spirit of pure patriotism blaze up more brightly than in that little earthwork redoubt, torn by shellfire and strewn with dead and dying. The grim band of heroes proudly refused the terms offered by General Cameron, who certainly did not wish to sacrifice them.

To the General’s request, delivered by the interpreter from the head of the sap, the reply was delivered by a chief who was Rewi’s mouth-piece: “Peace will never be made, never, never!” A further reply, in words that will forever live, was delivered: “Friend, I shall fight against you forever and ever!” (in the Māori, “E hoa, ka wh Wahai tonu ahau ki a koe, ake, ake!”)

The interpreter, Mr. Mair (afterwards Major) said: “That is well for you men, but it is not right that the women and children should die. Let them come out.”

A noble-looking woman, the chieftainess Ahumai, made reply: “If the men are to die, the women and children will die also!”

Through the Valley of Death
So went on the hopeless fight, but not for much longer. Rewi gave the word; his warriors loaded their guns with their last cartridges, and with the women and children in their midst, they charged out in a body, going at a steady trot at first, until the amazed soldiers opened a fearful fire upon them. That retreat through the fern and swamp to the Puniu River and beyond was, like the defence of the pa, full of deeds of gallantry and self-sacrifice. Rewi himself was surrounded by a small bodyguard of his devoted kinsmen; one of those gallant fellows, his nephew, Te Huia Raureti, still lives on the Puniu banks, a white-headed veteran of over ninety, the very last of the warriors of his clan who fought through to safety that day of mingled gloom and glory.

When the sun went down on Orākau a hundred and sixty Māoris lay dead on the battlefield and on the line of flight to the border river. More than half the garrison, and of the survivors, half, probably, were wounded. Of the British, seventeen were killed and fifty-two wounded. There is a lament of Ngāti-Maniapoto for their dead in Taranaki that also applies to Orākau:

“The land is swept and desolate,

Mournfully rolls the tide of Puniu,

The waters sob as they flow.”

So fought Rewi his last fight for his people and his country. He survived to live in peace and honour in near neighbourhood with his Pakeha antagonists. We on the old frontier lived on the very ground that was salted down with the flesh and blood and bones of scores of the gallant dead, the men—and women too—of Orākau. Cattle graze on that sacred soil; maybe the present owner wonders why years of cultivation have not smoothed out that rough bit of turf. Forty men and women were buried there, within the fence on the north side of the road as you drive over Orākau. Their parapets were just tumbled in on them. When the trench graves were filled in, the clenched hand of a Māori protruded above the ground, and a soldier trampled on it to tread it under. The last gesture! Defeated, shot and bayoneted; dead, but unconquerable.109

Following Orakau and the raupatu confiscations, the Kingitanga settled south of the Puniu River in the King Country to Pakeha or Rohe Pōtae area to Māori. The Rohe Pōtae then became closed to Pakeha which was a major obstacle for the colonial development of the central North Island. What options were available for the New Zealand Government to open up the Rohe Pōtae?

**Te Ohaaki Tapu: Ngāti Maniapoto and its Sacred Compact**

The Ohaaki Tapu (the Sacred Compact) is the subject of another scoping report. However, we were asked by several claimants to make some comments on the compact as it relates to

---

Ngāti Maniapoto. Indeed, we believe that any traditional history should present what Ngāti Maniapoto understood the agreement to be. What the Crown understood is the Crown’s perspective. What Maniapoto understood is Maniapoto’s perspective and we would argue that the agreement to open up the King Country should be construed from that view in the sense that Ngāti Maniapoto understood it to be.\footnote{The Waitangi Tribunal has already commented on the instructiveness of the United States experience in the interpretation of Treaties with Indigenous People. The Tribunal noted that the United States Supreme Court has laid down an indulgent rule which requires such Treaties to be construed ‘in the sense which they would naturally be understood by Indians.’ See Jones v Meehan (1899) 175 US 1. Our brief is not to construct any legal argument.} To this end, we believe there is enough Ngāti Maniapoto evidence to present that Maniapoto perspective. We have identified several sources which we present below.

The following account of the meeting between Bryce, the Native Minister, and Wahanui in March 1883 which was provided by Hataraka and subsequently published in several newspapers. Hataraka was described as a Tuhua chief but no further information has been uncovered about Hataraka. The Tuhua country was the southern district of Maniapoto with strong interests from Ngāti Haua. Hataraka provided a newspaper with an account in Māori which the newspaper asserted they carefully interpreted. The account clearly reads as a literal translation as evidenced by the final comment which should be more of a metaphor than the actual threat of physical violence. It is unfortunate that we have been unable to locate the Māori version.

We first note the subtitle chosen by the editor for this report- ‘A Curious Compact’. The editor was seemingly of the impression that a compact had been made between Wahanui and Bryce, but not a ‘sacred’ compact. The editor noted as follows:

Mr Bryce: Are you, Wahanui, willing that the road shall go by way of Mokau?

Wahanui: No.

Mr Bryce: Why won’t you let it go by that route?

Wahanui: Because I do not wish it. This land has not been bought with your money. You can go on with your roads until you come to the boundary of my lands, but you must not come any further: that must be left with me. I am to decide whether these roads shall be made on my land or not; and I wish you to assent to this word of mine.

Mr Bryce: Yes, I assent. If you allow this road to run, it shall be well; and if you don’t allow it to run, it shall be as you say, and it is well.
Wahanui: Now, I have written that down in writing, and (handing the pen to Mr, Bryce) now you, Bryce, sign your name.

Mr Bryce wrote his name, and then Wahanui wrote his name too. (This happened, before the; party started, and before they were seized and tied up.)

Mr Bryce: Are you not willing that my Europeans should go from here to Mokau, and through to Taranaki?

Wahanui: Retire outside the house while I and my seven men discuss that question. Mr Bryce retired outside the house, and remained at a distance, and Wahanui and his seven men were left inside.

Wahanui then said: What shall we say to Bryce? — The seven men said: Let them; simply go on the road: to where they wish to arrive ; but they must not turn their eyes to the right nor, to the left, neither must they lay their hands' upon anything on the way; let them simply pass through, and the way close up behind them.

Wahanui: I assent to this; it is good.

Mr Bryce was re-called inside the house,

Wahanui. Bryce, I consent that your Europeans go through to Mokau and Taranaki, but let the feet only go along the road, and go neither to one side or the other ; keep: straight on to the end, and look not to the right or to the left.

Mr Bryce: Very well; it shall be as you say ; My people shall abide by what you have said ; I will start them off tomorrow.

Wahanui: Stop; I don't assent to that. Wait for two weeks.

Mr Bryce: Why!

Wahanui: The tribe is absent. I alone am here, and they must assemble and hear what has been said by me, so that it may be understood.

