

Wai 2200

Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore in the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District 1800-1900

Paul Husbands

A Gap-Filling Research Project for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry
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The Author

My name is Paul David Husbands. I grew up in Palmerston North where I attended West End School, Palmerston North Intermediate Normal School, and Awatapu College. I have a PhD in History from Duke University (in the United States) and a Master of Arts with First Class Honours (also in History) from the University of Auckland. I have taught history at universities in New Zealand, France and the United States. Between 2008 and 2016 I was employed by the Waitangi Tribunal as a contract historian, research analyst and inquiry facilitator, and historian-report writer. In addition to working on a number of Tribunal inquiries, I was the principal author of a major report on the Native Land Court and Crown land purchasing in the Rohe Potae District (co-authored with James Stuart Mitchell). I am also the author of ‘Māori Aspirations, Crown Response, and Reserves 1840-2000’, a Ngāti Raukawa Historical Issues Report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for Waitangi Tribunal’s Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry. I am a member of the Professional Historians Association of New Zealand/Aotearoa.

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Introduction

The focus of this report are the communities of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore that migrated to the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, either with Te Rauparaha or subsequent heke from the central North Island. Both groups eventually settled along the Rangitīkei River and Rangataua Stream at Kākāriki, Te Karaka and other smaller settlements, in the southern part of what would become the Reureu Reserve. Like their Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae neighbours, the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities established themselves on the southern or left bank of the Rangitīkei River in the late 1840s as a bulwark against the further encroachment of European settlement and Crown land purchasing. In so doing, Ngāti Rangatahi in particular were upholding a kaupapa they shared with the great Ngāti Toa leader Te Rangihaeata, first at Wairau in 1843, and then in the Hutt Valley from where they were ejected by colonial forces under the command of Governor George Grey in 1846.

Although regarded by the colonial and provincial governments, and Native Land Court as ‘squatters’ with no customary rights to the land they were living upon, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore (who were usually referred to as Ngāti Maniapoto in official records) were eventually included in the 4500-acre Reureu Reserve which was awarded to them and Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae by Native Minister Donald McLean in November 1870. While including the communities’ principle settlements at Kākāriki and Te Karaka, the Reureu Reserve cut Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore off from much of their cultivations along the Rangataua Stream. Matters were further aggravated by the government’s decision to route what would become the North Island Main Trunk Railway across what was left of the tribes’ cultivations beside the Rangataua.

Although there appears to have been considerable overlap and cooperation between the two groups, Ngāti Rangatahi in the second half of the nineteenth century were primarily based at Kākāriki, while Ngāti Matakore’s principle settlement was located further upriver at Te Karaka. Ngāti Rangatahi also had a meeting house at Miria Te Kakara next to the Rangataua Stream. Ngāti Matakore’s marae was known as Te Marae o Hine and was named after Te Rongorito’s marae of the same name at Otewa near Ōtorohanga (Rongorito was Matakore and Maniapoto’s younger sister). Miria Te Kakara eventually had to be abandoned because of repeated flooding, and Ngāti Rangatahi were obliged to construct a new whare tūpuna at

Kākāriki. Opened in the first decade of the twentieth century, the new marae was called Te Hiiri o Mahuta in honour of the Maori King. Also subject to severe flooding, Ngāti Matakore's Te Marae o Hine remained in operation until 1968 when the main whare was destroyed by fire. Today the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities at Te Reureu share Te Hiiri o Mahuta marae.

In addition to the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities based within the inquiry district at Kākāriki, the Porirua-ki-Manawatū District Inquiry also includes amongst its list of registered claimants the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association. Based in Taumarunui, the Whanaunga Association represent what they view as the greater part of Ngāti Rangatahi, including both the majority who did not participate in the migration southwards but remained in the Upper Whanganui and Ōhura region, and those who joined Te Rauparaha's heke but eventually returned to their central North Island homeland after their expulsion from the Hutt Valley in 1846.

Unlike the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki, the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association has already taken part in three Waitangi Tribunal district inquiries: the Whanganui a Tara or Port Nicholson Inquiry (Wai 145), the Whanganui Land Inquiry (Wai 903) and the Te Rohe Potae district inquiry (Wai 898). In each of these inquiries research reports were completed in collaboration with the Ngāti Rangatahi claimants setting out their perspective on the tribe's oral and traditional, and post-1840 histories. Joy Hippolite's report prepared for the Whanganui a Tara inquiry outlined 'Ngāti Rangatahi's migration from the Ōhura valley in the Taumarunui area to Whanganui-a-Tara', their occupation of the Hutt Valley 'by the early 1840s', and the circumstances of their eventual expulsion in 1846 by Governor George Grey.¹ In their oral and traditional history reports prepared for the Whanganui Land (Wai 903) and Te Rohe Potae (Wai 898) inquiries respectively Grant Young and Michael Belgrave, and Anthony Patete both emphasised Ngāti Rangatahi's settlement of the Ōhura valley under their great warrior leader Tūtemahurangi – whom Young and Belgrave describe as 'a key leader of Ngāti Rangatahi' – and their close kinship ties with the Whanganui iwi Ngāti Hāua.² Like Hippolite, Young and Belgrave, and Patete agree that the starting point for Ngāti Rangatahi's migration to the lower North Island was the

¹ Joy Hippolite, 'Ngati Rangatahi: A Report Commissioned for the Wellington Tenth's hearing by the Waitangi Tribunal', January 1997, Wai 145, #H4

² Grant Young and Michael Belgrave, 'Northern Whanganui Cluster Oral and Traditional History Report', Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2007, Wai 903, #A108, pp 12, 16-33; Anthony Patete, 'Whanganui Northern Cluster ki Te Rohe Potae Oral and Traditional Report', A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2012, Wai 898, #A108, pp 88-91

Ōhura and upper Whanganui, with a party led by Tūtemahurangi's descendant Kaparatehau joining Te Rauparaha's heke after meeting with the Ngāti Toa leader at Ngahuihuinga or Cherry Grove at the confluence of the Whanganui and Ōngarue Rivers.³

Reiterated in the reports of the Whanganui-a-Tara, Whanganui Land and Te Rohe Potae district inquiries, many of the details set out in the reports prepared on the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association's behalf have been challenged by members of the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki.⁴ Both Sir Taihākurei Durie and the Kākāriki community's historian Tumanako Herangi have rejected the portrayal of Ngāti Rangatahi as an iwi located primarily in the upper Whanganui. Mrs Herangi told the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry's Ngā Korero Tuku Iho hui at Te Tikanga Marae in May 2014 that Ngāti Rangatahi's homeland was the southern boundary of the Tainui waka at Mōkau and Awakino, where most of the descendants of Ngāti Rangatahi's founder Tūkawekai had settled.⁵ Rather than being a central figure in Ngāti Rangatahi's tribal history, Mrs Herangi maintains that Tūtemahurangi was no more than a junior member of one branch of Ngāti Rangatahi who had been exiled by his tribe after the killing of an older relative.⁶ Instead of being closely connected to Ngāti Hāua of Whanganui, both Mrs Herangi and Sir Taihākurei emphasise Ngāti Rangatahi's connections with Ngāti Toa. It was this connection, strengthened by a series of strategic intermarriages between members of the two iwi, that informed Ngāti Rangatahi's decision to join Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa in their migration from Kāwhia to Kāpiti.⁷

With regards to Ngāti Rangatahi's activity in the lower North Island, the community at Kākāriki emphasise their iwi's close and ongoing connection with Te Rangihaeata. This connection took on new salience after 1840 when Ngāti Rangatahi joined the Ngāti Toa rangatira in actively resisting the expansion of European settlement and the extension of the colonial government's power. In this vein, members of the Kākāriki community, draw attention to Ngāti Rangatahi's involvement in the events at Wairau in 1843, and the manner in which the tribe's close relationship with Te Rangihaeata and support for his kaupapa informed their actions in the Hutt up to their expulsion by the British Army in 1846. As we

³ Hippolite, p 4; Young and Belgrave, p 33; Patete, p 96

⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District*, (Wai 145), (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2003, p 189; Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whiritaunoka: The Whanganui Land Report*, Vol. 1, (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2015, pp 94-95; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims. Pre-Publication Version. Parts I and II*, (Waitangi Tribunal), 2018, pp 71-72

⁵ 'Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Korero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014', Wai 2200, #4.1.7, pp 106-107

⁶ Interview by the Author with Tumanako Herangi, Palmerston North, 20 March 2020; Tumanako Herangi, 'Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae', Unpublished Paper, February 2018, p 7

⁷ Telephone Interview with Sir Taihākurei Durie, 16 April 2020

shall see, Ngāti Rangatahi remained closely aligned with Te Rangihaeata until the great chief's death in 1855, accompanying him in the forced retreat from Pāuatahanui to Poroutāwhao, and then upholding his mana and their joint opposition to European settlement and Crown land purchasing on the Rangitīkei River.⁸

This gap-filling report has several objectives. First of all, it attempts to throw additional light on some of the aspects of Ngāti Rangatahi's history outside of the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District that the Kākāriki claimants maintain have not been adequately dealt with, either in the research completed up to this point for this inquiry, or the research prepared for earlier district inquiries undertaken by the Waitangi Tribunal. Amongst the issues requiring further research were: Ngāti Rangatahi's origins and pre-1820 history; Ngāti Rangatahi's involvement in the clash at Wairau in 1843; Ngāti Rangatahi's relationship with Te Rangihaeata; the circumstances of Ngāti Rangatahi's occupation of the Hutt Valley and their eventual expulsion by Crown forces in 1846.

Secondly, the report attempts to reconstruct Ngāti Rangatahi's history within the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District: both from the time of the tribe's migration to the Kāpiti region in the early 1820s to its relocation to the Hutt Valley at the start of the 1840s; and – most significantly – from the time of Ngāti Rangatahi's expulsion from the Hutt Valley and its subsequent relocations, first to Pāuatahanui on Te Awarua-o-Porirua Harbour, then to Poroutāwhao south of the Manawatū River, and finally to Maramaihoa and then Kākāriki on the Rangitīkei River.

The third objective of this report is to trace how Ngāti Matakore came to the Rangitīkei. Given the extremely scant documentary evidence on the subject, this was in some ways the most challenging part of the project. Unlike Ngāti Rangatahi, who had drawn the attention of European settlers and Crown officials through their occupation of the Hutt Valley and close alliance with Te Rangihaeata, the Ngāti Matakore community that eventually settled at Te Karaka generated very little documentary evidence. As a result, it has been difficult to establish exactly when Ngāti Matakore first migrated to the west coast of the lower North Island and how they came to live alongside Ngāti Rangatahi on the Rangitīkei River. It seems likely that while the community's leader Rāwiri Te Koha came to the Rangitīkei with Ngāti Rangatahi in 1847 others arrived later, drawn by the kaupapa of maintaining the Rangitīkei

⁸ Ibid

River as a barrier against the extension of European settlement into the Manawatū and Horowhenua.

What we *do* know is that Ngāti Matakore led by Rāwiri Te Koha were well established in the lower part of the Reureu Reserve when the reserve was established by Donald McLean in 1870. The final objective of this project has been to shed as much light as possible on Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's life together on what would become the lower part of the Reureu Reserve. Amongst the themes explored are Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's relationship with the Kīngitanga; their involvement in the wars in the Taranaki and Waikato; their opposition to the Crown's purchase of Rangitīkei-Manawatū in 1866, and their resistance to the routing of the future North Island Main Trunk Railway across their land. The report also attempts, as much as possible, to acquire a sense of the size and composition of the Kākāriki and Te Karaka communities in the second half of the nineteenth century, and how they interacted with each other.

In order to achieve these objectives, it has been necessary to make the most of the sometimes very scant documentary sources regarding Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore in the lower North Island. While some parts of the two tribes' histories that were of particular concern to the settler community and colonial officials – including most notably Ngāti Rangatahi's confrontation with the New Zealand Company and colonial government over the Hutt Valley – are very well documented, other aspects of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's experience, including Ngāti Matakore's migration to the Rangitīkei, and the Kākāriki and Te Karaka communities' participation in the wars between Crown and 'rebel', Kīngitanga-aligned forces in the Taranaki, have left hardly any trace in the written record.

In order to fill, as much as possible, the gaps in the written record the author has relied upon testimony and whakapapa provided by members of the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities themselves. One important source of such testimony has been the kōrero provided to the Porirua ki Manawatū Tribunal at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, on the 19th and 20th of June 2014. Further important information has been provided by Sir Taihākurei Durie and Mrs Tumanako Herangi who are both members of the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki. In addition to speaking with the author at length, Sir Taihākurei made available his family's whakapapa. Mrs Herangi shared her unpublished history of Te Hiiri Marae. Mrs Herangi's work contains a wealth of information about the origins of Ngāti Rangatahi and the Kākāriki community. Much of this material, which would otherwise have been inaccessible, has been drawn from the

whakapapa and history book of Mrs Herangi's grandmother Te Atarua Pairama.⁹ Further explanation of the whakapapa connections between Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Toa in general, and Ngāti Rangatahi and Te Rangihaeata in particular were provided to the author by Te Waari Carkeek. The author also met with Ngāti Matakore ki Rangitīkei at Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae in Kākāriki and Tame Tuwhangai, Robert Jonathan, and Wayne Houpapa of the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association in Taumarunui.

As a piece of gap-filling research it is important to note that this report focuses on aspects of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's history that have not been adequately covered by earlier research reports. Because of the geographical dimensions of the current inquiry and the fact that the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities at Kākāriki did not participate in earlier Waitangi Tribunal district inquiries, this report has concentrated on recovering as far as possible the history of these two groups. The perspectives of the Kākāriki communities set out in this report are often quite different, and sometimes directly contrary to that held by the Taumarunui-based Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association. As a result, it has not been possible to produce a report that reconciles the positions of both the Kākāriki and Taumarunui-based groups. For a more complete account of Ngāti Rangatahi's history from the perspective of the upper-Whanganui readers are encouraged to consult the reports that have been prepared for the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association in previous district inquiries including Joy Hippolite's report on 'the early history of Wellington from a Ngāti Rangatahi perspective' for the Whanganui a Tara Inquiry; Grant Young and Michael Belgrave's 'Northern Whanganui Cluster Oral and Traditional History Report' for the Whanganui Land Inquiry; and Anthony Patete's 'Whanganui Northern Cluster ki Te Rohe Potae Oral and Traditional Report' commissioned for the Te Rohe Potae Inquiry.¹⁰

⁹ Tumanako Herangi, 'Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae', Unpublished Paper, February 2018

¹⁰ Joy Hippolite, 'Ngāti Rangatahi: A Report Commissioned for the Wellington Tenth's hearing by the Waitangi Tribunal', January 1997, Wai 145, #H4; Grant Young and Michael Belgrave, 'Northern Whanganui Cluster Oral and Traditional History Report', Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2007, Wai 903, #A108; Anthony Patete, 'Whanganui Northern Cluster ki Te Rohe Potae Oral and Traditional Report', A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2012, Wai 898, #A108

1. Ngāti Rangatahi

1.1 The Origins of Ngāti Rangatahi

Ngāti Rangatahi descend from Hoturoa, the captain of the *Tainui* waka. After making landfall at Whangaparāoa, the *Tainui* travelled first down the east coast of the North Island as far as Tauranga before returning north to the Tāmaki Isthmus. There, Hoturoa and his crew dragged their ocean-going craft across to the Manukau Harbour from where they were able to explore the coastline south of the Manukau Heads as far as Mōkau. When the crew of the *Tainui* landed at Mōkau they left behind the anchor stone of their canoe, which can still be seen, set in concrete, at Maniaroa Marae. The Tamaki Isthmus in the north, and Mōkau to the south came to mark the upper and lower limits of the land over which the descendants of the *Tainui* canoe claimed manawhenua. From Mōkau the *Tainui* sailed back to Kāwhia Harbour where the great waka made its final landfall.¹¹

As set out in the whakapapa recited to the Waitangi Tribunal by Danny Karatea Goddard at the Ngā Korero Tuku Iho hui at Te Tikanga Marae in May 2014, Ngāti Rangatahi trace their descent from Hoturoa ‘who had Hotuope, who had Hotumatapū, who had Mōtai Tangata Rau, who had Ue, who had Rakamaoma, who had Kākati, who had Tāwhao.’ Tāwhao had Tūrongo who was the father of Raukawa. Raukawa in turn had Rereahu who fathered Maniapoto. Maniapoto and his second wife Hinewhatihua had Tutukamoana who was the father of Rangatahi.¹²

Rangatahi’s mother was Rangipare. Rangipare (whose mother was Maniapoto’s sister Kinohaku) had been promised in marriage to Wairangi of Ngāti Raukawa but instead eloped with Tutakamoana. As recounted by Tumanako Herangi, the two lovers went ‘into hiding at Mohoanui’, from where, ‘nine months later they emerged with Rangatahi.’¹³

¹¹ Tumanako Herangi, ‘Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae’, Unpublished Paper, February 2018, p 1

¹² ‘Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014’, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p 103

¹³ Herangi, p 2

Rangatahi, who was the granddaughter of both Maniapoto and Kinohaku, married Maniāruaha who was himself the great grandson of Maniapoto, descending from Maniapoto’s first union with Hinemania.¹⁴ Rangatahi and Maniāruaha had four children: Hekeiterangi; Tūamārouru, Tūkawekai, and Urunumia. The descendants of Hekeiterangi subsequently affiliated with Waikato; the offspring of Tūamārouru with the Ngāti Hikairo people of Kāwhia; while the progeny of Urunumia aligned themselves with Ngāti Maniapoto. The children of Rangatahi and Maniāruaha’s fourth child Tūkawekai formed their own iwi: Ngāti Rangatahi.¹⁵

Figure 1.1 Ngāti Rangatahi Whakapapa



Source: Tumanako Herangi, ‘Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae’, Unpublished Paper, February 2018, p 2.

¹⁴ Anthony Patete, ‘Whanganui Northern Cluster ki Te Rohe Potae Oral and Traditional Report’, A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2012, Wai 898, #A108, p 82 (Whakapapa 2)

¹⁵ Herangi, p 2

Ngāti Rangatahi and Tainui’s southern boundary

According to oral traditions, the founders of Ngāti Rangatahi lived first alongside the Waipa River, at Orahiri, in the vicinity of modern day Ōtorohanga. Following Tūkawekai’s death, the fledgling iwi migrated to Mōkau and Awakino, on Tainui’s southern boundary. Occupying a borderland which was regularly traversed by ‘warring factions travelling from one takiwā to another’, the descendants of Tūkawekai enhanced their position through a series of strategic intermarriages. The first of these was between Tūkawekai’s son Ue and Parehuitao of Ngāti Raukawa. Parehuitao was the child of Ngātokowaru from whom both Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Parewahawaha descend. Ue and Parehuitao had five children: Kahuwaero, Te Puru, Te Rangikaiwhiria, Pareteho and Kuao.¹⁶

As outlined by Tumanako Herangi in her testimony before the Waitangi Tribunal at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Te Tikanga Marae, subsequent marriages between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Tūkawekai and Toa Rangatira (the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Toa Rangatira) ‘forged’ lasting connections between Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Matakore. Tūkawekai’s grandson Te Rangikaiwhiria married Toa Rangatira’s granddaughter Te Akamāpuhia, while Tūkawekai’s granddaughter Te Puru wed Te Akamāpuhia’s elder brother Kimihia. According to Mrs Herangi, Te Akamāpuhia, Kimihia and their younger brother Te Haunga were connected to Ngāti Matakore as well as Ngāti Toa through their grandmother Parehounuku, wife of Toa Rangatira.¹⁷

The marriage alliances between the grandchildren of Tūkawekai and Toa Rangatira were part of a peace process negotiated after Toa Rangatira had killed Tūkawekai in battle.¹⁸ Eager to heal the rift caused by his slaying of Tūkawekai, Toa Rangatira arranged for his grandchildren to marry the grandchildren of Tūkawekai, thereby establishing a connection between the two descent groups that continues to this day.¹⁹

The alliance between what were to become Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Toa Rangatira was further cemented by the marriage of Te Rangikaiwhiria’s daughter Te Kahuirangi to the renowned warrior Te Haunga (Te Akamāpuhia, and Kimihia’s younger brother and another grandchild of Toa Rangatira).²⁰ Te Kahuirangi was the daughter of Te Rangikaiwhiria’s first

¹⁶ ‘Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014’, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p 104 (Tumanako Herangi)

¹⁷ Ibid., p 105 (Tumanako Herangi)

¹⁸ Telephone interview by the Author with Te Waari Carkeek, 30 October 2019

¹⁹ Interview with Te Waari Carkeek, 30 October 2019

²⁰ Ibid; Matiu Baker, ‘Wineera family portrait: A picture tells a thousand words’, Te Papa Blog, 1 December 2016, <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2016/02/01/wineera-family-portrait-a-picture-tells-a-thousand-words/> (accessed 5 November 2019)

wife Te Iringa.²¹ One of the descendants of Te Kahuirangi and Te Haunga was Mihi-ki-Tūrangi, the great-grandmother of Sir Taihākurei Durie. In addition to Mihi-ki-Tūrangi's Ngāti Rangatahi whanau at Kākāriki, the union between Te Kahuirangi and Te Haunga also gave rise to the Ngāti Toa hapū Ngāti Te Rā, while also producing the prominent Wineera and Baker families of Ngāti Toa.²²

According to Mrs Herangi, Te Rangikaiwhiria and Te Akamāpuhuia (also spelt Te Akaimapuhia) had three children whose descendants were all raised on Tainui's southern boundary at Awakino. Te Puru and Kimihia also 'made their homes at Awakino', where they had five children, the youngest of whom was Tūtemahurangi. Tūkawekai's other grandchildren – Kahuwaero, Pareteho and Kuaō – also lived on the southern boundary. The kāinga of Tūkawekai's descendants eventually extended out from Mōkau and Awakino to include Māhoenui, Piopio, Āria, and Ōhura.²³

While a portion of Ngāti Rangatahi would eventually join their Ngāti Toa whanaunga in migrating southwards to the west coast of the lower North Island, another section would continue living on Tainui's original southern boundary. Amongst those who remained were descendants of Tūkawekai's grand-daughters Pareteho (who had married Taihākurei of Ngāti Maniapoto) and Te Puru (who, as we have seen, had been wed to Kimihia). Many of these, including Hirawanu Taihakurei and Matawhā Taihakurei, would be included on the list of owners of the southwest portion of the Rohe Potae block submitted by Te Rerenga Wetere to the Native Land Court in 1886. Te Rerenga, like the other members of the Wetere whanau was himself a descendant of Te Puru and Kimihia.²⁴

The northern portion of Ngāti Rangatahi maintained connections with the southern section of the iwi which eventually settled at Kākāriki on the Rangitikei River. Sir Taihākurei Durie recalls the comings and goings between the two sections of Ngāti Rangatahi. Sir Taihākurei's grandmother Kahurautete, for example, spent part of her childhood with the Wetere whanau near Te Kuiti, while Sir Taihākurei's parents provided a home for Koro Wetere (who had grown up at Oparure, just outside of Te Kuiti) while he was a student at Massey Agricultural College in the early 1950s.

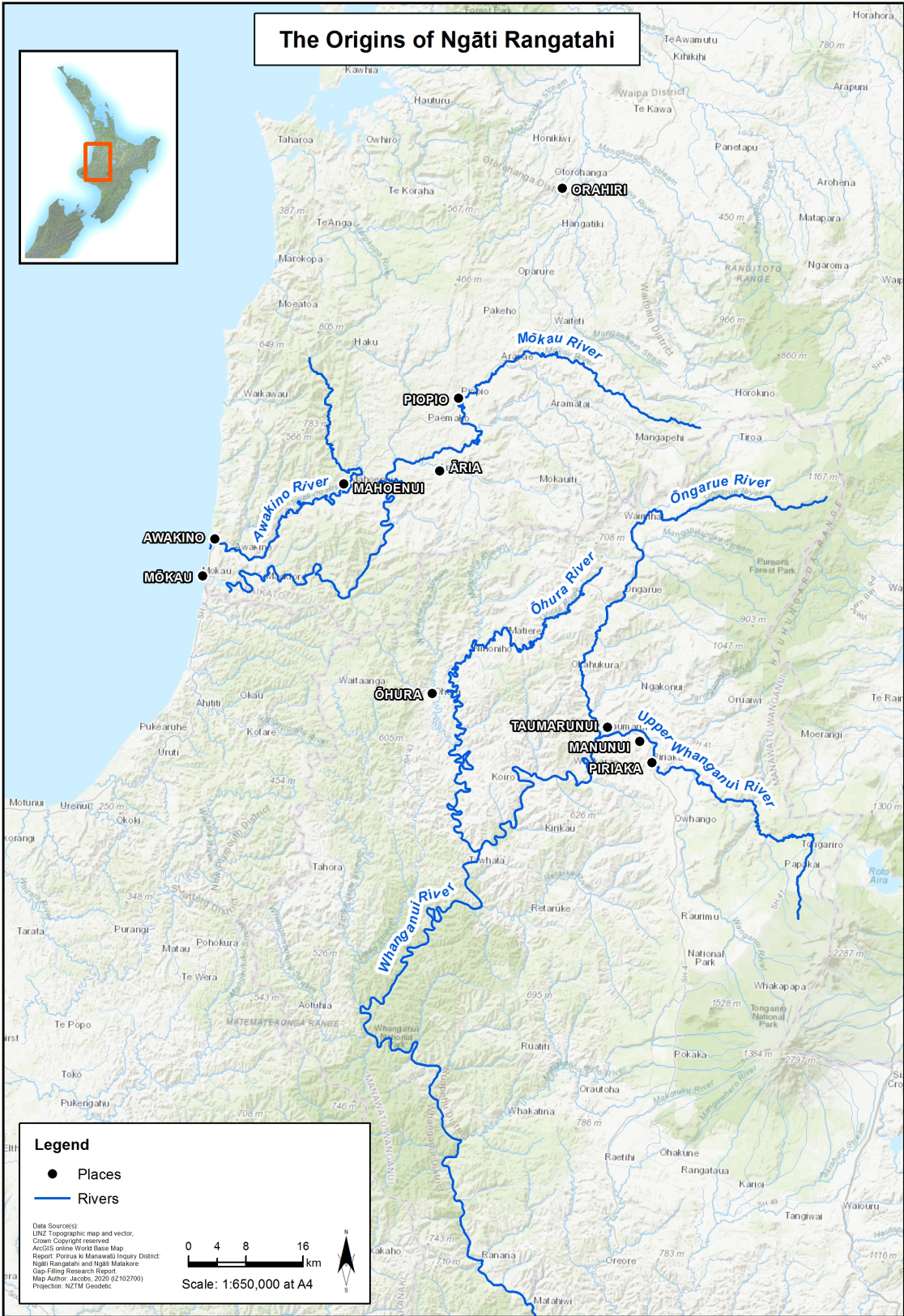
²¹ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 105 (Tumanako Herangi)

²² Email from Te Waari Carkeek to the author, 6 November 2019; Baker, 'Wineera family portrait'; Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 111 (Ra Durie); Durie Whānau Whakapapa, Tables 12 and 13

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Otorohanga Minute Book No 2, ff 140-144

The Origins of Ngāti Rangatahi



Ngāti Rangatahi in the upper Whanganui region

Until the early 1820s most of the descendants of Tūkawekai continued to live in the vicinity of Mōkau and Awakino, on Tainui's southern boundary, as it had been defined by their tūpuna Hoturoa. The principal exception to this pattern was Te Puru and Kimihia's youngest son Tūtemahurangi who was banished after killing his relative Nukuraerae. According to Mrs Herangi, Nukuraerae was Tūtemahurangi's elder brother.²⁵ Tūtemahurangi's slaying of Nukuraerae turned most of his tribe 'against him' and he was obliged to resettle in the Ōhura valley (to the north of modern-day Taumarunui).²⁶ There, Tūtemahurangi and his descendants developed close kinship ties with Ngāti Hāua of Whanganui, fighting alongside them in a series of conflicts with Ngāti Urunumia and Ngāti Rōrā of Ngāti Maniapoto.²⁷ Over time, these connections of intermarriage and shared whakapapa became so dense that the Ngāti Rangatahi community on the upper-Whanganui River came to be regarded as a hapū of Ngāti Hāua and Whanganui.²⁸ It was on this basis, as part of Ngāti Hāua, that members of Ngāti Rangatahi were awarded rights to land within the Ōhura South block by the Native Land Court in 1892.²⁹ With long-standing historical connections to both Ngāti Maniapoto and Whanganui, the Taumarunui-based Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association today 'identifies more closely with their Ngāti Maniapoto kin.'³⁰

