

Wai 863 # F11

IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL
OF NEW ZEALAND



IN THE MATTER OF: The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND

IN THE MATTER OF: The Wairarapa Ki Tararua Inquiry **Wai 863**

AND

IN THE MATTER OF: The claims by **JAMES RIMENE** and **PIRINIHA TE TAU** for and on behalf of the Rangitaane iwi of Wairarapa and their constituent hapū – **Wai 175**

STATEMENT OF EVIDENCE OF STEVEN CHRISP

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Introduction

1. My name is **STEVEN CHRISP**. I am a whāngai of Rangitāne o Wairarapa. I hold a BA (Hons) in Māori Studies and History and a MA in Linguistics from Victoria University. I am also a certified and practising interpreter and translator of the Māori language.
2. I have been involved in researching the tribal history of Rangitāne since 1986. This research has involved interviews and engagement with Wairarapa kaumātua over the last 18 years, and extensive archival research at the Alexander Turnbull Library. I was also employed by the Alexander Turnbull Library as the co-ordinator of the Māori Language Collections in the period 1996-1999. During that period, I was responsible for describing published and archival material about the Wairarapa district that was written in the Māori language.
3. In the Wairarapa Ki Tararua Inquiry I have been responsible for the preparation of the following pieces of evidence:
 - (a) My report of Rangitāne Traditional History - #A60;
 - (b) My summary of that report - #A60 (a);
 - (c) An article I wrote for the Journal of Polynesian Society (Vol. 102, 1993) entitled "The Māori Occupation of Wairarapa" - #A57.
4. The Rangitāne o Wairarapa claim – Wai 175 (SOC 3) - is a wide-ranging claim both in terms of the geographical area it covers and the treaty issues raised.
5. The Rangitāne o Wairarapa statement of claim, the Crown response and the statement of issues prepared by the Waitangi Tribunal are comprehensive; however, they rely heavily upon the technical evidence of various historians that has been filed with the Tribunal. In the evidence that follows, I have addressed some of the causes of action specifically from a Rangitāne perspective. In particular, I have prepared a series of case studies that draw on some of the technical evidence that has been filed, some of

my own research and knowledge of significant Rangitāne tūpuna from the 19th century.

6. My brief is organised around the following major themes:

- (a) The leasing economy;
- (b) The ‘Carrot and Stick’ approach to land sales;
- (c) The Native Land Court;
- (d) The alienation of Wairarapa Moana
- (e) Rangitāne protests;
- (f) Gifted lands for schools;
- (g) Public Works takings; and
- (h) Actions that impacted on Rangitāne tribal identity.

A. THE LEASING ECONOMY

7. Between 1843 and 1850, early European settlers entered into lease arrangements with Rangitāne (and other Wairarapa Māori) to graze sheep on tribal lands. In my view, these arrangements were important for the following reasons:

- (a) They enabled the Māori owners to earn a significant income while retaining ownership of their lands. For example, the table in McCracken reveals that the annual total rental in Wairarapa had reached £1,200 per annum by 1852 (McCracken, #A46, page 7);
- (b) The arrangements also provided an opportunity for Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori to enter into trade and barter arrangements with the settlers. Rangitāne supplied wheat, potatoes, pigs, onions, fish and labour to the settlers who in turn provided cash and consumer goods. These trade and barter arrangements had significant economic value over and above the annual rental payments (for example, Bagnall (1976:76) noted that, throughout this period “the Maoris remained the main source of supply for the staples”).

- (c) These arrangements enabled Rangitāne to retain their lands while participating in substantial new economic opportunities. They also developed strong relationships with the squatters.
8. There are several examples of these arrangements, including the agreements between Pōtangaroa and Guthrie at Castlepoint, and between Te Korou and Donald and Rhodes in the vicinity of what is now the Solway area of Masterton¹.
9. There is no doubt that Rangitāne saw the leasing arrangements and subsequent relationships with the squatters as advantageous to them and they wanted those arrangements to continue. Examples of this are:
- (a) The squatter Guthrie (who held a run at Castlepoint) was held in high esteem by local hapū, particularly by Te Pōtangaroa. Following the enactment of the Native Land Purchase Ordinance, Te Pōtangaroa became concerned about Guthrie's future. He was sufficiently concerned to inquire of McLean in late 1851 whether Guthrie would be removed from Castlepoint (Bagnall 1976:95). Guthrie maintained a close relationship for many years with the Rangitāne people of Te Hika o Pāpāuma and Ngāti Hāmua who lived on the Castlepoint block; for example, they noted with sadness his death in 1876 in a letter to Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri (8 Ākuhata 1876:194).
- (b) The receipt for the sale of the Te Whiti block records that 200 acres had been on-sold to the squatter John McKenzie (known as Te One) for a homestead so that he could continue to live near the vendors. The signatories on that deed were the Ngāti Te Hina people of Rangitāne who had a close relationship with Te One. A copy of the relevant receipt appears at Tab "A". (Turton's Deeds #A100 1878, Part 10, page 444 – deed number 20).
10. The leasing economy struck at the heart of 'systematic colonisation' and the Crown's intention to buy land cheaply, sell it for profit, and use the income to fund colonisation and public works. From the late 1840s, the Crown set about systematic and intense

¹ Te Pōtangaroa was the rangatira of Te Hika o Pāpāuma, and Te Korou was the rangatira of Ngāti Hāmua at Kaikōkikiriri. Their whakapapa and connections have been discussed in other briefs of evidence.

efforts to purchase the fertile Wairarapa valley from Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori.

B. THE ‘CARROT & STICK APPROACH’ TO LAND SALES

11. The Crown approach to acquiring Rangitāne lands in Wairarapa during this period can be described as a “carrot and stick” policy. The “stick” was the deliberate policy of undermining the informal leasing regime and economy, through the enactment and application of the Native Land Purchase Ordinance (including the threatened use of it against Wairarapa squatters, and the deliberate encouragement of settlers not to pay rental payments to Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori). The “carrot” was the promised provision of benefits including schools, hospitals, pensions and mills if Rangitāne sold their lands.
12. These tools were applied over the period of several years by various Crown officials, including Governor Grey and Donald McLean.

The “Stick”

13. Rangitāne have argued that the Crown adopted a deliberate and systematic policy of undermining the leasing economy that had developed in the Wairarapa. The details of that are set out at SOC 3, paragraphs 23.1-23.12 inclusive. In short, the Crown sought to stop the rental payments of existing leases, prevent the take-up of new leases, and enforce the Native Land Ordinance against some existing squatters.
14. There are some specific examples that I wish to alert the Tribunal to:
 - (a) It seems that squatters were ‘recruited’ by Crown officials, and convinced not to pay their rents to Rangitāne. For example, the squatters Donald and Rhodes had been leasing land on the Taratahi plain, south of the Waingawa River. As a result of overtures from Grey, these squatters ceased paying their rents to the Ngāti Hāmua rangatira Ngātūere Tāwhao (Jim Rīmene has provided details of Ngātūere’s Rangitāne whakapapa in his brief of evidence). It appears that they withheld their rents for several years.

- (b) Squatters were warned off taking up land. For example, J A Wilson was warned by McLean not to take up land beyond Castlepoint (that is, among Te Hika o Pāpāuma and Ngāti Hāmua). In describing this incident, Bagnall has noted that “The warning [to Wilson] gave McLean an opportunity next morning to make clear to local Maoris in Wilson’s presence that leasing should be discontinued” (Bagnall 1976:95).
- (c) In some cases, the squatters were actually ‘turned out’ of their runs. For example, McLean directed John Sutherland to abandon his run in the Whareama area. This incident provided the impetus for the first offer by the local Rangitāne hapū to sell the land. Bagnall (1976:96-97) noted “When he [Sutherland] began to muster the cattle to drive them off the block across the river (presumably the Whareama) the Maori protested and wished Sutherland to remain saying that if they were pleased with an offer for the block which the Crown might make for the area they would sell. This, Guthrie said, was the first time they had ever spoken of parting with it”.
- (d) There is some evidence that McLean also ‘recruited’ Te Hāpuku to support the pressure on the Rangitāne economy. There is a letter in the McLean papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library from Te Hāpuku and others to McLean, dated 20 March 1852, that is very important and relevant to these events. In that letter, Te Hāpuku states as follows:

“...Ko tenei pouri hoki oku tenei, ko ta taua korero hoki mo nga Pakeha o Wairarapa kia aia mai tetahi, kia noho pohara nga tangata tetahi, kia riro atu ano i a koe nga rau o ta taua rakau kia noho marama ai taua ka mutu”.

A contemporary translation of that portion of the letter reads as follows:

“Another subject that annoys me is our talk about the Europeans of Wairarapa. Let them be sent this way from there, that the Natives there may experience poverty and that you may have the leaves and branches of our tree and that we may live in a state of light and peace, that is all”.

15. A copy of that letter also appears in Tākīrangī Smith's report entitled "Tuku Whenua and Māori Land Tenure" (#A45 at pages 143 and 144). I disagree with Mr Smith's translation of the relevant portion of the letter. I also note that the contemporary translation accords with my translation of the letter.
16. There are several critical points raised in this portion of the letter.
- (a) Te Hāpuku wanted Pākehā settlement close to where he lived;
 - (b) He wanted to achieve this by having the squatters of Wairarapa removed from there and moved to the Hawkes Bay to live;
 - (c) Te Hāpuku was clearly aware of the economic impact that this would have on Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori, and he appears to want to leave these people in a vulnerable state;
 - (d) I believe that the reference to the leaves and branches of the tree is a cryptic reference to the acquisition of land at Wairarapa.
 - (e) It seems clear that Te Hāpuku was aware of the strategy that McLean was applying to undermine the leasing economy in the Wairarapa, and that he had previously discussed it with McLean.

Refer MS papers – 0032-0676B (McLean papers, Alexander Turnbull Library)

17. In my view, the sale arrangements were very unfavourable to Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori (which is unsurprising perhaps in the monopoly environment that existed); the income they received as a sale price would have realised in only a few short years of leasing. Examples of that were:
- (a) The Turakirae block, traditionally owned by the aho-rua hapū of Ngāi Tūkoko, was purchased on 1 September 1853 for £2,000 together with the five per cents. The rentals for that block had been £120 per annum (to extrapolate, the owners would have earned this amount in rent in 16 years). McLean was very

aware of this. He wrote to the Civil Secretary of the New Munster Provincial Government dated 2 September 1853 confirming the following:

“Rents, which will now cease, to the amount of £120 a year have been paid to the Natives for land leased within this purchase...” (AJHR 1891 G-4).

- (b) In respect to the Manaia block, McDonald and Rhodes had been paying £50 per annum in rental to Ngāti Hāmua rangatira including Wī Waaka and Ngātūiere. The block was sold for £550. It is a simple calculation to reckon that the Ngāti Hāmua owners would have earned the same amount of money in only 11 years in the leasing regime. (Refer Turton’s Deeds – Manaia Block Deed No. 150)
18. This experience must have been galling for Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori, because they had no input into the purchase prices for various blocks, and they were aware that the land was being on-sold by the Crown for significant profits.
19. Hikawera Mahupuku of Ngāti Meroiti (Rangitāne) and Ngāti Hikawera (Ngāti Kahungunu) hapū complained that it was “Mr. McLean who invariably fixed the price for each block and not the sellers” (cited in Hippolite 1991:61). For his part, McLean was aware that he was buying the land ‘on the cheap’. In describing the purchase of the Huangarua Block of 800 acres, he stated “I cannot help thinking that this land has been secured at a wonderfully cheap rate” (McLean, cited in AJHR 1861, C-1:262). This phenomenon continued for a number of years. In 1862, the Government Surveyor in Wairarapa noted that: “in their lands, they must take the price offered by Government or they cannot sell them” (AJHR 1862, E-7:27).
20. As evidence of Rangitāne awareness of substantial profits from on-sale, McCracken has described examples of a curious practice whereby Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori would sell land to the Crown, and immediately repurchase part of the land for a substantially increased price (in an available example, the ‘mark-up’ has been estimated at about 230%). The old people presumably repurchased their own lands to secure the benefits of Crown title (McCracken, #A46, page 71).

The “Carrot”, or the Crown’s Failure to Honour Promises

21. The “carrot” was the promised provision of benefits including schools, hospitals, pensions and mills if Rangitāne sold their lands, and the provision of “ample reserves”.
22. Rangitāne alienated their land in the period 1853-1860 with the understanding that Grey and McLean had promised particular benefits to them, and other Wairarapa Māori, in 1853. Those promises included: an increased European population (as an outlet for trade and labour), the provision of education, medical services, pensions, and mills from a land fund known as the “Five Per Cent/Koha Fund”. In addition, Grey had earlier made promises of “ample reserves” if Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori would sell their lands to the Crown.
23. Rangitāne signatories have been identified in seven of the eleven deeds containing koha clauses signed between 1853-1854, the relevant deeds being:
 - West side of the Lake Block 1 - Turton’s Deeds #88
 - Tuhitarata – McMaster’s Run – Turton’s Deeds #89
 - Tauherenīkau No.4 Block – Turton’s Deeds #91
 - Part Pahaua and Wilson’s Run – Turton’s Deeds #97
 - Wharema No.2 – Turton’s Deeds #98
 - Whareama Block (part of) – Turton’s Deeds #101
 - Manawatū Block – Turton’s Deeds #102
 - Mākoura – Turton’s Deeds #103
 - West side of the Lake Part Block 1 – Turton’s Deeds #109².
24. I understand that a copy of the Tūranganui (East Side of the Lake) Māori version has been included on the Record of Inquiry. This deed is unique because it specifies the conditions of the koha/five per cent clause in Māori (the other Māori language deeds

² The Rangitāne signatories were identified by Mr James Rīmene and myself, and cross-referenced with whakapapa records and Native Land Court minute books. A list of those blocks, which are spread throughout the Wairarapa, appears as annexure B to SOC 3. This list appears at Tab “B”.

for the Wairarapa District in Turton's Deeds simply refer back to 'previous arrangements', ie the Tūranganui Deed!).

25. I set out the relevant passage from the Tūranganui Deed, with my own translation, as follows:

“Tenei ano hoki tetahi ritenga e wakaetia nei e te Kuini o Ingarani mona kia homai ki a matau i etahi takiwa i roto i etahi atu tau e wakaritea e te Kawana o Nui Tireni e matau hoki ara ko taua ritenga he koha i a matau kainga ka tukua nei kia hoki mai ki a matau hei wakaritenga kura wakaako mo a matou tamariki, hei wakatunga mira huri parao mo matou, hei wakaritenga whare turoro, takuta hoki mo matou, hei homaitanga utu hoki i roto i nga tau mo etahi o a matou rangatira Māori, otira ma matou tahi ko nga kaiwakarite e wakaritea mai e te Kuini, e te Kawana o Nui Tireni ranei e komiti marire nga ritenga hei whakatumaunga mo aua moni. Ko nga utu mo a matou tangata rangatira i roto i nga tau ma te Kawana o Nui Tireni ma tetahi atu tangata e wakaritea i a ia te tikanga mo nga rangatira mona aua utu i roto i nga tau. Ko te ritenga hoki o aua utu koia tenei ki te mea ka oti te ruritanga ka hokona taua whenua o matou kua tukua kia te Kuini o Ingarani, ki nga kingi, kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ko etahi o nga moni i riro ki a te Kuini, ki a te Kawanatanga o Nui Tireni hei utu mo aua whenua ka wakamotuhia mo aua tikanga mo matou kua oti nei te korero. Te ritenga o te moni e hoki mai ki a matou he 5 per cent ka rite ki te rima pauna o roto o te rau kotahi £100 ana oti atu ano i a nga utu mo te ruritanga mo nga mahinga wakarite ki runga ki aua whenua.”

26. My translation of that is as follows:

“This is a further arrangement that is agreed by the Queen of England, that she will provide at certain times in future years, as agreed by the Governor of New Zealand and ourselves, certain benefits [*he koha*] derived from our homes that we have passed over to provide for the establishment of schools for our children, for the erection of mills to grind flour, for the establishment of hospitals and [provision of] doctors for us, and for the payment of pensions in future years for some of our rangatira. In this regard, we and the officers of the Queen or the Governor of New Zealand will consider in committee the allocation of those monies. The payments for our rangatira

in future years will be made by the Governor of New Zealand, or by someone with his delegated authority. The basis of those payments shall be as follows: when the land that we have passed over to the Queen of England and the Kings or Queens after her has been surveyed, a portion of the monies received by the Queen, or by the Government of New Zealand, as payment for those lands shall be set aside for the arrangements for us that have been outlined above. The sum of the money that shall be returned to us will be 5 per cent, equivalent to 5 pounds in one hundred £100 following the payment of costs for surveys and public works on those lands.”