Mr Bryce: Very good let it be so.

Mr Bryce returned to Alexandra but just days after this arrangement Bryce started his party on their way. Wahanui heard of this and said: “As Bryce has done .this thing, let no man go to lead them, and should they come to harm, it will have been their own fault”;

Bryce's party got as far this time as Otorohanga, and from there! Te Taratu ordered them to return; they did, to Alexandra. The next day after the party had returned, • 'Bryce sent them on again but Wahanui wrote to Te Taratu not to interfere in any way with them; (Taratu is Wahanui's younger brother, and has no connection with Mahuki and the followers of Te Whiti. So the party was allowed to proceed unmolested until they got to Te Uira where: they were seized and tied up by Mahuki. Te Wahanui's brother then went and rescued them; broke open the house where they were prisoners,
and 'then tied up Mahuki's party, and left them kicking and rolling on the ground. All the tribe of Ngāti Maniapoto returned with the party to Alexandria, myself Hataraka, being with them, and seeing all their things....

On the 7th of April we all gathered together at Te Kuiti to discuss the position of affairs, and this is what happened: On the 17th of that month, April, Mr Bryce arrived at Te Kuiti with 12 men, Europeans. Wahanui said: "Do not think I will open my mouth to speak words to you, Mr Bryce. All I have to say is, you can go your way now, but do not think I have given you the road or right of way. No, that I keep for myself, and the right to act as I judge, best. But now (here Wahanui held up the forefingers of each of his hands), look here: see here are two kings, which of the two is yours?" Mr Bryce remained silent, and spoke not one word. :

Wahanui: You, Mr Bryce, are a Minister. I want to know a Minister of what or ' for what?"

Mr Bryce. A Native Minister for the Natives.

Wahanui: You are wrong, for your laws are hard all over the island therefore it is I say that the only chance you see of being saved is to come here to me. You are in fear of your position, and you come to me to protect yourself, and to be saved from the Parliament. Now if I choose to throw you down I could do so now; but I will not, [a]s you are here residing with me. But I will take you to your Parliament at Wellington, and throw you, Bryce, down there before all people, the white as well as the dark, so that all men may judge between us;

Mr Bryce remained silent. On the day Mr Bryce started on his way through to Taranaki via Mokau, he said to Wahanui, " Wahanui, all our talk is ended, and if any other European comes after me on this road, he does so of his own accord. I have nothing to do with it, and if anyone says after me "that he is 'coming to catch murderers, I have no part in that, the responsibility is not mine. Wahanui said, to Mr Bryce (before he left), " I will break your head with my fist," and when Mr Bryce made no reply it was thought that it was because he was not in a town to be able to make an answer.111

In 1885, Wahanui appeared before the Native Affairs Select Committee to give his opinion the Native Land Disposition Bill which turned into a discussion on the main trunkway line through the Rohe Pōtāe. We note the following exchange between Ormond and Wahanui:

Mr Ormond: Do you know, Wahanui, that the building of that railway has been agreed to mainly for the purpose of getting the country settled; entirely for the purpose of getting the country settled?

Wahanui: Who agreed to it?

Mr Ormond: The Europeans in voting the money to pay for it?

---

Wahanui: I do not understand that. I did not hear that that was the reason.

Mr Ormond: Have you never understood or heard that the Government and the people of the House have agreed to that, believing that the Natives would treat with them for the cession of the land alongside of it?

Wahanui: I did not know that the railway was to be made with the object or with the understanding that the land was to be settled on each side.

I thought it was to connect two places, so far as to enable people to come from one end of the Island to the other. I have now heard for the first time that there is another object in view, and that the Europeans look on the land on each side of the railway as having become their own.

What I mean is this: I never understood before that the object Europeans had in consenting to that railway being made was that the Māoris would give or dispose of land on each of it, or agree to such land being settled, or that the real object was the settlement of the land on each side.\(^{112}\)

Taurua 27 Mei 1884

E whitu nga take i whakaria iho e Wahanui hei whirihirihirangi mo te iwi koia eni aua take.

1. Tuatahi ko te rohe Pōtae nei kia tino whakatapua kia kore ai te ringa o waho e totoiro mai ki roto me te ringa o roto e totoiro atu ki waho.
2. Ko te komiti mo te poraka nei kia tere te whakamana.
   1. Ko nga mahi hori kia ata haere.
   2. Ko te kooti whenua kia tino turakina rawatia atu, kia kaua eke mai ki runga ki te poraka nei.
3. Ko te koura e mahia tahaetia i root i te poraka nei.
4. Ko te kohi moni hei utu mo te ruri o te rohe Pōtae nei.
5. Ko te tono ki te kawānanga tanga kia whakatokomahatia nga mema Māori mo te Paremata heoi ko nga take nei enei.
   I runga i ta matou whirihirihinga i nga take nei kihai i marama a matou te tuku pitihana heoi tukua atu ana e matou kia Wahanui ko a matou whakaaro anake meo runga i aua take. Ma kia mutu whakaaare i tuku atu ai kia Wahanui o penei.

Ko te poraka na kia tino whakatapua ko tenei tetehi o nga tino take i roto i te pitihana. Kihai i whakamana e te paremata koia matou kia mea atu kia tino whakaria e koe ki te Kawanatanga.

Ko te komiti i te porakanei kua tae mai te whakaaturanga i Poneke kei te 10 o nga ra o Hune he huia atu(?) me nga mea o te komiti ki Arekehanara kia whaka te atitia ai ratou. Ko to ratou whaka ... me penei ki ta matou whakaaro iho ko te tupumna ano te mana me te mana ki runga i te whenua ko te komiti hei whakahaere ko te kuini hei tiahi tetehi kia tono e koe ki te kawanatanga kia tino whakaturia mai e ratou te nui o te koha o te komiti mehemea he iti teo tatou kaha kia homi ano ko te koha mutunhga iho.

