

KO RANGITĪKEI TE AWA:
THE RANGITĪKEI RIVER AND ITS TRIBUTARIES
CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES REPORT

Hohonu Ltd

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A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust

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He Mihi

Tīwhana kahukura i te rangi,
Kamokamo ana mai te whetū o te ata,
Rere ana mai ngā hihi o te rā.

Tihei Mauri Ora.

Tuatahi, me wehi ki te Atua. Koia te tīmatatanga me te whakamutunga. Nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Tuarua, whakahōnoretia tō tātou Kīngi Māori, ā Tuheitia, e noho mai rā i runga i te ahurewa tapu a ōna mātua tūpuna. Kei te mihi atu ki ia, oīra ki te Kāhui ariki whānui tonu.

Tuatoru, me mihi me pēwhea, me tangi me pēwhea, me taute me pēwhea, te hunga i poto ki te pō. Kua whai rātou i te ara whānui a Tāne, kua haere rātou ki te ao wairua, ki te kāinga tūturu oti atu, e kore e hoki mai.

Kāti, e kore e mutu te whakamihī atu ki te awa tapu o Rangitīkei e rere atu rā , oīra, ōna hikuawa katoa, ngā hapū, ngā iwi hoki e noho mai rā kei ngā parenga awa. Tēnei te mihi atu ki a koutou katoa. Me pēnei te kōrero mō te nui me te hōhonu o ngā kōrero, ngā whakapapa, ngā whakaahua hoki i tukua mai ki a mātou hei hāpai i tēnei rīpoata - nō mātou te whiwhi.

Nā reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

1. Introduction

1.1 Hohonu Authors and Researchers

Robert Joseph is of Ngāti Turanga o Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Paretekawa o Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Kahungunu descent. He holds a PhD in law from the University of Waikato. Dr Joseph is a former Senior Research Fellow with Te Mātāhauariki Research Institute and he is currently a Senior Lecturer in Te Piringa – Faculty of Law and director of the new Māori and Indigenous Governance Centre at the University of Waikato. He is a published academic and has experience researching with and for iwi and hapū organisations. Dr Joseph is the principal author of this report.

Paul Meredith is of Ngāti Maniapoto and he contributed chapters 1-3. Paul is an experienced researcher and publishes in the areas of Māori customary law, Māori identity and Māori history. He is a co-author of *Te Mātāpunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law* published by Victoria University Press in 2013.

Leah Gifford of Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa, Ngāi Tuhoe, Tongareva, and Porapora also contributed to the project management and research for this report while also conducting and facilitating several interviews and wānanga. She also assisted with the writing and editing of certain sections. Leah Gifford is a researcher and educationalist.

Amelia Turangi-Joseph of Rongowhakaata also provided project management support, research and some transcription services for this report. Amelia is a clinical psychologist and mother by profession, and she provided, inter alia, much needed home executive support to complete this report.



Image 1: Ko Rangitikei te Awa

1.2 Project Brief

The Crown Forestry Rental Trust has commissioned this report to consider the cultural perspectives of tangata whenua in relation to the Rangitikei River and its tributaries in both the Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiries.¹ It should be noted that for the purposes of this report, ‘the Rangitikei River and its tributaries’ includes the Hautapu and Moawhango Rivers and their tributaries.

¹ Taihape Inquiry, (Wai 2180, Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 2015) and the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry (Wai 2200, Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

This report arises from a scoping report by David Alexander, its primary purpose to make recommendations on how to best organise substantive research on the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries.² The scoping report recommended the preparation of two reports; one which examined the Crown’s historical involvement with the waterways and with the iwi and hapū with an interest in these waterways, and the changes to traditional patterns that have occurred since settlement by Europeans. The other – wherein lies the purpose of this report – is to further investigate the cultural significance of the waterways to the iwi and hapū that live alongside Rangitīkei River and its tributaries and have an interest in them. That is, their ancestral relationship to the waterways and the traditional ways on which they relied and made use of them prior to the arrival of Europeans. A report addressing the Crown’s historical involvement with the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries has been prepared by David Alexander.³

Alexander’s scoping report was commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust as part of the Taihape Inquiry technical research programme. The report, however, recognised the interconnectedness of the lower and upper reaches of the river and that the Rangitīkei River flowed into the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District. As such, it was recommended that both reports should consider the river in its entirety from source to sea along with the claims issues arising from both Inquiry districts. Such an approach acknowledges the river as a cultural source of unity for the hapū and iwi as an integrated, living whole. We considered this approach to be both pragmatic and prudent in terms of maintaining focus on the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries. The Treaty claims process can have a tendency to create tensions and be divisive. Yet as we were reminded by one kaumātua: “All the hapū along this river here ... we have a whakapapa link to them.”⁴ This report then, as the sole cultural perspectives report for the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, is an attempt to articulate the cultural interconnectedness of both the rivers and the iwi and hapū along those rivers from source to sea.

² Alexander, D., *Rangitīkei River and its Tributary Waterways, and other Taihape Waterways Scoping Report* (A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2012).

³ Alexander, D., *Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries, Historical Report* (Wai 2180, a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust 2015).

⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015.

In preparing this report, we were very aware that claimant individuals will also prepare briefs of evidence as part of the material presented to the Waitangi Tribunal. We also note that some struggled to provide us their korero within our timeframes due to other competing demands. We expect that many of the individuals will present their views and personal stories as they relate to their awa or rivers.⁵ This report is not intended to substitute such important claimant evidence, but should instead be viewed as being complementary; as an overview of the cultural significance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries that draws together the common themes and experiences of hapū and iwi. As Alexander suggests in his scoping report, it should provide a framework for a better understanding of those claimant briefs of evidence. As such the report should also not be considered the definite work on the Rangitīkei River and the associated hapū and iwi. We leave that for the hapū and iwi themselves to write.

The brief requires the report to consider the following research themes and topics:

- The customary use and significance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries to the iwi and hapū that live alongside them and have an interest in them prior to the arrival of Europeans;
- Post-contact customary and traditional relationship and usage of the waterways;
- The impacts of colonisation on the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries;
- The changes to the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries since the arrival of Europeans, and how hapū and iwi have been affected by those changes;
- Tangata whenua perspectives and engagement with the Crown on ownership issues and the Rangitīkei River waterways;
- Tangata whenua experiences in dealing with the Crown and local government agencies in relation to the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, including the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and its implementation in relation to the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, the role of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei in this context;
- The experiences of tangata whenua in terms of species loss and habitat destruction in the Rangitīkei River catchment area.

The project brief also requires the report to consider any issues relating to Mana Wahine and the Rangitīkei River throughout the report as they relate to the themes and topics noted above.

⁵ For the purposes of this report we use the words awa and river interchangeably.



Map 1: Rangitikei River and Tributaries

1.3 Project Methodology

This report then is an attempt to offer an overall voice to tangata whenua associated with the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries; and to articulate the common factors of cultural significance concerning the waterways, and their surrounding environs. We acknowledge that like other multi-claimant reports, we bring together a broad range of kōrero which may not always be commonly shared by all. Where there are competing kōrero, we seek to present the reader with all versions.

The Waitangi Tribunal has stated that to Māori the spiritual and cultural significance of a freshwater resource can only be determined by the tangata whenua who have traditional rights over the rivers.⁶ This report, therefore, draws primarily on oral history and commentary collected from claimants through a series of interviews and wānanga with small groups at marae, in homes, and during site visits. During the interviews / wānanga, we sought to allow space for participants to tell the stories of importance to them, in the style they wished to tell them. Thus, discussion was only loosely guided by a series of themes and topics which included traditional relationships with the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, hapū, and iwi customary use of the awa, changes to the waterways and the surrounding habitat since Pākehā settlement, the impact on those Māori communities, and their experiences in dealing with the Crown and local authorities as they relate to their awa. This approach allowed us the privilege of receiving knowledge and information which, had the collation of oral histories and commentaries been approached in any other way, may not have surfaced.

The narratives of participants are supplemented by information from written sources such as Native Land Court minute books, other archival material, historical newspapers, maps, images, reports and briefs of evidence prepared for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust and the Waitangi Tribunal, relevant Waitangi Tribunal reports, and other secondary source material.

⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Kaituna River Claim* (Wai 4, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1984).

The authors acknowledge that we have deliberately drawn substantively on Tony Walzl's 'Taihape Tribal Landscape Overview Report' in some of the sections of this report and in particular as it relates Native Land court minute book material for the Mokai Pātea region.⁷ We began our own research by consulting the books proper but quickly came to appreciate the breadth and comprehensiveness of their treatment in Walzl's report. The researchers compared our own early minute book research with that quoted in Walzl's work and concluded that he was very meticulous and accurate as was his discussion of the material. We could thus have some confidence in it whilst also acknowledging that the korero might not always be shared by all. Walzl's major source was largely Native Land Court minutes. Such evidence was given in an environment of contestation for rights and interests in land and waterways and therefore should be scrutinised in this context.

Finally, generally speaking, it is good practice in oral history narrative to identify the narrator by name. However, we do not and in some instances cannot do so for pragmatic reasons. Some participants are willing to be identified while others have requested a degree of anonymity. Moreover, it has proved difficult, particularly where there are large groups in a wānanga, to identify all of the narrators despite our best efforts. Thus, we instead identify the wider group affiliation(s) of the speaker, their location, and the date.

1.4 Kaupapa of the Report

The overall theme of this report is that the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries are **taonga** and **tūpuna awa** for the hapū and iwi that have had, and continue to have, a customary relationship with them. These awa are an integral part of their whakapapa and identity.

There is a long history of Māori claims to rivers and other waterways dating back to the nineteenth century, as well as litigation by Māori over the ownership of rivers and lakes. This includes the well-known case of the Whanganui River which lasted several decades. In more recent history, there have been a number of specific claims to the Waitangi Tribunal relating to certain rivers as

⁷ (Wai 2180, A012, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2013).

Māori have sought to reclaim and reassert their rights, authority, associations, and obligations to these freshwater bodies.

As such, the Waitangi Tribunal has well commented on the significance of rivers to Māori. The Tribunal's Stage 1 Report on the National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Claim provides a useful synopsis of those reports.⁸ In summary, the Kaituna River Report recognised local Māori as having owned the river for many generations, whilst acknowledging the spiritual significance of the river and its critical importance as a source of food.⁹ In the Mōhaka River Report, the Tribunal found that the river was and is a **taonga**, and that Ngāti Pāhauwera possessed and controlled their section of it at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1840.¹⁰ In the Te Ika Whenua Rivers Report, the Tribunal recognised that the Rangitāiki, Wheao, and Whirinaki Rivers “are tūpuna awa and living **taonga** of the hapū of Te Ika Whenua.”¹¹ In the Whanganui River Report, the Tribunal found that the oral history of the claimants clearly established that the river was and is their **taonga** and was absolutely central to their tribal identity, way of life, and wellbeing.¹² The Tribunal also found that Māori possessed and owned all the components of the river system including the water, bed, banks, fisheries, plants, taniwha and the mauri or life force of the river.¹³ The Tribunal's more holistic position was reaffirmed in the Central North Island Report which recognised that waters cannot be divided out and must be considered a component part of that **taonga**.¹⁴

This report, too, attests to the waterways as living **taonga** for the hapū and iwi of the Rangitīkei and its tributaries, expressing the ways in which the waters and surrounds were, and continue to be, absolutely pivotal to tribal identity, way of life, and wellbeing. The report reflects narratives of tribal occupation along the awa linked to tribal whakapapa, river side **wāhi tapu**, taniwha,

⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Stage 1 Report on the National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Claim* (Wai 2358, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2012) pp. 42-48.

⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Kaituna River Claim* (Wai 4, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1984).

¹⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Mohaka River Report* (Wai 119, Brooker and Friend Ltd, Wellington, 1992).

¹¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Ika Whenua Rivers Report* (Wai 212, GP Publications, Wellington, 1998) p. 135.

¹² Waitangi Tribunal, *The Whanganui River Report* (Wai 167, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 1999).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo: Report on Central North Island Claims* (Wai 1200, Legislation Direct, Wellington, 2008) pp. 1251-1252.

sources of food, sources of rituals and healing, transport, travel, and trade. It also recounts the impacts of erosion, gravel extraction, localised pollution, damming, habitat destruction and species loss since post-European settlement, engagement and relationships with the Crown and local government, the recognition of river rights, responsibilities and the ability to continue to care for and use their awa.

It should be noted that the focus of this report is the cultural perspectives and experiences of hapū and iwi as it relates to the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries. The report should be read in conjunction with David Alexander's 'Historical Report' to understand the Crown and local government actions around, and understandings of, these water bodies.¹⁵

1.5 Structure of the Report

As noted above, the rivers are inextricably linked to tribal identities. The report thus begins by briefly introducing many of the groups who identify with the awa. In doing so, one begins to appreciate the interconnectedness of hapū and iwi whakapapa and histories associated with the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries. Noticeably several of these tribal groupings take their name from female tūpuna, evidence of mana wahine along the Rangitīkei. This section also draws on Statement of Claims to convey hapū and iwi assertions in relation to the awa.

The following chapter, Chapter Three, explores a number of sites of significance as identified by claimants, all of which have shaped the historical narratives and identity of hapū and iwi as “river people.”

Chapter Four examines the tangata whenua tikanga and mātauranga and their customary kaitiaki relationship rights and responsibilities to the Rangitīkei River, its tributaries and other waterways. The chapter also discusses in depth the way of life of the people of the area and how it was/is inextricably linked to the whenua and waterways.

¹⁵ Alexander, 2015.

Chapter Five provides the experience of changes to customary usage of the waterways as a result of Pākehā settlement and the impacts of those experiences.

Chapter Six examines the current regime of the RMA, Local Councils and Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei and its kaupapa and efficacy as a uniting body for the tangata whenua.

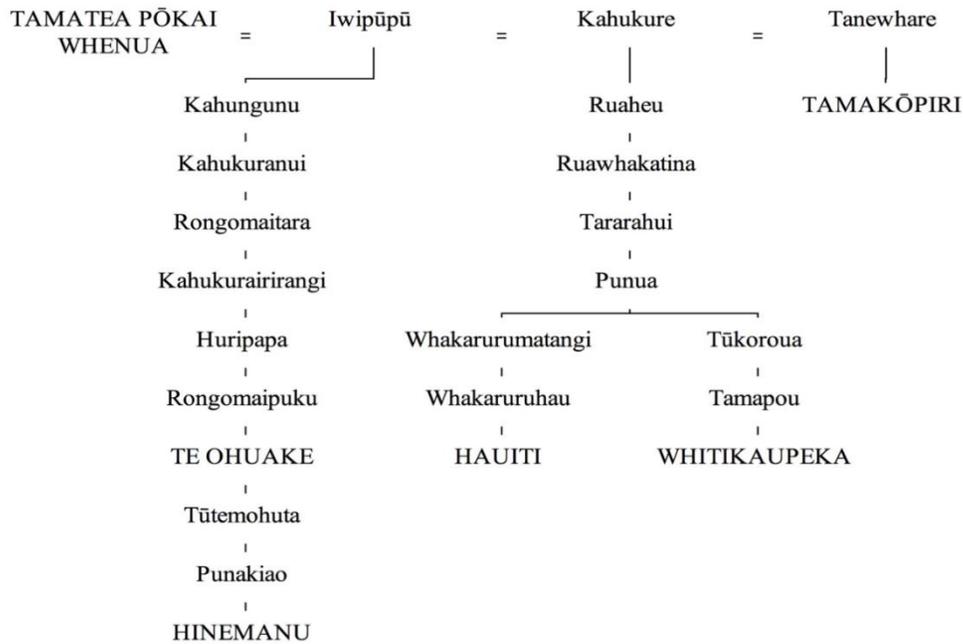
Chapter Seven provides a brief summary on the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries cultural perspectives of the report.

2 Ngā Hapū me ngā Iwi i te Awa o Rangitīkei

2.1 Introductory Remarks

The following chapter provides a brief introduction to the various hapū and iwi who live alongside the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries. Many of these hapū and iwi share close whakapapa relationships through intermarriage as well as a shared history of occupation of key sites along the waterways.¹⁶ The inter-relationships are evident in the whakapapa tables below.

Most, if not all those from the upper reaches of the Rangitīkei trace their descent from Tamatea Pōkai Whenua. His journey through the region is discussed in the next chapter.



Whakapapa 1: Descendants of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua

¹⁶ For a much fuller discussion of the kinship identities and the numerous connections, the reader might consult Tony Walzl's aforementioned *Tribal Landscape Overview Report*, 2013.

2.2 Ngāti Tamakōpiri

Tamakōpiri is the son of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua. The tribe Ngāti Tamakōpiri is said to have originated during the time of Tamakōpiri. Tamakōpiri travelled with Tamatea on his journey to the Rangitīkei before returning to Heretaunga. He later returned to the Pātea region with his son, Tūwhakaperei and his grandson, Rongomai Tūranga, where they attacked Ngāti Hotu and drove them to the western side of the Moawhango River.

Īhaka Te Hau Paimarire of Ngāti Tamakōpiri described the area obtained by Tamakōpiri following the conquest of Ngāti Hotu: “He took whole of this country from Ngaruroro to Moawhango. I heard that Tamakōpiri occupied this country from Moawhango to Rangitīkei where Moawhango falls into it...”¹⁷

A key tupuna of Ngāti Tamakōpiri was Tūmakaurangi. He was said to have held the mana over Pātea during his lifetime. He, along with his cousin Tūtakamaiwaho, were the leaders in the second conquest of Ngāti Hotu.

Īhaka Te Hau Paimarire provided information regarding land that was taken at this time: The land taken during 2nd war commenced at Moawhango, went then to Hautapu & then to Whakauae west of Hautapu. Mangaihituru is the spot in the Whakauae range where the conquest extended to from there the line passes along to Pikerui... [illegible word] to Maungarautawhiu thence to the Hautapu – follows up that river to the Pou a Tamuringa thence to Te Hiwi a Tamakōpiri – thence to Waitangi a Tamakōpiri – from Waitangi it strikes across to Wangaehu ...¹⁸

Notably, the boundaries in both descriptions of territorial influence are dominated by Rangitīkei River features.

Tūmakaurangi was later killed with the son of Hauiti, Haeretekura, during a battle with Ngāti Tūwharetoa on the Moawhango River at Te Rei.

¹⁷ Haupaimarire, Ōwhāoko 1887, Napier MB 12, pp. 380-381, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 414.

¹⁸ Haupaimarire, Ōwhāoko 1887, Napier MB 13, pp. 1-2, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 420.

The union of Hineroro, the daughter of Tūmakaurangi to Wharepurakau, the son of Whitikaupeka, was also a significant marriage for Ngāti Tamakōpiri.

Another key Ngāti Tamakōpiri tupuna was Tamakaitangi who inherited the mana of Tūmakaurangi through his father, Whakaokorau and became a leading chief of Mōkai Pātea. His marriages to Ripoarangi and Hinetu created strong links between Ngāti Tamakōpiri and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Ngāti Tamakōpiri is said to traditionally comprise the Ngāti Tūope, Ngāti Tamakaiaorangi, Ngāti Hinetai, Ngāti Tamapinea and Rangitoea hapū. Ngāti Tamakōpiri can be found today at Ōpaea marae, the name of their whare tupuna being Tūmakaurangi.

2.3 Ngāi Te Ohuake

Ngāi Te Ohuake take their name from the tupuna Te Ohuake, who is the son of Rongomaipuku and Hinerangi. Rongomaipuku can claim descent from the marriage of Kahungunu and Iwipupu and hence, from Tamatea Pōkai Whenua. The marriage of Te Ohuake and Nukuteaio of Ngāti Whatumāmoa brought together two key descent lines within Mōkai Pātea. Whatumāmoa is said to be an ‘aboriginal ancestor’ (i.e. pre-waka) whose domain extended from Heretaunga to Pātea.

One account states that subsequent to the marriage of Te Ohuake and Nukuteaio and following the death of her brother Tūpākihi, Te Ohuake became “the principal man in Pātea.”¹⁹ According to Winiata Te Whaaro, the land of Te Ohuake extended along the Rangitīkei River north from Kaimanawa, and south as far as the junction with the Hautapu River to Waituteke and to the Kawhatau River.²⁰

2.4 Ngāti Whitikaupeka

Whitikaupeka is the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, a descendant of Ruaehu and thus, of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua. Ruaehu is the son of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua and his third wife,

¹⁹ Te Ahiko, Ōwhāoko 1888, Napier MB 16, p. 260, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 112.

²⁰ Te Whaaro, Mangaohane No.2 Rehearing, Scannell MB 30, pp. 21-22, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 502.

Kahukare. Ruaehu had come back to Pātea as part of Te Hika a Kahukare with the taua led by his half-brother Tamakōpiri.

Another key tupuna was Punua, as expressed by Paramena te Naonao Tūterangi o Ngāti Whitikaupeka:

... ko Punua te tangata o Pātea, nana i whakanoho a Kahukura, ki Pātea, i muri atu a Whitikaupeka, i tae mai ai, ki Pātea, ki te kainga, ona Tupuna, o Mokai Pātea, o Tamatea, o Whatumamao, o Rongomaitara, o Hauiti, o Mokotuaiwa... tu tonu te mana o Whitikaupeka [Translation in original source: ... Punua was the person of Pātea, it was him who put Kahukura at Pātea, it was afterward that Whitikaupeka arrived at Pātea, to the place of his Ancestors of MokaiPātea, Tamatea, Whatumamao, Rongomaitara, Hauiti, Mokotuaiwa ... Whitikaupeka's influence is still standing.]²¹

Whitikaupeka married Haumoetahanga, who was the daughter of Tūtemohuta and granddaughter of Nukuteaio. From her father, Haumoetahanga had inherited rights in lands east of the Rangitīkei River, thus extending the area of influence of Whitikaupeka.

It is also held that Whitikaupeka assisted the aforementioned Ngāti Tamakōpiri tūpuna, Tūmakaurangi and Tutakamaiwaho in the conquest of Ngāti Hotu. That activity and the aforementioned marriage between Wharepurakau, son of Whitikaupeka and Hineroro, son of Tūmakaurangi resulted in strategic alliances between Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Ngāti Tamakōpiri, hence the group identity 'Ngāti Tama-Whiti'. Their son Rangipawhaitiri was said to have had mana over Pātea jointly with his first cousin Tamakaitangi.²²

Ngāti Whitikaupeka are today largely concentrated around the Moawhango Village, formerly known as Te Riu o Punanga where can be found two wharenuī; Oruamatua and Whitikaupeka. According to Walzl, the "homelands of Ngāti Whitikaupeka were located within the various Awarua blocks and over the northern part of the Taihape Inquiry District." Walzl notes that the primary sites of occupation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka within the Awarua blocks were concentrated on the Rangitīkei and Moawhango Rivers and their tributaries.²³

²¹ Riuopuanga Pātea, Wānanga, 26 January 1875, p. 12.

²² Walzl, 2013, p. 101.

²³ Walzl, 2013, p. 617.

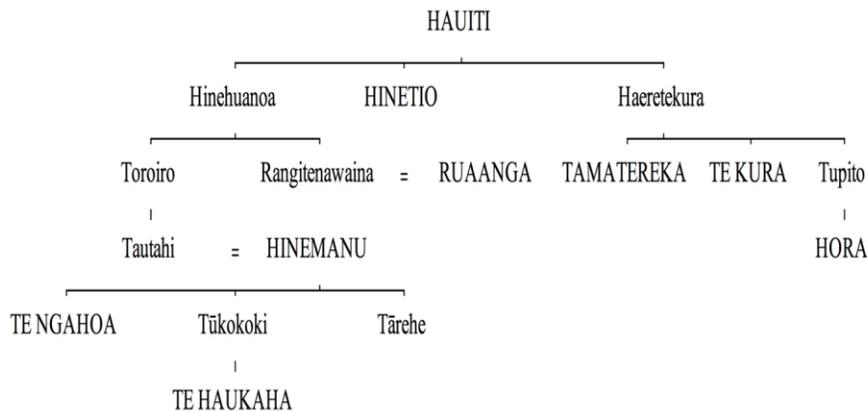
2.5 Ngāti Hauiti

The eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Hauiti is Hauiti, known to have had a club foot. Hauiti is yet another descendant of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua through his father, Whakaruruhau. Through his mother, Paretuae, he is a descendent of Whatumāmoa (Ngāti Whatumāmoa).

Otara is said to have been the principal settlement of Hauiti up to the mid-1800s; before the majority of the iwi migrated down-river to the Te Houhou settlement near present day Rata (where Rata and Otahuhu marae can be found). The post-European areas of influence of Ngāti Hauiti were explained by a member of that tribe as follows:

I'm just talking about Ngāti Hauiti now. Three reserves; one at Rata in that area, Otara ... which was our original stronghold until about 1850, and then here [Utiku] ... but essentially our tribal leader at the time, Utiku [Pōtaka], was trying to retain at least those areas,

maintain control over those areas which had particular



Whakapapa 2: Ngāti Hauiti

significance.²⁴

²⁴ Mōkai Pātea Individual, Utiku, 2 August 2015.

The hapū associated with Ngāti Hauiti include Ngāti Ruaanga, Ngāti Hinetiu, Ngāti Hora, Ngāti Haukaha, Ngāti Haeretekura / Hauiti–Whiti and Ngāti Tamatereka although, as it was pointed out to us, intermarriage has meant several hapū can claim multiple group identities. For example, one Ngāti Hauiti kaumātua talked about the close relationship with Ngāti Whitikaupeka:

Well, because Hauiti and Whitikaupeka, they were second cousins. Hauiti and Whitikaupeka. And there was very close – well, most of them – intermarriage in that area between those two and, for instance, both Whitikaupeka and Ngāti Hauiti saw the Ngāti Haukaha hapū and the Ngāi Te Ngāhoa hapū as belonging to both of them. So they were quite happy – well, a lot of the areas they occupied were shared areas anyway, because they were whānau.²⁵

2.6 Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki are Ngāti Kahungunu peoples. Some reside in Heretaunga while others can be found within the Taihape District Inquiry and maintain the physical and spiritual kaitiakitanga responsibility for, and draw health and well-being from, the Matapuna o Rangimarie me Waimarie. This is the puna for the Rangitīkei, Taruarau, Ngaruroro, Moawhango, Tongariro and the Hautapu awa.

Ngāti Hinemanu traces a line of descent from the son of Te Ohuake and Nukuteaio, Tūtemohuta while Ngāti Paki trace theirs from Rangiwhakamatuku. Tūtemohuta begat Punakiao who married Taraia; these are the parents of Hinemanu. The hapū appellation for Ngāti Hinemanu is said to have originated with the descendants of the children of Hinemanu and Tautahi (son of Irokino and Toriro) and in particular, in the case of the Pātea region, the descendants of Te Ngāhoa and Tukokoki. Their children were Te Ngāhoa, Tukokoki, Pakake and Tarehe. Winiata Te Whaaro asserted it was the sons of Te Ngāhoa's, Te Pua-o-Te-Rangi and Hapūtanga and the son of Tukokoki, Te Haukaha, who first claimed the name Ngāti Hinemanu. Walzl notes the explanation of Winiata Te Whaaro in the Mangaohane No.2 Rehearing that Ngāti Hinemanu was indeed the 'tribal name' for Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Haukaha, Ngāti Paki, and Ngāi Te Ngāhoa.²⁶

²⁵ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015

²⁶ Te Wharo, Mangaohane No.2 Rehearing, Scannell MB 30, p. 44 quoted in Walzl, 2013, pp. 123-124.

Court of day to hold the Awarua hearings at Moawhango writing “that at Moawhango near the Moawhango awa, there were numerous native dwellings available for accommodation and an abundance of food.”²⁹ We were told that after Winiata Te Whaaro moved away from Pokopoko he moved just below the Mangatera Station and the Mokai Pātea Range. Here he built a pā which he called Mokai Pātea or Inland Pātea:

While he was there he built a stockade above the steepest part of the cliffs of the Rangitīkei River which commanded views of all the tracks which he had traversed at one time or another. He could view the countryside from every angle giving him and his people a lot of security from the invading tribes of the East Coast.³⁰

He was also responsible for the construction the Tautahi meeting house at Winiata marae and its unique carvings:

He also built Tautahi the wharepuni near the Hautapu awa at Winiata Marae, he had the assistance of a Pākehā builder called Willoughby. Once again Winiata Te Whaaro came up against the law when he thought that the government was taking the marae land for the railway track and he kept shifting the pegs. He was taken away as the guest of her majesty the queen and remained as a guest until the railway line was completed. The tekoteko on Tautahi is a bust of Mr. Willoughby. On the Amo (barge boards) are carved sunflowers, to Winiata Te Whaaro the seeds represent the Multitude of People both Māori and Pākehā who he had hoped would unite one day. Also carved on the Amo are Dragons teeth, which represent the jaws of the Ngārara \ Taniwha rānei the Guardians of the Marae and its people which is said to live in the Mangaone Stream which runs into the Hautapu River nearby. Inside the wharepuni Tautahi, Winiata Te Whaaro had painted huia birds, which in his mind kept the sacredness or tapu of Ngāti Paki, his people.³¹

Winiata Te Whaaro died in 1911 aged 86, three months after his wife Peeti Mokopuna. They are both buried in the **urupā** at the top of the hill behind the Wharepuni Tautahi at the Winiata Marae.

2.7 Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri

Closely related to Ngāti Hinemanu is Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri. Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri traditions speak of Whatumāmoa and Kahungunu as originating tūpuna, both of whom we have referred to above. We

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

have also referred to the marriage of the descendant of Whatumāmoa, Nukuteaio to Te Ohuake of Ngāti Kahungunu, and their son, the notable Tūtemohuta. Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri particularly associates their mana whenua in the Mōkai–Pātea region with the two daughters of Tūtemohuta, Haumoetahanga and Punakiao. Walzl quotes Rāniera Te Ahiko who stated during the 1888 rehearing of the Ōwhāoko block “The mana of Tutemohuta went to Haumoetahanga and Punakiao ... The rights of Haumoetahanga and Punakiao were equal.”³²

We have noted above the marriage of Haumoetahanga to Whitikaupeka, the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri traditions state that Whitikaupeka only derived rights in the Mōkai–Pātea region as a result of the marriage to Haumoetahanga.

We have also mentioned the marriage of Punakiao to Taraia II who was a descendant both of Whatumāmoa and Kahungunu. Some Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri recount that Taraia II fought against his Whatumāmoa relations and subsequently claimed lands, including some Pātea lands as a right of conquest. Their eldest child was Honomōkai (Ngāti Honomōkai) who married Te Aopupururangi and begat Rangituouru. Rangituouru married Te Ūpokoiri. It is said that the name Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri came into use during the time of their grandchild Te Uamairingi.³³

³² Napier MB 16, p. 257, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 752.

³³ Te Naonao, Awarua 1886, Whanganui MB 10, pp. 375-6 quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 144.

While Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri largely resided in Heretaunga, they often had extended periods of occupation in the Mōkai Pātea district. Walzl has identified numerous sites in the Taihape Inquiry district associated with Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, many alongside the Rangitīkei such as the kāinga Te Puna o Pokororo, Ngapukarawateniwha pā, the Te Papa–a–Tarinuku settlement, and Rapurairuhe and Tokapapoia, two important crossing places.³⁴

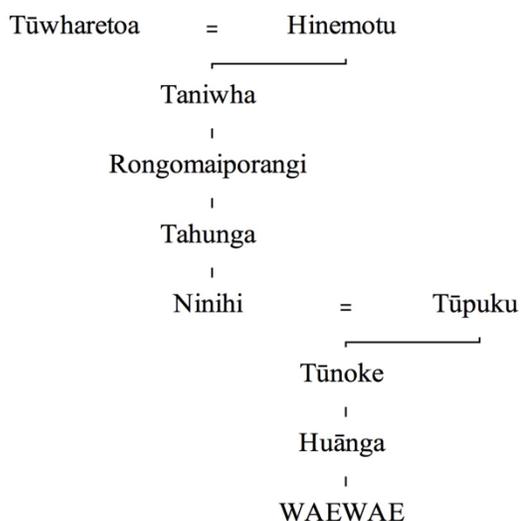
2.8 Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae

Ngāti Waewae is affiliated with Ngāti Tūwharetoa. All descendants of the (female) tupuna, Waewae are known as Ngāti Waewae. Waewae was a descendant of two well-known explorers, Tia – an uncle of Tamatekapua, captain of the Te Arawa canoe – and Ngatoroirangi, the tohunga of Te Arawa. Waewae married Te Marangataua, the eponymous tupuna of

Ngāti Te Marangataua. Waewae was a descendent from the union of Tūwharetoa with Paekitawhiti, while Marangataua was descended from his union with Hinemotu. Her parents were Huanga and Tūkiriwai

Their union produced several children; Rangitīkua, Rahuikura, Torehaere, Waikapuaki and Te Au. The tribal designation ‘Ngāti Waewae’ was adopted in the time of the children and grandchildren of Waewae. The traditional territories of Ngāti Waewae reached from Tāpapa in the east, to Waimārino in the west, to Maraeroa in the north. This would soon extend to Te Reureu in the south.

Ngāti Pīkiahū has Ngāti Raukawa origins. Uenuku Pīkiahū is the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Pīkiahū and a descendent of Raukawa. He was a grandson of Whakaterere who was the son of Raukawa. Pīkiahū was born on the Maraeroa block, located to the north–west of Lake Taupō. His descendants became known as Ngāti Pīkiahū and they lived for some time at Maungatautari with



Whakapapa 4: Ngāti Waewae

³⁴ See Walzl, 2013, pp. 215-220.

their Raukawa relations. Following a period of conflict with their Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto relatives, many hapū of Maungatautari, including Ngāti Pīkiahū, migrated to the Taupō region.

Ngāti Pīkiahū made their way to Rotoāira where they found Ngāti Waewae also in residence. An ensuing relationship developed between groups, which included intermarriage and eventually resulted in the notion of a Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae identity.

In the early 1840s, Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae journeyed from areas in the vicinity of the Tongariro district to Otara on the Rangitīkei River and surrounding localities. The migration of Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae was on the instruction of Ngāti Tūwharetoa chief, Te Heuheu who was determined to prevent land sales as a result of the attempts of New Zealand Company officials to purchase Manawatū land in 1841. Noa Rauhihi spoke of Te the intentions of Heu Heu during the Rangatira title hearing:

Te Heuheu sent us to live at Otara. He was a chief of Taupō and related to everyone in the Island. He told us to live at Otara as a barrier against Europeans purchasing from Natives land on this side to prevent land being sold to prevent the destruction of the Māori's [sic]. We were told to come to Ngatihauiti and Ngatiwhiti and Otara was the settlement and to persuade them not to sell to the Europeans land from Pātea, Rangitīkei, Manawatū and Otaki.³⁵

Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae were assigned lands by Ngāti Hauiti leadership including Pōtaka, who considered that they were all living together. Ngāti Hauiti was happy to welcome the two hapū. A Ngāti Hauiti kaumātua explained the motivations of his tupuna:

At that time Ngāti Hauiti were very, very small. Most of them had been killed in all the battles that had been going on with their neighbours, particularly their neighbours to the south here; Ngāti Apa. They needed some protection because at that stage, 1840s, the Crown were ... buying up ... and it look[ed] as if they were coming up this way. They sent those two hapū down to protect the southern boundaries, so to speak. Our people were here and they welcomed them because they were afraid of being overrun by not only settlers but any other war parties that may have come in from other parts to attack them some more. So they settled at Ohingaiti there, at Otara. Pōtaka gave them land for their own.³⁶

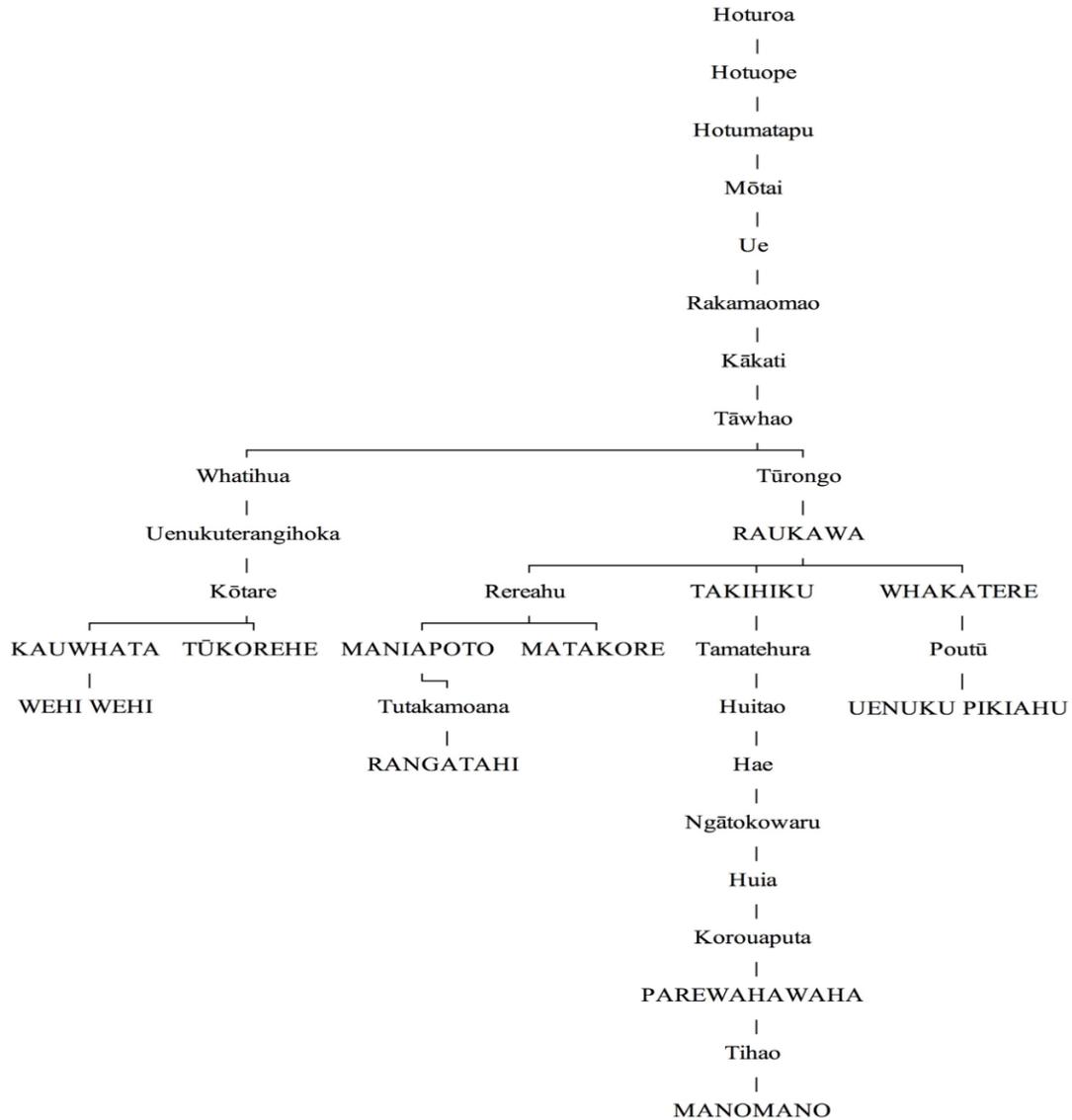
³⁵ Noa Rauhihi, Rangatira 1879, Whanganui MB 3, pp. 6-7, quoted in Walzl, 2013, pp. 307-308.

³⁶ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015.

Certain interests such as Rēnata Kawepō of Ngāti Te Ūpokoiri, however, distrusted the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae migration and the intentions of Te Heu Heu. They viewed it as an attempt by the Ngāti Tūwharetoa chief to take possession of Mōkai Pātea lands and voiced their opposition. At one point Te Heuheu and Kawepō nearly came to blows. The same Ngāti Hauiti kaumātua notes:

They got moved on as a result of Kawepō, Rēnata Kawepō and Te Wanikau coming in and insisting that they had no rights to this area, they should move on. Pōtaka, gave them a huahua and told them to move across the river to the Ngāti Raukawa area and the huahua was to go to Ngāti Raukawa, so a koha from our people. After they had done that Ngāti Raukawa actually came back with a utu which was guns, muskets, which I used to play with I recall.³⁷

³⁷ Ibid.



Whakapapa 5: Descendants of Hoturoa of Tainui Waka

At around the same time, the Crown was seeking to purchase a large tract of land in the Rangitīkei with Ngāti Apa preparing to concede and Ngāti Raukawa seeking to maintain the Rangitīkei River as the boundary. They eventually determined the inland boundary as Te Houhou.

Against this backdrop, Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae left their home at Otara and moved south to protect the new boundary at Te Houhou. After the Crown had accepted that boundary, Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae took up residence on the Te Reureu Reserve, establishing marae such as Miria te Kakara, Te Tikanga, and Poupatate.

2.9 Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Maniapoto

Matakore is the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Matakore and a younger brother to Maniapoto. The latter today is generally considered part of the Ngāti Maniapoto tribe. Ngāti Maniapoto is part of the wider Tainui confederation whose traditional lands encompassed the expansive King Country. Matakore and Maniapoto are grandchildren of the ancestor, Raukawa.

Ngāti Matakore and others of Ngāti Maniapoto were part of those who responded to the besieged call of Te Rauparaha for reinforcements to assist in the fight that became known as Haowhenua. Among those Maniapoto who took part in the fight was the illustrious Ngāti Rora chief Taonui. The utu or ‘payment’ to Ngāti Matakore for their assistance was land at Te Reureu.

Ngāti Matakore settled on lands adjacent to Ngāti Rangatahi and had its own marae upstream from Te Hiiri Marae adjacent to the current Matakore **urupā**. This was Te Marae o Hine. The marae burnt down in the 1960s from which point Ngāti Matakore joined with the adjoining Ngāti Rangatahi at the Ngāti Rangatahi marae, Te Hiiri o Mahuta.

Today, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Maniapoto are particularly associated with Te Hiiri o Māhuta Marae.

2.10 Ngāti Rangatahi

Rangatahi was the daughter of Tūtakamoana (son of Maniapoto) and Rangipare (daughter of Kinohaku).³⁸ Kinohaku is a younger sister to Maniapoto. The husband of Rangatahi was Maniauruahu, a great grandson of Maniapoto.

Dr Rā Durie spoke of the relationship of Rangatahi to Te Rauparaha:

Nā Rangatahi ko Tukawekai, tēnā ko Ue. I moe a Ue i a Parehuitao, te tamāhine o Ngātokowaru. Tēnā ka puta mai ko Te Rangikaiwhiria. Nā Te Rangikaiwhiria ka puta mai

³⁸ See Ngāti Rangatahi Whānaunga Statement of Claim, WAI 366 and WAI 1064, 13 October 2011, p. 3.

ko Te Kahuirangi. I moe a Te Kahuirangi i a Te Haunga, he mokopuna ia ki a Te Rauparaha. Nā Te Rangikaiwhiria, nā te Kahuirangi, ko Parepumai, ā ko tētahi anō o ngā tamariki o Te Kahuirangi, ko Te Rangipamamao. Koirā te māmā o Marore, te wahine tuatahi o Te Rauparaha. [Translation in original source: Rangatahi had Tukawekai and had Ue. Ue married Parehuitao, the daughter of Ngatokowaru and from them came Te Rangikaiwhiria. Rangikaiwhiria had Te Kahuirangi, who married Te Haunga who was a mokopuna of Te Rauparaha. Te Rangikaiwhiria and Kahuirangi had Te Parepumai. Another of the children of Te Kahuirangi was Te Rangipamamao, that is the mother of Marore, who was the first wife of Te Rauparaha.”³⁹



Image 2: Te Hiiri o Māhuta Marae

Durie explained that it was Te Whataati and Te Wharekiri and others of Ngāti Rangatahi who migrated south joining Te Rauparaha at Kapiti. Durie cited in particular the Rangatahi tupuna, Mihikiterangi who was the child of Wharekiri and a Pākehā, James Cootes.⁴⁰ She was born in the Hutt Valley, Lower Hutt, Ngāti Rangatahi sent there by the chief Te Rangihaeata (nephew to Te Rauparaha) to hold the area for himself.⁴¹

Durie then went on to explain how Rangatahi came to be at Te Reureu having been banished from the Hutt Valley:

Kātahi ka hūnuku, ka hūnuku mai ki Poroutawhao, noho mai rā mō te wā poto, tēnā ka haramai rātou ki konei, ki Te Reureu, ki Kākāriki, noho ai. [Translation in original source: At a certain point Ngāti Rangatahi were expelled from the Hutt Valley and they moved

³⁹ Wai 2200, ‘Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Appendix A, Part 3: Transcript of Dr Rā Durie’s kōrero Wai 2200 Judicial Conference, Te Tikanga Marae, 23 February 2012.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ See Chapter 6 of the Waitangi Tribunal’s *He Whiritaunoka: The Whanganui Land Report* (Wai 903, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2015).

during those troubled times to Poroutawhao near Levin and then they moved to Te Reureu, to the place named Kākāriki, to live.]⁴²

Because of the very small amount of land they were not able to feed themselves. While some remained, other Rangatahi went to Reporoa or returned to Taumarunui, Te Kuiti and Otorohanga.

As noted above, Ngāti Rangatahi are particularly associated with Te Hiiri o Māhuta Marae. As Durie proclaimed:

... kia pūmau tonu i te mana o Ngāti Rangatahi- ōna tikanga, ōna whakapapa, ā, ki te mau tonu ki tō tātou nei marae kei Te Hiiri. [Translation in original source: ... to secure the mana of Ngāti Rangatahi- its customs, it's whakapapa, the genealogy, and it's marae at Te Hiiri.]⁴³

2.11 Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Wehi Wehi

Ngāti Kauwhata belong to the Tainui waka. Kauwhata, the tupuna, was a descendant of Whatihua, a half-brother to the father of Raukawa, Tūrongo. Ngāti Kauwhata were domiciled in the Maungatautari district with their Ngāti Raukawa relations, while also living at Pukekura, Rangaiowhia, Puahoe, and elsewhere.⁴⁴ Ngāti Kauwhata counted among their hapū, Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Tahuri, Ngāti Wehi Wehi, Werokoukou, and Ngāti Ruru.

Some Ngāti Wehi Wehi claimants noted that while they had a close historical association and affiliation with Ngāti Kauwhata, they regarded themselves as an iwi in their own right and with a strong identity distinct from Ngāti Kauwhata.

A number of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi made several journeys south to Kāpiti at the end of the 1820s and into the 1830s while others stayed behind in the Waikato to maintain ahi kaa. At Kapiti they joined Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa who had already made the journey from

⁴² Wai 2200, 'Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Appendix A, Part 3: Transcript of Dr Rā Durie's kōrero Wai 2200 Judicial Conference, Te Tikanga Marae, 23 February 2012.

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ See Peter McBurney's *Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi Interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae District*, a report commissioned for Crown Forestry Research Trust, 19 February 2013, p. 240.

Kāwhia under the leadership of Te Rauparaha. An earlier migration, or the ‘Heke Whirinui’, travelled through the centre of Mōkai Pātea making use of the waterways.

A large number of Ngāti Kauwhata made the journey under the leadership of Te Whatanui. This migration was known as Te Heke Mairaro. A detailed account of the journey was provided by Tapa Te Whata whilst giving evidence in the Himatangi block hearing. According to Te Whata:

Came with Te Whatanui at the great Heke. The Heke started from Maungatautari and came to Taupō thence to the upper Turakina. From Turakina (Ka wehewehea nga huarahi) the Ngāti Raukawa went out to the sea beach and we the Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Huia came across inland through the bush to Rangitīkei... Te Auturoa was the chief of Ngāti Huia. I came with Ngāti Kauwhata; we came down the Rangitīkei on the north side. Stayed at Paeroa a Ngāti Apa settlement since called Parewanui. Stayed there and crossed the Rangitīkei to south side to Poutu.⁴⁵

Ngāti Kauwhata went on to join Te Whatanui at Kāpiti before some eventually returned to Ōroua and settled there. Some settled at Pukehou while others returned north to Maungatautari.

The area of interest covers the southern boundaries of the Taihape Inquiry District while being particularly associated with the Ōroua River. This was described in a letter to Governor Grey from ‘nga tangata’ of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi in 1866:

Ka timata te rohe i Whitirea wahi o Manawatū, ka ahū atu kite moana, a rere atu i Whitirca ki te Atatuhi, rere atu ki Otupere ka whati i reira te rohe, ka tae ki Kaikokopu, rere atu Kakahuara, rere atu Omanuka, rere atu Puketotara, rere atu Te Kawau, Totarataepa, Kopuapokororo, Te Puta, Whakamoetakapu, Paeroa, Papauku. Ka whati i reira, ka rere atu kite Umutoi wahi o Oroua, haere mai i roto o Oroua a Te Awahuri, rere tonu mai ano i roto o Oroua a Puketotara, a ka kati ano ki Whitirea ... [Translation in original source: The boundary commences at Whitirea, in the region of Manawatū, thence towards the sea by way of Te Atatuhi to Otupere; the boundary turns off there and goes to Kaikokopu, thence to Kakahuera, Omanuka, Puketotara, Te Kawau, Totarataepa, Kopuapokoro Te Pua, Whakamoetakapu, Paeroa, Papauku; there it strikes off, goes to Umutoi on the Oroua, Te Awahuri, thence following the course of the Oroua to Puketotara, meeting the formed boundary at Whitirea.]⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Tapa Te Whata, Himatangi TI 1868, Otaki MB 01E, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 613.

⁴⁶ Refer Te Kooro Te One et al to Governor Grey, 13 June 1866 in “Further Papers Relative to the Manawatu Block”, *AJHR* 1866, A-No. 4, pp. 30-31.

2.12 Ngāti Parewahawaha

Ngāti Parewahawaha is a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. Their founding (female) tupuna, Parewahawaha was a descendent of the son of Raukawa, Takihiku. Ngāti Parewahawaha were originally living at Maungatautari before many of them migrated south with ‘Te Heke Mairaro’ under Te Whatanui for much the same reasons that had brought Ngāti Kauwhata and others. Ngāti Parewahawaha established a number of settlements along the Rangitīkei River. Arapere notes that Poutū was the principal settlement on the southern bank.⁴⁷ Poutu was midway between Tangimoana and Bulls. Other settlements included Matahiwi upstream, which was associated with Nēpia Taratoa and Weretā; and Ōhinepuhiawe near Bulls, where Te Nge o Raukawa and Tuoi resided. Te Nge o Raukawa was the only son of Parewahawaha to travel south.

A Ngāti Parewahawaha interviewee expressed the area of interest of the hapū as follows:

Ngāti Parewahawaha’s area of interest ... to me it extends from Miria Te Kakara through this awa here to Mingiroa, Ngaio, down to us at Matahiwi along the river to Tawhirihoe which is at the mouth of the river, and down to Himatangi, there’s a lake there called Koputara which most of our families have interests in.⁴⁸

Ngāti Parewahawaha are concentrated today around Parewahawaha marae which can be found on the Ōhinepuhiawe reserve, a reserve set aside as part of the Rangitīkei–Manawatū purchase.⁴⁹

2.13 Ngāti Manomano

Manomano is the (female) tupuna from whom Ngāti Manomano takes its name. Ngāti Manomano is a hapū that was established in the mid-1980s after kaumātua agreed in 1983 to establish a new

⁴⁷ See Arapere, B., ‘Mako Ano Hei Hanga i Toku Nei Whare: Hapu Dynamics in the Rangitīkei Area, 1830-1872’ (University of Auckland MA Thesis, 1999). See also Paranihi, J. H., *He Take Hei Pupuri Tonu i te Whenua: A Perspective on Hapū Formation in Māori Society* (4th year Honours Dissertation, University of Otago, 2008).

⁴⁸ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015.

⁴⁹ See Coram, S., *Extinguishing Title: Māori Land Rights, People, and Perspective in Post-Colonial New Zealand* (Common Ground Publishing Pty Ltd, Illinois, 2013).

Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Pareraukawa, and Ngāti Kikopiri. Manomano is also a sister to the famed Te Whatanui who led the great migration known as Te Heke Mairaro.⁵⁰

Ngāti Manomano members have extensive whakapapa links to all of the other marae in the rohe. We were told that “the descendants of Manomano can whakapapa to Maniapoto, Rangatahi, Kauwhata, Tukorehe, Whakaterere, Takihiku, Maniaihu, Kapumanawawhiti and the iwi and some hapū of the following waka, Tainui, Kurahaupō, Tākitimu, Horouta, Matahourua, Aotea, Tokomaru, Matātua, and Te Arawa.”⁵¹

2.14 Ngāti Apa

Ngāti Apa are a key tangata whenua group along the southern catchment of the Rangitīkei River and, indeed, the Pourewa stream. Given that Ngāti Apa have already settled with the Crown and that they will not have any major involvement in the Taihape or the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiries, we simply refer the reader to the ‘Statement of Association for the Rangitīkei River’ of Ngāti Apa.⁵²

During the Himatangi Native Land Court hearing a number of witnesses spoke of a dispute settled at Maramaihoa. At this meeting the Rangitīkei River was determined as the boundary between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Parewahawaha. Katene Waihou of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa recalled:

“I was there. Reihana – a chief of Ngatiapa said “Ngatiraukawa! Ki a koe tenei taha a tae noa ki Ruahine”. Hori Te Hanea of Ngatiapa said “if I cross to the south side, let Nepia push me into the water” and if Ngatiraukawa cross to north side I will throw them into the water” – Nepia consented.”⁵³

Ngāti Apa on the other hand, assert that their rights and interests south of the Rangitīkei awa as far south as Omarupapako.

⁵⁰ The primary source for the information is the Te Taumata o te Rā marae website - <http://www.naumaipalace.com/site/taumata-o-te-ra/home/page/989/marae-history/>

⁵¹ Ngāti Manomano written feedback on earlier draft of this report, 21 February 2016.

⁵² This appears in the Schedule to the Ngāti Apa (North Island) Deed of Settlement, Part 6, pp. 55–57.

⁵³ Otaki MB 1E, 16 March 1868, p. 240.

2.15 He Hapū, he Iwi anō

In addition to the iwi above, we were told of other hapū and iwi who have strong associations with the Rangitīkei River. Unfortunately, we had little engagement or access to specific kōrero. This should not however, be read as diminishing their connection and association with the Rangitīkei River.

This included Muaupoko to the south and Ngāti Hikairo to the north who both assert that the waters of the Rangitīkei, its tributaries and its surrounds were, and continue to be, absolutely pivotal to their tribal identity, way of life and wellbeing. We were told that Ngāti Hikairo claimants have a particular association with the Mangamaire River, a tributary of the Rangitīkei.

There are also other groupings associated with Raukawa who claim interests in the Rangitīkei River. This includes Ngāti Ngārongo, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Turanga, and Ngāti Whakaterere. Whakaterere was a younger brother of Takihiku, who we have noted above was a son of Raukawa. Walzl notes that Donald McLean reported in 1850 that Ngāti Whakaterere occupied Te Pohui, a settlement on the south bank of the Rangitīkei.⁵⁴ Ngāti Whakaterere also claim interests at Kākahi. These interests are not only as Ngāti Whakaterere but also because of their relationship with Te Reureu and others.⁵⁵ Ngāti Tūkorehe Mateawa and Ngāti Kahorotetini also have customary associations with the lower reaches of the Rangitīkei. They settled along the river with Ngāti Parewahawaha at Mākōwhai, Matahiwi and Mangamahoe. Ihakara Tukumarū, giving evidence in the Himatangi Native Land Court title investigation, noted the migrations of hapū and iwi after the Haowhenua fight. He spoke of Ngāti Kahoro [tetini] and Ngāti Maiotaki going to Rangitīkei.⁵⁶ Ngāti Turanga also have a close relationship and customary interests in the lower reaches of the

⁵⁴ 14 September 1850, Donald McLean, 'Diary', Māori notes, 19 July–12 October 1850, Alexander Turnbull Library Ref. MS 1229, cited in Walzl, 2013, p.329.

⁵⁵ Ngāti Whakaterere advised that they will produce further evidence of their occupation and other customary associations when they get to hearing. Personal communication, 30 April 2016.

⁵⁶ Himatangi TI 1868, Otaki MB 01E, p. 596.

Rangitīkei River particularly at Tangimoana. Ngāti Turanga claim Tawhirihoe to be one of their Pā although they acknowledge it was a former Ngāti Apa Pā.

We anticipate that these groups will produce claimant evidence during hearings to illustrate in a more substantive way their customary associations.



Image 3: Tangimoana



<p>Scale 1:420,000 When Printed on A3 Paper</p>	<p> Taihape Inquiry Boundary Porirua Ki Manawatu Inquiry District Māori Land Blocks </p>	<p> Principal Bridging Points ● Locations </p>	<p>Cartography by Kryptos Consulting (25/03/2016)</p> <p>Information Sources:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Taihape Inquiry boundary: Waitangi Tribunal 2. River, stream and location names, digital elevation model: Land Information New Zealand 3. River network: the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA). 4. Raster Image courtesy of Map Service - World Imagery.
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Map 3: Māori Land Adjoining the Rangitikei River

3 He Wāhi Tūpuna, he Wāhi Tapu i te Awa

3.1 Introductory Remarks

This chapter uses various historical narratives and identities of hapū and iwi as river people to explore the significance and association with the Rangitīkei and other waterways. The dense occupation of these rivers and streams, and the cultural and historical traditions of the various hapū and iwi associated with the waterways, became quickly evident during the course of research and kōrero with wānanga participants.

For the groups who traditionally lived on the banks of the rivers, it is the depth and breadth of ancestral connections to these waterways that underpinned historical identity; it is these connections that have continued to shape identities, the waterways ever a pillar of spiritual and physical sustenance and wellbeing for the people. As one Ngāti Hinemanu/Ngāti Paki kaumātua eloquently put it:

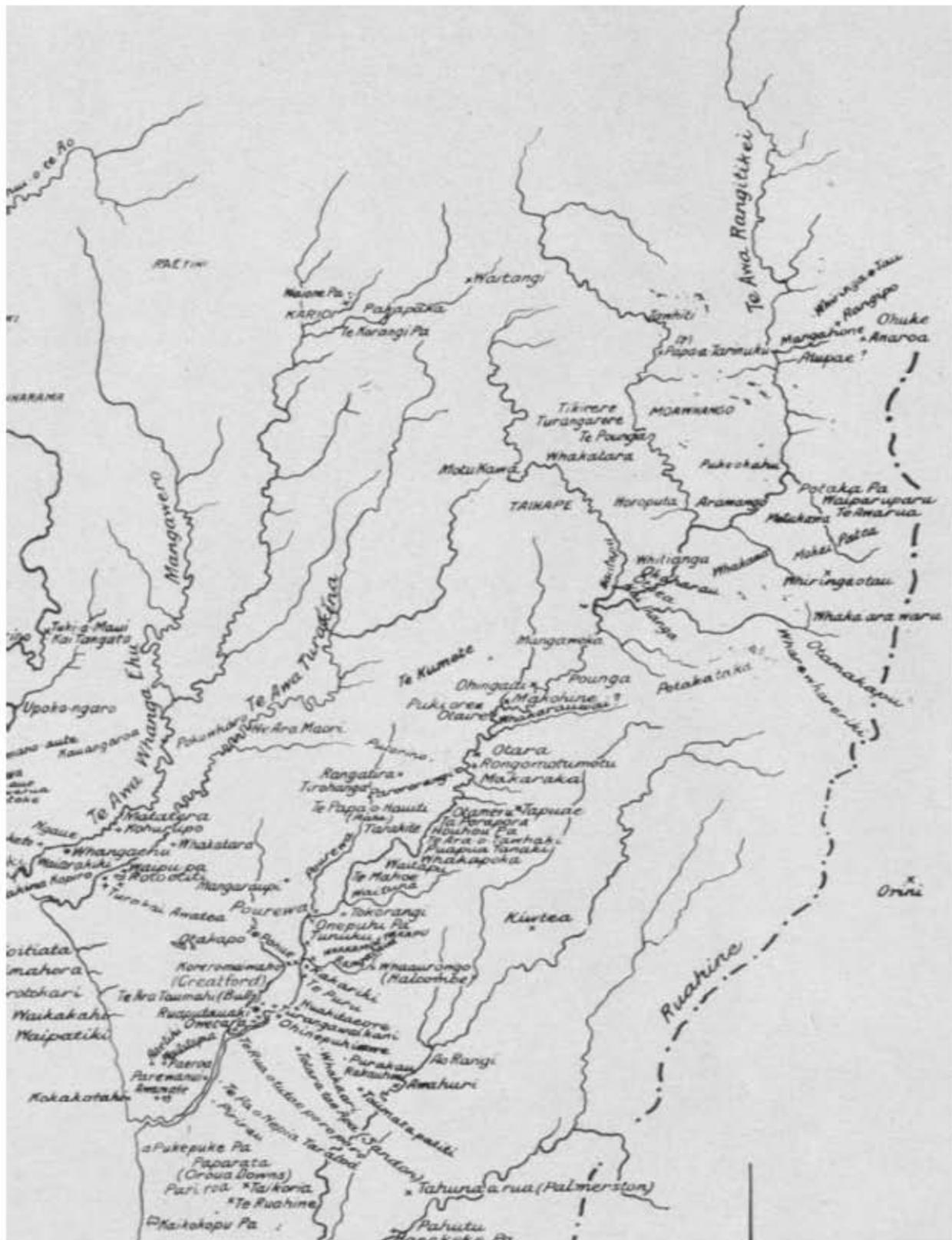
We have always held our waterways in high reverence; it's given us sustenance, it's given us cleansing (spiritually and physically), it's always been a means of transportation – all of the rivers We are born of Papatūānuku and Papatūānuku is a vessel of the wai.⁵⁷

It is important to note that it became apparent early on in the interview process that the waterways were not distinguishable from other features of the land and people. One Ngāti Hauiti interviewee explains:

What I am saying is that the awa is dependent upon its surrounds; that is the bush lands, the rains that feeds it, that came down from Rangi to Papatūānuku and flowed into the awa. So it's all inter-connected. We can't just see the river by itself; the river, its tributaries, its springs. All water that flows.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

⁵⁸ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015.



Map 4: Rangitikei excerpt from Wilson Map

‘Sites of significance’ for the purposes of this chapter, then, include the rivers and streams, as well as pā and kāinga, urupā and other wāhi tapu, cultivations, eel weirs, taniwha, kaitiaki, whakapapa, battles and other historical events. Another from Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki states:

We’ve been involved with all the happenings of the Rangitīkei River which is our main river for our whole area and then we’ve got all the tributaries. Then we bring in places like the Hautapu river here, we bring in the Kawhatau river just south of where this comes into Rangitīkei and goes up into Ruahine ranges, then we go up to the Moawhango river which is the next river up from the Hautapu, then we go on up the Mangaterā which is just south of our maunga... And so we have all those rivers that have got, what we can see, all the urupā – we know who’s buried where of our tūpuna – we’ve got all the kāinga, we’ve got all the pā sites, we’ve got all the pou, we’ve got all the history of the different areas here where they used to do cultivation, where they used to get their birdlife from for their seasonal food, we’ve got information of how they looked after their... flora and fauna, how they used to preserve... the harakeke and things, why they’ve done different things in different areas in the seasons of the year.⁵⁹

It is not within the ambit of this report to record all cultural and historical sites associated with the Rangitīkei awa and its tributaries. However, in the case of the Taihape: Rangitīkei ki Rangipō Inquiry, such sites have been well documented in Tony Walzl’s lengthy report, Wai 2180, A012 Taihape Hearing District: *Tribal Landscape Overview Report*.⁶⁰ Walzl draws heavily on Native Land Court records and its various hearings for the blocks which bordered the waterways and impressively documents some 500 sites. Of note is his observation that these sites represent only a sample of ahi kā within the Mōkai Pātea region. Some such sites will be covered in this section, drawing on Walzl’s report to provide background information additional to what has been shared during the collation of oral history for this report. Other sites will be selected to highlight the degree of ahi kaa or occupation and, consequently, the degree of use in and around the waterways.

The assumption is that similar ‘tribal landscape/mana whenua’ reports will be produced for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry to capture important historical knowledge associated with the region at the southern end of the Rangitīkei River. Nonetheless, the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho transcripts for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry are another useful source of background material, complimentary to what has been shared by interview participants.

⁵⁹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

⁶⁰ Walzl, 2013.

The introduction to this report acknowledges a number of visits/hīkoi made to sites of significance during the interview process for this report. To have a physical presence at these sites was to be offered an unparalleled depth and breadth of understanding of the awa, tributaries, and surrounding land, and importantly, of the people and their relationships with the land, with the water, and with each other. To sense the wairua of such places was to gain a richer appreciation of both the historical and contemporary identities of the various hapū and iwi, and the degree of veneration in which they held and continue to hold the waterways and other connected significant places. These hīkoi coupled with other research revealed the extensive historical footprints of the various hapū and iwi along the Rangitīkei, the Hautapu, the Moawhango and many other waterways. As we were told by one Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki participant: “When we express our whakapapa to the land, we have significant tūpuna who lived on every single one of those streams or were associated with one of those streams.”⁶¹

In 1847, Chief Justice Sir William Martin commented, “So far as yet appears, the whole surface of these Islands, or as much of it as is of any value to man, has been appropriated by the Natives.”⁶² Every hill, valley, stream and forest had been named by Māori. The Rangitīkei River and the surrounding region was no exception. This is clearly illustrated in the various historical maps discovered while researching this kaupapa. Of particular note is Winiata Te Whaaro, a seemingly talented cartographer who produced important maps during his work assisting surveyors that have since become treasured sources of identity. Pointing to one such map of the Awarua Block, one interviewee stated:

This was our bible and we looked after it and treasured it. It identifies us to who we are. It identifies all the boundaries that Winiata te Whaaro said in the Native Land Courts. He was the one who put this [map] together, identifying the names, tūpuna relation to the wars, relation to the kāinga on the river, relation to the urupā on the river.⁶³

Such maps very effectively illustrate the cultural significance of the rivers and tributaries in the lives of the hapū and iwi of the Rangitīkei region, and are thus widely referred to in this section.

⁶¹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

⁶² Quoted in ‘Opinions of various authorities on native tenure.’ AJHR, 1890, G-1, p. 3.

⁶³ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

There is a rich tapestry of ancestral relationships, not only between the hapū and iwi along the river, but between places themselves, largely as a result of the travels and activities of notable tūpuna. Even the purported originals of the name ‘Rangitīkei’ itself provides multiple connections to people and places associated with the epic travels of Haunui-ā –Nanaia:

Now how Rangitīkei got its name, it was named by a tupuna called Haunui ā Nanaia. I te wā e whakawhiti ana ia i te awa o Rangitīkei ka meatia ia “Ka tīkeitia taku waewae” arā ko Rangitīkei. [Translation in original source: Whilst he was crossing the Rangitīkei River, he said “Let my legs stretch out.] Because of the swiftness of our river Haunui ā Nanaia found trouble in crossing it so he said his legs had to stride to cross it so we say “tīkeitia taku waewae” arā ko Rangitīkei.⁶⁴

One informant recalled the *pōpō* or nursery song ‘E Hine Aku’ which tells the story of Hau, who undertook the journey to look for his wife Wairaka who had eloped with a man named Weku. The song gives the origin of place-names from Wanganui to Wairarapa, including Rangitīkei. We give the song in full so as to emphasise the relationship between the lower reaches of the Rangitīkei awa and the Whanganui, Manawatū-Horowhenua coastline.

KO TE PO A TE RANGITAKORU MO

TAMA TAMAHINE, MO WHARERAURANGI

E hine aku, ki to kunenga mai i tawhiti,
Ki te whakaringaringa, ki te whakawaewae,
Te wakakanohi-tanga, ka manu, e hine, te waka i a Ruatea,
Ko Kurahaupo, ka iri mai taua, i runga i Aotea ko te waka i a Turi,
Kau mai taua te ngutu Whenuakura,
Hanga iho te whare Rangitawhi;
Tiria mai te kumara,
Ka ruia mai te karaka ki te taiao net,
Karia iho te pou Tamawahine i,
Ka waiho i Nga tuahine, i a Nonoko-uri,
I a Nonoko-tea, ko te Hererunga, ko te Korohunga.
Kapua mai e Hau ko te one ki te ringa,
Ko te tokotoko. Ka whiti i te awa,
Ka nui ia, ko Wanga-nui;
Tiehutia te wai, ko Wangae-hu;

⁶⁴ Puruhi Smith in *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 5.

Ka hinga te rakau, ko Turakina;
 Tikeitia te waewae, ko Tikei;
 Ka tatu, e hine, ko Manawatū;
 Ka rorohio nga taringa, ko Hokio;
 Waiho te awa iti hei ingoa mona ki Ohau;
 Takina te tokotoko, ko Otaki;
 Ka mehameha, e hine, ko Waimea.
 Ka ngahae nga pi, ko Wai-kanae.
 Ka tangi ko te mapu, e hine,
 Ka kite koe i a Wairaka.
 Matapoutia.
 Poua ki runga, poua ki raro,
 Ka rarau, e hine. Ka rarapa nga kanohl,
 Ko Wai-rarapa
 Te rarapatanga o to tupuna,
 E hine—ka moiki te ao,
 Ko te pai a Waitiri;
 Kumea kia warea Kaitangata
 Ki waho ki te moana;
 Hanga te paepae, poua iho, te pou
 Whakamaro te rangi, ko Meremere:
 Waiho te Whānau, ko te punga
 O tona waka ko te Awhema.
 Kati, ka whakamutu. e hine ...⁶⁵

**TE RANGITAKORU'S NURSERY SONG
 FOR HIS DAUGHTER, FOR
 WHARAURANGI**

O, my daughter, when you came from afar,
 And your hands were formed, and your feet,
 And your face, you floated, O daughter,
 In the Kurahaupo, Ruatea's canoe,
 When you embarked in the Aotea, the canoe of Turi,
 You forded the Whenua kura at its mouth,
 There was made the house of Rangitawi;
 Let us plant the kumara,
 And sow the karaka, in the land bordering the sea;
 Sink deep the post Tamawahinei,
 Leave it for Nga tua hine, from Nonoko-uri,
 From Nonoko-tea, the Hererunga and Korohunga.
 Hau took up some sand in the palm of his hand, and his staff.
 When he crossed over the river,

⁶⁵ Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae Individual, Wellington, 30 October 2015. The written text is sourced from *Te Ao Hou*, August 1957, p. 16.

