

**Ngāti Apakura Gap-Filling Research Report -
Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Groups Present at and/or
Directly Affected by the Crown Attack at
Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864**

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Contents

A) Introduction.....	5
Report Outline.....	6
Methodology and Sources.....	7
Genesis of the Ngāti Apakura Gap-Filling Report.....	9
Brief Historical Context for the Attack on Rangiaowhia and its Aftermath.....	9
Pāterangi Line – January- February 1864.....	14
Rangiaowhia – 21 February 1864.....	16
Battle of Hairini - 22 February 1864 & Battle of Ōrākau – 30 March–2 April 1864.....	18
Broader Impacts following the Attacks on Pāterangi, Rangiaowhia, Hairini and Ōrākau.....	22
 B) Whānau, Hapū and Iwi present during the Attack at Rangiaowhia.....	 24
Ngāti Raukawa.....	26
Ngāti Tūwharetoa.....	27
Ngāti Hauā.....	27
Ngāti Rangiwewehi.....	28
Ngāi Tūhoe.....	30
Ngāti Kauwhata.....	30
Summary.....	32
 C) Other Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Affected by the Aftermath of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia.....	 34
How these other Whānau, Hapū and Iwi were Directly Affected by the Aftermath of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia.....	35
Ngāti Raukawa.....	35
Ngāti Tūwharetoa.....	37
Ngāti Hauā.....	38
Ngāti Hikairo.....	40
Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari.....	41
Te Whakatōhea.....	41
Ngāti Rangiwewehi.....	44
Ngāi Tūhoe, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa.....	48
Ngāi Te Rangi.....	49
Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa.....	50

Te Aua.....	50
Ngāti Kauwhata	50
Summary	51
D) Conclusions.....	56
E) Bibliography	60
F) Appendices.....	67
Appendix 1: Te Arawhiti References.....	67
Appendix 2: Whānau, Hapū, or Iwi present at Rangiaowhia at the Time of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864	69
Appendix 3: Whānau, Hapū & Iwi Directly Affected by the Aftermath of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia	84
Appendix 4: Ngāti Apakura & Ngāti Hinetū Population at Rangiaowhia in 1858	101
Rangiaowhia Population Census 1858.....	101
Appendix 5: Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū, Waikato-Tainui & Ngāti Maniapoto Whakapapa Connections.....	110
Appendix 6: Some of the Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū, Waikato-Tainui & Ngāti Maniapoto Whānau and Hapū at Rangiaowhia at the Time of the Crown Attack on 21 February 1864 and Hairini, 22 February 1864.....	116
Appendix 7: List of Māori Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau etc and at present on board the Hulk Marion 1864.....	118

A) Introduction

1. The prosperous Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū village of Rangiaowhia within the Waikato district was regarded by its people as a place of safety for women, children and the elderly during the Waikato War campaign of 1863-1864. However, on 21 February 1864, Rangiaowhia was attacked by British forces, which resulted in the death and misery of many people. All those who lived at Rangiaowhia for generations or who were residing there during the Waikato campaign were banished and were forced to take refuge with other hapū and iwi including, inter alia, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.
2. The attack on Rangiaowhia by Crown forces in 1864 has become a strongly felt grievance for most Māori affected by the event. Subsequently in January 1865, Rangiaowhia was included in the lands confiscated by the Crown following the Waikato campaign.
3. Te Waha-ā-Tuarā - a Ngāti Apakura committee ('Te Waha-ā-Tuarā'), Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato-Tainui, and the Crown represented by Te Arawhiti – The Office of Māori - Crown Relations ('Te Arawhiti') - have agreed to a process to develop an outside-settlement reconciliation package for this long-standing grievance for those Māori affected by the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864.
4. While Ngāti Apakura are central to the Rangiaowhia reconciliation process, the process will however, provide an opportunity for healing for all affected groups.
5. To this end, this independent research report has identified as far as possible the various parties who were at Rangiaowhia in 1864 to gain a better understanding of the events that occurred there.
6. The gap filling research has identified many of the whānau, hapū and iwi groups who, in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, were present and/or were directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia in 1864.
7. The aims of this research project then were to assess the available evidence to consider the following research questions:
 - 7.1. In addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, who were the other whānau, hapū or iwi present at Rangiaowhia at the time of the Crown attack?
 - 7.2. How were these other whānau, hapū and iwi groups immediately affected?
 - 7.3. In addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, which other whānau, hapū and iwi were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack (for example, by providing manaaki to refugees)?;
 - 7.4. How were these other whānau, hapū and iwi directly affected?

Report Outline

8. The report commences with our methodology and the genesis of this gap filling report which, as noted above, seeks to identify the other whānau, hapū and iwi groups, in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, who were present and/or immediately affected by the Crown attack that occurred at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864.
9. The next sections provide briefly some of the historical context leading up to the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia in 1864, followed by an analysis detailing some of the Māori tribal groupings – whānau, hapū and iwi - in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Maniapoto and Waikato-Tainui, who were present during the attack on Rangiaowhia and how they were affected.
10. The subsequent sections attempt to clarify which whānau, hapū and iwi affiliated tribal groupings - in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Maniapoto and Waikato-Tainui - who were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864, and where possible, how they were directly affected; followed by the conclusions section.
11. Much of the finer details outlining the documented evidence on the other whānau, hapū and iwi affiliated groupings present or who were immediately affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia are included in the Appendices for this report.
12. Appendix 1 provides the reference list for the report provided by Te Arawhiti to examine for the report. Appendix 2 provides detailed evidence on the other whānau, hapū or iwi affiliated groupings who were present at Rangiaowhia at the time of the Crown attack, and how they were immediately affected.
13. Appendix 3 provides the detailed evidence on the other whānau, hapū and iwi affiliated groupings who were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack, and how they were directly affected.
14. I have also included a detailed census of the Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū Rangiaowhia village population in 1858 by the Resident Magistrate Francis Dart Fenton in Appendix 4 which population was expelled 6 years later as a result of the Crown attack. The 1858 census does provide some important context on those local people who suffered directly from the Crown attack.
15. In addition, I have included in Appendix 5 a number of Ngāti Apakura, Maniapoto and Waikato-Tainui whānau and hapū whakapapa tables to show some of the close kin relationships between these groupings. A table in Appendix 6 provides brief details of some of the Ngāti Apakura, Maniapoto and Waikato-Tainui whānau and hapū affiliated groupings who were either present at or directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia and Hairini in 1864.
16. Appendix 7 provides the 1864 list of Māori Prisoners who were on board the Hulk Marion and were captured at, inter alia, the Battles of Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau. The list is useful for this research because it lists the prisoners' name, iwi and the battle where they were taken prisoner.

Methodology and Sources

17. The methodology for appropriately addressing the key objectives for this research was a focussed literature review of the references provided by Te Arawhiti in Appendix 1. The literature assisted with identifying initially some of the whānau, hapū or iwi affiliated groupings who were present during the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia (and which groupings were not present), how they were involved, and/or which other whānau, hapū or iwi affiliated groupings were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia.
18. In producing this gap filling report, our researchers and I traversed through all of the references in the specific list by Te Arawhiti in Appendix 1,¹ which included research reports, relevant submissions made to the Waitangi Tribunal, petitions, published journal articles, books and reports. We also drew upon other published official documents from the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHRs), the Native Land Court minute books, and Māori and other newspaper articles, as well as extant written manuscripts such as letters from the Alexander Turnbull Library, Archives New Zealand and even the Hocken Library in Dunedin. We collated all of this information into focused tables in the Appendices to address the key questions of this report.
19. What we discovered is the mute truism of history that the first casualty in war is facts – i.e. truth itself.² Accordingly, relying on official British and New Zealand reports as well as Māori oral accounts to ascertain with some precision who was present and immediately affected by the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 is problematic and very challenging. Some of the evidence was conflicting, some evidence provided scant information or was indecisive and distrustful but we have done our best by analysing and interpreting the most appropriate historic and contemporary information that was available at the time.
20. One important caveat that we want to avoid in our analysis is the vexed political challenge of distinguishing between whānau, hapū and iwi groupings - which whānau are constituents of a hapū, and hapū constituents of a particular iwi within a particular rohe at a particular time, and so forth. Attempting to ascertain with any precision the relevant Māori tribal groupings for this report is problematic given the vexed political question of first defining what is a whānau, hapū and iwi group in addition to identifying the tribal groupings of Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto which is very complex.
21. Early 20th century amateur ethnologists and anthropologists posited traditional Māori society as a tidy taxonomy and socio-political hierarchy comprised of iwi (tribes) composed of numerous hapū (sub-tribes) which in turn was made up of whānau (extended families). Such a classical hierarchy of Māori social groups, chiefs and tribal members may have been misleading. The author asserts that such an historical taxonomy was a colonial attempt to simplify the complex realities of traditional Māori tribal identity and groupings.

¹ See Appendix 1: Te Arawhiti References.

² Walker, R, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, (Penguin Books, Auckland, 2004) at 125.

22. To cite some brief but relevant examples, the author has deliberately chosen to respectfully include Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari as hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto in some contexts in this report — although others assert that Ngāti Rereahu is an iwi in and of itself, not a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto.³ Ngāti Hikairo is similarly referred to sometimes as a hapū of Ngāti Apakura and even Ngāti Maniapoto which views are also challenged by some claimants.⁴
23. Furthermore, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Koroki and Ngāti Hikairo were referred to in earlier legislation as being hapū of Waikato-Tainui.⁵ In a similar manner, Ngāti Apakura itself was at a point in time referred to as a hapū of Waikato-Tainui such as in the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 which again highlights how tribal identity groupings have waxed and waned over time.⁶
24. Perhaps a more politically acceptable and accurate view is that Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari are *affiliated groups* of Ngāti Maniapoto - although the former now appears to be an iwi in its own right; Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Koroki were *affiliated groups* of Waikato-Tainui but have now developed into iwi in more recent times, while Ngāti Hikairo may be an *affiliated group* of Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, as well as an iwi in its own right depending on context.
25. Still, it is acknowledged from the outset and for the purposes of this report that ascertaining with any precision what is a whānau, hapū and iwi group historically and today is complex. Furthermore, identifying the affected whānau, hapū and iwi groupings who were present at and/or were directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia in 1864, in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, is also complex.
26. The approach of the author is that I acknowledge hapū as the most significant socio-political group in traditional Māori society most of the time. Iwi were more accurately described as alliances of hapū that waxed and waned in strength and coherence over time. Hapū, or sections of hapū, left existing alliances for various reasons and joined or formed others. Reorganised alliances validated their formation by choosing a common

³ See 'Rereahu make last ditch fight against Maniapoto Settlement,' in Wātea News, (3 May 2021) online at <https://waateanews.com/2021/05/03/rereahu-make-last-ditch-fight-against-maniapoto-settlement/> (Accessed May 2022); and Campbell, A, 'Maniapoto preparing to settle treaty claims,' Te Ao Māori Local Democracy Reporting (25 June 2021) online at <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/445534/maniapoto-preparing-to-settle-treaty-claims> (Accessed May 2022).

⁴ During the recent Ngāti Maniapoto Treaty Settlement process, the former Maniapoto Māori Trust Board (MMTB) recognised Ngāti Hikairo as 'a group with affiliations to both Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato-Tainui' and acknowledged that 'Ngāti Hikairo regard themselves as an iwi separate to Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato-Tainui.' The MMTB then concluded that 'through whakapapa, a number of Ngāti Hikairo members affiliate to Maniapoto marae and tūpuna and are therefore included in the MMTB mandate and the Maniapoto settlement.' See Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 'Information Sheet Ngāti Hikairo,' (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, Te Kuiti, No date, copy in the author's possession) at 1. See also Joseph, R., & Borrell, M. *Ngāti Apakura te Iwi, Ngāti Apakura Mana Motuhake* (Report for Ngāti Apakura Claimants and the Waitangi Tribunal, WAI 898, September, 2012); and the Ngāti Hikairo website <https://ngatihikairo.iwi.nz/> (Accessed May 2022).

⁵ Refer to the interpretation of the iwi group 'Waikato' with its respective 33 hapū in s. 7 – 'Interpretation of terms' in Part 2: Provisions relating to settlement, Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995. See also the respective Ngāti Koroki-Kahukura and Ngāti Hauā Iwi websites online at: <http://www.korokikahukura.co.nz/> (Accessed May 2022) and <https://ngatihauaiwitrust.co.nz/> (Accessed May 2022).

⁶ For a thorough discussion on the waxing and waning of Ngāti Apakura as an iwi and hapū historically, see Joseph, R., & Borrell, M. *Ngāti Apakura te Iwi, Ngāti Apakura Mana Motuhake* (Report for Ngāti Apakura Claimants and the Waitangi Tribunal, WAI 898, September, 2012).

ancestor to serve as a symbol of, and focus for, their unity. While whakapapa descent was an important basis for alliance, the choice of focal ancestor followed, rather than dictated, political alignment, which situation indicates that form followed (it did not force) function.

27. Consequently, I have taken a fluid approach to ascertaining whether a particular grouping is a hapū or iwi, and admittedly, I have taken poetic licence at times. Whether a traditional Māori grouping for this research was a whānau, hapū or iwi historically and even in contemporary times is arbitrary, fluid, situational and fundamentally political. In addition, articulating whether specific whānau are hapū or even iwi is beyond the scope of this report. What is important for this research is ascertaining as clearly as possible, which Māori *groupings* - whānau, hapū or iwi - were present at Rangiaowhia at the time of the Crown attack, how they were immediately affected, and which Māori *groupings* were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack.

Genesis of the Ngāti Apakura Gap-Filling Report

28. As noted above, the attack on Rangiaowhia by Crown forces has become a strongly felt grievance for many Māori affected by the event. Te Waha-ā-Tuarā – for Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato-Tainui, and the Crown have agreed to a process to develop an outside-settlement reconciliation package for those Māori groups affected by the attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864.
29. While Ngāti Apakura are central to the Rangiaowhia reconciliation process, this process must provide an opportunity for healing for all affected groups.
30. In May 2021, Te Arawhiti – The Office of Māori-Crown Relations - commissioned this gap-filling project to focus on those Māori groupings who were present at and/or directly affected by the attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864.
31. The report has identified some of the whānau, hapū and iwi groups at the time who, in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, were present and/or were directly affected by the events that occurred at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864.
32. To assist our analysis and as noted above, the next section will first provide some important historic context on the Crown attack on the peaceful non-combatant village of Rangiaowhia on the sabbath day - Sunday 21 February 1864.

Brief Historical Context for the Attack on Rangiaowhia and its Aftermath

33. The 19th century invasion of the Waikato by British forces and subsequent raupatu land confiscations were well orchestrated in advance.⁷ The British military invasion of the

⁷ See for example Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa, 'Third Petition to Mr FitzGerald and the General Assembly of New Zealand,' in *AJHR* (G-No. 2, Wellington, 24 July 1866) at 5-6; James Edward Fitzgerald in *Christchurch Press* (16 April 1864); Stowers, R, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand Wars* (R Stowers, Hamilton, 1996) at 113; Belich, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1986) at 124; Miller, H, *Race Conflict in New Zealand 1814-1865* (Blackwood and Janet Paul, Auckland, 1966) at 105-108; and O'Malley, V, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato, 1800-2000*, (Bridget Williams Books, New Zealand, 2016) at 125-211.

Waikato was in part about accessing the rich Waikato, Maniapoto and Apakura lands and resources while simultaneously overwhelming the Kīngitanga, which actions were contrary to the guarantees of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

34. Church Missionary Society (CMS) Reverend Benjamin Ashwell established the Church of England mission at Ōtāwhao, Te Awamutu, in 1839. Reverend John Morgan arrived later in Ōtāwhao in 1841,⁸ while a Roman Catholic mission was established at Rangiaowhia in 1844 under Father Jean Pezant.⁹ The Tainui tribes actively engaged in European trade early in the 19th century and were well aware of the technology and trading opportunities, as well as the ‘good news,’ that missionaries could bring to their communities.¹⁰ Reverend Morgan also envisaged that Māori would gain all of the comforts of civilisation, Christianisation and commerce by expanding the planting of wheat, oats and barley crops and by erecting flour mills at Rangiaowhia.¹¹ Consequently, by 1845 the hapū around Ōtāwhao had 300 acres of wheat growing, and the area around Rangiaowhia became known for its grain fields and water mills.¹²
35. Father Pezant of the Catholic Mission baptised a large Ngāti Apakura following in the district who then built a wooden church at Rangiaowhia in 1851.¹³ In 1854, tribal leaders arranged with the Crown for the transfer of 298 acres to the Catholic Mission for the purpose of building a school and for carrying out the objectives of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁴ Although the Deed itself was not formalised through the Courts until 16 October 1874, a boarding school was built in Rangiaowhia.¹⁵ However, it appears that only 197 acres was transferred to the Catholic Mission.¹⁶
36. When Governor Grey visited Rangiaowhia in 1849, the Ngāti Apakura Catholic rangatira, Hoani Papita Kahawai, among others, gifted a bag of flour, grown from their wheat fields and ground from their mill, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The Ngāti Apakura gift was subsequently forwarded on to the Colonial Office in London by Governor Grey.¹⁷

⁸ See Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims: Pre-Publication Version Parts I and II*, (Wai 898, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2018) at 331.

⁹ See Church, I, Jean Étienne Pezant, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, online at: <https://teara.govt.nz/biographies/1p14/pezant-jean-entienne> (Accessed October 2021).

¹⁰ Howe, K.R, 'Morgan, John - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m55/1> (Accessed July 2021).

¹¹ See Howe, K.R, 'Morgan, John - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m55/1> (Accessed July 2021); and Hargreaves, R.P, 'The Maori agriculture of the Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth Century' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 68, No 2. 1959) at 34.

¹² Hargreaves, R.P, 'The Maori agriculture of the Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth Century' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 68, No 2. 1959) at 70.

¹³ Father Jean Pezant, Marist Archives Wellington, *The History of the Station of Rangiaowhia (Waikato) up to 1st March 1846* (Extracts Father Jean Pezant's Memoir of his Mission at Rangiaowhia 1836 – 1854) at 26.

¹⁴ Catholic Diocese of Hamilton Catholic Archives, (Correspondence, Deeds of Gift 1854 2nd January) at 788.

¹⁵ See Native Schools Reports of Inspectors in *AJHR* (E-04, 1862) at 5-6.

¹⁶ Rev E. R. Simmons. Letter sent to Mr Pryor, Catholic Archives Diocese of Hamilton, 21 October 1980.

¹⁷ Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 18 June 1849 (and enclosure), *GBPP*, (1849 [1120]) at 166-168. See also 'A Gift of Flour to the Queen,' in *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, (Vol. 6, No. 1, 1971) at 19-20; and Cowan, J, Chapter III — Plough and Flour-Mill' in *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the Story of the Waipa Valley: The Missionary, the Soldier, the Pioneer Farmer, Early Colonization, the War in Waikato, Life on the Maori Border and Later-day Settlement* (The Waipa Post Printing and Publishing Company Limited, Te Awamutu, 1922) at 16-18.

37. To reciprocate, Queen Victoria sent two paintings of the Royal Family to the Ngāti Apakura chiefs at Rangiaowhia. One painting was given to Catholic Father Joseph Garavel at Rangiaowhia, and the other went to the Anglican Reverend Morgan at Ōtāwhao.¹⁸



Picture 1 by Franz Xavier Winterhalter: British Royal Family Painting – Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and their children - Gifted by Queen Victoria to Ngāti Apakura 1849.¹⁹

¹⁸ When William Fox visited the district in 1861, he recorded that the royal pictures were evenly distributed between the local Catholic and Protestant missionaries Father Garavel and John Morgan. See Fox, W, 23 December 1861, Notes by the Colonel Secretary During His Visit to the Waikato in *AJHR* (1863, E-13) at 2; and ‘A Gift of Flour to the Queen,’ in *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, (Vol. 6, No. 1, 1971) at 19-20.

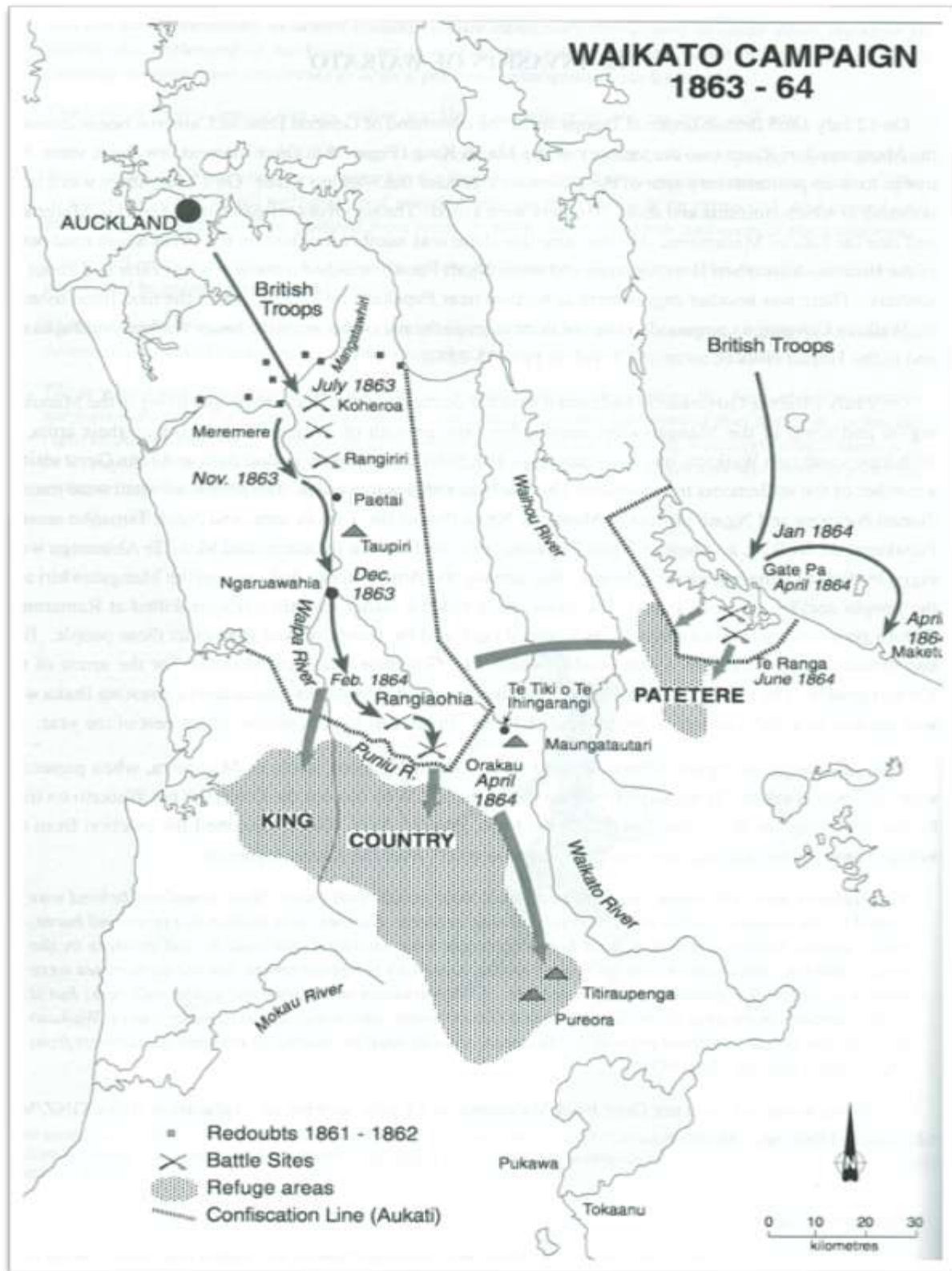
¹⁹ The ‘Catholic’ painting of the British Royal Family was destroyed by fire possibly during the British attack on Rangiaowhia in 1864. The ‘Anglican’ painting of the British Royal Family was looted by the soldiers during their attack on Rangiaowhia in 1864. The one surviving British Royal Family painting above is stored in the archives section of the Te Awamutu Museum. See O’Malley, V, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato, 1800-2000*, (Bridget Williams Books, New Zealand, 2016) at 53-54.

38. By 1851, the Rangiaowhia district became known as the ‘granary of the North Island’ with 100 tons of flour sent to trade in Auckland.²⁰ By this time, Ōtāwhao and Rangiaowhia were showpieces of this new rural agriculture with hundreds of acres of wheat fields, vegetable gardens and orchards. The tribes also began to export some of their goods to Australia and even further afield to the California gold fields.²¹ By the height of the gold rushes in Victoria and California in the 1850s, produce from Rangiaowhia, Ōtāwhao and other settlements was being shipped as far as Melbourne and San Francisco.²²
39. All of this remarkable Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Maniapoto and other tribal trade, prosperity and mass conversions to Christianity in the area ended abruptly as a result of the Waikato Wars campaign in 1863-1864. Rangiaowhia as a Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetu peaceful, prosperous and Christian community also ended abruptly as a direct result of the Crown attack on 21 February 1864.
40. The role of the Anglican and Catholic Churches at Ōtāwhao and Rangiaowhia then were pivotal in the development and prosperity of the district. The Churches also played key roles and also suffered losses that had serious impacts for them during the Waikato War campaign and its aftermath.
41. A number of battles were fought and incidents occurred during the Waikato War campaign in the region - Meremere (31 October-1 November 1863), Rangiriri (20-21 November 1863), Pāterangi (January 1864), Waiari (11 February 1864), Rangiaowhia (Sunday 21 February 1864), Hairini (22 February 1864) and the Battle of Orākau (31 March-2 April 1864). Māori responded by defending their King, lands, lives and liberties as guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 and under tikanga Māori and British common law.

²⁰ Hargreaves, R.P, ‘The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth Century’ in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 68, No 2. 1959) at 72.

²¹ Barber, L, *Frontier Town: A History of Te Awamutu* (Ray Richards, Auckland, 1984) at 33.

²² Cowan, J, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, The Story of the Waipa Valley*, (Waipa Post & Publishing Co, Te Awamutu, 1922) at 17. See also Petrie, H, *Chiefs of Industry: Maori Tribal Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand*, (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006).



Map 1: Waikato Campaign 1863-1864²³

²³ Stokes, E, *Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa: A Study of his Life and Times*, (Department of Geography, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1999) at 198.

Pāterangi Line – January- February 1864

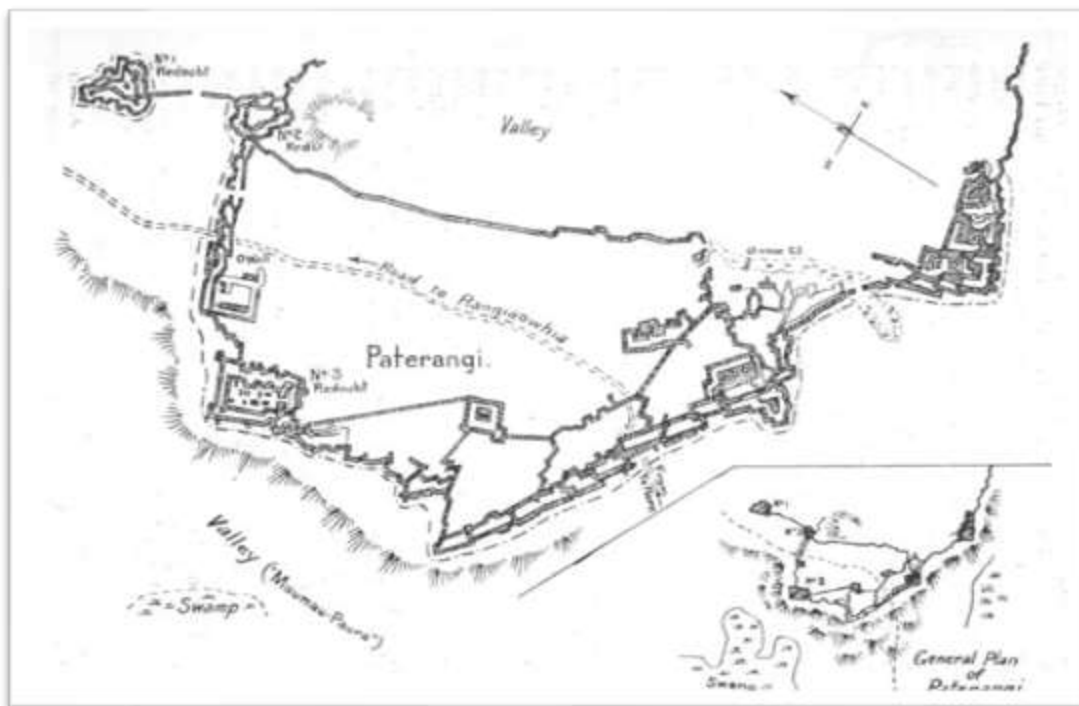
42. After the fall of Meremere, Rangiriri and then the Kīngitanga capital of Ngaruawahia in December 1863, the impregnable Pāterangi line was constructed to stop the British advance to protect the Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Raukawa tribal territories as well as the rich Rangiaowhia economic centre of the Kīngitanga. The Pāterangi line was the largest fortification system ever built by Māori according to Belich²⁴ and was at least four Pā within kilometres of each other covering all of the main routes to Rangiaowhia. Pāterangi Pā itself was a fortified Pā consisting of some two kilometres of trenches with single and double lines of parapets enclosing most of the top of the hill. Six major earthwork strongholds constructed at critical points along the trench lines anchored the defences while deep interconnected bunkers provided shelter from British artillery. The Pā had a protected water supply, two old cannons and a large shellproof whare, headquarters for the Māori General, Rewi Manga Maniapoto. The other three main Pā were Pikopiko or Puketoke, Rangiaotea and Mangapukatea, which were equally as strong and almost as extensive.²⁵ Belich added that Pāterangi was 1,200-2,000 warriors strong.²⁶
43. Given the impregnability of the Pāterangi line and having experienced Pā warfare at Meremere and Rangiriri, General Cameron decided on a new tactic. Cameron concluded by 4 February 1864 that the Pāterangi Line was too strong and could not be taken by frontal assault. Upon reconnoitring the Pāterangi Line, Cameron decided to creep around past the Pāterangi Line at 10.30pm on 20 February 1864 outflanking and then defeating Māori by attacking Rangiaowhia on the supply line for Pāterangi.²⁷

²⁴ Belich, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1986) at 160.

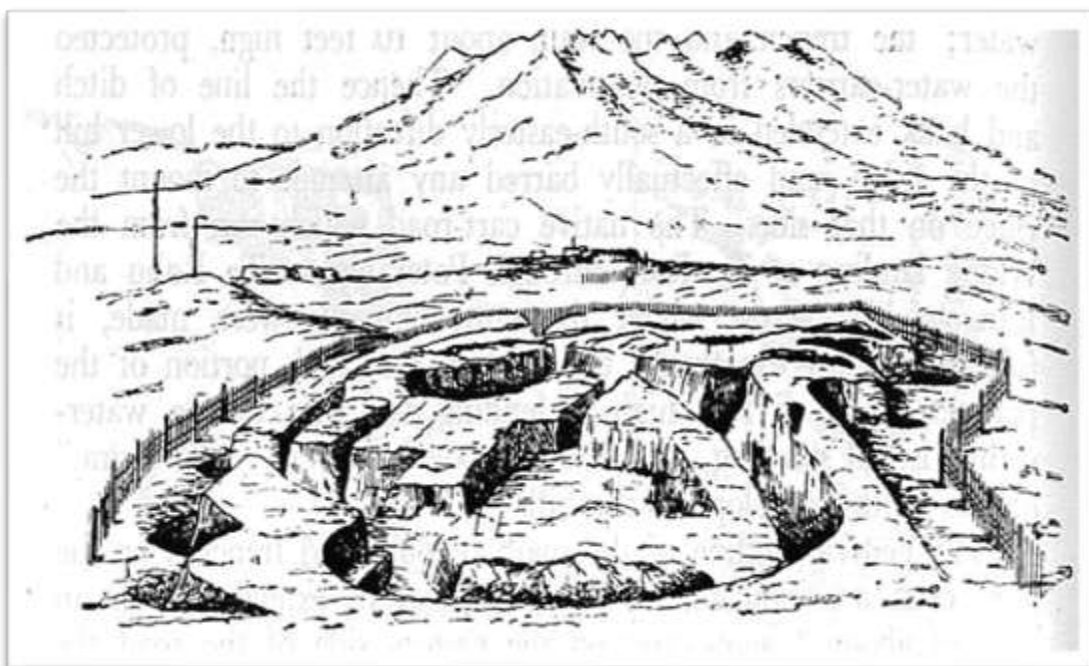
²⁵ *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 30-31; *New Zealander* (20 January 1864); and an account recorded by Raureti Te Huia, (31 March 1920). See also Raureti Te Huia, 'The Pa After Rangiriri' and 'The Battle of Orakau,' (Unpublished Manuscripts of Raureti Te Huia, Cowan Papers, 1895) at 1-3.

²⁶ Belich, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1986) at 161.

²⁷ See Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol. 1, (1845-1864), Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 351.



Drawing 1: Captain E. Brooke, Pāterangi 1864²⁸



Drawing 2: Captain E. Brooke - No. 1 Redoubt, Pāterangi Pā, 1864²⁹

²⁸ Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* (2 Vols, Wellington, 1922-3) at 342.

²⁹ Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* (2 Vols, Wellington, 1922-3) at 344. To provide a sense of scale, No. 1 Redoubt in Drawing 2 above is shown in the Drawing 1 map above top left side.