\(^{112}\) *AJHR* (I-2B) at 8, paras 114-116.
Te Heuheu Tukino also referred to the compact when he gave evidence to the Native Affairs Select Committee in support of a petition by Ngāti Maniapoto regarding the Māori Land Councils Bill 1905. Commenting that there were a number of coach-roads and mail routes running through Māori lands that Māori had not claimed payment for, but instead allowed the Government to take the roads, Te Heuheu stated:

The same refers to what was done at Haereawatea, when the route of the Main Trunk Railway-line running through the Ngāti Maniapoto district was given by the Māori owners to Sir R. Stout. I saw myself, and personally heard what was said by my own
matuas at Haerewatea when Sir R. Stout went up there, and I heard Manga [Rewi] and Wahanui saying there to Sir Robert Stout, "The backbone of our ancestor Turongo - that is, the Main Trunk railway route - we will give to you for running the train-wheels on, right through the Ngātimaniapoto district. We will not ask for any payment; we will not ask for any tax or consideration at all; there it is; we give it to you for nothing; take it." We having considered your people, and been generous to your people, you are not generous to us in return. I must say this, that your Pakeha rangatiras are tutuas; that is proof of it. Wahanui and Manga said to Sir Robert Stout, "Do not bring in the land purchase system within the Rohe Pōtæ," and Sir Robert Stout said, "Yes, we will undertake that your lands will be absolutely protected and not interfered with, but give your lands to be investigated by the Court"; and the Māori rangatiras thought Pakeha rangatiras were the same as they, and the Court was allowed to sit there, and as soon as the Court sat there, in came the Government Land Purchase Officer. That was the way we were treated. We kept our part of the bargain, but that is the way those Pakeha professed rangatiras kept their word.113

As a result of a combination of misunderstanding and ignorance, it is important to discuss here for Ngāti Maniapoto claimants, some of the finer legal questions on Te Ohaaki Tapu:

**WHAT IS IT EXACTLY THAT RANGATIRA THOUGHT WAS AGREED BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THE GOVERNMENT?**

Over a period of approximately two years, the Government convinced rangatira Māori to open up the Rohe Pōtæ allowing the main trunk railway to proceed southward from Te Awamutu and northward from Marton. As a result the region was opened up to Pakeha settlement and ‘development’.

In return for allowing entry into the region, those rangatira believed that the Government promised the following:

- That the government could survey the external boundary only, and no other surveying would be carried out without the prior express permission of rangatira;
- That a new and better law would be developed and enacted that would allow Iwi to maintain control of their own lands within the region;
- That Iwi would be allowed to delineate all of the internal boundaries of the region themselves and the Native Land Court would not operate in the Rohe Pōtæ;
- That there would be no liquor sold in the region, and
- That there would be no gold prospecting without the prior express permission of rangatira.

---

113 *AJHR*, (I.-3B, 1905) at 17.
HOW DID IT COME ABOUT?

The Government had been trying unsuccessfully into gain entry to the Rohe Pōtai from the late 1860s. In 1880, the railway line from Auckland reached Te Awamutu, but it could not go any further south because Pakeha were refused entry to the Rohe Pōtai. In 1882 two significant meetings were held at Whatiwhatihoe. Following the first one in May 1882, Te Wheoro wrote, on behalf of Tawhiao, to the Speaker of the House declaring Tawhiao’s directive about opening up the Rohe Pōtai:

Ko te ruri, ko te reti, ko te hoko, ko te mahi rori, me te Kooti Whakawa Whenua Māori o te Takiwa ki a matou ko nga rangatira me o matou iwi me mutu inaiane, taihoa ano e mahi, kia oti rano te whakarite e te Paremeter me nga rangatira Māori o te taha ki oku iwi etehi tikanga hei whakahaere mo te taha ki nga pakeha me nga iwi i raro i au e kiia nei he kiingi. 114

In other words, Tawhiao wanted an agreement ‘upon some mutual basis of settlement’115 between Pakeha and Māori before he would consent to Pakeha settling in the Rohe Pōtai.

At the second meeting in November 1882, Tawhiao stepped back from negotiations over Pakeha entry to the Rohe Pōtai and referred ‘the final settlement of the question’116 to Ngāti Maniapoto. The principal Ngāti Maniapoto negotiator from this point on was Wahanui Huatere. Ngāti Maniapoto reiterated Tawhiao’s position – they requested that surveys and public works cease until they had made a decision about the best way to open up the Rohe Pōtai. Ngāti Maniapoto tried their very best to implement Tawhiao’s directive but the Government did not uphold its side of the agreements.

114 AJHR, (1882, Vol. 2 F-J, G-4)
115 AJHR, (1883, Vol. 2 D-G, G-1) at 2.
116 Ibid.
WHO ARE THE PARTIES TO THE SACRED PACT?
The first parties to the Sacred Pact were Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Whanganui. In late 1883, Ngāti Hikairo joined, so the Sacred Pact was an alliance between the five Iwi of the Rohe Pōtae, and the Government.

In the latter part of 1883, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Whanganui Iwi effectively withdrew themselves from the alliance because they mistakenly believed that Ngāti Maniapoto was trying to claim some of their lands for themselves. Ngāti Maniapoto then became the key proponent of the agreements made on behalf of the other alliance members.

WHAT DID THE SACRED PACT INVOLVE?
The Sacred Pact involved:

• A series of discussions between the Native Minister and Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira between 1882 and 1885;
• A Petition from Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Whanganui iwi was presented to Parliament by Wahanui Huatare in June 1883;
• An exchange of letters between the Assistant Surveyor General and Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira on 19 December 1883, and
• Addresses by Wahanui Huatare on behalf of Ngāti Maniapoto to the House of Representatives on 1 November 1884 and the Legislative Council on 6 November 1884.

WHAT ARE THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE SACRED PACT?
The key elements of the Sacred Pact were outlined in the Petition of June 1883, letters of 19 December 1883, and Wahanui’s addresses to the House and the Legislature in November 1884.
**June 1883 Petition**

Specific requests made in the petition:

1. Parliament to pass a law making Māori lands inalienable by sale absolutely so that they could ‘secure’ it for themselves and their descendants forever;
2. That the Iwi determine their own boundaries between themselves, the hapū boundaries, and then the proportional claims of each individual within the boundary would be set forth in the petition,
3. That the Land Court should not operate in the Rohe Pōtæ to ‘prevent fraud, drunkenness and demoralisation’.

Once these matters were organised, the Government could appoint an appropriate person to confirm the arrangements and decisions in accordance with the law.117

**19 December 1883 Letters**

A series of Hui among the Rohe Pōtæ Iwi were held during 1883 to discuss matters and issues pertaining to the opening up of the region. Māori wanted to make sure that they could maintain control of their lands. In the end the catalyst for opening up the rohe was the main trunk railway line.

On 19 December 1883, Wahanui Huatare, Taonui Hikaka, Ngahuru Te Rangikaiwhiria, Te Herekiekie and Te Pikikotuku wrote to S. Percy Smith, Chief Surveyor, referring to the Sacred Compact:

Wahanui agreed to the government completing a survey of the external boundary only of the Rohe Pōtæ at a cost of £1,600, in order to obtain a Crown Grant for it. In his reply, the Chief Surveyor agreed to their terms.118[v]

A further element of the Sacred Pact came about as a result of discussions over allowing surveying to take place and that there was to be no prospecting for gold without the prior permission of rangatira.

