

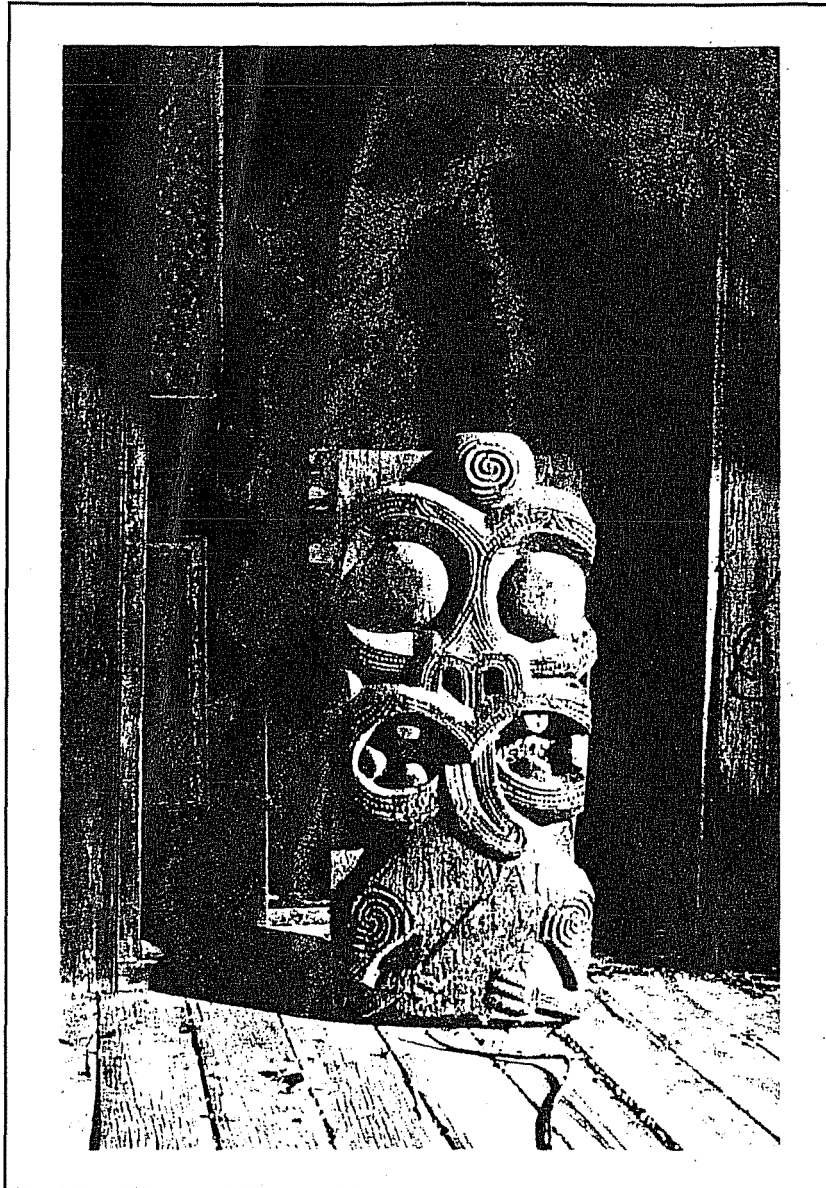
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THE AHURIRI BLOCK

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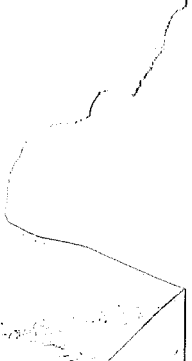


The tekoteko Tarewai at the entrance
to Manahau meeting house, Wharerangi - 1981

MAORI CUSTOMARY INTERESTS

Patrick Parsons
May 1997

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3 March, 1998.

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Waitangi Tribunal,
Wellington.

Kia Ora Dean,

Firstly many thanks for the WAI 400 reports you sent me last month. They have now been added to my growing reference library and while I seldom read them from cover to cover there are often sections containing information I have never seen before and which shed light on events that have caused me to wonder in the past.

Enclosed is the definitive copy of my WAI 400 Maori customary interests in the Ahuriri Block report. Apart from eliminating spelling mistakes I have amended references 2 and 3 which couldn't be cross-checked until Napier Minute Bk 14 returned from National Archives where it had lain since 1995 or 1996.

I am currently examining coastal boundaries in this area which have reference to jurisdiction over fishing rights. I have been going through old missionary records which contain some fascinating material and I'm often in danger of being sidetracked as you can imagine.

I hope this report reaches you in one piece. I have left it unbound so it can be reproduced.

Regards,

Pat Parsons

MAORI CUSTOMARY RIGHTS IN THE AHURIRI BLOCK.

by PATRICK PARSONS.

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WAI 400: AHURIRI PURCHASE.

MAORI CUSTOMARY RIGHTS WITHIN THE AHURIRI PURCHASE BOUNDARIES.

INTRODUCTION.

The Ahuriri Block, estimated to contain 265,000 acres, was purchased from the Maori of the Ahuriri district by Doanald McLean, Crown Commissioner, on Monday, 17 November, 1851. The WAI 400 Waitangi Tribunal Claim concerns the land within the boundaries of this purchase and the hapu or sub-tribes who exercised customary rights to it.

BOUNDARIES OF THE PURCHASE.

The following boundaries are quoted from Turton's Deeds:-

'The boundaries of the land as agreed upon by ourselves at our first meetings for negotiation with Mr. McLean are these: Commencing at the place where the Tutaekuri and Puremu Rivers discharge themselves into the sea, the boundary runs in the Puremu to Tamahinu on reaching which place it runs in the Tutaekuri to Ohakau when it leaves the Tutaekuri and proceeds along the survey line to Tareha's post at Umukiwi and along the survey line of Mr. Park the surveyor and ourselves to Kohurau on reaching which place it proceeds to the confluence of the Waiharakeke and Ngaruroro rivers thence the boundary runs along the ridge of Te Kaweka to the confluence of the Mangatutu and Mohaka Rivers and on in the course of the Mohaka to Mangowhata and on in the Mangowhata Stream to the Taupo road and along the said road to Titiokura and along the said road to Kaiwhaka and in the course of the Kaiwhaka to Opotamanui thence to Waiohinganga to Whanganui-o-roto thence to our reserve at Te Niho thence to Te Rere-o-tawaki where our reserve ends, the boundary continues thence to Te Puka and on to the Puremu River.'¹

'At former meetings for negotiation between ourselves and Messrs. McLean and Park at Te Awapuni we agreed to entirely give up all the

¹ Turton's Deeds, page 491.

stony spit from Ruahoru to Ahuriri, we also agreed entirely to give up Mataruahou, Pukemokimoki being the only portion of Mataruahou reserved for ourselves, together with the small piece of land where the children and family of Tareha are buried during such time as it remains unoccupied by the Europeans.'

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH.

The Direction Commissioning Research is contained in a communication from the Waitangi Tribunal dated 26 July, 1996. The job description appears under the heading 1(c) and reads:-

'A customary overview report of the area covered by the 1851 Ahuriri purchase which includes mana whenua information and identifies all the hapu with interests in the Ahuriri area. This report should also detail any specific hapu or whanau interests in the Ahuriri area.'

STATEMENT ON MAORI CUSTOMARY RIGHTS.

Maori customary rights may be defined as the code which Maori society observed down through the ages and which existed at the time of European colonisation. Customary rights were inherited at birth and relinquished at death. For the benefit of the reader who may be unfamiliar with Maori custom it is appropriate to record here guidance given by authorities last century which may shed light on some of the events recorded in this report.

1. Grounds of customary rights.

Te Meihana Takihi enjoyed a reputation as an authority on Maori custom. He gave evidence in the Omahu Hearing in August, 1889. In his introduction Te Meihana enumerates his grounds of claim.

'My name is Te Meihana Takihi. I live at Pakowhai outside of the block before the Court. I know the block before the Court, Omahu. I have a right to it under the hapus Ngati Hawea, Ngati Hinetahu, Ngati Kautere. Myself and my hapus claim by:-

- Ancestry
- Permanent occupation
- Gift
- Ringakaha (Bravery)
- Conquest
- Mana
- Bravery (Toa)

2. Mana and Occupation.

Mana refers to the authority possessed by a chief or a hapu over people or land. Occupation is expressed in terms of 'ahi ka' or long-burning fires on the land. Of the rights quoted above by Te Meihana, mana and occupation were the most frequently debated in the Native Land Court. The following extract taken from the Porangahau Hearing of 1887 represents the understanding of the chief Henare Matua of Porangahau.

'All the people from Heretaunga to Wairarapa are descendants of Whatuiapiti. That ancestor's mana rests on all his descendants equally, individually, and not on a few only. But so far as bringing up that mana as giving right to land, it is false. There are different descendants at Heretaunga who are in blocks through ancestry and occupation and bring up that mana as to their chieftainship. This mana has never been brought up as giving right to land. None of us, though possessing this mana, but having no occupation, have attempted to be admitted into the blocks at Heretaunga.'²

Hamana Tiakiwai, a chief of Wairoa, whose mother was raised in Heretaunga but married away explains why he makes no claim on the Porangahau block.

'Never heard that Te Huki had any mana over this land so as to place Ngarangiwakaupoko as he did. This latter had no mana. I admitted yesterday that I had no right to this land. I as a descendant of Whatuiapiti lost my right to this land because I lived at the Wairoa. Others of his descendants are living in the district. If I had occupied the land I should have had a right. It is those who occupy and not merely visit that are entitled.'³

3. Consequences of abandoning occupation.

Customary rights possessed by a woman were affected if she married away from her own territory and joined her husband's people. The following statement occurs in the summary of Judge Wilson and his assessor Karaka Tarawhiti and relates to the Owhaoko Hearing of 1887.

'The claim made by Renata through the woman Punakiao and

²Porangahau Hearing, 1887. Napier Minute Bk 14, page 40. Ev. Henare Matua.

³ Porangahau Hearing, 1886. Napier Minute Bk 11, page 261. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

Honomokai, her son, is disallowed because the right, if any, of Punakiao to land at Owhaoko was forfeited by her marriage with Taraia 11. of Heretaunga. According to Maori custom a woman could not marry out of her tribe and retain her interest in the lands of her tribe. This rule was forced upon the Maori people to enable them to keep their tribal lands intact, and to prevent the waging of wars by young chiefs of other tribes to obtain a mother's patrimony.⁴

The history of the Ahuriri Block is liberally sprinkled with examples of the above, together with instances of gift, conquest and ringakaha. The aftermath of these events was also regulated by Maori custom and the means by which matters were resolved demonstrates the well-evolved nature of their civilisation. This was a people who had arrived at a workable system.

EXISTING RESEARCH RELATING TO THE BLOCK.

Four reports have been filed with the Waitangi Tribunal relating to the WAI 55 Ahuriri estuary claim and the WAI 299 Mohaka-Waikare Confiscated Lands claim. Patrick Parsons was commissioned to research them by the claimants and any relevance to WAI 400 is indicated below.

1. Te Whanganui a Orotu - Claimant's Report, March 1991.

This report contains entries from the journals of Donald McLean and William Colenso relating to the Ahuriri Purchase. It also provides information on McLean's methods of negotiation, the Purchase boundaries and events leading up to the Purchase. There are also details of the aftermath of the Purchase.

2. Te Whanganui a Orotu - Traditional Use and Environmental Change. (May, 1992.)

This report was compiled mainly from kaumatua interviews and focuses on customs surrounding the gathering of kaimoana in the Ahuriri estuary. Its value to WAI 400 is that it itemises pre - 1851 settlement on the shores surrounding the lake, most of which are located within the Ahuriri Purchase boundaries.

⁴ Owhaoko Hearing, 1887. Napier Minute Bk 13, page 108. Judge Wilson summary.

3. Ahuriri Estuary and Surrounds - Places of Spiritual Significance to the Maori. (February, 1995)

This report, prepared for the Napier City Council, documents pre-European occupation on Mataruahou and around the estuary together with historical background.

4. The Mohaka-Waikare Confiscated Lands - Ancestral Overview. (November, 1993.)

Part B of this report contains summaries of several ancestors whose histories impacted on the Ahuriri Purchase. In particular, Tunui of Heipipi pa (page 34,) Kahutapere 11 (page 51,) and Te Ruruku (page 71,) relate to the northern end of Te Whanganui a Orotu and the Petane Range. Further information is contained in Part D (page 146) which affects the Upper Mohaka River catchment.

5. WAI 299 Esk Forests in the Ahuriri Purchase - Customary Rights in the Te Pohue District. (August, 1994.)

This report relates directly to the Ahuriri Purchase and examines Maori customary rights in the Te Pohue district and the upper Mangaone catchment. It was commissioned to examine beneficiaries to the Esk and Rawhiti forests located within the Ahuriri Purchase.

TANGATAWHENUA OF THE AHURIRI DISTRICT.

When the custodians of the tribal history of Heretaunga appeared in the Maori Land Court last century, they spoke of the tangatawhenua, the original inhabitants who occupied the land. There was general agreement that the two earliest tribal groups to settle the Ahuriri District were Ngati Whatumamoa and Ngati Awa. Who were the ancestors of these people and where did they come from?

NGATI WHATUMAMOA.

Ngati Whatumamoa claim to be the original inhabitants of Heretaunga. They are the descendants of the celebrated explorer chief Mahu Tapoanui who lived principally in the Mahia and Waikaremoana districts. Some elders make a distinction between Mahu and the chiefs of the migrations, claiming that he was an original inhabitant and did not arrive on a canoe.

Mahu is known to have been contemporary with the journey of the original Takitimu canoe down the East Coast because his sister married Taewa a Rangi, one of the four tohunga who abandoned the canoe at Waimarama. Taewa set up the whare wananga or school of learning at Maungawharau on a high ridge above Waimarama. ⁵

Although Mahu never lived at Heretaunga he made several well-documented visits to the district. Omahu takes its name from one of his visits. 'Mahu Tapoanui was before Kahungunu's time. He had his kainga at sea and he was brought ashore by other ancestors. He arrived on shore at Whakaki. He had a raupo patch at Whakaki. At Wairoa he had shark and pipis and the places are called Pipi a Mahu and Maunga a Mahu. He proceeded to Omahu in Heretaunga, hence the name.' ⁶

Tribal historian Wiramina Ngahuka of Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu spoke of Mahu at the Omahu hearing of 1889. 'The descendants of Toi and Whatumamoa were divided into tribes and did not live together. Ngati Mahu Tapoanui lived in this district. Mahu Tapoanui was the very beginning of our people, a taniwha or god.' ⁷

⁵ Maori History and Place Names of Hawkes Bay by J.D.H.Buchanan, page 74.

⁶ Waikaremoana Hearing, 1916. Wairoa Min. Bk.27, page 287. ev. Hukanui Watene.

⁷ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Min. Bk.18, page 314. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

Te Orotu, a direct descendant of Mahu, established his people permanently at Ahuriri seven generations later. Te Whanganui a Orotu, the estuary at Ahuriri, takes its name from this ancestor. The great pa Heipipi on the Petane Range is associated with Ngati Whatumamoa and may date from Orotu's settlement. Two of Orotu's kainga were located on the shores of Te Whanganui a Orotu. One was on Tuteranuku island and the other at Tiheruheru on the mainland at Poraiti. ⁸

Eventually Orotu abandoned Heretaunga, leaving Ahuriri in the possession of his son Whatumamoa. This is referred to in an oriori composed by Te Tahatu o Te Rangi.

Kia noho ai taua
I te kainga o to tipuna
O Whatumamoa
I Heretaunga waiho e Te Orotu
Waiho ki a Whatumamoa
Nona te kiri pango
E mau ki a taua nei.

That we should dwell
In the home of your ancestor,
Of Whatumamoa
In Heretaunga, abandoned by Te Orotu,
Left to Whatumamoa
From whom comes the dark skin
We inherit to this day.

Orotu is said to have settled near Sinclair Head, Wellington, and later to have gone to the South Island. ⁹

Whatumamoa was left in possession of the Ahuriri district and his descendants became collectively known as Ngati Whatumamoa. Tribal historians isolate them as the original inhabitants of Heretaunga. Raniera Te Ahiko, an authority on the Maori history of Heretaunga states, 'The whole of the country from here (Heretaunga) to Patea belonged to Whatumamoa. Te Whatumamoa are descended from Tangaroa o Te Kore. Te Whatumamoa and Te Orotu did not come in a canoe.' ¹⁰

⁸ Omahu Hearing. (Blake Manuscripts - 17.7.1889, page 8.) Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

⁹ Rangitane by J. McEwen, page 24.