Members of the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki – including Tumanako Herangi and Sir Taihākurei Durie – disagree profoundly with the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association as to the significance of Tūtemahurangi to their tribal history. For the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association, Tūtemahurangi is at the very centre of Ngāti Rangatahi's history. This perspective is reflected in the oral and traditional histories prepared for the Wai 366 and Wai 1064 claimants by Grant Young and Michael Belgrave (for the Waitangi Tribunal's Whanganui Land Inquiry), and Anthony Patete (for the Tribunal's Rohe Potae Inquiry). Young and Belgrave describe Tūtemahurangi as 'a key leader of Ngāti Rangatahi'

²⁵ Herangi, 'Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae', p 7

²⁶ Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People (Nga korero tuku iho a nga tupuna)*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press), 1995, p 304; Herangi, 'Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae', p 7

²⁷ Grant Young and Michael Belgrave, 'Northern Whanganui Cluster Oral and Traditional History Report', Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2007, Wai 903, #A108, pp 12, 32-33

²⁸ Patete, p 88; Steven Oliver and Tim Shoebridge, 'The Alienation of Maori Land in the Ohura South block. Part One: c. 1886-1901', A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, September 2004, Wai 903, #A59, p 21

²⁹ Oliver and Shoebridge, pp 56-58, 65-74; Young and Belgrave, p 9

³⁰ Young and Belgrave, pp 32-33

who ‘built a formidable reputation as a warrior’, while the whakapapa presented in both their’s and Patete’s reports highlight the descent line from Rangatahi to Tūtemahurangi.³¹

For the members of the Kākāriki community, Tūtemahurangi is a far more peripheral figure: the teina son of Te Puru and Kimihia who – by Mrs Herangi’s account – was responsible for the death of his tūakana Nukuraerae, and was subsequently banished from the Ngāti Rangatahi heartland around Mōkau and Awakino. Mrs Herangi maintains that, having made his home in the northern Whanganui region, Tūtemahurangi ‘then changed his tribal affiliations and most of his descendants thereafter were identified as Ngāti Hāua.’³² While ‘many’ of the descendants of Tūtemahurangi subsequently acquired interests in the Te Reureu reserve, they did so as part of a broader Ngāti Rangatahi community which identified with a diversity of genealogical lines descending from the children of Ue and Parehuitao, including those from Te Rangikaiwhiria, Pareteho, and Kahuwaero, as well as Te Puru.³³ Mihi-ki-Tūrangi, for example, descended from Te Rangikaiwhiria’s daughter Kahuirangi, while her husband Matawhā traced his whakapapa back to Pareteho. Sir Taihākurei’s grandfather Meihana Te Rama (who married Mihi-ki-Tūrangi’s daughter Kahurautete) descended from Kahuirangi’s sister Hawaiki.³⁴

1.2 Ngāti Rangatahi and Te Heke Mai-i-raro (the Migration from the North)

Ngāti Rangatahi came to the lower North Island as part of Ngāti Toa’s migration from Kāwhia to Kāpiti in the early 1820s. According to Tumanako Herangi, Ngāti Rangatahi joined the heke at Marokopa, approximately 50 kilometres to the north of Mōkau.³⁵ From there, they accompanied Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and the other participants in the heke on the difficult and dangerous trek south to the Taranaki (known as Te Heke Tahutahuahi). From Taranaki, the heke continued the following year (probably 1822) down the west coast, to Kāpiti. This second part of the heke became known as Te Heke Tataramoa. Together, the

³¹ Young and Belgrave, pp 16 & 18; Patete, Whakapapa 1, 2, 5, 6, pp 80, 82, 85, 86

³² Herangi, ‘Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae’, p 7

³³ Ibid., pp 4-7

³⁴ Telephone Interview with Sir Taihākurei Durie, 16 April 2020; Durie Whakapapa (provided to author by Te Aho Durie, 17 April 2020)

³⁵ Herangi, ‘Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae’, p 9

two legs of Te Rauparaha's migration from Kāwhia to Kāpiti were called Te Heke Mai-i-raro or the migration from the north.³⁶

The whakapapa connections between themselves and Ngāti Toa were crucial to Ngāti Rangatahi's decision to join Te Rauparaha's migration to the west coast of the lower North Island. As we have seen, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Toa were bound together by a web of genealogical ties dating back to the marriages between the grandchildren of Tūkawekai and Toa Rangatira. Te Rauparaha himself was related to Ngāti Rangatahi, through his grandfather Kimihia, the elder brother of Te Akamāpuhuia and Te Haunga. As already noted, Kimihia married Te Puru, Tūkawekai's granddaughter. Kimihia also married Waitohi. Kimihia and Waitohi were the parents of Werawera, the father of Te Rauparaha. In addition to his whakapapa connections, Te Rauparaha also had marriage ties to Ngāti Rangatahi, with a number of his several wives belonging to that iwi. Te Marore and Te Kahuirangi, for example, were both great granddaughters of Te Rangikaiwhiria's daughter Te Kahuirangi and Te Haunga.³⁷

Those from Ngāti Rangatahi who joined Te Rauparaha's migration to Kāpiti had close connections with Ngāti Toa. Mihi-ki-Tūrangi's grandmother Whatāti, for example, descended from Te Rangikaiwhiria's daughter Kahuirangi and the renowned Ngāti Toa warrior Te Haunga. According to Sir Taihākurei Durie, Te Whatāti and her relatives (including her daughter Wharekiri) took part in Te Heke Mai-i-raro as Ngāti Haunga before retaking the name of Ngāti Rangatahi when they settled in the Hutt Valley in their own right in the early 1840s.³⁸ Dr Ra Durie spoke about his ancestors' part in the heke southwards at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Tokorangi. After setting out the descent line from Kahuirangi down to Te Whatāti and Wharekiri, Dr Durie explained how the latter two had joined in Te Rauparaha's heke, with Wharekiri subsequently marrying James Cootes, a European whaler on Kāpiti Island. In 1846 Wharekiri and her young daughter Mihi-ki-Tūrangi were part of Ngāti Rangatahi's arduous retreat with Te Rangihaeata from Pāuatahanui to Poroutāwhao.

³⁶ Angela Ballara, *Taua: 'Musket wars,' 'land wars' or tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early-Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Penguin Books), 1983, pp 320-330; Patete, p 92

³⁷ Te Waari Carkeek, 'Brief of Evidence of Te Waari Carkeek', 9 June 2003, Wai 785, #P10, p 22; Matiu Baker, 'Wineera family portrait: A picture tells a thousand words', Te Papa Blog, 1 December 2016; <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2016/02/01/wineera-family-portrait-a-picture-tells-a-thousand-words/> (accessed 20 April 2020)

³⁸ Telephone Interview with Sir Taihākurei Durie, 16 April 2020

From there the two eventually settled at Kākāriki where Mihi-ki-Tūrangi would continue to live until her death in January 1939.³⁹

The descendants of Kahuirangi and Haunga were joined in Te Heke Mai-i-raro by those who traced their lineage to Kahuirangi's sister Hawaiki. Hawaiki's great grandchild Raiha Parikawa (Te Whatāti's third cousin), for example, was another of those from Ngāti Rangatahi who participated in Te Rauparaha's migration to the west coast of the lower North Island.

Other Ngāti Rangatahi descendants of Te Rangikaiwhiria took part in Te Heke Mai-i-raro as part of Te Rangihaeata's and Te Rauparaha's ope. Te Aomarere and Te Rakaherea both descended from Te Rangikaiwhiria's union with Te Akamāpuhuia. Te Aomarere, who is buried next to Te Rangihaeata at Poroutāwhao, was one of Te Rangihaeata's closest followers and confidants. Te Rakaherea, another of Te Rangihaeata's warriors (and the namesake of Te Rangihaeata's father), was one of the few who escaped Muaūpoko's attack on Te Rauparaha and his children at Papaitonga at the conclusion of the heke from Kāwhia to Kāpiti. Te Ahuta, another descendant of Te Rangikaiwhiria (from his marriage to Te Iringa) was one of four Māori killed at Wairau in 1843 in the exchange of gunfire between Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata's party and a posse of 49 New Zealand Company settlers from Nelson.⁴⁰

As the biographies of Te Aomarere and Te Rakaherea suggest, the Ngāti Rangatahi who joined Te Heke Mai-i-raro were closely associated with Te Rauparaha's nephew Te Rangihaeata. Having travelled south with him, the Ngāti Rangatahi migrants settled alongside Te Rangihaeata, first on the Kāpiti and Mana Islands and then onshore at Taupō (modern-day Plimmerton). After the battle of Waiorua – where Ngāti Toa and their allies defeated a far superior force of local tribes – Ngāti Rangatahi joined Te Rangihaeata in a punitive expedition against Ngāti Apa, culminating in the successful attack on Pikitara pā (on the left or eastern side of the Rangitīkei River within the upper part of what eventually became the Reureu Reserve). Members of Ngāti Rangatahi travelled with Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha to Wairau in 1843, where Te Rangihaeata's Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Toa wife Te Rongopāmamao was gunned down in the opening fusillade fired by the New Zealand

³⁹ Ibid., pp 111-1147 (Ra Durie); 'Obituary: Chieftainess Mihi-Ki-Turangi Matawha', *Manawatu Standard*, 30 January 1939, p 8, c 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/manawatu-standard/1939/01/30/8> (accessed 16 November 2019)

⁴⁰ Communications from Te Waari Carkeek to the author, 5 & 7 November 2019; Wiremu Neera Te Kanae, 'The history of the tribes Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa (having special reference to the doings of Te Rauparaha), 20 August 1888 (translated by George Graham, 20 April 1928), Alexander Turnbull Library, MSY-1881, p 16

Company settlers. Returning to the lower North Island after Wairau, Ngāti Rangatahi would establish themselves – with Te Rangihaeata’s blessing, and possibly at his direction – in the Heretaunga (or Hutt) Valley. Expelled from the Hutt in 1846, the Ngāti Rangatahi émigrés reunited with Te Rangihaeata at Pāuatahanui before joining the Ngāti Toa leader in the long and difficult retreat over the hills overlooking the Kāpiti Coast to Poroutawhao (across the Manawatū River from modern day Foxton). Ngāti Rangatahi would maintain their close relationship with Te Rangihaeata in the years that followed (up to his death in November 1855). From 1847 the tribe asserted Te Rangihaeata’s claims to the Rangitīkei in the face of the Crown’s efforts to purchase the land from Ngāti Apa.⁴¹

Migration from the Upper Whanganui

In addition to the descendants of Te Rangikaiwhiria who we know accompanied Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa in their migration to Kāpiti, the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki also included those who traced their lineage back to Kahuwaero, Pareteho and Te Puru. It is unclear – to this author at least – if these sections of Ngāti Rangatahi also travelled down with Te Rauparaha as part of Te Heke Mai-i-raro, or whether they joined their relatives later. Mrs Herangi, for example, notes that descendants of Kahuwaero and Pareteho – including Otimi, Tarapata, Tahana and Matawhā – were in the Rangitīkei in October 1866 but does not indicate when they might have first arrived in the lower North Island.⁴²

Particularly contentious – from the perspective of the Kākāriki community at least – is the role of the Taumarunui section of Ngāti Rangatahi in Te Rauparaha’s great migration. As we have seen, the portion of Ngāti Rangatahi living along the Ōhura and upper Whanganui rivers descended from Tūtemahurangi who was the son of Te Puru and Kimihia. As recounted in the various research reports prepared on Ngāti Rangatahi’s behalf for the Whanganui-a-Tara, Whanganui Land, and Te Rohe Potae inquiries, the upper Whanganui section of Ngāti Rangatahi joined Ngāti Toa’s heke after meeting with Te Rauparaha at Ngahuihuinga or Cherry Grove at the confluence of the Whanganui and Ongarue Rivers.⁴³ According to this account, the upper Whanganui descendants of Te Puru and Kimihia linked up with Te Heke Mai-i-raro at Marokopa. The upper Whanganui ope was commanded by Kaparatehau (also

⁴¹ Angela Ballara, ‘Te Rangihaeata’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t63/te-rangihaeata> (accessed 5 October 2019)

⁴² Herangi, ‘Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae’, p 5

⁴³ Young and Belgrave, p 33; Patete, p 96

known as Parata), who, as a descendant of Tūtemahurangi, was Te Rauparaha's cousin through their shared ancestor Kimihia.⁴⁴

Reproduced in the Waitangi Tribunal's Whanganui-a-Tara, Whanganui Land and Te Rohe Pōtae reports, the narrative that Ngāti Rangatahi joined Te Rauparaha from Ōhura in the upper Whanganui region has been challenged by members of the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki.⁴⁵ As we have seen, representatives of the Kākāriki community such as Tumanako Herangi insist that Ngāti Rangatahi's primary, ancestral connection was with Hoturoa's southern boundary at Mōkau and Awakino, rather than Ōhura and the upper Whanganui. They also maintain that the portion of the tribe that accompanied Tūtemahurangi to Ōhura came to affiliate themselves with their Whanganui relatives and neighbours Ngāti Hāua, rather than Ngāti Rangatahi. Taihākurei Durie suggests that, instead of joining the original Ngāti Toa migration at Marokopa as Ngāti Rangatahi, the Ōhura community may have travelled south as part of Ngāti Hāua by way of the Whanganui River.⁴⁶

It is possible that both accounts are partially correct. In his narrative of the Ngāti Toa migration from Kāwhia to Kāpiti, S Percy Smith notes that 'either before leaving Kawhia or at Marokopa', Te Rauparaha had been joined by a party of Ngāti Rangatahi who had 'left Ōhura, where they were living under the guardianship of Ngāti-Hāua.' According to Smith, 'there were not many of these people.'⁴⁷ The relatively small contingent from Ōhura would have joined the larger part of Ngāti Rangatahi – including the offspring of Te Rangikaiwhiria's daughters Kahuirangi and Hawaiki from whom the Duries descend – who up to this point, were still living at Mōkau and Awakino. Other members of the Ōhura community may well have joined the original Ngāti Rangatahi migrants later, including when Te Mamaku led a contingent of Ngāti Hāua down the Whanganui River to the Hutt Valley in 1845.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Joy Hippolite, 'Ngāti Rangatahi: A Report Commissioned for the Wellington Tenth's hearing by the Waitangi Tribunal', January 1997, Wai 145, #H4, p 4; Patete, p 96

⁴⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District*, (Wai 145), (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2003, p 189; Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whiritaunoka: The Whanganui Land Report*, Vol. 1, (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2015, p 201; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims. Pre-Publication Version. Parts I and II*, (Waitangi Tribunal), 2018, p 81.

⁴⁶ Telephone Interview with Sir Taihākurei Durie, 16 April 2020

⁴⁷ S. Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*, New Plymouth, 1910, p 343

⁴⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa*, p 206

Ngāti Rangatahi in the lower North Island, 1822-1840

Te Rauparaha's heke reached its destination in the second half of 1822. Ngāti Rangatahi initially settled with their Ngāti Toa relatives on the off-shore islands of Kāpiti and Mana. As well as providing the newly-arrived migrants with a degree of protection from the as yet unconquered local people, the off-shore islands also provided trading opportunities with passing European ships.⁴⁹ Ra Durie recounted to the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Tokorangi that his tūpuna Te Whatāti and Wharekiri had lived on Kāpiti Island 'under the protection of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata.' Kāpiti Island became an important port of call for European whalers, some of whom settled on the Island.⁵⁰ One of these whalers – James Cootes (Heemi Kuti) – eventually married Wharekiri. Cootes was the father of Mihi-ki-Tūrangi who was born while he and Wharekiri were living at Moutere on Kāpiti Island 'under the protection of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata.'⁵¹ Another European whaler named Robert Durie married Raiha Parikawa's daughter Erana. Robert and Erana's child Te Rama Apakura (Robert Durie) was the father of Hoani Meihana Te Rama Apakura (John Mason Durie) who would eventually marry Mihi-ki-Tūrangi's daughter Kahurautete Matawhā.⁵²

In 1824 the iwi that had controlled the Cook Strait region prior to the arrival of Te Rauparaha's expedition launched a concerted attack on Kāpiti Island. The combined force – which included war parties from Whanganui, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko – was decisively defeated by Ngāti Toa and their allies, including one assumes Ngāti Rangatahi. Known as the Battle of Waiorua, this crushing victory for the new arrivals 'established the unquestioned dominance of Ngāti Toa, and especially of Te Rauparaha, for a period of several years.'⁵³

Although we have no written record of Ngāti Rangatahi's participation in the Battle of Waiorua, we know that an ope of Ngāti Rangatahi warriors subsequently joined Te Rangihaeata in an expedition against Ngāti Apa in the Rangitīkei. The Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Toa war party successfully attacked a force of 400 Ngāti Apa warriors at Pikitara pā. Pikitara pā overlooked the Rangitīkei River at the northern end of what would become the Reureu Reserve.⁵⁴ According to the account provided by Hamapiri Te Arahori to the Native

⁴⁹ Ballara, *Taua*, p 318

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p 338

⁵¹ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 111-112 (Durie)

⁵² Durie Whakapapa

⁵³ Ballara, *Taua*, p 335

⁵⁴ Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book, 7 April 1868. Pikitara pā was located within what is now Reureu 3B2B: see Māori Land Online: <https://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/19625.htm> (accessed 27 July 2020)

Appellate Court in 1896, the Ngāti Rangatahi contingent at the battle of Pikitara included – amongst others – Te Arahori (Hamapiri’s father), Hakaraia, and Te Karaka.⁵⁵ The oral traditions of the Reureu people maintain that, Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Rangatahi were joined at Pikitara by warriors from Ngāti Pikiahu, Ngāti Waewae, and Ngāti Maniapoto (today’s Ngāti Matakore).⁵⁶

As the migrant tribes cemented their control over the lower North Island’s west coast after the Battle of Waiorua, Ngāti Rangatahi joined with their Ngāti Toa whanaunga in relocating from the offshore islands of Kāpiti and Mana to the mainland, settling at Taupō (modern-day Plimmerton) and Paremata. According to testimony provided to the Native Land Court in April 1874, Ngāti Rangatahi lived at Taupō from prior to Te Peehi Kupe’s ill-fated expedition to the South Island in 1828 until just after the Wairau incident in June 1843, when the tribe moved definitively to the Hutt Valley.⁵⁷ Matene Te Whiwhi told the Court that Te Rauparaha had placed Ngāti Rangatahi upon the land at Taupō because of his ‘connections’ to them ‘by marriage’. In return, Ngāti Rangatahi provided Te Rauparaha with a ‘tribute’ of birds.⁵⁸ In another Native Land Court case, in September 1903, Wi Neera Te Kanae testified that Ngāti Rangatahi had also lived at Paremata.⁵⁹

At both Taupō and Paremata, Ngāti Rangatahi continued to live in close proximity with Ngāti Toa. Both Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata lived at Taupō, for example. So close was the relationship between the two groups that Wi Neera Te Kanae in 1903 listed Ngāti Rangatahi as a hapū of Ngāti Toa.⁶⁰

In addition to their permanent settlements at Taupō and Paremata, Ngāti Rangatahi also made seasonal use of the Heretaunga or Hutt Valley. According to the Waitangi Tribunal’s Te Whanganui-a-Tara report, Ngāti Rangatahi ‘appear to have visited Heretaunga seasonally from the early 1830s.’⁶¹ What the Te Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal defined as Ngāti Rangatahi’s ‘occupation and use rights in Heretaunga’ derived from the part the tribe had played in assisting Ngāti Toa in wresting control of the upper part of the valley from Ngāti Kahungunu.⁶²

⁵⁵ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, f 294

⁵⁶ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 42-43 (John Reweti)

⁵⁷ Wairarapa Minute Book No 2, ff 90-91, 94

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, ff 96-97

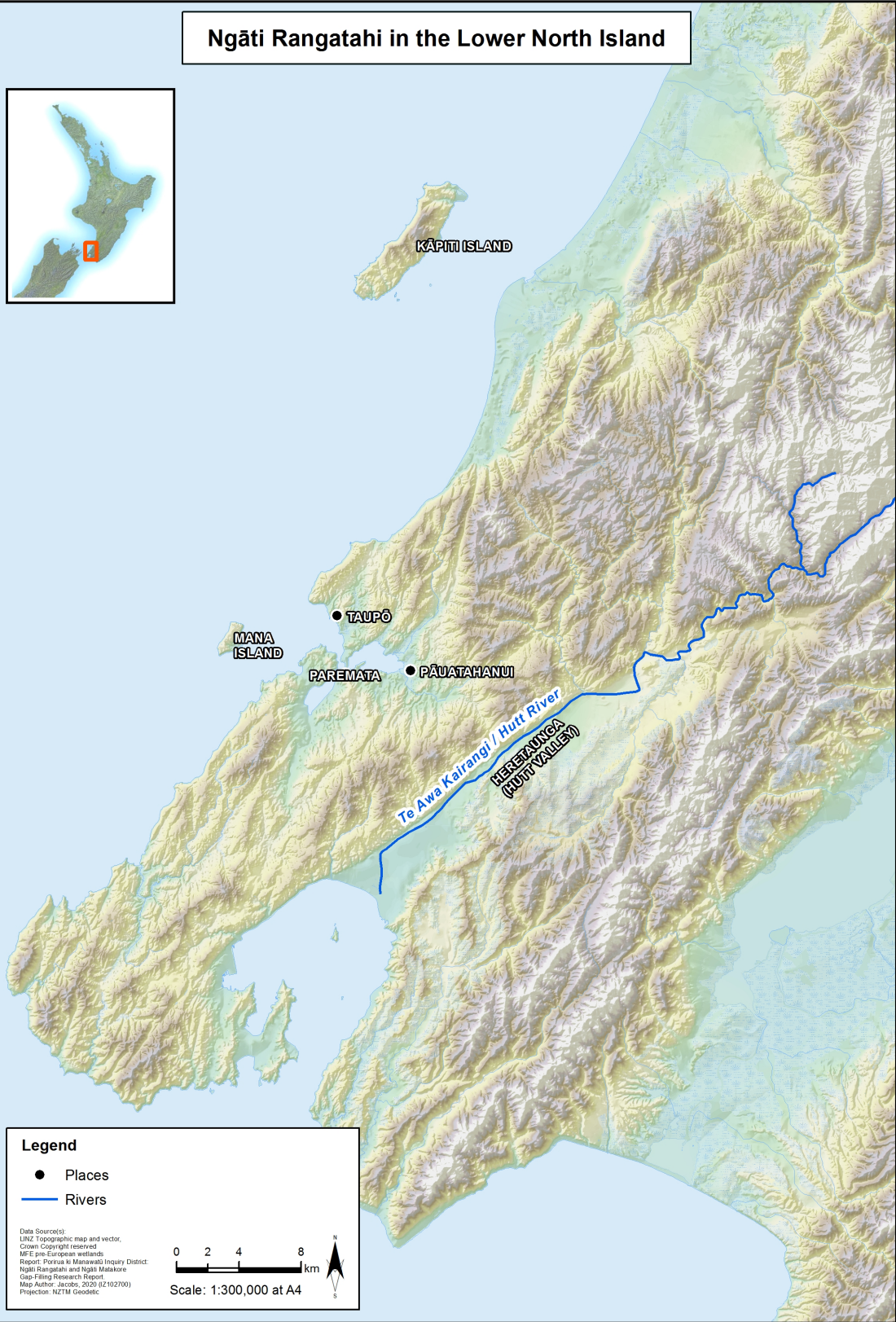
⁵⁹ Wellington Minute Book 12, f 14

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District*, (Wai 145), (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2003, p 189

⁶² *Ibid.*, p 191

Ngāti Rangatahi in the Lower North Island



Legend

- Places
- Rivers

Data Source(s):
LINZ Topographic map and vector.
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MFE pre-European wetlands
Report: Porirua & Manawatu Inquiry District:
Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Māhākore
Gap-Filling Research Report
Map Author: Jacobs, 2020 (2102700)
Projection: NZTM Geodetic

0 2 4 8 km
Scale: 1:300,000 at A4

Former Crown prosecutor R Davies Hanson set out his understanding of the circumstances of Ngāti Rangatahi's pre-1840 occupation of Heretaunga in a letter he addressed to former Governor Robert Fitzroy in July 1846 (after Ngāti Rangatahi had been expelled from the valley by Crown forces). 'Many years ago', Hanson explained, the Ngāti Rangatahi chief Kaparatehau, 'in company with [Te] Rauparaha and the other Ngāti Toa chiefs', had driven Ngāti Kahungunu 'from the upper part of the Hutt Valley' and taken 'possession of the district.'⁶³ Ngāti Rangatahi had 'continued to occupy' the land they had helped conquer, 'paying' Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata 'a tribute of canoes and eels and birds.' Because of the valley's 'distance from their usual residence', Ngāti Rangatahi did not establish large-scale cultivations at Heretaunga until after 1840.⁶⁴ Instead they used the valley's rich wetlands and majestic lowland rain forests for – as Hanson put it – the purpose of taking eels, and "kakas", and pigeons.⁶⁵

1.3 Ngāti Rangatahi at Wairau and the Hutt Valley

In 1843 and 1846 Ngāti Rangatahi was involved in two extremely consequential clashes with colonial authorities. The first of these was at Wairau (just north of modern-day Blenheim) where members of Ngāti Rangatahi were part of a predominantly Ngāti Toa party confronted by an armed group of New Zealand Company settlers from Nelson who were seeking to arrest Te Rauparaha for arson. In the ensuing violence at least four Māori (including at least one from Ngāti Rangatahi) and 22 Europeans were killed. The second clash, in the Hutt Valley, pitted Ngāti Rangatahi and their Whanganui and Ngāti Tama allies against the full force of the colonial government, and resulted in Ngāti Rangatahi being permanently expelled from the region, with their land taken without compensation, their possessions plundered, and their kāinga, urupā and whare karakia burnt to the ground.

Both the 'incident' at Wairau and the conflict in the Hutt have already been the subject of Waitangi Tribunal investigation. The Wairau clash was analysed as part of the Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui (Northern South Island) district inquiry, while Ngāti Rangatahi's confrontation with the Crown in the Hutt Valley has been reported upon by both the

⁶³ 'Extracts form a Letter to Captain Fitzroy RN from R Davies Hanson Esq, Lately Commissioner of Requests in New Zealand 1846, (Adelaide, South Australia, 24 July 1846), Section 18, Document 2 Hanson to Fitzroy, 24 July 1846, 'Document Bank – The Valley of the Hutt – 1839-1846 (To accompany evidence of Bob Hayes), Wai 145 #M3(a), Vol 2, p 236 (p 10 of original document)

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Ibid., p 232 (p 6 of original document)

Whanganui-a-Tara and the Whanganui Land inquiries.⁶⁶ In addition, the circumstances surrounding the events at Wairau and in the Hutt Valley have been explored in considerable detail within historical reports commissioned for the Whanganui-a-Tara and Te Tau Ihu inquiries. Professor Richard Boast, for example, provides a masterful account of the Wairau clash in his ‘Ngati Toa and Upper South Island’ report, while the conflict in the Hutt is the subject of reports commissioned for the Whanganui-a-Tara inquiry by Joy Hippolite (on behalf of the Wai 366 Ngāti Rangatahi claimants) and Bob Hayes (for the Crown).⁶⁷

While acknowledging the significance of the work that has already been undertaken, it is important to note that the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki did not participate in any of the aforementioned Tribunal inquiries. As a result, neither the Tribunal reports, nor the research reports that informed them, include the Kākāriki community’s perspective. Of particular note is the absence of the Kākāriki community from the Whanganui-a-Tara inquiry which, amongst other things, reported upon Governor Grey’s expulsion of Ngāti Rangatahi from the Hutt Valley in 1846. Sir Taihākurei Durie explained that the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki did not participate in the Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal inquiry for two reasons. First of all, Sir Taihākurei’s personal participation was precluded by the fact that during the course of the inquiry (roughly between 1995 and 2003) he was the Chairperson of the Waitangi Tribunal and therefore barred from taking part, either on his own or his tribe’s account. Secondly, Sir Taihākurei’s father Matawhā Durie (Mihi-ki-Tūrangi’s grandson) believed that it would not be appropriate for Ngāti Rangatahi ki Kākāriki to participate in a Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry outside of the tribe’s rohe. If Ngāti Rangatahi was going to tell its story, the late Mr Durie maintained that it would be on the land that the tribe had occupied at Rangitūkei since the end of the 1840s, on its own marae at Kākāriki. In the Kākāriki community’s absence, the only Ngāti Rangatahi claim heard by the Waitangi Tribunal’s Whanganui-a-Tara inquiry was Wai 366, a claim made by Roger Herbert and Wayne Herbert on behalf of the Taumarunui-based Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association.