---

117 AJHR, (1883, Vol. 3 H-J, J-1) at 2.
However, once rangatira agreed to allow the survey of the external boundary, matters started to get out of control for Māori. The Government not only began to survey the external boundary, they also began to survey the interior. The Government was also perceived as reneging on their part of the agreement so in November 1884, Wahanui went to Parliament on behalf of Ngāti Maniapoto to call their attention to the petition of the previous year. Wahanui advocated the position taken in the June 1883 Petition, reiterating certain points while expanding on others:

1. That Iwi have full control and power over their lands, “subject to the Governor”;
2. That the Land Court should not operate in the Rohe Pōtæ. He proposed a Native Committee system whereby these Committees, controlled by Iwi, would be responsible for land administration and not the Land Court or the government, and
3. That there by absolutely no liquor sold in the Rohe Pōtæ.

Ngāti Maniapoto subsequently continued to advocate for the recognition of the ‘Sacred Pact.’

SUMMARY

With the Rohe Pōtæ open from the construction of the main North Island trunk railway through the district, the floodgates were now wide open for the malign operation of the Native Land Court and the alienation of Māori land in the nineteenth century, the mis-management of Māori land in the twentieth century, and loss of waterways, negative environmental impacts, and public works takings that were all detrimental to the health and well being of Ngāti Maniapoto whānau, hapū and as a people. These challenges and issues provide the platform for the major Treaty of Waitangi grievances against the Crown in the Rohe Pōtæ inquiry.
C DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

Due to the narrow sixteen-week timeframe, the measured start for the researchers to undertake the scoping report, and the initial focus on understanding the substantive issues which must be dealt with, the capacity to undertake more extensive research in some areas has been limited. It has been possible however, to identify a substantial body of records as possible sources for identifying many of the challenges and complexities surrounding the many claims for a tribe as numerous and diverse as Ngāti Maniapoto in terms of Maniapoto identity, history, geography and demography.

Given the mountain of material to peruse, limited time, and the fact that the researchers did not cover every possible resource available on Ngāti Maniapoto, we do not consider this a difficulty that will create any ongoing problems either in terms of the approach developed in this scoping report or in the ongoing development of the project. Research undertaken during the scoping report period does not need to be repeated during the main stage of the project and thus saves time. There is therefore no overall impact if this research cannot be completed during the scoping report as it can be undertaken once the substantive project is underway.

What was affected was our time required to complete the work. The risk is largely mitigated however because we are able to draw on our personal resources for this project and with similar sources elsewhere. A plethora of material exists that can contribute significantly to the Ngāti Maniapoto oral and traditional history scoping report such as the Native Land Court Minutes books, articles from both the Niupepa Māori and the old Papers Past series, as well as the Journal of the Polynesian Society, the Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society, and the private manuscripts of Maniapoto whānau. A number of significant documentary sources for this project are the Native Land Court Minutes books and the Niupepa Māori series. We have undertaken extensive searching of these resources and results show there are massive resources there. In both resources, we have found many thousands of pages of evidence given by tupuna about their whakapapa, customary laws and institutions, where their ancestors lived, and what they themselves did on the land. These are rich and diverse sources.

In addition to the Māori Land Court Minute books and the Niupepa Māori series, there are missionary papers, published journal articles, and other miscellaneous sources both written and oral records in both the Māori and English languages. Many of these resources are problematic sources for researchers because searching for relevant material can be a time consuming process with minimal success. It is certainly possible however, to search for specific items that might be useful in terms of advancing evidence already prepared for other claimants such as previous Waitangi Tribunal and Crown Forestry Rental Trust reports. In
In general, we have attempted to make the best use of the time available to us in the searchers for documentary sources we have completed. Our view of what can be achieved is based on these searches and the expectation that further source material will be uncovered as more in-depth research is undertaken. This is to be expected in any case and we have certainly planned for this situation.

But we believe the appropriate place to start in terms of listing significant documentary resources for this project are the biographies of key Ngāti Maniapoto tupuna. The following section will highlight some of these resources we uncovered for the Ngāti Maniapoto oral and traditional history scoping report commencing with the Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies.

1) DICTIONARY OF NEW ZEALAND BIOGRAPHIES

The Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies (DNZB) is in hard copy and is also available on the internet. The collection is written in both Māori and English and contains over 3,000 biographies of deceased New Zealanders who have ‘made their mark’ on the country. The database includes the collected biographies originally published in the printed Dictionary of New Zealand Biography series between 1990 and 2000, and in the parallel Māori language series Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau.

There are a number of key historical Māori and Pakeha figures who made their mark in the Rohe Pōtae area which highlights the value and importance of this collection to the oral and traditional history report. The reference details of the Māori and then English versions of the collection, with a brief synopsis of some texts, are located in annotated bibliography. Some of the key historical Māori and Pakeha figures who made their mark in the Rohe Pōtae area include:

Māori

   Ngāti Maniapoto leader
2. Davis, Charles Richard 1895 - 1964
   Ngāti Maniapoto leader, farmer, blacksmith, builder, genealogist
3. Davis, Edward Charles 1887 - 1958
   Ngāti Maniapoto leader, farmer, historian, genealogist, Ratana minister
4. Eketone, Pepene 1855/1856? - 1933
   Ngāti Maniapoto; interpreter, native agent, assessor, politician
5. Emery, Samuel Horouta 1885 - 1967
   Ngāti Pukeko, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Mahuta; labourer, farmer, rugby player, storekeeper, carrier, businessman, local politician

   Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Te Whakatohea; healer, tohunga, Ringatu minister

7. **Hetet, Rangimarie** 1892 - 1995
   Ngāti Maniapoto; matron, weaver

8. **Jones, Michael Rotohiko** 1895 - 1978
   Ngāti Maniapoto; interpreter, land agent, sportsman, private secretary, public administrator, broadcaster

9. **Jones, Pei Te Hurinui** 1898 - 1976
   Ngāti Maniapoto leader, interpreter, land officer, writer, translator, genealogist

10. **Maniapoto, Rewi Manga** 1894 - 1894
    Ngāti Maniapoto leader, war leader

11. **Ormsby, John** 1854 - 1927
    Ngāti Maniapoto negotiator, local politician, farmer, businessman

12. **Puhiwhawine Te Rangi-hirawe, Rihi** ? - 1906
    Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto composer of waiata

13. **Taonui Hikaka** ? - 1892
    Ngāti Maniapoto leader

14. **Te Awhitu, Wiremu Hakopa Toa** 1914 - 1994
    Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hauaroa; Catholic priest

15. **Te Mahuki** 1899
    Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Kinohaku prophet

16. **Te Rerenga, Hone Wetere** 1914 - 1994
    Ngāti Maniapoto leader

17. **Wahanui Huatare** 1897
    Ngāti Maniapoto leader

**Pākehā**

1) **John Morgan** 1806/1807,? -1865
   Missionary

2) **John Mackintosh Roberts**, 1840-1928
   Soldier, resident magistrate, administrator