27. The following points should be noted:

- (a) The koha/five per cent clause makes reference to the provision of various benefits in the plural, and the commitments are tense neutral. My view is that Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori would have understood that the clause promised several mills, schools, hospitals etc that would be provided in the contemporary present and future. The English version of the West Side of the Lake Wairarapa Deed (Turton’s Deeds No.88) supports this view:

“It is further agreed to by the Queen of England on her part to pay us at certain periods within certain years to be decided on by the Governor of New Zealand and ourselves, that is, that we are to have a certain additional consideration for the lands we have sold, to be paid to us for the forming of schools to teach our children, for the construction of flour mills for us, for the construction of Hospitals and for Medical attendance for us, and also for certain annuities to be paid to us for certain of our Chiefs...”

- (b) There is ample evidence in the technical reports that these benefits were infrequently and ineffectually provided (if at all), and that Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori protested about the inadequacy of the services provided and the failure to pay annuities.

28. A significant issue for me is the intended duration of the koha/five per cent fund. In my view, it is not clear from the critical Tūrangānuī Deed whether the koha fund was meant to be collected once following the initial resale of the land by the Crown, or

whether it was to operate as some sort of ongoing ‘land tax’ every time the affected lands were sold or resold. There is some evidence that some tūpuna thought the latter. An example of this is the correspondence between Ngātūere and Searancke, as discussed in Stirling (#A48, p 185-186), about the koha/five per cent fund. In addition, there is no deadline specified in the Māori language text of the Tūranganui Deed for this component of the agreement. The situation was exacerbated by the koha fund being paid out intermittently over several decades, which may well have led to an impression, possibly mistaken, in the minds of some tūpuna that the koha payments would be ongoing.

29. As noted above, Grey had promised Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori that “ample reserves” would be made for them if they sold their land to the Crown. On this basis, and with absolute trust in the promise of a rangatira, Rangitāne agreed in various deeds that Crown officials could identify the extent and location of the reserves. However, McLean lost little time after the sales in providing contrary instructions to the surveyor Mein Smith:

“I believe the natives will be demanding extravagant reserves at [the Rangitāne blocks off] Opaki, Makoura and Koangawareware and the other plains within the valley ... you will good enough to inform them that you are not prepared to agree to such reserves, and that, although they give information respecting them it is necessary to confer with me before acceding to any beyond what you may consider essential for their welfare.” (McLean, cited in Bagnall 1976:104).

30. This mean-spirited approach meant in practice that the lands reserved for Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori were negligible (even by contemporary standards³). McCracken has noted that:

“From December 1854, very few reserves were set aside from sale ... By 1860 Searancke reported that of the estimated 1,200,00 acres (the actual area is about 2,000,000 acres), about 957,864 acres (or 81%) of the land had been alienated to the Crown. Within that area about 20,224 acres (or 2%) had been reserved for Māori. In

³ It was reasonably common to reserve 10 percent of lands for Māori at this time, as per the Wellington and Nelson Tenths.

1871, according to Heaphy's calculations, 68,000 acres (or 3.5%) had been reserved from sale to that date".

31. This situation was made worse by the Crown practice of purchasing the reserves shortly after they were first set aside. In 1855, for example, three reserves that had been set aside from the Castlepoint purchase of 1853 had been alienated. Hippolite (1991:41) noted: "of the reserves, Porotawao, Puketwai and Whakataki were all bought by McLean on 9 January 1855 ... according to the deed, Whakataki was sold in order that the native custom relative to that piece of land would be extinguished, enabling the Maori to then purchase their own land back in 'suitable pieces'".

C. THE NATIVE LAND COURT ERA

32. The period 1865-1900 saw the advent of the Native Land Court in the Wairarapa. During that period, the land that remained in the ownership of Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori, approximately 700,000 acres, was investigated by the Native Land Court. During that same period, the Crown acquired more than 400,000 acres of lands following investigation by the Court. I have set out below some examples that are specific to Rangitāne and Ngāti Hāmua. Before I describe these examples, however, I want to point out that these examples need to be located within their context; by this time, three-quarters of the lands of Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori had already been alienated. The advent of the Native Land Court, the title investigations and subsequent sale was, in my view, a 'mopping-up' exercise of the remaining land base of Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori.

Processing Reserves in the Native Land Court

33. As noted above, some small reserves were set aside for Rangitāne and Wairarapa Māori in the initial sales. The rationale behind the establishment of the reserves as a sustainable endowment for Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori was flawed in the sense that the reserves themselves were not adequate in size, restrictions originally placed on the reserves were subsequently removed by the Native Land Court, title for reserves was individualised, and they were then alienated to the Crown and/or private purchasers.

34. Between 1865 and 1900, restrictions on alienation were imposed on 86 Wairarapa land blocks, comprising 160,000 acres. By 1900 restrictions had been removed from over 45 of those blocks, albeit at the request of the owners but often in specific circumstances. This dynamic is exemplified in the following example:

Ngātāhuna Reserve

35. The Ngātāhuna Reserve of approximately 1500 acres was reserved from the Castlepoint purchase of 1853. It forms part of the modern day Ngāumu Forest.
36. The reserve was divided into two blocks. The title for the first block of about 1400 acres was awarded in 1869 to Atareti Matini and nine others of Ngāti Hāmua. This block was not declared inalienable despite its reserve status. It was sold to Herbert Wardell in the early 1870s (incidentally, Wardell was the local Resident Magistrate. He later onsold the land to the infamous James Pendergrast for a 300% profit).
37. The second block of about 67 acres was a mahinga kai area known as the “Māori garden”. It was awarded to Ihaia Whakamairu and nine others of Ngāti Hāmua, and declared inalienable. However, the owners applied to have the restriction lifted because it was too far from their kāinga and was already landlocked by the 1870s. The restriction on alienation was ultimately lifted by the Native Land Court and the block was subsequently sold.

Individualisation of Title & Fragmentation

38. The role of the Native Land Court in individualising tribal title to land has been well established. This process had severe impacts on Rangitāne reserves, and on other remaining tribal lands. Some examples are set out below.

Otawhake Reserve

39. The Otawhake Reserve of about 259 acres was part of the original 1,000 acre reserve at Opaki that was granted by McLean from the 1853 Manawatū purchase. The reserve

was originally granted to Matina Ruta, who agreed to sell the land in 1873. However, it was subsequently discovered that the reserve was intended for the entire Ngāti Hāmua hapū and that Ruta was really a trustee for the hapū. It was described as “splendid land, occupied and cultivated” by between 20 to 30 people. Despite the strong hapū associations with the particular area, and the fact that it was meant to be set aside for the whole of the Ngāti Hāmua hapū, the land was approved for sale through the Native Land Court.

40. The Otawhake Reserve scenario is indicative of the intention behind the Native Land Court, and the ultimate effect on Rangitāne, in that it ushered in a new emphasis on the rights of individuals as opposed to the rights of the tribal collective. It also provides a clear example whereby individual grantees could act in their own rights without recourse to other owners or the collective will of the hapū. As a result, Hāmua’s tribal right had been extinguished.

Te Oreore Block

41. Another effect of the individualisation of tribal title was that buyers of individuals’ interests in Māori freehold land could partition those interests out of ‘parent’ blocks, which led to fragmentation of land blocks. The Te Oreore block, owned by Ngāti Hāmua hapū, provides a clear example of how fragmentation affected Māori land during the 19th century.
42. There were many significant pā and kāinga, cultivation areas and wāhi tapu on and near this block.

(Refer Maps 2, 6 8 and 9, Rangitāne Map Booklet #E39)

43. Four subdivisions were created during the 1869 title investigation of the parent Te Oreore block. The titles were awarded to Rangitāne rangatira, including Karaitiana Te Korou. Following the four main subdivisions, there were numerous further partitions, investigations and orders made in the period 1869 to 1900.

44. The ongoing fragmentation during this 30 year period ultimately led to the sale of all but 48 acres, which remained in Rangitāne ownership by 1900 (barely one-tenth of the fragmented block).
45. Today, the remaining lands in the Te Oreore block are divided into 16 blocks. The descriptive titles of these blocks reflect the waves of extensive subdivisions and read like algebra calculations (for example, Te Oreore 2 Sub 2B3B1E1 and Te Oreore 2 Sub 2B3B Sec 1C). The remaining lands are in two broad categories: very small blocks that are marae reserves and urupa, and larger ‘bowstring’ blocks (that is, very long and thin blocks of land). The largest block is 19.78 acres, and the smallest block is a tiny 0.1 acres.

Expense and Debt

46. The Native Land Court system imposed costs on Rangitāne that were unforeseen and unsustainable, and ultimately led to the alienation of further Rangitāne land in the period 1865-1900. The impact of the court costs and survey fees that were paid by Rangitāne to be involved in a process that they had no role in setting up is evident in the following case studies.

Okurupatu Block – (Refer Map 2 of the Rangitāne Map Booklet, #E39)

47. The Okurupatu Block is situated north of Masterton and adjoins the Te Oreore block. As noted above, it is very significant to Rangitāne, and in particular the Ngāti Hāmua. There are significant pā, kāinga, mahinga kai and wāhi tapu situated on this particular block. This block was claimed by various small hapū within Ngāti Hāmua including Ngāi Tamahau and Ngāti Te Aomataura. Cross claims were made by other hapū of Ngāti Hāmua including the Ngāti Te Tohinga and Ngāti Te Umu hapū.
48. Because this block was heavily disputed amongst the claimants (despite the fact that they were all Ngāti Hāmua people), there were several rounds of hearings, rehearings and appeals that significantly increased the costs due to the protracted nature of the hearings associated with this particular block. The survey charges owed were significant in themselves, at £230 for the 1881 survey, £204 for the main surveys in

1895 and a further £73 for subsidiary 1895 surveys. There were also court costs mounting up over many weeks, and additional expenses such as travel to Wellington and accommodation there for the presentation of petitions, and accommodation and food costs during the numerous and protracted hearings.

Äkura Block

49. The Äkura Block provides a specific example of accumulating court costs and the use of the land being investigated to pay these court costs. In this block, as with Ökurupatu, all the claimants were Ngāti Hāmua people who traced their descent from Hineteorangi (the whakapapa is provided in Jim Rīmene’s evidence). They based their various claims and counter-claims on small (and related) hapū within Ngāti Hāmua including Ngāti Mātangiuru and Ngāti Tapatapa. There is some evidence that the claimants at a particular rehearing for the Äkura Block were very hard pressed financially and raised the £5 deposit that the Court required each side to pay with great difficulty. In addition to this, there is evidence that the claimants were away from their homes and camping in uncomfortable temporary whare. It later transpired that the claimants had already incurred debts of at least £130 in having the block surveyed, paying court costs and attending the numerous sittings all over the Wairarapa. As a result, 52 acres of valuable river front land of Äkura No.1 was transferred to Bannister (the local storekeeper) immediately after the issue of title by the Court.

Kopuaranga Block – (Refer Map 2 of the Rangitāne Map Booklet, #E39)

50. The Kopuaranga Block situated north of Masterton provides an example of a public work taking which required the entire block to be processed through the Native Land Court, which incurred costs for the Rangitāne owners (including survey costs). Māori land legislation in force at that time required a title investigation before compensation under the Public Works Act could be paid. Public works takings then needed to be surveyed, which required the survey of the whole block. As a result, the block owners were immediately charged with a £20 survey lien as well as the considerable sum of £14 in court fees.

D. THE ALIENATION OF WAIRARAPA MOANA

51. Lake Wairarapa and Lake Onoke were important sources of kai and other resources for Rangitāne. The Tribunal has already heard the traditional evidence of Jim Rīmene in terms of the origins of the name of Lake Wairarapa and the tupuna of Kurahaupō lineage who was responsible for naming our moana. From the time of Haunuiānanaia, Rangitāne hapū have maintained a connection with both Lakes Wairarapa and Onoke.
52. Ngāti Hāmua and the aho-rua hapū of Ngāi Tūkoko, Ngāti Hinetauira and Ngāti Te Whakamana exercised resource rights at Lake Wairarapa to take eels, flounder, whitebait, kokopu, ducks, fern root and korau. I refer to this in my traditional history report (#A60, page 51).
53. During the early Crown purchases in 1853 to 1854, transactions were entered into which resulted in the acquisition of four blocks surrounding Lake Wairarapa, being Turakirae, Tūranganui, Tauherenīkau and Kahutara. In the years after the 1855 earthquake, the Crown came under increased pressure from settlers to acquire land surrounding and underneath Lake Wairarapa. Between 1874 and 1876, various attempts were made by the Crown to acquire Lake Wairarapa in particular. On 14 February 1876, the Crown purported to acquire Lake Wairarapa from Te Hiko and others.
54. Between 1876-1895, there was sustained and vigorous protest by all Wairarapa Māori, including Rangitāne, against the alienation of Wairarapa Moana. That opposition was led by Piripi Te Maari. Piripi Te Maari identified the aho-rua hapū of Ngāi Tūkoko as his link to Wairarapa Moana. (#A60, page 33).
55. As a result of protest against attempts to acquire Wairarapa Moana, a Royal Commission sat in Greytown during April to May 1891 to investigate claims for Lake Wairarapa and adjacent lands. Following the Commission and the recommendations made therein, Māori agreed to gift the lakes to the Crown and entered into a deed to that effect, with many of the signatories having Rangitāne whakapapa.

56. In 1915 Haeata Hēnare and ten others tabled a petition to Parliament praying for an inquiry in relation to the shares allotted to the owners of the Wairarapa Moana block in 1896. The Native Affairs Select Committee referred this petition to the Government for inquiry. Haeata Hēnare was of Ngāti Hāmua descent and resided at Hiona Pā (*refer Map 6, Rangitāne Map Booklet #A39*). He was also the grandfather to Aunties Margaret Rimene, Hinerau Te Tau and Barb Kopura.

57. The Chief Judge of the Native Land Court reported that:

“...this Court has come to the conclusion that the relative interests of the Māori owners of the Wairarapa Lake have not been determined according to native custom and consequently that the shares and interest in the land vested in them in the Pouākani Block are not fairly and equitably adjusted” (AJHR 1920 G-6).

58. This led to a Native Land Court hearing in 1924. From related correspondence, it seems that Ware Waitai prepared a scheme for the allocation of the shares that the owners adjusted and approved and this was submitted to the Native Land Court. It further seems that Chief Judge Jones approved the list in January 1924. In this list there were 139 owners, ten of whom were associated with Ngāti Hāmua. Between them they received 66 shares of 855 at about 7.5 per cent which equated to about 2,300 acres. In many respects, these people were the trustees for the wider Ngāti Hāmua community. For example, when one of the original grantees passed away (Wī Waaka Te Rangiwhaka-ewa), he was succeeded by 33 Hāmua descendants.

E. RANGITĀNE PROTEST

59. The middle and latter part of the 19th century was a time of intense change for Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori. During this period, Rangitāne saw the majority of their tribal estate alienated to the Crown. Tenurial reform was introduced by the advent of the Native Land Court. The meagre reserves promised by the Crown were not properly surveyed and were easily alienated. Promises to provide schools, hospitals and other infrastructure were not met. There was confusion in the mind of Rangitāne rangatira concerning the extent and use of the koha payments. In addition

Rangitāne were well aware of conflict occurring throughout the country with the Crown.

60. During this period Rangitāne tūpuna participated in a series of events which I characterise as their response to the changed circumstances they found themselves in and an effort to cling to their chiefly mana. I briefly describe some examples below.

The Kīngitanga Movement

61. Certain tūpuna with Rangitāne whakapapa had sympathy for the Kīngitanga movement and converted to the Pai Marire faith. In fact, it appears that Karaitiana Te Korou was the scribe of the *Ua Rongopai*. Other supporters included Te Manihera, Wī Waaka, and Ngāiro. In 1865, Ngāiro and some of his Pai Marire supporters left Kohikutu Pā, north of Masterton, to join in the fighting in Taranaki. Ngāiro and Wī Waaka both fought at Taranaki. When three Wairarapa people were killed in the fighting at Taranaki (being Wīremu Hautuku, Aperahama Piripi Te Hautāruru, and Rēnata Kaiwaewae) the government sponsored Māori newspaper celebrated the event with an editorial comment:

“Ko nga mea i mate o te ope o Ngairo ma, kaitoa ki a mate.....”

