

IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

**WAI 898
WAI 2351
WAI 1112
WAI 1113**

IN THE MATTER of The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (as amended)

AND Claims in the King Country Inquiry consolidated under Wai 898

AND the Wai 2351 claim by Frank Thorne on behalf of himself and for the benefit of Ngāti Hikairo

AND the Wai 1112 claim by **MANIHERA FORBES** and **MERE GILMORE** on behalf of themselves and Ngāti Hikairo

AND the Wai 1113 claim by **MANIHERA FORBES** and **MERE GILMORE** on behalf of themselves and Ngāti Hikairo

**BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF
FRANK KĪNGI THORNE
ON THE WARS AND RAUPATU**

Dated this 28th day of March 2013

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Introduction

1. My name is Frank Kīngi Thorne, Researcher, of Ngāti Hikairo. I have previously given evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal on this inquiry so won't go through my personal background in any detail.
2. In this brief I give evidence for my Wai 2351 claim relating to the Crown's invasion, wars and raupatu and the prejudice suffered by Ngāti Hikairo.
3. I am the principal writer of the oral and traditional history report of Ngāti Hikairo called "*Te Maru-ō-Hikairo*". A section of "*Te Maru-ō-Hikairo*" discusses the wars, raupatu and confiscation.¹ This brief of evidence is based upon that report and is supplemented by kōrero of Jack Cunningham and Meto Hopa.

Whakapapa basis

4. I am the claimant in the Wai 2351 Claim. In making my claim I remain fully supportive of the Kīngitanga and acknowledge the Waikato whakapapa of Ngāti Hikairo. Nevertheless, I have lodged my Wai 2351 Claim for the benefit of Ngāti Hikairo and on the basis of distinctive Ngāti Hikairo whakapapa and customary interests. I give this evidence today for the benefit of the iwi of Ngāti Hikairo.
5. I am aware that there are jurisdictional issues in relation to the Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 and that Ngāti Hikairo is listed as a "*hapū*" in that Act. That settlement has occurred and our people do obtain some benefit. Our Ngāti Hikairo Waipapa marae has membership on Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated and receives benefits from Waikato. I understand that this reflects our whakapapa connections to and within Waikato.
6. The Wai 2351 claim is designed to capture the various Ngāti Hikairo claims relating to war and raupatu. These are claims of

¹ Wai 898 #A98, pp 251-278

Ngāti Hikairo as an iwi and by virtue of our whakapapa lines which are distinct to our Waikato whakapapa lines.

7. Ngāti Hikairo can be best described as a border iwi, as it straddles a small buffer region between the larger Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato iwi. Ngāti Hikairo is closely affiliated to both its larger neighbours.
8. A key ancestor of the iwi from whom all hapū of Ngāti Hikairo descend is Rakataura III (Rakataura-a-Tokohei). This tupuna is the source of the primary and distinctive affiliation of Ngāti Hikairo iwi. This is a distinct and key line for Ngāti Hikairo that defines our iwi in relation to other iwi and in particular to Waikato hapū. The whakapapa is discussed in detail in *Te Maru-ō-Hikairo*.²
9. While providing evidence for the Pirongia West Investigation in 1894 Hēmi Erueti of Ngāti Rāhui stated that Ngāti Hikairo had claims to area through Rakataura II (this is Rakataura-a-Tokohei) and Horotakere. He stated “all this country from here (Kāwhia) to Ngāroto is one formerly under the ancestor Rakataura II.”³ He stated that he identified as Ngāti Rāhui and Ngāti Apakura. The Ngāti Apakura claim was due to Ngāti Rāhui, who connected to both Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hikairo. He provided whakapapa to show the connections. And also stated that Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hikairo shared origins, saying that the descendants of Ngāmuriwai and Tūtengangana are Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Hikairo. He said sometimes Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Apakura operated as one people. “*When they go to fight.*”⁴ He said Ngāti Hikairo was not an ancient name but it sprang from there. He stated so too did Rāhui the tupuna of Ngāti Rāhui. He identified that Ngāti Apakura lands were near Ngāroto. He said Ngāti

² Wai 898, #A98, pp 41-93

³ Evidence of Hēmi Erueti, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 23, p.212

⁴ Ibid.,p.208

Apakura had no rights to Pirongia West (Ōpārau). He said that Ngāti Puhiawe descend from Tūihu and Waikauhoe. He said that before Mātakitaki Ngāti Puhiawe were at Waiari, that Whakamarurangi was at Tauwhare, that Waiari was the principal Ngāti Puhiawe pā, and Taurakohia was Te Whānau Pani, Ngāti Hikairo's pā, they were all one people.⁵ At the Kāwhia O (Paetonga) Investigation in 1892, Hēmi Erueti was adamant that there were two sections of Ngāti Rāhui, one under Ngāti Hikairo, and one under Ngāti Apakura. And that Ngāti Apakura were a separate people whose interests were in Waipā and not in Kāwhia.

10. Accordingly, the Wai 2351 Claim is based upon Ngāti Hikairo affiliations which are distinctive and are not Waikato descent lines or affiliations.
11. In this brief of evidence I will:
 - (i) Describe how the position of Ngāti Hikairo during the wars is complex and difficult to characterise in a simple way;
 - (ii) Provide an overview of Ngāti Hikairo's participation in the wars;
 - (iii) Give a summary of the impact of the Crown's land confiscation upon Ngāti Hikairo;
 - (iv) Discuss Ngāti Hikairo involvement in the wars in Taranaki;
 - (v) Provide evidence on Ngāti Hikairo's participation in the wars within the Waikato Confiscation District including at Rangiriri, Te Rore, Pikopiko, Waiari, and Rangiaowhia;
 - (vi) Set out some key evidence about what happened to Ngāti Hikairo immediately after the wars; and,
 - (vii) Discuss those Ngāti Hikairo who supported the Crown.

⁵ Ibid.,pp.213-214.

The position of Ngāti Hikairo was complex

12. Ngāti Hikairo were under significant political, economic, and social pressures during the wars of the 1860s between Māori and the Crown. I described above our iwi as a border people between Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato. Another iwi to the east, Ngāti Apakura, shared whakapapa, and overlapping interests with Ngāti Hikairo. Yet Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Apakura are two distinctly separate independent iwi, these distinctions being clear before Mātakitaki in 1822, and pre and post the Waikato War. A significant part of our rohe includes Kāwhia Moana where settlers including missionaries and traders came to engage with Māori. So, we were also a border people between Pākehā settlers and Māori. We had built up significant economic and social relations with the Pākehā at Kāwhia and in the Waipā.
13. All of these factors make it very difficult to describe in simple terms the position of Ngāti Hikairo during the wars. It is far too complex for that. I can say that the pressures somewhat divided our iwi and factions lent support for the Crown and factions fought against the Crown.⁶ The complexity is highlighted by the fact that of those who decided that the best course for the iwi was to support the Crown they still ensured that they did not directly participate in the battles for the Crown forces. They did not wish to fight against their direct kin, but they felt compelled to support the Crown for what they saw as the survival of their iwi.
14. My overall view of this is that it was the Crown who put iwi in this invidious position and it was the Crown who invaded into Māori lands.