Finding it was wide he called it Wanga-nui.
 Splash the water, that will reach Wangac-hu;
 The length of a fallen tree, is Turakina.
 Having many times lifted up his feet, Tikei;
 When his heart sank within him, Manawatū;
 When the wind whistled past his ears, Hokio;
 The small river called, Ohau;
 When he carried his staff in a horizontal position, Otaki;
 When he prayed, O daughter, it was Wai-mea;
 When he looked out of the corner of his eye, Wai-kanae;
 When he became weary, my daughter, he reached Wai-raka.
 He repeated an incantation,
 She became fixed above, and fixed below,
 My daughter. When his eyes glistened with delight,
 He called the place Wai-rarapa,
 It was the rejoicing of your ancestor, my daughter.
 The sky became cloudless,
 On account of Waitiri's good will.
 She then enticed Kaitangata out to sea:
 She placed the plank across,
 And drove it in a post to hold on by, called Meremere.
 She left to her offspring, Punga, the anchor of his canoe,
 As his name, Awhema.
 Enough, it is finished, O my daughter.⁶⁶

Bird noted however, that the waiata was composed by Te Pakaru and begins by referring to the child's cry for food. The composer uses the situation as the motive for introducing the story of how the kumara was brought from Parinui-te-ra in Hawaiki:

Oh, my daughter, when you came from afar,
 And your hands were formed and your feet and your face
 Oh! then was launched Kurahaupo, the canoe of Ruatea.
 You and I embarked in the Aotea, the canoe of Turi,
 We forded the Whenuakura at its mouth
 Then was founded the house of Rangitahi.
 Planted was the kumara, and the karaka was sown
 In the lands bordering the sea.
 Hau took up some sand, in his hand he held the staff of Turoa
 When he crossed the river, he found it wide and called it Whanganui
 Where he splashed the water, that was Whangaehu
 Then a tree was felled—that was Turakina
 He lifted his feet many times and so; Rangitīkei
 When his heart sank within him, that was Manawatū

⁶⁶ Ibid, p 17.

When the wind whistled past his ears, he called the place Hokio
The small river he called after himself—Ohau
Where he carried his staff levelled out was Otaki
Where he prayed, O daughter, it was Waimea
When he looked out of the corner of his eye—Waikanae
When he became weary, there, my daughter, you will see Wairaka
He cast a spell over her and she was fixed above and below as a rock in the sea
When his eyes glistened with delight,
He called the place Wairarapa
This was the rejoicing of your ancestor, o daughter.

This oriori gives the origin of the names of every settlement from Wanganui to Wairarapa, including the Rangitīkei River, and is a good example of how Māori place names originated according to Bird.⁶⁷

We were also told that in the late 1950s Wiremu Te Aweawe Snr described Rangitīkei as a gait between a walk and a trot for moving across country as with a taua and considered that Hau so named the river to commemorate his journey which was managed in that way.⁶⁸ It was pointed out to us that this account aligns with the explanation that Buick gives in *Old Manawatū*:

Hau appears to have been an observant man, and to have made a mental note of the peculiar features of the country as he passed by. Thus, when he faced the flood of the first river he marked its wide expanding mouth, and named it Whanganui. Pressing on, he came to another stream, which he thought, was so close that he could splash the water of the Whanganui into it, and so he called it Wangaehu. The next he called Turakina, because he believed that if he felled a tree growing on the banks of the Wangaehu its foliage would reach to the edge of this new stream. Between this and the next river there was a considerable distance to travel, and in commemoration of his weary walk he called it Tikei, to denote the action of the legs in walking.⁶⁹

Buick describes tikei as meaning a pace in walking.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Bird, W, 'Songs of the Māori' in *Te Ao Hou* (No. 11, July 1955) pp 16-17.

⁶⁸ Feedback from Te Hono ki Raukawa on the early draft of this report, 15 February 2016.

⁶⁹ Buick, L, *Old Manawatu, or The Wild Days of the West* (Buick & Young, Palmerston North, 1903) at p. 9.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

3.2 Tamatea and Mātangi

Several interviewees spoke of two other prominent historical figures and their journeys around the region; namely, Tamatea Pōkai Whenua and Mātangi. A number of places take their names from associations with these tūpuna.

We begin with the journey of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua, whose activity in naming certain places and/or leaving behind various mōkai (pets) has been maintained in the oral traditions of hapū and iwi of the Rangitīkei: “That was one of the stories that our great grandfather told us, about the journeys of Tamatea Pōkai whenua into the area.”⁷¹

Such oral accounts record that Tamatea came across from Heretaunga leaving a significant footprint on the region: “Tamatea Pōkai Whenua... that expresses the whakapapa from the Takitimu waka. And all of the waterways are associated with that kōrero because of the kaitiaki that Tamatea left in this region.”⁷²

In his *Tribal Landscapes Overview* report, Walzl provides a useful synopsis of this journey as recorded by several claimants in the Native Land Court.⁷³ Among those claimants were Utiku Pōtaka of Ngāti Hauiti and Retimana Te Rango of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. The reader might usefully consult Walzl’s report for a much fuller account of the exploits of Tamatea. This section will focus on the story as it relates to his associations with local rivers and streams and in particular, those that were visited during the interview and site visit phase of this report.

Oral tradition tells us that Tamatea followed the Ngaruroro River inland from Heretaunga to Mōkai Pātea, before he crossed the Ruahine Ranges and travelled up the Taruarau River.

⁷¹ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015.

⁷² Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

⁷³ Refer pp. 63-67.

Tamatea is said to have named the Ikawetea River which according to a Mōkai Pātea interviewee was the “place where Tamatea and Kahungunu first shared their fish, Ika a Wetea.”⁷⁴ Kahungunu is of course the son of Tamatea and the eponymous tupuna of the Ngāti Kahungunu people. While at this locale, a Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki interviewee commented, “Tamatea released (wetewete) some fish into the stream and he named the stream ‘Ikawetea’.”⁷⁵ Te Ahiko gave evidence in the Mangaohane case that Ikawetea was the place “where Tamatea and his son Kahungunu unroll (sic) the string which tied their basket of fish and so the stream got its name and while they were eating seagulls appeared.”⁷⁶ The aforementioned Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki account continues in a similar manner, albeit speaking of shags rather than seagulls. Whilst travelling up the Taruarau River:

They came upon a steep cliff and below there was a stream called the Ikawetea. Ka kite raua i ngā kawau e rere atu ana. Ka karanga a Tamatea, “Me rite au ki te kawau, ka whiti au.” [They saw the shags flying about and Tamatea called out, “If I was like the shag I would be able to cross over.”]⁷⁷

Where the Ikawetea meets the Taruarau is a stone known as Te Tokatamahoutu, said to mark the junction of those two waters.⁷⁸ During a site visit to this place with Mōkai Pātea, we were shown a large kōwhatu where it is said that Kahungunu sat and watched for Upokororo – the grayling fish. The fish is long extinct, but this place was thereafter named, ‘Te Upokororo o Kahungunu’. A Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki account reiterates: “Where the Ikawetea flows into the Taruarau there is a large kōhatu where Kahungunu sat watching for upokororo, ‘I (sic) tiaki ana i te aria upokororo’, Kahungunu said and so the kōhatu was named, Te Upokororo o Kahungunu.”⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

⁷⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

⁷⁶ Te Ahiko, Mangaohane 1884, Napier MB 9, p. 129, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

⁷⁷ Provided by Ngāti Hinemanu Ngāti Paki hapū members of Winiata Marae, Taihape June 2012, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 698.

⁷⁸ Walzl, 2013, p. 780.

⁷⁹ Provided by Ngāti Hinemanu Ngāti Paki hapū members of Winiata Marae, Taihape June 2012, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 698.



Image 4: Ikawetea and Taruarau

Some accounts state that the mōkai of Tamatea, a reptilian pet named Pohokura escaped at Te Upokororo o Kahungunu. One such account was related to us at Pohokura station by a Mōkai Pātea participant: “So what we’re gonna see here, the bottom part of this station is called Pohokura because it’s where Pohokura escaped from Tamatea.”⁸⁰

Other accounts suggest Tamatea released his mōkai at this place⁸¹, with the sacred mountain of Aorangi said to have eventually become the lair of Pohokura. “The ngārara that escaped and went to our maunga is now the kaitiaki of Aorangi,” explained a Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki interviewee.⁸²

Another participant recalled the significance of Aorangi and Pohokura, portraying them as interconnected with the waterways:

⁸⁰ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

⁸¹ Te Rango, Ōwhāoko 1887, Napier MB 13, p. 25, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

⁸² One account has Tamatea naming Aorangi. Tamatea said, “He Ao no te Rangi”. See account provided by Ngāti Hinemanu Ngāti Paki hapū members of Winiata Marae, Taihape June 2012, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 698.

That is our whakapapa. Tamatea Pōkai Whenua took the tauihu of the waka deep into the heart of Maui and left the mauri o te waka in Aorangi; Aorangi te maunga tapu ... And all of the waterways are associated with that kōrero because one of the kaitiaki that Tamatea



Image 5: Te Upokororo o Kahungunu

left in this region was a lizard; Pohokura. Pohokura wasn't just your ordinary lizard. Pohokura had a status of his own which stemmed from a karakia and the incantations used by Tamatea Pōkai Whenua to give him supernatural powers.⁸³



Image 6: Aorangi

⁸³ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

The speaker offers this additional commentary about Pohokura: “When I say ‘him’ I’m talking about Pohokura; it might have been a female, I don’t know. But Pohokura also had wings.”⁸⁴

In this account of Tamatea from Noa te Huke of Ngāti Pīkīhau (sic) in 1857, the site of the escape of Pohokura differs from that which was generally conveyed to us.

Ka haere tonu ko Tamatea, ka tae mai ki tetahi maunga nui, ka rere ano tetahi o ana mōkai ko Pohokura to ingoa, he ngārara ano taua mōkai ko Pukeokahu tetahi mōkai ka tae tetahi awa nui, ko Moawango te ingoa, mai ki ka tahi ka poua Ngā motumotu o tana kapura ki roro; koia te poungā o te motumotu o te kapura a Tamatea; waiho ana hei taniwha. [Translation in original source: Tamatea journeyed on till he reached a lofty mountain, where another of his pets, Pohokura escaped; he had another called Pukeokahu. When he reached the great river, Moawhango, he stuck the ends of his firebrands in it. Hence the saying, "the firebrands of Tamatea's fire." These afterwards became river monsters.]⁸⁵



Image 7: Te Papa a Tarinuku

Tamatea is said to have placed a number of kaitiaki or mana in addition to Pohokura around the

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ *Māori Messenger* : *Te Karere Māori*, 15 December 1857, p. 3

region. Hiraka Te Rango of Ngāti Whitikaupeka during the 1887 rehearing of the title of the Owhaoko Block said:

Tamatea was first man of my ancestors who came to Pātea and laid down his mana as he went along to that place. His first mana was in the shape of a reptile called Pohokura. Toimaru was another. Another was Aorangi. These are on this side of Rangitīkei. Tamatea was the first man who saw N’Hotu living at Pātea. Those of them whom he saw were Parekoau and Tarinuku. He then placed other manas on the other side of Rangitīkei. One was called Otutekohu. He then crossed Moawhango and Whakatara his mana was placed there. He crossed the Hautapu and left a mana called Whakauae there. These are Tamatea’s mana in Pātea.⁸⁶



Image 8: Pohokura depicted on Pou at Makohine Viaduct

When Tamatea eventually reached the Rangitīkei, he came to a well-known feature where the river runs through a narrow gut. This site became known as Te Papa a Tarinuku, popularly referred to by rafters as ‘The Narrows’. In times of old, a settlement was located here belonging to Ngāti Hotu, the pre-waka people of this region to whom a number of Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki note their genealogical connection. It is said that the local chief of that time, Tarinuku presented a gift of food to Tamatea. Some say this was a gift of birds. The old chief Utiku Pōtaka of Ngāti Hauti, giving evidence in the Native Land Court continues the story: “Kahungunu was angry a[t] this gift to Tamatea his father and Kahungunu went back to Heretaunga.”⁸⁷ The name of this place

became Te Papa-a-Tarinuku, the food trough of Tarinuku. A Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki narrative attributes the formation of Te Papa-a-Tarinuku to the thrashing of Pohokura in his endeavour to reach the headwaters of the Rangitīkei.

⁸⁶ Te Rango, Ōwhāoko 1887, Napier MB 13, p. 25, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

⁸⁷ Pōtaka, Awarua 1886, Wanganui MB10, p. 352, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

From here Tamatea journeyed to the Moawhango where, as mentioned above, he placed the unburnt ends of his firebrands into the river. The saying associated with the Firebrands of Tamatea is `in Māori as: “Ngā Motumotu o te ahiahi a Tamatea.”⁸⁸ In Native Land Court hearing, Utiku Pōtaka stated that these were placed at the waterfall Te Pouna, on the Moawhango.

From Te Pouna, Tamatea journeyed to the Tikirere falls which drop into the Moawhango. There it is said he placed one of his mōkai called ‘Te Koura o Tamatea’, or the Crayfish of Tamatea.

By Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki accounts, Tamatea then travelled down the Moawhango to the Rangitīkei, and followed that waterway until he reached the juncture of the Rangitīkei and the Hautapu, or what is commonly referred to as the ‘Meeting Place’.⁸⁹ Here, Tamatea is said to have left another mōkai; the ‘pātiki’ or flounder. One Ngāti Hauti informant reports seeing flounder on a recent journey to the Rangitīkei, noting in particular their prominence at the ‘Meeting Place’:



Image 9: Tikirere Falls

⁸⁸ Provided by Ngāti Hinemanu Ngāti Paki hapū members of Winiata Marae, Taihape June 2012, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 698

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Last time I came down on a waka hoe I saw quite a few flounder, quite big ones, four or five of them in the stream swimming upstream underneath the raft, but we used to see a lot of those at the meeting of the waters; they used to get trapped in there when the river came up, they'd get trapped in the, you know where that picnic area there's a couple of big pools and they'd get trapped in there and we'd just go and spear them.⁹⁰

Depicted in the carvings of Oruamatua, the meeting house of Ngāti Whiti at Moawhango are representations of kōura, pātiki, and of course, Pohokura. One interviewee explains the significance of these carvings:

We always... bring ngā manuhiri down here, especially wānangas. So that's Tamatea Pōkai Whenua and when he came over here with his sons Kahungunu, Tamakōpiri, Ruaehu, he brought his mōkai with them, te Koura a Tamatea which he dropped at the Tikirere Falls ... he brought the Pātiki, and our main kaitiaki, Pohokura ngāngara and that's Whitikaupeka at the top. So those were the main mōkai that he brought here and now they are kaitiaki.⁹¹

A number of people made mention of the mōkai of Tamatea as featured in many of the old meeting houses of the Rangitīkei. The connection is well illustrated by a Ngāti Pīkiahū/Waewae informant who stated:

Over at Rata, the old marae / whare they had over there was exactly the same as ours. That got pulled down years ago. Then even up at Moawhango's the same ... the artwork inside; we've got the pātiki tukutuku panels for the flounder and then the koura and the tāhuhu ... so that's what our whare is about; it's about the food that we used to get from the river.⁹²



Image 10: Te Tikanga Marae

⁹⁰ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

⁹¹ Utiku Pōtaka states that from Tikirere, Tamatea instead went to Whakatara, at Motukawa and there he placed another lizard. See Pōtaka, Awarua 1886, Wanganui MB 10, pp. 352-353, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

⁹² Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015.

During the course of the interviews, various other participants made mention of tukutuku representations of pātiki (also referred to as pātikitiki) at Te Tikanga Marae, Winiata Marae, and Parewahawaha Marae. We also viewed representations of pātiki at Poupatate Marae.

Continuing with the Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki account, it is said that from the junction of the Rangitīkei and Hautapu rivers, Tamatea travelled the Hautapu River until he reached the Mangaohane stream. He then journeyed up that stream and released another of his mōkai; a kurī or dog. The name of that kurī was Tahunaatara.⁹³



Image 11: Crawford, James Coutts, 1817–1889: Junction of Hautapu R[iver] with Rangitīkei R[iver]. Bittern's wings on man's head [18 Jan 62]. [Crawford, James Coutts] 1817–1889: [Sketchbook of a trip up the Wanganui River, December 13, 1861–Jan 8, 186

⁹³ Provided by Ngāti Hinemanu Ngāti Paki hapū members of Winiata Marae, Taihape June 2012, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 698.

Tamatea travelled south along the ridge where he was halted by a storm. He took refuge beneath a rock at a place now known as ‘Harakeke a Tamatea’ and according to Ngāti Hinemanu / Ngāti Paki, he carried out karakia or prayers during the raging peak of the storm. Due to the comfort of the rock, he deemed this to be a place where travellers could rest as long as they paid tribute to that local geographical feature.

Tamatea then travelled further on upstream to a ridge which he gave the name Te Whakauae a Tamatea range or the Jawbone of Tamatea. Utiku Pōtaka states that “formerly when strangers went to that place it would rain, but now these things have changed, and the stranger may come or may go without being so heralded.”⁹⁴

From here, Tamatea continued to Whanganui. The ‘mana’ of Tamatea, as accorded him through the oral traditions of the groups and his geographical footprint signals the considerable importance of this tupuna and his journeys.

An earlier tupuna who also left his footprint in naming several historical sites along the Rangitīkei was Mātangi. As we were told by one participant from Ngāti Hauti: “Our history back into that lake is about 35 generations ago, some of the earliest occupation here was by a man named Mātangi.”⁹⁵

Mātangi is said to have travelled from the Wairarapa in pursuit of the great flocks of birds he had heard about from others who had visited this area. The story was recounted by several interview participants:

Mātangi was from the south Wairarapa and he’d heard about these birds – Whirikoko – birds that had been seen on the western side of the Tararua. So he climbed up the Tararua and he looked down and just south of where Palmerston North is he looked down and saw hundreds of thousands of birds flying around so he followed them. They went across that Manawatū area towards Feilding; he was naming places as he went along including Tokorangi, Waitapu – he named the Waitapu stream where he was said to have his karakia before crossing the river – and a number of places. He followed the birds as they flew up the valley, following the Rangitīkei from the side and he named a number of places.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Mōkai Pātea Individual, Utiku, 2 August 2015.

⁹⁶ Mōkai Pātea Hikoi, 2 October 2015.

I whakawhiti mai ia ki te whai mai i nga whirikoko, he ingoa ano tera mo te kereru ... ka tae ki tetahi wahi ko Aorangi. E huna ana nga whirikoko i nga kapua, ana, ka nui ra i te rangi, ka tapaina tera wahi ko Aorangi. Katahi ka whakawhiti i te awa o Oroua. Ka haere ma te rori i waenganui i Piriri (Fielding) me Harakamu (Halcombe), kei reira tetahi wahi, ka pakaru tona tokotoko, ka rapua he rakau hou ... ko Rakauhou. Ka haere tonu ia, ka tae ki tetahi wahi, ka takoto tana mahunga, ka moe ki reira, ko Takapou Whakamoe, tata ki Te Hiiri ... Whakawhiti i te awa, katahi ka haere whakarunga, ka tae ki tetahi wahi paku i ko atu o Rata ... ka rongo ia i nga whirikoko e rere ana ki te rangi i te whatitiri o te uira, e paroro mai ana i te rangi, ka tapaina tera wahi ko te Paroro o te Rangi ... [He came across to chase the whirikoko which is another name for kererū. He reached Aorangi. The whirikoko were hidden in the clouds of which there were many, and so named that place Aorangi. He then crossed the Ōroua River and came via a track between Fielding and Halcombe. At a place there he broke his stick. He searched for a new stick ... hence the name Rakahou. He carried on and came to a place where he rested his head and slept. That is Takapou Whakamoe which is near Te Hiiri. He crossed the river and went upstream, coming to a little place just past Rata. He heard the whirikoko taking to the sky because of the lighting and the explosion [of thunder]. He named that place Paroro o te Rangi.]⁹⁷

Again, Walzl provides a comprehensive discussion of this tupuna in his *Tribal Landscapes* report, while T. W Downes provides a more abridged account.⁹⁸ Walzl draws in particular on the evidence of Wi Wheko of Ngāti Hauiti during the Rangitira rehearing and title investigation of 1882, noting similarities to the account by Downes that suggest him as Downes' informant.

We commence with the evidence of Wi Wheko when Mātangi arrived in the Rangitīkei region, naming places along the Rangitīkei River. His account offers more detail to the origins of the familiar aforementioned names of Tokorangi and Waitapu, the latter generally regarded as the boundary between Ngāti Hauiti and the iwi of Te Reureu.

Still following the birds, he arrived at this part of the country and taking a pole he took a leap with it and called the plain Tokorangi. Still following them he reached a stream when he recited karakias and called the stream Waitapu. Again he followed the birds and he caught the sound of them and called the place Parororangi. There are two ranges meeting at an angle one Parororangi as above stated on the other he stood and blew his horn and called in Pūtorino. Still following the birds, he reached the upper Rangitīkei and seeing that they had taken flight inland he called their spot also Tirohanga, now named Te Papa a

⁹⁷ Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae Individual, Wellington, 30 October 2015.

⁹⁸ Walzl, 2013, p. 641; T. W. Downes, Early History of Rangitīkei, and Notes on the Ngāti Apa Tribe, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, Vol 42, 1909, pp. 79-82, retrieved online 14 December 2015 at http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_42/rsnz_42_00_000720.html.

Hauti. He followed them to the top of the range and halted and stamped on the ground and called the place Tapuae, again he went on and seeing them high up in the air above him and called the place Otamakapua. Thence he went on along the rise and again he blew a blast on his horn and called that plain Pūtātara. Thence still on up the river he grounded his staff, and called the place Te Pouna a te Tokotoko o Mātangi. He climbed the range and reaching the top, called it Whakaarawaru, here the birds crossed the river and he saw them high and he called the place Rangitauria. He was tired out and sat down but the birds were tired too, and could fly no further, so he and his children caught and killed them and there he and they settled and his children are living at Rangitauria to this day.⁹⁹

Wi Wheko later explained how the Rangitira range and block were named:

Mātangi left them and returned along this side of the Rangitūkei River. He came down with his dog to a certain range, and there he lost him and as the dog's name was Rangitira he called the range by that name, this is the range that gives name to the Rangitira block.¹⁰⁰

A descendent of Wi Wheko shared with us a similar story.

Anyway, Mātangi, he stayed there for some time and he finally decided that he would return home and it was while he was travelling back to the Wairarapa that he lost his pet dog, and the name of his dog was Rangitira. He lost it to that area – you know where the golf club, just to the other side of Ohingaiti? ... That land block alongside the river is called Rangitira. He searched there and he couldn't find his pet dog.¹⁰¹

Prior to that, Mātangi had settled for some time at Lake Oporoa (commonly known as Haddons Lake) which our informants viewed as part of the wider waterway systems: “it is more related to the lake itself... so we see that as part and parcel of the awa; that goes back to Mātangi's time.”¹⁰²

Two participants spoke of his grandchildren being transformed into taniwha:

Those two taniwha in the lake are his grandchildren. [Mātangi] turned them into taniwha because of their demands ... The grandson's name was Horouta. The granddaughter's name was Hineaniwaniwa.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Wheko, Rangitira 1882, Whanganui MB 6, pp. 118-119, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

According to one of our interviewees, the grandchildren of Mātangi “would [become] the guardians of the lake” and, pointing to a nearby part of the Rangitīkei River, emphasised the inherent connection between river and lake by stating “indeed, they would become guardians of this section of the river anyway.”¹⁰⁴ Walzl provides a whakapapa to show the connection between Mātangi and the peoples of Ngāti Hauiti through the marriage of the granddaughter of Hauiti, Rangitenawaina who married Ruaanga, a descendant of Mātangi.¹⁰⁵ Wi Wheko is descended from this union.

3.3 Pā and Pakanga

A number of interview participants alluded to several pā sites situated along or above the rivers, several of which were scenes of battles. These are still remembered as sites of cultural and historical significance.

At the mouth of the Rangitīkei River during a site visit, the Tawhirihoe Reserve was pointed out as the scene of a Ngāti Raukawa battle. The old Tawhirihoe pā was a contested site with Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Apa, and others all claiming to hold the mana whenua over the area amid the sale of the Rangitīkei–Manawatū Block. As one Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa participant explains:

... it was the site of the last fighting pā for Ngāti Raukawa here at Tawhirihoe ... Īhaka Tukumarū was in charge and the whole idea was to keep those other fellas on the other side. This was the last pā site and we’re trying to get our neighbours to honour the agreement made at Te Awahou way back in 1869 that they would stay on the other side.¹⁰⁶

Another site of interest on the Rangitīkei was Pikitara, also the site of a well-known fight instrumental in the spread of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga influence in the area. Around 1824 Te Rangihaeata, Te Rauparaha and some of his people were attacked on their Kāpiti Island stronghold by nearly 2000 enemies from the Kāpiti coast, Te Whanganui–a–Tara, Wairarapa and the northern

¹⁰⁴ Mōkai Pātea Individual, Utiku, 2 August 2015.

¹⁰⁵ See Walzl, 2013, p. 643.

¹⁰⁶ Tangimoana site visits, 27 June 2015.



Map 5: Part of Te Reureu Reserve. Image supplied by Tūroa Karatea

part of the South Island.¹⁰⁷ This force included Ngāti Apa who then counted Pikitara as one of their

¹⁰⁷ See Collins, H., *Ka Mate, Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha* (Steele Roberts & Associates Ltd, Wellington, 2010; Burns, P. *Te Rauparaha* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1980).

pā sites. John Reweti of Te Reureu shared this account:

... they had the battle of Waiorua and for Te Rangihaeata it was confirming him that we're not going to get on with these people here and so, he came up and brought a force up here to Pikitara and attacked Ngāti Apa and that was that battle of Pikitara, that happened where that tree was and that was the reason why that battle happened. And Ngāti Pikiāhu, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Maniapoto (who later became Ngāti Matakore) were involved with that battle, and I would say even Ngāti Rangatahi were involved with that battle because they had a strong association to Te Rangihaeata, and so our four hapū along this river, along Te Reureu participated in that battle of Pikitara. And then it was after that battle, it was after that battle that Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga started to move across the land and settle the land between Kūkutauākī and Whangaehu, aye, because that was the area that was defined for Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and also Ngāti Kauwhata also came in to the Aorangī area, in close to Palmerston (Te–Ahu–a–Turanga). And so, that Battle of Pikitara was quite pivotal in that, it was from that moment on that Ngāti Raukawa started to invade this whole country, in the Manawatū right down to Horowhenua and started to live on it.¹⁰⁸

Pikitara can be found on the map above along with Te Onepuehu; another well another pā site and general area of significance. Onepuehu is located near the well-known crossroads at Te Reureu and on the Rangitīkei. The name Onepuehu was mistakenly changed to Onepuhi and was the site of the old Onepuhi Bridge which crossed the Rangitīkei: “The pā called Te Onepuehu, and that’s the name of that area you will have went down to the crossroads down there, [it] went towards the river, that area is Onepuehu, Pākehās call it Onepuhi, but the real name is Onepuehu.”¹⁰⁹

Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Whiti, and Ngāti Hauiti are said to have suffered defeat at the hands of Ngāti Apa at Kōreromaiwaka, a place near Tutaenui, Marton. The battle was known as Takuterangi. In retaliation, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Hauiti interests came down to attack Te Onepuehu pā, then occupied by Ngāti Apa. James Crawford recalls visiting the pā in 1864 in the hopes of procuring a waka to assist him on his travels: “We called at Hammond's and fell in with one Mahia, who took us to the pā Onepuehu, on the opposite side of the river. Here we engaged a canoe with a crew of four men to start on the 13th, and take us to Pātea.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 57.

¹⁰⁹ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 52.

¹¹⁰ *Recollections of Travel in New Zealand and Australia* (Rubner and Company, London, 1880) at p. 116.

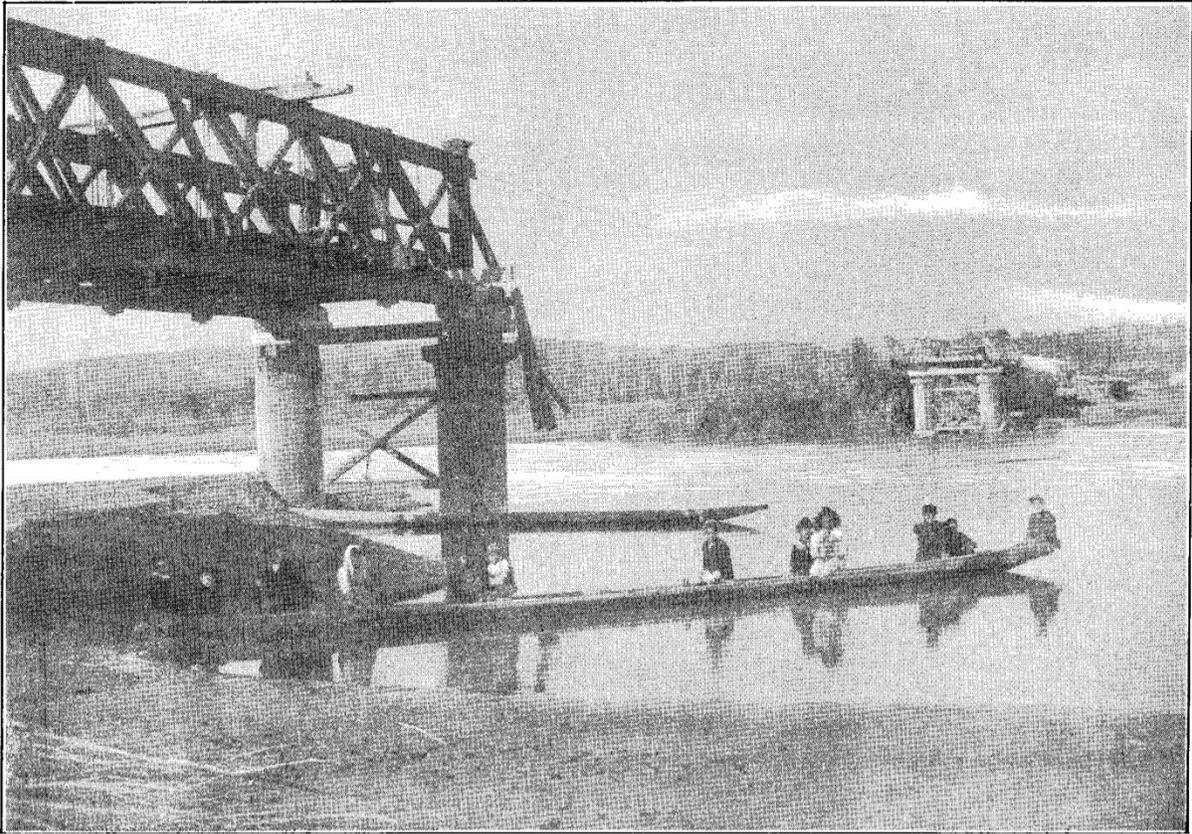


Image 12: Onepuehu Bridge. Source AJHR 1898, C-1, Appendix 14, opposite p.129.

Walzl has collated the names of a number of other pā situated near the junction of the Rangitīkei and Hautapu Rivers; in his view these suggest the area was a key focus of defence for the descendants of Ohuake. Such pā include Okaharau on the northern side of the Rangitīkei River, and on the southern side, Te Wharariki, Whakaarawaru, Tūpurupuru and Te Kōwhai and Tara-o-te-Marama Pā. To the south-east of this cluster, south of the Kawhatau River, was a further fortified pā and urupā known as Te Aputa.¹¹¹

Kai Inanga, another site of significance that was also a scene of a major battle, was surrounded by a number of pā including Otoa and Te Hue, observed during two separate site visits.

¹¹¹ Walzl, '2013, p. 212.



Image 13: Kai Īnanga

The Kai Īnanga conflict was highlighted as a key event in the historical timeframe of Mōkai–Pātea:

Kai Inanga was quite a big battle so a lot of kōrereros here in this rohe are all based around ‘before Kai Inanga’, ‘during Kai Inanga’, or ‘after Kai Inanga’.¹¹²

The reasons for this fight were explained during one site visit:

This Ngāti Tamakōpiri, they moved with the seasons for the kai; one of their names was Ngāti Tamakaiaorangi. Anyway, when they lost up at Motuopuhi [Rotoāira] those that belong down here, they come back down here. They’ve been away for a little while so there’s a little bit of stresses and strains. They came and they stayed up here at a place called Kai Inanga, just along here. They were in a frenzied state – well that’s the way I picture it. So one of their sons died and they got this guy to preserve the head and then they decided that he had done it wrong because he had eaten while he was doing it. I don’t know what his name was but his name definitely after that was Hiakai, so that’s the only name we know him by – Hiakai. Anyway, that started off a big chain of battles which ended up in the big Kai Inanga battle; Ngāti Apa coming down or coming up and attacking ... It was all quite messy because boundaries from the flood were being crossed and things like that ... it was a battle for all of us ... so that’s a big thing that happened in this rohe.¹¹³

¹¹² Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

¹¹³ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

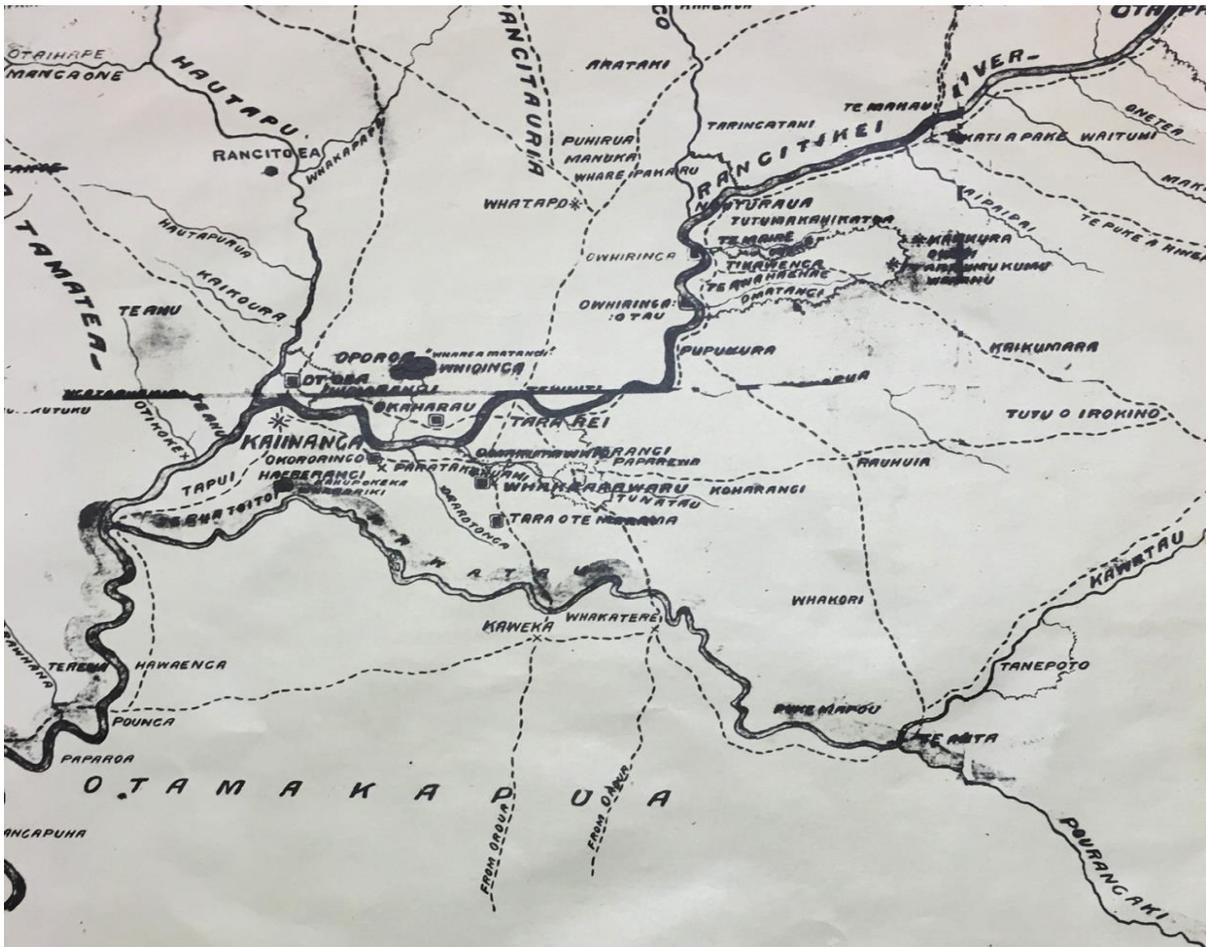


Image 14: Ōtoea

The evidence of Te Hue Retimana Te Rango in the Ōtamakapua Block hearing in 1879 appeared in the Māori newspaper, *Te Waka Māori*. He provides an interesting description of the conflict at Kai Īnanga, commenting:

... ka puta he ope no Tūwharetoa, ka noho ki Kai Inanga, wāhi tata ki Otarā. Muri iho ka noho ratou ki Otarā. I oma mai i etahi iwi. Ka mate kongenge i reira a Poto, he tamariki rangatira no Tūwharetoa ka hoatu tona upoko ki tetahi tohunga kia mahia ki ta te Māori tikanga. He tapu taua tohunga; e kore e pā ona ringa ki te kai. I whakapaea kua whatoro ia ki te kai, kiia ana kia patua. Tona ingoa, ko te Hiakai. Haere ana te iwi o Tūwharetoa ki te patu i a ia; patu ke ana ko te Porae, ka mate. No reira ka patua e Ngātihauiiti a te Hiakai raua ko Hopu, no Ngātitamatea, hei utu mo to ratou tangata, mo te Porae. Ka haere mai a Ngātiapa ki te patu tangata hei utu mo te Hiakai raua ko Hopu—kaore te Porae, e ki nei a Kawana Hunia. He hoa riri a te Porae na Ngātiapa; he kai tetahi na tetahi. Ko te Porae tetahi o Ngā mea i puta i Takuterangi; i kāinga etahi o ona whānaunga i reira e Ngātiapa. I haere mai ratou ki te ngaki utu mo te Hiakai; ka riri ki Ngā hapū o Hauiti i Kai Inanga. Ngā wahine rangatira o Tūwharetoa i mate i a ratou ki reira, ko Keremai, Tiore, te Aotuhi, me etahi atu. I horo te pā i a Ngātiapa, a he nui ngā rangatira i mate. Na te Hakeke tena taua, te matua o Kawana Hunia. Muri iho ka haere a Ngātiapa ki Maungaarakī, Wairarapa. I muri o tena ka hui ki Otarā Ngā hapū o Hauiti, me te Heu Heu, me te Whatanui o Ngātiraūkawa; ngaki utu mo te matenga ki Kai Inanga. [Translation in the original source: Subsequently a party of Tūwharetoa made their appearance and located themselves at Kai Īnanga, near Otarā. They were fleeing from other tribes. Afterwards they removed from Kai Īnanga to Otarā. A young chief of Tūwharetoa, named Poto, died a natural death at that place, and his head was given to a professor to embalm, according to Native custom.

This professor was to be sacred and not to touch any food with his hands while engaged in that work. He was charged with having touched food with his hands and threatened with death for having done so. His name was Te Hiakai. The people of Tūwharetoa came to kill him, but killed instead another man named Te Porae. Hauti's people then killed Te Hiakai and Hopu belonging to Ngātitamatea tribe, in revenge for their man Te Porae. Ngātiapa then came to avenge the death of Te Hiakai and Hopu—not of Porae, as stated by Kawana Hunia. Porae and Ngātiapa were enemies, they were food for each other. Te Porae was one of those who escaped from the slaughter at Takuterangi; Ngātiapa killed and eat some of his relatives there. They came to avenge the death of Te Hiakai, and attacked the allied hapū at Kai Inanga. Tūwharetoa women of rank killed there by them on that occasion were Reremai, Tiore, Te Aotuhi, and others. The pā was taken by Ngātiapa and many chiefs were killed. Kawana. Hunia's father, Te Hakeke, was the leader of that party. Ngātiapa, after that, went to Maungaaraki in the Wairarapa. Te Heu Heu (Taupō chief) and the allied tribes, also Whatanui of Ngātiraikawa, then assembled at Otarā to take revenge for the slaughter at Kai Inanga fight.]”¹¹⁴



Map 6: Part of Awarua Block. Alexander Turnbull Library Map Coll 832.41bj [189-?].

¹¹⁴ Otamakapua, Waka Māori, 25 October 1879, p. 542.

There were a series of skirmishes following this, all for revenge of Kai Īnanga: “However, in the end Ngāti Tūwharetoa came down and they really went to town on Ngāti Apa; they followed them to the ends of the earth, just about, to get rid of them.”¹¹⁵

Two of those killed in the Kai Īnanga battle was the wife of the Ngāti Tama chief Pikirangi along with her brother. One such aforementioned skirmish related to this incident took place at the Pourewa stream.

Haere ana ratou, ka tae ki te ngutuawa o Pourewa; ka mau i reira a Tawhiro, he rangatira no Ngatiapa; ko ona tangata i patua. He kotiro tetahi i mau. Ka tauria Ngā mea i mate ka tukua Ngā herehere me Ngā tupapaku ki a Pikirangi raua ko te Aue, he whānaunga no nga mea i mate. Ka kite a Pikirangi i a Tawhiro ka okaia ki te naihi, ka inumia te toto. He tane a Pikirangi no tetahi wahine i patua. Ka tu mai ate Aue, patua ana a Tawhiro kia mate rawa. [Translation in the original source: They advanced to the mouth of the Pourewa river, and there took prisoner a Ngatiapa chief named Tawhiro and killed his people. A female child of Tawhiro's party was also taken prisoner. When the attacking party returned to the main body at the mouth of the Pourewa, they counted their slain and handed over the prisoners and dead bodies to Pikirangi and Te Aue, relatives of the slain. When Pikirangi saw Tawhiro he stabbed him with a knife and drank his blood. Pikirangi was the husband of a woman who had been killed. Te Aue then stepped forward and put an end to Tawhiro.]¹¹⁶

Further north we arrive at the Mōkai Flats where Awarua pā and Pōtaka pā were situated, the latter explained by Winiata Te Whaaro as being built by “[t]he descendants of Te Ngahoa, Te Rangiwhakamatuku, Tukokoki, Pakake, Hauti...”¹¹⁷ Pōtaka pā was the scene of a major attack by Whanganui interests.

Walzl provides a concise summary of this battle:

Te Kahuoterangi of Ngāti Apa and Ngamakako of Tuhererangi were the principal chiefs of the attacking party which was said to consist of eight hundred men gathered from Whanganui, Whangaehu, and Turakina. Those within Potaka pā were not prepared to resist this large army. One chief named Whānau was killed on the arrival of the party when he was surprised while gathering matai berries. The attacking party then surrounded the pā and commenced a siege. However, after four days Te Kata managed to escape from the pā

¹¹⁵ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

¹¹⁶ Otamakapua, Waka Māori, 25 October 1879, p. 542.

¹¹⁷ Awarua 1890, Whanganui MB 20, p. 232 quoted in Walzl, 2013.

through the enemy ranks without being observed and travelled to Heretaunga where others of Ngāti Hinemanu were living. This party, under chiefs Tauranga, Maka, Toiaiho, and Tuterangi hurried back to assist their relations. They managed to gain access to Potaka pā at night by using ropes thrown to them, and with these reinforcements they were able to successfully fight the enemy with Te Kahuoterangi eventually requesting peace. This was accepted and confirmed through the exchange of presents and haka. The fight became known as Tini-o-te-kotiri in relation to the large number of people who took part in it.¹¹⁸

Another battle recounted during the interview process was that of Ōtaparoto, the location of which can be seen on the map above. “all the names of the places on the awa, all the way up – Otaparoto, that’s where the big battle... that was Ngāti Raukawa and Te Heuheu – he came down here to take out some of the local tūpuna.”¹¹⁹ We again refer to the work of Walzl who has summarized the evidence of Heperi Pikirangi and Te Haupaimarire, both of Ngāti Tamakōpiri, to elaborate further:



Map 7: Awarua and Ōtaparoto. Part of Awarua Map supplied by Ngāti Hauiti. Not to be reproduced.

¹¹⁸ Walzl, 2013, pp. 265-266.

¹¹⁹ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015

In response, Turoa and his people killed Te Ruamaioro and possibly others who were with him and took their remains to a feast held within Mōkai Pātea and attended by Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri. Although there had formerly been enmity between Turoa and Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, his marriage to Te Uru, whom he had captured during his expedition, was said to have brought a peace accord into being. It turned out, however, that Te Ruamaioro and the others killed were of Ngāti Raukawa. In time, Ngāti Raukawa came to hear of these events. As a result, Te Whatanui, who was campaigning against Whanganui, came across to Otaparoto to attack Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri as they had hosted the feast. Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri and Ngāti Hinemanu living at other places within Mōkai Pātea, such as Totarapurū, all assembled at Otaparoto to await the attack. As a result of the attack on Otaparoto, which was a resounding Ngāti Raukawa victory, both Hianga and Hoeroa were killed.¹²⁰

At Otara, one interviewee spoke of Tūpākihi who was a great man of Mōkai Pātea:

He was from Whatumāmoa and he had quite a few battles. His nephew Tū Te Mohuta (not to be confused with the one in Tūwharetoa) did say to him, 'e Tū, let's stop conquering and things like that' and he turned around and said, 'kāore, kia kī tāku kete manawa' – not until my kete or my heart is full, and he went off and he got killed further south in one of the battles and never came back. So we're sort of taking that as a whakataukī of 'don't get too carried away and don't get too greedy.'¹²¹



Image 15: Otara with Okahupokia in the distance.

¹²⁰ Walzl, 2013, p. 277.

¹²¹ Mōkai Pātea Hikoi, 2 October 2015.

Tūpākihi was chief of the Omanono pā, located at Otara near the Rangitīkei River. Other pā in the vicinity and by the river included Okahupokia and Korihirau. Of Okahupokia, one Mōkai Pātea interviewee made this observation:

You can, can you see the 'V' cut in, that's the ditch. At that point on the other side of where that ditch is there is a drop of about 300 meters into the Rangitīkei. On this side, you can see it's a cliff face. So all they had to do was fortify where they had dug it out there ... it sort of came out in a triangle and they fortified the front of it ... [W]hen you are up there you can see exactly why it is a defensive pā site and it was never taken; I don't think they even tried once they looked at it ... but that was called Okahupokia.¹²²

After Ngāi Tamawahine killed Tama Pou, the father of Whitikaupeka, Tūpākihi, and his force of Ngāti Hauiti, Ngāti Whatumāmoa, Ngāti Tamakōpiri, and Ngāti Whiti defeated Ngāti Tamawahine at Ohingaiti. The story related by a Mōkai Pātea interviewee describes the conflict and makes mention of yet another site of significance; a cave in the Mangaohane area said to be where Ngāti Tamawahine survivors of the battle escaped to and subsequently died:

they had a whawhai [with Tamawahine] and they won, they were victorious. The left overs, the morehu of that ope escaped to the North ... Mangaohane, and that's where they got caught in a snow storm and they hid out in the cave, and they got wiped out. As is always the case I think there was one survivor to come back another day; that was Tawhao and there were two or three chiefs in there that are well known within the Kahungunu.¹²³

The battle at Ohingaiti gave rise to further conflict with Ngāti Kahungunu, who sought revenge for the defeat of Ngāi Tamawahine. They attacked Korihirau and Omanono pā but were also defeated.¹²⁴

3.4 Kāinga and Mahinga Kai

In addition to fighting pā, there were numerous kāinga or settlements as well as cultivations to be found by the riverside. Kāinga were strategically selected to take advantage of the opportunities that the waterways provided along with the food resources they offered themselves.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ See Walzl, 2013, p. 241.

A site visit was made to Ōhinepuhiawe, one of the reserves granted to Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga as part of the Manawatū purchase. A small part of the block, where the Parewahawaha marae is today, was cut out of the block as a result of major flooding in 1897 and is now on the western side. This settlement and the nearby Matahiwi papakāinga were the main settlements of Ngāti Parewahawaha. Oma Heitia, speaking at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearings noted: “Ōhinepuhiawe was considered to be exceptionally beautiful and came to be known as the Māori gardens on the banks of the Rangitīkei River.”¹²⁵

During a wānanga with Ngāti Parewahawaha, participants discussed the importance of the Mākōwhai stream for eeling:

We’ve only got one other stream that runs into the Rangitīkei on our side and that’s Mākōwhai, and that’s over there. That starts up by Taumata o te Rā on the top of the hill and comes down towards us just south ... right through Sanson ... down Tangimoana Road where it flows across the road and goes out to Rangitīkei. And that’s where our old people used to go and get tuna; Mākōwhai.¹²⁶

Participants’ spoke of several kāinga / marae of old located within the Te Reureu block. The majority of these had been relocated away from the river due to the change of course or flooding of the river. One of these was Te Marae o Hine, a name brought from Ōtewā in the King Country from those of Ngāti Maniapoto / Ngāti Matakore who made the journey south.¹²⁷ This whare burnt down in 1968 on the top plateau, not too distant from the Rangitīkei River. Te Marae o Hine is said to have occupied three plateaus:

¹²⁵ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 132.

¹²⁶ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015.

¹²⁷ One of the principal strongholds of Maniapoto was Hikurangi, north-east of Ōtorohanga. Maniapoto’s sister Te Rongorito and her husband Tamatehura lived nearby at Te Waka, on the eastern side of the Māhaonui swamp. Maniapoto forbade any conflict to take place in the vicinity, giving rise to another famous saying: Kei hewa ki te marae o Hine (Do not desecrate the courtyard of Hine [Te Rongorito]).



Image 16: Site of Te Marae o Hine. Rangitikei River in the background.

The original settlement I think was all up around the river. Te Marae o Hine moved up onto the top flat because there were tohu around, and another level sort of above the river so there were levels. So the marae actually ended up on the top level after a while, but the old **urupā** ended up on the second level, but we're picking that the people would live down on the river because that's where their orchard would grow.¹²⁸



Image 17: Te Marae o Hine. Supplied by Turoa Karatea.

¹²⁸ Te Reureu Mana Wahine Korero, Palmerston North, 11 July 2015.

Another papakāinga which features in the traditions of the people of Te Reureu is Miria te Kakara. Sue Searancke of Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāti Matakore recounts:

In 1868 Ngāti Rangatahi built a meeting house which they named Miria Te Kakara, but it fell into disuse after the floods of that era. That place and surrounding area is considered a wāhi tapu. Today, Miria Te Kakara is referred to when defining the boundaries in the pepeha of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, “Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauākī.”¹²⁹



Image 19: Miria Te Kakara. Supplied by Turoa Karatea.

Image 21: The second and current site of Te Tikanga Marae. The Rangitikei River is in the background as is the old site..Image 19: Miria Te Kakara. Supplied by Turoa Karatea.

The *Wellington Independent* reported in the opening of this rūnanga house in 1869:

The immediate object of this gathering was to dedicate to the cause of peace a fine new Rūnanga house, which has been erected during the past year at Kakariki, on the Rangitikei River, nearly opposite to Westoe, the residence of Mr Fox, the member of the House of Representatives for the district. The building, which is an extremely well-built one, about sixty feet long by forty wide, was partly erected with materials taken from Mr Fox's land, and thus, together with the close relations which that gentleman has always cultivated with his dark skinned neighbors, led to the idea of a gathering of both races, and the dedication of the house to Rawiri, the principal chief of the kāinga where it was built, jointly with Mr

¹²⁹129 *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 122.

Fox as the representative of the European settlers, and an emblem of the joining of hands in amity by the two races. We estimate the number of Natives present at over 400, and the Europeans 50... The principal orators on the Māori side were Heremia te Tiki, a well-known orator of the King party, Rawiri, the principal chief of Kakariki and Noa te Rauhihi, of Te Reu Reu.¹³⁰

In times of old there was also the kāinga known as Pikitara where, as Puruhi Smith explains: “kei reira e huihui ai ā tātou iwi a Ngāti Matakore, Rangatahi, Pikiahu, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Ūpokoiri, me Ngāti Kahungunu, me Ngāti Hauiti hoki.” [and of course our people gathered there, Matakore, Rangatahi, Pikiahu, Ngāti Waewae and others, and Kahungunu and Hauiti].¹³¹

Puruhi Smith mentions other marae of old; Te Kotuku, Te Kaiparangi, Te Rurukōhanga. The latter settlement was said to have belonged to Major Kemp, or Te Rangihwinui. It was also the home of a taniwha called Harurunui who took the form of a large eel:

I te taha o Te Rurukōhanga ka noho ana hoki te taniwha, anā ko te taniwha ko Harurunui. Arā ko Harurunui he tuna nunui, koia te kaitiaki e noho ana kei waenganui tērā repo. [Now just by Te Rurukōhanga there is a taniwha residing there. That taniwha is called Harurunui. Harurunui is a large eel. It is the guardian residing within that swamp.]¹³²

One of the Ngāti Manomano informants also spoke of the taniwha, Harurunui: “Harurunui – he wasn't in the river though, just in the spring.”¹³³ A koroua from the same whānau continues:

One thing you could do at Tokorangi in the old days is ... [i]f you listened to the train which was miles away, about 20 miles away, and you could hear it going up the incline from where we lived (our homestead was known as Harurunui) ... if you could hear it going up that hill it was going to rain. It was all to do with the wind, that's why Harurunui had something to do with the wind.¹³⁴

Two Te Reureu kaumātua referred to Te Tikanga and Poupatate as being originally located in greater proximity to the Rangitīkei River at the abovementioned Onepuehu. A slip on the Paroro–

¹³⁰ *Wellington Independent*, 13 May 1869, p. 3.

¹³¹ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 193.

¹³² *Ibid*, pp. 193-194

¹³³ Te Taumata Marae members, Feilding, 31 October 2015.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*.

o-te-rangi hill caused a damming effect on the river, resulting in a flood of marae and wāhi tapu on the sides of the Rangitīkei:

... ki Onepuehu, kei reira e tū tahi rāua a Tikanga rāua ko Poupatate kei runga ki tērā whenua o Onepuehu arā ko Waimaru. Ka tae mai te Waipuke mai i Parororangi ka waipuketia te whare tupuna e tū mai nei i te taha o te awa o Rangitīkei.” [at Onepuehu, there is where both Te Tikanga and Poupatate stood on that land, Onepuehu, that is Waimaru. At the time of the Parororangi flood, the meeting houses standing next to the Rangitīkei River were flooded.]¹³⁵

The name Parororangi or Paroro-o-te-rangi has already been mentioned as that associated with Tamatea Pōkai Whenua and his naming of that hill. Both marae were relocated to their current sites.



Image 21: The second and current site of Te Tikanga Marae. The Rangitīkei River is in the background as is the old site.

At the southern end of Mōkai-Pātea we find Te Houhou, an original riverside site of the Ngāti Hauti kāinga which also succumbed to flooding. This necessitated a shift of the whare to higher ground. Other significant settlements and cultivations on or near the banks of the Rangitīkei River

¹³⁵ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 194.



Image 20: Old site of Te Tikanga Marae. The Rangitikei River in the background..

included Te Mahoe and Whakapoka. Hēnare te Herekau noted in the Rangatira hearings that Ngāti Hauiti were living in houses at Whakapoka with cultivations on both sides of the river.

Ngāti Hauiti, Ngāti Pīkiahū, and Ngāti Waewae would travel from Otara to Te Mahoe on a monthly food gathering expedition. Otara has been previously mentioned as an area well protected by a number of surrounding fortified pā sites. It was also described to us as “the centre of Ngāti Hauiti before they shifted further down ... the old centre of Ngāti Hauiti”¹³⁶:

This is where Ngāti Hauiti had their main kāinga probably up until about 1850; that’s when they moved south with, I think a lot of them moved south with the visitors from Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae. When they moved down they moved with them and they settled at Rata on the block there, Taranaki block.¹³⁷

Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae occupied Otara for a number of years. According to Noa Rauhihi they were sent there to act as a barrier against Europeans purchasing land from Natives on this

¹³⁶ Mōkai Pātea Hikoi, 2 October 2015.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

side.¹³⁸ Otara was also where Hauiti himself had his own whare/kāinga and it was an area rich in cultivations and resources:

This area, particularly ... over there where there's the lower area, that was the gardens ... looking across the stream, all the gardens were over there so they would of had their kai handy to where the defensive pā was so they could take it up there with them. I don't know where they were but there was a lot of tuna in this river, there always has been. There was a lot of pātiki.¹³⁹

A key kāinga associated with Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki as well as others, was “Te Awarua Pa” on the Mōkai Flats:

Just down here that's the site of Awarua pā or kāinga; it was actually a kāinga not a pā, just here ... At the top of that ridge there's still an old Maire tree fallen down, tied in a knot. One of the old direction posts from the old days. So there was a pā site ... I'm using that term loosely. Kāinga; little settlements ... So this is the Mōkai Flats. There were settlements all along this flat. This is Awarua here. Down where that woolshed is just here, that is Te Koutu. That's the birth place of Winiata Te Whaaro, under that woolshed.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Noa Rauhihi, Rangatira 1879, Wanganui MB 3, pp. 6-7, quoted in Walzl, 2013, p. 845.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

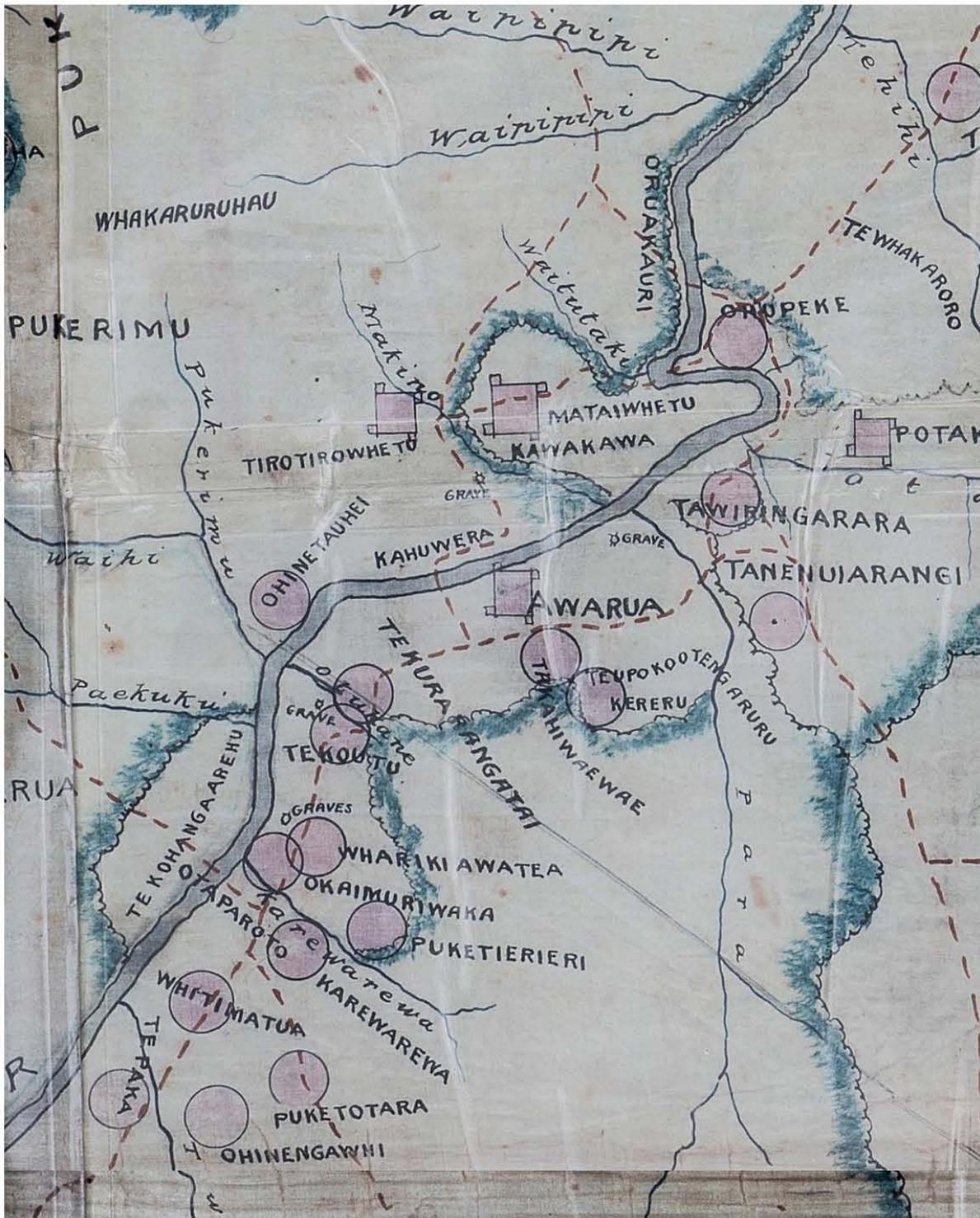
There were other Ngāti Hinemanu/Paki riverside settlements in the region which appear on the



Image 22: Awarua Pa

map below. South of Te Koutu was the kāinga Okaimuriwaka. Karewarewa was a Te Haukaha kāinga where the Karewarewa stream meets the Rangitīkei. Further down the Rangitīkei were large

cultivations associated with Whitimatua, and Ohinengawhi. Te Paka was positioned on the banks of the Waituhi stream as was Okahurakainoa with its large cultivations. Further south, Tihioterangi



Map 8: Okaimuriwaka, Karewarewa, Whitimatua and Ohinengawhi. Part of Awarua Map supplied by Ngāti Hauiti. Not to be reproduced.

was the site of cultivations and a stand of flax.¹⁴¹

Walzl notes that the largest concentration of Ngāi Te Ohuake settlements were located slightly south of the convergence of the Rangitīkei River and the Whakaurekou River. Several of these appear on the map above:

The Kahuwera settlement and cultivations were situated close to the Rangitīkei River on the western bank ... A further kāinga and pā called Ohupeke was also located in this area just to the south of the Mangaterā stream. This was a permanent settlement with houses and cultivations that continued to be occupied over the nineteenth century. A little further down-stream was the settlement of Tawhiringarara ... Further onwards was the kāinga Tanunuiarangī kāinga whose large cultivations were located and on the banks of the Ototatara stream, a tributary of the Rangitīkei River from the east.¹⁴²

The traditional kāinga of Ngāti Whitikaupeka were located along the Rangitīkei and Hautapu Rivers and their tributaries. As illustrated on the map below, several of these are found on the Moawhango and are characteristically positioned to allow access to the resources associated with this waterway. Te Wairere was a plantation with the nearby Arataki kāinga associated with harvesting fern root. Further upriver was Te Uma, noted for its cultivations. Popotai was the kāinga of Huarangi, daughter of Whitikaupeka and Haumoetahanga. Further on was Pokaka, known for its bird snaring in the Ngatiuru forest. On the opposite side of that Waiotehonu stream was Riuopuanga, where kākā were caught.¹⁴³

A site visit was made to the historic location on the Hautapu River known as Tūrangaarere with the Pohe whānau of Ngāti Rangituhia and Ngāti Tamakōpiri. Whānau members still reside here and maintain the relationship with the awa. The marked feature of this area is the waterfall shares the name of the location. The whānau explained to us:

It was named by Pehi Turoa when he was travelling around naming, putting his – Mum would have said in their own way – stamp on this area. He travelled around and he stayed

¹⁴¹ Refer to Walzl, p. 730.

¹⁴² Walzl, 2013, p. 178.

¹⁴³ See Walzl, 2013, pp. 190-191.

at Hihitahi. When he came down here he slept under the waterfall and he named it



Map 9: Te Wairere, Te Uma and Popotai. Part of Awarua Map supplied by Ngāti Hauiti. Not to be reproduced.

Tūrangaarere because he talked about the water flying over like a bird.”¹⁴⁴

The grandchild of Peehi, Tōpia Tūroa mentions Tūrangaarere and [Mōkai] Pātea in a lament for Te Kōtuku:

E tika ana koe i te ara kai riri i runga Tūrangaarere,

Mo Te Rangihauora,

Mo te tautara tu,

Ki Turangamaea

Ko Te Kohutu, e

Whakahokia mai ki roto Pātea

[Translation in the original source: You went by the war trail above Tūrangaarere,

Because of Te Rangihauora,

and all for a lump of excreta

At Turangamaea is

Te Kohutu, e,

Bring him back to the vale of Pātea]¹⁴⁵



Image 22: Waterfall at Tūrangaarere, [ca 1910], Alexander Turnbull Library Reference Number: 1/2-107056-F. Taken by an unidentified photographer.

¹⁴⁴ Tūrangaarere Interview and Site Visits, Tūrangaarere, 4 October 2015

¹⁴⁵ Ko Ngā Mōteatea, Me Ngā Hakirara O Ngā Māori.

The Tūrangaarere location is particularly associated with a follow up meeting held at nearby



Image 23: Tūrangaarere Falls

Kōkako in 1860. The meeting was to determine land boundaries and advocate for the prevention of further land sales. Walzl describes the hui as a key event for all of the local Mōkai-Pātea people. The hui was also attended by a number of neighbouring iwi including Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Whanganui groups, and Ngāti Kahungunu. Walzl notes a

number of witnesses in Native Land Court hearings who spoke of the purpose of the meeting and the collection of food in preparation for such a gathering that included that sourced from local waterways. Among those giving such descriptions were Winiata Te Whaaro of Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki. "...a meeting was held at Kokako, near Hautapu. Food was collected for it from Mangaohane and Awarua as well as from Motukawa and Owhaoko. Some caught eels and some birds... A year was spent in collecting food.¹⁴⁶

3.5 Pou and Awa as Boundary Markers

The waterways as key natural boundaries were evident in the discussions of the aforementioned hui at Kōkako in 1860. This was recalled by Te Rangihiwini (Te Keepa, or Major Keepa) at a meeting in 1874 at Pūtiki, Whanganui to discuss the Murimotu boundary with Rēnata Kawepō. Kawepō was a principal chief of Ngāti Te Ūpokoiri but also connected to Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Whiti, and Ngāti Tama through his father, Tumanokia. Keepa referred to Murimotu as a boundary laid down by Hōri Kīngi of Whanganui to secure to his people their portion of the lands. Kawepō, on the other hand, remembered the defining of the boundary to shut out the Māori King movement and the dishonest sale of land by other tribes or people who it did not have the right to sell. Keepa

¹⁴⁶ Winata Te Wharo, Mangaohane Rehearing 1890, Napier MB 20, p. 376, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

is thus quoted at some length, not to give rise to answer the contestation around the debate of the purpose of the boundary, but to illustrate the significance of the local waterways as perceived boundaries:

Ka whakatakotoria e ia tona rohe. I timata mai i Makohine, rere tonu i roto i te awa o Rangitīkei, tae noa atu ki te Puau–o–Hautapu, rere tonu i roto i te awa o Hautapu tae noa atu ki te awa o te Namunui, ka whiti ki te taha ki te Rawhiti o Hautapu, ka rere atu ki Pōkāingarara (he awa ano), ka rere atu ki Ngawaka, rere atu ki Otutepou, rere atu ki Mangarautawhiri, he awa ano, rere tonu i roto i taua awa tae noa atu ki Tikirere, he awa ano, rere tonu i roto i taua awa tae noa atu ki Moawhanganui, rere tonu i roto i taua awa, ka ahu mai ki runga o taua awa, tae noa atu ki Moawhangaiti, he awa ano, e ahu ana mai kite Hauauru nei. Heoi, rere tonu ana i roto i Moawhanganui tae noa atu ki Orongotaua, rere atu ki Huriwaka, rere atu ki Tauna–a–Tara, rere atu ki te Waiū, rere atu ki te Pou–a–Hauti, rere atu ki Manaiako, tae noa atu ki te Puau–o–Mangaio, ka whati mai ki uta ki te taha ki Tongariro, mau noa mai ki Paripokai, rere atu ki Nga–Roro–o–Taiteariki i te Onetapu, ka whati mai ki Hangaitangā ki waenganui ote tihi o Ruapehu. Heoi ko te rohe tenei a Hori Kingi i whakaatu ai ki ngā iwi katoa, i ki ake ra au i te hui ki Kokako. [Translation in the original source: This was the line laid down by him: – Commencing at Makohine; from thence up the Rangitīkei River till it reaches the mouth of Hautapu; up the river of Hautapu till it reaches Namunui, where it strikes off to the east of Hautapu; from thence to Pokaingarara (a stream), to Ngawaka, to Otutepou, to the Mangarautawhiri stream, up the said stream till it reaches the Tikirere stream, up the said stream to the Moawhanganui stream, up the said stream to Moawhangaiti stream, where it branches off towards the west. From Moawhanganui it runs to Orongataua, from thence to Huriwaka, from thence to Tahuna–a–Tara, to Waiū, to te Pou–a–Hauti, to Manaiako, till it reaches the mouth of Mangaio, where it strikes off towards Tongariro; thence towards Paripokai, to Ngā Roro o Taiteariki at Onetapu, where it strikes off towards Hangaitangā up the spur of Ruapehu. This was the boundary line set down by Hori Kingi before the tribes above mentioned who were present at the meeting at Kokako.]¹⁴⁷

Following from and as a consequence of the matters discussed at the Kōkako meeting, Utiku Pōtaka indicated for a post to be erected at Pikitara on the Te Reureu block:

Then a large meeting was held at Kokako, all the tribes except N’Raukawa assembled here; and then it was arranged that another post should be taken to the opposite side of the Rangitīkei River. We took the post to Pikitara and it was also called Whiti Kaupeka. It was to stop the further sale of land by N’Apa & N’Raukawa in that direction. These acts were done by the descendants of Ohuake.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Te Waka Māori, 19 May 1874, p. 126.