My translation of this statement is as follows:

“The people that were killed from Ngairo’s party, it serves them right that they were killed”. (Refer Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri 1866, page 82)

The Repudiation Movement

62. Rangitāne individuals and hapū also actively participated in the repudiation movement of the 1870s and were involved in attempts to boycott Native Land Court hearings and to settle disputes and title in local kōmiti. In fact, the repudiation movement was led by Hēnare Matua, from Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua. Te Hika a Pāpāuma, Ngāti Moe and Ngāti Hāmua were specifically involved in this movement in support of their whanaunga, Matua.

Support for the Prophet Pāora Pōtangaroa

63. Pōtangaroa was Ngāti Kahungunu on his mother's side and Rangitāne, in particular, Te Hika a Pāpāuma and Ngāti Hāmua, on his father's side. In his youth, he had been a signatory to the Castlepoint Deed. In later life, however, he came to realise the debilitating effect of land sales. He expressed his concerns through a series of prophetic statements and symbols, in particular between 1878 and 1881. Pōtangaroa had the support of many of the leading Wairarapa rangatira. His influence was reported by the local press in 1881

“[At the Pōtangaroa hui, it was agreed] There was to be no land-selling, no leasing, no debts to be paid. These were decided in solemn conclave” (Wairarapa Daily July 19 1881:2).

64. The influence of this hui was still evident in 1886:

This [selling land], at present, they are most reluctant to do ... in most cases, their lands are “restricted from sale”; but where they are free to sell, they prefer to go to gaol when pressed by creditors rather than do so” (AJHR 1886 G-1:17).

65. Pōtangaroa was a major driver behind the establishment of Ngā Tau E Waru, the wharenuī we are inside today, and there are many expressions here of his prophecies. The support he gained at the time, and the ongoing series of anniversaries in commemoration of his revelations (led, in particular, by Taiāwhio Te Tau), demonstrate attempts by Rangitāne and other Wairarapa Māori to find solutions to enable them to rationalise and deal with the ever-changing circumstances they found themselves in.

The Kotahitanga Movement

66. Rangitāne hapū and communities also supported the Kotahitanga movement at Papawai, and it's philosophy of retaining the national Māori land base of that time

(5,000,000 acres) through no further land sales. The communities of Hāmua, Tāmaki and Te Oreore were all supportive of the Kotahitanga movement.

67. In 1897, a local Māori military unit that was aligned with the Kotahitanga, the Wairarapa Māori Mounted Rifles, participated in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee as a guard of honour (Captain Rīmene was a member of this party). This unit presented a Kotahitanga petition to the British Parliament seeking to retain the remaining Māori lands in tribal ownership and to secure Maori self-government. Local people, including Taiāwhio Te Tau, saw this as the fulfilment of a specific prophecy by Pōtangara in 1881; Pōtangaroa had said that he would swim the ocean in a soldier's uniform to ask the Queen the ills of the land.

F. GIFTED LANDS FOR SCHOOLS

68. In 1853, Rangitāne tūpuna of Ngāti Hāmua and Te Hika a Pāpāuma were major donors of 190 acres of land at Kaikōkirikiri to the Anglican Church for educational purposes.
69. Rangitāne, along with all other Wairarapa Māori, gifted those lands on the understanding that schools would be built at Papawai and Kaikōkirikiri. It was the Rangitāne understanding that if those lands were not used for the purpose of schooling, they would be returned to the original owners.
70. In breach of that understanding, the Anglican Church failed to build schools at these sites and failed to return the lands gifted to the rightful owners.
71. Following protests, the Native Affairs Committee investigated this matter in 1896. Premier Seddon undertook to rectify the situation in 1898 and a Commission of Inquiry was held in 1905. Eventually, this led to the establishment of Hikurangi College at Clareville which limped along for 30 or so years from the 1910s to the 1930s.
72. Ngāti Hāmua were involved in protest about the operation of the college. In 1927, Kōruarua Peneamine and others of the Ngāi Tūhakeke hapū of Ngāti Hāmua

petitioned Parliament to object to the location of the college at Clareville, nine miles away from the gifted land and the failure of the Trustees of the Papawai-Kaikōkirikiri lands to advise them about the administration of the fund.

73. Following the collapse of Hikurangi College in the 1930s, a further investigation was held by the joint committee on Church Trust lands in 1941. Legislation was introduced in 1943, namely the Papawai and Kaikōkirikiri Trust Act, to address the underlying issues of land ownership and the provision of benefits. The Crown had known about this situation for over 40 years. They could have become involved at a much earlier time.

74. The 1943 Act permits the establishment of scholarships for children of British subjects of all races. Section 12 of the Act deals with the application of Trust monies. Section 12(4) provides for the provision of secondary school scholarships for:

“children of British subjects of all races, and for children of other persons being inhabitants of islands in the Pacific Ocean, but so that preference is given to boys and girls of the Ngatikahungunu Tribe residing in the Wairarapa district south of a straight line passing through Akitio and Pahiatua, and then to other Maoris or descendants of Maoris residing on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, and, failing such, to Maoris or descendants of Maoris of any part of New Zealand;”

75. Rangitāne protested the failure of the Anglican Church to establish the schools and/or return the gifted lands over a long period. That failure is exacerbated by the establishment of the Trust which permits scholarships to be awarded to the descendants of non-resident Māori, children from the Pacific Islands and indeed children of all the British subjects. There is also a concern on the part of Rangitāne of the failure to refer to them in that Act at all.

G. PUBLIC WORKS TAKINGS

76. Various Rangitāne lands have been acquired by way of public works takings. What follows are several examples:

Masterton Railway Station (15 acres)

77. This was acquired in approximately 1874 from the Kaikōkikiriki Church Reserve. While some compensation was paid to the trustees (about £86), there was little benefit to the original owners (because of the circumstances described above). In addition, there was a further diminution of the Rangitāne land base in Wairarapa.

Kopuaranga – Railways and Roothing

78. The Kopuaranga block was supposedly a reserve. It belonged to the Ngāti Te Noti and Ngāti Pōhatu hapū of Ngāti Hāmua. Some 15 acres of land was taken for the railway and then roads in the early 1880s. Compensation was delayed for some years owing to the legislation then in place that required title investigations to take place before compensation could be paid, which resulted in survey lands and Court costs being imposed.

Eketāhuna Railways and Roothing

79. About 16 acres of land was taken for railway and roadway purposes from the Eketāhuna Native Reserve in 1892 and 1894. As with the other examples, some compensation was paid but this is almost beside the point. Money is ephemeral, while the land maintains.

Te Ore Ore and Ökurupatu Roothing

80. Land was taken from the Te Ore Ore and Okurupatu blocks for rooothing purposes. In the case of Ökurupatu, 271 acres of land was taken, the largest of any block in the Wairarapa.
81. The takings were significant as they cut through customary land and encroached upon the Te Oreore kāinga and cultivations. As a result there was a great deal of dispute about these takings during the period 1870-1890. The disputes were bitter and lasted for a lengthy period of time (at one stage, they almost resulted in civil unrest).

82. This example is particularly relevant to this hearing as the land and roads in question are literally right outside the front door of the Te Oreore Marae. It is on these very roads that the Tribunal and others will have travelled in order to reach the marae today.

H. ACTIONS THAT IMPACTED ON RANGITĀNE TRIBAL IDENTITY

The Importance of Tribal Identity

83. There is a growing body of evidence from national and international research that, among indigenous peoples, strong cultural identity is an important platform for social and economic development⁴. This is especially significant for indigenous people who are ‘survivors of colonisation’⁵.

84. In New Zealand, this idea has been articulated by Professor Mason Durie of Rangitāne ki Manawatū and Ngāti Raukawa in three interlinked goals that can be paraphrased as:

- Being Māori (cultural identity);
- Being global citizens (social development); and
- Being healthy and wealthy (economic development).

Māori commentators typically identify ‘being Māori’ as the starting point for engagement with ‘being global citizens’ and ‘being healthy and wealthy’⁶.

85. For tribal peoples, tribal affiliations, connections and histories are critical components of cultural identity. Several commentators have identified various components of ‘being Māori’ that derive directly from tribal identity, including: knowledge of

⁴ For examples and further discussion, see *Well-being and Disparity in Tāmaki-Makarau* (Te Puni Kōkiri 2003).

⁵ The term ‘survivors of colonisation’ refers to peoples who have retained a distinctive identity in the wake of colonisation, where significant decolonisation has yet to occur.

⁶ It should be noted that these development goals have a long history that precedes this articulation of them by Professor Durie.

whakapapa, linkages with whānau, hapū and iwi, linkages with ancestral lands and involvement with marae⁷.

Three Phases of Destabilisation and Misinformation

86. For Rangitāne, Crown actions to destabilise systems for the transmission of Rangitānetanga and to disseminate misinformation about Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu can be grouped into three broad phases:

- 1850s-1920s (misinformation about Rangitānetanga);
- 1920-1960s (destabilisation of systems for transmission of tribal knowledge);
- 1960s-present (further misinformation about Rangitānetanga)

The First Period: 1850s-1920s

87. In this period, the Crown consistently referred to Wairarapa Māori as Ngāti Kahungunu in official records (including the deeds of land sales, the ‘Register of Chiefs’, censuses of the Māori population, and reports of Resident Magistrates and other officials in Wairarapa).

88. There is significant evidence, however, that Wairarapa Māori continued to describe themselves in terms of their Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu identities (that is, Rangitāne people continued to identify themselves in terms of their Rangitāne hapū and whakapapa, and Ngāti Kahungunu people continued to identify themselves in terms of their hapū and whakapapa).

89. This evidence was available to Crown officials in the minute books of the Native Land Court, and in Māori language newspapers published by various Crown agencies. However, for some reason, they did not access and apply this information. Angela Ballara has described the mismatched result as follows:

⁷ See, for example, *Te Whāriki* and *Te Aho Matua o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori*.

“Despite their almost complete Rangitāne descent, Ngāti Mutuahi were described in official lists as a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu.

Land Court witnesses were firm that they [Ngāti Parakiore] were a hapū of Rangitāne. Official lists proclaimed them to be a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu.” (Ballara 1991:220 – Document #A83).

90. There is no primary evidence about why the Crown consistently referred to Wairarapa Māori as Ngāti Kahungunu throughout this period. However, it is my opinion that it was a matter of bureaucratic convenience.
91. A stark example of the bureaucratic convenience at play is the labelling of all signatories to the sale deeds in the 1853-1854 period as being rangatira of Ngāti Kahungunu. There is no reference to rangatira being of Rangitāne descent. Annexed and marked “**B**” is a list of some of the blocks purchased by the Crown between 1853-1865, all of which are referred to in Turton’s Deeds. We have identified those blocks in which some of the signatories have been identified as Rangitāne persons.⁸
92. Despite there being numerous Rangitāne signatories present on a number of the sale deeds, almost exclusively the deeds referred to the signatories as “rangatira of Ngāti Kahungunu”. I set out below some examples of Rangitāne rangatira who were signatories to the sale deeds in the 1853-1865 period:
 - *Castlepoint* – a majority of the signatories were of Ngāti Hāmua and Te Hika o Pāpāuma descent, for example Wīremu Te Pōtangaroa who was a rangatira of both hapū, Wī Waka and Te Retimana Te Korou who were rangatira of Ngāti Hāmua.

⁸ The exercise undertaken involved an examination of each of Turton’s Deeds for all of the Wairarapa purchases during the period 1853-1865 in particular by myself and Jim Rimene, one of the named claimants for Wai 175. We examined each of the signatories and identified those who had Rangitāne whakapapa. I was also able to cross-reference some of those signatories to relevant Native Land Court minutes whereby they would set out their claims and associations to the relevant block.

- *West Side of the Lake Deed* – the majority of signatories had connections with the aho-rua hapū of Ngāi Tūkoko.
- *Te Ore Ore block* – all signatories of Ngāti Hāmua descent.
- *Part Pahaua* – some signatories had connections with Ngāti Hāmua and Ngāti Meroiti.
- *Kōhangawariwari and Ōpaki* – all Ngāti Hāmua signatories, including Rōpiha.

93. A further example are the official Censuses of 1874, 1878 and 1881 which are referred to in Stirling (#A51, pages 16-22 inclusive). Stirling makes the following points:

- (a) In the 1874 Census, none of the 41 Wairarapa hapū listed were described as linked to Rangitāne, rather all were referred to Ngāti Kahungunu hapū;
- (b) In 1878, three members of Ngāti Hinewaka were the only Rangitāne people described as being resident in the Wairarapa;
- (c) In 1881, the only Rangitāne residents described in the Census were residents of Ngaawapurua and Hāwera.

94. Thus, according to those early Census figures, Rangitāne had completely disappeared from the Wairarapa! We know from other official records that people who had Rangitāne whakapapa and described themselves as such continued to live in the Wairarapa.

95. It should be noted that, in many ways, the Crown ascription of Wairarapa Māori as Ngāti Kahungunu had little immediate effect on Rangitāne during this period because these people:

- (a) were confident in their own identity; and
- (b) typically did not have ready access to Crown records about themselves.

96. However, this ascription did have significant long-term implications for Rangitāne in the third phase of destabilisation and misinformation that I will discuss shortly.
97. In fact, there is some evidence from this period that Rangitāne people were prepared to use 'Ngāti Kahungunu' as a convenient macro label for the benefit of outsiders.
98. The Pāora Pōtangaroa monument is an example of this phenomenon. This monument commemorates:
- (a) The advent of Christianity among the peoples of Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa in 1839, when they were resident at Nukutaurua; and
 - (b) The 'Pōtangaroa hui' of 1881, when 3000 people from Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa gathered to discuss and debate Pōtangaroa's various prophecies.
99. Within this context, the local people were willing to use 'Ngāti Kahungunu' as a convenient generic label for the people that attended the hui.
100. In my opinion, this approach was possible because Rangitāne people:
- (a) Did have relationships and connections with Ngāti Kahungunu and
 - (b) Maintained sophisticated understandings of the complex situations and relationships that existed at the time. Furthermore, these people developed specific systems to maintain and transmit these understandings about their Rangitāne identity.
101. These systems included:
- (a) The codification of traditional information in placenames and personal names (for example, the Hurunuiōrangi blocks at Gladstone were named for the house occupied by the Rangitāne tohunga, Te Raekaumoana and many children were named after their Rangitāne tīpuna);

- (b) The symbolism of the *whare nui* (for example, the presence of Te Rangiwhakaewa and Te Raetea on the *tekoteko*) at Te Ore Ore Marae;
- (c) The establishment of marae committees to govern hapū communities (for example, ‘Te Kōmiti o Hinerangi mö te rohe o Hāmua’); and
- (d) The transmission of whakapapa information in *whare wānanga* and ‘kōmiti whakapapa’ at Ngāumutawa, Hiona and elsewhere.

An Historical Orthodoxy

102. In 1993, I wrote an article for the Journal of the Polynesian Society entitled, “The Māori Occupation of Wairarapa” – orthodox and non-orthodox versions (which is filed on the Wairarapa Ki Tāmaki-nui-ā-Rua Record of Inquiry as document #A57). This article discusses an historical orthodoxy that was promulgated in academic circles that Ngāti Kahungunu was the only *tangata whenua iwi* of Wairarapa, and that Rangitāne had been defeated and evicted from this region.
103. In summary, the orthodoxy asserts that:
- “Rangitāne were the original tangata whenua of the Wairarapa district, Ngāti Kahungunu migrated to Wairarapa and acquired land through trade and gifts, Ngāti Kahungunu subsequently defeated Rangitāne in conflicts, and Rangitāne were expelled from the Wairarapa district (see my full article #A57)”.*
104. This view has been repeated and expanded in the published works of various academics, local historians and others, until it became something of a ‘received wisdom’. It was also been used to support the Crown ascription of the Wairarapa people as ‘Ngāti Kahungunu’ (see Ballara 1991:220, Stirling 2001:345ff for further discussion about this ascription by the Crown).