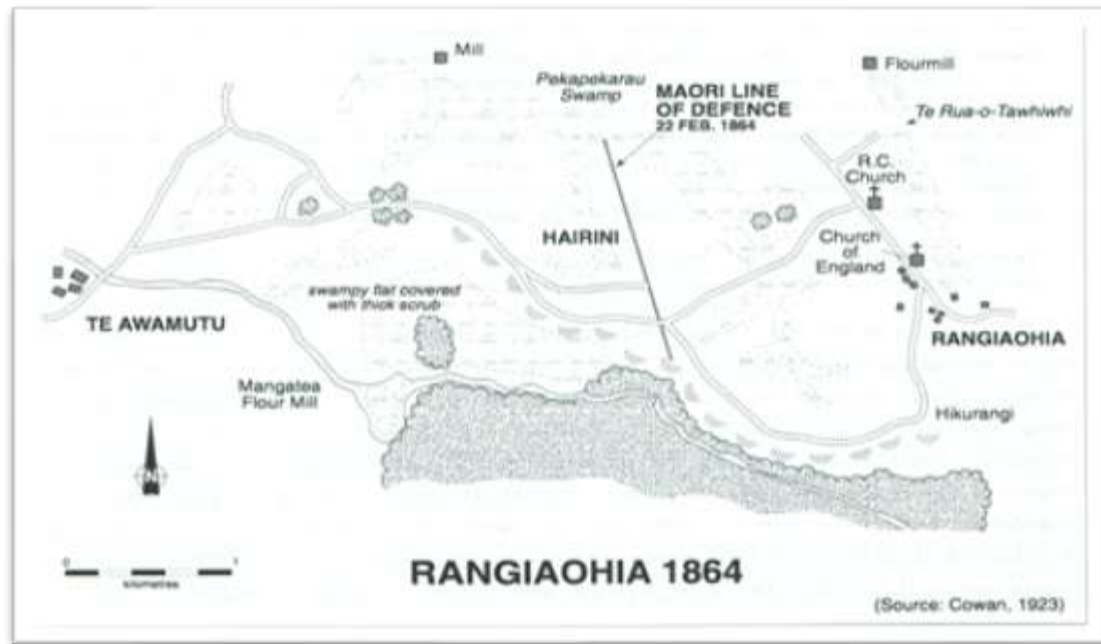
Rangiaowhia – 21 February 1864

44. Accordingly, on Sunday 21 February 1864, the British and New Zealand soldiers unexpectedly invaded the prosperous and peaceful village of Rangiaowhia where non-combatant elderly, women and children were sheltered. Belich stated:
- 44.1. The few people in the place were mainly women and children, but a dozen warriors put up a gallant fight – in which Colonel Nixon was mortally wounded – before being overwhelmed. Having made his presence felt, Cameron withdrew to Te Awamutu to await the Maori reaction.³⁰
45. Men, women and children were killed at Rangiaowhia. General Cameron reported that he detained 21 women and children who were found in Rangiaowhia village.³¹ Other evidence suggests that women were also raped as recorded from the first-hand testimony of Rihi Te Rauparaha who was approximately ten years old at the time of the attack. Ngāti Apakura claimants referred to Rihi's written accounts and recently alleged:
- 45.1. On that night they (the soldiers) killed Māori. They (the soldiers) raped the women all that night until daylight Māori fought from the house against the Pākeha colonel. Then it was set alight.³²
46. The Rangiaowhia survivors then were forcibly dispersed as refugees within their own territory. The rich agricultural lands and resources were subsequently confiscated and the prosperity, identity and well-being of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū depleted overnight.

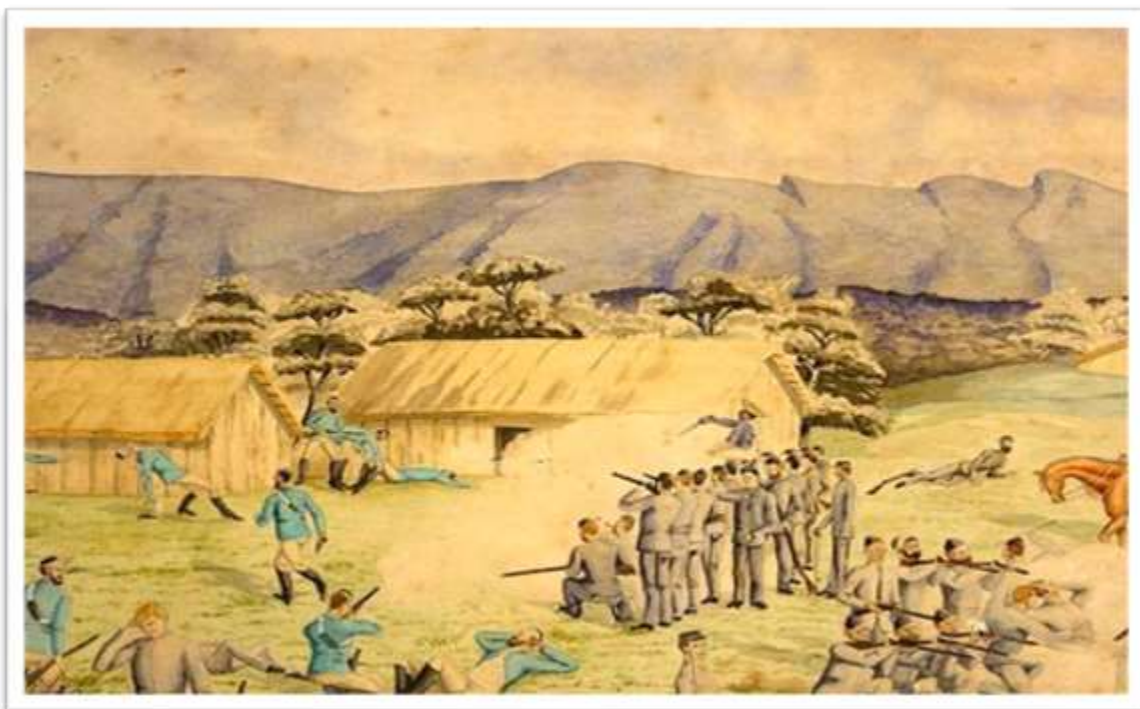
³⁰ Belich, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1986) at 163.

³¹ General Cameron, "The Native Insurrection" in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure no. 26, E-No. 2) at 29, in Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāti Apakura Joint Closing Submissions*, (Wai 898, 1469, 2291, #3.4.228, Bennion Law, Wellington, 24 October 2014) at 45.

³² Wai 898, #P1(a) at 49, in Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāti Apakura Joint Closing Submissions*, (Wai 898, 1469, 2291, #3.4.228, Bennion Law, Wellington, 24 October 2014) at 48. Apparently in March 1927, Rihi Te Rauparaha attempted to retract her observations in a written account to Maui Pomare MP because she and her children were being mistreated for speaking out about the Crown attack. Rihi recorded that she was told to cease talking about the massacre at Rangiaowhia. *Idem*.



Map 2: Rangiaowhia & Hairini 1864³³



Drawing 3: Rangiaowhia Whare where Māori took shelter, which was burned, 1864³⁴

³³ Map, albeit modernized, in Stokes, E, *Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa: A Study of his Life and Times*, (Department of Geography, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1999) at 221. The map originally came from Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 350.

³⁴ Sir George Grey Collection, Auckland Libraries, 7-C2. See also 'The fight at Rangiaowhia [sic] for the recovery of McHale's body,' February 21 1864', by L.A. Wilson. This artist's impression of the fight at Rangiaowhia shows the fall of Colonel Marmaduke Nixon (top, second from left). Captain Thomas McDonnell (left) runs to assist him, while Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron and his staff are shown at right. Houses were set on fire, and five members of the imperial forces and about 12 Kingitanga defenders died. See Cowan, J, *The New Zealand*

Battle of Hairini - 22 February 1864 & the Battle of Ōrākau – 30 March–2 April 1864

47. By the morning of 22 February, the immediate day following the attack on Rangiaowhia, General Cameron's plan to draw the strengthened Kīngitanga forces out of the impregnable Pāterangi Line appeared to have worked where more than 700 Māori were observed travelling along the road from Pāterangi to Rangiaowhia.³⁵ Some of this large body of Māori then re-occupied Rangiaowhia and began entrenching their position on Hairini ridge, about 1 km west of Rangiaowhia. General Cameron's official account noted that some 400 Māori had been present.³⁶ Having learned from Pāterangi, General Cameron decided to attack immediately before the defensive works had progressed too far and he did so at 1.30 pm.
48. James Cowan recorded Kereopa Te Rau's actions to commence the Battle of Hairini as follows:
 - 48.1. Just outside the road gateway at the trenches, a wild figure leaped and brandished a taiaha, yelling defiance at the troops and encouraged his comrades with cries of 'Riria, riria! Patua, patua! (Fight on, fight on! Strike, kill!) This was Kereopa Te Rau.³⁷
49. The British Armstrongs then fired shells into the Māori entrenchments while Māori responded heavily with their double barrel guns. As Armstrong guns pounded the Māori position, the hasty defence appeared to be no match against the concerted attack by General Cameron's troops backed by cavalry and artillery support. A vigorous assault then commenced by the 50th Regiment and its supports. The few Māori hurried back before the leading files of the 50th Regiment could reach them. General Cameron launched his cavalry in pursuit but was checked by volleys of the Māori reserve led by Wiremu Tamehana, the great Ngāti Hauā rangatira.
50. General Cameron stated in his report:
 - 50.1. The natives fell hurriedly back before the leading files of the 50th could reach them with the bayonet, and retired through a swamp in the direction of Mangatautari [sic] road.³⁸
51. Tamihana provided his perspective on Hairini:
 - 51.1. On the night of Sunday, the pas of Paterangi, Puketoke and Awheteki were evacuated. By the time the moon went down we had assembled at Te Raho, and when the morning star arose we were all at the Catholic Church. We cooked some food and when appetites were satisfied, had prayers. After prayers, crossed over to Hairini to Tomo's pa. I proposed that I should lead the van with Ngatihaua, Ngatimarū, and Ngatipaoa; that Ngatiraukawa, Tūwharetoa and

Wars A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period (Vol 1, 1845-1864, R E Owen, Wellington, 1955) at 357.

³⁵ Cameron to Grey, 25 February 1864, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 29.

³⁶ Cameron to Grey, 25 February 1864, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 30.

³⁷ Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol. 1, (1845-1864), Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 359.

³⁸ Cameron to Grey, 25 February 1864, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 30.

Urewera should have the flanks, and Ngatimaniapoto the rear. I preferred that there should be but few to advance in front, to be light, so as not to be eager to fight.

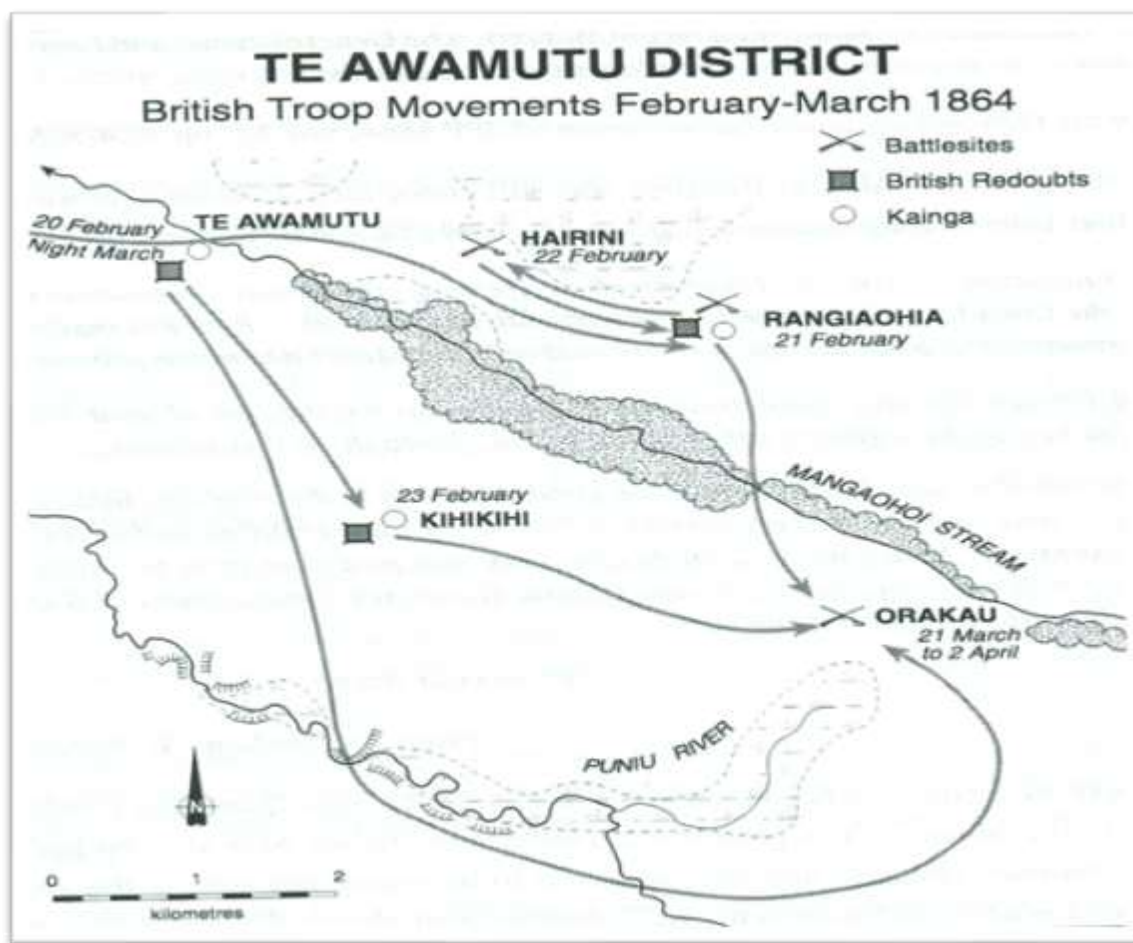
- 51.2. I spoke three times but they would not listen; so Ngatiraukawa took the lead; after them Urewera; after them Tuwharetoa; and after them Ngatimaniapoto. I called out, 'I shall not go with you; I shall stay and make entrenchments with Ngatimaru, Ngatipaoa and Te Aua.' Those tribes went on and came to close quarters; the one with the bayonet and the other with the tomahawk.³⁹

52. Tamihana continued:

- 52.1. 20 Pakehas fell. It was a fight hand to hand. Then came the cavalry and Maori fled. In return Te Rangikaiwhirea, Pakira's sons was killed, also Amitai. The Ngatiraukawa lost two, Te Urewera two. Of Rangiwehewhi, Taikatu was killed by a stray bullet. They now came to our party. I called out: 'Fire' one volley was fired, and every horse was killed, none escaped. There was an end of them. The infantry then charged. Three volleys were poured on them, and that was finished. Another charge was then made, and Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiraukawa and Tuwharetoa fled. My party then retired. Not one was taken, nor a single Ngatipaoa or Ngatimaru. Of Te Aua tribe, Keto Ki Waho was (taken and killed), and Paora Pipi of Ngatitahinga. Ngatiraukawa lost three, Urewera lost two, Tuwharetoa lost one. These were all our dead. As for the Pakehas, they had the bed of death to themselves.⁴⁰

³⁹ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

⁴⁰ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in No. 30) at 40.



Map 3: Rangiaowhia, Hairini, Ōrākau & Surrounding Country showing the British march routes 1864.⁴¹

53. British reports noted that Māori casualties at Hairini did not exceed 30⁴² while Tamehana noted only 9 were killed with 1 wounded and taken prisoner.⁴³ Kaka alleged 25 were killed and 'many wounded and prisoners.'⁴⁴ The British casualties recorded 22 wounded with 2 killed.⁴⁵
54. Belich however, summarised that Hairini was a delay tactic to enable Māori to evacuate the Pāterangi Line and Rangiaowhia with all supplies that could be carried. Hairini

⁴¹ Map, albeit modernized, in Stokes, E, *Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa: A Study of his Life and Times*, (Department of Geography, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1999) at 220 but originally from Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* (Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 364.

⁴² Cameron's Report, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 31-32.

⁴³ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in No. 30) at 40.

⁴⁴ Kaka, K, 'A New History of the Maori War' in *Wanganui Herald*, (Vol. XIX, Issue 5280, 9 February 1884) at 2. It is acknowledged that some caution needs to be taken on the evidence provided by Kowhai Ngutu Kaka. According to Wood, Kowhai Ngutu Kaka was a pseudonym for Thomas McDonnell writing a novel perspective of a Māori view of the New Zealand Wars as a Māori warrior in 'Maori History: Being a Native Account of Pakeha-Maori Wars in New Zealand,' in Gudgeon, T, *Defenders of New Zealand*, (Brett Printing & Publishing, Auckland, 1887). Refer to Wood, G, 'Revisiting James Cowan: A Reassessment of The New Zealand Wars (1922-23),' (Master of Philosophy Thesis, Massey University, Albany, Auckland, New Zealand, 2010) at 91.

⁴⁵ Cameron's Report, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 31-32.

enabled Māori to get all the people, guns and ammunition out safely. Hairini allowed the Māori warriors to break up but not lose coherence. Rewi Maniapoto and his division of troops then withdrew south of the Pūniu River and Wiremu Tamehana and his division retreated to Maungatautari. General Cameron then occupied the Rangiaowhia district and prepared to move against Wiremu Tamehana but before doing so, Ōrākau beckoned.

55. Briefly, the Battle of Ōrākau⁴⁶ was fought near Kihikihi, Te Awamutu, in the Waikato, from 31 March to 2 April 1864 by a contingent of approximately 1,700 seasoned British Imperial and colonial soldiers (including cavalry and artillery units) against 300 Māori (including women and children) led by Rewi Manga Maniapoto. The Māori contingent consisted of members from Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Te Kohera, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Rongowhakaata, among other tribes. James Cowan was a well-known New Zealand historian whose writings on Māori history favoured Māori oral testimony.⁴⁷ James Cowan went to great lengths to record and uphold the finer details of the Battle of Ōrākau and other New Zealand battles as iconic events in New Zealand's colonial history.⁴⁸
56. The Battle of Ōrākau in March-April 1864, although an important event in the Waikato War campaign, is, with respect, too remote to be included for groupings who were immediately affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia. For the purposes of this report, the focus is on those groups who were either present at the attack on Rangiaowhia or who were immediately affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia, which in the author's opinion includes Hairini but excludes Ōrākau. Furthermore, Te Arawhiti is already dealing with Māori groupings with interests in the Battle of Ōrākau, which is the other main reason I have omitted further discussion in the report.
57. The significance of the Battle of Hairini for the purposes of this report then, is the fact that it was fought as a direct consequence of the British attack on Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 which resulted in whānau loss of life, physical injuries, damage to property, harm to tribal unity, some displacement, poverty, prolonged mamae, social stigma and trauma that have transcended generations.

⁴⁶ For what is probably considered the most detailed account of the Battle of Ōrākau, see Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol. 1, (1845-1864), Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 366; Cowan, J, "Famous New Zealanders — No. 5 — Rewi Maniapoto — The Story of Orakau" *The New Zealand Railways Magazine* (Volume 8, Issue 4, 1 August 1933) at 25; Major Gilbert Mair "Capture of Orakau Pa" *Evening Post* (Vol. LXXXIV, Issue 2, 12, 13 July 1912) at 5; Hitiri Te Paerata *Description of the Battle of Orakau as Given by the Native Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngāti Raukawa Tribe* (At the Parliamentary Buildings, 4 August 1888, Government Printer, Wellington, Interpreter — Capt. Gilbert Mair) at 3–7; Rewi Maniapoto "The Battle of Orakau: A Maori version of a stubborn fight, an interesting reminiscence" *Otago Daily Times* (Issue 8284, 10 September 1888) at 4–10; and Joseph, R and Meredith P, *The Battle of Ōrākau: Māori Veteran's Accounts Commemorating the 150th Anniversary 1864-2014* (Battle of Orakau Heritage Society and the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, Waikato Print, University of Waikato, 2014).

⁴⁷ See Hilliard, C, "James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History" in *New Zealand Journal of History* (Vol. 31, No. 2, 1997) at 219 and Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol. 1, (1845-1864), Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983).

⁴⁸ Cowan, J, "The Survivors" *Auckland Star* (New Zealand, 29 August 1931) at 8. See also Cowan, J, "Famous New Zealanders — No. 5 — Rewi Maniapoto — The Story of Orakau" *The New Zealand Railways Magazine* (New Zealand, 1 August 1933).

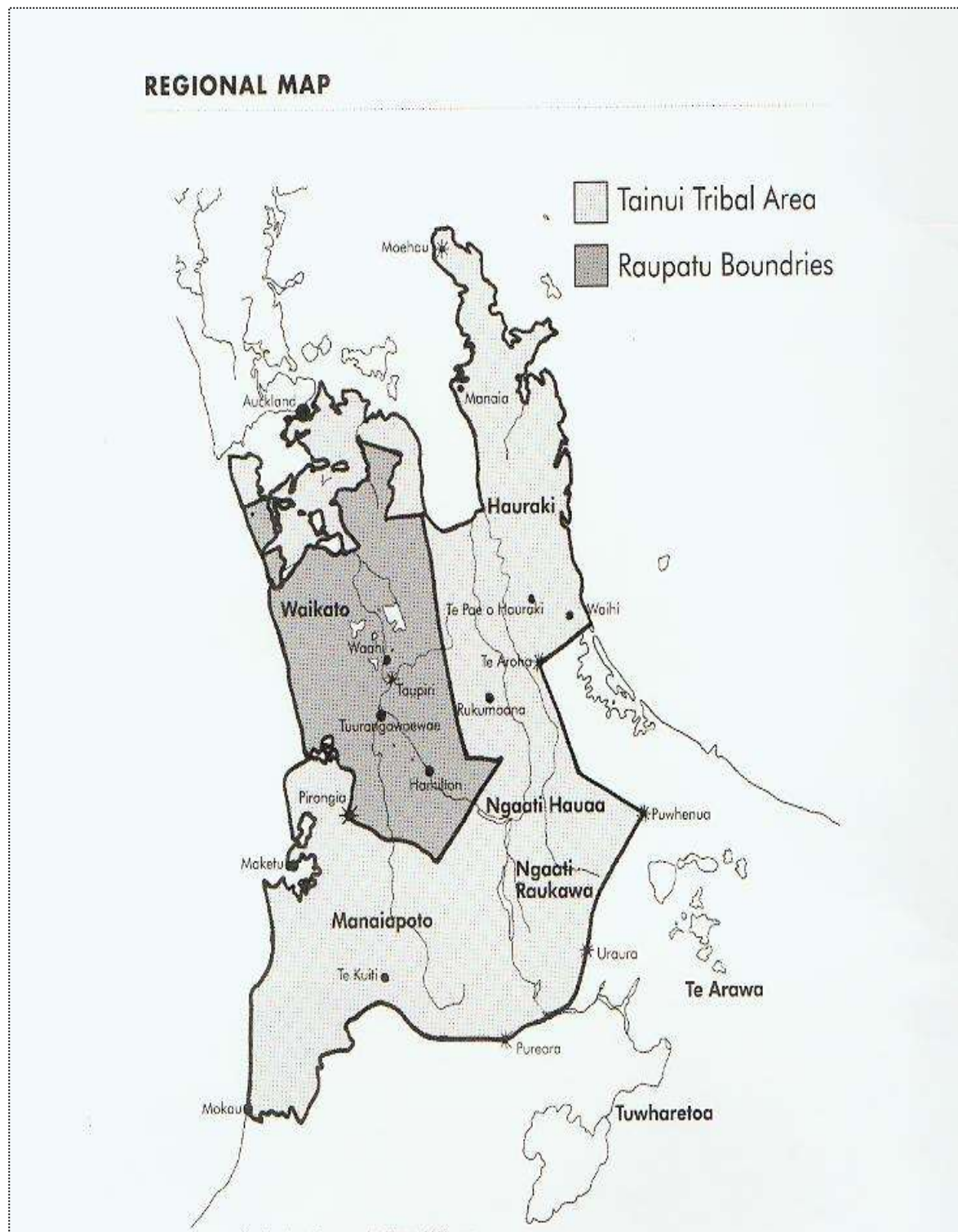
58. The next section will briefly expand on some of the negative impacts of these battles in more detail.

Broader Impacts following the Attacks on Pāterangi, Rangiaowhia, Hairini and Ōrākau

59. Following the Battles of Pāterangi, Rangiaowhia, Hairini and Ōrākau in 1864, the whole of the central Waikato and the fertile plain of the delta between the Waipa and the Waikato Rivers were now under British occupation. General Cameron left detachments to garrison Te Rore, Pikopiko, Pāterangi (ironically), Pukerimu and Kirikiriroa, the latter becoming the present city of Hamilton. The gunboats *Pioneer* and *Koheroa* steamed up the Waikato River for the first time on 2 March 1864 with a detachment of the 65th, and anchored below the deserted Māori settlement of Kirikiriroa. The next day the *Koheroa* ascended the strong river as far as Pukerimu (near present day Cambridge), and the officers and surveyors on board made a rapid reconnaissance of the country. There were nearly five thousand Imperial and Colonial troops distributed in the occupied territory; the greater number encamped at Te Awamutu, where the army spent the winter of 1864.
60. With the British invasion of the Waikato in 1864 somewhat complete, and the subsequent advancement of troops into the Waikato and Waipā areas, Ngāti Apakura and other Tainui tribes were driven from their land which was subsequently confiscated (raupatu) under the auspices of the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 and its companion the New Zealand Settlement Act 1864.
61. A newspaper reported in 1864 the consequences of the Waikato War campaign for Ngāti Apakura and other tribes, which included loss of lands, cultivations and severely depleted supplies with the ensuing winter almost upon Māori.⁴⁹ James Fitzgerald, local Christchurch politician, described the raupatu land confiscations as ‘an enormous crime’ in 1864 with the impacts being desperate and hopeless for Māori with their lands gone, their race melting away, and the enemy surrounding them on all sides.⁵⁰
62. The loss of land through war and raupatu for Ngāti Apakura and the other tribal groups then had devastating impacts on these whānau, hapū and iwi as a people throughout the generations. In short, the attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 and subsequent raupatu land confiscations had a hugely crippling impact upon the identity, welfare, wellbeing, economy and potential development of Ngāti Apakura and other hapū and iwi, which has transcended down throughout the generations.
63. Specifically for Ngāti Apakura as mana whenua of Rangiaowhia and elsewhere, they were forcefully ejected from their thriving and peaceful whenua that once provided shelter, security, safety, support, sanctuary and economic prosperity and were dispersed to the four winds having nowhere to return to. The crippling impact of these Treaty of Waitangi grievances continue to be felt and experienced by many of these whānau, hapū and iwi groups today but especially for Ngāti Apakura as mana whenua of Rangiaowhia where the carnage occurred.

⁴⁹ *Inveniam viam aut faciam*’ in *Otago Daily Times* (Issue 690, 4 March 1864) at 4.

⁵⁰ James Edward Fitzgerald in *Christchurch Press* (16 April 1864) cited in Stowers, R, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand Wars* (R Stowers, Hamilton, 1996) at 113.



Map 4: Tainui Waka Map & Raupatu Land Confiscations following the Waikato War Campaign 1865⁵¹

⁵¹ Tainui Maori Trust Board, *Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Summary*, (Tainui Maori Trust Board, Hamilton 1996).

64. To commence our analysis of those other whānau, hapū and iwi groups, in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, who suffered from and were immediately affected by the attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864, it is appropriate to also acknowledge the mana whenua of Rangiaowhia at the time - Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū – who, along with their numerous hapū and iwi relations, suffered from the said events. To this end, Appendix 4 provides quite a detailed census table of the population of the Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū Rangiaowhia community in 1858, which 600 or more Māori ultimately suffered from the attack by either being killed, taken prisoner or forced out of their much-loved Rangiaowhia homeland by the British and colonial soldiers.
65. It is also important to acknowledge here and in Appendix 5 the close tribal whakapapa relationships of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū of Rangiaowhia to their Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto kin who intermarried and, to fulfil kinship responsibilities, fought together in numerous battles, including against the British during the Waikato War campaign.
66. Appendix 6 provides a further list of some of the Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto whānau and hapū who were present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack on 21 February 1864.
67. Now to the other whānau, hapū and iwi groups who were present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack on 21 February 1864.

B) Whānau, Hapū and Iwi present during the Attack at Rangiaowhia

68. The following analysis provides a discussion to ascertain which other whānau, hapū or iwi were present during the British attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864 and briefly, what they suffered as a result of the Crown attack.
69. One important caveat here is the official British historical account, which recorded that Rangiaowhia was largely deserted at the time the British troops arrived. According to General Cameron's official report, he found Rangiaowhia settlement 'nearly deserted' when he noted:
 - 69.1. The few natives who were in the place were completely taken by surprise, and refusing to lay down their arms, fired on the Mounted Royal Artillery and Colonial Defence Force, whom I sent on in advance of the column. The natives were quickly dispersed, and the greater part escaped, but a few of them taking shelter in a whare, made a desperate resistance, until the Forest Rangers and a company of the 65th Regiment surrounded the whare, which was set on fire, and the defenders either killed or taken prisoner.⁵²
70. Although accounts maintain that Rangiaowhia was almost deserted, William Johns of Auckland, a veteran of the No. 1 Company of Forest Rangers, who was also present at

⁵² Cameron to Grey, 25 February 1864, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 29. Refer to Appendix 7 for the prisoner list.

the attack stated: ‘there were not more than 200 Maoris altogether in Rangiaowhia that day, but they fought well, and had plenty of ammunition.’⁵³

71. To ascertain with some accuracy which other whānau, hapū or iwi groups were present during the British attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864, it is important to try to first assess how many people were at Rangiaowhia – was the village ‘nearly deserted’ as Cameron reported⁵⁴ or were approximately 200 Māori in the village as Forest Ranger William Johns stated?⁵⁵ Given the Māori population of Pāterangi at its height was approximately 2,000 warriors⁵⁶ while Fenton’s 1858 census for Rangiaowhia mentioned over 600 people,⁵⁷ nearly 200 people during the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia village is much less but not ‘nearly deserted.’
72. For the purposes of the report, we will acknowledge that the approximate number at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack was almost 200 Māori, which is important for, inter alia, ascertaining who else was present during the attack. The approximate 200 Māori present at the village is also important for ascertaining the casualty rate which is important for the report in terms of trying to clarify what harms were suffered by the Ngāti Apakura Ngāti Hinetū, Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Maniapoto and other whānau, hapū and iwi groups present at the attack. The casualty rate of the Rangiaowhia attack varies depending upon which source one relies on. Official British sources somewhat consistently refer to 12 Māori killed at Rangiaowhia but do not refer to gender or age.⁵⁸ Some unofficial accounts on the other hand, place the casualty rate much higher, one Australian newspaper report even suggesting as high as 103 bodies being discovered after the event.⁵⁹
73. Furthermore, we know from the research that the Māori population at Pāterangi of 2,000 or more warriors was made up of a number of diverse whānau, hapū and iwi members who may have left some of their whānau at the non-combatant sanctuary village of Rangiaowhia for safety.
74. Nevertheless, as alluded to above, ascertaining with certainty, which other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack has proven to be very challenging.
75. Still, from probing through the available resources and evidence, we did uncover possibly six other iwi or hapū groups present at Rangiaowhia village during the 1864 Crown attack. These six iwi with associated hapū and some alleged whānau members

⁵³ Chapter VII: ‘The Capture of Rangiaowhia’ in Cowan, J, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the Story of the Waipa Valley* (The Waipa Post Printing and Publishing Company Ltd, Te Awamutu, New Zealand, 1922) at 40-47.

⁵⁴ Cameron to Grey, 25 February 1864, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 29.

⁵⁵ Chapter VII: ‘The Capture of Rangiaowhia’ in Cowan, J, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the Story of the Waipa Valley* (The Waipa Post Printing and Publishing Company Ltd, Te Awamutu, New Zealand, 1922) at 40-47.

⁵⁶ Belich, J, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1986) at 161.

⁵⁷ Fenton, F, ‘List of the Tribes and Hapus of the Waikato District,’ in *AJHR* (1860, B-No.9 – F-No.3) at 146-149. Digitised and available online at: https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/fenton-observations-aboriginal-inhabitants-nz/fenton-observations-aboriginal-inhabitants-nz.html#idtable_1_3114 (Accessed May 2021).

⁵⁸ Cameron to Grey, 25 February 1864, *AJHR*, (1864, E-3) at 29. Rangatira burned in the whare included Hoani Papita Pungarehu and Ihaia. Refer to Rangiaowhia and Hairini notes, James Cowan Papers, (MS-Papers-0039-41C, ATL) and O’Malley, V, *Te Rohe Potae War and Raupatu*, (Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010) at 117.

⁵⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, (19 April 1864).

being present in Rangiaowhia village during the Crown attack appeared to include the following groupings:

- 75.1. Ngāti Raukawa;
- 75.2. Ngāti Tūwharetoa;
- 75.3. Ngāti Hauā;
- 75.4. Ngāti Rangiwewehi;
- 75.5. Ngāi Tūhoe; and
- 75.6. possibly Ngāti Kauwhata;

Ngāti Raukawa

- 76. The references on Ngāti Raukawa members being present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack are few and brief but indicate that at least Hitiri Te Paerata from Ngāti Te Kohera was present. Hitiri Te Paerata simply recorded in his detailed account of the Battle of Ōrākau in 1888: 'Before Orakau I took part in the fights at Rangiaohia and Paterangi.'⁶⁰ Cowan recorded that Te Retimana of Ngāti Wairangi was a principle gunner at Meremere and Pāterangi but is unclear whether he was at Rangiaowhia.⁶¹ Some Ngāti Raukawa members however, were taken prisoner following the Rangiaowhia attack including Rema Pihaua, Eria Morea, Te Raore Te Waihaere and Te Haiaua Ngakupa.⁶² The prisoner list stated the name, iwi and battle where Māori were taken prisoner.
- 77. From the brief resources available, it appears that Ngāti Raukawa whānau members were present at Rangiaowhia which is also acknowledged in the 2012 Raukawa Deed of Settlement in clauses 2.22 and 2.23 which state:
 - 77.1. While some Raukawa appear to have participated in the conflict in 1863, it was not until 1864 when Crown forces reached the Raukawa rohe near Cambridge, Rangiaowhia, and Pāterangi, that significant numbers of Raukawa fought as a tribe. It is likely that Raukawa helped build defences at Pāterangi, but Crown forces bypassed those defences. Instead, on 20 February 1864, the Crown attacked Rangiaowhia, an unfortified agricultural settlement that was supplying the Kīngitanga forces with food. About 100 men alongside women and children were at Rangiaowhia when the attack began. Some Raukawa were present,

⁶⁰ Te Paerata, H, *An Account of the Battle of Orakau by the Maori Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngati Raukawa Tribe* (Interpreter Captain Gilbert Mair, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, G Didsbury Government Printer, 4 August 1888) at 11.

⁶¹ Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol 1, 1845-1864, R E Owen, Wellington, 1955) at 344-346. Te Hiko also briefly mentioned Ngāti Raukawa being present at Rangiaowhia in Te Hiko, N, *Raukawa Traditional History Report*, (Report Commissioned for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Raukawa Trust Board, July 2010) at 241, 254, 266, 267.

⁶² White, T.A, 'List of Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau, etc and now on board the Hulk Marion,' (Item R22396823, Box 3, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, no date). Refer to Appendix 7.

among them Hitiri Te Paerata who later recorded that young men of Raukawa were killed at Rangiaowhia and Hairini.⁶³

78. From the available references then, it is apparent that some Ngāti Raukawa members were present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack; some lost their lives, while others may have suffered physical injuries, trauma, and possibly a diminution of status from being taken prisoner.