¹⁴⁸ Utiku Pōtaka, Mangaohane 1884, Napier MB 9, p. 83, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

Puruhi Smith expanded on the significance of this site as a place where boundaries were determined during the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearings:

A hui took place there and that's where all the iwi of this takiwā plus Ngāti Ūpokoiri, Rēnata Kawepō and them, all had a hui to set up where our actual boundaries will be. The more significance about Pikitara was where the gospel was first preached to us by Reverend Richard Taylor. That's the karaka tree over there, that's Pikitara.¹⁴⁹

The Whitikaupeka pou and others were recalled by several interview participants: “There's a number of pou... further down river was Whitikaupeka. Actually put down near – down near the Waitapu.”¹⁵⁰

A number of pou were erected at sites, particularly at locations near the rivers to mark boundaries and stake claims to areas of interests. Rawhiri Te Aramoana of Ngāti Tūwharetoa spoke of their pou and other markers at Ōutu:

Our marks on this block is a post and stone marks the post is a rahui post. It was to guard against persons going to take eels and titi. It is a sign of the power of the owner of the land. The rahui post was set up at a place ... at Otutu.¹⁵¹

This was particularly so at the time Pātea Māori were jostling to prevent Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa from selling their lands to Crown Purchaser and Government Agent Donald McLean. McLean eventually established the inland boundary at Te Houhou and marked this with his own pou. One speaker from Te Reureu said during the Ngā Tuku kōrero hearings: “The old people had a lot of pou whenua in this block here and right in the corner here Makarini placed his pou and it was called Te Pou o Makarini, when they set up these boundaries. McLean set his boundary up [on the Waitapu River.]”¹⁵²

As groups jostled with Ngāti Apa and others for ascendancy in the region to block the sale of land

¹⁴⁹ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015

¹⁵¹ Ōwhāoko 1887, Napier MB 12, p. 245, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

¹⁵² *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 4.

by Ngāti Apa to McLean, Māori opposition to the sale – including Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae – took the form of a mānuka pou erected at the mouth of the Pourewa Stream. One kaumatua from Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae observed:

This is quite important for us this stream ... Pourewa. Both the hapū, Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae were living here before they went across to the other side. Manunui laid claim to the land ... The stream was pretty plentiful in food. This is where Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae came and settled before they went across the river. And Manunui put in a pou here, Te Pou o Manunui. And there was another put so the story goes by a Ngāti Waewae kaumatua. His name was Te Oti Pohe. They stuck these pou in.¹⁵³

Utiku Pōtaka also spoke of this meeting:

The pole was erected at the junction of the Pourewa with the Rangitīkei. The N'Whiti, N' Tūwharetoa, N'Pīkiahū, N'Waewae & others went to Parewanui on this occasion, intending if possible to set aside the sale of the land, as far up as Otara, to McLean. I did not go myself. The elders went. I remained at Otara. Those who went were Te Oti Pohe, Te Kaipou, Te Weu, Potaka, Ngawaka, the N'Pīkiahū, & Paranihi, the chiefs of those tribes.¹⁵⁴

Mentioned earlier in this section was Tau Paranihi from the Ngāti Waewae tribe. The notion of waterways as boundary markers are clearly evident in this man's taunahanaha when setting the area of claim for Te Reureu lands of Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae. It was recalled by Laura Reweti during the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearings at Tokorangi:

Tīmata i Waitapu, ka haere atu i te awa o Waitapu tae atu ki Whitianga, ka whati ki te tonga. Whakamoetakapu Te Puta, ka whati ki te hauāuru, ka haere i rungā i te raina a Puroa Pākehā, Mangaone rere tonu ki Pāhekeheke puke i wāhie rere i te awa o Rangataua ka puta ki Rangitīkei ka whati ki te marangā Kākāriki. Mangamutu rere tonu ki Karaka, Te Ruai rere tonu Otapatu, Waituna rere tonu Te Reureu, Pikitara ka kati anō ki Waitapu. [Translation in the original source: Commencing at the Waitapu, went across to the river and across to Whitiangā and of course broke there in the south and of course continuing onto the east and continued on that line through to Mangaone and through to Pāhekeheke and then they stood at the river by the mouth of Rangitīkei to Marangai Kākāriki and they continued onto Karaka and of course Te Reureu was part of Waituna and halted at

¹⁵³ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015

¹⁵⁴ Pōtaka, Rangatira Rehearing & TI 1882, Wanganui MB 6, p. 142, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

Waitapu.”]¹⁵⁵

We heard of the Waitapu in several instances as a particular marker. Indeed, the Waitapu features in the contemporary kōrero for the extent of the district of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. One Ngāti Parewahawaha informant described it as such:

“Ko te waharoa ki te rohe o Raukawa-ki-te-Tonga ka tīmata i te marae o Parewahawaha. Heoi, e ai ki te kōrero, ko te rohe o Parewahawaha ake mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Tāwhirihoē i te ngutu awa, haere tika tonu ki Kōpūtara - he roto ki te taha moana o Hīmatangi. Ka waiho mā ērā atu ō ōku whānaunga, ō rātou whenua e kōrero. You know when you’re coming into the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. Well you actually enter (the rohe) through the waharoa or gateway of Ngāti Parewahawaha, at Ōhinepuhiawe. But regarding our boundaries, we have that old kōrero, “Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauākī.”¹⁵⁶

It was also a significant geographical feature for those of Mōkai Pātea. One Ngāti Hauti informant described it as “a solid boundary of our rohe.”¹⁵⁷

Interview participants mentioned a number of other water feature boundaries, several of which were associated with Ngāti Tamakōpiri: “At the very lowest point here below there is the Otaihape Stream which is the boundary between Hauti and Ngāti Tama Stream below us, Ngāti Tamakōpiri.”¹⁵⁸

At Ōpaea, the marae of Ngāti Tamakōpiri, a participant spoke of an old river long gone but which use to serve as a boundary marker.¹⁵⁹ Another Ngāti Tamakōpiri informant spoke of her grandfather’s sisters carrying the names of two river boundaries:

Oh those are my grandfather’s sisters. One was Ngaruroro, that was talked about the boundary with ... Hawkes Bay and the other was Te Wauwau and that talks about our boundary with Tūwharetoa.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), pp. 59-60.

¹⁵⁶ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015

¹⁵⁷ Mōkai Pātea Hikoi, 2 October 2015.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Tūrangaarere Interview and Site Visits, Tūrangaarere, 4 October 2015.

With regards to the Te Reureu boundary, a Ngāti Hauiti kaumātua stated that “[a]ccording to Māori custom, the true eastern boundary of Te Reureu is exactly half way across the Rangitīkei river.”

Ngāti Kauwhata also referred to awa in describing their rohe, it “beginning at Whitirea (near the junction of the Manawatū and Oroua Awa) in a direct line to the sea (coast) up the coastline to the mouth of Rangitīkei River, up the Eastern side of the Rangitīkei River to a point then hence to Umutoi on the Oroua River.”¹⁶¹

3.6 Waka and Transport

The Rangitīkei River and other waterways were the main mode of transport between settlements. This is clearly evident from the high concentration of pā and kāinga on the banks of those waterways. As one speaker commented on a site visit to the Waitapu River during the *Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho* hearing for that area:

It was also significant because the river played a major part in our migration between Tūwharetoa and Raukawa and Maniapoto, they used to use it as the highway.¹⁶²

He remembered two waka during his childhood:

And when I was a kid, across the other side of the river there, there were old two man canoes that had been constructed up at Mōkai Pātea, they used to come down here, but when I saw them they were pretty much derelict. But they were just parked up across the other side of the river in the lupines. We used to play around with them, we knew what they were, could still distinguish what they were. And, you know, that proves to us that people were travelling up and down all the time. It was a huge part of our being here.¹⁶³

A Ngāti Pīkiahū/Ngāti Waewae informant noted that in times of old, the Rangitīkei and Moawhango rivers were a type of “aqua highway” that connected them and their Ngāti Tūwharetoa relations to the north:

¹⁶¹ Personal Communication, Wai 972, 12 February 2016.

¹⁶² *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 2.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

But what used to happen with this river, my great great grandfather, used to travel from Lake Rotoāira across to Moawhango, come down the Moawhango River, and at Mōkai Pātea there was a Māori settlement. They used to build two man wakas there, and they used to bring them down here ...¹⁶⁴

A comment from another Ngāti Pīkiahū/Ngāti Waewae participant reiterated the point above, while also offering a description of a highway in its truest sense; one that does not discriminate according to affiliation, but is free for all to use:



Image 24: William (Rt Hon. Sir), 1812? --1893. [Fox, William] 1812--1893:[Rangitikei River near Hunterville. 1850s?]. Ref: A--195--012. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22569004>.

They didn't call it a right of way. It was an acknowledged part of Māoridom in the day. Everyone and anyone could ride this river, whether it was Pākehā or not they all agreed to let them through. So, they did walk up and down here, they did ride horses up and down here and use waka on this river. Because that was those links we have with the Mōkai Pātea.¹⁶⁵

During the Himatangi title investigation in 1868, Tapa Te Whata gave an account of the journey or heke south of Ngāti Kauwhata from Maungatautari via the middle of Mōkai Pātea:

¹⁶⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015

¹⁶⁵ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015.

I came with Te Whatanui, at the great ‘heke’. The ‘heke’ started from Maungatautari and came to Taupō, thence to upper Turakina. From Turakina ‘ka wehe wehea ngā huarahi’. The Ngatiraukawa went out to the sea beach and we, the Ngāti Kau[w]hata and Ngātihuia came across inland through the bush to Rangitīkei. Te Auturoa was chief of Ngātihuia. I came with Ngāti Kau[w]hata. We came down Rangitīkei on the north side. Stayed at Paeroa – a Ngātiapa settlement, since called Parewanui. Stayed there and crossed the Rangitīkei to south side to Poutu. There, my father wished to go inland to look for a ‘kāinga’ for himself then we (a small party) went up the south bank of Rangitīkei leaving the body at Poutu. Went to Waituna thence to Parewharariki, inland towards Oroua.¹⁶⁶

The great heke referred to here by Tapa Te Whata was Te Hekenga Mai i Raro, the third of the main migrations southwards from Maungatautari.

A Ngāti Hauiti participant also recalled the fact that sites for waka construction had been identified along the river:

... we found a handful of sites which were recorded as being places where they made waka. So there is a lot of factual evidence, in particular my tupuna, Utiku gave where he was able to exactly identify places of activity including places where there were for example stands of tōtara beside the awa where it was easy enough to access it and fashion them into waka which they’d use to go up and down the awa. So there were a number of those sites particularly along this stretch between here, right through to Rata actually.¹⁶⁷

That same informant noted the discovery of a waka at Rata:

So we’ve identified some of those sites but also a waka itself, which was mostly but not fully complete and that is down at Rata which is in the ownership of a local farmer. A farmer there pulled it out of one our swamps. But that was basically an indication of waka activity...¹⁶⁸

Another participant during a wānanga for this report also recalled seeing waka:

I’ve seen the waka, or the remnants of the waka on our river. There’s still signs of the waka down out at Batley’s farm, Ngātarua down on the river. That place is quite tapu to us now, where the remnants of the waka are... Because they’re almost completed and some only

¹⁶⁶ Himatangi TI 1868, Otaki MB 01E, p. 623, quoted in Walzl, 2013.

¹⁶⁷ Mōkai Pātea Individual, Utiku, 2 August 2015.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

just started and we believe it was where a major battle took place and our people had to abandon those waka.¹⁶⁹

Several people we talked with recounted a waka down at the junction of the Hautapu and the Rangitīkei River below Otoa pā:

I remember when I was a child down at the meeting of the waters where the Hautapu and the Rangitīkei come in ... Across the other side I told you that I used to go camping on my own as a young boy. There used to be a waka, a complete waka submerged in the mud and rocks there but flooding's taken it away; it's gone now.¹⁷⁰

Hue Te Huri of Ngāti Pīkiahū gave evidence in the Native Land Court in 1882 about several such sites where canoes were made:

We made new ones [canoes] while I lived at Matuahu & Waiwhero getting the trees from Pakihikura, Waiwhero, Te Houhou & Te Miro. The N'Hauti made canoes for themselves; and we the N'Pīkiahū made them for ourselves.¹⁷¹

Pākihikura was on the eastern side of the river, while Tupapa, a stand of tōtara on the west side of the river was, according to Hue Te Huri, another waka making site. Hue Te Huri also explained in a Native Land Court hearing how

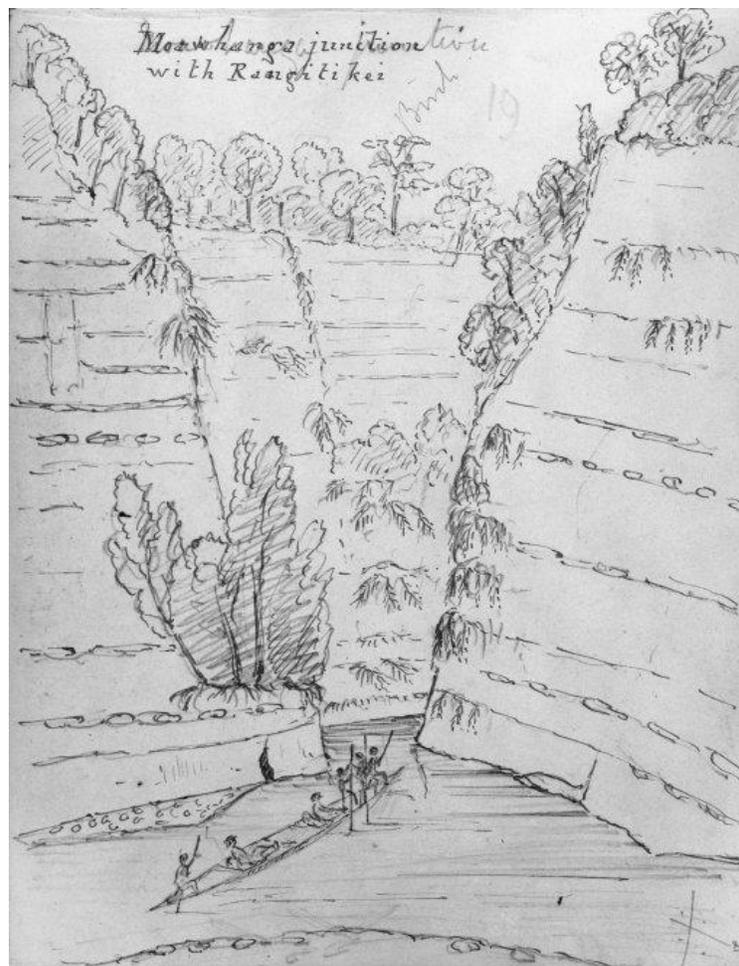


Image 25: Crawford, James Coutts, 1817–1889: Moawhango junction with Rangitīkei. [20 Jan 1862]. [Crawford, James Coutts] 1817–1889:[Sketchbook of a trip up the Wanganui.

¹⁶⁹ Mōkai Pātea Hikoi, 2 October 2015.

¹⁷⁰ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Pāki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

¹⁷¹ Hue Te Huri, Rangatira, Whanganui MB No. 6, 1882, p. 257.

the waterways allowed local Māori to journey to hunting grounds on the Rangatira and Paraekaretu blocks:

We were often going up and down the river during these 8 years, almost every month after food. We generally stayed at the mouth of the Pourewa. N’Pikiahū and N’Hauiti used to go with me. I’ve poled up the Rangitīkei River and hunted over the Rangatira and the Paraekaretu block, catching pigs, weka, kaka, pigeons, tui, & huia and fishing eels; and staying at the various places I have mentioned while so employed. The principal places where we stayed were Waiwhero and Taumatamoana and down below Rotokakahi. We did not stay there long; we came and went to catch pigs & birds.¹⁷²

Waiwhero is mentioned above as a place for constructing waka.

Finally, Walzl notes a number of important river crossings associated with the Rangitīkei including Rapurairaruhe where there was a post called Whitikaupeka, Te Papaatarinuku, Te Kawakawa, Pukenui, Otapapa, and Tokapapoia. Kaimaikuku and Oarenga, Te Whakapae, and Manaiako were river crossings for the Moawhango River.¹⁷³

3.7 **Urupā and other Wāhi Tapu**

A number of speakers noted the many burial places and along the river, a number of which had succumbed to erosion, the threat of flooding, or changes in the course of the river. At Te Reureu we were told:

There are graveyards all the way up this river ... They would mark all these special places with karaka trees all along this river. There is one down the back of our place there which was on the river ... The one at home is a cave on the side of the cliff where they use to put still born babies.¹⁷⁴

The same informant spoke of the use of the river in preparing tūpāpaku for burial:

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 235.

¹⁷³ Walzl, 2013.

¹⁷⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015.

If they were preparing tūpāpaku for burial they use to take them down there and wash them and clean them and get them already, so when that ritual was all over it got swept away and disbursed into the main river ... It was always through purer water.¹⁷⁵

In 1899, Te Umurau of Te Reureu wrote to the Māori newspaper, the *Tiupiri*, explaining that:

... ko ngā tupapaku i tanumia ki te Reureu block. Ka hurahia, ka kawea ki te urupā i Tokorangi, kua whakataua nei tena urupā hei Pari karauma, kote take he wehi no ratau kei riro i te waipuke o Rangitīkei ... [the dead buried on the Reureu block are being exhumed and conveyed to the cemetery at Tokorangi, the cemetery being decided upon as the burial ground. They are fearful the flooding on the Rangitīkei might take them away.]¹⁷⁶

Interview participants at Ōhinepuhiawe spoke of the riverside burial grounds known as Maramahoe, Matahiwi and Hikungarara. The latter is described as a picturesque setting:

we used to go up to Hikungarara, that's at the end of our road, a burial ground – we didn't know it was a burial ground because it was beautiful, it was in the trees. Old beautiful trees. Country flowers, cottage flowers – I call it like that now – and we used to walk around there. And we'd go right to the point and we could see the river.¹⁷⁷

During a site visit to the Otara kāinga, members of Ngāti Hauti, Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Mōkai Pātea pointed out an urupā next to the river and told of the burial of Maihi Ngapapa on the site of the nearby whare of Hauti. Ngapapa was the father of Ruta Kau who married Kawana Hunia: “her father is buried here. He was the only one buried there; he was buried on the house site.”¹⁷⁸

The same informant noted the death of Hurahia, a sister to Te Heuheu, whose head was returned to the Taupō region but whose body remained in the Rangitīkei District:

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ He Hahunga Tupapaku, Jubilee: *Te Tiupiri*, 23 March 1899, p. 12, Translation by Paul Meredith.

¹⁷⁷ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015

¹⁷⁸ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoī, 2 October 2015.



Image 26: Fox, William (Rt Hon Sir), 1812?-1893. [Fox, William] 1812-1893:[Rangitikei River near Hunterville. 1850s?]. Ref: A-195-012. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22569004>.

There was a tupuna from Tūwharetoa – a sister of Te Heuheu. When Te Heuheu came down with Tūwharetoa people to support their relatives of Ngāti Raukawa in their battle against Te Atiawa, his sister was in the group and she was injured in the battle and on the way back she died when they stayed overnight here. Te Heuheu... Oh, she died there and her head was removed by her brother and taken back to Taupō. Her remains were interred in that area there.¹⁷⁹

The informant was referring to the Ōtamakapua block. Another account suggests her body was buried in a swamp between the Te Raumanga and Waituna streams. “Ka poua, ka tanumia tōna tinana ki roto i te repo, e ai ki ngā kōrero i waenganui i Te Raumanga me Te Waituna [Her body was placed and buried in the swamp which is said to be between the Raumanga and Waituna.]”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

¹⁸⁰ Maanaki Tibble in *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 29.

There are many more burials along the river. Te Awahaehae was both a kāinga and an urupā and was where it is said Hinemanu died and was buried. It is also where Tautahi married Hinemanu and their children Te Ngāhoa, Tukokoki, and others were born.¹⁸¹ Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki had a number of other urupā in proximity to the awa. Further upstream was one at Te Koutu where a number of people were buried in caverns. There were additional burial sites further downstream at Whitimatua, Waotapu, and Te Mahau.¹⁸²

Not too distant from Te Awahaehae, across the Oweka Stream, is Tutukahikatoa where Te Haukaha, the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Te Haukaha is buried.¹⁸³

During the interview process there were various reports of the use of caves as bone repositories:

There are special trees, of course ... this is on the side of the river that I'm talking about – trees that were used for burials. Traditional burial I should say, you know when they hang the body, the tūpāpaku into the trees so it gets cleaned before they go into caves. So they use caves on the side of – I couldn't quite understand why they'd use caves on the side of the river, because eventually the river sort of washes it away – so there were caves nearby which we used as repositories for our bones and that's actually nearby to where we are.¹⁸⁴

Some interview participants made mention of the Otoea pā site where the wife and son of Whitikaupeka were buried:

The old Ōtoea kāinga was just over there and just up that area up on the cliffs, that's where Whitikaupeka's wife, Haumoetahanga and their son Irokino are buried. They lived in a kāinga there, Ōtoea ... My understanding is that they were taken away at one stage and my great grandfather brought them back and reburied them in a cave up there and sealed it up.¹⁸⁵

The remains of Tamakōpiri were exhumed from a burial outside of a cave at Poutama and shifted to Te Pounga, which, according to Te Haupaimarie, was the principal urupā of Ngāti

¹⁸¹ Walzl, 2013, p. 184.

¹⁸² Ibid, p. 211.

¹⁸³ Ibid, p. 213.

¹⁸⁴ Mōkai Pātea Individual, Utiku, 2 August 2015.

¹⁸⁵ Mōkai Pātea Hikoī, 2 October 2015.

Also discussed by some informants was the impact of flooding and changes of the river on the locality of burial sites:

For some reason they had the kāinga basically on the river flats. And that basically got knocked by the big flood of 1897 ... and so they decided it was time to move up to higher ground. But also the erosion – because they were probably there for a good 40 years – it started eroding away into the banks, which means into the urupā that had been set up there, so they had to move the urupā. So they had to uplift the hahunga and then move them up to higher ground. And in fact that's one of the reasons why, at Rata, the marae are up on that level because they moved away from the flooding essentially ... I guess the rivers didn't flood in olden days, like they do now, and so that's why they were sort of comfortable putting the kāinga and urupā right on the river, but then they learnt. I guess things were changing, the river was changing what with all the erosion and deforestation meant there was a lot more gravel coming down.¹⁸⁹

3.8 Kai

A number of informants spoke of time when eels were plentiful. With reference to Lake Opuroa:

There was only one creek that ran out of the lake. It was the creek that ran out of the lake down into the Rangitīkei, through some swamps, a couple of swamps. And we would go there, at the mouth of where the creek runs out of the lake, and there'd be thousands of eels all thrashing around, rolling over each other trying to be the first one, you know? Because as soon as the waters start to flow out the creek, even just a little ripple would go out and the first eel would start sliding down trying to be the first one out. And they'd been fighting over each other to get in first.¹⁹⁰

Walzl has compiled several lists of eel streams and other food sources:

Several waterways on Rangipō Waiū provided important sustenance for Ngāti Tamakōpiri. In the area were additional eel streams; Mangohohouri, Pararaureka, Waitaringa and Te Whakamarumarū, used by Ngāti Tamakōpiri. Anahitotara sat at the headwaters of the Waiouru Stream while Te Waiāu was located on the headwater of the Hautapu Stream. Both of these waterways were important for eeling. These streams, with a number of other, fed a large area of swamp called Ngamatea (immediately south of the modern town of Waiouru). A taniwha was said to inhabit this swamp. Located here were eel weirs named Rireirei, Te Manuka, Te Harakeke and Te Ti Eels and upokororo were caught in the area of Wairehu and further west at Punaupokoroa at the mouth of the Mangaohane. Eels were also caught in the Te Waiokaha stream. At the point where the Mangaone River flows

¹⁸⁹ Mōkai Pātea Individual, Utiku, 2 August 2015.

¹⁹⁰ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015.

into the Mangapapa River, there was a deep eel hole called Tunangoio. Eels were also caught at Te Waiokaha located near the mouth of Te Waiokaha stream and there were further eeling spots downstream at Mano and Otapapa ... This was a significant centre for food resources. Kiwi and weka were snared here, eels were gathered and fern root was harvested ... Ngāti Hauiti caught eels in streams running off the Rangitīkei such as the Mangatutu and Mangapipi ... Ruoatutahi was an eel lagoon located between the Kiwitea and Oroua Streams. At places such as Te Maire, Te Houhou and Mangaonoho, bird snaring and eeling occurred.¹⁹¹

Laura Reweti explained during the *Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho* hearings at te Tikanga marae that Te Reureu lands included mahinga kai such as kai tuna, kai ika pātiki, kai īnanga, māra kai mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, kai manu, ko te kererū, te tūī, te weka.¹⁹² Puruhi Smith describes that which could be found below Pikitara: "... ngā wāhi ki te hī ika, ngā pātiki, ngā kōura, ngā tuna, koirā ngā kai i roto i tērā wāhi o te awa." [Were great places for fishing, getting flounder, crayfish, and eels, those were the food in that part of the river].¹⁹³

The next chapter discusses the kai of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries in more detail. Suffice to say that the area was a rich food bowl for the iwi and hapū including the rivers and waterways for eels, pātiki, kutae, kōura, īnanga, whitebait, and other fish, watercress, and fowl, kiore, wild pig, deer, and edible vegetables and fruits from the forests.

¹⁹¹ Walzl, 2013, p. 199.

¹⁹² *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 60.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*



<p> Taihape Inquiry Boundary Porirua Ki Manawatu Inquiry District Principal Bridging Points Locations </p>	<p> Sites of Significance Marae Maunga Old Pa/Ka nga </p>	<p> Cartography by Kryptos Consulting (25/03/2016) Information Sources: 1. Taihape Inquiry Boundary, Waitangi Tribunal 2. River, stream and location names, digital elevation model: Land Information New Zealand 3. River network: the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA) 4. Raster Image courtesy of Map Service - World Imagery. </p>
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Scale 1:270,000
 When Printed on A3 Paper

5 2.5 0 5 10 15 20 25 km

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Map 12: The Rangitikei River and Tributaries

4 He Iwi nō te Awa

4.1 Customary Significance of Waterways

This chapter will discuss the customary uses and significance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries to the iwi and hapū that live alongside them and have an interest in them prior to the arrival of Europeans. The chapter will also discuss the post-contact customary and traditional relationship and usage of the waterways, and will briefly address mana wahine matters.

The Waitangi Tribunal Maunga Rongo Report concluded that:

Lakes and rivers are **taonga**, highly significant to Māori well-being and ways of life. ... The relationship between Māori and their **taonga** ‘exists beyond mere ownership, use, or exclusive possession;’ it concerns personal and tribal identity, Māori authority and control, and the right to continuous access, subject to Māori cultural preferences.¹⁹⁴

From the outset of this chapter, it is important to emphasise that in order to understand the Iwi and hapū cultural perspectives, the issues and challenges, of the customary rights and responsibilities of the broader Rangitīkei River Māori communities and their way of life, we need to acknowledge them within a Māori framework according to *their* worldviews and practices.

In an aboriginal title law context, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council’s 1921 decision of *Amodu Tijani v Secretary, Southern Nigeria*¹⁹⁵ concluded that aboriginal title was to be conceptualized in *its own* terms, and not in terms of English rules of law.¹⁹⁶ Thus for Māori, a river is not compartmentalized into its component parts of a bed, banks, water, airspace, fisheries and plants or is viewed as a resource for profit to be exploited, polluted or desecrated. A waterbody is a **taonga** consisting of water, bed, banks, fisheries, plants, taniwha and mauri in its entirety. Indeed, Māori had a special inherent relationship with the waterways as **taonga** that conferred rangatiratanga rights of authority over the waterways but also reciprocal kaitiaki responsibilities

¹⁹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maungarongo – Report on Central North Island Claims, Stage One*, (Waitangi Tribunal Report 2008. Volume 4) p.1281.

¹⁹⁵ *Amodu Tijani v Secretary, Southern Nigeria*, (1921), 2 AC 399.

¹⁹⁶ *Idem*.

to not pollute, abuse or over use the resources. Indeed, the rangatiratanga of the Iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries consisted of rangatiratanga authority over a cultural and spiritual relationship with and kaitiaki responsibility to care for **taonga**, all of which was guaranteed and protected by the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

But in order to fully appreciate the impact of European contact, one needs to understand and appreciate these rangatiratanga rights, kaitiakitanga responsibilities and the cultural and spiritual relationships to care for the waterways as **taonga** according to traditional worldviews of Māori, te reo Māori (language), tikanga Māori (customary practices), and mātauranga Māori (knowledge systems) which this chapter will now briefly address to provide a base for understanding the current challenges as they relate directly to the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū groups.



Image 27: Rangitīkei River

4.2 Māori Worldviews

Articulating a world view as *the* worldview of a culture is problematic given that all cultures experience diversity. Still, a worldview generally orientates the human being and their community to the world so that it is rendered understandable and their experience of it is explainable. Māori Marsden's economical definition of a culture's worldview is instructive in this respect:

Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be; of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the 'world view' of a culture. The world view is the central systematisation of conceptions of reality to which members of its culture assent and from which stems their value system. The world view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture.¹⁹⁷

Dr Charles Royal from Ngāti Raukawa ornately summarised Māori Marsden's comments above¹⁹⁸ so we have elicited much of his commentary:

A worldview is based upon our perceptions of reality, our perception of what is actual, probable, possible or impossible - A worldview grows according to the experience of the individual and his/her community. Experience is critical in the formation of perception. Marsden's definition is deliberately broad as it does not prescribe any method by which these perceptions are formed. Rather, these perceptions can be deeply personal and subjective phenomena giving rise to an individual's 'worldview'.¹⁹⁹

The patterning of perceptions into conceptualisations - As a person or group experience and perceive their reality, they go about the task of understanding it, of forming views and ideas about the reality they perceive. An interesting aspect of this human desire to develop understandings of reality is what seems to be the natural drift toward coherence. That is, as we form our ideas, we also develop a growing need for our ideas to correspond with one another, to possess synergies, to be coherent.²⁰⁰

These conceptualisations form the 'worldview' of a culture, 'the central systemisation of conceptions of reality'. - These conceptualisations in their totality form a worldview. We need to note that this definition draws a distinction between perceptions of reality and

¹⁹⁷ Royal, C.T, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003) at 56. See also Royal, C, *The Purpose of Education: Perspectives Arising from Mātauranga Māori: A Discussion Paper* (Report Prepared for the Ministry of Education, Version 4, January 2007) p 38.

¹⁹⁸ Royal, C *The Purpose of Education: Perspectives arising from Mātauranga Māori: A Discussion Paper* (Report prepared for the Ministry of Education, Version 4, January 2007).

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

conceptualisations. Perceptions of reality arise from experience of the world, however those perceptions are formed. It is at the stage of the patterning of those perceptions that a certain order and structure is introduced into the development of a worldview. This definition might be said to be based upon a rational view of 'worldview' in that it prescribes that a 'patterning' should take place. This suggests some order and structure.²⁰¹

In order for it to be said to be the worldview of a 'culture', of a people, it needs to enjoy the 'assent' by those people, by that culture - A cultural 'worldview' is different to that of an individual. According to this definition, a worldview is something that needs to be subscribed to, something that is carried by the group, is assented to by the group. There is also the important reality that groups, cultures are made of individuals who have individual experiences and thus individual perceptions of reality. Many of these perceptions may coincide with those held by other individuals and many may not. Hence, a cultural worldview is not a set of perceptions and understandings which are uniformly held, rather these perspectives are unevenly held throughout the society.²⁰²

Worldview gives rise to values. - If you see the world in a certain way, this will determine what you value in the world (and what you don't) and *how* you value it through one's behavior. This statement gives rise to the well-known triumvirate – worldview, values, behavior.²⁰³

In Māori, we use the terms, *ārona*, *kaupapa* and *tikanga*. The 'picture' of the world that a people hold, the 'picture' that actually generates their behaviors (in contrast to the articulated picture of the world found in traditions, myths, scientific explanations and so on) is complex and illusory in that it is found in a composite of articulated statements (stories, explanations, for example) as well as in the behavior of the culture.²⁰⁴

Worldview lies at the very heart of a culture.

Finally, a worldview is something that lies deep within a culture and the individuals of that culture. In many instances, a worldview is often a 'given', an implicit set of impressions and perceptions about the world that are often left unchallenged and discussed. Worldviews are invisible sets of ideas about the world that lie deep within a culture, so deep that many if not the majority of a culture will often have difficulty describing them. Worldviews typically emerge and are challenged when cultures encounter and sometimes conflict with one another.²⁰⁵

The Marsden definition above draws the link between worldview and values. It shows that worldview acts as a 'base' upon which values are developed and acted upon within the behavior of a culture. By understanding the worldview of a culture, we can come to an understanding of its values and thereby its behavior.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

A traditional Māori worldview then was/is based on the Māori cosmogony (creation stories) which was/is a blueprint for life setting down innumerable precedents by which communities were/are guided in the governance and regulation of their day-to-day existence. The Māori worldviews generally acknowledged the natural order of living things and the kaitiakitanga relationship to one another and to the environment. The overarching principle of balance underpinned all aspects of life and each person was an essential part of the collective. The Māori worldviews are therefore ones of holism, and physical and metaphysical (spiritual) realities where the past, the present and the future are forever interacting. The maintenance of the worldviews of life are dependent upon the maintenance of the culture and its many practices and rituals.

However, worldviews typically emerge and are challenged when cultures encounter and sometimes conflict with one another. Such was the case when the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū tribes and Europeans met. Yet in the context of cross-cultural dialogue, a group's worldview provides the framework for what is actual, probable, possible or impossible – options for purposeful action - which can be problematic but effective cross-cultural dialogue between mātauranga and tikanga Māori and settlers, missionaries, Local Government politicians, farmers, environmentalists and developers was and is possible. Understanding their rich tribal histories, oral traditions, mātauranga Māori, kawa rituals and tikanga Māori are critical in this respect.

4.3 Tikanga Māori

The traditional Māori legal system, like other Indigenous systems, was non-prescriptive, non-adversarial and non-punitive and was based on tikanga Māori customary law and kawa (rituals) which were generated by the performative social practice and acceptance as distinct from 'institutional law,' which is generated from the organs of a super-ordinate authority such as Parliament.²⁰⁷ The principles of tikanga Māori provided the jural order which embodies core values and principles that reflect doing what is right, correct or appropriate in a given situation.

²⁰⁷ Durie, E 'Custom Law' (Address to the New Zealand Society for Legal and Social Philosophy, 1994) 24 *V.U.W.L.R.* 4.

The Māori worldviews and its many tikanga practices and kawa rituals are inextricably linked to the land, waterways and other natural resources.

Tikanga Māori comprises a spectrum with values at one end and rules at the other, but with values informing the whole range. It includes the values themselves and does not differentiate between sanction-backed laws and advice concerning non-sanctioned customs. Tikanga Māori are established by precedents and validated by more than one generation, and vary in their scale, as rules of public through to private application. Tikanga Māori is the traditional body of rules and values developed by Māori to govern themselves personally and collectively. People were taught from a young age what was tika (right, correct, proper, honest, just, culturally correct, or upright) and they, in effect, governed themselves.

The Māori legal system based on tikanga Māori then was used to make decisions regarding, inter alia:

- leadership and governance concerning all matters including Māori land, waterways and other natural resources;²⁰⁸
- intra and inter-relationships with whānau (extended families) hapū (sub-tribes), iwi (tribes/nations);²⁰⁹
- relationships with Europeans;²¹⁰
- determining rights to land based on take tūpuna (discovery), take tukua (gift), take raupatu (confiscation) and ahi kaa (occupation);²¹¹
- the exercise of kaitiakitanga (stewardship) practises including the imposition of rahui (bans on the taking of resources or the entering into zones within a territory) and other similar customs;²¹²
- regulating use rights for hunting, fishing and gathering and sanctioning those who transgressed Māori tikanga or Māori rights (or both) in land, waterways and other resources;²¹³

²⁰⁸ Wickliffe, C, Maranui, K & Meredith, P, 'Access to Customary Law' (Visible Justice: Evolving Access to Law, Wellington, 12 September 1999), and Boast, R "Māori Customary Law and Land Tenure" in R Boast, A Erueti, D McPhail and N Smith *Māori Land Law* (Butterworths, Wellington, 1999) pp 30-37.

²⁰⁹ R, Boast "Māori Customary Law and Land Tenure" in R Boast, A Erueti, D McPhail and N Smith *Māori Land Law* (Butterworths, Wellington, 1999) pp 33-37, 38-41.

²¹⁰ Ibid, pp 28-30.

²¹¹ Erueti, A, 'Māori Customary Law and Land Tenure' in *ibid*, pp 42-45; Asher, G & Naulls, D, *Māori Land* (New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, 1987) pp 5-6; and Kawharu, H, *Māori Land Tenure: Studies of a Changing Institution* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977) pp 55-56.

²¹² Waitangi Tribunal *Muriwhenua Fishing Report* (Wai 22, Government Printer, Wellington, 1988) p 181.

²¹³ Ibid, pp 58-61.

- regulating Māori citizenship rights to land, waterways and resources.²¹⁴

Specific customary laws and values which seemed to underpin the totality of tikanga Māori include:

- Whānaungatanga – kin relationships between people and the rights and responsibilities that follow from the individuals place in the collective group;
- Wairuatanga – spirituality, acknowledging the metaphysical (invisible) world;
- Mana – encompasses political influence as well as intrinsic authority, honour, status, control, and prestige of an individual and group;
- Tapu – generally seen as part of a code for social conduct based upon keeping safe and avoiding risk, as well as protecting the sanctity of revered persons, places and objects and traditional values, restriction laws;
- Noa – free from tapu or any other restriction;
- Utu – concept of reciprocity in order to maintain balanced relationships between people and the Gods; people and the natural environment, and among kin groups;
- Rangatiratanga – effective leadership;
- Manaakitanga – sharing, hospitality to the fullest extent that honour could require;
- Aroha – charity, generosity; and
- Kaitiakitanga – stewardship and protection, often used in relation to natural resources but also to people.

There are many tikanga Māori values and customs, as described above, but no complete list has been agreed. Associated with these values are certain other characteristics. For example, custom tends to favour community autonomy, rather than some large, centralised control, and puts group rights ahead of those of the individual. Furthermore, each iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) had its own variation of the values and customs listed – some will have slightly different ideas as to the values which inform tikanga.

Leaving aside ritual, the main regulators of conduct appear to be these broad values and customs rather than prescriptive rules. For example, ‘whānaungatanga’ describes an aspiration of supporting the family, clan or relatives to the fullest extent that honor could require. Some specific practices provide sound or compelling advice on what constitutes good conduct in this respect, but as in most Māori values, the focus is on the best that a person might strive for rather than the

²¹⁴ Kawharu, H, *Māori Land Tenure: Studies of a Changing Institution* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977) p 39, Erueti, ‘Māori Customary Law and Land Tenure’ in *ibid*, pp 42-45; Asher, G & Naulls, D, *Māori Land* (New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, 1987) p 7; and above, Durie, ‘Custom Law’, p 5.

minimum required to comply. That definition invites reference to the values, principles and norms accepted by the Māori communities as establishing standards for appropriate conduct and to processes acceptable to those communities for determining the appropriate course of action in a particular case.

Furthermore, Judge (as he was then) Edward Taihākurei Durie noted an important difference between tikanga and kawa:

Tikanga described Māori law, and kawa described ritual and procedure ... ritual and ceremony themselves were described by kawa ... [which] referred also to process and procedure of which karakia (the rites of incantation) formed part.²¹⁵

Kāretu added a number of the significant traditional kawa or traditional performative rituals significant to the Māori legal system:

Before the coming of the Pakeha [European] to New Zealand... all literature in Māori was oral. Its transmission to succeeding generations was also oral and a great body of literature, which includes haka [dance], waiata [song], tauparapara [chant], karanga [chant], poroporoaki [farewell], paki waitara [stories], whakapapa [genealogy], whakatauki [proverbs] and pepeha [tribal sayings], was retained and learnt by each new generation.²¹⁶

Given the differences in legal systems highlighted above, tikanga Māori is not easily reconciled within the existing legal framework of New Zealand or with the Europeans which was a key challenge in terms of which legal system prevailed? Tikanga Māori comprises a plethora of norms which enables participants to call upon those which best fit the moment and are more fluid. British common law on the other hand centres upon single rules which are of general application, are often amoral and discriminate against Māori often under the benevolent guise of assimilation and majoritarian public interest.

Still as noted above, worldviews are challenged when cultures encounter and conflict with one another particularly over an important resource that they compete for such as waterways. Effective

²¹⁵ Durie, 1993, p 3.

²¹⁶ Karetu, T 'Language and Protocol of the Marae', in King, M (Ed) *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On* (3rd Ed)(Longman Paul Press, Auckland, 1981).

cross-cultural dialogue between Rangitīkei Māori and politicians, farmers, environmentalists and developers was and is possible. Understanding each other's worldviews are an appropriate start given that much conflict is caused by misunderstanding. Moreover, it is the view of the authors that this report explore or at least mention the possibilities for the evolution of Aotearoa New Zealand law that reflects the best legal values, practices and institutions of both founding people as envisaged in the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

The next section will briefly discuss the importance of land and waterways within a tikanga Māori context.

4.4 Importance of Land and Natural Resources

Mā te wahine kā tupu ai te hanga nei, te tangata;
Mā te whenua kā whai oranga ai.
Whai hoki, ki te tangohia tō wahine e te tangata kē,
Kā ngau te pōuri ki roto i a koe.
Nā, ki te tangohia te whenua e te tangata kē.
Kā pau tō pōuri anō.
Ko ngā pūtake ēnei o te whawhai.
Koia i kia ai, He wahine he oneone, i ngaro ai te tangata.

Woman alone gives birth to humankind,
Land alone gives humans their sustenance.
No man will lightly accept the loss of
His beloved wife, nor that of his sacred land.
It is said truly that man's destroying passions
Are the love of his wife and love of his land.²¹⁷

The importance of land and the environment had important functions in traditional Māori society as reflected in the above whakatauki (aphorism) but also through whakapapa, ancestral place names and tribal histories. As the descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and the tribal kawai tūpuna, Māori maintained a continuing relationship with the land, environment, people, tūpuna and spirits, according to their worldviews.²¹⁸ The way Māori conducted and continue to conduct their lives, and the respect they have for their environment and each other stemmed from

²¹⁷ Douglas Sinclair "Land: Māori View and European Response" in Michael King (Ed) *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves on: Aspects of Māoritanga* (Hicks Smith, Wellington, 1975) p 115.

²¹⁸ New Zealand Ministry of Justice *He Hinatore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse Into the Māori World* (New Zealand Government, Wellington, 2001).

whakapapa rights and responsibilities. The system of community cooperation and obligations in cultivation and sharing natural resources inhibited any trend towards individualism and individual ownership of land and waterways, let alone land and natural resource alienation.

The living generations act as kaitiaki (stewards, guardians) of the land and waterways, like their tūpuna had before them. Their posterity benefit from that guardianship because the land and waterways hold the links to their parents, grandparents and tūpuna, and the land is the link to future generations. Hence, the land and waterways such as the Rangitīkei River were shared between those who have passed on to te arai (the spirit world), the living, and those yet to be born. Furthermore, land and waterways are important for sheer survival as human beings as a Te Reureu kaumātua noted:

It's like most places, the water was a key element for survival ... our people lived beside the streams and rivers.²¹⁹

4.5 Significance of Waterways

Not only was land important to Māori, but also the water that flows through it. Water in its natural state, whether fresh or salty, is termed waiora. All water originates from the pain and separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku (the Gods from the creation myth) and is endowed with a mauri (life force) as a result. Waimāori (pure water) was the life-giving gift of the Gods. Conceptually, each water body carries its own mauri and wairua (spirit) watched over by separate taniwha (guardians) and having its own mana (authority).²²⁰ The late Professor James Ritchie articulated his understanding of the importance of water:

The purity of water is precious and jealously guarded because the mauri, the vital essence, is the same spiritual stuff as vivifies and enlivens human beings and all other living things. To violate the purity of water is therefore to violate your own essential purity.²²¹

²¹⁹ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015 p 7.

²²⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Manukau Report*, (Wai 8, Government Printer, Wellington, 1985) p 58

²²¹ James Ernest Ritchie Evidence for *Minister of Conservation v Hawkes Bay Catchment Board* (1988) (Unreported, TCP Appeal, 597/88) p 127.

Water may become contaminated in a number of ways. Water becomes impure when its natural flow is disturbed or modified either by natural or non–natural means and the life–sustaining waiora constitutes danger to human beings. Or water becomes unsanitary when there is a mixing of the waters by unnatural means, i.e., the mixing of two separate mauri, and the boiling processes that discharge dead or cooked water to living water that supplies seafood. The water is considered to have lost its power or force and become metaphysically dead when there is a discharge of effluent into the awa for example.²²² In such a case, the mauri has diminished and can only be restored through Papatūānuku.

There are three conditions in which waimate [a lifeless waterway] has potential danger to human beings. The first is when water has been processed through human contact, for example, washing water. This is why washing of the human person or clothing should never be done in any receptacle, which may be later used for the preparation of food such as the kitchen sink. Secondly, water which was associated with states of disease or death must be separately disposed of because it was spiritually dangerous. Finally, water, which has been used for ritual purposes such as anointing, massaging or manipulating must be carefully disposed of. This is particularly the case where conditions of illness of a psychological kind, mate Māori, were concerned.²²³

A specific example was the 1985 Waitangi Tribunal *Manukau Report* which considered the issue of taking water from the Waikato River at a point some miles from the sea and discharging it into the Manukau Harbour, rather than allowing the water to reach the sea via Te Puaha – the Waikato River mouth, some distance south of the Manukau Harbour.²²⁴ The objection was entirely a metaphysical’ (spiritual) one, that the mauri of the Waikato River should not be mixed by human intervention in this way with the mauri of the Manukau Harbour and ‘dead’ or ‘cooked’ water should not be discharged into living water that supplies seafood.’²²⁵

The Tribunal first pointed out that the ‘values of a society, its metaphysical or spiritual beliefs and customary preferences are regularly applied in the assessment of proposals without a thought as to their origin.’²²⁶ The Tribunal continued:

²²² Ministry of Justice, *Hinatore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World* (Ministry of Justice, Wellington, 2001) ‘Traditional Māori Concepts: Whenua.’

²²³ *Idem.*

²²⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Manukau Report* (Wai 8, Wellington, 1985) p 78.

²²⁵ *Idem* p 78.

²²⁶ *Idem.*

In our multicultural society the values of minorities must sometimes give way to those of the predominant culture, but in New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi gives Māori values an equal place with British values, and a priority when the Māori interest in their **taonga** is adversely affected. The recognition of Māori values should not have to depend upon a particular convenience as when the meat industry found it convenient to introduce Halal killing practices to accommodate Islamic religious values.²²⁷

Although this Halal example was a pragmatic financial decision, the meat industry still acknowledged a metaphysical practice that the industry may have neither understood nor agreed with. The fact is they acknowledged the metaphysical dimension because it was mutually beneficial to do so. In a similar manner, non-Māori may neither understand nor agree with the views and tikanga of the Rangitīkei River Māori of the waterways as **taonga** and being highly significant to their well-being and ways of life. But it important that they acknowledge diversity, in this case, with the iwi and hapū and their customary values, interests, rights and responsibilities to the waterways. The Tribunal added that the ‘current’ values of a community:

... are not so much to be judged as respected. We can try to change them but we cannot deny them for as Pascal said of the Christian religion, ‘the heart has its reasons, reason knows not of.’ That view alone may validate a community’s stance.²²⁸

4.6 Ownership or Stewardship?

The cultural customary significance then of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries to the iwi and hapū that live alongside them and have an interest in them cannot be underestimated. Indeed, the ancestral, customary and traditional relationships and usage of the waterways prior to the arrival of Europeans was one of **taonga** that existed beyond mere ownership, use, or collective possession to one of personal and tribal identity, authority and control, and the right to access subject to tribal tikanga. In summary, the relationship was one of collective kaitiaki or stewardship. In contrast, when one contemplates European notions of ownership rights and property title of resources such as lands, forests, fisheries and other properties including waterways, the associated rights that accrue to property title of any resource includes an inverse relationship to the world of

²²⁷ Idem. The Halal reference recalls the period when New Zealand abattoirs killed meat in accordance with Muslim religious practices for export to Muslim countries.

²²⁸ Ibid, pp 123-124.

individualistic (but not always) quality of title (particularly indefeasibility of real property), exclusivity (others keep out), durability, transferability (one can sell it) and the right (if not the duty) to exploit the resource for commercial gain or even to neglect or outright pollute, abuse or overuse it.

The worldviews, the way Māori traditionally viewed land and waterways then, are very different to how many Europeans view them. These differences of worldviews are some of the causes for much of the tensions between the groups historically and today.²²⁹ Table 1 below illustrates potential sources of conflict and misunderstanding, arising from different world views in relation to land and waterways.



Image 18: Rangitikei River, Te Reureu Reserve

²²⁹ We do acknowledge however, that neither all Māori nor Europeans neatly subscribe to these contrasting worldviews.

Table 1: Māori and Colonial Attitudes to Land and Waterways²³⁰

Category	Land – Māori	Land – Colonial	Water – Māori	Water–Colonial
Ownership	Taonga, kaitiaki, collective (tribal) stewardship	Individual title,	Taonga, kaitiaki, collective (tribal) stewardship	No one owns it? Crown ‘managed’ Individual title?
Proof of ownership	Occupation, use, stewardship, rangatiratanga authority, kaitiakitanga, ahikāroa	Deed of sale	Occupation, use, kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga authority	Riparian rights with a deed of sale adjoining water body, Lease, rates
Significance	Economic, cultural, spiritual	Economic, status	Economic, cultural, spiritual	Economic, status
Transfer	By conquest, abandonment or succession; take tūpuna, take raupatu, take tuku	By sale, lease or Crown directive	By conquest, abandonment or succession	By sale, lease or Crown directive
Occupants	Taonga, kaitiaki, part-owners, tūpuna, trustees	Owners or tenants	Taonga, kaitiaki, part-owners, tūpuna awa, trustees	Owners or tenants
Classes of land and water	Ancestral (take tūpuna) Gifted (take tuku) Conquered (take raupatu)	Freehold, leasehold, waste land/arable land	Ancestral (take tūpuna) Gifted (take tuku) Conquered (take raupatu)	Riparian, navigable, leasehold, waste, fishing, discharge pollutants
Utilisation	Agriculture, hunting, resource management	Agriculture, horticulture, mining settlements	Aquaculture, hunting, fishing resource management	Aquaculture, Extraction, mining settlements
Value	Taonga, Tribal identity, well-being and security for generations, spiritual, ways of life	Market potential, employment	Taonga, Tribal identity, well-being and security for generations, spiritual, ways of life	Market potential, ‘blue gold,’ employment, discharge of pollutants

²³⁰ Part of this table is taken from Durie, M, *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1998) p 117. The rest has been added to by the researchers.

While the concepts in the table are obviously simplified, they do highlight some of the more obvious differences. The common ground for both groups and all stakeholders is sustainably cleaning up the waterways so they are available, accessible, and affordable for present and future generations. We also need to acknowledge and reconcile our differences, accommodate, and perhaps even celebrate them.

However, the legal semantics around ‘ownership’ of waterways is a hotly contested topic in New Zealand, legally and politically, as well as elsewhere. Who ‘owns’ or perhaps ‘manages’ freshwater Rivers, Lakes, and Springs in New Zealand law is as contentious as the foreshore and seabed debate. Do Māori have pre-existing aboriginal title over freshwater as was guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi 1840? For Māori and other New Zealanders, some important challenges over fresh waterways such as the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, like the Moawhango, Kawhatau, Hautapu and Taruarau Rivers, are:

- Availability – ensuring the waterways run, are clean (unpolluted) and therefore available for use;
- Accessibility – ensuring the waterway is able to be accessed for people to utilise for fishing, recreation, sanitation, healing etc.; and
- Affordability – if the waterways are deemed to be property, will people be able to afford the cost for use or will they be excluded by costs, maintenance, rates, etc?

Each of these areas were articulated somewhat quite clearly by a Ngāti Whitikaupeka informant when he grew up at Moawhango:

... most of the water, a lot of the water from the river too would be pumped up into your Marae, you know, if you didn't have enough water there, you'd have a pump to get it into the tanks that way. But in this big house we lived in at Moawhango, they had no spouting so there was no way to catch the water so you had to go down to the Marae which was Whitikaupeka in Moawhango that we used to go to. And on the way to school you'd leave a couple of buckets at the Marae, by the water tank. And on the way home, you'd pick them up and take them home and that would be for drinking. That would be for your bath and stuff like that but it all came basically from the river. It was pumped up from the river. ... Oh no, that was the thing we did. We had no water and we had no running water. We didn't have tanks and if they were, they were leaking. You know, there were holes in the tank. You had to have buckets to carry them up and you know, the same sort of thing... two or three of you have a bath in the same water. You lit the copper to have a bath. That's back in the

50s, 1954, between 50 and 60, those years, I remember vividly how we used to get ourselves off to school, you might get a bath once or twice a week if you're lucky.²³¹

Hence, who has 'ownership', 'control', 'management', or stewardship rights and also responsibilities over fresh waterways in New Zealand are fundamental Treaty of Waitangi and even constitutional questions.



Image 28: Moawhango River

²³¹ Ngāti Whitikaupeka Wānanga, 14 August 2015.

4.7 Ko Rangitīkei te awa – Rangitīkei is the River

The waterways of the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū tribes – their awa (rivers), manga (streams), moana (lakes) and puna (springs) – are an integral, defining part of their personal and tribal identity, security and prosperity. Moreover, in the Ngāti Raukawa and other tribal traditions, rivers are regarded not only as a prominent marker for identity but they are also revered as tupuna awa – an ancestor. In Māori idiom, rivers are associated with tūpuna or leading rangatira. Erenora Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa for example, associated the natural features of the land with famous hapū leaders.²³² A Ngāti Parewahawaha informant also discussed how waterways may be referred to as tūpuna awa:

Tūpuna Awa, the nurturing, cleansing, healing waters brining life to every organism on the land, is the cultural reminder of who we are, our identity as Māori, and the rights to claim back what has been stripped away by stealth, the brutal acts of white colonization which has almost destroyed our people, our whenua and our Tupuna Awa Rangitīkei.²³³

Furthermore, Māori traditionally located kāinga (villages) strategically near waterways for numerous reasons including for sanitation – cleaning and toiletries; consumption – drinking, cooking and collecting kai such as tuna (eels), piharau (lamprey), pātiki (flounder), kākāhi (freshwater mussels), Īnanga (whitebait), kōkopu (native trout), kōura (freshwater crayfish), watercress, whio (duck) and other water fowl; to procure spiritual rituals – tohi (baptism), blessings, healing, meditation and for washing tūpāpaku (deceased ones); for trade – of goods and services otherwise unavailable within a group’s rohe; and as aqua-highways linking close and distant settlements together for trade, social and political events and other activities.

²³² ‘Poia atu tāku poi’ He Patere Ara He Rangi: An Action Song or Poi Accompaniment’ Nā, Erenora Taratoa, Ngāti Raukawa, in Ngata, A & Jones, P.T, Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas Collected by Sir Apirana Ngata and Translated by Pei Te Hurinui (Auckland University Press, Auckland, Part 2, 2006) pp 202-209.

²³³ Ona Heitia, Ngāti Parewahawaha, WAI-2197 Claimant, 30 January 2012, cited in Alexander, D, ‘The Rangitīkei River, Its Tributary Waterways, and Other Taihape Waterways: Scoping Report,’ (A Report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, February 2012) p. 44.

In fact, the tribal waterways are integral to the survival and prosperity of the broader Rangitīkei River Māori communities and for sustaining their taha wairua (spiritual), taha tinana (physical), taha hinengaro (psychological, intellectual), and taha whānau (family) health and well-being. Indeed, the waterways for Rangitīkei River Māori communities are about sustaining and developing a way of life.

Accordingly, when introducing themselves, Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū refer to their awa as an important part of their mihi (greeting) alongside their maunga (mountain), iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe) and tūpuna (ancestors). Hence, in this way, waterways are intrinsically linked to one's whakapapa (genealogy). Waterways concern personal and tribal identity, authority, rights of access, and responsibilities. Indeed, land, rivers, mountains and the spirits of the departed are captured in whānaungatanga which transcends blood and biological unions for all are inextricably interconnected.

Not surprisingly, a Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki kaumātua when referring to a hapū kāinga close to the Hautapu River, opined:

That's us and our awa, over there. We've never abandoned our river. How can we abandon our awa? We are the awa, the awa is us.²³⁴

The kaumātua reiterated:

The total gamut of who we are on the land, we are born of Papatūānuku and Papatūānuku is a vessel of the awa, of the wai. ... We are the awa.²³⁵

Referring to Winiata Te Whaaro's nineteenth century map which outlined the tribal rohe and sites of significance, another Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant asserted:

...it identifies who we are to the land, who we are to the river, who we are to the sea, who we are to everything that we breathe and live life for. So that's what it all is.²³⁶

²³⁴ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015 p 4.

²³⁵ *Idem*.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, pp 24-26.

The identity and well-being then of these and other Māori communities are inextricably linked to the land and the waterways. The rest of this chapter will explore the extent of this proposition.

4.8 Waterways - Stewardship Signposts

The Waitangi Tribunal articulated in the 2012 Water and Geothermal Resources Report²³⁷ certain indicia or signposts of Māori ‘ownership’ over fresh waterways.²³⁸ Some claimants however, mentioned to the researchers discomfort with the term ‘ownership’ so we have referred to the term ‘stewardship’ instead which captures the **taonga** relationship between the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū and the waterways which includes their personal and tribal identity, rangatiratanga authority, the right to access, and reciprocal responsibilities to care for and sustain their tūpuna awa. The Tribunal at the time noted what it termed a ‘**taonga** test’ for, and proofs of ‘ownership,’ of proprietary interests, or more appropriately ‘stewardship’ in our context, over the waterways:

In assessing whether a waterway was a **taonga** to any particular group, the [Waitangi] Tribunal took into account the intensity of the Māori association with the waterway including originating ancestral relationship and an ongoing cultural and spiritual relationship with the waterway; the exercising of control and authority over the resources, and the fulfilment of obligations to conserve, nurture and protect the waterway.²³⁹

The Tribunal also cited the Wai 262 Report on whether a resource is a **taonga**:

Whether a resource or place is a **taonga** can be tested ... **Taonga** have mātauranga Māori relating to them, and whakapapa that can be recited by tohunga. Certain iwi or hapū will say they are kaitiaki. Their tohunga will be able to say what events in the history of the community led to that kaitiaki status and what obligations this creates for them. In sum, a **taonga** will have korero tuku iho (a body of inherited knowledge) associated with them, the existence and credibility of which can be tested.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Stage 1 Report on the National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Claim* (Wai 2358, 2012).

²³⁸ The authors have deliberately re-ordered these signposts so as to fit more cohesively their approach to this chapter.

²³⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Stage 1 Report on the National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Claim* (Wai 2358, 2012), p 51.

²⁴⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Ko Aotearoa Tenei, Te Taumata Tuarua*, (Wai 262, Vol. 1, 2011), p 269.

Hence the Waitangi Tribunal signposts to test whether an iwi, hapū or even whānau have a **taonga** relationship with reciprocal ‘stewardship’ responsibilities over the waterways includes the following:

1. Whakapapa identifies a cosmological connection with the waterway;
2. Exercised mana or rangatiratanga over the waterway;
3. Exercised kaitiakitanga;
4. It has a mauri – life force;
5. Performance of rituals central to the spiritual life of the hapū;
6. Identified taniwha residing in the waterway;
7. Is celebrated or referred to in waiata;
8. Is celebrated or referred to in whakatauki;
9. The waterway was relied on as a source of food;
10. A source of textiles or other materials;
11. For travel or trade; and
12. There is a continuing recognized claim to land or territory in which the resource is situated, and title has been maintained to ‘some, if not all of the land on (or below) which the waterway sits.’

It is important to also recognise that this list is not exhaustive but it is convenient for the purpose of this report chapter. The rest of this chapter has been organised according to above **taonga** and stewardship signposts with a general discussion of each area first, followed by specific Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū claimant cultural views and experiences to consider these customary rights and responsibilities to the waterways.

4.9 Whakapapa identifies a cosmological connection with the waterway

Ko tātou ngā kanohi me ngā waha korero o rātou mā kua ngaro ki te pō
We are but the seeing eyes and speaking mouths of those who have passed on.²⁴¹

Traditional Māori knowledge is encoded and recorded in a mental construct that is termed whakapapa (genealogy) which is central to Māori society. The concept whakapapa derives from the word *papa* – which is anything broad and flat such as a flat rock, slab or a flat board. *Whaka* –

²⁴¹ Ministry of Justice, *Hinatore ki te Ao Māori: A Glimpse into the Māori World* (Ministry of Justice, Wellington, 2001) ‘Māori Social Structures.’

is a causative prefix that enables something to occur. *Whakapapa* then literally means to place in layers, layer upon layer, to lay one upon another.²⁴² The concept of whakapapa is thus used to describe both the recitation in proper order of genealogies and also to name the genealogies. Whakapapa functions as a genealogical table or group pedigree in which the lineages connect each *papa* or layer – a metaphorical reference to each generation of a whānau. The visualisation is of building layer by layer upon the past towards the present and on into the future.

The Tuhoe scholar John Rangihau identified whakapapa as the most fundamental aspect of the way in which Māori think about and come to know the world.²⁴³ Whakapapa is a way of thinking, a way of learning, a way of being, a way of storing knowledge, and a way of debating knowledge.²⁴⁴ The concept of whakapapa embraces much of how Māori view themselves in relation to everything else. Consequently, whakapapa includes not just the genealogies but also the many spiritual, mythological and human stories that construct and reconstruct one's identity and associated rights and responsibilities to the past, present and future.

The Ngāti Maniapoto scholar Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones discussed the importance of whakapapa in understanding tribal histories:

The Māori placed great importance on his genealogies and on the genealogical method of fixing the sequence of events ... [and] it is necessary that a wide knowledge of the tribal lines of descent should be acquired. Before attempting a critical evaluation of the traditions of our people as handed down through successive generations, the whakapapa lines should be carefully examined in conjunction with the history.²⁴⁵

Indeed, the 'worth' of an individual is at least initially ascertained and ascribed by virtue of whakapapa.

²⁴² Williams, H, *A Dictionary of the Māori Language*. (Reprint of 7th ed. A R Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1975, 7th ed first published in 1971) p 259.

²⁴³ Rangihau, J, 'Being Māori' in King, M (Ed), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On* (3rd Ed, Longman Paul Press, Auckland, 1981) pp 165-175.

²⁴⁴ Smith, G.H, (Ed) *Nga Kete Wananga Readers* (Vol. 2, Auckland College of Education, Auckland, 1987).

²⁴⁵ Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, 'Māori Genealogies', in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Volume 67, No. 2, 1958) p 162.

Traditionally, whakapapa was recounted and celebrated in oratory, song and chant on the Marae (tribal meeting houses) thus transferring knowledge from one generation to another. Māori tohunga (experts) possessed highly developed powers of memory and relied on oral tradition, on verbal teaching, in preserving all genealogy and traditional narratives and passing it on to his or her progeny.

In 1929, Sir Apirana Ngata presented a paper to the Wellington Branch of the Historical Association entitled, 'The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand'. Ngata stressed the importance of Māori genealogical records in the compilation of the history of pre-European settlement. In defence of whakapapa as a tool of historical investigation however, he asserted:

The ancient Māori knew no writing, and in order to learn the history and traditions of his ancestors he had to rely on the teachings of his elders, and his memory. Thus, he acquired an aptitude to recite his genealogical tree or whakapapa and those of his kinsmen, which was perfectly amazing to Europeans; and in order to establish a claim to land through ancestry, he had to resort to this knowledge to show, not only the actions and exploits of his antecedents, but also his right to claim by tribal relationship.²⁴⁶

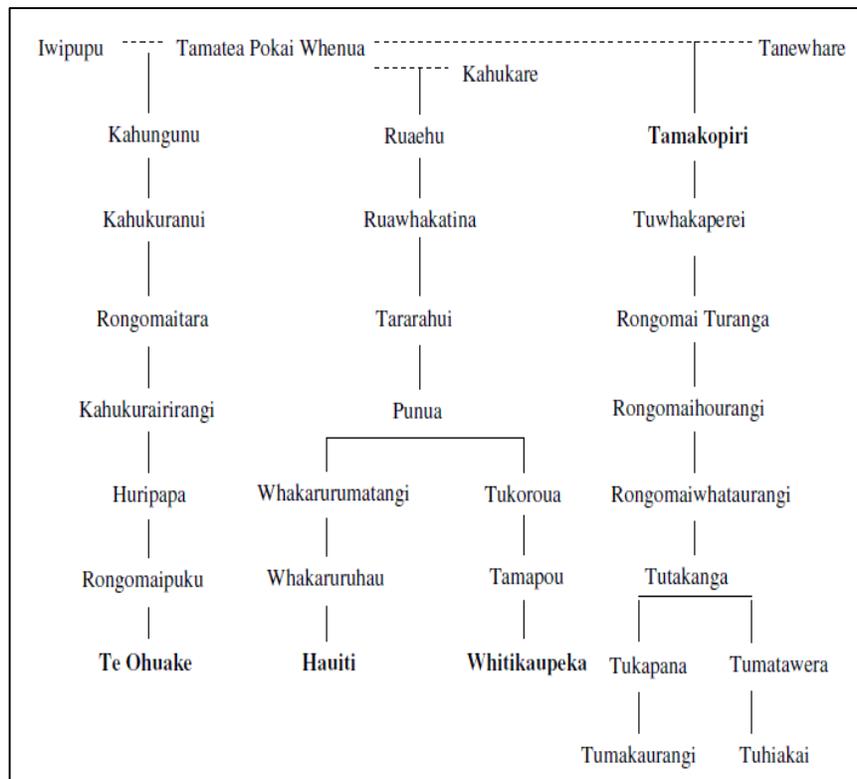
Whakapapa then, informs and determines the membership of Māori iwi and hapū. Whakapapa informs and determines the membership of Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū. The study of the whakapapa of important tūpuna and key marriages reveals shared identities, relationships, connections and responsibilities among the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū to each other and to other tribes. Whakapapa also determines and informs rank and status, as well as birthrights and responsibilities to lands, waterways, resources and of course people. This was most evident in the early working of the Native Land Court where claimants argued and debated lines of descent and succession to establish those ancestral rights. This is also evident in the current working of the Waitangi Tribunal and other contemporary adjudication processes.

Tribal identity and landscapes can be complex and complicated however, especially for those hapū that share borders with other tribes. Moreover, iwi and hapū appear to have waxed and waned over time amid the tribal politics of mana and rangatiratanga (power relations). Current Rangitīkei River

²⁴⁶ Ngata, A, 'The genealogical method as applied to the early history of New Zealand', (ATL Ref. qMS-1587, 1929).

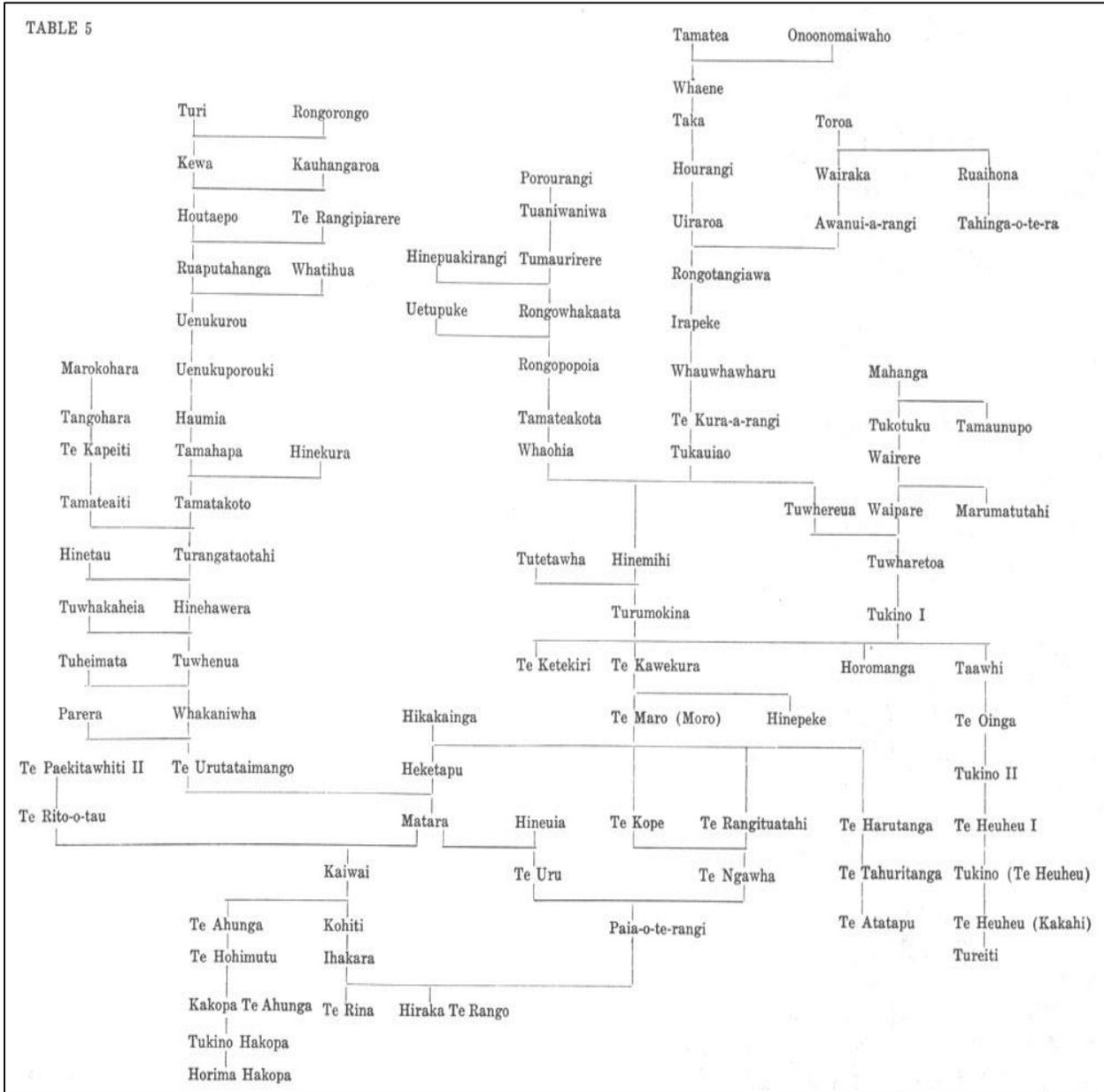
iwi and hapū that have some historical continuity and who continue to exist as a living entity today are included in this report with acknowledgement to others that may have disappeared over time such as Ngāti Hotu. We nevertheless acknowledge that there may have been more hapū names in the past with whakapapa that affiliate with the current Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū and that new hapū have and will continue to emerge as the tribes continue to negotiate their membership and identity. But two key indicators are present for all of the iwi and hapū in this report – they have an intimate whakapapa connection back to the kawai tūpuna – the Gods – and an equally intimate metaphysical relationship with their tūpuna awa - the Rangitīkei River and/or its tributaries and surrounding environment.

The following whakapapa tables show the connections to some of the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū rangatira. The subsequent sections of this chapter provide information on the intimate metaphysical (spiritual) and physical relationships and associated rights and responsibilities of the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū collectives and individuals to the Rangitīkei River itself, its tributaries, and surrounding environment.



Whakapapa 6: Tamatea to Kahungunu, Tamakōpiri, Te Ohuake, Hauiti and Whitikaupeka

TABLE 5



Whakapapa 7: Hiraka Te Rango and Other Rangitikei Rangatira

Referring to the whakapapa connections to tribes before the waka and to spiritual tūpuna, a Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant stated:

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki, especially Ngāti Paki, we have held all of our waterways, and all of the tributaries of those waterways right down to the smallest puna. We have always held them in high reverence since time immemorial. I say that knowing my whakapapa, knowing that we were here from even before the time of the waka. When Tamatea Pōkai Whenua came into this area, he met with people and left his son Tamakōpiri in marriage to our original people. ... Ngāti Hotu was one of them. Ngāti Mamae was another one. We descend from there. We descend from ... Pakiaka ... They refer to it as Te Ao Pakiaka because it's a spiritual whakapapa that can't be defined as a waka.²⁴⁷

i. Whakapapa Relationship to the Land and Waterways

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant additionally articulated the spiritual relationship of the people to the waterways:

When we express our whakapapa to the land, we have significant tūpuna who lived in significant places on each one of those streams or they were associated with every single one of those streams. That is our whakapapa. Tamatea Pōkai Whenua took the tauihu of the waka deep into the heart of Māui and left the mauri o te waka in Aorangi; Aorangi te maunga tapu. Now that expresses the whakapapa from the Takitimu waka. And all of the waterways are associated with that kōrero because one of the kaitiaki that Tamatea left in this region was a lizard; Pohokura. Pohokura wasn't just your ordinary lizard. Pohokura had a status of his own which stemmed from a karakia and the incantations used by Tamatea Pōkai Whenua to give him supernatural powers.²⁴⁸

Another Ngāti Hinemanu informant opined:

We have always held our rivers, waterways in high reverence; it's given us sustenance, it's given us cleansing – spiritually and physically – it's always been a means of transportation – all of the rivers, not just the Hautapu. The total gambit of who we are on the land, we are born of Papatūānuku and Papatūānuku is a vessel of the awa, of the wai.²⁴⁹

The whakapapa of the Rangitīkei River iwi, hapū and whānau clearly identifies a cosmological connection and important relationship with the Gods and with the land, the Rangitīkei River and

²⁴⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015 p 3.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p 8.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 3

its tributaries as tūpuna awa, and the rest of the environment with associated tangata whenua rights and responsibilities thus satisfying this signpost of ‘stewardship.’

ii. Whakapapa Relationships to Each Other

But whakapapa is even broader. Whakapapa defines both the individual and kin groups, and governs the relationships between them. Whakapapa also confirms associated rights and responsibilities to the collective. Māori viewed whakapapa as the crucial marker that determined and connected one with whānau, hapū, iwi and other kin groups. In this context, kin groups could expect assistance and support from each other but depending on the kaupapa at hand. This section will briefly discuss the views of some of the informants about the important whakapapa relationships that should exist between the hapū and iwi of the area moving forward.