The Kākāriki community’s part in the story of Ngāti Rangatahi’s ejection from the Hutt Valley is acknowledged – in passing at least – by Robyn Anderson, Terence Green and Louis Chase in their Ngāti Raukawa Nineteenth Century land and politics report commissioned by

⁶⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui: Report on Northern South Island Claims*, (Wa1 785), (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2008, pp 172-199; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, pp 187-226; Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whiritauonoka: The Whanganui Land Report*, Vol. 1, (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2015, pp 200-207

⁶⁷ R P Boast, ‘Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island: A Report to the Waitangi Tribunal’, Vol 1, September 1999/March 2000, Wai 785, #A56, pp 93-177; Hippolite, ‘Ngati Rangatahi’; Bob Hayes, ‘The Valley of the Hutt – 1839-1846’, Unpublished Report, November 1998, Wai 145, #M3

the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for the current Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry.⁶⁸ The authors preface their revisiting of the tribe's Hutt Valley confrontation with the Crown with the observation that Ngāti Rangatahi 'seems' to be 'split into two different sections': the Taumarunui-based group that participated in the Whanganui-a-Tara and Whanganui Land inquiries, and the Kākāriki community that 'was originally from the Mōkau-Mokauiti-Te Kuiti border with Te Ati Awa.'⁶⁹ While noting that the report prepared by Joy Hippolite on Ngāti Rangatahi's behalf for the Whanganui-a-Tara inquiry follows 'the line of interpretation' favoured by the Taumarunui-based Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association, Anderson and her team offer no guidance on how an acknowledgment of the Kākāriki community's perspective might have added to or even changed historians' understanding of Ngāti Rangatahi's confrontation with the Crown in the Hutt Valley in the mid-1840s. Instead, the authors provide an account of the events leading up to Ngāti Rangatahi's 1846 expulsion from the Hutt Valley that cleaves closely to the one set out by the Waitangi Tribunal in its Whanganui-a-Tara Report.

Because they have already been researched and reported on in their respective Waitangi Tribunal inquiry districts, neither the 'incident' at Wairau nor the conflict in the Hutt or Heretaunga are investigated in detail in this gap-filling report. The events at Wairau are interrogated only so far as they relate to Ngāti Rangatahi, whose involvement has not been adequately examined in previous reports. Likewise, the calamitous (from Ngāti Rangatahi's perspective) confrontation in the Hutt is treated relatively briefly, in order to highlight the hitherto unreported perspective of the Kākāriki community, and to provide context for later events within the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry district.

⁶⁸ Robyn Anderson, Terence Green, and Louis Chase, 'Crown Action and Māori Response, Land and Politics, 1840-1900', CFRT Commissioned Report, 2018, Wai 2200, #A201, pp 58-72

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p 58

Ngāti Rangatahi and the Wairau ‘Incident’

The origins of what was to become known as the Wairau ‘incident’ or ‘affray’ lay in the New Zealand Company’s disputed claim to the ownership of the Wairau valley. The Company claimed to have purchased the area from Ngāti Toa – along with the entire upper South Island and the west coast of the North Island from Mōkau to Te Whanganui-a-Tara – in a transaction agreed to by Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa rangatira at Kāpiti in October 1839. Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and the other Ngāti Toa chiefs, however, denied having agreed to permanently alienate their land, and continued to exercise their rights of ownership over their territories in both the upper South Island and west coast of the lower North Island.⁷⁰

In December 1842 the New Zealand Company, which was in urgent need of additional rural land for its newly-established Nelson settlement, began exploring the possibility of converting the Wairau valley into rural sections for European farmers. The Company’s move was strongly opposed by Ngāti Toa who were unwilling to surrender the land at Wairau to European settlement.⁷¹ In early 1843 Ngāti Toa sent several deputations to Nelson, warning the Company not to attempt to survey and subdivide the land at Wairau. The largest of these deputations, consisting of six canoes, and including both Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, arrived in Nelson on 10 March 1843.⁷² According to John Barnicoat, the Ngāti Toa delegation warned the New Zealand Company’s Nelson officials that ‘the White people’ would ‘never occupy’ the Wairau district ‘on any terms.’⁷³

Despite these warnings, the New Zealand Company proceeded with its planned survey of the Wairau region. The surveyors – of whom Barnicoat was one – began their work in April 1843 and had almost completed their survey when they were confronted by a force of just under 100 Ngāti Toa and other Māori led by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. The two rangatira had travelled from the Kāpiti coast with an armed party of 25 armed men including, it would appear, a number of Ngāti Rangatahi. This ope joined a group of ‘about 75’ Ngāti Toa and other Māori residents of the upper South Island.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Waitangi Tribunal. *Te Tau Ihu*, pp 172-177

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p 194

⁷² *Ibid.*, p 195; John Wallis Barnicoat, ‘Journal’, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0139-0140, p 51 (Friday, 10 March 1843)

⁷³ Barnicoat, p 52 (Saturday, 11 March 1843)

⁷⁴ Waitangi Tribunal. *Te Tau Ihu*, pp 195-196

The Ngāti Rangatahi warriors who travelled to Wairau probably did so as part of Te Rangihaeata's party. Barnicoat described Te Rangihaeata's contingent at Wairau as being distinct from the larger group led by Te Rauparaha and the other Ngāti Toa chiefs. According to Barnicoat, Te Rangihaeata 'camped quite apart' from Te Rauparaha, 'and seemed to have a separate Court and establishment altogether.'⁷⁵ Te Rangihaeata's group also appeared to be run on more egalitarian principles than the larger Ngāti Toa group. Barnicoat noted that when he gave Te Rangihaeata some of his tobacco, the chief 'divided it all except the very small bit he kept for himself, among those who were sitting around him.' Te Rangihaeata's behaviour contrasted sharply with that of his uncle Te Rauparaha, who reportedly kept for himself the whole quantity of tobacco that Barnicoat had given him.⁷⁶

Following the directions of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, the Ngāti Toa-led group 'very carefully' removed the surveyors' equipment and personal possessions before dismantling their camps and uprooting their survey stakes. They then set fire to the surveyors' raupo huts, wooden tent poles and survey stakes. According to Barnicoat this was done to show that the land at Wairau and all its 'produce' remained the property of Ngāti Toa who reserved the 'right' to dispose of it as they saw fit. After this demonstration the survey parties were transported with their possessions down to the beach.⁷⁷

Having put a stop to the survey, the Ngāti Toa-led group headed up river to plant their potato gardens. According to Barnicoat the cultivating party consisted of 92 'men, women and children' of whom 'perhaps 20 to 25 were women.' The size of the Māori group was subsequently increased to more than 100 with the arrival of additional canoes.⁷⁸

In Nelson, the New Zealand Company authorities responded to news of the destruction of the Wairau survey by issuing a warrant for the arrest of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata for the alleged arson of the surveyors' raupo huts. In order to execute the warrant a force of 49 armed settlers, commanded by the Company's Nelson Agent Captain Arthur Wakefield and the settlement's chief constable Henry Thompson, left for the Wairau by ship on 13 June 1843.⁷⁹

Having arrived at the Wairau on 15 June, the Nelson party – who were armed with muskets, pistols and cutlasses – attempted to arrest the Ngāti Toa rangatira. Apparently expecting no resistance, Wakefield, Thompson and their party confronted Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata

⁷⁵ Barnicoat, p 70 (Saturday 3 June 1843)

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Barnicoat, pp 70-71 (Sunday, 4 June 1843); Boast, 'Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island', Vol 1, pp 99-105

⁷⁸ Barnicoat, p 73 (Monday, 12 June and Wednesday 14 June 1843)

⁷⁹ Boast, 'Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island', Vol 1, pp 110-111

and their followers on Saturday 17 June. The encounter did not, however, go as the Nelson authorities had planned. When Te Rauparaha and Te Rangiheata refused to submit to arrest, Thompson lost his temper and attempted to take the rangatira by force. After being fired upon by the settlers the Ngāti Toa-led party counter-attacked, eventually routing the Nelsonians.⁸⁰

According to a newspaper report published by the *New Zealand Spectator, and Cook's Straits Guardian* at the height of the Hutt conflict, members of Ngāti Rangatahi had taken an active part in the Wairau 'affray'. The report claimed that the Ngāti Rangatahi 'head men' Kaparatehau and E Horo were amongst the 'most active and ferocious' in the fight in which another Ngāti Rangatahi chief named Atuta [Te Ahuta] had been killed.⁸¹ A few days later the *Wellington Independent* alleged that the Ngāti Rangatahi chief E Pare – described by the paper as a 'subservient tool of Rangihaeata' was 'notorious' for having single-handedly 'butchered' five of the European prisoners who had been killed at Wairau.⁸²

These 1846 newspaper reports – which were clearly written with the intention of portraying the Ngāti Rangatahi inhabitants of the Hutt Valley in the worst possible light – need to be treated with caution. Nonetheless, it does appear that members of the tribe were indeed actively involved in the events at Wairau with at least one of their number (Te Ahuta) being killed. The tribe's presence at Wairau was noted by James Cowan in his monumental history of the New Zealand Wars. According to Cowan, Ngāti Rangatahi 'shared in the Wairau affair in 1843, and soon afterward occupied land on the banks of the Hutt under Te Rangihaeata's encouragement.'⁸³

In his otherwise comprehensive account of the Wairau clash, Professor Boast notes in passing that 'it is known that a group of Rangitahi [sic] were at the battle and may have formed the bulk of those with Te Rangihaeata.' Boast also acknowledges that: 'it is also possible that Te Ahuta was Ngati Rangatahi', while cautioning that George Clarke Jr described him as "a teina brother or some relation of Te Rauparaha's." Given Te Rauparaha's

⁸⁰ Waitangi Tribunal. *Te Tau Ihu*, pp 196-197; Boast, 'Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island', pp 113-140; Barnicoat,

⁸¹ *New Zealand Spectator, and Cook's Straits Guardian*, 28 February 1846 p 2 c 3 & 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealand-spectator-and-cook-s-strait-guardian/1846/02/28/2> (accessed 22 November 2019)

⁸² 'The Affairs of the Hutt', *Wellington Independent*, 4 March 1846, p 2, c 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wellington-independent/1846/03/04/2> (accessed 28 November 2019)

⁸³ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period, Volume I: 1845-1864*, (Wellington), 1922 (1983 reprint), p 102

whakapapa and marital links to Ngāti Rangatahi, Clarke's description does not, as Boast appears to caution, preclude Te Ahuta from having belonged to that iwi.⁸⁴

Te Ahuta's Ngāti Rangatahi relatives also appear to have taken part in the killings of the nine Europeans who had surrendered to the victorious Ngāti Toa led force. The prisoners were apparently executed by Te Rangihaeata as utu for the deaths of Te Rangihaeata's wife Te Rongopamamao (who according to Sir Taihākurei Durie was also affiliated with Ngāti Rangatahi) and by Te Ahuta's son in response to the killing of his father.⁸⁵ According to the account George Clarke Jr provided to his father (after meeting with Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa chiefs at Waikanae not long after the affray) Te Ahuta's relatives may have been responsible for the deaths of both Thompson and Arthur Wakefield. Clarke told his father (Chief Protector of Aborigines George Clarke Sr) that Te Rauparaha had called upon his supporters to:

spare the gentleman but a son of Te Ahuta . . . had overtaken them and while Captain Wakefield and Mr Thompson were calling out to Rauparaha for quarter Te Ahuta's people cut them both down.⁸⁶

In providing this account to Clarke Jr Te Rauparaha may have been attempting to downplay his role in the killing of the New Zealand Company officials by shifting responsibility to Ngāti Rangatahi. Unfortunately, there is no surviving account from Ngāti Rangatahi themselves of the part they played in the Wairau events.

In all, at least four Māori and 22 Europeans were killed in what would become officially known as the Wairau 'incident' or 'affray'.⁸⁷ The four Māori killed were listed by Wiremu Neera Te Kanae as: Te Ahuta, Hopa, Te Whainui and Te Rongopamamao. According to Te Kanae, a further three Māori – Hori Karaha, Kiriona and Hoani – were wounded. It is not known whether any of the individuals named by Te Kanae (other than Te Ahuta and Te Rongopamamao) had affiliations with Ngāti Rangatahi.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Boast, 'Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island', Vol 1, p 139

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ George Clarke Jr to George Clarke Sr, 8 August 1843 transcribed in Boast, 'Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island', Vol 2, p 341. For a copy of the original letter see: George Clarke Jnr, 'Letters, 1843-1859', Vol 7, Alexander Turnbull Library, qMS-0463-0469

⁸⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Tau Ihu*, p 197

⁸⁸ Wiremu Neera Te Kanae, 'The history of the tribes Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa (having special reference to the doings of Te Rauparaha), 20 August 1888 (translated by George Graham, 20 April 1928), Alexander Turnbull Library, MSY-1881, p 16

The Wairau ‘affray’ had far-reaching consequences for Ngāti Rangatahi. Immediately after the clash, the tribe quit their kāinga at Taupō and settled definitively in the Hutt Valley. This move was in part to allow room at Taupō for those of Ngāti Toa who were returning from the South Island in anticipation of settler reprisals following the killings at Wairau.⁸⁹ Almost certainly undertaken in coordination with Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Rangatahi’s move to Heretaunga was also part of a broader strategy to secure Ngāti Toa (and Ngāti Rangatahi) land holdings against the continuing encroachment of New Zealand Company settlers. The threat posed to Māori by the rapidly expanding European settlements at Nelson and Port Nicholson had been very much on Te Rangihaeata’s mind in the months leading up to the clash at Wairau. The Ngāti Toa rangatira had voiced his concerns to Company officials, both at Nelson in March and at Wairau itself, where he had asked Thompson:

Have I gone to England or Port Jackson to take land away from you? Are you going to tie me up and make a slave of me because you came to take possession of Land belonging to me.⁹⁰

The experience of Wairau appears to have only confirmed Te Rangihaeata’s suspicions of European settler expansion and the dangers it posed to tangata whenua.

Undertaken, it would appear, upon Te Rangihaeata’s direction, and certainly with his blessing, Ngāti Rangatahi’s relocation to the Hutt Valley underlined another consequence of the Wairau clash: the cementing of the close relationship between the iwi and the prophetic Ngāti Toa leader.⁹¹ The hardening of this relationship would in turn have important implications for Ngāti Rangatahi’s relationship with the Crown, placing the iwi in direct resistance to both the encroachment of European settlement and the expansion and assertion of the colonial government’s power over Māori society. In the years that followed, Ngāti Rangatahi’s close connection with, and allegiance to Te Rangihaeata, would lead the iwi from the Hutt to Pāuatahanui and from there, after further confrontations with the Crown and its allies, up to the Manawatū and on to the Rangitīkei.

⁸⁹ Wairarapa Minute Book No 2, f 94 (Hoani Te Okoro); *New Zealand Spectator, and Cook’s Straits Guardian*, 28 February 1846 p 2 c 4; Clarke Jr to Clark Sr, 8 August 1843, transcribed in Boast, ‘Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island’, Vol 2, p 341

⁹⁰ Clark Jr to Clarke Sr, 8 August 1843, transcribed in Boast, ‘Ngati Toa and the Upper South Island’, Vol 2, p 340

⁹¹ George Clarke Jr to George Clarke Sr, 29 June 1844

Ngāti Rangatahi, the Crown and the Hutt Valley Conflict

The challenge posed by the encroachment of New Zealand Company settlers on to land that Ngāti Toa and their allies maintained still belonged to them was not restricted to the upper South Island. Colonists on the other side of Cook Strait were looking to expand beyond the areas they had initially occupied on the edges of Te Whanganui a Tara at Pito-one (Petone), Thorndon and Te Aro. As we have seen, the threat posed by the rapidly increasing numbers of British colonists was felt particularly acutely by Te Rangihaeata who saw the New Zealand Company's expansion as not just a challenge to tribal property rights but also as a threat to Māori sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga. In April 1842 an armed group led by Te Rangihaeata disrupted an attempt by New Zealand Company settlers to establish themselves at Porirua. In a ritual that anticipated similar actions at Wairau the following year and in the Rangitikei later in the decade, Te Rangihaeata and his supporters removed the trespassers from their land and destroyed the buildings that they had erected.⁹²

Of equal concern to Te Rangihaeata was the expansion of the newly arrived colonists into the Hutt Valley beyond the New Zealand Company's initial settlement at Petone. The company believed that it had purchased the valley in its entirety from the Te Ātiawa chiefs Te Puni and Te Wharepōuri as part of the Port Nicholson purchase in September 1839. The Company's claim to the Hutt Valley was, however, rejected by Te Rauparaha and the other Ngāti Toa chiefs who insisted that it was they, rather than the Te Ātiawa chiefs who held ownership rights to the greater part of the Hutt Valley (beyond the Petone coastline).⁹³

Te Rangihaeata – whom the Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal noted was recognized by Te Rauparaha as holding the 'principal interest in Heretaunga on behalf of Ngāti Toa' – was particularly emphatic in his insistence that the Te Ātiawa chiefs had no right to sell any land in the Hutt Valley without the prior consent of himself and the other Ngāti Toa chiefs.⁹⁴ As they had in Porirua in 1842, and Wairau the following year, Te Rangihaeata and his supporters asserted their rights to Heretaunga by confronting the encroaching settlers and occupying the contested land, thereby asserting their ahi kā rights.

While at Porirua and Wairau the actions against New Zealand Company expansion had been predominantly Ngāti Toa affairs, in the Hutt Valley it was Te Rangihaeata's Ngāti Rangatahi whanaunga who took the lead. The New Zealand Company settlers – who

⁹² Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa*, p 192

⁹³ Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand, 1832-1852*, (Wellington, Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs), 1968, p 219

⁹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa*, p 205

themselves had only arrived at Petone in January 1840 – were first made aware of Ngāti Rangatahi’s presence in the Hutt in September 1841, when the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* reported that they had asserted their rights over the valley and were driving off settlers.⁹⁵ On the 19th of the following month William Swainson wrote to the Chief Police Magistrate Edmund Halswell complaining that:

certain natives of Porirua had begun to form new settlements on the banks of the Hutt, not merely upon lands belonging to the Company, but upon sections that have been given out to individuals.⁹⁶

On 15 February 1842 Swainson wrote again to the Chief Magistrate protesting that:

in consequence of no effectual measures having been made to dislodge these people, (against whom the tribe at the Hutt [Te Ātiawa] entertain a feeling of dislike, if not hostility,) others of the same tribe have been encouraged to make further inroads upon us, by descending the river, and several are now close upon my lands.⁹⁷

Swainson complained that the ‘intruders’ from Porirua had also made ‘several attempts’ to burn down his ‘farm house’ and ‘destroy’ his crops ‘by setting fire to the surrounding wood in several places.’⁹⁸

Swainson was not the only colonist to be confronted by Ngāti Rangatahi’s assertion of its rights over Heretaunga. Earlier in February 1842 Kaparatehau – who represented the tribe in its interactions with the colonial authorities – had entered into an altercation with Thomas Mason, “a person of very irascible temper”, after the settler had ‘occupied a section some four miles up the valley from the Petone beach.’ Violence had only been avoided by the intervention of the police magistrate.⁹⁹ On 28 August 1842 the police magistrate himself reported on Ngāti Rangatahi’s occupation of the Hutt Valley. While the tribe had ‘originally’

⁹⁵ Bob Hayes, ‘The Valley of the Hutt – 1839-1846’, Unpublished Report, November 1998, Wai 145, #M3, p 5

⁹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 17 December 1842, p 2, c 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealand-gazette-and-wellington-spectator/1842/12/17/2> (accessed 2 May 2020)

⁹⁷ *Ibid*; Hayes, pp 5-6

⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹⁹ Wards, p 224

arrived ‘in small bodies some months ago’, they now numbered ‘at least two hundred persons’ and were ‘daily increasing both in number and daring.’¹⁰⁰

The dramatic increase in the number of those resisting the expansion of European settlement in the Hutt Valley was due in no small part to the arrival – at Ngāti Rangatahi’s invitation – of a contingent of Ngāti Tama in July 1842. According to the Waitangi Tribunal’s Whanganui-a-Tara report, the Ngāti Tama group led by Taringa Kuri ‘had moved to Heretaunga in 1842, in response to settlers’ cattle trespassing on their land at Kaiwharawhara.’¹⁰¹ There was, however, almost certainly more to it than that. Like Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Tama had previously inhabited the borderland between the southern boundary of the Tainui confederation and northern Taranaki. In Ngāti Tama’s case this included the land between Mōkau to the north and Urenui in the south.¹⁰² Ngāti Tama also shared Ngāti Rangatahi’s close connection with Ngāti Toa, both through intermarriage and shared experiences of battle. These whanaungatanga connections had informed the decision of each tribe to join Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata in Ngāti Toa’s migration to Kāpiti. In addition to their mutual association with Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama in the lower North Island also shared a close connection with Te Rangihaeata.¹⁰³

The whanaungatanga connections with Ngāti Toa, the shared experience of migration, and the common commitment to Te Rangihaeata and his kaupapa brought Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama together in their combined resistance to the expansion of European settlement in Heretaunga. Having established themselves at Maraenuku on the eastern side of the Hutt River, near the present-day Melling Substation, the Ngāti Tama new arrivals joined Ngāti Rangatahi in their efforts to assert ahi kā and limit European settlement.¹⁰⁴ In May 1843 the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* reported on ‘an attack by a body of Maories’ upon a group of Scottish settlers who had jointly purchased ‘a country section up the Hutt [Valley].’¹⁰⁵ The following month, the Police Magistrate and Sub-Protector for Aborigines were both called when Taringa Kuri refused to allow a settler to take possession of a section he had bought from the New Zealand Company. On 10 June 1843 the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* reported that Ngāti Rangatahi (whom the paper referred to as ‘the

¹⁰⁰ Edmund Halswell cited in Hayes, p 7

¹⁰¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa*, p 198

¹⁰² Angela Ballara, *Taua*, p 304

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp 304-305, 319, 326, 339; Interview with Sir Taihākurei Durie, 16 April 2020

¹⁰⁴ Wards, p 224

¹⁰⁵ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 24 May 1843, p 2, c 2,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealand-gazette-and-wellington-spectator/1843/05/24/2> (accessed 2 May 2020)

Porirua Maories’) had ‘tore down’ a settler’s house next to the Hutt River, ‘throwing the material into the water.’¹⁰⁶

In the starkest expression of their determination to place clear limits on the New Zealand Company’s settlement of the Hutt, Ngāti Tama’s Taringa Kuri began in March 1844 to cut a boundary line at Rotokakahi, ‘on the lower western side of the valley, around a mile and a half from the foreshore.’ The line was intended to define the boundary between the northern limit of the New Zealand Company’s Port Nicholson purchase and the area that still remained in Māori ownership. As the Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal notes, the line from Rotokakahi also reflected the extent of ‘the Ngāti Toa chiefs’ claims to the Heretaunga Valley, with ‘only the land seaward of Rotokakahi being ‘acknowledged by them as part of Port Nicholson.’¹⁰⁷

Neither the political (and strategic) significance of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama’s actions in the Hutt, nor the two tribes’ close connection to Te Rangihaeata were lost on their European adversaries. According to Ian Wards, ‘officials and settlers alike interpreted’ Ngāti Rangatahi’s actions ‘as a deliberate intent to impede European settlement.’¹⁰⁸ European observers repeatedly made the connection between the two Hutt Valley groups and Te Rangihaeata. In August 1842, Chief Police Magistrate Halswell maintained that Ngāti Rangatahi had ‘been sent’ to the Hutt Valley ‘by Te Rauparaha and Rangiaaiata [Te Rangihaeata] with the avowed object of extorting further payment, and to drive away the white people by force.’¹⁰⁹ In a similar vein, George Clarke Jr informed his father, the colonial government’s Chief Protector of Aborigines, that Ngāti Tama’s move from Kaiwharawhara to the Hutt Valley in July 1842 had been ‘at the instigation of Rangihaeata’.¹¹⁰ Reporting upon their alleged attack upon the ‘half dozen industrious Scotch settlers’ in May 1843, the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* described Ngāti Rangatahi as being ‘part of Rangihaeata’s tribe’.¹¹¹

Neither Te Rangihaeata nor Ngāti Rangatahi disavowed the connection drawn between them by members of the colonial community. Speaking at a five-day hui in July 1845, Te Rangihaeata maintained that he and Te Rauparaha had placed Ngāti Rangatahi in the Hutt ‘to hold possession after the expulsion of Ngāti Kahungunu from the valley.’¹¹² Te Rangihaeata

¹⁰⁶ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 10 June 1843, p 2, c 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealand-gazette-and-wellington-spectator/1843/06/10/2> (accessed 2 May 2020)

¹⁰⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa*, p 199

¹⁰⁸ Wards, pp 226-227

¹⁰⁹ Hayes, p 7

¹¹⁰ Hayes, p 24

¹¹¹ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 24 May 1843, p 2, c 2

¹¹² Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa*, p 204

would continue to insist on Ngāti Rangatahi's rights to Heretaunga until their expulsion from the valley in February 1846.¹¹³

Ngāti Rangatahi establish 'independent' ahi kā rights within the Hutt Valley

As well as upholding Te Rangihaeata's broader kaupapa of maintaining tino rangatiratanga by restricting and pushing back against European settlement throughout the Cook Strait region, Ngāti Rangatahi also asserted their own, distinct claims to the land they were occupying within the Hutt Valley. As we have seen, Ngāti Rangatahi had occupied the Hutt Valley or Heretaunga seasonally since the early 1830s, acquiring in the process what the Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal recognised to be 'occupation and use rights'.¹¹⁴ These rights had been conditional on Ngāti Rangatahi paying 'tribute' to the Ngāti Toa chiefs under whose authority they occupied the land. From 1840, Ngāti Rangatahi intensified their occupation of Heretaunga, establishing permanent kāinga along the eastern banks of the Hutt River and clearing land for cultivation. Reinforced by the arrival of Ngāti Tama in mid 1842, Ngāti Rangatahi's now permanent settlement of the Hutt expanded further in the aftermath of the clash at Wairau in June 1843. With their Ngāti Toa whanaunga needing space to accommodate those who had left the Wairau Valley in anticipation of settler reprisals, Ngāti Rangatahi vacated their long-standing settlement at Taupō, at the entrance to Porirua Harbour, and established themselves definitively in the Hutt Valley.¹¹⁵

Together, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama cleared and placed 'under crop' what former Crown prosecutor R D Hanson described as 'considerable portions of land', amounting to 'several hundred acres.' The produce from these cultivations was sold to the New Zealand Company colony at Port Nicholson, providing the settlers with a 'cheap' and 'abundant' 'supply of provisions.'¹¹⁶ Their numbers supplemented by further arrivals from Ohariu and Whanganui, the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama community in the Hutt continued, over the course of 1844 and 1845, to expand their cultivations while adding to the size and substance of their kāinga along the Hutt River. By the time of their expulsion from the Hutt in February 1846 Hanson estimated that the community had 'nearly 800 acres under crop, and were dwelling in an enclosed village, with numerous houses and a chapel.'¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Ibid., pp 201, 205, 209; Wards, pp 226 & 232

¹¹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 191

¹¹⁵ Wairarapa Minute Book No 2, ff 90-91, 94; Wards, p 224

¹¹⁶ 'Extracts form a Letter to Captain Fitzroy RN from R Davies Hanson Esq', 24 July 1846, Wai 145 #M3(a), Vol 2, p 232 (p 6 of original document)

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p 233

Noting their substantial and continued presence in the upper Hutt Valley ‘for a period of some five years’ without paying ‘tribute to Ngāti Toa or anyone else’, the Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal found that Ngāti Rangatahi had, by late 1845, ‘acquired ahi kā rights to land in the Hutt Valley independent of Ngāti Toa.’¹¹⁸ This certainly appears to have been the position of Ngāti Rangatahi themselves. In December 1845 Ngāti Rangatahi’s representative Kaparatehau informed the government translator Thomas Forsaith in no uncertain terms that they intended to remain in the Hutt despite the government having come to an agreement with Te Rauparaha for their eviction in the new year. According to Forsaith, Kaparatehau expressed himself ‘to be highly indignant’ at Te Rauparaha’s presumption that Ngāti Rangatahi could be ordered off their land as if they were ‘only slaves’, and declared that they would ‘pay no intention to him.’¹¹⁹

Ngāti Rangatahi’s assertions of ownership were consistently supported by Te Rangihaeata who – in contrast to Te Rauparaha – refused to consider any agreement with the colonial government that did not acknowledge Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama’s rights in Heretaunga.¹²⁰ In July 1845 Te Rangihaeata told a hui at Porirua that Ngāti Rangatahi now held their land in the Hutt in their own right, and “therefore in strict observance of their Native Customs could not be dispossessed by any act to which they were not parties.”¹²¹

Ngāti Rangatahi’s ownership rights under Māori customary tenure to the land they were living upon and cultivating within the Hutt Valley was also acknowledged by what Anderson and her co-authors describe as ‘a handful of European commentators who held a different and more informed view’ than the majority of Crown officials and New Zealand Company settlers.¹²² On 2 November 1845, Henry Tacy Kemp (who had recently been appointed as sub-protector of Aborigines) reported to his superior that Ngāti Rangatahi and just ‘renewed their cultivations’ and did not ‘contemplate moving’. Kemp observed that the tribe appeared ‘to have acquired a right in the soil’ that made them ‘very unwilling to surrender’ their holdings to the Crown. Moreover, he believed that Ngāti Rangatahi’s ‘conduct’ with regards to their land had been ‘so consistent’ that it could not be dismissed as a mere ‘annoyance to the Settlers.’¹²³ A similar conclusion was reached by R D Hanson who, writing after Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies had been expelled from their land in the Hutt, noted that they had