The Origins of the Ngāti Kahungunu Orthodoxy

105. The origins of the academic orthodoxy can be traced to article written by S Percy Smith, entitled 'The Occupation of Wairarapa by Ngāti Kahungunu'. This article (the 'Smith article') was published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society in 1904.
106. In subsequent published accounts about the Wairarapa, Smith is referred to almost without fail. He is the original, and often only, acknowledged source of evidence for the Ngāti Kahungunu occupation of Wairarapa. For example, Gaela Mair relied completely on the Smith article and revealed an interesting attitude to historical inquiry when she stated:
- "Local details of settlement are recorded in the Maori Land Court minute books, but Smith gives a quick summary of the main details in his article of 1904 (Mair 1972:51)".*
107. Percy Smith possessed enormous academic mana in this period. He was the editor of the Journal of the Polynesian Society in 1904 (and for several years before and after the publication of the article), and his opinions dominated the content of the journal.
108. The information in the Smith article about the Ngāti Kahungunu migration to Wairarapa derives from a Māori language manuscript written by Major H P Tunuiārangi (see MS-Papers-1187:188, *Te Heke a Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa*). Major Tunuiārangi was a corresponding member of the Polynesian Society, and he contributed several manuscripts about aspects of Māori traditions. He has been biographed by Angela Ballara in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Vol. III.
109. Tunuiārangi was not an objective source of tradition. He was a recognised rangatira of Ngāti Kahungunu, and of the Ngāti Kahukuranui and Ngāti Rākairangi hapū in particular. In this capacity, he often acted to protect and foster the interests of his hapū. This sometimes required him to represent his hapū in the Native Land Court, and to oppose competing claims to land by Rangitāne hapū.

The Contest in the Ngā-Waka-a-Kupe Hearings

110. During the Ngā-Waka-a-Kupe hearing in 1890, for example, Tunuiārangi led the claims of Ngāti Kahukuranui for lands in the vicinity of Pahaoa. This claim was based on the hapū descent from the Ngāti Kahungunu migration led by Mahanga and the subsequent permanent occupation of this area. In his evidence in this case, Tunuiārangi was positive that Ngāti Kahungunu had extinguished the mana of Rangitāne. He stated three times in rapid succession:

“There whole of the coast had been cleared of Rangitāne by these attacks. There was no mana Rangitane left over the district after the numerous defeats they had suffered ... There was no mana Rangitane left over the land after Ngatikahungunu [sic] took possession (Tunuiārangi in NLC 15 1890:165)”.

111. Other witnesses, however, provided alternative evidence to the effect that Rangitāne did retain mana whenua in the blocks that were being investigated. Wi Hikawera Mahupuku was the co-ordinator of the Ngāti Hikawera and Ngāti Meroiti claims. He linked Ngāti Meroiti explicitly to Rangitāne, and subsequently stressed that Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne shared mana whenua rights in the south Wairarapa.

“My take to the land is from Rangitaane ... The hapu name of these people was Ngati Meroiti”, (Wi Mahupuku in NLC 16 1890:10-11).

“The people who now occupy the land are descendants of both Rangitaane and Ngati Kahungunu ... all the hoko’s that were made in after years to the Government were made by the tribes to whom it belonged. Rangitaane sold the parts that belonged to them and Ngati Kahungunu sold the parts they owned.” (Wi Mahupuku in NLC 16 1890:205-206).

112. In this hearing, the Court decided that Rangitāne had stronger claims to the Pahaoa area.

“E tika tonu ana nga rohe me taua tuku o Te Angatu kia Mahanga, engari i mau tonu te nuinga o ngā whenua i roto i taua rohe kia Rangitane. Heoi nga waahi i riro kia

Mahanga, ko nga waahi i nohoia e ana uri. Hei tohu tenei e mohiotia ai te mau tonu o nga whenua i roto i taua rohe ki a Rangitane, he maha nga whenua kei roto o taua rohe kua whakataua e nga kooti o mua atu i tenei ki nga tangata o te takiwa no Rangitane o ratou take. Waihoki, ko Te Maipi tetahi poraka kei roto i aua rohe o te tuku kia Mahanga i whakataua e te kooti i runga i ngā take o Rangitane ki nga uri mokopuna o Tumapuhiarangi. Waihoki, he maha nga iwi e noho ana, e pa ana hoki ki nga whenua i roto i tenei rohe ehara i te mea i ahu mai i a Mahanga to ratou take ki aua whenua (Wakataunga 1891:51)”.

My translation of this evidence is as follows:

“The (information about) the gift of Te Angatū Te Māhanga is accurate, however most of the lands within that district were retained by Rangitāne. The places that were acquired by Māhanga were those places occupied by his descendants. To confirm the retention of the lands in that district by Rangitāne, there are many lands within that region that have been awarded to local people, based on their Rangitāne interests, by previous Courts. Te Maipi is one such block within the boundaries of the gift to Māhanga that was awarded by the Court to the descendants of Tumapuhia based on their rights from Rangitāne. Indeed, there are many peoples living here with interests in this district, whose interest in the lands do not derive from Māhanga.”

(Refer for translation to Appendix 2 No. 13 Rangitāne o Wairarapa Traditional History #A60).

Smith’s Failure to Review Other Sources

113. It can be argued that Tunuiārangi was seeking to protect and enhance Ngāti Kahungunu interests when he forwarded the manuscript to Smith. For his part, however, Smith appears to have accepted the manuscript uncritically. There is little evidence to suggest that he sought out further information on the topic to balance the views presented by Tunuiārangi.
114. I have demonstrated in other research that there was a range of historical sources available to Smith to provide information about the relationships between Rangitāne

and Ngāti Kahungunu in south Wairarapa (Chrisp 1993), had he chosen to investigate it. These sources include Native Land Court minutes, whakapapa manuscripts and reports from Māori language newspapers such as the *Mātuhi Press* and *Te Puke Ki Hikurangi* (Smith was himself a correspondent to *Te Puke*).

115. These sources provide comprehensive and co-ordinated evidence of ongoing Rangitāne occupation throughout the Wairarapa district. They also demonstrate that, regardless of whatever other people may have called them, Rangitāne people living in the Wairarapa consistently described themselves in terms of their Rangitāne identity throughout the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. For example, Ballara has noted that:

Every time that Hamua's genealogy was traced in the Land Court, it was given from Rangitāne. In no cases was it traced from Kahungunu or any other ancestral line (Ballara 1991:160).

The Second Period: 1920s-1960s

116. In this period, two sets of actions by the Crown impacted on the systems for the transmission of Rangitānetanga:
- (a) The Crown took active steps to suppress the Māori language; and
 - (b) The Crown sponsored and encouraged the relocation of Māori from rural communities to urban areas, to provide labour for industrial development. This had the effect of decimating traditional hapū communities based around marae.
117. These actions have been described in other texts and do not need to be revisited here in detail (see, for example WAI 11, *The Te Reo Māori Claim* from 1986). It is perhaps suffice to say that native speakers of Māori from Wairarapa (both Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu) can be counted on one hand. Furthermore, all marae communities in Wairarapa experienced significant depopulation in the 1940s and 1950s. In some cases, marae were abandoned and became derelict; some collapsed altogether, while others were dismantled or relocated, examples of these being

- Tauweru, Hiona, Nukutaememeha and Whakataki. Examples of these can be seen in the sites of significance booklet at pages 7, 3, 4 and 13.
118. The two sets of Crown actions were not necessarily intended to destabilise systems for the transmission of Rangitānetanga. However, these ‘unintended consequences’ certainly had that effect.
 119. With the breakdown of the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language, people could no longer interpret the meanings and connections that had been invested into place names and personal names.
 120. In one spectacular example, the Crown even insisted that Rangitāne change an ancestrally significant name. The original Ngā Tau e Waru burnt down in the 1930s. When it was rebuilt, the Department of Internal Affairs provided ‘pound for pound’ sponsorship that was very appreciated by the local people. However, the Department insisted that this building should be named the ‘Te Ore Ore Centennial Memorial Meeting House’. This was acquiesced to, but in later years the kaumātua removed that nameplate and restored Ngā Tau e Waru to pride of place.
 121. At another level, people could no longer access whakapapa information and kōrero tuku iho in the whakapapa books of their kaumātua, because such information was typically written in Māori and they could not read it. As an indirect result, much information was lost. When kaumātua died, their whakapapa books were often buried with them or taken to the dump because their children and grandchildren did not know what to do with the information.
 122. The break-up of hapū communities meant that Rangitāne people did not have regular or sustained opportunities to transmit traditional information; rather, such opportunities only occurred on an ad hoc and infrequent basis during tangi or specific events, such as the centenary of Ngā Tau e Waru in 1981.
 123. When people did seek information about their tribal identity, they often did not have access to kaumātua because of the break-up of hapū based communities. As a result, they turned to written sources which typically led them to Crown records from the 19th

century that referred exclusively to Ngāti Kahungunu and/or the historical orthodoxy as promulgated by S P Smith.

124. In summary, during this period, two or three generations of Rangitāne people had limited access to the sophisticated understanding of their kaumātua about their tribal identity, as an indirect effect of Crown actions.
125. It was also assumed by Crown officials that the only tangata whenua group in the Wairarapa was Ngāti Kahungunu. A very clear example of that occurred with the Papawai and Kaikōkirikiri Trust Act 1943 which refers to "*Ngatikahungunu Tribe residing in the Wairarapa district...*". Rangitāne is not mentioned at all in that Act.

The Third Phase: 1960s to the Present

126. In the 1960s and early 1970s, there was nationwide concern about the decline of the Māori language and the loss of Māori identity. This resulted in the development of various programmes to redevelop Māori cultural identity including 'Māori as a subject; programmes and kapa haka in secondary schools.
127. In the Wairarapa, these programmes were sometimes the only source of information about Māori cultural identity available to young people. They were taught almost exclusively by people from other tribal areas (for example, when I was at high school in the early 1980s, our Māori teachers were from Ngāti Raukawa, Waikato, Ngāti Porou and Tūhoe). These teachers tended to repeat the Ngāti Kahungunu orthodoxy to their pupils, no doubt with the best intentions in the world. During class, we were taught Ngāti Kahungunu whakapapa and pepeha (including erroneously 'ko Ngāti Hāmua te hapū, ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi' instead of 'ko Ngāti Hāmua te hapū, ko Rangitāne te iwi'). During kapa haka, we learnt Ngāti Kahungunu waiata (for example, *Pinepine Te Kura* from Te Hauke).
128. I understand that this situation has changed in recent years, following significant input from local kaumātua into the secondary schools and other educational institutions.

129. In the 1980s, the revival of interest in Māori cultural identity led to an increased focus on iwitanga. Throughout this decade, Rangitāne people were actively reasserting their Rangitānetanga in the Wairarapa region. This created intense debate with people who adhered to the historical orthodoxy of Ngāti Kahungunu as the sole tangata whenua in Wairarapa.
130. As the debates unfolded and intensified, it emerged that one of the protagonists for Ngāti Kahungunu was the regional director of the Department of Māori Affairs. This person had strong whakapapa connections to another branch of Ngāti Kahungunu (that is, from outside Wairarapa), and was intimately involved with the local Ngāti Kahungunu taiwhenua. This person engaged in protracted debates about Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne with local kaumātua in a range of situations.
131. In my opinion, there was sometimes a blurring between departmental and iwi interests. Through the 1980s, the Department of Māori Affairs administered various programmes, including Te Kōhanga Reo, MACCESS and MANA. I was involved with the local collective of Kōhanga Reo that was administered by the Department and can confirm that the debates about the primacy of Ngāti Kahungunu would often spill over into this environment.
132. In addition, the regional director was often the first point of contact for other government agencies and local authorities seeking information about Wairarapa Māori. This created the opportunity for this person to promote the argument in favour of the primacy of Ngāti Kahungunu to these other organisations.
133. As an example of this situation, the Masterton District Library published *Ngā Maharatanga o Wairarapa* in 1991. This text describes the history of monuments and memorials throughout the Wairarapa. In the introduction to the section about *Māori Monuments*, it is noted that the main contributor was simultaneously the director “of the Iwi Transition Agency (the successor agency to the Department of Māori Affairs) and the Wairarapa Māori Executive Taiwhenua (of Ngāti Kahungunu). In this text, there are several references to “the local Ngāti Kahungunu tribe” and no references to Rangitāne.

134. During this period, the regional director often referred to historical documents that were created in the first phase that I discussed, to support and justify his arguments about the primacy of Ngāti Kahungunu (that is, the government records and the historical orthodoxy). In the absence of other information, it was difficult for people to ‘unpick’ the complicated mesh that contributed to these texts (as described above). This often led to simplistic descriptions of complex situations.
135. This practice has been continued, to some extent, by some historians involved in the current inquiry who have referred almost exclusively to Ngāti Kahungunu in their evidence (in some cases, even eschewing the neutral option of ‘Wairarapa Māori’). In fact, in one example, the historian explicitly claimed that “Over time, Ngāti Kahungunu gained the predominant position in the Wairarapa valley”⁹.
136. This situation was exacerbated by the publication by government agencies, or with assistance from these agencies, of significant reference works that continued to identify Ngāti Kahungunu as the sole tangata whenua iwi in Wairarapa. Examples of this phenomenon include: *He Mātāpuna* (New Zealand Planning Council) in 1979; *Te Māori* in 1986; *The Treaty of Waitangi* by Dr. Claudia Orange (Allen & Unwin & Port Nicholson Press, with assistance from the Historical Publications Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs) in 1987; and the *New Zealand Official Yearbook* (Statistics New Zealand) in 1996.
137. Reference maps continue to wrongly ascribe Ngāti Kahungunu as the only tangata whenua group of the Wairarapa. If Rangitāne are located at all it is usually in the Manawatū and/or the top of the South Island. If the Tribunal was of the view that this may have been a phenomenon that no longer exists, as you will note in the maps annexed to my brief by way of example that a number of them are of recent vintage. The maps which are annexed are as follows:
- He Mātāpuna, NZ Planning Council 1979 – at Tab “C”;

⁹ Walzl, T. 2001. *Land Purchasing in the Wairarapa 1840-1854.*, p. 10.(CFRT) See also Smith, T. 2001 *Tukuwhenua and Māori Land tenure in Wairarapa* (CFRT); McCracken, H, 2000. *Land Alienation in the*

- Māori – Michael King – 1983 – at Tab “D”;
 - Te Māori – 1986 – at Tab “E”;
 - Orange – The Treaty of Waitangi – 1987 – at Tab “F”;
 - Belich – The New Zealand Wars – 1986 at Tab “G”;
 - New Zealand Year Book 1996 – Statistics New Zealand – at Tab “HI”;
 - R J Walker – He Tipua – 2001– Viking - at Tab “JK”;
 - Ka’ai et al – Ki Te Whaiao – 2004 – Pearson Education NZ Limited – at Tab “L”.
138. The *New Zealand Historical Atlas* (1997) provides a specific and significant example of this phenomenon. This atlas was a major publication by David Bateman Ltd and the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs. Plate 23 is entitled *Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa, ki Here-taunga, ki Wai-rarapa*. The text of this plate notes that “the Ngāti Kahungunu people ... occupy one of the biggest tribal areas in the country ... from Te Mahia in the north to Turaki-rae in the south”. There are limited historical references to Rangitāne, but there is no indication that Rangitāne remained tangata whenua in the Wairarapa in this text throughout the 20th century. Plate 25 is entitled *Te Moana-o-Raukawa: Te Upoko-o-te-Ika and Te Tauihu-o-te-Waka*. This plate is, as the name suggests, oriented towards the ‘head of the fish’ of the North Island and the top of the South Island. It contains text about Rangitāne and Ngāi Tara tīpuna, and locates Rangitāne in Dannevirke, Manawatū and Marlborough, but not in Wairarapa. The relevant plates appear at Tabs “M” and “N”.
139. In considering recent publications, there is another bitter irony for Rangitāne o Wairarapa (this cannot be directly attributed to the Crown, although the relevant text

was published with the assistance of a Crown body, the Māori Purposes Funds Board). Jock McEwen's book, *Rangitāne: A Tribal History*, was published in 1986. This book contains significant information about the traditions and whakapapa of Rangitāne, and is an invaluable reference work. However, McEwen claimed that the Ngāti Hāmua hapū was "originally a branch of Rangitāne but (is) now known as a Kahungunu hapū". (McEwen, 1986, page 145). I noted in my review of the reprint of this book that this statement is simply not true, and was able to provide several examples in the review to illustrate this point.