A Te Reureu informant discussed the whakapapa relationships and associated rights and responsibilities between the tribes in the Tokorangi area and those at the source of the Rangitīkei River in the Kaimanawa Ranges:

I guess that this whole river, what they're saying up there – what happens upstream happens here. Our Tūwharetoa hapū Waewae, we actually own the land that this river starts in, begins in up in the Kaimanawas. We still own that block of land up there so we have a connection from here as well as up there.²⁵⁰

Equally, another informant from Tū Te Manawaroa discussed the important whakapapa relationships and associated rights and responsibilities between the tribes in Taihape and those in the Himatangi district:

There's a kuia that was a kaitiaki for Paranui [Marae in Foxton], her name was Aida Winiata ... she's a Mahauariki but her husband, Uncle Boy, was from Taihape. So there's a Winiata Marae up there. Yeah, that's where her husband came from and he was the kaitiaki for all of our little lakes and the rivers, both ends, – Rangitīkei and Manawatū. ... So he brought it down and he learnt from the old people, like the Roore family and Roiri's and all those families that he lived with. The Mahauarikis, and he retained the knowledge to be able to do that during his time. So the Ngāti Turanga people in association with the Rangitīkei people are very, very close. So you have not only got Ripeka Takotowai's descendants on the

²⁵⁰ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 16.

Reureu block but throughout Parewahawaha and the connection between Parewahawaha who are not only at Bulls but all along the river all the way up to the Reureu block is that the chief called Te Rangipumamao had 2 wives one was Parewahawaha and the other was [Uruwhitikitiki who gave birth to a son Rawharetua]. ... so Turanga and Parewahawaha are the same people because they all come from the male line to Te Rangipumamao.²⁵¹

The informant continued:

Te Rangipumamao comes down to Te Kohera ... that's exactly the connection to Tuaropaki [West Taupō]. Ngāti Turanga are all in Tuaropaki because of that connection. They descend from Te Kohera as well as their Turanga side so they have a double dose from the chief and he was ariki of his time – Te Rangipumamao. Actually it is a very good connection to show on the western side of the Lake. That is exactly the same connections on the Reureu Block. Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Pikiahu in particular, show the connections between Raukawa and Tūwharetoa. And that is exactly the same connections on the western side of the Lake. So all of the people on the Reureu Block all have land on the western side of Lake Taupō. So they are in Hauhungaroa ... those blocks. ... Yeah, and so all they have done is they have transferred all of those connections down on to the Rangitīkei and that is why they call it Te Pae o Tūwharetoa because it is the southernmost boundary that Tūwharetoa's influence comes down to. It is strange because you have got to skip over Ngāti Hauiti, Ngāti Haukaha... All of those because the interesting thing is all of those people all know their Tūwharetoa whakapapa And particularly Ngāti Hauiti is a good example because Utiku Pōtaka his wife is from Tūwharetoa and Raukawa. So Hauiti became one of the railway stops for all of the people moving north and south and the meeting house was carved by Raukawa carvers Te Moturaumapahae and Hoki Takarei and when they carved the tupuna kuia on the amo ... And I said it is a tupuna kuia because it is the kuia that connects all of the people who used to stop there to our Raukawa people.²⁵²

The same informant added:

...it is an interesting thing to see how those different iwi come together eh? And how they all married their children off to one another to keep them together. Of course they are very staunchly valley people ... [some whānau] are ... very important ... in the middle of them because there is some tensions between Waikato–Maniapoto, and Raukawa and Tūwharetoa amongst them. ... But to keep them all together, because they are so strongly intermarried and have the same traditions of establishing themselves here that they have created a whole ... 'modern history'. And the only way that you can get a sense of it is you walk into Manomano, the meeting house at Taumata [o te Rā Maraē], and all of the families are represented around the wall. Every single family that is from the Reureu Block is represented there.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, p 2-3.

²⁵² Ibid, pp 3, 5.

²⁵³ Ibid, pp 10-11.

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū then believe that all things on earth are created by the Gods, the ancestors and guardians, and it is the duty of their descendants to care for and honor these elements. Many of the informants spoke to the researchers as custodians of tribal knowledge and they recited whakapapa of their descent from the Gods, their descent from eponymous ancestors, and sometimes their family links to their relatives, the rivers, springs and water bodies of their rohe thus satisfying this signpost of stewardship.

4.10 Exercised mana or rangatiratanga over the waterway

We refer the reader to chapter 3 of this report: ‘He wāhi tapu, he wāhi tapu i te awa’ which discusses the exercise of mana and rangatiratanga over the whenua and waterways extensively. But briefly here, rangatiratanga authority has temporal and spiritual sources. Aspects of mana and rangatiratanga authority can be personal as well as expressive authority over a place, people or taonga. As noted above and in other sections of this chapter by the various iwi and hapū informants, Māori generally have rights of te tino rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga and mana in respect of the waterways. Rangatiratanga and mana include tribal authority and control which includes such actions as the kaitiaki obligation to care for the resources and the people. Many of the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei area had full authority and control over the waterways at the time of the Treaty of Waitangi – and for some time afterwards.

The mechanisms for the exercise of control included rahui and tapu which enabled tangata whenua to restrict and control usage. Mana and rangatiratanga were also expressed through customary use such as fishing, physical occupation with community mara, Pā, kainga and wāhi tapu; and most importantly, by carrying out whānaungatanga responsibilities by caring for relationships within and between tribal groups.

Suffice to say that Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū had strong mana whenua and rangatiratanga relationships with the waterways and they continue to exercise mana whenua and rangatiratanga responsibilities over the area, hence satisfying the mana whenua and rangatiratanga authority signposts of ‘stewardship’ as well as the whakapapa connections with the Gods, waterways, and with each other.

4.11 Exercised kaitiakitanga

Māori had intimate knowledge of their environment. They not only viewed themselves as beneficiaries of the resources but also as kaitiaki which acknowledges the mana and tapu of the environment. Kaitiakitanga traditionally refers to a watcher or guard. The modern usage of the



Image 29: Te Taumata o te Rā Marae, Halcombe

term encapsulates an emerging ethic of stewardship, guardianship or trusteeship especially over natural resources such as lands and waterways but also people such as whānau, and for those appointed to governance and management positions of organisations and in other distinguished positions of authority.²⁵⁴ In former times, rahui and tapu were the kaitiaki forms of stewardship management of waterways.

Although on the eastern side of the Ruahine Ranges, an event in 1878 regarding kaitiakitanga of the Roto-a-Kiwa is a useful example of kaitiakitanga. The situation also involved Rēnata Kawepō, of Ngāi Te Upokoiri from Mōkai Pātea, as kaitiaki of a waterway. The Māori newspaper *Te Wananga* reported a meeting held at Te Hauke concerning the taking of eels from Lake Roto-a-Kiwa, despite a rāhui (prohibition). The meeting appointed "kaitiaki" for the Lake's future protection, which included Kawepō:

... whakataua ana e taua whakawa ko Renata Kawepo. Arihi teinahu. Watene Hapūku, Renata Pukututu i nga kai-tiaki mo taua Roto kei haere pokanoa tetahi tangata ki taua Roto mahi ai, maua tangata e mau enei o ratou ingoa e whakarite kia mahia. ka haere ai te katoa ki te mahi, ki te whakahe tetahi i muri iho o tenei whakaotinga, ka hinga te ture ki a ia. RENATA KAWEPO, ARIHI TEINAHU. TE WATENE HAPŪKU. RENATA PUKUTUTU. Te Hauke, Oketopa 23,1878, we have appointed Renata Kawepo, Arihi Teinahu, Watene Hapūku, and Renata Pukututu as guardians of that Lake. Let not any one take fish out of that Lake unless authorised by the abovenamed persons. RENATA KAWEPO. ARIHI TEINAHU, WATENE HAPŪKU, RENATA PUKUTUTU.²⁵⁵

A Ngāti Manomano informant articulated the kaitiaki relationship of the people to the land and waterways:

The difference was that we were never taught that we owned the land. We were kaitiaki and we had this relationship with the land that was so important that you had to look after it. The land actually owned you and it's back to front you see. Whereas Pākehā see it as a commodity in terms to sell and increase in value and sell. Oh I get hoha with that.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Benton, R, Frame, A & Meredith, P, *Te Matapunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2013) p 105.

²⁵⁵ *Te Wananga*, (Vol. 5, No. 44, 2 November 1878) p 550.

²⁵⁶ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 7.

A Tū Te Manawaroa informant discussed the whakapapa relationships and associated kaitiaki rights and responsibilities between the tribes in Taihape and those in the Himatangi area of the Horowhenua and Manawatū districts:

There's a kuia that was a kaitiaki for Paranui [Marae in Foxton], her name was Aida Winiata ... she's a Mahauariki but her husband, Uncle Boy, was from Taihape. So there's a Winiata Marae up there. Yeah, that's where her husband came from and he was the kaitiaki for all of our little lakes and the rivers, both ends, – Rangitīkei and Manawatū. Because he knew how to fish. He was the tuna man. You know, whenever they had any tangi on, at any of the Marae, they'd ring up Uncle Boy, and he'd be off with his hinaki and he'd take a catch from out of there to take to the tangi. And, um, because of Aunty Aida, he was given that role because he was the best at doing it and I think it's because he grew up, up at Taihape, knowing . . . what method to use in taking the tuna at different times of the year. So he brought it down and he learnt from the old people ... he retained the knowledge to be able to do that during his time.²⁵⁷

Te Reureu members noted how they continue to exercise their kaitiaki responsibilities with associated rituals:

[We] still go through those rituals associated with the stream because it's still running but the ones up at Waitapu, because it's dry most of the year, it only starts running when there's a big flood up there. ... We'd do rituals with the water, ... on the water; the fish themselves. One of the things here is the first fish [tuna] caught was always released. They don't take real large ones [eels]; we don't have to draw big fish out of here. That's the breeding stuff. Big fish are the ones we want to keep and try and let them breed.²⁵⁸

One member of Ngāti Manomano talked about how the awa acts as a kaitiaki for her. She offers karakia to 'contribute to' and then 'draw down from' the mauri and the mana of the wai. This gives clarity of thought, assists her spiritually, mentally and physically and brings her whānau/tūpuna 'back' to tautoko her through the karakia and rituals practised at the awa, it's manga and the local **urupā**; in the same manner which her tūpuna practised for centuries before her.

The awa has always been there whenever something big happens...so Sunday I woke up and I thought, "I feel like I need to do something else...I need to go to Waitapu...and have a bit of a karakia"...so I go to where Waitapu would have flowed into the Rangitīkei, I stood in the water, did my karakia, went right under the wai three times and came back up. I took a kōwhatu as a mauri with me from the awa...I didn't know why I was going back to the

²⁵⁷ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, p 2-3.

²⁵⁸ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, p 9.

marae a different way, but then I said, “Stop, we need to go to the urupā!”...and then went and visited all Koro, Nan and them up at the urupā and had karakia there too.²⁵⁹

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū continue to exercise their tangata whenua responsibilities as kaitiaki of the river, its tributaries, and the rest of the environment thus satisfying this signpost of stewardship.

4.12 Mauri – Life Force

Like other tikanga concepts, it is difficult to translate accurately across languages what key values such as mauri mean. But associated with the metaphysical aspect of water bodies is their mauri, their life force. Mauri is often defined as ‘active life principle’, ‘physical life principle’, ‘spiritual essence’, a ‘non-material core,’ ‘life principle,’ or the ‘essence which gives a thing its specific natural character.’ Mauri integrates ecosystems and social groups as well as objects and individuals. Reverend Thomas G. Hammond in his ‘The Story of Aotea’, a historical narrative of the migration of the Aotea waka, noted that:

‘Mouri’ [sic] is not life, but that upon which life depends. Everything animate and inanimate has its own "Mouri." The Mouri "contributes to the distinction and success or good fortune of everything. Trees grow, land is fertile, birds are numerous, fish abound and men are skillful and prosperous, only while the "Mouri" remains inviolate. It is communicated and can be withdrawn at the caprice of any particular deity, and as Māoris always assume that all good things are the gifts of the gods, they also naturally suppose when anything declines or dies that it is traceable to some ceremonial or moral lapse on the part of the persons most concerned by the disaster.²⁶⁰

Tamati Ranapiri from Ngāti Raukawa wrote to Elsdon Best on his explanation on mauri in 1895:

The mauri is [transferred using] an incantation that is repeated by an expert over an object, a rock, a tree, or some other item that has been approved by the expert to act as a hiding place, holding place and dwelling place for the mauri. One of those places is then freed from any restriction and positioned in a hidden part of the forest. ... There is mauri on the shore, in the water, the rivers, the lakes. If there are mountains without birds, forests without birds, and, rivers without food, fish, eel, and so on, then a mauri is placed in that mountain, forest, river,

²⁵⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 18.

²⁶⁰ Hammond, Rev. T.G. - The Story of Aotea. Church: *Lyttelton Times*, 1924, p. 202.

or lake. So, food inhabits those barren places once again; birds on the shore, fish in the sea, fish in the fresh waters, and those fish that dwell in the vast ocean and migrate to the fresh water rivers also return... That energy, mauriora, is left for man to retrieve, namely, for the experts. ... If the transference of the mauri is bungled, in time, there will be no food on the shore or in the water. (That mauri, is resembled by a stone, or other object).²⁶¹

Ranapiri subsequently clarified his kōrero on mauri in 1907:

The mauri is [transferred using] an incantation that is repeated by an expert over an object, a rock, a tree, or some other item that has been approved by the expert to act as a hiding place, holding place and dwelling place for the mauri. One of those places is then freed from any restriction and positioned in a hidden part of the forest.²⁶²

More recently, Māori Marsden defined mauri:

Imminent within all creation is mauri – the life force which generates, regenerates and upholds creation. It is the bonding element that knits all the diverse elements within the Universal ‘Procession’ giving creation its unity in diversity. It is the bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together.²⁶³

In another text, Marsden defined mauri as:

That life principle which is latent in all things ... an energy that is behind all things. ... the elemental force that binds together and gives them their being. ... There are certain gradations, depending on the being of the thing concerned, for example, the mauri of an individual or of a people, the mauri of trees and other animate things, then the mauri of the inanimate.²⁶⁴

As kaitiaki, the tangata whenua have an obligation to maintain the mauri of the waterway. The mauri of the life force of the waterway includes taking care of the physical and spiritual health of the waterway. By maintaining the mauri of the waterway, the tangata whenua enhance their own mana and rangatiratanga as kaitiaki and are connected to the mauri of the waterway itself.

²⁶¹ Ranapiri, Tamati of Tikorangi, Manakau 14 January 1895 to Elsdon Best. Tamati Ranapiri - Notes on bird and rat snaring and other traditional matters, ATL Ref. MS-Papers-1187-127

²⁶² Ranapiri, Tamati of Tikorangi, Manakau, October 7, 1907 to Elsdon Best. Best, Elsdon Māori notebook No 9, ATL Ref. qMS-0187

²⁶³ Royal, C.T, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003) p 44.

²⁶⁴ Cited in Metge, J, *In and Out of Touch* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1986) p 73.

Maintaining their mauri has physical and metaphysical dimensions such as the responsible use of the river and its resources – collecting and enhancing food and other resources sustainably to ensure that it would remain for future generations. On the spiritual side, a key aspect of maintaining the mauri of the river was ensuring that the tikanga that applied to the river was followed. For example, some places are used for karakia and other rituals, while others are for gathering and preparing kai, some places are for ablutions and sanitation while others are for preparing tūpāpaku for tangihanga and burial. These places were kept strictly separate to preserve the tapu and noa states of those activities and the areas in which they were practiced. Tohunga regulated these activities and the places they were performed. Thus was the mauri of the river maintained.

However, if the mauri is not respected and cared for, or if people assume to assert some dominance over a river or lake, forest or spring, it will lose its mauri, i.e., its vitality and force, and those who depend on it will ultimately suffer.²⁶⁵ The kaitiaki suffer with the waterway if it is polluted, degraded or even interfered with including if waters of rivers are diverted and artificially mixed with those of another waterbody thus harming the unique mauri of each waterway.

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant mentioned the mauri of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries as well as other major North Island rivers being the puna within the Kaimanawa Ranges and is known as Te Mātāpuna o Rangimarie Waimarie:

The mauri of the awa ... Te Mātāpuna o Rangimarie Waimarie ... they used to talk about the patupaiarehes – how do we say, the spiritual guardians – and they referred to where the sources of the Waikato, the sources of the Rangitāiki, the Mōhaka, the Rangitīkei, the Ngaruroro all come from the mātāpuna of the Kaimanawas. With the Kaimanawas you got the east side, you got the west side too eh? It's just one big... you've gotta think big eh, you've gotta think you're miles in the air looking down. We're not talking about a spring on a hill. You're talking about a large area, it's just a big water source that feeds the rivers. ... the whole puna in the Kaimanawas ... that's where most of the water sources come from. So there's the Mōhaka, the Ngaruroro, the Rangitīkei, the Tongariro or Waikato. So it's huge water sources and the blessings... but the source is Rangimarie or Waimarie.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Whanganui River Report* (Wai 167, GP Publications, Wellington, 1999) p 39.

²⁶⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, pp 14-16.

Another Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant referred to Tamatea Pōkai Whenua leaving a mauri on Aorangi:

When we express our whakapapa to the land, we have significant tupuna who lived in significant places on each one of those streams or they were associated with every single one of those streams. That is our whakapapa. Tamatea Pōkai Whenua took the tauihu of the waka deep into the heart of Maui and left the mauri o te waka in Aorangi; Aorangi te maunga tapu. Now that expresses the whakapapa from the Takitimu waka. And all of the waterways are associated with that kōrero.²⁶⁷

A Parewahawaha informant on the other hand spoke about mauri stones from the awa:

We'd go and get mauri stones from the awa and give them as **taonga** to other people; sometimes we took them when we went to other places. There was a mauri stone for our Kura each year with all the intent of the taura of that tau (year), all of their karakia, their wishes, and their hopes for that year - ka whakatōkia ērā o ngā whakaaro ki roto i te mauri kōwhatu, hei mauri. ... Sometimes we'd be sitting there and we'd go, "Right, we're going to do 'this', what do we think we have to get ready?"... There's some things that go without saying like, "We're going to have karakia before we go"... Then sometimes it will be: "Oh, we'll go get a mauri; he kōwhatu!" Some of our ladies would weave beautiful kono to put it in, and weave something over the top like a korowai, some even made kahu huruhuru to go over the top of our mauri stone. It would be sitting in its kono and then we'd have a karakia to instill the mauri, or re-activate it when needed.²⁶⁸

A Te Reureu member discussed the importance of the mauri of the waterways and associated rituals:

You know I suppose the mauri for the ones [the streams] that have dried up – you still have the mauri for this river here and you still go through those rituals associated with the stream because it's still running but the ones up at Waitapu, because its dry most of the year, it only starts running when there's a big flood up there. You tend to forget about those places but they still do rituals over there.²⁶⁹

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant mentioned the importance of taniwha to teach the rising generation to respect the well-being and mauri of the awa:

²⁶⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 8.

²⁶⁸ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015.

²⁶⁹ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, p 9.

It's also a means of teaching our young ones to respect what is in the river; the whole mauri of the river; the life force of the river completely. And that's the taniwha.²⁷⁰

A Ngāti Manomano member discussed in detail their iwi initiative Te Kura Mairaro and how mauri stones of the Rangitīkei River were used to help taura develop a special relationship with the awa:

[Our taura] had to choose a mauri stone each year. We would go down to the Rangitīkei to get a kōwhatu, have karakia, and take it back to the marae to use for our year-long wānanga. At the marae, we would have another karakia to instill the mauri of the wānanga and the taura into it, and then their kōwhatu mauri remained present throughout the rest of our wānanga. So one year, we thought we'll have a 'mauri wahine' and a 'mauri tāne'. Piki and the students got dropped off at the crossroads, and they chose their two mauri stones there. They had to walk via the Rangitīkei to Waitapu. I went to Waitapu to wait for them. They had to cross the Rangitīkei 6 times before reaching Waitapu almost 10 hours later, and they had a lot of trials and tribulations getting there. They're still carrying the mauri stones they collected earlier, and of course the men had chosen this HUGE stone...but when the ladies chose theirs, it was all about the beauty of the shape.²⁷¹



Image 13: Rangitīkei River Stones.

Source <http://www.floridald.co.nz/product-detail.html?id=6>.

²⁷⁰ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 2.

²⁷¹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 11-12.

...Have you ever seen our awa stones they've got that beautiful, natural wave through them just like the water, you know you don't have a lot of awa stones like that, they're just beautiful. So the ladies chose a mauri that reminded them of themselves, with beautiful curves and things like that, and it was just the right size. They wove a lovely little kono for it too. The ladies carried the 'mauri wahine' and the men carried the 'mauri tāne'. The men all started to see the hē of selecting such a big stone; which got heavier as the day went by; but they all had to take turns carrying it because it was about your mauri going into this kōwhatu, as you are learning about your awa, and you are walking along it. And Piki would talk about the different areas as they walked up.²⁷²

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū continue to acknowledge the importance of protecting the mauri of the Rangitīkei River, its tributaries and of the wider environment which is their responsibility (perhaps not exclusively) as tangata whenua which satisfies this signpost of stewardship.

4.13 Rituals central to the spiritual life of the iwi and hapū

Many Māori refer to the use of water and of water bodies in rituals that were and are central to their spiritual life. Water has powerful links in this respect. Water was used to remove tapu from and to avert danger to warriors and others. Tapu of the dead is dangerous and many if not all **urupa** or cemeteries still have the procedure of cleansing oneself through water when leaving the **urupa**. Moreover, tapu adds qualities to recipients such as with the widely practiced tohi dedication or baptism of a child for a specific calling where water is sprinkled over the child with a sprig or small branch.

Intrinsic to many Māori customary rituals was the use of particular wai (water) for karakia, for the sick, for protection, and for healing. Some informants explained that rivers and other waterways had many wāhi tapu including burial sites on their banks or in the waters. Special sites were used for Rongoā (healing) or to prepare the dead for burial. As a result, some places were tapu and were never used for drinking water, swimming, or for gathering food. On the other hand, other places are noa and are safe to swim, drink or take kai.

i. Rongoā Māori

²⁷² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 11-12

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū continue to practice Rongoā Māori – spiritual rituals that are central to the spiritual life of the iwi and hapū. Rongoā Māori or traditional Māori medicine was a system of healing that comprised diverse practices with an emphasis on the spiritual dimension of health. Rongoā includes spiritual healing through karakia and rituals in rivers and streams, herbal remedies and physical therapies. Tohunga ahurewa were often responsible for rongoā, especially its spiritual aspects.²⁷³ Many of the informants discussed how the waterways were important for rituals that are central to the spiritual life of the iwi and hapū.

ii. *Karakia Incantations*

Te Reureu informants mentioned how their people still practice the tohi rites in the awa:

When my daughter got baptised, she's Catholic, but she had a tohi down at the river, at dawn. You know, we did a dawn thing with her. And then, when I was talking to her about it, and said, "Well, why did you do that?" She said ... "Māoris have got this innate spirituality about the environment." ... "I love the mountain and the hills" and she said "it made sense to me. So," she said "as Indigenous people, we recognise that there is a creator." – God. ... And then she said, from that, she had her baptism up at the church and then she had that dawn [tohi]. ... the river's still being used like that. That's right up and down the river. So, when you're talking about the Rangitīkei River, the river is significant. It's beyond the realms of what we see, but it has this ongoing significance that, you know, when we're talking about the river, people know, well that's the Rangitīkei River but it's more than that. It's still, up and down Te Reureu people are using it in that context.²⁷⁴

A Ngāti Manomano member mentioned rituals they continue to practice in the awa:

It's like the awa has always been there and whenever something happens, when there has been big things, quite tumultuous things ... I always went back to the awa. Go back to the awa and go and sit down there and talk to the awa. There's something about the awa and it might be because I've had that connection because I have had those opportunities.²⁷⁵

Parewahawaha members emphasised the importance of the rivers and water for healing:

²⁷³ See Jones, R, 'Rongoa' – understanding rongoa. Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/rongoa-medicinal-use-of-plants/page-1>

²⁷⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015.

²⁷⁵ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 18-19.

I remember Koro, Mum and them always used to say; especially if people weren't feeling well, kua tae mai he kēhua rānei, he wairua rānei; "Go to the wai! Haere ki te wai!" Someone would throw the water, some would completely immerse themselves, some would take the wai home for use later, for when they do blessing's, or lift tapu. It depends what their whakapono is. That was always the thing though - go to the wai - and I think it's still that way now. Well I've been up with our whānau at Hauiti where they've done that sort of thing. They've taken one of our nieces to the water, but not for three days. Immersed her in the awa and say karakia, and she recovered.²⁷⁶

Rata informants briefly mentioned the power of karakia and water from the awa:

One of my aunties she used to use the water from the awa, just for her incantations during tangi times. Karakia. Go and use the water. We had a bit of a thing going on at home and she stayed with us for a couple of days because we couldn't settle, and she used to go around the house every night and do the water.²⁷⁷

Poupatate informants also mentioned the power of karakia for their whānau and hapū:

Everything was karakia Māori, everything. It wasn't just on the river. It was the people there. I remember having a Whaturama and Kui going down and getting some of the green slime off the river down there somewhere. Karakia and she brought it back in a tin and was putting it on me and all the way through it was karakia, and so you know karakia was everything that they did. We weren't allowed to have kai without mene mene. Koro always had mene mene, so we knew that the table would be mene mene, we all knew. ... [An] Uncle ... was the other one too that did the healing aye karakia and his was broken bones aye? I remember ... [some of us] had a badly broken leg because too far to go to hospital and he would heal them and that was through karakia.²⁷⁸

iii. Healing and Meditation

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants discussed the healing abilities of the Rangitīkei River:

The Rangitīkei has always been a healing river, for healing. ... [An] Uncle ... had a lizard on his chest. ... That was the river. They bought him out and they baptised him when he had the lizard on his chest, down at the Rangitīkei River. So it was always a healing river. It still is with our family from the old generation to our kids of today... We'd always feed the eels

²⁷⁶ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, pp 56 and 59.

²⁷⁷ Rata site visits, 11 November 2015, p 16.

²⁷⁸ Poupatate site visits, 26 September 2015, p 13.

and that. ... We've always lived on the Rangitikei River ... our awa was very significant to our old people.²⁷⁹

Other hapū members added:

Aunty touched on a person [an Uncle] ... he was Māori from the Pōtaka line. Uncle ... transgressed on the tapu up on Aorangi and he was taught a huge lesson. He transgressed against tapu and Pohokura got him. Uncle ... went to all the best specialists who couldn't help him. ... Now, Uncle ..., ended up he had an attack on his chest. Slowly it formed as Pohokura wrapped around his neck and on here. My Great-grandfather took Uncle ... down to the river. The specialists couldn't do anything for him. ... My great-grandfather [Winiata Te Whaaro] took Uncle ... down to the river. They were both immersed in the river for three days and three nights. Then my great-grandfather pulled him out of the river and did karakia over him for a period of time. Within six weeks all that's left was just the scarring of that Pohokura around his neck. I've actually seen it, seen the scar. So have several of our other family. So we've talked about the taniwha and the spiritual rituals that have been held in the river.²⁸⁰

Some Ngāti Manomano mentioned the healing powers of a puna in their area:

Down where the swamp was, it used to flow down to (the homestead of) Koro Waapu. The swamp, which is by Audrey's place, it was fed by a spring, and that spring, its waters had healing powers. My dad, every time we came back to Tokorangi, he'd make me go and get a half of that water, to take it home, and it was good for him... The water itself, they've had it analysed, and it's got a lot of calcium in it. They checked it out for its medicinal purposes and it is good... We used to live on that water. In the summer, Dad used to come back with the tractor and take the (water) drums down there, and we had to head down there. When there's no water from the tanks, we had to go back down there...that water ran all year round, and it's still going.²⁸¹

Another Ngāti Manomano informant referred to the river and its healing powers:

We certainly would use it as ceremony cleansing so for example, actually we have used it right up until 20 years actually and that's ... when two of our people have been affected by what we call Pākehā terms "Māori illness" and the old Kuia said we'll go down the awa and I guess what we would say today, bless, use it as a, I call it a spiritual cleansing place, and that's what happened. So I know of an early occasion, so that must've been, how old is he know, he's about 55, so this would've happened 55 years ago when my cousin was cleansed

²⁷⁹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 1.

²⁸⁰ Ibid, p 9.

²⁸¹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 3-4, 19.

by a Kuia and it basically healed him. And then in more recent times in Rata, this was probably about 20 years ago we also took one of our cousins down to the river and cleansed her as well, and she came right after that. That particular ceremony incidentally was a Christian ceremony; the other one was a traditional one. Either way, it still worked. It was all about the awa, and I guess the spiritual power of the awa I guess to help cleanse.²⁸²

A Ngāti Matakore informant also referred to the healing powers of the rivers:

The spirituality of the river is very powerful. Seriously. And when Māori, just like karakia, its part of ... just of who we are. The river is the same. It's like a finishing; a beginning and a finishing of mahi. A lot of it is, I know it is for our family. When we go and do stuff, it's always come back to the river.²⁸³

iv. Herbal Remedies

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū continue to practice Rongoā Māori including herbal remedies and physical therapies. One Ngāti Manomano kaumātua discussed rongoā in the Rangitīkei area:

Koro Kereama had this wonderful knowledge of Māori medicines, and a lot of the elders like Dick Searancke and all them, they knew; because of the bush lands we were surrounded by it; where they could go and pick the right thing and chew it and put it on. See I was running across the swamp one day and I cut my foot on a bottle, I was about 6. By the time I got to the other side I had lost a lot of blood and Koro grabbed my foot and he staunched it, and then he went into the bush, took me with him, grabbed the stuff off there, chewed it, put it on my foot and guess what? It stopped bleeding, and don't even see a scar. Because his people had that knowledge of the rongoā - and they've all gone down here now, they've all gone! Koro Waapu and them, they were all known healers, not faith healers, but they knew the use of medicines.²⁸⁴

Responding to a question about the awa being used for rongoā, a Ngāti Manomano informant stated:

Well what I am saying is that the awa is dependent upon its surrounds. That is the bush lands, the rains that feeds it that came down from Rangī to Papatūānuku and flowed into the awa. So that's all inter-connected and can't just say the river by itself because the river its tributaries and springs all water that flows.²⁸⁵

²⁸² Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 6

²⁸³ Ngāti Whitikaupeka Wānanga, 14 August 2015

²⁸⁴ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 17.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p 17.

A Ngāti Hinemanu/ Ngāti Paki kaumātua stated:

When we got māuiui, my mother she'd take us outside and use the water and have karakia, when we were māuiui.²⁸⁶

v. *Wāhi tapu*

Te Reureu informants discussed the importance of specific wāhi tapu for healing, blessing, washing tūpāpaku and stillborn babies within their rohe:

There's a pretty significant wāhi tapu down here, down near the river. ... My parents used to take us down there for healing – kids and that get sick ... and we used to go there all the time. ... My grandparents and even my own parents used to do it with us ... it was just part of our whole culture living out here. ... Yep, when you were sick or anything like that. ... These wāhi tapu are special places ... There's this one here that I know of and there's another one at the back of my Mum's a mile down the road further. It was right at the confluence of the Springfield stream and that main river. So, if they were preparing a tūpāpaku for burial they used to take them down there and wash them, clean them and get them all ready. And other parts of it. ... But it was always through pure water. Now this is down here. That Waituna stream was one of the ones that used to feed it and it used to come all the way down here. ... But Barry's cousin was telling me ... Koro Kupe took him down here when he was sick, really sick. Done the rituals down here and brought him right, got rid of his sickness and he's been good ever since.²⁸⁷

The same informants continued:

Yeah, like we're saying the wāhi tapu came out of that stream and the stream actually ran right down the side here and missed the main river altogether because it was right across the other side. ... In these places, like this just along over the cliff over there, they planted Karaka trees. When we were kids, there was a couple over there; they marked all these special places with Karaka trees all along this river and there's one down at the back of our place there which was on the river. All I know is that they're there because I've seen them. The one at home was a cave in the front of the cliff by the river ... they used to put stillborn babies and that's been marked with Karaka trees.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

²⁸⁷ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015 at 12-14.

²⁸⁸ Idem.

vi. *Blessing Taonga*

A Ngāti Manomano member discussed the intimate relationship the people have with the Rangitīkei River through blessing *taonga* and when they used to leave and return to the area:

We blessed *taonga* for [an] Uncle ...he wanted to give this taiaha to [his nephew] ...Uncle ... passed and we went down, stood in the [Rangitīkei] river. It was summer, because we stood in the water and we blessed this *taonga*. [A relation] did a mihi to the atua, it wasn't like a prayer it was more like a mihi to the water, a mihi to the *taonga*. It was old and we had to stand in the water, so it's still really used by people today in terms of karakia, rites and rituals. Dad had a thing too, when we used to travel in and out ... around the country. We would have to say prayers when we hit the boundaries of Rangitīkei, and out through the other side. You know East, West, North, South there were boundaries, and once we got past a certain boundary, we had to start prayers for safe travels. And so when we hit the Rangitīkei, we would say our prayers and of course Mum would lead ...so as a marker, it's something that I remember growing up with as children. When we were leaving the area to go out, we had to start saying prayers for Rangitīkei.²⁸⁹

vii. *Rāhui*

Rāhui is an important ritual that was employed as a restriction that sets aside an area and bans the harvesting of resources such as when a lake or a forest might be temporarily off-limits so the fish, birds or plants can be restored. Hirini Moko Mead explained:

The conservation rāhui was used to protect the products of the land and water ... [the] chief Tukuha ... set up a rāhui post at Te Rautāwhiri. The post remained in the same position, but whenever the chief wanted to rāhui the eels of his part of the Rangitāiki River, he would 'hang one of his old garments' on it. That would signal a complete ban on that one resource, eels. In this instance, the name of the place, Te Rautāwhiri (the leaves twisted on) indicates that it was used by custom as a place to signal a rāhui.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 19.

²⁹⁰ Mead, H, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Huia, Wellington, 2003) p 197.

Taylor White commented on rāhui in 1895 in reference to the case *Airini Donnelly v. Broughton*



Image 30: Waituna Stream

that was published in the supplement of the *Hawke's Bay Herald* in 1892 from evidence of the witness Noa Huke:

The whole of the block [of land] from Te Whanga to Puketitiri and Titiokura at Mohaka, was affected. That land was given to Te Rangikamungungu and Tutira. They went and put up rahuis all over it. ... The whole of the land was thus made sacred – even the eel-weirs.²⁹¹

Early explorer James Cowan spent much time with the central North Island tribes and he discussed rāhui through a tapu on waterways:

The ban of *tapu* is frequently applied to rivers, lakes or other waters in which people have been drowned. This was a needful prohibition against eating fish which might have fed on the dead. After the wreck of the steamer Wairarapa at the Great Barrier Island in 1894, with the loss of 126 lives, the Māori of that island, who live in a bay a few miles away, *tapu'd* all fish within a certain area for a long period. During this time of interdiction no native would eat or touch any food of the salt sea. As a great portion of the food of these people consisted of fish

²⁹¹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, (Napier, 26 March, 1892).

of all kinds, from snapper and hapūku to shark, besides oysters and pipi and other shell–fish, the tapu meant considerable privation, but it was religiously observed for more than a year.²⁹²

Rangitīkei River informants shared a number of brief instances of rāhui. A Tu Te Manawaroa informant mentioned a rāhui being placed over Te Onetapu – the Desert Road area – often due to people dying there:

The ... heke came down the Rangitīkei River but for some reason I don't think it came across the Desert Road. For some reason, they came down the western side of the Lake and swung back across ... And the reason why I think it was that way was because there used to be this view that Te Onetapu which is the Desert Road had at different times a no go area on it because of people dying coming across that pathway, at different times, and so they were always placing a rāhui over that area. And I think what may have happened is that they ended up coming down the western side of the Lake to Rotoaira and carrying on down through Ngāti Rangi and um there seems to be some kōrero about that because it is only by the time that you get to um those who came on the Heke Mairaro who are going back to Waikato on a regular basis that you have the kōrero that for a track that goes across the Desert Road.²⁹³

A Ngāti Hinemanu informant also mentioned a rāhui for the drowning of a rangatira in the Rangitīkei River:

Ōruamatua Marae.²⁹⁴ There's a carving of a foot in there. And the foot is of a tupuna that drowned in the river. His body was found by people downstream ... The rāhui was on the river when he drowned. ... He was really high ranked so a rāhui was on the river when he went missing because of his status. A long time before our time.²⁹⁵

The informant then noted:

Tony – the Italians who had the shop in Utiku – Tony Marciati drowned in the Rangitīkei. They put a rāhui until they found him. They found him about three days later; he was underneath the [bridge?] caught underneath the [bridge].²⁹⁶

²⁹² Cowan, J. Chapter V 'The law of Tapu' in *The Māori; Yesterday and Today*, (1930, Wellington, 1930) at 70.

²⁹³ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015.

²⁹⁴ Another informant noted that Ōruamatua is the meeting house. The name of the marae is Te Riu o Puanga.

²⁹⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 10.

²⁹⁶ Idem.

A Hauiti informant clarified the identity of the rangatira who drowned in the River, being Whitikaupeka's son, Wharepūrākau. While visiting the whareniui Hinemata at Moawhango, the informant explained:

If you look here you see a hand, another hand, a foot and if you look carefully you'll see bits and pieces. So this is a depiction of Whitikaupeka's son Wharepūrākau he had two wives, one of his wives got into trouble crossing the Rangitīkei. He tried to save here and drowned in the Rangitīkei, got washed all the way down to Ngāti Apa near the Tangimoana area. ... So they went and chopped him up. ... They realised from the taamoko and that who he was so they brought him back, and they didn't touch him ... they brought him back here and so one of our tupuna is called Hokimutu which is returned and finished. The take, the kaupapa was finished, but that's one of our early kōrero about the awa from Whitikaupeka's time.²⁹⁷

Tūrangaarere informants discussed modern day rāhui in their rohe:

They've had kids you know drown here but they've always had a rāhui on it till they found the body. They've found them all.²⁹⁸

Ngāti Hauiti has even formed a rāhui environmental service for dealing with modern day rāhui:

Ngāti Hauiti established a rāhui environmental service which was basically designed to process resource consent applications and so we had to build a relationship up with Horizons so that we could get through that process reasonably efficiently but also so that we make sure we get notification.²⁹⁹

In summary, the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries continue to practice rituals such as karakia, tohi, healing, meditation, blessing **taonga**, and rāhui, which are central to the spiritual life of iwi and hapū satisfying this signpost of stewardship.

4.14 Identified Taniwha Residing in the Waterways

Māori often speak of taniwha or kaitiaki spirit guardians of their waterways. In some ways, taniwha personified kaitiaki and are enshrined in Māori belief systems. Taniwha exercised kaitiakitanga

²⁹⁷ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

²⁹⁸ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 12.

²⁹⁹ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 4.

and embodied the mauri of tribal waterways. Not only do they represent mana and kaitiakitanga of tribal waterways, each taniwha has its own mana, exercising kaitiakitanga in their own equally different ways. Taniwha have their own names which tribes gave them reflecting their character and disposition. Taniwha often have their own abodes and areas they patrolled which is akin to reflecting their people's rohe, hence taniwha are additional signposts of tribal stewardship over land and waterways.³⁰⁰

This section will briefly discuss the nature of tribal taniwha generally to provide context then will localize the tribal taniwha or kaitiaki to the Rangitīkei region.

Taniwha are large creatures (mythical or real) often associated with particular places such as waterways and caves, who can assume various concrete shapes when active (if disturbed or called upon), and exert a beneficial or malign influence on human beings and their affairs. Taniwha sometimes take the form of a large eel, or other water creature, or a Ngārara lizard. The association of taniwha with a particular place or part of the landscape generally symbolises its cultural, economic or political importance, or some natural or spiritual hazard associated with it.³⁰¹ In 1946, George Graham, a native agent, wrote an article on taniwha and tupua (demons) in some detail in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1946:

Each tribe, sub-tribe and indeed family group, had its familiar taniwha or tupua of some kind. These beings were regarded with mixed feeling either of fear or with deferential respect, as also indeed not without affection. For they were beneficial as being protective atua (guardian spirit) or mauri (mascot).³⁰²

Graham mentioned in his article a taniwha named Humuhumu from Ngāti Whatua:

This tupua was a totara log or rather that log was the sign (or tohu) under which Humuhumu lived, and drifted about the Lake for many generations. ... Like Papakauri [another taniwha],

³⁰⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Stage 1 Report on the National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Claim* (Wai 2358), 2012, p 58.

³⁰¹ Benton, R, Frame, A & Meredith, P, *Te Matapunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2013) p 376.

³⁰² Graham, G, 'Some Taniwhā and Tupua; in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 55, No. 1, 1946) p 26.

he wandered about the waters of his home as often with as against the wind, and regardless of current conditions, favourable or adverse – the sure sign of his mana as a tupua.³⁰³

In 1846, when Mananui Te Heuheu Tūkino II and his followers were killed by a landslide on Kakaramea mountain above Waihī, the renowned scholar, Te Rangikaheke from Ngāti Rangiwewehi, suggested that the landslide was caused by the taniwha which he sketched below and noted that this is what Europeans referred to as a tarakona – dragon.³⁰⁴

Part of the New Zealand Māori Council's 2012 claim to water rights was reported in the *New Zealand Herald* which included some interesting points on taniwha:

Hapū had in 1840 a relationship with water for which the closest cultural equivalent within modern English concepts is one of ownership, of full blown property rights. ... even the concept of taniwha supported it historically. Māori viewed taniwha as guardian spirits of a hapū's waterways who protected it from use by those who did not own it. ... It's a strong indication that hapū was telling the world that this was their water resource and it couldn't be used by anyone else without their permission. That is the very essence of a proprietary relationship.³⁰⁵

With this context on taniwha, a number of Rangitīkei informants mentioned mythical, real and practical examples of taniwha as guardians, benign, or malign influences and as symbols of territorial integrity over their lands and waterways.

³⁰³ 'Humuhumu: A Ngāti Whatua tupua or Taniwhā (as narrated by Mihaka Makaore [1873], Uriohau, Kaipara), *ibid*, at 36.

³⁰⁴ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/artwork/10883/he-tarakona>.

³⁰⁵ Trevett, C, 'Tribunal urged to rule Māori have full rights' in *New Zealand Herald* (20 July 2012).

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants referred to Pohokura, Tamatea's mōkai, as a taniwha:

When Tamatea came through on the banks of the Moawhango River and the Rangitīkei at Te Awa Haehae ... they had this fire ritual there before heading up to Moawhango and releasing the koura, whereas previous to coming there, previous to getting to the maunga of Aorangi where he met up with the Ngāti Hotu people ... the ngārara that escaped and fled its way to our maunga [and] is now the kaitiaki of Aorangi. As he travels to follow Pohokura

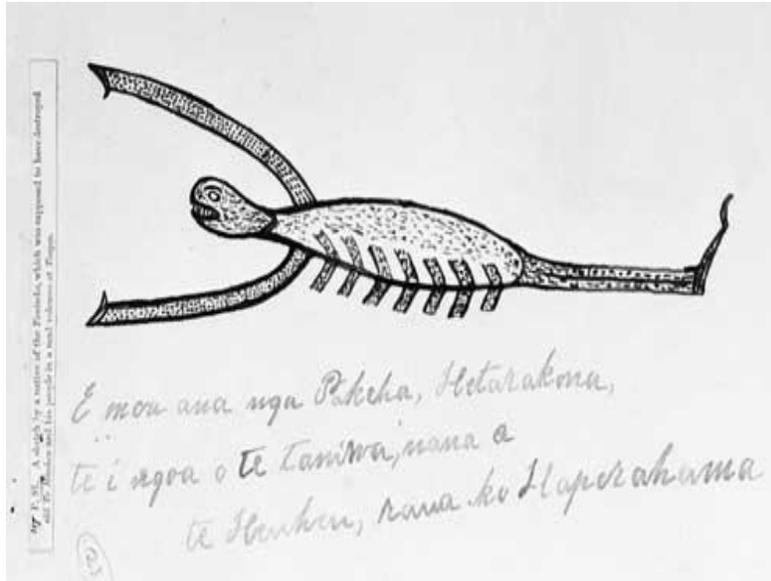


Image 19: Te Rangikaheke's drawing of the taniwha or tarakona he alleged was responsible for the 1846 Waihi landslide, Auckland City Libraries – Tāmaki Pātaka Korero, Sir George Grey Collections, Reference 7-A3159.

or the Ngārara, he came through and met with a Ngāti Hotu and then made his way downstream where he came to the Moawhango where he performed this fire ritual before heading up then came to the bottom of the Hautapu River where he then left another of his pets which was the pātiki.³⁰⁶

Another kaumātua from Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki talked about Pohokura as a taniwha:

[An] Uncle ... transgressed on the tapu up on Aorangi and he was taught a huge lesson. He transgressed against tapu and Pohokura got him. Uncle ... went to all the best specialists who couldn't help him. ... Now, Uncle ... ended up he had an attack on his chest. Slowly it formed as Pohokura wrapped around his neck and on here. My great-grandfather took Uncle ... down to the river. The specialists couldn't do anything for him. ... My great-grandfather [Winiata Te Whaaro] took Uncle ... down to the river. They were both immersed in the river

³⁰⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 36.

for three days and three nights. Then my great–grandfather pulled him out of the river and did karakia over him for a period of time. Within six weeks, all that’s left was just the scarring of that Pohokura around his neck. I’ve actually seen it, seen the scar. So have several of our other family. So we’ve talked about the taniwha and the spiritual rituals that have been held in the river. ... On Te Koau there is a thermal vent. It’s identified as the breath of Pohokura. They call that thermal vent Pohokura.³⁰⁷

The people added:

Pohokura was a kaitiaki, we don’t like that word taniwha. Kaitiaki mō te iwi o Hauiti ... my wife ... asked me, “Where’s Pohokura?” ... “Well, Pohokura is part of the Mangaohane block, Mangaohane 2, but Pohokura is on the other side of the range at Otupae eh? And that’s what they refer to as Pohokura block. And then she read it out and Winiata is saying that is the kāinga of Pohokura and she said: “There you are. Well, he can’t have been on Aorangi” and I said, “Yes he was. He was there too. They called that the lair, in Pakeha terms, of Pohokura.” Oh, then my wife read something else then she goes, “Oh, where else did she have a lair?” and I said “Well ... on the Otupae range.”³⁰⁸

A Tū Te Manawaroa informant recorded at least two taniwha in the Rangitīkei River area:

For the old people ... they talk about Tutaeporoporo. Starting from there and the connection with the Whanganui River aye? So you get all that out of doubt. So there is some old kōrero for that particular taniwha that associates with the Rangitīkei.³⁰⁹

Maui Pomare noted that Tutaeporoporo at one time was a good taniwha and was the cherished pet of Tuariki of Rangitīkei. But Tuariki was killed by the Whanganui people so Tutaeporoporo took up his abode in the Whanganui River in order to avenge the death of Tuariki.³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ Ibid, p 9.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p 17.

³⁰⁹ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, p. 10.

³¹⁰ Pomare, M, ‘Tutaeporoporo’ in Cowan, J, (Ed), *Legends of the Māori* (Vol. 1, Southern Reprints, Papakura, 1930) p 99.

The Tu Te Manawaroa informant referred to another taniwha in the Rangitīkei area:



Image 20: Tutaeoporoporo, Pomare, M, ‘Tutaeoporoporo’
Source: Cowan, J, (Ed), *Legends of the Maori* (Vol. 1,
Southern Reprints, Papakura, 1930) p 99.

But the main Raukawa taniwha that is associated with there and the kaitiaki for that taniwha is the Kereama family, Ngāti Manomano, – is Harurunui. So there is a spring on their property. Sometimes they just call him Te Haruru. I've heard some of them say Te Harurunui. The spring there is the lair of that taniwha on their farm.³¹¹

Puruhi Smith mentioned the old marae Te Rurukōhanga as being the home of the taniwha Harurunui who took the form of a large eel:

I te taha o Te Rurukōhanga ka noho ana hoki te taniwha, ana ko te taniwha ko Harurunui. Ara ko Harurunui he tuna nunui, koia te kaitiaki e noho ana kei waenganui tērā repo.³¹²

Ngāti Manomano members of course also referred to Harurunui:

³¹¹ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, p. 10.

³¹² Puruhi Smith in *Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi* (Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wai 2200, 18-20 May 2014), p. 5.

Harurunui ... He wasn't in the river though, just in the spring. Harurunui. That was the name of our old homestead too, that's where the taniwha lived just off the Rangitīkei Awa but on the flat; there was a spring. We think it had something to do with the fact that the whole land used to move, it was like... there's grass over it and the whole thing would move.³¹³

A koroua from the whānau continued:

One thing you could do at Tokorangi in the old days is ... [i]f you listened to the train which was miles away, about 20 miles away, and you could hear it going up the incline from where we lived ... if you could hear it going up that hill, it was going to rain. It was all to do with the wind, that's why Harurunui had something to do with the wind.³¹⁴

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant mentioned two taniwha in Lake Oporoa:

There are two taniwha in our lake. The Lake is Oporoa or commonly known as Hadden's Lake. There are two taniwha in there. Their identity is ascribed to a tupuna, Matangi. Matangi was quite a significant tupuna who travelled up into this region and settled on the banks of the Oporoa Lake. ... He came from down the Wairarapa. ... Those two taniwha in the Lake are his grandchildren. He turned them into taniwha because of their demands. ... The grandson's name was Horouta. The granddaughter's name was Hineaniwaniwa.³¹⁵

Tūrangaarere informants briefly talked about a taniwha in their area who was a big white eel.³¹⁶

Te Reureu members mentioned their taniwha although some were skeptical:

I don't know what the name of it is, but when I was a kid– it's a log. People have seen it, I'm skeptical but I'm not gonna knock it. This log actually travels up the river, and that's happened in my day. People have seen it when I was a kid but I'm not quite sure of the name of the taniwha.³¹⁷

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant referred to a taniwha but without substance:

There's always been a drowning, you know with the taniwha, When they found their bodies, they've always had their heads missing. ... That was one of the tales we were told ... The taniwha ... is a spiritual taniwha that is present without being unknown. It's ma. It's without substance, visual substance, and it's also a means of teaching our young ones to respect what

³¹³ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 15.

³¹⁴ Idem.

³¹⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 7.

³¹⁶ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 10.

³¹⁷ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, p 7.

is in the river; the whole mauri of the river; the life force of the river completely. And that's the taniwha ... not a specific taniwha as such. We have things in the river which are kaitiaki for us, but for others it's a taniwha, a kehua; but for us it's not that. Kehua we identify somewhat differently.³¹⁸

The Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants also mentioned how taniwha are commemorated on their whareniui:

The guardians of the Mangaohane. ... On the amo [of the whareniui at Winiata Marae] there are certain carvings in Pākehā but they're depicted in Māori and this has come down to me from uncles and father. ... there's the guardians ... the ngārara that live in the awa at the back of the Marae. ... Those ngārara are the guardians of all our people. ... the guardians of Mangaohane ... The kaitiaki of our area here.³¹⁹

Tūrangaarere informants discussed other more pragmatic taniwha or kēhua in their area as a means of social control to warn of danger:

We were taught to respect that river. We weren't allowed to go near it on our own and the way we were taught respect for it was we were told there were scorpions down there. ... No taniwhas just heaps of ghosts [kehua]. ... Well our Father said there was scorpions because he knew we were frightened of spiders. So he didn't want us going anywhere near the river, because that was their biggest fear. None of us did.³²⁰

A Ngāti Whitikaupeka informant even referred to taniwha as being important socially for teaching children respect:

Taniwha were everywhere here ... I can tell you they were everywhere here. ... They were scary those taniwha. ... I was careful when I went to the river because we might come across a taniwha. ... The way that your parents or whoever told you about taniwha. It was a way of teaching you to respect the river.³²¹

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū then continue to acknowledge and nurture their taniwha guardians as kaitiaki of the river, its tributaries and puna which are also indicative of stewardship rights and responsibilities.

³¹⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 2.

³¹⁹ Ibid, p 21.

³²⁰ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 20.

³²¹ Ngāti Whitikaupeka Wānanga, 14 August 2015, pp 10-11.

4.15 Celebrated or Referred to in Waiata

Mātauranga and tikanga Māori were passed down the generations through performative rituals such as whakatauki (proverbs), waiata (songs), pūrākau (legends, myths), whaikorero (speech making) or through active participation in a particular act, which gave rise to the understanding of the values associated with that act. Kāretu noted:

Before the coming of the Pakeha [European] to New Zealand... all literature in Māori was oral. Its transmission to succeeding generations was also oral and a great body of literature, which includes haka [dance], waiata [song], tauparapara [chant], karanga [chant], poroporoaki [farewell], paki waitara [stories], whakapapa [genealogy], whakataukī [proverbs] and pepeha [tribal sayings], was retained and learnt by each new generation.³²²

It is clear that the traditional Māori legal system was governed by tikanga Māori and rituals which were a type of source of law in terms of contributing to social control and establishing a group's rights and responsibilities. Some waiata or the classical mōteatea played a critical role in the process by which history was recorded and interpretations of that history were maintained within Māori tribes. Historic waiata then can be a valuable resource as a reference to Māori customary law and values as well as tangata whenua rights and responsibilities. Waiata can be windows in time that provide information on past events, places, people, behaviour, and precedents. Hence, waiata or mōteatea were the vessels within which important information about a people were held including for establishing tangata whenua property rights and responsibilities over waterways.

Many tribal settlements of the Rangitīkei region were situated along the banks of the Rangitīkei, Moawhango, Hautapu and Kawhatau Rivers among other waterways because of their food resources and as a means of frequent communication between the various tribes. Waterways were also often referred to in oratory and song. Waiata or song then are another of the claimant's signposts of stewardship. Waiata show the importance and ongoing nature of the Māori relationship with their **taonga** including waterways.

One such waiata (which is referred to above) is the *pōpō* or nursery song 'E Hine Aku' which tells

³²² Kāretu, T 'Language and Protocol of the Marae,' in King, M (Ed), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On* (3rd Ed)(Longman Paul Press, Auckland, 1981).

the story of Hau, who undertook the journey to look for his wife Wairaka who had eloped with a man named Weku. The waiata gives the origin of place-names from Wanganui to Wairarapa, including Rangitīkei. We give the song in full so as to emphasise the relationship between the lower reaches of the Rangitīkei awa and the Manawatū-Horowhenua coastline.

KO TE PO A TE RANGITAKORU MO

TAMA TAMAHINE, MO WHARERAURANGI

E hine aku, ki to kunenga mai i tawhiti,
Ki te whakaringaringa, ki te whakawaewae,
Te wakakanohi-tanga, ka manu, e hine, te waka i a Ruatea,
Ko Kurahaupo, ka iri mai taua, i runga i Aotea ko te waka i a Turi,
Kau mai taua te ngutu Whenuakura,
Hanga iho te whare Rangitawhi;
Tiria mai te kumara,
Ka ruia mai te karaka ki te taiao net,
Karia iho te pou Tamawahine i,
Ka waiho i Nga tuahine, i a Nonoko-uri,
I a Nonoko-tea, ko te Hererunga, ko te Korohunga.
Kapua mai e Hau ko te one ki te ringa,
Ko te tokotoko. Ka whiti i te awa,
Ka nui ia, ko Wanga-nui;
Tiehutia te wai, ko Wangae-hu;
Ka hinga te rakau, ko Turakina;
Tikeitia te waewae, ko Tikei;
Ka tatu, e hine, ko Manawatū;
Ka rorohio nga taringa, ko Hokio;
Waiho te awa iti hei ingoa mona ki Ohau;
Takina te tokotoko, ko Otaki;
Ka mehameha, e hine, ko Waimea.
Ka ngahae nga pi, ko Wai-kanae.
Ka tangi ko te mapu, e hine,
Ka kite koe i a Wairaka.
Matapoutia.
Poua ki runga, poua ki raro,
Ka rarau, e hine. Ka rarapa nga kanohl,
Ko Wai-rarapa
Te rarapatanga o to tupuna,
E hine—ka moiki te ao,
Ko te pai a Waitiri;
Kumea kia warea Kaitangata
Ki waho ki te moana;

Hanga te paepae, poua iho, te pou
Whakamaro te rangi, ko Meremere:
Waiho te Whānau, ko te punga
O tona waka ko te Awhema.
Kati, ka whakamutu. e hine ...³²³

**TE RANGITAKORU'S NURSERY SONG
FOR HIS DAUGHTER, FOR
WHARAURANGI**

O, my daughter, when you came from afar,
And your hands were formed, and your feet,
And your face, you floated, O daughter,
In the Kurahaupo, Ruatea's canoe,
When you embarked in the Aotea, the canoe of Turi,
You forded the Whenua kura at its mouth,
There was made the house of Rangitawi;
Let us plant the kumara,
And sow the karaka, in the land bordering the sea;
Sink deep the post Tamawahinei,
Leave it for Nga tua hine, from Nonoko-uri,
From Nonoko-tea, the Hererunga and Korohunga.
Hau took up some sand in the palm of his hand, and his staff.
When he crossed over the river,
Finding it was wide he called it Wanga-nui.
Splash the water, that will reach Wangac-hu;
The length of a fallen tree, is Turakina.
Having many times lifted up his feet, Tikei;
When his heart sank within him, Manawatū;
When the wind whistled past his ears, Hokio;
The small river called, Ohau;
When he carried his staff in a horizontal position, Otaki;
When he prayed, O daughter, it was Wai-mea;
When he looked out of the corner of his eye, Wai-kanae;
When he became weary, my daughter, he reached Wai-raka.
He repeated an incantation,
She became fixed above, and fixed below,
My daughter. When his eyes glistened with delight,
He called the place Wai-rarapa,
It was the rejoicing of your ancestor, my daughter.
The sky became cloudless,
On account of Waitiri's good will.
She then enticed Kaitangata out to sea:

³²³ Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae Individual, Wellington, 30 October 2015. The written text is sourced from *Te Ao Hou*, August 1957, p. 16.

She placed the plank across,
And drove it in a post to hold on by, called Meremere.
She left to her offspring, Punga, the anchor of his canoe,
As his name, Awhema.
Enough, it is finished, O my daughter.³²⁴

Bird noted however, that the waiata was composed by Te Pakaru and begins by referring to the child's cry for food. The composer uses the situation as the motive for introducing the story of how the kumara was brought from Parinui-te-ra in Hawaiki:

Oh, my daughter, when you came from afar,
And your hands were formed and your feet and your face
Oh! then was launched Kurahaupo, the canoe of Ruatea.
You and I embarked in the Aotea, the canoe of Turi,
We forded the Whenuakura at its mouth
Then was founded the house of Rangitahi.
Planted was the kumara, and the karaka was sown
In the lands bordering the sea.
Hau took up some sand, in his hand he held the staff of Turoa
When he crossed the river, he found it wide and called it Whanganui
Where he splashed the water, that was Whangaehu
Then a tree was felled—that was Turakina
He lifted his feet many times and so; Rangitīkei
When his heart sank within him, that was Manawatū
When the wind whistled past his ears, he called the place Hokio
The small river he called after himself—Ohau
Where he carried his staff levelled out was Otaki
Where he prayed, O daughter, it was Waimea
When he looked out of the corner of his eye—Waikanae
When he became weary, there, my daughter, you will see Wairaka
He cast a spell over her and she was fixed above and below as a rock in the sea
When his eyes glistened with delight,
He called the place Wairarapa
This was the rejoicing of your ancestor, o daughter.

This oriori gives the origin of the names of every settlement from Wanganui to Wairarapa, including the Rangitīkei River, and is a good example of how Māori place names originated according to Bird.³²⁵

³²⁴ Ibid, p 17.

³²⁵ Bird, W, 'Songs of the Māori' in *Te Ao Hou* (No. 11, July 1955) pp 16-17.

Although differing accounts exist of the origin and purpose of this waiata, it provides the origin of place-names from Wanganui to Wairarapa, including Rangitīkei, and it emphasises the relationships between the lower reaches of the Rangitīkei awa and the Manawatū-Horowhenua coastline.

Another famous Ngāti Raukawa waiata was composed by Erenora Taratoa which beautifully articulated the whakapapa connections of the various tribes of the Rangitīkei River district and elsewhere. The waiata is entitled *He Patere, Ara He Rangi Poi*. Erenora was a daughter of Nepia Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa. The reason for this action song was because of the jealousy of the women of Ngāti Parewahawaha. On account of her beauty she was courted by young men of both races, European and Māori. She had a son to a European named Taraahi but her father refused his consent to marry him. The young Māori men were glad as it left them a clear field to court her; and countless men sought her hand in marriage. All the women became jealous and they spoke in disparaging terms of Erenora; saying she was vain, low born, and adulterous. She thereupon composed this action song. It is said by some that this song was inspired because of some disparagement by Puhīwahine and Te Rerehau, both of Ngāti Tūwharetoa of Taupō, when they learnt that Erenora was intended as a wife for Puhīwahine's brother, Te Maraku.

He Patere, Ara He Rangi Poi – An Action Song or Poi Accompaniment³²⁶

Nā, Erenora Taratoa, by Erenora Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa

Nā Taite Te Tomo i Whakamārama. Explanations by Te Taite Te Tomo.

Poia atu tāku poi
Wania atu tāku poi
Ngā pikitanga ki Otairi,
Papatairite atu ki Pātea.
Ka tiro tiro ki Te Onetapu;
Ka ranga tonu ki Taupō,
Ko te Rohu, ko Te Rerehau
E whae ma! Kia rite mai te whakaaro
Ki ōku haere ruahine ki konei.
Nunui tonu mai, he iti tāku iti,
Ehara i muri nei

Swing afar off my poi,
Skim onward my poi,
Upwards to the heights at Otairi,
And there draw nigh unto Pātea.
Look about (you) at Te Onetapu;
Thence hasten onward to Taupō,
To Te Rohu and Te Rerehau.
Ah Mesdames! Listen both of you
To my dedicated journey hither.
Ye exalted ones, a lowly one indeed am I,
Not of recent times, of course,

³²⁶ Ngata, A & Jones, P.T, Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas Collected by Sir Apirana Ngata and Translated by Pei Te Hurinui (Auckland University Press, Auckland, Part 2, 2006) pp 202-209.

No tua whakahaere nō āku kaumātua.
 I whiua ki Heretaunga
 Ko Puororangi, ko Tarapuhi.
 Ka rawe ra maua ko tāku tara
 Ki te hapai ewe ki ngā whenua
 Tapapa ana i te hiwi ki Horohoro.
 Kia mātau tonu au ki Tarawera,
 Ko Te Hemahema.
 Ka rere titaha te rere a tāku poi,
 E oma ana i te tai pouri ki Rotorua,
 Ko Parihokotoru, ko Te Apoapo, ko
 Ngatoro.
 Kei whea te rā ka hapainga mai?
 Kei Tauranga, Tupaea,
 Ko te mea rā e wawatatia nei
 E māua ko tāku poi.
 Tiehutia i te wai ki Hauraki,
 Ko Hapai, ko Taraia.
 Tū tonu mai Tauaiti,
 Pikautia i te hiwi ki Mahurangi,
 Ko Te Aohau, ko Tiaho,
 Ka taupatupatu Te rere a tāku poi
 Ngā ia tuku ki Waikato,
 Ko Kīngi Pōtatau, ko Te Paea,
 Ko Matutaera e taoro nei
 I te nuku o te whenua.
 Hei aha rā?
 Hei mana mo Niu Tireni
 Potaea!
 Nau mai rā, e poi,
 Kia kawea koe ngā one roa
 Ki Mahia, Ki a Ngāti Awa.
 E tū mai rā he āriki kei te tonga,
 Ko Karaitiana,
 Taoroa te hiwi maunga ki Porangahau.
 Tēnā ano tāku kuru tangiwai
 I makere iho i a Pare,
 Hei whakamutunga mo āku haere ruahine
 Ki te muri ki te tonga
 E poi e!

But from time afar off, from my forbears.
 Cast off in Heretaunga
 Were Puororangi and Tarapuhi,
 But see now how well, with my feminine
 allure,
 I fly carefree to distant lands,
 Even unto the recumbent hill of Horohoro,
 Where abideth Te Hemahema.
 Sideways my poi now flies
 Across fearsome places to Rotorua,
 To Parihokotoru, Te Apoapo, and Ngatoro.
 (And I shall ask), where does the sun rise?
 (Ah yes), from Tauranga where abideth
 Tupaea;
 The one who brings day-dreams
 To me and my poi.
 Let me now splash in the waters of Hauraki,
 With Hapai and Taraia.
 Standing boldly yonder is Tauaiti,
 As I trudge up the hill at Mahurangi,
 (Where abideth) Te Aohau and Tiaho,
 And now my poi swings wildly,
 (Striving) to follow the current to Waikato
 (Where abideth) King Pōtatau, Te Paea
 And Matutaera who holds sway
 O'er the land from end to end.
 For what purpose?
 For the prestige of New Zealand,
 And as a head covering!
 Felicitations to you, O poi,
 And let me now take you to the long beach
 At Te Mahia thence away to Ngāti Awa.
 But wait, o'er yonder stands forth
 A high chief in the south, Ah, 'tis Karaitiana.
 Stride forth boldly o'er the high lands of
 Porangahau—
 Thereabouts is my jade ornament
 Bequeathed to me by Pare,
 And there too I shall end my dedicated
 journey
 To the north and to the south
 O my poi!

Waiata Notes

Otairi – lies beyond Hunterville; it is on the old trail to Pātea which leads to Onetapu.

Pātea – This is inland Pātea in the locality of Moawhango.
 Te Onetapu – a place at Rangipō, to the south of Lake Taupō, a sandy desert. [The Desert Road area]. Travelers on this route should not ask questions about (the mountains of) Ruapehu and Tongariro, as this will cause a storm to arise with snow, flying stones and sand.
 Te Rohu – a member of the Te Heuheu family.
 Te Rerehau – (female) tupuna of Taite Te Tomo.
 Puororangi, Tarapuhi – An ancestor of Erenora and her people who belonged to Heretaunga (Hawkes Bay).
 Horohoro – A mount situated to the south–west of Rotorua. It was a settlement of several sub–tribes of Ngāti Raukawa namely, Ngāti Wairangi, Ngāti Whaita and Ngāti Tuara; all these were her sub–tribes.
 Tarawera – Just above Rotorua. The tribes of which were Ngāti Tao and the whole of the Tuhourangi tribe.
 Te Hemahema – A chief of the Tuhourangi tribe, his descendants are the Te Tuahu family and the family of Te Hurinui.
 Parehokotoru, Te Apoapo, Ngatoro – They all three belonged to Rotorua.
 Tupaea – A high chief of Tauranga.
 Hapai, Taraia – Chiefs of Hauraki.
 Tuaiti – Was of Ngāti Tamatera, Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato tribes.
 Mahurangi – is in the Hauraki district and in the locality of Te Totara.
 Te Aohau, Tiaho – These two belonged to Ngāti Raukawa and also to the Hauraki tribes.
 Potatau – The first Māori King of the Kīngitanga crowned in 1858.
 Te Paea – Was the daughter of Potatau.
 Matutaera – One of Tawhiao’s names, the second Māori King.
 Te Mahia – The peninsula of that name on the East Coast.
 Ngāti Awa – tribe of the Whakatāne District. Some versions ‘Te Ati Awa’, the tribe of the Waitara district in Taranaki.
 Karaitiana – A chief of the Hawkes Bay section of Ngāti Kahungunu.
 Porangahau – A place along the southern coast of Hawkes Bay.³²⁷

Ngāti Hinemanu participants mentioned the following brief section of a longer waiata:

He Waiata:
 Purei kohu e whakatorona
 Taihere ana mai te puke ki o kahu
 Kei tua atu hoki te tau nei
 E aroha nei au
 Māku [e ana] koe i whakarere
 i te aiotanga
 Tahi te waka nei ka rutua
 haerea ki te akau e³²⁸

³²⁷ Idem.

³²⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 18.

That was one of our kuia [Waipū] who fell in love with a man and she was uplifted from this area, taken away by her brothers because they would not allow her to marry. ... So she composed a couple of songs about her and her love.³²⁹

Ngāti Manomano also refer to a waiata of their tribe:

Piki quite often composed a lot of waiata too. There was waiata that we were taught and their grandfather wrote waiata that talks about the values and the awa of Rangitīkei when his wife died and so there is only a few of us that sing it. ... [Its] called the waiata, 'Kei te takoto', and he actually talks about the smaller awa more than the Rangitīkei and then if we remember then we do Uncle Darcy's waiata which has the Rangitīkei in it.

Ngāti Manomano Waiata

Kei te takoto koe

Nā Kereama Te Ngako mō Waitauhi

Kei te takoto koe,
kei te haere au
ō rori e takoto i raro o Paewhare –
tītaha i Kōtuku kei tō whaea rā e te hoa.
Kia peka atu au kei tō tuakana,
hei whakamaunga atu mōku nei mahara.
Noho e hoa kei te haere atu ki Wawe,
au te whiti te awa i Waituna.
Kia whakamau au ki te Poupatatē,
ō tūranga nui i rangi rā e te hoa.
Me huri ake au i raro o Pekapeka,
ki Kaikōmako ki a koe e 'Whai e!
Maranga mai e hoa ka haere tāua,
koe wharepōuri kei tō tuahine.
Kei tō whānau e kuika noa nei,
tere taku haere ki a koe e Hai,
e Hoa e Poi e kore au e peka,
koe nohoanga kino kei tō mōkai.
Kei te piki tonu au ki mua i Te Tikanga,
kia noho iho au i runga i te taumata.
Ka tītiro whakararo ki a koutou e hoa mā e,
e roto i ahau kei te ao e rere.
Moe mai e whae me ōu mokopuna,
kōrua rā e kei tō tungāne

³²⁹ Idem.

kei te hoki atu au ki tō pūkeikura,
nāu rā i huri kino i te taiao nei e....i!³³⁰

In this waiata, Kereama talks about place names and marae along the Rangitīkei in the Reureu Valley that his wife Waitauhi frequented. It mentions those that Waitauhi visited and saw when she went to those different places hence the manga of Waituna and papakāinga names are referenced, which provides a good example of the hau kāinga of the whenua at that time, and of others who passed in that same time period. The Ngāti Manomano informant added:

I remember we learned this [waiata] standing in the awa of the Rangitīkei. We all had to go and stand in the awa ... and he'd taken us down at one of those times we are getting ready for the year ahead and we are supposed to have our quiet time. And then he says right, ānei he waiata, haere mai, haere mai. And he just stood there and it was, 'E ara e hine, e puri ki tō kakara, e ara e tama e mau rā nei ki tō patu he mauri ka whiti ki tia ka hono ki tō wairua kia eke i te aka o tane waiora'. And even though it doesn't mention the word Rangitīkei, what it was was a waiata to whakakaha i ngā taura, he wahine, he tāne kia tū ki te waahi e tika ana mōna; so to not be afraid of your wahinetanga and your tānetanga but to assume the mantle that you were meant to. And he composed [the waiata] while we were down there and he taught it to us standing in the awa so that we'd get that mauri of the awa while we were singing it. And so it's always been like, whenever I sing that song, I always think of the awa, standing there in the awa on a beautiful summer day doing this waiata.³³¹

Another important waiata was written by one of the sons of Kereama, Tūkawekai, which is a pātere:

Tēnei ka noho
Nā Tūkawekai Kereama

Tēnei ka noho i te mahau o tōku whare
ka whakarongo rua aku taringa ki te taunu mai ā te tangata,
e kore au e aro iho ka whakamau atu ki ōku kāwei:
Kei Te Hiiri o Māhuta ko Ngāti Rangatahi Matakore
ka hīkoi atu au ki Te Tikanga ki a Ngāti Pikiahu Waewae i runga o Tokorangi
ki te whānau e moe noa mai rā e aroha nei au e....i
Ka tītiro whakararo ki Te Poupatatē, ki Te Kōtuku ka ngaro rā aku whare kōrero,
ka ruku au i te awa o 'Tīkei, ki Ōhinepuhiawe ki a Ngāti Parewahawaha e noho mokemoke mai rā,
ka toi taku haere ki a Ngāti Kauwhata, Maniaihu.
E kui mā e kei whea te huarahi tika?