Ngāti Tūwharetoa

79. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Tūwharetoa at Rangiaowhia are similarly few and brief. The late esteemed historian Dr Angela Ballara recorded that Ngāti Tūwharetoa played an important role at Rangiaowhia but did not specify what role.⁶⁴ Dr Ballara relied on the intercepted letter of Wiremu Tamehana dated 28 February 1864 – a week after the Crown attack.⁶⁵ James Cowan also recorded that Rawiri Te Rangihirawaea, Nui and Te Rangitoheriri were part of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa contingent in the Waikato at the time.⁶⁶ The 1864 Māori prisoners list in Appendix 7 however, does not reference any Ngāti Tūwharetoa from Rangiaowhia.⁶⁷
80. From these brief sources, it appears that some Ngāti Tūwharetoa whānau members were present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack which is also acknowledged in the 2018 Ngāti Tūwharetoa Deed of Settlement, clause 2.21 which states:
- 80.1. Between 1863 and 1864, many Ngāti Tūwharetoa hapū participated in the Waikato War and fought variously at Meremere, Rangiriri, Patumahoe, Hairini, and Rangiaowhia. A number of Ngāti Tūwharetoa lost their lives in these battles.⁶⁸

Ngāti Hauā

81. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Hauā at Rangiaowhia indicate that some of their elderly, women and children were present. Wiremu Tamehana's 1868 letter also implies possible loss of life when he lamented:

⁶³ Raukawa and Raukawa Settlement Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (2 June 2012) clause 2.22.

⁶⁴ Ballara, A, 'Tribal Landscape Overview, c.1800-1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park Inquiry,' (Evidence, Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Waitangi Tribunal, September 2004) at 452. 'Letter of Wiremu Tamehana to Rawiri and others,' (28 February 1864) in *AJHR*, (1864, E-No. 30) at 40. Other contemporary authors briefly refer to Tūwharetoa being at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack such as Carolyn M. King, Neville A. Ritchie "The European Impact: Exploration to Conflict, 1840-1890" in Carolyn M. King, D. John Gaukrodger & Neville A. Ritchie (eds) *The Drama of Conservation. The History of Pureora Forest*, New Zealand (Springer International Publishing, New Zealand Department of Conservation, 2015) at 67-88.

⁶⁵ 'Letter of Wiremu Tamehana to Rawiri and others,' (28 February 1864) in *AJHR*, (1864, E-No. 30) at 40.

⁶⁶ Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol 1, 1845-1864, R E Owen, Wellington, 1955) at 374.

⁶⁷ Refer to Appendix 7.

⁶⁸ Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Kotahitanga o Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims* (8 July 2017), clause 2.21. Clause 2.22 elaborates further on the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia.

- 81.1. The women and children were left at [Rangiaowhia]. The gathering of the men was at Paterangi. During the night the troops moved into Rangiaowhia, where they burned the houses, and the children with their mothers, and the women were pierced by the bayonet. For this, indignation of the Maoris has been aroused, and houses of Europeans have been burned, but not at Waikato. All the Maoris continually look on at these things. From these doings the hidden things have become manifest, namely good and evil.⁶⁹
82. Wiremu Tamehana also recorded in a discussion with James Mackay:
- 82.1. My hand did not strike the Pakeha during the war until the battle at Hairini; then for the first time my hand struck, my anger being great about my dead, murdered and burnt with fire at Rangiaohia.⁷⁰
83. The 2013 Ngāti Hauā Deed of Settlement recorded the presence of Ngāti Hauā people being present at Rangiaowhia when it was attacked by the Crown in clauses 2.51 - 2.53 which state:
- 83.1. A chain of defensive pā had been constructed at Pāterangi, but the British bypassed these and instead attacked the unfortified agricultural settlement of Rangiaowhia at dawn on 21 February 1864. Some men alongside women and children were at Rangiaowhia when the attack began. It appears that women and children from Te Tiki o Te Ihingārangi and other pā had been sent to Rangiaowhia for their own protection prior to the British attack on the settlement.
- 83.2. ... The British attack on Rangiaowhia was a source of much anguish for Wiremu Tamehana and other Kīngitanga leaders, who understood it should be a place of refuge for women, children and the elderly.⁷¹
84. The cited evidence for Ngāti Hauā members being present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack is clear and, it appears, they suffered loss of life, physical injuries, and harm to tribal unity and trauma.

Ngāti Rangiwewehi

85. The references on the involvement of the Te Rau whānau of Ngāti Rangiwewehi at Rangiaowhia are strong and indicate that Kereopa Te Rau's wife and one or two daughters were killed in the burned whare.⁷² John Grace recorded that the victims of

⁶⁹ 'Important Letter from the King Party' in *Daily Southern Cross* (Vol XXIV, Issue 3437, 22 July 1868) at 2.

⁷⁰ *GBPP* (1865, Vol 14) at 141.

⁷¹ Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the Trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Non-Raupatu Historical Claims*, (18 July 2013) clauses 2.51-2.53.

⁷² See for example, Historical Review, 'Kereopa's Utu,' Historical Review, in *Journal of the Whakatane and District Historical Society*, (Volume XIII, Wellington, May 1975) (Originally published in Historical Review, Volume XIII (2), November 1974) at 40; Vincent O'Malley, 'Frontier Justice? The Trial and Execution of Kereopa Te Rau,' in *History Works, Wellington*, (Vol. 120, 2011) at 183-191. http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/docs/Volume120/JPS_120_2_07.pdf (Accessed 30 July 2021); New Zealand History. (n.d.), *Kereopa Te Rau*. Ministry for Culture and Heritage, (Updated 12 November 2020), online at <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/kereopa-te-rau> (Accessed 30 July 2021). Te Kahautu Maxwell, "Te Tarata" in *Te Kōtitihihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori*, (Vol. 4, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, Hamilton, 2017) at 118–120.

the burned whare included two daughters of Kereopa Te Rau.⁷³ Dr Ranginui Walker concurred that those killed in the burning whare included Kereopa's two daughters.⁷⁴

86. The Tainui tribal expert Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones stated of Kereopa Te Rau:

86.1. Kereopa was a lay reader of the Rangiaohia Anglican Church.... It was built by the Maoris - Among those who perished at Rangiaohia was the wife and only child of Kereopa - a daughter upon whom he doted. ... Roore [Erueti said] that Kereopa became mentally unbalanced on account of the tragic death of his wife and daughter, and that he was an insane man when he wandered away from Rangiaohia, finally reaching Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty district.⁷⁵

87. Associate Professor Te Kahautu Maxwell of Waikato University also recorded some of the tribal oral accounts of Kereopa's whānau at Rangiaowhia when he opined:

87.1. "... i kōhurutia tana wahine me āna tamāhine tokorua ki te whare karakia i Rangiaowhia ki roto o Tainui. Nara i pau a Ngāti Apakura ki te mate ki roto i te ahi, i tahuna te whare karakia e ngā hoia me te iwi o Ngāti Apakura ki roto. Ā i patua anō tana tamāhine hoki ki te pakanga i Hairini. Koia rā tā Kereopa he rānaki i te mate o tana whānau i pau i te ahi nukarau a te Karauna. Nā tēnei patunga i a Te Wākana i riro ai te 250,000 eka o Te Whakatōhea. ... Ko te kōhuru i a Te Whakatōhea me āna tamariki, āna mokopuna, ko te tāwharona i ngā tāne, i ngā wāhine, ko te ekeeke kino te rarahu i ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki kōtiro, tāne hoki. Mutu ana te rarahu ko te kōhuru i a rātou ki te pū, ki te mata o te pēneti ko te tahu rānei. ... Ko te parekura nui tēnei o Te Whakatōhea, ko te kōhuru i tō mātou katoa, tō mātou ao, tō mātou wairua, tō mātou hinengaro, tō mātou tinana o Te Whakatōhea mō te mate kotahi a te tangata kotahi.⁷⁶

87.2. 'Kereopa's wife and 2 daughters were murdered in the church at Rangiaowhia in Tainui. Ngāti Apakura died in the fire, the soldiers burnt the whare karakia with Ngāti Apakura inside. Another daughter was killed in the battle at Hairini after Rangiaowhia. These events led to his vengeance against the deceptions of the Crown and the killing of Volkner. Volkner received 250,000 acres of Te Whakatōhea. These events led to the destruction and annihilation of Te Whakatōhea - women and children were raped and poorly mistreated, the iwi was murdered - shot, stabbed, burnt. The greatest calamity for Te Whakatōhea was the destruction of their world, their wairua, mind and bodies - all caused from the murder of one, by one.'⁷⁷

88. The 2012 Ngāti Rangiwewehi Deed of Settlement similarly acknowledged in clause 2.36:

⁷³ Grace, J.T, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 415, 419.

⁷⁴ Walker, R, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1990) at 124.

⁷⁵ Jones, P. TH, 'Extracts from letters by [T. S. Grace] to the Rev. C. C. Fenn, Secretary, [C.M.S], London' in *Bishop Selwyn- Biography, 3H1/1 Religion 1948-1972*, (Inventory of Pei Te Hurinui Jones Papers 1849 to 1975, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand) at 4-5.

⁷⁶ Te Kahautu Maxwell, "Te Tarata" in *Te Kōtiriti: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori*, 4 (Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, 2017) at 118.

⁷⁷ Translation by Ms Ngāwaiata Henderson, one of the report researchers, University of Waikato, July 2021.

- 88.1. Kereopa Te Rau was a member of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. ... During the 1850s Kereopa served as a policeman in Auckland. In 1862 he attended a Kīngitanga hui, where he called for roads into the Waikato to be closed. On 21 February 1864, Crown forces attacked and burned the Waikato village of Rangiaowhia. At the time of the attack there were many women and children at the settlement and the wife and daughter of Kereopa were among those killed.⁷⁸
89. The available references then are clear that two to three Te Rau whānau members of Ngāti Rangiwewehi were present during the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia.

Ngāi Tūhoe

90. Some very brief references allude to Ngāi Tūhoe and perhaps some of its hapū (although it is acknowledged some may disagree with such groupings being termed Ngāi Tūhoe hapū) being present at Rangiaowhia when the Crown attacked the village in 1864.⁷⁹ The Ngāi Tūhoe hapū may have included Ngāti Haka, Ngakorau and Patuheuheu. Although the references focus more on these Ngāi Tūhoe groupings being involved at Hairini and Ōrākau, compelling evidence substantiating a Ngāi Tūhoe presence at Rangiaowhia when the Crown attacked occurred was the prisoner list following the attack which included Enoka Ngahukura, Hohepa Whakai, Hopi Te Hamanu and Puaha Te Wharewhakatea who were listed as being captured at Rangiaowhia and were from Te Urewera – the rohe of Ngāi Tūhoe.⁸⁰
91. More evidence is provided below to substantiate that Ngāi Tūhoe were directly affected by the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia in February 1864.

Ngāti Kauwhata

92. The references on Ngāti Kauwhata whānau members being present at Rangiaowhia are less compelling. Tait, a Ngāti Kauwhata claimant in the Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry in 2013 for example, asserted:
- 92.1. The Waikato War brought members of Ngāti Kauwhata from the Manawatu to the Waikato, to aid their whanaunga at Rangiaowhia and Orakau. We know Te Kawa was definitely in the Waikato at the time of the Waikato Wars. His son Takena Te Kawa made the following statement to the 1881 Kauwhata Claims Commission: ‘I am of Ngāti Kauwhata. I am from Hinepare [hapū]. My father is dead. I was born at Rangiaowhia. Te Kawa, my father was with the emigrants to Kapiti. ... my father lived at Kapiti, but he returned and died at Rangiaowhia. ... My father died at the time of the war against the Europeans. He might have died at Rangiaowhia. Three brothers of mine returned here with Potatau. They remained here until they died. ... Haunui and Porokuru went afterwards. When

⁷⁸ Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (16 December 2012), clause 2.36.

⁷⁹ See for example the intercepted ‘Letter of Wiremu Tamehana to Rawiri and others,’ (28 February 1864) in *AJHR*, (1864, E-No. 4) at 40; Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol 1, 1845-1864, R E Owen, Wellington, 1955) at 357.

⁸⁰ White, T.A, ‘List of Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau, etc and now on board the Hulk Marion,’ (Item R22396823, Box 3, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, no date). See Appendix 7.

Porokuru and Haunui returned, my parents and friends returned with them and lived and died at Rangiaowhia.⁸¹

93. Tait relied on Takena Te Kawa's evidence in the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Claims Commission, which was held in Cambridge. However, Takena Te Kawa's evidence implies some uncertainty for Ngāti Kauwhata, or more specifically, for his father Te Kawa, being present and killed during the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia. Takena stated in his evidence:

93.1. I was born at Rangiaowhia. Te Kawa ... my father lived at Kapiti, but he returned and died at Rangiaowhia. Visits were interchanged between this [Cambridge area] and Kapiti – some even returned and died here.⁸²

94. Takena added:

94.1. My father died about the time of the Waikato war against the Europeans. He might have died at Rangiaowhia. I left him there. ... my parents and friends returned ... and lived and died at Rangiaowhia.⁸³

95. Takena's firm assertion that his father died at Rangiaowhia during the Waikato War was compromised when he later stated: 'He might have died at Rangiaowhia.' Furthermore, Takena's assertion that his 'parents and friends returned, lived and died at Rangiaowhia' is also inconclusive for ascertaining that they were actually present when the village was attacked by Crown troops or they may have died prior to the event but during the Waikato campaign.

96. Tait added:

96.1. I haven't found any conclusive evidence about where Te Kawa died. ... it is likely that Te Kawa died at Rangiaowhia ... I am unsure whether he died at Rangiaowhia the settlement or whether he stayed and died at Orakau. It is possible he was a casualty at Rangiaowhia, Orakau or at the battle of Hairini which took place in between. I think it is likely that other Ngāti Kauwhata were present at Rangiaowhia as well.⁸⁴

97. Historian Peter McBurney similarly recorded in his 2013 Ngāti Kauwhata report:

97.1. The events at Rangiaowhia took place within the core territory of Ngāti Kauwhata, and constitute, arguably the gravest atrocity committed by government forces in the entire Waikato campaign. While it has not been possible to identify any Ngāti Kauwhata individuals among the defenders of Rangiaowhia and Orākau, the Ngāti Kauwhata hapū of Werokoukou were present at the latter engagement, so it is reasonable to assume that their tāne

⁸¹ Tait, D, in Waitangi Tribunal, 'Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry,' Hearing Week Four, 8 to 12 April 2013 (Wai 898 #4.1.10, Mangakotukutuku Campus, Glenview, 8-12 April 2013) at 1474.

⁸² Takena Te Kawa Evidence in 'Ngatikauwhata Claims Commission,' in *AJHR* (Vol. 2, 1881, G-2A) at 9-10.

⁸³ Takena Te Kawa Evidence in 'Ngatikauwhata Claims Commission,' in *AJHR* (Vol. 2, 1881, G-2A) at 9-10.

⁸⁴ Koroheke Tait, D, in Waitangi Tribunal, *Brief of Evidence of Donald Koroheke Tait*. (WAI 898, 972, # K1, Morrison Kent Lawyers, Wellington and Auckland, 11 March 2013) at 43.

formed part of the garrison of the Pāterangi fort complex, and that their women sought refuge with the other Kīngitanga non-combatants at Rangiaowhia.⁸⁵

98. Ngāti Kauwhata claimants moreover, mentioned the late Ngāti Raukawa tribal researcher, Nigel Te Hiko, who referred to the Ngāti Kauwhata rangatira Tapa Te Whata surrendering his weapons to the Crown in the Manawatū area after the Waikato campaign.⁸⁶ The lawyers for Ngāti Kauwhata held that Te Whata's surrendering in the Manawatū region was indicative of his fighting in the Waikato campaign. The lawyers then concluded:

98.1. Ngāti Kauwhata people were in the Rohe Pōtae at the time of the wars and since their ancestral lands were around Rangiaowhia, it is highly likely that Ngāti Kauwhata people were present at both Ōrākau and Rangiaowhia.⁸⁷

99. With respect, assuming Ngāti Werokoukou's presence at Ōrākau implies that Ngāti Kauwhata were also present at Pāterangi and Rangiaowhia is not clear evidence that they were present. In a similar manner, the inference that Te Whata's surrendering in the Manawatū region as being indicative that he likely fought in the Waikato campaign at Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau is also inconclusive and unconvincing circumstantial evidence for Ngāti Kauwhata to claim their tūpuna were present during the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864. More credible evidence is required.

Summary

100. Table 1 below provides more detail on each of these iwi with some of their associated hapū and whānau being present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack. Table 1 includes three columns - the first enunciating the specific iwi at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack. Column 2 provides associated hapū groupings where available, while column 3 lists the names of individual tribal members who were recorded as being present at the village during the attack. In some of the evidence, it was difficult at times to exclude Waikato, Maniapoto and Apakura whānau, hapū and even iwi, and to only enunciate other tribal groupings but I have differentiated between both groups as required in our report terms of reference. In some situations, our researchers' uncovered individuals present who I have deliberately included in the tables to personalise the analysis more, which may prove to be invaluable, for example, to some whānau who may not have been aware that their tūpuna was present at Rangiaowhia when the attack occurred.
101. Table 1 below then presents some of the key other whānau, hapū and iwi groups for the first objective of the research report and who should be actively engaged with to reach a reconciliation agreement with Ngāti Apakura.

⁸⁵ McBurney, P, 'Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi Interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae District Report, (Crown Forestry Rental Trust Report, WAI 2200, #A178, WAI 898 #A120, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2013) at 148.

⁸⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, 'Closing Submissions on behalf of the Wai 972 Claimants' in *The Waitangi Tribunal Te Rohe Potae Inquiry* (District (WAI 898, 972, #3.4.134, Morrison Kent Lawyers, Wellington and Auckland, 17 October 2014) at 47.

⁸⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, 'Closing Submissions on behalf of the Wai 972 Claimants' in *The Waitangi Tribunal Te Rohe Potae Inquiry* (District (WAI 898, 972, #3.4.134, Morrison Kent Lawyers, Wellington and Auckland, 17 October 2014) at 16.

Table 1: Other Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Present During the Attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864

Iwi at Rangiaowhia when the Attack Occurred	Hapū at Rangiaowhia when the Attack Occurred	Iwi, Hapū & Whānau Individuals Present at Rangiaowhia
1) NGĀTI RAUKAWA	Ngāti Te Kohera Ngāti Wairangi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rema Pihaua - Te Raore Te Waihaere - Te Haiaua Ngakupa - Eria Morea - Hitiri Te Paerata - Te Retimana?
2) NGĀTI TŪWHARETOA	Ngāti Parekāwa Ngāti Hā	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rawiri Te Rangihirawaea, - Nui - Te Rangitoheriri
3) NGĀTI HAUĀ	Ngāti Te Oro: Ngāti Werewere: Ngāti Waenganui: Ngāti Te Rangitaupi: Ngāti Rangi Tawhaki;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women and children of Ngāti Hauā
4) NGĀTI RANGIWEWEHI		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kereopa Te Rau's wife and 1 or 2 daughters.

TE UREWERA 5) NGĀI TUHOE	Ngakorau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enoka Ngahukura - Hohepa Whakai - Hopi Te Hamanu - Puaha Te Wharewhakakatea - Piripiri Te Heuheu - Te Whenuanui - Hapurona Kohi
6) NGĀTI KAUWHATA	Te Werokoukou	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Te Kawa and his wife? - Tapa Te Whata?

102. As noted above, the references and more detail outlining the documented evidence on these other whānau, hapū and iwi groups being present at Rangiaowhia during the Crown attack are included in Appendix 2.
103. Having ascertained that whānau and hapū members from perhaps six other iwi groups may have been present at Rangiaowhia during the British attack, the next section will focus on these and other whānau, hapū and iwi groups who were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia.

C) Other Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Affected by the Aftermath of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia

104. In a similar manner to the earlier section above, ascertaining with certainty which other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia has also proven to be similarly challenging.
105. Still, from probing through the available resources and evidence, we did uncover possibly seventeen other groupings that were directly affected by the events at

Rangiaowhia and its aftermath. These iwi with some associated hapū and whānau members included the following groupings:

105.1. Ngāti Raukawa;

105.2. Ngāti Tūwharetoa;

105.3. Ngāti Hauā;

105.4. Ngāti Hikairo;

105.5. Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari;

105.6. Ngāti Rangiwewehi;

105.7. Te Whakatōhea;

105.8. Ngāi Tuhoe; Patuheuheu; Ngāti Haka; Ngāti Whare; Ngāti Manawa;

105.9. Ngāi Te Rangi;

105.10. Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa;

105.11. Te Aua; and

105.12. possibly Ngāti Kauwhata.

How these other Whānau, Hapū and Iwi were Directly Affected by the Aftermath of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia

106. How these other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were directly affected by the aftermath of the British attack at Rangiaowhia will now be discussed briefly with a focus mainly on participation and suffering at the Battle of Hairini but also elsewhere where appropriate.
107. As noted above, the Battle of Hairini was fought as a direct consequence of the British attack on Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864, which (along with other battles and the raupatu confiscations) resulted in whānau loss of life, physical injuries, damage to property, harm to tribal unity, some displacement, poverty, prolonged mamae, social stigma and trauma that have transcended generations.

Ngāti Raukawa

108. The brief references on the involvement of Ngāti Raukawa at Hairini indicate that Ngāti Te Kohera and Ngāti Wairangi members were present at Hairini. Wiremu Tamehana recorded in 1864 that two warriors from Ngāti Raukawa were killed at Hairini.⁶⁰

109. Some Ngāti Raukawa members were also taken prisoner following the Rangiaowhia attack, which would cause some harm to tribal unity and possibly a diminution of status from being imprisoned.⁸⁸
110. The 2012 Raukawa Deed of Settlement also stated:
- 110.1. ... it was not until 1864 when Crown forces reached the Raukawa rohe near Cambridge, Rangiaowhia, and Paterangi, that significant numbers of Raukawa fought as a tribe. ... Some Raukawa were present, among them Hitiri Te Paerata who later recorded that young men of Raukawa were killed at Rangiaowhia and Hairini.⁸⁹
- 110.2. ... For Raukawa, the nature of the conflict at Rangiaowhia, rather than the number of Raukawa killed, had a significant impact on how they viewed the British conduct of the war.⁹⁰
111. Ngāti Raukawa also provided manaakitanga to the Ngāti Apakura manene (refugees) at Kaiwha and elsewhere.⁹¹ Kaiwha is near Titiraupenga where Rangiāmoa composed the famous Ngāti Apakura lament 'E Pa To Hau.' Rangiāmoa was a cousin of Te Wano.⁹² Hongihongi was in the burning whare at Rangiaowhia with his sister Rangiāmoa. Both escaped the burning whare pulling Te Wano with them, and they fled along a path named Tomotomo Ariki to Titiraupenga among other places.⁹³ At Titiraupenga, Te Wano was ill and asked his people to climb the mountain so that he might have a final view of the Ngāti Apakura whenua. On Titiraupenga, Te Wano died. Rangiāmoa embraced the opportunity composing 'E Pa to Hau' as a lament for the loss of Ngāti Apakura lands, lives and identity as a direct result of the hara at Rangiaowhia and Hairini.
112. Furthermore in late 1869, Te Kooti retreated to the West Taupo district while being pursued by Colonel McDonnell's troops. Cowan recorded that Te Kooti marched through the Tuhua Country, West Taupo, passing near Titiraupenga Mountain via Mokai to the Waikato River.⁹⁴ Te Kooti eluded his pursuers by later returning to Te Urewera. During the later Native Land Court investigations into the Pouākani block in 1890-1891 however, several references were recorded of Te Kooti meeting at Kaiwha which was one of the refugee villages after the Battle of Ōrākau. Hitiri Te Paerata in his evidence stated:

⁸⁸ White, T.A, 'List of Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau, etc and now on board the Hulk Marion,' (Item R22396823, Box 3, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, no date). Refer to Appendix 7.

⁸⁹ Raukawa and Raukawa Settlement Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (2 June 2012) clause 2.22.

⁹⁰ Raukawa and Raukawa Settlement Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (2 June 2012) clause 2.23.

⁹¹ Tame Tūwhāngai evidence as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, Te Rohe Pōtae district Inquiry (WAI 898, #4.1.10, 31 January, 2014) at 64-65. See also Ngata, A, 'Nga Moteatea,' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, (Vol. 66, No. 2, 1957) at 255-311.

⁹² The text and context of 'E Pa To Hau' is also published with a translation in Ngata, A & Jones, P, *Nga Moteatea: The Songs: Scattered Pieces from the Many Canoes* (Polynesian Society & AH & AW Reed, Wellington, 1928) at 236-239.

⁹³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims* [Pre-publication version]. (Parts I and II, WAI 898, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2018) at 490. See also the evidence of Piripi Crown, Transcript for Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry (745. Transcript 4.1.6, at 397; doc A97) at 202.

⁹⁴ Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol. 1, (1845-1864), Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 381.

- 112.1. At the beginning of the Waikato War we were living at Hapotea and Tahataharoa. N'Wairangi were living at Te Whanake and Tewe on Whakamaru Block. Afterwards I left and lived at Te Papa. I was living there when Te Kooti came. I accompanied him to Te Kuiti.⁹⁵
113. Hitiri continued:
- 113.1. When he [Te Kooti] came, he went to Tahataharoa, Horaaruhe and Te Whanake to collect all the people from those places to meet at Kaiwha, where Te Mete Puru and some N'Apakura were. Just at that time the Government force were going in that direction from Oruanui. Riwai, Pita and N'Apakura went swiftly, but Te Whiau lagged behind and was overtaken by the Government force. This was the day when Te Kooti got to Kaiwha, where he staid [sic] two days and went on to Te Kuiti.⁹⁶
114. Following the expulsion of Ngāti Apakura from Rangiaowhia then, one of the refugee places they sheltered at was the Ngāti Raukawa settlement of Kaiwha on Titiraupenga.
115. Hence, Ngāti Raukawa suffered direct loss of lives at Hairini, some harm to tribal unity and leadership, and they provided important manaakitanga to Ngāti Apakura manene as a result of the Crown attacks at both Rangiaowhia and Hairini.

Ngāti Tūwharetoa

116. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Tūwharetoa indicate that Ngāti Te Kohera (Te Kohera whakapapa to both Raukawa and Tūwharetoa) and Ngāti Parekāwa members suffered some loss of life, harm to tribal unity and some trauma. Tamehana also recorded in 1864 that one warrior from Tūwharetoa died at Hairini.⁹⁷
117. The 2018 Ngāti Tūwharetoa Deed of Settlement, clause 2.21, moreover states:
- 117.1. Between 1863 and 1864, many Ngāti Tūwharetoa hapū participated in the Waikato War and fought variously at Meremere, Rangiriri, Patumahoe, Hairini, and Rangiaowhia. A number of Ngāti Tūwharetoa lost their lives in these battles.⁹⁸
118. Furthermore, Ngāti Tūwharetoa hapū also provided manaakitanga to the Ngāti Apakura manene (refugees) as recorded by Roa, Wilson and Neha:⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Waikato Minute Book* (No. 26) at 59.

⁹⁶ *Waikato Minute Book* (No. 26) at 261.

⁹⁷ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in No. 30) at 2. See also Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol. 1, (1845-1864), Government Printer, Wellington, 1922, reprinted with amendments 1983) at 401 and O'Malley, V, *Te Rohe Pōtae War and Raupatu*, (A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 898, #A22, December 2010) at 168.

⁹⁸ Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Kotahitanga o Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims* (8 July 2017), clause 2.21.

⁹⁹ Roa, T, Wilson, C & Neha, R, *Ka Aowhia te rangi. A Rich History Poorly Known*, (Taarewaanga Marae Trustees, Otorohanga, 2020) at 33.

118.1. In the ejection [from Rangiaowhia], a significant group headed south to take refuge with Tūwharetoa relatives at Tokaanu ... [which] included the elderly Te Wano and his relation [cousin] Rangiamoa.¹⁰⁰

119. Tame Tuwhangai added:

119.1. Most of that section of Ngāti Apakura travelled and skirted along the western bays of Lake Taupō on the old walking tracks through the lands of Ngāti Wairangi, Ngāti Hā and Ngāti Te Kohera through the rohe of Ngāti Wheoro, Ngāti Tarakaiahi of Waihaha, and onto the lands of Ngāti Te Maunga and Ngāti Parekawa and stopping briefly at those Kāinga of those people for sustenance and respite, along that same original track to which Te Wherowhero, their close kin and relation had travelled a couple of years previously on route to Pukawa for a Kīngitanga hui, the hapu of this place being Ngāti Manunui. They finally arrived at Waihi the village of Ngāti Turumakina and the home of the Paramount Chief of Tūwharetoa, Horonuku Te Heuheu and further on at the village at Tokaanu the home and residence of Kīngi Te Herekiele chief of Ngāti Te Aho (aka Ngāti Turangitukua) and Ngāti Karauria.

119.2. Both these two Chiefs were avid Kīngitanga supporters who came with their tribesmen, Ngāti Tūwharetoa to reinforce those in the Ōrākau Pā, however Ngāti Tūwharetoa and others were trapped and barred from crossing to the Ōrākau side of the Puniu river by the constant rifle fire by the British and Colonial Forces. Ngāti Apakura was welcomed and given residence and at these places to where my tūpuna lived and resided for a time for rest, relief and security.¹⁰¹

120. Ngāti Tūwharetoa then suffered some loss of life, harm to tribal unity and leadership, and they sheltered their Ngāti Apakura kin throughout their rohe because of the Crown attacks on Rangiaowhia and Hairini.

Ngāti Hauā

121. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Hauā at Hairini indicate that they were present but the sources record that they did not suffer loss of life or physical injuries, but they did suffer damage and harm to tribal unity in the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia. Wiremu Tamehana lamented in a discussion with James Mackay:

121.1. My hand did not strike the Pakeha during the war until the battle at Hairini; then for the first time my hand struck, my anger being great about my dead, murdered and burnt with fire at Rangiaohia.¹⁰²

122. Tamehana's 1864 letter added:

122.1. On the night of Sunday ... [after] prayers, crossed over to Hairini to Tomo's pa. I proposed that I should lead the van with Ngatihaua, Ngatimaru, and Ngatipaoa;

¹⁰⁰ Roa, T, Wilson, C & Neha, R, *Ka Aowhia te rangi. A Rich History Poorly Known*, (Taarewaanga Marae Trustees, Otorohanga, 2020) at 33.

¹⁰¹ Tame Tūwhāngai: as cited in Waitangi Tribunal. (31 January, 2014). *Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry* (WAI 898, #4.1.10) at 64-65.

¹⁰² *GBPP* (1865, Vol 14) at 141.

that Ngatiraukawa, Tūwharetoa and Urewera should have the flanks, and Ngatimaniapoto the rear. I preferred that there should be but few to advance in front, to be light, so as not to be eager to fight.¹⁰³

123. Tamehana alluded here to harm to tribal unity and undermining of leadership at Hairini when he declared:

123.1. I spoke three times but they would not listen; so Ngatiraukawa took the lead; after them Urewera; after them Tūwharetoa; and after them Ngatimaniapoto. I called out, 'I shall not go with you; I shall stay and make entrenchments with Ngatimaru, Ngatipaoa and Te Aua.' Those tribes went on and came to close quarters; the one with the bayonet and the other with the tomahawk.¹⁰⁴

124. Tamehana further stated:

124.1. It was a fight hand to hand. Then came the cavalry and Maori fled. In return Te Rangikaiwhirea, Pakira's sons was killed, also Amitai. The Ngatiraukawa lost two, Te Urewera two. Of Rangiwehewhi, Taikatu was killed by a stray bullet. They now came to our party. I called out: 'Fire' one volley was fired, and every horse was killed, none escaped. There was an end of them. The infantry then charged. Three volleys were poured on them, and that was finished. Another charge was then made, and Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiraukawa and Tūwharetoa fled. My party then retired. Not one was taken, nor a single Ngatipaoa or Ngatimaru. Of Te Aua tribe, Keto Ki Waho was (taken and killed), and Paora Pipi of Ngatitahinga. Ngatiraukawa lost three, Urewera lost two, Tūwharetoa lost one. These were all our dead.¹⁰⁵

125. Ngāti Haua were also present at the Battle of Ōrākau although outside the Pā trying to assist those inside. As noted earlier however, those who participated at the Battle of Ōrākau in March-April 1864, such as Ngāti Hauā¹⁰⁶ were, with respect, too remote to be immediately affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia.

126. However, the 2013 Ngāti Hauā Deed of Settlement acknowledged:

126.1. On 22 February 1864 Crown forces attacked Māori, including Wiremu Tamehana and other Ngāti Hauā, who were in the process of fortifying an old pā site at Hairini, resulting in the loss of life between around nine and twenty lives on the Māori side. Following the conflict at Hairini, Wiremu Tamehana and other Ngāti Hauā returned to Te Tiki o Te Ihingārangi to guard the district from British attack. In late March Crown forces established Pukerimu redoubt on the Waikato River downstream from Te Tiki o Te Ihingārangi.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

¹⁰⁴ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

¹⁰⁵ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

¹⁰⁶ Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the Trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Non-Raupatu Historical Claims: Ngāti Haua Deed of Settlement* (July 18, 2013) at 17.

¹⁰⁷ Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the Trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Non-Raupatu Historical Claims*, (18 July 2013) clauses 2.51-2.53.