140. Another recent example, ironically enough, is the Māori Land Court generated publication "Pouwhenua". At the back of that publication appears a map demonstrating the division of the North Island into various Māori Land Court districts. The Wairarapa and Tararua areas fall within the Tākitimu district. The district was previously known as Ikaroa which as far as Rangitāne are concerned is a neutral description. The Tākitimu label is not neutral. The relevant map appears at tab "O".
141. Without any further contextual information, these circumstances created significant confusion among some local people about tribal identity. This confusion has been manifested in various ways, including:
- (a) Inconsistent recognition of Rangitāne identity (in some fora, some people will identify themselves as Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu, while in other fora these people describe themselves solely as Ngāti Kahungunu);
 - (b) Statements that seek to identify Rangitāne hapū and people as Ngāti Kahungunu (for example, in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Vol. 5, a local author states that 'Hāmua (was) a hapū originally of Rangitāne descent but through intermarriage by the nineteenth century (was) often regarded as a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu').

- (c) Wide variations in official statistics about Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu in Wairarapa. For example, the Rangitāne population in Wairarapa and Tamaki ‘grew’ from 156 people in 1991 to 378 in 1996 and 1,197 in 2001. This probably reflects Wairarapa Māori rediscovering their Rangitāne identity, and we are very pleased about this. In addition, we expect the iwi population to increase dramatically as a result of the settlement of our treaty claims. However, there are significant risks for us because of Crown policies to use these figures as the basis (in part, at least) for the distribution of settlement assets, that is we may be handicapped if the Crown relies on 2001 figures, when 2006 figures might reflect substantial growth in iwi affiliation to Rangitāne.

Looking Forward

142. Over the last twenty years, Rangitāne has successfully reasserted its Rangitānetanga in the Wairarapa, and has re-established relationships with other iwi, with our own marae, and with government agencies and local councils.
143. This has been accomplished through the efforts of our kaumātua and whānau. It has, however, taken a toll on our kaumātua after years of arguing, and created significant ‘opportunity cost’, that is we have been fighting (often with Crown officials) about our identity instead of getting on with our own development.
144. We recognise that tribal identity is a personal issue that is influenced by a range of variables, and that people will reach their own conclusions about who they are. However, through Crown actions the systems for the transmission of Rangitānetanga were destabilised and misinformation about Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu was disseminated to Wairarapa Māori over several decades.
145. We seek specific redress to address these issues, viz the allocation of specific resources for the preparation and dissemination of information about Rangitānetanga to Wairarapa Māori and the wider community (for example, through wānanga, the development of a publications programme, the creation of an iwi radio station in Wairarapa). We understand that contestable funding is available from government

agencies for some activities of this nature. However, we feel that given the nature of the Treaty breaches some specific redress is required.

src1279

1853.
27 December.

WAIKARAPPA
DISTRICT.

PAEROA.
Receipt for £200.
Boundaries.

Balance remaining,
£300.

Deed Receipts—No. 19.

PAEROA BLOCK (PART OF CAPTAIN SMITH'S RUN), WAIKARAPPA DISTRICT.

Poneke, 27th December, 1853.

KUA HIRO mai ki a matou na te Makarini nga pauna moni E rua rau £200 takitahi hei utu mo o matou whenua e mau nei nga rohe te tuhituhi ki raro ake nei.

Ka timata to rohe ki te Upokopakira ka rere ki te Mangakaiahinu mau rawa atu ki Te Tawha mau rawa atu ki Papahikurangi rere noa i te tahataha o te Uhiroa mau rawa atu i te Pihanga mau rawa atu i te Whangaio moengi mau rawa atu ki Otakanga o te muruahi mau rawa atu i te Kopuru mau tonu i roto i Whangaehu puta noa ki Huangarua rere noa i Huangarua puta noa ki Kaikanohi.

Heoi kua oti rawa atu i a matou tenei wahi te hoko te tino tuku rawa atu ake tonu atu.

Nga utu e toe ana mo muringa iho E toru nga rau £300 takitahi hei whakaotinga rawatanga mo tenei wahi.

NGAIRO TAKATAKAPUTEA X.
HEHEMAIA TAMAIHOTUA.
WIHEMU TEWET.

Witnesses—

H. T. Kemp, Native Secty., Wellington.
John P. Russell, Settler, Wangai Moana, Wairarapa.

1853.
27 December.

PAEROA.
Receipt for £200.
Boundaries.

Balance remaining,
£300.

TRANSLATION.

Wellington, December 27, 1853.

WE HAVE RECEIVED from Mr. McLean the sum of Two Hundred Pounds £200 once told as a payment for our lands the boundaries of which are hereunder described.

The boundary commences at Upokopakira thence to Mangakaiahinu thence to the Tetawha thence to Papahikurangi thence along the banks of the Uhiroa to the Pihanga thence to the Whangaio moengi thence to Otakanga o te muruahi thence to the Kopuru thence in the Whangaehu to Huangarua to Kaikanohi.

Now we have for ever sold and given up this land for ever.

The sum remaining for final Instalment is £300 Three hundred pounds to complete the purchase of this land.

NGAIRO TAKATAKAPUTEA X,
And 2 others.

Witnesses—

H. T. Kemp, Native Secty., Wellington.
John P. Russell, Settler, Wangai Moana, Wairarapa.

1853.
29 December.

WAIKARAPPA
DISTRICT.
TE WITI.
(McKenzie's home
station.)

Receipt for £50.
[200 acres.]

Deed Receipts—No. 20.

TE WITI BLOCK (J. MCKENZIE'S HOMESTEAD), WAIKARAPPA DISTRICT.

Poneke, 29 Tihema, 1853.

KUA HIRO mai ki a matou na te Makarini nga Pauna moni E rima tekau takitahi £50 hei utu mo nga rau eka e rua 200 ki te Witi ara i tukua e matou taua kainga hei nohoanga mo Te Ono hei Pakeha noho tata ki a matou.

Heoi rawa nga utu mo tenei wahi ka oti rawa atu nei i a matou te tuku atu i tenei ra o witi nei a ake tonu atu.

Kia riro tetahi taha o taua whenua ka tuhituhia te pukapuka o te whakaotinga nui o matou katoa.

IHAIA TE WAKAMAIRU.
KENEHI.
HENERE WAIMARAMA.

Witnesses—

John P. Russell, Settler, Wangai Moana, Wairarapa.

1853.
29 December.

TE WITI.
(McKenzie's home
station.)
Receipt for £50.
[200 acres.]

TRANSLATION.

Wellington, 29th December, 1853.

WE HAVE RECEIVED from Mr. McLean the sum of (£50) Fifty pounds once told as payment for Two hundred acres (200) at Te Witi which we have sold to Te Ono (John McKenzie) for a homestead that he may live near us.

This is all the payment for this land which we now give up under the shining sun of this day for ever.

When the remaining portion of the land is paid for the Deed containing the full consent of all of us will be executed.

IHAIA TE WAKAMAIRU,
and 2 others.

Witnesses—

John P. Russell, Settler, Wangai Moana, Wairarapa.

A True Copy of Original Receipt and Translation.

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wellington, February 5th, 1870.

ANNEXURE B

- Castlepoint - Turton's Deeds #85.
- Tuhitarata – Turton's Deeds #86.
- West side of Lake, Block 1, Turton's Deeds #88.
- Tuhitarata – McMaster's run – Turton's Deeds #89.
- Tauherenikau No.4 Block – Turton's Deeds #91.
- Te Oreore block – Collin's homestead – Turton's Deeds #94.
- Part Pahau Block and Wilson's run – Turton's Deeds #97.
- Whareama No.2 Block – Turton's Deeds #98.
- Waihora – Turton's Deeds #99.
- Whareama North – Turton's Deeds #100.
- Whareama Block (Part of) – Turton's Deeds #101.
- Manawatu – Turton's Deeds #102.
- Makoura – Turton's Deeds #103.
- Upokongaruru – Turton's Deeds #104.
- Whareama Block (Part of) – Turton's Deeds #106.
- West side of Lake, Part Block No.1 – Turton's Deeds #109.
- Kuratawhiti No.1Block – Turton's Deeds #110.
- Kuratawhiti No 2 Block – Turton's Deeds #111.
- Waiorongomai – Turton's Deeds #114.
- Owhanga – Turton's Deeds #115.
- Manihera's Reserve – Turton's Deeds #116.
- Kaiwhata – Turton's Deeds #117.
- Te Awaiti and Part of Pahaua Block – Turton's Deeds #118.
- Ahiaruhe – Turton's Deeds #120.
- Kuhangawariwari – Turton's Deeds #125.
- Maramamau – Turton's Deeds #127.
- Kahutara – Part of Bidwill's run – Turton's Deeds #128.
- Kuripuni – Turton's Deeds #129.
- Paeroa – Part of Captain Smith's run – Turton's Deed #130.
- Te Karamu – Turton's Deeds #131.
- Hikawera and Taratahi – Turton's Deeds #132.
- Whakataki Reserve (Puketoi) – Turton's Deeds #133.
- Mataikona Block – Castlepoint – Sutherland's Homestead – Turton's Deeds #134.
- Kuratawhiti – Turon's Deeds #135.
- Kopuaranga – Turton's Deeds #137.
- Te Whiti – Turton's Deeds #138.
- Maungaraki (Arama's land) – Turton's Deeds #141.
- Whangaehu – Turton's Deeds #142.
- Taratahi and Hikawera – Turton's Deeds #143.
- Kuhangawariwari and Opaki – Turton's Deeds #145.
- Tuitarata Block – McMaster's run – Turton's Deeds #147.
- Kaiaho and Kuripuni – Donald's homestead – Turton's Deed #148.
- Manaia – Turton's Deeds #150.
- Matapihi – Rangitumau – Turton's Deeds #151.
- Tirohanga – Turton's Deeds #152.
- Te Kopi – Turton's Deeds #153.
- Tupurupuru – Turton's Deeds #155.
- Whaiao – Turton's Deeds #156.
- Tupapokia – Turton's Deeds #157.
- Korakonui and Ngapaiaka – Turton's Deeds #158.
- Maungaraki – Turton's Deeds' #159.
- Ihuraua (Forty Mile Bush) – Turton's Deeds #161.
- Hikurangi and Awatoetoe – Turton's Deeds #162.
- Waikaraka – Turton's Deeds #163.
- Raparimu – Turton's Deeds #164.
- Tupapakurua and Korakonui Block – Turton's Deeds #165.
- Otahuao – Turton's Deeds #166.
- Matapihi – Rangitumau – Turton's Deeds #167.

- Te Whanga – Turton’s Deeds #168.
- Pahaoa – Arama Karaka’s Block – Turton’s Deeds #170.
- Te Whiti Block (Additional) – Turton’s Deeds #171.
- Tauheru – Turton’s Deeds #173.
- Kahutara Bush Block – Turton’s Deeds #174.
- Otumaunga – Turton’s Deeds #175.
- Te Kohutu – Turton’s Deeds #176.
- Whangaehu – Turton’s Deeds #177.
- Kopuaranga – Turton’s Deeds #178.
- Kumurau – Turton’s Deeds #180.
- Motukaitutae – Turton’s Deeds #181.¹

Māori Tribes of New Zealand

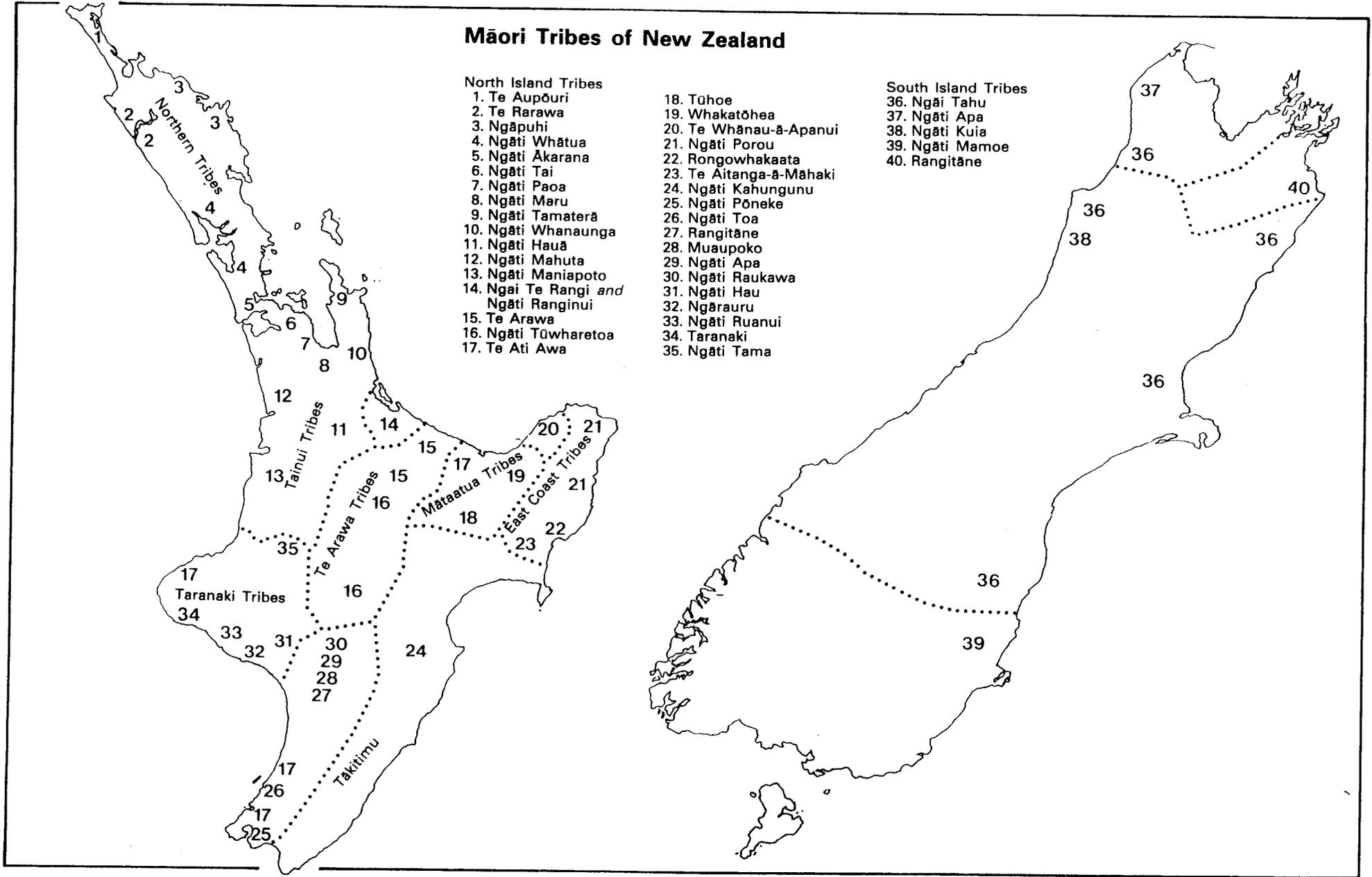
North Island Tribes

1. Te Aupōuri
2. Te Rarawa
3. Ngāpuhi
4. Ngāti Whātua
5. Ngāti Ākarana
6. Ngāti Tai
7. Ngāti Paoa
8. Ngāti Maru
9. Ngāti Tamaterā
10. Ngāti Whanaunga
11. Ngāti Hauā
12. Ngāti Mahuta
13. Ngāti Maniapoto
14. Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui
15. Te Arawa
16. Ngāti Tūwharetoa
17. Te Ati Awa

18. Tūhoe
19. Whakatōhea
20. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui
21. Ngāti Porou
22. Rongowhakaata
23. Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki
24. Ngāti Kahungunu
25. Ngāti Pōneke
26. Ngāti Toa
27. Rangitāne
28. Muaupoko
29. Ngāti Apa
30. Ngāti Raukawa
31. Ngāti Hau
32. Ngārauru
33. Ngāti Ruanui
34. Taranaki
35. Ngāti Tama