¹¹⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 221

¹¹⁹ Forsaith to Richmond, 28 December 1844, cited in Hayes, p 36

¹²⁰ Wards, pp 226 & 238; Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, pp 204-205

¹²¹ Kemp to Superintendent, 3 July 1845, cited in Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 204

¹²² Anderson, Green and Chase, p 65

¹²³ Kemp to Chief Protector, Wellington, 2 November 1845, Wai #145, M3(a), Section 3, pp 15-16

been occupying their land ‘under a title’ which if ‘subordinate’ to that claimed by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata was nevertheless ‘still valid and indefeasible according to the established usages, or, what might rather be termed the prescriptive law of the country.’¹²⁴

Kemp and Hanson’s culturally nuanced understanding of Ngāti Rangatahi’s evolving ownership rights within Heretaunga was not shared by the majority of Crown officials and settlers who believed that the Hutt Valley had been purchased in its entirety by the New Zealand Company from Te Ātiawa in 1839. While recognising the residual right of Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Toa to Heretaunga, Crown officials such as Superintendent Matthew Richmond, Old Land Claims Commissioner William Spain, and Governor George Grey all dismissed out of hand the possibility that Ngāti Rangatahi might possess their own, independent ownership rights to land within the Hutt Valley.¹²⁵

Crown officials’ understanding of Ngāti Rangatahi’s status in the Hutt was expressed by George Clarke Jr in a letter to his father dated 29 June 1844. Clarke Jr, who had been charged with protecting the interests of Māori whose land rights had been impinged upon by the New Zealand Company’s massive land purchases in the lower North and upper South Islands, found that Ngāti Rangatahi had no land rights in the Hutt independent of those of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata.¹²⁶ Apparently ignorant of Ngāti Rangatahi’s presence in Heretaunga prior to 1840, Clarke reported that ‘a small number’ of the tribe had only ‘occupied part of the district about two years after the arrival of the New Zealand Company’s preliminary expedition in September 1839.’ Because they had ‘no right . . . to any portion of the district except through Rauparaha and Rangihaeata’, Clarke concluded that neither Ngāti Rangatahi nor Ngāti Tama were entitled to any part of the additional £1,500 of compensation that the New Zealand Company had been persuaded to pay in order secure its purchases in the Wellington region.¹²⁷

Clarke’s assumption that Ngāti Rangatahi were only newcomers to the Hutt Valley, with no independent rights to the land there, was shared by other Crown officials including William Spain and Superintendent Richmond (who until the arrival of Governor George Grey in February 1846 was the leading government official in the Wellington region). In July 1845 Richmond dismissed Ngāti Rangatahi’s claims to the land they were occupying at

¹²⁴ ‘Extracts form a Letter to Captain Fitzroy RN from R Davies Hanson Esq’, 24 July 1846, Wai 145 #M3(a), Vol 2, p 233 (p 7 of original document)

¹²⁵ Anderson, Green and Chase, p 61

¹²⁶ George Clarke, Junior to G Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, 29 June 1844, *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence and Other Papers Relating to New Zealand, 1843-1845*, Vol 4, (Shannon, Ireland, Irish University Press), pp 464-467

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p 465

Heretaunga. ‘No individual native or portion of the Tribe can substantiate a right to any part of this valley’, he pronounced:

It was unthought of as a native location – no ancient pas nor cultivations exist – the dense Forests remained undisturbed till the axe of the European and European labour and perseverance opened out and displayed the capabilities of the district.¹²⁸

The Expulsion of Ngāti Rangatahi from the Hutt Valley

Intent on obtaining the eviction of Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies, and the opening up of the Hutt Valley to European settlement, Crown officials attempted to negotiate a settlement with Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. In November 1844 Te Rauparaha put his name to a deed surrendering his and Te Rangihaeata’s rights to Heretaunga ‘to the Governor of New Zealand on behalf of the New Zealand Company’ in return for a payment of £400.¹²⁹ Te Rangihaeata, however, refused to agree to the settlement unless land was set aside for Ngāti Rangatahi higher up the Hutt Valley, a compromise that Richmond was not willing to countenance.¹³⁰ Although Te Rangihaeata eventually accepted his half of the £400 payment (in March 1845), he continued to insist that his agreement was contingent on the Crown’s recognition of ‘Ngāti Rangatahi’s rights’ and its provision of land for them elsewhere within Heretaunga.¹³¹

Despite the colonial government’s purported settlement with the Ngāti Toa chiefs, and the best efforts of Crown officials to persuade them to leave, Ngāti Rangatahi remained intent on staying upon their cultivations in the Hutt Valley. Indeed, far from preparing to leave, Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies began, in December 1844, clearing more land for cultivation.¹³² The Heretaunga community was fortified in its determination by the arrival, in 1845, of a party of Ngāti Hāua from the upper Whanganui led by Te Mamaku and Te Oro (or Te Horo). According to the Waitangi Tribunal’s Whanganui Land Report, the Ngāti Hāua ope had initially come with the intention of bringing their Ngāti Rangatahi relatives (the descendants of Tūtemahurangi) back to their previous home in the Ōhura Valley. Having arrived in the Hutt, however, the Ngāti Hāua group settled with Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama, and

¹²⁸ Wards, p 228

¹²⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, p 201

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 204-205; Wards, p 238

¹³¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara*, pp 206-207, 209

¹³² *Ibid.*, p 206

joined in extending their cultivations and helping to ‘push back against the New Zealand Company and its Crown backers.’¹³³

With Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama determined to stay on their land, and the colonial government refusing to countenance their continuing presence within the Hutt Valley, Crown officials decided that the Māori community would have to be removed by force. On 28 December 1844 Richmond told Governor FitzRoy that the ‘only alternative’ for ‘preserving peace was to ‘eject’ Ngāti Rangatahi and their supporters once sufficient troops were available.¹³⁴ The arrival of the necessary troops, however, was delayed by the destruction of Kororāreka in March 1845, obliging the colonial government to concentrate all of its forces on the Bay of Islands, leaving nothing available for a military operation in the Hutt.¹³⁵

A year later, with Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Tama and their Whanganui supporters once again renewing their cultivations, Richmond – writing to the new Governor George Grey – reiterated his conviction that ‘permanent peace’ in the Wellington region ‘cannot be looked for’ until the Hutt Valley had been ‘vacated’ by the ‘Intruding Natives’ and the ‘Settlers put in possession.’¹³⁶

With the war in the North drawing to a conclusion, Governor Grey arrived in Wellington on 12 February 1846 with the intention of finally putting the “troublesome and exciting question” of the Hutt to rest.¹³⁷ The Governor secured an early success when Taringa Kuri agreed to leave the valley with his Ngāti Tama contingent.¹³⁸ Confident that most of the Māori had left the valley, Grey allowed the New Zealand Company settlers to take possession of the area occupied by Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies. The Ngāti Rangatahi cultivators, however, resisted this incursion, driving the settlers off their land. The Governor responded by marching a force of 340 British soldiers on to the contested land.¹³⁹

Outnumbered and outgunned, Ngāti Rangatahi nevertheless refused to leave the land they had been occupying without first receiving adequate compensation.¹⁴⁰ Unwilling to consider any compensation until they had fully evacuated the Hutt, the Governor issued an ultimatum

¹³³ Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whiritaunoka: The Whanganui Land Report*, Vol. 1, (Wellington, Legislation Direct), 2015, p 202

¹³⁴ M Richmond to Governor FitzRoy, 28 December 1844, Wai 145, #M3(a), Vol 1, Sec 1, p 11 (7 of original document)

¹³⁵ Wards, pp 232 & 237

¹³⁶ M Richmond to Governor Grey, 6 January 1846, Wai 145, #M3(a), Vol 1, Sec 1, p 38 (34 of original document)

¹³⁷ Grey to Stanley, 17 Feb 1846, cited in Wards, p 240

¹³⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 210

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p 211; Wards, pp 243-244

¹⁴⁰ Wards, p 244; Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 211

that if Ngāti Rangatahi did not leave the valley by noon the following day they would be subject to immediate attack. Confronted by overwhelming military force the Ngāti Rangatahi community eventually agreed to leave their settlement, following the intercession of the missionary Richard Taylor.¹⁴¹

The departure of Ngāti Rangatahi from the Hutt was followed by the ransacking of their kāinga by what Taylor described as ‘low Europeans’ who plundered ‘the native houses of everything they thought worth taking as well as their plantations.’ The looters even broke into the community’s chapel, overthrowing the pulpit and violating the ‘sanctity of the House of God.’¹⁴² The next day Grey’s soldiers set fire to what was left of the Ngāti Rangatahi settlement, burning not only the community’s houses but also its desecrated chapel and the wooden fence around its urupā.¹⁴³ Despite the Governor’s assurances prior to their evacuation, Ngāti Rangatahi were never compensated for the pillaging and destruction of their village.¹⁴⁴

Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies replied to the looting of their settlement by plundering in turn the homes of the settlers who had moved on to their land.¹⁴⁵ Grey responded by declaring martial law for the whole of the lower North Island from Castlepoint to Wainui (just north of modern-day Paekākāriki), and by sending further reinforcements, along with the steam ship HMS *Driver* to the Hutt.¹⁴⁶ Matters deteriorated further when the colonial authorities arrested two Māori for looting, summarily sentencing one to 10 years transportation.¹⁴⁷ A few days later, on 2 April 1846, a taua led by the Ngāti Rangatahi chief Te Pau killed a settler named Andrew Gillespie and his son who had moved on to the land from which Ngāti Rangatahi had recently been evicted.¹⁴⁸ Further violence followed when, on 16 May 1846, Ngāti Rangatahi’s Whanganui ally Te Mamaku launched a surprise attack on the British Army’s stockade at Boulcott’s Farm. In the ensuing gun battle eight soldiers and at least two of the Māori attackers were killed or mortally wounded.¹⁴⁹

Despite these sporadic acts of armed resistance Ngāti Rangatahi were never able to return to their land at Heretaunga. Ejected from land which they had occupied on Te Rangihaeata’s behalf, and over which they had established ownership in their own right, Ngāti Rangatahi

¹⁴¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 211; Wards p 244

¹⁴² Richard Taylor, ‘Journal’, cited in Wards, pp 244-245

¹⁴³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, pp 211-212

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p 214

¹⁴⁵ Wards, pp 245-246

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p 247

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 248-249

¹⁴⁸ Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, Vol 1, p 102

¹⁴⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, p 215; Cowan, pp 104-109

were never compensated ‘for the loss of their land, homes, crops and other possessions.’¹⁵⁰ Nor did the Crown – despite the urgings of Te Rangihaeata – provide them with any additional tracts of land, either within the Hutt Valley or elsewhere in the Wellington region. Instead, as the Whanganui-a-Tara Tribunal put it, Ngāti Rangatahi ‘were rendered landless.’¹⁵¹

1.4 From Pāuatahanui to Poroutāwhao

Forced to abandon their homes and cultivations at Heretaunga, Ngāti Rangatahi retreated across the hills to Pāuatahanui at the eastern end of Porirua Harbour. There they set about constructing a fortification to protect themselves from possible government attack. On 18 March 1846 the *Wellington Independent* noted that Ngāti Rangatahi ‘were busily engaged erecting a Pa some distance inland from Porirua, between that place and the ground they had previously occupied.’¹⁵² Once the fortifications were completed Ngāti Rangatahi were joined by Te Rangihaeata who had concluded that his previous residence at Taupō (modern-day Plimmerton) was too exposed to Government attack (a fact that Te Rauparaha would learn to his expense when he was taken from there by a combined force of soldiers and sailors in July 1846). In settling with Ngāti Rangatahi at Pāuatahanui, Te Rangihaeata was continuing the close connection between himself and the iwi which extended back to the early days of Te Heke mai-i-raro. Ngāti Rangatahi had subsequently lived with Te Rangihaeata at Taupō, where they had resided until relocating to the Hutt Valley after the Wairau clash.¹⁵³ Te Rangihaeata had also spent part of 1845 with Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama in the Hutt.¹⁵⁴

The new Pāuatahanui settlement quickly become the focus of settler hostility with the *Wellington Independent* characterizing it as a ‘plague spot’ that needed to be ‘removed’.¹⁵⁵ In April the newspaper described the Pāuatahanui pā as a den of ‘murderers and robbers – determined and desperate men’. The ‘sooner this hornet nest is destroyed’, the *Independent*

¹⁵⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whanganui a Tara*, pp 221-222

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p 222

¹⁵² ‘The Affairs of the Hutt’, *Wellington Independent*, 18 March 1846, p 2, c 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wellington-independent/1846/03/18/2> (accessed 28 November 2019)

¹⁵³ ‘Horrible Murders on the Hutt. Narrative of Events’, *Wellington Independent*, 8 April 1846, p 3, c 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wellington-independent/1846/04/08/3> (accessed 28 November 2019)

¹⁵⁴ Wards, p 238

¹⁵⁵ ‘Maori Progress in Civilisation’, *Wellington Independent*, 8 July 1846, p 2, c 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wellington-independent/1846/07/08/2> (accessed 28 November 2019)

opined, ‘the better for Port Nicholson.’¹⁵⁶ The editor of the *Wellington Independent* at this time was none other than Doctor Isaac Earl Featherston, who in his dual capacities as Wellington Superintendent and colonial land purchase officer would later be responsible for the Crown’s purchase of Rangitīkei-Manawatū in December 1866.

The Retreat from Pāuatahanui

Despite the urgings of the settler community in Wellington, the colonial government initially looked to contain rather than completely eradicate the community at Pāuatahanui. On 8 April 1846 Governor Grey ordered the establishment of a stockade at Paremata. Located within a mile of Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Rangatahi’s former kāinga at Taupō, the primary purpose of the new fort (which was to be manned by a force of 220 infantrymen supported by ‘a small detachment of artillery’) was to command ‘the line of road’ from Wellington northwards, thereby helping to ‘secure the tranquillity of this portion of New Zealand.’ The secondary purpose of the new base was ‘to prevent’ Ngāti Rangatahi and the other ‘natives’, whom Governor Grey described as being responsible for the ‘recent murders and robberies’ in the Hutt, from ‘effecting their escape from the northern branch of the Porirua harbour’ (where Pāuatahanui was located) ‘by sea’. Despite both outnumbering and outgunning the inhabitants of the Pāuatahanui settlement, Governor Grey warned the officer in command of the new establishment against risking ‘any expedition for the capture of the murderers and robbers’ at Pāuatahanui unless he could first be ‘certain of success.’¹⁵⁷

Grey’s initial plan to contain Ngāti Rangatahi and their Whanganui allies quickly gave way to a determination to attack and destroy the Pāuatahanui pā. On 29 July 1846 (just six days after the capture of Te Rauparaha) the Governor ordered a combined assault on the Pāuatahanui stronghold. The pā was to be subjected to a two-pronged attack, with the infantry and artillery based at Paremata approaching from the west, while a force of settler militia, armed police, and 150 Te Ātiawa would cross over from the Hutt Valley.¹⁵⁸ As it turned out, the regular army was delayed and the force from the Hutt arrived at Pāuatahanui

¹⁵⁶ *Wellington Independent*, 8 April 1846, p 3, c 3

¹⁵⁷ ‘G Grey ‘Memorandum’, 8 April 1846’, Enclosure No 2 in Copy of a Despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Grey to the Right Hon Lord Stanley, 9 April 1846, (0763.05) *New Zealand. Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand. Correspondence with Governor Grey. 1847*, London, 1847, https://waikato.userservices.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/64WAIKATO_INST/1276143890003401#main-carousel (accessed 28 November 2019)

¹⁵⁸ Wards, pp 281-282

on their own. The attackers were seen by a group of women, who raised the alarm prompting a hurried evacuation of the pā.¹⁵⁹

Apparently concerned about being surrounded and trapped by the Governor's superior numbers, Te Rangihaeata led the inhabitants of Pāuatahanui up the 'thickly wooded' Horokiri valley in the direction of what is now Paekākāriki.¹⁶⁰ According to Wards the evacuees 'could not have exceeded 100 men' and were accompanied by the community's women and children carrying whatever possessions they had been able to gather in the short notice they had received to quit their settlement.¹⁶¹ Richard Taylor wrote in his journal that the pā's residents had also taken their pigs with them, making their sudden retreat even more challenging.¹⁶²

Having seized control of the Pāuatahanui pā the irregular force from the Hutt waited to be reinforced by the regular soldiers from Paremata before giving chase. The pursuit began on 3 August 1846 (two days after the capture of the pā) with a Government force of '490 men in all', including 250 regular infantrymen and 150 Te Ātiawa fighters.¹⁶³ The pursuing force was reinforced by the arrival of more than 100 Ngāti Toa warriors from Porirua, led by Rāwiri Puaha.¹⁶⁴

From the perspective of the fleeing Māori party, the progress of the chasing army was mercifully slow, covering only four miles in the first day. The delay in the government army's advance across the heavily forested terrain gave Te Rangihaeata and his predominantly Ngāti Rangatahi fighters the time to entrench themselves at a location that was well-suited for a rear-guard action. Their intention appears to have been to hold the advancing force for a sufficiently long period to allow the party's non-combatants (including young children) to make their escape.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Wards, p 282; Cowan, p 125

¹⁶⁰ Cowan, p 126

¹⁶¹ Wards, p 284

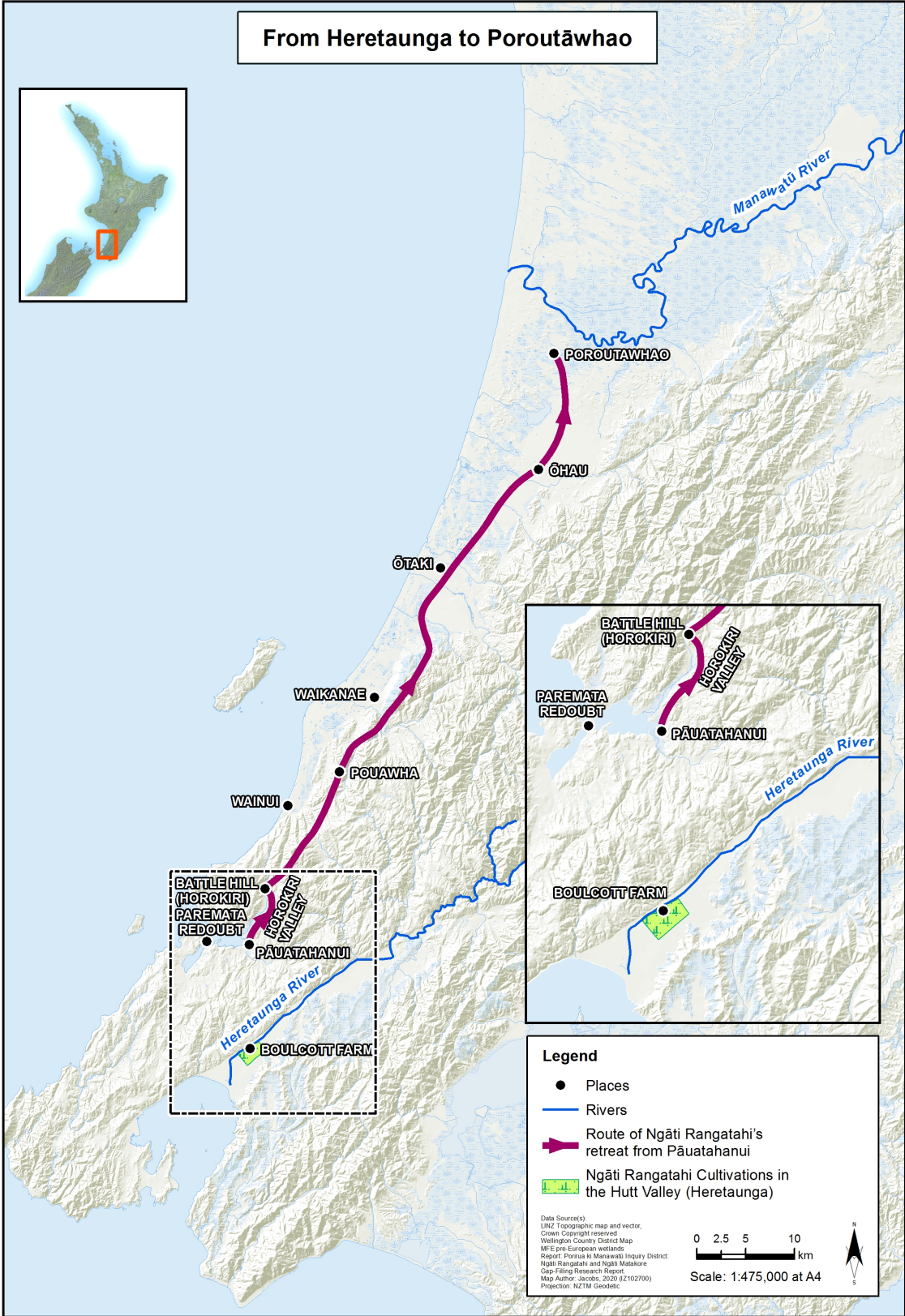
¹⁶² Richard Taylor Journal, 21 July 1848, Alexander Turnbull Library, Micro-MS-0197-3

¹⁶³ Wards, p 282; Cowan, p 126

¹⁶⁴ Cowan, p 126

¹⁶⁵ Wards, p 282

From Heretaunga to Poroutāwhao



Known today as ‘Battle Hill’, the site chosen by Te Rangihaeata and his collaborators was ‘on the summit’ of what Cowan describes as a ‘high steep range to the right (east)’ of a ‘narrow gorge, where the flooded Horokiri came pouring down the valley.’ The defensive position, which could only be approached along a narrow, steep-sided ridge had been fortified with a trench and ‘*parepare*, or breastwork of tree-trunks and earth.’¹⁶⁶ After their initial approach was repulsed with heavy casualties, the colonial force resorted to exchanging gunfire with the defenders until nightfall. With Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies firmly entrenched, the artillery that had accompanied the army eventually succeeding in bringing up ‘two small mortars’ to bombard the defensive position. Once again, the British were thwarted by the terrain, with ‘the loftiness of the trees’ providing ‘great obstacles’ to the accurate firing of the mortars.¹⁶⁷

Having come to the conclusion that the position could only be taken with heavy casualties, and that even if it was, the defending ‘rebels’ would be able to ‘fly into the woods in the rear, thus abandoning without loss a position which, from want of supplies, it was impossible for them to maintain for more than a few days’, the commanding British officer decided to withdraw his regular soldiers, leaving it to the ‘irregular’ Te Ātiawa and Ngāti Toa fighters to maintain pressure on the defenders by denying them access to ‘either water or provisions.’¹⁶⁸ Having held their position against far superior forces for more than a week, Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies eventually ‘quietly abandoned’ their entrenchment under ‘cover of darkness and rain.’¹⁶⁹ The party’s women and children had already left the pā, allowing them a good start on the pursuing government forces.¹⁷⁰

With the weather now ‘exceedingly wet and stormy’, the government forces were obliged to delay their pursuit for several days, allowing the retreating Ngāti Rangatahi time to catch up with their women and children.¹⁷¹ The flat country along the coast having been denied to them by the British Army and Navy and their Te Ātiawa led allies, Te Rangihaeata and his party were forced to make their way over the steep rugged hill country that overlooks the

¹⁶⁶ Cowan, p 128

¹⁶⁷ Edward Last, Major, 99th Regt to His Excellency Governor George Grey, 10 August 1846, Enclosure 3 in 0763.34 Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, 31 August 1846, *Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand. Correspondence with Governor Grey. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. In continuation of the Papers presented 26 August, 1846*, (London), 1847, p 46

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p 47

¹⁶⁹ Cowan, p 130

¹⁷⁰ W F G Servantes to Major Last, 99th Regt, Commanding Troops, Porirua, 13 August 1846, Enclosure 5 in 0763.34 Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, 31 August 1846, p 47

¹⁷¹ Cowan, p 130

coastline between Paekākāriki and Waikanae. According to Cowan, ‘the scene’ of the subsequent pursuit ‘was the roughest imaginable terrain for campaigning’: ‘a confusion of sharp and lofty ridges and narrow canyon like valleys each discharging a rocky-bedded rapid stream.’ It was into this ‘wild bit of New Zealand range and wood’ that Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies were obliged to plunge, with their women and children, in the heart of winter, with only the baggage and provisions that they had been able to carry following their forced escape from Pāuatahanui.¹⁷²

Despite the several-day start obtained by their fighters on Battle Hill, the retreating party was soon in danger of being overhauled by the pursuing Te Ātiawa and Ngāti Toa ‘friendlyes.’ In order to buy more time for their women and children – who by now must have been half starved and hypothermic – the Ngāti Rangatahi warriors fought a number of rear-guard actions from behind hastily constructed fortifications similar to those that had been used to such good effect on Battle Hill.¹⁷³

The most desperate of these clashes was fought when Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies ambushed the approaching Te Ātiawa contingent on the western side of the Pouawha range above Wainui (just north of modern day Paekākāriki). Three Te Ātiawa were killed in the opening exchange after which the embattled pursuers were reinforced by Rāwiri Puaha’s Ngāti Toa fighters.¹⁷⁴ A running battle ensued in which the Government forces claimed to have killed four of the Ngāti Rangatahi party and wounded two. Amongst the four dead was the Ngāti Rangatahi chief Te Pau who had commanded the party that had killed Andrew Gillespie and his son in the Hutt Valley.¹⁷⁵

After another day of sporadic gunfire across a steep gully separating the Ngāti Rangatahi fighters from their pursuers, the ‘friendly’ Te Ātiawa and Ngāti Toa descended the ranges in order to replenish their by now exhausted food supplies.¹⁷⁶ Needless to say, this was not a luxury available to the hard-pressed Ngāti Rangatahi and their associates. With the return of the heavy rain that appears to have covered much of Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Rangatahi’s retreat from Pāuatahanui, the pursuing forces spent a full four days camped along the coast at

¹⁷² Ibid., p 132

¹⁷³ Ibid

¹⁷⁴ W F G Servantes, Ensign 96th Regiment, Interpreter to the Forces to Major Last, 24 August 1846, in 763.38 ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 55

¹⁷⁵ D S Durie, Inspector of Police, to his Honour the Superintendent, 31 August 1846, in 763.38 ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 58; Cowan p 133

¹⁷⁶ W F G Servantes, Ensign 96th Regiment, Interpreter to the Forces to Major Last, 24 August 1846, 763.38 ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 55

Wainui. By now surely seriously short of both food and ammunition the Ngāti Rangatahi party took advantage of the respite offered by their pursuers to make good their escape.¹⁷⁷

A week later, the ‘rebel’ party had made it as far as the ‘hills beyond Waikanae’ where smoke from their camp fires was spotted by Government forces.¹⁷⁸ By now, however, the pursuing Te Ātiawa had grown tired of the chase and refused to take their pursuit any further. The ‘friendly’ force was apparently frustrated at the failure of the British regular forces to accompany them in what they considered to be ‘the white men’s quarrel.’¹⁷⁹ Crown officials had been hopeful that Wiremu Kingi (also of Te Ātiawa) might join the pursuit from Waikanae, but having blocked Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Rangatahi’s retreat along the coast, he refused to participate in any offensive operations. Instead, like his Te Ātiawa whānaunga who had pursued the retreating party all the way from Pāuatahanui, Kingi was happy to see the rebels driven out of their rohe but was unwilling to take the pursuit any further.¹⁸⁰

Nor did the Ngāti Raukawa of Ōtaki show any interest in assisting the Government in its pursuit of ‘the retreating rebels’. Like Wiremu Kingi at Waikanae, the Ngāti Raukawa were willing to prevent the progress of any ‘hostile’ party either up or down the west coast, but would not participate in actively ‘following up Te Rangihaeata and his party’ over their land. In the end only Rāwiri Puaha and his force of Ngāti Toa fighters expressed any interest in continuing the pursuit as far as the Manawatū River.¹⁸¹

Poroutāwhao

With their pursuers having given up the chase, Ngāti Rangatahi and the other members of the fugitive group were finally able to descend from the ranges north of Waikanae to the flat land below. After taking what they could from Ngāti Raukawa’s cultivations around Ōtaki, the party continued on to Ōhau where they were reported to have ‘remained some time’

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.; Wards, p 286

¹⁷⁸ Edward Last to Major Richmond, Superintendent, 30 August 1846, in 763.38 ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 57

¹⁷⁹ Edward Stanley, Captain HMS Calliope to His Excellency George Grey, 20 August 1846, ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 53

¹⁸⁰ W F G Servantes, Ensign, 96th Regt., Interpreter to the Forces, to M Richmond, Supt, 30 August 1846, ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 57; Enclosure 1 in No 38. M Richmond, Superintendent to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, 1 September 1846, in 763.38 ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 52; D S Durie, Inspector of Police, to his Honour the Superintendent, 31 August 1846, in 763.38 ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 58

¹⁸¹ W F G Servantes, Ensign, 96th Regt., Interpreter to the Forces, to M Richmond, Supt, 30 August 1846, ‘Copy of a Despatch from Lieut-Governor Grey to the Right Hon W E Gladstone, 18 September 1846, p 57

recovering from their arduous retreat.¹⁸² From Ōhau, Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies travelled further northwards to Poroutāwhao. Situated ‘about three miles inland’, amongst the wetlands and dune lakes between Lake Horowhenua and the Manawatū River delta, Poroutāwhao was a small, lightly-fortified settlement.¹⁸³ Despite being dismissed by Superintendent Richmond as having ‘merely one row of fencing’, the pā at Poroutāwhao was in fact well protected from attack by regular British military forces.¹⁸⁴ As described by Cowan in his history of the New Zealand Wars, ‘the low hill upon which the palisaded stronghold was built was all but surrounded by miles of deep flax-swamps, threaded with slow-running watercourses, and dotted with lagoons swarming with wild ducks.’¹⁸⁵

At Poroutāwhao the fugitives from Pāuatahanui and Heretaunga benefited from the manaakitanga of what the local settlers John Inglis and James Duncan disparagingly termed the ‘heathen portion’ of Ngāti Whakarewa who were living ‘a little above Te Maire’ (modern day Shannon) on the Manawatū River. The Ngāti Whakarewa group gifted Te Rangihaeata ‘a quantity of potatoes’ to support the new arrivals until their own cultivations were ready for harvest.¹⁸⁶

Estimated by Government reports to number ‘between 50 and 60’, the fugitive group set to work improving the fortifications of Poroutāwhao pā and establishing potato plantations at various places along the lower Manawatū River.¹⁸⁷ Having taken care of their immediate needs for food and accommodation, the party also took steps to replenish their supplies of powder, ammunition and other necessities. On 18 April 1847, Te Rangihaeata led a raid on the premises of the Kāpiti trader Andrew Brown, from whom they took approximately 50 pounds of gunpowder, ‘a quantity of lead’ with bullet moulds, as well as ‘six muskets, three double-barrelled guns’ and a number of pistols. The raiders – whom Brown estimated to number ‘between 30 and 40’ – also ‘carried away the whole’ of his ‘bedding, clothing, provisions, and even . . . cooking utensils.’¹⁸⁸ Given that most of their household possessions

¹⁸² ‘Manawatu’, *Wellington Independent*, 14 October 1846, p 2, c 4,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wellington-independent/1846/10/14/2> (accessed 1 December 2019)

¹⁸³ John Inglis and James Duncan to His Honour Major Richmond, Superintendent for His Excellency Captain Grey, Lieutenant Governor, 4 October 1846, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, NM8 14, 1846/455A

¹⁸⁴ M Richmond, Superintendent, to the Colonial Secretary, 14 October 1846, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, IA1 52, 1846/1562, (R23519232)

¹⁸⁵ Cowan, p 133

¹⁸⁶ Inglis and Duncan to Richmond, 4 October 1846, NM8 14, 1846/455A, (R24463374)

¹⁸⁷ Richmond to the Colonial Secretary, 14 October 1846; Inglis and Duncan to Richmond, 4 October 1846; George Compton to Lieutenant Colonel Richmond, 5 October 1846, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, NM8 14, 1846/455A, (R24463374)

¹⁸⁸ ‘Deposition sworn by Andrew Brown to Henry St Hill, Resident Magistrate, 20 April 1847, Enclosure 2 in 0892.29 Copy of Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, Government House, Auckland (11 May 1847), *Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand. Correspondence with Governor Grey. Presented to both Houses*

had been either pillaged by settlers in Heretaunga or lost over the course of their flight from Pāuatahanui, it is unsurprising that the Ngāti Rangatahi members of Te Rangihaeata's raiding party may have taken the opportunity to help themselves to the stock of Brown's store room.

