



TE WHAKATAUNGA O TE RAUPATU WHENUA

DEED OF SETTLEMENT CEREMONY 2023

Te Whakataunga o te Raupatu Whenua

Whakamutua te tangi o tōu reo,
Ngā roimata ōu kanohi nō te mea,
ka hoki atu rātou ki te whenua o te hoariri,
ka whai tūmanakohanga atu anō hoki,
tōu whakamutunga ka hoki mai ngā tamariki ki tō
rātou rohe

Heremia 31: 16-17

Free your eyes of tears and your voice of sorrow,
for the children will return home

Jeremiah 31: 16-17

Crown Apology

To ngā uri o Te Whakatōhea, to ngā tūpuna and nga mokopuna.

When Whakatōhea rangatira signed te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi, they did so in a spirit of trust and co-operation, with a view to the benefits Treaty partnership could bring to their people. The Crown betrayed that trust by waging war and confiscating Whakatōhea land in a raupatu for which the Crown alone is responsible. The Crown's actions caused significant loss of life, devastated Whakatōhea communities, created conflict between Whakatōhea hapū and whanau, and led to the loss of matauranga Whakatōhea which is still felt today.

The Crown apologises to the rangatira who died at its hands. The Crown apologises to nga uri o Te Whakatōhea, who have lived with economic, cultural and spiritual loss and deprivation as a result of the Crown's actions. The Crown has failed to uphold its obligations under te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi and brought dishonour upon itself. For its breaches of te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi, and for the pain it has caused Whakatōhea through its acts and omissions, the Crown is deeply sorry.

The Crown pays tribute to the resilience of nga uri o Te Whakatōhea, who have strived for justice and fought to retain and rebuild Whakatōheatanga over generations. Through this settlement, the Crown hopes to honour the promise of partnership it made with Whakatōhea in 1840. Let us look forward to a future of prosperity for the people of Whakatōhea and move towards it together in a spirit of good faith, partnership and respect for te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi.

Ki ngā uri o Te Whakatōhea, ki ngā tūpuna me ngā mokopuna.

Nō te hainatanga a ngā rangatira o Te Whakatōhea i te Tiriti o Waitangi, i mahia i runga i te wairua o te whakapono me te mahitahi, me te aro ki ngā hua ka hua mai ki tō rātou iwi mā te mahitahi i raro i te Tiriti. I takahia tērā whakapono e te Karauna nā tāna tahu i te ahi o Tūmataurangi me te raupatu i te whenua o Te Whakatōhea, ka noho ko te Karauna anake hai whakairinga mō wēnei mate. Nā ngā mahi hara o te Karauna i mate parekura a Te Whakatōhea mete whakangaromanga i wōna papakāinga, i tipu ai te riri i waenganui i ngā hapū me ngā whānau o Te Whakatōhea, a i raupatutia ai ngā pataka korero o Te Whakatōhea, a kai te rongohia nuitia tonutia wēnei whakawhiunga i wēnei rā tonu.

Ka whakapāha te Karauna ki ngā rangatira i mate taurekarekatia i ngā ringaringa o te Karauna. Ka whakapāha te Karauna ki ngā uri o Te Whakatōhea, nāna i whakarawakore ā ohaoha, ā ahurea, ā wairua, a kua noho matekai nā ngā mahi hara o te Karauna. Kīhai hoki te Karauna i whakatutuki i wōna oati i raro i te Tiriti o Waitangi, anā kua tau te whakamā o te honore-kore ki runga ki a ia anō. Nā runga i ana takahitanga i te Tiriti o Waitangi me ngā māmae pōuri nui i whiua kinotia ki runga ki Te Whakatōhea i wāna mahi hara me wōna hara nunui rawa atu e koropiko nei, e tūohu nei me te tuku i te aroha tino nunui rawa atu.

Ka whakahōnoretia e te Karauna ngā uri o Te Whakatōhea, kua tohenihōrautia te tohe nui ki te whakatau tika i te hē, kua tohenihōrautia te pakanga ki te pupuri, ki te whakarauora i Te Whakatōheatanga o rota i ngā whakatipuranga tangata. Ma roto mai i tēnei whakataunga, ko te tūmanako o te Karauna, ko te whakahōnore i te oati o te mahitahi nāna i kī taurangi ki a Te Whakatōhea i te tau 1840. Me kupu whakaari tātou ki te anamata o te hua rau nui ki ngā uri o Te Whakatōhea me te haere ngātahi i runga i te mahitahi o roto i te wairua o tūmanako nui me te aroha o maruwehi ki te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Foreword – Graeme Riesterer



E rere aku mihi ki a koutou ngā reo me ngā mana o Te Whakatōhea, otirā te motu whānui,

Our Whakatōhea chiefs signed te Tiriti o Waitangi on the 27th of May 1840.

Exactly 183 years to the day we gather here at Whitikau on the 27th of May 2023 to witness the signing of the Settlement between Te Whakatōhea and the Crown.

We have not just come to witness the pen to paper, we come to hear the Crown acknowledge their breaches upon Te Whakatōhea, and we come to hear their apology for some of the most egregious acts upon tangata whenua.

The words of the Apology are in this booklet for you to read today, to read tomorrow and into the future. Let us acknowledge our hurt, commemorate our past, accept the Crown apology and look forward to realising the dreams of the future.

The Whakatōhea Pre-Settlement Claims Trust has done its job and will commence dissolution after today.

In its place you have Te Tāwharau o Te Whakatōhea the Post Settlement Governance Entity who will receive and manage the Settlement assets on your behalf.

Graeme Riesterer

Chair

Whakatōhea Pre-Settlement Claims Trust

Foreword – Vaughan Payne



Ka nui te mihi ki a tātou o Te Whakatohea,

It is humbling to sign the Deed of Settlement on the behalf of Te Whakatōhea.

We think back on our leaders, whānau and friends who have battled for over 100 years campaigning tirelessly in seeking compensation from the Crown.

It is now up to us, as Whakatōhea Iwi to meet head on the challenges and opportunities as we shift into the new era of post settlement and the autonomy that comes with that. At the same time Settlement is the beginning of a new relationship with the Crown and brings opportunities to design solutions Te Whakatōhea Way.

The Establishment Trustees have been appointed to do a specific job, sign the Deed of Settlement, and manage the elections where you will get to vote for the first Initial Trustees to Te Tāwharau o Te Whakatōhea. When the Initial Trustees officially take up their position at the first General Meeting of Te Tāwharau Te Whakatōhea position, the Establishment Trustees will retire.

Once the Settlement is signed the Establishment Trustees will meet with the sole focus of initiating the election process as soon as practicable.

Vaughan Payne

Chair

Te Tāwharau o Te Whakatōhea

Te Whakatōhea

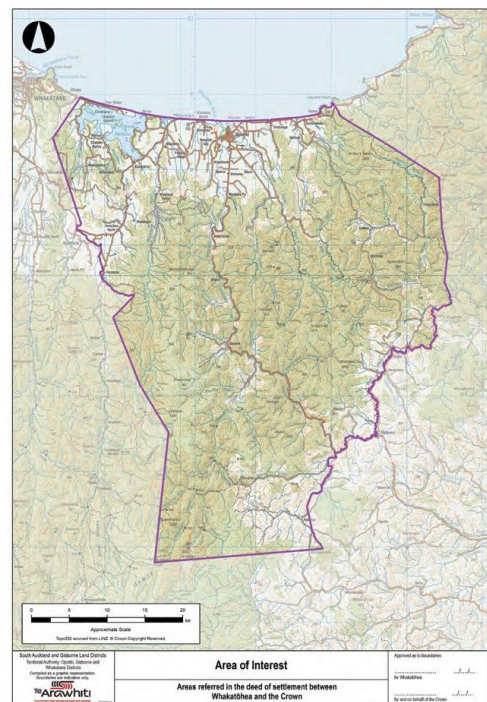
From 1840 to 1864, Whakatōhea were prosperous and actively engaging with the emerging settler economy. In 1865, the Crown invasion led to loss of life, the displacement Whakatōhea from much of their ancestral lands and the destruction of their economic base. The Crown's actions caused immense hardship for the people of Whakatōhea and has significantly impaired their ability to develop – economically, socially, and culturally ever since. The Whakatōhea experience of the Crown were marred by acts of violence, destruction, and legalized theft of traditional lands using colonial powers and legislation.

1 Te Rohe o Te Whakatōhea

Whakatōhea have occupied the coastal lands and rich alluvial plains around Ōpōtiki since the arrival of their tīpuna from Hawaiki. The traditional lands of Whakatōhea have been described as falling within boundaries commencing in the east at Pakihi at the mouth of the river along the seacoast to the mouth of the Waiotahe stream to the mouth of Ohiwa Harbour past Tehoro (a hill) on to Maraetotara. Then turning inland southwards to Puhikoko (a hill) by straight line to Pukemoremore (a hill) then to Mapouriki (a hill) at one time a fighting pa. Then descending to Waimana Stream; following the stream; then following Parau Stream to Tangata e roha (a hill) on to Kaharoa (an old settlement). From Kaharoa to Pa Harakeke, a ridge heading towards Maungapohatu, to Maungatapere (a hill), descending into the Motu River to the Kaitaura falls to Peketutu (a rock in the river that was an old crossing). Leaving the river and up a ridge to Whakrarongo (a hill); following the hill tops until it reaches Tipi o Houmea (a peak). Then descending towards Makomako (another hill) until it crosses Takaputahi Stream to Ngaupoko Tangata (a mountain). Following the ridge to Kamakama (a mound resting place); along the ridge to Oroi (a trig station). Then turning seawards to Te Rangi on the seacoast, (a stone visible at low tide); then along the sea coast to the mouth of the Opape Stream, to Awahoe Stream to Tirohanga and back to Pakihi. While their traditional lands extended towards the mountainous interior of the Tahora block, most Whakatōhea kāinga were located along the coast, enabling them to use, and defend, the area's rich marine resources.

The traditional territory of Whakatōhea is bountiful in kai. Ōhiwa Harbour, in the west of the rohe, is home to the so-called 'Ngā Tamāhine a Te Whakatōhea the daughters of Whakatōhea' – a local name for the rich abundance of kaimoana provided by the Harbour. Pākōwhai and Ōpōtiki sit at the centre of Te Rohe o Te Whakatōhea near the confluence of the Waiōweka and Ōtara Rivers. Together with the Waiōtahe, the estuarine habitats of these awa provide a plentiful supply of fish and shellfish. On the eastern side of the rohe, from Ōpape

to Awaawakino, the rocks abound with mussels, pāua, kina and koura.



However, for Whakatōhea the lands and waterways of the rohe are much more than a physical resource. Ōhiwa Harbour has immense cultural significance and is recognised as an important repository of the mauri of Whakatōhea. Over time, the long occupation of Whakatōhea became written into the landscape in the form of cultivations, kāinga, pā and urupā. The histories and genealogies of Whakatōhea are grounded in the land, and the land carries many names that in turn reflect their history.

2 Early Pākehā settlers and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

2.1 First encounters

The initial contact between Whakatōhea and Pākehā was fleeting. On 1 November 1769, HMS Endeavour, commanded by Lieutenant James Cook, appeared off the

coast of Ōpōtiki. Many Whakatōhea went out in waka and began trading kaimoana for European items. Ngāti Patumoana tradition states that Cook gave his flag to Punahamoa, a powerful tohunga. This is believed to be the flag now held in Ruamoko wharehau at Waiaua Marae. One version of the story has it that Punahamoa used his spiritual power over Cook to make him give up the flag.

The journals of Cook and Banks describe a dispute breaking out when the sailors on the *Endeavour* considered they were being cheated in the trade for kaimoana. A Whakatōhea man then took a piece of cloth described as 'some linnen' from the *Endeavour*. Cook ordered several musket shots and a four-pounder cannon ball to be fired at the Whakatōhea waka. One man was hit by small shot but did not appear to have been badly hurt.

On 11 April 1828, a Church Missionary Society (CMS) deputation, anchored the schooner *Herald* off the coast at Ōpōtiki. Two waka approached the vessel. While initially cautious, negotiation eventually took place after which Whakatōhea agreed to trade flax and mats with the visitors.