South Island Tribes

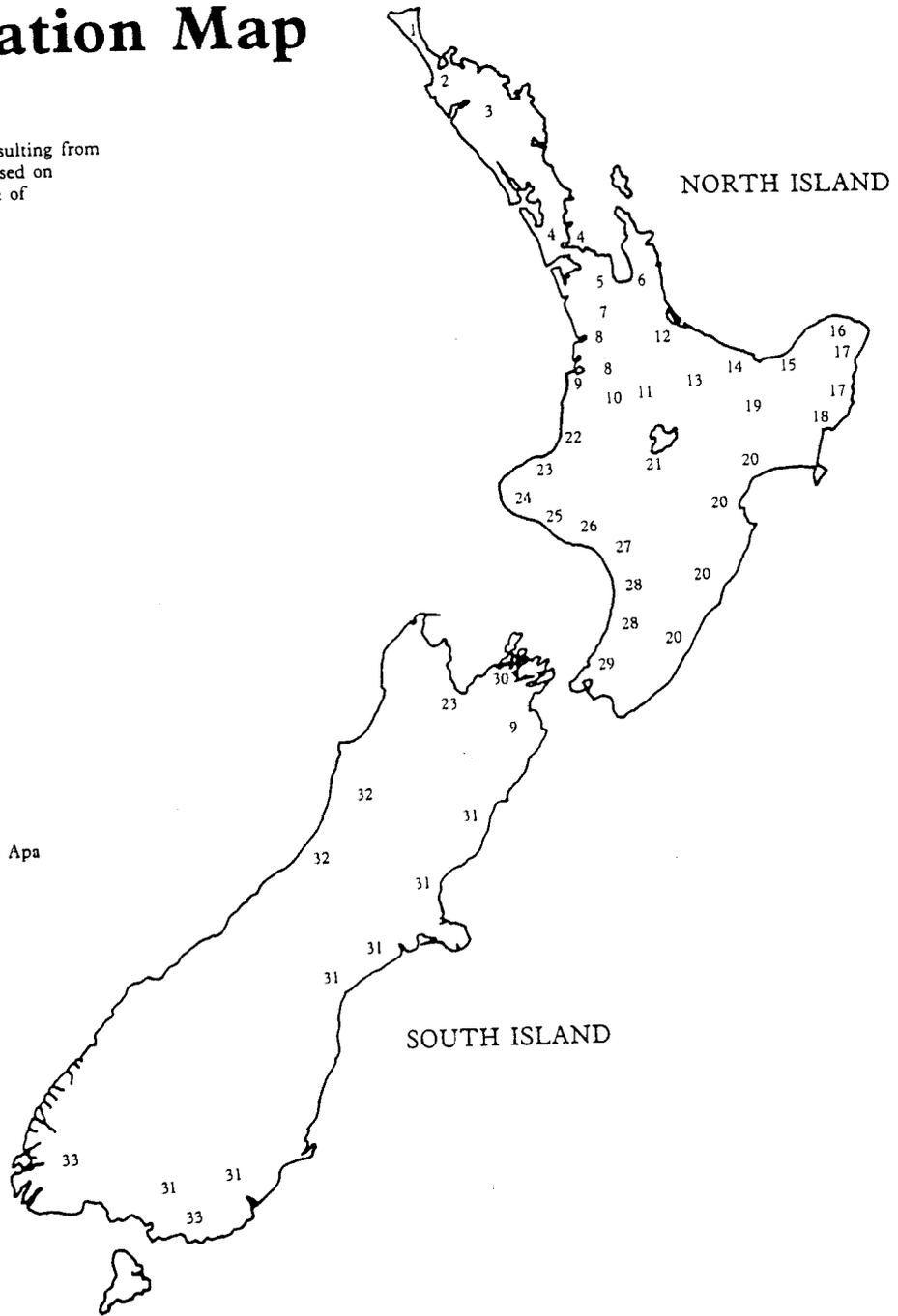
36. Ngāi Tahu
37. Ngāti Apa
38. Ngāti Kuia
39. Ngāti Mamoe
40. Rangitāne



Tribal Location Map

Traditional tribal areas and locations resulting from nineteenth century tribal migrations (based on Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1870).

- 1 Aupouri
- 2 Rarawa
- 3 Ngapuhi
- 4 Ngati Whatua
- 5 Ngati Paoa
- 6 Ngati Maru
- 7 Ngati Haua
- 8 Waikato
- 9 Ngati Toa
- 10 Ngati Maniapoto
- 11 Ngati Raukawa
- 12 Ngai Te Rangi
- 13 Arawa
- 14 Ngati Awa
- 15 Whakatohea
- 16 Whanau a Apanui
- 17 Ngati Porou
- 18 Rongowhakaata
- 19 Tuhoe
- 20 Ngati Kahungunu
- 21 Ngati Tuwharetoa
- 22 Ngati Tama
- 23 Ati Awa
- 24 Taranaki
- 25 Ngati Ruanui
- 26 Ngarauru
- 27 Wanganui
- 28 Muaupoko, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Apa
- 29 Ngati Toa, Ati Awa, Ngati Ira
- 30 Ngati Kuia
- 31 Ngai Tahu
- 32 Poutini Ngai Tahu
- 33 Ngati Mamoe



*Māori - Michael King
Heinemann 1983*

Appendices

meaning of these words: they are taken and consented to altogether by us. Therefore are affixed our names and our marks.

This is done at Waitangi, on the sixth day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty, of our Lord.

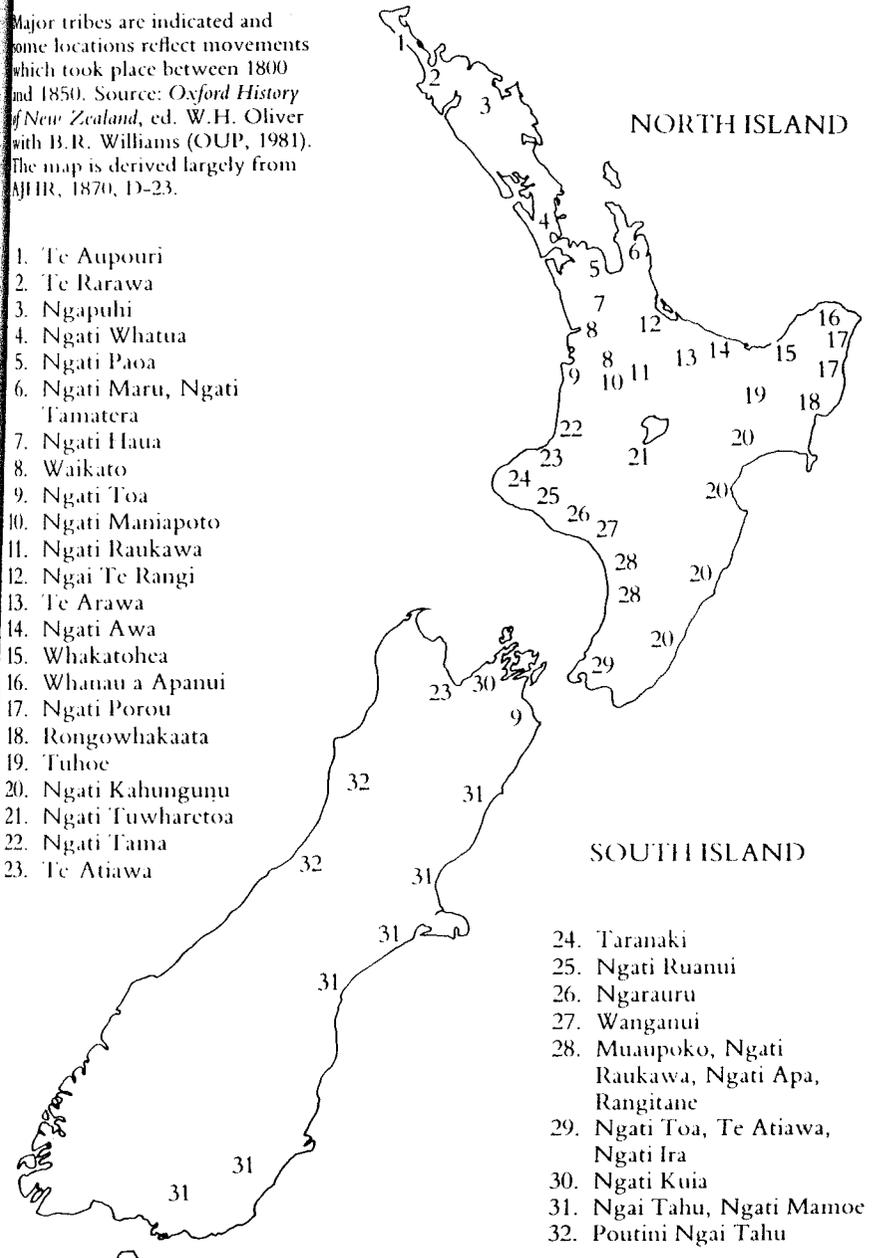
†He kaiwhakarite. ‡Kawanatanga. §Whakaminenga.

||Tino Rangatiratanga.

MAP 2: MAORI TRIBAL LOCATIONS, c. 1870

Major tribes are indicated and some locations reflect movements which took place between 1800 and 1850. Source: *Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. W.H. Oliver with B.R. Williams (OUP, 1981). The map is derived largely from AJHR, 1870, D-23.

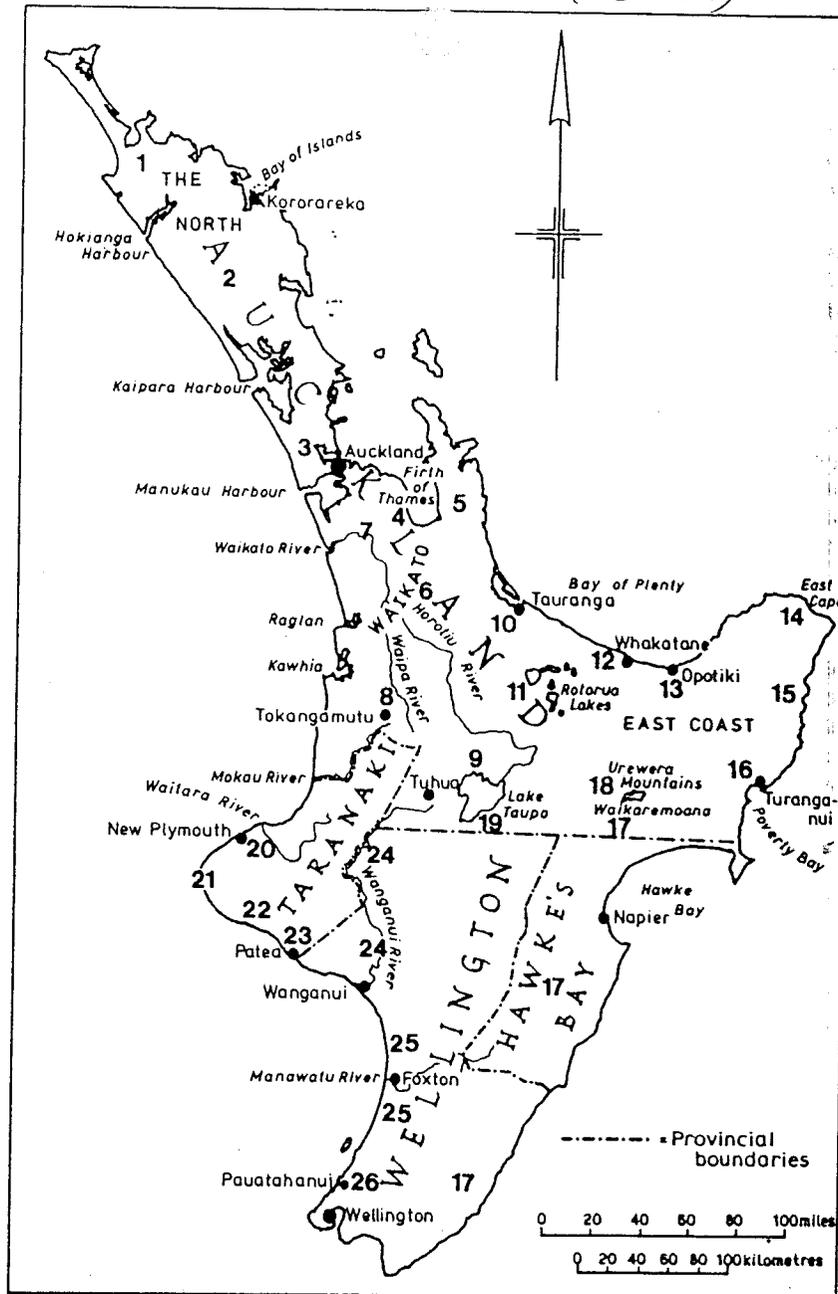
1. Te Aupouri
2. Te Rarawa
3. Ngapuhi
4. Ngati Whatua
5. Ngati Paoa
6. Ngati Maru, Ngati Tamatera
7. Ngati Haua
8. Waikato
9. Ngati Toa
10. Ngati Maniapoto
11. Ngati Raukawa
12. Ngai Te Rangi
13. Te Arawa
14. Ngati Awa
15. Whakatohea
16. Whanau a Apanui
17. Ngati Porou
18. Rongowhakaata
19. Tuhoe
20. Ngati Kahungunu
21. Ngati Tuwharetoa
22. Ngati Tama
23. Te Atiawa



24. Taranaki
25. Ngati Ruanui
26. Ngarauru
27. Wanganui
28. Muaupoko, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Apa, Rangitane
29. Ngati Toa, Te Atiawa, Ngati Ira
30. Ngati Kuia
31. Ngai Tahu, Ngati Mamoe
32. Poutini Ngai Tahu

The Treaty of Waitangi Orange 1987

(Belich)



Principal locations and major tribal groups (see list opposite)

The first Maori reaction to contact with Europeans was, unambiguously enough, to kill and eat them. The Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, who visited the coast in 1642, had one of his boats attacked and four of his men killed. After contact recommenced in 1769, with the visits of Cook and de Surville, a series of similar incidents dotted the history of Maori-European relations. These made it easy to assume that uncontrolled European contact had reduced New Zealand to a state of chaos. But in relation to the sum total of contact, these incidents were exceptional. The norm was peaceful, though sometimes uneasy, co-existence and trade.

There was a simple reason for this. The Maoris wanted what the Europeans (*Pakeha*) had to offer in terms of knowledge and goods. Luxuries, particularly the musket, rapidly became necessities. All Europeans in New Zealand, both visiting and resident, were more-or-less traders—even the missionaries had to exchange goods for food, land, and protection. Consequently, they were highly valued, and carefully safeguarded. The Maoris were unlikely to eliminate the goose that laid the golden egg. But European numbers were so small, and the visits of warships so infrequent, that they could easily do so if they wished. This coercive power balanced the Maori side of the equation. If Europeans mistreated Maoris, they would be killed. If Maoris mistreated Europeans, trade would stop.

The balance was not as unequal as it seemed, because the absence of such trade goods as muskets and ammunition could be fatal for the Maoris; tribes which did not have muskets were at the mercy of those which did. For some time, few Maoris could envisage a limit to their need for European goods, and consequently a common attitude was that the more *Pakeha*, the better. The Treaty of Waitangi and British 'annexation' in 1840 did not im-

MAJOR TRIBAL GROUPS

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1 Rarawa | 15 Ngati Porou |
| 2 Ngapuhi | 16 Rongowhakaata and Aitanga-a-Mahaki |
| 3 Ngati Whatua | 17 Ngati Kahungunu |
| 4 Ngati Paoa | 18 Tuhoe |
| 5 Ngati Maru | 19 Ngati Tuwharetoa |
| 6 Ngati Haua | 20 Te Atiawa |
| 7 Waikato Proper | 21 Taranaki |
| 8 Ngati Maniapoto | 22 Ngati Ruanui |
| 9 Ngati Raukawa | 23 Ngarauru |
| 10 Ngai-te-Rangi | 24 Wanganui |
| 11 Arawa | 25 Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Apa, and Muaupoko |
| 12 Ngati Awa | 26 Ngati Toa, Te Atiawa, and Ngati Ira. |
| 13 Whakatohea | |
| 14 Whanau-a-Apanui | |

Social Policy. This branch has led responsibility for developing policy focused on the quality of citizenship—including both equality of opportunity and equality of outcome for Maori in terms of education, health and employment. The branch will examine and advise on opportunities for, and impediments to, Maori achieving parity; and assessing means of Maori moving beyond parity.

Corporate Services. This branch is responsible for designing and implementing policies that support the corporate environment and functions. Ensuring the orderly review of all operational systems, seeking continual improvement and maintaining organisational excellence.

Other services

Administration of receipts and payments on behalf of the Crown—involves the administration of the payment of Crown grants and advances to Maori people and Maori organisations, and of the receipt of Crown revenues collected by the Ministry. Administration of grants may also involve monitoring the recipients for compliance with contracts.