⁶ O'Malley quotes the Otorohanga Minute Book of the Native Land Court that recorded Ngāti Hikairo were "*partly loyal & partly rebel*" at the time of the wars, #A22, p31

Overview of Ngāti Hikairo participation in the wars

15. Our people did fight against the Crown in the wars in the 1860s in Taranaki, and in the Waikato. Our people lost lives and property at the various battles and encounters in Taranaki, Tauranga, and in the Waikato.
16. In particular our people fought against the Crown forces in the battles at Rangiriri, Pikopiko (Puketoki), Pāterangi, Waiari, Hairini and were present at Rangiaowhia. Ngāti Hikairo suffered substantially in such battles and “[with] *other groups took a prominent part in the defence of the Waikato*”.⁷
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

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*”.⁸ Ngāti Hikairo considers they were never in rebellion, but were simply defending themselves after the Crown invaded.
19. 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. Ngāti

⁷ O'Malley, #A22, pp 59, 106, 109-130, 144-170, 179, 180

⁸ O'Malley, #A22, p580; *New Zealand Gazette*, no.109, 23 October 1879, p.1480

Hikairo is submitting separate evidence on the losses of these “returned lands”.

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.
21. As noted above, certain factions within Ngāti Hikairo felt that the best path for the iwi’s survival was to support the Crown. These factions were not large in number and they took on “non-combat” roles.⁹

Te Pakanga ki Taranaki

22. The invasion of Taranaki by Crown forces in 1860, struck a nerve with Ngāti Hikairo. Already under pressure to sell and survey their lands, many feared that the situation in Taranaki could easily be repeated in their own rohe. As a result, many Ngāti Hikairo are said to have gone in support of the Taranaki people. Among their ranks were Te Tapihana, Pikia Haurua, Te Onekino, Marakai and Hōne Te One.
23. Te Kie Raunui of Ngāti Māhanga, when giving evidence for the Pirongia West Block in 1894, stated when asked who of Ngāti Hikairo went to war in Taranaki with Pikia, that:

“Toataua, Te Ake, and Makoare (Te Au) and many others. I heard Hōne Te One, Pirongia Matehaere¹⁰ and many others went to the first Taranaki war before Pikia went.”¹¹

24. Meto Hopa recalls the following in regards to those who had gone to Taranaki:

“Ko Hōne Te One, ko Haurua Pikia...ko Te Kihirini i haere ki Taranaki ki te pakanga.”¹²

⁹ O’Malley, #A22, p31

¹⁰ Also known as Matehaere Hurihia and Hapimana Matehaere or Hapimana Hurihia

¹¹ Evidence of Te Kie Raunui, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 23, p.162

¹² Interview with Meto Hopa, Kāwhia, 2008

25. Hōne Te One had previously been a government supporter and an influential player in the Rūnanga of Ngāti Hikairo, however he is conspicuously absent from records of the 1860-1862 Rūnanga meetings. His absence might be explained by the following report which appeared in The Taranaki Herald, following the visit of the HMS Eclipse to Kāwhia in 1866:

*'The Hōne Te One mentioned, was wounded and taken prisoner at Māhoetahi, and let go after cured.'*¹³

26. This statement supports traditions about Hōne Te One being present in Taranaki. It also illustrates the complexity of Ngāti Hikairo's political allegiances. This point is further represented by the absence of Kāwhia rangatira from the Kohimārama Conference in July-August 1860, "where officials hoped to secure endorsement for the Crown's position at Taranaki, thereby isolating the Waitara 'rebels' and their Kīngitanga allies."¹⁴

27. An invitation to attend the Kohimārama Conference was issued to rangatira throughout the country, who Governor Thomas Gore Browne considered loyal. There were very few Waikato chiefs in attendance, and Taranaki iwi were notably absent. Two Ngāti Hikairo rangatira who were invited, but did not attend, were Wīremu Te Wheoro and Hōne Wetere.¹⁵ Historian Vincent O'Malley cites a letter from a number of Kāwhia rangatira that may explain their absence:

'...in a letter written to the governor a week before the conference opened, Kikikoi, Nuitone Te Pakaru, Tākerei Ngāmotu, Matiu and Hōne Te One wrote to Browne that although they had received the governor's letter they could not attend the meeting because they were 'depressed and ashamed' over a recent incident involving the theft of some guns from a European (an affair in which the chiefs also denied

¹³ Taranaki Herald, Volume XIV, Issue 718, 5 May 1866, Page 5.

¹⁴ O'Malley, #A23, pp 277-8

¹⁵ O'Malley, #A23, pp 277-8

any involvement).¹⁶

28. Ngāti Hikairo's failure to attend Kohimārama and endorse Gore Browne's actions may also have been due to their sense of empathy for the Taranaki cause. A speech given by Wīremu Te Ake (Ngāti Hikairo), during the visit of a Taranaki delegation to Ngāruawāhia, condemns the actions of the missionaries and the Colonial Government:

*'We see our error, New Zealand. The fathers came first with the word, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." I was sitting under their wings when the first Governor came. He said, here am I—I have come to see you. We asked, have you come to take our land? He said, No. After this we went to Remuera to attend the great feast and about 300 of us met at Government House. We said to Governor, We do not intend to part with our land. He replied, You may go and keep your place: hold it fast for yourselves: then he returned. After this we began to see the intentions of our fathers (the Missionaries) and the Government, and the result is, that blood is flowing. You (Waikato) have shown us one thing, show us the other. What can we do, they have strangled the child, they have pursued us along our path. It is the Governor that has committed the wrong. Is it not?'*¹⁷

29. An 1861 report by Mr Rogan on the, "State of the Natives in the Various Districts..." provides the following assessment of Ngāti Hikairo's situation:

'The North side of Kāwhia is occupied by a branch of the Waikatos, called Ngāti Hikairo; who...have, for several years past, always been prone to quarrel, even with their neighbours. They have repeatedly threatened me, if I should attempt the survey of a block of land offered for sale by Te Kanawa Kihirini, who was then desirous of having European neighbours, but who now is one of the pillars of the Māori King at Ngāruawāhia. Kikikoi is the Chief of Ngāti Hikairo, and his son Hōne Wetere is the Native Assessor. I believe their near relations did not go to Taranaki, but the tribe was the first war party that moved for the South. I have no hesitation in saying that I believe the Kāwhia Natives are the most disaffected people in the country,