127. Subsequently on 5 April 1864, Ngāti Hauā and other iwi evacuated Te Tiki o Te Ihingārangi and travelled across the Matamata plains to Peria due to supplies being exhausted in the pā. Crown forces subsequently confiscated some of the Ngāti Hauā lands and even stationed a redoubt on Te Tiki o Te Ihingārangi.¹⁰⁸ Although devastating for Ngāti Hauā, with respect, the raupatu of the pā and other lands were too remote to be immediately affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia. In addition, Ngāti Hauā have had a Treaty of Waitangi settlement in 2012 for many of the harms they suffered.
128. Ngāti Hauā then suffered some losses immediately following the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia at Hairini but it is difficult to quantify with precision how much they lost.¹⁰⁹

Ngāti Hikairo

129. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Hikairo at Rangiaowhia indicate that they were present at Hairini and possibly Rangiaowhia and ‘suffered substantially.’¹¹⁰ Much of the evidence is a submission by Ngāti Hikairo claimant Frank Thorne who asserted:
 - 129.1. Our iwi suffered from the loss of life and property while simply defending our lands from an aggressor. We lost a number of key leaders during a time of change when leadership was most needed. ... Following the wars, Ngāti Hikairo was named in a Crown proclamation in 1879 that named all of the iwi deemed to have “been in rebellion” (New Zealand Gazette, no.109, 23 October 1879, p.1480). Ngāti Hikairo considers they were never in rebellion, but were simply defending themselves after the Crown invaded.¹¹¹
130. Thorne commented more on the loss of lands by Ngāti Hikairo:
 - 130.1. Ngāti Hikairo suffered as a consequence of the raupatu and confiscation losing about 68,000 acres. This confiscation by the Crown split the customary territory of Ngāti Hikairo. A small proportion of our lands were returned to “friendly natives” through a Compensation Court process. This was about 6,100 acres out of the 68,000 acres confiscated. In later years, about 98% of these “returned” lands were themselves lost through Crown and private purchases so that just over about 96 acres remain.¹¹²
131. Ngāti Hikairo moreover gifted lands to Ngāti Apakura manene who were banished from their whenua at Rangiaowhia.¹¹³
132. Ngāti Hikairo then appeared to suffer damage to property, some harm to tribal unity and leadership, intergenerational trauma and some displacement from their whenua as

¹⁰⁸ Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the Trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Non-Raupatu Historical Claims: Ngāti Haua Deed of Settlement* (July 18, 2013) at 17.

¹⁰⁹ Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the Trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Non-Raupatu Historical Claims: Ngāti Haua Deed of Settlement* (July 18, 2013) at 19.

¹¹⁰ Thorne, F.K, in Waitangi Tribunal, *Brief of Evidence of Frank Thorne on the Wars and Raupatu* (WAI 898, 2351, 1112, 1113, Wackrow Williams & Davies Ltd, Auckland, 28 March 2013) at 6.

¹¹¹ Idem. See also Frank Thorne’s evidence cited in Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims, Parts I and II* [Pre-publication version], (WAI 898, 2018) at 490.

¹¹² Idem.

¹¹³ Roa, T, Wilson, C & Neha, R, *Ka Aowhia te rangi. A Rich History Poorly Known*, (Taarewaanga Marae Trustees, Otorohanga, 2020) at 36.

a result of the Crown attack on Hairini, and they sheltered their Ngāti Apakura kin at Kawhia which was the direct result of the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia.

Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari

133. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari are brief but focus on providing manaakitanga to the Apakura refugees who were dispossessed of their lands at Rangiaowhia which Tuwhangai recorded:

133.1. After Rangiaowhia, Ngāti Apakura spent some nights hiding and emerged from the swamps. ... They gathered together after some time the men, the women and the children who accompanied the old Ngāti Apakura chief Te Wano and started on their long trek Te Ara o Ngā Roimata [the Trail of tears]. ... From here some went to Ngāti Rereahu but many travelled along the western bays of Taupo and were given food and shelter by those local hapū as they travelled. ... [Some] came to live on Te Horongopai beside the Taringamotu area with Ngāti Hari. ... And so it was that my tūpuna moved from place to place to Te Koura, Waimihia, Te Karu o te Whenua, Morehurehu and to Te Urutira.¹¹⁴

134. Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari then showed incredible manaakitanga to Ngāti Apakura manene historically following the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia in 1864.

Te Whakatōhea

135. The references on the immediate impacts of events at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 on Te Whakatōhea are similarly extensive, significant and directly linked given that Reverend Carl Volkner was executed in Opotiki, tribal territory of Te Whakatōhea. For Te Whakatōhea, there were complex reasons for Volkner's execution. It was for example, alleged that Reverend Volkner forwarded a carefully drawn plan of Rangiaowhia Pā to Governor Grey in January 1864.¹¹⁵ He was also accused of spying for the Government by Te Whakatōhea and was warned not to return to Opotiki, which warning he disregarded.¹¹⁶
136. Reverend Volker was later apprehended, tried and ritually executed – some say murdered - at Opotiki on 2 March 1865 as utu for, inter alia, those killed in the burning whare at Rangiaowhia.¹¹⁷ What followed were lurid accounts, based partly on evidence, of cutting off Volkner's head, his blood was smeared around, and Kereopa Te Rau allegedly then swallowed his eyes calling one Parliament and the other the Queen and

¹¹⁴ Tame Tuwhangai, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Hui Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui, 26-27 April 2010), 149-150, 255-256.

¹¹⁵ See Clark, P, *Hauhau: The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity*, (Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1975) at 35.

¹¹⁶ Oliver, S, 'Te Rau, Kereopa,' in Orange, C, (Gen. Ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, (Vol. 1, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990) at 267-269.

¹¹⁷ 'Trial of Kereopa: Horrible Disclosures,' in *Daily Southern Cross* (29 December 1871) and 'Trial of Kereopa' in *Daily Southern Cross*, (2 January 1872). See also Stokes, E, 'Volkner, Carl Sylvius' in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, (Vol. 1, Wellington, 1990); and Rev. C.S, Volkner and the Tai Rāwhiti Expedition, 1864' in *Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 2, 1959) at 24-36.

British law.¹¹⁸ Volkner's gruesome death was also reported in the newspapers, which made Kereopa notorious.¹¹⁹

137. Pākehā¹²⁰ naturally viewed Reverend Volkner's death as a treacherous, barbarous murder by Kereopa Te Rau and Te Whakatōhea. Kereopa, on the other hand, viewed it according to tikanga Māori as utu for his slain family at Rangiaowhia and Hairini. Te Whakatōhea similarly regarded his death under tikanga Māori (and British law) as a just execution for disloyalty and treason – Volkner was a trusted man of the cloth and community member who betrayed his people.
138. Ironically yet not surprisingly, the British and New Zealand mainstream public viewed the death of Reverend Volkner - as noted above - as a barbaric atrocity. In contrast, the burning of innocent non-combatant Māori men, women and children at Rangiaowhia by Imperial and colonial soldiers was barely mentioned in mainstream discourse, the public and historic records. In this respect, John Grace opined:
 - 138.1. On 1st March 1865, Volkner, accompanied by [Reverend Thomas Samuel] Grace, arrived at Opotiki to see what he could do in the way of restoring peace and order and getting the people to shake off the cloak of Hauhauism. ... Missionaries, however, by that time were looked upon with suspicion, especially after the burning of the Maori women and children in a large raupo house by British soldiers at Rangiaowhia. Many of the Hauhau and Paimarire fanatics sought the lives of the missionaries in satisfaction for the terrible death of those people.¹²¹
139. Professor Te Kahautu Maxwell discussed the impact of the injustices that occurred to Te Whakatōhea as a result of the execution of Reverend Volkner:
 - 139.1. Kereopa's wife and 2 daughters were murdered in the church at Rangiaowhia in Tainui. ... Another daughter was killed in the battle at Hairini after Rangiaowhia. These events led to his vengeance against the deceptions of the Crown and the killing of Volkner. Volkner received 250,000 acres of Te Whakatōhea.¹²² ... These events led to the destruction and annihilation of Te Whakatōhea - women and children were raped and poorly mistreated, the iwi was murdered - shot, stabbed, burnt. The greatest calamity for Te Whakatōhea was the destruction of their world, their wairua, mind and bodies - all caused from the murder of one, by one.¹²³

140. Professor Ranginui Walker added:

¹¹⁸ See Oliver, S, 'Te Rau, Kereopa,' in Orange, C, (Gen. Ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, (Vol. 1, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990) at 267-269.

¹¹⁹ See 'The Opotiki Murder: Rescue of the Rev. Mr. Grace,' in *New Zealander*, (Vol. XXII, No., 2937, 7 April 1865); 'Native Affairs,' in *New Zealand Times*, (Vol. No. XXXV, Issue 6074, 18 Sept. 1880); and 'The Murder of a Mr Bennett White and an Arawa near Opotiki,' in *West Coast Times*, (Issue 572, 25 July 1867).

¹²⁰ Pākehā is a term used respectfully throughout this report. The term Pākehā refers to newcomer or stranger within the context of this report.

¹²¹ Grace, J.T, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 415.

¹²² Te Kahautu Maxwell, "Te Tarata" in *Te Kōtīhitihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori*, 4 (Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, 2017) at 118.

¹²³ Te Kahautu Maxwell, "Te Tarata" in *Te Kōtīhitihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori*, 4 (Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, 2017) at 118.

- 140.1. Kereopa blamed missionary complicity in the massacre of women and children at Rangiaowhia, and so he and his followers sought utu against missionaries. In March 1865, when Kereopa and his men reached Opotiki, they captured the Anglican missionary Carl Volkner. The Hauhau charged Volkner with spying for the Governor, found him guilty then executed him. ... The execution provided the Government with an excuse to exact a rapacious penalty against the Whakatohea tribe. Kereopa was subsequently apprehended and executed along with the local chief Mokomoko, whose rope had been used in the hanging of Volkner. But two lives for one was not sufficient. It mattered not that the perpetrators of Volkner's execution came from elsewhere; the Whakatohea bore the additional unwarranted penalty of confiscation of 69,200 hectares of their land for military settlers.¹²⁴
141. Mokomoko, Heremita Kahupaea and Hakaraia Te Rahui of Te Whakatōhea, Horomona Poropiti of Taranaki and Mikaere Kirimangu of Ngāti Awa were all executed on 17 May 1866 at Mt Eden Prison, Auckland. Mokomoko, Heremita and Hakaraia for allegedly being involved in the murder of Reverend Volkner. Horomona Poropiti and Mikaere Kirimangu on the other hand were executed for the alleged murder of James Fulloon.¹²⁵ Mokomoko was not even present at Volkner's execution but his rope was used to hang him. Mokomoko's last words were: 'E mate hara kore ana ahau. Tēnā koutou Pākehā. Hei aha.' - I die an innocent man. Farewell Pākehā. So be it.¹²⁶
142. Te Whakatōhea then suffered substantially from the Crown invasion, war and raupatu land confiscations that were directly linked to the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864. The losses for Te Whakatōhea were extensive loss of life, physical injuries, extensive damage to and loss of Te Whakatōhea property and resources, harm to whānau, hapū and iwi unity and trauma that has caused immense injury and mamae throughout the generations.
143. In 1993, the then Minister of Justice, Sir Douglas Graham, made an official visit to Ōpōtiki to apologise to Te Whakatōhea and the descendants of Mokomoko. Subsequently in September 2011, a pardon agreement was signed by Māori Affairs Minister, Pita Sharples, and Mokomoko's descendants, which was legislated for in the

¹²⁴ Walker, R, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1990) at 131. See also Grace, J.T, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 417.

¹²⁵ The execution of Horomona Poropiti of Taranaki and Mikaere Kirimangu of Ngāti Awa is, with respect, beyond the scope of this report because both were allegedly involved with, and executed for, the murder of James Fulloon and the seaman Ned on 22 July 1865. Rev. Volkner was executed over 4 months earlier on 6 March 1865. Although Fulloon was sent to inquire into the death of Volkner, any direct causal link to the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia in February 1864 is, with respect, more remote for Fulloon's death for breaching the aukati at Whakatāne and thence for Horomona Poropiti and Mikaere Kirimangu. Furthermore, the Crown acknowledged that 'Ngāti Awa suffered loss of life and destruction of property during the Crown's expedition to arrest those involved in the murders of Fulloon and others, and the sense of grievance suffered by Ngāti Awa in relation to the arrests, trials, imprisonment and execution of leaders of Ngāti Awa hapū,' in s. 8(2)(a) & (b), Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2015. The Crown also apologised in s. 10, Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2015. In addition, in s. 11, Te Runanga o Ngāti Awa Act 2005, the Crown officially restored the character, mana and reputation of the persons of Ngāti Awa descent who were arrested, tried, and labelled as rebels in or about 1865 to them and their whānau and to the iwi of Ngāti Awa as a whole.'

¹²⁶ Refer to Tairongo Amoamo, 'Mokomoko,' in Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 1990 online at <http://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m47/mokomoko> (Accessed September 2021); Walker, R, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1990) at 131. See also Grace, J.T, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 417.

Mokomoko (Restoration of Character, Mana and Reputation) Act 2013. Section 6 states:

143.1. The Crown acknowledges with regret that the free pardon granted to Mokomoko did not expressly restore his character, mana, reputation, nor the character, mana, and reputation of his uri; and expresses its regret for any ongoing shame or stigma that this has caused for his uri.

144. Section 7 adds:

144.1. It is declared that on and after the passing of this Act [in 2013], the character, mana, and reputation of Mokomoko are restored and the character, mana and reputation of his uri are restored.

145. Te Whakatōhea and the descendants of Mokomoko suffered significant loss of life, physical injuries, breach of the rule of law, natural justice and due process, harm to tribal unity and leadership, and immense intergenerational trauma as a result of the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia which resulted in these direct losses to the tribe and respective whānau.

Ngāti Rangiawehi

146. The references on the involvement of Ngāti Rangiawehi on the other hand, indicate that although it appears only a few Ngāti Rangiawehi individuals were present at Rangiaowhia and Hairini, they suffered substantially in terms of direct loss of life, physical injuries, harm to whānau and hapū unity and mental trauma that has caused immense injury and mamae throughout the generations.

147. As noted above, the 2012 Ngāti Rangiawehi Deed of Settlement acknowledged:

147.1. On 21 February 1864, Crown forces attacked and burned the Waikato village of Rangiaowhia. At the time of the attack there were many women and children at the settlement and the wife and daughter of Kereopa were among those killed. The next day Kereopa was part of the Kingite force that clashed with Crown troops at Hairini, not far from Rangiaowhia. At this battle, according to Ngāti Rangiawehi korero, the sister of Kereopa lost her life.¹²⁷

148. As also noted above, both Grace and Walker purported that the victims of the burned whare at Rangiaowhia included two daughters of Kereopa Te Rau.¹²⁸ The Tainui tribal expert Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones added:

148.1. Kereopa was a lay reader of the Rangiaohia Anglican Church.... It was built by the Maoris - Among those who perished at Rangiaohia was the wife and only child of Kereopa - a daughter upon whom he doted. ... Roore [Erueti said] that

¹²⁷ Ngāti Rangiawehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (16 December 2012), clause 2.36.

¹²⁸ Grace, J.T, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 19; Walker, R, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* (Penguin Books, Auckland, 1990) at 124; and Jones, P. TH, 'Extracts from letters by [T. S. Grace] to the Rev. C. C. Fenn, Secretary, [C.M.S], London' in *Bishop Selwyn- Biography, 3H1/1 Religion 1948-1972*, (Inventory of Pei Te Hurinui Jones Papers 1849 to 1975, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand) at 4-5.

Kereopa became mentally unbalanced on account of the tragic death of his wife and daughter, and that he was an insane man when he wandered away from Rangiaohia, finally reaching Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty district.¹²⁹

149. Kereopa subsequently sought fierce utu for this act of war for what he regarded as the kohuru - treacherous murder - of his whānau.¹³⁰ Kereopa subsequently demanded that a Pākehā be given to him as utu for the kohuru of his daughters, wife and sister.
150. The 2012 Ngāti Rangiwewehi Deed of Settlement stated:
- 150.1. By the mid-1860s many Māori were becoming disillusioned with Christianity. In the Waikato campaign, some missionaries ministered to Crown troops and this contributed to the alienation many Māori felt from traditional Christian teachings. After the battle of Rangiaowhia, Kereopa converted to the Pai Mārire religion founded by Te Ua Haumene.¹³¹
151. Reverend Carl Volkner was later apprehended, tried and ritually executed at Opotiki on 2 March 1865 as utu for those killed in the burning whare at Rangiaowhia.¹³² What followed were lurid accounts, based partly on evidence, of cutting off Volkner's head, his blood was smeared around, and Kereopa Te Rau allegedly then swallowed his eyes calling one Parliament and the other the Queen and British law.¹³³ Volkner's gruesome death was also reported in the newspapers, which made Kereopa notorious.¹³⁴
152. The 2012 Ngāti Rangiwewehi Deed of Settlement added:
- 152.1. Māori in the Eastern Bay of Plenty were aggrieved that Volkner had passed information about their activities to Governor Grey and they regarded him as an informant for the Crown. In one of his letters to Grey sent in January 1864, Volkner included a plan of the pā at Rangiaowhia. It is possible that Kereopa knew this and that he saw his actions as utu for the deaths of his family. It seems that for Kereopa, there was also a broader, political meaning to his actions. Before he ate Volkner's eyes, Kereopa said 'these are the eyes which have witnessed the destruction of the land.'¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Jones, P. TH, 'Extracts from letters by [T. S. Grace] to the Rev. C. C. Fenn, Secretary, [C.M.S], London' in *Bishop Selwyn- Biography, 3H1/1 Religion 1948-1972*, (Inventory of Pei Te Hurinui Jones Papers 1849 to 1975, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand) at 4-5.

¹³⁰ Grace, J H, *Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District* (Reed Books, Auckland, 1959) at 419, where Grace states: At Opotiki, Kereopa asserted: 'Friends, this is a word from God to you. If any missionary or other European comes to this place, do not protect him. He must die, die, die!' See also Sutherland, I.L.G (Ed), *The Maori People Today* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940) at 348.

¹³¹ Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (16 December 2012), clause 2.37.

¹³² 'Trial of Kereopa: Horrible Disclosures,' in *Daily Southern Cross* (29 December 1871) and 'Trial of Kereopa' in *Daily Southern Cross*, (2 January 1872). See also Stokes, E, 'Volkner, Carl Sylvius' in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, (Vol. 1, Wellington, 1990); and Rev. C.S, Volkner and the Tai Rāwhiti Expedition, 1864' in *Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 2, 1959) at 24-36.

¹³³ See Oliver, S, 'Te Rau, Kereopa,' in Orange, C, (Gen. Ed.), *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869*, (Vol. 1, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990) at 267-269.

¹³⁴ See 'The Opotiki Murder: Rescue of the Rev. Mr. Grace,' in *New Zealander*, (Vol. XXII, No., 2937, 7 April 1865); 'Native Affairs,' in *New Zealand Times*, (Vol. No. XXXV, Issue 6074, 18 Sept. 1880); and 'The Murder of a Mr Bennett White and an Arawa near Opotiki,' in *West Coast Times*, (Issue 572, 25 July 1867).

¹³⁵ Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (16 December 2012), clause 2.39.

153. Kereopa was subsequently captured and tried for murder on 21 December 1871 at the Supreme Court in Napier.¹³⁶ The 2012 Ngāti Rangiwewehi Deed of Settlement continued:
- 153.1. The Crown pursued Kereopa until 1871, when he was caught and tried for Volkner's murder. Kereopa alleged that two of the Crown's witnesses were directly involved in the murder. ... The Crown also agreed to offer pardons, in the sense of immunity from prosecution, to witnesses and potential witnesses, who could prove that Kereopa was guilty of the crime. It also appears that the Crown did not inform the Court that it had made such offers.¹³⁷
154. There was no direct proof of his responsibility for the killing but a Pākehā witness, Samuel Levy, testified that he had seen Kereopa among those who escorted Volkner to the willow tree. The 2012 Ngāti Rangiwewehi Deed of Settlement continued:
- 154.1. Before a lawyer was assigned to him, Kereopa requested a number of Māori and Pākehā witnesses appear in his defence. The Attorney-General did not believe that the persons requested would be able to prove Kereopa innocent. ... For reasons that are not clear, most of these individuals did not attend the trial and in the end, only Kereopa himself gave evidence in his defence.
- 154.2. During the trial, the Crown claimed Kereopa was instigator of the murder. Kereopa denied this, but admitted that he assented to Volkner's death. The question before the jury was simply whether Kereopa was one of those responsible for the crime, and on 21 December 1871 Kereopa was found guilty.¹³⁸
155. On this basis of precarious evidence, Kereopa was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The local politician and former CMS missionary William Colenso, Catholic Sister Mary Joseph Aubert and local Ngāti Kahungunu rangatira Tareha Te Moananui appealed unsuccessfully for clemency on the grounds that the crime had already been punished by executions and raupatu land confiscations. Nevertheless, Kereopa Te Rau was executed by hanging on 5 January 1872.¹³⁹
156. Fellow Anglican missionary, Reverend Thomas Samuel Grace, was with Reverend Volkner at Opotiki when he was tried and executed but managed to escape execution and subsequently reflected on the ordeal in November 1868:
- 156.1. At Rangiaowhia we burnt alive men and women because they would not surrender! ... Twice I nearly lost my life on account of the burning of women at Rangiaowhia [sic]. Often I have seen the Maoris as much excited at our cruelties

¹³⁶ See 'Kereopa Kaiwhatu The Eye Eater. How his capture was effected,' in *New Zealand Times*, (Vol. VLIV, Issue 10192, 31 January 1919).

¹³⁷ Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (16 December 2012), clause 2.41.

¹³⁸ Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (16 December 2012), clauses 2.42-2.43.

¹³⁹ In 2014, a statutory pardon for Kereopa Te Rau was included as part of a Treaty of Waitangi settlement between the New Zealand Crown and Ngāti Rangiwewehi which acknowledged the unjustness of his trial and execution. Refer to ss. 7-9 and the actual pardon in s. 11, Ngāti Rangiwewehi Claims Settlement Act 2014.

as we are now at theirs. In these horrible doings, it must be remembered that we have been the first to begin them!¹⁴⁰

157. During a visit to Waotu in south Waikato in 1877, Grace was again challenged because of the events at Rangiaowhia when he opined:

157.1. One man became quite furious declaring that they had sent the old people and women to Rangiaowhia [sic] at our request, and that he himself saw the Bishop leading the troops; that they rode off to Rangiaowhia [sic], killed a great number and burnt the house, and that his own brother was burned!¹⁴¹

158. Sir Apirana Ngata added:

158.1. This burning had another consequence: it was one factor leading to what has become known as perhaps the outstanding example of Māori savagery during the Hauhau fighting, namely, the murder of the missionary, Volkner by Kereopa. All that lay behind this is not known to the Pākehā historian. Two of Kereopa's daughters were burnt to death at Rangiaowhia and he swore vengeance on all missionaries.¹⁴²

159. The 2012 Ngāti Rangiwewehi Deed of Settlement concluded:

159.1. The reputation of Kereopa has been a long-standing source of shame for some of his descendants. Ngāti Rangiwewehi today maintains that Kereopa did not receive a fair trial and should not have been executed for the killing of Volkner.¹⁴³

160. Kereopa was subsequently pardoned as part of a Treaty of Waitangi settlement agreement between the New Zealand Crown and Ngāti Rangiwewehi, which acknowledged the unjustness of his trial and execution in s. 11 of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi Claims Settlement Act 2014.¹⁴⁴

161. Te Rangikaheke Bidois, lead negotiator for Ngāti Rangiwewehi, stated that the pardon was a bittersweet outcome. For the descendants of Kereopa, the fact his name had been cleared was immensely important. But, Bidois continued, the whānau wanted the pardon to go further to remove the intergenerational stigma that has burdened his whānau for generations given their history of suicide among male descendants of Kereopa.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Grace, J.T., *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 420-421.

¹⁴¹ Cited in Evans, J, *Churchman Militant: George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield*, (Allen & Unwin Press, London, 1964) at 94-95.

¹⁴² Cited in Phillips, W J, *Carved Maori Houses* (Reed, Auckland, 1955) at 233 and Grace, J.T., *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori Peoples of the Taupo District*, (Reed, Auckland, 1959) at 420-421.

¹⁴³ Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown, *Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims* (16 December 2012) at 13, clause 2.47.

¹⁴⁴ Ngāti Rangiwewehi Claims Settlement Act 2014, s. 11(2) states: Kereopa is pardoned for his role in the death of Reverend Volkner.

¹⁴⁵ Stone, A, 'Te Maori: Pardon 140 Years in the Making,' in *Rotorua Daily Post*, (July 1 2014) available online at URL: <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/te-maori-pardon-140-years-in-the-making/P65UTAFNVHSTJYV27TVK2R273Q/> (Accessed May 2021).

162. Ngāti Rangiwewehi then suffered significant loss of life, physical injuries, breach of the rule of law and due process, harm to tribal unity and leadership, and immense intergenerational trauma as a result of the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia and Hairini.

Ngāi Tūhoe, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa

163. The references on the involvement of Ngāi Tūhoe, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa at Hairini and the Battle of Ōrākau are more extensive and conclusive. Although the references focus more on these Ngāi Tūhoe groupings being involved at Hairini and Ōrākau, compelling evidence as noted above substantiated a Ngāi Tūhoe presence at Rangiaowhia in the prisoner list following the Crown attack which included Enoka Ngahukura, Hohepa Whakai, Hopi Te Hamanu and Puaha Te Wharewhakatea who were all captured at Rangiaowhia and were from Te Urewera – the rohe of Ngāi Tūhoe.¹⁴⁶
164. These tribes suffered loss of life, serious physical injuries, harm to tribal unity and leadership, and intergenerational trauma as a result of being at Rangiaowhia, Hairini and Ōrākau in 1864. As noted earlier however, for the purposes of this section of the report, the focus is on those groups who were immediately affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia, which includes Hairini but not Ōrākau. Some Urewera groupings were present at Rangiaowhia from the above prisoner list; others were also at Hairini and Ōrākau. The Urewera groupings also lost many lives at these battles with few escaping unscathed.¹⁴⁷
165. To add salt to the wounds for Ngāi Tūhoe, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa, Harehare Atarea of Ngāti Manawa commented on the dismal outcomes of these battles for his people when they returned home:
- 165.1. We, who remained at home, waited anxiously for news of our relatives and friends. Some time had passed when one of our old men had a premonition of disaster. He beheld a wairua, an apparition, and this ghostly vision he interpreted as a message from the dead. He told us that misfortune had befallen our people. A few days later the morehu — the survivors — began to arrive, amongst them my brother and then we found that the battle of Orakau was fought just about the time the wairua appeared to our old seer. Only ten people returned to Tauaroa, from which a number of Ngati-Whare had gone. My brother came hobbling back with a bad wound in the knee; he had been shot when escaping through the swamp, south of the pa. The painful journey home took three days.¹⁴⁸
166. Paitini Wī Tapeka also recalled how the Tūhoe morehu (remnant) made their way back to Ruatāhuna following the Battle of Ōrākau.¹⁴⁹ However, on their arrival home, the

¹⁴⁶ White, T.A, 'List of Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau, etc and now on board the Hulk Marion,' (Item R22396823, Box 3, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, no date). See Appendix 7.

¹⁴⁷ Carey to Assistant Military Secretary, *AJHR* (1864, E-03) at 53; Cameron to Grey, 7 April 1864, *AJHR* (1864, E-3) at 50–51; and Stowers, R, *The Forest Rangers* (Hamilton, Print House, 1996) at 107.

¹⁴⁸ Harehare Atarea account of Orakau in J Cowan "Manuscript Papers" (MS-Papers-0039-41K, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

¹⁴⁹ Paitini Wī Tapeka account of Orakau in "The Siege of Orakau Pa Tuhoe Warriors Engaged Aiding the Waikatos" in Best, E, *Tuhoe* (Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1925) at 2.

Tūhoe survivors were severely reproached by their people for being defeated and for losing so many kin as Tapeka opined:

166.1. When we arrived at Rua-tahuna we marched on to the marae of the hamlet where we were met by the widows of those who had fallen at Orakau. They formed up in line to greet us with reproaches for having been defeated and losing so many slain. The women had prepared for this function by donning ragged garments. They sang ... [a] song which had been composed for the occasion ... known as a Whakatea, or a manawa wera.¹⁵⁰

167. The 2013 Ngāi Tūhoe Deed of Settlement also acknowledged:

167.1. Tūhoe leadership disagreed over whether they should send their men to support the Kīngitanga. In the end, the people of Ruātoki and Waimana chose not to go, while small numbers from Ruatāhuna and elsewhere were dispatched to Waikato. The taua joined in the unsuccessful defence of Ōrākau in April 1864, and the small Tūhoe contingent suffered significant loss of life. When Tūhoe survivors returned to Te Urewera, they were strongly criticised by the iwi.¹⁵¹

168. These tribes of Ngāi Tūhoe, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa then suffered significant loss of life, serious physical injuries, much harm to tribal unity, cohesion and leadership, and intergenerational trauma from the Crown attack at Hairini but also at Ōrākau in 1864.

Ngāi Te Rangi

169. The references on the involvement of Ngāi Te Rangi at Hairini are similarly minute for the purposes of this report. Ballara recorded that Ngāi Te Rangi from Tauranga Moana joined a large contingent of Tūhoe to fight at Hairini and possibly Ōrākau.¹⁵² Dr Ballara's source was James Cowan¹⁵³ but little information is available on whether they suffered any loss of life, physical injuries, damage to property, displacement, or harm to tribal unity from being at Hairini. More research is needed to ascertain whether Ngāi Te Rangi suffered any losses at Hairini.

¹⁵⁰ Paitini Wi Tapeka account of Orakau in "The Siege of Orakau Pa Tuhoe Warriors Engaged Aiding the Waikatos," in Best, E, *Tuhoe* (Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1925) at 566–577.

¹⁵¹ Tūhoe me Te Uru Taumatua Rāua Ko Te Karauna/The Crown, *Te Whakatauna o Na Tohe Raupatu Tawhito Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, (4 Piripi 2013, 4 June 2013) clause 2.15.

¹⁵² Ballara, A, 'Tribal Landscape Overview, c.1800-1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park Inquiry,' (Evidence, Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Waitangi Tribunal, September 2004) at 452.

¹⁵³ See Cowan, J, *The New Zealand Wars A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Vol 1, 1845-1864, R E Owen, Wellington, 1955) at 357.

Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa

170. The sole reference on the involvement of Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa are brief and refer to both tribes fighting at Hairini by Wiremu Tamehana. According to Tamehana's report, it appears Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa did not suffer any loss of life, damage to property, displacement, or harm to tribal unity when he recorded:

170.1. After prayers, crossed over to Hairini to Tomo's pa. I proposed that I should lead the van with Ngatihaua, Ngatimarū, and Ngatipaoa; that Ngatiraukawa, Tūwharetoa and Urewera should have the flanks, and Ngatimaniapoto the rear. ... I spoke three times but they would not listen; so Ngatiraukawa took the lead; after them Urewera; after them Tūwharetoa; and after them Ngatimaniapoto. I called out, 'I shall not go with you; I shall stay and make entrenchments with Ngatimarū, Ngatipaoa and Te Aua.' Those tribes went on and came to close quarters; the one with the bayonet and the other with the tomahawk.¹⁵⁴

171. Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa then appear to have not suffered any casualties from their involvement at Hairini in 1864. Having checked the 2018 Marutūāhu Iwi Collective Redress Deed, it does not even mention anything about Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa being present at Hairini.

Te Aua

172. In a similar manner, the sole reference on the involvement of Te Aua is brief - one eye witness account by Wiremu Tamehana when referring to Hairini in 1864 who stated:

172.1. It was a fight hand to hand. Then came the cavalry and Maori fled. ... Another charge was then made, and Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatiraukawa and Tūwharetoa fled. My party then retired. Not one was taken, nor a single Ngatipaoa or Ngatimarū. *Of Te Aua tribe, Keto Ki Waho was (taken and killed), and Paora Pipi of Ngatitahinga. Ngatiraukawa lost three, Urewera lost two, Tūwharetoa lost one. These were all our dead [emphasis added].*¹⁵⁵

173. Te Aua then were present at Hairini and suffered loss of at least one life.

Ngāti Kauwhata

174. As noted above, the references on the involvement of Ngāti Kauwhata at Rangiaowhia, Hairini and even Ōrākau are inconclusive and unconvincing in Tait's retrospective assertion that Te Kawa may have died at Rangiaowhia,¹⁵⁶ and McBurney's speculative

¹⁵⁴ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

¹⁵⁵ Wiremu Tamehana, 'Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864' in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

¹⁵⁶ Tait, D, in Waitangi Tribunal, 'Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry,' Hearing Week Four, 8 to 12 April 2013 (Wai 898 #4.1.10, Mangakotukutuku Campus, Glenview, 8-12 April 2013) at 1474.

inference that the Ngāti Kauwhata hapū Werokoukou were present at Ōrākau implying they were also present at Pāterangi and Rangiaowhia.¹⁵⁷

175. Neither assertion is clear compelling evidence that Ngāti Kauwhata were present at either Rangiaowhia or Hairini. In a similar manner, the inference that Te Whata's surrendering in the Manawatū region as being indicative that he likely fought in the Waikato campaign at Ōrākau and Rangiaowhia is also inconclusive and unconvincing for Ngāti Kauwhata to claim a contemporary interest at Rangiaowhia.
176. With respect, given the evidence is speculative assertion at best for a Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Werokoukou and Ngāti Wehi Wehi presence at either Rangiaowhia or Hairini, more credible evidence is needed.¹⁵⁸

Summary

177. Table 2 below provides more detail on each of these iwi with some of their associated hapū and whānau directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia and its aftermath. Table 2 includes three columns - the first enunciating the specific iwi directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia and its aftermath. Column 2 provides associated hapū grouping where available, while column 3 lists the names of tribal individuals affected. Table 2 below then presents some of the key other whānau, hapū and iwi groups for the second objective of this research report. Appendix 3 also records the finer details and references outlining the documented evidence and expands on how these other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were affected by the aftermath of the British attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864.

¹⁵⁷ McBurney, P, 'Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi Interests in and About Te Rohe Pōtae District Report, (Crown Forestry Rental Trust Report, WAI 2200, #A178, WAI 898 #A120, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2013) at 148.

¹⁵⁸ In a similar manner, assertions that Ngāti Koroki-Kahukura may have been present at Rangiaowhia are also speculative. Tioriori of Ngāti Koroki fought at Rangiriri in November 1864 and was taken prisoner there hence he could not have been present at either Rangiaowhia or Hairini 3 months later in February the following year. More credible historic evidence is required to substantiate a Ngāti Koroki-Kahukura presence at Rangiaowhia and Hairini in February 1864 to provide a contemporary interest today. For historic evidence that Tioriori of Ngāti Koroki was taken prisoner at the fall of Rangiriri Pā on 22 November 1863, refer to Major Te Wheoro's letter to Governor Grey that he wrote from Ongarahu Pā, Mangatawhiri on 23 November 1863 in 'Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection, Native Letters & Subsequent to the Fall of Rangiriri,' in *AJHR*, (1863, Session 1, E-O, No. 5D) at 4. Refer also to the Māori Prisoner list in Appendix 7 where Tioriori is recorded at the top on page 1 and interestingly, his tribe is recorded as being Ngāti Hauā.