³³⁰ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 18.

³³¹ Idem.

Ka piki au ki runga o Tararua, Ngā Puketūrua,
 ka tītiro iho ki a Ngāti Whakaterere, ki Poutū, te Ngare o Tūrongo, te marae o te Poukai,
 ka whakamau atu ki a Ngāti Tūranga, ki Paranui, Rākaupaewai ki Motuiti,
 kei tua iti atu ko te Ngare o Huia, ko Ngāti Matau,
 kei Raumātangi ko Ngāti Pareraukawa, kei Muhunua ko Ngāti Kikopiri,
 aku nui, aku rahi e kore e taea te kōrero kāti au i konei!
 Me hoki kōmuri au ki te Taumata O Te Rā, ki a Ngāti Manomano
 kia hoki mai ai te waiora ki ahau e.....i!
 Kōkiri!³³²

This waiata was composed whilst Ngāti Manomano was establishing Taumata O Te Rā Marae, hei whakahoki ki ngā kōrero taunu. Like his father, Kereama, in the previous waiata, Tūkawekai refers to the awa o Rangitīkei and many of the marae of the rohe, and the people at each marae. Many of the whānaunga mentioned in this waiata really enjoy the way their uncle wove everybody along the Rangitīkei (and then down towards Ōtaki) together.³³³

Te Pikikōtuku is the son of Tūkawekai, and he composed numerous other waiata in his time, both mōteatea and waiata ngahau – many of which are now ‘iwi anthems’. When he was the kaiwhakahaere of Te Kura Mairaro, the people used to take the students down to the awa all the time. They would go down to where Waitapu comes out to the Rangitīkei. At that time, the people were getting ready for the year ahead, and everyone was supposed to have ‘quiet’ time, listening to the awa, the taiao, tūpuna and themselves. Then Te Pikikōtuku yelled out: “Anei he waiata! Haere mai, haere mai - “E ara e hine”³³⁴

E ara e hine
Te Pikikōtuku Kereama

E ara e hine, e puhi ki tō kakara,
 e ara e tama, e mau rānei ki tō patu
 he mauri ka whītikitia, ka hono ki tō wairua
 kia eke i te aka pikinga o Tāne Waiora....i!³³⁵

The Ngāti Manomano informant added:

³³² Idem.

³³³ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 18.

³³⁴ Ibid, pp 18-20.

³³⁵ Idem.

Even though this particular waiata doesn't mention the word Rangitīkei, this waiata was composed hei whakakaha i ngā taurira; ahakoa wahine mai, ahakoa tāne mai rānei; e akiaki ana kia tū ki te wāhi e tika ana mōna. This waiata invites the people to embrace our wahinetanga or your tānetanga. In fact, accentuate it! It also urges you to ascend and assume the mantle that you were meant to. Piki composed the waiata while the people were down at the Rangitīkei, where the Waitapu joins it, and he got us to stand in the awa while he taught it to us, so that we'd feel the mauri of the awa while we were learning and singing it. And so it's always been like, whenever I sing that song I always think of the awa. Standing there in the Rangitīkei on a beautiful summer day, doing this waiata!³³⁶

Another informant mentioned a brief waiata that refers to the Rangitīkei River:

‘Tēnei ka noho i te mahau o tōku whare’

‘Tēnei ka noho i te mahau o tōku whare,
ka huri āku kanohi ki Rangitīkei awa,
ki te wai tuku kiri o ōku nei mātua,
o Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Rangatahi, Matakore, Maniapoto e.’

‘Here I stand at the verandah of my home.
My eyes turn to Rangitīkei, the river,
and those waters that flow there are the tears that carry from my ancestors,
Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Rangatahi, Matakore, Maniapoto.’³³⁷

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū then continue to keep alive the old and even recent waiata of their respective communities which waiata highlight another signpost of stewardship over the respective waterways.

4.16 Celebrated or Referred to in Whakatauki and Pepeha

Water bodies are crucial to tribal identity, so much so that it is sometimes said not only that ‘the river belongs to the people and the people belong to the river’ but also more fundamentally, as in the Whanganui whakatauki, ‘Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au: I am the river, the river is me.’ It need not be large and mighty waterway such as the Whanganui and Rangitīkei Rivers to be fundamental to the mana and identity of the hapū and iwi.

³³⁶ Ibid, pp 18-19.

³³⁷ Personal Diary, given to the Hohonu researchers by a Pīkiahū, Waewae Kuia, 2015.

Māori commonly link themselves with local landmarks such as with a mountain, waterways, ancestral waka and group names as tribal proverbial markers. Using the name of a river or other waterway to invoke identity comes from a long and deep association with a particular **taonga**, based not only on the physical importance of the **taonga** to the sustenance and economic life of the people but also on the metaphysical significance to the tribe, often as an ancestor (tupuna awa) and living being.

Whakatauki and pepeha or tribal maxims then are never simply a form of words. Whakatauki are a concise formulaic saying such as a proverb, aphorism, memorable remark, or figure of speech and are a primary means of conveying important social, cultural, legal, and political principles and information. Historic tribal whakatauki and pepeha constitute a means of communication with the tūpuna through the medium of the words particularly if one has the correct version and the context. For it is then possible for the current generation to discover how the tūpuna thought about life and its problems which advice is timeless. Whakatauki and pepeha may also be referred to although not exclusively to encapsulate the boundaries or characteristics of a tribal group or region including to its whenua and waterways.

The health and state of the tūpuna awa moreover, is often intrinsically reflected in the health and state of the people. Kaitiakitanga thus has deep roots in the relationship between the hapū and iwi and the **taonga**, which is fundamental to identity, to cultural well-being, and to the very life of the iwi and hapū. A typical local pepeha states:

Ko te paepae o Tūwharetoa ki te Tonga
Te timatanga hoki o Ngāti Raukawa Te Au ki te Tonga.
Ngā hapū e rua a Ngāti Pīkiahū me Ngāti Waewae.

The southern seat of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in the south,
At the beginning of Ngāti Raukawa in the south,
Where the two hapū Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae reside.³³⁸

³³⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, 'Ngā Iwi o te Kāhui Maunga' in *Te Kāhui Maunga: The National Park Inquiry Report*, (Wai 1130, Wellington, 2013).

A Ngāti Manomano whakatauki refers to entering the gateway of Ngāti Raukawa:

Mai Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai Miringa Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki.

[Ōhinepuhiawe] is coming into ... te pū waha o Ngāti Raukawa. You've got to come through here to get down to the rest of Raukawa. So you know there is the beginning, the tīmatanga, that awa is one of our ohakī but because it's been changed over some time by the Pakeha, if I may say, it's gone and moved it in the way, it's become quite a contentious issue. Really, for our old people, for those of us who know, you're coming into the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, you're coming into the gateway, really, of Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ōhinepuhiawe. That's why we have that korero, Mai Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai Miringa Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki.³³⁹

Another simple yet common whakatauki used around the country but also in the Rangitīkei River is:

Toi tu te kupu, toitu te mana, toi tu te whenua. This whakatauki is a plea to hold fast to culture, for without culture, mana and land, the essence of being Māori would no longer exist.³⁴⁰

A Ngāti Parewahawaha informant discussed in whakatauki-like manner how waterways may be referred to as tūpuna awa:

Tūpuna Awa, the nurturing, cleansing, healing waters bringing life to every organism on the land, is the cultural reminder of who we are, our identity as Māori, and the rights to ... our whenua and our Tupuna Awa Rangitīkei.³⁴¹

In a similar manner, a Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant referred to a whakatauki to reflect the relationship with the Hautapu River: 'We are the awa, the awa is us.'³⁴² The kaumātua reiterated:

The total gamut of who we are on the land, we are born of Papatūānuku and Papatūānuku is a vessel of the awa, of the wai. ... We are the awa.³⁴³

³³⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015.

³⁴⁰ Cited in the Rangitīkei District Council Heritage Strategy, 2015, paragraph 2.1

³⁴¹ Ona Heitia, Ngāti Parewahawaha, WAI-2197 Claimant, 30 January 2012, cited in Alexander, D, 'The Rangitīkei River, Its Tributary Waterways, and Other Taihape Waterways: Scoping Report,' (A Report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, February 2012) p. 44.

³⁴² Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015 p 4.

³⁴³ Idem.

Ngāti Manomano members mentioned another tribal whakatauki related to the Rangitīkei River:

I was just thinking of a whakataukī that Uncle Peter talked about on the Rangitīkei and it had to do with the connection between trees and water and it's about Kōwhai and the time of harvest and he said there is a time when the kōwhai bloom that you harvest. He ... was talking about tuna and he was connecting it in a time of spring. ...but as those trees were cleared and it was taken over by the Regional Council as their strip to that kind of rubbish language, you can't remember what the whakataukī was so that's that whole, not just about the awa but you know the trees and the language and the things that indicates the seasons but there is something to do with the kowhai.³⁴⁴

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant referred to a whakataukī about Tamatea extinguishing his rights to an area:

Nga motumotu o te ahiahi a Tamatea Pōkai Whenua. It means that he [Tamatea] extinguished the fire because he was leaving the area ... so he extinguished the fire in the Moawhango River ... He was now leaving the area which was saying he was now leaving his ahi kaa. So to do that he was extinguishing his fire. So it's just like if we moved away, we're extinguishing our ahi kaa aren't we?³⁴⁵

Mōkai Pātea informants mentioned a whakataukī about Tamatea, Kahungunu, and seagulls:

The whole story was Tamatea came down from the north, from the East Coast, came down and he hitched Tapu Te Ranga, you know the lagoon where the Napier airport is, the islands, one of them is Tapu Te Ranga, that's where Tamatea got his mōkai from, Pohokura, ... Anyway they picked up all those things, the koura that we saw yesterday, the flounder, came this way and this is where Pohokura escaped but you know they saw on the way over here they saw the seagulls which obviously got chased away and that's when Kahungunu saw the seagulls and there's that big kōrero that Kahungunu have that flounders, and that was Kahungunu saying that when he was over here so we give them that big long whakataukī.³⁴⁶

There are numerous other whakatauki and pepeha from the region but they all, inter alia, cement the tangata whenua relationships of the people to the whenua and waterways thus highlighting another signpost of stewardship over the resources for the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū communities.

³⁴⁴ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 21.

³⁴⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 18.

³⁴⁶ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

4.17 Waterway was relied on as a source of food

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the waterways to the survival of the pre-contact Māori of the region. Māori traditionally relied on the rich waterways as sources of food. The Rangitīkei River, its tributaries, lakes, creeks, streams, and even puna were traditionally rich and important sources of food for Māori who resided along the banks of the waterways. Fish and some aquatic plants were an important part of the food supply while other plants were used in weaving and for rongoā. The availability of the fisheries and other foods determined settlement patterns and seasonal movement around the iwi and hapū rohe. Where a group fished obviously played an important role in establishing authority and perhaps ‘ownership’ of both the waterways and the fisheries. This report will not discuss here the traditional harvesting of the fisheries and other food sources of the respective iwi and hapū but will leave those details to the evidence of claimants. We do provide here a brief overview of the richness of the fisheries and the variety which provided a stable base for a healthy lifestyle.

Parewahawaha members summarised how the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries including smaller streams were their food basket:

We also used to have a little stream that ran from the river over here, at the point, and it used to come across the farm. It was a little stream. It ran right across the farm here, and it hooked into the stream out here that ran along the bank. That was our food basket along there and that’s where my uncles used to go and haul for tuna, the silver belly. We used to have our ducks in that stream and our watercress, and when we were building the marae we used the paru over there in that stream for the black dye. That is what is in the meeting house – the black from that paru over there...But in that stream we also used to steep the rotten corn....So that also was used for the bags of kānga piro that we used to leave in the stream. I used to go and help to tie the bag to the post.³⁴⁷

Laura Reweti explained during the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearings at te Tikanga Marae that the Te Reureu lands included mahinga kai such as kai tuna, kai ika pātiki, kai īnanga, māra kai mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, kai manu, ko te kererū, te tūi, te weka.³⁴⁸ Puruhi Smith describes that which

³⁴⁷ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 6.

³⁴⁸ Wai 2200, ‘Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, Appendix A, Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi’, 18-20 May 2014, 29 Oct 14, p. 61.

could be found below Pikitara:

Ngā wāhi ki te hī ika, ngā pātiki, ngā kōura, ngā tuna, koirā ngā kai i roto i tērā wāhi o te awa.” [There were great places for fishing, getting flounder, crayfish, and eels, those were the food in that part of the river].³⁴⁹

Ngāti Hinemanu informants commented on the richness of the streams:

There is a waterway on the western side of that block [the Awarua Block] It’s more than just a stream like a little trickle, it does carry a substantial amount of water. The other stream that runs down there is the Ikawetea. That runs, it’s the border of Hinemanu. Those streams were used seasonally for mahinga kai, whether it was tuna or koura. They were used. There are old campsites there, kāinga or campsites.³⁵⁰

A Tū Te Manawaroa informant referred to the expertise of some of the Ngāti Tūranga people of the fisheries up the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries:

The Mahauriki family ... their knowledge of things was all about the River and they were the fishermen. Where my grandfather used to fish with them all the time because he said that they could, ... he’d ring them up and they would say, "No good going out today you’re not gonna get anything." So he'd go out on his own, he wouldn't get anything. Ring them up on the day, "What about today?" "Plenty of fish today, but they'll be down deep. The flounder will be sticking to the bottom so you've gotta stir them up." Sure enough, he'd get a long net, drag it along, get a big catch. Because that's what their expertise was. They were brilliant at fishing those Mahauriki family.³⁵¹

The Rangitīkei River and its tributaries then were rich in abundance with food and local Māori developed ingenious but sustainable methods for catching, cooking, preserving and distributing fish and other foods from their food basket based on local tikanga. This section will discuss briefly what the people fished for, and the abundance of the fisheries which provided a remarkable way of life for the people.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 7.

³⁵¹ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, p 2.

i. Tuna – Eels

Ngāti Hinemanu informants stated that: We'd always feed the eels and that. ... We've always lived on the Rangitīkei River ... our awa was very significant to our old people.³⁵² Walzl compiled several lists of eel streams and other food sources:

Several waterways on Rangipō Waiū provided important sustenance for Ngāti Tamakōpiri. In the area were additional eel streams; Mangohohouri, Pararaureka, Waitaringa and Te Whakamarumarū, used by Ngāti Tamakōpiri. Anahitotara sat at the headwaters of the Waiouru Stream while Te Waiāu was located on the headwater of the Hautapu Stream. Both of these waterways were important for eeling. These streams, with a number of other, fed a large area of swamp called Ngamatea (immediately south of the modern town of Waiouru). A taniwha was said to inhabit this swamp. Located here were eel weirs named Rireirei, Te Manuka, Te Harakeke and Te Ti Eels and upokororo were caught in the area of Wairehu and further west at Punaupokoroa at the mouth of the Mangaohane. Eels were also caught in the Te Waiokaha stream. At the point where the Mangaone River flows into the Mangapapa River, there was a deep eel hole called Tunangoio. Eels were also caught at Te Waiokaha located near the mouth of Te Waiokaha stream and there were further eeling spots downstream at Mano and Otapapa ... This was a significant centre for food resources. Kiwi and weka were snared here, eels were gathered and fern root was harvested ... Ngāti Hauti caught eels in streams running off the Rangitīkei such as the Mangatutu and Mangapipi. Ruoatutahi was an eel lagoon located between the Kiwitea and Oroua Streams. At places such as Te Maire, Te Houhou and Mangaonoho, bird snaring and

³⁵² Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 1.

eeling occurred.³⁵³

A number of informants spoke of time when eels were plentiful. With reference to Lake Opuroa:

There was only one creek that ran out of the Lake. It was the creek that ran out of the Lake down into the Rangitīkei, through some swamps, a couple of swamps. And we would go there, at the mouth of where the creek runs out of the Lake, and there'd be thousands of eels all thrashing around, rolling over each other trying to be the first one, you know? Because as soon as the waters start to flow out the creek, even just a little ripple would go out and the first eel would start sliding down trying to be the first one out. And they'd been fighting over each other to get in first.³⁵⁴

Tūrangaarere informants discussed the rich eel fisheries in their area:



Image 21: Tuna – Freshwater Eels

Source of image: <http://www.odt.co.nz/lifestyle/magazine/255215/eels-keeping-secrets-themselves>

[One of the kuia] used to go eeling all the time. She caught one out of here that won best eel competition. When they gutted it and cut it open it was about a foot wide. ... Yep, she won the competition for the biggest eel. It hung over there on the clothesline like that. It was long, it was huge! ... just the ole hook and line, and we used glow worms. You'd go up the back here and dig up glow worms and thread it onto the hook.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Tony Walzl, *Tribal Landscape Overview Report* (Wai 2180, A012, Taihape Hearing District, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington 5 April 2013).

³⁵⁴ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 20 September 2015.

³⁵⁵ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, pp 10-11.

Te Reureu members also talked briefly about eeling in the Pourewa stream:

There's probably only one other tributary that I want to talk about anyway and that's the Pourewa. The Pourewa's just across the river ... It's just back over there. This stream here. Well that stream there was pretty important to us as kids; fishing. We were always over there. ... could go there any time day or night and during the day, we could get a feed, ... spread them out, give them out to the old people. We used to do that just for fun.³⁵⁶

A Parewahawaha informant mentioned how they used to catch Piharau – blind eels or Lamprey:

We even used to get those piharau, the blind eel. In the old days. I don't know about now but we used to. ... They hook onto anything. They can't see. They smell eh. ... Heaps of pātiki, heaps of pātiki flounders. All up and down the river, and I think they went a long way up the river. Now, I don't think they do. Yeah we used to get flounder up the Mangaroa, up the river. Kahawai, Flounder. Yeah. Especially when it's raining, when the bait's running. Īnanga, whitebait, they're all chasing each other.³⁵⁷

According to a Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant cited by Alexander, Piharau used to be seen at the Staircase Falls near the junction of the Moawhango and Rangitīkei Rivers.³⁵⁸

Ngāti Manomano whānau discussed their methods for catching eels:

There were a lot of methods of eeling and one was when you were in the muddy creek with a spear and the other method is like say the little creek Waituna. Well there we used to use a torch and ... like a hockey stick, a steel bar and you whack the eel and then it floats to the top. ... If you have a sharp one you cut the eel, that's no good, you hit it and it stuns it and they float to the top and you grab them and put it in sacks so that's one method. We all had hīnaki and Dad had a lot of hīnaki but there were different places where Dad would put the hīnaki in and I remember a few years ago one of the wānanga Raukawa interviewed me about where eeling was and I said I will talk to you about various creeks and various streams but I won't name them, because we still go there, I will have to shoot you. ... Further around ... they had koura there in the creeks and the springs. ... They had koura in there so the old people must of put them in there for feeding the watercress.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 16.

³⁵⁷ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015.

³⁵⁸ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015), p 163.

³⁵⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 6.

A Mōkai Pātea informant mentioned that Ohuake even had a huge pet eel near Lake Horotea:

Lake Horotea ... immediately to the downside of it because it runs out into the Taruarau is a place called Te Tuna a Te Ohuake where he had a pet eel, pet tuna and that tuna was quite big but it actually had a big head which probably make it look bigger than it really was, so one of those scary looking ones you know. Anyway what they had in there when they used to go eeling was they had old eel pits, ... what I mean is you know how the eels all run out and they click them into those holes so that they keep them in there for a while.³⁶⁰

Te Reureu members also mentioned the rich eeling resources in the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries how they used to go over the side of the river and push a boulder over and the eels would flow out.³⁶¹ Ngāti Manomano members added:

I remember everyone going out with Koro to learn about the tuna heke. He might of been about 87, and he'd talk about what he remembers as a child, "This whole land here would be just moving, moving with tuna as they went out to sea", and even talking about seeing the change in the technology through the years....he had his hīnaki with him,, we put down 4 hīnaki that night and then we went back and checked them the next day, 3 of them had



Image 22: Piharau – Lamprey, Blind Eels.

Source of Image: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/13985/piharau-lamprey>

³⁶⁰ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

³⁶¹ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 3-4.

nothing, absolutely nothing. The fourth one had about 180 in it and we were just rapt to go home with something, because we were getting ready for a kaupapa at the marae - so we wanted to get some tuna.³⁶²

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant even recorded that his uncle would put eels in his water tank to clean it:

I used to hear stories about when you'd see [Uncle] down there. There used to be a tank at home and he used to go down the Hautapu and bring back his eels with his horse because he was a hapehape. He used to take his horse down there, get his hīnaki, and he used to bring them back, put them in his water tank. He drunk out of it and ka pai, it cleans the tank up he reckons! ... He had a horse that takes him everywhere. He used to go get his hīnaki. Mum used to tell 'em, that tank there, he used to put them in there. When he needed them he just pulls them out.³⁶³

A Mokai Pātea kaumātua referred to his eeling experiences as kaitiaki:

We used to take a hundred eels, we'd take half of them up to say, Taupō, and the other 50 would be split up around the different whānau. There was never any kind of cleaning everything out until there was nothing left, which a lot of people do nowadays. They go around and strip it bare. That wasn't something we were told about it, we just knew. And we understood why, because when we grew up, we were encouraged to not waste anything and by taking too much, it's likely to end up being wasted. It was the same with any kai.³⁶⁴

ii. *Pātiki – Flounder*

Pātiki (black or river flounder) is perhaps the most emblematic of the Rangitīkei River fisheries and was another rich source of food for the tangata whenua. A pātiki was one of Tamatea's mōkai and was left behind at the confluence of the Rangitīkei and Hautapu Rivers – the 'meeting of the Rivers.' A fisheries report in 1982 singled out the Rangitīkei River and Grey Rivers (Westcoast of the South Island) for the considerable distance upstream that pātiki venture in those Rivers.³⁶⁵

³⁶² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 16.

³⁶³ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, pp 13-14.

³⁶⁴ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 30 September 2015, p 18.

³⁶⁵ Tierney, L, Unwin, M, Rowe, D, McDowall, & Graynoth, E, *Submission on the draft inventory of wild and scenic rivers of national importance*, (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fisheries Environmental Report No. 28, 28 November 1982) p 69.

A Tū Te Manawaroa informant referred to the expertise of some of the Ngāti Tūranga people of the fisheries including up the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries for fishing pātiki:



Image 23: Pātiki – Freshwater Flounder

Source of image: Hughley, K, Clapcott, J, Goodwin, E, Jonas, H, Cheyne, J, Rook, H, Cameron, F, Maxwell, I & Sharp, T, *Native Fish in Hawkes Bay: Development and Application of the River Vlaues Assessment System (RiVAS abd RiVAS+)*, (Centre for Land, Environment and People, Lincoln University, Leap Research Paper No. 18, August 2012, HBRC Plan No. 4379) front cover.

The Mahauariki family ... their knowledge of things was all about the River and they were the fishermen. Where my grandfather used to fish with them all the time because he said that they could, ... he'd ring them up and they would say, "No good going out today you're not gonna get anything." So he'd go out on his own, he wouldn't get anything. Ring them up on the day, "What about today?" "Plenty of fish today, but they'll be down deep. The flounder will be sticking to the bottom so you've gotta stir them up." Sure enough, he'd get a long net, drag it along, get a big catch. Because that's what their expertise was.³⁶⁶

Parewahawaha members also talked about Pātiki and other fish in their area:

Heaps of pātiki, heaps of pātiki flounders. All up and down the river, and I think they went a long way up the river. Now, I don't think they do. Yeah we used to get flounder up the Mangaroa, up the river. Kahawai, Flounder. Yeah. Especially when it's running, when the bait's running. Inanga, whitebait, they're all chasing each other.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, p 2.

³⁶⁷ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 11.

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant noted how they could get pātiki in the Hautapu:

Down here in the Hautapu I don't know whether it's been brought up but we used to swim in the Hautapu at Papakai and Papakai is the one that's got the dam in. But down here by the college was tuna, īnanga, pātiki, kutae, koura. But you can't eat them there now. But 100 years ago they were eating it. With all the interviews and that it came out that within the last 50 years they were all going down there swimming, eating out of that awa.³⁶⁸

Te Reureu informants also mentioned fishing for pātiki in the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries:

Pātiki, flounders ... the way the river was we could go down and in half an hour pick up 30 or 40 of them, in the 60's, 70's. Flounders, there used to be hundreds of them in here... It was just a part of life for us, the whole river, our whole life. It was our food bowl.³⁶⁹

iii. *Kākāhi – Freshwater Mussels*

Kākāhi are freshwater mussels that inhabit the Rangitīkei catchment waterways and were an important source of food for the tangata whenua as noted above by the Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant. Ngāti Manomano members also talked about getting mussels and pipis from Tangimaona – the Rangitīkei River mouth.³⁷⁰ A Ngāti Hinemanu informant discussed the movements of kākāhi in the Hautapu River:

And when we were living out the farm, out Mataroa which is on this side of the awa Hautapu, when our grandfather used to come up from Oamaru to the farm, he used to take us down back towards Mataroa settlement and hop over the side down into the river where the kūtai [mussels], the fresh water kūtai used to travel from one to another place during the four seasons and he knew where they were all the time because we'd go down there with him and get and then next time we'd go with him a few years later we'd go to a different place south of the township. So that's how we got to know and remember what he was doing.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

³⁶⁹ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 3-4.

³⁷⁰ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 25.

³⁷¹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 32.



Image 24: Freshwater Kākāhi (Mussels)

Source of image: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/7600335/Searching-for-Manawatus-freshwater-mussels>.



Image 25: Pipi (Clams)

Source of image: <http://www.istockphoto.com/photo/pipi-amp-tuangi-cockle-shells>

Another Ngāti Hinemanu informant discussed how he used to fish for kākāhi in the creeks:

I never fished the Rangitīkei. ... I fished the creeks. ... It was always the eels and the native fish – native trout and mussels.³⁷²

³⁷² Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

Ngāti Manomano members even mentioned how they used to cook their kākāhi:

The other thing was my Kuia did a lot of toroī, its mussels and puha, you can do three types, mussels with puha, mussels with watercress ... and the other one was mussels with tī kōuka.... You cook the tī kōuka up, you do the mussels, ... and just add it in to the tī kōuka, you boil up the tī kōuka and then you put them together and you put the water back over them. It's rather bitter the tī kōuka but it's good for you. ... you've just got to have a little piece at a time.... you take the outside piece off and you've just got the centre spine type thing that comes up. Tī kōuka is by the creeks and things like that whereas puha you can have in your garden or when Dad used to do the potatoes there was a lot around the potatoes and the watercress was in the awa.³⁷³

iv. *Īnanga – Whitebait*

Another important source of food and delicacy for the tangata whenua of the Rangitīkei catchment waterways was/is īnanga-whitebait as noted by a Parewahawaha member who reminisced on fishing for īnanga with his kuia:

What I can remember, we used the awa for many things. We used it as a food basket and my Kuia ... used to take me to the awa and I used to carry the kerosene tin and she'd carry the net. She taught me how to make a tippy on the riverbed so as the whitebait and īnanga, would encourage them into the net. It was built up of stones and it was in the shape of a V, and the net would go on the end of it, and we would fish mainly for īnanga and whitebait. We'd bring home the kerosene tin. At that time, the river was abundant with īnanga and whitebait. So we would bring the whitebait and īnanga home, and Granny would put out sheets of iron out in the sun. Then she would sprinkle the īnanga and the whitebait on a tin, and let the sun dry the īnanga and the whitebait out. It was our job to keep the flies away, to keep all the flies at bay so as they wouldn't blow our fish. Then, after they'd dried and were curled, they'd be all curly, after they were thoroughly dried she would get all the īnanga and the whitebait and put them into the flour bag. ... She would get the flour bag – it had all been thoroughly washed, cleaned – and she would get all the īnanga and the whitebait and put them into these flour bags. Then she'd tie the top off and she'd hang them in our kitchen over here, in the house. They would be hanging there right through the season and in the

³⁷³ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 23-24.



Image 26: Whitebait

Source of image: <http://www.westcoast.co.nz/newzealand/fishing-and-hunting/>

winter months when we had boil up, she would put some of that ĩnanga and whitebait in our



Image 27: ĩnanga

Source of image: <https://envirohistorynz.com/2010/10/16/the-history-of-a-little-fish-whitebait-decline-in-new-zealand/>

boil up.³⁷⁴

Te Reureu members also talked about ĩnanga and kōkopu in their rohe:

ĩnanga and kōkopu. We've had them, we've actually speared them here. ĩnangas come, when they get up here they're pretty big eh. Then they live here. I don't like them when they're big. The old people used to dry them; dry them out on tin, salt them and put them in a sugar

³⁷⁴ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 2.

bag, let them shrivel up in there. They would eat them, sometimes throw them in the pot with boil up. I didn't like them but I didn't mind eating them when they were salted and dried.³⁷⁵

One Ngāti Kauwhata informant recalled the mouth of the Rangitīkei River as a key source of whitebait and kahawai:

My grandparents went over there, my uncles went over there to Tangimoana. When the seasons were in flood we were over there ... on the mouth front.³⁷⁶

Te Reureu informants also mentioned fishing for whitebait in the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries:

We used to fish backwashes.... At night the whitebait used to come up the stream here, and you'd get a backwash there that was just one way. One outlet into the main river. ... We used to catch whitebait in there. Heaps of them. Buckets. ... Over the years, I've fished in this river since I was a kid. ... We used to catch whitebait, and I mean we'd catch it in bucket loads ... Plus we used to drink this water. We used to drink it. Kids swimming ... It was just a part of life for us, the whole river, our whole life. It was our food bowl.³⁷⁷

Te Tikanga Marae informants mentioned how they would whitebait for days:

But we used to always go white baiting. Down in that first bit of the river. The whole valley used to go down there and whitebait. ... We'd spend days down there. ... we used to walk down from school, you'd go down to the swimming pool but there were specific... eel pools as well. Did you have those uncle? Yeah, specific pools were there where the eels would be. ... Well that's where we used to put the basket, the hīnaki, yeah, that's where you put the hīnaki.³⁷⁸

v. *Kōura*

Another important source of food and delicacy for the tangata whenua of the Rangitīkei catchment waterways was and is Kōura or freshwater crayfish which inhabit the Rangitīkei catchment waterways. Kōura was another mōkai of Tamatea that was left behind by him at Tikitere Falls near

³⁷⁵ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 11.

³⁷⁶ Ngāti Kauwhata Wānanga, Wellington, 30 September 2015.

³⁷⁷ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 3-4.

³⁷⁸ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 11.



Image 28: Freshwater Koura (Crayfish)

Source of image: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/11637/freshwater-crayfish>

Moawhango. Tangata whenua informants mentioned their fishing for kōura. One of the Ngāti Manomano whānau mentioned kōura in a puna in their area:

But the thing about where we had, down where the swamp was there was flow down to where Koro Waapu, the swamp which is by Audrey's place it was fed by a spring ... and in that water not only did koura exist but that's where the watercress was beautiful.³⁷⁹

Te Reureu informants also fished for kōura noting that 'they were all over the rivers, you could get them anywhere.'³⁸⁰ A Ngāti Manomano whānau informant noted how they used to fish for kōura:

We used to fish with a raupo, you put a knot in the end, and you put it behind the koura, and you got another stick and you put it in front of the koura, and they always backed into it. That's how you always catch koura. They'd back into the one with a hook, you just put it behind it, and you put the stick in front and they always run away from the stick, and they move into the noose, and you pull them up, that's how we all caught koura...It was enough for us to have a feed.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 3-4, 19.

³⁸⁰ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 3-4.

³⁸¹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 3.

Te Reureu informants mentioned the significance of the carvings at their Marae in respect of the Rangitīkei River, its tributaries and kai, including the kōura:

Even the artwork inside [our wharenuī] we've got the pātiki tukutuku panels for the flounder and then the koura and the tāhuhu ... – anyway, so that's what our whare is about; it's about the food that we used to get from the River.³⁸²

vi. Other Foods

The Rangitīkei River, its tributaries, lakes, creeks, streams and puna also provided an abundance of aquatic plants that were an important part of the food supply while other plants were used in weaving and for rongoā. Informants mentioned the abundance and use of watercress, puha, pikopiko and tī kōuka (cabbage tree) for consumption – the last two plants are not aquatic, but they were a key source of kai for Māori and they appear to be in abundance throughout the district. Still, one of the Ngāti Manomano kuia noted:

Tī kōuka is a cabbage tree, by the creeks and things like that whereas puha you can have in your garden or when dad used to do the potatoes there was a lot around the potatoes and the watercress was in the awa.³⁸³

vii. Pikopiko

The same Manomano kuia was the only informant who mentioned how they used to eat pikopiko:

It is true though that they have cut down a lot of bushes and I could always remember us going to get kai from the bush like pikopiko all those sorts of things and of course at the time, kererū, other birds and fish was a delicacy for us. We only took what we needed we didn't over fish because we could always go back another time to get some more.³⁸⁴

viii. Watercress and Puha

Manomano whānau members also briefly talked about the watercress in the streams:

³⁸² Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015.

³⁸³ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 7..

³⁸⁴ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 7.

[Watercress was] just up the hill at the back of the Marae where the water springs from ... where our watercress is sweet... Not many of the rivers had watercress [Rangitikei and Hautapu Rivers because they were too swift] it was mostly all the creeks that go into the river.³⁸⁵

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants mentioned how they used to get a lot of watercress in their creeks and streams.³⁸⁶ Parewahawaha informants also referred to the abundance of watercress and puha.³⁸⁷ Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu women mentioned an abundance of watercress:



Image 29: Watercress

Source of image: <https://nz.pinterest.com/pin/>

I can remember going out white baiting regularly, every week. You know, like, today – back then, I would've thought that it would be there forever. Not knowing that, you know, it's so sad, especially down the River you know, walk away from home, that so much whitebait we called it. Again, we'd have it dried, you know we had it through the summer, the winter and it was buckets full. You know, and trout. Boy. Boy was the one that always went out and was great fishing. But there was so much kai – puha, watercress, eels, and um, Jack and I's job was taking the bag of corn down to the River, a special place where we had our corn that, you know, cos I loved rotten corn.³⁸⁸

Some people mentioned watercress and other edible plants. A kuia from Rata for example noted:

My Nan, every time she came down she used to bring dried meat, she'd get her eel and dry it. ... they'd have īnanga and things like that and throw it in with their pūhā. I never tasted

³⁸⁵ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 24.

³⁸⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

³⁸⁷ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015.

³⁸⁸ Ngāti Pikiahu-Waewae Individual, Wellington, 30 October 2015.

it anywhere else, only there. One thing I did learn with my grandmother, she taught me about pūhā. My Mum did too, and watercress. But my grandmother also taught me about other greens, like when one dies down something else comes up. ... So there's always greens are going all the time, it doesn't matter what it is. A lot of people don't know about wild turnip tops and poroporo and things like that. It's beautiful. You know I used to always go with her when she'd go and pick the pūhā and if there wasn't enough – some would be too small for a feed – she would pick the baby stuff. They called it peni peni.³⁸⁹

ix. *Kanga Pirau – Fermented Corn*

Kanga Pirau commonly referred to as rotten corn was another favorite kai, even a delicacy, for many of the people of the Rangitīkei catchment area which was dependent on access to fresh running water for it to ferment in. Ngāti Waewae and Ngāi Pīkiahū women mentioned kanga pirau:

I can remember going out white baiting regularly, every week. You know, like, today – back then, ... But there was so much kai – puha, watercress, eels, and um, Jack and I's job was taking the bag of corn down to the river, a special place where we had our corn that, you know, because I loved rotten corn. ... there were two puna, he called them puna and they were streams coming out of there, out of the side of the track and there were two. There was one higher up and one lower down. And that's where they did their rotten corn.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ Rata Interview, 11 November 2015, p 18.

³⁹⁰ Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae Individual, Wellington, 30 October 2015.



Image 30: Kanga Pirau

Source of images: <http://www.good.net.nz/article/2008/10/baxter-basics>

Parewahawaha informants also mentioned kanga pirau:

We also used to have a little stream that ran from the river over here, at the point, and it used to come across the farm. It was a little stream. It ran right across the farm here, and it hooked into the stream out here that ran along the bank. That was our food basket along there and that's where my Uncles used to go and haul for tuna, the silver belly. ... But that stream we also used. I used to go with Kui Te Kune, and her and I used to do the rotten corn... Aunty, they would also do kānga pīrau, rotten corn, and have it in sacks and in different places... But I remember Uncle Pita tried to ferment kānga pīrau at home, where he had different water containers. Uncle Pita, had water running through it and all that – until Aunty Pare told him off & he had to stop.³⁹¹

x. *Fermented Food and Mussels in Tī Kouka*

Interestingly, one of the Manomano whānau members also mentioned how they used to ferment much of their kai:

Now that was another thing about fish, especially when you have been away from fish for so long and you're hiakai mō te ika. We would keep them gut and all, and we would clean the gut out and let it ferment, and we call that kāpiropiro. You leave it for a day or two and then cook it up with onions. We did that with the gut, the eggs and any good part of the fish. I tell you what, I survived on fish. Same as the rīwai, kōtero...and that was fermented and cooked

³⁹¹ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015.



Image 31: Tī Kōuka, New Zealand Cabbage Tree

Source of image: http://backroader.blogspot.co.nz/2013_12_01_archive.html

up for our breakfast... fermenting the kōtero was in the awa ... but don't ask me where abouts because I wasn't taken there but the women would go down and get it and bring it home and then cook it. ... There was the kōtero, the corn, kānga wai, kānga piro, the fish and the crayfish, what they did with them they brought them back and they put them in the fresh water and they left them. ... that's how we lived. The other thing was my Kuia did a lot of toroī, its mussels and puha, you can do three types, mussels with puha, mussels with watercress ... and the other one was mussels with tī kōuka.... You cook the tī kōuka up, you do the mussels, ... and just add it in to the tī kōuka, you boil up the tī kōuka and then you put them together and you put the water back over them. It's rather bitter the tī kōuka but it's good for you. ... you've just got to have a little piece at a time.... you take the outside piece off and you've just got the centre spine type thing that comes up. Tī kōuka is by the creeks and things like that whereas puha you can have in your garden or when dad used to do the potatoes there was a lot around the potatoes and the watercress was in the awa. Now you go to the markets.³⁹²

xi. Gardens and Orchards

Before European contact, Māori also had an elaborate system for gardening governed by tikanga and mātauranga Māori. European explorers observed that Māori had neat gardens, about 0.5–5

³⁹² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 23-24.

hectares in size, on sunny, north-facing slopes. These gardens were communally owned and worked. The gardens were also located close to waterways. There are some early accounts of Māori gardens in the Rangitīkei River catchment, although they are sparse at present. Iwi and hapū informants also have whānau historical and anecdotal evidence of gardening in the region. Some informants talked about how their whānau were self-sufficient by among other means, planting gardens and orchards close to the waterways.

James Coutts Crawford provided an early account of a Māori garden up the Rangitīkei River at Terare close to the ‘meeting of the waters.’ Crawford wrote about a waka journey up the Rangitīkei River from Onepuehu to the Moawhango River that he and Samuel Deighton made in January 1862. In his diary entry of 18 January 1862, he stated:

We passed through cliffs entirely of sandstone with bands of flat and rounded stones.... We passed Hautapu at 10.30, a large tributary falling into the right bank.... Kowhai is plentiful and festoons the banks like weeping willow; totara is also a common tree. At Terare, an old deserted settlement, we foraged and got onions, potatoes, cabbages and a pannikin [small metal cup].³⁹³

Crawford and his colleagues had obviously discovered a deserted māra (garden) as part of the deserted village.

A Te Reureu informant noted the māra their tūpuna established close to the awa:

But what used to happen with this river [the Rangitīkei], my great great grandfather, they used to travel from Lake Rotoāira across from Moawhango, come down the Moawhango River, and at Mōkai Pātea was a Māori settlement. They used to build two man wakas there, and they used to bring them down here and cross back ... We had a māra way back in the bush here. But when this block was sold off, we didn’t actually sell it. That was our neighbours across the river there that signed the deed of sale so we missed out and that particular māra was cut out of this reserve to help people, but they fought to have it included because of its importance.³⁹⁴

Numerous kāinga or settlements as well as cultivations were found by the riverside. Kāinga were

³⁹³ Crawford, JC, *Recollections of Travel in New Zealand and Australia* (Trubner and Company, London, 1880) at 116-123.

³⁹⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 2.

strategically selected to take advantage of the opportunities that the waterways provided along with the food resources they offered themselves. For example, the settlement of Ōhinepuhiawe and the nearby Matahiwi papakāinga were the main settlements of Ngāti Parewahawaha and, as Oma Heitia stated:

Ōhinepuhiawe was considered to be exceptionally beautiful and came to be known as the Māori gardens on the banks of the Rangitīkei River.³⁹⁵

A Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hinemanu informant also mentioned gardens:

Through our father, that koroua he taught Dad how to garden because he married in here. Dad came from Wairoa, the land of everything. But when he came here it was cold and Dad found that he couldn't grow watermelons or things like that but that koroua taught Dad the old fishing ways and the Māori calendar how he understood it to this area. ... grew potatoes, carrots, garlic, onions.³⁹⁶

An informant from Te Tikanga mentioned whānau gardens:

You know, we weren't ... starved or anything. ... Mum and Dad, they always had big gardens and stuff eh? Do you know, in the early days down there when we were milking cows and coming towards the end, we used to have a vegetable garden and we used to have a pig, fruit trees, and a sheep. We had our own meat and Mum used to make her own bread. Ah, mind us, that was the cartwheel bread. And then we used to churn our own butter from the cream and the rest of the cream we used to send to the works. ... There [were] plum trees, apple trees, fruit trees ... all down the hill here. And over by the house there was a special orchard built there for everybody.³⁹⁷

Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu informants also mentioned gardens:

Down on the bottom flat there was a garden down there. There was a garden down there. And the track going down there, he said there were two puna, he called them puna and they were streams coming out of there, out of the side of the track and there were two. ... And then their garden was on the river flat. And he said they stored down there. They grew down there. They grew pumpkins and kumara, you know, all that stuff and then they stored it. They

³⁹⁵ Wai 2200, 'Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, Appendix A, Combined Transcript of Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui held at Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi', 18-20 May 2014, 29 Oct 2014.

³⁹⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, pp 13-14.

³⁹⁷ Te Tikanga site visits, 14 June 2015.

stored it in pits with straw, lined with straw and then straw put over the top of them. ... they would've grown onions ... there was beautiful gardens.³⁹⁸

The same informants also mentioned orchards in their whenua:

But we had orchards, at the back of Te Marae o Hine, there was orchards down the back of Aunty Barneys, orchards down there, they're all gone and the land around it's all gone too. ... We used to have the best orchards. I think we might of had the best one, the biggest. You know, back in the day. ... there was pears, peaches, two seasons, like winter and... And those big elephant heart plums aye, the big red ones. Plums, Māori plums and, ah, peaches, oranges, cherries, apricots. Everything. I don't think there was a fruit we didn't have; apples. ... All nectarines from different times of ripening. ... [We] just lived off, it was our kai. It fed the kids going to the river. And you could swap with the Pākehās at school, at lunch time for their lunch, and nuts. ... Cakes and biscuits. Sugar. Of course, all the little goody things we never had.³⁹⁹

Poupatate informants similarly mentioned gardens in their area:

Yeah. It's all farm now whereas that all used to be part of the river bed and all the horses would be running through there. ... We always had community gardens up here on the hill. Simmonds and us and everybody would just come and work in the garden and help yourself. We had watermelons, rock melons which don't grow now, it won't grow now but that's what we had. And I always had my big cousins around to watch out for you as we were down the river or even at school. Like we'd go down the river on our own as kids, all day, it would come up till dark. If you did that today you'd be locked up as a parent, eh? But we always had older cousins to pull us out when we were drowning and then as we got older we pulled out the younger ones. That's just how it was eh?⁴⁰⁰

Rangitūkei River iwi and hapū therefore had unfettered access to the rich food sources in the Rangitūkei River itself, its tributaries, lakes, creeks, streams and even puna where they could access food in abundance during the season for fish and aquatic and other plants that grew naturally. They also grew their own gardens and orchards along the waterways, and raised stock for milk and meat.

It should not be supposed that reliance on the waters for the physical sustenance of the people is a matter of the past either. Whānau still have their particular pa tuna (eel weirs) in places. Many Māori families regularly supplement other food resources with kai from their streams, rivers, lakes

³⁹⁸ Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Parewahawaha Wānanga, 11 July 2015.

³⁹⁹ Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Maniapoto Wānanga, 14 August 2015.

⁴⁰⁰ Poupatate site visits, 26 September 2015, pp 3- 4.

and puna as far as they can, while for all Māori communities, the ability to manaaki – to feed their manuwhiri (guests) – with the food for which they are renowned is important to their mana and rangatiratanga authority as well as to fulfil kaitiaki responsibilities.

The way of life for these people traditionally then was one of hard but healthy labour and self-sufficiency based on sustainable practices governed by tikanga and mātauranga Māori. Hence, the waterways were relied on as a source of numerous foods traditionally which also clearly contributes to another signpost of stewardship of the waterways.

4.18 Source of textiles or other materials

Fresh waterways were vital to everyday life and survival traditionally because they made an important contribution to the means of housing, clothing and healing the people. Much of the forests were used for building and weaving materials but some of the waterways were still important sources of such materials too. Raupo, kiekie and harakeke (flax) were gathered along the fringes of lakes and swamps, streams and rivers. Plants for medicines and dyes (paru) were also obtained from the waterways.

This section will briefly discuss the textiles and other materials – mainly stones and gravel – that were accessed from the waterways of the area and were used by the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River district. Māori traditionally made textiles from a number of fibrous plants, including harakeke (flax), wharariki (type of flax), tī kōuka (cabbage tree), toi (mountain cabbage tree), kiekie and toetoe which are all in abundance in the Rangitīkei catchment area. The prepared fiber (muka) of flax became the basis of most clothing. The flax leaves were split and woven into mats, ropes, and nets although clothing was often made from the fiber within the leaves. The leaves were stripped using a mussel shell, dressed by soaking and pounding with stone pounders, to soften the fiber, spun by rolling the thread against the leg and woven. The fiber within the flax is called muka.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ Hiroa, T.R, 'Evolution of Māori Clothing' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. IV, No. 138, 1926) pp 25-47.

Colours for dyeing muka were sourced from paru (mud high in iron salts) which provided black, raurekau bark made yellow, and tanekaha bark made a tan colour. Paru is the natural dye used to create deep blacks in the dyeing of harakeke. Paru was a highly prized resource, one kept relatively secret in places where whānau would both care for and harvest it. Paru was soil, but soil that needed nurturing to give it life.

i. Weaving and Paru

A number of the iwi and hapū members mentioned raranga (weaving of clothing and mats) and how they accessed paru for dyeing the textiles from the creeks and streams. Ngāti Parewahawaha members noted their kāinga along the Rangitīkei River:

The Ngāti Parewahawaha area of interest, me ōna karangatanga of Ngāti Manomano and all the other whānau too. There's quite a few that are along this river, and to me it extends from Miria Te Kakara through this awa here ki Mingiroa, Ngaio, Ōhinepuhiawe, down to us at Matahiwi, ki Mangamāhoe, ki Maramaihuia, ki Poutū, along the river to Tāwhirihoe which is at the mouth of the river, and down to Hīmātangi, there's a lake there called Kōpūtara which most of our families have interests in. The ancestors are a part of that. It's a lake, wetland system set aside as a mahinga kai, and a place where you harvest harakeke and kiekie for weaving and because you're close to the moana, you can get pingao and those sorts of things.⁴⁰²

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants referred to making textiles for the flax trade:

There are places ... in some of the early testimonies by our tūpuna that flax was grown in abundance for trade. It was taken over to the Hawkes Bay for trade. That was the material. The textiles was the muka. Our people... their weaving in this region, our people from this Marae, still do weaving. We don't use the paru. At the moment we weave whariki in the hall. Potatoes were grown for trade [by] Winiata Te Whaaroa.⁴⁰³

Ngāti Parewahawaha members mentioned paru pits close to the Rangitīkei River:

We also used to have a little stream that ran from the river over here, at the point, and it used to come across the farm. It was a little stream. It ran right across the farm here, and it hooked into the stream out here that ran along the bank. That was our food basket along there and that's where my uncles used to go and haul for tuna, the silver belly. It was like a

⁴⁰² Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 1.

⁴⁰³ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015.

big lake down there at the bottom of the hill. When mum and dad used to go fishing, we would sit on the bank and get glow worms for bait and for bobbing for tuna – that was our job, but we weren't allowed to go fishing. Sometimes they would use 'scrim' as a fishing net. We used to have our ducks in that stream and our watercress, and when we were building the marae we used the paru over there in that stream for the black, to dye. That is what is in the meeting house – the black from that paru over there.⁴⁰⁴

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants mentioned a paru field close to Winiata Marae:

I'm going to talk about pour creek just outside here. My aunties, they did their weaving, to keep themselves occupied with the weaving. It still goes on in our lifetime now. We still all weave as you can see I'm a weaver but what hurts me is that creek, where we had our black paru where we could go and dye. My Aunty ... that's where she used to go there and put her kete in there to dye our flax and that's all gone.⁴⁰⁵

Other Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants referred to paru for dying from the creeks:

We talk about the paru ... up in this creek here [the Mangaohane]. ... I have seen it. ... she's seen it as a young girl. Do you remember when it was last used for weaving? It could have been, we've got whariki, all the old whariki. If you go back in there, in the office where we were [at Winiata Marae]] there's a big board that I did with all the whāriki, all the old whāriki photos. That's when the paru would have been used because those whāriki were made by our aunties, grand aunties.⁴⁰⁶

Ngāti Manomano whānau also talked about paru at Tokorangi:

You know the tutu ... it was great for healing different things. ... The tutu was used for such things as eczema for different skin conditions. ... we use the leaves engari tutu was also used for when they used to do the harakeke for dying harakeke black. They used that as the mordent, so it had more than one use for it. ... they had the paru pits over, there's one over by Tokorangi. ... Aunty used to have some paru at the back.⁴⁰⁷

Te Reureu whānau talked about paru in their area:

⁴⁰⁴ Idem.

⁴⁰⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Claimant, Taihape, 21 November 2011.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, p 22.

⁴⁰⁷ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 26.

The old Kui Para used to use a lot of the clays and things like that to dye. They used to use another type of clay to plug up the old fireplaces. ... They used to do a lot of weaving. There was a lot of flaxes there. Different types of flax; there was hundreds of different types of flax. The old Kui Para used to weave all the time. My Aunty used to do it too. Very fine weaving. That's all gone by the wayside. And she used to do all the dyeing with natural plants, natural along the River.⁴⁰⁸

A Ngāti Hauiti member briefly mentioned his people's experiences with the paru pits:

We had a big one [paru pit] at Rata ... And that was a carry-over from old people. It was part of the stream that flowed into the Rangitīkei at Rata and that's what they used to dye their harakeke and that. He mother in law was probably one of the last to do that on that farm.⁴⁰⁹

A Ngāti Waewae and Pīkiahū kuia also talked about their paru pits:

Mum ... she knew what she was getting out of the bush. I was just a little bit too young to remember ... And, even places where she, I can remember places where she went to get the mud for dyeing ... Was it close to the awa where she got her paru? Yeah, was the little... you know at Raumanga? Yeah, the Raumanga stream.⁴¹⁰

ii. *Hangi Stones*

Another important material that Rangitīkei iwi and hapū used from the rivers and other waterways were hangi stones to cook their kai. A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Pāki informant mentioned the importance of collecting the right hangi stones from the Hautapu River:

Another thing I was told; when they used to want hangi rocks. Years ago it wasn't too easy to go jump in your car and go up the Desert Road or somewhere and get hangi rocks. They used to go down here and they used to get their rocks at the Hautapu. But you get them at night, the ones that shine. That's what I was told. It must be quite true because some of them were saying that they reckon the Whangaehu at one time, from the crater lake used to come down the Hautapu. Where did we hear that? They used to say that it used to be the tributary, years and years ago of the lava flow from the crater lake – it used to come down. ... I think it must be right because ... that's where they used to get their rocks from, just down here.

⁴⁰⁸ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, p 7.

⁴⁰⁹ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 8.

⁴¹⁰ Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Maniapoto Wānanga, 14 August 2015.

Not us, we just go up the road and get some. By the time you – but Uncle ... and them all had horses, eh Kuia – but by the time you walk down the Hautapu River and grab your rocks in the middle of the night, then you climb all the way up there – that’s hard work.⁴¹¹

iii. *Kōwhatu – Stones*

A Ngāti Manomano member discussed the significance of mauri stones of the Rangitīkei River to assist taurira to develop a special relationship with the awa:

...Have you ever seen our awa stones they've got that beautiful, natural wave through them just like the water, you know you don't have a lot of awa stones like that, they're just beautiful. So the ladies chose a mauri that reminded them of themselves, with beautiful curves and things like that, and it was just the right size. They wove a lovely little kono for it too. The ladies carried the 'mauri wahine' and the men carried the 'mauri tāne'. The men all started to see the hē of selecting such a big stone; which got heavier as the day went by; but they all had to take turns carrying it because it was about your mauri going into this



Image 32: Hangi Stones from the Hautapu River

Source of images: <http://www.powerupdates.com/clients/Livoimages/default.asp?sid=86&cid=&aid=>

kōwhatu, as you are learning about your awa, and you are walking along it. And Piki would talk about the different areas as they walked up.⁴¹²

Another informant added:

When I went down and collected kōwhatu [from the Waitapu Stream], I took some home with me so I could have part of the Rangitīkei at home.⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 14.

⁴¹² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 11-12

⁴¹³ Ibid, p 21.

Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū continue to source some of their paru for dying from the streams and to collect stones for hangi, as mauri kōwhatu and for decoration as well as for adorning urupa as illustrated below.



Image 51: Use of river stones from the nearby Rangitīkei Awa for the grave of Arapeta Tapui Potaka

4.19 Travel and Trade

i. Aqua highways – Canoeing

Both before and after European contact, Māori relied on their waterways for travel, transport and trade. There was an extensive trade in the specialties of one area such as customary foods and resources, with another area, and the waterways were the aqua highways for Māori that enabled trade to occur. Trade then demonstrated the importance of rivers and waterways in the life of the tribe. Without them, parts of the country would simply have been impenetrable and the tribes much the poorer for it.

It was easier to get from place to place by canoeing up or down rivers than by walking over the mountains or through dense bush. The rivers offered landing sites, harbours and a source of fresh water and kai. Food sources found inland or at sea could be reached easily by river. The availability of the fisheries and other foods determined settlement patterns and seasonal movement around the iwi and hapū rohe. Such activities played an important role in establishing rangatiratanga authority and stewardship responsibilities over the waterways. This section will briefly outline some of the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū informants' experiences of trade and travel up the Rangitīkei and other tributary aqua highways.

ii. Trade

During most of the nineteenth century, waka travelled up and down the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries unhindered. Māori retained rangatiratanga and mana motuhake over the waterways given they were in charge and they were the principle users. James Wilson observed waka use of the river and stated that 'the Rangitīkei River was looked upon as we now look upon the main trunk [railway] line, as a means of connection between the interior and the coast.'⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ Wilson, J, *Early Rangitīkei: A few notes collected from various sources of the settlement on the colonisation of the land between Turakina and Oroua Rivers and an account of the various pioneers*, (Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1914, reprinted, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1976) p 217.

Alexander McKenzie wrote about two large waka pitau engaged in trade that he had personally seen at the River mouth in the late nineteenth century:

The first wool, ten bales (spade pressed) was sold to Taylor & Watt of Wanganui at 19 pence per lb, delivered by boat in the River opposite the store, Taupō Quay. The schooner Catherine Johnson was loaded at the mouth of the Imamate Creek at Scots Ferry (no wharf those days) and towed over the bar by two waka pitau (war canoes) each manned by fifty men. The precision of the crews in handling their paddles (hoe) urged on by their time givers (hauta) the perfect rhythm of the canoe song (titahi). As we were swept out to sea, their outward turn (right and left) as they cast off the tow lines, the return toward us at full speed as if to strike us bows on, to separate, pass furiously by on either side, tongues lolling, fierce shout of the chief and crew, and final 'haere ki Wanganui' will ever remain in my memory. My brother Thomas and I were on board and reached Wanganui on the following morning.⁴¹⁵

Regarding trade up the river, Wilson recorded:

These parties of natives who went up and down the River probably walked most of the way up ... for the canoes would not be available but in coming down, they would very quickly fall a white pine tree and make a rough canoe of it for transport. I have sometimes brought posts down the River and the Māoris who brought them down did this to carry their provisions and tents. The resident natives, however, no doubt had canoes, and used them going both up and down. We have already recorded that Mr Fraser bought wheat from the natives grown on Te mahoe flat on the River opposite Rata in the early days, and it was brought down by canoes. It must have been very tedious however, to pole up against the stream.⁴¹⁶

Small coastal craft used to call in to the River mouth to drop off cargo for the early settlers on the Rangitūkei–Turakina Purchase Block, and to pick up agricultural produce the settlers and local Māori had grown and dressed flax. Often Māori produce was brought down the river by waka and was then loaded into schooners at the mouth.

Trade at the river mouth stopped after the great 1897 flood which dramatically changed the face of the land as the new gravel–choked River channel became less navigable.

⁴¹⁵ Knight, R, *Poyntzfield: the Story of a pioneer family: the McKenzies of the Lower Rangitūkei* (1975) pp 64-65.

⁴¹⁶ Wilson, p 220.

Te Reureu Māori, and probably other hapū, continued to use waka to cross the river when the Onepuehu bridge was damaged and unusable (1897–1899 and 1902–1919).

Still, Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki kaumātua mentioned early trade by their tūpuna on the Rangitīkei River:

The Rangitīkei River was the main highway in and out of here. All the waterways were seen the same way.⁴¹⁷

Well I can say this: When Winiata Te Whaaro was refused access to the wool sales over in the [Hawkes] Bay, he floated his logs down the Rangitīkei to the outlet – Fox Ferry – then from Fox Ferry it was taken over there. I would say that was the last major use of our rivers. Because he floated – they barred the sales of his wool and other produce over in the Hawkes Bay so he just took it upon himself to float it down the river.⁴¹⁸

The same informants added:

They used the river to travel and trade. Our tupuna, Winiata Te Whaaro used the Rangitīkei River for his sheep and the wool. They took the wool to Otaki ... He used the river for the main travel ... highway.⁴¹⁹

A Ngāti Hauti informant added:

They used the river was the main highway not only for us but also for those warring groups who came through in the early 1820s.⁴²⁰

Te Reureu informants emphasised the importance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries as a main highway into the interior of the North Island:

Our people used to be able to ride this river all the way up, to go back up to Moawhango. They didn't call it a right of way aye; it was an acknowledged part of Māoridom in the day. Everyone and anyone could ride this River, whether it was Pākehā or not they all agreed to let them through. So, they did walk up and down here, they did ride horses up and down here and use waka on this River. Because that was those links we have with the Mōkai Pātea.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 13.

⁴¹⁸ *Idem*.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 24.

⁴²⁰ Ngāti Hauti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 2.

⁴²¹ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 5.

A Te Reureu informant commented on the waka that used to traverse the Rangitīkei and its tributaries:

But what used to happen with this river [the Rangitīkei], my great great grandfather, they used to travel from Lake Rotoāira across from Moawhango, come down the Moawhango River, and at Mōkai Pātea was a Māori settlement. They used to build two man wakas there, and they used to bring them down here and cross back ... We had a māra way back in the bush here. But when this block was sold off, we didn't actually sell it. That was our neighbours across the river there that signed the deed of sale so we missed out and that particular māra was cut out of this reserve to help people, but they fought to have it included because of its importance. When I was a kid, across the other side of the river there in the lupines here – they're pretty derelict – but there was remnants of the old dug outs.⁴²²

A Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hinemanu informant noted:

I've seen the waka, or the remnants of the waka on our river. There's still signs of the waka down out at Batley's farm, Ngātarua down on the river. That place is quite tapu to us now, where the remnants of the waka... Because they almost completed them and some only just started and we believe it was a major battle took place and our people had to abandon those waka. I remember when I was a child down at the meeting of the waters where the Hautapu and the Rangitīkei come in. ... I used to go camping on my own as a young boy. There used to be a waka, a complete waka submerged in the mud and rocks there but flooding's taken it away; it's gone now. ... Down below Ōtoea, down at the meeting of the waters.⁴²³

Other Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants mentioned some of the trade that went on in their rohe:

Well, there are places where it's mentioned in some of the early testimony by our tupuna, like Winiata Te Whaaro, that flax was grown in abundance for trade. It was traded over in Hawkes Bay and taken to Auckland for trade. Of course, that was the material. The textiles was the muka that they took out of the flax. And let me tell you, our people, their weaving in this region, our people from this Marae, a couple of them in here and Auntie here, who still do weaving. ... Potatoes were grown for trade too.⁴²⁴ ... The old ladies, the kuia from here did a lot of weaving, raranga, whatu. ... I've heard a lot of harakeke stories ... There was a mill here. Flax mill. There was a lot of mills around Taihape. Flax mills.⁴²⁵ ... So where Winiata was at Pokopoko ... Where Winiata had his 10,000 sheep on 11 thousand acres, he was there for a real good purpose. The real good purpose was that was good land

⁴²² Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 2.

⁴²³ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, pp 3-4.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, pp 11-12.

⁴²⁵ Ibid, p 23.

for his stock all season. Not only that but he had the River there, he had the streams there, he had the Reporoa, the bog there.⁴²⁶

Te Reureu informants mentioned how the traditional trade practices and routes up the Rangitīkei continue into contemporary times:

In our time, what they used to do is we used to get all the eels down here. And those eels there, when we all wanted to build the dining room up at the pā there. When they first started raising money to do that, we used to get all the eels from down in Levin along the coast here. We'd bring them back home here, fillet them, dry them and smoke them and then they'd send them up to Tūwharetoa. That was in our day. Trade has always been continuous up and down the river all the time. It was just depending on what season and where you were, and who was supplying.⁴²⁷

It would appear then that the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū traded and travelled quite extensively along the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries historically. They had control of the waterways during much of the nineteenth century. These people consider it their right and responsibility as tangata whenua to continue to sustainably exercise these kaitiaki responsibilities over the river, its tributaries and the rest of the environment satisfying these signposts of stewardship.

4.20 Continuing recognized claim to land or territory in which the resource is situated, and title has been maintained to some, if not all of the land on (or below) which the waterway sits

As first citizens and partners under the Treaty of Waitangi, iwi and hapū instinctively recognize, claim and assert their tangata whenua rights and responsibilities as kaitiaki of the Rangitīkei River, its tributaries, and the rest of the environment, which includes minimally a focus on cleaning up the waterways and restoring a vibrant mauri to the whole environment; all of which are signposts of stewardship. For local Māori, it is simply about protecting and perpetuating a way of life.

⁴²⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 36.

⁴²⁷ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 7.

In terms of examining the continuing recognised claims to the land, waterways and other natural resources of the Rangitīkei River catchment area for the iwi and hapū, we need not include much detail on these points in this section. Numerous iwi, hapū and whānau of the area are claimants asserting recognised Treaty of Waitangi claims to the land, waterways and other natural resources of the Rangitīkei River catchment area under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The fact they are asserting each of these claims is a continued recognised claim to the land and territory.

Some claimants may have lost legal title through various legal machinations but they continue to assert a cultural conceptual title and claim to the land, waterways and natural resources according



Map 10: Rangitikei River and Tributaries Upper Reaches



<p> Taihape Inquiry Boundary</p> <p> Porirua Ki Manawatu Inquiry District</p> <p> Principal Bridging Points</p> <p> Locations</p>	<p>Sites of Significance</p> <p> Marae</p> <p> Maunga</p> <p> Old Pa/Kainga</p>	
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Scale 1:270,000
When Printed on A3 Paper

5 2.5 0 5 10 15 20 25km

Cartography by Kryptos Consulting (25/03/2016)

Information Sources:
 1. Taihape Inquiry boundary: Waitangi Tribunal
 2. River, stream and location names, digital elevation model: Land Information New Zealand
 3. River network: the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA)
 4. Raster Image courtesy of Map Service - World Imagery.

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Map 11: Rangitikei River and Tributaries Lower End

to tikanga and mātauranga Māori. A list of some of the claims within both the Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry districts is useful to this end.

Some of the claimants groups are now part of their own separate settlements but it is important to at least list them here with other claimants given their assertions of mana whenua in the region:

Table 2: Some of the Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry Claimants

Claimant Groups	WAI Numbers and Other Details
Mohaka ki Ahuriri district claims	Wai 400 - Ngā Hapū o Ahuriri and Wai 1034 - Ngāti Hineuru.
Ngāti Apa claims	Wai 265, filed by George Matthews on behalf of Ngāti Apa that extended into southern Taihape district mainly in the Paraekaretu, Rangatira, Otairi, and Ohaumoko blocks. Settlement extends up the Rangitīkei River nearly as far as Ohingaiti, and up the Oroua River to north of the settlement also includes the vesting of 'Waitapu'; a block of nearly 11 hectares lying between the Rangitīkei River and Reu Reu Road, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Waitapu Stream.
Rangitāne	Interests in Waitapu, Otamakapua, Mangoira, and Otumore blocks in the south of the district.
Taihape district	Wai 385, 581, 647, 662, 1639, 1705, 1835, 1868, 1888, 2091
Claims based in Hawke's Bay	Wai 127, 263, 378, 382, 1425, although 127 and 1425 have been withdrawn from the Taihape Inquiry
Waiouru Defence Lands	Wai 61, 151, 575, 588, 1260, 1262, 1263. Wai 588, which is a Ngāti Tamakopiri and Ngāti Whitikaupeka claim confined to the Taihape district, rather than being a claim made by iwi in adjacent districts.
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	Wai 61, 575, 1260, 1262. Wai 575 claim is also concerned with broader interests in Owhaoko, Oruamatua, and possibly other Taihape blocks.
Ngāti Hinemanu/Ngāi Te Upokoiri (Hawke's Bay)	Wai 127, 263, 378, 382, 1425
Ngāti Hauiti	Wai 385, 581, 2091
Mokai Pātea grouping	Ngāti Tamakopiri, Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Paki, Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāi Te Ohuake, Ngāti Hauiti – Wai 588, 647, 662, 1639, 1705, 1835, 1868, 1888.
Ngāti Rangī	Wai 151, 1263.

Moreover, some of the claimants have maintained title to some of the land in which the waterway sits for example in Māori land blocks like the Owhaoko, Oruamatua Kaimanawa, Motukawa, Te Kapua, Mangaohane, Awarua, Te Kapua, Otairi, Otamakapua, Waitapu, Rangatira and Manoira blocks.

Hence the recognised Māori land titles and the above continued claimant assertions under the Treaty of Waitangi to the land, waterways and other natural resources of the Rangitīkei River catchment area are additional important signposts of stewardship of the resources.

i. Summary

Some of the Rangitīkei River claimants talked about the past idyllic lifestyle that their tūpuna experienced of unfettered access to the whenua, to the waterways, to the rich fisheries, the mara, kōwhatu, to each other, and how much of their way of life revolved around the rivers and creeks, puna, and streams. Ngāti Hinemanu informants opined in this regard:

At the base of Aorangi mountain ... I've been all over it. Everywhere. Up in the cliffs, those big cliffs. I never ever come to any harm, ever. ... that's one of our main resources to go for walks. Beautiful. Absolutely beautiful.⁴²⁸ ... Who we are to the land, who we are to the river, who we are to the sea, who we are to everything that we breathe and live life for. ... In the day we used to go out to the maunga and just go pig hunting and not worry about a thing you know, we didn't know nothing. ... So those rivers give you identity? Yeah, absolutely!⁴²⁹

A Tūrangaarere kuia similarly asserted:

The river was like a lifeline for them and that it fed them too and water when they needed water ... And they went out to get water out the river, it was clean. When we were kids we used to go down there and swim and drink the water.⁴³⁰ ... Good times.⁴³¹

A Parewahawaha informant added:

⁴²⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 5.

⁴²⁹ Ibid, pp 24-26.

⁴³⁰ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 16.

⁴³¹ Ibid, pp 17-19.

The awa was our playground. We loved going, just down from our place, from the homestead. I had four brothers and then we had cousins who were with us ... So we used to go on what we called little (adventures) as children. We'd get up early in the weekend and we'd have a kai, feed ourselves, do our jobs, and all those kinds of things. Then we'd pack up kai – we'd want to take kai to go down to the river so we could have a swim. ... We just knew that was our river and we could go down there. So we'd pack our kai and we'd pick up all these kids. ... But we'd go down the river and just play, swim, jump off the banks. ... we'd spend hours down there. Loved it. We weren't told not to go down. ... That was our playground and ... just enjoy ourselves, have a kai. And then when it was time to go home, we'd go home. Pack up our things and away we'd go. ... I did love going to the awa. It was about whānaungatanga. It was being with all these other tamariki, cousins and friends.⁴³²

A Mokai Pātea kaumātua noted the beautiful lifestyle of his whānau and hapū based around the river:

My memories from the late 1940s as a kid down there in the summertime at least once or twice a week. There were a number of families that were around there, our Potaka whānau. We would, probably once a fortnight, join down there for a picnic tea. Summertime. Boil up. Big fire. We've got a couple of railway irons with a big pot on top for the boil up. We'd be down there swimming or eeling or doing those sorts of things in and around the river. Especially when we learnt to swim. We learned to swim strongly because of the currents. ... Most of the families there were farming families. So lots of meat. We had big gardens at home and we preferred pūhā, watercress ... Things like that. We're talking after the [World War II] ... and after the 1950s where New Zealand was at a fairly high level of the economy which was just bursting with the exports to Europe to replenish what was lost there during the war. ... Everybody had work and there was always plenty of kai. Particularly in the summertime, a lot of our time is spent in and around the Rangitīkei River. Particularly the weekends. We also had the Hautapu, swimming as kids. For some reason we were even allowed to go there without adults. Probably because they were our awa. ... Oh yeah, we knew that. ... we were raised by our great grandparents ... They were always telling us about those sorts of things – what the awa, what the river meant to us, and to look after it. And the different kai [taken] from both awa.⁴³³

A Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Maniapoto informant simply summarized the depth of the peoples' relationship with the river: 'We lived and breathed for the river.'⁴³⁴

⁴³² Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 24.