¹⁶ O'Malley, #A23, p278

¹⁷ Te Maru-o-Hikairo, #A98, p253

*and I think it will be seen that they will be amongst the first to join in any rebellion against the Government.*¹⁸

30. As predicted by Rogan, 'disaffected' Ngāti Hikairo did indeed join the "rebellion", first in Taranaki, then later in Waikato. Reports from the time provide details of their participation, and also suggest that Ngāti Hikairo remained in control of their own affairs and were not necessarily beholden to the King:

*'From Waitara we learn that the natives who have left for their homes, are the following Kāwhia tribes: Ngātimahuta under Wīremu Hoeta, Ngātingāwaero, part of Ngātihinētū, Ngātikinohaku and Ngātihikairo, total 250.'*¹⁹

*'It is known that the Waikato party are a number of reckless young men, who have taken part in the war merely for the sake of plunder, and have consisted principally, of the notorious Ngāti Hikairo tribe, at Kāwhia. After sackings and burning our houses, they appear to have returned laden with spoil, and probably have refused to share it with Kīngi.'*²⁰

31. The kaioara,²¹ "Karanga pā mai i te tara ki Kāwhia," expresses the depth of anger felt by its Ngāti Hikairo composer towards the colonial forces involved in the Taranaki Wars. It was composed, by Matirewhaia-ki-te-rangi in 1860, following the battle at Māhoetahi in Taranaki, where the Ngāti Hauā chief Te Wetini Taipōrutu and his son Hēmi were killed.
32. The words of the waiata suggest that Matirewhaia-ki-te-rangi was acquainted with Te Wetini and felt a sense of loss at his death. Te Wetini may have been familiar to many Ngāti Hikairo iwi members, as one of the composer's near relatives, Mātire Morgan,²² named

¹⁸ Rogan to T.H. Smith, 28 September 1861, AJHR, 1862, E-7, p.4

¹⁹ Continuation of Journal. Taranaki Herald, Volume IX, Issue 445, 9 February 1861, p3

²⁰ Untitled, Colonist, Volume III, Issue 302, 11 September 1860, Page 4

²¹ Kaioraora are a type of waiata that express the anger and the hatred felt by the composer, usually a woman

²² Matire Morgan was the daughter of Rewa, a first cousin of Matire-whaia-ki-te-rangi. Kopa, the mother of Rewa, and Hikairo Te Wēu, the father of Matirewhaia-ki-te-rangi were siblings. They were of Te Whānau Pani. Matire's specific hapū were Ngāti Ngāti

her son, Hōne Te Wetini Taipōrutu Morgan.²³

33. Te Tapihana,²⁴ who is known to have played a notorious role in the battles in Taranaki, is mentioned in the kaioara. Mention is also made of the “ten chiefs of Hikairo.” This could be a reference to the number of Ngāti Hikairo involved in the battle, or to the number that had fallen. Or perhaps the force would avenge the situation.
34. Certainly, the composer was moved and inspired by the events at Mahoetahi. Her waiata provides a politically and emotionally charged view of the battle.

*Karanga pā mai i te tara ki Kāwhia ka riro
Ka riro koa Te Wetini ki te mate
Tukua atu kia riro āna hara i te hinganga tangata
He tū nuku tā te rangi ki te whenua
Au au aue te mamae e
Tū ana a Te Tapihana
Heke mō tara ko te tekau rangatira o Hikairo
Te werewere e pango
E tū ahu nei āku wini i roto i tāku kōhua
Ko te Kāwana tāku kai
Ka mangungungia e āku niho ko te mano o Ingārangi
Taku kai e!*

35. The kaioara offers a distinctly Ngāti Hikairo perspective on the Taranaki wars. It illustrates the level of torment felt by Māori as a result of the colonial invasion into their previously autonomous territories. A clear and vivid abhorrence of the Governor is expressed in the statement, “ko te Kāwana tāku kai,” and the powerful concluding utterance, “ka mangungungia e āku niho ko te mano o Ingārangi taku kai e” (chewed by my teeth, the thousands of England will be my food).
36. During the Pirongia West Investigation in 1894, Hēmi Erueti (Ngātūerua) provided evidence stating his mothers brother, kewene (Whakataha) left Kāwhia between 1860-1861 to go to

²³ Court Judgement, Waihōhonu Block, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 6, p.98

²⁴ A Ngāti Puhia and Ngāti Parehinga leader

War.²⁵

Te Pakanga Whenua ki Waikato

37. On the 12th of July, 1863 British troops crossed the Mangatāwhiri Stream, which Waikato Māori considered their northern boundary or aukati line. This unjustified invasion by the Crown marked the beginning of the war in the Waikato.
38. Whereas the Taranaki conflict had been of great concern to Ngāti Hikairo, the intrusion into the Waikato posed a direct and immediate threat to iwi authority. There seemed little choice but to take action. Accordingly, many Ngāti Hikairo joined the fight against the invading forces. Among their number were several who had objected to Ngāti Hikairo's earlier involvement in the Taranaki war.
39. According to Hōne Te One in his evidence for the Kāwhia Hearing in 1889:
- “...some of the Ngāti Hikairo came from Kāwhia and others went from Whatiwhatihoe to join the Waikato War. Te Au Makoare went from the latter place. Te Ake, Kikikoi, Tāhau and Pōharama,²⁶ also Te Mūnu, Onekino²⁷ went from Kāwhia.”²⁸*
40. It should be noted that Te Au, Te Ake, Kikikoi, Tāhau, Pōharama, Te Mūnu and Te Onekino were very high ranked rangatira of Ngāti Hikairo. And furthermore senior in age, ranging from late 60s to mid 70s. The bulk of which were seen by the Crown before the war to be pro-government. The point being made here, is that it is clear that Ngāti Hikairo's involvement in the wars, was not

25 Evidence of Hēmi Erueti, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 23, p.232

²⁶ Was also known as Te Mahia or Pōharama Te Mahia, was the father Te Mātenga. Was a rangatira of Ngāti Whatitiri, Ngāti Hineue and Ngāti Puhiawe

²⁷ This tupuna was also known as Paitangatatahi, and lived frequently in both Ōpārau and Mangauika. He was an influential leader of Ngāti Hineue and Ngāti Puhiawe. He was the father of Hōne Maapi