Table 2: Other Whānau, Hapū and Iwi directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia and its aftermath

Iwi Affected by the Aftermath of the Attack on Rangiaowhia	Hapū Affected by the Aftermath of the Attack on Rangiaowhia	Iwi, Hapu, Whānau Individuals Affected by the Aftermath of the Attack on Rangiaowhia Key Symbol – κ – killed Symbol – w – wounded Symbol – c. – approximate number estimate at a battle
NGĀTI RAUKAWA	Ngāti Te Kohera Ngāti Wairangi Ngāti Huri Ngāti Poroaha	Hairini & manaaki manene (refugees) - Hitiri Te Paerata - Rawiri Te Hiraweā - Ropata (κ) - Te Kupenga - Rema Pihaua - Te Raore Te Waihaere - Te Haiaua Ngakupa - Eria Morea
NGĀTI TŪWHARETOA	Ngāti Parekāwa Ngāti Hā Ngāti Te Maunga Ngāti Manunui Ngāti Turumakina Ngāti Te Aho Ngāti Turangitukua Ngāti Karauria	c. 30 at Hairini & manaaki manene (refugees) - Te Kohika (w) - Rawiri Te Rangihiraweā - Nui - Rangitoheriri
NGĀTI HAUĀ	Ngāti Te Oro: Ngāti Werewere: Ngāti Waenganui:	Hairini

	Ngāti Te Rangitaupi: Ngāti Rangi Tawhaki;	- Wiremu Tamehana & others
178. NGĀTI HIKAIRO	Ngāti Hikairo	Hairini? and manaaki manene (refugees)
NGĀTI REREAHU	Ngāti Hari	Manaaki manene (refugees)
NGĀTI RANGIWEWEHI		c.3 at Hairini, Rev. Volkner's death, Opotiki 2 March 1865 direct causal link to Rangiaowhia 1864 - Kereopa Te Rau (κ) - Taikatu (κ)
TE WHAKATŌHEA		Rev. Volkner's death, Opotiki 2 March 1865 direct causal link to Rangiaowhia 1864 - Mokomoko (κ) - Hakaraia Te Rahui (κ) - Heremita Kahupaea (κ) - Horomona Poropiti (κ) - Mikaere Kirimangu (κ)

TE UREWERA		c. 50 Hairini
NGĀI TUHOE	Ngakorau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Piripiri Te Heuheu (κ) - Mere (κ) - Te Whenuanui (κ) - His daughter (κ) - Paerau (κ) - Hapurona Kohi - Te Waru - Pareihe - Paitini Wi Tapeka (w) - Wiremu Tapeka (κ) - Te Kaho (κ) - Rakuraku (κ) - Te Parahi (κ) - Paora (κ) - Paiheke (κ) - Te Teira (κ) - Penehia (κ) - Kaperiere (κ) - Hoera (κ) - Reweti Te Whakahuru (κ) - Marata Kopakopa (κ) - Hakopa - Tapiki - Piki (κ) - Te Kauaeroa - Paraki Wereta
PATUHEUHEU		c. 10 Hairini <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Te Reweti - Hoani - Paerau Te Rangi-kai-tupuake, - Peita (κ) - Te Taniwha (κ)
NGĀTI HAKA		Hairini

NGĀTI WHARE		c. 20 Hairini <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ngahoro - Hamiora Potakuru - Peita Kotuku
NGĀTI MANAWA		c. 20 Hairini <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tamarau Waiari - His wife (κ) & other women - Harehare Atarea - Takurua Koro-Kai-Toke (w) - Rawinia (w)
NGĀI TE RANGI		Hairini
NGĀTI MARU		Hairini
NGĀTI PAOA		Hairini
TE AUA		c. 1 Hairini <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keto Ki Waho (κ)

NGĀTI KAUWHATA	Te Werokoukou Ngāti Wehi Wehi	c. 3 Rangiaowhia & Hairini? - Tapa Te Whata? - Te Kawa and his wife?

D) Conclusions

179. One of the aims of this research project was to assess the available evidence to consider who were the other whānau, hapū or iwi groups present at Rangiaowhia at the time of the Crown attack. The research found that in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, – depending on how one defines iwi and distinguishes between iwi and hapū politics - possibly at least six other tribal groups were present at Rangiaowhia village during the 1864 Crown attack which included the following:
- 179.1. Ngāti Raukawa;
- 179.2. Ngāti Tūwharetoa;
- 179.3. Ngāti Hauā;
- 179.4. Ngāti Rangiawehi;
- 179.5. Ngāi Tūhoe; and
- 179.6. possibly Ngāti Kauwhata.
180. The available evidence is clear that members of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Rangiawehi were present during the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia in 1864. The evidence for Ngāi Tūhoe being present at Rangiaowhia is the prisoner list but is less convincing for Ngāti Kauwhata. More evidence is required for Ngāti Kauwhata.
181. Another aim of this research project was to assess how these other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were immediately affected. The research shows that all of the above groupings in different ways suffered from the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia in 1864 from loss of life to sustained physical injuries, significant harm to tribal unity, leadership and cohesion, to intergenerational trauma.

182. A third aim of this research project was to ascertain in addition to Ngāti Apakura, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, which other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were directly affected by the aftermath of the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia?
183. Ascertaining with certainty which other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia and its aftermath was challenging but the research did uncover possibly eighteen other tribal groups that were directly affected by the events at Rangiaowhia and its aftermath in different ways and to differing degrees. These eighteen groups included the following:
- 183.1. Ngāti Raukawa;
 - 183.2. Ngāti Tūwharetoa;
 - 183.3. Ngāti Hauā;
 - 183.4. Ngāti Hikairo;
 - 183.5. Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari;
 - 183.6. Te Whakatōhea;
 - 183.7. Ngāti Rangiwewehi;
 - 183.8. Ngāi Tuhoe;
 - 183.9. Patuheuheu;
 - 183.10. Ngāti Haka;
 - 183.11. Ngāti Whare;
 - 183.12. Ngāti Manawa;
 - 183.13. Ngāi Te Rangi;
 - 183.14. Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Paoa;
 - 183.15. Te Aua; and
 - 183.16. possibly Ngāti Kauwhata.
184. The fourth aim of this project was to ascertain how these other whānau, hapū and iwi groups were directly affected. These other eighteen groupings were directly affected by the Crown attack at Rangiaowhia, its aftermath and other related events, in different ways and to differing degrees.
185. Most of the first thirteen groupings (except Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Hari) were severely impacted by the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 including some loss of life and sustained physical, cultural, mental and social impacts from participating in the Battle of Hairini on 22 February 1864 – and other incidents

following Hairini. The number of people killed and seriousness of injuries depended on a number of factors that appeared to include the position and activity in the Pā but also how many were present at the Hairini battle and other related incidents with larger losses equating to those with larger numbers such as Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāi Tuhoe, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare and Patuheuheu.

186. Furthermore, how some of the people died in the battles and incidents also contributed to much suffering for some tribes such as the killing of the wife and one - some say two – daughters of the Ngāti Rangiwehē Te Arawa rangatira, Kereopa Te Rau, in the burned whare at Rangiaowhia, and his sister Taikatu at Hairini the next day. These three or four lives and how they were killed had significant repercussions for Kereopa's mental and physical state and his subsequent involvement in executing Reverend Volkner as utu at Opotiki in 1865. Kereopa was notorious and was hunted down and tried for murder in Napier in 1870. Kereopa was inevitably found guilty and was hanged there in 1871 which injustice contributed to the intergenerational trauma in the Te Rau whānau who have had to deal with ongoing inter-generational challenges of shame and male suicide.
187. Volkner's execution also had severe impacts for Te Whakatōhea whose lands around Opotiki were attacked by Crown forces where many lives were lost along with Te Whakatōhea lands and natural resources that caused significant harm to tribal unity, leadership, cohesion, economy, poverty, well-being and intergenerational trauma.
188. A further tragedy from the battles is the fact that non-combatant elderly, women and children were killed at Rangiaowhia, Hairini, Ōrākau and elsewhere.
189. Another tragedy was the negative impacts on the Anglican and Catholic Churches with the loss of faith due to perceived betrayal of Māori communities by some of the trusted Ministers such as Reverends Morgan, Selwyn, Volkner and Grace that led to the executions of Volkner and Fulloon, and the general loss of mana of the Churches in the Rangiaowhia district that they worked so hard to successfully build up before the Waikato War campaign.
190. Other tribes such as Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Rereahu, and Ngāti Hari sheltered and provided needed manaakitanga to many of the Ngāti Apakura manene – refugees – who were cast out of their Rangiaowhia tribal homelands on their imposed Te Ara o Ngā Roimata – Trail of Tears. Providing manaakitanga to the manene would have strained already depleting tribal resources particularly given the timing which was heading into the colder autumn and bleak winter months of 1864.
191. For other tribes such as Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Paoa and Te Aua, the research did not uncover much information on how they were immediately affected by the aftermath of Rangiaowhia except to say that they were present at the Battle of Hairini. These tribes then, appear to have been less impacted except for Keto Ki Waho of Te Aua who died at Hairini. But every loss of life and sustained injury for a whānau and hapū group is a significant tragedy. More research is required however, to assess how these other groupings were directly impacted.
192. The evidence for Ngāti Kauwhata being present at either Rangiaowhia or Hairini is uncertain. Consequently, more research is also required for Ngāti Kauwhata.

193. However, given that most of the above iwi, hapū and whānau groupings were present at least at Hairini, while Te Whakatōhea and Ngāti Rangiwewehi were also directly involved in the execution of Reverend Volkner at Opotiki in 1865 that had broad repercussions, these groupings suffered from the Crown attack on Rangiaowhia in 1864 and its aftermath in different ways and to differing degrees. Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Hikairo, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Ngāi Tuhoe, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa were more severely impacted by the Crown's actions, while Ngāti Rereahu Ngāti Hari, Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Paoa and Te Aua were less severely impacted.
194. Although the Crown attack on the non-combatant Māori elderly, women and children at the prosperous and peaceful Christian village of Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864 was a heart-rending event, it quickly transformed into a number of complex, extensive and entangled processes of anguish and mamae for many Māori whānau, hapū and iwi groups throughout Aotearoa New Zealand that has reverberated throughout the generations. Indeed, none are left unscarred from the impacts of war.

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F) Appendices

Appendix 1: Te Arawhiti References

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Appendix 2: Whānau, Hapū, or Iwi present at Rangiaowhia at the Time of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia on 21 February 1864

Table 3

Whānau, Hapū, Iwi	Quote	Reference
Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Te Kohera - Hitiri Te Paerata	" Before Orakau I [Hitiri Te Paerata] took part in the fights at Rangiaohia and Paterangi" (p. 11).	Paerata, H. T. (1888). <i>Description of the Battle of Orakau, as given by the native chief Hitiri te Paerata of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, at the Parliamentary Buildings</i> , (4th August, Didsbury, Government Printer, 1888).
Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Te Kohera & Ngāti Parekāwa - Te Paerata (Hitiri's father) and Te Kohika	"In late 1863, Te Heuheu Horonuku Tukino gathered a force of over 200 men to go to the assistance of Waikato, a change from the neutral policy hitherto maintained by Ngati Tūwharetoa under Iwikau. Another force, mainly from Ngati Te Kohera and Ngati Parekawa of the Tihoi-Pouākani area, led by Te Paerata and Te Kohika, joined with Ngati Maniapoto and others in the final stages of the Waikato war. The British troops had advanced up the Waipa River, by-passed the pa at Paterangi and attacked Rangiaohia. By the end of March 1864 the troops were in occupation of the Te Awamutu area, while many Waikato and Maniapoto retreated south of the Puniu River" (p. 83).	King, C., & Ritchie, N. 'The European Impact: Exploration to Conflict, 1840–1890,' in C. M. King, D. J. Gaukrodger & N. A. Ritchie (Eds.), <i>The Drama of Conservation</i> , (Springer International Publishing, 2015) at 67-88. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-18410-4_4
Raukawa: Ngāti Wairangi; Tūwharetoa: Ngāti Hā;	Most of that section of Ngāti Apakura travelled and skirted along the western bays of Lake Taupō on the old walking tracks through the lands of Ngāti Wairangi Ngāti Hā and Ngāti Te Kohera through the rohe of Ngāti Wheoro, Ngāti Tarakaiahi of Waihaha, and onto the lands of Ngāti Te	Tame Tūwhāngai: as cited in Waitangi Tribunal. (31 January, 2014). <i>Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry</i> (WAI 898, #4.1.10).

<p>Ngāti Te Kohera; Ngāti Te Maunga; Ngāti Parekawa Ngāti Tarakaiahi Ngāti Manunui; Ngāti Turumakina - Horonuku Te Heuheu;</p> <p>Ngāti Te Aho, Ngāti Turangitukua - Kīngi Te Herekiekie</p> <p>Ngāti Karauria</p>	<p>Maunga and Ngāti Parekawa and stopping briefly at those Kāinga of those people for sustenance and respite, along that same original track to which Te Wherowhero, their close kin and relation had travelled a couple of years previously on route to Pukawa for a Kīngitanga hui, the hapu of this place being Ngāti Manunui. They finally arrived at Waihi the village of Ngāti Turumakina and the home of the Paramount Chief of Tūwharetoa, Horonuku Te Heuheu and further on at the village at Tokaanu the home and residence of Kīngi Te Herekiekie chief of Ngāti Te Aho (aka Ngāti Turangitukua) and Ngāti Karauria. Both these two Chiefs were avid Kīngitanga supporters who came with their tribesmen, Ngāti Tūwharetoa to reinforce those in the Ōrākau Pā, however Ngāti Tūwharetoa and others were trapped and barred from crossing to the Ōrākau side of the Puniu river by the constant rifle fire by the British and Colonial Forces. Ngāti Apakura was welcomed and given residence and at these places to where my tūpuna lived and resided for a time for rest, relief and security (pp64-65).</p>	
<p>Ngāti Hauā</p>	<p>2.51 "Some men alongside women and children were at Rangiaowhia when the attack began. It appears that women and children from Te Tiki o Te Ihingarangi and other pa had been sent to Rangiaowhia for their own protection prior to the British attack on the settlement" (2.51, p. 16).</p> <p>2.53 The British attack on Rangiaowhia was a source of much anguish for Wiremu Tamehana and other Kīngitanga leaders, who understood it should be a place of refuge for women, children and the elderly (p. 17).</p>	<p>Office of Treaty Settlements, Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown. <i>‘Deed of Settlement of Non-Raupatu Historical Claims: Ngāti Haua Deed of Settlement,’</i> (July 18, 2013).</p>
<p>Ngāti Hauā</p> <p>(9.5.1 the collective group composed of individuals who</p>	<p>2.53 The British attack on Rangiaowhia was a source of much anguish for Wiremu Tamehana and other Kīngitanga leaders, who understood it should be a place of refuge for women, children and the elderly</p>	<p>Office of Treaty Settlements, Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the</p>

<p>descend from one or more of Ngāti Hauā ancestors; and 9.5.2 every whanau, hapu, or group to the extent that it is composed of individuals referred to in clause 9.5.1, including the following groups:</p> <p>(a) Ngati Te Oro: (b) Ngati Werewere: (c) Ngati Waenganui: (d) Ngati Te Rangitaupi: (e) Ngati Rangi Tawhaki;) (p. 67).</p>	<p>(p. 17).</p> <p>2.54 On 22 February 1864 Crown forces attacked Maori, including Wiremu Tamehana and other Ngāti Hauā, who were in the process of fortifying an old pa site at Hairini, resulting in the loss of between around nine and twenty lives on the Maori side. Following the conflict at Hairini, Wiremu Tamehana and other Ngāti Hauā returned to Te Tiki o Te Ihingarangi to guard the district from British attack (p. 17).</p>	<p>Crown. <i>Deed of settlement of non-raupatu historical claims: Ngāti Hauā deed of settlement</i> (July 18, 2013).</p>
<p>Ngāti Kauwhata (Hinapare)</p> <p>Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.</p> <p>- Te Kawa and his wife</p>	<p>“The Waikato War brought members of Ngāti Kauwhata from the Manawatū to the Waikato, to aid their whanaunga at Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau”.</p> <p>“We know Te Kawa was definitely in the Waikato at the time of the Waikato Wars. His son Tākena Te Kawa made the following statement to the 1881 Kauwhata Claims Commission. I quote: I am of Ngāti Kauwhata. I am from Hinepare [hapū]. My father is dead. I was born at Rangiaowhia. Te Kawa, my father was with the emigrants to Kāpiti. I did not hear him say that he gave up his interests in the Waikato lands. My father said he would come back here...my father lived at Kāpiti, but he returned and died at Rangiaowhia. My father died at the time of the war against the Europeans. He might have died at Rangiaowhia. Three brothers of mine returned here with Pōtatau. They remained here until they died. Haunui and Porokuru went afterwards. When Porokuru and Haunui returned, my parents and friends returned with them and lived and died at Rangiaowhia.” (p. 1474).</p>	<p>Donald Tait: as cited in Waitangi Tribunal. (31 January, 2014). <i>Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry</i> (WAI 898, #4.1.10).</p> <p>Quote from Takena Te Kawa giving evidence in the ‘Ngati Kauwhata Claims Commission of Inquiry’, <i>AJHR</i>, (1881, G-2A) at 10.</p>

<p>Ngāti Kauwhata</p> <p>Ngāti Raukawa</p> <p>- Tapa Te Whata</p>	<p>53. ...a number of Ngati Kauwhata people later ‘surrendered’ themselves and their weapons to the Crown, which indicates that they had been participants in the preceding combat [Rangiaowhia, Ōrākau]. Many ... surrendered in the Manawatu. One of these people is the Ngati Kauwhata Rangatira Tapa Te Whata, who migrated to the Manawatu in the great heke of Ngati Kauwhata as a child¹⁵⁹. (47)</p> <p>54. Mr Te Hiko stated that when ‘surrendering’ to the Crown, Tapa Te Whata would have not simply have surrendered, it would have been a “symbolic gesture or something of significance for a rangatira of significance”.(48)</p> <p>55. Mr Te Hiko concludes that lists such as the one appended to his evidence of those who ‘surrendered’ in the Manawatu, are ‘instructive’ in assessing the involvement of Ngati Kauwhata (and Ngati Raukawa) in the Waikato Wars. Mr Te Hiko also commented that these lists cannot possibly be complete, as many of those who had fought will have died during the battle or afterwards from wounds, while others might not have surrendered or might have done so later.(49)</p> <p>56. Mr Te Hiko also commented that the figures show that Raukawa and Ngati Kauwhata people from the Manawatu and Rangitikei also fought in the New Zealand Wars (or, perhaps, that people of these affiliations made their way to kin in that part of the country after the end of the Waikato campaign and then turned themselves in and their weapons, if they still had any, to the authorities).(50) (p.15).</p> <p>59. As set out above, as Ngati Kauwhata people were in the Rohe Pōtae at the time of the wars and since their ancestral lands were</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal. October 17, 2014). <i>Closing submission on behalf of the Wai 972 claimants</i>. WAI 898 Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry district WAI 972. #3.4.134</p>
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¹⁵⁹ Nigel Te Hiko. Brief of Evidence of Nigel Te Hiko, (27 March 2013, Wai 898, #K24) at 8. The list that Mr Te Hiko cites is sourced from *AJHR* (1864) E-6.

	around Rangiaowhia, it is highly likely that Ngati Kauwhata people were present at both Orakau and Rangiaowhia. (p.16.)	
Ngāti Pareteuaki Te Werokoukou; Ngāti Kauwhata	<p>323. According to Native Land Court evidence cited above, the hapū of Ngāti Pareteuaki and Te Werokoukou represented Ngāti Kauwhata at Ōrākau and possibly at Rangiaōwhia and Hairini as well. Ngāti Kauwhata’s ancestral lands were affected by the confiscations that followed the war (p. 153).</p> <p>Referring to the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Commission, McBurney stated:</p> <p>525. The Commissioners delivered the summary of their report in five statements:</p> <p>a) That, in our opinion, prior to the year 1840, the petitioners, whether known as Ngatikauwhata or Ngatiraukawa, had lost all their right, title, and interest to the district known as Rangiaohia, which included Maungatautari Nos 1 & 2, Pukekura, Puahue, and Ngamoko No. 2.</p> <p>b) That up to the year 1868 those rights had not been in any manner restored.</p> <p>c) That at the sitting of the Native Land Court in 1868, the petitioners had no interest whatever in the above-mentioned lands.</p> <p>d) That they were properly represented by an authorized agent in that Court.</p> <p>e) That they are not entitled to any compensation whatever (p. 231).¹⁶⁰</p>	McBurney, P. (4 March, 2013). <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i> . A report commissioned by The Crown Forestry Rental Trust.
Ngāti Rangiwehi - Kereopa Te Rau’s wife and 2 daughters.	"... i kōhurutia tana wahine me āna tamāhine tokorua ki te whare karakia i Rangiaowhia ki roto o Tainui. Nara i pau a Ngāti Apakura ki te mate ki roto i te ahi, i tahuna te whare karakia e ngā hoia me te iwi o Ngāti Apakura ki roto. Ā i patua anō tana tamāhine hoki ki te pakanga i Hairini.	Maxwell, T. K. Te Tarata. <i>Te Kōtitihi: Ngā Tuhinga Reo Māori</i> , (Vol. 4, 2017) at 118–120. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/13438

¹⁶⁰ “Enclosure 1 in No. 2, ‘Report of the Commissioner’,” Ngatikauwhata Commission, 14 March 1881, *AJHR*, (1881, G.–2A) at 5.

	<p>Koiarā tā Kereopa he rānaki i te mate o tana whānau i pau i te ahi nukarau a te Karauna.</p> <p>Kereopa's wife and 2 daughters died in the burned church at Rangiaowhia. Another daughter was killed in the fight at Hairini after Rangiaowhia. These events led to his vengeance in executing Rev. Volkner at Opotiki</p>	<p>* The daughter killed at Hairini is sometimes referred to as his sister in other sources- http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/docs/Volume120/JPS_120_2_07.pdf; https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/kereopa-te-rau</p>
<p>Te Arawa , Ngāti Rangiwewehi - Kereopa Te Rau</p>	<p>2.36 At the time of the attack [on Rangiaowhia] there were many woman and children at the settlement and the wife and daughter of Kereopa were among those killed. The next day Kereopa was part of the Kingite force that clashed with Crown troops at Hairini, not far from Rangiaowhia. At this battle, according to Ngāti Rangiwewehi kōrero, the sister of Kereopa lost her life (p. 12).</p> <p>2.38 Their [Kereopa and Patara Raukauri] journey [as emissaries of the Pai Mārire faith] took them to Opotiki, in the eastern Bay of Plenty. There on 2 March 1865, the missionary Carl Volkner was hanged in front of a large crowd. According to evidence presented in the trials of those charged with the murder the decision to take Volkner's life had been made by a group of Maori during the evening of 1 March, at a meeting in which Kereopa took a leading role. Kereopa was not a member of the party that carried out the hanging but he did swallow Volkner's eyes afterwards (p. 12).</p> <p>2.39 Maori in the Eastern Bay of Plenty were aggrieved that Volkner had passed information about their activities to Governor Grey and they regarded him as an informant for the Crown. In one of his letters to Grey sent in January 1864, Volkner included a plan of the pā at Rangiaowhia. It is possible that Kereopa knew of this and that he saw his actions as utu for the deaths of his family. It</p>	<p>Office of treaty Settlements, Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown. <i>Deed of settlement of historical claims: Deed of settlement</i>. (December 16, 2012).</p> <p>This led to the Crown's intent to suppress and condemn the Pai Mārire religious movement and a monetary award was offered by the Crown for the capture of Kereopa. He was caught and tried for Volkner's murder in 1871. Kereopa denied the Crown's claims that he was the instigator of the murder but that he assented to Volkner death. Dec 21, 1871- Kereopa was found guilty, and on Jan 5, 1872 he was executed (pp. 12-13).</p> <p>Kereopa was later pardoned in 2014. "Te Rangikaheke Bidois, lead negotiator for</p>

	<p>seems that for Kereopa, there was also a broader, political meaning to his actions. Before he ate Volkner's eyes, Kereopa said 'these are the eyes which have witnessed the destruction of our land' (p. 12).</p> <p>2.47 The reputation of Kereopa has been a long-standing source of shame for some of his descendants. Ngāti Rangiwewehi today maintains that Kereopa did not receive a fair trial and should not have been executed for the killing of Volkner (p. 13).</p>	<p>Ngāti Rangiwewehi, said the pardon was a bittersweet outcome. For descendants of Kereopa, the fact his name had been cleared was immensely important, she said.</p> <p>But the whanau might want the pardon to go further and remove the stigma that had burdened his family for generations. Mrs Bidois said there was a history of suicide among male descendants of the Arawa chief.¹⁶¹</p>
<p>Te Arawa Ngāti Rangiwewehi</p> <p>- Kereopa Te Rau</p>	<p>2.36 At the time of the attack [on Rangiaowhia] there were many woman and children at the settlement and the wife and daughter of Kereopa were among those killed. The next day Kereopa was part of the Kingite force that clashed with Crown troops at Hairini, not far from Rangiaowhia. At this battle, according to Ngāti Rangiwewehi kōrero, the sister of Kereopa lost her life (p. 12).</p> <p>2.36 Kereopa Te Rau was a member of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Very little is known about his early years. In the 1840s he took the name Kereopa, a transliteration of the biblical name, Cleophas. During the 1850s Kereopa served as a policeman in Auckland (p. 11).</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal. (December 16, 2012). Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown. Deed of settlement of historical claims: Deed of settlement.</p> <p>2.37 After the battle of Rangiaowhia, Kereopa converted to the Pai Mārire religion founded by Te Ua Haumene (p. 12).</p>
<p>Ngāi Tūhoe;</p> <p>Ngakorau</p> <p>Ngāti Whare;</p>	<p>"It was then, in response to Rewi's appeal for reinforcements, that a larger Tuhoe corps was formed: [The] Urewera (Tuhoe) war-party, 140 strong, under the chiefs Piripiri Te Heuheu, Hapurona Kohi, Te</p>	<p>Miles, A. (March, 1999). <i>Rangahaua Whanui district 4. Te Urewera</i> (Working Paper: First release).</p>

¹⁶¹ Stone, A. (July 1, 2014). 'Te Maori: Pardon 140 years in the making,' in *Rotorua Daily Post*. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/te-maori-pardon-140-years-in-the-making/P65UTAFNVHSTJYV27TVK2R273Q/>

<p>Patuheuheu; Ngāti Manawa (Whanganui)</p>	<p>Whenuanui (Ngakorau), the old warrior Paerau Te Rangi-kai-tupuke, Te Reweti (of the Patuheuheu), Ngahoro (of Ngati Whare), and Hoani (Tuhoe and Patuheuheu). Tuhoe proper numbered fifty; the Ngati Whare and Patuheuheu party was also fifty strong. The prophet Penewhio sent two tohungas, Hakopa and Tapiki, with the contingent . . . The main body of this force, numbering a hundred, led by Piripi Te Heuheu, had fought in some of the engagements of the war, including Hairini, and had helped to garrison Mangapukatea and Paterangi".¹⁶²</p> <p>"Best also adds that there were several Ngati Manawa [Whanganui] present at Orakau, including the chief Harehare". (<i>as cited in Best, p. 578; Belich, p. 168</i>)¹⁶³</p> <p>"These Tuhoe played a major part in the defence of Orakau in April 1864. Belich suggests that the Tuhoe and Raukawa contingents, headed by 'a set of fire-brand chiefs', convinced Rewi to fight at Orakau, because they had come a long way to fight the Europeans and wished to engage them immediately (14- Belich, pp 166-167)¹⁶⁴.</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal rangahaua whānui series. Waitangi Tribunal.</p> <p>Piripiri Te Heuheu of Maungapohatu emphasised Tuhoe's commitment to the Maori King given at Pukawa in 1858. It is not clear what this compact explicitly amounted to, but Milroy and Melbourne describe how Tuhoe's sacred mountain Maungapohatu was pledged as a symbol of 'perpetual covenant of allegiance' to King Potatau (9- <i>Te Wharehuia Milroy and H Melbourne, 'Te Roi o te Whenua', 1995 (Wai 36 rod, doc A4)</i>).¹⁶⁵</p> <p>For this reason, Piripiri Te Heuheu advocated sending a war party to engage the Europeans before the fighting came close to Tuhoe tribal lands. Te Ahoaho and Te Whenuanui, on the other hand, thought that Tuhoe should remain in their rohe and that armed resistance should be resorted to only when their own tribal borders were threatened (10-Temara, p. 529)¹⁶⁶</p>
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¹⁶² Miles, 1999, *Rangahaua Whanui District 4. Te Urewera*, at 100.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Miles, 1999, *Rangahaua whanui district 4. Te Urewera*. at 100.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, at 99.

¹⁶⁶ Temara as cited in Miles, 1999, *Rangahaua Whanui District 4. Te Urewera*. at 99.

<p>Tūhoe</p> <p>Ngāti Whare</p> <p>Ngāti Haka</p> <p>Patuheuheu</p> <p>Tūwharetoa.</p>	<p>Tūhoe held a hui at Oputao, Ruatahuna, in January or February 1864, where they discussed and considered involving themselves in the support of Waikato against the Crown. "... the threat of war and confiscation, of subjugation and loss of land, was a key consideration. Some leaders, however, felt that Tuhoe must abide by the word of Paora Kingi and that Mataatua must shelter its own land and people : 'Kia tawaharutia a Mataatua'. Others argued that, if they did not fight in Waikato to contain the war there, the inevitable sequel would be fighting in Te Urewera itself. Kin connections with Rewi Maniapoto were important, as was the 'pact of equals', an agreement between Te Purewa of Maungapohatu and Peehi Tukorehu of Ngati Maniapoto. Finally, it was argued that Tuhoe were bound by the 1856 union of maunga at Pukawa : Tūwharetoa was going to support the King, and Tuhoe must therefore do the same. ...In the end, the people of Ruatoki and Waimana chose not to go, while numbers from Ruatahuna and elsewhere were dispatched to Waikato. Te Whenuanui, who had led opposition to assisting in the war in Waikato, changed his mind soon after and set out to support those of his people who had elected to go... A contingent of Tuhoe, Ngati Whare, and Ngati Haka Patuheuheu were a key component of the defending forces at the siege of Orakau. (pp. 157-158)</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Te Urewera</i>: (Volume I. WAI 894. Waitangi Tribunal Report 2017).</p>
<p>Tūhoe</p> <p>Ngāti Raukawa</p> <p>Ngāti Te Kohera</p> <p>Ngāti Tūwharetoa</p>	<p>"...the defence fell chiefly on the Urewera- who had come fully a hundred and fifty miles to fight the pakeha- and on the Ngati-Raukawa and Ngati-te-Kohera and other West Taupo hapus. Very nearly all those dogged heroes of Orakau have passed to the Reinga..."¹⁶⁷</p> <p>"The Ngati-Tūwharetoa and Ngati-te-Kohera tribes declared that it was Hauraki Tonganui who replied to Mair [general] on</p>	<p>Cowan, J. (2013). <i>The old frontier: Te Awamutu</i>. Colonial CD Books.</p> <p>The battle of Ōrākau.</p> <p>Hine-i-tūrama Ngātiki-Ngāti Whakaue, Te Arawa: "In 1864 Hine-</p>

¹⁶⁷ Cowan, J, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the Story of the Waipa Valley* (The Waipa Post Printing and Publishing Company Ltd, Te Awamutu, New Zealand, 1922) at 61.

	<p>behalf of Rewi- he was simply a mouthpiece or messenger”¹⁶⁸.</p> <p>“Among those whom we buried in the works were Matekau, Aporo (Waikato), Paehua (of Ngati-Parekawa), Ropata (the husband of *Hine-i-turama [Ngāti Whakaue]), and Piripi te Heuheu (Urewera).”¹⁶⁹</p> <p>“Rewi Maniapoto had gone to the Urewera country before Paterangi was built, in order to enlist assistance in the war. There were old ties of friendship with the Urewera dating back to the time of the battle of Orona, at Lake Taupo...The Warahoe section of the Urewera had a pa there then, and there were Ngati-Maniapoto living with them. Some of Warahoe later came and lived in the Ngati-Maniapoto country...Takurua, elder brother of Harehare [Ngāti Manawa]...came back with Rewi...”¹⁷⁰.</p>	<p>i-tūrama [wife of Danish trader Phillip Tapsell] left Whakatāne to travel to Waikato to visit her daughter, Ewa, who had married a doctor, Robert Hooper, and to renew her relationship with Ngāti Maniapoto. It is said that she was also going to a rendezvous with her lover, Rōpata of Ngāti Hauā. It proved to be a fateful trip, for she became involved in the fighting between government and King movement forces. Hine-i-tūrama, Rōpata and Ewa were among the defenders of Ōrākau... William Mair attempted to save Hine-i-tūrama from the bayonets of the British soldiers, but when he turned to help another woman she was killed. Her daughter Ewa also died in the attack. They were buried on the battlefield with other Māori casualties.”¹⁷¹.</p>
<p>Ngāti Maniapoto</p> <p>Ngāti Tūwharetoa</p> <p>Ngāti Hikairo</p>	<p>"Following the ejection from their homelands, neighbouring, related Iwi, in particular Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Hikairo, gifted lands to the manene [the refugees]".¹⁷²</p>	<p>Roa, T., Wilson, C., & Neha, R. (2020). <i>Ka aowhia te rangi. A rich history poorly known</i>.</p>

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, at 73.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, at 77.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, at 78.

¹⁷¹ Tapsell, M. (n.d.). *Page 1: Biography. Hine-i-tūrama Ngātiki*. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. (Original work published in 1990). In Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h22/hine-i-turama-ngatiki> (accessed 28 May 2021).

¹⁷² Ibid, at 36.