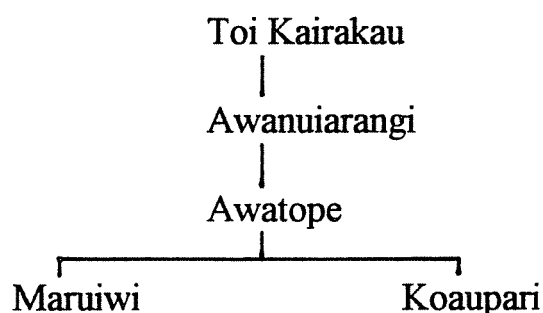
¹⁰ Napier Min. Bk. 16, page 260. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

Heipipi, the principal pa of Ngati Whatumamoā, spreads along the Petane hills between Bay View and Kaimata. There are a series of fortified sites and there have been varying opinions on which is the original Heipipi and which were the outposts. In the late 1400s Heipipi was occupied by the powerful tohunga chief Tunui. Genealogies show him to be a great, great grandson of Pania of the Reef and some of his exploits demonstrate a close affinity with the ocean. One account speaks of him riding out to sea on the back of the whale Ruamano. He may have been of Whatumamoā descent or could have functioned as their tohunga. An enigmatic figure, the surviving whakapapa show him as a descendant of Tangaroa and of Hau.¹¹

NGATI AWA.

In terms of permanent occupation at Ahuriri, Ngati Awa rank second to Ngati Whatumamoā. They are descendants of Awanuiarangi who is variously described as the son or grandson of the navigator chief, Toi Kairakau. This is the same Toi who came to Aotearoa in search of his grandson Whatonga, lost at sea during a regatta in Hawaiiiki. Toi finally settled at Kapu Te Rangi pa on the heights above Whakatane.¹²

Whakapapa from the Heretaunga district show Awanuiarangi as the son of Toi Kairakau. Toi is said to have taken Kuraimonoa of Whakatane to wife and that she was the mother of Awanuiarangi. This Awa should not be confused with the ancestor of the present-day Ngati Awa of the Whakatane district.



The above whakapapa illustrates the relationship between Toi and his great grandsons Maruiwi and Koaupari. Toi is not known to have occupied the Ahuriri district although the pa site Otoi at Tangoio suggests he may

¹¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Min. Bk. 19, page 409. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹² Takitimu by J.H. Mitchell, page 20.

have visited. Maruiwi and Koaupari, however, are both documented as having spent time in Hawke's Bay.

The eminent tribal historian of Heretaunga, Raniera Te Ahiko, spoke of Ngati Awa at the Omaha hearing of 1889. 'The land belonged to Turauwha and Orotu. Heipipi was their pa. Otatara was Awa and Koaupari's pa. Orotu was father of Whatumamoā. Te Whanganui a Orotu was named after him. Koaupari was an emigrant from Whakatane and Ohiwa. He arrived here shortly before Taraia's advent. They were both driven from their homes.'¹³

Few historians have written of the Ngati Awa who settled in Heretaunga. Elsdon Best recorded that Awanuiarangi was supposed to have migrated south to the Ahuriri district where he founded a tribe known as Te Tini o Awa. He maintains that they returned to the Bay of Plenty after being attacked at Heipipi and other places by Taraia I. during the Ngati Kahungunu invasion.¹⁴

If Awanuiarangi himself settled in Heretaunga the details don't survive in local tradition. By contrast his grandsons Maruiwi and Koaupari are well-known and events from their lives are indelibly stamped on the history of the district.

MARUIWI.

Maruiwi was the elder of Awanuiarangi's grandsons. He is associated with Waimana in the Bay of Plenty. Through trouble largely of his own making, Maruiwi abandoned Waimana and set out with his people via the interior to Ahuriri. The migrating party emerged from the forests at Okoromatakiwi near Runanga on the Napier-Taupo road. There they camped for some time. It is probable that Maruiwi planned to join his brother Koaupari who had gained a foothold at Otatara pa above Waiohiki.

While camped at Okoromatakiwi Ngati Maruiwi suffered an attack by the sons of Tuwharetoa. Fighting for their very existence they rose up and defeated Ngati Tuwharetoa, slaying the chiefs Rongomaitengangana and Taniwha, the sons of Tuwharetoa, and a sizeable portion of their warparty. The bodies were piled up at the base of a tree and as a result the fight and location took the name Owakatihi.

¹³ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Min. Bk.19, page 218. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

¹⁴ Tuhoe by Elsdon Best, page 64.

Ngati Maruiwi realised that they would have to abandon the territory and brought the bodies of the victims on to Te Purotu, near the Tarawera end of the Mohaka bridge. There they built a large oven and incinerated the bones of the enemy. Because the dead were men of high rank the oven was named Umuariki. Maruiwi and his son Pakaumoana then established temporary residence on the fertile banks of the Mohaka river.

Word reached the survivors of Tuwharetoa that Maruiwi had settled on the Mohaka river and they regrouped under the chiefs Rakeihopukia and Taringa, set on avenging the deaths of their kinsmen. They launched an attack on the Maruiwi and this time they were successful although a considerable number escaped across the Mohaka river and made their way up onto the Maungaharuru range.

Tuwharetoa then invoked the tribal god Irakewa to bring about the destruction of the fleeing Maruiwi. They offered up the heart of a high-ranking Maruiwi chief as a sacrifice. Their tohunga delivered the incantations to complete the ceremony. As Maruiwi crossed the Titiokura summit lightning flashed up on Maungaharuru, a fierce storm struck the Mohaka valley and fireballs were seen darting through the air.¹⁵

Alarmed at the powers of the tohunga, Maruiwi pressed on down the eastern slopes of Titiokura, past Lake Te Pohue, only stopping to rest at nightfall near the entrance to Rukumoana road. It was Noa, daughter of Maruiwi, who supervised the preparation of the campfires. Just as they were about to be lit a scout raced up to break the news that Tuwharetoa were almost upon them.

In the ensuing panic the stage was set for a tragedy of epic proportions, a tragedy which still pervades the deep and treacherous Pokopoko ravine five hundred years after the event. Maruiwi, displaying considerable presence of mind, directed his son Pakaumoana to split off from the main body with a small group of followers and make for Heipipi pa down at the coast. This group of seven were destined to be the sole survivors of the Maruiwi tribe.

Plunging on blindly through the high bracken, Maruiwi and his followers advanced into the night, unaware of the chasm that loomed in front of them. If the refugees at the rear heard the cries of the frontrunners

¹⁵ Tuwharetoa by J.H. Grace, page 134.

hurtling to their deaths it was too late to turn back. They were carried over by their own momentum. Any who hesitated fell victim to the pursuing Tuwharetoa. The Mangaone river is said to have run red with blood in the wake of the tragedy.

A lament for the ill-fated Maruiwi, dating from the time of the tragedy, still survives today.

Te Heke o Maruiwi ki Te Po.

Ko te heke o Maruiwi
Toremi ki te reinga
I whakakopaia mai i Taraiti
I te maunga i te hu
Ka hoki te wai o Pakiteao
Ko te heke o Maruiwi
Toremi ki te reinga
I a Ruaimoko e ____.

The migration of Maruiwi
That descended into Hades
It fled from Taraiti
And when caught on the hill
The waters of Pakiteao began to flow
The migration of Maruiwi
Thus descended into Hades
Forced by Ruaimoko.

Among the seven who escaped with Pakaumoana were Paretuiri and her young son, Te Umuariki, named after the oven into which his father, Matangikaiawha, was placed. Pakaumoana made his way down to Heipipi where he joined Tunui, the powerful tohunga chief. He subsequently married Hinetu, sister of Tunui, and had one son, Paretararoa. Both these men are mentioned in association with Otatara pa which suggests Pakaumoana may have joined his uncle Koaupari there.

TE KOAUPARI.

The story of Koaupari is both fragmented and contradictory. The younger brother of Maruiwi, his life is not well-documented because of the nomadic existence he led in his lifelong quest for a place to settle his people. He is also a relatively ancient ancestor which may explain the lack

of documentation. What is known is that he was a persistent chief who clung tenaciously to every foothold he gained, only to be moved on by the neighbouring tribes who recognised the danger of allowing him to settle.

Accounts survive from Mohaka to Inland Patea of Koaupari's confrontations with the tangatawhenua and some must be treated with suspicion. One account associates him with Ngati Whatumamoā and Heipipi pa.

From here, (Whakatane) a large section of the tribe known as the Mamoe or Whatumamoā came through to Hawke's Bay led by the chief Te Koaupari. They built two very strong and large pas, one at Heipipi and the other at Otatara.¹⁶ Another account from the same source refers to Koaupari sacking two pa on Roro o Kuri island in the Napier inner harbour.¹⁷

The authority who has the most to say about Koaupari is Raniera Te Ahiko, a highly-respected tribal historian who lived at Omahu until his death in 1894.¹⁸ He makes a distinction between Ngati Awa, from whom Koaupari originates, and Ngati Whatumamoā. 'The land belonged to Turauwha and Orotu. Heipipi was their pa. Otatara was Awa and Koaupari's pa. Orotu was father of Whatumamoā. Te Whanganui a Orotu was named after him. Koaupari was an emigrant from Whakatane and Ohiwa. He arrived here shortly before Taraia's advent. They were both driven from their homes. Koaupari came and squatted upon Turauwha's land. That is why Koaupari's people were slaughtered.'¹⁹

Raniera speaks of Koaupari again in the Owhaoko Hearing. 'He fought against Koaupari who was one of the original inhabitants of Heretaunga. Taraia came from Turanga (Poverty Bay) and defeated Koaupari at Otatara. Those defeated fled to Taranaki and other places leaving the land in the possession of the conquerors. Te Ana a Te Koaupari was named after this man - across the Rangitikei river.'²⁰

Totara, son of Koaupari, is said to have been captured during Taraia's assault on Otatara. 'They fought against the pa of Koaupari. The pa was taken and some of the occupants escaped to Waiohiki. Te Koaupari

¹⁶ History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, page 41.

¹⁷ History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, page 27.

¹⁸ Dictionary of N.Z. Biography, Vol. 2, page 513.

¹⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 218. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

²⁰ Owhaoko Hearing - 1885. Napier Minute Bk. 9, page 132. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

escaped. His son Totara was captured. Te Koaupari fled to Taranaki by way of Ruahine, Patea and Wanganui.²¹

It appears from the above evidence that Koaupari and his tribe Ngati Awa were not associated with Ngati Whatumamoā or Heipipi pa but rather with Ngati Awa and Otatara pa. This is supported by Hamana Tiakiwai in the Omaha Hearing. 'Heipipi pa belonged to Whatumamoā and to his descendants. Otatara pa was owned by Awanuiarangi and Turauwha. I mean it was owned by the descendants of Awanuiarangi.'²²

If Koaupari was the chief of Otatara pa and indeed its builder, this may be where Maruiwi and his followers were making for when they met their fate at Te Pohue. Pakaumoana is claimed to have lived there and some say he was killed there during Taraia 1's invasion. 'The conquest through which I claim is Taraia's. Ngati Awa and Rangitane formerly owned Heretaunga. Otatara pa was the place taken by Taraia in which he conquered Ngati Awa. The chiefs that were killed there were Paretararoa, Pakaumoana and others.'²³

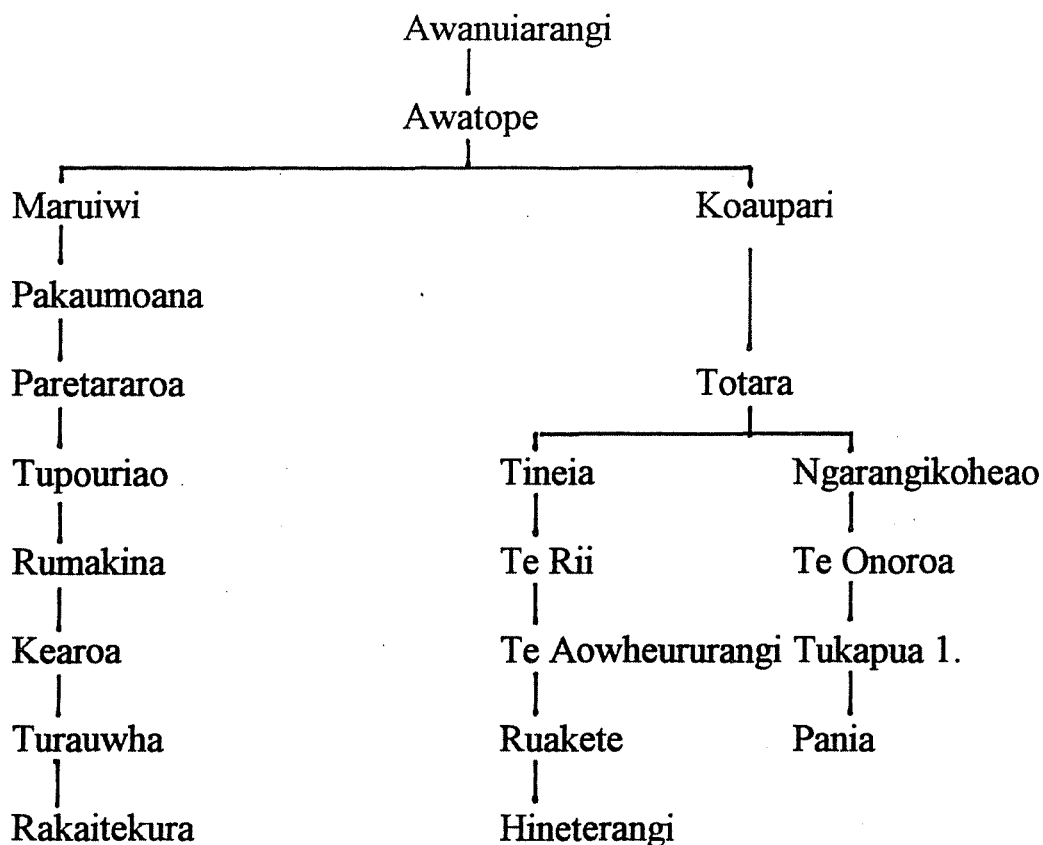
Although the tribal historians quoted above describe the defeat of Koaupari at Otatara it is highly unlikely that he was still living at the time of Taraia's invasion. It is equally unlikely that his son Totara, or his nephew Pakaumoana for that matter, were living at the time of the Kahungunu invasion. Turauwha, high chief of Otatara at the time of the invasion, is five generations in direct descent from Pakaumoana which eliminates any question of them being contemporaries. When the tribal historians speak of the defeat of Koaupari they are probably referring to Ngati Koaupari rather than the chief himself. Knowing the association of these men with Otatara they wove them into the events associated with the pa.

The relationship between Turauwha and the earlier players in the history of Otatara can best be illustrated by genealogy. Descendants of each line later married into the invading Kahungunu forces and the last name on each line represents one of these marriages. Rakaitekura married Rangituehu, nephew of Taraia. Hineterangi married Kahutapere 11., one of Taraia's generals. Pania married Tikorua, uncle of Taraia.

²¹ Owahaoko Hearing - 1887. Napier Minute Bk. 12, page 236. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

²² Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 17. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

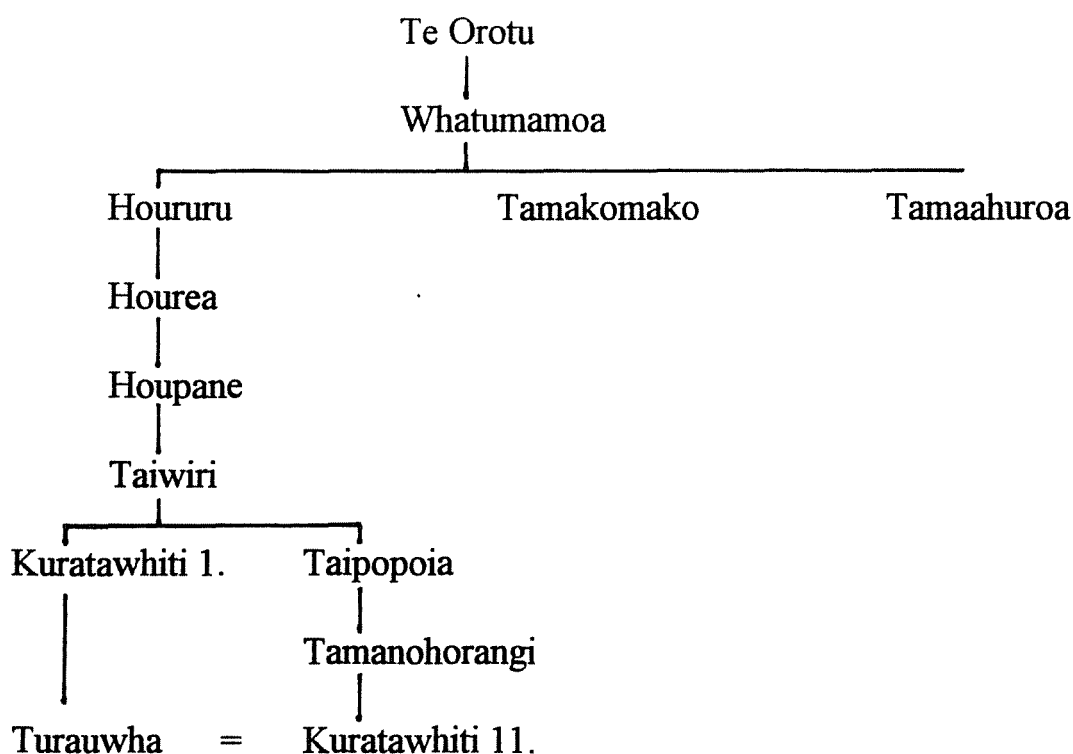
²³ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 78. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.