Having failed in his attempt to eliminate Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Rangatahi and their allies either at Pāuatahanui or over the course of their retreat over the hills between Battle Hill and Waikanae, Governor Grey considered launching a military offensive against the Manawatū.¹⁸⁹ Certainly, the settler press continued to see Te Rangihaeata and his 'followers' as a threat, with the *Wellington Independent* describing them as 'a depressed, but still dangerous and not to be despised party.'¹⁹⁰ In the end, delays in the arrival of promised reinforcements from New South Wales, and the difficulties posed by attacking a remote pā of unknown strength in winter, from which the defenders 'might simply' escape 'to the dense bush' upriver, led Grey and his commanding military officer to delay their plans for the 'occupation of the Manawatū.'¹⁹¹

Conducted over more than a month against (initially at least) overwhelming odds, across extremely difficult terrain, in often appalling weather conditions, Ngāti Rangatahi and Te Rangihaeata's retreat from Pāuatahanui to Poroutāwhao was both a brilliant military achievement and a great trauma for the people involved. In July 1848 Richard Taylor visited Battle Hill with Captain Andrew Hamilton Russell, one of the British officers who had been engaged in the campaign against the 'rebel' forces. Writing in his journal Taylor commented that Te Rangihaeata had 'effected his retreat in a most masterful manner' and noted that Captain Russell – who had served in India as well as New Zealand – had 'spoke of the military skill of Rangihaeata with great admiration.'¹⁹²

Largely unrecorded in official dispatches and military histories, the hardships suffered by the women and children who took part in the trek from Pāuatahanui to the Manawatū were nevertheless passed down within the families of those who had participated. At the Ngā

of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. December 1847. In continuation of the Papers presented by Command in January and June, 1847, (London), 1847, p 57

¹⁸⁹ Wards, p 289

¹⁹⁰ 'Manawatu', *Wellington Independent*, 14 October 1846, p 2, c 4

¹⁹¹ W McCleverty, Lieut-Col, Commanding Troops, New Zealand to His Excellency Governor Grey, 21 April 1847 and G Grey to Lieutenant-Colonel McCleverty, Commanding Troops, Southern District, New Zealand, 6 May 1847, Enclosure 2 in 0892.29 Copy of Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, Government House, Auckland (11 May 1847), *Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand. Correspondence with Governor Grey. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. December 1847. In continuation of the Papers presented by Command in January and June, 1847, (London), 1847, p 58*

¹⁹² Richard Taylor Journal, Micro-MS-0197-3, 21 July 1848

Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Tokorangi, Dr Ra Durie spoke of the experiences of his tūpuna Mihi-ki-Tūrangi who had taken part in the heke as a young girl. By Dr Durie's calculations Mihi-ki-Tūrangi – who died at Kākāriki in January 1939 – would have been 10 years old when she made the arduous trek.¹⁹³ Dr Durie's grandfather, however, reckoned that she had been just six, while Mihi-ki-Tūrangi's obituary, published in the *Manawatu Evening Standard* on 30 January 1939 reported that the 'chieftainess' had been born at 1838, making her either seven or eight years of age at the time of the long, difficult march from Pāuatahanui to Poroutāwhao.¹⁹⁴ Dr Durie confessed to having not known much about his great-great grandmother as a child apart from the searing fact 'that she had walked – she had been expelled from Heretaunga as a young girl.'¹⁹⁵

1.5 From Poroutāwhao to Rangitīkei

Ngāti Rangatahi stayed at Poroutāwhao long enough to harvest the cultivations they had planted along the Manawatū River. Having replenished their food supplies, they continued on to the Rangitīkei in 1847. According to Hamapiri Te Arahori, in his testimony to the Native Appellate Court in December 1896, the Ngāti Rangatahi party stopped first at Ohinepuhiawe (modern day Bulls), which in those days was on the southern side of the Rangitīkei River. From Ohinepuhiawe, the party moved downstream to Maramaihoea where they established a settlement. From Maramaihoea, Ngāti Rangatahi relocated up river to Kākāriki, where they remain to this day.¹⁹⁶

Maramaihoea

Ngāti Rangatahi's presence at Maramaihoea was noted by Richard Taylor in his journal entry of 29 January 1848 where he wrote that, after visiting Ngāti Apa at Parewanui (on the right or northern banks of the Rangitīkei River), he had crossed over to 'Marama te hoia, a small pa on the other side of the River built by a party of Rangiheata's men under Paerata [or Parata].'¹⁹⁷ The party of what Taylor described as 'hostile natives' received the missionary with 'great respect', asking him to baptize six of their children. Amongst the Ngāti Rangatahi

¹⁹³ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 113 (Ra Durie)

¹⁹⁴ 'Obituary: Chieftainess Mihi-Ki-Turangi Matawha', *Manawatu Standard*, 30 January 1939, p 8, c 3,

¹⁹⁵ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 111 (Ra Durie)

¹⁹⁶ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, f 300

¹⁹⁷ Richard Taylor Journal, 29 January 1848

children baptized by Taylor was the child of Te Pau who had led the attack on the Gillespie farmstead in the Hutt Valley and subsequently been killed during the retreat from Pāuatahanui.¹⁹⁸

Ngāti Rangatahi's settlement at Maramaihoa was intended not only to plant cultivations but also to establish ahi kā in the face of encroaching European settlement. As in the Hutt Valley, Ngāti Rangatahi asserted their rights of occupation and ownership not simply in their own right but also on behalf of Te Rangihaeata who claimed authority over all of the land from the Whangaehu River southwards.¹⁹⁹

The strategic significance of Ngāti Rangatahi's move to the Rangitīkei became clear when the Ngāti Apa chiefs offered to sell the land between the Whangaehu and Manawatū Rivers to the Crown's agent Donald McLean. Such a move was strongly opposed by Te Rangihaeata who, having already been 'driven' from 'Wairau . . . Heretaunga and Porirua', had no intention of being evicted from the Rangitīkei and Manawatū as well.²⁰⁰ Te Rangihaeata was supported by both the major chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa – including Te Ahukaramū and Taratoa – and the paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Heuheu Tūkino Iwikau. Iwikau, in particular, expressed vociferous opposition to the Crown's proposed transaction with Ngāti Apa, insisting upon Te Rangihaeata's right to retain control of the Rangitīkei and Manawatū, free from European encroachment.²⁰¹

Te Rangihaeata underlined his claim to the Rangitīkei by joining Ngāti Rangatahi at Maramaihoa in mid-1848.²⁰² In addition to reiterating his rights to the land by planting cultivations, Te Rangihaeata also asserted his authority by removing European settlers. In late June/early July 1848 Te Rangihaeata and his Ngāti Rangatahi allies burnt a number of houses belonging to Europeans who had been placed on the land by the Ngāti Apa chiefs.²⁰³ Amongst the houses destroyed was one belonging to a Doctor Best. Following the same pattern as at Wairau, Te Rangihaeata and his 'followers' (estimated by Donald McLean to number 'about sixty') first carefully removed the imported contents of the house before

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 29 January and 30 January 1848

¹⁹⁹ Draft of a letter from Donald McLean to His Excellency Lt Governor Eyre, Waikanae, 24 January 1849, Official letter book (Native land and Police). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: qMS-1210. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, p 13; Donald McLean, 'Meeting at Te Awahou Pa, Rangitīkei, Thursday 15 March 1849', Official Letter Book (Land Purchase), 27 Feb-23 May 1849, qMS-1211, p 31

²⁰⁰ Richard Taylor Journal, 12 January 1849

²⁰¹ Translation by Donald McLean of a letter from Te Heu Heu Iwikau to Donald McLean, Pukawa, 5 December 1848, p 19; Donald McLean, [Copy of letter to Governor George Grey], Wanganui July 1848, p 42

²⁰² Richard Taylor Journal, 1 July 1848

²⁰³ Otaki Minute Book 1E, f 609 (Ihakara Tukumarū)

setting fire to the local materials from which the building had been constructed. In so doing Te Rangihaeata – as he had at Wairau – asserted his authority over both the land upon which the house had been built and the produce from that land including wooden ‘planks or boarding.’²⁰⁴

While unsuccessful in preventing the Crown’s transaction with Ngāti Apa (which was completed over 15 and 16 May 1849), Ngāti Rangatahi’s presence, first at Maramaihoa and then at Kākāriki, helped to restrict the area of the purchase to the land between the Whangaehu and Rangitīkei rivers. Initially, Ngāti Apa had ‘unanimously’ agreed to offer a much larger area to the Government, including virtually all of the land between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū rivers.²⁰⁵ Ngāti Apa’s attempt to dispose of the land on both sides of the Rangitīkei was strongly opposed by both the Ngāti Raukawa hapū who were living on the land (including most notably Taratoa’s Ngāti Parewahawaha who would have been Ngāti Rangatahi’s hosts during their stay at Ohinepuhiwae, and who were, according to McLean, also ‘closely allied to Te Rangihaeata’ having been ‘previously’ placed on the land at Rangitīkei and Manawatū by him) and those who claimed rights over the land from Ōtaki.²⁰⁶

The inland boundary to the Rangitīkei-Turakina Purchase

In addition to helping to restrict the Crown’s transaction with Ngāti Apa to the northern side of the Rangitīkei River, Ngāti Rangatahi also played a part in the definition of the purchase’s upper, ‘inland’ boundary. According to the deed signed on 15 May 1849, Ngāti Apa agreed to ‘permanently hand over’ to the Crown all of their interests in the area bounded by the Rangitīkei and Turakina rivers.²⁰⁷ The extent of these interests upriver, and therefore the position of the Rangitīkei-Turakina purchase’s ‘inland’ boundary was, however, highly contested. While the Ngāti Apa chiefs insisted that their rights extended as far inland as Otarā (across the Rangitīkei River from modern day Ohingaiti), Te Rangihaeata and Te Heuheu Iwikau were adamant that the Crown’s purchase should terminate at the confluence of the

²⁰⁴ [Copy of letter to Governor George Grey], Wanganui July 1848. Official letter book (Police, and Native Lands). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877 : Papers. Ref: qMS-1208. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, p 21. /records/22848668 (accessed 5 December 2019)

²⁰⁵ Draft of a letter from Donald McLean to His Excellency Lt Governor Eyre, Waikanae, 24 January 1849, Official letter book (Native land and Police). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: qMS-1210. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, p 12, /records/22319226 (accessed 5 December 2019)

²⁰⁶ Donald McLean, ‘Meeting at Te Awahou Pa, Rangitikei, Thursday 15 March 1849’, Official Letter Book (Land Purchase), 27 Feb-23 May 1849, qMS-1211, pp 10-19, 23

²⁰⁷ Rangitikei-Turakina Deed, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, ABWN W5279 8102 Box 319, WGN 16, (R23446329)

Pourewa (Porewa) Stream and the Rangitīkei River (slightly downstream from Tokorangi, on the northern side of the Rangitīkei River).²⁰⁸

In order to make their point, Te Rangihaeata and Iwikau arranged for a pou or boundary marker to be erected at Pourewa to indicate the northern limits of the Crown's transaction with Ngāti Apa. The pou appears to have been initially put in place by the Ngāti Apa chief Panapa, who had broken with his tribe and become a staunch supporter of Te Rangihaeata.²⁰⁹ At the time of the pou's elevation, in May 1850, Panapa was cultivating land with Ngāti Rangatahi at Te Kauhanga (which was within the area of the Rangitīkei-Turakina purchase) while living with the Ngāti Rangatahi party in a pā they had constructed on the other side of the Rangitīkei River at Kākāriki.²¹⁰

A clear provocation both to Ngāti Apa and the colonial government (which since May the previous year had considered itself to be the legal owner of the contested land), Panapa and Ngāti Rangatahi's gesture received support from a group of Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae whom Iwikau had despatched downstream from Otārā to take possession of Pourewa on his and Te Rangihaeata's behalf.²¹¹ While McLean eventually succeeded in persuading the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae party to give up their claim, the party did not – as McLean had intended – return to Otārā, but instead simply crossed from the western to the eastern side of the Rangitīkei River, establishing a new settlement at Onepuehu.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Donald McLean, Inspector of Police, to the Colonial Secretary, New Plymouth, 15 [?] October 1849, Official Letter Book (Police and Land Purchase), 9 August 1849 to 30 October 1850, qMS-1212, p 9

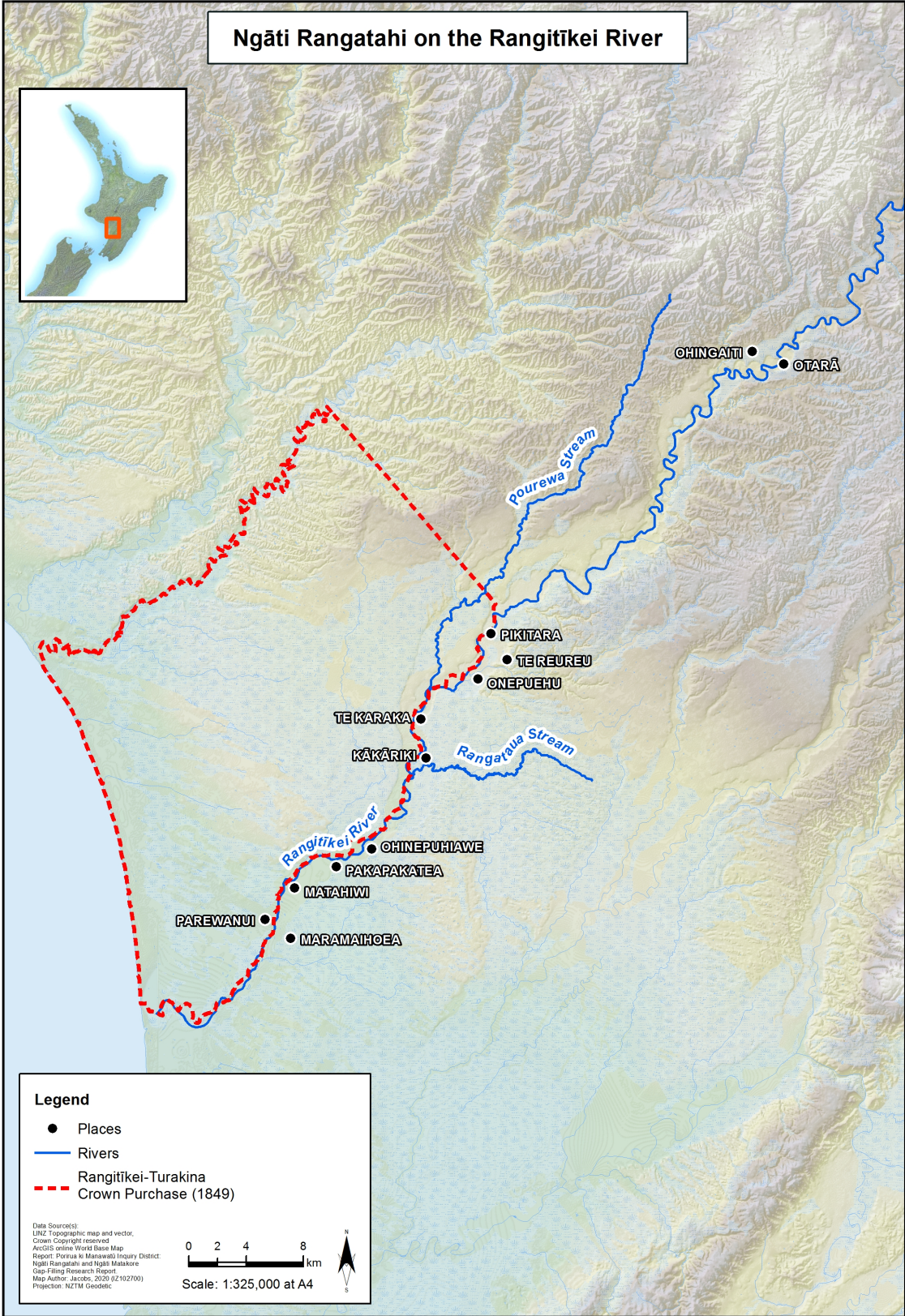
²⁰⁹ [McLean to Colonial Secretary], Whanganui, 13 May 1850, Official Letter Book (Police and Land Purchase), 9 August 1849 to 30 October 1850, qMS-1212, p 15

²¹⁰ Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 17 June to 17 August 1849', MS 1226, p 43; Draft of a letter from Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary, Manawatu, 6 August 1849, Official letter book (Native land and Police). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: qMS-1210. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/22319226](#) (accessed 10 December 2019), p 42

²¹¹ Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 19 July – 12 October 1850', MS 1229, p 23

²¹² Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 19 July – 12 October 1850', MS 1229, p 31; Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 19 July – 12 October 1850', MS 1229, pp 51-52

Ngāti Rangatahi on the Rangitīkei River



Legend

- Places
- Rivers
- - - Rangitīkei-Turakina Crown Purchase (1849)

Data Source(s):
 LINZ Topographic map and vector.
 Crown Copyright reserved.
 ArcGIS online World Base Map
 Report: Porua ki Manawatu Inquiry District:
 Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore
 Gap-Filling Research Report
 Map Author: Jacobs, 2020 (I2102700)
 Projection: NZTM Geodetic

0 2 4 8 km
 Scale: 1:325,000 at A4



Having successfully negotiated the removal of Iwikau's Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae contingent from Pourewa, McLean was obliged to agree to an inland boundary to the Rangitīkei-Turakina purchase that was acceptable to Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa as well as Ngāti Apa.²¹³ The inland boundary was eventually set by a delegation of Ngāti Raukawa and Whanganui chiefs who accompanied McLean to the agreed location, beginning at Te Houhou (or Te Whauwhau) on the Rangitīkei River. Although substantially further up river than Pourewa, Te Houhou was nevertheless a considerable distance downstream from Otarā, the starting point for the border initially claimed by the Ngāti Apa chiefs on the Crown's behalf.²¹⁴

In laying down the agreed inland boundary to the Rangitīkei-Turakina purchase, McLean was careful to record the agreement, not only of the Whanganui and Ngāti Raukawa chiefs but also Ngāti Rangatahi, a group he had previously dismissed as 'squatters.'²¹⁵ Ngāti Rangatahi were not only named in the notice that McLean had placed in a sealed bottle at the eastern starting point of the new boundary, but also explicitly included in the formal document, signed by Ngāti Apa on 22 May 1852, acknowledging their agreement to the inland boundary.²¹⁶ The formal document noted that the boundary had been set by McLean, his surveyors and 'the chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Rangatahi and Whanganui and other parts of the inland Rangitīkei area, at the village known as Te Houhou.'²¹⁷

Kākāriki

Testifying to the Native Land Court and Native Appellate Court in August 1894 and December 1896 respectively, Reweti Te Rakaherea and Hamapiri Te Arahori both maintained that Ngāti Rangatahi had first settled at Kākāriki in 1847. Te Rakaherea told the Native Land Court that Ngāti Rangatahi had come to Kākāriki in two groups. The first group had occupied the land along the Rangataua Stream in 1847, while the second 'came in 1848

²¹³ Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary, Wanganui, 17 August 1850, Official Letter Book (Police and Land Purchase), 9 August 1849 to 30 October 1850, qMS-1212, p 39

²¹⁴ Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 19 July – 12 October 1850', MS 1229, pp 48-59; Donald McLean, Land Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary, Manawatu, 17 September 1850, Official Letter Book (Police and Land Purchase), 9 August 1849 to 30 October 1850, qMS-1212, p 44

²¹⁵ Draft of a letter from Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary, Manawatu, 6 August 1849, Official letter book (Native land and Police). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: qMS-1210. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/22319226](#), p 4

²¹⁶ Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 19 July – 12 October 1850', MS 1229, pp 54-55

²¹⁷ Receipt for Final Payment for Rangitīkei-Turakina Purchase, 22 May 1852, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, ABWN W5279 8102 Box 320, WGN 28, (R23446341) Translation by Piripi Walker, licensed translator.

with [Te] Rangihaeata.²¹⁸ In his testimony to the Native Appellate Court in 1896, Hamapiri Te Arahori listed the names of 14 members of Ngāti Rangatahi (including himself) who had settled the land around Kākāriki in 1847.²¹⁹

Ngāti Rangatahi's shift upriver was remarked upon by Donald McLean in August 1849. On 1 August McLean noted that Te Rangihaeata's Ngāti Apa supporter Panapa was intending to cultivate land at Te Kauhanga (which appears to have been in the vicinity of the Pourewa Stream, on the other side of the river from Kākāriki) with 'the Ngati Rangatahi tribe' who had 'fought with Rangī [Te Rangihaeata] at the Hutt and who kept possession there for so many years.'²²⁰ McLean visited Panapa and Ngāti Rangatahi a few days later. In a draft letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated 6 August 1849, McLean reported that having 'proceeded up the Rangitikei plains from Parewanui' he had visited Panapa at Kauhanga before crossing the Rangitikei River 'to a Pa occupied by Panapa and a party of the Ngati Rangatahi tribe.'²²¹

Like their initial settlement at Maramaihoia, Ngāti Rangatahi's move upriver to Kākāriki appears to have been made in support of Te Rangihaeata's assertion of mana over the Rangitikei in the face of European settlement and Crown land purchasing activity. In his journal entry for 9 August 1849, McLean noted that Te Rangihaeata had named 'a spot' at the junction of the Pourewa Stream and the Rangitikei River, thereby asserting his mana over the location.²²² The location named by Te Rangihaeata appears to have been the place where Panapa, undoubtedly acting with Ngāti Rangatahi's agreement and support, raised the pou referred to in the previous section marking the northern most extremity of the area purchased by the Crown from Ngāti Apa. Raised on Te Rangihaeata's behalf, the pou planted by Panapa and Ngāti Rangatahi at Pourewa carried the names of both Te Rangihaeata and the Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa chief Taratoa, and indicated – as McLean put it in a letter to the Colonial Secretary – 'that opposition would be offered to an extension of the boundary beyond that spot.'²²³

Ngāti Rangatahi may have also moved from Maramaihoia to Kākāriki to put some distance between themselves and the larger Ngāti Apa community at Parewanui. In December 1848, Richard Taylor had written in his journal that Ngāti Rangatahi were 'wavering in their

²¹⁸ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 425

²¹⁹ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, f 292

²²⁰ Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 17 June to 17 August 1849', MS 1226, p 43

²²¹ Draft of a letter from Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary, Manawatu, 6 August 1849, Official letter book (Native land and Police). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: qMS-1210, p 42

²²² Donald McLean, 'Diary and Maori Notes, 17 June to 17 August 1849', MS 1226, p 43

²²³ [McLean to Colonial Secretary], Whanganui, 13 May 1850, Official Letter Book (Police and Land Purchase), p 15

determination whether to stay' at Maramaihoea where he believed they were 'only living by sufferance.'²²⁴ Certainly, the Parewanui chiefs did not appreciate the Ngāti Rangatahi group's intervention in their interactions with European settlers and the colonial government. Having already burnt the houses of several settlers, the Ngāti Rangatahi 'squatters' infuriated the Ngāti Apa chiefs further by hiring themselves out to the Porirua settler John Wade and erecting a house on his behalf while the Parewanui people were away in Whanganui receiving their share of the payment for the Rangitīkei-Turakina Crown purchase.²²⁵

In August 1849 McLean reported that Ngāti Rangatahi and Panapa had 'disappointed' the Parewanui chiefs further by taking the business of Francis Skipwith who was establishing a sheep station on a portion of the newly-purchased block.²²⁶ Having received notice of the arrival of Mr Skipwith's overseer and his flock, Ngāti Rangatahi had availed themselves of the opportunity to help 'conduct' the sheep to a location that they and Panapa had selected. According to Hamapiri Te Arahori, the young people of Ngāti Rangatahi had then found employment building fences for a European runholder at Turangawakani (near modern-day Bulls).²²⁷

Despite the unbending opposition of Te Rangihaeata, the chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa had eventually agreed to the colonial government's purchase of Rangitīkei-Turakina from Ngāti Apa on the condition that the area acquired by the Crown, and the extent of Ngāti Apa's claims, should be restricted to the northern or right side of the Rangitīkei River. The Ngāti Raukawa chiefs were very explicit about this. At the hui held at Te Awahou pā on the Rangitīkei River on 15 March 1849 to discuss the Crown's transaction with Ngāti Apa, the leading Raukawa chiefs of both the Manawatū and Ōtaki reiterated again and again that the proposed purchase must extend no further than the Rangitīkei River.²²⁸ Taratoa, for example, told the hui that while he was willing to allow the Crown's purchase of the 'north side' of the Rangitīkei, he intended to 'hold' the southern or Manawatū side and 'never . . . give it up.'²²⁹ Turning to McLean, the Ngāti Parewahawaha chief cautioned him against attempting to extend the purchase to the southern side of the river if he wished 'to have peace.' 'I will hold

²²⁴ Richard Taylor Journal, 2 December 1848

²²⁵ Draft of a letter from Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary, Manawatu, 6 August 1849, Official letter book (Native land and Police). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: qMS-1210, p 40

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p 41

²²⁷ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, ff 300-301

²²⁸ Meeting at Te Awahou Pa, Rangitikei, Thursday 15 March 1849, Official Letter Book (Land Purchase), 27 Feb-23 May 1849, qMS-1211, pp 10-19, 23

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p 13

all this side,' Taratoa told the Crown official, 'and the other side will be yours. Rangitīkei, Rangitīkei, Rangitīkei shall be the boundary.'²³⁰

The Ōtaki chiefs were even more emphatic in their determination to retain the southern side of the Rangitīkei, threatening to defend it by force of arms if necessary. Kingi Te Ahu Ahu warned McLean against attempting to 'trespass' on the land, while the great Raukawa chief Te Ahu Karamu stated that if the colonial government wished to take the southern side of the Rangitīkei from Ngāti Raukawa, the tribe would 'go to the Governor and declare in open day that we shall fight for it, in open day light when the sun is shining.'²³¹

The task of maintaining Ngāti Raukawa's Rangitīkei River boundary from European settler and Ngāti Apa encroachment fell, first and foremost, to the Raukawa-affiliated hapū who were living on the southern side of the river. The most prominent of these was Taratoa's Ngāti Parewahawaha whom McLean described as 'a turbulent branch of the Ngāti Raukawa tribe, closely allied to Rangihaeata' who had been 'previously invited by him to reside at Manawatū.'²³² Ngāti Parewahawaha occupied the southern banks of the Rangitīkei from Ohinepuhiawe (modern day Bulls) downriver to Matahiwi, Mangamahoe and Poutu.²³³

Upriver from Ohinepuhiawe, Ngāti Raukawa's northern boundary was held by the groups that had travelled to the Rangitīkei to defend the claims of Te Rangihaeata and Te Heuheu Iwikau. As we have seen, the Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae party that had travelled down from Otarā on Iwikau's behalf had established themselves at Onepuehu. The party subsequently constructed a fortified pā at Te Reureu, on the high ground overlooking the Rangitīkei River. According to Eruini Paranihi's testimony to the Native Appellate Court (in December 1896) this pā was built to defend the land 'against Ngāti Apa.'²³⁴

Downriver from Onepuehu the Ngāti Rangatahi people who had been driven from Heretaunga and Pāuatahanui, and had come to the Rangitīkei to assert Te Rangihaeata's mana over the district, established themselves at Kākāriki. As we shall see, they were joined by a section of Ngāti Matakore who occupied Te Karaka (upstream from Kākāriki on the Rangitīkei River) and the banks of the Rangataua Stream, just below Kākāriki.