It is likely that Whakatōhea also had contact with whalers operating out of Moutohorā, Te Kaha and Waihou in the 1820s. It was, however, the arrival of Christianity in Ōpōtiki that formed the basis of a much more enduring relationship between Whakatōhea and Pākehā.

2.2 The missionaries

The arrival of Christianity had a profound impact on Whakatōhea, reverberating through many subsequent events. Christianity was initially introduced to Whakatōhea by Piripi Taumatakura (Taumata-a-Kura), to whom Ngāti Ngahere trace connections. Taumatakura was seized by raiders in 1823 and held in captivity in the Bay of Islands. While captive, he converted to Christianity.

The first missionary to arrive in the region was CMS Reverend Henry Williams, who landed in Ōpōtiki on 11 April 1828. He was followed by Reverend John A Wilson who arrived in 1839. Bishop Pompallier arrived March 1840, welcomed by Whakatōhea rangatira Titoko, Rangimātānuku and Rangiharepō. Whakatōhea hapū embraced both the Anglican and Catholic faiths. It is estimated that there were as many as 1,500 Māori converts in the East Coast area, including Ōpōtiki, prior to the arrival of a Pākehā missionary.

The CMS missionaries negotiated with Whakatōhea rangatira for land to establish mission stations. On 27 January 1840, the Whakatōhea rangatira Rangiharepō,

Titoko, Ake (Wi Akeake), Ōkoki and Te Āporotanga granted the original CMS missionary and two colleagues the right to occupy 3,840 acres between Ōpōtiki and Ōhiwa, at Hikūtaia.

The following day, Whakatōhea rangatira granted the Church Missionary Society the right to purchase 2,500 acres at Ngaio, in the Tirohanga area, in exchange for cash and trade goods to the value of £300. However the CMS did not occupy this block. In 1852 they offered to return it to Whakatōhea, asking that the value of cash and goods be paid back and the CMS allowed to retain a small area for a missionary residence. In 1854 Whakatōhea paid the CMS £280 and the block, minus a small mission station site, was returned. The Catholic missionaries did not initially buy any land, but the rangatira Titoko gifted them a small area of land in Ōpōtiki. The Catholic missionaries went on to purchase, in 1844, an area of from 1-4 acres.

2.3 Te Tiriti o Waitangi

On 27 and 28 May 1840, an agent commissioned by the Crown convened a hui of Whakatōhea rangatira at Ōpōtiki. The Rangatira were brought together to consider signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Crown's agent was a trader and former CMS worker who spoke te reo Māori, but it is not known what understanding he or the Whakatōhea rangatira had of Te Tiriti. Seven Whakatōhea rangatira placed their marks on Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Tauātoro (Ngāi Tamahaua, Ngāti Ngahere); Te Takahiao (Te Ūpokorehe); Te Āporotanga (Ngāti Rua); Rangimātānuku (Ngāti Rua); Rangiharepō (Te Ūpokorehe, Ngāi Tamahaua); Wi Akeake (Te Ūpokorehe) and Whākia of Whakatōhea. Following the signing the Crown's agent gave the Whakatōhea rangatira gifts of pipes and tobacco.

2.4 Prosperity in Whakatōhea, hard times in the provinces

Whakatōhea's economy founded on agriculture and animal husbandry prospered between 1840 and 1860. The tribe owned twenty ships to transport commodities to the Auckland market. The profits were used to purchase more equipment. This growth in Whakatōhea's economy was complemented by the development of roads and bridges for carts to transport produce from plantations and farms to the harbour. Hira Te Popo of Ngāti Ira enjoyed great success, growing wheat, building a flour mill at a cost of 800 pounds and shipping flour to the Auckland market.

At the same time, the Auckland Province was experiencing a downturn in the economy. The government was having difficulty with a shortage of land for military settlers. It was also running out of money.



The Crown's solution was to invade Waikato and confiscate land under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863.

3 New Zealand Wars

Whakatōhea tradition records that, in 1856, Paora Te Ua o Ngārangi of Ngāti Ngāhere represented Whakatōhea at a hui held at Pūkawa to choose the first Māori King. Each of the ariki or rangatira present indicated their support for the selection of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero by taking a flax rope tied to a flagpole named Tongariro, tying it to a mānuka peg, then driving their peg into the ground. Paora Te Ua o Ngārangi drove in a peg to show Whakatōhea support for the Kīngitanga.

In 1860 Crown forces attacked Taranaki Māori who opposed the sale of land at Waitara. While not involved in the fighting, Whakatōhea sent an observer from Ōpōtiki to Taranaki to keep them informed of developments. The observer only made it as far as Waikato, however, where he met with representatives of the Kīngitanga movement. He returned to Ōpōtiki accompanied by a deputation of rangatira who held a series of hui with Whakatōhea.

On 12 July 1863, Crown forces crossed the Mangatawhiri Stream and launched an invasion of the Waikato heartlands of the Kīngitanga movement. Whakatōhea oral tradition records that some Whakatōhea, who may have already been in the Waikato area, fought in support of the Kīngitanga in November 1863 at Rangiriri.

In December 1863 Kīngitanga leaders requested that Whakatōhea and other East Coast iwi support them in the war. Whakatōhea debated this request carefully. The CMS missionary resident at Ōpōtiki, Carl Sylvius Völkner, wrote a series of letters to Governor Grey informing him of the people's mood. According to Völkner, while Whakatōhea were sympathetic to the Kīngitanga, the majority initially opposed giving armed support. Their opinion shifted markedly when the news reached Ōpōtiki, on 26 January 1864, that Crown forces had arrived in Tauranga. On 30 January Whakatōhea pledged military support to the Kīngitanga movement.

In early February 1864, around 230 Whakatōhea joined taua from other East Coast iwi in an expedition to support Tauranga iwi. About 200 Whakatōhea men returned to their rohe within five days due to difficulties obtaining supplies, threats of opposition by some neighbouring iwi and receiving word from Tauranga that no fighting was occurring.

In late February 1864, Whakatōhea joined the 800-strong Tai Rāwhiti taua, a combined force drawn from East Coast iwi and hapū. The Whakatōhea contingent

was led by Treaty-signatory Te Āporotanga of Ngāti Rua, Hira Te Popo of Ngāti Ira and Apanui of Ngāti Patu. Völkner again wrote to Grey informing him of the movements of the taua and advising him of defensive preparations underway in Ōpōtiki. Völkner also asked Grey to protect his anonymity lest Whakatōhea become aware of his correspondence.

The taua gathered at Matatā before attempting to travel in-land through the Rotorua lakes district to Waikato. It was blocked at Lake Rotoiti by 400 local Māori who did not support the Kīngitanga. Tai Rāwhiti forces took up positions at Tapuaeharuru, on the eastern shore of Lake Rotoiti. During three days of fighting, over 7-9 April, Whakatōhea lost one of their great rangatira, Apanui, a leader of the Tai Rāwhiti expedition. Apanui was one of around 20 Tai Rāwhiti killed.

A separate party of 30 men led by Hori Te Tamaki of Ngāti Horoi, Mokomoko of Ngāti Patu, Te Iki of Ngāti Rua and Hakaraia of Ngāi Tama made their way to Waikato, where they were involved in the Battle of Ōrākau. Two others, Tamaki and Poihipi, made it to Tauranga, where, in April 1864, they fought at Gate Pā, Pukehinahina. Poihipi was killed in June 1864 at Te Ranga.

The main Tai Rāwhiti expedition, unable to pass through the Rotorua lakes district, turned back to the coast at Ōtamarākau, where it was bolstered by reinforcements including Ngāi Tama of Whakatōhea. After several days camped at Ōtamarākau, Tai Rāwhiti forces advanced up the coastline towards Maketū.

On 21 April 1864, the 800-strong Tai Rāwhiti force arrived at Waihi estuary, just east of Maketū where they surprised two Crown officers who were out duck shooting on the lagoon. Tai Rāwhiti warriors pursued the officers who narrowly escaped. The officers later lead out a party of 50 Crown troops to drive back the Tai Rāwhiti forces.

After a brief and indeterminate skirmish, Tai Rāwhiti forces took up positions on elevated ground at Te Whare-o-te-Rangimarere. There they faced a Crown force occupying Pukemaire, an ancient pā overlooking Maketū. The two sides maintained a desultory exchange of fire over the following three days and there were small-scale skirmishes at Kakiherea and Te Rahui.

On 26 April 1864, two warships, the Royal Navy sloop HMS *Falcon* and the Colonial Gunboat *Sandfly* arrived off Maketū and proceeded to bombard the Tai Rāwhiti positions. Tai Rāwhiti forces, also taking fire from field guns at Pukemaire, retreated along the coast toward Matatā. They were pursued by Crown troops and by the *Falcon* and the *Sandfly* which came in close to the shore and shelled the retreating Tai Rāwhiti forces.

The running battle fought along the coast was named Kaokaoroa (the long rib), after the narrow strip of sand and dunes on which it was fought. Fighting took place over three days as Tai Rāwhiti forces made their way toward Te Awa-o-Te Atua. The heaviest fighting took place on 28 April, when the warriors of Tai Rāwhiti made their last stand among the kūmara, maize and taro plantations around Pikōwai. As fighting neared Te Awa-o-te Atua, Tai Rāwhiti casualties mounted, and the survivors broke and fled, Hira Te Popo of Ngāti Ira led his troops to safety by scaling a gully in the cliff-side. The battle of Kaokaoroa was a resounding defeat for the Tai Rāwhiti forces. Whakatōhea lost a number of fighters, including the rangatira Tūtakahiao and Mikaere Pihipihi. Te Āporotanga was wounded and taken prisoner. He was shot and killed the following day while in the custody of Crown forces. It was a bitter blow for Whakatōhea, as Te Āporotanga was the last of his generation of rangatira, the last of those who had signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The loss of the rangatira Te Āporotanga, Apanui, Tūtakahiao and Mikaere Pihipihi left Whakatōhea with a considerable leadership vacuum and a loss of traditional knowledge. This made some Whakatōhea more willing to embrace the new ideas and new leaders emerging in the mid-1860s.

4 Pai Mārire, Völkner and Whakatōhea

The morale in Whakatōhea was low. The East Coast expedition to support Waikato was defeated at Te Kaokaoroa. The loss of the chief Te Āporotanga was a severe blow to Whakatōhea's leadership. To add to the tribe's woes, food production fell because of war. There was also an epidemic of typhoid fever and measles which reduced the population.

In January 1865 Völkner took his wife Emma to Auckland for safety. While Völkner was away, Whakatōhea was vulnerable to outside influences. On 25 February 1865 Pai Marire prophets, Pātara Raukauri and Kereopa Te Rau arrived in Ōpōtiki with a contingent of 190 followers. There were 40 Hauhau from Taranaki, Waikato, and Ngāti Raukawa. Wēpiha te Poono led 150 Hauhau from Ngāti Awa. They came with instructions from the Pai Mārire leader, Te Ūa Haumene to convert Whakatōhea to the Pai Marire faith.

Kereopa's intentions however were very different. He had lost his wife and two daughters in the battle at Rangiaowhia. The raupo church where they were at worship was fired on and burnt by soldiers. The priest was blamed for the deaths, so Kereopa sought retribution against clerics.

At Whakatāne Kereopa asked the Catholics to surrender their priest to him, they refused. At Ōpōtiki Kereopa

asked Whakatōhea to expel the trader Morris Levy, he was refused. Hira Te Popo 'spoke doubtfully', so Whakatōhea rejected Kereopa's calls to expel Pākehā altogether. They consented to the demand for Völkner never to return, so Pātara penned a letter to Völkner to stay away. Pātara took leave to convert Ngai Tai, in that time Kereopa continued to discredit Völkner and the Anglican Church.