As will be demonstrated in the next section, the ancestors at the bottom of each of the three lines illustrated above were contemporary with the Kahungunu invasion of the mid 1500s. The unlikelihood of Pakaumoana or Koaupari being alive at that time is immediately apparent. Little has survived of the bridging ancestors but they remain very real as the link between the tangatawhenua and the generation which married into Ngati Kahungunu.

THE NGATI KAHUNGUNU INVASION.

The relatively tranquil existence of Ngati Whatumamoana and Ngati Awa continued into the first half of the sixteenth century. Any differences they may have experienced with Ngati Ira at the northern end of the Maungaharuru range or with Rangitane on the south side of the Ngaruroro river were minor and easily adjusted. Te Whanganui a Orotu was an abundant source of kaimoana in the summer months. In the winter, the forests of Puketitiri and Te Pohue, blessed with prolific birdlife, provided for the needs of the people. Under these conditions both tribes thrived and were relatively united under the high chief Turauwha, whose mother Kuratawhiti 1 was of the Ngati Whatumamoana and whose father Kearoa was of Ngati Awa.



However, unbeknown to these people stormclouds were gathering in the north. Rongomaitara, elder sister of Rakaihikuroa, had given birth to twin sons at Turanganui in Poverty Bay. These twins were made much of by the people and it became apparent that they would become great chiefs one day. This clashed with Rakaihikuroa's ambitions for his youngest son Tupurupuru. At Tupurupuru's birth his father had decreed that the stars of heaven should be set far apart so no star would rise to threaten that of his son.

Rakaihikuroa brooded over this situation. Matters were made worse by Tupurupuru's affection for his younger cousins. He enjoyed their company and spent much time watching them at play. Jealous of their popularity, Rakaihikuroa conceived a plot to have them murdered and prevailed on his nephew Tangiahi to carry out the dastardly deed. Tangiahi observed where the twins went to play with their tops. He dug a deep pit and covered it over with sticks and turf. When the boys came down to spin their tops they plunged into the pit which Tangiahi filled in, thus burying Tupurupuru's rivals.

By evening the twins had still not returned and their parents began to suspect foul play. Kahutapere 1, father of the twins, constructed two kites from raupo, shaped like hawks, and launched them into the breeze. These were no ordinary kites. Empowered by special incantations they rose up to seek out the wrongdoers. Relentlessly they made their way to

Rakaihikuroa's pa and as they hovered over his house they bobbed repeatedly and so the guilty were exposed.

The grieving relatives attacked Rakaihikuroa's pa. Rakaihikuroa came out to meet them and in the ensuing confrontation Tupurupuru was killed by Whakarau. Rakaihikuroa retreated into his pa while the attacking party carried Tupurupuru's body off. Thus the twins, Tarakiuta and Tarakitai were avenged.

In his distress at causing the death of his son, Rakaihikuroa abandoned Turanganui. Gathering up his relatives he migrated to Nukutaurua on Mahia peninsula where he established himself at Okurarenga pa. Hearing that Kahuparoro and Hauhau, the chiefs of the place were going on a visit to Turanganui, Rakaihikuroa warned them not to disturb Tupurupuru's bones which were buried there.

Ignoring Rakaihikuroa's warning, or possibly in defiance of it, Kahuparoro gathered up Tupurupuru's bones and brought them back to Te Mahanga at Mahia. Some of the bones were made into fish-hooks and brought on to Nukutaurua. Kahuparoro was playing dangerous games, games which arguably precipitated the Kahungunu invasion of Heretaunga.

Tamanuhiri, a son of Rakaihikuroa, joined Kahuparoro on a fishing expedition to Matakana rock. Kahuparoro hooked a large hapuku and in his excitement he jeered at it and cried out that it was wasting its time trying to escape from a fish-hook made from the bones of a rangatira. Then Tamanuhiri realised that Tupurupuru's bones were being used so he struck himself on the nose and held his head over the side of the canoe as if in a faint. Kahuparoro thought he had had a fit and dropped him off on the shore before returning to the fishing grounds.

Tamanuhiri then made haste to inform his father of Kahuparoro's treachery. Rakaihikuroa knew that another fishing party was scheduled for the following morning and had some of his warriors lie in wait for them at dawn. Meanwhile he sent out another contingent to assist Kahuparoro's men who were digging fern root. Again Tupurupuru's bones were rumoured to have been used to make digging implements. An attack was launched on the diggers and in all 140 of Kahuparoro's men fell.

Matters didn't end there. Word reached Rakaihikuroa and his son Taraia that part of Tupurupuru's body had been taken to Wairoa. This needed investigation so Taraia led his people to Wairoa and called for canoes to

carry them across the river. This request was turned down so Taraia resorted to strategy to entice the canoes across.

Taraia's plan involved his daughter Hinekura. They gave her a full body tattoo and raised her up on a litter to attract the attention of the people across the river. Then they arranged for hakas to be performed wherever she went and for people to gather around. The sight of the naked, tattooed Hinekura excited the curiosity of the people across the river and some crossed in their canoes for a closer look. The crowds surrounding Hinekura engulfed them and struck them down. Soon Taraia had all the canoes he needed and his warriors crossed the river and defeated the uncooperative force on the other side. Only Rakaimoari escaped. He beat a retreat down the coast to Arapawanui. The name of the fight was Te Eketia.²⁴

There are several theories as to why Taraia pursued his invasion down into Heretaunga. Having abandoned Turanganui, he and his relatives were left landless and may have been looking for new territory to settle. There is a suggestion that Rakaimoari was carrying some of Tupurupuru's bones when he fled Te Eketia and that this led Taraia on to Arapawanui.

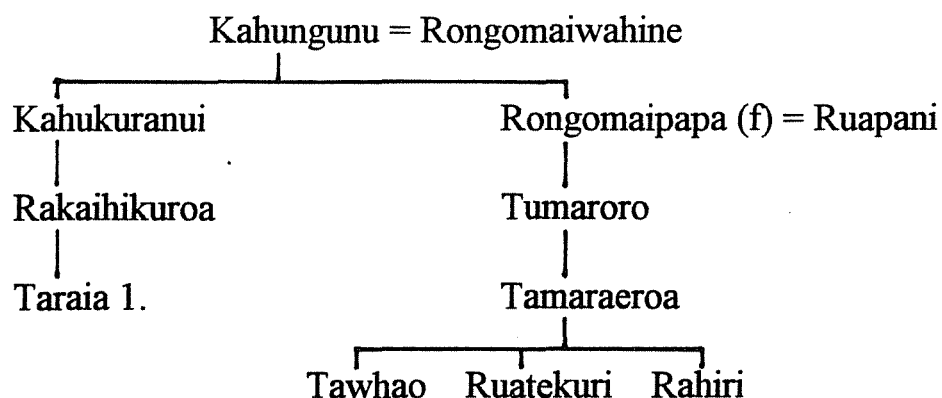
In his evidence in the Puketitiri Hearing Te Teira Te Paea referred to Taraia's invasion. 'Tangiahi and Taraia came from different directions to find out who was using Tupurupuru's bones for fish-hooks. Tupurupuru was a child (a younger brother) of Taraia and was slain at Gisborne by Whakarau, a Gisborne man. Kaiwharoro or Kahuparoro was the man who took the bones of Tupurupuru for fish-hooks. Kahuparoro was slain. Rakaiweriweri, (alias Rakaimoari) his companion, escaped. Taraia chased by sea and Tangiahi came by land. Rakaihikuroa came with Tangiahi. I heard Taraia alone came by canoe.'²⁵

Before Taraia left Wairoa for Arapawanui he was joined by Ngai Tamawahine, another branch of Ngati Kahungunu who were closely related to him. Taraia split his forces in two. He led the coastal party in his newly captured canoes. With him were his wife Hinepare, his son Rangitaumaha, his nephew Rangituehu (Tupurupuru's son), Te Aomatarahi, and the Ngai Tamawahine chiefs Tawhao, Ruatekuri and

²⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, pages 81-85. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

²⁵ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 252. Ev. Te Teira Te Paea.

Rahiri. This party set off by sea in pursuit of Rakaimoari who was holed up at Arapawanui.



The other contingent travelled overland via Mohaka. The leaders of this force were Rakaihikuroa, his brother Tikorua and his nephew Tangiahi, son of Tikorua. Kahutapere 11. is believed to have accompanied this party as well. It may have been considered advisable to split the forces in two as Taraia was going into unknown country and there was a need to reconnoitre. Also two war parties gave an impression of strength and organisation.

The following account of Taraia's confrontation with Rakaimoari or Rakaiweriweri as he was sometimes known, was given by Te Pango Whareauahi. 'The migration now passed on to Mohaka, Waikare, Moeangiangi and to Aropawanui. Here they camped on the east side of the mouth of the river, and there they saw the man Rakaiweriweri standing with his hair done up in a koukou top-knot, adorned with huia and kotuku feathers; he was standing on the bank of the pa named Te Puku o Te Wheki. When Taraia saw him he took a stone and cast it upwards, which struck the koukou and cut it off.

The migration now paddled down to the mouth of the river Aropawanui and landed. There they fought the tangatawhenua, or people of the place. One party charged, then the other. Alas, the migration fled, even running out to sea. Then Hinepare, a daughter (grand daughter) of Rakaihikuroa stood on a rock in the sea bewailing, saying, "Fatigue of the men! Presently will the evil works of this woman be gazed at by those other men." And she dashed onto the rock a calabash, the sound of which in breaking was mistaken by her brothers for a skull crushed by a weapon.

Thereupon Taraia, Tawhao and their young relative Te Rangituehu returned to the fight. The people of the place now fled in confusion up the

Aropawanui river, and further up they were set upon by the party of Tangiahi, the son of Tikorua, which had come down the coast overland. The name of the battle was Waikoau.' ²⁶

The next obstacle to Taraia's ambitions was the formidable chief of Heipipi pa. Tunui, or Tunuiarangi, was a powerful tohunga whose reputation was already known to Taraia. The following extract from the Omaha Hearing was given by Paora Kaiwhata. 'After that Taraia came on to Te Uku (the cliffs at the north end of Whirinaki beach). Hinekatorangi, the daughter of Tunui, who was washing clothes there was killed and the party then went on to Heipipi on this side of Petane.' ²⁷

An account of events at Heipipi is given in J.G. Wilson's History of Hawke's Bay. 'As the sentinels at Heipipi could see far and wide from their lookout, Taraia waited until darkness before he proceeded any further. Leading his warriors he came down to the seashore below Heipipi. He told them his plan. Those with dark garments had to lie about, some on the shore, while others were to be tossed about by the waves so as to resemble blackfish being stranded, whilst he and the rest would hide close by.

In the early morning they put this plan into operation. In the first streaks of dawn the lookout from the tower noticed the stranded blackfish and aroused the people, who made their way down the hill to the shore to capture their prize. Tunui came out onto the hill to watch them.

When they reached the shore the warriors in ambush suddenly sprang out and proceeded to capture and kill them. Tunui, noticing this, suddenly cast incantations over them and the captives slipped out of the hands of the raiders. Taraia, noticing the man on the hill, asked if he was Tunui, and on being assured he was, asked him to come down to the shore. Tunui came and they rubbed noses and made peace, so there was no fighting.' ²⁸

THE SIEGE OF OTATARA.

Taraia then turned his attention to the great Ngati Awa pa, Otatara, above the E.I.T. at Taradale. This was the pa of the high chief Turauwha. It was said that when he stood at the top of Hikurangi, the upper pa, all the

²⁶ Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol 14, No. 2.

²⁷ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 408. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

²⁸ History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, page 42.

land he surveyed from the coast to the Kawekas was his domain. His father was Kearoa of Ngati Awa and his mother Kuratawhiti 1. of Ngati Whatumamoā.

There are several versions of the story. This one was taken from the evidence of Paora Kaiwhata in the Omahu Hearing.

Taraia asked Tunui if there were any paua at his place but was answered in the negative. He was told however that they could be found at the Kidnappers. Taraia wanted some then as he was hungry. He and his warparty went to the mouth of the river at Keteketerau near Petane, but a former entrance to the harbour. Taraia arriving there, Tunui went for his taniwha Ruamano and got the paua.

Taraia and his party went on to Otatara where a party came with 140 kits of fish, being the people of Tunui. They were consumed at one meal and Puarō a Taraia was then the name of that place.

Otatara was then attacked, in which were Ngati Awa in Hikurangi, the upper pa and Paretararoa was in the lower pa. I don't know who was chief of the upper pa. The people of that part came down to those in the lower to assist them against Taraia.

During the night an ambushade was set up against the upper part and it was taken next day when the lower part was attacked. The survivors fled to Taranaki. The lower pa of Paretararoa was not taken, but peace was made with it and the occupants were saved. Te Aomatarahi then took Totara prisoner. Taraia then returned to Wairoa taking the prisoner with him.

From Wairoa he came here with the main body of his people. They came by sea to Whakaari (at Tangoio). Totara went in the morning up a hill to view Heretaunga, his own place. On his return he saw an oven full of dogs had been eaten. A foot only was left for his share and he cried. That made him leave his captor.

He got into the canoe in which Taraia was, and lay in the bottom. On arrival at Hukarere he said to Taraia, "Go straight for Matariki!" and the rest of the canoes followed. When before the mouth of the Ngaruroro, Taraia turned in there but the rest went on to the Tukituki, thinking it was the Ngaruroro. Taraia who had entered the Ngaruroro, found the people had made a mistake.

Taraia asked Totara, "What forest is that?" and was told it was Raukawa. Taraia said that would be his drinking vessel, Te Ipu o Taraia. On landing he called that place also by the same name. By the time the other canoes came up he had passed Aria and taken possession of the land and the rest of the party remained on the other side, south of the Ngaruroro towards Tukituki. Then Taraia got the mana of the land at Ngaruroro. No one was at Otatara pa this time for the people had fled on seeing him, including Turauwha. They fled to Puketitiri.' ²⁹

PLACEMENT OF TARAIA'S FOLLOWERS.

Taraia settled Te Hika a Papauma, the descendants of his father's first marriage, between the Tukituki and Ngaruroro rivers. His general Te Aomatarahi overcame the Rangitane from the Tukituki river on to Te Matau a Maui (Cape Kidnappers) and down the coast to Akitio. Te Aomatarahi was rewarded with these lands. Another general, Kahutapere 11., took possession of the lands north of Te Waiohinganga, the Esk river.

Within these boundaries Taraia reserved some territory which remained under his personal control. 'Taraia's boundary from Ngaruroro to Waiohinganga, Titiokura, on to Mohaka - that is the land he wished to be regarded as possessor of. He had taken all this land during his fights.' ³⁰

IMPACT OF THE INVASION ON THE TANGATAWHENUA.

Some versions of the taking of Otatara would have it that Taraia found Turauwha laying siege to Ngati Awa and Rangitane. Taraia assisted Turauwha to drive them out and the two tribes settled amicably together. But this version of events oversimplifies matters. Evidence has survived from the descendants of the dispossessed which paints a different picture.

Paora Kaiwhata described Turauwha's flight from Otatara in the Pirau Hearing. 'Turauwha and his people slept when they could, making for Puketitiri in the Kaweka snowy ranges as they were fleeing for fear of Taraia. They fled to Puketitiri and as it happened to be a good season for birds they lived on them. In summer time they had not enough to eat, but in winter they had.

²⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 410. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

³⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 86. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

After some years of such a life they thought they would return to the settlement they had left. When they returned the land was fully inhabited by the invaders. They meant to come out at Poraiti on the road to Te Whanga as that was a place of shellfish, but found it inhabited by the invaders and found no room. They were landless. They lived in misery, and that was the end of all Turauwha's mana. Taraia seeing them thus circumstanced gave his nephew Rangituehu to Turauwha and said, "Take this our child to be a chief over you."

Tarauwha took the nephew and Rakaitekura, Turauwha's daughter became his foster mother. Afterwards this child married his foster mother. Hineiao was the result of that union. She married Rangitaumaha, the son of Taraia. From that union we claim this land. The mana over those lands, after Taraia, was inherited by Rangitaumaha.' ³¹

Of those who continued to occupy Heretaunga after Taraia's invasion, none felt the impact of the Ngati Kahungunu presence more keenly than Ngati Mahu, the descendants of Turauwha's son Tumahuki. The losses of Ngati Mahu are poignantly expressed in a lament known as Te Whatu's waiata which was composed by Te Whatu of Ngati Mahu about 200 years ago for a beloved grandchild, Te Iho o Te Rangi. The following version was sung by Heni Tamingahuka, a grand daughter of Te Whatu.

He Oriori Ki Tona Mokopuna Kia Te Iho o Te Rangi.