3) **William Nicholas Searancke** 1817?-1904
   Surveyor, land purchase commissioner, resident magistrate, land agent

4) **John Sheehan**, 1844-1885
   Lawyer, politician

5) **John Whiteley**, 1806-1869
   Missionary
Five specific Maniapoto tupuna biographies include Rihi Puhiwahine Te Rangi-hirawe, Rewi Manga Maniapoto, Taonui Hikaka, Wahanui Huatare and Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones. In terms of Ngāti Maniapoto mana wahine, Rihi Puhiwahine Te Rangi-hirawe, among others, was a formidable Maniapoto woman whose biography was compiled by Te Aue Davis:

**Puhiwahine Te Rangi-Hirawe, Rihi**

The most famous of the women of Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto in the nineteenth century was undoubtedly Rihi Puhiwahine Te Rangi-hirawe. She knew many of the notable chiefs and leading women among the tribes of her turbulent times, when tribal wars were fought and Pakeha began settling in their land - when 'The patu has opposed / The unsheathed sword, / and the loaded gun.' It was a time when some of the greatest Māori poets were in their prime, and, inspired by these events, they composed and sang songs of love and hate, peace and war, jollity and derision. Puhiwahine was the greatest of them all. Her songs are still sung at many gatherings of her people.

She was born on the bank of the Taringamotu River near Taumarunui, possibly about 1816. Her descent from and connections to both Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto shaped her future. Her mother, Hinekiore, was of Ngāti Hinemihi, a hapū of Ngāti Tuwharetoa which lived in the Taringamotu Valley. Her father, Rawiri Te Rangi-hirawe (also known as Te Wettini), was also of Ngāti Tuwharetoa. She had ancestral links with Ngāti Maniapoto. Puhiwahine learned the traditions of her people from her mother. She was taught tribal songs and the proper technique of poi and pukana of Ngāti Tuwharetoa. An apt pupil, she became competent at an early age.

She travelled extensively with her people, and her artistic accomplishments, wit and charm are said to have captivated all those with whom she came in contact. During one of her travels into the Waipa Valley, Puhiwahine met Hauauru, a young Ngāti Maniapoto chief of Matakore hapū, with whom she fell in love. He was already married and Puhiwahine's brothers, Ketu and Maraku, would not agree to a marriage that would relegate her to the status of secondary wife.

The affair with Hauauru was broken off when the party visited other villages, where Puhiwahine was admired and courted by young chiefs. Sometime after returning home, she was taken on a visit to her Ngāti Toa relatives in the south. Her romantic affair with Hauauru was often on her mind during her travels, as revealed in the songs she later composed, inspired by her love for him.

Puhiwahine was made welcome by her Ngāti Toa kin. During her visit to the South Island she was invited by Taiaroa, a leading chief of Ngai Tahu, to visit his home where she met many European people. By the time she returned home she had learned some English words, which she later introduced in a Māori form in some of her songs.

Not long after this, she again journeyed into Ngāti Maniapoto territory with her people. On this occasion she visited Paripari (near present day Te Kuiti), the home of Tanirau (Taonui), a Ngāti Rora chief who was a cousin of Hauauru. From Tanirau she learnt
that Hauauru had taken a second and a third wife. It was at this time that Puhiwahine composed two of her many songs inspired by her love for Hauauru.

From Paripari they went to Orahiri near Otorohanga, then continued on to Ahuahu at the southern end of Kawhia Harbour. There the chief Te Poihipi soon became enamoured of Puhiwahine. When she announced that she and Te Poihipi were to become man and wife, her people would not give their consent in the absence of her brothers. They then moved on to Whatiwhatihoe at the foot of Pirongia Mountain. This was an important meeting place, and on the occasion of Puhiwahine’s arrival, tribes were gathering there. Among them was her distant cousin Te Mahutu Te Toko, of Maruapoto. A striking figure with a handsome, tattooed face, he was a good singer and orator and a lively conversationalist. They fell in love, and were able to spend many days together before Puhiwahine’s brothers arrived. On learning of their sister’s latest love affair Ketu and Maraku lost no time in setting off for Lake Taupo, by way of Kihikihi and Parawera, and then Owairaka, where they stayed for some days. It was here that Puhiwahine composed her love song for Te Mahutu. It remains popular still, and is usually sung at weddings and farewells.

Two years after her return to Taupo from Whatiwhatihoe, in the mid 1840s, Puhiwahine met German-born John Gotty (Johann Maximilian Goethe). They married, and lived with her people at Meringa for a time before going to Wanganui. Gotty knew his wife as Elizabeth or Rihi. They had two sons, both of whom married women of Ngāti Parewahawaha of Rangitikei. John Gotty is said to have supplied the British armed forces in the Wanganui area in the 1840s. In more peaceful times he ran the Rutland Hotel in Wanganui. Later, from the early 1870s, he and Puhiwahine lived at Matahiwi.

After John Gotty's death in 1893, Puhiwahine mourned the loss of her husband for many months. She made known to her sons her wish to return to her people and place of birth. Her younger son, George, took her back to Meringa. Subsequently, Ngāti Maniapoto invited her people to take Puhiwahine to Oparure, as they wished to commiserate with her.

At the marae at Oparure, after the ceremony of tangi was over, the people - guests and hosts alike - retired to the bounds of the marae. When Puhiwahine finally realised that only she and Te Mahutu were left standing, she dropped the shawl from her shoulders, and with all the artistry and passion of her youth burst into song. It was a highly emotional moment. In voice and gesture she gave a polished performance to the last note as she sang her rhapsody of love. Te Mahutu remained standing throughout. At the end of her song she sat and sobbed quietly. Te Mahutu, with his mere in hand, delivered his speech of welcome. He came forward to where Puhiwahine was sitting, and there, surrounded by their people, they greeted each other. This was the melancholy sequel to their former affair.

Puhiwahine returned to Ongarue, where she lived with her son George until her death there (according to a later account) on 18 February 1906. She was buried at Ongarue, but her remains now rest in the family cemetery, Te Takapu-Tiraha-o-Tutetawha, at Oruaiti, where her mother also lies.

TE AUE DAVIS

Manuka Henare provided an account of Rewi Maniapoto’s biography as follows:

**Rewi Manga Maniapoto**

Manga, later called Rewi Maniapoto, was born in Waikato early in the nineteenth century. According to his memorial at Kihikihi, he was born in 1807, although at his death in 1894 he was said to be in his 70s. He was the direct descendant and namesake of his founding tribal ancestor, Maniapoto. Rewi’s father was Te Ngohi, also known as Kawhia, of Ngāti Maniapoto. His mother was Te Kore, of Ngāti Maniapoto, who was killed by Waikato at Paterangi, near Kihikihi. Rewi belonged to Ngāti Paretekawa, a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. In 1831 Te Ngohi was a member of Potatau Te Wherowhero’s war party which captured Pukerangi in Taranaki from Te Ati Awa. Rewi accompanied his father on this expedition. The centre of Rewi’s activities was to be his home district of Kihikihi and Otawhao (Te Awamutu).