²⁸ Evidence of Hōne Te One, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 4, p.60

that of rash hasty decision making made by young hot-headed individuals, but through a wise collective approach. Tāhau, otherwise known as Te Tapihana was recorded as being 80 years old when he died in 1880. Apart from Te Mūnu who was killed at Waiari, the others excluding Te Tapihana, all appear to have died of old age or natural causes by 1866. Tāmaki was killed at Rangiri in 1863, and possibly both Te Wereta and Te Kereihi, the sons of Kikikoi at Waiari, and some traditions suggest Te Reme, noted as have been captured at Rangiriri, may have been killed at Waiari or Pāterangi. Tai Hauāuru, a senior rangatira of Ngāti Hineue, who fought in Taranaki and died in 1867. He was considered to be a Hauhau prophet. Te Keene or Whakamarurangi, an uncle of Pumipi Moke died at this time. Both the younger senior chiefs, possibly in their 30s or 40s, yet still senior chiefs Pumipi Moke and Wī Hikairo also were deceased by 1868.²⁹ Its not clear if it was merely age, but also perhaps post war and confiscation stress and depression that may have led to the demise of a large proportion of Ngāti Hikairo leadership.

(i) Rangiriri

41. Rangiriri was the first major battle of the Waikato Wars. The assault lasted two days with Kīngitanga forces unable to retain the pā at Rangiriri. In response to being asked who of Ngāti Hikairo went to Rangiriri to fight, Meto Hopa answered:

“Te Tapihana, āe. Nā, ka haere hoki a Hōne Te One mā ki Rangiriri ki te āwhina i a Waikato.”³⁰

42. It is also known that at least 25 members of Ngāti Puhiawe, including Te Tapihana, were taken prisoner and held on ships off Kāwau Island.³¹ The names of some of the prisoners are

²⁹ Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXIV, Issue 3279, 20 January 1868, Page 3 and New Zealand Herald, Volume V, Issue 1303, 18 January 1868, Page 3

³⁰ Interview with Meto Hopa, Kāwhia, 2008

recorded as being: Tiriwa, Rēmi, Kakaraia, Ēpenaia. Harawira, Hēmi, Hākopa, Hōani, Te Rōhia, Te Wharemate, Hapimana, Hōani, Timea.³² Another list provides the following names:

*List of Ngāti Puhiauwe who were taken prisoner at Rangiriri*³³

- *Te Tapihana Tiriwa*³⁴ o Kowaiari³⁵, Waipa
- *Te Remihana Tiriwa*³⁶
- *Te Muunu Hiahia*
- *Te Roia Parawhau*³⁷
- *Hone Reokore*
- *Riwai Pikia*³⁸
- *Te Hapimana Maunga*³⁹
- *Te Harawira*⁴⁰

³¹ “The Māori Prisoners – A VISIT TO THE HULK”. Daily Southern Cross, Volume XX, Issue 2115, 30 April 1864, p13

³² Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri 1863-1871: Volume 1, No. 14: 3

³³ Office of the Colonial Secretary, Ko ngā ingoa o ngā herehere i riro mai i a Te Tiānara i te whawhai ki Rangiriri

³⁴ Also known as Tiriwa Tapihana, Tiriwa, Te Tapihana, and Tāhau.

³⁵ Waiari Pā, on the Mangapiko Stream, an important Ngāti Hikairo pā, belonging to Ngāti Puhiauwe and its hapū, Ngāti Whatitiri, Ngāti Parehinga, Ngāti Hineue, Ngāti Taiuru and Ngāti Rāhui.

³⁶ Uncertain, however this is quite possibly Te Remi also known as Te Reme, Te U Te Reme, Pāteū, and Takukoha. A brother of Te Tapihana.

³⁷ Also known as Te Roia Te Ake, Te Roia Te Mutu, Te Mutu Te Ake and Parawhau

³⁸ Also known as Heka and Hikareia Pikia, a son of Pikia, a younger brother of Pikia Haurua.

³⁹ Quite possibly Te Hapimana Hurihia also known as Matehaere, Matehaere Hurihia, Te Hapimana and Pirongia.

⁴⁰ Identified as the sole Ngati Hikairo representative at the Ramaramaapo hui in the 1850s dealing with the land dispute between Ngāti Ngāwaero and other Ngāti Maniapoto hapū and Ngāti Hikairo.

- *Hokopa*
- *Riwi Te Wharemate*
- *Hatama*
- *Timeu*
- *Hone Te Ahiwaka*
- *Hemi Ahipu*⁴¹
- *Hepanaia Te Motukowhai.*

43. Several waiata that Ngāti Hikairo learn at our tribal wānanga mōteatea and have been included in *Te Maru-ō-Hikairo* report and performed during the hearings were recorded by John McGregor on the ship that held the prisoners from Rangiriri that were taken to Kawau. This provides further evidence of Ngāti Hikairo's presence at Rangiriri.