E tama e tangi nei, he tangi kai pea
 Kaore nei e tama he kainga i a taua
 Tena nga kainga
 Kai nga kainga wehewehe a o tipuna
 Ko Te Huhuti ano te taha ki Ruahine
 Ko Te Rerehu ko Tamanuhiri
 Ki runga ki Kawera
 Ko Hineiao ano ki tona tauranga
 Ki Tawhitinui
 Ko Hinekai ano ki tona wai u ki Te Rotokare
 Ko Haumahurua ano ki Ohiwia
 Ki Te Mokoparae
 Ka tau mai Taraia nga ngutu awa kahawai
 Kai Ngaruroro

³¹ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 202. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Ka whati mai o tipuna ki runga te tahuna
 Tapapa noa ai
 Hou he ra e ao ana
 Ka whakamanawa mai ki runga ki nga hiwi
 Nga uru rakau kai nga Tokorua-a-Houmea
 Kai Tapu-a-Tira
 E hara e tama he kaanga ahi hokotahi
 Kia horo te haere
 Nga taumata ki Te Poraiti
 Ko te kainga tena i pepehatia e o tipuna
 Te rua te paia ko Te Whanga
 He kainga to te ata
 He kainga ka awatea
 He kainga ka ahiahi e tama e i.

Translation of Te Whatu's waiata by A.L.D. Fraser, interpreter.

My son who is crying, are you crying for food?
 There is no land my son that is ours
 There are the lands
 Which were divided by your ancestors
 To Huhuti the side at Ruahine
 Te Rerehu and Tamanuhiri
 At and upon Kawera
 Hineiao to her landing place at Tawhitinui
 Hinekai to her mother's milk at Te Rotokare
 Haumahurua to Ohiwia
 And to Mokoparae
 When Taraia came
 To the kahawai river mouths at Ngaruroro
 Your ancestors were driven away
 To the banks and there squatted without right
 When a new day dawned
 They would take breathing time upon the hills
 And the dense forests at Ngatokorua-a-Houmea
 At Tapu-a-Tira (Puketitiri)
 Not there my son, once only the fire burned
 Go quickly
 To the mounds at Te Poraiti
 That is the land in a proverb by your ancestors
 The storehouse that never closes is Te Whanga
 A meal in the morning

A meal at noon
 A meal in the evening, my son hear.

Turauwha retired to his pa Tuhirangi and Mataotao above Moteo on the Tutaekuri river. Tribal archives record the circumstances of Rangituehu's marriage to his 'foster mother' Rakaitekura, daughter of Turauwha. One night while living at Mataotao Rakaitekura awoke to find the young Rangituehu had been making advances in her direction while she slept and complained to her father. Turauwha became enraged and demanded that they marry. Such a marriage did Turauwha's cause no harm at all and there is a strong suspicion that things had gone precisely as planned.³²

After the taking of Otatara the remainder of Turauwha's followers faded into obscurity. Otatara is arguably the largest pa site in the country and it is a curious fact that apart from Turauwha and his three children very few genealogies survive which represent the dispersal of the refugees. That substantial numbers died during the siege of Otatara is not disputed. A large ossuary is reputed to have been disturbed during quarrying activities at Redclyffe.

It is also likely that some of Turauwha's followers were absorbed by intermarriage. Although the lineal descent from Turauwha's time has survived many of the marriages are missing and these are presumed to have occurred within the tangatawhenua.

Is there any indication of what happened to those of Turauwha's followers who fled Otatara? Two quotes from the evidence of Raniera Te Ahiko, on pages 12 and 13 of this report, indicate that Koaupari and Ngati Awa fled to Taranaki and other places after abandoning Otatara. Koaupari is said to have travelled to Taranaki via Ruahine, Patea and Wanganui. A cave across the Rangitikei River took the name Te Ana a Te Koaupari from a brief stopover there.

Other documentation reinforces the tradition that Ngati Awa fled to Taranaki. Hohaia Te Hoata spoke of them in his evidence in the Omahu Hearing. 'The Ngati Awa whom Taraia conquered are living at Taranaki. The Ngati Awa who are living at Taranaki are descendants of those conquered by Taraia and Turauwha.'³³

³² Personal communication from the late Bob Cottrell.

³³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake manuscripts 31/7/89. Ev. Hohaia Te Hoata.

Another reference to a link with Ngati Awa of Taranaki is found in the Maori History of the Taranaki Coast by Percy Smith. He states, '-- but one authority (Ati-awa) says his home was at Napier where he had a house named Ahuriri, the foundations of which are still to be seen.'³⁴ It is interesting to note that Hirawanu Kaimokopuna, principal chief of Ngati Rangitane of the upper Manawatu River who died in 1870, has a line of descent from Tumahuki, son of Turauwha.

Turauwha
 |
 Tumahuki
 |
 Puketurua
 |
 Pokohuwai
 |
 Taiko
 |
 Tongariro
 |
 Te Muri
 |
 Koa
 |
 Hirawanu Kaimokopuna. d. 1870.

RANGITUEHU'S LEGACY.

Little has been recorded of Rangituehu's life after Taraia assigned him to the care of Turauwha other than that he was to be raised as a chief over Turauwha and his people. No doubt it was still fresh in Taraia's mind that Rangituehu was the son of his younger brother Tupurupuru whose mana had been placed above his own at Turanganui. Rangituehu is said to have found fault with his legacy, describing Mangaone to Turauwha as a poor place. (Napier Min Bk. 19, page 534). Relations between Taraia and Rangituehu weren't always amicable. One concerned a messenger of Rangituehu at Turanganui who went to Taraia for preserved birds. The

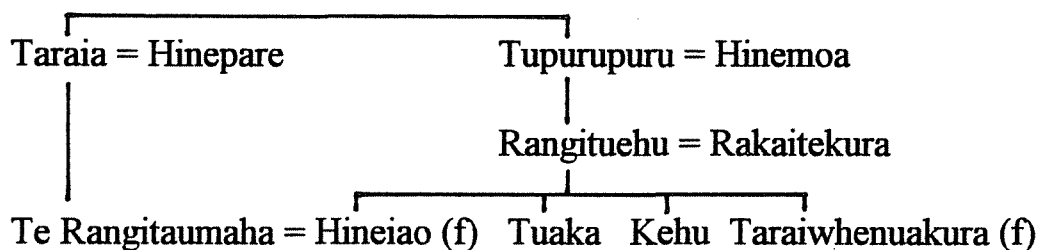
³⁴ History and Traditions of the West (Taranaki) Coast by S. Percy Smith, page 120.

messenger was sent back with the words, "Go. When his father was alive he was called a man, a chief, but now that he is dead he is a nobody." ³⁵

Another instance of a dispute between uncle and nephew occurred at the Ngaruroro rivermouth when Rangituehu struck his uncle with a kahawai. There were restrictions placed on Rangituehu's area of influence as well. He was confined to the interior where Turauwha had retreated after retreating from Otatara. His mana, too, was confined to the interior.

Paora Kaiwhata speaks of this in the Pirau Hearing. 'Turauwha's mana had disappeared from his running away on his continual defeat. Taraia gave Rangituehu, when a child, to Turauwha to bring up as his chief. It was then that Rangituehu had the lands from Tutaekuri, Mangaone to Puketitiri. Taraia gave no payment to Turauwha for bringing up Rangituehu except that he spared his descendants. Rangituehu had not got the mana at the time that Turauwha fled to Puketitiri. The latter had no mana under Rangituehu. The latter had all the mana. Turauwha had lost his mana when Taraia gave Rangituehu to him as his foster-child.' ³⁶

Taraia was taking no chances of Tupurupuru's mana reasserting itself via Rangituehu. Rangituehu's first-born child was a daughter, Hineiao, and Taraia had her married to his son Te Rangitaumaha.



Of Rangituehu's children only the descent of Hineiao remained in Heretaunga. 'All the people from Tuaka are in the whole of this island. Kehu went to Taupo and Tarawera and never returned. Tuaka was ancestor of Ngati Raukawa, Wanganui and others. Taraiwhenuakura died when she went to catch birds for Hineiao and had no issue.' ³⁷

With the dispersal of Rangituehu's children the question then arises who inherited his mana in the Tutaekuri, Mangaone and Puketitiri districts assigned to him by Taraia. The answer lies partly in the descent of

³⁵ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk 17, page 166. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

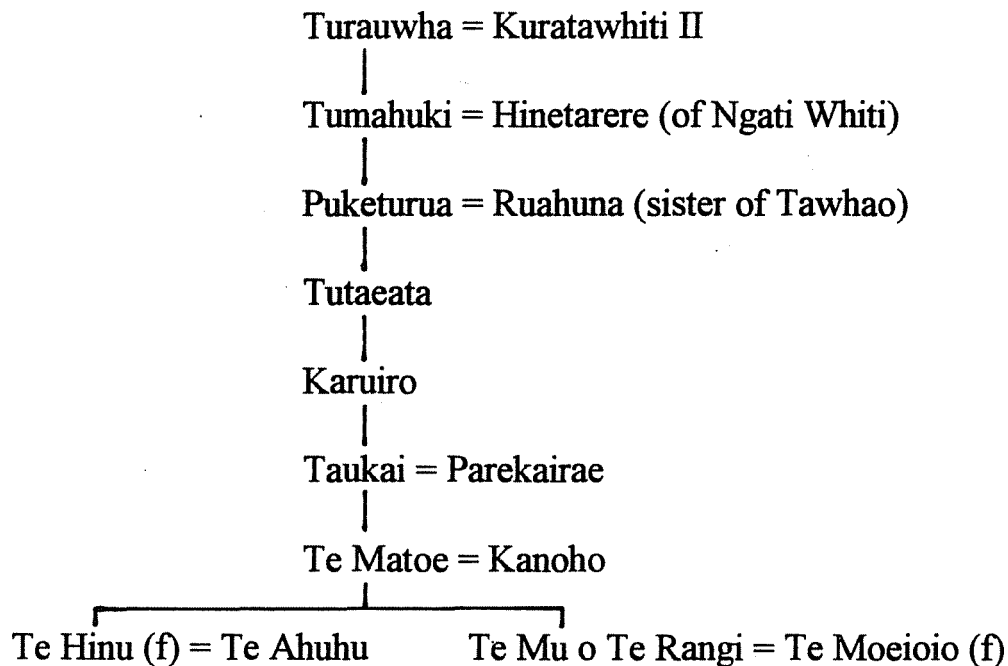
³⁶ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

³⁷ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 450. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Turauwha's sons, Tumahuki (Ngati Mahu), Pahau, (Ngai Tawhao). It also lies partly in the descent of Hineiao. A third tribal group also features in the equation, Ngati Ruapirau, a displaced remnant of Ngati Whatumamo.

NGATI MAHU.

Ngati Mahu are the descendants of Tumahuki, elder son of Turauwha.



Wiramina Ngahuka gives Pakikokiko as a kainga occupied by Ngati Mahu in former times. It is located on the south side of the Tutaekuri river opposite the Apley Road turnoff. 'Karuiro and Tutaeata lived there. Karuiro was the first to live there. Te Hinu and Te Mu were the last to live there. Pakikokiko is on Tuhirangi near the river Tutaekuri. Ruruarau and Hikateko lived on the other side of the Pakikokiko stream on the top of a small hill close to Pakikokiko. Pakikokiko was a name given by Tamatea. It was not a pa.' ³⁸

The earthworks of at least six pa sites bear silent testimony to the occupation of Ngati Mahu in the vicinity of the above-mentioned location at the head of the Dartmoor valley. They can be found on the Tutaekuri both upstream and downstream of the junction with the Mangaone river and on the Mangaone as well. They appear to have remained undisturbed while they adhered to this territory.

³⁸ Tuhirangi Hearing - 1900. Napier Minute Bk. 52, page 146. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka

From this locality the Ngati Mahu lands stretched westward to the Kaweka range. Ngati Mahu were subjected to attacks from raiding parties dwelling in the headwaters of the Mohaka river. 'The first warparty was of Ngati Maruwahine, Ngati Kurapoto and Ngati Tuwharetoa. They came to kill us. At that time I was known as Ngati Whatumamoa - (our tribal name). It was on this side of Kaweka that they came. It is very near this land. (Owhaoko) Ngaruroro divides them. Taukai, my ancestor, was killed by those people. After he was dead they followed the fugitives up to Aniwaniwa where Ngati Whatumamoa were living as the main body. A fight took place and the invaders were defeated. Hopara was name of fight. Whakarua was the chief. His inside was taken out but his body was taken away and from that time that place was called Te Puku o Whakarua. That was the first fight.'³⁹

There is further evidence of Ngati Mahu's occupation in the upper reaches of the Ahuriri Block which will be dealt with in historical sequence under Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Ruapirau. Further events occurred in Taraia I's time and his grandchildren's time which set the scene for the more modern history of Ngati Mahu.

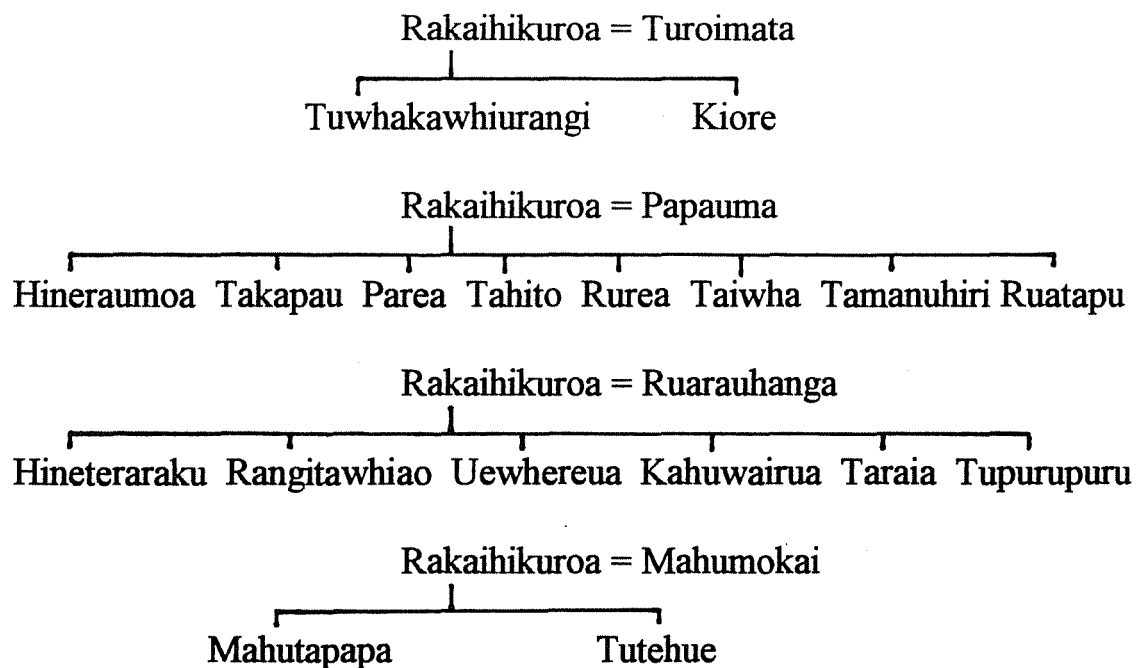
DISPUTES AMONG THE PROGENY OF RAKAIHIKUROA.

Rakaihikuroa, the parent of Taraia I., accompanied Taraia to Heretaunga and lived to an advanced age at Te Hika Pukanohinui near Pakowhai. He is known to have fathered at least nineteen children by his four wives and they followed a well-established pattern of infighting as they sought to establish territories and boundaries.

Most of the disputes concerned Te Hika a Papauma and Te Hika a Ruarauhanga. These were the descendants of two of Rakaihikuroa's wives, Papauma and Ruarauhanga. Taraia I. was a son of Ruarauhanga. He appears to have been conscious of the potential for friction between the two families and laid down clear boundaries between them. Te Hika a Papauma were located between the old Ngaruroro river and the Tukituki river and overlapped the Tukituki near Haumoana where their principal pa Te Kauhanga was located.

As the following history involves the children and grandchildren of Rakaihikuroa it is appropriate identify the children of each of his wives.

³⁹ Owhaoko Hearing - 1887. Napier Minute Bk 12, page 300. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.



Some genealogies give other children for Rakaihikuroa. Tuhenga and Tawhao are recorded in various whakapapa as his children but it is not clear whether they come from the above wives or other ones. If all are accurate the total count of Rakaihikuroa's progeny is twenty.

The name of Te Hika a Ruarauhanga's pa at Waiohiki was Tahunamoia. It is said to have been built by Rangitawhiao, an older brother of Taraia, but Taraia made it his permanent headquarters. In those days the Tutaekuri river flowed along the south side of the Waiohiki golf-course beside the entrance to Omarunui Road. Hamana Tiakiwai locates Tahunamoia on the northern bank of the river. 'They lived permanently on the land at Tahunamoia, at Waiohiki, on the banks of the Tutaekuri - on the northern side. The old Tutaekuri came round this way and on to Pakowhai.'⁴⁰

Trouble flared up between Te Hika a Papauma and Te Hika a Ruarauhanga during the construction of the great meeting house Te Raroakiaki. Meihana Takihi relates the circumstances. 'This was different to other houses because when being built, Taraia put his child Te Raupare in one of the post holes, that is Taraia believed his child had been placed in the hole. The night the house was erected incantations were said over the child before putting it in the hole. The Maoris originally had a burial service and Taraia was conducting that service over the child.'