		<p>Taarewaanga Marae Trustees 2020.</p> <p>The reference also mentions Waikato being "hospitable to the Ngāti Apakura survivors of Rangiaowhia and their descendants".¹⁷³</p>
<p>Ngāti Rāhui</p> <p>- Turimanu Te Wano</p>	<p>68. "Another tradition has it that Turimanu Te Wano, the man for whom the waiata, E Pā Tō Hau, was composed, was at Rangiaowhia when it was attacked. He was a member of Ngāti Rāhui, and a huānga of Matapura, Hēmi Erueti's grandmother, and Karo, the wife of Te Mūnu Waitai, and Hera the wife of Tāmaki" .(p. 24).</p> <p>Ngāti Hikairo suffered as a consequence of the raupatu and confiscation losing about 68,000 acres. This confiscation by the Crown split the customary territory of Ngāti Hikairo. A small proportion of our lands were returned to "friendly natives" through a Compensation Court process. This was about 6,100 acres out of the 68,000 acres confiscated. In later years, about 98% of these "returned" lands were themselves lost through Crown and private purchases so that just over about 96 acres remain (p. 6).</p>	<p>Frank Kīngi Thorne; Evidence of Frank Thorne on Raupatu final- Ngāti Hikairo. (March 28, 2013). http://www.ngatihikairo.iwi.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Evidence-of-Frank-Thorne-on-Raupatu-Final.pdf</p>
<p>Ngāti-Maniapoto</p> <p>Ngāti Apakura:</p> <p>Ngāti Rāhui</p> <p>Ngāti Hounuku</p> <p>Ngāti Tauhunu</p> <p>Ngāti Taheke,</p>	<p>Claimants and technical witnesses identified several iwi and hapū present during the attack, including but not limited to Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Rāhui, Ngāti Hounuku, Ngāti Tauhunu, Ngāti Taheke, and Ngāti Parekahuki. Frank Thorne gave kōrero about his tupuna Te Kewene Whakataha who was at Rangiaowhia. Mr Thorne also identified two others who died at Rangiaowhia, Te Wera and Matapura. (743Document K32, p 24) Tame Tūwhāngai's tupuna Hounuku</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru</i>. (Report on Te Rohe Pōtae claims [pre-publication version]. Parts I and II. WAI 898).</p>

¹⁷³ Idem.

<p>Ngāti Parekahuki</p> <p>Ngāti Hikairo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kewene - Whakataha - Te Wera - Matapura - Hounuku - Wharekoka - Karo - Rina - Haututu & husband - Hongihongi - Rangiamoa 	<p>Wharekoka and his wife Karo were at Rangiaowhia along with his great-great-aunt Rina Haututu and her husband. (744 Transcript 4.1.4, p148 ; doc K19, p 4). Piripi Crown told the Tribunal about Hongihongi, who was in the burning church. Hongihongi and his sister Rangiamoa escaped the church, pulling Te Wano with them, and fled along a path named Tomotomo Ariki (745. Transcript 4.1.6, p 397 ; doc A97, p 202). (p. 534).</p>	
<p>Ngāti Apakura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Te Wano 	<p>Piripi Crown told the Tribunal about Hongihongi, who was in the burning church. Hongihongi and his sister Rangiamoa escaped the church, pulling Te Wano with them, and fled along a path named Tomotomo Ariki. (p. 490).</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru</i>. (Report on Te Rohe Pōtae claims [pre-publication version]. Parts I and II. WAI 898).</p>
<p>Ngāti Apakura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wikitoria 	<p>My kōrero about my great grandmother who was at Rangiaowhia and that was handed down to my mother in 1930 when she went to stay with our kuia at Puketarata. ... Wikitoria was only a young girl at that time.... Wikitoria who was a child ... when she woke up in the morning she was told to go down and have a wash, her and her friends ... while they were down there having a wash, kua tae mai a Cameron. ... Wikitoria ... was down in the raupō, they went to hide in the raupo.... They hid there until it was night because they were only young then. They heard the gunfire. They heard the tangi's. They smelt the smoke....And that's what they did, they hid in the day and they travelled in the night. (p. 504)</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Reports on Rohe Pōtae claims part 1 and 2</i> (wai 898, 2018)</p>
<p>Ngāti Apakura</p>	<p>I had not been long there when my grandfather came to the same house. His</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru:</i></p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoani Papita Kahawai 	<p>name was Hoani. It was because he knew we were there that he came, so that he might die with us – Ihaia, Rawiri, and his son. At this time myself and my mother went outside the house, and sat at the door of the house. (p. 506)</p> <p>That village was captured and Hoani Paapita and Ihaia (these men were both Catholics) were burned in the house set fire to by the troops. (p. 117)</p>	<p><i>Reports on Rohe Pōtae claims part 1 and 2</i> (wai 898, 2018).</p> <p>Waitangi Tribunal <i>Te Rohe Pōtae war and Raupatu</i> (wai 898, 2010)</p>
<p>Ngāti Apakura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wiri Kerei 	<p>I am a Ngāti Apakura I claim Panehakura I have cultivated and have a house on the land i lived at Rangiaowhia formerly. (p. 59-60).</p>	<p><i>Waikato Minute Book</i> (No. 2, Waikato Māori Land Court, 1868).</p>
<p>Ngāti Apakura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Penetania 	<p>I am a Ngāti Apakura I have come from the Kings party. (p.60)</p>	<p><i>Waikato Minute Book</i> (No. 2, Waikato Māori Land Court, 1868).</p>
<p>Ngāti Apakura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hori Te Wano - Aperahama Te Rangipouri - Hone Te One 	<p>I lived formerly at Rangiaowhia. I now reside at Maungatautari. (p.59)</p>	<p><i>Waikato Minute Book</i> (No. 2, Waikato Māori Land Court, 1868).</p>
<p>The following is a list of Māori of various hapū who were taken as prisoners at Rangiaowhia from the following tribes:</p> <p>Ngāti Apakura</p> <p>Ngāti Hinetu</p> <p>Ngāti Raukawa</p>	<p>Tamehana - Ngāti Apakura Reihana Te Ki - Ngāti Apakura Te Matini Tape - Ngāti Apakura Henry Wheelers - Ngāti Apakura Hohepa Paituri - Ngāti Apakura Penetita Te Wharaunga - Ngāti Apakura Kereopa Paraki - Ngāti Apakura Pita Mokamokai - Ngāti Apakura Riteni Te Tahiwi - Ngāti Hinetu Rema Pihaua - Ngāti Raukawa Te Raore Te Waihaere - Ngāti Raukawa Te Haiaua Ngakupa - Ngāti Raukawa Eria Morea - Ngāti Raukawa Te Kewene Te Kahika - Ngāti Naho</p>	<p>White, T. A. (n.d) <i>List of prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaohia, Orakau, etc, and now on board the hulk "Marion".</i> (Item R22396823, Box 3). National Library of New Zealand Wellington, Wellington.</p>

<p>Ngāti Naho</p> <p>Te Ahiwarei</p> <p>Ngāti Mahanga</p> <p>Te Urewera</p>	<p>Kouiria Te Tokiaho -Te Ahiwarei</p> <p>Tamati Te Wiroa - Ngāti Mahanga</p> <p>Enoka Ngahukura -Te Urewera</p> <p>Hohepa Whakai -Te Urewera</p> <p>Hopi Te Hamanu -Te Urewera</p> <p>Puaha Te Wharewhakakatea -Te Urewera</p>	
<p>Ngāti Rangiwēhiwēhi;</p> <p>Ngāti Te Rangi;</p> <p>Tūhoe.</p> <p>- Piripi Te Heuheu</p> <p>-Te Whenuanui</p> <p>Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa</p> <p>- Te Waru.</p> <p>Ngāti Hau-upper Whanganui</p> <p>- Tōpine Te Mamaku.</p> <p>Ngāti Porou</p>	<p>318. As written by Angela Ballara: When the Waikato war began people from all around Taupō went down the Waikato to defend the King. After the battle at Rangiriri Ngāti Te Kohera and probably Ngāti Pare[te]kāwā built the pā called Mangapukatea, one of those meant to defend the Rangiaōwhia area where most of the Waikato non-combatants were concentrated. Te Retimana from Ngāti Wairangi of northern Taupō was the principle gunner at Meremere and Pāterangi. Elements of Ngāti Tūwharetoa played an important role in the battles at Rangiaōwhia and Hairini. In the latter battle, Kereopa Te Rau of Ngāti Rangiwēhi, some Ngāti Te Rangi and a large contingent of Tūhoe also took part.</p> <p>A separate taua of Ngāti Te Kohera and some other Ngāti Raukawa left northern Taupō, Tītiraupenga and Arowhena, led by Te Paerata of Ngāti Te Koherā, his sons Hōne Teri Paerata, Hītiri Te Paerata and his daughter, Ahumai, and other chiefs known as Matawaia, Wēreta and Hoeana. Cowan said Wī Kōhika was also there, perhaps a son or namesake of the chief killed at Tītiraupenga in the 1830s by Ngāti Kahungunu. This group seems to have been collectively termed Te Matekiwaho (or perhaps Ngā Matekiwaho), probably a name coined for the occasion. They were joined by a party of Tūhoe under Piripi Te Heuheu (not a member of the Taupō dynasty), Te Whenuanui and others, and some Ngāti Kahungunu from Te Wairoa, northern Hawke's Bay, led by Te Waru. There was</p>	<p>McBurney, P. (4 March, 2013). <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i>. A report commissioned by The Crown Forestry Rental Trust.</p>

	<p>also a party of Ngāti Hau from upper Whanganui under Tōpine Te Mamaku and a section of Ngāti Porou, who all joined Rewi Manga Maniapoto and Ngāti Maniapoto at Hangatiki, and then moved to Rangataua pā at Ōrākau (p. 151).</p>	
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Appendix 3: Whānau, Hapū & Iwi Directly Affected by the Aftermath of the Crown Attack at Rangiaowhia

Table 4

Whānau, Hapū, Iwi	Citation	Reference
Tūwharetoa- at Tokaanu	<p>"In the ejection [from Rangiaowhia], a significant group headed South to take refuge with Tūwharetoa relatives at Tokaanu, a 'Trail of Tears'. This group included the elderly <i>Te Wano</i> and his relation [cousin] <i>Rangiamoa</i>".¹⁷⁴</p> <p>The reference also mentions Waikato being "hospitable to the Ngāti Apakura survivors of Rangiaowhia and their descendants".¹⁷⁵</p>	Roa, T., Wilson, C., & Neha, R. (2020). <i>Ka aowhia te rangi. A rich history poorly known</i> . Taarewaanga Marae Trustees 2020.
Tūwharetoa Ngāti Rereahu Ngāti Hikairo	<p>After Rangiaowhia, Ngāti Apakura spent some nights hiding and emerged from the swamps. ... They gathered together after some time the men, the women and the children who accompanied the old Ngāti Apakura chief <i>Te Wano</i> and started on their long trek <i>Te Ara o Nga Roimata</i>. ... From here some went to Ngāti Rereahu but many travelled along the western bays of Taupo and were given food and shelter by those local hapū as they travelled. Finally they came to Horonuku <i>Te Heuheu</i> and Kingi <i>Te Herekeke</i> who gave Ngāti Apakura a place</p>	<p>Tame Tuwhangai as cited in Joseph, R., & Borell, M. Ngāti Apakura te iwi Ngāti Apakura mana motuhake, (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012).</p> <p>The Ngāti Apakura 'Trail of tears' – <i>te ara o ngā roimata</i>.</p> <p>"Many of them [survivors] had made their way by escaping to the refuge of swamp land. This is after the Rangiaowhia episode, near Rangiaowhia where they stayed two or three days. And when they thought it was safe to come out, they</p>

¹⁷⁴ Roa, T, Wilson, C & Neha, R, 2020, *Ka Aowhia Te Rangi. A Rich History Poorly Known*, (Nā Te Kōmiti Marae o Taarewaanga, 2020) at 33.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

	<p>to stay. Ngāti Apakura lived in a kainga at Te Kane. ... Some went over to the vicinity of Rotoaira and lived with Ngāti Hikairo and others moved on to other areas. ... [Some] came to live on Te Horongopai beside the Taringamotu area with Ngāti Hari. ... And so it was that my tūpuna moved from place to place to Te Koura, Waimihia, Te Karu o te Whenua, Morehurehu and to Te Urutira. There were many other places. We'll still continue on as the Ngāti Apakura' journey has never stopped on Te Ara o nga Roimata¹⁷⁶.(529) (pp. 255-256).</p> <p>Ngāti Apakura remnants dispersed to their kin within the King Country and elsewhere. Some of the other areas where they fled to include Kāwhia¹⁷⁷, (530) Otorohanga¹⁷⁸, (531) Te Kuiti¹⁷⁹, (532) Taumarunui¹⁸⁰, (533) Kaiwha below Titiraupenga¹⁸¹, (534) Taupo, Rotoaira and Tauranga¹⁸². (535) Tahī Bidois noted that his Apakura tūpuna Pareamio and her husband Amiel Borrell fled to Tauranga Moana and settled there¹⁸³. (536) (p. 256).</p>	<p>gathered together in small groups. Some even went back to see if they could gather their belongings at Rangiaowhia but were turned away by the soldiers who were guarding the ravaged village. They gathered together some sections. Some sections managed to secure placements across the Puniu River. One section of our people decided to throw in their lot and decided to go with their leader Te Wano Turimanu, and left to go to the region of Taupō. It was in this group, my tūpuna Haunuku Wharekoka, his wife, Karo, and my great, great grand-aunt Rina Haututu whose husband was of Ngāti Apakura descent would journey to and arriving near Titiraupenga Mountain where they would stay at a kāinga for a time" (p. 63).</p> <p>John Wi: An urupā had been discovered near Pihanga during the construction of the Tongariro hydro scheme. Ngāti Tūwharetoa knew of this urupā and that it belonged to Ngāti Apakura, they having fled to Horongopai and the district surrounding Pihanga after the</p>
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¹⁷⁶ Tame Tuwhangai, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Hui Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui, 26-27 April 2010) at 149-150.

¹⁷⁷ Koro Wetere, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 35.

¹⁷⁸ Kahotea Marae on the Puketarata Block was gifted to Apakura. Hazel Wander noted that her tūpuna Wikitoria and whānau dispersed following the Rangiaowhia encounter to Puketarata now known as Kahotea. 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Kotahitanga Marae, Otorohanga, 1-2 March 2010) at 18.

¹⁷⁹ Evidence of John Hetet, 16 December 1892, Otorohanga, 'Otorohanga Minute Book (No. 19) at 3.

¹⁸⁰ Whanganui Hearing Evidence. Tame Tuwhangai, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Hui Ngapūwaiwaha Marae, Taumarunui, 26-27 April 2010) at 149-150.

¹⁸¹ Hori Te Waru, *Judge Puckey Minute Book* (No. 16) at 223 – 227.

¹⁸² Tahī Bidois, 'Te Rohe Pōtae Nga Korero Tuku Iho Manuscript,' (Unpublished, Maniaroa Marae, Mokau, 17-18 May 2010) at 21.

¹⁸³ Ibid

		Crown attacks on Waikato hapū in 1863 ¹⁸⁴ . (547) (p. 263).
<p>Raukawa: Ngāti Wairangi;</p> <p>Tūwharetoa: Ngāti Hā; Ngāti Te Kohera; Ngāti Te Maunga; Ngāti Parekawa; Ngāti Manunui; Ngāti Turumakina-</p> <p>-Ko Horonuku Te Heuheu;</p> <p>Ngāti Te Aho, Ngāti Turangitukua - Kīngi Te Herekieke;</p> <p>Ngāti Karauria</p>	<p>Most of that section of Ngāti Apakura travelled and skirted along the western bays of Lake Taupō on the old walking tracks through the lands of Ngāti Wairangi Ngāti Hā and Ngāti Te Kohera through the rohe of Ngāti Wheoro, Ngāti Tarakaiahi of Waihaha, and onto the lands of Ngāti Te Maunga and Ngāti Parekawa and stopping briefly at those Kāinga of those people for sustenance and respite, along that same original track to which Te Wherowhero, their close kin and relation had travelled a couple of years previously on route to Pukawa for a Kīngitanga hui, the hapu of this place being Ngāti Manunui. They finally arrived at Waihi the village of Ngāti Turumakina and the home of the Paramount Chief of Tūwharetoa, Horonuku Te Heuheu and further on at the village at Tokaanu the home and residence of Kīngi Te Herekieke chief of Ngāti Te Aho (aka Ngāti Turangitukua) and Ngāti Karauia. Both these two Chiefs were avid Kīngitanga supporters who came with their tribesmen, Ngāti Tūwharetoa to reinforce those in the Ōrākau Pā, however Ngāti Tūwharetoa and others were trapped and barred from crossing to the Ōrākau side of the Puniu river by the constant rifle fire by the British and Colonial Forces. Ngāti Apakura was welcomed and given</p>	<p>Tame Tūwhāngai: as cited in Waitangi Tribunal. (31 January, 2014). <i>Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry</i> (WAI 898, #4.1.10).</p>

¹⁸⁴ Belgrave, Michael, Belgrave, David. Anderson, Chris Doctor. Millner, James Doctor. Gardiner, Steven. Bennett, April, *Harbours and Coast, Inland Waterways, Indigenous Flora and Fauna, Sites of Significance, Environmental Management and Environmental Impacts*, (Scoping Report – Massey University, A report Commissioned by the Crown Forest Rental Trust For the Waitangi Tribunal's Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry. 05 March 2010) at 39.

	residence and at these places to where my tūpuna lived and resided for a time for rest, relief and security (pp64-65).	
Taupō; Ngāti Te Koherā; Ngāti Paretekawa; Ngāti Wairangi (Nth Taupō); Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Ngāti Te Koherā -Te Paerata & sons -Hōne Teri Paerata, -Hītiri te Paerata, -Ahumai te Paerata, - Matawaia -Wēreta -Hoeana -Wī Kōhika?	318. as written by Angela Ballara: When the Waikato war began people from all around Taupō went down the Waikato to defend the King. After the battle at Rangiriri Ngāti Te Koherā and probably Ngāti Pare[te]kāwā built the pā called Mangapukatea, one of those meant to defend the Rangiaōwhia area where most of the Waikato non-combatants were concentrated. Te Retimana from Ngāti Wairangi of northern Taupō was the principle gunner at Meremere and Pāterangi. Elements of Ngāti Tūwharetoa played an important role in the battles at Rangiaōwhia and Hairini.	McBurney, P. (4 March, 2013). <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i> . A report commissioned by The Crown Forestry Rental Trust.
Ngāti Paretekawa	The stigmatising of Ngāti Paretekawa as 'rebels'; the invasion of Rangiaowhia in 1864 and the 'commission of atrocities' there; and the destruction of 'Hui Te Rangiora', the tribal headquarters and council house of the runanganui of chiefs. (p. 246).	Waitangi Tribunal <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Reports on Rohe Pōtae claims part 6</i> (Wai 898, 2020)
Ngāti Kahu Ngāti Unu	Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Unu's socio-political fabric, forced them into a 'state of extreme deprivation', and resulted in the confiscation of their land. 222 The claimants highlight the Crown's actions at Rangiaowhia, a refuge for	Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Reports on Rohe Pōtae claims part 6</i> (Wai 898, 2020)

	women, children, and the elderly. (p. 49).	
Ngāti Maniapoto Ngāti Rāhui, Ngāti Hounuku, Ngāti Tauhunu, Ngāti Taheke, Ngāti Parekahuki	Claimants and technical witnesses identified several iwi and hapū present during the attack, including but not limited to Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Rāhui, Ngāti Hounuku, Ngāti Tauhunu, Ngāti Taheke, and Ngāti Parekahuki. (490).	Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Reports on Rohe Pōtae</i> , (Parts I and II, Wai 898, Pre-Publication Version, 2018)
Ngāti Rangiwēhewē; Ngāti Te Rangi; Tūhoe. - Piripi Te Heuheu - Te Whenuanui Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa - Te Waru. Ngāti Hau-Upper Whanganui - Tōpine Te Mamaku. Ngāti Porou	<p>318. As written by Angela Ballara: When the Waikato war began people from all around Taupō went down the Waikato to defend the King. After the battle at Rangiriri Ngāti Te Koherā and probably Ngāti Pare[te]kawa built the pā called Mangapukatea, one of those meant to defend the Rangiaōwhia area where most of the Waikato non-combatants were concentrated. Te Retimana from Ngāti Wairangi of northern Taupō was the principle gunner at Meremere and Pāterangi. Elements of Ngāti Tūwharetoa played an important role in the battles at Rangiaōwhia and Hairini. In the latter battle, Kereopa Te Rau of Ngāti Rangiwēhewē, some Ngāti Te Rangi and a large contingent of Tūhoe also took part.</p> <p>A separate taua of Ngāti Te Koherā and some other Ngāti Raukawa left northern Taupō, Tītiraupenga and Arowhena, led by Te Paerata of Ngāti Te Koherā, his sons Hōne Teri Paerata, Hītiri Te Paerata and his daughter, Ahumai, and other chiefs known as Matawaia, Wēreta and Hocana. Cowan said</p>	McBurney, P. (4 March, 2013). <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i> . A report commissioned by The Crown Forestry Rental Trust.

	<p>Wī Kōhika was also there, perhaps a son or namesake of the chief killed at Tītiraupenga in the 1830s by Ngāti Kahungunu. This group seems to have been collectively termed Te Matekiwaho (or perhaps Ngā Matekiwaho), probably a name coined for the occasion. They were joined by a party of Tūhoe under Piripi Te Heuheu (not a member of the Taupō dynasty), Te Whenuanui and others, and some Ngāti Kahungunu from Te Wairoa, northern Hawke’s Bay, led by Te Waru. There was also a party of Ngāti Hau from upper Whanganui under Tōpine Te Mamaku and a section of Ngāti Porou, who all joined Rewi Manga Maniapoto and Ngāti Maniapoto at Hangatiki, and then moved to Rangataua pā at Ōrākau (p. 151).</p>	
Ngāti Kauwhata; Ngāti Wehi Wehi	<p>The traditional heartland of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi in Te Rohe Pōtae/Waikato went from Maunga Kakepuke to Horotiu on the Waikato River on to Te Kōpua Pā. From there it went to the top of the Wharepūhunga block and then back to Kakepuke. This area encompasses Rangiaowhia, Pukekura, Maungatautari, Puahue and the Wharepūhunga block. It was in these areas that they exercised customary rights.” (p. 1381).</p>	<p>Peter Johnston as cited in Waitangi Tribunal. (31 January, 2014). <i>Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry</i> (WAI 898, #4.1.10).</p>
Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa,	<p>26. The evidence of many witnesses in the Native Land Court indicates that Kauwhata was widely acknowledged as the founding ancestor – the <i>take</i></p>	<p>McBurney, P. <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i>. (A report commissioned by The Crown</p>

	<p>tupuna – for the lands on the western side of Maungatautari, extending both north and south of the mountain. Therefore, having established themselves initially at Puahue, Ngāti Kauwhata also occupied Pukekura to the north of Maungatautari and west of present-day Lake Karapiro; Rangiaōwhia to the west, near Te Awamutu and Kihikihi; and Te Whānake, the 381 metre hill situated between Puahue and Maungatautari itself. By this means, the triangle of land between Rangiaōwhia, Pukekura and Maungatautari became the traditional heartland of Ngāti Kauwhata in the Waikato Valley. They also ranged southwards into the Wharepūhunga block, where they shared interests with their Raukawa kin (pp. 28-29).</p> <p>72. It [Rangiaowhia] marks the eastern extent of Ngāti Kauwhata’s traditional rohe, where it intersects with that of Ngāti Apakura (p. 47).</p>	<p>Forestry Rental Trust. WAI 898, 4 March, 2013).</p> <p>292. Following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the leading chiefs of Waikato made at least three attempts to persuade the Kapiti migrants to return to occupy their ancestral lands. Takana Te Kawa also told the Ngāti Kauwhata Commission that his father Te Kawa and a number of others returned to Pukekura to plant food. His father died at Rangiaōwhia (p.140).</p> <p>295. ...By all accounts Te Whatanui, the Raukawa chief was determined not to return, singing a memorable waiata that gave vent to his feelings. On the other hand, it is equally clear that members of Ngāti Kauwhata did return, some to stay, while others went ‘to and fro’ (p. 141).</p>
Ngāti Kauwhata	<p>5.6 I remember a korero about how Te Wherowhero built the waka “Kauwhata” which he intended to send down to Kapiti to gather up the bones of Kauwhata warriors and people who had been killed at the battle at Waiorua on Kapiti Island. I think this is significant as it emphasises Te Wherowhero's point of inviting Kauwhata to return to their lands.</p> <p>5.7 Allegedly, the waka sank before it could be sent down to Kapiti. There is a lot of</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal. March 25, 2019. <i>Affidavit of Edward Tatutahi Penetito</i>. WAI 898, WAI972 # K2. Te Rohe Potāe Inquiry district</p> <p>7.9 In the Waikato, some Kauwhata people still own land. including myself. There are a number of people in the Manawatu who have lands in the Waikato. There are marae that we affiliate to in the Waikato - but there is not a Kauwhata tupuna whare or</p>

	<p>speculation over why or how it was sunk. For me, the important point is that Te Wherowhero was inviting Kauwhata to return.</p> <p>5.8 The Kauwhata people who stayed in the Waikato were told to stay there by the chiefs to look after the lands until they returned. The invitations to return were more about inviting the chiefs and those with the mana to come back to protect their lands from what was going on . I also think people in the Waikato wanted more Kauwhata people to come back so Kauwhata would be visible in the Waikato.</p> <p>5.9 Hoeta told the 1881 Ngati Kauwhata Claims Commission that in about 1846 Potatau said "let Ngati Kauwhata return to Maungatautari and Rangiaowhia - their own lands." (3¹⁸⁵) After this invitation some Ngati Kauwhata people returned to the Waikato.</p> <p>5.10 Hoeta also told the Commission that in 1852 Porokuru and Haunui repeated this korero at Te Rere o Waikato and again Kauwhata assented. (4) (p.10).</p>	<p>Kauwhata specific marae. (p.15).</p> <p>7.10 Kauwhata should have some sort of whare or base in the Waikato on our ancestral lands. I think that it is important to have this whare and turangawaewae because of our land interests in the Waikato, our connections to the Kingitanga, and because the footprints of our tupuna are all around there. (p.16).</p> <p>7.12 The fact that Kauwhata do not currently have such a base in the Waikato affects us greatly, because without it we are not amongst our tupuna, we cannot manaaki the neighbouring iwi and hapu, and as a result cannot enhance those connections we have with them. It will also help us to maintain our whanaungatanga with our own people particularly with those who are descended with Kauwhata but remained behind to look after the Kauwhata's lands. I think that many of those people stayed behind not because they wanted to but because they were told to. A tūrangawaewae would enable us to acknowledge those who stayed This is why we have to come back to the Waikato, to mihi to them and follow in the footprints of our ancestors. (p.16)</p>
Ngāti Kauwhata	58. (b) In relation to War and Raupatu, the Crown, in breach of its duties:	Wai 748, in WAI 898. Closing submissions on behalf of the

¹⁸⁵ Ngati Kauwhata Claims Commission 1881, *AJHR* (1881, G.-2A) at 19.

	(ii) Failed to actively protect the lands and resources of Ngāti Kauwhata at Rangiaōwhia, instead confiscating land and further failing to provide compensation for confiscation (p.15).	WAI 784 Ngāti Kauwhata Claim. (17 October, 2014).
Ngāti Kauwhata; Te Werokoukou	312. While it has not been possible to identify any Ngāti Kauwhata individuals among the defenders of Rangiaōwhia or Ōrākau, the Ngāti Kauwhata hapū Te Werokoukou were present at the latter engagement, so it is reasonable to assume that their tāne formed part of the garrison of the Pāterangi fort complex, and that their women sought refuge with the other Kīngitanga non-combatants at Rangiaōwhia (p. 148).	McBurney, P. (4 March, 2013). <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i> . A report commissioned by The Crown Forestry Rental Trust.
Ngāti Pareteuaki Te Werokoukou; Ngāti Kauwhata	<p>323. According to Native Land Court evidence cited above, the hapū of Ngāti Pareteuaki and Te Werokoukou represented Ngāti Kauwhata at Ōrākau and possibly at Rangiaōwhia and Hairini as well. Ngāti Kauwhata’s ancestral lands were affected by the confiscations that followed the war (p. 153).</p> <p>Referring to the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Commission, McBurney stated:</p> <p>525. The Commissioners delivered the summary of their report in five statements: a) That, in our opinion, prior to the year 1840, the petitioners, whether known as Ngatikauwhata or Ngatiraukawa, had lost all their right, title, and interest to the district known as</p>	McBurney, P. (4 March, 2013). <i>Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehi Wehi interests in and about Te Rohe Pōtae district</i> . A report commissioned by The Crown Forestry Rental Trust.

	<p>Rangiaohia, which included Maungatautari Nos 1 & 2, Pukekura, Puahoe, and Ngamoko No. 2.</p> <p>b) That up to the year 1868 those rights had not been in any manner restored.</p> <p>c) That at the sitting of the Native Land Court in 1868, the petitioners had no interest whatever in the above-mentioned lands.</p> <p>d) That they were properly represented by an authorized agent in that Court.</p> <p>e) That they are not entitled to any compensation whatever (p. 231).⁵⁷¹¹⁸⁶</p>	
Ngāti Kauwhata Ngā Uri Tangata o Ngāti Kauwhata	8. The claimants have suffered significant land loss within their rohe since 1840. This loss, among other things, has resulted in loss of employment and economic opportunities, urbanisation, extreme poverty and in turn inadequate housing for Ngāti Kauwhata people.	WAI 972, #1.1(i). (2020, November 27). Amended Statement of Claim on behalf of Wai 972 relating to the Homelessness Phase of the Housing Policy and Services Kaupapa Inquiry.
Te Arawa, Ngāti Rangiwewehi - Kereopa Te Rau-	2.36 At the time of the attack [on Rangiaowhia] there were many woman and children at the settlement and the wife and daughter of Kereopa were among those killed. The next day Kereopa was part of the Kingite force that clashed with Crown troops at Hairini, not far from Rangiaowhia. At this battle, according to Ngāti Rangiwewehi kōrero, the sister of Kereopa lost her life (p. 12).	<p>Waitangi Tribunal. (December 16, 2012). Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Te Tahuhu o Tawakeheimoa Trust and the Crown. Deed of settlement of historical claims: Deed of settlement.</p> <p>2.37 After the battle of Rangiaowhia, Kereopa converted to the Pai Mārire religion founded by Te Ua Haumene (p. 12).</p>

¹⁸⁶ “Enclosure 1 in No. 2, ‘Report of the Commissioner’,” Ngatikauwhata Commission, 14 March 1881, *AJHR*, (1881, G.–2A) at 5.

	<p>2.36 Kereopa Te Rau was a member of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. Very little is known about his early years. In the 1840s he took the name Kereopa, a transliteration of the biblical name, Cleophas. During the 1850s Kereopa served as a policeman in Auckland (p. 11).</p> <p>2. 38 Their [Kereopa and Patara Raukatauri] journey [as emissaries of the Pai Mārire faith] took them to Opotiki, in the eastern Bay of Plenty. There on 2 March 1865, the missionary Carl Volkner was hanged in front of a large crowd. According to evidence presented in the trials of those charged with the murder the decision to take Volkner's life had been made by a group of Maori during the evening of 1 March, at a meeting in which Kereopa took a leading role. Kereopa was not a member of the party that carried out the hanging but he did swallow Volkner's eyes afterwards (p. 12).</p> <p>2. 47 The reputation of Kereopa has been a long-standing source of shame for some of his descendants. Ngāti Rangiwewehi today maintains that Kereopa did not receive a fair trial and should not have been executed for the killing of Volkner (p. 13).</p>	<p>2. 38 Their [Kereopa and Patara Raukatauri] journey [as emissaries of the Pai Mārire faith] took them to Opotiki, in the eastern Bay of Plenty. There on 2 March 1865, the missionary Carl Volkner was hanged in front of a large crowd. According to evidence presented in the trials of those charged with the murder the decision to take Volkner's life had been made by a group of Maori during the evening of 1 March, at a meeting in which Kereopa took a leading role. Kereopa was not a member of the party that carried out the hanging but he did swallow Volkner's eyes afterwards (p. 12).</p> <p>Kereopa was later pardoned (2014), "Te Rangikaheke Bidois, lead negotiator for Ngati Rangiwewehi, said the pardon was a bittersweet outcome. For descendants of Kereopa, the fact his name had been cleared was immensely important, she said.</p> <p>But the whanau might want the pardon to go further and remove the stigma that had burdened his family for generations. Mrs Bidois said there was a history of suicide among male descendants of the Arawa chief.¹⁸⁷</p>
Wiremu Tamehana; Ngāti Hauā		

¹⁸⁷ Stone, A. *Te Maori: Pardon 140 years in the making*. Rotorua Daily Post, ((July 1, 2014) <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/te-maori-pardon-140-years-in-the-making/P65UTAFNVHSTJYV27TVK2R273Q/>

	<p>2.73 On 5 April 1865 Wiremu Tamehana petitioned the Premier and Parliament.</p> <p>2.74 Wiremu Tamehana also defended the right of the Kīngitanga to exercise control over Māori and their remaining lands. He criticized the actions of Crown forces at Rangiaowhia, and lamented the deaths of women and children in that engagement. The Crown did not immediately respond to Wiremu Tamehana’s petition (p. 19).</p> <p>2.76 On 18 July 1865 Tamehana wrote a further petition to Parliament, more directly concerned with rebutting the many accusations levelled against him. He observed that he had been called “an evil man, a rebel, a murderer”, and many damaging words had been written to Queen Victoria concerning him. Tamehana stated he had only taken up arms in self-defence after Maori living in South Auckland had been forcibly expelled from their homes and the Mangatawhiri River was crossed by British troops. Tamehana added: “Am I a man of murder? I only fought for my body and my land; I had not any wish to fight” (p. 20).</p>	<p>Wiremu Tamehana, Petition to the General Assembly, 5 April 1865, <i>AJHR</i>, (1865, G-5).</p> <p>2.73 His petition challenged the Crown’s actions in sending forces into and subsequently confiscating Waikato. He asked that the pre-war boundaries be restored so that peace could be made, insisting that “we have done no wrong on account of which we should suffer, and our lands also be taken from us”(p. 19).</p>
<p>Ngāti Hauā (9.5.1 the collective group composed of individuals who descend from one or more of Ngāti Hauā ancestors; and 9.5.2 every whanau, hapu, or group to the extent that it is</p>	<p>2.42 In early May [1863], Waikato chiefs met at Rangiaowhia to determine the role of Waikato in the Taranaki war. Wiremu Tamehana announced that Ngāti Hauā would take no part in the conflict at Taranaki, and opposed any attack on European settlements in</p>	<p>Office of Treaty Settlements, Tumuaki and Ngāti Hauā and the trustees of the Ngāti Hauā Iwi Trust and the Crown. <i>Deed of settlement of non-raupatu historical claims: Ngāti Hauā deed of settlement</i> (July 18, 2013).</p>

<p>composed of individuals referred to in clause 9.5.1, including the following groups:</p> <p>(a) Ngati Te Oro: (b) Ngati Werewere: (c) Ngati Waenganui: (d) Ngati Te Rangitaupi: (e) Ngati Rangi Tawhaki;) (p. 67).</p>	<p>the Waikato by the Kīngitanga...(p. 15).</p> <p>2.53 The British attack on Rangiaowhia was a source of much anguish for Wiremu Tamehana and other Kīngitanga leaders, who understood it should be a place of refuge for women, children and the elderly (p. 17).</p> <p>2.54 On 22 February 1864 Crown forces attacked Maori, including Wiremu Tamehana and other Ngāti Hauā, who were in the process of fortifying an old pa site at Hairini, resulting in the loss of between around nine and twenty lives on the Maori side. Following the conflict at Hairini, Wiremu Tamehana and other Ngāti Hauā returned to Te Tiki o Te Ihingarangi to guard the district from British attack (p. 17).</p> <p>2.55 When Ngāti Hauā heard of the attack on Ōrākau, reinforcements travelled to the scene but could not enter the pā to aid in its defence.</p> <p>2.69 War and confiscation imposed heavy burdens upon Ngāti Hauā. Many Ngāti Hauā were killed or wounded in defending Kīngitanga lands. This included important rangatira, the loss of whose leadership was a significant blow for the iwi (p. 19).</p> <p>2.70 Ngāti Hauā also lost access to some of their most fertile and valuable lands within the confiscated area. Ngāti Hauā communities living on those lands were required to move beyond the raupatu boundaries,</p>	
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	<p>placing an additional burden on their remaining lands to support them (p. 19).</p> <p>2.71 At the end of the war, in mid-1865, it was reported that Ngāti Hauā and other iwi in the Waikato were suffering from food shortages and that many people were sick and dying as a result. Food was being brought in from outside the district. One visitor commented on the “great destitution and misery” seen in settlements in Ngāti Hauā’s territory. Their economy suffered serious damage and the population was dispersed. The confiscation was a critical step towards Ngāti Hauā being left virtually landless (p. 19).</p>	
Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipipi - Ngāti Hauā	<p>“...Wiremu Tamehana became personally involved in the fighting. The one and only time at the defence of Hairini on the next day on the 22nd of February. And he said he did that, he said, “Because my hand did not strike the Pākehā during the war until that battle at Hairini, then for the first time my hand struck. My anger being great about my dead murdered and burnt with fire at Rangiaowhia.” (p. 16).</p>	<p>Tom Bennion as cited in Waitangi Tribunal. (31 January, 2014). <i>Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry</i> (WAI 898, #4.1.10).</p> <p>Tamehana was at Pāterangi Pā- ready to halt the advance of the British army after the taking of Rangiriri (pp 487-488).</p> <p>The battle of Hairini was the one and only time Tamehana took up arms against the Crown (p. 43).</p>
Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Tūwharetoa	<p>2.6.2.1 When the Crown took Waikato lands after the Waikato war, many from Ngāti Apakura went to live among Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and over time came to be</p>	<p>Waitangi Tribunal. (2018). <i>Te mana whatu ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae claims. Pre-publication version. Parts I and II</i>. WAI 898. Waitangi Tribunal Report 2018.</p>

	identified as members of those communities. 324 (p. 92).	
Ngāti Hikairo, Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa	Many took refuge among Ngāti Hikairo, among Ngāti Maniapoto near Kahotea, and with Ngāti Tūwharetoa at Tokaanu. ¹⁸⁸	Waitangi Tribunal. (2020). <i>Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims. Pre-publication version. Part VI. Take a takiwā</i> . WAI 898. Waitangi Tribunal Report 2020.
Ngāti Hikairo	<p>20. “Ngāti Hikairo also accepted various refugees into their lands after the wars (who had lost all their lands to confiscation) and engaged in customary tuku whenua with some. This placed strains on all involved” (p. 7).</p> <p>17 “Our iwi suffered from the loss of life and property while simply defending our lands from an aggressor. We lost a number of key leaders during a time of change when leadership was most needed. Summary of confiscation and its impacts.”</p> <p>18. “Following the wars, Ngāti Hikairo was named in a Crown proclamation in 1879 that named all of the iwi deemed to have “been in rebellion” (New Zealand Gazette, no.109, 23 October 1879, p.1480). Ngāti Hikairo considers they were never in rebellion, but were simply defending themselves after the Crown invaded. (p. 6).</p>	<p>Frank Kīngi Thorne; Evidence of Frank Thorne on Raupatu final- Ngāti Hikairo. (March 28, 2013).</p> <p>http://www.ngatihikairo.iwi.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Evidence-of-Frank-Thorne-on-Raupatu-Final.pdf</p>
Battle of HAIRINI a day later on 22 February 1864	“I proposed that I should lead the van with Ngatihaua, Ngatimarua, and Ngatipaoa; that	Wiremu Tamehana as cited in Joseph, R., & Borrell, M. <i>Ngāti Apakura te iwi, Ngāti</i>

¹⁸⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, WAI 898. Original source, 91. Transcript 4.1.6, at 241 (Tom Roa, Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui, Te Tokanganui-a-Noho Marae, 10 June 2010).