In 1854 Ngāti Rangatahi once again came into conflict with Ngāti Apa over tōtara logs that had been carried down the Rangitīkei River in a flood. As recounted by Ngāti Tukorehe's

²³⁰ Ibid., p 15, 18

²³¹ Ibid., pp 18-19, 23

²³² Ibid., p 22

²³³ Native Lands Court, Wellington. Rangitikei-Manawatu Claims Notes of Evidence, pp 106-107 (Aperahama Te Huruheru)

²³⁴ Wanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, p 249 (Eruini Paranihi)

Hare Hemi Taharape before the Native Land Court in the 1868 Himatangi case, Ngāti Rangatahi ‘took possession’ of the logs which Ngāti Apa claimed belonged to them (it is not clear from which side of the river the trees had originally been cut).²³⁵ Ngāti Apa responded to what they considered to be the theft of their property by sending an armed party across to the southern side of the Rangitīkei and cutting down some more tōtara at Pakapakatea (near today’s Ōhakea air force base). This encroachment was resisted by the local Ngāti Raukawa-aligned hapū led by Āperahama Te Huruheru of Ngāti Parewahawaha. The Ngāti Raukawa hapū underlined their assertion of ownership by cultivating on the contested land. Ngāti Apa – who did not recognize Ngāti Raukawa’s Rangitīkei River boundary – retaliated in turn by burning the Ngāti Raukawa plantations and planting their own crops instead. The Ngāti Raukawa hapū then ‘planted potatoes on top of the corn’ that had been planted by Ngāti Apa.²³⁶ The dispute continued for some time, with either side removing the other’s crops and planting their own, until the matter was finally settled at a hui between the contending tribes held at Maramaihoa.²³⁷

After 1854 Ngāti Rangatahi disappear from the archival record for more than a decade. Following the years of confrontation and outright conflict with European settlers and the Government, the survivors of Wairau, Heretaunga, Pāuatahanui and Battle Hill would have no doubt appreciated being away from the gaze of colonial officials. During these years of relative peace the Ngāti Rangatahi community continued to live at Kākāriki, maintaining Ngāti Raukawa’s northern, Rangitīkei boundary, and developing their own ahi kā rights of occupation.

²³⁵ Otaki Minute Book No 1C, f 242 (Hare Hemi Taharape)

²³⁶ Otaki Minute Book No 1C, ff 238-240 (Parakaia Te Pouepa)

²³⁷ Ibid.; Otaki Minute Book No 1D, ff 426-427 (Aperahama Te Huruheru)

2. Ngāti Matakore

2.1 The Origins of Ngāti Matakore

Ngāti Matakore take their name from their tūpuna Matakore. Matakore was the child of Rereahu and his second wife Hineapounamu. Altogether, Rereahu and Hineapounamu had eight children, the oldest of whom was Maniapoto and the second was Matakore (Rereahu already had one child named Ihingārangi from his first marriage with Rangiānewa).²³⁸ Matakore and his descendants inhabited the land along the Waipā River, from Kakepuku (between Te Awamutu and Ōtorohanga) in the north, to the river's source in the Rangitoto Ranges east of Te Kuiti.²³⁹ Blessed with an abundance of food sources, including 'the great Te Kāwa swamps at the foot of the hill Kakepuku' which were rich with eels, and the Rangitoto Ranges that were full of an abundance of bird life, Ngāti Matakore 'became a large and prosperous tribe'.²⁴⁰

The extent of Ngāti Matakore's possessions within Ngāti Maniapoto's wider rohe, was set out by the Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Maniapoto chief Te Hauauru Poutama before the Native Land Court at the great Te Rohe Potae hearing at Ōtorohanga in September 1886. Laying claim to the land from Rangitoto and Tūhua in the south to Kakepuku and Puketarata in the north, Te Hauauru detailed the many pā that had been built and occupied by his people along the Waipā River and elsewhere, the bird snaring places that were used by Ngāti Matakore at Purakia and Rangitoto, and the tribe's numerous eel weirs and other fishing places.²⁴¹

The section of Ngāti Matakore that settled along the Rangitīkei River in the middle of the nineteenth-century continued to maintain important connections with the iwi's ancestral lands between the Waipā and Waikato Rivers. In July 1896, members of the Rangitīkei community joined their Ngāti Pīkiahū neighbours in unsuccessfully petitioning Parliament in the hope of preventing the subdivision of the vast Rangitoto-Tūhua block by the Native Land Court. The petitioners were hoping to keep their ancestral land intact and in tribal, rather than European

²³⁸ Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The traditional history of the Tainui People. Nga koorero tuku iho a nga tupuna*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press), 1995 (paperback edition 2004), p 170

²³⁹ Ibid., p 194; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims. Pre-Publication Version. Parts I and II*, (Waitangi Tribunal), 2018, p 55

²⁴⁰ Pei Te Hurinui, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King*, (Wellington, The Polynesian Society and Huia Press), 2010, p 122; Jones and Biggs, p 194

²⁴¹ Ōtorohanga Minute Book No 1, ff 271-280 (Hauauru Poutama)

or Crown ownership.²⁴² The connection between Ngāti Matakore ki Rangitīkei and their ancestral whenua continues to be nurtured to this day, with members of the community maintaining links with what is left of their tribe’s ancestral land in the Rangitoto Ranges.²⁴³



²⁴² Petition from Parahi of Ngati Pikiahu and 13 others to Te Pirimia, Te Reureu, Marton, Hurae 1896, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, J1 560 g, 1896/1014, (R24568088)

²⁴³ Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawātū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014’, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p 98 (Dennis Emery)

2.2 How Ngāti Matakore Came to the Rangitīkei

Tumanako Herangi tells us that the Ngāti Matakore community at Te Reureu trace their whakapapa back to the children of Matakore's great-grandchild Manukipureora. Manukipureroa's parents were Tuheao, who was Matakore's granddaughter, and Marungaehe who was a grandson of Maniapoto. Manukipureora had seven children who are the tupuna of 'many families in Te Reureu.'²⁴⁴ Genealogically speaking, therefore, the Ngāti Matakore community at Te Reureu are the descendants of both Matakore and his older brother Maniapoto.

Migration to the Lower North Island

Speaking at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Tokorangi in May 2014, Mura Karatea Winchcombe told the Porirua ki Manawatū Tribunal that 'the descendants of Ngāti Matakore all have different stories as to when and why they came to the land of Te Karaka' on the southern banks of the lower Rangitīkei River.²⁴⁵ One of these stories is that a portion of Ngāti Matakore migrated south with Te Rauparaha. Turoa Karatea told the Tribunal that, while the majority had arrived later, 'some' of Ngāti Matakore had come to the lower North Island as part of Te Rauparaha's Te Heke Mai-i-raro.²⁴⁶

According to John Reweti, who also spoke at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho at Tokorangi, Ngāti Matakore had fought alongside Te Rangihaeata (and the other Te Reureu hapū) at the battle of Pikitara in the mid-1820s. Ngāti Matakore's involvement in this battle is important because, according to the Te Reureu people's oral tradition, it was here that they established their rights to their land by defeating Ngāti Apa, and – as John Reweti put it – clearing them 'out of this area.'²⁴⁷

Other kōrero suggests that parts of Ngāti Matakore came to the lower North Island as part of subsequent migrations and war parties, alongside Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Ms Karatea-Winchcombe told the Tribunal that the story passed on to her by her mother was that Ngāti Matakore had 'sought refuge in the land of Te Rauparaha' in the wake of Ngā Puhī's invasion of the Waikato and King Country region in 1822. Equipped with their traditional weapons, the Ngāti Matakore warriors (along with their Maniapoto relatives) were

²⁴⁴ Tumanako Herangi, 'Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae', p 23

²⁴⁵ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 94-95 (Mura Karatea Winchcombe)

²⁴⁶ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 86 & 91 (Turoa Karatea)

²⁴⁷ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 42-43 (John Reweti)

‘no match’ for the musket-armed Ngā Puhi army.²⁴⁸ Although the Ngā Puhi invaders were eventually defeated and driven off, part of Ngāti Matakore decided to avoid the risk of further incursions by joining the migration to the lower North Island.²⁴⁹

Although the archival material on Ngāti Matakore’s migration to the Rangitīkei is extremely sparse, there is evidence that part of the tribe may have joined the first of Ngāti Raukawa’s three famous heke to the Kāpiti coast. Known as Te Heke Whirinui, the migration travelled down the Rangitīkei River as far as the sea before continuing along the coast to Kāpiti. Giving evidence in the Native Land Court’s second hearing of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū case at Wellington in July 1869, the Ngāti Parewahawaha chief Āperahama Te Huruhuru (who had himself participated in the heke) testified that the migration had consisted of 340 people, including a contingent from Ngāti Matakore. According to Te Huruhuru, the Ngāti Matakore party had ‘killed some people at Manawatū’ and ‘captured some women.’²⁵⁰

Unfortunately, neither Āperahama Te Huruhuru nor any of the other witnesses who gave evidence before the Native Land Court in the July 1869 hearing made any further recorded reference to Ngāti Matakore. Te Huruhuru did, however, explain that Ngāti Parewahawaha and the other participants in Te Heke Whirinui had decided ‘to seek the protection of Te Rauparaha’ because they ‘had no guns’ and were being threatened by Waikato (who apparently did possess firearms).²⁵¹ Te Huruhuru’s explanation corresponds in part with the story that was passed on to Ms Karatea Winchcombe by her mother many decades later. In both accounts Ngāti Matakore (and the other participants in Te Heke Whirinui) were obliged to join Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa in the lower North Island on account of their lack of firearms and the danger posed by an imminent threat from those who did. In the story provided to Ms Karatea Winchcombe this danger came from Ngā Puhi, while in Āperahama Te Huruhuru’s testimony to the Native Land Court it was from Waikato.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p 94

²⁴⁹ Pei Te Hurinui, *King Pōtatau*, pp 118-120

²⁵⁰ Native Lands Court, Wellington, Rangitīkei-Manawatu Claims: Notes of Evidence, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitīkei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949), f 99 (Āperahama Te Huruhuru)

²⁵¹ Ibid., f 97

²⁵² Ibid.; Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 94 (Mura Karatea Winchcombe)

Another story is that the Ngāti Matakore who eventually settled at Te Karaka came to the lower North Island as part of the force that came to relieve Te Rauparaha and his Ngāti Raukawa relatives at Haowhenua in 1834. The battle had begun as a skirmish between Ngāti Raukawa, on one side, and the Taranaki iwi Ngāti Ruanui supported by Ngāti Awa, on the other, but escalated into a much larger conflict. Surrounded and facing starvation, the Ngāti Raukawa forces were eventually rescued by a combined force of Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tūwharetoa led by Taonui Hikaka and Te Heuheu Tūkino Mananui (Iwikau's older brother).²⁵³

In his testimony to the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Tokorangi, Tūroa Karatea told the Tribunal that while some of Ngāti Matakore may have migrated earlier, 'the majority of them came down with Tūwharetoa'.²⁵⁴ The connection between the battle of Haowhenua and the settlement of Te Reureu was also emphasised by Tame Tuwhangai, albeit from the Ngāti Maniapoto rather than Ngāti Tūwharetoa perspective. Speaking for the Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association at the Tokorangi hui, Mr Tuwhangai maintained that the land eventually occupied by Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore at Te Reureu had been gifted by Te Rauparaha as utu or payment for the Maniapoto blood that had been spilt at Haowhenua.²⁵⁵

How Ngāti Matakore came to the Rangitīkei

Appearing before the Native Land Court and Native Appellate Court in 1894 and 1896 witnesses differed as to the date and circumstances in which Ngāti Matakore (referred to by the courts as Ngāti Maniapoto) had settled their portion of the Reureu Reserve. While some maintained that Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore had come together as a single group, others argued that the greater part of Ngāti Matakore did not arrive until 'long after' Ngāti Rangatahi.²⁵⁶

Giving evidence on Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's behalf before the Native Appellate Court, Hamapiri Te Arahori insisted that the two groups had arrived at Kākāriki and Te Karaka at the same time, 'in one party', in 1847.²⁵⁷ Hamapiri listed six members of

²⁵³ Angela Ballara, *Taua: 'Musket wars,' 'land wars' or tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early-Nineteenth Century*, (Auckland, Penguin Books), 1983, pp 349-350; Otaki Minute Book No 1D, ff 394-395 (Nopera Te Ngihā); Otaki Minute Book No 1E, ff 571-572

²⁵⁴ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 91

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p 151

²⁵⁶ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 425

²⁵⁷ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, f 300

Ngāti Maniapoto (Ngāti Matakore) who had accompanied Ngāti Rangatahi including Rāwiri Te Koha, Te Katoa, and Pumipi.²⁵⁸ Under cross examination, he then outlined how the combined group had come from Heretaunga where they had been ‘driven away’ to Porirua. From there, the group retreated to Poroutāwhao before travelling on to Ohinepuhiawe, Maramaihoa and eventually Te Karaka and Kākāriki.²⁵⁹

Hamapiri’s claim that Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore (whom he referred to as Ngāti Maniapoto) had arrived at Te Reureu as a single group from Heretaunga was contradicted by Wineti Paranihi who testified at the 1896 Native Appellate Court hearing on behalf of Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae. While recognising that Rāwiri Te Koha, the leader of the Ngāti Matakore community that settled at Te Karaka, had indeed participated alongside Ngāti Rangatahi and Te Rangihaeata in the running battle between Pāuatahanui and Poroutāwhao, Wineti denied that Rāwiri had come to Te Reureu at the head of a larger group. Instead, Wineti claimed that the Ngāti Matakore leader had arrived on his own from Turangawaikani, on the opposite side of the Rangitīkei River, after falling out with his relatives. It was only after he had established kāinga at Te Karaka and Rangataua, that Rāwiri was joined by supporters from Waikato and Whanganui.²⁶⁰

At the Native Land Court’s 1894 investigation into who should be compensated for the Railway Department’s taking of land for the Kākāriki Ballast pit, Hona Manuera (the witness for Ngāti Matakore) claimed that Rangatahi and Matakore had lived together with Rāwiri Te Koha as their ‘elder’ chief.²⁶¹ Ngāti Rangatahi’s witness Reweti Te Rakaherea, however, had insisted that what he called Ngāti Maniapoto had arrived after Ngāti Rangatahi in a number of isolated groups. While Rāwiri Te Koha had come from Porirua, other members of the Ngāti Matakore community had arrived from Otarā further up the Rangitīkei River while still others had come from the Waikato.²⁶²

Given the oppositional nature of the Native Land Court and Native Appellate Court processes it is not surprising that contending witness should have disagreed over the circumstances in which Ngāti Matakore had come to settle the lower part of the Reureu Reserve. Despite their obvious differences, however, each account contains elements that can be partially corroborated from other sources. Evidence that Rāwiri Te Koha, at least, had been part of the Ngāti Rangatahi party from Heretaunga, and had been living with them at

²⁵⁸ Ibid, f 292

²⁵⁹ Ibid

²⁶⁰ Ibid., ff 264-265, 269, 280

²⁶¹ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 425

²⁶² Ibid

Maramaihoia before moving to Te Karaka and Kākāriki was provided by none other than Donald McLean. On 2 April 1849, McLean recorded meeting with ‘the young Mokau Chief Wiremu Te Pukapuka’ who, according to McLean, was living with ‘the Ngāti Rangatahi tribe’ at Poutu (near Maramaihoia). Pukapuka sought McLean’s advice as to whether he should remain living with Ngāti Rangatahi at Rangitīkei or return to his Ngāti Maniapoto relatives at Mōkau. After expressing the opinion that ‘as long as his behaviour was good’, Pukapuka ‘might please himself as to whether he remained or returned to his own country’, McLean had been interrupted by an individual named Rāwiri who ‘spoke loudly’ against the Crown’s purchase of any further land from Ngāti Apa (who were in the process of completing the Rangitīkei-Turakina purchase), warning that ‘it would cause war with Mōkau [Te Rangihaeata].’²⁶³ According to McLean, Rāwiri was a staunch supporter of Te Rangihaeata who had ‘aided’ him in the Hutt War and was now on his way to Kāwhia. While we cannot be entirely sure one way or the other, it seems likely that the Rāwiri referred to in McLean’s diary may indeed have been Ngāti Matakore’s Rāwiri Te Koha. Rāwiri Te Koha was sufficiently closely connected to Ngāti Rangatahi to be mistaken for a member of that tribe in the ‘Analysis of [the] List of Claimants’ to Rangitīkei-Manawatū prepared for the Native Land Court in 1869.²⁶⁴

In addition to those who travelled from the Waikato down to the west coast of the lower North Island in one or other of the various migrations and military expeditions prior to 1840, it is likely that the Ngāti Matakore community on the Rangitīkei was also supplemented by members who had arrived after the establishment of colonial government. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the Rangitīkei in the latter part of the 1840s became an area of crucial strategic importance: both in the Crown’s campaign to open up the lower North Island to European settlement, and in the efforts of Māori leaders such as Te Rangihaeata and Te Heuheu Tūkino Iwikau to place limits on colonial expansion. Even after McLean’s successful completion of the Crown’s purchase of Rangitīkei-Turakina, the Rangitīkei River remained a highly-contested boundary between those who looked to foster further Crown land purchasing and European settlement, and those who sought to resist it.

²⁶³ Diary, Maori notes and draft letters – 187 papers written 4 Mar-13 May 1848, 16 Mar-8 April 1849, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-1220, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE2083290 (accessed 12 December 2019)

²⁶⁴ ‘Analysis of List of Claimants Rangitikei Manawatu’, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitikei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949)

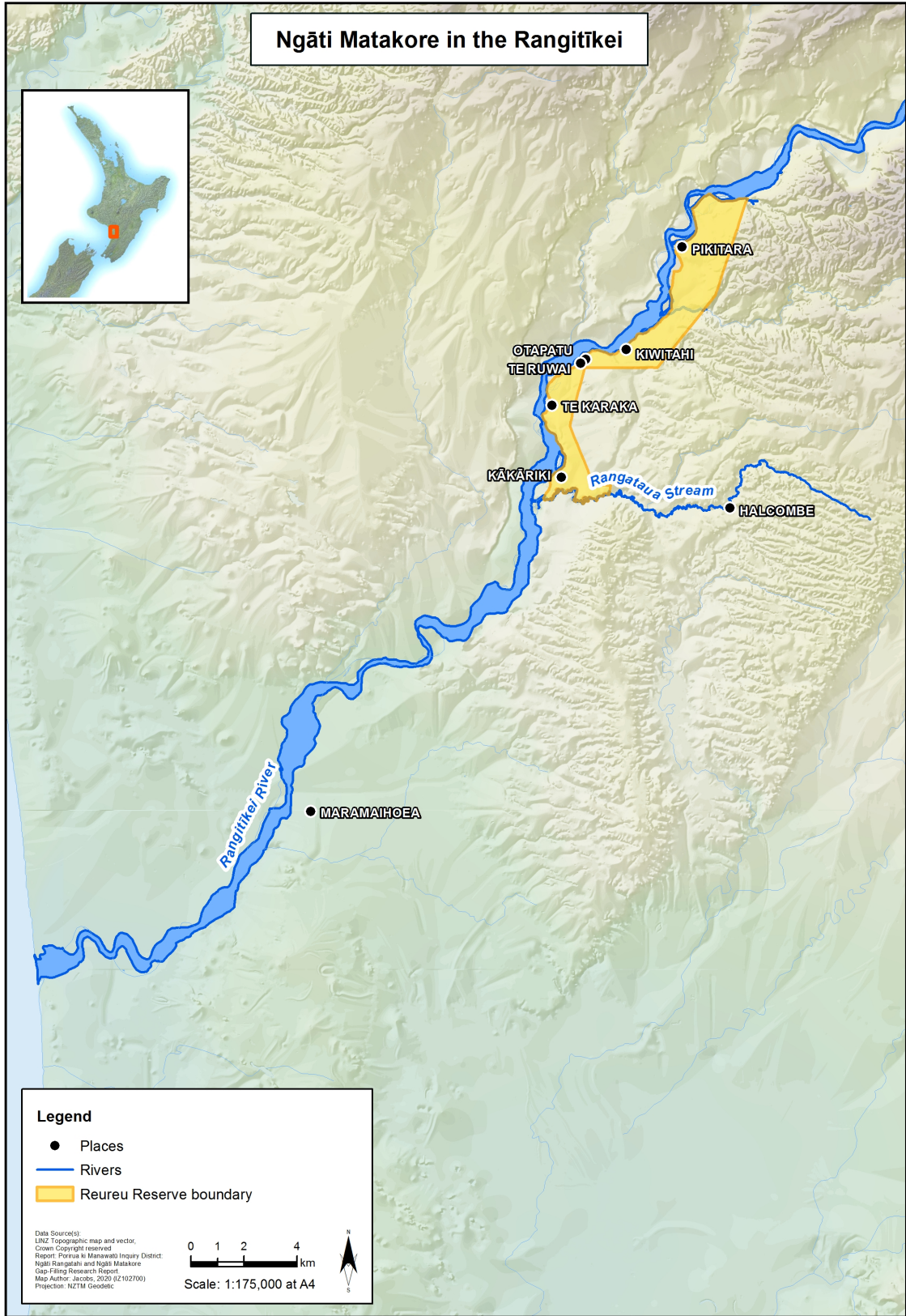
Writing to Governor Grey from Whanganui in July 1848, McLean warned that Te Rangihaeata was calling upon ‘hordes of Taupo and other natives’ to ‘join him in taking possession of the land’ at Rangitikei in order – as McLean put it – ‘to keep possession of the country and thereby prevent . . . any Europeans from settling there.’²⁶⁵ As we have seen, Te Rangihaeata’s placement of Ngāti Rangatahi first at Maramaihoea and then at Kākāriki was part of this strategy, as was Te Heuheu Tūkino Iwikau’s dispatching of Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae from Otārā to Pourewa, Onepuehu and Te Reureu. It is likely that other parties from the North Island’s interior may have also responded to Te Rangihaeata’s call, relocating themselves with already existing communities such as those living at Te Reureu. This is how Reweti Te Rakaherea and Wineti Paranihi described the steady increase in size of the Ngāti Matakore community at Te Karaka and Rangataua, with Rāwiri Te Koha and the Ngāti Rangatahi contingent from Heretaunga being joined by a steady trickle of individuals from the Waikato and Whanganui.²⁶⁶

The combined communities of Te Reureu – Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae, as well as Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi – would continue to play this role as a point of attraction for those who were intent on resisting the expansion of European settlement and the increasing power of the colonial government. In addition to providing sanctuary for those who had engaged in the wars with the British Army in the Taranaki and Waikato (in which they themselves participated), the communities of Te Reureu were also a refuge to the followers of Te Kooti Arikirangi, as well as to the Whanganui prophet Te Kere Ngataierua who is said to have provided the carvings to Te Tikanga whareniui at Tokorangi.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ [Copy of a letter to Governor George Grey], Wanganui, July 1844 and Draft Letter to His Excellency the Governor, Wanganui, 15 July 1848, Official letter book (Police, and Native Lands). McLean, Donald (Sir), 1820-1877 : Papers. Ref: qMS-1208. Alexander Turnbull Library, [/records/22848668](#) (accessed 12 December 2019)

²⁶⁶ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, f 269

²⁶⁷ David Young, ‘Te Kere, Ngatai-e-rua ?-1901’, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Volume Two. 1870-1900*, (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs), 1993, p 518



2.3 Te Karaka and Rangataua

While we may not know exactly how the Ngāti Matakore group came to what was to become the Reureu Reserve, we do know that that they eventually settled with Ngāti Rangatahi in the lower part of the reserve. In their evidence before the Native Appellate Court in December 1896 both Hamapiri Te Arahori and Wineti Paranihi agreed that Rāwiri Te Koha's party (referred to by them as Ngāti Maniapoto but known today as Ngāti Matakore) established permanent settlements at Te Karaka and Mangamutu, both of which are up river from Kākāriki.²⁶⁸ Hamapiri also claimed that Ngāti Maniapoto/Ngāti Matakore had settlements further upstream at Te Ruwai, Otapatu and Kiwitahi.²⁶⁹

In addition to their settlements above Kākāriki, Rāwiri Te Koha's community also cultivated the fertile land along the Rangataua (Rangitawa) Stream as far inland from the Rangitīkei River as modern-day Halcombe. A 'considerable amount' of these kūmara cultivations were lost to the Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi communities when they were cut out of the Reureu Reserve when the reserve's inland boundary was set by Donald McLean in February 1872.²⁷⁰

The Ngāti Matakore community's principal kāinga was at Te Karaka and was known as Te Marae o Hine. Mura Karatea Winchcombe told the Tribunal that Te Marae o Hine consisted of three river terraces or plateaus. The first of these, the flat land next to the Rangitīkei River, was where Ngāti Matakore originally settled, while the second terrace was where the community's dead were buried. Flooding of the Rangitīkei River at the end of the nineteenth century forced the Ngāti Matakore community to abandon its original settlement and move to the third or highest terrace.²⁷¹ It was here that the Te Marae o Hine whareniui stood until it was tragically burnt down in 1968.²⁷²

Hemi Te Peeti told the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Te Tikanga Marae that the name Te Marae o Hine had been carried down by Ngāti Matakore from their ancestral home in the King Country. The original Te Marae o Hine, which is located at Otewa near Ōtorohanga, had been the marae of Rereahu's youngest child Te Rongorito. Te Rongorito's mana was such that her marae became a place of peace and sanctuary, 'where enemies could go' and

²⁶⁸ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, ff 265 (Wineti Paranihi) & 294-295 (Hamapiri Te Arahori)

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p 295 (Hamapiri Te Arahori)

²⁷⁰ Ibid., pp 297 and 304 (Hamapiri Te Arahori)

²⁷¹ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 94-95

²⁷² Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi Site Visit on 18 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7(a), p 15

‘where fighting was not allowed.’²⁷³ According to the Tribunal’s member Tania Simpson (who is herself Ngāti Maniapoto, and visited Te Marae o Hine with the rest of the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry panel as part of a site visit on 18 May 2014) Te Rongorito’s marae was also a refuge for women and a place for healing.²⁷⁴ Mr Te Peeti told the Tribunal that the Ngāti Matakore community at Te Karaka adopted the name Te Marae o Hine not only to honour their ancestress (who was Matakore and Maniapoto’s sister) but also to evoke the peaceful essence of the original marae.²⁷⁵

In his address to the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui at Te Tikanga Marae, Puruhe Smith told how the ‘sacred soil’ from the original Te Marae o Hine at Otewa had been carried down to the new Te Marae o Hine at Te Karaka. After the wharenuī at Te Karaka burnt down in 1968 the kuia of the marae ‘took the sacred soil of Te Marae o Hine’ to Palmerston North where the Square in the centre of the city is also known as Te Marae o Hine (having been given the name by Matene Te Whiwhi in 1878).²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 96 (Hemi Peeti) and 185 (Puruhe Smith)

²⁷⁴ Tokorangi Site Visit, 18 May 2014, p 16

²⁷⁵ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 96

²⁷⁶ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, pp 184 & 185 (Puruhe Smith); Ian Matheson, ‘The Opening of Te Marae o Hine’, 3 March 1990, <https://manawatuheritage.pncc.govt.nz/item/0f5db5f9-3c0d-4785-bc56-02502efb746c> (accessed 25 May 2020)

3. Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore at Te Reureu

3.1 The Communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka in the 1860s

Alongside their Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū neighbours upriver, and Ngāti Parewahawaha and other Ngāti Raukawa hapū downstream, the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka continued to maintain the Rangitīkei River boundary that had been established at the time of the Rangitīkei-Turakina purchase. With Te Rangihaeata's death from the side effects of measles in November 1855, opposition to the continuing encroachment of Crown land purchasing activity and European settlement – both in the lower North Island and the rest of the motu – coalesced around the emerging Kīngitanga movement. Like their Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae neighbours, the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities on the Rangitīkei River were to become staunch and long-standing supporters of the Kīngitanga. In April 1869 Kākāriki was the venue for a large gathering of Kīngitanga supporters from across the lower North Island. The communities at Te Reureu also provided manākitanga and eventually a place of refuge for Wi Hapi Te Whakarawhe, the leading Kīngitanga figure on the west coast of the lower North Island in the 1860s and early 1870s. Such was their regard for the Kīngitanga leader that Ngāti Rangatahi included Wi Hapi's name on the list of owners for their portion of the Reureu Reserve which they submitted to Reserves Commissioner Alexander Mackay in May 1884.²⁷⁷

War in the Taranaki, the Waikato and elsewhere caused Crown officials and European settlers to increasingly dismiss the supporters of the Kīngitanga as 'rebels' or 'hauhau'. Wi Hapi and the other Kīngitanga chiefs on the west coast of the lower North Island declared the area between Ōtaki and the Rangitīkei River to be a demilitarized zone where no fighting would take place so long as the land remained free from occupation by British or colonial troops. This did not, however, prevent local supporters of the Kīngitanga from travelling to other parts of the North Island to join the fighting there. Tūroa Karatea told the Ngā Kōrero

²⁷⁷ 'Toa Rangatira's List', 16 Mei 1884, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitīkei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949)

Tuku Iho hui at Tokorangi that members of the Ngāti Matakore community at Te Karaka – including his great-grandfather – had fought against the Crown in the Taranaki.²⁷⁸ While the documentary evidence is sparse, it appears that Wi Hapi had led a Kīngitanga contingent from the lower North Island (including Te Reureu) to help Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Ruahine and other Taranaki hapū in their resistance to General Chute’s invasion of southern Taranaki in January 1866.

The Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities’ resistance to European encroachment was also evident in their firm opposition to Isaac Featherston’s purchase of Rangitīkei-Manawatū in December 1866. Leaders of the two groups expressed their opposition to the proposed purchase in letters addressed to the colonial Parliament and Governor George Grey in February and April 1866 respectively. In June 1867 Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore joined Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae in petitioning Queen Victoria to investigate the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase, which they described to her as an ‘act of injustice.’ When the letters and petitions failed, the four Te Reureu hapū took matters into their own hands by disrupting the Provincial Government’s survey of the land around their kāinga.

Confronted by the continuing protests and concerned about the trouble they might cause if evicted from the land they had occupied for more than two decades, the colonial government eventually agreed to a reserve for Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore and their northern neighbours. Created by Native Minister Donald McLean at the end of 1870, the Reureu Reserve included Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore’s kāinga by the Rangitīkei River but excluded much of their cultivations along the Rangataua Stream. Matters were further aggravated by the government’s decision to route the new Wanganui-Manawatu Railway past Kākāriki and across the community’s remaining cultivations next to the Rangataua. Despite these setbacks the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka held fast to their land while maintaining close connections with each other.

Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore and the Kīngitanga

Although the long-standing connection between the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities on the Rangitīkei and the Kīngitanga is indisputable, documentary evidence detailing the early years of that relationship is extremely limited. On 18 July 1861 the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that ‘a great rūnanga or conference of the southern chiefs and

²⁷⁸ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 86

their people' had been held at Matahiwi on the lower Rangitīkei River to discuss their support for the Māori King. The meeting, at which 'about 400 were present' included representatives from Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pīkiahū, and Ngāti Maniapoto as well as Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Toa.²⁷⁹ The Ngāti Maniapoto representatives referred to by the Chronicle's reporter almost certainly included members of the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka who were often referred to as simply Ngāti Maniapoto by nineteenth-century observers. The only other Ngāti Maniapoto living in the area at the time was a much smaller group headed by Wiremu Pukapuka at Maramaihoa. According to the report, 'about 25 speakers addressed the meeting, of whom two-thirds boastfully declared their firm determination to support their Māori King.' While resolving not to take up arms in their own district, the assembly 'expressed their intention to go to the Waikato if war broke out there.'²⁸⁰

About six weeks after the hui at Matahiwi, Thomas M Cook reported to the Native Secretary that the Kīngitanga movement was 'very generally supported and approved by large majorities of the tribes along the coast, including the Ngatiawas at Waikanae, the Ngatiraukawas at Ōtaki, Ōhau, Manawatu and Rangitīkei, and also a portion of the Ngatiapas at Rangitīkei.' Cook – who had probably lumped the Kākāriki and Te Karaka people along with their more numerous Ngāti Raukawa allies – warned that any forcible attempt to put down the Māori King' was likely to 'immediately induce large majorities' of the Rangitīkei, Manawatū, and Kāpiti Coast tribes to rise up in 'his defence.'²⁸¹

In August 1863, a few weeks after Governor Grey launched his invasion of the Waikato, Wi Hapi told Wellington Superintendent Featherston that the Ngāti Raukawa-aligned supporters of the Kīngitanga would not undertake any attacks in the area between Ōtaki and the Rangitīkei so long as the colonial authorities refrained from stationing any of their troops within those boundaries. If, however, the Government did move to erect 'soldiers' barracks' at either 'Paekākāriki, Waikanae, Ōtaki, Manawatu, or Rangitīkei', Wi Hapi warned that there would be fighting. In establishing the Rangitīkei as the northern limit of the Kīngitanga's proposed demilitarized zone, Wi Hapi emphasised once again the importance of

²⁷⁹ 'Native Meeting at Rangitīkei', [From the *Wanganui Chronicle*, July 1861], *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 24 July 1861, p 2 c 6, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/nelson-examiner-and-new-zealand-chronicle/1861/07/24/2> (accessed 19 December 2019)

²⁸⁰ Ibid

²⁸¹ T M Cook, 'Manawatu', 25 August 1861, *AJHR*, 1862, E-7, p 29

the boundary line that the communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka had done so much to maintain.²⁸²

The importance of Kākāriki as a Kīngitanga community is demonstrated by its hosting of a major assembly of all of the movement's voting delegates from the west coast of the lower North Island. The rūnanga – which was held between the 23rd and 25th of April 1869 – ‘unanimously’ re-elected Wi Hapi as the leader of the Kīngitanga ‘councils’ in the lower North Island.²⁸³ The assembly also ratified three pānui or notices that Wi Hapi had prepared to be sent to the colonial government. The first of these reaffirmed his and the Kīngitanga's sovereignty over the whole of the North Island, and refused to allow the running of a telegraph line across the demilitarized area between Ōtaki and the Rangitūkei.²⁸⁴ The second pānui warned the Government against allowing its soldiers to enter the demilitarized zone, while in the third pānui Wi Hapi condemned the Crown's use of kūpapa Māori forces to fight against him.²⁸⁵

The Kīngitanga assembly that gathered at Kākāriki in April 1869 was greatly influenced by the new Pai Mārire religious movement that had emerged in the Taranaki in the early 1860s. The rūnanga spent considerable time debating the role that spiritually possessed ‘pōrewarewa or wairangis’ should be allowed within the Kīngitanga. According to Alexander McDonald's report on the Kākāriki assembly, a number of these figures had gone ‘into violent convulsions and rhapsodies’ before providing prophetic visions to the gathering.²⁸⁶ The influence of the Pai Mārire religion – not only upon the assembled delegates, but the community that hosted them – was also evident in the ‘very beautiful prayer for peace and light’ that had been ‘chanted’ by the approximately 200 ‘men and women present’ at the hui's midnight close.²⁸⁷

²⁸² Extract from the “Wellington Spectator”, enclosed in a letter from I E Featherston to the Colonial Secretary, 15 August 1863, *AJHR*, 1863, E-3A, p 11

²⁸³ A McDonald to G S Cooper (Native Secretary), Wanganui, 27 April 1869, MA 13 73B, p 405

²⁸⁴ Whiti Patato, ‘He Panui’, 21 Aperira 1869, MA 13 73b, pp 410-411 (original in Reo Maori), 412 (English translation)

²⁸⁵ Whiti Patato, ‘He Panui’, 21 Aperira 1869, MA 13 73b, pp 413-414 (original in Reo Maori), 415 (English translation); Whiti Patato, ‘He Panui’, 21 Aperira 1869, MA 13 73b, pp 417-418 (original in Reo Maori), 419 translation

²⁸⁶ A McDonald to G S Cooper (Native Secretary), Wanganui, 27 April 1869, MA 13 73B, pp 405-406

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p 406

War in the Taranaki and the Waikato

Addressing the Wellington Superintendent in August 1863, Wi Hapi had warned that if the Governor attacked ‘the King’s rights’ and ‘intended to put down the King’, then the Kīngitanga’s supporters on the west coast of the lower North Island would ‘all go to support the King.’²⁸⁸ While we do not know how many actually went, it is clear that some of the residents of Te Reureu did indeed travel to the Taranaki and Waikato to take up arms against the Crown. As we have seen, Tūroa Karatea told the Tribunal how his great-grandfather had been ‘one of those people’ from Te Reureu who had gone to the Taranaki to help the people there ‘hang onto their land.’²⁸⁹

The documentary evidence on the participation of the people of Kākāriki and Te Karaka in the Taranaki Wars is virtually non-existent: the ope that travelled from Taranaki had no interest in advertising their movements to the enemy, while Crown officials and other Europeans who reported on the fighting tended to view the ‘rebel’ warriors from different tribes as undifferentiated ‘hauhau’ fanatics. One far from unbiased report, addressed by the Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne chiefs of the Native Contingent to their commander Major Thomas McDonnell, does suggest that a contingent including ‘Ngāti Raukawa, Waikato, and Ngāti Kahungunu of Wairarapa’ and led by Wi Hapi and other Kīngitanga chiefs, had taken part in the resistance to General Trevor Chute’s invasion of southern Taranaki in January 1866. The Native Contingent chiefs reported inflicting ‘a severe loss’ on the ‘Hauhau’ force during their assault on Otapawa Pā. Rather than continuing on with the rest of the British force into central Taranaki, the Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne chiefs asked to remain in the country between the Waitotara and Waingongoro Rivers, in order ‘to secure the apprehension of the chiefs Tamati o Raukawa, Wi Hapi, and Ngairo’ who they claimed were the ‘instigators of mischief towards the Europeans and friendly natives.’²⁹⁰

Neither Ngāti Rangatahi nor Ngāti Matakore are explicitly named in this evidence. However, the Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne chiefs’ description of the Kīngitanga force as Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato, as well as Ngāti Kahungunu from the Wairarapa, suggests that the ope referred to was from the lower North Island, and probably included fighters from Kākāriki and Te Karaka (who were often described as being from the Waikato, and were aligned with Ngāti Raukawa), including – perhaps – Mr Karatea’s great grandfather. The

²⁸⁸ Extract from the “Wellington Spectator”, *AJHR*, 1863, E-3A, p 11

²⁸⁹ Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui, Tokorangi, p 86

²⁹⁰ ‘Translation of a Letter, or Despatch, from the Chiefs of the Native Contingent to their Commander, Major McDonnell’, *Taranaki Herald*, 17 March 1866, p 3, c 6, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/taranaki-herald/1866/03/17/3?large_image=true (accessed 16 December 2019)

possibility of settling old scores with their enemies from the other side of the Rangitīkei River may also help explain the Ngāti Apa chiefs' determination to pursue Wi Hapi and the other Kīngitanga chiefs, rather than continuing up into the Taranaki with the other members of the Native Contingent.²⁹¹

While we know little about Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's role in the fighting in southern Taranaki, it is clear that the leader of the Matakore community at Te Karaka played a leading role in later efforts to negotiate a reconciliation between the Kīngitanga leader Wi Hapi and the Ngāti Apa and Whanganui chiefs who had fought alongside the British forces in the Native Contingent. At the beginning of March 1870 Rāwiri Te Koha, the now aging chief of Te Karaka's Ngāti Matakore community, brought Wi Hapi to Turakina to meet with the chiefs of Ngāti Apa and Whanganui in the hope securing a peace agreement between the contending sides. Rāwiri, was accompanied by his Te Reureu neighbour Ngawaka of Ngāti Pīkiahū, and the Ngāti Whakātere chief Henere Te Herekau.²⁹²

Both Wi Hapi and Rāwiri were conciliatory in their speeches to their former enemies. Declaring that his 'evil is finished', Wi Hapi called for peace and unity between the contending tribes. He urged the Native Contingent chiefs to put away their swords so they would no longer 'be lifted against our Māori brethren.'²⁹³ Urging 'the chiefs of Whanganui and Ngāti Raukawa' to think 'much and deeply about these words of peace,' Rāwiri told the gathering that the 'the people of this province of Wellington will be saved' if the tribes from Wairarapa to Whanganui came together as 'one people.'²⁹⁴ While the meeting's Ngāti Apa hosts appear to have been moved by this talk of peace, the Whanganui chiefs were less convinced. The leading Whanganui chief Mete Kingi refused to consider Wi Hapi's appeal until Major Kemp had returned from his pursuit of Te Kooti. Only then, and in consultation with the colonial government would he be ready to talk definitively of peace.²⁹⁵

In attempting to achieve a reconciliation between the supporters of the Kīngitanga and the chiefs of the Native Contingent, Wi Hapi and Rāwiri Te Koha both articulated the message of peace and unity that lay at the heart of the new Pai Mārire religion. At the same time, the

²⁹¹ For an account of General Chute's Taranaki Campaign and the attack on Otapawa see: James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period. Volume II: The Hauhau Wars, 1864-72*, (Wellington), 1922 (Reprinted edition 1983), pp 61-71

²⁹² 'Important Native Meeting at Turakina', *Wellington Independent*, 12 March 1870, p 5, c 2-3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wellington-independent/1870/03/12/5> (accessed 16 December 2019)

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, c 2

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, c 2 & c 3

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, c 3

aging Ngāti Matakore chief must also have drawn upon the much older pacifist spirit of his community's kāinga Te Marae o Hine.

Opposing the Crown's Purchase of Rangitikei-Manawatū

Negotiated by Isaac Featherston, who was both the head of the Wellington provincial government and a Land Purchase Commissioner for the central, colonial administration, the purchase of Rangitikei-Manawatū in December 1866 finally realised the Crown's 20-year old ambition of opening up the rich lands between the Rangitikei and Manawatū Rivers to European settlement. The purchase, which included the land upon which the communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka lived and cultivated, definitively breached the Rangitikei River boundary which Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore had helped maintain since the Crown's purchase of Rangitikei-Turakina in 1849.

Like their Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae neighbours, and other Ngāti Raukawa-affiliated hapū living on the land (including the Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehiwehi communities at Te Awhuri and Puketotara on the Oroua River), Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore were resolutely opposed to the Crown's purchase of Rangitikei-Manawatū. This opposition was expressed in letters to the colonial Parliament in Wellington and Governor Grey, as well as through a petition addressed to Queen Victoria herself. When all else failed the communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka joined their Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kauwhata neighbours in taking direct action to prevent the survey of their land.²⁹⁶

On 25 February 1866 the leading members of the Ngāti Raukawa-affiliated hapū living within the proposed Rangitikei-Manawatū purchase area addressed themselves to the colonial parliament. The letter writers asked the parliamentarians to prevent Featherston from completing his purchase of their land. 'Do not allow him to come and disturb us', they wrote, 'we do not intend to sell Rangitikei; this is the decided word (expression) of the whole tribe.'²⁹⁷ In addition to many of the leading members of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kauwhata, the letter also appears to have been signed by members of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore who were living on the Rangitikei River. Amongst the signatories were

²⁹⁶ See: Paul Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', CFRT Commissioned Report, 2018, Wai 220, #A213, pp 94-99

²⁹⁷ Copy of a Letter from Aperahama Te Huruhuru and others, to Major Edwards, Rangitikei, 25 PePURE 1866, 'Further Papers Relative to the Manawatu Block', *AJHR*, 1866, A-4, pp 3-4,

Rāwiri [Te Koha]; Hakaraia; Pita [Keremete]; Pateriki; Te Keepa [Te Raku]; Tahana [Haere]; and Te Otimi.²⁹⁸

Two months later the leaders of the resident Ngāti Raukawa-affiliated hapū wrote again. Addressing themselves this time to Governor Grey they protested that Featherston was relying upon intimidation and the consent of individuals who were not living on the land to obtain his purchase of Rangitīkei-Manawatū. The letter, which was signed by 21 chiefs including Āperahama Te Huruheru and Nepia Taratoa of Ngāti Parewahawaha; Hoeta Te Kahuhui and Takana Te Kawa of Ngāti Kauwhata; Keremihana Wairaka of Te Mateawa; and Parakaia Te Pouepa of Ngāti Rakau and Ngāti Turanga, called upon the Governor ‘to prevent this land from being seized by Dr Featherston.’²⁹⁹ Also included amongst the 21 signatories were Paranihi Te Tau of the Ngāti Pīkiahū/Ngāti Waewae community at Te Reureu, and Rāwiri Te Koha, presumably on behalf of both Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore.³⁰⁰

With the purchase of Rangitīkei-Manawatū completed despite their protests, and Featherston unwilling to consider granting any concessions to groups who were considered by the Crown to have been living on the land illegitimately, the hapū of Te Reureu took the momentous step of petitioning Queen Victoria for redress. ‘Crying out of the midst of the injustice’ that had been ‘inflicted’ upon them, the petitioners asked the Queen ‘to send an investigator of sound judgment to inquire into the particulars’ of what they considered to be Featherston’s illegitimate purchase.³⁰¹ The petitioners described themselves as ‘Hapu of Ngatiraukawa’ and listed their hapū names as Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāti Hinewai (a hapū of Ngāti Rangatahi). Appealing for the Queen’s intervention, the petitioners noted that ‘there are seventy-one men of us, owning our piece of land at Rangitikei, who have not taken Dr Featherston’s money.’³⁰²

The Te Reureu petitioners’ appeal to the Queen was unsuccessful, although the colonial parliament did pass legislation allowing the contested Rangitīkei-Manawatū block to be brought under the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court. The Native Land Court, however, refused to recognise – or apparently even consider – the claims of the four Te Reureu hapū to

²⁹⁸ Ibid.; ‘List of Natives belonging to the Ngatimaniapoto and Ngatirangatahi tribes occupying the Reureu Reserve at the date it was set apart by Mr McLean in 1870/71’, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitikei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949)

²⁹⁹ Copy of a Letter from Nepia, Taratoa, and others, to His Excellency, the Governor, Matahiwi, Rangitikei, 24 April 1866, *AJHR*, 1866, A-4, p 12

³⁰⁰ Ibid

³⁰¹ Petition from Paranihi Te Tau and Eruini Te Tau on behalf of Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hinewai to the Queen of England (Te Kuini o Ingarangi), 29 June 1867, ‘Return of Correspondence Relative to the Manawatu Block’, *AJHR*, 1867, A-19, pp 3-4

³⁰² Ibid., p 4

the land they had been occupying for more than two decades. In the opinion of the Court, Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore and their two northern neighbours were simply squatters with no legitimate rights to the land.³⁰³ The Native Land Court rejected both Ngāti Raukawa's assertion of ownership rights over Rangitīkei-Manawatū as a whole, and the more specific claim of the four Te Reureu hapū to the land they were occupying along the Rangitīkei. In late August and early September 1869 the Court also struck out the applications of 42 individuals identified as Ngāti Rangatahi and 12 listed as Ngāti Maniapoto who had sought to have their names included on the Court's list of individual non-sellers who had retained rights to land within Rangitīkei-Manawatū.³⁰⁴ Altogether, the Native Land Court recognised just 62 individuals from Ngāti Raukawa-affiliated hapū and iwi as having unsold ownership rights within the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase area, including 41 individuals from Ngāti Kauwhata, 20 from Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro and one from Ngāti Wehiwehi.³⁰⁵

Threatened with eviction, the four Te Reureu hapū took steps to prevent the provincial government's survey of their land. On 4 April 1870 a party led by Eruini Te Tau (one of the leaders of the Ngāti Pīkiahū/Ngāti Waewae community) led a group of 'about 40 natives' to stop the survey of the land around Te Reureu pā. Eruini told the surveyors that "he had brought his dray down to cart over the surveyors' things and tents to the other side of the river." The interpreter for the surveyors had replied "that the land was no longer theirs, and now belonged to the Government; that the Native title had been extinguished, as published in the Native *Gazette*." The interpreter warned Eruini and his party that "if they removed the tents it would be at their peril and he would take the names of any who dared attempt it."³⁰⁶

Six weeks later, on 16 May 1870 the Te Reureu people again attempted to put a stop to the survey of their land. According to a report in the Whanganui *Evening Herald*, the survey party 'was first hindered by some women' before being confronted by 'about 50 or 60 natives' who 'destroyed some trigonometrical stations', and removed all of the surveyors' baggage. According to the newspaper report, the party that opposed the Government's survey

³⁰³ See: Paul Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', CFRT Commissioned Report, 2018, Wai 220, #A213, p 86; 'Memorandum on the Rangitikei-Manawatu Land Claims', *AJHR*, 1867, A-25, pp 3-7

³⁰⁴ 'Analysis of List of Claimants Rangitikei Manawatu', Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitikei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949)

³⁰⁵ Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', Wai 2200, #A213, pp 86-87

³⁰⁶ 'Report on the Claim of the Province of Wellington in Respect of the Manawatu Reserves', *AJHR*, 1874, H-18, p 7

were ‘Waikatos and Kingites’ who had ‘always been opposed to any settlement in the Manawatu, and are a thorn in the side of the Government.’³⁰⁷

Additional disruptions to the survey were noted by James Mitchell, one of the surveyors employed by the provincial government. In an affidavit dated 12 September 1870, Mitchell swore that ‘on or about the fourth and 25th days of May last’ a number of the trigonometrical stations he had erected as part of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū survey had been ‘removed by the natives residing at Kākāriki and [Te] Awahuri.’³⁰⁸

The hapū living on the upriver and downriver ends of the Reureu Reserve would later disagree over who had taken the leading role in disrupting the provincial government’s survey of their land. At the Wanganui Appellate Court hearing in December 1896, the kaiwhakahaere or manager of Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi’s case had insisted that it had been Ngāti Rangatahi who had ‘interfered’ with the survey of Rangitīkei-Manawatū. This claim was disputed by Eruini Paranihi, who maintained that that it had been his tribe Ngāti Pikiahu that had ‘caused trouble’ over the survey. From the evidence, and the number of people involved, it would appear that all four of the hapū living at Te Reureu – including both Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi – had taken part in the attempt to prevent the survey, with different groups taking the lead at different times.³⁰⁹

3.2 The Creation of the Reureu Reserve, 1870-1872

Confronted by the continued protests of those who had not agreed to Featherston’s purchase of Rangitīkei-Manawatū – including not only the four hapū of Te Reureu, but also the larger part of the Ngāti Kauwhata community at Te Awahuri, and members of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro on the lower Rangitīkei River – Native Minister Donald McLean tried to calm the unrest by awarding additional reserves.³¹⁰ The largest of these new reserves was established along the Rangitīkei River for the hapū of Te Reureu. In addition to the trouble caused by the disruptions to the Rangitīkei-Manawatū survey, Crown officials were worried that if the Te Reureu people were rendered landless they might leave the region and cause

³⁰⁷ ‘Stoppage of the Manawatu Survey’, *Evening Herald*, 18 May 1870, p 2, c 1-2,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/wanganui-herald/1870/05/18/2> (accessed 16 December 2019)

³⁰⁸ In the Native Land Court. Rangitīkei Manawatu Block. Affidavit of J Mitchell, 12 September 1870 (copy), MA 13 74A, p 707

³⁰⁹ Wanganui Appellate Court No 5, f 254

³¹⁰ See: Husbands, ‘Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000’, Wai 2200, #A213, pp 94-128

trouble elsewhere. An unsigned memorandum, that was dated 21 November 1870 and had probably been written by McLean himself, warned that ‘some provision’ needed to be made for the ‘numerous and industrious’ population of Te Reureu in order ‘to prevent their scattering about in marauding bands and joining any disaffected leaders in any parts of the island such as Taupo, Waikato, Upper Wanganui, Mokau from which places they have come.’³¹¹

It is unclear if the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities at Kākāriki and Te Karaka ever seriously considered permanently leaving their kāinga on the Rangitīkei River. In November 1869 Noa Te Rauhihi – one of only two members of the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae community at Te Reureu to have signed the Rangitīkei-Manawatū deed of purchase – appealed to Premier William Fox (who lived across the river from Te Reureu) to provide a reserve for the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Maniapoto tribes ‘who are living at Rangitīkei.’ Rauhihi warned that he was no longer able ‘to hold back Ngawaka [the leader of Ngāti Pīkiahū] and Rawiri [Te Koha] and their hapū’, and that if no reserve was provided the landless groups would migrate ‘to Waikato and Hauraki.’³¹² Featherston, too, believed that ‘Rawiri and his hapū’ would ‘leave the district’ if no reserve was provided. In a note to the Premier, Featherston claimed that ‘Rawiri and his hapū clearly’ intended to quit the Rangitīkei as they had gifted their ‘Runanga House’ to the Ngāti Apa chief Kawana Hunia.³¹³

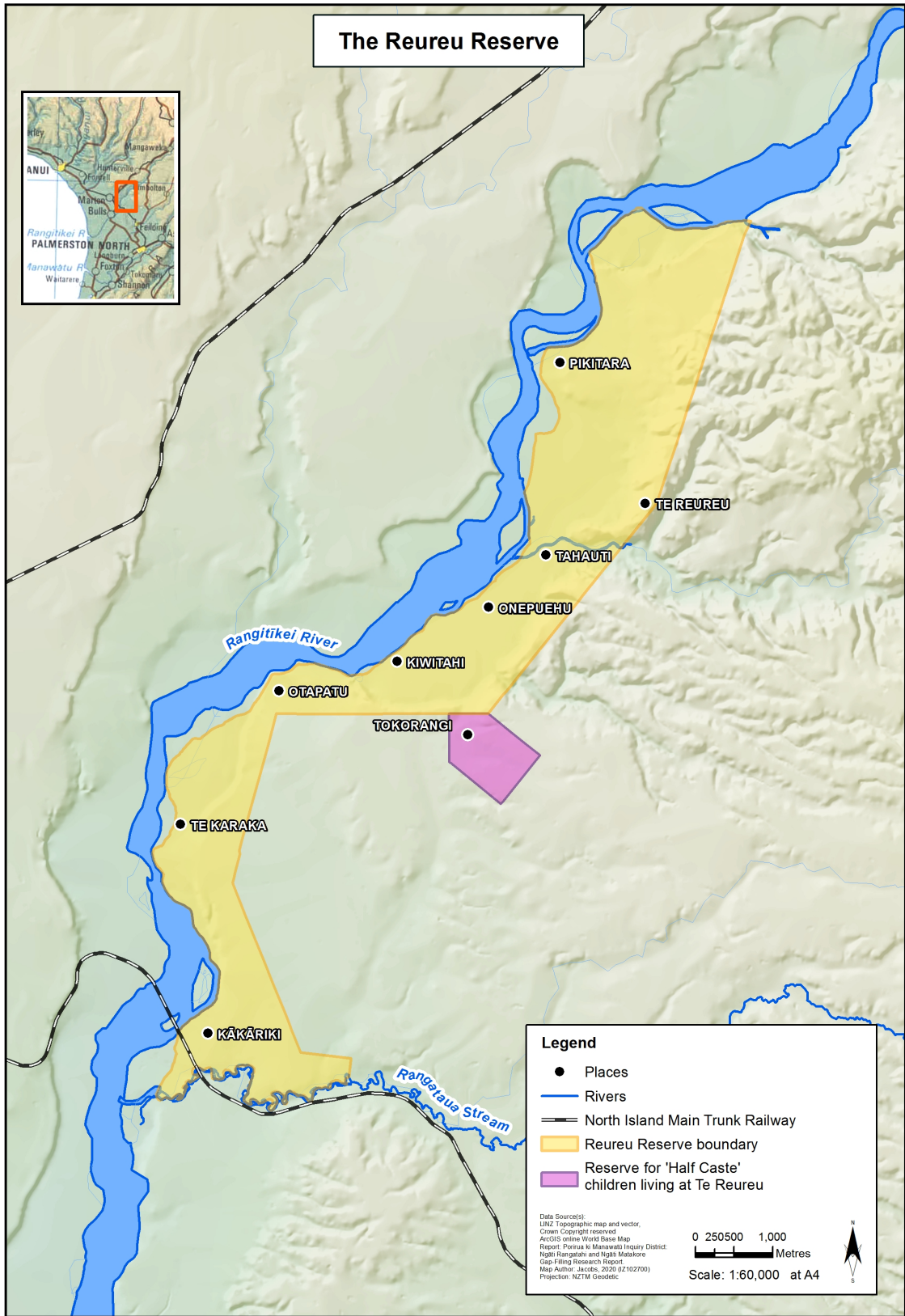
Awarded to the four hapū by McLean at the end of November 1870, the Reureu Reserve followed the course of the Rangitīkei River from Waitapu in the north to the Rangataua Stream to the south. While the new reserve included all of the hapū’s kāinga next to the river, including Kākāriki and Te Karaka, as well as the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae settlements at Otapatu, Kiwitahi, Onepuheu, Tahauti and elsewhere, it excluded most of Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi’s substantial cultivations along the Rangataua. This was because McLean insisted on limiting the Reureu Reserve to the lowland adjacent to the Rangitīkei River and the hills that directly overlooked them.³¹⁴

³¹¹ ‘Rangitīkei-Manawatu Block. 21st November 1870’, MA13 72A, p 202

³¹² Noa Te Rauhihi to ‘Te Pokiha’ (William Fox), 4 November 1869, MA 13/73B, pp 442-444 (Reo Maori original), 438-439

³¹³ Marginal Note from I E F (Isaac Earl Featherston) to William Fox, 18 Nov 1869, MA 13/73B p 438

³¹⁴ ‘Te Reureu. November 25: 1870’, MA13/72A, p 240 (Donald McLean);



Rāwiri Te Koha's Protests Against the Boundary of the Reureu Reserve and the Railway

Rāwiri Te Koha, who had not been present at the hui where the Reureu Reserve had been originally awarded, objected strenuously to the boundaries allowed by McLean. Unwilling to give up the greater part of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's cultivations along the Rangataua Stream, Rāwiri insisted on moving the eastern boundary of the Reureu Reserve much further inland to the mouth of the Makara Stream. Such a dramatic extension was too much for McLean's assistant Henry Tacy Kemp, who in the Native Minister's absence had been left to sort out the details of the new reserve. Kemp did however agree to a compromise which would have added an additional 3000 acres to the 3400 acres McLean had already awarded. Kemp's compromise agreement, however, was repudiated by both Fox and McLean who were determined to limit the Reureu Reserve to 3000 acres 'at the utmost.'³¹⁵

Unhappy that their agreement with Kemp had been violated and unwilling to accept the boundary that had been initially imposed by the Native Minister, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore refused to allow the survey of the Reureu Reserve's eastern, inland boundary.³¹⁶ Rāwiri Te Koha's discontent with the exclusion of much of his hapū's cultivations from the new Reureu Reserve was further intensified when he learned that the new Wanganui and Manawatu Railway was to follow the course of the Rangataua Stream, thereby threatening more of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's kūmara gardens.