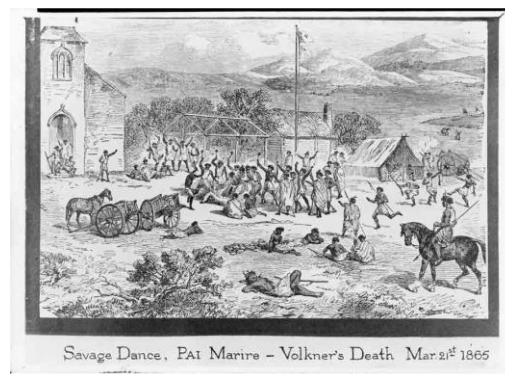


Figure 1 - This engraving appeared in the Illustrated London News, July 1865. Note the incorrect date for the murder. (It should read 2 March) - Levy

Despite warnings not to return, Völkner came back to Ōpōtiki with his colleague Reverend Thomas Grace on 1 March 1865. Völkner, Grace and four sailors from the schooner 'Eclipse' were taken prisoner on Kereopa's orders. That night a rūnanga convened in the Catholic chapel and it was decided to hang Völkner. Some like Te Waekahu Rānapia of Ngāi Tama tried to prevent this and asked for Völkner's freedom twice. He was denied on both requests and Kereopa replied 'Kore rawa au e whakaae. Tahea katuku e au kotahi mou', (I will not agree. but I will release one to you).

On Thursday 2 March 1865 at 2pm a party of 20 fetched Völkner. His hands were tied and a rope was placed around his neck. He was taken to a willow tree a short distance from his church and hanged. After the hanging, he was decapitated. His blood was drained into the church chalice. Kereopa ordered his followers to drink Völkner's blood. He swallowed Völkner's eyes, one representing parliament and the other laws oppressing Māori.

The chief Mokomoko was falsely accused by Jahus (husband of Ngāti Rua woman) of being the rope bearer. This was later found to be incorrect because there were no firsthand witnesses that identified anyone from Whakatōhea as the perpetrators of the hanging. Werapoaka of Ngāti Rua forbade his people from participating, so too did Hira Te Popo of Ngāti Ira.

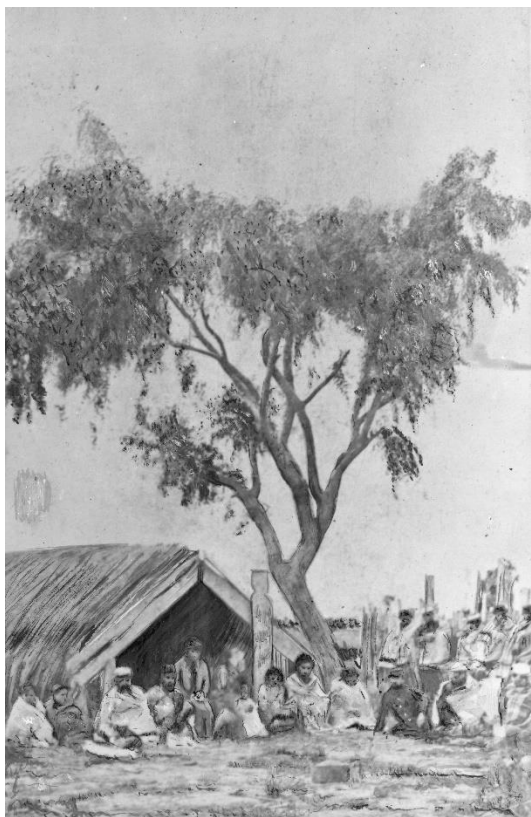


Figure 2 - Tree which Völkner was hanged - Source National Library

The chain of events, not of Whakatōhea's making brought a great deal of misfortune for the tribe.

4.1 Government reaction

Following Völkner's death, reports reached European authorities as early as 6 March. Commander C R Fremantle despatched HMS Eclipse under Commodore Sir W. Wiseman to rescue Grace.

Governor Grey received reports of Völkner's death by 13 March. He subsequently, issued proclamations to punish those involved with warnings their lands would be confiscated. On 6 April, Prime Minister, Frederick Weld issued a memorandum with similar intent. He also knew the instigators were not of Whakatōhea and that it would also be difficult to apprehend them. Grey saw Völkner's killing as an act of Hauhau insurgency, and therefore an act of war. He thought Whakatōhea was responsible. The Government on the other hand considered this a police matter as it was a civil offense by Kereopa. Although the Government's view differed from that of the Governor, the latter had his way by declaring martial law.

Governor Grey issued a Proclamation of Peace on 2 September, which contained a warning that he would be sending an expedition to arrest Völkner's murderers. If the tribes gave them up then the Governor would be

satisfied. If they resisted, then he would seize their lands. He also issued another proclamation of martial law in the Ōpōtiki districts on 4 September. These proclamations did not reach Whakatōhea in time to allow an opportunity to respond to the charges.

4.2 Military build-up

The military expedition to Ōpōtiki was under the command of Major Brassey with Major Charles Stapp as second in command. The expedition consisted of 516 officers and men, transported on a flotilla of HMS Brisk, steamships Stormbird, Ladybird, Ahuriri, and the smaller tender Huntress.

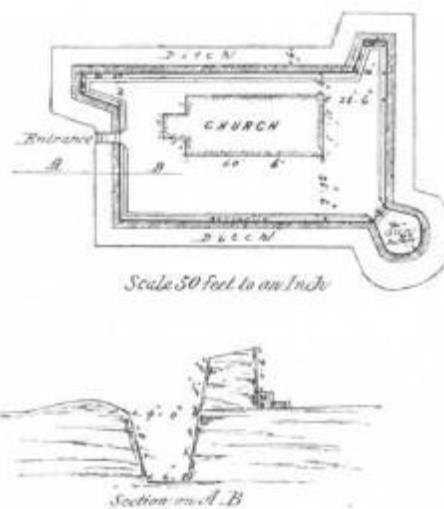


Figure 3 - Plan of entrenchment Ōpōtiki Church Redoubt

The Expedition arrived in Ōpōtiki on 8 September 1865 and occupied Pakōwhai on 11 September. The invaders were unopposed, because the hapū fled to the mountains for safety. The first Whakatōhea killed by the expedition was Tio Kāhika, a tohunga from Ngāti Ngāhere. He walked along 400 metres on the bank across from Hikutawatawa (Huntress creek), stood on a log, threw off his blanket and began chanting karakia. The soldiers on board shot at him and used his body for target practice. When the men approached him they found that he had 18 wounds in his body. He died an hour later from his wounds, the first casualty of the expedition.

For several weeks the expedition stayed in Ōpōtiki feasting on Whakatōhea livestock and crops and pillaging possessions and treasure from the many villages on the flood plain of the Waioweka and Ōtara Rivers.

Ngāti Ira was the only hapū that chose to stand and defend its land against the invaders while others fled for safety. Hira Te Popo prepared their three pā around Kiorekino, the plains at the entrance to the Waioweka

Gorge. Ōpekerau was the furthest south at the mouth of the gorge. About halfway between Ōpekerau and Ōpōtiki were Te Tarata and Te Pua (also referred to as Te Puia). Te Tarata was on the west of the plains (at the end of the present day Piles Road off the main highway), and Te Pua was a little way east of Te Tarata on a hill (off the present day Warringtons Road).

4.3 Siege on Te Tarata

The pā at Te Tarata was hastily built and constructed of heavy timber overlaid with tī kouka. The tī kouka's resilience allowed it to dampen the fire from the British 6 pounder cannon.

On 5 October, Major Thomas McDonnell and a scouting party were in search of Kereopa's pā when they came across a group of Māori on their way to Te Pua. The group fled taking refuge in Te Tarata, where the major battle took place with an exchange of 'hot fire'. Not long after, McDonnell and his troops were joined by cavalry. The pā was surrounded on three sides. The west side was near a steep 20 foot high bank on the river.

Te Pua from the east quickly responded to the assault with a tauā of about 20. They ran across the plains to the battle. The cavalry responded with a charge, horses galloping and swords drawn. Warriors on foot were no match for cavalry, nine were killed. One of the wounded survivors, Paora Taia lived until 1921.

The siege at Te Tarata continued with heavy fire well into the night. By 8 o'clock the defenders called out asking what the terms of surrender would be. McDonnell replied that it was to be unconditional surrender, those involved in Völkner's death tried and the rest would be prisoners of war. An hour's truce was requested and consequently granted with a cease-fire.

During this cease-fire, under a moonlit night, a sergeant noticed that the Māori were taking advantage of the truce and cutting the aka vines fastening the palisades together. As a cloud passed over the moon, two shots were fired from inside killing two troops. A long section of the palisade was thrown out to the soldiers causing confusion. Māori came out of the pā shooting at troops to break out from the encircled soldiers. They ran for the cover of a small watercourse and across the Waioweka river. Heavy fire was directed at those crossing the river, where some Māori were killed as they swam across to the west bank. Thirty-five men were lost, their bodies thrown into the trenches and covered with soil.

The following morning, Major Stapp and the whole military force advanced on Te Pua, but they found the pā abandoned. The Hauhau occupants had retreated to a stronghold in the Waioweka Gorge. McDonnell hunted Hauhau in the lower reaches of the Waioweka and

Waimana gorges, but he was not able to catch Hira Te Popo. Nor was he able to find Kereopa in the Urewera.

4.4 Whakatōhea casualties

The Whakatōhea casualties during the invasion have been estimated at around 60 dead, while the number of wounded are unknown. This was a very high fatality rate, probably around ten percent of the Whakatōhea population at that time.

4.5 Whakatōhea surrender to the Crown

The defeat at Te Tarata Pā was another devastating blow to Whakatōhea. In the weeks following the battle, large numbers of Whakatōhea surrendered. On 18 October around 50 Whakatōhea men, women and children came out of the bush and gave themselves up to the Crown forces. They were followed, two days later, by an additional 100 men and 120 women of Ngāti Ngahere, Ngāti Rua and Ngāi Tama hapū. In late October 200 Ngāti Rua and some sections of Ngāti Patu surrendered.

Among those who surrendered at this time were Mokomoko of Ngāti Patu and Paora Taia, of Ngāi Tama, who had been severely wounded at Te Tarata. The officer in command was informed that Taia was unconnected with Völkner's murder and advised that Taia be released after taking the oath of allegiance.

By 4 November, less than two weeks later, the commanding officer had arrested Paora Taia for Völkner's murder. It is not clear what evidence the officer had for charging Taia with this crime.

On 30 December 1865, after receiving the Attorney General's opinion, the Crown released a memorandum on Courts Martial. The Crown stated that, as "peace and the authority of the law" had been restored, those accused of the murders of Völkner and others should be tried in the civil courts, rather than in Courts Martial.

In March 1866, Paora Taia, along with Mokomoko and three other men, was tried at the Supreme Court in Auckland for the murder of Völkner. Taia was found not guilty and released to return to the eastern Bay of Plenty.

Throughout the trial Mokomoko maintained his innocence. Following his conviction, Mokomoko was hanged and buried at the old Auckland Jail and Courthouse. In 2003 the great, great grandson of Mokomoko, detailed the sense of shame and stigma that the whānau had and continue to suffer:

Not only has the family had to live with the shame and stigma of him being accused of murdering Völkner and hung, we also had to



deal with the accusations made against us, including from our own people, that we brought the raupatu to Whakatōhea. Our whānau has been branded murderers and criminals. Some of our whānau would not take the Mokomoko name. Some of our whānau have attempted to delete Mokomoko from their whakapapa – Tuiringa (Mani) Mokomoko

Mokomoko was reinterred at Waiaua Marae at Ōpōtiki in October 1989. In 1992, 123 years after his execution the Governor-General issued a free pardon to Mokomoko. The free pardon was provided without consultation with Te Whānau ā Mokomoko and did not specifically restore his character, mana, and reputation. Therefore, the Mokomoko (restoration of character, mana and reputation) Bill 2011 directly set out to restore the character, mana and reputation of Mokomoko and the Crown acknowledged the harm caused by the Crown to Te Whānau ā Mokomoko.

Despite concluding that peace and order had been restored to the Whakatāne and Ōpōtiki districts, the Crown did not lift Martial Law until January 1867.

4.6 Confiscation of Whakatōhea lands

In January 1866 the Government began confiscating Whakatōhea's lands under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, just four months after Crown forces were sent to Ōpōtiki. The Crown confiscated a vast district including lands belong to Whakatōhea and a number of neighbouring iwi. The Crown took no account of traditional boundaries between hapū or iwi. The confiscation area boundaries enclosed the most fertile and cultivatable areas in the Whakatōhea rohe, while excluding the more difficult inland country.