Te Pakanga i roto i Te Rohe o Ngāti Hikairo

44. The following localities, all within the rohe of Ngāti Hikairo, were subjected to the Campaign of War.

41 By admission of Ngāti Whanaunnga

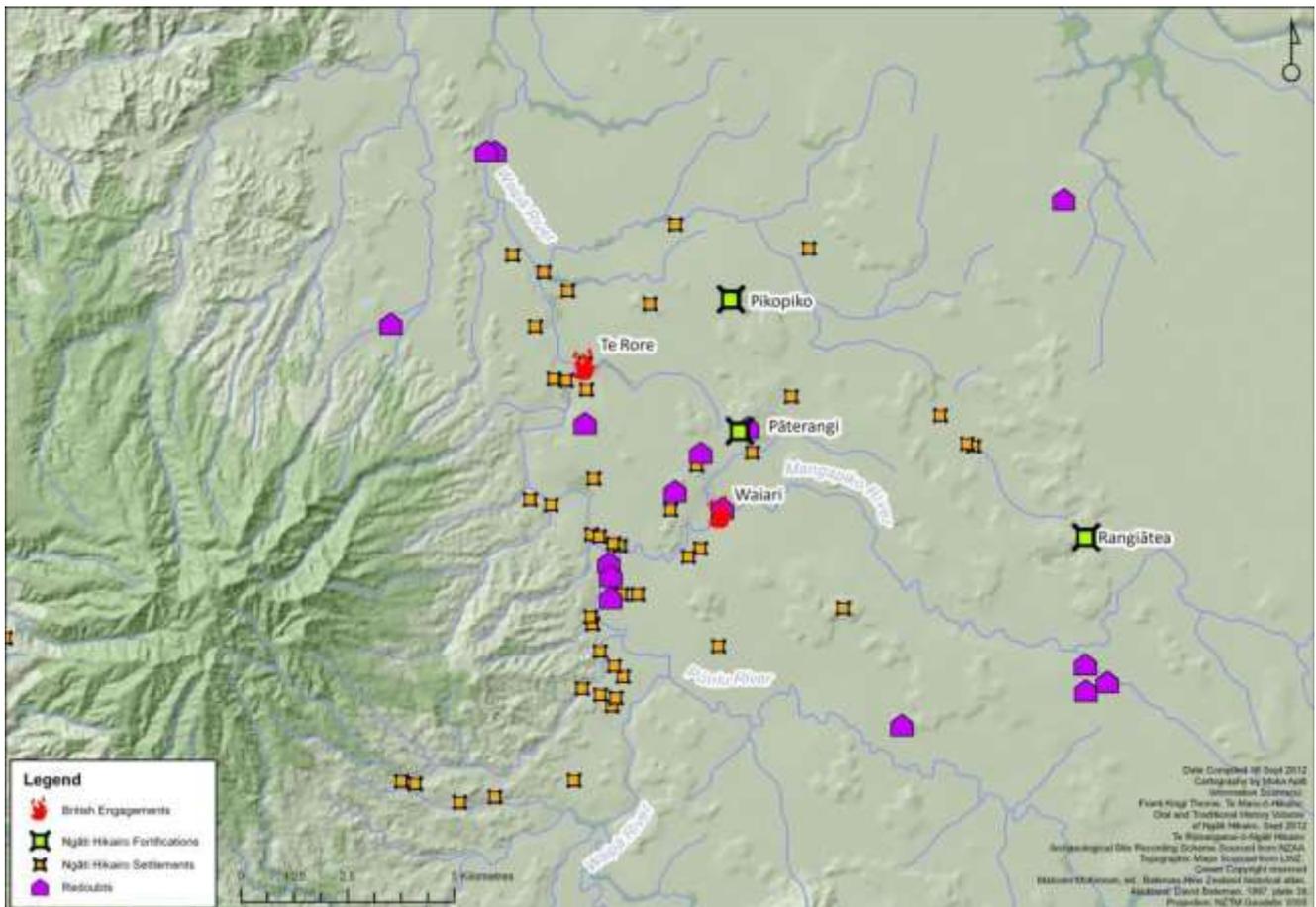


Figure 1: British engagements and Ngāti Hikairo

(i) Te Rore

45. Te Rore is an old pā site situated north of Pirongia, at the mouth of the Mangakāware Stream. Te Rore is referred to in a waiata composed by Pareoranga, a wahine of Hikairo for her son, Kakea. The reference refers to “ngā ngutu maioro o Te Rore.” She is implying that she will go to Te Rore to gain support and assistance in avenging Kakeas death. The Rūnanga o Ngāti Hikairo claimed land at Te Rore in 1865 requesting through the Compensation Court that it be returned. The pepeha used in the application is as follows: ‘ko Te Rore te ingoa o taua whenua, ko Pirongia Te Maunga, ko Mangauika te Mania.’⁴²

⁴² Raupatu Document Bank, p.41538

46. The proximity of Te Rore to the Pāterangi defensive line made it an important and strategic location during the Waikato War. The Pāterangi Line comprised a series of Māori entrenchments, including Pikopiko, Pāterangi, and Rangiātea.
47. By the end of January 1864, General Cameron had led more than 3000 troops up the Waipā Valley to Te Rore, where they set about establishing a large camp and several redoubts. The British camp was centred on the site of John Vittoria Cowell's old homestead; a place called Rākautahi or Rakatahi. Prior to the war, Ngāti Hikairo had leased 20,000 acres at Te Rore to Cowell. His wahine, Mata Kēkē, belonged to Ngāti Rāhui and had connections to the whenua. Cowell's tavern and homestead at Te Rore were burnt down during the war.
48. A map published by the Daily Southern Cross shows the location of Pāterangi and provides details of the operations at Te Rore. It shows General Cameron's Headquarters, the Forest Ranger's Camp, the Troopers - Infantry Camp and the Calvary Camp. It also shows Colonel Waddys Post, west of Pāterangi, at a location known by Ngāti Hikairo as Puketōtara.