⁴³³ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 30 September 2015, p 6.

⁴³⁴ Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Maniapoto Wānanga, 14 August 2015, p 8.

Regrettably, as the Ngāti Manomano informant lamented earlier:

RMA [resource consents] that are continually coming through, and that are a drain on our awa, and that are polluting our awa - all in the name of progress and industry. Somebody is making a dollar but we are losing a lifestyle! And that's what it all comes down to is - we are losing a lifestyle. Even when you look at the wealth of knowledge our tūpuna had about the awa, when you listened to their kōrero about the koura, the trout, the different ika, the tuna - I would love to still have that for my children! You know the kōrero surrounding any ika like īnanga, fish behaviour, habitat, fishing styles etc - I'd love to have that! We have been down there and you don't see very much! You are lucky to see life going through it.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁵ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 11.

5 Te Taenga mai a te Pākehā me ngā Awa: The arrival of Europeans, Changes to the Rangitīkei and its Tributaries and the Consequential Impact for Tangata Whenua

5.1 Introduction

Having traversed many of the cultural perspectives of the rich traditional way of life of the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries and the prominent kaitiaki relationship of the people with the tūpuna awa in some detail in the previous chapters, this chapter will now briefly discuss the general and some specific negative impacts of the arrival of Europeans into the region that contributed to changes to the waterways and the consequential impacts for the tangata whenua which in effect was the loss of their way of life and a dismantling of their relationship with the tūpuna awa.

Some Matakite Māori (seers) envisaged the bittersweet arrival of the European long before they came to Aotearoa New Zealand as the former aphorism stated:

Kei muri i te awe kāpara,
he tangata kē.
Nōna te ao – he mā.

Behind the tattooed face,
a stranger stands.
He will inherit the world – he is white.⁴³⁶

According to Ngāti Whātua sources, the above insight was uttered by their tribal Matakite, Tītahi, who foretold the subsequent impacts of European contact which thrust the Māori worldview into a state of perilous imbalance. Land and natural resource loss through wars, confiscations, and other legal machinations wreaked havoc on the relationship between people and the natural environment.

The forcible individualisation of land and property in the Native Land Court, and the exploitation and pollution of land, waterways, and other natural resources disturbed the balance between Rangitīkei kin groups and their kaitiaki relationship with the natural resources. Introduced diseases

⁴³⁶ Māori insight uttered before the arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa New Zealand. See Mahuta, R, 'Tawhiao's Visions' (Presentation, Centre for Māori Studies and Research, University of Waikato, 20 June 1990) p 3; and Buck, P, *The Coming of the Māori* (Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, Māori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington, 1962) p 537.

decimated tribal populations and upset belief systems, while introduced addictive substances – alcohol, tobacco, coffee, tea and sugar – undermined Māori health and wellbeing. Christianity damaged in many ways the connection between the people and the Gods; and the individualistic and economic assumptions underlying European capitalism and Western liberalism destroyed traditional tribal reciprocity economies, the equilibrium between kin, the physical and metaphysical (spiritual) world, the environment, and the fundamental reciprocal obligations to past, present and future generations.

Although European contact in the Rangitīkei region was relatively scarce up until approximately 1840, the Māori world was changing rapidly. During the decades prior to 1840, inter-tribal warfare began to escalate due to real and perceived slights on the mana of rangatira, as well as to settle old scores with feuding tribes and to avenge deaths of kin. The advent of Pākehā technology, particularly pigs, potatoes, fruit, other vegetable crops, and muskets, ushered in a significant impact on the area and people. The turbulent Musket Wars (circa. 1813–1843) period was not directly aimed at the Rangitīkei River area and people, but the area became a place that people and armies traversed through to reach conflict areas or to flee from them. Moreover, the neighboring Hawkes Bay relatives of Mōkai Pātea were heavily invaded which directly drew the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū into conflict.

In many ways, Christianity and commerce characterise the early contact period among the Rangitīkei tribes. As European traders forged relationships with Māori for a multitude of locally grown products, so did missionaries like William Colenso and Richard Taylor assist Māori in realising the economic and spiritual opportunities available to them. Indeed, the coming of the Pākehā in its many facets had a huge impact on the worldviews, culture, natural resources, the whenua, the waterways, indeed, the lives and wellbeing of the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū as well as the tupuna awa itself.

5.2 Environmental Impacts

R.M. McDowall, a fresh water biologist, succinctly summarised the impact of European contact and environmental change in a Treaty of Waitangi context that has definite resonance for the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River area:

Despite apparent assurances in the Treaty of Waitangi that Māori would retain possession of their fisheries (among other natural resources) for as long as they wished – at least the English version of the Treaty explicitly affirms the right – many Māori groups have argued that this promise has not been kept by the Crown. In some instances, the loss that Māori have sustained could not have been predicted as some have been indirect effects, incidental to other actions resulting from Pākehā colonisation. But there have clearly been some major losses for Māori that anyone could have predicted and about some of these various Māori individuals or groups complained before the event both informally and officially, and have done so time and time again since. These complaints have often been ignored, rejected or overruled. The losses sustained have been so pervasive, widespread and intense that it is difficult to know quite where to start.⁴³⁷

McDowell then catalogued some of the ‘losses for Māori’ - that resonates with the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū - arising from the Crown’s actions or from its support for actions taken by Pākehā settlers:

- Loss of access to mahinga kai due to private ownership of riverbanks and lands bordering lakes;
- Claims of Crown ownership of large lakes and navigable rivers;
- Legislation regulating fishing and thereby affecting customary fishing rights;
- Lack of provision of reserves to facilitate access to mahinga kai;
- Contradictory legislation enabling ‘total protection or untrammelled exploitation of aquatic species;
- Introduction of new fish species (protected by legislation) to the detriment of indigenous fish species and traditional fishing of those indigenous species;
- Widespread destruction and degradation of habitat for aquatic species by drainage, catchment modification, river engineering works and pollution;
- Reductions of flow caused by abstraction of water from rivers; and
- Loss of ‘connectivity’ – the continuity of aquatic habitats along the course of river systems that provides for fish migrations and for the needs of aquatic species during different periods of their lifetimes.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷ McDowell, R.M., *Ikawai: Freshwater Fishes in Māori Culture and Economy*, (Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2011) pp 586-587.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid*, pp 587-613.

McDowell's analysis focused on the impact on Māori of changes to the environment for fish. But the analysis in terms of losses for Māori is equally relevant for freshwater shellfish, for food plants reliant on freshwater such as watercress, for rongoā medicine, and for the general spiritual and cultural connections and relationships of the tangata whenua with their respective waterways. Indeed, McDowell's analysis resonates with the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū and their waterways.

The main changes to the waterways and the natural environment are generally better understood in a New Zealand context. There was an era of substantial deterioration of the quality and the quantity of the waterways and their availability, accessibility and affordability when the forests were cleared following European contact. Suspended sediment was washed into the rivers, flow patterns were altered, and farming and industry have significantly contributed to polluting the waterways to differing degrees.

Interestingly, and as noted by most if not all of the informants for this chapter, there has been a further era of deterioration caused by the increased application of fertilisers, intensification of agriculture, greater abstraction for agriculture and industry, and urbanisation - in their lifetime! Such changes have had colossal impacts on the health and wellbeing of the waterways, and the corresponding health and wellbeing of the people. The reality for the tangata whenua is that each river, stream, creek, spring, and swamp is supremely important to them and their whakapapa, pivotal to tribal identity, relationships, health and wellbeing. Indeed, for them, the wellbeing of the Rangitīkei River and its waterways is a priority for protecting their wellbeing and way of life.

5.3 Loss of Rangatiratanga Relationship with Rangitīkei River and its Tributaries

As a loose generality, Alexander noted that the Rangitīkei River may be less changed in its upper and middle reaches from the character it had in pre-European days than some other New Zealand Rivers given that the open nature of the country remains and considerable tussock cover still exists as a result of isolation from formed roads and the Army's control of its Training Area at Waiōuru which combined with the altitude contained development pressures. Furthermore, the steep hillsides in the middle reaches have otherwise limited the amount of development close to the Rangitīkei River's banks.

Some significant developments, however, have taken place directly and indirectly that have had colossal impacts on the environment, ecosystem, and the culture and way of life of the iwi and hapū of the area. For example,

- The Moawhango dam and Lake has indelibly changed the Moawhango River
- Ngamatea swamp in the Hautapu catchment near Waiouru has been subjected to land drainage operations
- The Reporoa Bog is the source of water for a rural water supply scheme
- The development of farmed and irrigated paddocks alongside the Rangitīkei River at Springvale is visible in the landscape
- Introduced trout now dominate aquatic fauna of the river and many of its tributaries.⁴³⁹

By contrast, the lower reaches of the Rangitīkei River have changed dramatically, similar to other lowland rivers in New Zealand. With European settlement from the outset came major changes. Native forests near Bulls were logged and milled. The native forest on the Ōhinepuhiawe reserve was also felled by Māori for use and sale for firewood. Māori also lost much of their land through the Native Land Court and other government processes.

The 1897 flood changed River conditions in the lower reaches dramatically. The waterway became wider as the river banks were eroded and remaining trees on the banks were lost. The river always had a shingle bed but now the shingle-filled bed was wider. The water flows, when the bed reduced back to normal levels after the flood, created braids through the shingle flats. The bed of the river became less stable than it had been when it was confined to a narrower channel and the course of the channel varied with each new flood. The build-up of shingle put the riverbed at a higher level than previously making the river more prone to overtopping its banks and spreading out on to the surrounding countryside. It was the changeable character of the river that prompted sustained bank protection and channel training works that have now continued for over 60 years.⁴⁴⁰

If anything, it is the water sources consisting of side streams, creeks, springs, and even swamps that have been and are more at risk of major changes than the main river, not so much from channel instability but from the threat of running dry and pollution. These water sources drain areas that

⁴³⁹ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015) p 41.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, p 44.

have been deforested with the result that the sponge effect of the forests allowing the slow release of water into the streams over a long period after rainfall has disappeared. Such water sources have either ceased to exist, or become dry during periods of no rain, and the water in them gets warmer in the absence of shade which has had a dramatic effect on the flora of these waterways that still have water. As discussed in the previous chapter, for Māori, these water sources have always been a source of kai – tuna, kōura, watercress, and other foods, but their availability, accessibility, and productivity have plunged as the character of these waterways have changed.

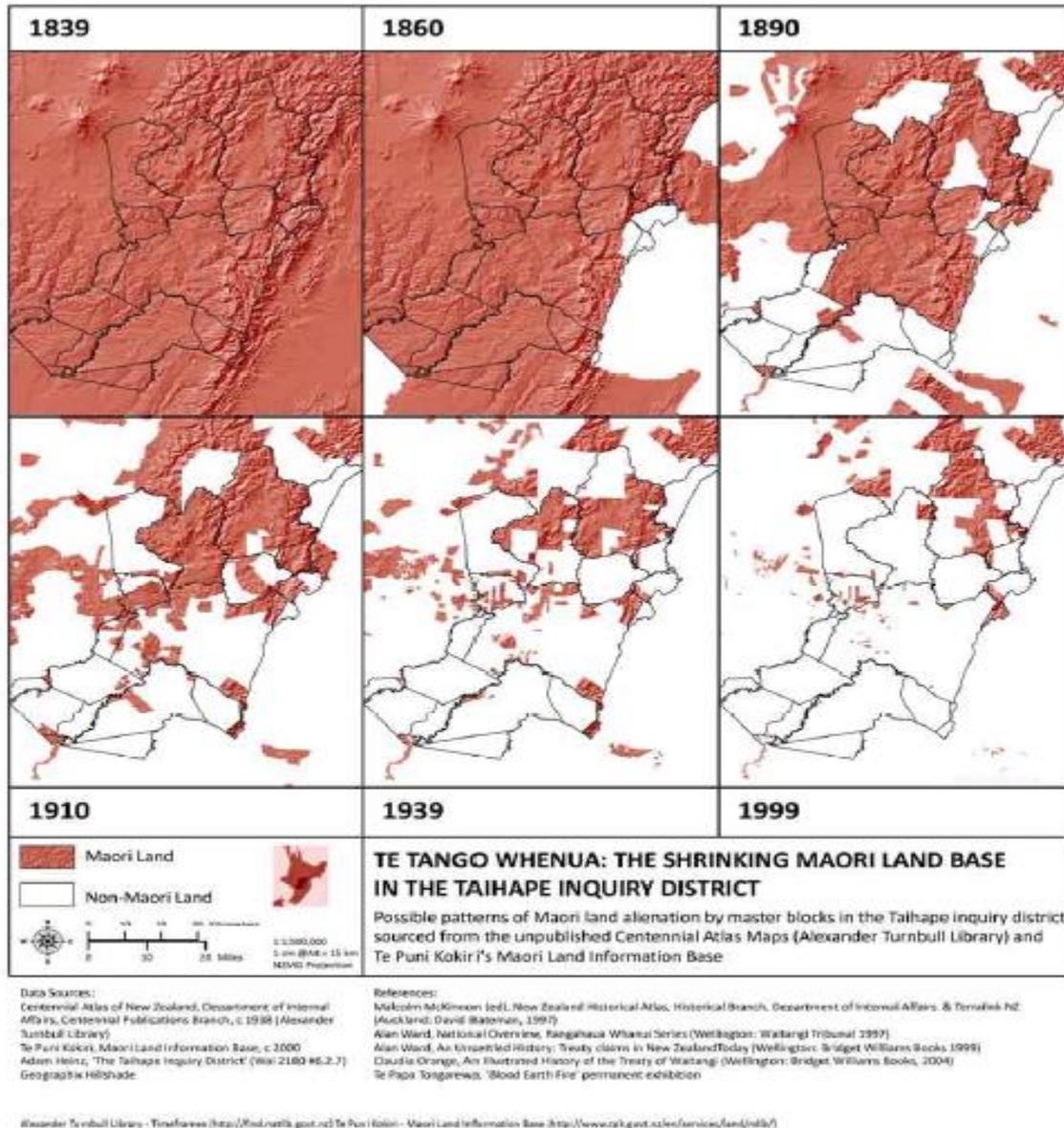
5.4 Loss of Land and Waterways through the Native Land Court and Waterways Legalities

Māori lost much of their land and access to waterways through a number of legal machinations but perhaps none was more destructive of Māori worldviews and tikanga, and the rangatiratanga relationship and kaitiaki responsibilities of Māori with the natural resources than the Native (later Māori) Land Court system.

The primary objective of the Native Land Court was the acquisition of Māori land. By 1865, over 6.4 million hectares was still in Māori possession. The Native Land Act 1862 abolished the Crown right of pre-emption and made provision for a Native Land Court to decide the ownership of Māori lands. The aim of the court as defined in the Act was to transform communally owned land held under customary title to individual title cognisable in English law, so that Māori ownership would become ‘assimilated into British law.’⁴⁴¹ Since land is the very basis of identity as tangata whenua, this law was to have the most destructive and alienating effect on Māori. The court was not constituted until the passing of the Native Land Act 1865 and ‘owners’ were then expected to apply to the court for a hearing to grant them ‘ownership’ in the form of a certificate of title for that which they already owned.

The real purpose was to facilitate the purchase of land and its sale to settlers which was so successful that within 30 years, 4 million hectares had been acquired which increased the pace of the displacement of Māori culture and their way of life through the power of the state. By the turn

⁴⁴¹ Royal Commission Report, *The Māori Land Court* (Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, 1980) p 1.



Map 12: Shrinking Land Base in the Taihape District
 Source of map: Stirling, B & Subasic, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo Inquiry District Technical Research Scoping Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, August 2010) p 96.

of the century, all of the best land had been alienated and only 2 million hectares remained in Māori ownership. Pākehā had by this time acquired 24.4 million hectares of the landmass of New Zealand. By 2015, 1.4 million hectares or 5% of the total land mass of New Zealand was still in Māori ownership which loss of mana whenua, we believe, was not contemplated in the minds and hearts of the rangatira when they signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Such a loss had a devastating impact on the health and wellbeing of Māori throughout the country but including in the Rangitīkei River regions, and it continues to do so.

The Native Land Court system polarised Māori society into factions – hoko whenua – those who sold the whenua; and pupuri whenua – those who wanted to retain customary land titles. As long as Māori land was retained under customary title, it was secure from alienation. But as soon as one hapū member broke ranks and applied to the court for a hearing to award a Crown grant of ownership over part or whole of the tribal domain, then there was nothing the rest of the tribe could do to stave off the court by asserting the tribe's mana whenua. If other members of the tribe did not appear at the hearing, they could lose out by the land being awarded to those who forced the court hearing against their wishes.

The problem was compounded by the law confining the court to name no more than ten persons on a certificate of title. From the hapū's view, those named on a court order and certificate of title were trustees. But the certificates of title and Crown grants showed them as absolute owners with power to alienate because the Land Transfer Act 1852 through which all titles were registered, did not permit a notation of trusts on the register. The basic thrust of the regime was to treat those listed as registered proprietors – registered owners – with the power to alienate. Within 30 years, 4 million hectares had been alienated through this system. Hence the Native Land Court system was a well-oiled State machine that alienated Māori from their land – and associated riparian rights to the waterways. It was also a cheap divide and rule tactic that worked very effectively to alienate Māori against themselves, where whānau, hapū and iwi members were pitted against each other fighting over the crumbs of Crown derived titles only to lose them.

Land sharks, speculators and government land purchase officers quickly moved into purchase land as soon as the 'owners' got certificates of title. The system appeared to be an orchestrated litany of corruption. For example, in Hawkes Bay, the Heretaunga Block was obtained by speculators advancing credit, fostering debts, suborning influential rangatira with bribes and threatening law suits for non-payment of debts. The block was subsequently reputedly sold for £21,000 but only £3,000 was ever paid to the owners in cash. The rest went to the storekeepers who supplied the clothing, food and liquor on credit against the sale of the land.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴² Sorrenson, M.P.K, 'Land Purchase Methods and their Effects on the Māori Population 1865-1901,' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 89, 1956) at 187.

The land court system then was an indecent scramble as the law pitted brothers, sisters, families and hapū against each other – a cheap divide and rule tactic as one Ngāti Hauiti kaumātua noted:

Then came the Native Land Court and each iwi were looking for their own interests and they were starting to deny each other's rights.⁴⁴³

Māori knew their land birthright was being prostituted but there was little they could do about it. Parliament was the 'den of lions where laws were designed to achieve Pākehā aims.' The laws cited above do not exhaust the plethora of laws Parliament passed on Māori land and waterways either that had a detrimental impact on Māori worldviews, health and wellbeing.

A Te Reureu informant noted the impact of the loss of their lands through the divisive Native Land Court system:

That's Moawhango and Ōpaea Marae. ... We had a māra way back in the bush here. But when this block was sold off – we didn't actually sell it that was our neighbours across the river there that signed the deed of sale so we missed out – and that particular māra was cut out of this reserve to help people, but they fought to have it included because of its importance.⁴⁴⁴

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants also discussed the divisive effects of the Native Land Court on the whenua and the people:

So from there we go back to identifying where the pou were set by our ancestors. And the pous we've set, Pangopango where all the main points are there in number 1, 2, 3 and 4 blocks that Mōkai Pātea was broken into during the Native Land Court. And then they made them into 1, 1a, 2, 2a and that sort of thing, it comes to number 4, then you had a, b, and c sort of thing but at least it gave us an idea what whānau hapū belonged to that area. So our area that we belong to – Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki – we come from the east side of the Rangitīkei awa. We are of the west side of the Hautapu. ... Through the court, Utiku Pōtaka gifted this piece of land to our great grandfather for the work that he done. That's why we're on this side of the Hautapu, otherwise we belong to the other side of the Hautapu. All our own Ngāti Paki lands are all on the other side of the Hautapu and on the east side of the

⁴⁴³ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 30 September 2015, p 8.

⁴⁴⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 2.

Rangitīkei going out and inclusive of the range of the Ruahine ranges going all the way back to Kuripapango and south towards the Tararuas.⁴⁴⁵

Ngāti Hauiti informants provided another detrimental insight into the local workings of the Native Land Court in the Rangitīkei area:

So this is Mangateweka, but this is the beginning of the Awarua Block. The Awarua is the major block of Mōkai Pātea so the other end of it is Aorangī and I think it was about quarter of a million acres, two hundred and seventy-six or so thousand acres. There was a lot of kōrero about this block. They had many hearings, nine month hearings, nine months of re-hearings and subdivisions, all over the place and none of it was here. It was all out of town and a lot of our people just died, going there and never came back ... And none of it was here, it was all out of town and a lot of our people didn't know. ... They were in Marton or in Hastings the hearings. In 1894 they finally managed to convince them to hold the hearings in Moawhango and they had to build a courtroom and then they had to build the whare. Whitikaupeka marae was actually built to house the people coming to the court hearing. They only ever used it once as far as I know and they got just as much opposition from people [other Māori in Hastings].⁴⁴⁶

In a similar manner, Tangimoana informants referred to the divisive impact of the Native Land Court on their tūpuna:

Well there were two lots, there were sellers and non-sellers or sellers who were put in the position that they had to sell I suppose because I know we didn't come down here from further up the line to sell we came down here to settle but you know we were coerced I suppose to sell and some, when they sold those lands in 1868, there were still a group of non-sellers who didn't attend a sale. ... Which is one of the reasons why ... there's boundaries around us, the non-sellers. ... Well in our instance here we were non-sellers, all on this side of the river were non-sellers. So what the government did [was] they went across to [the other tribe] and got them to sell this block of land and paid them.⁴⁴⁷

What such laws demonstrate is the colonising Pākehā ethos of alienation of Māori from their lands, waterways and other natural resources at all costs to Māori but at the cheapest cost to the government and settlers alike.

⁴⁴⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 27.

⁴⁴⁶ Mōkai Pātea Hīkoi, 2 October 2015.

⁴⁴⁷ Tangimoana site visits, 27 June 2015, p 19.

5.5 Water Law, Accretion and Erosion

Government moves for the expropriation of Māori land were matched by laws for the takeover of freshwater as well. When the Crown established the Land Court system of legal titles and ownership through Crown titles and Native land titles which were all monoculturally founded on English law, it introduced a whole new layer of interests in Riverbeds. Under tikanga and mātauranga Māori, hapū had kaitiaki responsibilities of control and authority over waterways – beds, banks, and water – passing through their rohe. The links between the water, the Riverbed, banks, and the riparian lands were seamless.⁴⁴⁸ Crown titles however, required certainty about location of boundaries giving rise to immutable surveyed lines that could only be altered by further surveyed lines. The natural process of a River however played havoc with fixed boundaries particularly with flooding and Rivers changing their courses which gave rise to legal problems of accretion and erosion of titled land, and often constrained title space (the legal Riverbed) left for a waterway to operate within. Rivers and their banks are a rich setting for legal and survey argument. The Rangitīkei River and its Riverbed is not exception to this legal setting and has been the subject of complex interpretations as to its status.

Under English common law, the holder of the title adjoining riparian land was presumed to own to the centre of a river or a lake – known legally as the *ad medium filum aquae* presumption. Economic potential always teases out land and waterway boundaries such as accretion land title being capable of being farmed, or when a River bed contained gold, sand, shingle, or metal that could be exploited. The Crown was and is willing to grant title to accretion land if the bed has become dry land in a gradual and imperceptible manner. If the new land was a sudden change from wet to dry land, the title vested in the Crown. In contrast, titled land that had become eroded by the changing course of a waterway would not lose its titled status, although the erosion would be excluded from the title if the land was resurveyed and retitled.

These English common law principles could be overridden however, by the doctrine of Parliamentary supremacy. The Crown could and did pass overriding legislation such as the Coal

⁴⁴⁸ Alexander, D, ‘Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report’ (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015), 76.

Mines Act Amendment Act 1903 which vested the beds of all navigable Rivers in New Zealand in the Crown.⁴⁴⁹ This Act introduced further complexity into the debate about ownership of the Rangitīkei River given the Crown asserted its ownership under this statute as far upstream as the Kawhatau River.⁴⁵⁰

Such complex legal regimes assumed and asserted by the Crown over the years have eroded away the special kaitiaki relationship that Rangitīkei iwi and hapū have with their waterways prior to European contact according to Māori worldviews. Rangitīkei River Māori then have been significantly impacted by these various legal assertions and decisions on numerous occasions and continue to be negatively affected today by the law.

There were powerful economic incentives to include as much land as possible in surveyed sections adjacent to rivers during the colonial process. Alluvial land where soils were developed on parent material brought down and deposited by the river in time were valued for their richness and free draining nature by the settlers. Wetlands were valued for their richness provided they could be drained. Access to waterways for stock also increased the attractiveness of riverbed land by the settlers.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Section 14, Coal-Mines Act Amendment Act 1903.

⁴⁵⁰ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015), p 77.

⁴⁵¹ Idem.



Image 53: Rangitīkei River Mouth

i. Accretion and Erosion Case Study – Ōhinepuhiawe Reserve

The lower reaches of the Rangitīkei River were surveyed first under the Rangitīkei–Turakina Purchase 1849 and the Rangitīkei–Manawatū Purchase 1866. Both purchases defined what would become the legal Riverbed being the space between the two surveyed areas. An integral part of these first surveys was the definition of a number of Māori reserves that had a frontage onto the river. As such, these reserves enjoyed rights to the centre of the river under the *ad medium filum aquae* legal presumption.

These changes of prevailing laws, values and the legal presumptions had a detrimental impact on local Māori who did not sit passively by. There was a complaint for example, by Hikungarara Rongorongo regarding the legal status of the Rangitīkei River in 1888 at Ōhinepuhiawe. Rongorongo wrote to the Western Māori Member of Parliament, Hoani Taipua, complaining about a statement by the Chairman of the Rangitīkei County Council:

...that the Government have passed a law providing that if the Rangitīkei River changes its course and cuts off any person's land, the area so severed becomes the property of the Crown.

A portion of our land, Ōhinepuhiawe, has been cut off in this way and the County Council are carrying on operations there; they say that the area severed by the Rangitīkei River is Government land. We have tried to stop their proceedings but they refuse.⁴⁵²

Before replying, the Native Minister sought more information from the County Council and others, and he received an answer from a Mr Fraser, a local European landowner:

I have made inquiries respecting the Native who wrote to you respecting the Council's interfering with the Rangitīkei River at Bulls. The fact of the case is that originally the Natives Hare Reweti and others were awarded 380 acres and there is fully half of this taken away by the River, and they are afraid at every move or shift that the River may take that they will lose that part that is left. They would be satisfied if the Government would give them 380 acres of Crown land in this district to hand back this reserve to them, and in my opinion it is not an unreasonable request. When all comes to all, the Government would never miss 400 or 500 acres and it would be a great boon to both Counties if they could get this reserve made over to them, as it would enable them to make any alteration in the River that they might think necessary without interference or litigation thereafter. Besides, the Counties could lease it for a small rental which would be placed to the Bridge fund which is a public benefit, and considering that Rangitīkei and Manawatū [County Councils] has never had any special grants for harbours or any public work of any kind ... I hope that you can see your way to advocate it. I know that you will have the assistance of Mr Wilson and all the natives with you.⁴⁵³

The predictable response of the Under Secretary was:

This letter seems to indicate a new way of obtaining a County endowment. The proposed exchange might be reasonable so far as the Natives are concerned, but would I should think establish a precedent which might create difficulties in other cases.⁴⁵⁴

The Minister agreed and decided that 'the Government regrets that the request made by Mr Fraser cannot be complied with.'⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵² Hikungarara Rongorongo, Ōhinepuhiawe, to Hoani Taipua MHR, 11 June 1888, Lands and Survey Head Office, File 1/179, Supporting Papers #432-433.

⁴⁵³ Donald Fraser, Pukuhe to RC Bruce MHR, 18 June 1888, Lands and Survey Head Office, file 1/179, Supporting Papers #436-438.

⁴⁵⁴ Under Secretary Native Department to Native Minister, 7 July 1888, on Donald Fraser, Pukuhe to RL Bruce, MHR, 18 June 1888, Lands and Survey Head Office, file 1/179, Supporting Papers #436-438.

⁴⁵⁵ Native Minister to Under Secretary Native Department, 7 July 1888, Lands and Survey Head Office, file 1/179, Supporting Papers #436-438.

Subsequently in 1892, Hāre Rēweti wrote to the Native Minister about the encroachment of the Rangitīkei River on the Ōhinepuhiawe reserve:

I wish to ask you a question with respect to our land Ōhinepuhiawe on the other side of the Rangitīkei River. Is it now European or Māori land? This land is now on the Bulls side of the River, and the River itself is ‘eating’ the middle of it. I think there are only 180 acres left now.⁴⁵⁶

The inquiry was referred to the Surveyor General who passed it over the Chief Surveyor who neither visited the area nor did he inspect the reserve but he stated: ‘There was no information in this office as to whether the river changed its course or not.’⁴⁵⁷ Māori continued, though, to assert that the river continued to encroach on the Ōhinepuhiawe Reserve prior to the great flood of 1897.

Subsequently, Māori claimants gave evidence in the Māori Land Court in 1926. Ms Āni Haera Hōne Rēweti told the Court:

When I and my husband first arrived in 1878, we lived on what is now the recreation ground. ... There was a cemetery there too – about where Section 3 is, behind Reweti’s home. At that time the River followed the bluff from where the European cemetery now is. It ran between where we lived and the town of Bulls. To get to the town of Bulls we crossed the River in a canoe and climbed up the cliffs. We crossed over at a place called Ruataniwha. It was about 5 years after I and my husband arrived at Ōhinepuhiawe that the River commenced to encroach and change its course.⁴⁵⁸

Te Hurunui Weretā added:

I was born in 1873 near what is now known as the Recreation Reserve – close to the old Pā. When I was old enough to notice the Rangitīkei River, its course was from the cemetery along the bluffs and over what is now the Recreation Ground. ... At the time we were living there, erosion was taking place both above and below our homes.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Cited in Alexander, D, ‘Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report’ (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015) p 83.

⁴⁵⁷ Chief Surveyor Wellington to Surveyor General, 26 February 1892, Lands and Survey Wellington District, Office file 20/28, Supporting Papers #2914.

⁴⁵⁸ Māori Land Court Minute Book 85, Whanganui 178-179, Supporting Papers #3147-3148.

⁴⁵⁹ Māori Land Court Minute Book 85, Whanganui 179-180, Supporting Papers #3148-3149.

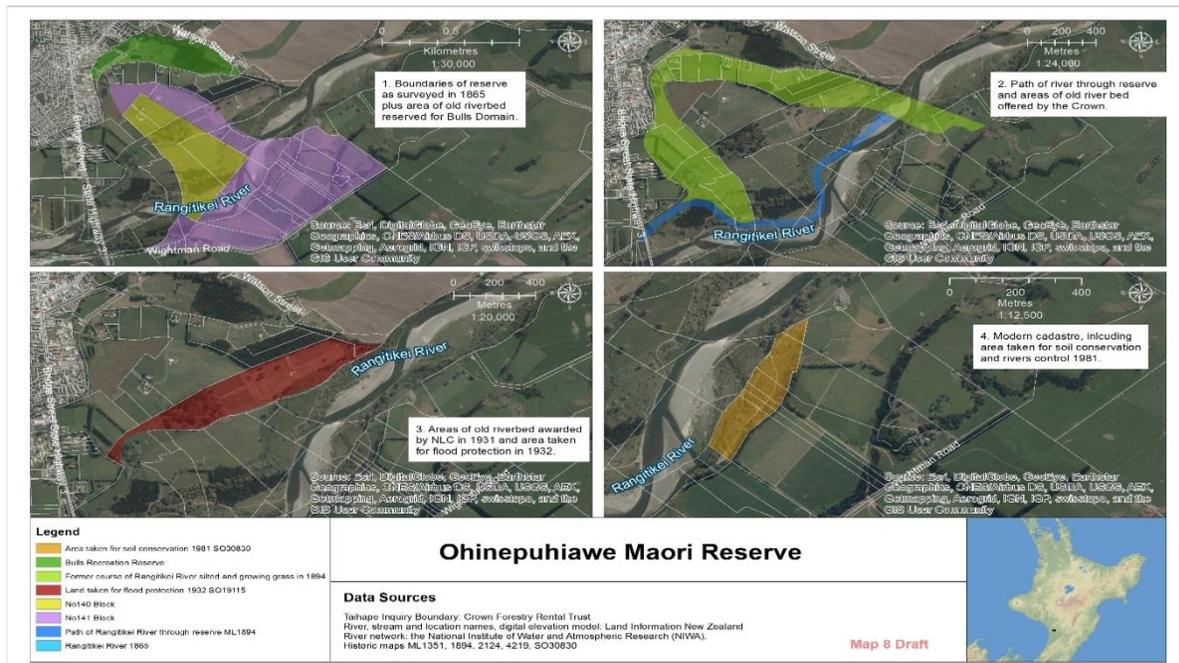


Image 33: Ōhinepuhiawe Reserve Lands

Subsequent survey plans after the 1897 flood show that over 120 acres out of 385 acres of Māori owned land at Ōhinepuhiawe were lost to the River. All of the land surrounding the reserve was in surveyed titles so there could be no compensatory grant of replacement land unless surrounding titles were purchased. The old River course did leave a channel of dry ground but it was compromised by Crown decisions benefitting the other side of the channel with the result that ultimately, only 90 acres could be made available to the Māori owners who lost their land to the River,⁴⁶⁰ which did not occur until 1931.⁴⁶¹

Māori iwi and hapū continued to fight for the recognition of their property rights to the area notwithstanding the erosion and accretion that had dramatically changed the face of their land and waterways. Some informants even mentioned a similar trend of deliberate Local Government policy to build up the banks of the farmers' side of the river to contain erosion with trees and to neglect the Māori reserve side where much more erosion occurred. A Ngāti Manomano member discussed how the Rangitūkei River course changed and the serious impact it had on their people:

You know how Awhi was talking about how the water would be only about that deep now, well when we were kids that the water was always fairly deep, and that's back in the 1940's. The thing about what had happened to the river course is that once they cut the trees down

⁴⁶⁰ Wellington Plan, ML 4219.

⁴⁶¹ Alexander, D, 'Rangitikei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015), p 83.



Map 13: Flooded Land 1897
Source of map: Stirling, B & Subasic, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo Inquiry District Technical Research Scoping Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, August 2010) p 96.

off the edge, you exposed the stones, and you got erosion and the river widened, and therefore the level of the water went down. Whereas up north, up near Taihape, it is still narrow and the water goes through there at a good volume. And that's what the problem is, soil erosion, and that's what's caused the whole difference downstream. We as a whānau have got a farm over Ōhinepuhiawe, and two years ago a big flood came through, gauged out one of the paddocks, and I went over and had a look at it. We had a talk to Horizons and they took 200 tonnes of rock over to fill that - because they had changed the flow of the river.

And that's what happens if you don't keep the river in its channel, then it knows, and it will start searching around, because that awa used to flow right over where Parewahawaha is. It used to flow right up around the bottom of the hill; and the marae would have been on

the right side of the river; but it's flowed right over the other side. But that's what happened and that's why you have places in the river nowadays where it is very, very shallow, because the river's gotten wider, and because of the soil erosion there are more rocks exposed – there's a hell of a lot of rocks exposed on the side of the river nowadays.

There is a really powerful example of that at Tangimoana ... the Pākehā farmers side were all kept intact, but everything was cut down on the Māori land so you see how wide the awa is, and you see all this gravel and stone on the Māori side - and the other (Pākehā) side is still pristine, but the whole awa has changed its course.⁴⁶²

Tangimoana informants mentioned the deliberate changes in the Tangimoana river mouth area and the devastating impacts of the changes:

See these channels ... we used to come up these channels at low tide ... there was heaps of [fish] over the other side over there, even on this side they come up and when the tide came in the flounders used to run after them to feed but over there that's where we used to get all the cockles and the pipis over that side there cause when the river came around this way here it went out over there and when the tide came up it used to push right back up to Moana Roa carpark ... Scotts Ferry ... So what happened over there when the river was here that was good but the cut went through over there see where that pine plantation well just on this side of it. The river used to squiggle right around over there then come back here then go around in a ring and then go out ... over there somewhere but they put a cut through there to join it up and cross over there just this side of those pines and that's the cut we're talking about that bugged all this up again. Killed all the pipi beds because the water instead of going out there and building up it went that way, you'll see it down there further where it actually changed its whole course. ... This whole area used to flood, it never used to break the bank but it used to flood right across here in this plain. Well it doesn't do that anymore and this is where most of the water was taken up right across here. When there were big floods these places never used to get hit but once they changed it the whole eco-system here changed.⁴⁶³

Similarly, Te Reureu members discussed how the Rangitīkei River changed its course and had a devastating impact on local Māori including destroying wāhi tapu:

The river used to run right around those banks over here. That cliff face. ... Yep. Used to be a bridge over there, used to be a big bridge used to go across there. ... Oh, when I was a kid there was just a pole leaf we used to jump off ... Yeah when we lived here they used to drive the car, go back and forth. We're actually standing... Right here, one of the roads come up here, down here. There's a pretty significant wāhi tapu down here, down near the River. Poutama used to run right across down here. Like I say, there used to be a big bridge. You used to go across there. Cross over there and the water used to run under it; goes right across.

⁴⁶² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 12-13.

⁴⁶³ Tangimoana site visits, 27 June 2015, p 1.

My parents used to take us down there for healing – kids and that get sick ... and we used to go there all the time. ... My grandparents and even my own parents used to do it with us ... it was just part of our whole culture living out here. ... Yep, when you were sick or anything like that. ... These wāhi are special places and what I was told about them was that the main river was what swept everything away.⁴⁶⁴

The same people asserted:

So you can see what I was talking about [Observing the barren state of Māori land beside the river and the other side well preserved with trees and no erosion] this sort of thing. It's being protected over there; you have to fight to get them to do a little bit on our side. This is what happens when one side gets protected and the other doesn't. I mean, this plantation here used to be way out there where those logs are; the river used to be way over there. That's not long ago, that's only a few years ago. And they're still not doing protection on this side!⁴⁶⁵

A Te Reureu informant lamented the loss of much of their reserve land through what appears to be deliberate accretion from the inaction of the Regional Council:

⁴⁶⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 14.

⁴⁶⁵ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 14.



Image 34: Rangitikei River at Te Reureu

The other thing is ... how they've [the Regional Council] instigated the water to come this way, and there's all the trees which grow on one side. They've actually pushed it up, it's like this all the way down, and it's pushing over to the Māori land this way. They make sure that side's okay [Pākehā farmers], but not this side [the Māori]. They do it all along the ... areas that come down the river that's created... this land is left in the middle, what do you call it? (Accretion). Yeah, and that's what happened. There's big blocks of it as you walk down the

river. There's hundreds of acres of it along the river, that's accretion land. That's what's happening all the way along there. We've got heaps of evidence and photographs to show.

The forerunner to the Regional Council was the Rangitīkei Catchment Board that was based up in Marton. We know our people were forced to pay rates over here, but all the work and protection all went on that side and it's all the way up the river. The river itself, once you protect it over here, when the river hit it, all it did was shoot across here. We've lost over a thousand acres out of our Reserve from here all the way down the end through flooding and that type of operation. I can go back to the 1950's and Dad and Mum's farming. And they used to go up and complain all the time. And then what they would do is come and do a little patch on our place, to satisfy us. Everybody else was left out. So that's how it's been operated in our lifetime. ... Those rivers have been pushed across. We've lost land, it's gone on the other side so they've had the right to use it. But we don't think so because we've still got title to it.⁴⁶⁶

Tūrangaarere claimants even discussed the negative impact of planting willow trees along the waterways:

The other thing that has happened that Mum was annoyed about was the willow trees. You know they were ramping to up the creek to over the other side. She hated that because they had been planted they'd invaded it. She had been not happy about it. Because there's willows blocked up the creek all the way along the road, but some of them have cleaned them out. ... Genesis is supposed to clean out so much. ... They'll never get it cleared up, not in 100 years ... because they keep seeding ... further up the river.⁴⁶⁷

5.6 Loss of Fisheries

As noted in the previous chapter, the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries have traditionally been important sources of food for Māori who resided on the waterway banks. Government moves for the expropriation of Māori land and waterways was matched however, by laws for the takeover of fisheries as well. Fisheries legislation after 1866 in effect recognised only a subsistence use of fisheries by Māori, although it denied them a commercial component of their use which they had exercised before and after the Treaty of Waitangi.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 2-3.

⁴⁶⁷ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 25.

⁴⁶⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua Fishing Report*, (Waitangi Tribunal Wellington, 1987) pp 77-83.

The Salmon and Trout Act 1867 allowed for Acclimatisation Societies to introduce these fish but was another move that eroded away traditional Māori customary fishing rights and responsibilities. The introduced fish often displaced Indigenous species that were traditional sources of food for Māori. This statute had a profound impact on the Rangitīkei River and some of its tributaries given that the Acclimatisation Societies operated very actively within this catchment area which Alexander has discussed in more detail.⁴⁶⁹

The application of customary law to fisheries of inland and marine coastal waterways was determined by the Native Land Court which ruled whether customary rights had been retained or extinguished by the sale of land. The Crown removed that jurisdiction from the court by the Harbours Act 1878 which regulated customary fishing rights as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. The power of the Government to make and unmake laws to expropriate Māori land, forests, fisheries, waterways and other properties guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi emanated from Pākehā domination of political power.

There was an early statutory protection in section 8 of the Fish Protection Act 1877 which stated:

Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to repeal, alter, or affect any of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi or to take away, annul, or abridge any of the rights of aboriginal natives to any fishery secured to them whatsoever.

McDowell commented on this section:

The section seems explicit. However, this provision did not deal with issues of access to fishing waters, nor did it protect Māori fisheries from deteriorating habitat or habitat loss (e.g. wetlands drainage), from impacts of alien fishes (e.g. trout), or from over-exploitation. It was almost as if Māori were welcome to their fisheries if they could get access to them and should there be anything left of value.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁹ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015) pp 145-160.

⁴⁷⁰ McDowell, R.M, *Ikawai: Freshwater Fishes in Māori Culture and Economy*, (Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2011) p 745.

Section 77(2) of the Fisheries Act 1908 was also deemed a protection of Māori fishing rights against the impact of the Crown but it only applied to sea fisheries.⁴⁷¹

i. Whitebait and Pātiki

The Rangitīkei River and many of its tributaries were a great source of whitebait and pātiki which local Māori fished for over generations prior to and following European contact. Harvesting of whitebait seems to have been subjected to more Crown oversight than any other Indigenous fish given the European interest in harvesting whitebait. Whitebait fishing was included in general fishing regulations in 1906⁴⁷² and became the subject of national regulations in 1908⁴⁷³ and 1910.⁴⁷⁴ Whitebait have been overfished due to exploitation. In 1927 for example, the chairman of the Marton Branch of the Wellington Acclimatisation Society wrote a letter to the Marine Department expressing his concern over the whitebait and flounder fisheries being overfished at the mouth of the Rangitīkei River:

At the present rate of taking whitebait and flounders, it will not be long before both are things of the past as regards the Rangitīkei. Whitebait are taken with set nets, most of them having an open surface of about nine square feet, and also with hand nets. Flounder nets are set from the mouth of the river to about three miles as the river winds from the north. ... Would it be possible to close the Rangitīkei River for the taking of whitebait and flounders for a year?⁴⁷⁵

A month later, he wrote again:

To my own knowledge, races are made of stones in the Rangitīkei River, and whitebait are taken from them. I also hear on good authority that one man is placing several nets starting from the bank, placing them alongside of each other on into the river, and the consequence is that he is getting practically all the whitebait that pass up that side of the river, and those that are fishing in a legitimate manner are not averaging a good feed. The man with the number of nets was seen with four kerosene tins of whitebait.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷¹ Fisheries Act 1908, s. 77(2): ‘Nothing in this part of this Act shall affect any existing Māori fishing rights.’

⁴⁷² *New Zealand Gazette*, 1906, at 1381-1385.

⁴⁷³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1908, at 2583.

⁴⁷⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1910, at 3417.

⁴⁷⁵ Chairman Marton Branch, Wellington Acclimatisation Society to Secretary for Marine, 21 September 1927, Marine Head Office, file 2/10/25, Supporting Papers #624.

⁴⁷⁶ Chairman Marton Branch, Wellington Acclimatisation Society to Secretary for Marine, 14 October 1927, Marine Head Office, file 2/10/25, Supporting Papers #625.

The Rangitīkei River was even singled out in 1932 when a prohibition was placed on whitebait fishing along Amons Drain near Scott's Ferry which was believed to be an important spawning site that the whitebait fishery was heavily dependent upon.⁴⁷⁷

In contrast and in more recent times, pātiki have been of little concern to non-Māori because as predicted in 1927, of the paucity of sightings which one reported noted:

Black flounder are another little-known species in the Region. They have been found at two sites between 1991 and 2006 ... one in the Turakina River catchment and the other in a tributary of the Rangitīkei River. Adult black flounder are most commonly found in the lower and estuarine reaches of the rivers, however they often venture far inland into freshwaters and can penetrate long distances upstream through swift, gravely rapids. They have been known to venture as far inland as the Manawatū Gorge and the Ohura River in the Whanganui catchment.⁴⁷⁸

This is not the case for Māori. Pātiki have always been an important source of food for the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū for generations. Te Reureu informants lamented the loss of the rich whitebait, pātiki and tuna fisheries of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries due to, inter alia, non-Māori straightening the river and pollution:

They've done a lot of work to try and straighten it up, but we set it up years ago. Once you straighten up a river, it increases in speed. A straight line like that, you've got a current going down here. In the old days it used to be just wounding like this, and it slowed it right up. We used to fish backwashes.... At night the whitebait used to come up the stream here, and you'd get a backwash there that was just one way. One outlet into the main river. ... We used to catch whitebait in there. Heaps of them. Buckets. ... But it's actually affected the whole fishing here now. Over the years, I've fished in this river since I was a kid. With them changing the river like that, it's blown all the spawning grounds over here. We used to catch whitebait, and I mean we'd catch it in bucket loads, and not only that but fresh water koura crayfish. They were all over the rivers, you could get them anywhere. You go around here now and you'll find nothing. Don't you worry, I've seen the odd one, but you'll just walk along the river bank and push a bunch of sticks away and they'll just run away. Nothing now. Pātiki, flounders; nobody ever believed in flounders in this river. In that time, the way the river was we could go down and in half an hour pick up 30 or 40 of them, in the 60's, 70's. Flounders, there used to be hundreds of them in here, but nobody ever knew that but us because we fished in it, and it was part of our culture, doing it. And now all these things are virtually gone. You hardly see anything. ... Even tuna are hard to get now. ... We could go over to the side and push a boulder over and the eels would flow out, now you throw a basket

⁴⁷⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1932, at 2086-2088.

⁴⁷⁸ McArthur, K, Clark, M & McGehan, J, *Sites of Significance for Aquatic Biodiversity in the Manawatu-Wanganui Region: Technical Report to Support Policy Development*, (Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council, May 2007) at 25.

and you're lucky if you get a couple overnight. ... Now you've gotta travel all the way from Tutaenui and go all the way up to Taihape and you still won't get a feed. ... When I was a kid we'd just walk to Bulls. One night for the tuna and we've got enough to feed everybody. Not anymore, it's all gone. ... Plus we used to drink this water. We used to drink it. Kids swimming, you can't do that now. You wouldn't dare do it now.⁴⁷⁹

A Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hinemanu informant added:

Down here in the Hautapu, I don't know whether it's been brought up but we used to swim in the Hautapu at the playground ... at Papakai. And Papakai is the one that's got the dam in, ... But down here by the college was tuna, īnanga, pātiki, the kūtae – it was all down there – the koura. But you can't eat them there now. But 100 years ago they were eating it. With all the interviews and that it come out that within the last 50 years they were all going down there swimming but you can't now, eating out of that awa.⁴⁸⁰

ii. *Eels, Koura and Trout*

Prior to the 1960s, tuna or eels were of little interest to the Crown and were considered a Māori matter that did not affect the European population.⁴⁸¹ From about 1920 onwards, acclimatisation societies conducted eel drives to reduce the population of eels in a river as they believed that they preyed on young trout; there was no response from the Crown. In the 1960s however, a commercial market for eel fish developed in continental Europe. Some commercial fishers were setting nets and traps in nearly every stream in the country. The Rangitīkei River was also affected according to reports in the 1980s:

Eels have been commercially fished in the Rangitīkei and its tributaries particularly about 1978, when the best catches reputedly came from the Hautapu River. Catches in the estuary appear to have been larger than those in the middle section of the main river, and in 1979, a catch of 200–300 kg was recorded from one night's fishing with eight nets near the estuary. Recent fyke netting in the main river between Vinegar Hill and Bulls yielded 100–200kg from 12–15 nets set for 2 days at a time. ... 'A commercial fisherman living at Tangimoana] fished with fyke nets from October to December each year and caught from 5 to 30 eels of both species, per set. During 60 days fishing in on year, he caught about 600 eels which

⁴⁷⁹ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 3-4.

⁴⁸⁰ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 32.

⁴⁸¹ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015), p 178.

usually weighed between 500 and 1,000 g. He fished from the river mouth to about 6 km up stream.⁴⁸²

Māori informants have been very clear of the impacts of European contact being detrimental to the eel fisheries in some of the rivers and streams of the area. Referring to a swimming spot in the Tūrangaarere area and the depletion of eels, informants stated:

Every now and then there will be like an eel. You will see an eel in there, Mum and Dad got one years ago, hooked a big one there, but there's bugger all in their now. ... [Dad] set a hīnaki months ago further down but nothing ... left it there a couple of days, and nothing. ... And that's the spot where ... it used to be really good. ... all the uncles I talked to, they reckon that you could see them just swimming. ... But now of course you have all of the fish, being able to fish the eels they've gone way up to the top where they spawn. ... There's not many eels anymore. That hīnaki that Tau set and stuff.... nothing! but yeah you know you still see the odd trout. I don't think I've seen anything else. When I've been fishing anyway. Nothing else, I haven't seen any eels in there for years. Yeah, I haven't seen any native species either.⁴⁸³

Te Reureu members talked about the depletion of the eels in the Pourewa Stream among others within their rohe:

The Pourewa's just across the river here ... Well that stream there was pretty important to us as kids; fishing. We were always over there. ... We could go there any time day or night and during the day we could get a feed [of eels] ... spread them out, give them out to the old people. We used to do that just for fun. That stream there, I've been over there recently and it's bloody terrible. ... Yeah that Pourewa stream when I was over there last year fishing, that's the last of the freshwater crayfish that I've seen in this area. And small.⁴⁸⁴

Te Reureu informants also lamented the loss of the rich tuna fisheries of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries due to inter alia, non-Māori straightening the river and pollution:

They've done a lot of work to try and straighten it up, but we set it up years ago. Once you straighten up a river, it increases in speed. A straight line like that, you've got a current going down here. In the old days it used to be just wounding like this, and it slowed it right up. We used to fish backwashes.... Over the years, I've fished in this river since I was a kid. With them changing the river like that, it's blown all the spawning grounds over here. ...

⁴⁸² Hicks, BJ & Watson, NRN, *Fish and Fisheries of the Rangitīkei River, New Zealand*, (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fisheries Research Division, Wellington, Occasional Publication No. 48, 1985) at 19.

⁴⁸³ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, pp 5-6.

⁴⁸⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 16.

Flounders, there used to be hundreds of them in here, but nobody ever knew that but us because we fished in it, and it was part of our culture, doing it. And now all these things are virtually gone. You hardly see anything. ... Even tuna are hard to get now. ... We could go



Image 59: Pourewa Stream

over to the side and push a boulder over and the eels would flow out, now you throw a basket and you're lucky if you get a couple overnight.⁴⁸⁵

Te Reureu informants also mentioned the Piharau fisheries diminishing: 'It used to be the old people talked of Piharau in this river. ... Not a lot of them now either.'⁴⁸⁶

Tūrangaarere informants noted how they used to fish for koura in the creeks of their area but now the stocks are seriously depleted:

Mum used to go ... to River Waiau up the road a bit and we'd go in the creeks there but she was so used to it, she would just fire them out in the nose to pick them [Koura] up put them in the bucket.... she used to just go in the creek and feel for them. Fresh water crayfish little

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, pp 3-4.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, p 12.

black ones ... They're yum! ... I think they've all died off. There's none! Mum said she used to get them up the creek.⁴⁸⁷

5.7 Other Extinct Animals

Given the numbers of some of the fisheries are depleting at a rapid rate such as tuna, whitebait and pātiki, as well as some manu such as kererū, it is imperative that the tangata whenua step up and exercise their mana whenua authority and kaitiaki responsibilities with the Crown and other key stakeholders to ensure that these stocks do not become extinct but sustainable again. Other animals associated with the Rangitikei River area and the iwi and hapū of the rohe that have become extinct



Image 35: Huia Birds

Source of image: <http://www.extinctanimals.org/huia-bird.htm>

since European contact include the huia and weka birds and the ūpokororo fish that Kahungunu and Tamatea witnessed in some of the waterways. Such losses are a slight on the mana whenua relationship of the iwi and hapū to the whenua and waterways.

One informant mentioned the huia being last sighted on Aorangi in the late nineteenth century:

When you look at the huia birds and you look at when they were last seen in New Zealand according to Doctor B.A. Barscape who says they were last seen in the central plateau on a mountain called Aorangi.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 9.

⁴⁸⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 28.

Let us hope no other animals become extinct.

5.8 Gravel Extraction

Extracting gravel from the bed of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries has been a longstanding and quite profitable use of the river since European settlement. The gravels of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries have an excellent reputation in the lower North Island for their hardness and durability making them valuable as railway ballast and for metaling roads.

Nearly every point where a road or other access way came down to a river became an opportunity for gravel extraction in the horse and cart days. But mechanization had the effect of concentrating operations in a few locations. Once large operations became established, they developed their own inertia. Operators were reluctant to move to other sites in response to changes in river conditions and wanted river control works at existing extraction sites that would allow them to continue at those sites and would advantage their gravel removal operations there.⁴⁸⁹ Gravel extraction has been an exclusively European activity dominated by the Crown and local authorities both in the regulation of operations and in the extraction itself.

The arrival of the railway in 1878 at Kākāriki generated demand for railway ballast which demand seemed to be satisfied by land quarrying on the Piaka block which was land taken from the Māori owners of the Te Reureu Block under the Public Works Act 1888.⁴⁹⁰ The land was returned to Māori ownership in 1915 some years after quarrying ceased.⁴⁹¹ However, Kākāriki was established as a ballast supply site and later from land quarrying to river gravel extraction. A small portion of Māori owned land (part of Te Reureu 2L) was taken for this purpose in 1901. More land was taken under the Public Works Act in 1912⁴⁹² – 41 acres was Crown land and one acre was Māori-owned land from the Te Reureu land (Part Te Reureu 2M).

⁴⁸⁹ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015) p 442.

⁴⁹⁰ Wellington Plan SO 12779 and *New Zealand Gazette* 1888, at 631.

⁴⁹¹ Section 13, Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1915.

⁴⁹² Wellington Plan SO 16440 and *New Zealand Gazette*, at 957-958.

In 1945, the Rangitīkei County Council undertook works in the River channel at Kākāriki to suit its metal crushing plant on the western bank where it diverted the river on its course to enter a channel to pass the Council's crusher.⁴⁹³ Through all of these significant changes to the river, its channel, the river bed, there was no contact made with the Māori owners to ascertain their views given the riverbank was Māori owned being part of the Te Reureu block. Subsequently, the Rangitīkei Catchment Board treated the whole of the riverbed downstream of the Rangitīkei River from the Kawhatau Rivers confluence as Crown owned land and from 1861 charged a royalty fee of one shilling per cubic yard for any gravel removed from the confluence of the Kawhatau River.

The gravel extraction operations did not involve Māori as tangata whenua or even legal owners of the riverbed. Plus the operations polluted the river by discharging discoloured sediment-laden water back into the river by extractors from their gravel washing and cleaning operations hence these operations were a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi in terms of failing to acknowledge Māori as the tangata whenua with their attendant kaitiaki rights and responsibilities over the waterways.

Māori informants commented on the gravel extraction industry in their area briefly as follows:

People come from miles around New Zealand; South Island, top of the North Island, everywhere to come and get our metal [from the Rangitīkei River] because it's the best metal in New Zealand. It holds roads, you know the roads that you make, it holds properly. Most of these places I've been to, I've driven there to take the metal out and it costs a lot of money, huge money, so you have to have consent to take the metal out ... I've done most the rivers.⁴⁹⁴

To maintain the lucrative gravel extraction industry from the Rangitīkei River, one Ngāti Paki informant stated how the river course was deliberately changed to accommodate the industry:

You have to have consent when you change the river. You might have the river flowing around the bank like that, so to change the river you have to bring the river this way so you have to have consent to actually change the river, where they go and what have you.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ *Wanganui Herald*, (14 December 1945).

⁴⁹⁴ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 33.

⁴⁹⁵ *Idem*.

The Crown should have consulted Māori and Māori should have benefitted as well from the industry extracting gravel from their waterways which was a loss of commercial opportunity, loss of rangatiratanga authority, and a diminishing of the kaitiaki relationship.

5.9 Water Extraction

In a similar manner, any profits derived from extracting material from the waterways should involve profit sharing with the iwi and hapū of the area given the partnership established by the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This includes for water, gravel, other precious minerals, kōwhatu, fisheries, and other resource extractions. Some Māori informants had strong views on these areas particularly water extraction through dams. Te Reureu informants emphasised how the water level of the Rangitūkei River has dropped dramatically as a result of dams:

One of the big impacts on us down here for this river has been the Moawhango Dam. A lot of the waters... We've actually given evidence about it in the National Park Inquiry. We talked about ... the volume of water that's been taken away from this river. In the summer here, the river is just so low that all the fish life in it go dozy, because there's not enough oxygen in it. You can tell just by when you're trying to fish it, that they seem to be lifeless. We blame irrigation, the dam up there. The water that's taken out of it. ... Well we've never seen it like this over the years we lived here. Now, in the summer time, which you could never ever do, you can just drive a four-wheel drive and go straight across the river the waters so low. The amount of water that's been taken... And you could float down here—you could literally swim down here all the way from Rata, right through to home. But now, you'd probably have to walk it.⁴⁹⁶

Answering a question on whether the waterways were bigger in the past, Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants responded:

Our major rivers are wider but there is less water running down them. So you've got a huge rock, a stone and the river runs down the middle of it. Because the bush was right down to the waterway, it held all the ground together. So our rivers were narrower and it's far more easy to navigate deeper water than shallow water.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 2.

⁴⁹⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 6.

Referring to diverting water from the Mangatera River, Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants noted:

Mangaterā. A lot of water comes down there. ... They took the water off it and put the concrete tanks all over on the farms, on the Taihape/Napier road ... And that's where all our water from our maunga goes.⁴⁹⁸

They added:

Reporoa ... was a major water source ... the Council ... put a pipeline from the Reporoa and it went down to the Narrows. Went down a big long ridge. ... The council went and negotiated or consulted with a person who actually had no interest up in this area. And he spoke about him ... [He] was put on as a Trust on the Aorangi/Awarua block but he was not an owner in the block.⁴⁹⁹

A Ngāti Hinemanu informant also stated an important question around title that ultimately decides who has power and authority to make the right decisions over the stewardship of the waterways:

There's more and more people trying to take water from the river too eh? There's all these dairy farms and stuff... [Ownership] yeah. Well that's the question, who's got the rights? That's right because most of the places that you do go to, it's not fenced off. They've got fences to where their land goes but those fences or those gates there are usually opened up and the cattle come out those paddocks straight down to the river where all the sweet stuff is and I tell them to put 'em back. They say, "who owns it" ... you don't know. ... I guess one of the sad things is through modern farming, coming through the settler's days to our Mum's days to our days, how you see the change of land and you see all that history that we just see here and how all the things have been desecrated. We know where our **urupā** are and there's not much we can really do about how they cultivate.⁵⁰⁰

A Ngāti Whitikaupeka informant referred to the water extractions from the Moawhango River:

I was brought up on the Moawhango River ... Yeah, well, the thing about the Moawhango is what's left of the river, what is left of that river? Nothing. Really it's only a little wee trickle now because all the water's been diverted further up over into the canal going through to Taupo.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 6.

⁴⁹⁹ *Idem*.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p 34.

⁵⁰¹ Ngāti Whitikaupeka Wānanga, 14 August 2015, p 2.

i. Dry Streams

A number of iwi and hapū informants commented on some of their waterways drying up in their lifetime. Te Reureu informants confirmed that the Waituna Stream dries up through Crown action and inaction:

It's always beautiful water [here]. Summer time it's dry though. It dries right out. It always used to have good eels in this stream... This stream here, the main river, would always be turning food around in those days it sustained many people. It goes way back. ... it's gone right down, it's just slow. This is getting into the winter; by the summer it will actually dry up. It'll just trickle. I can remember coming here during the day and just eeling around under the bank. That'll be 20–30 years ago just under the banks. Big eels too.⁵⁰²

A Ngāti Manomano informant discussed the richness and subsequent depletion of their waterways:

Now all of us are aware when we were kids, where the tributaries were into the awa, where the swamps were, where the creeks were, where the springs were and all the sources of food because back in the 1940's those sorts of food were very, very important to us because we didn't have too much money and so there was a lot of bush land around Tokorangi back in the 1940's and so the place was fairly intact so you could go into the bush - ngāhere and get food, but those are all gone now over the years, and so too are a lot of the swamp lands which use to have our koura and all those sort of sources of food, a lot of them now are gone and that's because of the state of the change in dynamics as far as people, they made their farms bigger, they drained the lands because across the other side of the river you just saw all the erosion over the years as the bush lands were cut back from the edges of river. I think you could actually see where the sawmills were if you look at the histories of the Rangitīkei and the Manawatū. Those sawmills hacked up timber, forests, because that was the only source of income in those days and they were cutting it down so they could make farmlands for cows and sheep and that sort of thing, as they did that you see. Those sawmills, well there was one in Halcombe, there was one down Ōhinepuhi, down across the swing bridge - you go through to Marton... the awa was so important because it was a source of food and so we all knew it well... Back in those days īnanga used to come right up that far, but you don't see īnanga north of Bulls now.⁵⁰³

A Te Reureu informant noted the importance of the Waitapu Stream which is now dry:

This is one of the streams that has been affected by European colonisation. It was pretty important to our people this stream. It used to flow all the time. Once they drained all the

⁵⁰² Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 8.

⁵⁰³ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 1-2.

properties up and all the swamps and the streams up in that country up here, this dried up. The only time it flows now is during the winter, we get a lot of surface rain up there.⁵⁰⁴

A Ngāti Manomano informant referred to the effects damming had on the Waitapu Stream which drained into the Rangitīkei by Tokorangi:

See that's one of the big problems - people who are damming up the top and they're not letting the water flow through, so, the Waitapu hasn't had water in it except for in really extreme cases when there has been huge flooding. The Waitapu doesn't have any water in it, and we say the water is so tapu you can't see it! If you go up past Andre's and you keep going right up to the end, you'll go onto gravel and then you go down that big hill and then there's that bridge with nothing underneath it, that was the Waitapu right there.⁵⁰⁵

The whānau also mentioned the importance of the stream in relation to their wāhi tapu:

It flows occasionally. The last time I took a group up there, we went up to see, because we had a wāhi tapu. We took a bus load of people up there and we started up the top, and went down. We went to all the various cemetery sites, and all the old places, and the water was flowing that day, it was good... That little farm down the end, they do a lot of damming up there too, and take all the water.⁵⁰⁶

Furthermore, many of these side streams, creeks, springs, and swamps have been doubly affected. Not only have their quantity and quality been dramatically altered, but many of them have also been subjected to pollution through runoff from agricultural land affecting the quality of the waters. The desire to increase production from the grasslands that replaced the forest means those grasslands are treated with fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides. Not all of what is applied stays in place to be absorbed by the plants and their root systems. There is seepage from the root layer downwards into the water table and sideways by surface and subsurface flow down the slopes into lower areas. Waterways become the final recipients. Water quality degradation in these waterways was apparent in a series of maps published by the Manawatū–Wanganui Regional Council in 2005. These maps indicated that these tributaries were far more likely to be overwhelmed by the adverse condition of their catchment than the major waterways with their higher flows.⁵⁰⁷ Although the

⁵⁰⁴ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 1.

⁵⁰⁵ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 4-5.

⁵⁰⁶ Idem.

⁵⁰⁷ Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council, *State of the Environment Report of the Manawatu-Wanganui Region 2005* (2005) at 26-29.

Rangitīkei River itself attracts the most attention, the tributaries cannot be neglected and require a great effort to improve their water quality, quantity, availability, accessibility and affordability.

5.10 Pollution

A number of iwi and hapū informants commented on the pollution of their waterways in their lifetime. A Parewahawaha member discussed how they lost one of their mahinga kai streams completely due to pollution from the local timber mill:

We also used to have a little stream that ran from the river over here ... That was our food basket ... to go and haul for tuna ... ducks ... watercress ... paru ... and we would to the rotten corn. ... It's not there [now] because [of] a mill up the top ... they put all their sawdust over the hill, and blocked our stream off. ... It was just a stream that ran from over there, across the farm, right down the side ... and out into the swamp out there, where we used to get our tuna.⁵⁰⁸

The informant added:

It's all their tanalising... the stuff they were using that used to tanalise their wood. It would seep down the hill, into the creek, basically ruining it completely. Not only the saw dust, but it was all the pollutants they were using. It's actually still the same. You'll never get rid of it. ... It's in the ground. ... It just leaks straight over the cliff, kind of thing, right down behind the Kaumātua Flats, right through. You used to be able to smell it, that's how bad it was. ... So that all pakaru'd that place up.⁵⁰⁹

An elder continued:

We've only got one other stream that runs into the Rangitīkei on the other side and that's Mākōwhai, and that's lower down. That stream starts up by Taumata o Te Rā, on the top of the hill, and comes down just south, down Tangimoana Road where it flows across the road and goes out to the Rangitīkei...that's where our old people used to go and get tuna. Mākōwhai...the tuna are paku, they're only little there now, and that's because it's polluted too now.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 6.

⁵⁰⁹ Idem.

⁵¹⁰ Idem.

A Kaumātua continued:

All I can remember is that things are entirely different now. The area, what you see, doesn't look the same as what it was... Oh no, it's just different... Hardly any native trees, no streams that ran everywhere – they're all dried up and that sort of thing. All you see is green grass or dried up grass, across our Mangamāhoe block. There is one puna and five streams that are no longer there – they've all dried up, so now there is just grass.⁵¹¹

Te Reureu informants lamented the loss of the rich fisheries of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries due to, inter alia, pollution:

Over the years, I've fished in this river since I was a kid. With them changing the river like that, it's blown all the spawning grounds over here. ... You go around here now and you'll find nothing. ... And now all these things are virtually gone. You hardly see anything. ... Plus we used to drink this water. We used to drink it. Kids swimming, you can't do that now. You wouldn't dare do it now. Especially some of the dairy farms up here, their stuff comes down here and you see the water go green. Coming into the water, it's unreal.⁵¹²

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants also commented on the polluted state of the Hautapu River:

Today, now the Hautapu River, that's polluted. That was a famous river in town, in Taihape, it was for the kids swimming. Now it's all polluted. It's destroyed. It's just like our creek [the Mangaohane Creek] at the back here [of Winiata Marae]. We used to get crayfish in it and eels in it, our watercress. Old Pakeha came along and put a pond and dammed it up and our paru was there too for our kuias ... the black mud. That's all destroyed now. That's only our little creek just here in the back of the hall here. ... No more crayfish either. ... You can get eels further back up but not all the way down in here now, back up in the hills.⁵¹³

The informants continued:

The only river I was allowed to and I wasn't allowed to, was down the Hautapu. I always was down there if I got half a chance. They've got sewage, the sewage out there [now]. They got a sewage pond on the other side and it's just that our Council is not well funded these days because of the drop in the population. They could do better but Taihape's struggling. They do know it's a problem. At least that's treated a bit eh? ... the sewage part ... is a part down by Papakai and that's raw isn't it? ... It's all treated before it goes in the

⁵¹¹ Ibid, p 20.

⁵¹² Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, pp 3-4.

⁵¹³ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 2.

water but how much? ... You could always smell it. At the College over there you can always smell the sewage ponds.⁵¹⁴

A Ngāti Manomano informant also commented on pollution in the Hautapu and elsewhere:

The Pākehā used to dump their rubbish and half of it used to flow into the Hautapu. Down at Kākariki Point, Kākariki where that big concrete building there. In its special years, it was a freezing works and a lot of our people because they could do the mahi, they went and worked there but what the problem with the freezing works was they were dumping their raw rubbish straight in the river and then after a while they changed that factory. It became a milk factory ... that's where their farmers sent their cream. ... but ... put your milk in there and they had a shop, they hardly paid you any money you booked your stuff up so it was a way of controlling the money. I used to look at it. I used to say that was quite bad because it tied our people into those systems. And then after a while that milk factory was turned into a Feltex company and they made carpets. But what they did was they used a lot of the water ... in vast quantities to wash their carpets and put the stuff back in the awa, untreated. Wherever an industry started up, the quality of the water depreciated because of what they were doing taking out beautiful clean water and putting back rubbish and that happened all over even in saw milling. You know what I have really enjoyed recently is going up to



Image 61: Junction of the Hautapu and the Rangitikei Awa

Tūwharetoa and I go to their meetings because I am the chairman of Tikanga and they are putting in a 200 meter tree strip around the lake which is really a wonderful initiative because it stops the rubbish from the cows and the sheep going into the water, so that's the sort of

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, p 19.

thing that we inherited because they took away the trees. A lot of people don't realise that trees hold the water there in a special way. I can remember when I was in Vietnam in Malay and I'm sitting there and it's hot and muggy and the waterfall had leptospirosis and leptosis and all the other diseases and I'm thinking of the beautiful water in the Rangitīkei. Because it was pure and was thinking over there and you go and look down the Sahara Desert and you see how the Egyptians side of the Nile is green and then a mile and a half over its yellow sand and we can do that to NZ too by depleting the resource of the river and doing away with all of the trees that used to protect it. Because that's what used to protect it to hold the water there and this is why our swamp lands were important because it held the water there.

Look at all the wet lands down at our other Marae out at Kereru. That was beautiful when we were kids and we used to go and stay with Nanny and Koro over the back there and they've dry drained it all and it looks bad now and there's no more of that kai that was there when we were kids. It was good times in our days though don't forget, then when the Pākehā come they want that water, we want those stones and we want your sand, they took what they can and in a hurry, so it ruined a lot of places.⁵¹⁵

The informant also mentioned a puna in their area that had healing powers:

But the thing about where we had, down where the swamp was there was flow down to where Koro Waapu, the swamp which is by Audrey's place it was fed by a spring and that spring the waters had healing powers and I know that my dad when he was living with us every time we came back to Tokorangi he'd make me go and get water to take it home and it was good for him and in that water not only did koura exist but that's where the watercress was, beautiful. ... The water itself they've had it analyzed and it's got a lot of calcium in it, they checked it out for its medicinal purposes and it is good. We used to live on that water in the summer Dad [would] just come back with the tractor and take the drums down there and we had to head down there. ... When there's no water from the tanks we had to go back down there.⁵¹⁶

The same informant however, noted the current status of the puna:

I see there's a lot of rubbish down there and that's been, you know how we used to just drop straight down and you could fill up your bottle. There's a whole lot of rubbish down in there, I couldn't believe it. It just looks disgusting.⁵¹⁷

Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hinemanu informants commented that there is still leeching out of the rubbish dump as well as sewerage going into the Hautapu River.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 6.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid, pp 3-4.