⁴⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 2.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

'The post was to be put up at night and Hinepare said to Tuwhakawhiurangi "Hide the child and place a stone in the hole in its place." Tuwhakawhiurangi covered himself up and took a stone which he carried to the place. Taraia took hold of the child and was about to throw it in when Tuwhakawhiurangi asked him to give him the child and he would throw it in.'

'Taraia did so and Tuwhakawhiurangi threw in the stone and hid the child under his clothes. The post was put up, the hole filled in and the child returned by Tuwhakawhiurangi to its mother. When Taraia went home to his supper he saw the child alive and he was very angry.'⁴¹

Possibly because of Tuwhakawhiurangi's intervention Raupare was promised to him as a wife when she grew up. He was half-brother to Taraia from a previous wife. However Raupare had ideas of her own and Te Ari Ari, the man who won her, proved a dangerous choice for he belonged to Te Hika a Papauma.

Meihana Takihi takes up the story. 'Taraia's boundary [was] from Ngaruroro to Waiohinganga, Titiokura on to Mohaka. That is the land he wished to be regarded as possessor of. He had taken all this land during his fights. Putting the child in the hole was a confirmation of these conquests. I am referring to the old Ngaruroro.'

'After this Ari Ari stole Te Raupare - took her away. Ari Ari belonged to Te Hika a Papauma.

Rakaihikuroa = Papauma
|
Parea
|
Wairakai
|
Ari Ari

Ari Ari and Te Raupare lived in the bush. She was a full-grown woman. Pokairikiriki was the name of the bush. Taraia searched for Raupare but could not find her. When Raupare became with child Ari Ari said that they would go to Turanga.'

⁴¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 19.8.1889. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

'When Te Raupare was asked by Ari Ari to go to Turanga she went to her mother's house and got some [moa] feathers. She went into the house at night and was taking away an armful of skins and feathers when she trod on her mother's leg and she was caught. The mother called to Taraia that she had got hold of a thief. When Taraia came he saw it was Te Raupare.'

'Taraia asked her with whom she was living. She replied, "With Ari Ari." When Ari Ari heard she had been caught he ran towards her, and in the morning Taraia got on the house and called to Tuwhakawhiurangi, "Here is your wife Te Raupare." (She had been betrothed to Tuwhakawhiurangi by Taraia before she had been taken away by Te Ari Ari.'⁴²

The following brief summary serves to link events which occurred mainly outside the Ahuriri Block with later happenings which concern the block. The summary corresponds with the evidence of Meihana Takihi documented in Napier Minute Book 19, pages 87 - 92.

Tuwhakawhiurangi was insulted by the actions of Te Ari Ari and sought to avenge himself. He pursued his foe from pa to pa across the Omaha district until finally Te Ari Ari fled to the safety of Te Kauhanga, the stronghold of Te Hika a Papauma across the Tukituki river from the present-day Matahiwi marae.

Te Ari Ari then mustered a warparty and attacked Tahunamoia pa where Taraia was staying. They destroyed Taraia's house, Te Raro Aki Aki, and threw his stone idols into the posthole where Raupare was to have been buried. No one was killed and the warparty retired to Te Totara on the low range which separates the Turamoe and Mangaroa swamps.

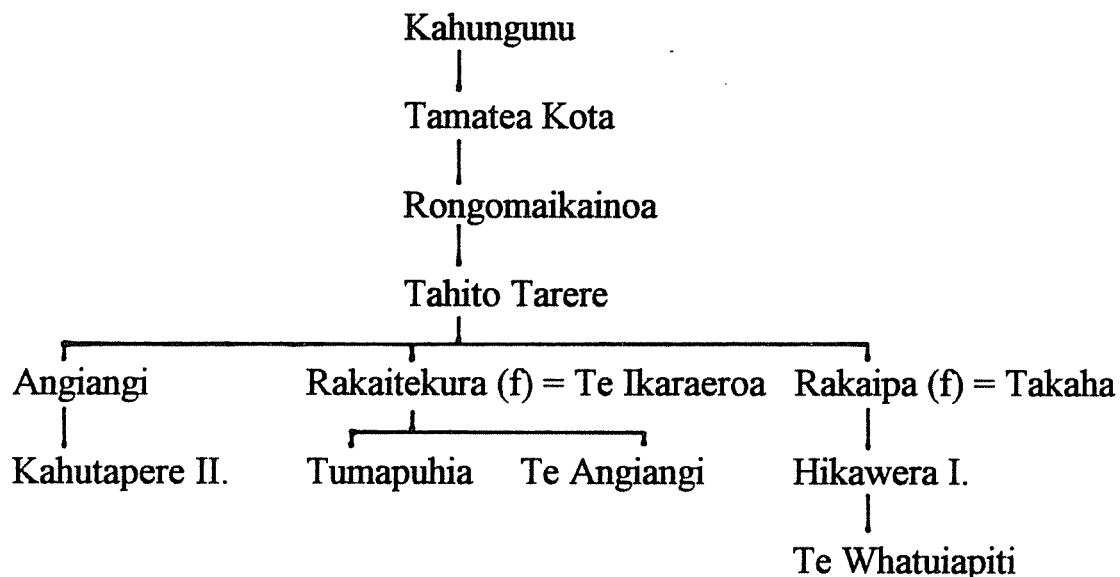
Tuwhakawhiurangi raised a warparty of Te Hika a Ruarauhanga and Ngai Tamawahine. Taraia called for his war cloak and a youth named Te Huikai, Taraia's illegitimate son, hastened to his grandfather at Pakowhai to retrieve the cloak. Eager to prove himself in battle he persuaded his grandfather to give him a weapon and took a few hurried lessons. He met up with the warparty at Korongata and they crossed the Mangaroa swamp to Te Totara during the night.

⁴² Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 19.8.1889. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

The following morning they attacked three settlements and took them. Te Totara didn't fall because the enemy had been forewarned. The warparty marched on to Waikoukou, attacked and took the pa. One of the refugees fled to Te Kauhanga and broke news of the defeat at Waikoukou. The red-headed chief, Takaha, rallied Te Hika a Papauma and they marched out to confront Te Hika a Ruarauhanga and Ngai Tamawahine on the Pekapeka ridge above Pakipaki.

The battle fought that day was known as Te Arai a Turanga and was conducted by front ranks of chiefs. Te Hika a Papauma were heavily defeated. Seventy chiefs are said to have fallen that day, or in Maori count one hundred and forty. Takaha was slain by Huikai and Te Ari Ari perished as well. Tama Ariki was one chief of Te Hika a Papauma who survived. A stone can still be seen on the hill above Te Arai a Turanga where the hearts of the enemy dead were taken and cooked. It is called Te Ahi Manawa. This fight was in revenge for the desecration of Taraia's idols.

Down in the Wairarapa word reached Tumapuhia that his uncle Takaha had been slain.



It took Tumapuhia three years to avenge his uncle's death. When his warparty arrived in Heretaunga they went to Ngaruroro and took the lids off the hole in which Taraia stored the heads of shark, stingray and other remnants as offerings to the gods. Rakaimoko informed Taraia of the warparty's action and Taraia set out from Pakowhai for Tahunamoia with his elder brother Uewhereua and his wife Hinepare. He believed they would be safe because his wife was related to the enemy.

Rakaihikuroa = Papauma (f)
 |
 Tamanuhiri = Uetakatahu (f)
 |
 Hinepare (f) = Taraia I.

As the party of three approached Tahunamoia they were seen by the enemy who attacked and killed Taraia and Uewhereua and spared Hinepare. On hearing of their father's death the children of Taraia came down from Kohukete pa above Wharerangi and joined their grieving mother at Tahunamoia. Another fight occurred and Taraia's children were forced to flee for their lives leaving many killed behind. Tumapuhia then returned to Wairarapa.

One of those who escaped was Tuwhakawhiurangi and it became his mission to avenge the death of his brother Taraia. Realising he didn't have the numbers to confront Te Hika a Papauma he called on his Ngati Kahungunu relatives from the Nuhaka district. The Ngati Rakaipaka chiefs Pokia and his son Tahinga responded to the call and the combined force attacked Te Kauhanga. Te Hika a Papauma were heavily defeated. A young chief, Te Whatuiapiti and a few of his elders were the only ones to escape and they fled to Tumapuhia at Wairarapa.

Kahungunu
 |
 Ruatapuwhine = Kahukuranui = Tuteihonga
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Rakaihikuroa Rakaipaka
 | |
 Taraia I. Pokia
 | |
 Tahinga

One of those captured was Te Kuramahinono, the pregnant young wife of Whatuiapiti. When she gave birth to a son, Rangiwawahia, she had to conceal his sex or he would have been eaten. Te Hika a Ruaruhanga and Ngati Kahungunu then proceeded to divide up Heretaunga.

TE WHATUIAPITI ASSERTS HIS AUTHORITY.

Full accounts of the process by which Whatuiapiti and Te Hika a Papauma regained their lost territory are given by Hamana Tiakiwai in the Omaha Hearing of 1889 (Napier Minute Bk. 18, pages 428 - 440) and in the Porangahau Hearing of 1886. (Napier Minute Bk. 11, page 251 - 252.) The following summary is taken from his evidence.

From his place of exile in the Wairarapa Whatuiapiti brooded over his losses. Encouraged by Tumapuhia he conducted successful raids on Waingawa and Otaki sharpening his fighting skills and assuaging his bitterness. The retaking of Heretaunga was a gradual process, attacking coastal pa and establishing himself before repeating the process further up. At Wainui he fought Rangitane then made peace with them. He made his principal base at Marotiri, a fighting pa at the northern end of Cape Turnagain, above the Poroporo fishing grounds.

From Marotiri Whatuiapiti masterminded the retaking of his lost domain. He found Tupokonui and Tupaka dividing up his land at Kaikoura (near Otane) and killed them. On another occasion he raided Pakipaki and killed Muheke. On yet another raid he defeated Ngati Kahungunu at Waimarama. The fight was known as Waipuka.

After an unsuccessful raid on Marotiri Pokia sent Hine Te Aorangi of Ngati Kahungunu to Whatuiapiti with a peace offering. She invited him to return to Heretaunga with his people to reoccupy his former places. Whatuiapiti must have had misgivings because he didn't come directly. He moved to a pa called Pohatunui a Toru in the Ruahine ranges near Rakautatahi and sent word to Pokia of his intention to send him a gift of forty women.

Pokia prepared a house called Mata Kakahi at Tawhitinui on Lake Oingo to receive the women. Whatuiapiti didn't accompany his gift in person but relocated himself closer to Heretaunga at Tapuaerau, still in the Ruahine ranges. Instead he sent his uncle Te Aokamiti. Pokia pretended to welcome Te Aokamiti and the women but once they were inside the meeting house he dropped his pretence and massacred them. Ngati Kahungunu, under Pokia, then marched on Ruahine intent on destroying Whatuiapiti.

Word had reached Whatuiapiti of this treachery and he managed to escape despite the wounds he had suffered during a previous encounter.

His elder relative, Tumapuhia fared less well and was killed at Tapuaerau. Whatuiapiti retreated to the mountain fortress Pohatunui a Toru which was built on a rocky, impregnable pinnacle. Pokia followed him up and attacked but failed to dislodge him.

Whatuiapiti now had two scores to settle with Pokia. He sent his father Hikawera I. to enlist the support of Rangitane. The Rangitane chief Te Rangihakaewa responded favourably and a large combined force gathered at Tawhitinui on Lake Oingo to avenge the death of Te Aokamiti and the 40 women. A scout named Hiku was sent out to spy on Pokia and Tahinga who were living at the pa Takutai o Te Rangi downstream from Tahunamoia in the Waitanoa bush.

Hiku learned that the people in the pa went to dig fern root on the hills at the foot of Otatara and to gather shellfish at low spring tide when the banks were dry. Whatuiapiti kept his troops concealed in the bush at Paherumanihi until the following night when he divided them into two contingents. One party went to the fern-digging grounds and concealed themselves nearby. The other party went to Waitanoa to surround Takutai o Te Rangi pa.

At first light one man left the pa to dig fern root and the warparty killed him and replaced him with one of their own. From the distance the people of Takutai o Te Rangi thought it was their own man and sent out two more. The warparty repeated the process until all the people in the pa came out, the men going to the fern root grounds and the women and children to the pipi beds near Park Island.

When the food-gatherers had disappeared out of sight the warparty at Waitanoa rushed the pa and took it. Almost simultaneously the second warparty were slaughtering the fern root diggers and the pipi gatherers. The fight at the fern root grounds was called Aro Aro Tahuri and the one at the pipi beds was called Te Roropipi. Pokia and Tahinga, however, escaped as did the children of Taraia.

Whatuiapiti moved his people to Rotoatara near Pukehou then reoccupied his former pa Te Kauhanga across the Tukituki river from Matahiwi. At the same time Rangitaumaha, son of Taraia, occupied Oueroa on the hill above Paherumanihi and it became his permanent pa. Tahinga took up occupation on the island pa Te Iho o Te Rei at the northern end of the Te Whanganui a Orotu inner harbour.

While Whatuiapiti was living at Te Kauhanga word reached him that he had been compared to a gurnet because of his red hair. Interpreting this as a curse he assembled a warparty and advanced to the south side of Keteketerau, the opening to the inner harbour in those days. Ngati Kahungunu under Tahinga, Ika i Te Atu, Te Maha and Rangitahia, grandson of Taraia, saw them coming and advanced from their island pa, Te Iho o Te Rei by canoe to the northern side of Keteketerau.

Whatuiapiti feigned a retreat back along the spit to Mataruahou (Scinde Island) and Ngati Kahungunu pursued him by canoe. As Whatuiapiti's men passed along the spit south of Mataruahou near the present-day Napier Boys High School it became apparent that Ngati Kahungunu were overtaking them by canoe, rowing directly across the inner harbour.

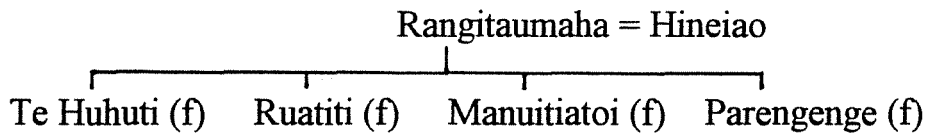
Whatuiapiti called on Pakaotori, his tohunga, to save them. Pakaotori was carrying Whatuiapiti's atua, Parukakariki. He stripped off his clothing, jumped into the water at Upokopoito and uttered an incantation. When he emerged from the water a whirlwind sprang up and came by way of Matau a Maui (Cape Kidnappers) to where Whatuiapiti's party were gathered. Whatuiapiti yelled to them to lie down flat and the whirlwind passed over them and swamped the Ngati Kahungunu canoes showering the people with stones and sand.

Many were drowned in the wind storm and those who swam ashore fell into Whatuiapiti's hands and were killed. Amongst the dead were Te Maha and Te Ika i Te Atu. Tahinga, however, was spared as he had spared the wife and child of Whatuiapiti at the battle of Te Kauhanga. The name of the fight involving the whirlwind was Te Upokopoito.

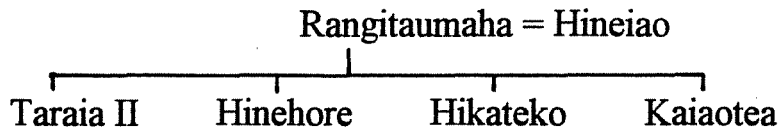
By these battles Whatuiapiti regained his former territory and acquired the mana of Heretaunga. He avenged the wrongs committed against his people and shared his time between Te Kauhanga and Roto a Tara where his mother lived. Peace was made and fighting ceased. Ngati Kahungunu lived on the north side of Ahuriri.

TARAIA'S GRANDCHILDREN.

Up on the heights of Oueroa at the head of Lake Rotokare, Taraia's son Rangitaumaha and his wife Hineiao raised eight children. The first four were daughters.



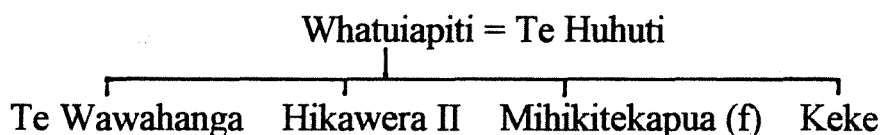
Then followed four sons, the youngest of which is said to have gone to Tongariro.



Meanwhile Whatuiapiti took wives and had children. Kotore, a Wairoa chief is said to have given his daughter Hinepehinga in a peace-making marriage but when he went to claim her she kept avoiding him and he discovered she had fallen in love with another man. He wasn't too concerned and returned to Heretaunga without her. He went straight to Oueroa pa where Rangitaumaha's eldest daughter Te Huhuti had much admired him on a former visit.