Rewi was educated according to his rank and Ngāti Maniapoto custom, and although little is known of his early childhood, in adulthood he exemplified all the qualities expected of one raised to lead. He became known by Māori and Pakeha for his oratory, political debate and leadership, knowledge of traditional customs and practices, and military skills. His moko was that of a rangatira.

Rewi was greatly influenced by missionary teaching and the agricultural practices which the missionaries introduced. In 1841 he came in contact with the CMS missionary John Morgan, who had established a station in the Otawhao area. Rewi
extended his protection over Morgan for some 20 years. His early missionary education was at the Wesleyan mission station at Te Kopua, on the Waipa River. He became literate, acquired a knowledge of Scripture and was an enthusiastic advocate of the new agriculture. About 1844 Rewi came in contact with Catholic missionaries. Rewi (Levi) may be a baptismal name, but it appears that he was not a Catholic.

In the 1850s Rewi began to emerge as a prominent supporter of the King movement. He raised the King's flag at Ngāruawahia in 1858 when Te Wherowhero was installed as King. In November 1859 he was one of five signatories to an edict passed by the King's rūnanga prohibiting European magistrates and roads within their territory, and stating that no Māori should be imprisoned in the governor's gaol.

In 1860 Ngāti Maniapoto emissaries went to Taranaki, and on their return convinced Rewi that the resistance of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake to land sales at Waitara was justified. Rewi then asked for and received Te Wherowhero's approval of Ngāti Maniapoto support for Te Rangitake. Ngāti Maniapoto fought beside Taranaki people to defeat imperial troops at Puke-ta-kauere, near Waitara, on 27 June 1860, and in January 1861 Rewi led an unsuccessful attack on a redoubt at Huirangi.

Rewi returned from Taranaki convinced that the government intended to undermine Māori authority (te tino rangatiratanga) over their nationality and their land. Some of the King movement leaders believed that the Treaty of Waitangi confirmed that a relationship of equality would continue, allowing Māori a degree of autonomy. Rewi mobilised much support for his point of view among Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato.

In March 1863, in response to what appeared to be provocative and suspicious acts by the government, Rewi organised a party which sacked John Gorst's office at Otawhao and ousted the government magistrate from Waikato. Gorst was seen to be undermining the authority of the King. His expulsion marked Rewi's control over King movement politics and was an indication of his determination to act while others procrastinated.

Rewi's realistic outlook led him to conclude that the British intended to invade Waikato unless the King movement was abandoned. On 8 July 1863 Governor George Grey ordered Lieutenant General Duncan Cameron to begin an invasion of Waikato. Rewi responded to the invasion by leading Ngāti Maniapoto military forces in the ensuing war in Waikato. He fought with great energy throughout the campaign. Although he advised against making a stand at Orakau, near Kihikihi, in April 1864, he led by example against great odds.

When Cameron called on the defenders of Orakau to surrender, Rewi is said to have replied: 'Ka whawhai tonu matou, Ake! Ake! Ake!' (We will fight on forever and ever). Although he may not have spoken these words at Orakau, his attitude to the British invasion was well known. At Ngāruawahia at an earlier meeting Rewi is recorded as having said: 'Kaore ahau e whakaae kia mutu te whawhai, ko taku tohe ano tenei ake! ake! tonu atu!' (I will not agree that the fighting shall cease, I will maintain this forever and ever).

During the Waikato campaign Māori had enormous respect for Rewi's military prowess. He advocated defensive preparations, and showed a deeper understanding of
British military strategy than any other Māori leader. In combat Rewi was in undisputed command and welded the defenders of Orakau into a fighting team, which denied the British the decisive victory they sought.

After the war Rewi did not initially oppose the influence of Te Kooti in Waikato. When Te Kooti sought the help of Tawhiao Te Wherowhero, the second Māori King, he was offered sanctuary and was welcomed by Rewi, who was then sent as an observer to accompany Te Kooti to Taupo, to enlist the support of Horomuku Te Heuheu Tukino IV. He remained with Te Kooti until the prophet's defeat at Te Porere in October 1869, then returned to the King Country where he advised Tawhiao against intervention. It was at this point that Rewi realised that Māori mana was not to be gained or restored solely through military means. Being a political realist, he began to seek the next best alternative, a negotiated peace settlement which would ensure the inalienable retention of Māori lands in Māori hands. In November 1869 he met Donald McLean, the native minister, at Pahiko, near Te Kuiti, to discuss the issues. It was at this meeting that Rewi declared that he would cease fighting. Eventually a negotiated peace settlement was concluded at Waitara on 29 June 1878, whereby Rewi accepted the new order of things.

However, in 1882 Rewi broke with the King movement's policy of no land sales, and with Tawhiao. He feared that Ngāti Haua would claim land which was rightfully his, and made an application to the Native Land Court for a hearing, in order to forestall them. Later, Rewi and Te Wahanui permitted the main trunk railway to enter the King Country, and put their lands before the land court so that it could define the tribal boundaries. In fact, this action opened the way for government purchase of land in the King Country.

From the late 1870s Rewi's influence declined. Te Wahanui became increasingly recognised as the spokesman for Ngāti Maniapoto, and Rewi's proposals for a Māori district, almost identical to the boundaries of the King Country, where the lands, the railway and its services would be used to benefit Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto, were not acceptable to his people. The government built him a large house at Kihikihi in 1880, in return for his giving up claims to a Crown grant, and waiving his pension. He continued to take part in Native Land Court hearings, and to maintain contact with Tawhiao, Manuhiri (Tamati Ngapora) and others of the King movement. In 1890 he travelled to Auckland, and was presented to the governor, Lord Onslow.

As far as is known Rewi was married once, and had a daughter, born in the early 1870s, who died at Kihikihi in 1890 or 1891. His wife's name was Te Rohu. A monument honouring Rewi was unveiled at Kihikihi in April 1894. Two months later Rewi died at Kihikihi, on 21 June. A great tangi was held, and on 29 June he was buried at the foot of his memorial.