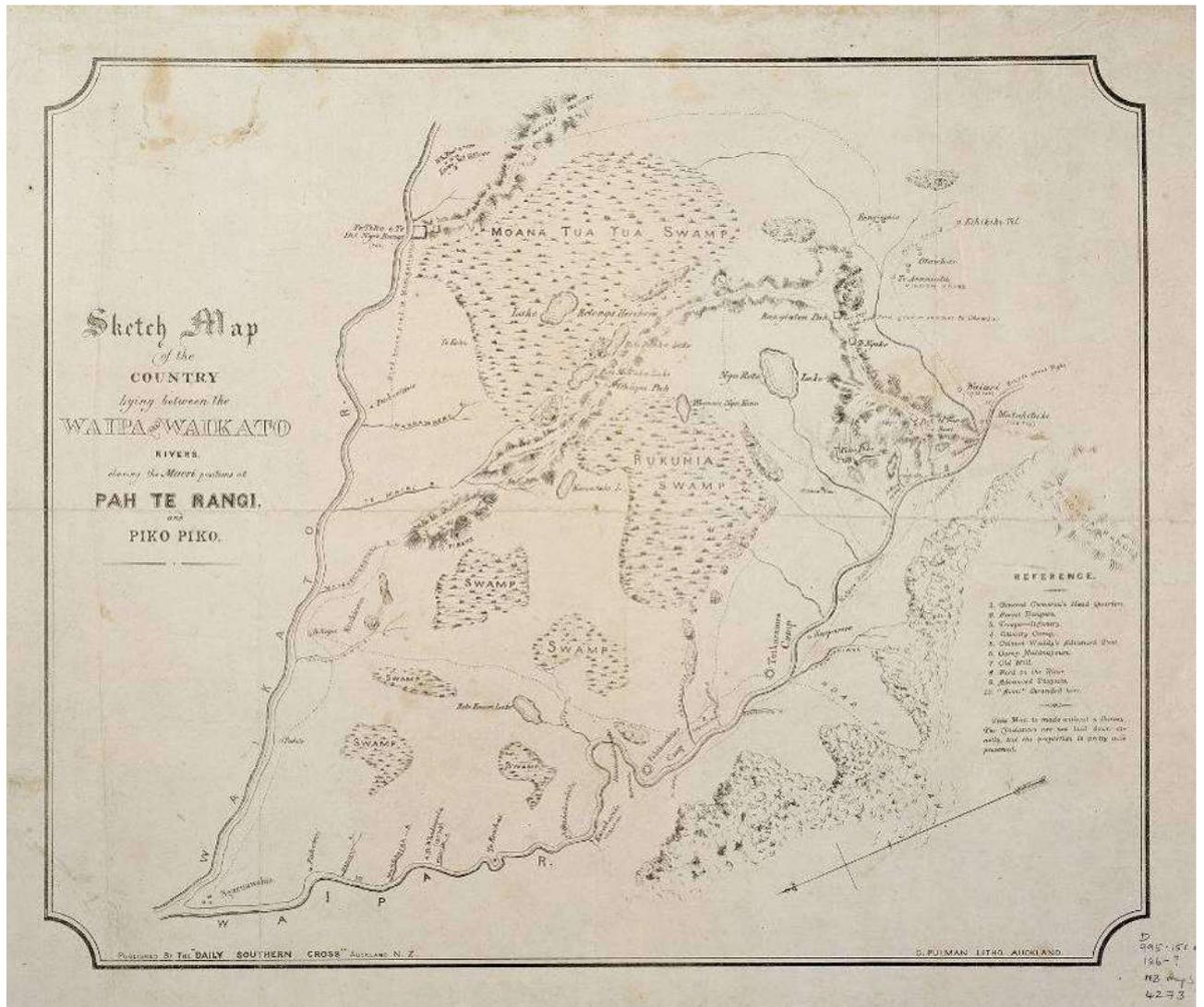


Figure 2: Waipā and Waikato

49. With the help of local guides, Cameron eventually bypassed the Māori defences at Pāterangi in February 1864. There were however several notable skirmishes, while troops were stationed at Te Rore, with loss of life recorded on both sides. During the occupation of Te Rore and the surrounding area, military incursions also desecrated many Ngāti Hikairo wāhi tūpuna.

(ii) Pikopiko (Puketoki)

50. Pikopiko is a pā situated on a ridge immediately east of Lake Mangakāware. The Draft Waipā District Plan identifies Pikopiko as a recognised site of occupation for Ngāti Hikairo. It is an

ancient pā, but with little recorded tradition prior to the Waikato Land Wars. However, Opehia, of Ngāti Rāhui, is known to have lived at Pikopiko with her husband, George MacFarlane.

51. Pikopiko is located on the northern-most finger of the Pāterangi Ridge, in close proximity to the network of highways, which begin north-east of Te Rore. The strategic importance of the highways is thought to be the reason why Pikopiko was re-established as a key Waikato defence post. Like Pāterangi, Pikopiko had complex entrenchments that were designed to halt and hamper the movements of troops. It is now dissected by the Pāterangi Road, and there is very little physical evidence of its existence remaining.

(iii) Waiari

52. Waiari was a large abandoned pā located on a bend of the Mangapiko Stream. This pā had been occupied by Ngāti Puhiawe and its hapū for centuries. As a member of Ngāti Hineue, Hikairo lived there after separating from Ngāti Apakura. His son Whakamarurangi was born there, and Hikairo's decapitated head returned and interred there after the battle at Pukerimu. This strategic pā, was referred to in the waiata composed for Te Whaaea (Te Akerautangi) in the 1820s with the composer singing "ngā ngutu pā ki Waiari rā."
53. On 11 February 1864, unsuspecting British troops, bathing in the nearby Mangapiko, were ambushed and killed by a group from Pāterangi Pā. In the skirmish that followed, forty Māori were killed, and a total of six British soldiers lost their lives.



Figure 3: Sketch depicting the Battle of Waiari

54. A newspaper reported that news had arrived of soldiers being killed while bathing, at an undisclosed location, and that 38 Māori were killed as a result, including, a son of Kikikoi.⁴³ It is not certain which son it was, that was killed, however, both Te Wereta, and Te Kereihi (Te Rauhinga) are considered to have been possibly killed in the war. These are siblings of Te Huki Hōne Wetera.
55. In a 2012 interview, Ngāti Hikairo kaumātua Pohepohe (Mac) Bell⁴⁴ said that he had once owned the land on which Waiari Pā stood. He explained:

“...if you go there where they’ve left the gorse growing on the parapets, you get down under the gorse, it’s huge works, you can see where they had the stages, where they must have thrown

⁴³ Taranaki Herald, Volume XII, Issue 603, 20 February 1864, p. 2

⁴⁴ A descendant of Pohepohe Te Ake - who is known to have fought at Rangiriri. Pohepohe’s mother was a sister of Te Mūnu Waitai

their darts down there, their spears down on them, or rocks or whatever.”

56. He further explained that the pā was situated in a hollow which would have put its inhabitants at a serious disadvantage when facing Cameron’s troops:

“...because the big guns could just aim straight down at it.”

57. Another interesting issue raised by Bell was the different approaches that the two sides took to warfare. As he explains:

‘Our people were lacking in ammunition and lacking in every damn thing that it was possible to lack, and put up a hell of a fight really. .. and paid dearly for it too. One part there they set up traps and had the Europeans pinned down, and, as they did, to make the fight fair, let them get away... and the Europeans got up and shot them...it was a different concept of conduct of war...different thinking.

58. Bell also recalled a story he had been told relating to the death of the tupuna, Te Mūnu Waitai at Waiari. As he tells it, an old and asthmatic Te Mūnu, “...stood up and pūkana’ed at the Pākehā enemy and they shot him dead”.

59. This was apparently an attempt to inspire his younger companions in battle. However, according to Bell, it had the reverse effect. Rather than inspiring the other toa to fight to the end, Te Mūnu’s death caused the young men to panic and lose the battle.⁴⁵

60. The evidence of Rangīāho Waitai, the daughter of Te Mūnu Waitai, also provides valuable information about Ngāti Hikairo’s presence at Pāterangi and Waiari. During a Māori Land Court investigation of Pirongia West sections in 1899, she recalled that:

‘Ngātihikairo were partly loyal, and partly rebel. I was on the loyal side. So was my father. Some of Ngātihikairo joined in the fighting. Wī Te Ake, Toataua, Pikia II, Tāhau were rebels. My father was restrained by Pūmipi Moke because he was in ill health....The fight took place at Pāterangi. My father asked Pūmipi to allow him to go, to join in the fight. So my father and I went to the fight. I was adult then. My lips had been tattooed. My father

⁴⁵ Interview with Pohepohe (Mac) Bell, 2012

*was killed at Waiari & was buried there.*⁴⁶

61. In his history of the New Zealand Wars, James Cowan also gives an account of the engagement at Waiari. He states that:

*'The Māoris who fell in this skirmish numbered forty-one. Twenty-eight bodies were counted; others fell in the river. Two wounded prisoners were taken. Many of those engaged were Kāwhia men who had only recently arrived at Pāterangi. One of their principal chiefs killed was Te Mūnu Waitai, of Ngāti Hikairo; others were Taati, Tākerei, Taare, Te Kariri, and Hōne Rōpiha (Ngātimaniapoto). Some of the dead were buried on the north side of the river, and close to their graves the troops, soon after this fight, built a redoubt to guard the crossing at Waiari. The parapets and trench of this redoubt (on Mr. H. Rhodes's farm) are still well preserved, and are marked by a grove of acacia.'*⁴⁷

62. Other traditions also recall the deaths of Tāmaki,⁴⁸ Te Rēme,⁴⁹ and Tai Hau-ā-uru⁵⁰ all at either Pāterangi or Waiari.
63. Waiari was not a position fortified and prepared for confrontation with the British Troops. Traditions and official records contradict one another. However, whether intentionally in an attempt to ambush bathing troops, or by accident while returning to Pāterangi, a reasonably large contingent of Māori, predominantly of Ngāti Hikairo, engaged with the troops. This is an important event. As it saw a large loss of Māori lives. And more so for Ngāti Hikairo a massive portion of our male population. A factor we believe, determined the the obvious withdraw of Ngāti Hikairo as a collective force continuing to fight in the following battles. Individuals such as Toataua and Pohepohe and others are known

⁴⁶ Evidence of Rangīāho Waitai, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 35, p208

⁴⁷ Cowan, J, New Zealand Wars: A History of the Māori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume 1: 1845-1864, p349

⁴⁸ A son of Pikia I and Nāwai, and a brother of Pikia Haurua and Heka Pikia. He was the father of Tāmehana Tāmaki

⁴⁹ A son of Rere of Ngāti Parehinga and Ngāti Puhīawe. A brother of Te Tapihana

⁵⁰ This is the son of Hōne Rau of Ngāti Hineue and Ngāti Pōkaia and Kaiweu of Ngāti Horotakere. He was known to have been in both the Taranaki and Waikato Wars. He was a Pai Maririre Prophet and a tohunga. He was the father of Tai Hau-ā-uru who presented evidence in the Native Land Court

to have been at Hairini. And families were also at Rangiaowhia, but not an active fighting force.

(iv) Rangiaowhia

64. Rangiaowhia was the agricultural and horticultural hub of Waikato. It is situated north-east of Te Awamutu, and was considered to be the principal settlement of Ngāti Apakura. By 1863, the settlement had well-established flourmills, stores, schools and churches, as well as many hundreds of acres of gardens producing food for the Auckland market.
65. The majority of the people living at Rangiaowhia were considered to be neutral and more focussed on industry than war and politics. Military strategists determined that an attack on the Kīngitanga's agricultural base would cut off essential food supplies to the resistance and lead to their surrender. Unaware that they had been outflanked by Cameron and his men, most of the able-bodied men of Rangiaowhia were still stationed at Pāterangi when their village was attacked on 21st February, 1863. Whether by accident or design, the settlement of Rangiaowhia was set alight and people were burned to death. Some were shot and at least twelve died. Others, including many women and children, were detained or taken prisoner. It was considered an undisputed victory for the invading British forces.
66. According to Hēmi Erueti, he was born in Kāwhia in 1841, however, later moved to and was brought up at Rangiaowhia, and moved between there and Te Awamutu. He identified himself as Ngāti Rāhui and Ngāti Apakura.⁵¹
67. Various whānau of Ngāti Hikairo maintain traditions about tūpuna who were present at Rangiaowhia when it was attacked. In a 2008 interview, Anne (Rewa) Pōtaka,⁵² recalled:

⁵¹ Evidence of Hēmi Erueti, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 23 p.208

⁵² Of Te Whānau Pani and Ngāti Ngāti

*'Oh I remember stories about the war...and the story about where our people were in the church, out past Te Awamutu, you know, where they were burnt in the church...Oh yes Ngāti Hikairo were there, and what happened was that it burned with the people in it, and so that was a very awful story told to me about our people being burnt there....there are still old grudges which I won't go in to, but still old grudges over that, as to who was there and who wasn't, and who lead them, and all the rest of it you know. But one of my old auntys said to me, that her part of the family had not come back to Waipapa because of that, they still held the mamae of that, it was hard.'*⁵³

68. Another tradition has it that Turimanu Te Wano,⁵⁴ 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. Matapura⁵⁵ and Te Wera,⁵⁶ the grandparents Ngātūerua (Hēmi Erueti), General Cameron's guide were at Rangiaowhia. Matapura and Kurī, the father of Karo and Hera, were siblings, and were members of Ngāti Rāhui. It is his grandparents and his Ngāti Rāhui huānga that Hēmi Erueti is said to have attempted to save from the military troops. His maternal uncle Te Kewene Whakataha, an older brother of Ngātūerua's mother Te Rangiwhaarato, was also at Rangiaowhia. Te Wera and Matapura are said to have perished at Rangiaowhia. Meto Hopa will detail the tradition about Ngātūerua, it is important to note however, that the massive loss of Ngāti Hikairo life at Waiari, would have been heavy on Ngātūeruas mind, when he decided to warn his people at Rangiaowhia to escape inevitable trouble.

⁵³ Interview with Ann Rewa Pōtaka, Ngāti Hikairo Heritage Project, 2008

⁵⁴ Of Ngāti Rāhui

⁵⁵ Of Ngāti Rāhui

⁵⁶ Of Ngāti Puhiawe

After the wars

69. Immediately following the final defeat at Ōrākau, Ngāti Hikairo's Hōne Te One, operated as a Magistrate, actively scouring the land to find "rebels" and assist with their surrender. During this time, he brought in Te Kīngi Waikawau, Te Au Makoare and several women. He was said to have been accompanied by Kēwene, a Māori Minister⁵⁷ who is likely to have been, Te Whakataha, the maternal uncle of Hēmi Erueti, a chief of Ngāti Rāhui.
70. A report detailed certain individuals of Ngāti Hikairo identified as having surrendered: "*Return of Natives who have surrendered showing the number arms, & c., given up by them to the 29th November 1864*".⁵⁸ It referred to April 1864 and "*Ngāti Hikairo of Upper Waipā, Kīngi Wai Kawau, Petera, Kerei, Wai Taimoni, Koniria, Ruihana, These natives brought in six stand of arms and one tomahawk to General Carey at Te Awamutu*".
71. Contemporary newspaper reports provide an indication of Ngāti Hikairo's position following the war's end. The Taranaki Herald reported:

*'Sixty natives are now at Kōpua (the Rev. Mr. Reids)...they are principally Ngātihikairo's, and are said to be ready to lay down their arms, and are only waiting to hear from the Governor.*⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Native Disputes to be Left to Government. Taranaki Herald, Volume XXVII, Issue 3134, 29 May 1879, p2

⁵⁸ Return of Arms Surrendered Natives - Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1864 Wātū I, E-06. P12

⁵⁹ Lyttelton Times, Volume XXI, Issue 1239, 21 May 1864, p6

72. A report given by Rev. Schnackenberg, in 1864, also gives an indication of the political environment in Kāwhia:

'The Natives who live in the Kāwhia harbour and its neighbourhood are chiefly of the following three tribes.