Some accounts say that he married Te Huhuti at Oueroa and that she followed him to Roto a Tara when he went there on a visit to his mother. Others say that Te Huhuti ran away from home to join him at Roto a Tara. When she swam across to the island pa she was not received well by Whatuiapiti's mother Hinetemoa because she came from Te Hika a Ruarauhanga who had been fighting against them .

Te Huhuti remained in the water to cover her nakedness and sent a messenger to Whatuiapiti to let him know she was there. He brought a cloak to cover her and when Hinetemoa saw her she jeered at her, likening her to an eel changing its skin (tuna hore) and a naked image. (teko) She became Whatuiapiti's permanent wife and bore him four children.

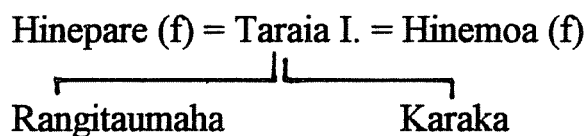


There is evidence that the marriage of Te Huhuti and Whatuiapiti was a peace-making gesture also. As Hamana Tiakiwai explained matters, 'Te Huhuti became Whatuiapiti's wife as peace was made and there was an end of the fighting and because Rangitaumaha believed that the mana of the land was passing to Whatuiapiti. Te Huhuti was a peace offering from Rangitaumaha. Had Huhuti not married Whatuiapiti the latter would have

fought Rangitaumaha and taken the mana. By the marriage Rangitaumaha saved his mana.'⁴³

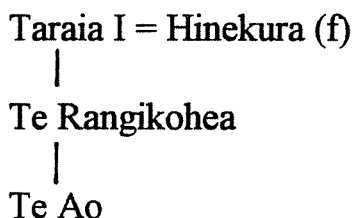
HIKAWERA II. ACQUIRES THE MANA OF HERETAUNGA.

When the first child of Whatuiapiti and Te Huhuti was born the baptism was held at Roto a Tara. Whatuiapiti sent Rangitaumaha a message to come and name his grandson. Rangitaumaha sent a message to his half-brother, Karaka, at Te Ipu o Taraia at the mouth of the Ngaruroro who was an expert at naming ceremonies.



Rangitaumaha left from Oueroa and took what food was available with him. It consisted of shellfish and eels gathered from Lake Oingo and Lake Runanga. When Te Huhuti compared her father's gift of food with the preserved birds her husband had supplied she was ashamed. Rangitaumaha explained to her, "Daughter, I have no food for you but take your brothers and elders." ie, not as food but as servants. The brothers referred to were Hinehore, Hikateko and others of Ngati Hineiao. Rangitaumaha gave his people to be servants to Wawahanga. Rangitaumaha returned to his own pa.⁴⁴

Meihana Takihi gives a different version of the gift. ' Te Huhuti became ashamed of her father's gift - shellfish. She wept because her father brought such a poor stock of food. Te Rangitaumaha said, "Woman, I have no better for you. All I can give you is your elders and your brothers and my land." The brothers referred to were Ngai Te Ao.



⁴³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 3.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

⁴⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 3.8.1889 Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

The descendants of this Te Ao were the Ngai Te Ao I referred to. The elders were the Ngapuhi and Ngati Ngawera. Cannot give the ancestors of Ngapuhi. The gift to Te Huhuti comprised the whole of the land acquired by the conquest of Taraia I.' ⁴⁵

A third version was given by Paora Kaiwhata. 'Rangitaumaha then made a gift of three hapus - Ngapuhi, Ngawera and Ngai Te Ao. No land was given. These three hapus' descent I don't know. Can't trace Te Ao. The evidence of Te Teira, Meihana and Hamana that all this land was given to Huhuti on that occasion is false. So as regards the statement that Hinehore and Hikateko were given to her then also to be her workmen.' ⁴⁶

Paora Kaiwhata continues to speak of Rangitaumaha and his sons after the christening of Te Huhuti's son Te Wawahanga. 'Rangitaumaha lived at Otupaopao, Ngaru a Te Rangitaumaha and Oueroa was his pa, above the mill. His pits can be seen. His three sons inherited his lands. they were born on this block. They all lived together - one father, one settlement, one land.' ⁴⁷

The destinies of Taraia's sons will be examined in the next section of this report. The return of Hikawera II to Heretaunga came about as the result of his elder brother Te Wawahanga. Hamana Tiakiwai gives the details. 'Wawahanga then grew up and married Aopatuwhare. When his wife became with child he took ill. When Whatuiapiti saw his son was going to die he asked him, "Tell me who is to have your wife. Is your younger brother to have her?" (meaning Hikawera.)

'Wawahanga replied that Hikawera should not marry her. "You yourself are to have her." (ie. Whatuiapiti)

Whatuiapiti replied, "When you are below you will hear that Hikawera is chief in Heretaunga." ⁴⁸

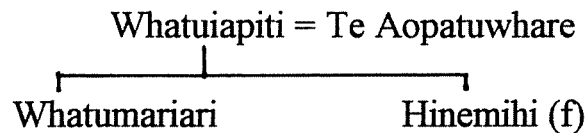
Upon the death of Te Wawahanga Whatuiapiti adhered to his son's wishes and married Te Aopatuwhare. She bore him two children.

⁴⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889 Ev. Meihana Takihi.

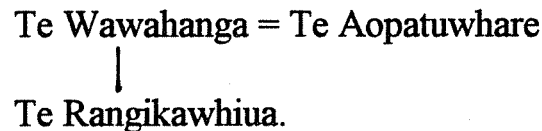
⁴⁶ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk 19, page 411. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

⁴⁷ Omahu Hearing - 1889 Napier Minute Bk 19, page 411. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

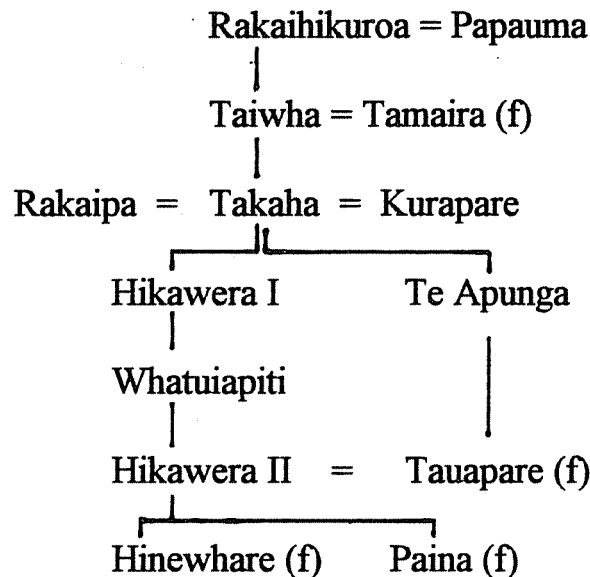
⁴⁸ Omahu Hearing - 1889 Blake Manuscripts 3.8.1889 Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.



There was one son of the marriage between Te Wawahanga and Te Aopatuwhare.



Soon after this event Hikawera II married his cousin Tauapare.



Meihana Takihi continues the narrative. 'When Hikawera grew up he came to take care of the lands given by Te Rangitaumaha to Te Huhuti. He came to live on the shores of Oingo. He lived at Oueroa at Te Rangitaumaha's place.'⁴⁹

THE SONS OF RANGITAUMAHA.

Although Taraia II, Hinehore and Hikateko, the sons of Rangitaumaha, were Hikawera II's uncles they were close to him in age. What provision did Rangitaumaha make for them and where were their lands? Noa Huke spoke of them at the Omahu hearing. 'When Hikawera came back

⁴⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889 Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889 Ev. Meihana Takihi.

Hikateko's permanent abode was at Tutaekuri and Te Whanga. On this block also. Taraia II's abode was permanently on this block from Ohiwia on to Oreore. Motukumara pa I know. It was mine. At the time you speak of (Hikawera's) Hikateko, Hinehore and Taraia occupied it. Don't know if they had any boundaries between them. Never heard.' ⁵⁰

Raniera Te Ahiko supports Noa Huke's evidence concerning Motukumara pa which was located on the north-eastern shores of Lake Oingo. 'Motukumara, a fortified pa close to this place. There are karaka trees within the pa. This pa belonged to Ngati Hinehore, Ngati Hineiao and Ngati Hikawera, hapus of Rangikamungu. It was built by hapus I have just mentioned in the time of Hinehore, Taraia and Hikateko. Their descendants lived in it.' ⁵¹

A clearer picture of the lands of Rangitaumaha's sons is provided by Hamana Tiakiwai. 'Hikawera came to Otatara from Raukawa. Taraia II, Hinehore and Hikateko were on this block there. They were Hikawera's uncles. Taraia was living on the side that was given to him by Rangitaumaha - on the Ohiti side on to Pukehamoamo and other places outside of this block adjoining it on the western side.

Hikawera was not married when he went to Otatara. When he lived at Oueroa he married Te Uira i waho. Hinehore, his uncle, was then living there, also Hikateko. Taraia II was on his own boundary outside this block on the western side. Part of Okawa was Hikateko's, the portion towards the ascent Ngamahanga on to Tutaekuri.' ⁵²

TARAIA II. DISPLACES NGATI RUAPIRAU.

Although Taraia II's lands are outside the Ahuriri Purchase he held mana over the land where Ngati Ruapirau, a remnant hapu of Ngati Whatumamo, lived. They had not been disturbed in their occupation by the Ngati Kahungunu invasion. Their principal pa was Te Kairae at the south-east end of Lake Oingo. Their lands included Okawa, Matapiro, Otamauri and Omahaki.

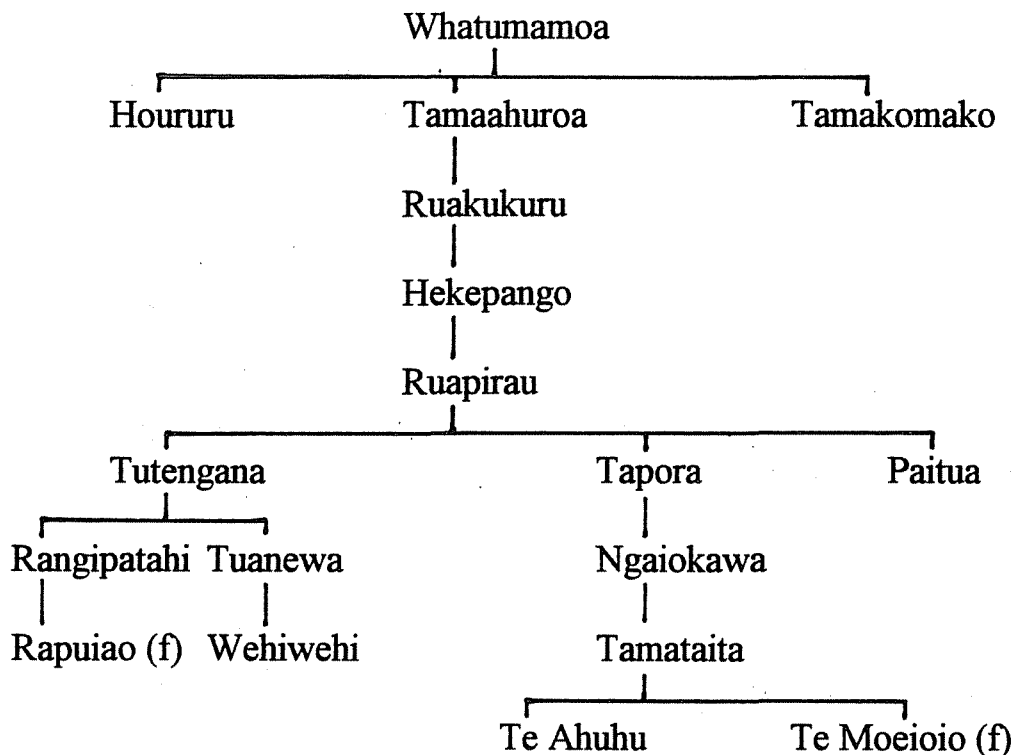
Raniera Te Ahiko identifies the Ngati Ruapirau ancestor Ruakukuru with Te Kairae pa. 'Kairae, a pa near the range - on the southern end. It

⁵⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk 19, page 461. Ev. Noa Huke.

⁵¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 4.9.1889. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

⁵² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 9.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

belonged to Ruakukuru.' He also refers to the nearby eeling channel Hauhau, as belonging to Ruakukuru. 'Hauhau, an eelweir at the outlet of the lake, an outlet from Oingo. A channel was dug here by Ruakukuru. He was a descendant of Whatumamoa.'⁵³



The trouble between Taraia II and Ngati Ruapirau arose when they neglected to provide relish for the food of his wife Punakiao while he was away on a visit. Hoana Pakapaka describes the circumstances. 'The original owners of this land were Ngati Ruapirau and Ngati Mahu. Taraia I did not live on the land but his son Rangitaumaha did. He was doing so as a chief over Ngati Ruapirau. The conquest of Taraia II was caused by the selfishness of Ngati Ruapirau towards the children of Punakiao and Taraia II.

When Taraia returned Punakiao, his wife, told him of the selfishness of these people. He attacked them and Ngati Ruapirau were defeated. Their chiefs killed were Te Anutonga, Haunga, Koheru, Paki, Waha and others. Tuanewa was caught and spared. Rangipatahi, his brother, escaped.'⁵⁴

⁵³ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 4.9.1889. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

⁵⁴ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 20, page 42. Ev. Hoana Pakapaka.

Taraia II demanded a payment of land for the insult to his wife. Raniera Te Ahiko describes the consequences of their refusal. 'Te Pou a Kanewa was the name of a post where Tuanewa was killed, not the name of a person. Taraia II killed Tuanewa and others because when he asked for a portion of the land they refused to give him the same. He asked for Aorangi, Matapiro and Tiwhakairo. When Taraia defeated Tuanewa he took all their land. Those who were not killed remained as slaves. Taraia took all of Ngati Ruapirau. They said they would rather have their heads cut off than give him the land. He then attacked them.'⁵⁵

Te Pou a Kanewa was erected on the Matapiro Block where Taraia II defeated Ngati Ruapirau. Noa Huke continues the narrative. 'When Taraia on one occasion went away and left his wife behind on Ohiwia at Papapohatu and returned again his wife said to him that he had told her that all the people living there were his serfs, but she found that was not the case as no food had been given her. Ruapirau were the people there.

In the morning Taraia went to turn these people off and when he came to them he found them preparing to carry their eels away. He said, "Leave the place for me and you go away." They then went to their pa Pukekautuku. They were the people to whom the land belonged. They went away and left the land to Taraia.'⁵⁶

The remnants of Pukekautuku pa where Ngati Ruapirau fled after the Pou a Kanewa fight are still to be seen. The high, craggy range on Oreka station is known as Pukekautuku to the old Maori. It is located on the south side of the Tutaekuri river above Sacred Hill winery. This elevated wilderness became the home of the survivors of Ngati Ruapirau who now neighboured Ngati Mahu. Through intermarriage with Ngati Mahu the hapu name Ngati Ruapirau gradually disappeared from common usage. Hoana Pakapaka confirmed this in the Omahu Hearing. 'After the conquest of Taraia II, Ngati Ruapirau and those of Ngati Mahu who were saved, lived on the other side of this block, the side towards Tutaekuri. The descendants of Ruapirau are now known as Ngati Mahu.'⁵⁷

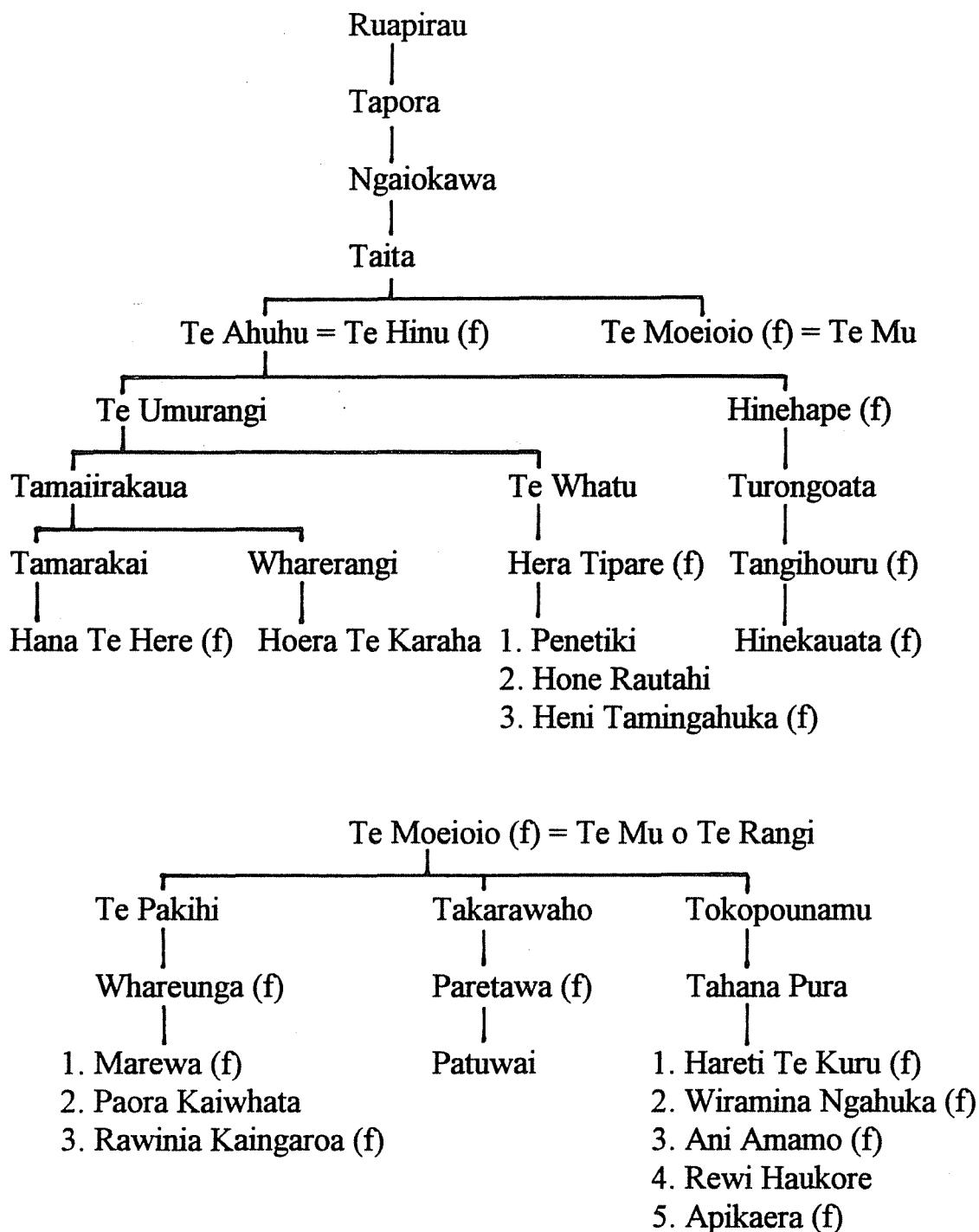
The merger between Ngati Ruapirau and Ngati Mahu is best illustrated by whakapapa. Te Ahuhu and his sister Te Moeioio, shown on the Ngati Ruapirau whakapapa on page 42, married Te Hinu (f) and Te Mu o Te

⁵⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 10.9.1889. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

⁵⁶ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk.19, page 485. Ev. Noa Huke.