Ministerial servicing—involves the provision of advice on legislation and support services to the Minister of Maori Affairs.

Services to the Maori Trustee—the Maori Trust Office continues to operate under its own legislation with its administrative and clerical support contracted from Te Puni Kokiri.

Maori tribal developments

A recent trend has seen the increased willingness of government to channel communications and resources through tribal organisations to the 'flax roots' of Maoridom. Runanga or trust boards have a key role to play in the implementation of development schemes, the development of a comprehensive Maori fisheries policy, the administration of Maori language boards and cultural wananga, and other activities.

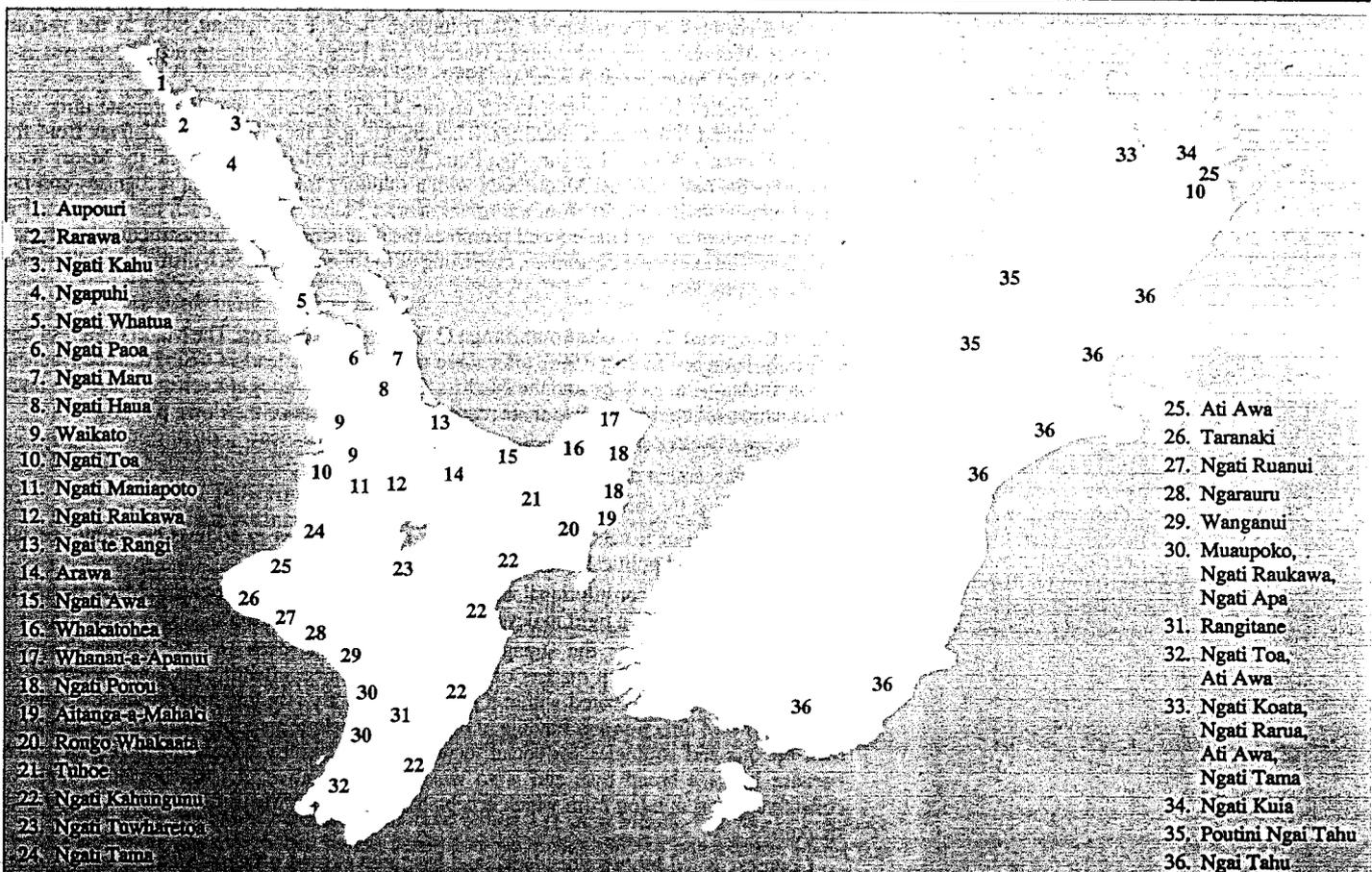
Tribal structures are ideally placed to represent the whole range of Maori opinion, and because they operate in a Maori framework, they can harness the enthusiasm and commitment of groups more effectively. As this strategy is pursued, the Government expects to benefit from improved liaison with the Maori community.

There are also major benefits for Maori people. Tribal identity and pride are enhanced and there is even greater incentive for Maori people to participate in tribal affairs. Traditional

Continued
 In 1946, after intermittent negotiations, Waitangi settled with the Crown for 45,000 per annum backdated for ten years. But the settlement did not withstand the test of time and Waitangi attempts to gain redress were given new impetus when the Waitangi Tribunal found in 1985 that Waitangi never rebelled but was tricked and the Court of Appeal in 1987 ruled that the compensation paid was trivial.
 Further negotiations culminated in the signing of Heads of Agreement on 21 December 1994 and a full Deed of Settlement on 22 May 1995. The Waitangi Reimburse Claims Settlement Act contains a formal apology for the Crown's past injustices, was assented to by Her Majesty the Queen in person on 8 November 1995. The settlement provides for the payment to Waitangi of 170 million, comprised of both land and money. The Crown lands returned about 10 percent of those actually taken, were vested in the first Maori king, Potatau Te Wherowhero, for the benefit of the entire iwi.

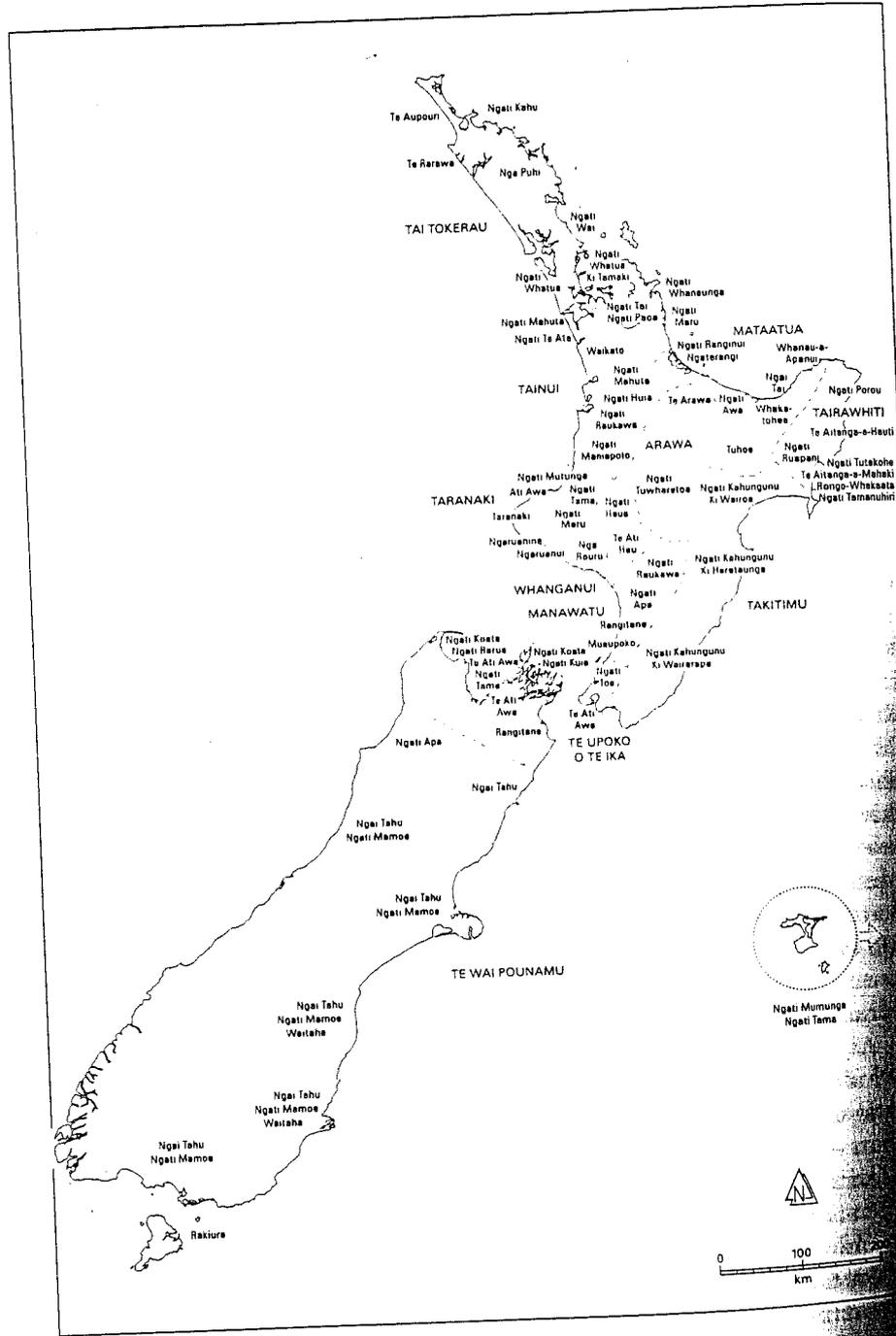
MAORI TRIBAL LOCATIONS

Traditional areas of major tribes



N.Z. Yearbook 1996

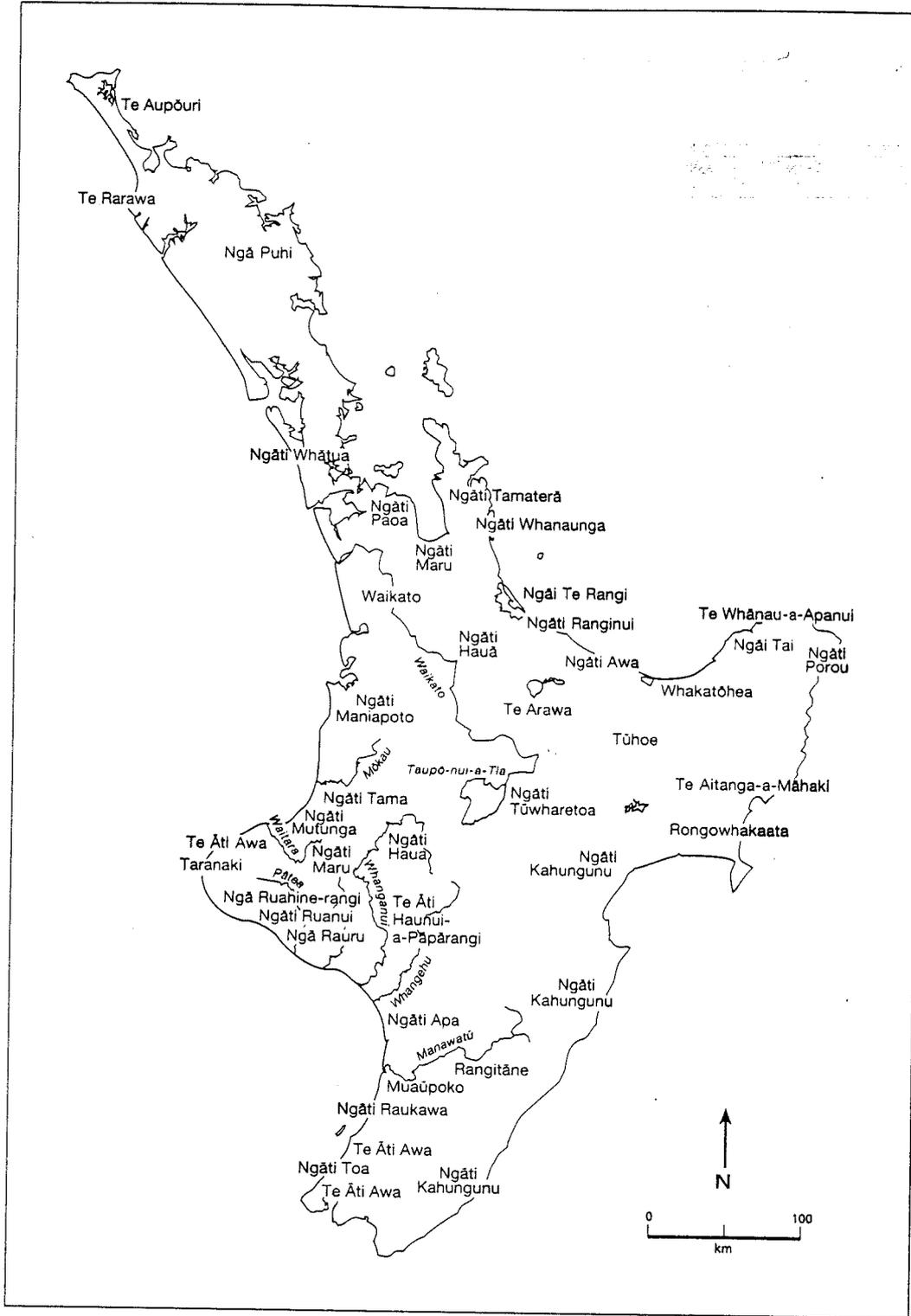
HE TIPUA



IWI BOUNDARIES

*He Tipua
R. J. Walker
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Ngā iwi o Te Ika-a-Māui – North Island iwi

Ki te Whaiias

Ka'ai et al (2004) Pearson Education N.Z. Ltd

Te Moana-o-Raukawa

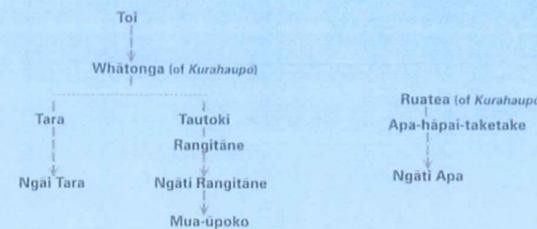
Te Ūpoko-o-te-Ika/Te Tauihu-o-te-Waka



The region comprising Te Ūpoko-o-te-Ika ('the head of the fish') and Te Tauihu-o-te-Waka ('the bow of the canoe') is pivotal to the Māori world-view. Here the head of Māui's fish and the bow of his canoe meet, only to be separated by the strait known as Raukawa. Tribal traditions of the area tell of mystical encounters between explorers with supernatural powers. The legendary Kupe explored this area extensively and left many place names. He fought with the mysterious Haumia, and was able to summon winds and sea-storms, and even to raise and lower islands.

Later arrivals were drawn here by the same supernatural powers which had been left in the landscape, as in the famous story of Hine-poupou. The region was populated primarily by people of Kurahaupo descent and accordingly connections with Te Māhia and Here-taunga on the east coast are particularly strong. Kurahaupo iwi include Ngāi Tara, Ngāti Rangitāne, Mua-ūpoko, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Tū-mata-kōkiri. Other iwi were Ngāti Māmoē and Ngāti Ira from Te Tai Rāwhiti. Ngāi Tahu stayed in the region for some time before heading further south to Te Wai Pounamu.

The legendary explorer Kupe travelled all over Te Ika-a-Māui and Te Wai Pounamu. That he spent some time in Te Moana-o-Raukawa is shown by the large number of names associated with him which are found in this area. Kupe first followed the eastern coast, where he fought the octopus Te Wheke-o-Muturangi at Rangihakaoma. He then travelled further south, entering Te Whanganui (later Te Whanganui-a-Tara) and journeying throughout Te Ūpoko-o-te-Ika and Te Tauihu-o-te-Waka.



Legend for symbols: Mountain/locality (triangle), Land relief feature (circle), Water feature (wavy line), Line of descent (solid line), Marriage (dashed line). Includes a small map of MUA-ŪPOKO.

Tautoki, a half-brother of Tara and the father of Rangitāne, lived at Para-ngārehu, a pā between Te Rae-akiaki and Ō-rua-pouanui.