First a portion of the Ngātimaniapoto, which is perhaps the boldest of all the tribes in kingism, because its lands are the most inaccessible to the Queen's. It is not true that they are at this time [a] 'wandering tribe'. They are at home.

Secondly a portion of the Ngātimahuta - which are perhaps the most earnest in the establishment of kingism, because the king is of this tribe.

Thirdly, the Ngāti Hikairo which has become notorious for its large cash contributions to Kingism, for their great agitation, which procured for its chief the name of Kingi. A portion of this latter tribe left kingism some 3 years ago, as did also several Ngātimaniapotos and many among all the three tribes have never approved or taken part in the war. As the latter never held any appointments under H.M. Government their loyalty has remained unnoticed, though it is perhaps mainly owing to these men that I have been able to hold my ground, and that the Mission Station has been preserved.⁶⁰

Ngāti Hikairo who supported the Crown and Māori

73. As noted above, some groups and individuals within Ngāti Hikairo considered that the iwi would best survive if it supported the Crown. Some whānau therefore assisted the Crown's forces in various ways although in a non-combatant role.
74. There were specific individuals such as Hōne Te One that had a following of immediate whānau, hapū, and more distant relatives, and friends. The members on the Rūnanga o Ngāti Hikairo were deemed to be "kūpapa" and the bulk of whom lived at Mōtakotako with Hōne Te One. Yet it was clear that their identification of specific hapū, for compensation applications, not all of the Ngāti Hikairo hapū, indicate a collective support of their political kaupapa. These people were predominantly Te Whānau Pani, but also included Ngāti Horotakere, and its hapū of Ngāti Pare, Ngāti

⁶⁰ Schnackenberg to McLean, 5 July 1870, Schnackenberg Papers, 82-174, Series A, Folder 13, ATL

Purapura, and Te Matewai. Te Whānau Pani were active in trading and shipping from an early stage, and this group played an important role in the mill at Kāwhia, and from there initial discussions at the 1860-62 Rūnanga meetings in Kāwhia, there was a genuine unwillingness to cause a rift with Government and European relationships. They were employed as well as policemen, assessors, and magistrates. The tribe owned ships, but so did individuals such as Pumipi Moke, Hōne Te One, Hōne Kaora and others. They also were very wealthy as can be seen by some of the compensation court claims made in regards to their property left behind in Kāwhia after they were expelled. Claims by Wī Hikairo, Pumipi Moke, Hōne Te One, Hōne Wirihana and others detailed genuine material and property wealth. There is evidence that states by the 1870s several of these individuals are operating ships and trading again.

75. Ngāti Puhiaue on the other hand were not represented on the Rūnanga and were always identified as the support for Te Tapihana and therefore warlike, Kīngitanga supporters and being rebellious. The same group of people were heavily involved in the surveying of the Rohe Pōtae Boundary, the building of the Raglan and Kāwhia-Alexandra roads, and with negotiating the inclusion of Ngāti Hikairo in the Rōhe Pōtae Pact, and the the Rohe Pōtae Native Land Court Application.
76. After the wars some of the whānau were exiled from their lands by the groupings who had fought against the Crown forces.

(i) Mōtakotako

77. Mōtakotako is a settlement on the northern shores of Aotea Harbour. It lies outside the boundaries of the rohe of Ngāti Hikairo. However, it plays an important role in the history of Ngāti Hikairo.
78. A large contingent of predominantly pro-Government Ngāti Hikairo, were pushed to leave Kāwhia and live in exile in Raglan, under the leadership of Hōne Te One. A tradition of Ngāti Hikairo

supported by evidence provided in the Ngāti Māhanga Report identifies that a dowry of land was gifted to Hōne Te One by Ngāti Whakamarurangi and Ngāti Hauā, due to the marriage of Pouwharetapu to Te Amopo Hikairo, a niece of Hōne Te One.⁶¹ The Ngāti Hikairo living at Raglan then moved to Mōtakotako, where they resided until about 1872. In 1870, Hōne Te One commissioned the construction of a whareniui named Te Tokanganui-ā Noho.

79. Roia Te Mutu, giving evidence on behalf of Ngāti Hikairo in the Manuaitū Block in 1899, in answer to the question, “How many of Hōne Te One’s people settled at Mōtakotako?” provided the following:

‘Hōne Te One, Iwikau Hōne, myself (Roia Te Mutu), Pare Te Kanawa (my wife), Hōne Whitu, Ngārehu, Pepene Pātaia, Te Mati, Wirihana, Tūāuru, Rāwāhi, Hōne Kaora, Te Aomāngi, Ngāruhe, Matehaere, Haereone, Ahurei Hikairo, Makereta, Paeroa Kārewa, Moke Pūmipi, Pōnui Pūmipi, Rakuraku, Whakamarurangi, Whakarautau, Rūhia Rori, Reokore, Hingaia, Waewae Pita, Ramihana, Hōhepa Rōpū, Apiata, Hearia, Te Waipuhapuha, Te Mūnu, Reihara (Reihara), Te Hapimana Hōne Whitu.’⁶²

80. This group of Ngāti Hikairo was generally identified as “kūpapa” and in opposition to the Kīngitanga. However, Hōne Te One is known to have invited Tāwhiao to Mōtakotako to give assurances that Ngāti Hikairo would provide their full support and allegiance to the Kīngitanga. The associated whakatau-a-kī is remembered as, “ka ora, ka mate ā Ngāti Hikairo i raro i te Kīngitanga.” Hōne Te One later invited Tāwhiao to move his headquarters to Ruahine, at Whatiwhatihoe, on confiscated land that had been returned to Hōne Te One. Ngāti Hikairo then began to return to Kāwhia and Whatiwhatihoe.

⁶¹ Kelly Hepi-Te Huia, M Te Kurutao a Māhanga, Te Pū o Te Tao, Te Pū o te Kōtahitanga, Oral & Traditional History Report of Ngāti Māhanga, p142

⁶² Evidence of Roia Te Mutu, Ōtorohanga Minute Book 35, p323