Völkner's murder was the reason for the Crown's confiscation actions. What should've been a civil criminal matter and dealt with by police, instead was led under martial law. Whakatōhea was given no opportunity to comply with the charges that were stated in both the Proclamation of Peace and proclamation of martial law, either before or during the invasion of their lands. Government troops went beyond their instructions, including pillaging and looting, so Whakatōhea reactions to this was defensive and a means of protecting themselves and their families, not acts of rebellion. Tohunga were suppressed and persecuted for practicing their spiritual practices and rituals.

The total area in the proclaimed confiscation district was approximately 448,000 acres. Approximately 118,300 acres was subsequently returned to 'loyal' Māori and an additional 112,300 acres was returned to formerly

'rebel' Māori who had submitted to the Crown's authority. A 1928 Crown Commission put the net total of confiscated land, after lands were returned, at 211,060 acres. Of this, the vast majority, approximately 144,000 acres, had formerly belonged to Te Whakatōhea.

The Crown's confiscation and subsequent retention of Whakatōhea land was indiscriminate, excessive and punitive. It confiscated land from all Whakatōhea hapū, without investigating whether they played a role in Völkner's death. The Crown and Pākehā settlers benefitted significantly from confiscations in the eastern Bay of Plenty and elsewhere. In 1871 Colonel Haultain, the former Minister for Colonial Defence, told Native Minister McLean, 'the Maoris have always been loth [i.e. reluctant] to part with their fertile land, and it is chiefly by confiscation that we have obtained any large tracts of really good land'.

The confiscation caused utter devastation for Whakatōhea, who lost everything between Ōhiwa Harbour and the Waiaua River including 'all the flat and useful land', the rich alluvial soils surrounding Ōpōtiki and Pākōwhai. The Crown confiscated around 18 of the approximately 21 miles (approximately 29 of 34 km or 86%) of the Whakatōhea coastline. The loss of coastline and rivers deprived Whakatōhea of the mahinga kai resources for eels, shellfish, flounder, kahawai, mullet and sharks at Ōhiwa, Waiōtahe, Waioweka, Ōtara and Tirohanga.

The legacy of raupatu is felt keenly among the hapū of Whakatōhea to the present day. The raupatu, along with the Crown violence and looting that preceded it, largely destroyed the thriving economy that Whakatōhea had built up since the 1840s. Raupatu also caused great cultural and spiritual loss as Whakatōhea were cut off from access to their traditional sites. Additionally, tohunga were suppressed and persecuted for practicing their spiritual practices and rituals.

4.7 Aftermath

Following Ngāti Ira's retreat into the Waioweka Gorge, for five years Hira Te Popo successfully evaded capture by British forces. However, in June 1870, Hira Te Popo realised the futility of the unequal struggle against the British. He brought Ngāti Ira back into Ōpōtiki and surrendered. He was such an influential leader that the Native Minister Donald McLean travelled to Ōpōtiki on 27 January 1871 to mark the formal surrender of Te Popo. He was treated with respect and allowed to cultivate 100 acres of land at Waioweka.

5 The Ōpape Native Reserve

Following the invasion and the confiscation of their lands, the majority of Whakatōhea were forced to move to Ōpape. The Crown's creation of the Ōpape Native Reserve on confiscated Whakatōhea land has been described by one historian as, 'New Zealand's closest equivalent to a North American Reservation.'

Ōpape, in the north-eastern reaches of the Whakatōhea rohe, was the traditional territory of Ngāti Rua. The Crown confiscated Ngāti Rua lands despite evidence the hapū had played no part in the killing of Völkner.

The Crown allocated confiscated Ōpape land to Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Patu, Ngāti Ngahere, Ngāi Tama, Te Ūpokorehe and Ngāti Rua. Ngāti Rua effectively lost control of much of their own land when their relatives were forcibly moved on to Ōpape.

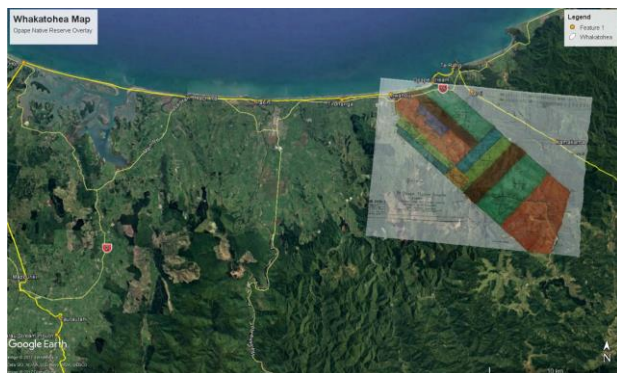


Figure 4: Superimposed image of Ōpape Native Reserve on map.

The Crown had confiscated nearly all of the lands of Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Patu, Ngāti Ngahere, Ngāi Tama at Waiōtahi, Paerātā, Hikutaia, Pakowhai and Waioweka. The Crown also took land from Te Ūpokorehe, but allocated reserves at Hiwarau and Hokianga Island at Ōhiwa. Some hapū were moved to Ōpape in 1866, but others did not move there until years later. While some Te Ūpokorehe moved to Ōpape others stayed at Ōhiwa. Most Ngāti Ngahere did not take up residence at Ōpape.

The Crown's forcible resettlement of Whakatōhea on the Ōpape Native Reserve had drastic and lasting impacts. Ngāti Rua had to bear the burden of all the other Whakatōhea hapū being forced on to Ngāti Rua lands. The Crown officials took no account of the wishes or traditions of Ngāti Rua when allocating the subdivisions to the various Whakatōhea hapū. They did, however, allocate land according to traditional connections between hapū. Te Ūpokorehe and Ngāti Patu were assigned adjacent blocks, as Ngāti Patu had been based at Waiōtahi and had many intermarriages with Te Ūpokorehe. Ngāti Ira also had land adjacent to Ngāti Patu, reflecting the historical connections between the hapū.

6 The Compensation process

Land confiscation under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 was a blunt instrument. Its impacts were felt by all members of an affected iwi, not just those who had supposedly been in 'rebellion'. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and subsequent amendments provided for the establishment of a Court to compensate 'loyal' Māori who had lost land through confiscation through the return of land, by making cash payments, or by issuing land scrip.

The Compensation Court sat in Ōpōtiki from 7 March 1867. There were over 160 claims registered but not all claims were heard. The Court set out to determine if the claimants had been in rebellion or had been involved with Pai Mārire. The Crown provided no compensation to anyone it deemed to have been in rebellion who had then failed to surrender when the Crown called on them to do so.

Once claimants had established their 'loyalty' in the Court, the ancestral basis of their claims were considered by a Special Commissioner appointed by the Crown. The Commissioner was given wide-ranging powers but little time to exercise them. He negotiated the return of confiscated lands with Whakatōhea and with a number of neighbouring iwi during hearings at Ōpōtiki, Maketū and Te Awa o te Atua, (Matatā). Despite the complexities of the cases, they were generally decided very rapidly in comparison with Native Land Court title investigation.

Where claims were approved by the Court, grants of land, cash and, in one case, a cow were made. The Court dismissed claims it did not consider proved. Contrary to customary forms of Māori land tenure, a successful claimant was granted individual title to land. This was part of a process that transformed communally owned land held under customary papatipu title to individual private property.

7 Whakatōhea and Te Kooti 1868-1888

Whakatōhea tradition records that, in mid-1868, Whakatōhea heard of the escape of Te Kooti Arikirangi from Wharekauri (the Chatham Islands) and of his "Ameko, Iperene, Ūtiera" prophecy. Many were excited that Te Kooti might come to their rohe, believing he was under the protection of God.

In late 1868, while based at Ngā Tapa, Te Kooti sent two emissaries to Hira Te Popo and Ngāti Ira, seeking their active support. Ngāti Ira agreed to support Te Kooti and Hira Te Popo wrote to other Whakatōhea hapū encouraging them to do the same.



Crown forces took Ngā Tapa in early January 1869 and summarily executed many of the prisoners taken after the battle. Te Kooti escaped with about 30 followers and made his way to the Waioweka gorge. Hira Te Popo sheltered Te Kooti and his people at Maraetahi, near his own village.

Ngāti Ira soon accepted the teachings of Te Kooti, which many other Whakatōhea also came to identify with. According to Whakatōhea tradition, they saw the faith of Te Kooti as springing from the oppression he had suffered at the hands of the Crown, experiences very similar to their own sufferings. Whakatōhea saw Te Kooti as being unjustly persecuted by the Crown, in the same way it was persecuting them. The faith that became known as Ringatū also resonated with Whakatōhea as its tikanga encouraged the continuation of many of their traditional practices. Ngāti Ira and other Whakatōhea converts believed that by following Te Kooti's teachings their mana would be upheld and they would receive justice.

Te Kooti established Maraetahi as his refuge and base of operations. Ngāti Ira built him a substantial kāinga; including a large whare karakia or house of prayer. They planted extensive gardens, with acres of maize, taro and other vegetables. Te Kooti left Maraetahi in mid-February 1869.

In February 1870, Native Minister Donald McLean announced that the Crown would pay a £5,000 reward if Te Kooti was killed or captured. When the Crown force set off on 20 March, approached Wairātā, storming Taipuna pā killing 18 Te Kooti supporters, and taking over 300 prisoners. Another Crown force took Maraetahi, but most of the residents escaped, including Hira Te Popo and Te Kooti, with only two defenders killed and two captured. The Crown troops burned all the whare at Maraetahi, including the elaborate Whare karakia. They destroyed the gardens, which one officer described as 'the largest Native plantation I can ever remember to have seen.'

Whilst Te Kooti abandoned Maraetahi, Hira Te Popo and Ngāti Ira resettled there after Crown forces withdrew. In April 1870, the Crown military commander at Ōpōtiki wrote to Hira Te Popo promising the 'past offences' of Ngāti Ira would be forgiven if they surrendered and helped the Crown catch Te Kooti. On 7 May, a party of 25 men and 31 women and children arrived at Ōpōtiki from Waioweka to surrender. The group consisted of Ngāti Ira, some other Whakatōhea supporters of Te Kooti and a number of members of other iwi.

In early May 1870, the Crown military commander at Ōpōtiki received information claiming that Te Kooti was at Te Tahora, in the Waioweka gorge, with Hira Te Popo. Although the Crown assembled a force to capture Te

Kooti and his supporters, the Crown forces were unsuccessful in capturing their target.

Hira Te Popo came into Ōpōtiki on 17 June 1870, offering the surrender of Ngāti Ira to the Crown. Crown officials acknowledged that Hira Te Popo had not been involved in the killing of Völkner. A Crown official described Hira Te Popo as 'a man of considerable ability and of good character'.

On 27 January 1871, Donald McLean visited Ōpōtiki to receive the formal surrender of Hira Te Popo and Ngāti Ira. Hira Te Popo declared his loyalty to the Crown, reportedly stating he had previously been misled by deceivers.

In the campaign against Te Kooti the Crown had killed a number of Whakatōhea. Crown forces plundered or destroyed large quantities of Whakatōhea crops and other property. Whakatōhea were aggrieved at the Crown's attack on them for supporting Te Kooti, which had sown angst and division among a people already suffering the effects of war and raupatu.

Crown officials claimed Ngāti Ira had lost faith in the God of Te Kooti. Despite this, Hira Te Popo, Ngāti Ira and many other Whakatōhea remained strong in their Ringatū faith. Through the 1870s and 1880s the majority of Whakatōhea converted to Ringatū.

In the late 1880s, Whakatōhea built two significant houses for Te Kooti at Waioweka. One of these was the large finely carved and painted Tanewhirinaki. The other was the smaller Te Taramu (the Drum) also carved and painted. Building the two houses demonstrated the people's faith in Ringatū, but was also symbolic of Whakatōhea resilience. Despite military defeat, raupatu and other land loss and ongoing struggles, the two magnificent houses symbolised the continued Whakatōhea presence in their rohe.