Whātonga, a chief of the Kurahaupo waka, landed at Nukutaurua and travelled south to Te Matau-a-Māui. Whātonga had a house at Nukutaurua called Here-taunga. When he shifted to Te Matau-a-Māui, the name Here-taunga came to be used for that district (see plate 23). Some time after he settled at Te Matau-a-Māui, Whātonga travelled to Te Ūpoko-o-te-Ika. He named the large harbour which he explored at the southernmost tip of the island Te Whanganui-a-Tara, 'the great harbour of Tara', after his son. He journeyed north again via the west coast and came to the Manawa-tū River. Walking up the river, he returned via its gorge and the dense forest beyond - Te Tāperenui-a-Whātonga - to Te Matau-a-Māui.

Ōrotū migrated from Here-taunga to Te Rimu-rapa on the southern coast of Te Ika-a-Māui. His son, Whatumāmoe, stayed in Here-taunga. *Kia noho ai tāua i te kāinga o tō tupuna, o Whatumāmoe i Here-taunga. Waiho e Te Ōrotū, waiho ki a Whatumāmoe, Nōna te kiri pango e mau ki a tāua nei... Let us live at the home of your ancestor, Whatumāmoe of Here-taunga. Te Ōrotū, Whatumāmoe shall attend to this, Our black skin was inherited from him...*

Te Ori-pā-roa and his wife, Hine-poupou, lived at Kapiti until Te Ori-pā-roa abandoned Hine-poupou and took her parents with him. After being tricked her and left for Rangitoto, Hine-poupou went to Tārerere-mangō. She made a dart and threw it out to sea whilst reciting incantations, but it did not fly for long. Three days later she repeated the exercise. This time the dart flew into the sky, and Hine-poupou knew she must follow. She went to Ngā Kuri-a-Kupe and swam from there. After being swept south of Kapiti and then north of Ō-mere, she reached Toka-kōtuku, a rock beyond Waihi and Parikawau. Then she swam against Ngā Tai Whakahohiki-a-Pane (the tides of Pane), between Rangitoto and Toka-pou-rewa. She arrived at a rock called Pare-raututu, reached Whakatero-papanui and finally swam ashore at Papa-a-nau (beyond Ō-tara-wao), the pā of Te Ori-pā-roa, where she was reunited with her parents. Hine-poupou sought revenge, and by the use of incantations and her knowledge of the tides, she caused the canoes of Te Ori-pā-roa to capsize during a fishing trip.

Te Ao-huruhuru, a beautiful Ngāi Tara woman, fell in love with Tākaro-ūpoko, with whom she had a daughter, Te Umatahi. However, an older chief at Matai-kona claimed Te Ao-huruhuru as a wife. One night her cloak fell away from her body while she slept, leaving her naked. Her husband awoke, and - much pleased with the beauty of his young wife - brought in some friends to show her off. Te Ao-huruhuru awoke as they were staring at her. The next day she donned her finest cloak and her albatross feathers, and climbed a cliff. There she sang a song and then threw herself off in full view of her husband and his friends, who were fishing. *Nāku rā i moe tūwherauhera ka tūhuna ki te ahi Kia tino tūrama Ā, ka kataima a au na... I slept exposed. A fire was lit So that I could be seen, And I was an object of lust.*

Mua-ūpoko are a Rangitāne people who lived along the coast to the north of Kapiti. Their name refers to the front (mua) of the head (ūpoko) of Māui's fish, which is located along the Horowhenua and Kapiti coast.

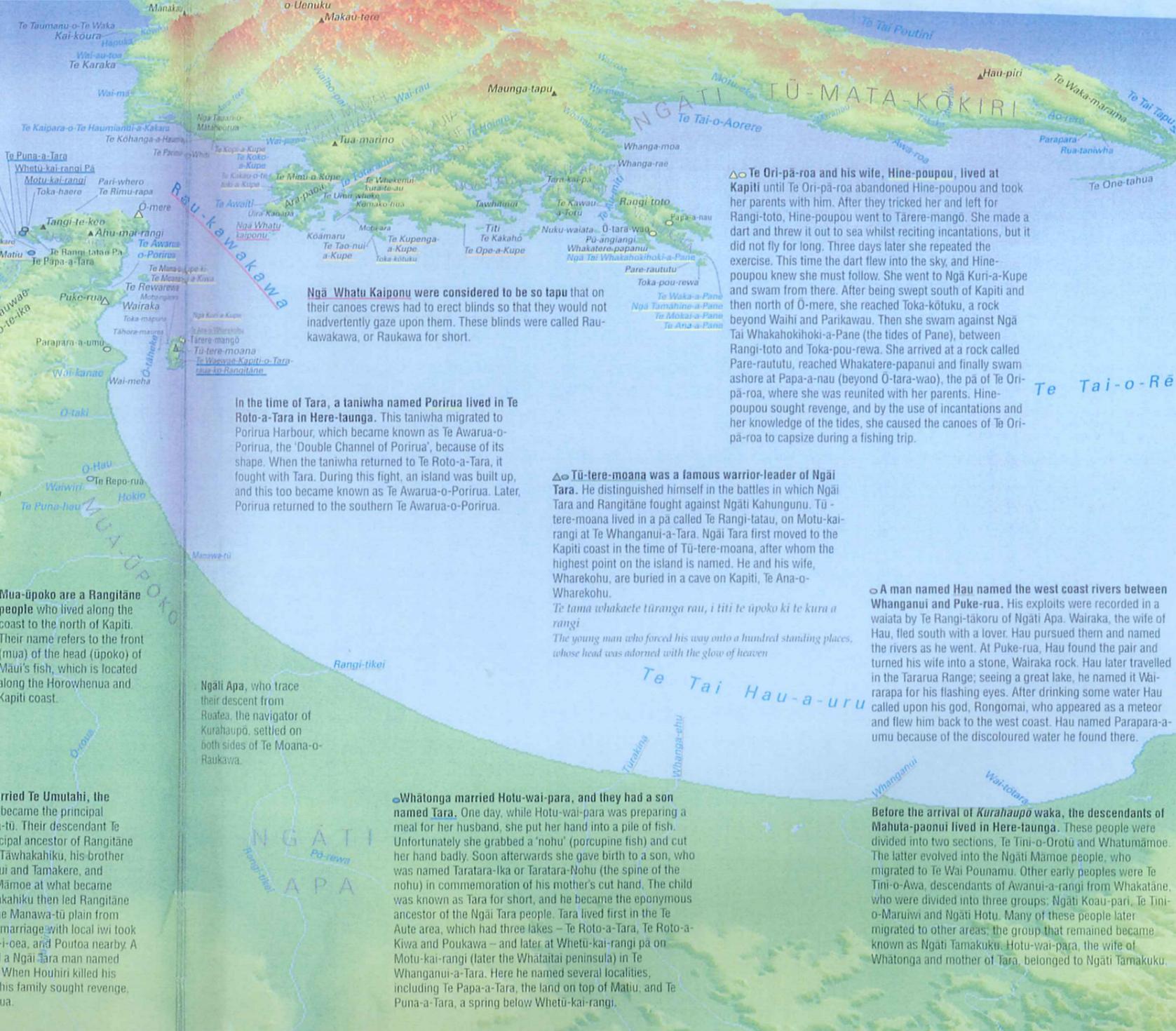
Tāwhakahiku of Rangitāne married Te Umatahi, the daughter of Te Aohuruhuru, and became the principal ancestor of Rangitāne in Manawa-tū. Their descendant Te Rangihakaewa became the principal ancestor of Rangitāne in the Tāmaki (Dannevirke) area. Tāwhakahiku, his brother Māngere, their cousins Rākaumāui and Tamakere, and Poutoa, met and defeated Ngāti Māmoē at what became known as Te Umu-tao-roa. Tāwhakahiku then led Rangitāne southwards. They later entered the Manawa-tū plain from Pahi-ataua, and settled there. Intermarriage with local iwi took place. Rākaumāui settled at Papa-i-oea, and Poutoa nearby. A cousin, Whakarongo-tau, married a Ngāi Tara woman named Houhiri and lived at Mā-kure-rua. When Houhiri killed his brother-in-law, Tāwhakahiku and his family sought revenge, fighting as far south as Te Repo-rua.

Ngāi Tara lived in Here-taunga. This taniwha migrated to Porirua Harbour, which became known as Te Awarua-o-Porirua, the 'Double Channel of Porirua', because of its shape. When the taniwha returned to Te Roto-a-Tara, it fought with Tara. During this fight, an island was built up, and this too became known as Te Awarua-o-Porirua. Later, Porirua returned to the southern Te Awarua-o-Porirua.

Ngāi Apa, who trace their descent from Ruatea, the navigator of Kurahaupo, settled on both sides of Te Moana-o-Raukawa.

Whātonga married Hotu-wai-para, and they had a son named Tara. One day, while Hotu-wai-para was preparing a meal for her husband, she put her hand into a pile of fish. Unfortunately she grabbed a 'nohu' (porcupine fish) and cut her hand badly. Soon afterwards she gave birth to a son, who was named Taratara-Ika or Taratara-Nohu (the spine of the nohu) in commemoration of his mother's cut hand. The child was known as Tara for short, and he became the eponymous ancestor of the Ngāi Tara people. Tara lived first in the Te Aute area, which had three lakes - Te Roto-a-Tara, Te Roto-a-Kiwa and Poukawa - and later at Whetū-kai-rangi pā on Motu-kai-rangi (later the Whaitaitai peninsula) in Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Here he named several localities, including Te Papa-a-Tara, the land on top of Matiu, and Te Puna-a-Tara, a spring below Whetū-kai-rangi.

Before the arrival of Kurahaupo waka, the descendants of Mahuta-paonui lived in Here-taunga. These people were divided into two sections, Te Tini-o-Ōrotū and Whatumāmoe. The latter evolved into the Ngāti Māmoē people, who migrated to Te Wai Pounamu. Other early peoples were Te Tini-o-Awa, descendants of Awanui-a-rangi from Whakatāne, who were divided into three groups: Ngāti Koau-pari, Te Tini-o-Maruwi and Ngāti Hotu. Many of these people later migrated to other areas; the group that remained became known as Ngāti Tamakuku. Hotu-wai-para, the wife of Whātonga and mother of Tara, belonged to Ngāti Tamakuku.



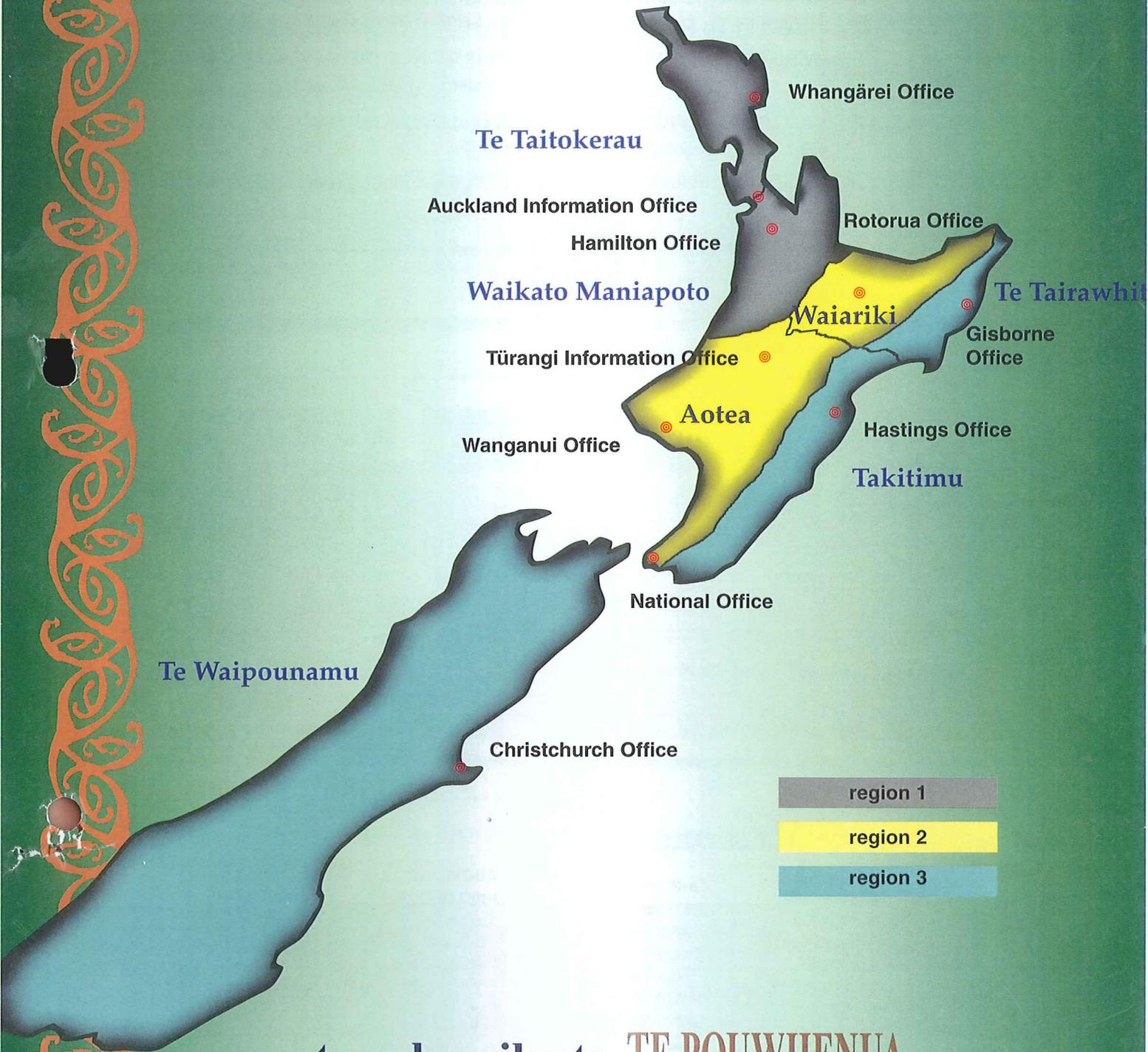
Ngā Whatu Kaipou were considered to be so tapu that on their canoes crews had to erect blinds so that they would not inadvertently gaze upon them. These blinds were called Raukawa-kawa, or Raukawa for short.

Tū-tere-moana was a famous warrior-leader of Ngāi Tara. He distinguished himself in the battles in which Ngāi Tara and Rangitāne fought against Ngāti Kahungunu. Tū-tere-moana lived in a pā called Te Rangitātau, on Motu-kai-rangi at Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Ngāi Tara first moved to the Kapiti coast in the time of Tū-tere-moana, after whom the highest point on the island is named. He and his wife, Wharekohu, are buried in a cave on Kapiti, Te Ana-o-Wharekohu. *Te tama whakate te tūrangā rau, i tūi te ūpoko ki te kura a rangi The young man who forced his way onto a hundred standing places, whose head was adorned with the glow of heaven*

A man named Hau named the west coast rivers between Whanganui and Puke-rua. His exploits were recorded in a waiata by Te Rangitākoru of Ngāti Apa. Wairaka, the wife of Hau, fled south with a lover. Hau pursued them and named the rivers as he went. At Puke-rua, Hau found the pair and turned his wife into a stone, Wairaka rock. Hau later travelled in the Tararua Range; seeing a great lake, he named it Wairarapa for his flashing eyes. After drinking some water Hau called upon his god, Rongomai, who appeared as a meteor and flew him back to the west coast. Hau named Parapara-umu because of the discoloured water he found there.

Te Ori-pā-roa and his wife, Hine-poupou, lived at Kapiti until Te Ori-pā-roa abandoned Hine-poupou and took her parents with him. After being tricked her and left for Rangitoto, Hine-poupou went to Tārerere-mangō. She made a dart and threw it out to sea whilst reciting incantations, but it did not fly for long. Three days later she repeated the exercise. This time the dart flew into the sky, and Hine-poupou knew she must follow. She went to Ngā Kuri-a-Kupe and swam from there. After being swept south of Kapiti and then north of Ō-mere, she reached Toka-kōtuku, a rock beyond Waihi and Parikawau. Then she swam against Ngā Tai Whakahohiki-a-Pane (the tides of Pane), between Rangitoto and Toka-pou-rewa. She arrived at a rock called Pare-raututu, reached Whakatero-papanui and finally swam ashore at Papa-a-nau (beyond Ō-tara-wao), the pā of Te Ori-pā-roa, where she was reunited with her parents. Hine-poupou sought revenge, and by the use of incantations and her knowledge of the tides, she caused the canoes of Te Ori-pā-roa to capsize during a fishing trip.

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