⁵¹⁷ Idem.

⁵¹⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 32.

So that was where, down this part of the area though is where the town is, where you've got your sewage and everything else ... the power dam ... there used to be two rubbish dumps; the one right in town where Hineaka lives in that part of town there used to be the main dump there but now it's shifted down this way. They've just changed it to a transfer station.⁵¹⁹

Tūrangaarere informants noted pollution from a timber mill in their area:

Our Grandfather was a fly fisherman, he fished for trout in the River all the time. And when they had the mill here, they were milling all the timber out of these blocks here, there used to be a mill across the road here a little bit further along. He said all the runoff used to go into the creek and the creek was dirty. They used to go up there tickling the trout and they'd give it to all the Pakeha, but they never ate them. ... Koro would fish above, this side of our road bridge, but not the south side of the road bridge.⁵²⁰

A Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hinemanu informant added:

Down here in the Hautapu, I don't know whether it's been brought up but we used to swim in the Hautapu at the playground ... at Papakai. And Papakai is the one that's got the dam in, ... But down here by the college was tuna, īnanga, pātiki, the kūtai – it was all down there – the koura. But you can't eat them there now. But 100 years ago they were eating it. With all the interviews and that it come out that within the last 50 years they were all going down there swimming but you can't now, eating out of that awa.⁵²¹

Referring to the state of Lake Moawhango, a Ngāti Haiti informant noted:

Let's look at the state of the lake. It's basically over years and years, its just silted up and that's due to the farming practices but also basically the top-soil run off into the lake. So it's basically silted up and it's probably eventually going to fill up with material so it won't exist. We're just trying to figure out ways of trying to maintain it because it's not getting cleaned out at all.⁵²²

Tangimaona informants echoed similar sentiments:

So ... again our concern would be from cultural perspective the changes that went in further up in particular through the cut and how the mouth ... has kept moving, this road here got cut off. ... we think it's the combination of the discharges from Taihape, Marton, Bulls,

⁵¹⁹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 32-33.

⁵²⁰ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 9.

⁵²¹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 32.

⁵²² Ngāti Hauti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 3.

Ohake meat works just between Bulls and Marton and the water quality is not that good so we are finding out it's a lot harder to catch a kai.⁵²³

i. Algae

McDowall catalogued some of the impacts of environmental change on waterways throughout New Zealand:

As European man has felled the forest and established pasture, the rivers have become modified and less stable, the lakes have become more productive, and in some instances, both rivers and lakes become affected by extensive weed beds. Plankton blooms occur in some lakes. Many rivers and streams have become polluted by industry, urban development, and probably equally important, effluents from large numbers of cowsheds. There is heavy exploitation of some species that have commercial importance. The faunas of New Zealand streams and lakes have been altered by the introduction of fish species alien to New Zealand. All these factors have had effects on the native fish fauna.⁵²⁴

The build-up of algae has been an ongoing problem in many if not all of waterways of the Rangitīkei River catchment area. Te Reureu informants confirmed the build-up of algae from pollution at the Waituna Stream:

It's always beautiful water [here].... You can see the weed over there, there's a bit of weed on the stones over there, on the other side there. That's because it's gone right down, it's just slow. ... I can remember coming here during the day and just eeling around under the bank. That'll be 20–30 years ago just under the banks.⁵²⁵

Ngāti Paki and Hinemanu informants noted the build-up of green algae in the Rangitīkei River and other waterways:

I was just thinking at Christmas when we were down at Mangaweka there, we went for a swim to the river there and it was full of green, mossy green stuff floating around. ... all that shit comes in the river. ... Pollution, yeah. Yeah but as far as trees go, all the trees have been cut down haven't they? And of course that causes flooding and erosion and all that stuff as well, swamps have been drained so loss of habitat for whitebait And the amount of trees

⁵²³ Tangimoana site visits, 27 June 2015, p 15.

⁵²⁴ McDowall, *New Zealand Fresh Water Fishes: A Guide and Natural History* (Heinemann Education Books New Zealand Ltd, Auckland, 1978) p 177.

⁵²⁵ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 8.

planted these days are willow aren't they? All on the sides of the rivers. Not native stuff anyway, so loss of all that native forest and fauna.⁵²⁶

Tūrangaarere informants also discussed a green algae build up in the waterways of their rohe:

The river was like a lifeline for them and that it fed them too and water when they needed water... And they went out to get water out the River, it was clean. When we were kids we used to go down there and swim and drink the water. ... And on the rocks their mum says she didn't like it anymore because there's all this slime on the rocks. It's got all this slime there. She said she didn't know what was happening "all that bloody weed thing, it never used to have that."⁵²⁷

So this is all the green stuff. And that crap, that slimy stuff, it never used to be there. It's awful. The rocks used to be nice and clear and we'd swim here. Swim around here in the summer. It's horrible, walking around on that stuff. When dad was alive, that's where we used to swim. That was our main swimming hole.⁵²⁸

Parewahawaha members also discussed the green algae in the river as well as other negative impacts:

The trouble is the awa doesn't run as high as it used to...there's not as much water in as it used to have, and there's no ngāhere or bush on the sides, it's just bare now. The Rangitīkei will get a flood and it goes anywhere and everywhere because there's no ngāhere to hold it, so it has become a 'braided' river, when it used to have just one channel with ngāhere on the side - and then the awa will go back down after the flood and its mimi size! It's because of the dams further up, and the taking of the water from the tributaries like Moawhango and Waitapu – that's why the awa is so low. You can't even paddle down it now; it's so shallow you can walk down most of it; so, it doesn't run the same as it used to. When we were kids, you didn't used to see any algae in the river like you do now you know, with all the paru on the stones. It wouldn't be like that, it was clear because there was more water in it...It just doesn't run the same.⁵²⁹

Te Reureu claimants reiterated the spread of green algae into the river system due to its low level and the negative impacts on the ecosystem:

⁵²⁶ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 33.

⁵²⁷ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 16.

⁵²⁸ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 17.

⁵²⁹ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, pp 10-11.



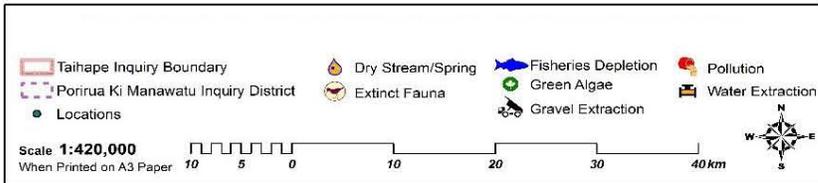
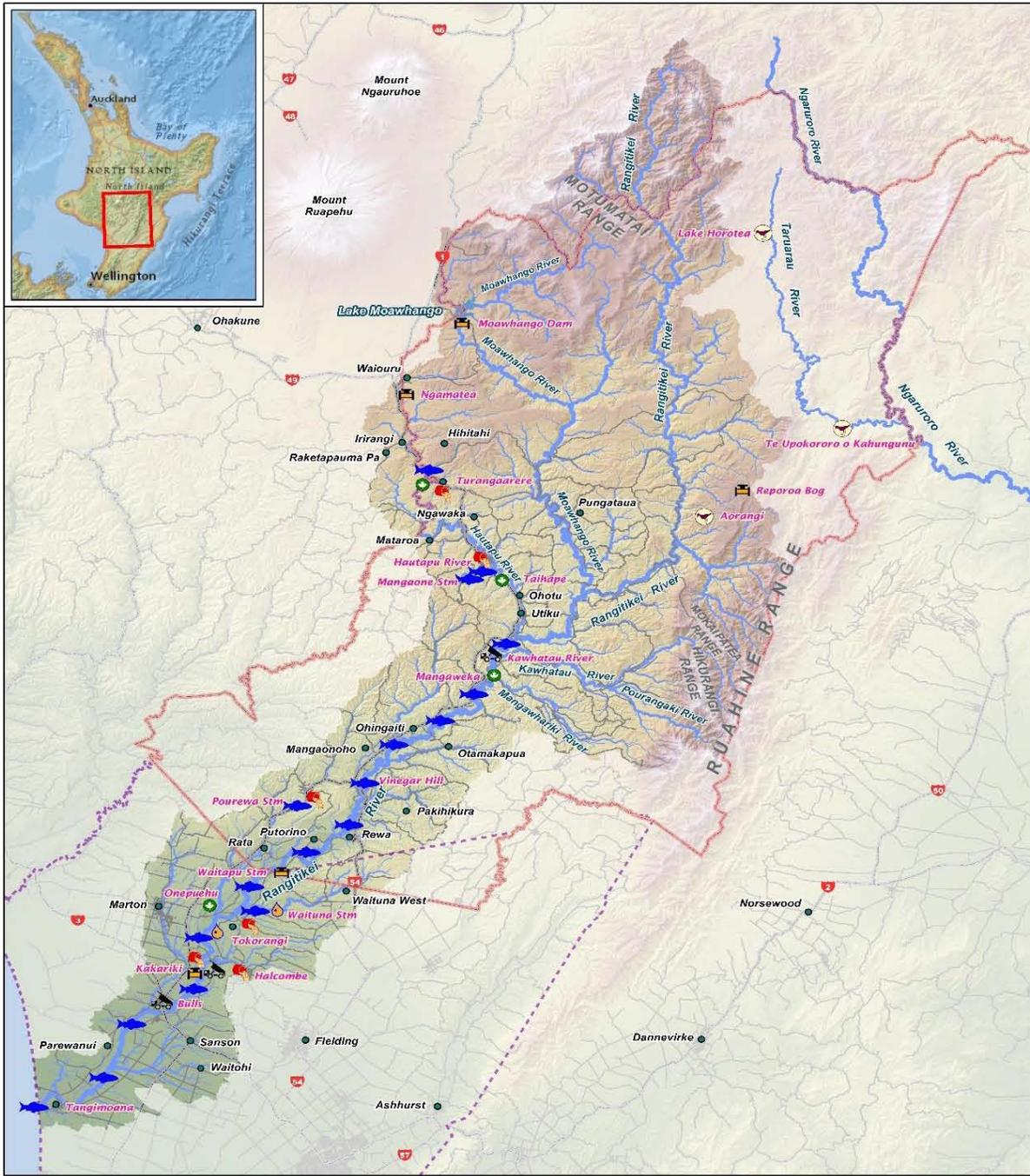
Image 36: Algae in the Hautapu and Rangitikei Rivers

Source of images: <http://www.interest.co.nz/rural-news>

The other thing with this river now that I've noticed in the last probably ten years, because it's dropped so low in the summer, it heats up. We've got a growth in here, an algae growth. It never used to be in here. ... we put a net down by the Mountain River. It's full of algae, it breaks off and flows down the river and fills the net up and sinks it. But, with that algae has come Grey Mullet, which is another species of fish up here. Because they won't take bait, and they only feed on seaweed and things like that, they don't eat anything. We've seen them right up here, in the river here, but they've gone right up further. That's the only reason why they're here, because of that algae. That's what they're feeding on. That's kept the whole ecosystem upside down.⁵³⁰

The next section of this chapter will discuss the impact of European contact in a very different but most important area within Māori communities particularly regarding the social relations, roles and status of Māori women which is sometimes termed mana wahine.

⁵³⁰ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 4.



Cartography by Kryptos Consulting (25/03/2016)

Information Sources:
 1. Taihape Inquiry boundary: Waitangi Tribunal
 2. River, stream and location names, digital elevation model: Land Information New Zealand
 3. River network: the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA)
 4. Raster image courtesy of Map Service - World Imagery.

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Map 14: Some Impacts of Pākehā Contact

5.11 Mana Wahine

Ko te wahine te kaikawe i te ora, ko tōna kōpū te tatau ki te ora.
Woman is the carrier of life, her womb is the portal to life on earth.

Ko te wahine te kaitūwhera i te tatau ki te pō, mā tōna reo pōwhiri te ao wairua e whakaoho, e whakatata, e whakamoe.
Woman opens the door to the afterworld, her karanga awakens the spirit world, draws them near, and then bids them rest again.

Ki te wahine te mana o te reo tuatahi i runga marae.
The woman's voice starts marae proceedings.⁵³¹

i. Mana Wahine Claim (Wai 2091)

Mana wahine is a Treaty of Waitangi issue raised in the Taihape Inquiry District claims (Wai 2091) and in the Manawatū Inquiry District claims (Wai 1641 and 1707). The heart of the claim is a Treaty of Waitangi breach arising from the cultural impacts of the undermining of mana wahine throughout the colonial process. It is a claim whose central concerns are cultural impacts: the negative changes in the role and authority of Māori women under colonisation; especially mental health issues arising from cultural impacts, and the impact of education policies on Māori, particularly Māori women. A pervasive view of contemporary Māori society for Māori women is a loss of dignity and the right to be involved in decision making rather than being oppressed, neglected or invisible-ised which is a direct result of the colonial process for promoting the activities and perspectives of knowledge held by Māori men at the expense of Māori women.⁵³² The colonial imposition of race, class and gender culminated in the construction of the belief that Māori women hold an inferior, lesser position in Māori society to Māori men.

⁵³¹ All of these whakatauki and much feedback on this section on mana wahine was provided by a Ngāti Manomano informant. Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

⁵³² Smith, L, *Mana Wahine, Mana Māori: A Case Study* (Māori Education Research and Development Unit, Education Department, University of Auckland, 1990) p 17.

The mere fact that there is a need to dedicate a section to Mana Wahine is prima facie evidence to show the negative impact that colonisation has had on Māori, Māori culture, Māori beliefs, our very being and, indeed, mana wahine.⁵³³

This section will briefly discuss mana wahine, how Māori women traditionally had mana tangata and the impacts of European contact in upsetting the balance.

ii. *Mana Wahine Definition*

Mana wahine has been described as something that can be challenged,⁵³⁴ undermined⁵³⁵ or reinterpreted⁵³⁶ but also as something resilient and flexible. It can be redefined, protected and sustained, it is transportable, transformable and adaptable.⁵³⁷ Simmonds contends that ‘providing a concise and accurate definition of mana wahine however, is problematic given the difficulty in trying to convey the multifarious nature of mana.’⁵³⁸ Pere even maintains that mana is beyond translation.⁵³⁹ Dictionary definitions however, translate mana as authority, prestige, power or control.⁵⁴⁰ Pere herself noted that mana is multidimensional and is related to notions of ‘psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential or binding over others, and that quality of the person that others know she or he has.’⁵⁴¹

Māori Marsden noted that mana is a ‘divine authority’ that is bestowed upon a person to fulfil particular functions and that it is bestowed by the people and enhances a person’s prestige to undertake obligations in social and political matters.⁵⁴² Linda Smith noted that mana is a concept related to notions of power, strength, status and collective acknowledgement of merit.⁵⁴³ In terms

⁵³³ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

⁵³⁴ See Simmonds, N, ‘Mana Wahine: Decolonising politics’ in *Women’s Studies Journal* (Vol. 25, No. 2, 2011) p 12

⁵³⁵ Madden, R, *Dynamic and Different: Mana Wahine* [from a MA Thesis in Philosophy, written in 2007, Campus Press, Palmerston North, 1997] p 6.

⁵³⁶ Te Awekotuku, N, in Brown, A, (ed), *Mana Wahine: Women Who Show the Way* (Reed Books, Auckland, 1994).

⁵³⁷ Winitana, M, ‘Contemporary Perceptions of Mana Wahine Māori in Australia: A Diasporic Discussion’ (PhD Thesis Proposal’ in *Mai Review* (Vol. 3, 2008) pp 6-7.

⁵³⁸ Simmonds, p 12.

⁵³⁹ Cited in Pihama, L, ‘Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices: Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework’ (PhD Thesis Dissertation in Education, University of Auckland, 2001) p 260.

⁵⁴⁰ Cited in Simmonds, p 12.

⁵⁴¹ Cited in Pihama, p 260.

⁵⁴² Ibid, p 261.

⁵⁴³ Idem.

of tikanga Māori, mana is related to tapu, aroha, rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, utu, muru, ihi, wehi, wana, whakapapa and whenua.

Mana philosophically is the combination of a psychic and spiritual vitality, recognised authority, influence and prestige and thus the ability to influence people and events. It also means to be effectual, to bring something about, making it worthy of admiration or respect. People are born with mana – ascribed mana; and it is either enhanced or diminished by one's conduct hence, if positive, achieved mana.⁵⁴⁴ Mana tangata (for men and women) is authority and jurisdiction over people, or conversely, the rights, authority and responsibility over themselves. Mana whenua has been held to link political responsibilities – the protection of people, particularly members of one's tribal group, and other land, waterways and resource related activities.

Turner described mana wahine as a theory and ideological framework which is centred on Māori world views and ways of knowing and a tool for analyzing situations and events that have been adopted to create space for Māori women to tell their stories and to develop their ideas.⁵⁴⁵ Tomlins-Jahnke referred to mana wahine as defining and describing what counts in relation to Māori women.⁵⁴⁶

Mana wahine then is a combination of all of these rights and responsibilities – psychic and spiritual force and vitality, authority, influence, prestige resulting in the ability to control people (voluntarily) and events, the rights and responsibilities to protect one's people, lands, waterways, tamariki, and our relationship with the Atua. Mana wahine is premised on the proposition that pre-colonisation, mana wahine and mana tāne existed as complementary parts.⁵⁴⁷ Simmonds noted that mana wahine is about making visible Māori women's knowledges and making heard Māori

⁵⁴⁴ Benton, R, Frame, A & Meredith, P, *Te Matapunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2013) pp 154-155.

⁵⁴⁵ Turner, T.V, 'Tu Kaha: Nga Mana Wahine: Exploring the Role of Mana Wahine in Development of Te Whare Rokiroki Māori Women's Refuge' (Master of Development Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007) p i.

⁵⁴⁶ Cited in Morrison-Ngatai, E, 'Mai I muri ka haere whakahaere: Māori Women in Mental Health Nursing,' (MA Thesis in Nursing, Massey University, Palmerston North, 2004) p 28.

⁵⁴⁷ Simmonds, p 262

women's voices and *herstories*. It has emerged to describe and analyse Māori women's lived realities.⁵⁴⁸

Pihama on the other hand asserted that *mana wahine* validates the *mana* of Māori women and has developed out of a move towards validation and affirmation of women's positions, understandings and theorizing from a distinctly Māori foundation.⁵⁴⁹ *Mana wahine* then positions the role of Māori women in society traditionally and today as one that attributed high value and significance and a traditional position of equality and power alongside Māori men.

A very interesting *korero* was provided by a Ngāti Manomano informant on a perspective of *mana wahine*:

We used to have week-long Hui Rūmaki at the marae for *tauirā*, and [a *whānau* member]... would always organise one afternoon for our *tauirā* to listen to our *kaumātua* – as native speakers – so *tauirā* could note the language differences and know what level they should strive for. All of our *kaumātua* were between 80-90 years old then, and I remember one of our female students fervently asking if our *kuia* could present their thoughts on *Mana Wahine*: “He aha ō koutou whakaaro mō te *Mana Wahine*?”

The revered Rangiamohia Baker, looked at the *tauirā* and replied: “Āe, he *mana tō* te *wahine*, he *mana tō* te *tāne*.” Yes, woman has (her own) *mana*, and man has (his own) *mana*.

The student tried to reinterpret the question and Rangiamohia stared back emotionlessly at the *tauirā* who was waiting with anticipation to seize the golden nuggets about to fall from her *kuia* lips and said very frankly:

“Kāore au i te *mōhio* mō tēnei mea te *Mana Wahine*, engari anō mō te *Mana Tangata*. He *mana tō* te *wahine*, he *mana tō* te *tāne*. Koinā! Ko te *āhua nei*, he mea nō tata tēnei mea te *Mana Wahine*.”

I do not know about this term *Mana Wahine*, but I do know about *Mana Tangata*. Woman has *mana*, and man has *mana*. That's that! It seems to me that this idea of *Mana Wahine* is a new concept.⁵⁵⁰

The same informant offered more insights from her *kuia*:

⁵⁴⁸ Simmonds, N, ‘*Mana Wahine Geographies: Spiritual Spatial and Embodied Understandings of Papatuanuku*’ (Master of Social Science Thesis, University of Waikato, 2009) p 3.

⁵⁴⁹ Pihama, p 361.

⁵⁵⁰ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

Indeed, it was Rangiamohia and her sister Kararaina who enabled one of their younger brothers to deliver his first whaikōrero. He was a native speaker, but had not yet stood to whaikōrero, and he was not as familiar with the pepeha, whakapapa etc of that particular manuhiri – and so he was nervous and unsure as to the correct format he should use. His sisters instructed him to stand, turn and take three slow steps to the right, before turning to the manuhiri to speak, and then to turn and take three slow steps to the left before turning to speak again. The gap created by the ‘three slow steps’ were to allow them to drip feed his whaikōrero to him; from their seat behind the paepae; whilst he was standing.

The manuhiri never knew and the whaikōrero and its whakapapa were on-point – as the sisters were the tohunga on whakapapa. Eventually he, and some of his other brothers went on to become acknowledged speakers in their own rights, but these two sisters (in due course joined by their younger sisters Rīria Kūkūtai and Taumata Rēnata) continued to support the paepae from behind, with appropriate kōrero, whakapapa, pepeha, whakatauākī, mōteatea etc to ensure the mana of the marae and the hapū/iwi was upheld. Each one practised right up until they died and our generation still continues that tikanga today. This is not just practised by our paepae alone, but by most paepae – as we recognise that the collective knowledge of all, surpasses the knowledge of one. This ensures that our ‘best’ is laid out for the manuhiri, and reminds us that everyone is responsible for protecting the mana of the hapū.⁵⁵¹

iii. Balance

One of the prevailing principles of mātauranga and tikanga Māori is balance. In everything, there needs to be balance in the world. Balance between people and the Gods, balance between people and the land, waterways and other natural resources, and balance between men and women. Pre-European society relied on a balance of roles between female-ness and male-ness. Ani Mikaere from Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga examined the position of Māori women in tikanga Māori and the past and present consequences of colonization which she concluded destroyed this balance.⁵⁵² Balance is even a key theme underpinning the Māori cosmogony stories.

iv. Māori Cosmogony

The importance of balance and of Māori women in the Māori cosmogony creation stories is immediately obvious as Mikaere noted:

⁵⁵¹ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

⁵⁵² Mikaere, A, *The Balance Destroyed: The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori* (Unpublished Masters of Jurisprudence Thesis Dissertation, University of Waikato, 1996).

A central feature of Māori cosmogony is whakapapa which binds humanity to the spiritual forces from which the world was created. Vital to the continuation of whakapapa are both the male and female elements. The female reproductive organs and the birthing process assume major significance throughout the creation stories.⁵⁵³

Pere added:

The first human was a woman. She was not formed by Tāne, or any male God. She was from Papatuanuku. My oldest people said the reason why the first human was a woman is because it is women who give birth to children. All of us have sprung from the very beginning from the womb of a woman.⁵⁵⁴

Women are elevated in the cosmogony stories, inter alia, by their ability to give birth to future generations which comes from Papatūānuku, the first mother. Nothing is more important than ensuring the continuation of whakapapa.

Mikaere also discussed another important aspect of mana wahine from the cosmogony stories:

The story of Hine-nui-te-pō also encapsulates a theme which features throughout the Māori creation stories – the awesome power of female sexuality. It is implicit in the womb symbolism of Te Kore, Te Pō and in the birth of Papatūānuku and Ranginui's children to Te Ao Mārama. It becomes explicit with ... Tāne and Hineahuone. And in Māui's encounter with Hine-nui-te-pō, the potency of the female organs is unassailable. The passage through which each of us passes to enter Te Ao Mārama is the same passage through which each of us must pass on our inevitable journey back to Te Pō. The process which brings each of us into being brought the world into being. Our very existence is centred around the sexual power of women.⁵⁵⁵

This power allows women to whakanoa – to remove tapu from people, places and things and to make them safe again. Mikaere added:

⁵⁵³ Mikaere, pp 13-14.

⁵⁵⁴ Pere, R, 'The Mother Energy' in Ihimaera, W, (Ed), *Kaupapa New Zealand Vision Aotearoa* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1994) p 167.

⁵⁵⁵ Mikaere, p 23.

The power of women to whakanoa is clearly of vital importance, for it establishes their ability to traverse the spiritual boundaries of tapu and noa, thereby nurturing and protecting communities.⁵⁵⁶

It is also pertinent here to refer to the Tainui cosmogony traditions of Atua and the descent of man and women from them. Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones discussed the tapu priestly lore of the Tainui Whare Wānanga where he acknowledged the female element throughout all aspects of the cosmogony down through the numerous Atua, and the making of the first man and woman – which is different to other iwi accounts.⁵⁵⁷ Dr Jones noted in the Tainui cosmogony stories the following references in particular to a balance between women and men and corresponding mana held by women and men:

1. Ngā Pō (female) and Ngā Ao (male)
2. Puna (female) and Hani (male) – the female and male element before Rangī and Papa
3. Papa (female) and Rangī (male)
4. Ngā Apa Mareikura (female) and Ngā Apa Whatukura (male) - Atua
5. Tiki-apoa (female) and Tiki-āhua (male) – as the first woman and man.⁵⁵⁸

The creation stories also illustrate that the male kawai tūpuna were usually the protagonists, while the female kawai tūpuna by their actions hold the plot together and provide the knowledge, skill and aroha necessary to enable the male kawai tūpuna to perform their deeds and to fulfil their tasks. Consequently, the female kawai tūpuna have great strength – mana wahine – and it is right that they be accorded the awe and respect that is theirs.⁵⁵⁹

Referring to the Māori cosmogony stories, a Ngāti Manomano informant opined:

Everything within our traditional cosmology, our whakapapa atua, our whakapapa tangata and our world around us had a male and female element. This tikanga also applies to waka hourua, with the portside hull being the female, and the starboard side being the male. Acknowledged by practitioners of traditional waka hourua wayfinding today, this tikanga was practised by our tūpuna who expertly traversed expansive tracts of oceans to settle remote islands of paradise throughout the entire Pacific; centuries before Galileo and the rest of the world's great theorists stopped believing that the world was flat – proving that

⁵⁵⁶ Mikaere, p 6.

⁵⁵⁷ Jones, P.T, 'He Tuhi Mārei-kura' (Unpublished Manuscript, 1945, 1946).

⁵⁵⁸ Idem.

⁵⁵⁹ Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace *Wahine Toa: Women of Māori Myth* (Collins, Auckland, 1984) p 7

they were the greatest voyagers ever - and epitomised within kōrero that our Hawaiian seafaring whānaunga still carry:

“The port hull of the canoe is the wahine hull and the starboard hull is the kāne hull. The symbolism is that the male and the female forces give us life. The symbolism is that they also balance each other - they help each other survive in the ocean.’

Similarly so, the human body like the waka hourua is acknowledged as having a female side (portside/left) and a male side (starboard side/right).⁵⁶⁰

The cosmogony stories then provide a framework for Māori world views, mātauranga and tikanga Māori and impart prodigious insight into the balance that existed from the beginning and should continue to exist between mana wahine and mana tāne within their particular roles, rights and responsibilities.

Mana wahine is not and should not however, be about elevating the status of women above men but about restoring a balanced view of gendered hierarchies in Māori life where tikanga did not perceive relations between men and women in terms of gendered hierarchies of power that privilege men over women.

This section will now briefly attempt to explore some historic and contemporary examples of mana wahine within the histories and experiences of the iwi and hapū of the Rangitikei River district.

v. *Whakapapa*

Simmonds pointed out that pre-colonial Māori society was not a utopia of equal gender relations. Power existed as did hierarchy but it was likely to be through claims of whakapapa rather than gender.⁵⁶¹ From the outset, whether female or male, mana wahine or mana tāne, it commences with an understanding of whakapapa. Whakapapa should always be the starting point hence the kawai tūpuna discussion earlier. Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones discussed the importance of whakapapa in understanding tribal histories, rights and responsibilities and the need to carefully examine the

⁵⁶⁰ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

⁵⁶¹ Simmonds, p 14.

whakapapa lines to understand one's self.⁵⁶² Indeed, the 'worth' of an individual is at least initially ascertained and ascribed by virtue of whakapapa not gender.

Mana rangatira moreover, is not just about gaining control of resources, it is also about gaining control of oneself, and then others. Indeed, mana wahine and mana tāne should not just be about gaining control of people and resources, or trying to get one over someone else. They should also be about making decisions that are right, appropriate, correct, proper, honest, just, culturally correct, or upright for what and who we are responsible for – whānau, hapū, iwi, whenua, waterways and other natural resources.

vi. *Mana Wahine and the Treaty of Waitangi*

Mana wahine is apparent when a number of women signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 by virtue of rangatira whakapapa. The Henry Williams copy of the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by 132 rangatira which included parts of both the Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry areas. Some of the signatures were collected at Kāpiti on 14 May 1840 and included Te Rauparaha, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi and Topeora. Other signatures were collected at Ōtaki on 19 May and included Te Ruru, Kiharoa, Te Puke, Horomona Toremi, Te Ahoaho, Ihākara Tahurangi and Te Kehu. Two signatures were collected at Tawhirihoe on 21 May - Te Hakeke and Taumarū. More signatures were collected at Manawatū on 26 May and included Rawiri Paturoa, Te Tohe, Te Whetu, Taueki and Whitiopai.⁵⁶³

The Henry Williams copy included the signatures of a number of Māori women such as Topeora and Kahe Te Rau-o-te-rangi of Ngāti Toa and Rere-o-maki of Whanganui. There may have been other women who signed such as Pakewa and Kehu from Te Āti Awa. It is unclear whether any women from the Rangitīkei River catchment area signed the Treaty of Waitangi. Sykes however, contended that many more women of high rank and standing should have been signatories if they

⁵⁶² Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, 'Māori Genealogies', in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Volume 67, No. 2, 1958) at 162.

⁵⁶³ 'Henry Williams Treaty copy', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/interactive/henry-williams-treaty-copy>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 19-Feb-2016.

had been allowed by government agents.⁵⁶⁴ Mikaere argued that the Crown has continued this trend, since the Treaty of Waitangi, of defining Māori women as political non-entities, powerless and of secondary importance to men.⁵⁶⁵

In response to the Crown's continued determination to negotiate with Māori men while ignoring Māori women, the 'Particulars of Urgent Claim' – also known as the 'Mana Wahine Claim' - was lodged in the Waitangi Tribunal in 1993 regarding the undermining of Māori women's status and power as a result of the Crown's discriminatory actions and policies. The claimants sought for the Waitangi Tribunal to make a clear statement regarding the 'rangatiratanga of Māori women.' However, the claim has not been heard yet, some 23 years later, which is a sad indictment on the kaupapa!

Māori women within the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River catchment area had a central leading role. Colonisation has to some extent pushed women into the background of tribal leadership. But Māori women of the Rangitīkei River catchment area played central leading roles in taking claims to the Native Land Court and have continued to provide strong role models and to have important influence in the communities including the tribal decision making.

vii. *Wahine with Mana Whenua*

The inclusion of Māori women in Native Land Court titles is apparent in the area which is also indicative of mana tangata. A number of early Native Land Court hearings provide some rich ground for kōrero on mana wahine particularly where women had the mana whenua over land blocks. For example, Taiwiri is viewed as having a prominent role in holding the lands that she inherited.⁵⁶⁶ 'Kei te wahine te mana whenua o Ngāti Rangī.⁵⁶⁷ Taiwiri was the mother of

⁵⁶⁴ Sykes, A, Constitutional Reform and Mana Wahine' in *The Fiscal Envelope: Economics, Politics and Colonisation* (Vol. 1, Moko Productions and the Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland, 1995) p 41.

⁵⁶⁵ Mikaere, p 2.

⁵⁶⁶ Waho, Toni et al, 2006/6. Translated within sources as 'Women hold the mana whenua.' (2006).

⁵⁶⁷ Ruka Broughton, interview, Te Uta Murphy-Peehi, and Wānanga held for Ngāti Rangī in 1980s and 1990s cited in Waho, Toni et al, 2006/6. Translated within sources as 'Women hold the mana whenua.'

Rangituhia, Rangiteauria and Uenukumanawawiri, all eponymous tūpuna for key Ngāti Rangi hapū.⁵⁶⁸

Nukuteaio was another prominent tupuna wahine to many of the groups within the Mōkai Pātea district. From Nukuteaio stem Ūpokoiri, Ngāi Te Ohuake, Ngāti Hinemanu, and Ngāti Paki who then trace their descent back to Whatumāmoa and through him to Orotu and Mahu Tapoanui, the sea deity.⁵⁶⁹ Rangatira referred to Nukuteaio as the owner of land in the Mōkai Pātea area which is acknowledgement of her mana tangata and mana wahine.⁵⁷⁰ Paramena Te Naonao stated during the 1886 Awarua case for example, that Nukuteaio ‘owned the land’ as she was a descendant of Whatumāmoa.⁵⁷¹

Haumotahanga and Punakiao were daughters of Tūtemohuta (son of Te Ohuake and Nukuteaio) and Hinemoehau. This couple had two other children Tamakorako and Te Rangi–Kahui, but it was Haumotahanga and Punakiao who were associated with the holding of mana whenua within the Taihape district.⁵⁷² During the 1888 rehearing of the Ōwhāoko block, Rāniera Te Ahiko noted that ‘The mana of Tutemohuta went to Haumotahanga and Punakiao. ... The rights of Haumotahanga and Punakiao were equal.’⁵⁷³

viii. Rangatira marrying into whenua

Some rangatira came to be viewed as having mana in Mōkai Pātea history because of their marriage to landowning women recognised as having mana in the area. Nukuteaio and Ohuake are noteworthy in that union brought together the tribal grouping with Ngāti Whatumāmoa.⁵⁷⁴ Ohuake did not own the land however; it was Nukuteaio.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁸ Waho, Toni, et al, 2008/6. Whakapapa p 15.

⁵⁶⁹ Whakapapa down to Whatamāmoa cited in Parsons, 1991/2 whakapapa from Blake. AT Māori Genealogies, 1868-90, ATL, Micro-MS-0082.

⁵⁷⁰ Te Ahiko, Mangaohane 1884, N9/175.

⁵⁷¹ Paramena Te Naonao, Awarua 1886, W10/368.

⁵⁷² Te Ahiko, Ōwhāoko, 1888, N16.257.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Whakapapa by Te Whaaro, Ōwhāoko Rehearing/Partitions 1887, N13 at 60-63.

⁵⁷⁵ Te Ahiko, Mangaohane, 1884, N9/130.

Accounts vary but it is generally agreed that the marriage of Haumotahanga and Whitikaupeka benefitted Whitikaupeka. Te Wanikau stated that it was only through marriage to Haumotahanga that Whitikaupeka derived rights to land. ‘Whitikaupeka had no rights to this land himself. He derived it from his wife Haumotahanga.’⁵⁷⁶ Wi Wheko also suggested Whitikaupeka derived his mana from marriage to Haumotahanga.⁵⁷⁷ Winiata Te Whaaro agreed: ‘Whitikaupeka had the mana. He married Haumotahanga and that was how he got it.’⁵⁷⁸ Hiraka Te Rango asserted too: ‘That marriage did not give him mana. He had his own, but his wife had mana.’⁵⁷⁹

These examples clearly illustrate historic instances of mana wahine within the area.

ix. Tūpuna Wāhine– Wāhine as eponymous tūpuna

The recognition of mana is not usually an ornate affair in the Māori world, but there probably will be no greater acknowledgement than having a marae, a whare or hapū named after you. When a group selects a person as their eponymous tūpuna, it is a mark of deep respect thereby acknowledging that person as having mana. There are a number of examples within the Taihape District where iwi and hapū are named after female tūpuna hence acknowledging mana wahine.

Kahukare – A tupuna of Whitikaupeka. Ngāti Whiti were living in the Pātea area under the name Te Hika a Kahukare. Kahukare was the second wife of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua.⁵⁸⁰

Haumotahanga – Holder of mana whenua. Seven generations later, one group of descendants adopted the name Ngāti Haumotahanga. They descended from Wharepūrākau (son of Haumotahanga and Whitikaupeka) and his wife Tututorewa. Rāniera Te Ahiko stated: When I speak of N. Haumotahanga I mean those of N Upokoiri as descended from Matahinu.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁶ Te Wanikau, Ōwhāoko 1888, N16/222.

⁵⁷⁷ Wheko, Ōwhāoko Partition, 1885, N16/311.

⁵⁷⁸ Te Whaaro, Mangaohane, No 2 Rehearing, Scannell MB, 30/21.

⁵⁷⁹ Te Rango, Ōwhāoko, 1887, N3/27-28.

⁵⁸⁰ Hakaraia, Korako, Te Kapua, 1884, W7/434-435.

⁵⁸¹ Te Ahiko, Mangaohane 1884, N9/232-233.

Hinemanu – Referred to by a number of Native Land Court witnesses. Daughter of Punakiao and Taraia II and, although born in Heretaunga, she came and lived in Pātea as a young woman when she rejected the advances of Te Whatuiāpiti.⁵⁸² There she married Tautahi.⁵⁸³

Ūpokoiri – Derive their name from Ūpokoiri who married Rangituoru, son of Te Aopūpūrurangi and Honomōkai.⁵⁸⁴ Ūpokoiri was a descendant of Whatumāmoa and Kahungunu. The name is said to have come into use during the time of Ūpokoiri and Rangituoru's grandson, Te Uamairangi.⁵⁸⁵

Waewae – Female tupuna from whom stems Ngāti Waewae. Paurini Karamu stated in the 1881 Rangipō Waiū title investigation: 'Ngatiwaewae are all descendants from her.'⁵⁸⁶ Waewae was a descendant of Tia, uncle of Tamatekapua, captain of the Te Arawa waka. Waewae also descended from Ngātoroirangi, tohunga of Te Arawa. Both Tia and Ngatoro explored broadly and named extensive land areas around Lake Taupō.

Rongomaiporangi – Was another important tupuna who is particularly associated with the Rangipō Waiū lands. Waewae married Te Marangataua, and from this union came Rangitikua, Rahuikura, Torehaere, Waikapuaki and Te Au.⁵⁸⁷

Hinepare – Hinepare was a granddaughter of Rākihikuroa and Papauma. She was the wife of Taraia I who she accompanied on his migration south from Nukutaurua. She is particularly recognised from having rallied Taraia's men for a renewed and ultimately successful attack on Rakaiweriweri and his people at the mouth of the Aropawanui River.⁵⁸⁸

Parewahawaha and Manomano

During the Musket Wars period, Ngāti Raukawa were forced from Maungatautari to the Horowhenua in a number of heke migrations. "Te Heke Mairaro" meaning the great migration

⁵⁸² Te Ahiko, Mangaohane 1884.

⁵⁸³ Te Whaaro, Ōwhāoko Rehearing Partition 1887, NI3 at 60-63. Te Whaaro, Awarua, 1890 W20/228.

⁵⁸⁴ Te Wanikau, Mangaohane 1884, N9/220.

⁵⁸⁵ Te Naonao, Awarua 1886, W10/375-6.

⁵⁸⁶ Paurini, Karamu, Rangipo Waiu, 1881, TMB 2/107.

⁵⁸⁷ Ahika Research, 'The Traditional and Oral History of Ngāti Waewae,' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust Report, 2007) p 1.

⁵⁸⁸ Te Pango Whareauahi in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 14, No. 2), cited in Parsons, 1997/18.

from below with Te Whatanui leading them south was the last heke. Within this group were many descendants of the great female rangatira, Parewahawaha, who had her own mana and whakapapa rangatira before her marriage to Te Rangipūmamao, a rangatira of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Raukawa. It was because of this relationship that the heke passed through the western shores of Taupō–nui–a–Tia, so that they may rest and gather strength. Tradition states that Manomano is a granddaughter of Te Rangipūmamao and Parewahawaha, and older sister of Te Whatanui. She did not migrate with her brother, choosing instead to remain at Waihāhā within their Tūwharetoa whakapapa boundaries. Her son, Te Ngako, did however migrate south with his uncle, and settled amongst the other Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Tūwharetoa descendants at Rangitīkei. Eventually, Te Whatanui and Manomano were reunited in death at their final resting place amongst their Ngāti Kōhera kin. The grandchildren of Te Ngako established Ngāti Manomano.⁵⁸⁹

A Tū Te Manawaroa informant discussed mana wahine through some of these whakapapa and hapū names:

Te Rangipūmamao comes down through Te Kōhera ... that's exactly the connection to Tuaropaki [West Taupō]. Ngāti Turanga are all in Tuaropaki because of that connection. They all descend from Te Kōhera as well as their Turanga side so they have a double dose from the chief and he was ariki of his time – Te Rangipūmamao. Actually it is a very good connection to show on the western side of the Lake. That is exactly the same connections on the Reureu Block. Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Pīkiahū in particular, show the connections between Raukawa and Tūwharetoa. ... the [Hauti] meeting house was carved by Raukawa carvers Te Motu Heta and Huhī Takarei and when they carved the tupuna kuia on the amo ... And I said it is a tupuna kuia because it is the kuia that connects all of the people who used to stop there to our Raukawa people, not only on the Reureu Block because there used to be a bridge that goes straight across from Rata to Tokorangi.⁵⁹⁰

If the kuia can connect the people through whakapapa but also physically, she must have accorded mana from the people to do that hence the reverence and awe the people had for her so that they willingly follow her. The informant also talked about the people choosing wāhine tūpuna as their eponymous tūpuna for their iwi and hapū or their Pā:

⁵⁸⁹ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

⁵⁹⁰ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, pp 3, 5.

When we talk about Ngāti Hinemata within Raukawa or Hinemataa as they are sometimes referred to ... people get quite lost in about who they are but for us, we know how we fit to that name. And the first Hinemataa was the mother of Rangianewa and Rangianewa was the first wife of Rereahu who is the mother and father of Te Ihingārangi so the people at Waimiha are the people of Ngāti Te Ihingārangi, that is the name of their tupuna and that is where all of my uncles and aunties all come from that particular karanga hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. ... So most of Raukawa also descends from the first Hinemata and what you have is that the people who came down to the Rangitīkei River along the Tangimoana area particularly the Pā at Tawhirihoē their female side for Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Takihiku are all Ngāti Hinemata So for our lines of Ngāti Hinemata, we have three sisters, Raumanene, Mitarina and Te Awahou. Raumanene is where Īhakara [Tukumaru] comes from. Mitarina is where um Arona Te Hana comes from. And we all come from their baby sister Te Awahou, and her name was given to that Pā at Foxton because she died there. She was the first buried that came on the heke from South Waikato.⁵⁹¹

Hence, iwi and hapū carrying the names of these women up and down the Rangitīkei River is a clear sign of the reverence and esteem in which they were and continue to be held by the people. Kahukare, Haumotahanga, Hinemanu, Ūpokoiri, Waewae, Rongomaiporangi, Parewahawaha, Manomano, Hinepare and even the erecting of another Te Marae O Hine in this rohe are just some of the examples that illustrate how the people along the Rangitīkei recognised, ‘Āe, he mana tō te wahine’ when they chose to highlight and elevate these tūpuna wāhine to this next level of immortality.⁵⁹²

x. *Mōteatea*

A further example of mana wahine is wahine mōteatea of kuia such as Erenora Taratoa with her moteatea: *He Patere, Ara He Rangi Poi*. As noted above, this moteatea is about Erenora asserting her whakapapa and hapū expertise, dispute resolution prowess and mana whenua. Erenora was a daughter of Nepia Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa. The reason for this action song was because of the jealousy of other women on account of her beauty.

⁵⁹¹ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, pp 7-8.

⁵⁹² Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

He Patere, Ara He Rangi Poi – An Action Song or Poi Accompaniment⁵⁹³

Nā, Erenora Taratoa, by Erenora Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa

Nā Taite Te Tomo i Whakamārama. Explanations by Te Taite Te Tomo.

Poia atu tāku poi
Wania atu tāku poi
Ngā pikitanga ki Otairi,
Papatairite atu ki Pātea.
Ka tiro tiro ki Te Onetapu;
Ka ranga tonu ki Taupō,
Ko te Rohu, ko Te Rerehau
E whae ma! Kia rite mai te whakaaro
Ki ōku haere ruahine ki konei.
Nunui tonu mai, he iti tāku iti,
Ehara i muri nei
No tua whakahaere nō āku kaumātua.
I whiua ki Heretaunga
Ko Puororangi, ko Tarapuhi.
Ka rawe ra maua ko tāku tara
Ki te hapai ewe ki ngā whenua
Tapapa ana i te hiwi ki Horohoro.
Kia mātau tonu au ki Tarawera,
Ko Te Hemahema.
Ka rere titaha te rere a tāku poi,
E oma ana i te tai pouri ki Rotorua,
Ko Parehokotoru, ko Te Apoapo, ko
Ngatoro.
Kei whea te rā ka hapainga mai?
Kei Tauranga, Tupaea,
Ko te mea rā e wawatatia nei
E māua ko tāku poi.
Tiehutia i te wai ki Hauraki,
Ko Hapai, ko Taraia.
Tū tonu mai Tauaiti,
Pikautia i te hiwi ki Mahurangi,
Ko Te Aohau, ko Tiaho,
Ka taupatupatu Te rere a tāku poi
Ngā ia tuku ki Waikato,
Ko Kīngi Pōtatau, ko Te Paea,
Ko Matutaera e taoro nei
I te nuku o te whenua.
Hei aha rā?

Swing afar off my poi,
Skim onward my poi,
Upwards to the heights at Otairi,
And there draw nigh unto Pātea.
Look about (you) at Te Onetapu;
Thence hasten onward to Taupō,
To Te Rohu and Te Rerehau.
Ah Mesdames! Listen both of you
To my dedicated journey hither.
Ye exalted ones, a lowly one indeed am I,
Not of recent times, of course,
But from time afar off, from my forbears.
Cast off in Heretaunga
Were Puororangi and Tarapuhi,
But see now how well, with my feminine
allure,
I fly carefree to distant lands,
Even unto the recumbent hill of Horohoro,
Where abideth Te Hemahema.
Sideways my poi now flies
Across fearsome places to Rotorua,
To Parehokotoru, Te Apoapo, and Ngatoro.
(And I shall ask), where does the sun rise?
(Ah yes), from Tauranga where abideth
Tupaea;
The one who brings day-dreams
To me and my poi.
Let me now splash in the waters of Hauraki,
With Hapai and Taraia.
Standing boldly yonder is Tauaiti,
As I trudge up the hill at Mahurangi,
(Where abideth) Te Aohau and Tiaho,
And now my poi swings wildly,
(Striving) to follow the current to Waikato
(Where abideth) King Pōtatau, Te Paea
And Matutaera who holds sway
O'er the land from end to end.
For what purpose?

⁵⁹³ Ngata, A & Jones, P.T, Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs: Scattered Pieces from Many Canoe Areas Collected by Sir Apirana Ngata and Translated by Pei Te Hurinui (Auckland University Press, Auckland, Part 2, 2006) pp 202-209.

Hei mana mo Niu Tireni
 Potaea!
 Nau mai rā, e poi,
 Kia kawea koe ngā one roa
 Ki Mahia, Ki a Ngāti Awa.
 E tū mai rā he āriki kei te tonga,
 Ko Karaitiana,
 Taoroa te hiwi maunga ki Porangahau.
 Tēnā ano tāku kuru tangiwai
 I makere iho i a Pare,
 Hei whakamutunga mo āku haere ruahine
 Ki te muri ki te tonga
 E poi e!

For the prestige of New Zealand,
 And as a head covering!
 Felicitations to you, O poi,
 And let me now take you to the long beach
 At Te Mahia thence away to Ngāti Awa.
 But wait, o'er yonder stands forth
 A high chief in the south, Ah, 'tis Karaitiana.
 Stride forth boldly o'er the high lands of
 Porangahau—
 Thereabouts is my jade ornament
 Bequeathed to me by Pare,
 And there too I shall end my dedicated
 journey
 To the north and to the south
 O my poi!

Waiata Notes

Otairi – lies beyond Hunterville; it is on the old trail to Pātea which leads to Onetapu.

Pātea – This is inland Pātea in the locality of Moawhango.

Te Onetapu – a place at Rangipō, to the south of Lake Taupō, a sandy desert. [The Desert Road area]. Travelers on this route should not ask questions about (the mountains of) Ruapehu and Tongariro, as this will cause a storm to arise with snow, flying stones and sand.

Te Rohu – a member of the Te Heuheu family.

Te Rerehau – (female) tupuna of Taite Te Tomo.

Puororangi, Tarapuhi – An ancestor of Erenora and her people who belonged to Heretaunga (Hawkes Bay).

Horohero – A mount situated to the south–west of Rotorua. It was a settlement of several sub–tribes of Ngāti Raukawa namely, Ngāti Wairangi, Ngāti Whaita and Ngāti Tuara; all these were her sub–tribes.

Tarawera – Just above Rotorua. The tribes of which were Ngāti Tao and the whole of the Tuhourangi tribe.

Te Hemahema – A chief of the Tuhourangi tribe, his descendants are the Te Tuahu family and the family of Te Hurinui.

Parehokotoru, Te Apoapo, Ngatoro – They all three belonged to Rotorua.

Tupaea – A high chief of Tauranga.

Hapai, Taraia – Chiefs of Hauraki.

Tuaiti – Was of Ngāti Tamatera, Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato tribes.

Mahurangi – is in the Hauraki district and in the locality of Te Totara.

Te Aohau, Tiaho – These two belonged to Ngāti Raukawa and also to the Hauraki tribes.

Potatau – The first Māori King of the Kīngitanga crowned in 1858.

Te Paea – Was the daughter of Potatau.

Matutaera – One of Tawhiao's names, the second Māori King.

Te Mahia – The peninsula of that name on the East Coast.

Ngāti Awa – tribe of the Whakatāne District. Some versions ‘Te Ati Awa’, the tribe of the Waitara district in Taranaki.

Karaitiana – A chief of the Hawkes Bay section of Ngāti Kahungunu.

Porangahau – A place along the southern coast of Hawkes Bay.⁵⁹⁴

The moteatea is well known and reflects the mana wahine of Erenora.

Referring to the tupuna kuia Manomano, who has a whareniui and very proud hapū named after her along with a whakapapa connection to Erenora, a Tū Te Manawaroa informant asserted:

Now Manomano is a legend in their own right. Just like you have Erenora Taratoa, who is the daughter of the big chief who lived on the Rangitīkei River, his name is Nepia Taratoa. ... Erenora had an older cousin her name was Manomano. And she married her cousin Tūwhatu and that is where the Kereama family come from. So they get a double dose of Parewahawaha, a double dose of other lines of Raukawa as well. But Manomano is the sister to Te Whatanui. So that is how it all fits together particularly for the Western side of Lake Taupō. That is obvious and where Te Whatanui is buried ... Manomano's waiata has a similar kaupapa to Erenora's Patere ... they are sort of like the glue in the middle and not just through intermarriages because there is a lot of that too. ... Kereama Te Ngako had a really important role amongst the people. And that was to keep the peace. ... And that is the role that they had. And they had immense respect for Kereama.⁵⁹⁵

Another informant mentioned her hapū whakapapa to her tupuna kuia Manomano, which is mana wahine in its own right:

I'm Ngāti Tūwharetoa through my tupuna kuia Manomano. That's the name of the whare by Miria Te Kakara, Taumata O Te Rā, Halcombe. ... Manomano, our tupuna kuia, she's buried around Waihāhā, Tūwharetoa, on the left hand access, the south western side of Taupo. So we've been to where she was buried in a cave, in an ana with all of our whānau of Ngāti Manomano and Whatanui. So we (our whānau of Ngāti Manomano) have been to where Manomano and her brother Te Whatanui are buried in a cave, in an ana.⁵⁹⁶

xi. Tohunga

There are many examples of tūpuna wāhine who were greatly respected and honoured for their tohunga (expert) skills along the Rangitīkei. Kui Haina who lived at Kōtuku was famed for her

⁵⁹⁴ Idem.

⁵⁹⁵ Tū Te Manawaroa Interview, Wellington, 7 September 2015, pp 11-12.

⁵⁹⁶ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 22.

prowess in mōteatea, taiaha, manaakitangata and kōrero, as were others. Mere Rikiriki treated the multitudes with divine assistance down Parawanui way, Waitauhi Emery who married Kereama Te Ngako was a midwife who helped deliver most of the babies in the larger Reureu area in her time, their daughters and grand-daughters went on to support the iwi spiritually as Āwhina within the Rātana Church. Taumata Rēnata was one of many acclaimed kaihaka and kairāanga of whāriki, kākāhu, tukutuku etc in the valley, who in her older years taught young adults some of these skills with marae-based courses. When I think of mōteatea, I also think of kui Para, Kararaina, Rangiamohia, Rīria and Taumata. Two of the most exciting (and long) pātere in this area were composed by mokopuna of Parewahawaha – namely Poi atu taku poi by Erenora Taratoa noted above, and E noho ana i te whanga – by Manomano.

A number of good contemporary examples of mana wahine and tohunga expertise continue in the region. It appears that some of the women are tohunga (experts) in their own right in a number of areas such as whakapapa, weaving, tukutuku art, bird snaring, karakia and healing, manaakitanga, mau rākau, and in leadership, governance, and management positions. To be regarded as a tohunga expert, is one of reverence and mana.

xii. Tohunga Raranga

Some women were/are tohunga experts at raranga – weaving and paru – as a Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki kuia stated with a mamae as well:

We talk about the paru ... up in this creek here [the Mangaohane]. ... I have seen it. Hineaka, she's seen it as a young girl. Do you remember when it was last used for weaving? It could have been, we've got whāriki, all the old whāriki. If you go back in there, in the office where we were [at Winiata Marae]] there's a big board that I did with all the whāriki, all the old whāriki photos. That's when the paru would have been used because those whāriki were made by our aunties, grand aunties.⁵⁹⁷

My mother didn't tell me but because I've been weaving for 35 years ... the old ladies, the kuia from here did a lot of weaving, raranga, whatu. The whatu was done outside with the mānuka sticks ... they did their whatu; whatu korowai, whatu kahu huruhuru; all outside and kneeled down on the ground while they did their whatu. They did their whatu korowai while

⁵⁹⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 22.

the kuia inside were doing the babysitting, they were doing the cooking along with the men who were bringing the kai in. ... I've got a little picture of a harakeke. I've heard a lot of harakeke stories ... There was a lot of harakeke right down the straights, right down the Winiata straights and it's all gone. There's a little bit over here but what has been taken away from us as mana wahine is that harakeke. The one with the muka. The muka was the most. ... I feel really mamae about the fact that our harakeke over here is beautiful but there was a big tree out here, they just cut that tree down, picked it up with something and went straight on the harakeke. ... It was our own. Because sometimes men don't understand that the harakeke is so precious to us. It's a nuisance to them when it comes to mowing lawns and what not.⁵⁹⁸

xiii. Tohunga Tukutuku

Other women are tohunga at Tukutuku panels as another Hinemanu kuia stated:

The tukutuku panels that are in the dining room [Winiata Marae], the new dining room [at Winiata Marae]. There was four of us weavers; there was Aunty, – Hineaka that was here – another one, Bubba Cribb, Kuia and myself. The four of us were asked if we could contribute towards the new dining room so we all decided after getting permission from the tūpuna and old people and other people, we all decided to do a tukutuku panel each. So we started off in here and we ended up taking them to our homes because it was a big job, they were big panels. ... We went off down the road, down to the other side of Foxton, Tangimoana and got the pīngao. I brought all the kiekie back from the South Island; ... and away we went with our dyeing and doing whatever we needed to do. So we said what are we going to put on – in our meeting, the four of us plus others – what are we going to do about our boards? ... my one had the pātiki on it with the seven Marae that are now standing that were put in there. The one I wanted to really talk about was Kuia's which had our seven awa on it. ... the Rangitūkei, Hautapu, Ngaruroro, ... So she proudly put all the animals on, different animals; she had the tuna, she had the kurī, she had a sheep. So the other one which was Bubba's brought in Tamatea Pōkai Whenua and his pets which was the koura, the lizard, ngārara. ... Anyway, that was on her one. Aunt's one, Aunt Hineaka, her one had the huia birds and ... So that was the story of those four boards. Those awa are the ones that really stick out.⁵⁹⁹

Both of these leadership roles underscore mana wahine.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid, p 23.

⁵⁹⁹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, pp 31-32.

Tūrangaarere informants also discussed the mana of their kuia who was a tohunga of manaakitanga and whakapapa:

You know you talked about your Grandma writing up the whakapapa. Oh that was for Peehi Turoa, yep, the Turoa line. . . . she was just recording it. . . . One thing about our Grandparents, which they did do which a lot of Māori's that are around here in all these places haven't done is, when they have dinner at night, Nanny put a sack down at the table, with their kids, they'd sit down and discuss topics of the day. These kids had to talk and talk about whatever was going on in their lives and what have you, and whatever topic was current. The kids were at the dinner table, and we grew up with it and you all joined in with the conversation. So at those times, they would talk about a lot of things. Some of the things they talked about were whakapapa and who was who and anybody you know they knew. Mum and them always knew, who was who in the zoo, and who wasn't in the zoo but was actually a part of the zoo you get my point? In other words, if there was somebody born outside of the family somewhere, they knew who they would. Nanny Koro wanted their children to know everything so in case they came back they would know who they were and what they were claimed in something. Or who they weren't. There was a family here and Richard will tell you about it, in the whakapapa book that I have from my Grandfather acknowledges this one family and nobody else does. That's because they were that way, they wanted people to know, not everyone to know but their own family, their kids. So mum and them knew a lot of things.⁶⁰⁰

A Ngāti Manomano informant provided another example of kuia who was well known for whakapapa:

Kararaina Te Whatu (Kā) and her younger sister Rangiamohia Baker (Nancy) of the Kereama whānau, were well-known throughout the rohe, and beyond, for their mātauranga in whakapapa. They were brilliant receptacles of oral traditions taught by their parents, kaumātua and tūpuna, and indeed, many people would seek them out in order to find out their own connections or missing links in whakapapa. They and their siblings were very generous with their mātauranga. Anyone who knew Rangiamohia, knew that she would often stop people that she had never met before because she recognised their tūpuna in them. She would then begin to tell them not only about their parents and grandparents, but also their great-grandparents, great great-grandparents and often further back to their waka. A walk across the marae-ātea could take an hour because of this, and recipients of kōrero were always amazed and then happy to hear 'about themselves' from someone who had met their tūpuna. Many whānaunga living within the rohe can attribute what their whānau now know, regarding whakapapa, to these two kuia – some attesting that they knew nothing before they met one or both of these sisters.

⁶⁰⁰ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, p 3.

Kararaina herself was prone to writing whakapapa down to help others. She wrote book after book full of whakapapa, each different, depending on whom the book was intended for. Family members of each of her 13 siblings (and her own children too) still possess and look after much coveted whakapapa books that Kararaina herself wrote for each of her siblings that was alive at that time. Each book is different, tracing their links back to over nine waka, and descending through many various tūpuna and marriages on any one waka. The book may also include important events and dates, mōteatea, karanga, pao, names of different whānau **taonga** and anything else pertinent to that era.

She would also include the whakapapa lines to her siblings' partners in that particular siblings' book, again, going back through many kāwei, and ending each line with the name of her in-law, her sibling or their children. Most of those hard covered whakapapa books are 70-150 pages long, and each page jam packed with different whakapapa lines filling every section of the page. Members of the Tupe whānau, living in Waiohau, Tūhoe, still remember their pāpā Hieke Tupe, going into his room with his cousins 'Aunty Kā' and 'Aunty Nancy'. Waiata mōteatea was sung constantly day and night, stopping only to eat or to use the bathroom, but after almost a week Hieke and his cousins emerged with his brand new handwritten whakapapa book, she had filled with his kāwei whakapapa, and his two wives kāwei whakapapa. I have seen most of those books, and I even saw a series of 1B4 books, that she started writing, which descended down to various nephews, nieces and karanga mokopuna – they are truly some of the greatest **taonga** left to us.⁶⁰¹

xv. *Tohunga Ahurewa, Bird Snaring and Manaakitanga*

Ngāti Manomano members also discussed the role of some of their kuia with karakia, bird snaring and calling:

The women who knew the rites and rituals around birds and the language of women had been lost... I remember clearly my grandmother and aunties talking to opening, closing, they talked about prayers in the forest ... karakia ... because it was a real challenge to the way that we do things now which is quite Christian based and male orientated. Where I was brought up my kuia did all the karakia but she never gave it to me she just said, kei te karakia au mō tēnei mea, but she didn't say it out loud it was rather quiet. ... So it was me haere koe ki te whare wānanga te akohia ngā karakia.⁶⁰²

The whānau continued:

⁶⁰¹ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

⁶⁰² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 22.

I remember reading about manu, and 'tākirikiri'. I thought, what on earth is that word?! If you look it up, you can't find that word, but luckily the text went on to explain that tākirikiri was the use of the thumb nail to open up and de-gut manu, and traditionally it was mainly the women that would do it. They would de-bone the manu while they were at it, and then you would just have the meat basically. You folded everything back together and tucked the head of the manu back in and all that sort of stuff, and then cooked it and put it in the tahā huahua. Now, a lot of the language that pertains to these skills that were once normal, everyday mahi has been lost, and the associated waiata and whakataukī etc has been lost too. But back then you knew your environment intimately. It used to be, you woke up in the morning, you karakia, you karanga ki te taiao - but it's just not like that now, and people will think you are slightly crazy if you did do it; which is a terrible thing in itself you know - to be thought you were crazy; when actually that was just part of your spirituality. But that is exactly what happened, Pākehā thought our tūpuna were crazy because they did not understand our tikanga and our wairuatanga.⁶⁰³

Another Ngāti Manomano kuia remembering her experiences growing up in Rotoaira:

That was the one thing I did learn about going out to get Kererū was how to call them down. Women had a better voice because it had that sound where as a man had, too big or husky, they'd say whakarongo koe ki te manu and you watch them. You know they're so nosey they come down and they can see you and then you call back down again and bang, that was one thing I did learn. ... You got to know how to cook that too and the way they used to cook they turn them upside down when you bring them home, don't gut them and you turn them upside down and their feet are up and then that's when you can tell cause their feet go red, the claw part goes red, a, kua maoa ngā manu. ... when we got visitors the bird was broken in half, the women got the bottom half because that was the fattest part of the bird ... that's the best part of the bird.⁶⁰⁴

xvi. Visionary Leadership is mana wahine

A number of the Te Reureu men talked about the strength and tenacity of their kuia, implicitly acknowledging their mana wahine for being so strong and visionary, teaching and even taiaha skills:

There were a few here, the old wahine. Old Rihi, kui Rihi... she was an Iwikau. ... But she was born here and raised here. She was pretty strong. Their grandmother was another strong kui. ... Huatahi Paranihi, she was another kui. Pakira Poutama, another kui pretty strong here in fighting for the river. They always were here, they saw it from back in the late 1800s.

⁶⁰³ Idem.

⁶⁰⁴ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 22-23.

That's the difference with today; our kui, they were born around 1870 so they saw the awa changing. I was 21 when Rihi died, Pakira was in her 90s. She used to live with us. We had a lot to do with them sitting around the fire at night, we used to talk... they were active. They were always doing things. Sticking up for our rights, I suppose you'd say. All these streets that come up... One of our kui around here, Haina she used to teach the taiaha to the women. Just around the back of this hill there's a little Marae up there, Kotuku. ... Mau rākau. She used to have seven students.

... They were strong women, the kui over there. Mura Arapere, she was a strong woman in her own right. But it was different, we knew at the Marae when you're allowed to go up to the Marae when there was something on up there, those people used to encourage you to mature, tell you things ... Some of them, there were some pretty serious things that they retained. They taught us a lot. My aunty, she was one of those women when this kui Haina taught with the taiaha. Her and her husband taught me how to fish when we were kids! I can remember before I started school I was trouping along with them but when it came to actually fishing on the river, you had a place for you and they had a place for them and you weren't allowed to fish their hole. That's going through that whole ritual of getting all the things together, preparing and digging worms up if you were bobbing, all that.⁶⁰⁵

Tūrangaarere informants noted the obstinacy of one of their kuia who stopped people coming into their area:

I remember when they used to come down. They don't come down here, they don't come anymore. ... No, we've sort of stopped them and they don't come anymore, we just don't let them come through. And you know they always talk about the Queen's chain, and I always tell them: "there is only one Queen around here mate and you're looking at her!"⁶⁰⁶

xvii. Visionary Leadership – Rebuilding Community and Reconnecting to the River

Some strong wahine from Ngāti Manomano discussed quite extensively some of their initiatives to rebuild their community, culture and connections back to the Rangitīkei River and other waterways which are abiding modern examples of mana wahine:

RMA [resource consents] that are continually coming through and that are a drain on our awa and that are polluting our awa all in the name of progress and industry, somebody is making a dollar but we are losing a lifestyle and that's what it comes down to is we are losing a lifestyle so even when you look at, when you listen to them talk about their kōrero about

⁶⁰⁵ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, pp 11-12.

⁶⁰⁶ Tūrangaarere site visits, 4 October 2015, pp 1-2.

the koura, the trout, the ika, the tuna I would love to have that for my children, you know the īnanga I'd love to have that, we have been down there and you don't see very much you are lucky to see life going through.⁶⁰⁷

The Ngāti Manomano informant continued:

... What we found was that lots of people could say things like, ko Tainui te waka, ko Ruahine to pae maunga, ko Rangitīkei te awa, but lots of them did not know, if you ask them to point out which one was Ruahine, they could not tell you. We could say it and lots of them had passed over the Rangitīkei but did not know that was the Rangitīkei awa. So that was about getting people back to, not just saying, but being able to be intimate and to actually know your awa. And that's where a lot of the thing has gone wrong. Where it used to be, and Whanganui has a really good kōrero on it's kawa: Kaua he kōrero mō te awa, kōrero ki tō awa, So don't talk about the river, talk to the river. Have a personal relationship with it. Get to know the awa and come down the awa.⁶⁰⁸

So what we ended up doing with Te Kura Mai Raro is that we started doing in our whakatau mauri in the beginning of the year. One of the things we would always do is take the students down to Waitapu, where the Waitapu meets Rangitīkei. And we'd take them down there and we'd give them little things to do and some of the hardest things for us was just to sit without talking to anybody, by the awa for one whole hour. And then you see them trying to interact because they are bored but just to try and get them to learn about just the environment that they are sitting in to be at peace without that interruption, without thinking oh where's my phone or whatever. They couldn't really do it and it took them ages. And we took them a few times just to sit and then it was okay you are sitting by the awa and you are going to learn this karakia and so dependent on what level their reo was at, we gave them a short karakia, medium size one, long karakia. So it was sitting there ... trying to draw, it was supposed to put them back in a state or just to get back to nature and to be used to listening to nothing else but nature and themselves. And then we started doing things like right, we will talk about Waitapu, we will talk about Rangitīkei and we will talk about the other awa that come into it. Things that happened significantly with the awa like the big floods that we had to move our whare and all that sort of stuff.⁶⁰⁹

And then we thought [our] next challenge is we will go on the awa so for some, it was like one year we'd say we will put everybody on rubber tubes because the awa is so shallow that you can't actually take a waka down in some spaces. You know further up towards Taihape, it's raging, torrents, and then I'd be a little bit scared to put a waka on it but you come down towards Tokorangi and that and it's wide and its quite shallow and if you go up to where we would take the tires and we'd put everybody in the awa up Waitapu, and all you had to do was get down to the bridge and that took us ages but it really calmed a lot of people down.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁷ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 11.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid, pp 11-12.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid, pp 11-12.

⁶¹⁰ Idem.

They started to get to know the awa, what to be aware of and you know, we were telling them watch out for these and most of them didn't even know about the eddy, even the backwash and stuff like that, so it's like teaching them as you go what it's like to be with your awa and on your awa. And then lots of people were ... freaked out because there were lots of places where we had to stand up and walk because there's not even enough water to float on the tire so there is only that much water going over the top of stones. You can't float on it so you had to stand up and there was quite a few places where, but it gave you more of an appreciation or you understood more about our poor awa and what life had been taken from it. And you see where people had willows and all of that but they're not cutting them back, the dangers of this. ... We pulled a couple of ours out because they were going the wrong way and they were going to fly underneath those willows but they were kūare. They didn't know the danger of it because they'd never had that relationship with the awa.⁶¹¹

And then by the next year, we thought well let's do something different so we dropped them off at the crossroads. They had to pick up a mauri stone because we always had a mauri stone, we'd always go down to the awa get a mauri stone and have a karakia. Take it back to the Marae for a year for the mauri of our wānanga and have karakia there and it was always present during our wānanga. So this year we thought we'll have a mauri wahine, he mauri tāne, drop them off at the crossroads and they have to walk with that. ... they dropped them off at the cross roads and I went up to the Waitapu Lake to wait for them because I knew that's where they were coming to. They had to cross the River 6 times to get there and they had a lot of trials and tribulations getting there and you know they'll pick up a mauri stone and of course the men picked up this huge stone ... the ladies choose theirs and it's nicer and it's all about the beauty of the shape.⁶¹²

Have you ever seen our awa stones? They've got that beautiful wave through them like the water. You know you don't have a lot of awa like that. It's just beautiful and so they chose one that reminded them of themselves you know that beautiful curves and things like that but it was just the right size. Weaving a lovely little kono for it and then they had karakia and then they start to come and everyone had to carry this mauri stone which is when they all started to see the hē of getting a big one and they all had to take turns because it was about your mauri going into this kōwhatu as you are learning about your awa and you are walking along. And Piki would talk about the different areas as they went down. So I stood down at Waitapu waiting for them cause I knew they were coming to their cause we were going to camp by the awa right by where Waitapu and Rangitīkei meet but just in that little stream of trees just there and so they got dropped off in the morning and I lit the fire that night because I knew that they would turn up eventually, I knew they'd show up and it was just getting on dusk and I lit it, I thought well it's getting a bit cold I'll light a fire and they said that they saw it coming through the trees and they were so happy to see a fire cause they knew they were just about there and they were given the chance, shall we cross the river one more time and get there fast, and they were like no, we are cold and wet and so they came around but I heard some noise so I did a karanga and then I heard a karanga come back and then they started off some haka because they were really happy that there was someone there by the

⁶¹¹ Idem.

⁶¹² Idem.

time they realised oh yeah that's Awhina so they did a haka and they're coming out and so I start doing a haka on my side and we've got this little neat interaction going on down by the awa and I'm not giving up, I'm going to be the last voice standing, nōku te reo pōwhiri so just kept going until they got there but we are quite often went down the awa with Te Kura Mai Raro and now I think a lot of people felt from then that there is a lot that we are missing out on because of the life now but we are not intimate with our awa.⁶¹³

xviii. Mana Wāhine Summary

As mentioned earlier, mana wahine is a central concern of the Rangitīkei River area that focusses on cultural impacts - the negative changes in the role and authority of Māori women under colonisation. The colonial imposition of race, class and gender culminated in the construction of the belief that Māori women hold an inferior, lesser position in Māori society to Māori men which is alarming. The mere fact that there is a need to dedicate a section to Mana Wahine is prima facie evidence of the negative impact that colonisation has had on Māori culture and mana wāhine.