<p>Ngāti Hauā - Wiremu Tamehana</p> <p>Ngati Maru, Ngati Paoa Ngati Raukawa, Tūwharetoa Urewera Ngati Maniapoto</p>	<p>Ngatiraukawa, Tūwharetoa and Urewera should have the flanks, and Ngatimaniapoto the rear. I preferred that there should be but few to advance in front, to be light, so as not to be eager to fight.</p> <p>I spoke three times but they would not listen; so Ngatiraukawa took the lead; after them Urewera; after them Tūwharetoa; and after them Ngatimaniapoto. I called out, ‘I shall not go with you; I shall stay and make entrenchments with Ngatimaru, Ngatipaoa and Te Aua.’ Those tribes went on and came to close quarters; the one with the bayonet and the other with the tomahawk.¹⁸⁹ (p. 224).</p>	<p><i>Apakura mana motuhake</i> [Report for Ngāti Apakura claimants and the Waitangi Tribunal]. WAI 898, September, 2012).</p> <p>Wiremu Tamehana, ‘Letter to Rawiri and to Tawaha, 28 February 1864’ in ‘Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection’ in <i>AJHR</i>, (1864, Enclosure in No. 30) at 2.</p>
<p>Whakatohea</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mokomoko - Hakaraia - Heremita Kahupaea 	<p>According to Kevin Were’s report, Mokomoko was a significant Whakatohea fighting chief in the 1860s, and had the responsibility of protecting Whakatohea’s western boundary. ... As a fighting chiefs, Mokomoko was aware of the conflict and confiscations elsewhere in the North Island, particularly as he had (along with others from Whakatohea) fought at Orakau in early 1864. (at 16.)</p> <p>When Volkner was killed at Opotiki on 2 March 1865, the reaction of the colonial government was an armed invasion of the eastern Bay of Plenty and subsequent blanket confiscation by the Crown of a large area of land. (at 17)</p> <p>According to the Waitangi Tribunal’s, <i>Ngati Awa Raupatu Report</i>, ‘the force was aggressive</p>	<p>Ewan Johnston, <i>Wai 203/339 Scoping Report</i>, (Wai 203/339, A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, November 2001).</p> <p>Kevin Were, ‘Mokomoko – Our Tupuna,’ (n.d. Wai 46 ROD F3, app 13) at 5-6.</p> <p>Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Ngati Awa Raupatu Report</i>, (Legislation</p>

¹⁸⁹ Wiremu Tamehana, ‘Letter to Rawiri and To Tawaha, 28 February 1864’ in ‘Further Papers Relative to the Native Insurrection’ in *AJHR*, (1864, Enclosure in E-No. 30) at 40.

	<p>from the outset, bombarding the village and shooting at Maori indiscriminately, with no attempt made to ascertain who was involved in the missionary's murder and who was not. (at 60).</p> <p>The 1928 Sim Commission found that 'The murder of Mr. Volkner and the murder of Mr. Fulloon were not in themselves acts of rebellion, and if the Natives of Opotiki and Whakatane had not resisted the armed forces sent to capture the murderers there would not have been any excuse for confiscating their lands.' (at 19)</p> <p>Mokomoko eventually surrendered in an effort to save the Whakatohea people. They had been advised that if they surrendered their land would not be confiscated. Mokomoko was not expecting to be accused of the Volkner murder. ... Mokomoko was taken to Auckland where he was tried on 27 March 1866. ... He played no part om Volkner's death but found himself as accessory to the act through ownership of the rope. ... [Hakaraia, Heremita and Mokomoko] were hanged on 17 May 1866. Their bodies were buried at the old Auckland jail and courthouse.... During the 1890s, their remains were exhumed and re-interred at Mt Eden prison. Kereopa himself escaped and remained on the run until his capture and subsequent trial at Napier at the end of 1871. He was executed on 5 January 1872 (at 20).</p>	<p>Direct, Wellington, 1999) at 60.</p> <p>Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into Confiscations of Native Lands and Other Grievances Alleged by Natives,' in <i>AJHR</i>, (1928, G-7) at 20.</p> <p>Waitangi Tribunal, <i>Ngati Awa Raupatu Report</i>, (Legislation Direct, Wellington, 1999) at 42.</p> <p>Steven Oliver, 'Kereopa Te Rau,' <i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>, (Vol. 1, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990) at 503-504.</p>
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Appendix 4: Ngāti Apakura & Ngāti Hinetū Population at Rangiaowhia in 1858

Rangiaowhia Population Census 1858

195. Francis Dart Fenton, who was a Resident Magistrate in the Waikato before the Waikato Wars campaign, enumerated the extensive census list (including names, sex, adults and children, birth and death rates) of the Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū population at Rangiaowhia in 1858 which he compared with an 1844 Rangiaowhia census in the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR)* 1858.¹⁹⁰ Fenton noted that the Ngāti Apakura population of Rangiaowhia in 1844 was 740 which slowly decreased to 630 in 1858. Fenton's 1858 census tables then list specific Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hinetū iwi, hapū and whānau individuals who may have been present but were certainly affected by the British attack 6 years later. The census tables then are as follows:

Fenton, F. D. Observations on the State of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand 1859 - TABLES I-XVI.

TABLE 5

NOTE.-- In the succeeding Statements the letters annexed to the names of the Adult Females mean:--*a* has born children who lived; *b* has born children who died; *c* barren.

The first column of figures is a consecutive numbering of the Adult Males; the second column the same of the Adult Females; the third column indicates the number of the Male who was or is the Husband of the Female; the fourth column and the fifth column contain the number of the Adult Female who is the Parent of the Child opposite which the figure is written. When no figure is written, the name of the Mother is not contained in the list.

Similar Statement respecting the Tribes NGATI APAKURA and NGATI HINETU residing at Rangiaohia.

Table 5: Fenton's Rangiaowhia Population Census 1858

ADULT. MALES.	FEMALES.	NON-ADULT. MALES.	FEMALES.
Kahawai	Ngakawa Kahawai <i>c</i>	Mura	Wikitoria
Ngakino	Mihi Kahawai <i>c</i>	Unahi	Mura
Kiripakoko	Mio Kahawai <i>a</i>	Pungerehu	Taringamoka Ngakino
Mura	* Ngahuia Totara <i>c</i>	Hongihongi	Ngape
* Totara	Pekirere Mura <i>a</i>	Paketara	Kirimahunu Rori
Rori	Neke Ngakino <i>a</i>	Hongihongi	* Paia Tihinui

¹⁹⁰ Fenton, F, 'List of the Tribes and Hapus of the Waikato District,' in *AJHR* 1860 (B-No.9 – F-No.3) at 146-149. Digitised and available online at: https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/fenton-observations-aboriginal-inhabitants-nz/fenton-observations-aboriginal-inhabitants-nz.html#idtable_1_3114 (Accessed May 2021).

Tuahu Kahawai	Towhinga c	* Watene Iwingaro	* Turama Tihinui
Piri Kahawai	Kuia Kiripakoko a	* Eruera Ringahuhu	* Kuini Hongihongi
Ngarimu	Ika c	Pauinga	* Wirahiko Rongotoa
Aperahama Penga	Ngape c	Pauinga	Mere Ringahuhu
Teporia	* Tatai a	Pauinga	* Pauinga
* Wareponga	Irihapeti Ruinga Totara c	Pauinga	Pauinga
Tihinui (Takirau)	* Rangikikiwa Tuahu a	* Pehikohuru Tehe	Tawhio
Hongihongi	Kui Rori a	Tawhio	Tawhio
Taukawa	Pohipi c	Tawhio	Okewa
Tarete	* Moni Ngarima c	* Ngohi Whakapo	Tumuange
Witiki	* Ngawewe Teporia a	Rini Ruaki	Pokepoke Ruaki
Rongotoa	Horoia Wareponga a	* Ngaki Mataikapua	Girl Ruaki
Taipuhi	Rangiaohia Wareponga c	* Ihaka Notara	* Rangiweoro Awakeri
Toko	Kerepo Wareponga a	* Karitawa	* Nana
* Ngakao	Taukitua Tihinui b	* Tumata	* Rangikaho Pakanui
Taramu	WakamateHongihongi a	Tahawai Tangahoe	* Koipu
* Harihari	Hera Hongihongi a	* Koipu Waraunga	Meri Tangahoe
Pirini	Ngakauri Hongihongi a	Tahiiwi Moananui	* Rangaiohia Waraunga
Paratene Iwingaro	Hoine Witiki c	Hamara Wangamata	* Raro Waraunga
Paraone Iwingaro	* Kia Rongotoa b	Ngehe Wangamata	Mihikeno Moananui
Rawiri Ringahuhu	Huhia Ngakao c	* Kokorewhenua	Wangamata
Pauinga	Rangiora Taramu a	* Ngapatu Warangi	* Araruri Nani
Tikotiko	Kataraina Iwingaro a	Takikake Warangi	Kiwera Hore
* Tehe	Huihana Ringahuhu a	Ruaki Hore	Taehuri Hore
Tawhio	Ngo Pauinga a	Wetoweto Hukanui	Makimaki Hukanui
Naihi	Ngapuke Tikotiko a	Ngara Ngaehe	* Rewa Parinui
* Okewa	Karihi Tehe c	* Mohiti Te Kohi	Tarati Ruawari
Karahe	* Himo Tawhio a	Waru Tikona	Rauinga Ngaehe
Hukarere	Pukematai Naihi b	Ponaute	Tihoi Hura
* Makitawa	Hingara Okewa a	Ihiti Ponaute	Nanapi Kohi
* Ponui	Karahe a	* Painui	Hanga
Koutu	Tokatoka Makitau c	Kau Tuhua	Hanga
Kaweka	* Oko Koutu a	Kiwa Nohomotu	t Rangihaeremarie Pumai
Hioi	Puna Kaweka a	Tipa Nohomotu	Tio Raupatu
Keu	Keu a	* Raupatu	Raupatu
Watu	* Hoine Weropu c	Raupatu	Kiri
Weropu	Rangimanako Tumuangue	Raupatu	Hamanu
Mangai	b	* Wani Rewarewa	Ngeua
Tumuange	Kaikero Kapa a	* Tuhua Hamanu	Ngeua
Rangiorakawekawa	* Tuhuahi Kanohi a	Hamanu	* Rangipiata Piritaha
Kapa	* Hirere Taiko c	Mouhaere Piritaha	Paea Rewharewha
Kanohi		Puka Piritaha	* Warangi Tutaki
Taiko Ngakino		Matiu Piritaha	t Tarore Tiaho
		Taiuri Hore	
		Te Hemara Toinako	
		Heketanga Poa	

XII.

ADULT.
MALES.
Hu Rori
Rongotoa

FEMALES.
Rongotoa b
Rangiwakapo a

NON-ADULT
MALES
* Tahurae Poa
* Taumaihi Pauroa

FEMALES.
Tahuora
Tahuora

Wakarua	Ngaoko Ruaki <i>a</i>	Nikahere Pehitahi	Arawata
Kaewa	* Rangimako Parinui <i>b</i>	Kahira Pehitahi	Pure
Awio	Pokere <i>b</i>	Hou Rakau (Taati)	Pari Paenga
Mata	Oko Waitara <i>b</i>	Puku	Kiri
Wakapo	* Irihia Notara <i>b</i>	Ngaiwi Hekemona	Makirina
Roria Wakapo	Kukume Riki <i>c</i>	Paia Hekemona	Mere Pawaroa
Ruaki	* Kahutaiki Karitawa <i>b</i>	Petera Manuka	Mere Hemi
Petara Parinui	Meroiti Mateara <i>c</i>	* Hiakai Ngaewe	* Ngaruma Whenua
Mataikapua	Kaka Pokipoki <i>c</i>	* Watatiri Ngaewe	* Te Ununu
Waitara	Maia Ruapeka <i>c</i>	Ao Tahuora	Parekoaka Ngawai
Riki	* Kiore Tawera <i>a</i>	Kohirehe Warau	f Hauata Rahapa
Karitawa	* Hapua Paengatai <i>a</i>	* Ikawera Tupara	* Miriama Tarahanga
Ngarata	Ngarewa Awakeri <i>b</i>	Parou Warau	Mangarepo Matiu
Waterea Mateara	Himinere Nakunaku <i>c</i>	Korowai Warau	Rangitarere Matiu
* Pokipoki	Rangiaoatea Kariri <i>c</i>	Muhi	Mere Tahua
Mako	Tauinga Poia <i>c</i>	Hari Wakarawe	Matire Tahua
* Karaka Ruapeka	Ahipawanui Pure <i>a</i>	Ahimarae Tukituki	* Mata Parakiwai
* Tawera	Hineahi Noho <i>a</i>	Arawata	* Hopepia Kau
* Paengatai	Ruihi Kaiwhara <i>a</i>	Pure	Ripeka (immigrant)
Awakeri	Ra Kurupai <i>c</i>	Reihana Te Paenga	* Pepe Pukeri
Tara	Keke Nana <i>c</i>	Pahere	* Mere Ngataua
* Nakunaku	Ngira Tumata <i>b</i>	Ahikai	t Rora Ukui (Taranaki)
* Kariri	Pia Tumata <i>b</i>	Tiaho	* Pepe
Hetaraka	* Paretawainga Pakanui <i>a</i>	Tiaho	Nanehu Ruhia
Puia	* Rotowai Koipu <i>a</i>	* Peneamine (Peka)	* Riria Ruka
* Pure	Raupeti Kapuni <i>c</i>	* Ngahongaho Ngawai	f Riripeti Ruka
Kato	Kumanu Tio <i>c</i>	* Pepe Notara	Rora Ngamuka
Hana	Uhia Tangahoe <i>a</i>	Tamati Herehere	Heni Ngatuhe
* Noho	Wa Hikuhiku <i>a</i>	Heta Iwingaro	* Ruaea Warekahika
Puitangata	* Tahitahi Waraunga <i>b</i>	Tawhiwhi Rahapa	* Hoki
* Raiwara	Urunui Ariki <i>c</i>	* Tongi Taituha	Hoki
* Kurupai	Noaia Moananui <i>a</i>	* Moerangi Taituha	* Kahukoka Wharau
Nana	Rangikaho Wareumu <i>a</i>	* Mangawika Te Ahu	* Tia Tupara
Maumate	Parepare Ngatorotu <i>a</i>	Te Kopa Tarore	
Tumata	Mere Urututu <i>a</i>	Tarore	
Taka	Pekarimu Wangamata <i>a</i>	Wata	
Ikeike Taka	Rangikaho Tukituki <i>a</i>	Wata	
Hakirau	Pito Tika <i>a</i>	* Hohepa Kuwaha	
Hona Pakanui	Matarita Raunga <i>b</i>	Hoani Pongo	
* Ngahongaho	Ngamihi Nani <i>a</i>	Onekura	
Ngawahie	* Pani Waka Whenua <i>b</i>	* Peneamine One	
Namunamu	Kapuranaiti Herehere	* Hohepa Patuuri	
Hori	* Ara Warangi <i>b</i>	* Moerangi Wahiawa	
* Koipu	* Piki Warangi <i>a</i>	* Heta Hemi	
Kapuni	* Tioro Tama <i>c</i>	* Hoani Hemi	
Tu	Kaoa Rima <i>c</i>	* Pumipi Tarahanga	
* Peiora	* Rangihaerewa Hore <i>a</i>	* Tamehana Taumata	
Mangeo	Ramarihi Arahi <i>c</i>	* Eriwera Kau	
Iwi	Rangituturu Hukanui <i>a</i>	Hohua Tahua	
Tangahoe	Tairite Waraunga <i>c</i>	Reweti Tahua	
Hikuhiku	Pohata Ngapoi <i>b</i>	Hamiora Tahua	
Puaha	* Ngakai Ngaehe <i>a</i>	Ratimea Tahua	
Waraunga	Tapahia <i>a</i>	* Heremaia Pukeri	
Ariki	Meria Hura <i>a</i>	* Manga Pukeri	

* Moananui	Kitakita Maungapourua <i>c</i>	Teretui Ngataua
Wareumu	* Pehu Pohut <i>c</i>	* Kopa Ngataua
Torowai	Ia Kohi <i>a</i>	t Manga Ukui (Taranaki)
* Tahimarae	Hautu Painui <i>a</i>	Tape
Ngatorotu	Petuna Ponaute <i>a</i>	Warekoka
* Urututu	Wanga Tionga <i>a</i>	* Wiremu Warekaua
* Aotea	* Tamanga Paretoenga <i>a</i>	Wakatapohu Auahi
Ngara	Pakakutu Weata <i>c</i>	Rourou Auahi
Ngangaia	Ngahieke Aotea <i>c</i>	Heta Whanga
Wangamata	Hamaka Hangi <i>a</i>	Ngehengehe Whanga
* Atama Hoiroi	* Nohinohi Pumai <i>a</i>	Mokena Whanga
Tukituki	Ramorunga Nohomotu <i>a</i>	* Hurori Te Po
Tika	Ngarorere Nohomotu <i>a</i>	Wharau
Pototara	* Parekiore Raupatu <i>a</i>	
Wirihana Raunga	Taua Kiri <i>a</i>	
Nani	* Ngamuka Rewarewa <i>c</i>	
* Ngakete	* Tini Hamanu <i>b</i>	
Wenua	Ihunoko Ngeua <i>c</i>	
Tipene Wataraita	Ngawai Piritaha <i>a</i>	
Herehere	* Ngaponi Manako <i>a</i>	
Warangi	Atete Turimanu <i>c</i>	
Taukino		
Tama		

XIII.

ADULT. MALES.	FEMALES.	NON-ADULT. Issue born since 1844 and alive in 1858.	
Rima	Taunoa Horo <i>b</i>	MALES.	FEMALES.
Taukino Whenua	Hemoata Huhu <i>a</i>	Mio Kahawai	Mio Kahawai
Ranginui	Kete Ruawari <i>a</i>	Mio Kahawai	Kahawai
Horo	Pire Poa <i>a</i>	Pa Mura	Marata Kiripakoko
Hoia	* Terenui Toa <i>b</i>	Mura	Mariana Tatai
Piko Taukino	* Hani Raurekau <i>c</i>	Mura	Marata Tuahu
* Piripi Te Arahi	Rato Pehitahi <i>c</i>	Kerepo Wareponga	Kerepo Wareponga
Hukanui	Nuitirene Rakau <i>c</i>	Te Watene Hongihongi	Kerepo Wareponga
Penetita Waraunga	Hananui Ngakawena <i>c</i>	Wiremu Hongihongi	Ngo, Pauinga
Himiona Ngapoi	Taupoki Ngahoko <i>a</i>	Hongihongi	Nga, Tikotiko
Ngaehe	Hapupu <i>a</i>	Taramu	Raiho Koutu
Tapahia	Kurarenga Ahikuku <i>c</i>	Ngo Pauinga	Keu
Hakaria Hura	f Iro Ratapu <i>a</i>	Pauinga	Whakapo
* Maungapourua	Puku <i>a</i>	Ngai. Tikotiko	Whakapo
* Pumatete	* Hera Pa <i>c</i>	Tikotiko	Ruaki
* Pohutu	Hane Hekemona <i>c</i>	Keu	Mura
* Tahuna	Tini Rewarewa <i>b</i>	Whakapo Mura	Tari Ngakino
Weta	Tekeuenga Tutaki <i>a</i>	Kirimahunu Rori	Kiri Rori
Wana Kohi	* Ngapoti Waru <i>a</i>	Rori	Taukitu Raiwhara
* Painui	* Patumu Waru <i>c</i>	Okewa	Ro. Koipu
Romana Ponaute	* Ngaponu Manako <i>a</i>	Paketara Hongihongi	Ro. Koipu
Ruka Tionga	Ngakuta Parakaka <i>c</i>	Wikitoria	Uh. Tangahoe
Kawau	Tirakakara	Wikitoria	Uh. Tangahoe
Kaipuke	Matarita Ngaewe <i>c</i>		

Moremore	Tarore Tiaho <i>a</i>	Ahi, Pure	Rau, Wareumu
Hohepa Paratoenga	Moao Tahuora <i>a</i>	Pure	Rau, Wareumu
Hoani Weata	Wairoa Ware Tamahana <i>c</i>	Pure	Pa. Ngatorotu
* Hiako	* Peitu <i>c</i>	Tetupu Noho	Pa. Ngatorotu
Aoatea	Ngahopi Arawata <i>c</i>	Raiwhara	Urututu
Hangi	* Pohau Arawata <i>c</i>	Ro, Koipu	Urututu
Pumai	Pawanui Pure <i>a</i>	Urututu	Urututu
Tuhua	Tamairere Nakunaku <i>c</i>	Urututu	Tika
* Rako	Rangiaoatea Kari <i>c</i>	Ra, Tukituki	Ripeka Horo
Nohomotu	Mihikau Paenga <i>a</i>	Tukituki	Rang. Hukanui
Raupatu	Kahuraotau Tiniuhi <i>c</i>	Tika	Rang. Hukanui
Toekotahi Raupatu	* Naho Ahikai <i>c</i>	Tamati Herehere	Me. Huria
Kiri	Rangikino Tiaho <i>a</i>	Te Kingi Pihi Warangi	Wewe Parinui
Uriwai	* Ngongi Ngawewe <i>a</i>	Hopa Hore	Wa. Tionga
* Rangihaeremarie	* Pehu Ngatara . <i>c</i>	Te Hope Hore	Wa. Tionga
Rewarewa	Koni Anga <i>c</i>	Rangi, Hukanui	Ta Paratoenga
Hamanu	Tawa Kiri <i>a</i>	Hukanui	No. Pumai
Ngewa	Tekunanu Piripoai <i>c</i>	Hukanui	No. Pumai
Piritaha	Pua <i>c</i>	Hukanui	No. Pumai
* Manako	Taukaka Pukeiti <i>c</i>	Makim. Hukanui	Ra. Nohomotu
Turimanu	Honi Tepura <i>a</i>	Tapahia	Ngar. Nohomotu
Taotao	Karangi Manuka <i>b</i>	Tapahia	Ta Kiri
* Horo	AkamorungaManuka <i>c</i>	Ia Kohi	Nga. Piritaha
* Huhu	Te Kari Manuka	Ta Paratoenga	Tek. Tutaki
Ruawari	Mihi Peka <i>b</i>	Ha, Hangi	Tek. Tutaki
Toa	Matu Patuuri <i>c</i>	Hangi	Heket. Poa
* Toa	Kataraina Mohi <i>b</i>	Ra. Nohomotu	Riwi Tawaroa
Raurekau	* Kataraina Iwingaro <i>a</i>	Kau Ngar, Nohomotu	Rihana Pawaroa
Pehitahi	Raiha Tiha <i>a</i>	Kau Ngar, Nohomotu	Ngahipi
* Rakau	Ripeka <i>c</i>	Ta, Kiri	Ngahipi
* Kakeha	* Tuhirapa <i>a</i>	Nga, Piritaha	Makirina Ngamuka
Ngakawena	* Kurapa <i>b</i>	Petara Manako	Tepaea Tahua
Hoki	* Pura Whenua <i>a</i>	Penchamene Hapupu	
Ngahaho	Mereana <i>c</i> Roka <i>b</i>	Pukepuke Ngawewe	
Korikori	Rahapa a Ripora <i>a</i>	Heketara Poa	
* Hapupu	Hariata <i>a</i>	Te Wirihana	
* Ahikuku	Meri <i>a</i>	Pawaroa	
Ratapu	Hoturoa <i>a</i>	Mato Unuunu	
* Ringi	* Paretawiringa Ngawai <i>a</i>	Tawhiwhi Rahapa (bastard)	
* Ngakani	f Riria	Iwingaro	
Hoki	* Ngariki <i>b</i>	Pepe Nanehu Ruhia	
Koutu	* Horonga <i>c</i>	Pepe Nanehu Ruhia	
Puku	Tangi <i>c</i>	Karaha Wharekahika	
Heiarero	f Teremoana <i>a</i>	Ngai Te Auahi	
Ngawari	* Tauranga <i>b</i>	Te Auahi	
* Pokirangi	Ngahipi <i>a</i>	Pepe Ratimea Tahua	
Aperahama	Taminga Puia <i>c</i>	Ruhia	
* Hekemona	Miriamia Taituha <i>b</i>		
Rewarewa	Kohatu Ahu <i>c</i>		
Tutaki	Katerina Pongo <i>a</i>		
* Te Anini	Turuhira Tarahanga <i>a</i>		
Te Waru	Raharaha Taumata <i>b</i>		
Manuka	Nganiti Matiu <i>a</i>		
Ngatohu Manuka			

XIV.

ADULT.

MALES.

Parakako
 Rotoiko Ngaewe
 Waiukau
 Tiaho
 Tahuora
 Raharaha
 * Waretamahana
 Hoki
 Manihi
 * Warau
 Wiremu Tupara
 * Aramatai
 * Wakaraue Ngarini
 * Warau Ngaine
 * Tamarua
 * Kopikopi
 Muhi
 * Wakarawe
 * Kahukaka
 * Pai
 Tukituki
 Takai
 Horaia
 * Tahora
 Ngawai
 Ngara
 Ngaoko
 Kara
 Teria
 Arawata
 Toko
 Tara
 * Pure
 Kato
 Hakirau
 * Ngapatu
 Ra
 * Nakunaku
 Kari
 Hautu
 Pari
 Pahere
 * Hamaona Tiniuhi
 t Hape
 * Ahikai
 Tamahana Taka
 Tiaho
 Parera
 Ngawewe
 * Ngatara

FEMALES.

t Hiria Tanupo *c*
 Ramarihi Arahi *c*
 * Mere Wharewi *b*
 * Parakiwai *b*
 * Uru Kau *b*
 Hareata Tahua *a*
 Erihapeti Tahua *a*
 Akuira Kape *a*
 t Inewairoro Ukui (Taranaki) *a*
 * Rihia Ngoto *a*
 Toki Pukeri *b*
 * Katarai Whangai *b*
 Ruhia *a*
 Timotimo Ngamuka *a*
 Riana Ngatuhe *a*
 Ngakawhi Toetoe *c*
 Teremoana Toetoe *b*
 Parehou Te Auahi *a*
 * Rangikapuhia
 Pekarimu Whanga *a*
 * Te Ati Ahipaura *c*
 * Te Kenui *b*
 Mata Karaka *c*
 * Waikaukau Hoki
 * Tai Manihi
 * Pai Wharau
 * Kahukaka Tupara
 * Ngaremu Wakaraue
 Kahutaiki Wakaraue
 Pai
 Mere Pai
 * Ngamoro Takai
 Ngoto Horaia
 Towatowa Tahora
 * Tiu Ngaoko

NON-ADULT.

MALES.

FEMALES.

Ngatara
 Anga
 Ngawini
 Kiri
 Ihi
 Wata
 Mangaora
 Huira
 * Mangawika Ahu
 * Onekura
 Hoani Patuuri
 Taituwa Wahiawa
 * Mohi Hemi
 Tamati Tarahanga
 Matenga Taumata
 Matiu
 t Hakopa Tanupo (Taranaki)
 * Piripi Arahi
 Hone Warewi
 Mehana Kiriwera
 Natanahira Kau
 Reweti Tahua
 Haimona Pita Kape

XV.

ADULT. MALES.	FEMALES.	NON-ADULT. MALES.	FEMALES.
t Paiuru Ukui (Taranaki)			
Hetaraka Ngoto			
* Paora Pukeri			
Tiha			
* Kereopa			
Kena			
Ruka			
Henare Ngamuka			
* Wiremu Ngatuhe			
Toetoe			
Te Auahi			
Warekahika			
Wangai			
Raniera			
Hakiaha Warenikau			
* Herewini Ahipaura			
Whanga Taituha			
* Ahipaura			
* Hone Pumipi Te Po			
* Karaka			

Summary of the foregoing Statement.

ADULT.	NON-ADULT.	TOTAL.
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	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Population in 1844	301	237	118	84	419	321	740
Emigrated	3	4	1	3	4	11	15
Abstracted by the pakeha		2		2			
Numbers for comparison	298	231	117	79	415	310	725
Deaths since 1844	81	67	43	28	124	95	219
Residue	217	164	74	51	291	215	506
Population in 1858	291	215	70	54	361	269	630
Number of Wives with issue alive							107
Ditto whose issue are all dead							38
Ditto barren							75
							222
Females abstracted by the Pakeha							4

In order to give a condensed view of the information contained in the previous pages, with reference to the movement of the population during the interval between 1844 and 1858, the annexed table was also prepared by Fenton.

XVI. TABLE II. showing the state of the Population of certain Tribes in the District of Waikato in the year 1844, as compared with the Population of the same Tribes in the year 1858, with the per centage decrease thereon.

XVI.

TABLE II.

TABLE showing the state of the Population of certain Tribes in the District of Waiaho in the year 1844, as compared with the Population of the same Tribes in the year 1858, with the per centage decrease thereon.