MANUKA HENARE

Belich, J. The New Zealand wars. Auckland, 1986

Gary Scott wrote the biography on Taonui Hikaka:

**Taonui Hikaka**

_Hikaka was born probably at Paripari (near present day Te Kuiti) in the early 1840s. He could trace his descent from Rakataura of the Tainui canoe. His father was Taonui Hikaka (also known as Hikaka) of Ngāti Rora, a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. His mother may have been Niapo of Ngāti Hia, who, along with Taonui senior, was part of a group portrait painted by George French Angas in 1844. Taonui is believed to have had four brothers, Te Kuri (Ngaturi), Tanirau, Te Naunau Hikaka and Tautau; and a sister, Paeata Mihinoa, who married the French trader Louis Hetet._

_Taonui's father played a central role in the wars between Waikato and Taranaki tribes in the 1820s and 1830s. He took the name Hikaka (angry) for his pursuit and killing of the warriors Te Tupe-o-Tu and Te Hau-te-horo after the siege of Rangiuru pa near the mouth of the Otaki River in 1834. His mana was so great that he was considered a candidate for the leadership of the King movement. He is said to have been the only man who dared to challenge the insult to Ngāti Maniapoto in a song written by Potatau Te Wherowhero. He demanded utu. Potatau responded by giving him the suit of armour which King George IV had given to Hongi Hika in England, and which Hongi had given to Potatau._

_The young Taonui probably accompanied his father and an ally, Tawhana Tikaokao, in a group of Ngāti Maniapoto who went to Waitara in April 1863 to attack government_
troops there. Fighting alongside his father would have been a fiery apprenticeship for the young Taonui. He emerged from the war with great mana.

Taonui's father is thought to have died in the 1860s. From this time Taonui assumed the leadership of Ngāti Rora, and with Wahanui Huatare and Rewi Maniapoto formed a strong triumvirate as the leading Ngāti Maniapoto chiefs, although Taonui was considerably younger than his colleagues.

From the early 1870s the problem of confiscated Waikato land made the wartime alliance of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto increasingly fragile, and caused tensions among Ngāti Maniapoto. In 1875 Donald McLean, the native minister, met with Tawhiao and offered some local independence to the King movement, but stated that the return of all the confiscated lands was impossible. A similar offer was made by Premier Sir George Grey in January 1878, during a meeting at Te Kopua at which Rewi was present. Both offers were rejected.

Taonui was present when Grey met Rewi at Waitara in June 1878. Rewi and Taonui remained at Waitara until late in the year, ignoring a request from Tawhiao's council and Ngāti Maniapoto to return to Waikato. Many Ngāti Maniapoto felt that they were acting without authority, and feared that they were making conciliatory approaches to the government. After their eventual return, Taonui defended Rewi's stay in Waitara to a Ngāti Maniapoto meeting in January 1879 at Te Kopua.

By 1880 problems connected with land sales began to prove increasingly troublesome for Ngāti Maniapoto, still nominally party to the King movement's ban on land sales and land court operations. In 1880 Tawhiao tried to base the King movement at Hikurangi, south of Pirongia Mountain, in an attempt to stop its adherents from dealing in land; Rewi, Taonui and Wahanui consented to the move to Hikurangi. In 1883 they sent a lengthy petition with 412 signatures to the governor and both houses of Parliament, complaining bitterly of legislation that deprived them of 'the exclusive and undisturbed possession' of their lands as promised in the Treaty of Waitangi.

Claims by other tribes to Ngāti Maniapoto lands and fierce government pressure led growing numbers of that tribe to challenge those among their chiefs, including Wahanui and Taonui, who remained loyal to the King movement's land policy. The Native Land Court was increasingly asked to define the boundaries for Ngāti Maniapoto lands. In November 1883, at a meeting with Minister for Native Affairs John Bryce at Kihikihi, tribal leaders laid claim to almost 2.4 million acres from Waikato as far south as Ruapehu. While at Kihikihi, Taonui co-operated with Bryce's inquiry into the 1880 killing of a European who had trespassed into the King Country.

Eventually Taonui and Wahanui were forced to abandon the isolationist policy of the King movement. On 1 December 1883 they and Rewi formally agreed to a survey of the external boundaries of the King Country by S. P. Smith. Taonui, afraid of losing control of land dealings, was insistent that the survey should not lead to immediate subdivision. Having made the irreversible decision to allow surveys, Taonui and Wahanui co-operated with the government by helping to remove obstructions to them. Taonui strongly backed the building of the main trunk railway line, and wrote to the native minister, John Ballance, at the end of 1884 to express his support. Wahanui, Rewi and Taonui were involved in turning the first sod on the line on the bank of the Puniu River.
on 15 April 1885. Earlier that day Taonui had declared in front of Premier Robert Stout, 'It is our land; the sod shall be turned, and turned today!' after Stout had been told by two Waikato chiefs opposed to the railway that it was Waikato land.

Taonui, however, was unhappy with the Native Land Court and the lack of power given to the Native Affairs Committee in Parliament. He believed that there should be more Māori seats in Parliament and that land should be vested in hapū and controlled by hapū committees, not by individuals. On this he had a sympathetic ear from Ballance and they met a number of times in the following years. In 1886 Ballance introduced Taonui to the governor in Auckland.

From 1886 Taonui became embroiled in a dispute with Ngāti Tuwharetoa over the Taupo-nui-a-Tia block near Lake Taupo. That year he missed a court hearing on the case, and arrived to hear that the court had awarded the land to Ngāti Tuwharetoa. He had requested a postponement, and now asked for a rehearing and time to report to his tribe; when the judge took no notice he threatened to leave and was arrested for contempt of court. The dispute was brought up in Parliament, and eventually settled by a commission of inquiry. Also in 1888 he petitioned the Native Affairs Committee asking that the chief judge of the Native Land Court be replaced by a person acquainted with Māori language and customs, and that changes be made to the way the court was run.

In 1891 Taonui appeared before the Native Land Laws Commission, asking for the removal of restrictions on leasing Ngāti Maniapoto land. He referred again to the Taupo-nui-a-Tia dispute, asked that more time be allowed for Māori to pay survey costs, and said that the number of Māori MHRs should be increased. Taonui and Wahanui met with the native minister, Alfred Cadman, in December 1891; they still firmly opposed unrestricted sales of land, but again asked to be allowed to lease to private individuals. They also asked that Cadman use his power to make land laws less obnoxious to Māori.

Taonui, like Wahanui, was of massive size - over six feet tall. He is depicted in a portrait by Gottfried Lindauer, although it was probably painted after his death from a photograph. Lindauer seems to have added four lines of moko from the bridge of the nose across the forehead, identical to those George French Angas painted on Taonui's father in 1844; they do not appear in photographs of Taonui.

Taonui was second only to Wahanui in his influence on the King Country in the 1880s. There is little record of him speaking in public. Like Wahanui, he exerted his influence to try to ensure that the opening of the King Country would not be on terms unfavourable to his people. He died suddenly at Te Kuiti on 2 December 1892, and within five days of his death some 800 people had arrived for his tangihanga. He was survived by a wife, whose name is unknown, but had no children. Taonui's land claims were extensive and he was owner or part owner of a large estate at his death. His estate and lands are said to have gone to his brother Te Naunau Hikaka.