8 The Native Land Court

The total, pre-1840, area of the Whakatōhea rohe has been estimated at 491,000 acres. In the decades following the Crown's confiscation of approximately 144,000 acres, the Native Land Court individualised the tenure of Whakatōhea's remaining lands. The Crown and private parties subsequently purchased so much Whakatōhea tribal land from individual owners that by 1908 Whakatōhea retained just 35,400 acres.

The Native Land Court was established by the Crown under the Native Lands Acts of 1862 and 1865, to determine title to Māori owned land and convert customary papatipu title to individualised freehold title derived from the Crown. The Crown anticipated

transforming customary Māori land ownership to individual rights under Crown title would make it easier to transfer Māori land to Pākehā settlers. The Crown expected this change would eventually lead Māori to abandon their traditional communal land-holding structures, promoting their 'amalgamation' into European society.

The Crown did not consult Te Whakatōhea about the new land laws and Māori were not represented in Parliament when the Acts passed into law. Moreover, the Native Land Court was the only mechanism available to Whakatōhea if they sought legally recognised land titles protected from the claims of other iwi and hapū. Freehold title was also required if Whakatōhea wished to legally sell or lease their lands.

For Whakatōhea, participation in the Native Land Court process was an exceedingly costly enterprise. The Native Land Court process included a requirement that all land blocks be surveyed prior to title investigation and that the survey costs be met by the Māori owners.

9 Crown purchasing

The approximate area of land eventually granted to individual members of Whakatōhea by the Native Land Court was 177,000 acres across just three blocks. This comprised: 10,000 acres of the Whakapaupākihi block; 106,000 acres of the Oamaru block and 61,000 acres of the Tahora No.2 block. Crown purchasing of the remaining Whakatōhea lands began in December 1881 with the purchase of the 6,960-acre Whakapaupākihi No.1 block.

10 Public Works

During the twentieth century the Crown compulsorily took more land from the small remnant left to Whakatōhea. This began in 1912, when the Crown took 48 acres of Hiwarau A for "scenic purposes" and just under an acre of Whakapaupākihi No. 2 for a public road. The Crown took another 5 acres from Whakapaupākihi No. 2 in 1916, for railway purposes, followed in 1919 by 5 acres from Whakapaupākihi No. 3 for a public school.

11 Te Petihana

In 1907, the Crown appointed the Chief Justice, Sir Robert Stout, and Āpirana Ngata, Member for Eastern Māori, to assess how much Māori land remained idle and to explore ways in which such land might be brought into some form of productive capacity. The Stout-Ngata Commission found Māori in a perilous position owing to the widespread loss of land in the nineteenth century

and the lack of opportunity to develop those lands they had retained.

The Māori race is, in our opinion, in a most difficult and critical position. There is great pressure from European settlers to obtain their lands...They [Māori] are looking to the future with no hope... What is to become of the Maori people? Is the race to pass away entirely? ...The spectacle is presented to us of a people starving in the midst of plenty. Stout and Ngata 14-15

Whakatōhea were in a similarly perilous position. The Stout-Ngata Commission stated:

Dealing first with the Whakatōhea tribe, we find that they have little land left in their hands. The lands about Opotiki were confiscated by the State...The Government subsequently granted reserves out of the confiscated area, the principal block being Opape Reserve...It is not good land and at best can only be called second-class land. Walker 172

From the start of the twentieth century the hapū of Whakatōhea sought to improve their position with a series of petitions to the Crown.

First petition – submitted to Parliament by Mēhaka Wātene, Tauhā Nikora, Paora Taia, and 166 others on 14 September 1914, seeking a Commission to inquire into the matter of confiscated Whakatōhea lands. The Native Affairs Committee made no recommendation, and the Crown therefore took no action.

Second petition – called for another Commission to inquire into confiscated Whakatōhea lands in 1915. Again, the Native Affairs Committee made no recommendation.

Third petition – in 1917 this petition was submitted by Whaiora Renata on behalf of Whakatōhea seeking the return of whenua. By 1920, a Native Lands Commission was finally established to inquire into the confiscation of Whakatōhea lands.

The Jones Commission, headed by the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, inquired into and reported upon a number of petitions from Māori regarding lands in a number of locations around the country, including the eastern Bay of Plenty, Taranaki, Waikato, Aotea and Te Wai Pounamu. With regard to the confiscation of Whakatōhea lands, the Jones Commission was highly critical of the actions the Crown had taken in 1865.

In our opinion the fact that punishment was inflicted on the Whakatōhea by a punitive expedition in 1865, and that the actual offenders



were captured and dealt with according to civil law, should have had some effect of lightening the punishment that was imposed on the tribe by confiscating so much of their land...the penalty paid by the Whakatōhea Tribe...was heavier than their desserts. Walker 180-181

The Commission's critical report on the confiscation of Whakatōhea land had little immediate effect. The Commission made no recommendation and the desire of Whakatōhea to have their land returned remained unaddressed.

Fourth petition - In 1922, Harihari Rānapia and 65 others submitted another petition. The petitioners pleaded with the Minister for Native Affairs for relief, fearing that the older generation might not live to see any benefit. The Native Affairs Committee recommended the petition be referred to the Government, but the Crown again took no action.

In October 1926, Sir Āpirana Ngata, Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee, and Sir Māui Pōmare, Minister of Health, took action following a number of petitions from iwi including Whakatōhea. Ngata and Pōmare persuaded the Prime Minister, Gordon Coates to establish a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the confiscations. Supreme Court Judge William Sim was appointed to head the Commission.

The Sim Commission reported back in 1928 with finding that the confiscation did not exceed what was 'just and fair', except for Whakatōhea, where it was excessive, 'but only to a small extent'.

For the 143,870-acres confiscated from Whakatōhea, which included 'all the flat and useful land' - the Sim Commission recommended an annual payment of £300, 'for the purpose of providing higher education for the children of members of the tribe'. Whakatōhea rejected the offer of a £300 annuity and continued their struggle.

Fifth petition – In 1944 a petition was submitted to Parliament by Te Amoamo Te Riaki and 172 others.

Sixth petition – submitted by Hoera Tūpara and 29 others the following year. In its assessment of the £300 annuity offered Whakatōhea, this latest petition was scathing:

What generous gentlemen those Commissioners were! What magnanimity! What liberality! 143,870 acres of the flat, fertile and alluvial lands in and around the township of Opotiki politically and scientifically filched from the Natives by the early administrators of this country – and the said liberal gentlemen recommended £300! What lavish prodigal

generosity...It was political robbery from people who were defenceless; it was spoliation of a Native race; it was robbery from children who really could not defend themselves... Walker 193

The petition concluded by rejecting the 'paltry yearly sum of £300' and demanding a more equitable offer. The Crown saw no point in a third inquiry and decided to offer compensation. On 14 November 1946, 32 years after the first Whakatōhea petition, the Crown paid £20,000 into the Whakatōhea Claims Settlement Account held by the Māori Trustee. The Crown passed legislation in 1949, to set up a Trust Board to administer these funds to purchase and lands for the benefit of Whakatōhea. This led to the establishment, in 1952, of the Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board, which became the principal organisation for Whakatōhea economic development.

In 1946 the Crown set up to a Royal Commission chaired by Chief Justice Myers to investigate claims over 'surplus lands' retained by the Crown following Pākehā claims of purchasing lands from Whakatōhea. In 1948 the Myers Commission recommended compensation be paid for lands that passed into Crown ownership through the surplus lands policy. Under the Māori Purposes Act 1953 and on the recommendation of the Myers Commission, the Crown paid the Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board £4,648 14s in compensation for the 6,641 acres of surplus land in the Ōpōtiki District. No explanation was given as to why land that had originally been recorded as covering an area of 7,638 acres was now defined as being only 6,641 acres.

12 Land Development Schemes

In the 1930s the Crown began focusing on assisting the development of the small areas of land Māori still retained. Ngata noted that many iwi including Whakatōhea had been pushed to the 'verge of landlessness' due to confiscation and Crown land purchases. The Crown instigated a fund that enabled Māori to develop the lands they retained. The Crown spent funds on schemes that would develop farming operations on lands at the Wainui Reserve and at Ōpape. These schemes were relatively successful, but there was not enough land left for the hapū of Whakatōhea to develop and grow for their own prosperity.

13 Environmental issues in the rohe

Whakatōhea had a deep spiritual relationship with the environment of their traditional rohe, while also depending on natural resources for their physical survival and material needs. Whakatōhea tikanga

enabled them to act as kaitiaki of the land, fresh waters and sea. The Whakatōhea understanding of tapu, mauri and wairua and their whakapapa connections with the natural world defined this relationship.

Ōhiwa Harbour was home to 'Ngā Tamāhine a Whakatōhea', great quantities of kaimoana including cockles, mussels and sea snails. Waiotāhe river was renowned for pipi. Pāua, kina, mussels and koura (crayfish) were abundant from Ōpape to Awaawakino and the Waiaua River was a rich food source.

Whakatōhea had strict tikanga defining how, when and where to harvest coastal kaimoana, ensuring the resource was not depleted. Fishing in rivers, estuaries and the open sea was controlled by tikanga, including following the phases of the moon and applying rahui. Whakatōhea had strict rules about the uses of sections of rivers, ensuring bathing was kept separate from food gathering and that human waste was not deposited in the rivers or the ocean.

Whakatōhea had an intricate knowledge of the indigenous plants, animals, minerals and soils of the forests, wetlands, coastal habitats and offshore islands. They were therefore able to provide themselves with food, clothing, housing, tools, waka and rongoa (medicine). Whakatōhea regularly hunted titi (grey-faced petrel) from Whakaari (White Island) during the birds' breeding season. Whakatōhea hunted and gathered in their mountainous hinterland on a seasonal basis. They gathered fern root and hunted kereru (pigeons), kākā, weka and kiwi at places such as Toatoa, Whitikau and Waioweka.

Whakatōhea used areas of flat coastal land for crops such as kumara. From the early 1800s, the introduction of plants and animals such as potatoes, grains, fruit trees, pigs, cattle, horses and poultry, along with the adoption of Pākehā technology led to changes in land use and hunting methods. Whakatōhea, nevertheless, continued to follow their own tikanga in their hunting, fishing and gathering practices.

13.1 Deforestation and river control

The raupatu of Whakatōhea land in 1866 effectively placed 143,870-acres of flat, fertile land in the hands of Pākehā settlers. Much of this land was progressively cleared of forest and readied for farming. From 1906, the steep, forested inland blocks of Tahora and Oamaru were also opened up for settlement as farmland. While there was some awareness of the flood risks associated with forest clearance in hill country, the Crown placed greater emphasis on economic development than environmental protection. The Crown was supportive of timber logging in the area, even after the increased risks

of flooding, slips, sedimentation and erosion were highlighted by engineers and conservation advocates.

Both the Otara and Waioweka Rivers were prone to flooding and this was exacerbated by the clearance of bush in the hill country. Sediment was carried down the watercourse where it was deposited in the river channel, altering the course of the river and leading to erosion.



Figure 5: Hinerae - Waioweka River

Whakatōhea felt this ongoing environmental degradation was an injury to the mauri, tapu and wairua of the rivers. The Waioweka and Otara Rivers were further degraded in the mid-twentieth century by pollution from sewage discharge. Flood damage and pollution prevented Whakatōhea practicing their traditional tikanga in relation to the rivers.

13.2 Water pollution

Ōpōtiki's poor sanitation was a major source of river pollution. In 1947 properties in the Ōpōtiki borough lacked proper sanitation, contents from septic tanks were disposed in sump holes or fields through irrigation systems. Sewage leaked into the sea, and would wash back into the Ōtara river.

In the early-1950s the Ōpōtiki Borough Council began constructing a sewerage scheme. The system discharged treated liquid effluent into the Waioweka River which was traditionally used for fishing and recreation. Whakatōhea hapū were not consulted over the sewerage scheme.

13.3 Ōhiwa Harbour

From the late nineteenth century commercial activities had impacts on Ōhiwa Harbour. In 1896 the Crown approved a private company building a wharf on the Ōhiwa spit, at Ōhiwa Harbour. In 1919 the Crown approved a wharf at Kutarere, which the Council constructed in 1922. In 1926 the Crown vested a landing reserve at Kutarere in the Opotiki County Council. The



Crown did not consult Whakatōhea hapū over these developments.