The iwi and hapū of the broader Rangitīkei region however, have some stark traditional and contemporary examples of mana wāhine starting with fundamental importance of balance between the sexes and the intrinsic mana wahine that is clearly evident in the cosmogony stories, through to the whakapapa lines. Mana wāhine is also apparent in the kuia who held the mana whenua historically, to rangatira marrying in but the women retaining the acknowledged mana, to the amazing array of iwi, hapū, Pā, and Marae littered throughout the region that carry the names of and immortalize certain wāhine which is, inter alia, about acknowledging the mana of women.

Moreover, other more contemporary and practical examples of mana wāhine include acknowledging and appreciating the tohunga expertise of kuia as weavers, tukutuku artists, with manaakitanga and executive skills, as teachers, nurturers, whakapapa, taiaha, karakia, healers, bird snaring and preparation, and fishing experts. Another strong manifestation of mana wahine in the area is the vision, tenacity and determination of the women who are helping to rebuild their community, culture and, most importantly for the purposes of this report, helping the people to rebuild their rangatiratanga and kaitiaki relationship with the Rangitīkei River and the other waterways. Indeed, such visionary and committed leadership from the women is, in our opinion,

⁶¹³ Idem.

the essence of mana wahine – it’s about preserving, sustaining and developing your way of life as noted by an insightful Ngāti Manomano informant:

I know we are consistent throughout time and I know that the effects ... [of] taking people back to the awa a lot of us don't know the awa anymore because we're located in Pākehā settlements and we earn income. [We have been] dislocated away from living alongside the river.⁶¹⁴

5.12 European Impacts Summary

The impact of European contact with the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River and its waterways have been damaging to the health and wellbeing of both the people and the waterways as well as to the wider environment. In effect, European contact has severely disrupted their way of life. Māori worldviews were thrust into a state of perilous imbalance, including mana wahine, and Māori have been trying to recover from these changes ever since European contact. The Crown over the years has eroded away the special kaitiaki relationship that Rangitīkei iwi and hapū have with their various waterways prior to European contact and according to Māori worldviews. Rangitīkei Māori then, have been significantly impacted by the various Crown legal and political decisions on numerous occasions and they continue to be negatively affected today by the actions and inactions of the Crown.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid, p 14.

6 Ko te Rangatiratanga o ngā Awa

6.1 Resource Management Act 1991 and Tangata Whenua Experiences of Dealing with the Crown and Local Government Agencies on the Rangitīkei River Catchment

Over the past century and three quarters since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, Māori have been affected by countless incidents that have had significant impacts on the environment, the community and their relationship with their natural resources as **taonga** including waterways. As noted earlier, waterways are significant to Māori personal and tribal identity, well-being and ways of life. But historically, non-participation of Māori in local government appears to have been the norm where they have been excluded from political influence at a local government level. For some Māori, there is even a widespread perception that Māori do not receive many benefits from local government.⁶¹⁵ A Tangimoana informant articulated the past relationship as follows:

What's happened is they actually try and sit down and listen to you before they'd just ignore you. You would say something and they wouldn't listen. I mean I don't know how many fights the old man had with the Rangitīkei over rates you know all the money's going across the other side there but you still have to pay the rates.⁶¹⁶

This chapter will briefly discuss some of the efforts by the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū communities to participate more effectively in local government. The chapter will briefly discuss how Māori are seeking to exercise prudent rangatiratanga according to their tikanga by protecting the health and well-being of their tūpuna awa through engaging effectively and proactively with Local and Regional Councils. We will commence with a brief discussion of the prevailing Resource Management Act regime, the accompanying practices and policies of the Crown, Local and Regional Councils, and then we will consider the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū community and local government responses to the regime and its effects on the tūpuna awa and wider community.

⁶¹⁵ See Tawhai, V, 'Rawaho: In and out of the environmental engagement loop' in Selby, R, Pataka, M & Mulholland, M, (Eds), *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* (Wellington, 2010).

⁶¹⁶ Tangimoana site visits, 27 June 2015, p 2.

i. Resource Management Act 1991

The passing of the Resource Management Act (RMA) in 1991 ushered in a new era of environmental sustainability and kāwanatanga. The RMA re-ordered the statutory powers of the Crown into a single comprehensive package. The RMA also delegated most of the Crown's waterways related authority to local government retaining only limited powers at central government concerned with ensuring national consistency and directing matters of national importance.

The RMA was the single most significant result of an era of Crown administration and environmental management restructuring that took place in the late 1980s. The establishment of the Department of Conservation in 1987 was another key feature of the restructuring programme. By the time the restructuring was over, there had been a fundamental shift in Crown policy and practices.

Prior to the enactment of the RMA – and as alluded to in the preceding chapter – the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū had felt disempowered and marginalised. However, the RMA provides opportunities for Māori to become more involved than existed previously. The application of the RMA to particular activities and policies allows Māori more of a say in certain activities and developments that affect them and the broader community.

The role of Māori in some aspects of local government however, was changed by the RMA which requires local authorities to:

- recognise and provide for the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water sites, wāhi tapu and other taonga – s 6(e), RMA;
- have particular regard to kaitiakitanga – s 7(a) RMA; and
- take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi – s. 8.

In addition, the Local Government Act 2002 requires local authorities to:

- establish and maintain processes to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority;
- consider ways in which it may foster the development of Māori capacity to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority; and

- provide relevant information to Māori for the purposes of the above 2 requirements.⁶¹⁷

ii. *Crown and Councils*

However, despite the rise of the Treaty of Waitangi ‘principles’ and the notion of Treaty ‘partnership’ during the 1980s evolution of Treaty of Waitangi jurisprudence, such sharing of responsibility for some was not provided for adequately in the RMA or the Local Government Act 2002. There are a few opportunities provided in the RMA for hapū and iwi authorities to have some control and joint management functions delegated to them by Regional and District Councils, but they would still make the iwi and hapū authorities subordinate to the Regional and District Councils if the opportunity was taken up.⁶¹⁸

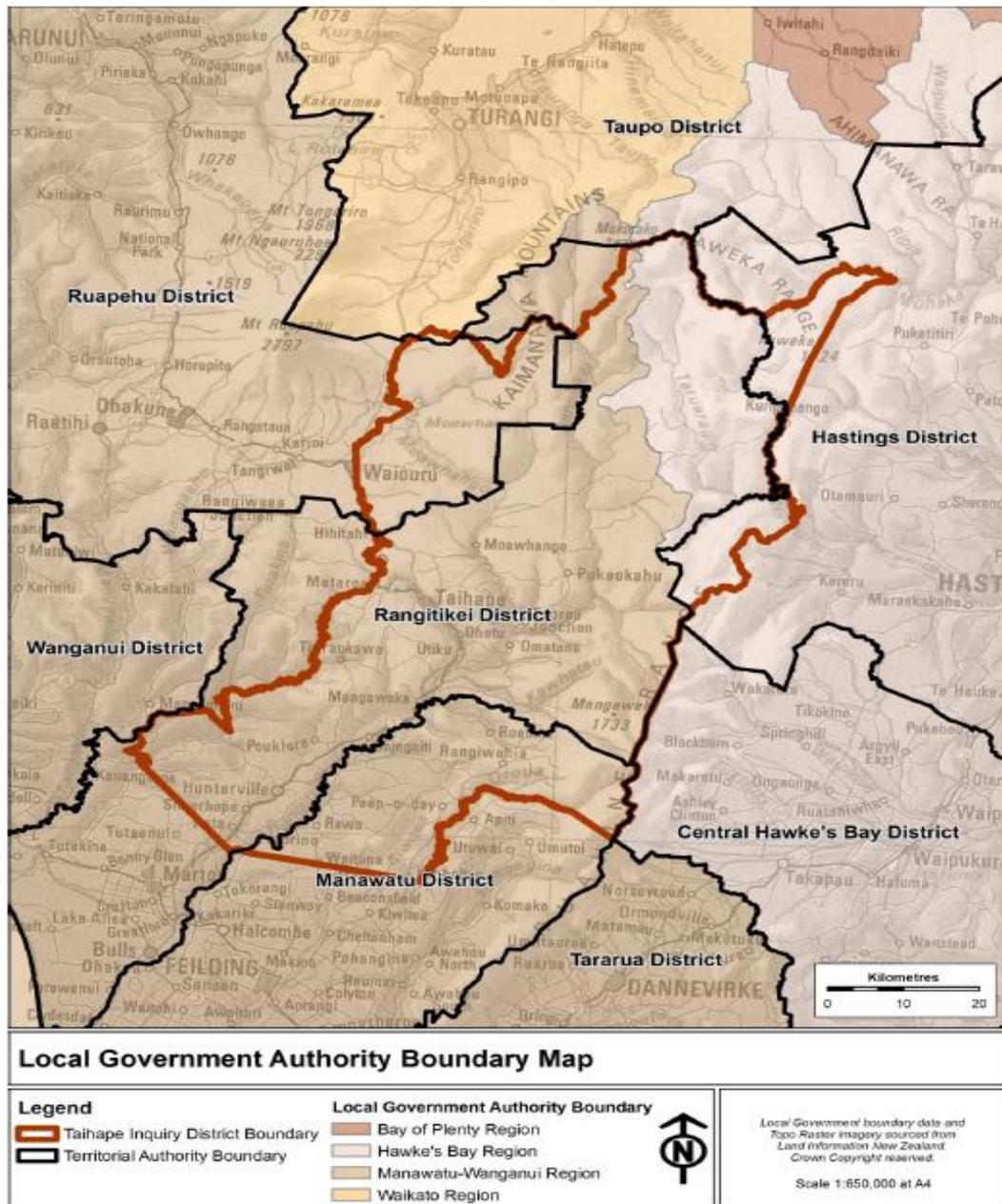
Moreover, as illustrated in the previous chapter, the relationships between local government and stakeholders on the one hand, and the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei area on the other, has not always been effective. If anything, previous engagement was either minimal or for the most part tokenistic. Past and recent activities such as water extraction and damming within the catchment for example, have affected both the water quality and quantity which impacts on the flora and fauna of the river. Such developments have also naturally impacted on the customary uses of the rivers by the iwi and hapū such as tohi and mahinga kai which have either ceased or severely declined due to the waning in both the water quality and quantity.

A further example is the extraction of gravel from the area which a Te Reureu members commented on:

We want this river put back where it was and leave it alone. The problem is because in 1903 they changed the wording around and they brought in that Coal Mines Act, they knocked us out. ... I know that in the 1890s – this river here’s got the best metal in it, in the country. It’s all downstream further, Kākariki which is still in this reserve. That’s where it was taken from. The old people used to get – ... I think they got 270 pound in 1895. By 1903, they got nothing. ... I was telling him about this metal; we found out it was actually getting shipped right overseas, Korea and Japan. ... I know the trucks that were hauling them up there. And they were hauling it up there by the tonne. ... See we missed out on all those things. We

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Sections 33, 34 and perhaps 368, RMA.



Map 15: Local Government Authority Boundary Map
 Source of map: Basset Kay Research, Local Government, Rating and Native Township Scoping Report, (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2012) p 16.

applied for a permit to take metal out of here, get the rejection. So we won't let anybody from those pylons there come out this way; unless we're involved, they don't touch it. Those are the resources, the metal. The water itself, the water and fish, are high priority for us.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁹ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 17.

These developments have damaged the kaitiakitanga relationship of the Rangitīkei iwi and hapū with their tūpuna awa and the broader landscape. For example, a Te Reureu informant lamented the loss of much of their reserve land and the diminishing of their kaitiaki responsibilities allegedly through deliberate accretion caused by the inaction of the Regional Council:

The other thing is ... how they've [the Regional Council] instigated the water to come this way, and there's all the trees which grow on one side. They've actually pushed it up, it's like this all the way down, and it's pushing over to the Māori land this way. They make sure that side's okay [non-Māori farmers], but not this side [the Māori]. They do it all along the ... areas that come down the river that's created... this land is left in the middle, what do you call it? (Accretion). Yeah, and that's what happened. There's big blocks of it as you walk down the River. There's hundreds of acres of it along the River, that's accretion land. That's what's happening all the way along there. We've got heaps of evidence and photographs to show.

The forerunner to the Regional Council was the Rangitīkei Catchment Board that was based up in Marton. We know our people were forced to pay rates over here, but all the work and protection all went on that side and it's all the way up the River. The River itself, once you protect it over here, when the River hit it, all it did was shoot across here. We've lost over a thousand acres out of our Reserve from here all the way down the end through flooding and that type of operation. I can go back to the 1950's and Dad and Mum's farming. And they used to go up and complain all the time. And then what they would do is come and do a little patch on our place, to satisfy us. Everybody else was left out. So that's how it's been operated in our lifetime.⁶²⁰

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informants on the other hand stated:

Actually it's not too bad eh, the District Council. It's that Regional Council. ... I think we're like the rest of the country; we've got problems with the Regional Councils more than the District. I actually feel sorry for our District Councils. The Government's just putting too much burden on the taxpayer. Most of our rates here are made up with the rural roading schemes. Just about nearly 70%, 80% of our rates. The Government is just pulling out and making them do all the roadings. Outside the main road there, Council's just about doing all the tar sealing. Here and the road that goes over to Napier/Taihape.

... Yeah. What annoys me about the Regional Councils is that they say no one owns the water but they've got a lot of say in the matter and they don't want Māori consultation on the boards. At least the District Council sets aside a standing committee, eh? The Regional Council, they just dodge it. And plus, they call the centralisation policies like amalgamating different areas together – ... That's unfair. You look at all the land up here and all the

⁶²⁰ Te Reureu site visits, 30 May 2015, p 2-3.

taxpayers because we've got two rate paying systems up here. One is District and one is Regional. Because there's a lot of land up here and they're all paying taxes – what for? Pest control, protection of the waters? Sewerage. ... Yeah well they get paid for that don't they? They probably charge the District Council – is that how it works? – to discharge sewage into their waterways. Then you get down to Ohingaiti and its just sprinklers everywhere from there on, all the way down to the sea. They'll be charging all for that. Because they're farmers who've got the license ... It's not them who's giving the consent, it's the Regional Council and the Regional Council ... They don't even really want a Māori advisory but I suppose at least the District Council does.⁶²¹

A delegate of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei noted her experiences with Local Councils:

I've got to say as far as council consent we've got to be careful what we say in that there have been some really bad experiences that some of our negotiators have had with various councils. But there are some councils who the more they'll listen and they are prepared to think through because I think there was a time when we used to go and say your systems are making the water impure for our children. I don't approach it like that [now]. I say your systems are making the water impure for all our children and none of you want to have your children going into paruparu water and so they listen to that but if they say it's a Māori vs. Pākehā thing, they go all defensive, but when you say it's going to affect them as well, they start to listen.⁶²²

I think the councils have been consistent over time about using the river as a toilet and they still do. ... They use different language that's quite sophisticated now. They talk about land based treatment and this is this year with the short turnarounds and part time staff. [The Council] is really hard to contact. They send out 200 page technical reports to [a relation] who leaves it till the last minute to go I need help. I missed the deadline but the Councils are carrying on the same history. I mean I know what [the relation] is saying and the range of communication styles between reasonable people, seeing what's in it for all our people. ... For some, treatment has still been quite poor. So talk about treatment land based when it's actually discharging on the gravel beds of the river. And now it's not rocket science to see that a gravel bed is part of the river and they call that land based treatment and then for the rules and regulations around that means that they can get away with it as opposed to water in terms of treatments. And Māori are supposed to somehow know that technical knowledge so it makes it very, very difficult to ... look after the river.

I'm talking about 2015 consents that have been rolled out I can't believe that we are looking at and we know there has been sustained damage. And that's Ohakea as well the defense force [who] rushed getting in an application and they were talking about land based treatment which were gravel. And I said well there's waahi tapu, there's our sights for Parewahawaha, there's all those reserves that nestle against that river and the guy didn't know what I was talking about because they hadn't done a cultural impact assessment. ... [A cultural impact

⁶²¹ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 20.

⁶²² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 8-9.

assessment was required] but they were rushing the deadline to get it in and they also bombarded [us with] another 200 page report. So these were two 200 page [reports] one from Bulls and one from Ohakea and its really tough work. So currently it's past, present and future the same disregard around responsibilities about Article 2 stuff, the Local Council stuff that should have been shared powered authority in decision making. And so I think that is a harsh Treaty breach and it continues to the present as Local Government washes its hands.⁶²³

Another Taumata o te Rā member noted:

It's still the farmers that are sitting on the Regional Council here and it's still the farmers on the Local Council having the biggest influence in terms of quality and pollution and what gets tidied and what gets subsidized.⁶²⁴

The Taumata o te Rā informant concluded:

The one plan, the Regional Council Plan, they had 6 District Councils got together, the asset managers and put in a submission against the one plan that tried to minimize engaging with iwi, hapū Māori because it slowed down processes within Local Councils and those 6 Councils are the ones that have an effect on the Rangitīkei. So that wasn't so long ago. ... So that's the relationships, arrogant, patronizing, uneven and consistently so.⁶²⁵

Te Reureu members noted their relationship with the Local Councils:

I'm on the Pae o Raukawa Environmental Trust. So you can see what I was talking about [Observing the barren state of Māori land beside the river and the other side well preserved with trees and no erosion] this sort of thing. It's being protected over there; you have to fight to get them to do a little bit on our side. This is what happens when one side gets protected and the other doesn't. I mean, this plantation here used to be way out there where those logs are; the river used to be way over there. That's not long ago, that's only a few years ago. And they're still not doing protection on this side!⁶²⁶

While we're here we might as well have a look at this water scheme. The water scheme is that building there. This is our farm here, our family farm, this one here. There's a track that goes down – I just have to go and see [the farmer] because he's leased it out, he's leased the farm for a couple of years – see if we can go down there. And that water scheme there pumps water up to three stations; the first station is up the back of the Marae (the water pump

⁶²³ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 8-9..

⁶²⁴ Ibid, p 13.

⁶²⁵ Ibid, p 27.

⁶²⁶ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, p 14..

stations), that pumps from there up to that one, and from there further up to Stanway and then it's gravity fed all the way back here. So it does all the farms between Halcombe and here. ... It's sourced from here and they wanted to expand on this but I said no way they're gonna do that. And we can't even get it down yet it goes right over the top of these hills here. ... You have to face it, get your own water. Have water from the River. ... Times are changing. Things are gonna change. Get on board now. ... Regional Council's coming clean, going good, and getting a good relationship with them. It's our Fielding and Manawatū District Councils is where all our problems are. ... It's all race-related. There's racists in there.⁶²⁷

In some respects, local authorities can also be said to have been under-prepared for the participation of Māori in resource management even if they were willing to engage with the iwi and hapū. It is not surprising then that efforts to engage have not always been successful. But the Regional and District Councils at least have been prepared to engage with Māori groups on RMA matters. At least three consultative bodies were established in the Rangitīkei Region for this purpose: Te Roopu Awhina, Te Roopu Ahi Kaa for the Rangitīkei District Council and Nga Pae o Rangitīkei for the Horizons Regional Council.

iii. Te Roopu Awhina

As a consultative body in the Rangitīkei Region, Te Roopu Awhina was established in 1998 but was apparently ineffective. According to a Manawatū-Wanganui Regional Council Regional Policy Statement:

The Council and nga hapū and nga iwi of the Region work together through Te Roopu Awhina, a standing committee of the Council.⁶²⁸

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant however, shared his brief views on the demise of Te Roopu Awhina:

For the Regional Council ... originally when they first came into being, they had Te Roopu Awhina which was representation from every iwi group throughout the Regional Council area. That's huge. You can just imagine having every iwi and in some cases hapū around the table. It never got off the ground. So the Regional Council when we went to them with

⁶²⁷ Ibid, p 13-14.

⁶²⁸ Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council, *Regional Policy Statement*, (Operative, 18 August 1998) section 18, p 53.

the idea of Nga Pae o Rangitīkei ... they took it one board and their view was that this was the answer with our problem with Te Roopu Awhina.⁶²⁹

A Regional Council report confirmed the ineffectiveness of Te Roopu Awhina in 2012:

Māori Councils around the country have developed committee structures to meet their legal obligations under the Resource Management and Local Government Acts. These institutional arrangements can be unwieldy and expensive and have limited success providing the level of relationship or engagement sought.

An example of this is the Te Roopu Awhina Committee supported by Horizons several years ago. The purpose of this committee was to provide a sounding board for Māori in the Region. One of the reasons this did not succeed was that the participants lacked a common focus. As a consequence, Horizons changed its relationship-building approach to one of working with iwi and hapū on specific projects of interest. Supporting the development of Nga Pae o Rangitīkei was a natural extension of this approach.⁶³⁰

iv. *Te Roopu Ahi Kaa*

One of the other Māori consultative bodies in the Rangitīkei Region established to engage with local government on RMA matters is Te Roopu Ahi Kaa. Te Roopu Ahi Kaa is a standing committee for the Rangitīkei District Council which represents:

- Ngāti Parewahawaha
- Ngāti Apa,
- Ngāti Hauiti
- Ngāti Hinemanu
- Ngāti Paki,
- Ngāti Tamakopiri
- Ngāti Whitikaupeka
- Otaihape Māori Komiti
- Ngāti Rangī, and
- the Ratana Community Board.⁶³¹

Under a Memorandum of Understanding signed in 1998, the functions of Te Roopu Ahi Kaa include:

⁶²⁹ Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki Interview, 14 November 2015.

⁶³⁰ Manawatu-Whanganui Regional Council, *Review and Renewal of Nga Pae o Rangitīkei Relationship*, (Report to Council, No.12-96, 26 June 2012).

⁶³¹ 'Memorandum of Understanding between Rangitīkei District Council and Nga Iwi o Rangitīkei' in Hewison, M, *Memoranda of Understanding between Māori / Iwi and Local Authorities*, (Local Government Monograph Series, No. 002/02, 2002) pp 103-112.

- (i) To review the relevant processes of Council and make recommendations on steps to be taken to assist Council in carrying out its functions and responsibilities in a bicultural manner taking into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
- (ii) To develop draft proposals which recognise the Tangata Whenua of the Rangitīkei District's Kaitiakitanga and Rangatiratanga in a manner consistent with the provisions of the Resource Management Act 1991.
- (iii) To provide advice and assistance with the Councils' Policies, Bylaws, Rating and Funding, Strategic Plan, Annual Plan and other activity plans (i.e. recreation, library, transport, etc.).
- (iv) Te Roopu Ahi Kaa will support and assist the Council to discharge its obligations to the Tangata Whenua in relation to procedures and issues that arise under the Resource Management Act 1991.
- (v) To respond on appropriate issues including, but not limited to, notifies resource consent applications where the Council is required to determine issues relating to the management, use, development and protection of the District's physical resources.
- (vi) To ensure appropriate persons are consulted or available to provide such information as may be required from time to time on items of interests to Te Roopu Ahi Kaa and/or the Rangitīkei District Council.
- (vii) In carrying out (i) to (vi) above, it will ensure that Tangata Whenua groups are consulted, including the arranging of hui when agreed and to keep the Council advised of outcomes or decisions reached.⁶³²

Referring to Te Roopu Ahi Kaa, a Taumata o te Rā whānau member noted:

In the Manawatū District Council, we've got a Māori Councillor ... but they had a consultant that [was] very, very active when they started up and the Environment Act [RMA] came out and then they had to consult with tangata whenua. ... Initially when we set it up [Te Roopu Ahi Kaa] a lot of the local Māori didn't want to have anything to do with it. They said no we should be only dealing with the Crown and so I said this is not about Treaty issues. This is about us living in Fielding and this area and we've had no say in local matters for 150 years. We need to be part of the decision making process ... I've been on it for 20 years and I've just stood down last month I was the last original member.⁶³³

The same informant noted some positive developments of Te Roopu Ahi Kaa:

⁶³² 'Memorandum of Understanding between Rangitīkei District Council and Nga Iwi o Rangitīkei' in Hewison, M, *Memoranda of Understanding between Māori / Iwi and Local Authorities*, (Local Government Monograph Series, No. 002/02, 2002) pp 103-112.

⁶³³ *Idem*.

What I'll say is this that it [Te Roopu Ahi Kaa] has been responsible for taking a lot of things in Māoridom to the Council and the Council is taking it on board like for instance the library. Just a small issue we pointed out that there was no Māori section in the library and there was nothing Māori in there. They've changed that. It's by negotiation and discussion that you may be able to achieve something if all you do is rage on the outside and we don't have a quorum to be able to exchange you will miss out. ... [we] bought in knowledge about Local Government and it made a difference for the waste sewage was treated at Himatangi. When you said no, rate payers should not be forced to pay for a sewage treatment where they were going to get a subsidy treatment in Himatangi from MDC and that counts. ... In fact, you were there, you were the one that helped educate them on that process ... It's about knowledge about rivers, about conservation.⁶³⁴

For some of the iwi and hapū then, Te Roopu Awhina has been an effective consultative committee for tangata whenua. Te Roopu Ahi Kaa was certainly an improvement on the pre-1991 period of little to tokenistic involvement of Māori with local government mentioned earlier. However, not all share this view. Basset for example, noted that there were further mixed emotions on how well Te Roopu Ahi Kaa has been able to represent tangata whenua interests.⁶³⁵ Some felt that the committee had been put in place by the council for the purposes of meeting its obligations (ticking the boxes) under the RMA and did not provide for full Māori rangatiratanga in local decision making.⁶³⁶ Others commented on the institutional challenge of continually 'educating' newly elected councilors about Māori interests, while others mentioned the challenge of forming legal entities for consultative purposes which did not necessarily recognise ahi kaa.⁶³⁷

A Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hinemanu informant stated in this respect:

Before I left here I was one of the foundation members of Te Ahi Kaa, Te Roopu Ahi Kaa within Council, the Rangitīkei District Council which [a whānau member] took over from me when I left. Now I've come home, [that whānau member] said he's too busy so he's given it back to me. So, in saying what we do know with the Rangitīkei District Council is we've had a good relationship with them over the years, I'd say in the last 15 years to 20 years we've had a good relationship. ... That's our main involvement is through Te Roopu Ahi Kaa who have a representative with them. Now, each hapū or area, whatever you want to call it, we have got our own delegate sitting on that board with Hauiti and the ones of the Rangitīkei District. We get together once a month and have a kōrero with them, with Council, and they treat us as a minor... like staff. They pay us. They pay us a monthly wage to be on

⁶³⁴ Ibid, pp 13-14.

⁶³⁵ Basset Kay Research, Local Government, Rating and Native Township Scoping Report, (CFRT, 2012) p 12.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

there. ... We're an advisory group. That's what we're there as. That's what we bring back to our whānau here for us to relate back and see how each one of us... and the four hapū get together before the meeting with them and go over what needs to be really said.⁶³⁸

A Ngāti Manomano informant noted broader her but related experiences with Local Councils and the RMA:

Because legally this DOC [Department of Conservation] was going around last year and earlier this year and they are looking at the changes to the RMA and how they wanted to liaise with iwi more. ... they wanted to form a new relationship with iwi and how to know all this sort of stuff and basically it was the same old, same old although there were Māori faces there and they were agreeing with everything that was coming on the floor but whether they can implement anything that was put forward it will be another thing. They've collected information, they've consulted and that's the problem with this consultation process all you have to do is tell them, you don't actually have to [follow through].⁶³⁹

A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant noted another challenge of Te Roopu Ahi Kaa:

[Through] Te Roopu Ahi Kaa, the Rangitīkei District Council ... has representation from iwi and hapū that wishes to have representation on that standing committee of council. But again, the Rangitīkei District Council tend to overload that group with issues that we're not interested in. Operational issues rather than policy. When I was involved out of all of the things we deal with on the table on the day, there'd probably be about 10 take, 2 of them would be policy and the rest of them operational. That's what I feel with Horizons Regional Council. Unless we set that relationship right, they will continue to do that.⁶⁴⁰

A Ngāti Manomano informant appeared to summarize the situation appropriately as:

I think the timeframes of the Kawanatanga body's to push through [resource consents] doesn't build in [appropriate] timeframes for Māori bodies ... to be able to have a process to get back to hapū. ... Local Councils throughout New Zealand are inconsistent. They do what they like when it comes to tangata whenua. They're not held to account for Article 2 even though they do every other Kawana function under the Treaty and that has been consistent throughout all the changes. And I think Māori have been very proactive. Oroua, the tree planting ... is very much led by ... the Kauwhata people. The first opposition I heard in the sewage stuff, along with the Rangitīkei, came from earlier bodies of hapū.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁸ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, 30.

⁶³⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 9.

⁶⁴⁰ Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki Interview, 14 November 2015.

⁶⁴¹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 14.

The next section will briefly discuss Nga Pae o Rangitīkei as the current entity for progressing local Māori claims and developments in the resource development area with the Local and Regional Councils as well as with other stakeholders.

6.2 Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei

A further critical response of the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū to the opportunities to exercise their inherent rangatiratanga with local government under the RMA and Local Government Act 2002 was to establish Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei (NPOR). This was a separate initiative from and additional region-wide consultation structures of Te Roopu Āwhina and Te Roopu Ahi Kaa which were established to boost council consultation with Māori. NPOR is a hapū and iwi forum solely focused on the Rangitīkei River and its catchment. The river is treated as a unifying force to bring together all of the hapū and iwi along the river for a common cause as a Ngāti Manomano informant noted:

We are trying to set things up for the future. It's ongoing and Regional Council's advising a really good body like Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei and slowly shifting it and I think their last advice was from their Māori adviser.⁶⁴²

A Mokai Pātea kaumātua commented on the unifying effects of the river and the need to establish a visionary unifying body to meet the present and future needs of the river collectively:

We've found that up until [Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei] was established, Ngāti Hauti, being down the bottom area of the river, were finding that decisions that were made further north by other iwi or hapū were affecting us down stream. So Hauti – the ones who organised it – we contacted all the iwi and hapū ... far up the top of the head waters on the Rangitīkei right down to where it flows into the sea at Tangimoana and we said: "We don't like people making decisions up river that affect us, and we're in the same position, we're making decisions that will affect the people at Ngāti Parewahawaha, further down at Ngāti Apa, further down. So how about we have a group, get a group together that we all look after, we all make decisions that affect us all." Everybody seemed to agree with that. But it hasn't been working as smoothly as it should have because we set it up and that was it, people were appointed but they didn't always come – well, they only came along if it affected their part of the river. And because we were the ones that initiated it, Ngāti Hauti were left to

⁶⁴² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, p 27.

administer and... do the contacting. We were just the administration driving of it, yeah. And our general manager has always been the manager also of Ngā Pae.⁶⁴³

One of the Mokai Pātea representatives on NPOR, Te Rina Warren, wrote an article explaining why NPOR was established.⁶⁴⁴ Warren stated that in response to concerns about the degradation of the Rangitīkei River and failings in the RMA process, iwi of the Rangitīkei catchment decided to take the initiative by forming their own body to represent iwi concerns and to co-ordinate consultation.⁶⁴⁵ A major concern at the time was councils did not know who were the appropriate tangata whenua to deal with and they tended to consult with larger more politically active groups. Consultation processes with Māori have historically been a contentious challenge for Māori and non-Māori alike. In this regard, it was suggested that NPOR could act as a vehicle to inform external agencies of the proper consultation processes that concerned the Rangitīkei River catchment.⁶⁴⁶ A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant confirmed this opinion:

For the Regional Council ... originally when they first came into being they had Te Roopu Awhina which was representation from every iwi group throughout the Regional Council area. That's huge. You can just imagine having every iwi and in some cases hapū around the table. It never got off the ground. So the Regional Council when we went to them with the idea of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei ... they took it one board and their view was that this was the answer with our problem with Te Roopu Awhina. This is a consultation group which is good.⁶⁴⁷

A Ngāti Hauiti informant added:

Initially it was just through ourselves, initially because Ngāti Hauiti established a rāhui environmental services which was basically designed to process resource consent applications and so we had to build a relationship up with Horizons so that we could get through that process reasonably efficiently but also so that we make sure we get notification. We found that other iwi were in the similar situation but didn't have the capability or the capacity to handle those applications so we'd do it on their behalf. Then it got to the point well, hang on why don't we as a roopu actually get together because we're dealing with similar issues like water extraction or gravel extraction, and actually try and work on those

⁶⁴³ Ngāti Hauiti Kaumātua, Wellington, 30 September 2015, pp 9-10.

⁶⁴⁴ Warren, T, 'Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei – a model for collective hapū/iwi action?' in Selby, R, Patoka, M & Mulholland, M, (Eds), *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*, (Wellington, 2010) pp 185-198.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid, p 192.

⁶⁴⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki Interview, 14 November 2015.

issues at a policy level. So that's the reason why Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei was formed. It's taken on its own life so it's still dealing with planning policy but also small discrete environmental projects as well, and so Ngā Pae has always had a good relationship with the Chair of the Council and the General Manager as well. Even having said that we're also in competition though in terms of like for example, funding with all the other iwi throughout the Horizons areas as well so at least they support us to a degree, partially resource anyway.⁶⁴⁸

According to the NPOR strategic plan of 2007:

The genesis of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei was at a hui at Te Tikanga Marae in June of 2002, where many of the hapū and iwi of the Rangitīkei River catchment met to discuss the common concerns regarding the state of the Rangitīkei River, and the activities that adversely impact upon the mauri of the river. It was agreed that a Working Party be formed to progress the formation of a forum by which they may address issues collectively rather than as individual groups. The working party spent almost three years developing a terms of reference for the forum, accessing funding from the Manawatū–Wanganui Regional Council (Horizons now) and drafting a Charter that could be adopted by participating hapū and iwi. After extensive consultation, the Working Party's work culminated in the signing of the Charter of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei by representatives of the eleven participating iwi and hapū organisations at a hui at the Rata Marae in April 2005.⁶⁴⁹

The official participating NPOR iwi and hapū include the following:

- Ngāti Tamakōpiri
- Ngāti Whitikaupeka
- Ngāti Hinemanu,
- Ngāti Paki,
- Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri,
- Honomōkai
- Ngāti Hauti;
- Ngāti Pikiahu,
- Ngāti Waewae,
- Ngāti Matakore,
- Ngāti Rangatahi,
- Ngāti Manomano
- Ngāti Parewahawaha
- Ngā Uri o Tuariki – Ngāti Apa
- Ngāti Kauae, Ngāti Taurira – Ngāti Apa.

⁶⁴⁸ Ngāti Hauti Kaumātua, 31 July 2015, p 4.

⁶⁴⁹ Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei, *Kokiri Taiao o Rangitīkei: A Strategic Plan Advancing Environmental Heritage in the Rangitīkei 2007-2012* (Adopted 23 March 2007) at 6.

In addition, while Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Rangi did not participate in the formation of NPOR, they have an open invitation to join as they have a recognised interest in the catchment headwaters. Hence, NPOR is made up of the iwi and hapū who are inextricably interconnected to and consider the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries to be **taonga** and highly significant to their well-being and way of life as the NPOR Charter affirmed:

Through the Rangitīkei River, they are bound by their mutual interest in protecting and improving the waterways for future generations. The River Catchment sustains the physical, cultural and spiritual wellbeing of the whānau, hapū and iwi, and in turn the people care for and protect the River Catchment. This is a reciprocal relationship that spans many centuries of Māori occupation, the area of which is described as ‘Mai i te matapuna ki tai (from the source to the sea).⁶⁵⁰

The signatories to the Charter, on behalf of their iwi and hapū they represent, committed to follow certain tikanga principles that highlight their kaitiakitanga responsibilities to the tūpuna awa. These were, with their English meanings as stated in the Charter:

- kotahitanga (unity)
- kaitiakitanga (custodianship)
- tino rangatiratanga (self-determination)
- manaakitanga (duty of care)
- mana atua (divine authority)
- mana tangata (human influence)
- hau (reciprocity).

Rauhuia Environmental Services (Rauhuia) was established in 1998 under Te Maru o Ruahine Trust. The trust was established by Ngāti Hauiti members to provide advice to local iwi and in particular Ngāti Hauiti. One of the functions of Rauhuia has been to process resource consents on behalf of local iwi and to make recommendations to iwi regarding environmental issues and impacts that a particular activity may have on iwi. But the core function of Rauhuia is to provide consultation and administration support to Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti and subsequently, Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei. Rauhuia then has become the administrative arm of NPOR being managed by Ngāti Hauiti.

⁶⁵⁰ The Charter of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei affirmed 9 April 2005, Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council file RME 01 01.

Funding for NPOR came from the Manawatū–Wanganui Regional Council after signing of an agreement in December 2004 which was at a time when the Regional Council employed Māori liaison staff and they were closely involved in negotiating the relationship agreement. The agreement provided for the council to fund up to half the cost of preparing a strategic plan.

The strategic plan ‘Kōkiri Taiao o Rangitīkei’ was prepared during 2005–2006 and was adopted by the forum in March 2007 and it commenced with a number of broad statements:

Vision – an environmentally healthy River and catchment sustaining a bountiful ecosystem and economy enjoyed by an informed and prosperous community.

Purpose – To preserve and enhance the mauri of the Rangitīkei River and its catchment.

Strategic Goals:

1. The Rangitīkei River – to enhance the general health and wellbeing of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries.
2. The Land – to improve the wellbeing of the land by minimising human impacts.
3. Flora and Fauna – to protect and improve the state of indigenous flora and fauna.
4. Cultural heritage – to preserve and strengthen the cultural heritage of Tangata Whenua with the environment.
5. Organisation – to provide an organisational platform from which to launch environmental activities.⁶⁵¹

In addition, a number of strategic objectives were developed to guide the implementation of each strategic goal. With respect to Goal 1 on the Rangitīkei River, the strategic objectives were:

- Protect and restore river ecosystems such as wetlands, which in turn support indigenous flora and fauna.
- Improve water quality through initiatives such as riparian zones, pollution prevention measures, avoiding stock access to waterways, and the minimisation of waste discharges.
- Improve water flows through water conservation measures, minimising water abstraction, and ensuring the natural flow of water courses are maintained.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵¹ Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei, *Kokiri Taiao o Rangitīkei: A Strategic Plan Advancing Environmental Heritage in the Rangitīkei 2007–2012*, adopted 23 March 2007) p 3–4.

⁶⁵² *Ibid*, p 3.

The strategic plan sought to position tangata whenua beyond the confines of being one of a number of stakeholders to kaitiaki with rangatiratanga rights and responsibilities over the tūpuna awa. The traditional tikanga and mātauranga relationship of tangata whenua as kaitiaki was emphasized who could provide culturally-grounded leadership when dealing with all other parties with an interest in the environment. However, the plan also acknowledged that tangata whenua needed to improve their capacity to be kaitiaki through training, employment, and education of the next generation of leaders. The difficulties that iwi and hapū had in meeting their kaitiaki responsibilities due to capacity and knowledge constraints could be assisted by resource sharing, working collectively and delegating responsibility.⁶⁵³

Importantly, the strategic plan referred to the then state of Rangitīkei River and its tributaries from a tangata whenua perspective as follows:

The Rangitīkei River is the core focus of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei originating in the Kaimanawa Ranges, cutting narrow gorges and depositing gravel along its way to the coast. ... The main tributaries are the Mangamaire, Whakaurekou, Moawhango, Hautapu and Kawhatau Rivers, and a number of large streams feeding directly into the Rangitīkei River, all in turn fed by a myriad of smaller streams.

All of these rivers and streams once held an abundance of fauna and flora that met the needs of Tangata Whenua for generations. Another source of surface water that held an abundance of wildlife are Lakes. There are a number of significant Lakes within the Rangitīkei catchment. Of particular importance are dune Lakes spread throughout the coastal plains. They continue to provide places for catching eels.

Little is known of the capacity of the underground aquifers that run beneath the land, however potentially there is a large source of water that could be available for human use. Further research is necessary to quantify and assess sustainable rates of take.

Overall, the state of the Rangitīkei River appears typical of other rivers in New Zealand. However, a radical response is required to address the environmental problems facing it and its tributaries. Normal management regimes have failed on many fronts.

⁶⁵³ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015) p 675.

Local observations:

- The meetings (of the waters) used to be our camping ground but the gravel operation has ruined it. It was much clearer 30 years ago, now the rocks seem to be covered in algae or sediment all the time.
- The River used to run a lot higher in the summer, but there seems to be a lot less flow now.
- The rocks never used to be slippery, but there is always a slime on them now. ...
- This part of the River faces unique ‘tourism’ type pressures. Its remoteness saves it from development pressures to a degree, although fishing pressure is increasing from the ‘guided angler fraternity.’
- The water quality of the Rangitīkei River has deteriorated noticeably over the past 40 years due largely to the activities up river on the Moawhango River, i.e. electric power development. Also intensive farming practices along the catchment area of our waterways.
- In the past, swimming in our river was a pleasure, without the slime, floating algae, eye and skin irritant caused by the ever present murk;
- The speed of the river, this is having a major impact, it was not as fast as it is now;
- We used to swim below the Kākariki Bridge but it’s too dangerous now, the flow has changed, there’s a lot more trees and rubbish, and the trucks speed up and down the access road, and everything gets covered with dust.
- We could bathe down there and drink [the water].⁶⁵⁴

This strategic plan was intended to influence and advocate a Māori world view to the Regional and District Councils.

NPOR has been existence for almost 15 years. But just how influential NPOR has been is not known. NPOR is obviously a valuable, timely and innovative initiative with much potential to support and strengthen the iwi and hapū-local government relationship on RMA and even wider environmental, social, cultural and political responsibilities. NPOR was also about assisting the Rangitīkei River iwi and hapū to consolidate their collective rangatiratanga rights and kaitiaki responsibilities with their tūpuna awa. A number of specific successful achievements of NPOR include:

- Ngāti Hauiti engaging in a project to protect a Pā site overlooking the Rangitīkei River which with fencing sponsored by Horizons Regional Council;
- Proposals for discussion with NPOR and local government about a recycling centre at a local school;

⁶⁵⁴ Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei, *Kokiri Taiao o Rangitīkei: A Strategic Plan Advancing Environmental Heritage in the Rangitīkei 2007=2012*, adopted 23 March 2007) p 19-20.

- Planning stages for restoration for Lake Oporoa which flows into the Rangitīkei;
- A raised profile and awareness of tangata whenua in local, regional and central government agencies;
- Hapū and iwi awareness of environmental activity regarding the resource consent process;
- Provision of local and central government with one clear contact point for hapū and iwi consultation in the region;
- Points of reference for government agencies and other groups to engage with hapū and iwi of NPOR;
- An example of how agencies can engage effectively with iwi and hapū ;
- Allowing groups to engage with hapū and iwi early in the resource consent process allowing meaningful consultation;
- Encouraging groups to foster close working relationships and collaborations with hapū and iwi;
- Influencing and advocating iwi and hapū world views in local government, and
- Placing the protection and restoration of the mauri of the tūpuna awa on the regional agenda.

Surely there are much more achievements of NPOR but we leave it here for the iwi and hapū to articulate their views of the efficacy of NPOR in future hearings.

On the other hand, Warren noted that NPOR struggled with a lack of resources and support.⁶⁵⁵ NPOR operates with limited human and financial resources hence it faces numerous challenges which Warren noted as:

- To coordinate the representatives to meet, given the large geographical are and requires considerable travel and time commitments;
- For hapū and iwi representatives to organize whānau, marae, hapū and iwi, employment and other commitments;
- To administer the group; and
- To implement the desired environmental projects of hapū and iwi.⁶⁵⁶

There was also mixed feedback from other claimants about NPOR. Responding to the question whether they have any association with NPOR for example, a Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant opined:

⁶⁵⁵ Warren, T, ‘Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei – a model for collective hapu/iwi action?’ in Selby, R, Pataka, M & Mulholland, M, (Eds), *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*, (Wellington, 2010) pp 185-198.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki aren't in there? ... I got kicked off I think. Because the Rūnanga of Ngāti Paki became quite strong and they took over the kaitiakitanga of Nga Pae o Rangitīkei. ... They were all part of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei. Well it involved more than thirteen Marae from the source to the sea.⁶⁵⁷

Another pragmatic challenge of NPOR noted by Warren is convenient meeting times which a Parewahawaha informant assented to:

[NPOR meetings are] during work hours. And they have them at like 11 o'clock so I've got to leave work at half past nine and then I don't get back till four so I've got to take a whole day off work. It's silly. We've asked them time and time again. Even if they have it towards the end of the afternoon so I don't have to take so much time off work.⁶⁵⁸

Yet other important NPOR challenges raised by claimants are whether the councils listen to tangata whenua feedback and capacity and time to be able to interface effectively with councils as noted by a Ngāti Manomano informant:

There is no responsibility put back on the government to actually listen and implement any of those whakaaro, or the āwangawanga that were laid before them. And one of the things I do tell government departments is that you need to make it a more level playing field. You have people that are paid to write up your reports, and you have people that are paid to look at the resource consents as they are coming in, and we have people that are working; or retired; and they have to do it in their spare time - they're not experts, but they care and they can read reports - but it's not fair if you give them something like a 200 page report at the last minute, and expect them to be able to reply to it promptly and properly when you're paid to do this full time. So, maybe you might want to look at paying the people that you need to send these reports out to - if you want them to give back a response in a timely manner - when you only give maybe a two week turnaround period, but you've taken ages to write up that report. You want a fast reply within two weeks or even one month and you call that consultation and you say it's fair - but that's not enough time for people to look at it properly, talk to their hapū, ascertain how it impacts on the environment or the impact on them as kaitiaki, as tangata whenua and then write a reply.⁶⁵⁹

The same Ngāti Manomano member noted another critical yet ironic challenge of NPOR is representation:

Not everybody whose brown knows. They may be Māori and they've made themselves so they actually don't know anything about that and they may not know about tikanga and this

⁶⁵⁷ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, 20-21.

⁶⁵⁸ Ngāti Manomano / Ngāti Parewahawaha Interview, Ōhinepuhiawe, 1 November 2015, p 14.

⁶⁵⁹ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 9-10.

happens too with councilors and things. So it's about well who are they actually when they say there are consulting? Are they talking to the people that actually talk to their iwi, to their hapū, who carry the voice of that iwi and that hapū? I know that with our Marae and now Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei, if there is a hui ... we haven't been lately because they keep having them during work hours, and we have to go to work. We would bring any kōrero back to the Marae and if there is a question to be answered, we would lay it all out and then the Marae debates it and then they say what our answer is. And then we take that back but I know that doesn't happen with most hapū or with most councils when they are looking at who they should consult with ... our Marae gets left out of the picture ... because some of the other Marae have chosen to say well they are just a hapū, but we are not actually their hapū, and really it's about being inclusive instead of exclusive.⁶⁶⁰

But as Warren noted above, perhaps the most significant challenges for NPOR to operate more effectively have been the lack of resources and support. A Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki informant noted the lack of funding support:

When we went to them [the Regional Council] with the idea of Nga Pae o Rangitīkei ... they took it one board ... This is a consultation group which is good because it enabled us to get funding. But because our vision was greater than that, there was tension between our funder, our only funder, and the group.⁶⁶¹

A Ngāti Manomano delegate shared her more poignant experiences with local government funding:

I'm down for just saying no to all of their RMA applications until they can figure out what they are up to. There was one big hope that we did have for Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei when it was first set up, our chap went over there, and the idea was that there would be a collective of the paepae that sat along the awa of Rangitīkei, hence the name Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei. It didn't quite get to the size that we wanted it to, because we wanted it to stretch from the source of the awa right down, and Tūwharetoa at that time weren't buying into it - and fair enough, it's a long way to come down for a hui - and then the next hapū/iwi weren't always available, and then someone fell out and weren't telling that hapū, and so on. But when it first started, one of our big hopes for it was to be a large force to be reckoned with. Singularly, one marae, or even two marae objecting together, it was hard to put the tangata whenua voice across, especially if someone else is making or saving lots of money. But if 12 marae/hapū said NO together, the voice would be heard - it had CLOUT - but it hasn't turned out to be that and I have become quite despondent. I think it's because of stuff like Horizons feeding money into it, and therefore thinking, "Here's what you can do with the money", type of thing. Me, I'd rather have no money and no ties, and know that we're doing what we said we were going to do.

⁶⁶⁰ Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 14.

⁶⁶¹ Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki Interview, 14 November 2015.

I have to state that some of the projects that Ngā Pae O Rangitīkei has been able to fund utilising Horizons monies are awesome. The gathering up of seeds locally, and then they used those seeds to germinate the trees that came from that particularly area so they could be replanted along the riparian strip in that area. Now that sort of stuff has gone down well, but I do believe that Horizons and them think that because they give you money that therefore they can tell us what to do.⁶⁶²

Another delegate added:

Well that's the exercise of that whole rangatiratanga stuff so you've got the kāwanatanga with all the resources there and you've got Māori with none all sitting around and there is a definition of what kaitiakitanga is to their RMA which really minimizes that meaning and captures it in a way that's convenient for legislative frameworks. So they suddenly become the approvers of projects which suddenly becomes unbalanced.⁶⁶³

The first delegate continued:

You see even when they had a problem with erosion down on Rangataua; the problem was because the water was cutting through and they felt it was going to endanger the railway overpass; I said, never mind, who cares! But their idea to 'fix' it was to take out this section of the Māori land -instead of allowing the manga (stream) to go around in a natural curve - because what was happening was the manga was coming around that curve fast and it hit over the opposite side; which is where the erosion was happening, near the railway track; so they wanted to remove outcrop of Māori land so that the manga will flow straight through instead of going near their railway track. I was sitting there on Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei and I said no, but even though I said no that day, after discussing it with my hapū at the next meeting, we agreed that we should support the stance of the iwi that it actually impacted the most on, which was Ngāti Rangatahi, Matakore.

Now, they said yes, as long as reinforcing was done. What they were looking at was previous erosion happening that had been endangering their urupā. It was not the same erosion that was affecting the railways, but another erosion problem that they had been trying to petition the local government to help reinforce or secure the land for them, but they had had no luck, and so they used this opportunity as a trade-off. Which I find was just crap – it should already have been done for them regardless. I said let the railway fall, who cares, the Pākehā were like but that's millions of dollars of industry, and I replied well it's not our millions it went through our lands which they stole anyway - and then they stole the Queens Chain on either side too - so what do we care what happens to their railways. But because their urupā was going to start to slide down into the Rangataua they wanted to take the opportunity to bargain for reinforcing to save it. But nobody was actually listening to their petition for help beforehand, until it impacted on something that was going to cost millions to a Pākehā.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶² Taumata o te Rā Marae site visits, 31 October 2015, pp 9-10.

⁶⁶³ Idem.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

The other main challenge that became conspicuously clear for the researchers is unity of purpose.

A Ngāti Manomano kaumātua stated:

When Ngā Pae o Rangitūkei started up, we as all the hapū along the area, we embraced it. But one of the problems is that we have no unity amongst our hapū, amongst our iwi, we all head off in different directions - and that is a major problem. When we identify a problem and how to fix it, but then have little groups who are on the edge who are fighting each other, because we don't have unity, that's a problem.⁶⁶⁵

Another delegate continued:

I'm always saying at our institute, "Not everybody who's brown, knows". They may be Māori, but they may have made decisions themselves which lead to them not actually knowing about their culture and they may not know anything about tikanga, and this happens too with councilors and government departments when they are 'consulting'. Actually, who are the hapū and iwi members they say they are consulting with? Are they talking to people that actually talk to their own iwi, to their own hapū, do they convey the views of that iwi and that hapū. I know that with our marae, and now Ngā Pae o Rangitūkei, if there is a hui... although we haven't been lately cause they keep having them during work hours, and we have to go to work... anyway, when we go to hui we would bring all kōrero back to the marae, and if there is a question to be answered we would lay it all out and then the hapū debates it, and collectively we agree what our answer is and then it's up to us as delegates to take the hapū kōrero back. But I know that doesn't happen with most hapū, or with most councils etc when they are looking at who they should consult with. Pākehā will try and take the easy way out, they'll choose a staff member or a friend to consult with instead, well any brown face really, but it's often not the correct person – or not everyone is represented. I know for a fact that our marae up in Taihape, Winiata, often gets left out of the picture, because some of the other marae have chosen to say, "Well they are just a hapū", but we are not hapū, we are iwi, and even if we were hapū – we're not their hapū, so they can't talk for us. But one less marae to consult with makes it easier for Pākehā process to go through so they're happy, never mind Māori tikanga, "Nōku tōku piki amokura, nōu tō piki amokura". Really it should be about being inclusive instead of exclusive.⁶⁶⁶

Another Te Reureu member of NPOR mentioned a similar concern:

We meet with them [the Council] once a month, with the CEO and Chairman of Horizons in Palmerston. [However, not under the ambit of Ngā Pae] ... under something else. It's just an agreement we've got with them; it's us here and Ngāti Kauwhata in Fielding. But they actually, they put money into Ngā Pae. I got a bit brassed off– I was the one that instigated that Ngā Pae, joining it up because of our whakapapa and when it first... we had the meeting

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

at Tokorangi and I said to them, ‘we need to be working as one unit all the way up this river’ because we’re getting knocked off by applications for water rights. They play you off. ... Consequently, when those resource consents come up, [other iwi and hapū] were agreeing with them.⁶⁶⁷

A Ngāi Te Ohuake informant also commented on NPOR:

I was involved with that, the formation of [NPOR], in 2004 right through to 2012-2013. I’m still involved as a Ngāi Te Ohuake rep on Ngā Pae. It’s been difficult because you were reliant on council regional funding. But the work that’s required – the budget that we have is just too small to do that. That’s what I found when I was working for Rauhuia Environmental Services which was the driving force behind it. It’s been picked up again by... Te Maru o Ruahine Trust ... [who] is working very, very hard to get it active again but what’s happened with Ngā Pae is that the Waitangi claims process has come in and created ... tension and taken the attention away from Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei. The Waitangi Tribunal claims process has become more important than Ngā Pae for many participants. We’re still working towards keeping active. In fact, we’ve got another meeting coming up too. That is more focused, and this is one of the tensions that we have. Is that it was always the vision was to be a political lobby group for the hapū and iwi on the Rangitīkei River who have effect at policy level. Some of our people want to keep dragging the operational stuff, dealing with resource consents. It was never the original intent. ... Because there’s some of our members continually keep trying to pull it back to operational level.⁶⁶⁸

The same informant added:

For Regional Council, their view of Ngā Pae is... originally when they first came into being, they had Te Roopu Awhina which was representation from every iwi group throughout the Regional Council area. That’s huge. You can just imagine having every iwi and in some cases hapū around the table. It never got off the ground. So the Regional Council when we went to them with the idea of NPOR ... they took it on board and their view was that this was the answer with our problem with Te Roopu Awhina. This is a consultation group which is good because it enabled us to get funding. But because our vision was greater than that, there was tension between our funder, our only funder, and the group. And of course some of our group was trying to use Ngā Pae as a battering ground. It didn’t help but that was the thing of the Regional Council. I think they still have that view. Which is good because it’s the same with District Council. They have Te Roopu Ahi kaa, the Rangitikei District Council which has representation from iwi and hapū that wishes to have representation on that standing council committee. ... But again, the Rangitikei District Council tend to overload that group with issues that we’re not interested in. operational issues rather than policy. When I was involved out of all of the things we deal with on the table on the day, there’d probably be about 10 take, 2 of them would be

⁶⁶⁷ Te Reureu site visits, May 2015, p 10.

⁶⁶⁸ Ngāi Te Ohuake Interview, 14 November 2015.

policy and the rest of them operational. That's what I feel with Horizons Regional Council. Unless we set that relationship right, they will continue to do that.⁶⁶⁹

Alexander moreover, noted that NPOR lost some of its focus after producing the strategic plan.⁶⁷⁰ In addition, there was little to sustain interest in the forum while the Manawatū–Wanganui Regional Council avoided ongoing contact and liaison with NPOR in part because its Plan One was going through the draft and objections process. NPOR was an objector to some of the provisions of the draft and were therefore 'biting the hand that feeds them' as it were. Consequently, the Regional Council appeared to marginalize NPOR by categorizing them as 'just another one of many submitters.'⁶⁷¹ It was also in part because the Regional Council saw NPOR as an organisation established to benefit Māori and so the council considered that it was therefore NPOR's responsibility to approach the council rather than the other way round.⁶⁷² The Regional Council then appears to have taken a more passive stance towards NPOR which is unfortunate.

The Ngāti Manomano representative concluded:

I don't think that Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei would have failed; it's just that some thought that it was something other than what it was. They thought they were about governance only, and they thought that they were about conforming. Whereas when it first began, with a lot of us this was a chance to exercise our tino rangatiratanga, to look after our awa, in all forms, and to fend off these RMA resource consents, that are continually coming through, and that are a drain on our awa, and that are polluting our awa - all in the name of industry and so-called progress. Somebody is making a dollar but we are losing a lifestyle - and that's what it all comes down to - we are losing a lifestyle. Even when you look at the wealth of knowledge our tūpuna had about the awa, when you listened to their kōrero about the koura, the trout, the different ika, the tuna - I would love to still have that for my children! You know the kōrero surrounding any ika like īnanga, fish behaviour, habitat, fishing styles etc - I'd love to have that! We have been down there and you don't see very much! You are lucky to see life going through it.⁶⁷³

What is required to improve the mauri and the general health and well-being of the tūpuna awa, is a more robust legal and political entity that acknowledges both cultures and worldviews,

⁶⁶⁹ Idem.

⁶⁷⁰ Alexander, D, 'Rangitīkei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report' (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, July 2015) p 677.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council Review and renewal of Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei Relationship, 26 June 2012, Report to Council Meeting No 12-96. Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council file RME 01 02.

⁶⁷³ Ngāti Manomano Informant Correspondence, 29 April 2016.

mātauranga and tikanga Māori as well as local government laws and regulations to strengthen and validate the contribution and capacity of both communities. As both the Māori and the local government communities deploy their amazing capacities for adaptation; on the one hand by modifying traditional and historic forms to serve new functions and on the other creatively adapting introduced forms to their own ends, both could be transformed in the process.

What is needed is a new robust form, a new entity that has equitable representation and resources to focus on maintaining and perpetuating the health and well-being, the mauri and the mana of the tupuna awa, while also mitigating RMA resource consents, commercial and other developments.

7 Rangitīkei River Cultural Perspectives Report Summary

One of the key objectives of this report has been to assist the Waitangi Tribunal to be able to understand what has happened to the waterways of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries from iwi and hapū cultural perspectives. This report has provided anecdotal as well as historical evidence on the cultural significance of the Rangitīkei waterways to the iwi and hapū that live alongside the waterways and have an interest in them. The report has broadly documented the iwi and hapū ancestral relationships to the waterways, and the traditional ways that they relied on and made use of the waterways prior to European settlement. In essence, the peoples' narratives in this report clearly illustrate that the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries are central if not pivotal to the cultural and spiritual well-being of the numerous and diverse whānau, hapū and iwi who settled along its banks.

The report has also documented the Crown's historical involvement with the iwi and hapū with an interest in the waterways, and the changes to traditional patterns that have occurred since European settlement and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

It is hoped that the report will moreover, assist the Waitangi Tribunal to comment on the meaning of tino rangatiratanga with respect to the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries. The report could also assist the Tribunal to assess the effects of the Crown's actions and inactions on the safeguards for iwi and hapū that were provided by the Treaty of Waitangi. Still, in order to fully appreciate the impact of European contact, one needs to understand and appreciate the rangatiratanga rights, kaitiakitanga responsibilities and the cultural and spiritual relationships to care for the waterways as **taonga** according to traditional Māori worldviews, te reo Māori (language), tikanga Māori (customary practices), and mātauranga Māori (knowledge systems).

Researching the cultural significance of the waterways relied primarily on obtaining from the iwi and hapū their views about what their experiences have been when dealing with the Crown and local authorities. These stories and explanations were also supplemented by information from written sources such as Māori Land Court minute books and other archival material.

Briefs of claimant evidence will also be presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in separate hearings hence the opportunity for more technical cultural specific research to each iwi, hapū and whānau group will be presented directly to the Tribunal. Having claimant evidence presented to the Waitangi Tribunal is an important feature that adds to the value of the Waitangi Tribunal hearing process. It is most powerful too when personal reminiscences and the expert evidence of technical witnesses complement each other, and allow a human face to be put on otherwise sterile historical facts.

Claimants in this report spoke from their own personal experiences yet there was merit in presenting a general overview of the cultural significance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, thereby offering some wider context for the briefs of evidence of each individual group.

The Hohonu researchers moreover, experienced a number of very rich visits/hīkoi made to tribal sites of significance during the interview process for this report. To have a physical presence at these sites was to be offered an unparalleled depth and breadth of understanding of the awa, tributaries, and surrounding land, and importantly, of the people and their relationships with the land, with the water, and with each other. To sense the wairua of such places was to gain a richer appreciation of both the historical and contemporary identities and relationships of the various hapū and iwi, and the degree of veneration in which they held and continue to hold the waterways and other connected significant places. These hīkoi coupled with other research revealed the extensive historical and contemporary footprints of the various hapū and iwi along the Rangitīkei, the Hautapu, the Moawhango and many other waterways. The Hohonu researchers here want to sincerely acknowledge and thank all whānau, hapū and iwi members (as well as CFRT officials) who opened their Marae, homes, hearts, kitchens, cars (and even a helicopter trip up the Rangitīkei River valley) to allow us the privilege of experiencing first hand your worldviews of the tūpuna awa.

This cultural perspectives report then has outlined somewhat extensively what the rivers and other waterways mean to the iwi and hapū having a connection with them, but also identified the common threads in each narrative that binds iwi and hapū together and gives them a common

purpose when they speak of the rivers and waterways to outside agencies such as the Crown, Regional Councils, District Councils, Fish and Game, and other key stakeholders.

From this report, it is clear that the Rangitīkei, Moawhango and Hautapu Rivers, in particular, and the numerous other rivers, streams, swamps and puna are unifying forces for the iwi and hapū along their banks, regardless of the different geographical direction or cultural connections of each iwi and hapū. What happens in the northern end of the Rangitīkei affects the central and southern ends.

Having this overview report on the cultural significance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries should also assist, it is hoped, busy claimants who have multiple calls on their time and resources. This report should have enabled claimants to better allocate their time and resources hence this report could be complimentary of other claimant's reports.

In addition, in the absence of an overview report on the cultural significance of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries, there is a risk that the Waitangi Tribunal in its reporting by two or more panels focusing on different groups of iwi and hapū may not fully articulate the interconnectedness of the rivers and the cultural linkages between all of the iwi and hapū along the rivers from the source to the sea. This risk may then extend to the Crown's understanding of these matters at the time of subsequent settlement negotiations. This overview report will expectantly help to hold together the whakapapa and ancestral connections as well as the physical and metaphysical connections of the iwi and hapū that are woven around the rivers and other waterways, and to hopefully avoid the sometimes inevitable divisions and disputes.

This cultural perspectives report was also produced in part, inter alia, to ensure the relevance and usefulness of the report extends beyond the Waitangi Tribunal process into the settlement phase and even beyond that into ongoing healthy iwi and hapū post-settlement relationships with each other and with key stakeholders such as resource management agencies.

In the spirit of kotahitanga and mahi-tahi, a number of key common threads that could assist the iwi and hapū, local government and other key stakeholders to work more effectively and collaboratively in the future include the following:

From a tikanga Māori perspective and worldview, a waterway is not compartmentalized into its component parts of a bed, banks, water, airspace, fisheries and plants or is viewed as a resource for profit to be exploited, polluted or desecrated. A waterbody is a **taonga** consisting of water, bed, banks, fisheries, plants, taniwha and mauri in its entirety. Indeed, Māori had a special inherent relationship with the waterways as **taonga** that conferred rangatiratanga rights of authority over the waterways but also reciprocal kaitiaki responsibilities to not pollute, abuse or over use the resources. Undeniably, the tino rangatiratanga of the iwi and hapū of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries consisted of rangatiratanga authority over a cultural and spiritual relationship with and kaitiaki responsibility to care for **taonga**, all of which was guaranteed and protected by the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

In addition, all Māori have a special physical and metaphysical relationship with the awa. The river is a tupuna awa – an ancestor. It is integral to and provides a compelling background to the web of whakapapa connections shared by different iwi and hapū along its banks. It is impossible to discuss whakapapa without bringing the river into discussion. It is difficult to discuss the river without mentioning a crossover of whakapapa links.

The river also provides the iwi and hapū along its banks with a sense of identity as ‘river people’. Earlier generations were as much at home on the awa as they were on the whenua. The awa therefore, runs through the peoples’ lives.

The river is a living being. It has a mauri – a life force – which means that the river interconnects with the people, and the people interconnect with the awa. The tupuna awa both nurtures and sustains the people and is therefore accorded respect. Any damage done to the awa is harm done to the mauri of the river and to the people.

The Rangitīkei River is a means of communication. It was the main aqua-highway between the middle of the North Island and the sea. Waka transport was used as far upstream as the Moawhango River. This historical pattern is maintained today although in a different form – either by rail or car. But much of the modern highway follows the traditional aqua-highways.

For a number of iwi and hapū along its banks, the Rangitīkei River is an integral part of a southward movement that has spanned generations particularly for Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto. It was this longstanding connection that was relied upon during the 1820s-1830s period when iwi used the Rangitīkei River valley as a main migration route. Similarly, the first peoples to migrate from Heretaunga are defined in stories today by their rivers. Parties travelled via the Mohaka and Ngaruroro Rivers and met up at the confluence of the Taruarau and Ikawetea Rivers.⁶⁷⁴

Battles were fought along the awa but the use of the awa could not be achieved if the iwi and hapū remained and continue to be in perpetual conflict with one another. Any conflicts needed to be overcome by linking the people through strategic whakapapa and taumau marriages for tatau pounamu. Tribes negotiated a pathway forward kanohi ki te kanohi, strategic marriages were made, mokopuna were born, and whakapapa lineages became linked in order to heal past wounds, reconcile differences and smooth future pathways.

The river is important to the ancestor stories told by the people about themselves and their rohe. Tamatea Pokai Whenua for example, left his mokai at different locations to act as kaitiaki guardians and as representatives of his mana and authority over the district. These stories are instructive and indicative of the river to the iwi as a food source.

The rivers and other waterways feed and sustain the people. They used to provide an abundance of eels, koura, pātiki, īnanga, piharau, kakahi, whio, watercress, puha and kanga pirau. Surplus could be traded with people in other districts. Many of these traditional food species are no longer

⁶⁷⁴ Alexander, D, 'The Rangitīkei River, Its Tributary Waterways, and Other Taihape Waterways' (Crown Forestry Rental Trusts, February 2012) p 45.

present in the waterways in quantities that they used to be, and the people mourn this depletion of resources they used to rely on and consider to be a part of their cultural way of life and heritage.

The river cleans the people. Pumice is used as an abrasive to clean teeth and to remove old skin from the heels of feet. Māori bathed, washed clothing and played in the rivers and still visit certain spots for recreational swimming. However, in some places, swimming and bathing are no longer appropriate due to pollution, water extraction and altering flows. With some claimants, there is even a belief that as long as the mauri of the river is protected and respected, the mauri of the river will protect swimmers from drowning.

The river clothes the people. Harakeke is prepared for weaving in the waters of the river. Paru is taken from the creeks and wetlands for dying.

The river heals the people. Rongoā Māori are cleaned and prepared in the river or in the water from the river. The waters of the river are a spiritual cleanser, and have been used in ceremonies and rituals to heal persons from illnesses believed to be related to infringement of tikanga Māori cultural standards and norms such as tapu and rahui.

The river has a one-ness from its source to the sea – mai te puna ana ki Tangaroa. The people do not need to have visited the source of the Rangitīkei River at the Matapuna o Rangimarie me Waimarie in the Kaimanawa Ranges to know that it is an important place with deep spiritual significance, given it is the birthplace of many rivers – the Ngaruroro, Mohaka, Tauranga, Taruarau, Taupō, Waimarino and Rangitīkei Rivers that flow in different directions and provide sustenance to the thirsting regions.

Within this pattern of customary uses and significance are some particular features of relevance to women – mana wahine. Women provide the whakapapa link, through marriages with new arrivals, back to the tangata whenua and therefore are the maintainers of the mana whenua inter-generational connections of which the river is a central part. Women have been affected when the state of the river prevents them carrying out the tasks they are skilled at such as food gathering, weaving and dying.

It is the deep links that the people have with any river that make the changes that the rivers have experienced since the arrival of Europeans so traumatic. Indeed, the tribal worldviews were thrust into a state of perilous imbalance and they have been trying to recover from these changes ever since first contact. The Crown over the years has eroded away the special rangatiratanga authority and kaitiaki relationship that Rangitīkei iwi and hapū have with their various waterways prior to European contact and according to Māori worldviews. Rangitīkei Māori then, have been significantly impacted by the various legal assertions and decisions on numerous occasions and continue to be negatively affected today by the actions and inactions of the Crown. For example, depleting the river's food sustaining capacity, polluting their waters, treating them as little more than drainage channels, dumping stations, a toilet or as an economic commodity, are injuries that have affected not just the rivers and their mauri but also the iwi and hapū of the region.

The connection that the iwi and hapū have with the rivers is moreover, as strong with the smaller tributary streams, swamps and springs as it is with the main waterways. The conversations had with the claimants were as much about the Mangaone, Waitapu, Waituna, Mākōwhai, Pourewa, and Rangitawa streams and other waterways as they were about the Rangitīkei, Moawhango and Hautapu Rivers. These side streams, swamps and springs were often more easily accessible and having gentler flows shaded by bank vegetation made them particularly important food sources. However, in many cases, their character has changed by vegetation clearance and farm drainage, pollution, water extraction and damming so much so that a number of the streams, swamps and springs are not flowing at all or during dry periods, or are seriously depleted.

Since European contact then, significant changes have occurred with corresponding impacts to the mauri, the health and well-being of the rivers and waterways of the region. Consequently, the patterns of traditional use have changed significantly for the health and well-being of the people.

In short, this report attests to the waterways as living **taonga** for the hapū and iwi of the Rangitīkei, Hautapu and Moawhango Rivers and their tributaries, expressing the ways in which the waters and surrounds were, and continue to be, pivotal to tribal identity, way of life, and wellbeing of the tangata whenua. The report reflects narratives of tribal occupation along the awa linked to tribal

whakapapa, river side wāhi tapu, taniwha and kaitiaki, sources of food, sources of rituals and healing, transport, travel, and trade. The report also recounts the impacts of erosion, gravel extraction, localised pollution, damming, habitat destruction and species loss since post-European settlement.

The report moreover, recounts iwi and hapū engagement and relationships with the Crown and Local Government, particularly through Te Roopu Awhina, Te Roopu Ahi Kaa and Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei, and the recognition of tangata whenua rights, responsibilities and relationships to continue to care for and nurture their tūpuna awa.

In conclusion, a Ngāti Hinemanu informant responded to an important question that is crucial to dealing with the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries going forward which is an appropriate place to bring to a close this report: '[Ownership?]. Well that's the question, who's got the rights? ...They say, 'who owns it?'⁶⁷⁵ Perhaps the more appropriate question is who has stewardship? To which an appropriate answer could be the iwi and hapū, as well as local government, farmers and other key stakeholders of the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries.

⁶⁷⁵ Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki Heritage Trust Wānanga, Winiata Marae, 24 April 2015, p 34.



Image 37: Ko Rangitikei te Awa

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