GARY SCOTT

Obit. Waikato Times. 8 Dec. 1892
While travelling through the King Country in 1885, Alfred Burton photographed six chiefs of Ngāti Maniapoto. From left in the back row are Rewi Manga Maniapoto, Tawhana Tikaokao, Taonui Hikaka and Hone Wetere Te Rerenga. Te Rangituataka is seated at left, and Te Naunau Hikaka at right.

Finally, Manuka Henare wrote the biography on Wahanui Huatare:

**Wahanui Huatare**

Wahanui Huatare, also known as Reihana Te Huatare, Te Reihana Whakahoehoe and Te Wahanui, was born probably in the late 1820s. He was the son of Te Ngohi-te-arau, also known as Te Huatare, of Ngāti Maniapoto. His mother, Tarati, belonged to Ngāti Waiora of Mokau and came from the Piopio area. Wahanui was raised in the upper Waipa valley. He could trace his descent to Raka, Hotunui and Turongo. He was the elder brother of Te Wiwini, and had a half-brother, Kaahu Huatare. Te Wiwini Huatare was to become a tohunga matakite of importance. Wahanui’s wife was Te Wairingiringi from the Kawhia area. Married according to Māori custom at an unknown date, they had no issue and so adopted children, including Tuwhangai Hounuku and Tuaarau.

Wahanui was raised as a Christian and, according to family tradition, was asked by his elders to train as a Wesleyan Methodist minister. He studied at the Wesleyan Native Institution at Three Kings in Auckland, proving an intelligent student of great natural ability. He then returned to Te Kopua to live among his people.

Wahanui was open to new ideas and practices provided that they enhanced the mana of his people. In the 1850s he organised a mail service between Te Awamutu and Napier,
and later set up a system of tribal administration and law enforcement which attracted the admiration of John Gorst, resident magistrate in Waikato.

In the late 1850s Wahanui was a participant in the debates attending the setting up of the King movement. As war approached, he became bitterly opposed to Pakeha institutions and government. Wahanui fought at Pukekohe and Orakau, and was wounded at Hairini in February 1864. It was Wahanui who, in the early 1880s, invented the King movement’s device, Tarahou (cock-crow), signifying the dawn of day.

After the Waikato war the King movement had to adjust to the reality of military defeat and to the confiscation of land. Attempts by Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto to regain sovereignty over their territories failed, and Wahanui emerged as an important leader of Ngāti Maniapoto. He was recognised as having much-needed diplomatic skills, and became a principal adviser to the Māori King, Tawhiao. On 11 July 1881 Wahanui spoke for Tawhiao’s contingent when peace was negotiated with the government at Alexandra (Pirongia). In November 1882, in negotiations with the new minister for native affairs, John Bryce, he spoke for Tawhiao on the question of authority over land. Fearful that the government wished to split the King movement, he declined their proposal to return confiscated land west of the Waikato and Waipa rivers, to offer Tawhiao a house, a pension and several official positions, and to have Ngāti Maniapoto offer a portion of their territory to Tawhiao.

Wahanui was strongly opposed to land selling by Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto. Nevertheless, he and Rewi Maniapoto came to recognise the inevitability of the King Country being opened to Pakeha. Their strategy was to control this process while safeguarding their people’s farming enterprises and maintaining as much of their mana as possible. In 1883 they finally agreed to allow a survey for a railway route to enter the King Country. Later in the year Wahanui, having demonstrated that the surveyors could not pass through the King Country without his support, assisted in rescuing the surveyor Charles Hursthouse, who had been captured by the prophet Te Mahuki and his Tekau-ma-rua movement at Te Uira. Wahanui’s policy was opposed by some hapū, and matters were made worse by the cynical and secretive policies of land companies, which used Ngāti Haua to bring land before the Native Land Court.

Together with Rewi, Wahanui signed a petition which was presented to Parliament in June 1883; they invoked the Treaty of Waitangi and the guarantee to the Māori of exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands. They rebuked the government for legislation which contravened the treaty and argued that there was little point in roads, railways and courts if they deprived Māori of their lands. During April 1884, while Tawhiao was in England petitioning Queen Victoria for the return of the confiscated Waikato land, the premier, Robert Stout, approached Wahanui. According to Wahanui, Stout promised that no hotel was to be built in the Ngāti Maniapoto area, no liquor was to be sold, and there would be no land courts operating in the area. In return Wahanui agreed to make land available for the railway. He received a gold medallion which allowed him and his wife free travel by rail; the right was to continue for future generations. Unfortunately, the government disregarded Stout’s unwritten promises about the land, leading to a period of bad feeling on the part of Ngāti Maniapoto towards Pakeha institutions and government.
In September 1884 Wahanui declared that he would co-operate with the government over the railway on certain conditions, and he was warmly cheered when he appeared before the bar of the House of Representatives on 1 November 1884 to outline them. The conditions included the right of the King movement to manage their own affairs, the banning of liquor from Waikato–Ngāti Maniapoto territory, and the right of his people to have sole responsibility for administering their ancestral lands. Later he was offered a seat in the Legislative Council, but nothing came of it. He did, in 1886, consider standing for the Western Māori seat in the House of Representatives, but withdrew his name before polling day.

Wahanui Huatare died at Whataroa on 5 December 1897. Although he lived according to traditional Ngāti Maniapoto custom, he had remained a Christian and had acquired a deep knowledge of Scripture. His use of Scripture in public speaking added to his mana as a distinguished orator, poet and debater. Many of his sayings became proverbial. Wahanui’s authority was enhanced by his physical presence: he is said to have stood six feet seven inches in height, and his ceremonial taiaha was, appropriately, very large.

Wahanui was a leading figure in Ngāti Maniapoto at a time when new policies and new methods of leadership were necessary. Although conscious of the need to preserve his own mana and that of his people, he led them cautiously towards constructive contact with the Pakeha world. Many whare on Ngāti Maniapoto marae were named by Wahanui, and remain part of his heritage. His portrait was painted by Gottfried Lindauer in 1882 and by Joseph Gaut in 1885, and there is a bust in the Te Awamutu District Museum.

**MANUKA HENARE**


Mountjoy, L. 'My side of the tracks'. Rail Express (Sept.--Oct. 1989): 3

Obit. New Zealand Herald. 7 Dec. 1897

Parsonson, A. R. 'Te mana o te kingitanga Māori: a study of Waikato–Ngāti Maniapoto relations during the struggle for the King Country, 1878--84'. MA thesis, Canterbury, 1972