In 1927 a group of Whakatōhea wrote of their concerns over commercial fishing depleting traditional fisheries. It is not clear whether the Crown took any action on this.

In July 1944 Te Ūpokorehe were among a group of 115 Ōhiwa Māori who petitioned Parliament requesting they and future generations retain 'all fishing rights and pipi, tuangi, mussel beds rights' in a proposed Ōhiwa Harbour reserve. The Native Affairs Committee recommended this petition for 'favourable consideration.'

During the 1970s the mussel population in Ōhiwa Harbour declined. In 1977 the Whakatōhea Maori Executive Committee joined with neighbouring Maori Executive Committees in calling on the Department of Fisheries to temporarily close mussel harvesting in Ōhiwa Harbour. They also asked for ongoing dialogue with the Fisheries Department. The Crown did not implement any closures until 1981, nor is it clear whether they consulted with Whakatōhea.

13.4 Native and introduced fauna and flora

Whakatōhea traditionally hunted kereru (pigeons), an activity that was carried out seasonally and with specified tikanga. From the 1860s the Crown sought to regulate the hunting of kereru, but without taking note of existing tikanga that preserved the kererū. The Crown promoted legislation that, at first prohibited kererū hunting without special permission, and then completely outlawed kererū hunting. These laws, effectively restricting or prohibiting Whakatōhea traditional hunting practices, were introduced without consulting the iwi.

Many new species of birds, fish, animals and plants have been introduced into the Whakatōhea tribal rohe. From 1917, the Crown gave the Ōpōtiki Acclimatisation Society the right to issue fishing licences. Whakatōhea were not consulted but became subject to these fishing regulations.

The introduction of possums, goats, trout and other exotic species led to significant damage to indigenous plants and animals, many of which were integral to the Whakatōhea way of life. Whakatōhea were not consulted over the introduction of any of these species.

The Crown consistently ignored the Whakatōhea world-view and failed to consult the iwi when taking actions to exploit or preserve natural resources. The Crown did not value or adopt the Whakatōhea tikanga-based approach to natural resources, nor did the Crown take into account concepts such as tapu, mauri and wairua.

14 Social and economic issues

Whakatōhea remember the years before 1865 as a time of prosperity. In the years following the musket wars of the 1830s, Whakatōhea successfully adopted Pākehā technology to grow their economy. Traditional and introduced foods were abundant enough to feed local people and produce surpluses to trade with settler communities. The socio-economic conditions for Whakatōhea changed markedly following invasion and raupatu.

Before 1865, Whakatōhea took care of their own education. The desire for education was a key factor in encouraging missionaries to settle, and by mid-1860s many Whakatōhea were literate. Despite the severe impact of raupatu, Whakatōhea remained committed to enabling access to education for their children. Hira Te Popo established a school for Ngāti Ira children at Waioweka in the 1870s independent of Government assistance, but by 1884 Ngāti Ira sought Crown support to establish the Waioweka Native School. In 1873 Ngāti Rua sought Crown support to establish a the Ōmarumutu Native School. Both schools were commended for attending to the children's educative needs.

The Crown saw native schools as a means of assimilating Whakatōhea into Pākehā culture. The Native Schools Code 1880 required senior classes to be taught exclusively in English, while the junior classes were to aim to reduce and dispense of the use te reo Māori. Whakatōhea elders recall being punished for using te reo Māori at school.

Well, Sir I thrashed them. I thrashed them well. Whenever I got 'cheek' I gave the offender a double dose. I turned the worst ones out of school. I kicked one boy down the steps. Cotton

Following these comments, the Education Department found that attendance at Ōmarumutu Native School had dropped significantly. Whakatōhea were unhappy with the quality of education and sought a better teacher.

Waioweka Native School came to be attended by Māori and Pākehā alike. In 1907, when Pākehā pupils began to outnumber Māori, the Pākehā parents sought to take control of the school. From 1907 through to 1916, Pākehā parents campaigned to have Waioweka classified as a general school rather than a native school.

In 1914 the Inspector of Schools noted that events at Waioweka Native School reflected a broader problem of discrimination in the Ōpōtiki district, based on the 'uncompromising attitude of the Europeans'. The Director of Education followed the Inspector's advice and refused to reclassify the school.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Whakatōhea children also attended the Kutarere, Toatoa, Wairata, Tirohanga, Wainui, Onekawa and Waingagara Schools. Some of these students also suffered discrimination from members of the Pākehā community. In 1907 cases were reported of Māori attending general schools being 'sworn at, insulted and teased'. In 1913 Pākehā in the Ōpōtiki district came up with a proposal to have a school built for Māori at Te Rere, with all Māori pupils currently at general schools being sent there. The Crown did not take up this proposal.

14.1 Health, living conditions and economy

Whakatōhea oral tradition states that in the years before 1865 iwi members generally enjoyed good health, with many tipuna living to an advanced age. Whakatōhea trade with Pākehā in the early nineteenth century brought some negative health impacts. The consumption of alcohol and tobacco became common and there were occasional outbreaks of introduced diseases. Whakatōhea became more exposed to infectious diseases after 1865, with the influx of Pākehā into the rohe following the invasion and raupatu.

By 1866, the Crown had destroyed a large portion of Whakatōhea property and confiscated most of their productive land. Whakatōhea worked hard to grow food on their remaining land, but their health was affected by being forced into poverty. The confiscation of food gathering sites, agricultural land and coastal areas reduced the range of food sources available. Some Whakatōhea responded to defeat by increasing their alcohol consumption. Whakatōhea mental and spiritual health was affected by the loss of access to important traditional sites.

The large numbers of Pākehā settling on confiscated lands made Whakatōhea more vulnerable to introduced diseases such as smallpox, measles, mumps, cholera, enteric fever, influenza, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever. Whakatōhea were also prone to poverty and starvation as a result of land shortage. These conditions made Whakatōhea susceptible to diseases associated with poverty.

Whakatōhea had their own traditional healers, who used a combination of rongoa, traditional plant medicines, and spiritual practices. In 1907 Parliament enacted the Tohunga Suppression Act, authorising the prosecution of anyone 'who misleads or attempts to mislead any Maori by professing or pretending to profess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of any disease...' The Crown did very little to enforce this and Whakatōhea healers continued with their work. However, according to Whakatōhea oral tradition, the stigma the Act created

made many tohunga reluctant to pass on traditional knowledge.

The 1920s and 1930s saw only limited improvement for the Whakatōhea economy. The situation was described as many Whakatōhea working outside of the rohe in labouring, bush felling and shearing industries. Settlements such as those in Ōmarumutu and Waioweka were reported to be thriving. The Crown provided little assistance to improve Whakatōhea living conditions until the late 1940s, when it built a number of State houses at Waioweka pā. From this time on, however, the Crown's main emphasis was on encouraging young, rural Māori to move to urban areas, where more jobs and facilities were available.

After the Second World War, large numbers of young Whakatōhea were forced to leave the rohe in search of paid employment. They went to many parts of the country including Nelson, Rotorua, Kawerau, Tokoroa, Auckland, Wellington and other larger cities, while some went to Australia. The post WWII urbanisation of Māori impacted Whakatōhea greatly. An estimated 80 per cent of Whakatōhea left the rohe in the decades following the war.

Those Whakatōhea who left the rohe were separated from the main source of their tikanga and language. Most of their children attended state schools, which, from the 1940s through to the 1970s, had very limited, if any, facilities to teach te reo Māori. Government education policies through to the 1960s had discouraged the use and learning of te reo Māori. One consequence of these policies was that there were very few teachers with the skills to teach the language. The 2013 census recorded that almost 70% of those affiliated to Whakatōhea stated they could not hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori.

For many years the Crown's education system had low expectations for Māori students, but Whakatōhea have worked hard to achieve within it. In 2013, 73% of Whakatōhea living in New Zealand held a formal qualification and a further 14% held a bachelor's degree or higher.

In 2020 only about 10% of Whakatōhea live within the iwi rohe. Whakatōhea elders have noted that it only takes one generation to lose connections with iwi and turangawaewae. Many of those who have left have lost contact with their whanaunga, their reo and their tikanga. The implications of these losses continue to plague urban Māori communities today.



15 The Future of Whakatōhea

The last 160 years has been one of struggle and negativity as we battled with others and ourselves in pursuit of an admission of wrong and compensation from the Crown.

We receive that admission of wrong and compensation today.

Now we can ask, what does Te Whakatōhea want the next 160 years to look like?

The next 160 years will be different. But to be different and better will require more than a significant Settlement.

Iwi that have already gone down this path share the challenges that we now face:

- The shift from treaty grievance mode to aspirational mode;
- The shift from battling ourselves to battling for each other;
- The shift from the negativity to positivity.

What does Te Whakatōhea want the next 160 years to look like?

Note

Key references used in the historical context are derived from; Whakatōhea Historical Account <https://whakatoheapresettlement.org.nz/crown-apology#historical-account> (accessed 1 May 2023); The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol 1, Walker, R. (2007). Ōpōtiki-Mai-Tawhiti: Capital of Whakatōhea. The story of Whakatōhea's struggle during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Cowan, J. (1983). The New Zealand Wars, Vol 2 Cowan, J. (1983). The New Zealand Wars, Vol 2, Research of Dr Ranginui Walker, Papers Past – National Library, New Zealand Parliament Legislation; Mokomoko (Restoration of Character, Mana, and Reputation) Bill 343-2, Oral testimony of kaumātua.





ORDER OF EVENTS

PAPA TAKARO O WHITIKAU

SATURDAY 27 MAY 2023, 10AM

8 : 30am

Pōhiri

Kingitanga me ngā iwi katoa

Whitikau

10 : 00am

Pōhiri

Crown & Dignitaries

11 : 15am

Kapū tī and reset for
Deed signing ceremony

11 : 50am

Crown apology to Te Whakatōhea

- X Minister Little speaks
- X Chair of Te Tāwharau o te Whakatōhea speaks
- X Deed signing of settlement by
Minister and Trustees

1 : 00pm

Poupou

Acknowledgement and
Kōrero o ngā Kaumātua

2 : 00pm

Kai: Whakawhanaungatanga

2 : 30pm

Music: Entertainment,
Rangatahi and Tamariki Activities

5 : 30pm

Karakia Whakamutunga

Acknowledgements

Te Whakataunga o te Raupatu Whenua is hosted by the Whakatōhea Pre-Settlement Claims Trust and Ngā Kaumatua o Te Whakatōhea. The hosts would like to acknowledge the support and sponsorship from the following partners:

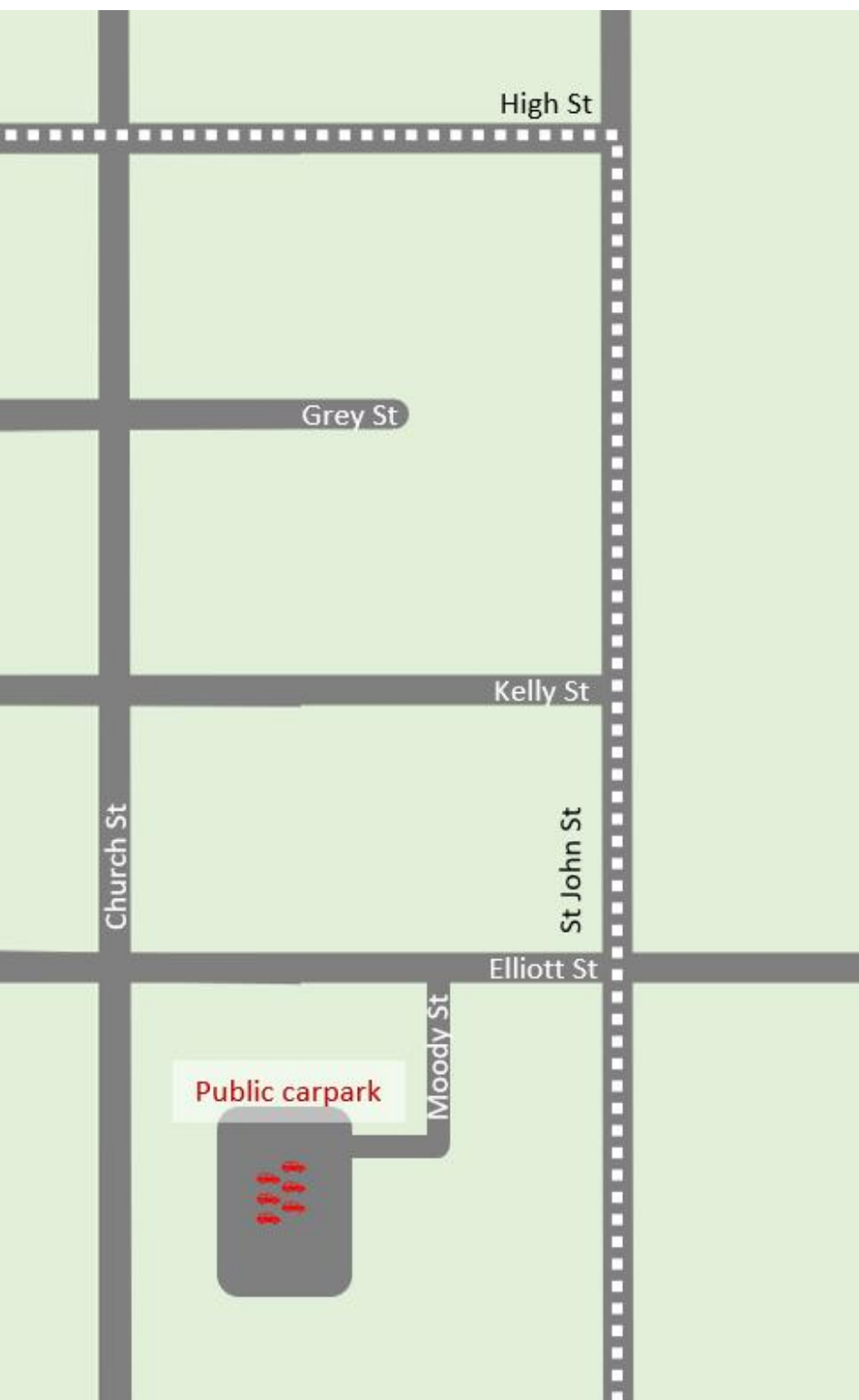
- Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board
- Trust Horizon
- Ōpōtiki College
- Bridge FM
- Ōpōtiki District Council
- Moana New Zealand
- Mitre 10
- Hāpai Te Hauora
- Hayes Engineering
- Whare Rauora

A special acknowledgement to all whānau, hapū, iwi, and friends that have offered support to make this event possible.

Map – Town & Whitikau



Map – Town & Whitikau



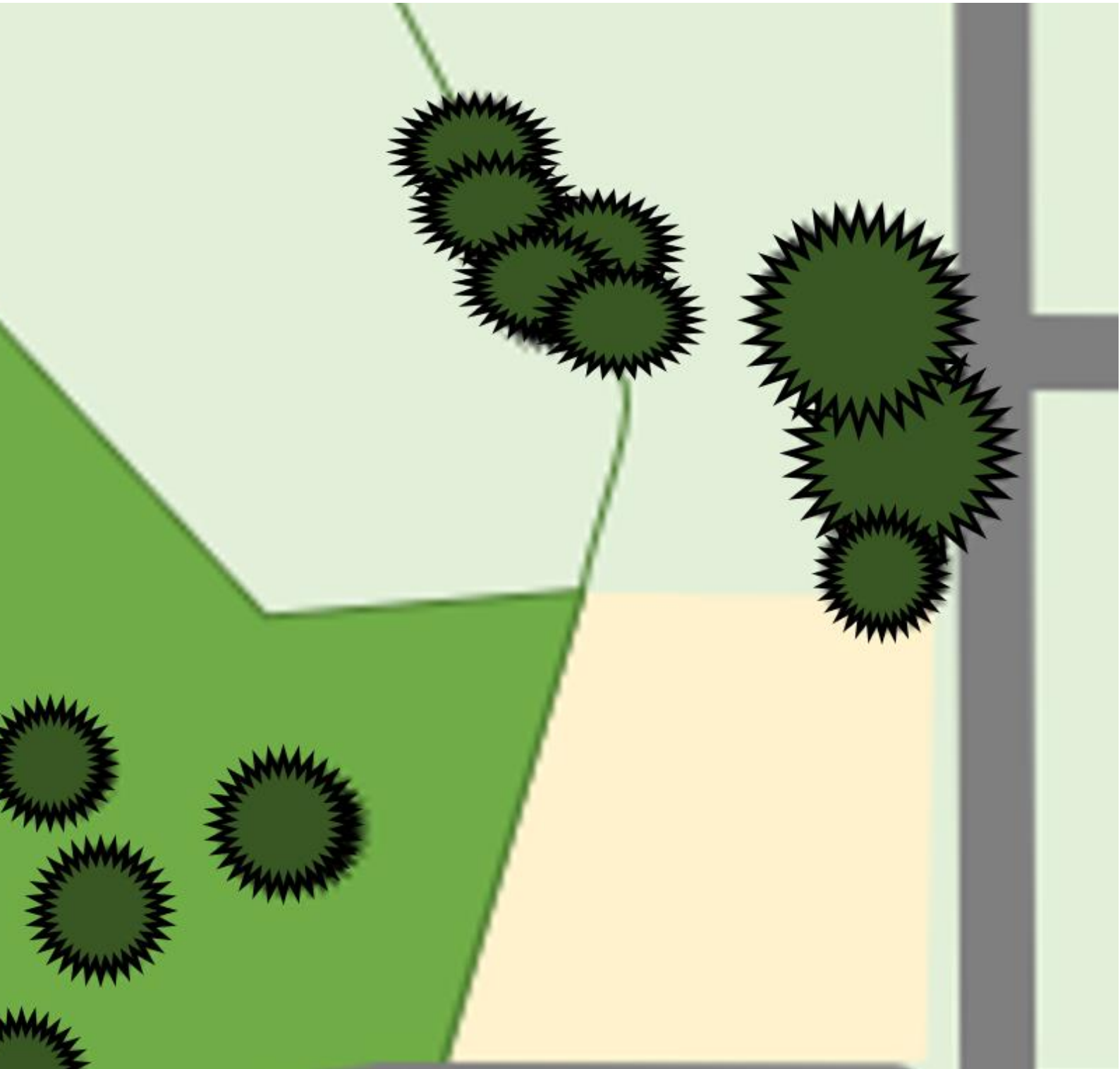
Map – Town & Whitikau

- Potts Ave – Service and event vehicle access only.
- Wharf St - Kiingitanga and Crown carpark access. Part of Wharf St will be closed.
- Nelson St – Kaumātua & VIP carpark access.
- Moody St – Public carpark.

Map – Event Site



Map – Event Site



Karakia

A POUPOU

HĪMENE A ĒTANA

E te Ariki kei hea ōu arohatanga o mua... i oaitia ai e koe... ki a Rāwiri i runga i tōu pono...

Maharatia au e te Ariki... Te atawhaitanga ki ō pononga ki ahau... e mau nei i roto ki tōku uma...

Te atawhaitanga o te hunga nunui katoa... kia whakapaingia ia... a Ihowa ake ake amene..

Te hunga e whakatokia... ki te whare o Ihowa ka tipu ki ngā marae.... o tō tātou Atua... Ka piki tonu rātou ua he wāhine ka tētere rātou... Ka matomato hei whakakite atu... E tika ana a Ihowa ia tōku kōhatu...

Kāhore hoki ōna hē... Ko Ihowa te kīngi he korōria tōna kākahu... Tō Ihowa kākahu he kaha...

Tāna hoki he whitiki ai ki a ia... Kua whakaūngia e ia te ao.... Tē tāea te whakanekeneke...

Pono tonu āu whakaaturanga tapu... Te mea pai mō tōu whare e Ihowa ake ake... Ae rā whakamoemititia...

E nui ana hoki ia a puku noa... ki ngā pito o te ao...

PĀNUI 11

Whakapapa 16:28

Tukua atu ki a Ihowa e ngā hapū o ngā iwi nei, tukua atu ki a Ihowa te korōria me te kaha

Whakapapa 29:1

Hoatu ki a Ihowa e te hunga nunui, hoatu ki a Ihowa te korōria me te kaha

Rewetikuha 10:3

Ko te mea tēnei i kōrero ai a Ihowa i mea me whakatapu ahau e te hunga katoa e whakatata mai ana ki a ahau, me whakakorōria anō hoki ahau ki te aroaro o te iwi katoa... whakarongo puku ana Arona

Hoani 10:27

E rongo ana āku hipi ki tōku reo a... E mātau ana ahau ki a rātou e aru ana hoki rātou i ahau

Waiata 3:8

Nā Ihowa nei hoki te whakaoranga kei runga i a tātou tāna manaakitanga

Ihaia 28:16

Ko te kupu tēnei a Ihowa he kōhatu kua oti te whakamātautau mō te kokonga, he mea utu nui he tūranga ū te tangata e whakapono ana e kore e pōtatutatu

Hohea 13:4

Ko ahau anō ia a lhowa ko tōu Atua o te whenua mai rānō o lhipa. Kaua koe e mōhio ki tētahi Atua ko ahau anake, kāhore atu hoki he kai whakaora ko ahau anake

Nga Mahi 4:12

Kāore hoki he orange i tētahi ake kāhore hoki he ingoa kē atu i raro o te rangi kua homai ki ngā tāngata e ora ai tātou

Hopa 12:10

Kei tōna ringa nei hoki te wairua o ngā mea ora katoa te manawa o ngā kikokiko tāngata katoa.

Tauanga 16:22

Nā... ka hinga tāpapa iho rāua ka mea e te Atua e te Atua o ngā wairua o ngā kikokiko katoa ki te hara te tangata kotahi e riri rānei koe ki te whakaminenga katoa

Raniera 5:23

Nā... te Atua kei tōna ringa nei tōu manawa, nāna nei ō huarahi katoa kīhai i whakakorōriatia e koe

Koroniti 1:7

Kīhai hoki ahau i tonoa e te Karaiti ki te iriiri, engari ki te kauhau i te rongopai, ehara i te mea i runga i te mōhiotanga ki te kōrero kei whakakāhoretia te rīpeka o te Karaiti

WAIATA A RĀWIRI. 62:1-12

He pono e tatari ana tōku wairua ki te Atua: ko ia anake te whakaoranga mōku... Ko ia anake tōku kōhatu me tōku whakaoranga, tōku pā hoki, e kore e nui tōku ngāueuetanga. Heoi anō, tā rātou e rūnanga ai ko te turaki i a ia i tōna wāhi teitei: e whakaāhuareka ana rātou ki te teka; e manaaki ana ō rātou manga, ā, e kanga ana rātou i a rātou. E tōku wairua, tatari mārie koe ki te Atua anake: ko ia anake tāku e tūmanako atu nei. Ko ia anake tōku kōhatu, me tōku whakaoranga, tōku pā hoki; e kore ahau e whakangāueuetia... Kei te Atua te whakaoranga mōku, me tōku korōria, kei te Atua te kōhatu o tōku kaha, me tōku piringa. Whakawhirinaki atu ki a ia i ngā wā katoa; ringihia, e te iwi, ō koutou ngākau ki tōna aroaro: hei piringa mō tātou te Atua. He pono he mea memeha noa ngā ware, he teka noa ngā rangatira: ki te paunatia rātou, māmā noa ake rātou tahi i te horihori. Kaua e whakawhirinaki ki te tūkinu, kei wairangi hoki ki te pāhua: ki te tīni haere ngā taonga, kei whakamanawa atu ō koutou ngākau ki reira. Kotahi kōrerotanga a te Atua, ka rua ōku rongona i tēnei. Nō te Atua te kaha... Nāu anō hoki, e te Ariki te mahi tohu: rite tonu hoki ki tāna mahi tau utu ki te tangata.

WHAKAPŪMAU

HIMENE A RAWIRI

Pūmau...tonu...tōku ngākau...e te Atua...