Eggregate.	Tribes, or Part or Tribe.	Population in 1844, after detection of Emigrants and persons now unknown.				Deaths between 1844 and 1858.				Residue in 1858 of Population of 1844.				Population of 1858, (Emigrants excluded).				Increase in 14 years, 1844 to 1858.				Decrease in 14 years, 1844 to 1858.				Population.				Total Popula- tion.				Decrease in 14 years.				Per Centage Decrease in 14 years, 1844 to 1858.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
		Adults, Non-Adults.				Adults, Non-Adults (1844.)				Adults, Non-Adults (1858.)				Adults and Non-Adults of 1844, and living in 1858.				Adults, Non-Adults.				Adults, Non-Adults.				In 1844.				In 1858.				Total Population.				Total Popula- tion.				Decrease in 14 years.				Per Centage Decrease in 14 years, 1844 to 1858.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
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Total number of Deaths in 14 years... 659
Total number of surviving Adults... 328

Appendix 5: Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū, Waikato-Tainui & Ngāti Maniapoto Whakapapa Connections

The following whakapapa tables highlight the many descent lines of Ngāti Apakura and some of the whakapapa relationships to Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto. Whatihua, the husband of Apakura, eponymous ancestress of the tribe Apakura, is a well-known descendant of Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka, whose tribal descent is outlined in whakapapa table 1:

Hoturoa

I

Hotuope

I

Hotuawhio

I

Hotumatapu

I

Motai

I

Ue

I

Rakamaomao

I

Kakati

I

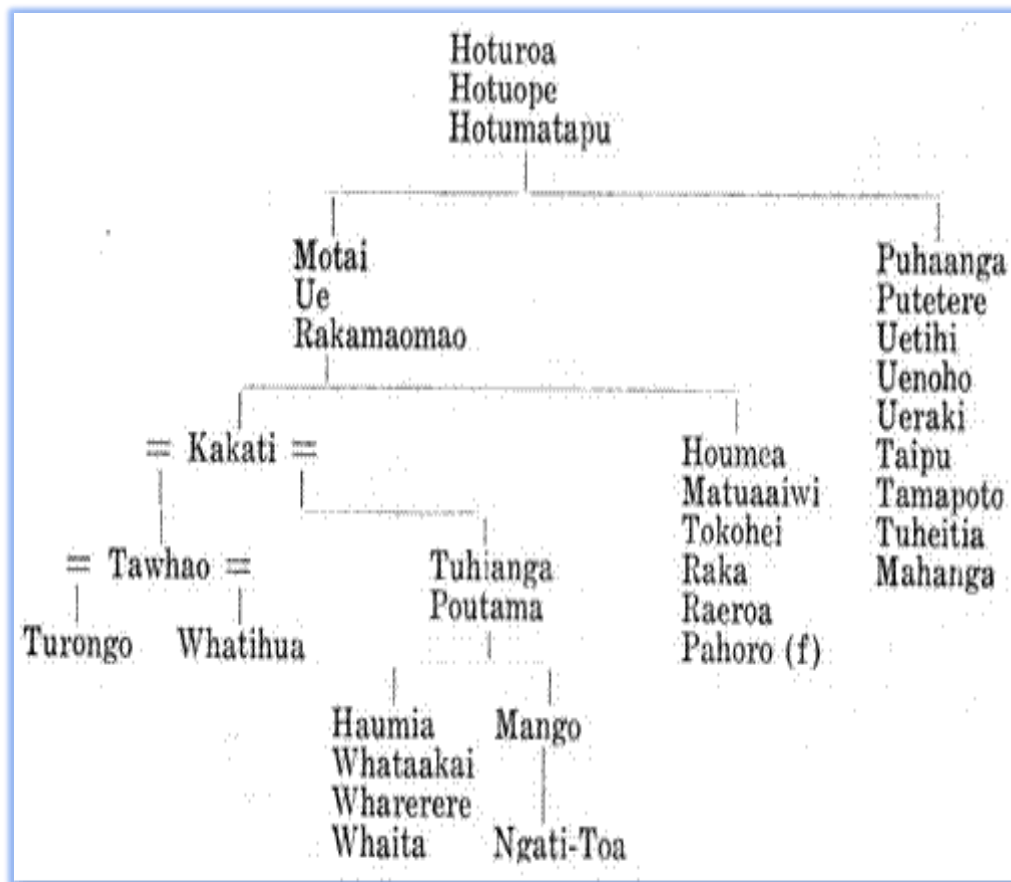
Tawhao

I

Whatihua

Whakapapa Table 1: Hoturoa to Whatihua

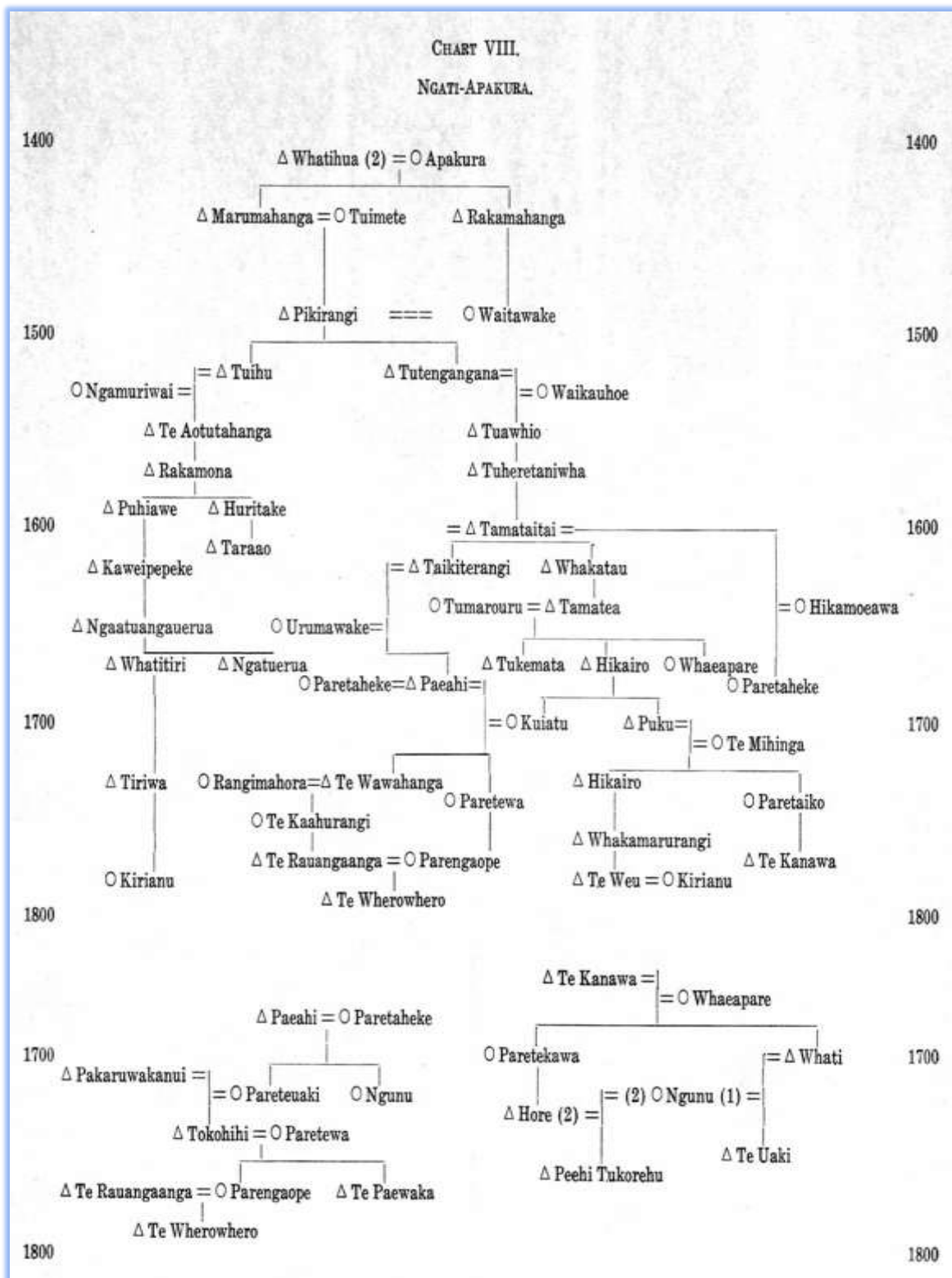
Robertson provides a more complete whakapapa of Whatihua in whakapapa table 2 from a 1958 article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.¹⁹¹



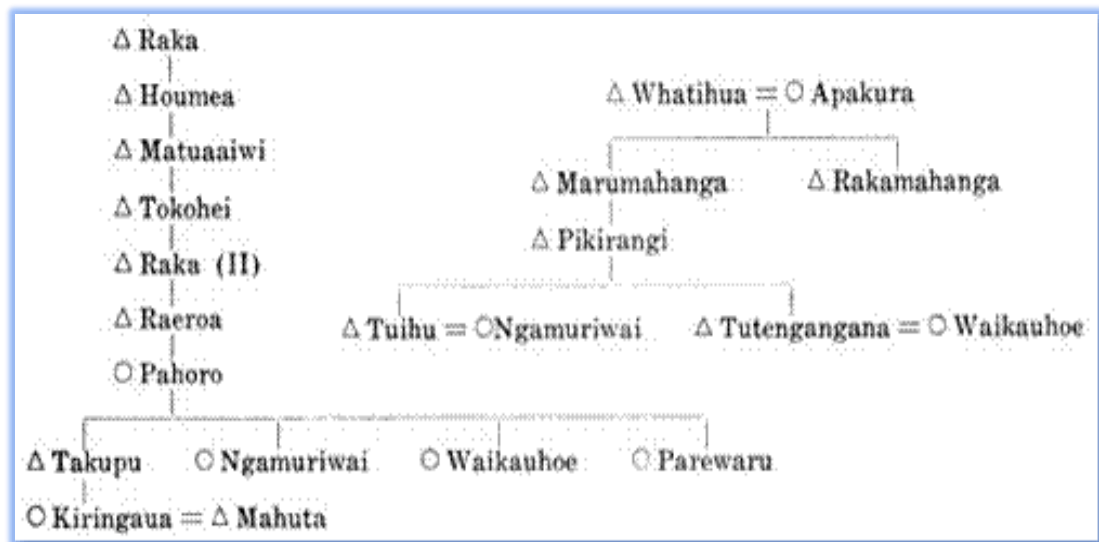
Whakapapa Table 2

Whatihua, was one of the sons of Tawhao. The other son was Turongo who married Māhinaarangi and from this union came Raukawa, eponymous ancestor of the great Iwi - Ngāti Raukawa. Whatihua married 2 wives - Ruapūtahanga and Apakura. From the latter union stems the great Iwi - Ngāti Apakura. Whakapapa table 3 below illustrates some of the many rich strands of Ngāti Apakura and the whakapapa relationships with other Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto kin.

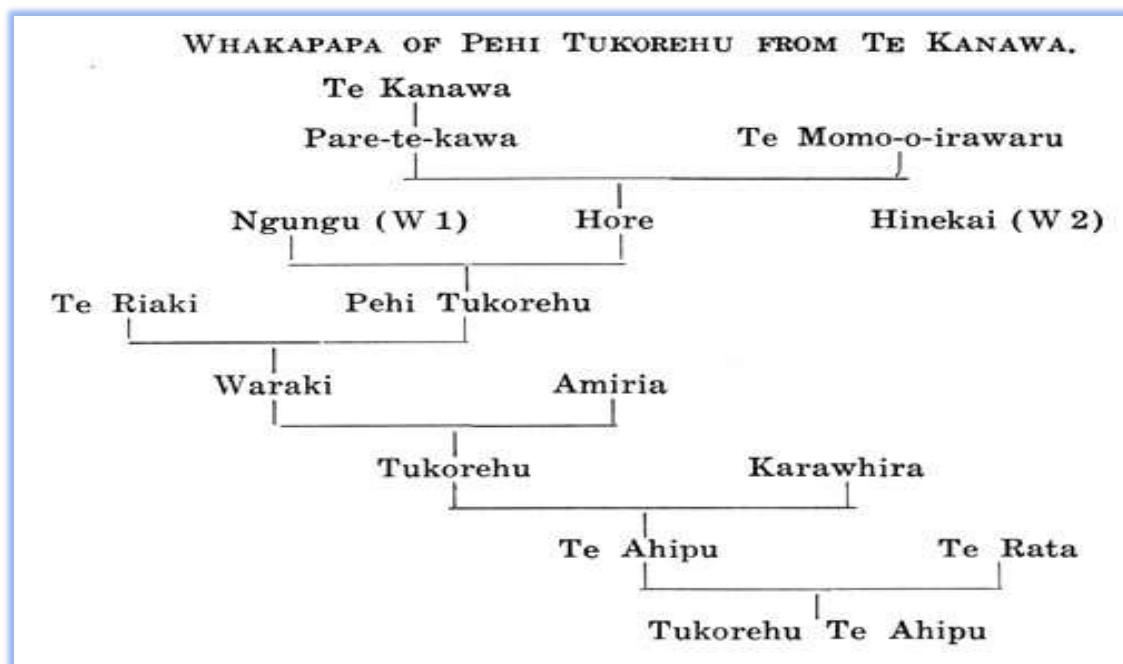
¹⁹¹ The above and following whakapapa tables are from Robertson, J.B, 'The significance of New Zealand tribal tradition' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 67, No. 1, 1958) 39 at 46-47. Robertson's key informant was Raureti Te Huia.



Whakapapa Table 3: The Many Strands of Ngāti Apakura



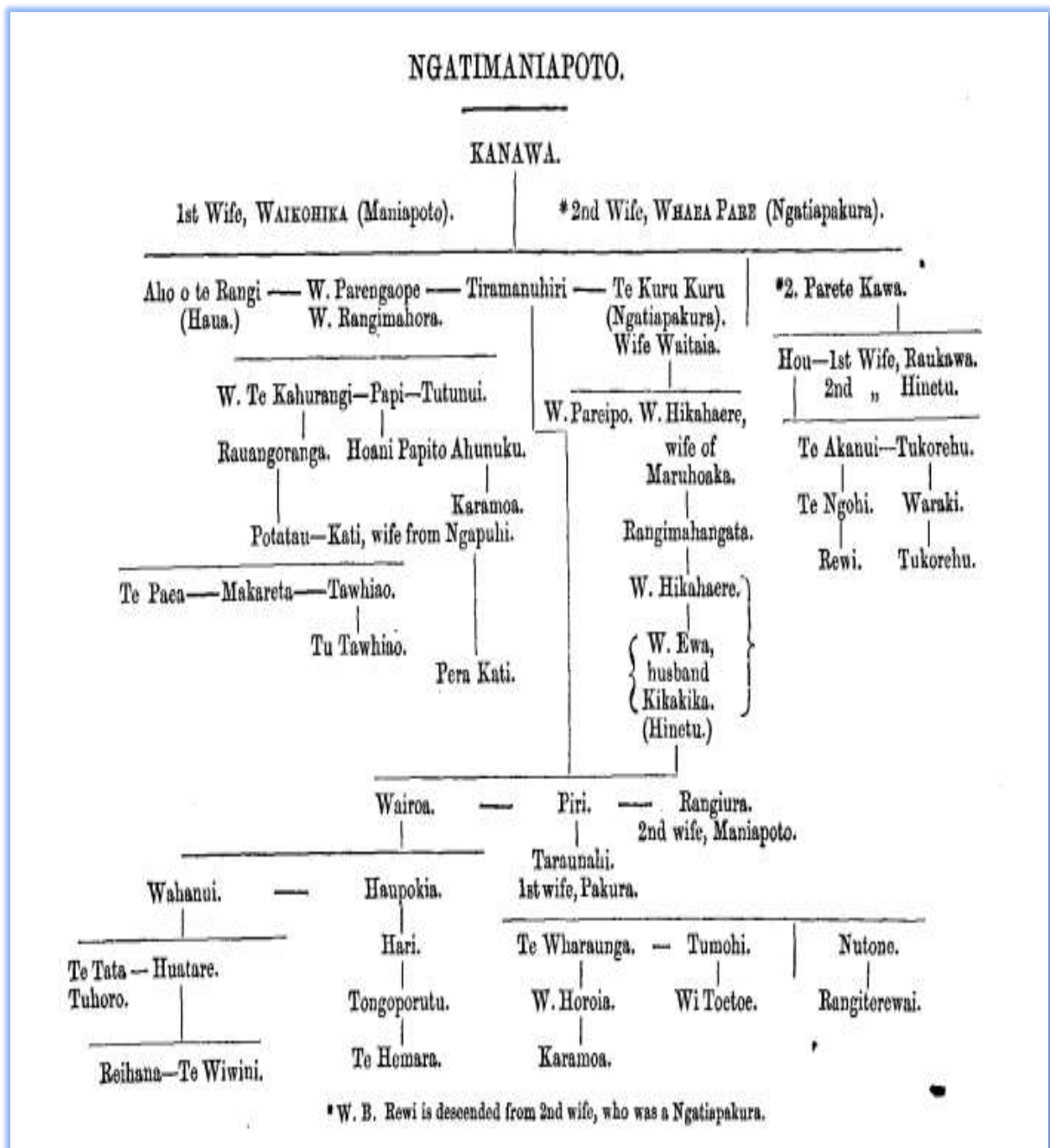
Whakapapa Table 4: Rakamaomao is the father of both Houmea and Kakati. Pikirangi is the grandson of Whatihua and Apakura.¹⁹²



Whakapapa Table 5: Peehi Tukorehu whakapapa back to Te Kanawa and Whaeapare of Ngāti Apakura¹⁹³

¹⁹² Robertson, J.B, 'The significance of New Zealand tribal tradition' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 67, No. 1, 1958) 39 at 46-47.

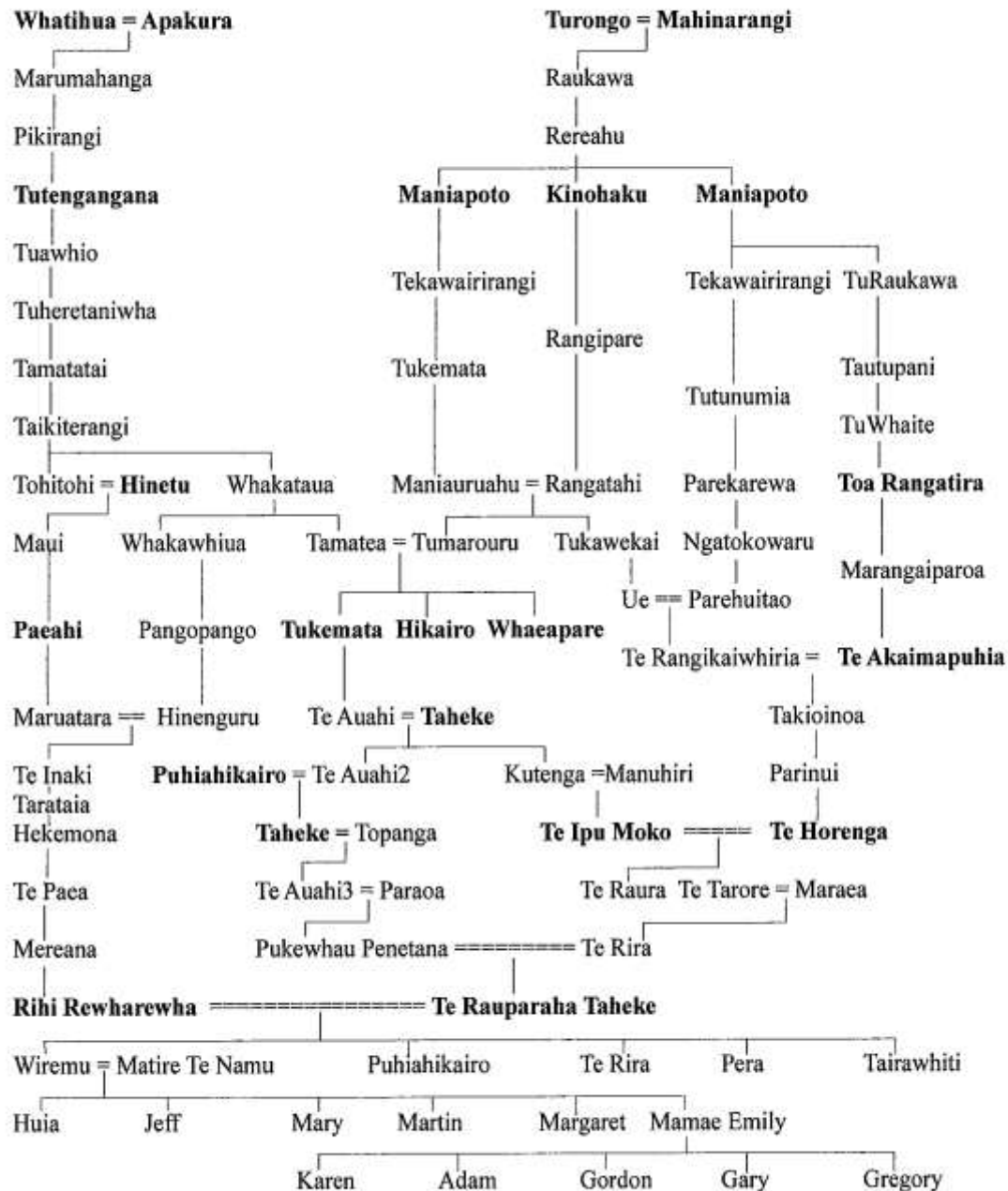
¹⁹³ *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol 42, 1933).



Whakapapa Table 6: Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Apakura whakapapa of, inter alia, Potatau Te Wherowhero, Peehi Tukorehu, Te Hemara, Wi Karamoa, Wiremu Toetoe and Rewi Manga Maniapoto¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Whakapapa Table in Reports by Major Mair and Mr Bush Relating to the 'State of the Natives, Upper Waikato, Raglan and Kāwhia' in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Enclosure in No. 7, Session I, G-02B, 1874) at 6.

Whakapapa: Hinetu, Taheke Apakura, Akaimapuhia



Ngāti Apakura Whakapapa Table 7 for Pukewhau Penetana, Rihi Rewharewha & Te Rauparaha Taheke¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Ngāti Apakura whakapapa table compiled by the late Ngāti Apakura claimant Gordon Lennox. Mr Lennox kindly allowed the researchers to include his whakapapa tables within an earlier 2012 Waitangi Tribunal report, which is acknowledged with gratitude.

Appendix 6: Some of the Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Hinetū, Waikato-Tainui & Ngāti Maniapoto Whānau and Hapū at Rangiaowhia at the Time of the Crown Attack on 21 February 1864 and Hairini, 22 February 1864

Table 6

Iwi at Rangiaowhia when the Attack Occurred	Hapū at Rangiaowhia when the Attack Occurred	Iwi and Hapu Individuals Present
		k – Killed w - Wounded
NGĀTI APAKURA	Ngāti Rāhui Ngāti Taheke	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hori Te Wano - Aperahama - Te Rangipouri - Hone Te One - Wikitoria - Hoani Papita Kahawai¹⁹⁶ - Ihaia¹⁹⁷ - Rawiri¹⁹⁸ - Potatau¹⁹⁹ - Wiri Kerei - Penetania - Pita Mokamokai - Tamehana - Reihana Te Ki - Te Matini Tape - Hohepa Paituri - Penetita Te Wharaunga - Kereopa Paraki - Pita Mokamokai - Turimanu Te Wano
NGĀTI HINETU		- Riteni Te Tahiwi
NGĀTI HIKAIRO?		Some of these people are referred to as being Ngāti

¹⁹⁶ Potatau's eye witness account of Rangiaowhia cited in Meredith, P, Nankivell, R & Joseph, R, 'Ngati Apakura Mana Tangata: (CFRT Scoping Report, 2010) at 100 and also in Thos. Wayth Gudgeon, *The Defenders of New Zealand being a Short Biography of Colonists who Distinguished Themselves in Upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in These Islands* (H Brett Printer, Shortland Street, Auckland, 1887) at 178-179.

¹⁹⁷ Idem.

¹⁹⁸ Idem.

¹⁹⁹ Idem.

		<p>Apakura and Ngāti Hikairo. hence the complex challenge of blurring tribal identity boundaries between tribal both groupings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kewene Whakataha - Te Wera - Matapura - Hounuku Wharekoka - Karo - Rina Haututu & husband - Hongihongi, - Rangiāmoa
WAIKATO		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pakira's son Te Rangikaiwhirea, (k) - Amitai (k)
	Ngāti Naho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Te Kewene Te Kahika
	Ngāti Mahanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tamati Te Wiroa
	Te Ahiwarei	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kouiria Te Tokiaho
	Ngāti Hounuku	
	Ngāti Tauhunu	
	Ngāti Parekahuki	
	Ngāti Tahinga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Paora Pipi (k)
NGĀTI MANIAPOTO	<p>Ngāti Paretekawa Ngāti Kahu Ngāti Unu</p>	

Appendix 7: List of Māori Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau etc and at present on board the Hulk Marion 1864²⁰⁰

*List of Maori Prisoners taken at Rangiriri,
Rangiaowhia, Orakau &c, and at present on board
the Hulk "Marion"*

No.	Name	Tribe	Remarks
1.	Tiarii Te Huta	Ngatihanga	
2.	Paitoroku Te Hikutia	"	
3.	Tikiriini Te Aho	"	
4.	Te Rakatau Te Hootu	"	Died February 28. 1864
5.	Pipipi Matuwha	"	
6.	Tame Hokianga	"	
7.	Mohi Ratuiri	"	
8.	Wiremu Tahanatangi	"	
9.	Hohopa Motuiri	"	
10.	Aperaniko Te Pahi	"	
11.	Heperi Te Hanga	"	
12.	Poukiamona Ngawawa	"	
13.	Kipa Te Hiti	"	
14.	Pihani Pukarua	"	
15.	Teuama Teuama	"	
16.	Wiremu Pahi	"	Died
17.	Aha Te Rewatahi	"	
18.	Teuira Maipi Kekerika	"	
19.	Matene Te Kiri	"	
20.	Papa Te Hootu	"	
21.	Kapa Pahiama	"	
22.	Ngatahi Te Pahi	"	

²⁰⁰ White, T.A, 'List of Prisoners taken at Rangiriri, Rangiaowhia, Orakau, etc and now on board the Hulk Marion,' (Item R22396823, Box 3, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, no date). For more context and correspondence on Māori prisoners during the Waikato campaign, see Further Papers relative to the Native Insurrection' in *AJHR*, (1863, E-No 5d); and 'The Maori Prisoners' in *AJHR* (1864, E-No 1, Part II).

23.	Tepene Te Pae	Ngatitama.
24.	Tangi Te Pakarua	"
25.	Hoeta Titahi	"
26.	Eneta Te Moahia	"
27.	Moikaoe Moarunui	"
28.	Moaihi Rori Katipa	Ngatitaka.
29.	Totaea Katipa	"
30.	Ikais Te Moanga	"
31.	Ranietia Te Whiti	"
32.	Tipene Te Tahua	"
33.	Poreka Ngahiwi	"
34.	Moaihi Toharuniohi	"
35.	Tiopia Papitama	"
36.	Inoka Pahi	"
37.	Matene Ranietia	"
38.	Hemi Tahua	"
39.	Pene Kuki	"
40.	Kahiwhati	"
41.	Hona Te Wharukau	Ngatihone.
42.	Minikorei Urumanuaka	"
43.	Kataka Tuaiti	"
44.	Taho	"
45.	Arana Ngawaka	"
46.	Tangatawata Sinitaia	Ngatimaru.
47.	Hona Sinitaia	"
48.	Raharahi Te Moana	Ngatitaka.
49.	Nikora Karawata	"
50.	Te Tahiama Tahiwa	Ngatipuhia.
51.	Te Remihama Tahiwa	"
52.	Te Rora Parawhau	"

53.	Hone Rerekore	Ngatipukiaue	
54.	Riwai Pitia	"	
55.	Te Hapimara Maunga	"	
56.	Te Hatawira	"	
57.	Te Ibura Heahia	"	
58.	Hakopa	"	
59.	Riwi te loharomati	"	
60.	Hatama	"	
61.	Timau	"	
62.	Hone te Ahuoka	"	
63.	Hemi Ahipua	"	
64.	Hapania te Motukawhai	"	
65.	Hakiaha te Toki	Ngatitangamui	
66.	Papa Puketaha	"	Seas
67.	Timoti te loharau	"	
68.	Pitongia	"	
69.	Pone Takataha	"	
70.	Tokerei te Rau	Ngatimshuta	
71.	Katoka te Hiko	"	
72.	Hapi Hamaka	"	
73.	Huatana Aganita	"	
74.	Panapana	"	
75.	Te Maniheta Kewini	"	
76.	Shimaita	"	
77.	Motiaka te Poho	"	
78.	Haituka	"	
79.	Himiona te Paika	"	
80.	Hikorima te Ikapoto	"	
81.	Panapa te Sawhete	"	
82.	Honima te Maiti	"	

83.	Haratona Te One	Ogatomahuta	
84.	Huana Te Tutubau	"	
85.	Moataha Tahapa	"	
86.	Tahata Ogatana	"	
87.	Merahiko Te Koputa	"	
88.	Mi Tarahawaiti Te Mo	"	
89.	Pape Ngutungunu	"	(Taken at Te Koheroa)
90.	Shaka Te Mi	"	
91.	Shaka Hamaka	"	
92.	Insaka Pehitahi	"	
93.	Puta Paowhenua	"	
94.	Te Hanihi Whiti	"	
95.	Te Kapa Parangaranga	"	
96.	Reweti Te Oukuroa	"	
97.	Pohimama Te Kurui	"	
98.	Totara Turohanga	"	
99.	Rikawa	"	
100.	Pumipi Tongarua	"	
101.	Rangitakinga	"	
102.	Ruiananga Toka	"	
103.	Tihene Te Tiki	"	
104.	Pohimama Te Raithe	"	
105.	Te Kohake	"	
106.	Panapana Te Pua	"	
107.	Turua Haka	"	
108.	Reihana Te Ngohi	Te Ngaurau	
109.	Maikato Te Sawkara	"	
110.	Moiti Te Paki	"	
111.	Motini Te Waiwai	"	
112.	Aika Komotea		

113.	Ramiera Kaihu	Se Nganigan
114.	Se Rakana Se Puiwai	"
115.	Hakiaha Torehu	"
116.	Paha	"
117.	Rapala Se Rere	"
118.	Hapeta	"
119.	Wenemahana	"
120.	Se Maata Saki	Se Patupato
121.	Eueta Pahoro	"
122.	Eueta Maki	"
123.	Hopa Kaeua	"
124.	Paitama Siki	"
125.	Enoka Ngata	"
126.	Hemata Pama	"
127.	Hunia Se Mooka	"
128.	Makoa Rapatapa	"
129.	Hori Saitaia	"
130.	Hoeta Hingaia	"
131.	Horni Hoeta	"
132.	Apetahama	"
133.	Parame Se Rangai	"
134.	Wiwenu Kumete	Ngatitekiriwai
135.	Moaka Waitere	"
136.	Wiwenu Supuhare	"
137.	Hore Huru	"

138.	Moohi Rangipupu	Ogatitikiriuai
139.	Moira Waitotara,	"
140.	Moaka Hangoro	"
141.	Taneti	"
142.	Wiroenu	"
143.	Hemi Le Iwingaro	"
144.	Wiroenu Le Pakuru	"
145.	Kavaka Le Hiskai	"
146.	Patoronu	"
147.	Shaka Le Lahua	"
148.	Wiroenu Le Auke	"
149.	Wiroenu Tukino	"
150.	Homonou Le Uahamui	"
151.	Enuera Le Iohave	"
152.	Rihia Haporoa	"
153.	Shaka Mere Kai	"
154.	Hori Saiepa	"
155.	Taneti Paetusi	"
156.	Le Wirihamu	"
157.	Pene Paetusi	"
158.	Moatue Kahukoti	Le Kawerou
159.	Shaka Le Uahaporo	"
160.	Aike Le Kahu	"
161.	Epika Korouvi	"
162.	Le Ropika Korouvi	"
163.	Hori Loti	"
164.	Hori Laxoni	Ogatitapa

165.	Ikamata.	Ngatitapa.	
166.	Matere Ngamuka	"	
167.	Atirini Tete	"	
168.	Miremu Samihana Kopa	"	
169.	Henare Komona	"	
170.	Mooki Tahiri	Sainui	
171.	Hone Kingi Le Wihakainu	"	
172.	Honi Wavili Tikao	"	
173.	Paikao	"	
174.	Moomu Samoru	"	
175.	Pahimama Ngatoka	"	
176.	Reripera Le Ori	"	
177.	Hone Kuruhi	"	
178.	Mehama Ngawhai	"	
179.	Mihama Rurihana	Ngatihana	
180.	Paratene	Ngatinaho	
181.	Mosunahi	Ngatinahuta	
182.	Hame Le Honekone	"	
183.	Hori Le Lohana.	"	
184.	Hamiwa Le Honeke	Ngatihana	
185.	Hatera Ngatoka	"	
186.	Pita Le Pou	Ngatinahuta	
187.	Samihama	Ngatipakura	
188.	Raihana Le Ki	"	
189.	Le Watini Tapa	"	
190.	Honey Loheta	"	
191.	Miteri Le Tahiri	Ngatikimata	

These men gave in their arms to General Cameron at Waikato. 181 Prisoner states he has not been engaged or in action. 182 Prisoner was engaged against H. H. Fox at Te Kohiroa. 183 Capt. Le Kohiroa. The 1st July. Le Kohiroa battle took place on 17th. He was engaged, bringing down three provisions for the enemy.

These were taken at Rangipipi were left behind at the same. Prisoner being wounded.

These were taken at Rangiaohia. (Half caste)

192.	Rema Pihana	Ngatiraukawa	
193.	Te Kumeke Le Kahika	Ngatinaho	
194.	Iria Moea	Ngatiraukawa	These were taken at
195.	Hohepa Paitere	Ngatiapakura	Rangiaohia.
196.	Ponelita Le Wharanga	"	
197.	Koropu Paraki	"	
198.	Mi Karanooa	Ngatikinetu	
199.	Le Rewarewa	Potupo	These were taken at
200.	Mi Hore	Pongowhakaata	Orakau.
201.	Apetamiko	Ngaitawake	
202.	Kamiria Le Tokiwahe	Le Ahioawa	
203.	Samati Le Wiroa	Ngatimamunga	
204.	Le Raore Le Waihaere	Ngatiraukawa	
205.	Le Haiana Ngakupa	"	These were taken at
206.	Imoka Ngakuhura	Le Urirora	Rangiaohia.
207.	Hohepa Whakai	"	
208.	Hopi Le Hamanui	"	
209.	Busha Le Wharewhakakau	"	
210.	Pia Mokamokai	Ngatiapakura	
211.	Karipa Mautaiha	Ngatiraukawa	Taken at Orakau
212.	Hoera Pore (Big Joe)	Puketapu	
213.	Ihau Le Wani	Ngamuhanga	From Taranaki
214.	Teperu	Ngatitahungu	
215.	Anama Le Hama	Ngatipikiao	
216.	Iraia Le Koparua	Ngaiterangi	Taken at Tauranga.
217.	Le Eumana Haka	"	
218.	Ihaia Le Motuati	"	

219.	Le Kameu	Ngaiterangi	
220.	Le Hutena Le Rahui	"	
221.	Heuia Le Heke	Le Arawa	
222.	Hevi Tarakawa	"	
223.	Hea Matuharama	"	
224.	Paratene Kamua	Ngatiawarere	Taken at Tauranga
225.	Le Hakiwira	Le Wharau & Le Haka	
226.	Heuie Ngawhanga	"	
227.	Karepa Mueke		
228.	Le Ioharimaru		

(Signed) J. A. White.