⁵⁷ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk 20, page 43. Ev. Hoana Pakapaka.

Rangi, a brother and sister of Ngati Mahu. (see whakapapa page 27). The following genealogy from Ruapirau shows the marriages with Ngati Mahu and continues the surviving lines down to the period 1885 - 1900.



The above branch of Ngati Ruapirau, sometimes called Ngai Taita, lost their rights within Taraia II.'s boundaries but retained interests in the Tutaekuri river catchment. Their interests at Pukekautuku were extinguished by Te Moananui's sale of the Okawa block on 17.1.1854.

Their one remaining estate was the Kohurau block on the south side of the Tutaekuri river above Tunanui.

The Kohurau block, containing 17,775 acres, came before the Maori Land Court on 16.9.1870. Paora Kaiwhata, principal chief of Ngati Mahu and Ngati Hinepare, appeared at the hearing and claimed under the Ngati Ruapirau ancestor Taita. 'I live at Moteo and belong to the tribe of Ngai Taita. I know this piece of land shown in this map, known by the name of Te Kohurau. This land belongs to Ngai Taita.' ⁵⁸ Horopapera Haruru supported Kaiwhata in his evidence and the title was awarded to the above hapu on 17-18 September, 1875. Other applicants failed to prove their cases. (Note: further references to Ngati Ruapirau at Kohurau are contained in the Owhaoko Hearing, Napier Minute Bk. 12, pages 300 and 318).

When this branch of Ngati Ruapirau intermarried with Ngati Mahu they brought the above legacy with them. The block which lay between Kohurau and Okawa was the 31,289 acre Tunanui property. Tunanui passed through the Maori Land Court on 30.11.1869 and was awarded to Ngati Mahu. It is likely that Ngati Ruapirau possessed interests in this block too as they had interests in the blocks on either side. (see Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 493) However they had merged with Ngati Mahu by this stage and identified as such so their interests were protected regardless.

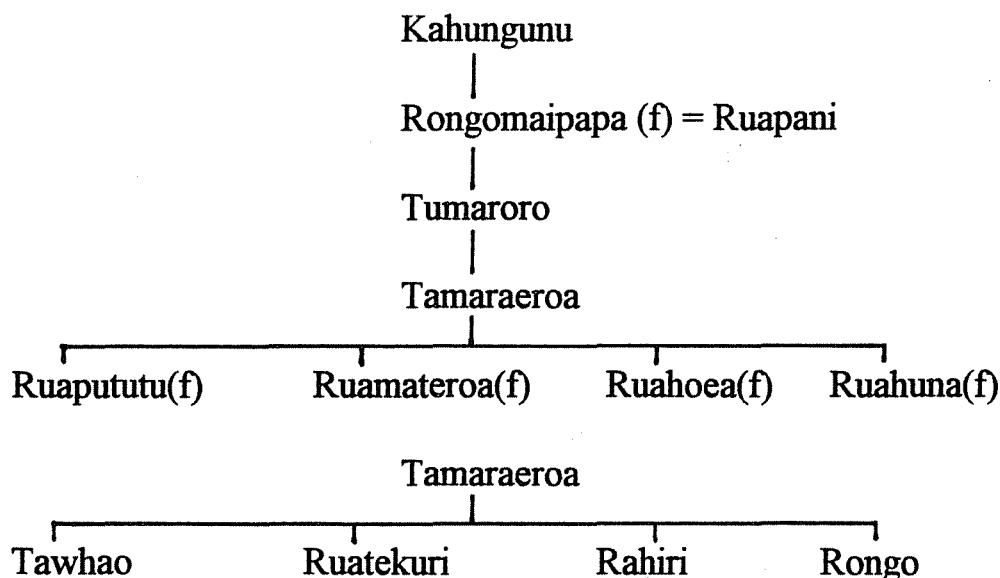
NGAI TAWHAO.

Originally this hapu was known as Ngai Tamawahine. They were relatives of Taraia I. and accompanied him on his invasion of Heretaunga. Paora Kaiwhata refers to them in the Omahu hearing. 'I spoke of the Ngai Tamawahine as one of Taraia's people when he came here. The origin of the name Ngai Tamawahine was the fact that [the] first four children of Tamaraeroa were all female (wahine). That hapu lived at Upokohina and Te Mingi in [the] time of Hinehore, Hikateko and Taraia. [II] The boundary between their land and that of the last three named began [at] Paherumanihi, then on to Papapohatu, Totara, Te Aopohue, Haorukawe,

⁵⁸ Kohurau Hearing - 1870. Napier Minute Bk 2, page 204. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

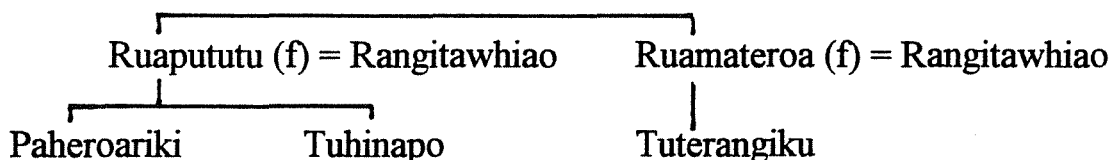
Tamakomako and Taungatara. They lived at these places respectively and had their two pas there and nothing can alter that Taungatara is where [the] boundary goes to Tutaekuri.'⁵⁹

Paora Kaiwhata also provides the names of the four daughters and four sons of Tamaraeroa.



Ngai Tamawahine first settled on the south side of the Tutaekuri river near Omarunui. Te Meihana Takihi gave the following evidence at the Omahu hearing. 'After these fights Rangitaumaha and his father Taraia lived at Tahunamoā. Tahunamoā is at Waiohiki, opposite Otatara. They lived there without a pa. Taraia built a pa there. Taraia and Ngai Tamawahine lived there together, I mean they did not live together. Taraia lived at his pa Tahunamoā and Ngai Tamawahine lived at Te Mingi pa. There was no pa there when Ngai Tamawahine came but they built that pa in order to be near Taraia.'⁶⁰

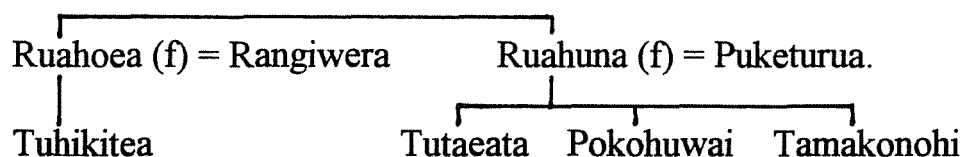
The first two daughters of Ngai Tamawahine married Rangitawhiao, elder brother of Taraia I. His pa was Tahunamoā at Waiohiki.



⁵⁹ Omahu Hearing -1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 412. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

⁶⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake manuscripts 17.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

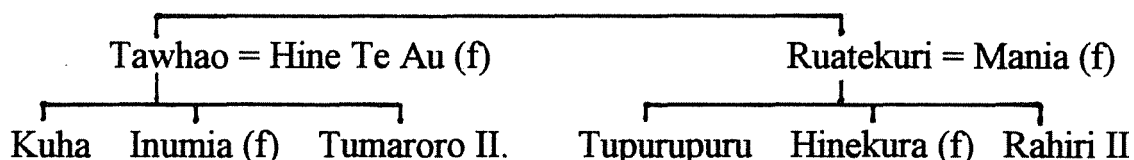
Ruahoea, the third daughter of Ngai Tamawahine, married Rangiwerera of Ngati Whiti and Ruahuna, the fourth daughter, married Puketurua of Ngati Mahu.



Wiramina Ngahuka describes an act of treachery at the time of these ancestors. 'When he (Rangitawhiao) came to Heretaunga he lived at Tahunamoapa. He killed his brother in law Rongo. He was killed by Iti and Rahi by order of Tahunamoapa. His body was brought into the pa and eaten. Rangitawhiao and his wife were living at one end of the pa while Rongo's body was being eaten at the other end. Rangitawhiao assisted in eating his brother in law. When he had finished he returned to his wives who were sisters of the man that was eaten.

Te Ngai Tamawahine, living at Te Mingi, heard of it and sent out a war party. Tawhao, the brother of Rongo, had not heard that Ngai Tamawahine had come to avenge Rongo's death. When the war party came to Tahunamoapa Tawhao got on top of a house at Te Mingi pa and called out to his two sisters Ruapututu and Ruamateroa, informing them that the war party was going to avenge their brother's death. The war party heard the man and said, "We are discovered!" and fled without making any attack.'⁶¹

Te Mingi, the principal pa of Ngai Tamawahine, is located on the south side of the Tutaekuri river opposite Te Puketapu pa. It was the residential pa of Tawhao and his brother Ruatekuri. Many of the archaeological features of this pa were destroyed about 1980 when the pa was bulldozed for a house site. While Tawhao and Ruatekuri both left issue, whakapapa don't show any children for the two younger brothers Rahiri and Rongo.



A story survives from the days of Taraia's invasion which tells of Tawhao claiming rights in Te Whanganui a Orotu, the Napier inner

⁶¹ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 171. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

harbour. There are several versions of the story, some involving a prisoner captured at Otatara named Totara, and others concerning a prisoner captured at Arapawanui called Whanganui-a-rotu. This prisoner was on board Taraia's canoe when he came down from Arapawanui and landed at Whakari (Flat Rock). Tawhao was also on board.

Paora Kaiwhata gives the background in the Omahu hearing. 'Te Aomatarahi then took Totara prisoner. Taraia then returned to Wairoa taking the prisoner with him. From Wairoa he came here with the main body of his people. They came by sea to Whakaari. Totara went in the morning up a hill to view Heretaunga, his own place. On his return he saw an oven full of dogs had been eaten. A foot only was left for his share and he cried. That made him leave his captor. He got into the canoe in which Taraia was, and lay in the bottom.'⁶²

A further version is given in 'Takitimu'. 'Among the prisoners was one named Whanganui-a-rotu, from whom his captors enquired about the country ahead of them. They were told that the country (now Port Ahuriri) was named after himself, and that pipis and mussels were plentiful there. On hearing this, Tawhao immediately claimed it as his own hunting ground, thus passing over Taraia, who had captured the prisoner. So the rich mud flats and the surrounding land became te maara a Tawhao.'⁶³

A third version of the story maintains that the above events took place at Nukutaurua on Mahia peninsula. Wiramina Ngahuka is the informant. 'I remember saying in Pirau [hearing], that Taraia laid claim to the mouth of the Ngaruroro before he left Turanga. When Totara went from here he went from Heipipi to Nukutaurua. Upon his arrival Rakaihikuroa and children asked him to describe Heretaunga. Then Totara said, "There is no place like Heretaunga, where there is abundance of food. Choice food is obtained [at] Whanganui a Rotu and Ngaruroro." Taraia then said that Ngaruroro should be his 'ipu'. (Waiho taku ipu ko Ngaruroro). Tawhao then said that Whanganui a Rotu should be his cultivation. (Taku mara ko Te Whanganui a Orotu.)'⁶⁴

In fact Tawhao claimed an islet centred on a pipi bed near the south end of the Hawke's Bay airport runway. This shows on several early survey maps as Te Mara a Tawhao. The Napier inner harbour has been known as

⁶² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk 19, page 409. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

⁶³ Takitimu by J.H. Mitchell, page 111.

⁶⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.7.1889. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

Te Whanganui a Orotu since ancient times and was never supplanted by the name Te Mara a Tawhao. Kaumatua referred to this in the Puketitiri hearing of 1922.

Kipa Anaru commented, 'I heard of Te Mara a Tawhao in Wanganui o Roto.'⁶⁵

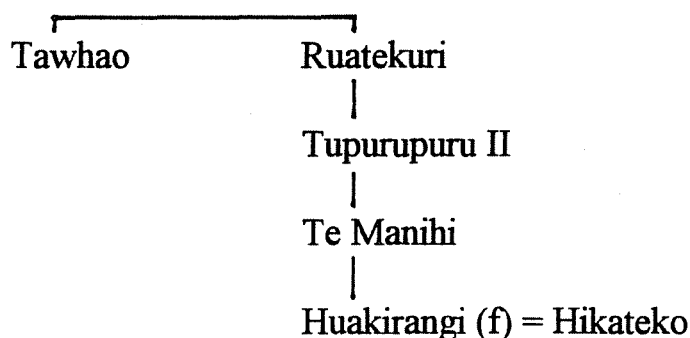
Te Wahapango described it thus. 'Te Mara a Tawhao in Wanganui o Roto is a pipi bed.'⁶⁶

A third witness, Te Paea Tiaho, confirmed the status of Te Mara a Tawhao. 'The Mara a Tawhao is at Wanganui o Roto. It was where pipis and shellfish were obtained.'⁶⁷

As with other of Taraia's relatives Tawhao appears to have functioned as one of his generals, helping to bring the tangatawhenua under Ngati Kahungunu control. His area of influence extended from Te Whanganui a Orotu west through Wharerangi to Puketitiri and across the Mohaka river to Pakaututu.

When Wharerangi came before the Maori Land Court on 13.3.1866, Paora Torotoro claimed under Tawhao and his brother Ruatekuri. 'I wish to obtain a grant for this land. The land belonged to my ancestors Ruatekuri and Tawhao. The latter was the tuakana, the former the teina.'⁶⁸

Wharerangi was investigated again in 1900 and Wiramina Ngahuka claimed an interest through both Huakirangi, a descendant of Ruatekuri, and through Tawhao. Huakirangi (f) married the Ngati Hinepare ancestor Hikateko.



⁶⁵ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 177. Ev. Kipa Anaru.

⁶⁶ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 188.

⁶⁷ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk 70, page 278.

⁶⁸ Wharerangi Hearing - 1866. Napier Minute Bk. 1, page 30. Ev. Paora Torotoro.