Pūmau...tonu...tōku ngākau ka waiata ahau...ka hīmene atu.
E ara...e tōku korōria...e ara e te hātere...me te hāpa.
Ka ara...wawe anō...hoki ahau ka whakamoemiti ahau...ki a koe.
E te...Ariki...i waenganui i te iwi...ka hīmene atu.
Ahau ki...a koe...i waenganui...o ngā tauīwi.
E nu...i ana hoki...tāu mahi tohu a tutuki noa...ki ngā rangi.
Me tō...u pono... a tutuki noa ki ngā kapua kia whakanuia koe... e te Atua.
Ki runga atu... i ngā rangi... hei runga atu i te whenua katoa tōu... korōria... Kia mawhi...iti tāu.... e
pai ai whakaorangia ki tōu ringa...ringa matau.
Whakarongo...mai hoki... ki āu homai ki a mātou.... he āwhina.
Kei mate...he teka noa hoki... te whakaoranga...a te tangata.

PĀNUI 24

1 Whakapapa 29:12.

Nāu ngā taonga me te hōnore ko koe hoki hei kīngi mō te katoa, kei tōu ringa te kaha me
te mana, mā tōu ringa anō hoki e homai te nui me te kaha mō te katoa.

1 Whakapapa 29:13.

Nā tēnei mātou e tō mātou Atua te whakawhetai atu nei ki a koe, te whakamoemiti atu nei
hoki ki tōu ingoa korōria.

1 Whakapapa 29:14.

He aha hoki ahau, he aha hoki tōku iwi i whai kaha ai mātou i pēnei ai te hihiko, nāu ngā
mea, ā, mā tōu ringa tā mātou ka hoatu nei ki a koe.

1 Whakapapa 29:15.

He manene nei hoki mātou i tōu aroaro he noho noa pēra anō me ō mātou mātua, rite tonu
ki te ātārangi ō mātou iho, he rā i runga i te whenua, kāhore hoki he tūturutanga.

1 Whakapapa 29:16.

E Ihowa e tō mātou Atua tēnei pūranga katoa kua pae nei i a mātou, hei hanga i te whare
mō tōu ingoa tapu, nā tōu ringa ēnei nāu hoki te katoa.

1 Whakapapa 29:17.

Na kua mōhio nei ahau e tōku Atua, e whakamātautauria ana te ngākau e koe e manako
ana hoki koe ki te tika.

1 Whakapapa 29:17.

Ko au nei he tika tōku ngākau i meatia noatia mai ai e ahau ēnei mea katoa, ā, tēnei ahau
te koa nei i tāku kitenga i tōu iwi i konei e hihiko ana ki tāu mahi.

1 Whakapapa 29:18.

E Ihowa e te Atua o Aperahama, o Ihaka, o Ihairaira, o mātou mātua, kia mau tēnei ake nei ake nei i roto i ngā tokonga ake o ngā whakaaro o te ngākau o tōu iwi, whakaangahia hoki ō rātou ngākau ki a koe.

WAIATA A RĀWIRI 85

E Ihowa kua aro mai koe ki tōu whenua; kua whakahokia mai e koe a Hakopa i whakaponongatia nei.... Kua murua e koe te kino o tōu iwi, kua hīpokina e koe ō rātou hara katoa. Kua whakakāhoretia katoatia e koe tōu weriweri: kua tahuri atu koe i te āritaritatanga o tō riri. Whakahokia ake mātou e te Atua o tō mātou whakaoranga: kia mutu hoki tō riri ki a mātou.... E riri rānei koe ki a mātou ake ake? e mauāhara tonu rānei koe, a tēna whakatipuranga tēna whakatipuranga? E kore ianei koe e whakahoki ake i a mātou ki te ora: kia hari ai tōu iwi ki a koe? E Ihowa whakakitea mai tāu mahi tohu ki a mātou: tukua mai hoki ki a mātou tāu whakaoranga. Ka whakarongo atu ahau ki tā te Atua, ki tā Ihowa e kōrero ai: nō te mea hoki mō te rongo mau āna korero ki tōna iwi, ki tōna hunga tapu hoki; kua ia rātou e hoki atu ki te wairangi... He pono e tata ana tāna whakaoranga ki te hunga e wehi ana i a ia; kia noho ai te korōria ki tō tātou whenua. Kua tūtaki te mahi tohu rāua ko te pono: kua kihi ki a rāua te tika me te rongomau: E tipu ake te pono i te whenua, e titiro iho te tika i te rangi. Āe ka homai e Ihowa te mea pai: a ka tukua mai ōna hua e tō tātou whenua... Ka haere te tika ki mua i a ia; hei whakaatu i a tātou ki te ara o āna hikoinga.

WHAKAMOEMITI

HĪMENE A RĀWIRI

E te Ariki e tāria ana koe te whakamoemiti.

Māu e whakamana ngā kupu taurangi... e te kai whakarongo īnoi...

e haere katoa mai ana ōu hāhi ki a koe... Auē he kaihangā hoki ia nō ngā ao...

Ko ia te kanapatanga o tōna korōria... Ko te tino āhua o tōna pūmautanga...

Ka oti i a ia ake te horoi i o tātou hara... Kia iti nei te whakaputa i te kupu a tōu māngai...

Kei tukua te kupu whakahī a tōu ngākau... Kei rite koe ki te tangata e haere ana i runga o te pūhore...

Tē ai he okiokinga kupu māna... Auē e te Atua me tuku mai he tānga manawa...

Mō tōu iwi mō ngā toenga o Ihairaira... He īnoi he noho puku tā ngā ngutu...

He whakahāwea ia tā te ngākau... Whakamoemititia whakapaingia... tō tātou matua ake ake...

PĀNUI 1

1 Whakapapa 16:28

Tukua atu ki a Ihowa e ngā hapū o ngā iwi nei tukua atu ki a Ihowa te korōria me te kaha

1 Whakapapa 16:30



Kia wehi rā ki tōna aroaro e ngā iwi katoa, e ū ana te whenua me ngā tāngata o runga, e kore e tāea te whakanekeneke.

Hopa 12:10

Kei tōna ringa nei hoki te wairua o ngā mea ora katoa te manawa hoki o ngā kikokiko tāngata katoa.

Hopa 12:11-1

He teka ianei e whakamātauria ana ngā kupu e te taringa e kitea ana te reka o tāna kai, e te waha waiho rā kei te roa o ngā rā te mātauranga.

Waiata 3:8

Nā lhowa nei hoki te whakaoranga kei runga ia tātou tāna manaakitanga.

Heremia 31:16

Ko te kupu tānei ā lhowa, whakamutua te tangi a tōu reo ngā roimata o ōu kanohi, nō te mea ka whai utu tō mahi e ai tā lhowa... ka hoki atu rātou ki te whenua o te hoa riri.

Heremia 31:17

Ka whai tūmanakohanga atu tōu whakamutunga e ai tā lhowa... ka hoki atu ngā tamariki ki tō rātou rohe.

Tepania 2:3

Rapua a lhowa e te hunga māhaki e noho nei, mahia tāna whakaritenga whakawā, rapua te korōria me te kaha me kore koutou e uru ki te rā o tana riri.

Whakatauki 1:7, 2:22

Ko te wehi ki a lhowa te tīmatanga o te mātauranga ka hātepea atu e ia te hunga kino i runga i te whenua.

Whakatauki 24: 16,17.

Ahakoia e whitu hinganga o te tangata tika ka ara anō ki te hinga i tou hoa riri kei whakamanamana koe.

WAIATA A RĀWIRI RĀUA KO HOROMONA

Whakamoemititia e lhowa. Whakamoemititia te Atua i tōna wāhi tapu... Whakamoemititia ia i te kikorangi o tōna kaha. Whakamoemititia ia mō āna mahi nunui: kia rite ki te hira o tōna nui te whakamoemiti ki a ia... Whakamoemititia ia i runga i te tangi o te tētere: whakamoemititia ia i runga i te hātere, i te hāpa. Whakarongo e taku tamaiti ki te ako a tōu pāpā, kaua hoki e whakarērea te ture a tōu whāea. Ā, ka waiho hei whakapaipai ātaahua mō tōu mātenga... hei mekameka whakapaipai mō tōu kakī, E tāku tamaiti ki te whakawaia koe e te hunga hara, kaua anō hoki e whakaae atu.

Waiata

E MURI AHIAHI E

E muri ahiahi e
Takoto ki te moenga
Ka haramai te aroha e
Ka kai kino i ahau
Me aha te aroha e
E mahuru iho ai
Me kawe rawa rā e
I te wai wehe ai
Koutou i tua o ngā hiwi e
Tēnei te Matua
Ka wehe i te iwi e
Nāku i tuku atu
I te tini o te iwi e
I wehea atu ai
E tatari atu ana e
Kia puta mai koe
Hei wehe i te aroha e
I te kōnohinohi
O roto i ahau nā ia

TĒRĀ TE PŌ PANGO

Tērā te pō pango
Puritia mai te tuatara ki Waitangi rā e
Ko te rite i taku tarai i kīa mai nei
Tahuri ka Titiwa tonu
Titiwa mai ana a roto he pāua piri ki te toka
Kia māmā tonu atu ko te tōnga atu o te rā
Ki ōna papaihoretanga ki a Uenuku
Ko te toka i a Parirau ko te Karoro a Tamatea

Me he ako ia nei te waka nei ka pakaru ki taku tinana

Penei i reia e au ki te ihu o te tio hakia e

Peke ana au ki te tai ngā riu o Kānapanapa

Hei kawe i ngā wai e ahau ki Te Pua-ki-Te-Reinga

Kia hopu nei ō akapū te taunga atu ki tāwhiti e

Te pae ki taiao mai

Ko wai ka kite i au e?

Ko te whakamā hoki rawa tēnei ka tōtope i taku rae e i ...

WHAKATAU RAWA

Whakatau rawa ... iho ... te mauri ... ki raro ra

Whakamata ... tūtia ... e noho ... kutukutu

E ai ... te whiti ... taua ... nāu e Te Kahika

He tiki mai ... tāhau ... he hura ... rā i a te hope

E noho korou kore ... ana ki te mahi ... a te pakeke ... ki te kai rā e

I mataia iho ... kei rehu ... e raro ... kei timo riki ana

Tukua ahau ... kei rere i runga ... i te au heke ... ka pae atu ana

Ko te toka ... i Ōmaku ... he kaekakenga atu ... nāku rā i rau raro

Haramai ... nei au ... pungarawa ... i te whenua

Toi atu nei ... te roi ... a Tinirau

Ka pūhake ... kei waho ... ka tuku ... te marea

Ko te aua ia ... o raro ... i taku hope ... te waua mai nei



PO PO PO

Kāti rā te tangi whakarongo tō taringa
Ki ngā whakatakiriri a tō tīpuna i tō matarau
I a koe
Kauaka e pōuri whakaae ake
Tērā te huarahi te takoto mai rā
I te rangi i tō tipuna e ia Tama-i-waho
Ko Oho-matua-rau
Tērā te huarahi tūtata mai nei
Ko koe tēnā ko au tēnei
Taku kura ki te hau nāku i tiki i te pō uriuri i
te pō tangotango
I a Hinmanuhiri i a Ruaimoko
E tuki rā i te whenua i haramai rā koe I
Hawaiiiki mātotoru
Ki te whai tangatatanga mai i a Hawaiiiki
Taku kotuku hai titi rae hai tiepu i runga nei
Tērā te uira i te taha o te rangi
Ko koe rā e hine e rama haere ana
Tērā te marama ka rere mai i te pae
Kātahi ka hoki mai ki ahau
Tērā ka rere mai i te rua

Ko koe rā e rangi
Kātahi ka oho mai i te moe nā ... e

WHAKARONGO

Whakarongo ...
Whakarongo rā te taringa ki te hau taua e
hau mai nei
Ki te tai ki te uru
Hurihia
Hurihia ki muri ki tō tuarā
Tikina tāku ika
Ki waho i te Moana Nui a Kiwa
E takoto mai nei
He koronga e i ...
He koronga nōku kia tae au
Ki ngā uru kahika
Ki Ōhui ki Ōama e i
Kia kata noa mai te kīkihitarā te kōtipatipa e
kōhurehure kikipounamu e i ...
E tangi ana ki tōna whenua
Ka tipuria nei e te māheuheu
Tangi kau ana te mapu e