As staunch supporters of the Kīngitanga, Rāwiri Te Koha, and the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities he represented, were probably opposed to the extension of the railway across their land as a matter of principle, as well as for simply practical purposes. Acknowledging that Rāwiri had been 'the person who was obstructing the railway' at Kākāriki, Wineti Paranihi told the Wanganui Appellate Court that Rāwiri had been 'persistent in objecting to the train.'³¹⁷ As we have seen, the Kīngitanga hui at Kākāriki in April 1869 had objected strenuously to the Government's plans to extend the telegraph between Ōtaki and the Rangitīkei. Further north, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's Kīngitanga-

³¹⁵ Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', Wai 2200, #A213, pp 116-118; Telegram from Donald McLean to H T Kemp, MA 13 74A, p 546

³¹⁶ Wanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, f 296 (Hamapiri Te Arahori)

³¹⁷ Ibid., f 283

supporting Ngāti Maniapoto relatives would continue to prevent the passage of the railway across their King Country lands until the mid-1880s.³¹⁸

Details of Rāwiri Te Koha's obstruction of the Wanganui and Manawatu Railway line are scarce. In contrast to the Crown's confrontation with Ngāti Maniapoto and the Kīngitanga in the King Country, Rāwiri's obstruction of the railway line along the Rangataua does not appear to have left any official files or Native Department memoranda. What we know is what Rāwiri told McLean in March 1872: that he had built a whare at Kākāriki to prevent the passage of the railway.³¹⁹

Confronted by the unresolved dispute over the position of the Reureu Reserve's inland, eastern boundary, and Rāwiri Te Koha's determination to block the course of the new railway, Donald McLean returned to the Rangitīkei at the end of January 1872. Meeting with the Reureu people at Marton, McLean initially refused to make any concessions.³²⁰ For his part Rāwiri continued to insist on an inland boundary that included all of his community's cultivations along the Rangataua Stream. Noting that some of the low-lying land that McLean had awarded beside the Rangitīkei River had already been washed away, the Ngāti Matakore chief insisted that his community needed more 'flat land' than the Native Minister had been willing to grant them.³²¹

Acknowledging that part of the original reserve had indeed been washed away, McLean eventually relented and agreed to add an extra 1000 acres to the Reureu Reserve, with Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae, and Rāwiri Te Koha's Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore both receiving 500 acres each.³²² The Native Minister also offered to pay £300 as compensation for any cultivations that lay outside of the Reureu Reserve's new boundary.³²³ Under pressure from both McLean and his Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae neighbours (who were painfully aware of their dependence upon McLean's good graces for any reserve at all), Rāwiri eventually gave way and accepted the Native Minister's final offer.³²⁴

³¹⁸ Philip Cleaver and Jonathan Sarich, 'Turongo: The North Island Main Trunk Railway and the Rohe Potae, 1870-2008', A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the Te Rohe Potae district inquiry (Wai 898), November 2009, Wai 898, #A20

³¹⁹ 'Notes of meeting held at Marton with Ngāti Raukawa', 25 March 1872, MA 13/74A, p 82 (Rāwiri Te Koha)

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 70 & 74 (McLean)

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p 76 & 80 (Rāwiri Te Koha)

³²² *Ibid.*, p 81 (McLean)

³²³ *Ibid.*, p 77 (McLean)

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 81-84

In finally accepting the Government's decision regarding the boundaries of the Reureu Reserve it is unclear whether Rāwiri Te Koha also gave up his opposition to the railway line along the Rangataua. At the close of the Marton hui, Rāwiri stated emphatically that while he agreed to the surveying of the new reserve boundaries he 'would not allow the Railway to pass through.'³²⁵ A few days later, however, McLean assured Wellington Superintendent William Fitzherbert that Rāwiri had in fact withdrawn 'all opposition' to the planned railway, 'and promised to offer no further obstacle to the progress of surveys, roads and railroads through the land, set apart for him.'³²⁶

As surveyed in 1874, the Wanganui and Manawatu Railway line cut across approximately 400 metres of 'Native cultivations' on the northern banks of the Rangataua Stream before passing to the north of the Kākāriki kāinga and crossing the Rangitikei River.³²⁷ According to the survey plan, the railway also crossed through a substantial fenced-off area which the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore community used to pasture their sheep.³²⁸ In addition to the land taken for the railway line itself, the Railway Department also acquired 25 acres of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's share of the Reureu Reserve as a gravel reserve. Known to the colonial government as the Kākāriki Ballast Pit, the gravel reserve provided the crushed stone which formed the bed upon which the railway's wooden sleepers and steel track were laid.³²⁹

³²⁵ Ibid., p 84

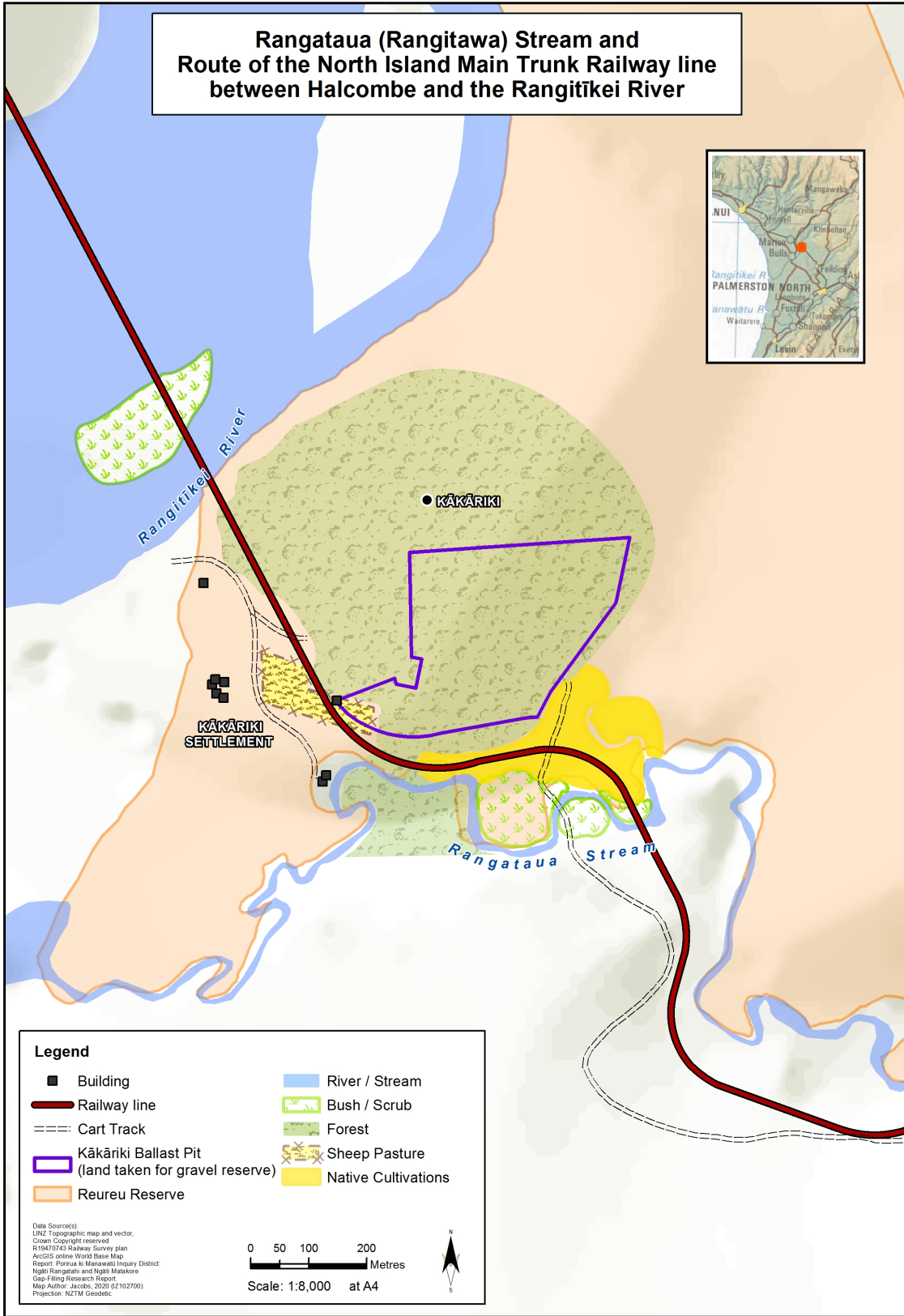
³²⁶ Donald McLean to the Superintendent, Wellington, 6 February 1872, MA 13/75A, pp 115-116

³²⁷ 'Province of Wellington. Wanganui-Manawatu Railway. Oroua to Rangitikei (Drawing No 1, Sheet No 1)', PWD 1674, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, ACHL 22541 W5/92, 1674 Pt 1, (R19470743); 'Rangitawa Contract Sheet No 8', Archives New Zealand, Wellington, ACHL 22541 W5/92, 1674 Pt 1, (R19470743); 'Wanganui-Manawatu Railway: Rangitawa Contract', Archives New Zealand, Wellington, AATE, W3409, 73, (R22280073), Sheets 5 & 6

³²⁸ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, ff 424-425; 'Province of Wellington. Wanganui-Manawatu Railway. Oroua to Rangitikei [River Bed], Archives New Zealand, Wellington, ACHL 22541 W5/92, 1674 Pt 6, (R19470748)

³²⁹ Ibid., p 424; 'Plan of Reu Reu No 2. Blocks IV & VIII Rangitoto S.D. Oroua County', ML 2117

Rangataua (Rangitawa) Stream and Route of the North Island Main Trunk Railway line between Halcombe and the Rangitikei River



Legend

- Building
- Railway line
- - - Cart Track
- ▭ Kākāriki Ballast Pit (land taken for gravel reserve)
- Reureu Reserve
- ▭ River / Stream
- ▭ Bush / Scrub
- ▭ Forest
- ▭ Sheep Pasture
- ▭ Native Cultivations

Data Source(s):
LINZ Topographic map and vector.
Crown Copyright reserved.
R19470743 Railway Survey plan
ArcGIS online World Base Map
Report: Porirua to Manawatu Inquiry District:
Ngāi-Rangitākei and Ngāi-Mātauroa
Gap-Filling Research Report.
Map Author: Jacobs, 2020 (J2102700)
Projection: NZTM Geoidic.

0 50 100 200 Metres
Scale: 1:8,000 at A4

Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore received some compensation for the land taken from them by the Crown for the railway line and ballast pit. Reweti Te Rakaherea told the Native Land Court in 1894 that the two tribes had received £60 for the land taken for the railway line. The community had distributed this sum amongst five Ngāti Rangatahi chiefs (Toa Rangatira, Tarikama, Mika Hakaraia, Riwai Te Ruakirikiri and Hiri Te Kawa) and three Ngāti Matakore leaders (Wiari Rawiri, Te Katoa, and Te Otimi).³³⁰ The Railway Department paid £176 2s as compensation for the 25 acres taken for the gravel reserve. After a contested hearing in August 1894, the Native Land Court awarded £117 8s of this money to eight representatives of Ngāti Rangatahi and £58 14s to 10 members of Ngāti Matakore.³³¹ Having served its purpose in the construction of the railway line, the Kākāriki gravel reserve was eventually returned to Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore in September 1919.³³²

As well as depriving them of their cultivations along the Rangataua Stream, the colonial government's taking of part of their portion of the Reureu Reserve for the construction of the Wanganui and Manawatu Railway may have created a lasting division between Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore. Referring to the 25 acres taken by the Railway Department for the Kākāriki Ballast Pit, Hone Manuera told the Native Land Court in 1894 that Ngāti Matakore had 'wished to keep the land' and had been angry when Ngāti Rangatahi's Reweti Te Rakaherea had agreed to 'give up' the land 'to the government.' It was 'on this account', Hone claimed, that 'Maniapoto [Ngāti Matakore] had separated from Rangatahi.' As we have seen, this 'separation' resulted in a contested Native Land Court case, in which the two hitherto closely connected groups had contended over ownership of, and compensation for, the 25 acres that had been taken for the gravel reserve.³³³

3.3 Kākāriki and Te Karaka in the 1870s and 1880s

When the Reureu Reserve was created in the early 1870s approximately 100 members of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore were living within its boundaries. A list compiled by Reserve Commissioner Alexander Mackay in 1884, included the names of 111 members of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Maniapoto (Ngāti Matakore) who were 'occupying the Reureu

³³⁰ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 427

³³¹ *Ibid.*, f 428

³³² Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 'Taihape: Rangitikei ki Rangipo (Wai 2180) and Porirua ki Manawatū (Wai 2200) Inquiry Districts Research Assistance Projects: Māori Land Court Records Document Bank Project. Porirua ki Manawatū Series, Vol XXI, pp 235 D-K (242-247)

³³³ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 427

Reserve at the date it was set apart' by Native Minister McLean.³³⁴ A similar figure was arrived at by the 1874 Census of the Maori Population which listed 51 'Ngāti Maniapoto' living at Te Karaka (including 44 adults and 7 children under the age of 15), and 49 Ngāti Rangatahi at Kākāriki (consisting of 43 adults and just six children under the age of 15).³³⁵ Other, less precise census enumerations which failed to distinguish between Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore came up with smaller numbers. The 1870 census, for example, counted 70 members of the Ngāti Maniapoto hapū Ngāti Hinewai (which was in fact part of Ngāti Rangatahi) living under the leadership of Rāwiri Te Koha.³³⁶ The 1878 Census, on the other hand, listed just 36 members of Ngāti Maniapoto residing at Kākāriki.³³⁷ The 1878 return was most likely an undercount because three years later the 1881 Census of the Māori population enumerated 83 members of the Ngāti Rangatahi hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto living at Kākāriki.³³⁸

As we have seen, Ngāti Rangatahi descend from the grandchildren of Tūkawekai: Kahuwaero, Te Puru, Te Rangikaiwhiria, Pareteho and Kuaō. Members of the community at Kākāriki traced their whakapapa back to at least four of these tupuna. Mihi-ki-Tūrangi Matawhā and her brother Reweti Te Rakaherea, for example, descended from Te Rangikaiwhiria as did two other stalwarts of the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki: Hamapiri Tarikana (or Tarikama) and Hakaraia Te Katoa. Mihi-ki-Tūrangi, Reweti and Hamapiri all came from Te Rangikaiwhiria's union with Te Iringa: Mihi-ki-Tūrangi and Reweti descended from Te Rangikaiwhiria and Te Iringa's first born Kahuirangi, while Hamapiri traced his lineage back to their third child Korouapawhara.³³⁹ Hakaraia Te Katoa's whakapapa went back to Te Rangikaiwhiria's union with Te Akamāpuhia and their child Te Whakamara.³⁴⁰

³³⁴ 'List of Natives belonging to the Ngatimaniapoto and Ngatirangatahi tribes occupying the Reureu Reserve at the date it was set apart by Mr McLean in 1870/71', Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitikei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949)

³³⁵ 'Approximate Census of the Maori Population (Compiled by Officers in Native Districts). *AJHR*, 1874, G-7, p 17

³³⁶ 'Return Giving the Names, Etc., of the Tribes of the North Island', *AJHR*, 1870, A-11, p 10

³³⁷ 'Census of the Maori Population, 1878', *AJHR*, 1878, G-2, p 19

³³⁸ 'Census of the Maori Population, 1881', *AJHR*, 1881, G-3, p 18

³³⁹ Durie Whānau Whakapapa, Tables 14a and 14b; Communications from Te Waari Carkeek to the author, 5 & 7 November 2019

³⁴⁰ 'A selection of the whakapapa of Te Atarua Pairama and some of her extended family', Herangi, p (41)

Other members of the Ngāti Rangatahi community at Kākāriki – including Retimana, Rangatahi, Rora Tahana, and Kahuwaero Otimi – descended from Kahuwaero.³⁴¹ Still others traced their descent back to Te Puru. Riwai Te Ruakirikiri, his brother Keremete, and their sister Ruta Te Hatete were the descendants of Te Puru and Kimihia’s son Tūtemahurangi. This was the branch of Ngāti Rangatahi that had settled in the Ōhura Valley and upper Whanganui, developing close kinship ties with the Whanganui tribe Ngāti Hāua. Tumanako Herangi notes that both Riwai Te Ruakirikiri and his sister Ruta Te Hatete were included as owners ‘in several’ of the Ōhura South land blocks that were awarded by the Native Land Court to Ngāti Hāua in 1892. Despite their’s and their tupuna Tūtemahurangi’s connections with Ngāti Hāua, Mrs Herangi notes that Riwai and his family ‘held steadfast to their Rangatahi affiliation’ from the time of their arrival in the Rangitīkei.³⁴²

Descendants of Tūkawekai’s grand-daughter Pareteho were also living in the lower part of the Reureu Reserve in the early 1870s as part of the Ngāti Matakore community at Te Karaka. One of these was Matawhā who eventually married Mihi-ki-Tūrangi. Matawhā’s parents were Taihākurei (who was also a descendant of Pareteho and appears to have passed away prior to 1870) and Hira.³⁴³ Hira and Matawhā’s names both appear on Alexander Mackay’s list of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Maniapoto (Matakore) who had been living at Te Reureu at the time of the Reserve’s creation at the end of 1870.³⁴⁴

Rather than forming two distinct communities, it appears that Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore in the 1870s and 1880s overlapped and interacted closely with each other. Ngāti Matakore, for example, helped Ngāti Rangatahi in the construction of their meeting house Miria Te Kakara.³⁴⁵ The already close connections of shared genealogy, close proximity and a common commitment to the Kīngitanga and its kaupapa were further strengthened by intermarriage. After her first husband Keremete Te Ruakirikiri died young Ngāti Rangatahi’s Mihi-ki-Tūrangi married Matawhā of Ngāti Matakore.³⁴⁶ In another important marriage Kahuwaero II of Ngāti Rangatahi wed Tarapata Ngarara, also known as Kiore Otimi, from Ngāti Matakore.³⁴⁷ The offspring of these two strategic alliances, including Mihi-ki-Tūrangi and Matawhā’s daughter Kahurautete, and Kahuwaero and Tarapata’s children Otimi Kiore

³⁴¹ Herangi, pp 4-5

³⁴² Ibid., p 29

³⁴³ Durie Whānau Whakapapa, Table 14a; Telephone Interview with Sir Taihākurei Durie, 16 April 2020

³⁴⁴ ‘List of Natives belonging to the Ngatimaniapoto and Ngatirangatahi tribes occupying the Reureu Reserve at the date it was set apart by Mr McLean in 1870/71’

³⁴⁵ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 425

³⁴⁶ Herangi, p 28

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p 31

and Te Ruwai Otimi became stalwarts of the Kākāriki community into the twentieth century. Te Ruwai's daughter Ngahua Matengaro (who married the renowned scholar and politician Te Taite Te Tomo) also spent most of her life at Kākāriki where – along with Kahurautete Durie – she was an active member of the Te Hiiri o Mahuta marae committee.³⁴⁸

The close relations between Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore are also evident in the lists of the tribes' various dead that were presented to Alexander Mackay in 1884. According to these lists, members of Ngāti Matakore – including Rāwiri Te Koha himself – were buried with Ngāti Rangatahi at Kākāriki, while individuals from Ngāti Rangatahi were interred at Te Karaka in Ngāti Matakore's urupā.³⁴⁹

Because of their close connections some argued that Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore were a single community with the same leaders and shared landholdings. This was the position taken by Hone Manuera in his testimony to the Native Land Court in August 1894. Hone told the Court that Wiari Rāwiri (Rāwiri Te Koha's nephew) was 'the chief of both hapū' along with Toa Rangatira and Hamapiri of Ngāti Rangatahi.³⁵⁰ Speaking at the same hearing, Reweti Te Rakaherea maintained that Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore lived 'apart from each other' but admitted that prior to the 1894 Native Land Court case there had 'never been any attempt . . . to separate the claims of the two hapus.'³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Ibid.; Angela Ballara, 'Te Tomo, Te Taite', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Volume Four: 1921-1940*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press), 1998, pp 518-519

³⁴⁹ 'Ngā Tūpāpaku o Ngati Maniapoto Kei Kākāriki, Rangataua' and 'Kei te Karaka e Nehu ana o Ngati Rangatahi Kei te Uurupa i a Ngati Maniapoto', Archives New Zealand, Wellington, MA 13 113, 71, Rangitikei-Manawatu Native Land Court Papers, (R20248949)

³⁵⁰ Whanganui Minute Book No 21, f 425

³⁵¹ Ibid

Conclusion

The Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore communities on the Rangitīkei River did not obtain legal ownership to their share of the Reureu Reserve until 1896. The Kākāriki and Te Karaka communities' long struggle to secure legal title to the portion of their land that had been reserved to them by Donald McLean had been marked by a Royal Commission in 1884 – in which Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore and their Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae neighbours had resisted competing claims to the Reureu Reserve from other tribal groups – and two expensive and divisive Native Land Court and Native Appellate Court cases.³⁵² The Native Land Court and Native Appellate Court cases (in 1895 and 1896 respectively) pit Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore against their northern neighbours in a dispute over who was entitled to which parts of the Reureu Reserve, and where the boundary between the contending groups should be located. Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore eventually received 1550 acres divided into two portions situated at either end of the reserve. The larger, southern portion, which ran northwards from the Rangataua Stream and included the communities' kāinga at Kākāriki and Te Karaka, consisted of 1033 acres, less the land that had been taken for the railway, roads and the Kākāriki gravel pit. The smaller northern section included 517 acres, and was located at the very top of the Reureu Reserve. Known to the Native Land Court as Reureu 3, the 517 acres had been located at the upper end of the reserve in order to prevent the area awarded to Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore at the southern end of the reserve (Reureu 2) from encroaching upon territory occupied by Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae in the middle part of the Reureu Reserve.³⁵³ The division of their land into two separate portions underlined the prejudice that Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore had suffered at the time of the Reureu Reserve's creation, when McLean had refused to extend the reserve's boundaries further inland from the Rangitīkei River in order to include all of the communities' land along the Rangataua Stream.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', Wai 2200, #A213, pp 478-481

³⁵³ Ibid., p 489

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p 476

Figure 4.1 Survey Plan Showing the Subdivision of the Reureu Reserve into Reureu Nos 1, 2 and 3 (Blocks 2 and 3 were awarded by the Native Appellate Court to Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore)



Ownership of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore's portions of the Reureu Reserve were vested in 97 individuals. While most of these individual owners received a single share, a few like Wiari Rāwiri, Toa Rangatira, Reweti Te Te Rakaherea, and Riwai Te Ruakirikiri were awarded double shares. Mihi-ki-Tūrangi (who was awarded a single share) appeared on the list of owners as Mihi Matawhā. No distinction was made between those owners who belonged to Ngāti Rangatahi, and those who were affiliated with Ngāti Matakore.³⁵⁵

The Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore sections were partitioned amongst their owners in November 1905. Reureu 2 was divided into 15 sections, while Reureu 3 was partitioned into three.³⁵⁶ Necessitated by the individualised form of land tenure imposed upon the land's owners by the colonial government's Native land laws, the partitioning of Reureu 2 and 3 fragmented what had once been community owned assets. Subsequent partitioning made it increasingly difficult for Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore to sustain themselves on an area of land that was already inadequate. While some members of the community such as Mihi-ki-Tūrangi's daughter Kahurautete (who married Hoani Meihana Te Rama Apakura or John Mason Durie) were able to continue farming the land others were obliged to seek a living elsewhere.³⁵⁷ Amongst the members of Ngāti Matakore who remained on the land were the descendants of Kairangatira (who was one of the members of the Ngāti Matakore community at the time of the Reureu Reserve's creation in 1870) including Brian and Dennis Emery's grandparents Kotahi Ngāatokoroa and Mangu Tāwhiao.³⁵⁸

Today, 927 of the 1550 acres awarded to Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore in 1896 remain as Māori freehold land. The 669 acres remaining in Reureu 2 (including the returned gravel reserve) are divided in 26 sections ranging in size from 92 acres to less than half an acre. Like many other areas of Māori freehold land, these relatively small pieces of land often have a considerable number of owners. More than half of the 30 remaining sections within Reureu 2 and 3 have more than 50 owners, while 11 have over 100.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Whanganui Appellate Minute Book No 5, ff 333-335

³⁵⁶ Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', Wai 2200, #A213, pp 511-513

³⁵⁷ Mason Durie, 'Durie, John Mason, 1889-1971', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Volume Four: 1921-1940*, (Auckland, Auckland University Press), 1998, pp 149-150, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4d25/durie-john-mason> (accessed 27 May 2020)

³⁵⁸ 'Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014', Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p 99 (Dennis Emery) & 184 (Puruhe Smith)

³⁵⁹ Husbands, 'Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000', Wai 2200, #A213, pp 597-599

Sustained over the course of the twentieth century by those who remained, including Kahurautete Durie, Ngahuia Matengaro, Hakaraia Te Katoa, and the Riwai whanau, Te Hiiri o Mahuta at Kākāriki remains a functioning marae to this day.³⁶⁰ The settlement of Kākāriki, however, has not survived. Ngāti Matakore's settlement at Te Karaka and the meeting house at Te Marae o Hine are also no longer standing despite having been maintained for most of the twentieth century by the descendants of Kairangatira.³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Herangi, pp 29-33

³⁶¹ Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hui Held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014', Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p 99 (Dennis Emery) & 184 (Puruhe Smith)

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