With regard to Tawhao, Wiramina commented, 'The lands of the ancestor Tawhao were at Te Mingi. That was a pa on Omarunui. That ancestor had also a right in Wharerangi, and to all the land about Te Whanga. I am from Tawhao and have rights to this land through him.'⁶⁹

The Pakaututu block containing 7,606 acres was Crown-granted on 18.11.1869. It is located on the opposite side of the Mohaka river from Puketitiri. Paora Torotoro claimed under the ancestor Turuki, a descendant of Tawhao. 'I belong to the Ngai Tamawahine and reside at Kohupatiki. I know the land shown on the map before the Court. It belongs to me and some others of my tribe. We claim from our ancestor Te Turuki. His descendants have been in possession ever since his time. Our fathers cultivated, built houses, caught birds and exercised the rights of ownership over it.'⁷⁰

Tawhao
|
Inumia (f) = Pahau
|
Te Autaki
|
Te Turuki

Evidence of a conquest over the tangatawhenua appears in the Puketitiri hearing of August, 1922. Paora Rokino, a descendant of Tawhao, gave the following account: - 'Tawhao came from Gisborne with a party consisting of his relatives. Rakaihikuroa was his tipuna. There were others. All came to Hawke's Bay to exterminate the local natives and take their lands. The local Ngati Turauwha, (Turauwha was their leader) were defeated by Tawhao but some escaped and lived in the recesses of the bushes.'⁷¹

Parekai Karaitiana tells a similar story. 'I am not claiming under anyone but Tawhao. My elders were not conquered in this district. The land under investigation was not conquered by Taraia. His conquest was confined to the mouth of the Ngaruroro river. Tawhao conquered the people at Puketitiri, Ngati Turauwha. Taraia vanquished the people at the Ngaruroro. I do not know who they were. Tawhao conquered all the land from Te Ranga Tawhao inland. Wharerangi was awarded under the mana

⁶⁹ Wharerangi Hearing - 1900. Napier Minute Bk.52, page 97. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka

⁷⁰ Pakaututu Hearing - 1869. Napier Minute Bk 2, page 89. Ev. Paora Torotoro.

⁷¹ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 224, Ev. Paora Rokino.

of Tawhao. I do not know the acreage of Wharerangi. The Mara Tawhao is near Wanganui Orotu near Napier.' ⁷²

Tawhao used Puketitiri as a food source. 'Tawhao then went to Puketitiri to claim it. He got there pigeons and titis. Eels were got there also. He brought inangas with him to eat on the way. He took with him a 'puka' that induced the titis to live there. When he arrived at a stream called the Moa he ate his supply of inangas and the place was called Inangatahi. There was a kainga there when I was there, also called Inangatahi.' ⁷³

Several witnesses referred to a location called Te Ranga a Tawhao where Tawhao put up a boundary pole. 'Tawhao went abroad from Puketitiri to Te Ranga Tawhao and there erected a 'post'. This was the limit of the land he claimed. He came back and called together the remnants of those he had conquered. He lived at [Te] Kowhai. He settled the Ngati Turauwha out in the bay at Wanganui Orotu. They became friends and intermarried.' ⁷⁴

The location of Te Ranga a Tawhao is known because it is included in a Crown purchase dated 28.6.1859. It appears to be on the northern slopes of the Kaweka ranges between the Mangatutu and Makino streams and borders the Mohaka river on its northern boundary. A description of the boundaries appears in Turton's Deed Receipts - No. 23. Early survey maps show a stand of native timber on the location. ⁷⁵

Tawhao and his younger brother Ruatekuri had ambitions of extending their conquest into Inland Patea, ambitions which were to prove their undoing. Utiku Potaka spoke of the occasion in the Mangaohane hearing. 'The second [fight] took place [on the] land with Ngai Tamawahine against Ohuake, and Ruatekuri and Tawhao of Ngai Tamawahine hapu were killed. The persons who were killed had gone to seize on Patea for themselves. They went with Rangitauira but he escaped. In his flight he took refuge in Te Anaroa, a cave, where he was snowed up and perished.' ⁷⁶

⁷² Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 238. Ev. Parekaui Karaitiana

⁷³ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk 70, page 226. Ev. Paora Rokino.

⁷⁴ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 226. Ev. Paora Rokino.

⁷⁵ Turton's Deed Receipts, page 590.

⁷⁶ Mangaohane Claim - 1884. Napier Minute Bk 9, page 81. Ev. Utiku Potaka.

Raniera Te Ahiko also spoke of the fight when Tawhao and Ruatekuri were killed. He isolated Tutemohuta, father in law of Taraia II., as the chief who led Ngai Tamawahine into battle. Taraia II. warned him that while he was away Te Heke was preparing to take his land. Tutemohuta returned in haste and narrowly escaped an ambush. 'He came to a bridge where he was surrounded by his enemies but he pushed his wife across and jumped across and was safe. He drew the tree bridge over which they had crossed away and went to [his] people and asked them to return with him to these people at Otara. He returned with his people and defeated them. The name of Te Rohutupapa was given to that place. Tawhao and Ruatekuri were killed there. Some escaped. Rangitauira only escaped. He returned to Anaroa, a rock. He stayed there till a snowstorm occurred and after four days and nights he died and 70 others with him. Tutemohuta then took the land.' ⁷⁷

Effectively the hapu name Ngai Tawhao fell into disuse after his death. It is not heard on the marae today. It was revived during the days when titles were being awarded in the Maori Land Court to show the origins of customary rights. Thus Tawhao's name, and that of his brother Ruatekuri, are cited in the Wharerangi hearing, (Napier Minute Bk. 1, page 30 -1866) the succession to Te Waka Kawatini, (Napier Minute Bk. 5, page 60) the Wharerangi hearing of 1900, (Napier Minute Bk. 52, pages 75, 86) and the Puketitiri hearing. (Napier Minute Bk. 70 - 1922)

The sections of the Ahuriri Purchase quoted above have known several changes of ownership during their history. Hohaia Te Hoata, a descendant of both Tawhao and Ruatekuri, made the following observations in the Wharerangi hearing of 1866. 'I object to Paora's claim through Tawhao but his claim through his mother from Ruatekuri is right. Witness traces his own descent on the mother's side through Tuku and admits that Tuku was a descendant of Ruatekuri. [He] states that the land had changed owners several times but that the ancestor who finally recovered it was a descendant of Ruatekuri.' ⁷⁸

Today the dominant hapu name over the lands between Wharerangi and Puketitiri is Ngati Hinepare. However an examination of the whakapapa of this hapu will show that almost without exception they have lines of descent from Tawhao or Ruatekuri, and in most cases from both.

⁷⁷ Owahaoko Hearing - 1887. Napier Minute Bk. 12, page 317. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

⁷⁸ Wharerangi Hearing - 1866. Napier Minute Bk. 1, page 32. Ev. Hohaia Te Hoata.

THE EMERGENCE OF NGATI HINEPARE.

Before tracing the complex succession of events which established the authority of Ngati Hinepare on the above-mentioned lands, what do the tribal historians say about the land entitlements that Hikateko and his wife Huakirangi brought to the marriage. Hikateko, the ancestor for Ngati Hinepare, was one of the sons of Rangitaumaha discussed on pages 37 and 41. He was raised at Oueroa pa with his brothers and sisters and has strong associations with Lake Oingo where he later lived with his brothers Taraia 11. and Hinehore at Motukumara pa.

As quoted on page 41, Hikateko's inheritance lay to the north of his brothers and extended from Lake Oingo to the Tutaekuri river. Appearing at the Pirau Rehearing of 1888, Wiramina Ngahuka explained the boundary between Taraia 11. and his brothers Hikateko and Hinehore. 'Taraia 11. was placed on this side of Ngaruroro as far as Owahaoko. Hikateko and Hinehore, to whom this land belonged, laid down a boundary. I can give it. It began at Pakahoreroa on the Tutaekuri river, thence to Taungatara, (up the river) thence to Te Ana, thence to Pukiokio, to Te Hoangai, (these are places along the river) Te Whangai, Kaiawatea, Te Weta, Mataotao, Pamairi, Otamoe, Tahutahuparai, (all these places are along the river) Takiritoa, Pakikokiko, Te Pa o Hikateko, then to West to Te Mata, Ngamahanga, Pa o Kereru, Ohineumu, Oreore, Parahamuti, Rangitahi, Te Timutimu, striking across [the] lake at Runanga, thence to Upokopaoa, thence to Tonganui, to Totanui, (Tokanui) thence to Waitio stream near Tokanui hill, thence to Ngapuke following the Waitio stream to mouth of Ohiwia stream, then to Omahu following the Ohiwia stream, thence to Rere a Ruamahu, thence to Waipiropiro stream, thence to Rotoroa stream to the West, thence to Paherumanihi at the mill, thence to Urukoukou, thence to Papakohatu, thence to Te Totara, Taurangakoau, Te Aopohue, Te Waiaruhe, Tauhirirourou, Taumakomako, to Pakahoreroa the commencing point. This boundary was laid down in order to enclose the lands of Hikateko, Hinehore and Tutaeata. Last was descendant (grandchild) of Tumahuki.' ⁷⁹

The boundaries quoted above don't represent the exclusive rights of Hikateko. Some of the placenames mentioned can be identified today. The first placename, Pakahoreroa, must be in the vicinity of Omarunui as the fourth name, Pukiokio, is located on top of the rise leading to Moteo. Te

⁷⁹ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk.17, page 169. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

Whangai is located at the Moteo end of the Puketapu bridge. Mataotao is the fortified pa above Moteo. Te Pa o Hikateko is on the boundary of the Tuhirangi block with the Okawa Purchase. The boundary then leaves the Tutaekuri river and follows Kawera Road approximately to Oreore at Okawa. It cuts across the head of Lake Runanga and continues to Ngapuke near the entrance to Ohiti Road. It then follows down the old Ohiwia stream (now the Ngaruroro river) past Omahu to the junction with the Rotoroa stream then up that stream to Paherumanihi close by Crissoge. It then follows up to Te Totara on the Moteo swamp and back to the starting point.

Paora Kaiwhata speaks of divisions in the interests of Hinehore and Hikateko in the Omahu hearing. 'Motukumara was a fighting pa built by the people who owned this land, Taraia, Hinehore and Hikateko. Ohinewaiti was an eel-weir belonging to the same people. Hinehore's name did not go further than this. We now come to Ngapuketurua - it was Toheriri's. [a son of Hikateko] ⁸⁰

Paora Kaiwhata gives the boundary between Ngai Tamawahine and Ngati Hinepare on the same page. 'Te Aopuhue was a stream and boundary of Ngai Tamawahine, but when they were defeated it was taken from them. Te Totara eel-weir belonged [to] Puramua. From Totara to Tutaekuri belonged to Ngai Tamawahine but when it was taken by me I occupied Omarunui. This side (south of it) remained with Ngati Kahungunu and Tareha. From Omarunui to Ngatahira was first taken by Rangikamungu and I took it afterwards, ie. my father did. My hapu Ngati Hinepare took it.'

There is further evidence from Paora Kaiwhata that Hikateko had or acquired a boundary from his brothers in his time. 'The portion between Hauhau and Rotoroa and the boundary of Pirau belongs to me through my descent from Hikateko who was the only ancestor who had a direct right to that place.' ⁸¹

It becomes apparent from the evidence of Paora Kaiwhata that the brothers Taraia II, Hinehore and Hikateko had both communal land and individual territory. 'Three of Rangitaumaha's children had a right to this land. I can specify the land. The boundary goes on from Tutaekuri to

⁸⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 433. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

⁸¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 435. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Pukiokio, thence to Te Whanga a Tuhotoariki, thence to Mataotao, thence to Pakikokiko, (this is Hikateko's land only and not Taraia's to Hinehore's) thence to Ngamahanga, thence to Ngahineumurau, thence to Awangarara, (the side towards Tutaekuri was in Hikateko's name alone but the portion including Ohiwia belonged to the three, Taraia, Hinehore and Hikateko.) Between Ohiwia and Ngaruroro was Taraia's alone. Their joint rights in Ohiwia extended from Awangarara to Kawera, down the Ohiwia to Te Horo, Ruakinui, Kowhai and extending to Omahu, (Rangitaumaha alone was over this) to mouth of Ohiwia stream, down Ngaruroro to Paherumanihi.' ⁸²

There are a number of other references to the boundaries of Hikateko provided in the evidence of Paora Kaiwhata which add little to those quoted above. One reference however refers to the wider boundaries between Taraia II. and Hikateko and merits inclusion for its overview implications. 'Rangitaumaha did not lay down any boundary between Taraia and Hikateko. There was one large boundary line between them which went on to Kuripapango.' ⁸³

The above boundary corresponds roughly with the Napier - Taihape road between Okawa and Kuripapango. It also approximates the division of the two water-sheds, Taraia II's draining towards the Ngaruroro river and Hikateko's towards the Tutaekuri. Paora Kaiwhata's statement is a little ambiguous but if no set boundary was laid down in the generation of those two ancestors, a convincing case could be made for those boundaries being adopted in succeeding generations.

Because the cases being argued in the Omahu and Pirau hearings had reference to lands south of the Tutaekuri river there was no discussion concerning any interests Hikateko may have had north of the river in the Ahuriri Purchase. There is ample evidence that his children occupied on both sides of the river and on to Te Whanganui a Orotu. The question arises as to whether Hikateko's children inherited their interests in the Ahuriri Block from their father or their mother or both.

Huakirangi, the wife of Hikateko, belonged to Ngai Tamawahine. Her genealogy is documented on page 49. When Paora Torotoro applied to the Maori Land Court for title to the Wharerangi Reserve in March, 1866, he

⁸² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 454. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

⁸³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 547. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

cited descent from the brothers Tawhao and Ruatekuri as the grounds of his claim. He traced his descent from Tawhao through his great grandmother, Whakatangi, wife of Te Putanga o Te Rangi who built the pa Titi o Hawea on a portion of the old Heipipi pa on the Petane range. The descendants of this marriage were known as Ngati Toa Te Harapaki. Paora Torotoro also traced his descent through Huakirangi, great grand daughter of Ruatekuri.⁸⁴

On the following page of the same hearing Hohaia Te Hoata disavowed the rights of Tawhao. 'Part of Paora's statement is right, part wrong: I object to Paora's claim through Tawhao but his claim through his mother from Ruatekuri is right. Witness traces his own descent on the mother's side through Tuku and admits that Tuku was a descendant of Ruatekuri - states that the land had changed owners several times but that the ancestor who finally recovered it was a descendant of Ruatekuri.' Hohaia Te Hoata also had a line of descent from Tawhao. (See Napier Minute Bk. 52, p 90)

Wiramina Ngahuka was still living when Wharerangi was re-examined in 1900 and served as the principal witness. In her opening address she states, 'I claim a right through Huakirangi. It was I who first spoke of that ancestor.' Later in her testimony she differentiates between the lands of Hikateko and Huakirangi. 'The land this side of the Tutaekuri [Moteo side] belonged to Hikateko. The other side [belonged] to Huakirangi.'⁸⁵

The Puketitiri Investigation of 1922 provided an opportunity to test the relative rights of Tawhao, Ruatekuri and Hikateko. Nepeta Puhara and Te Pora Nikera both claimed under Ruatekuri through Huakirangi. Descent from Tawhao was supported by Wahapango, Paora Rokino and Parekau Karaitiana. Paora Kurupo and Mahanga Kaiwhata put forward Hikateko as the source of their rights. Of the 500 shares awarded by the Court, 100 were allocated to those claiming under Hikateko from Taraia and Turauwha. The judgement concludes that the rights of Hikateko were not confined to lands south of the Tutaekuri. Those claiming under Huakirangi were awarded 200 shares. This group comprised Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu. The claimants under Tawhao were awarded a total of 100 shares between three claimant groups. Most of the remaining 100 shares were allocated to minority claimants most of whom could have been included in the quotas listed above.

⁸⁴ Wharerangi Hearing - 1866. Napier Minute Bk. I, page 30. Ev. Paora Torotoro.

⁸⁵ Wharerangi Invest.-1900. Napier Minute Bk. 52, pages 86, 95. Ev. Wiramina N.

The exercise of determining whether the principal customary rights to the Wharerangi and Puketitiri sections of the Ahuriri Block belonged to Huakirangi, Hikateko or Tawhao becomes academic when it is considered that the first two were husband and wife and the bulk of the descendants of Tawhao were absorbed into Ngati Hinepare by intermarriage in succeeding generations.

THE CHILDREN OF HIKATEKO AND HUAKIRANGI.

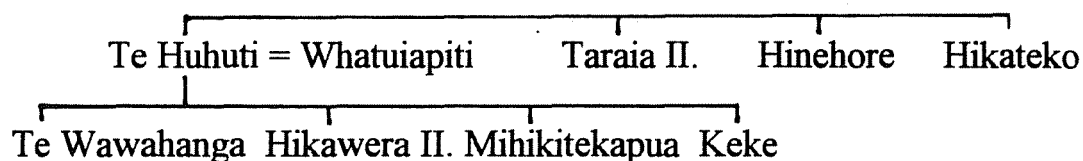
In the Pirau hearing of 1888 Paora Kaiwhata names the eight children of Hikateko and Huakirangi. 'Hikateko's descendants took the mana of these lands and some of them are at Taupo. I am a descendant of Hikateko. His children were:- 1. Ruruarau. 2. Manuatea. 3. Manawa. 4. Toheriri. 5. Taotahi. 6. Iwikohurehure. 7. Hikawera Mokai. 8. Paka. These were all his children.' ⁸⁶

Paora Kaiwhata continues, to locate the lands of these children. 'Ruruarau had mana over the lands from Oingo to Tutaekuri. No other children of Hikateko had mana over these lands. Manuatea went to Taupo. Manawa came to Korokipo. Toheriri came to the block before the Court. Taotahi went to Otiere where she was killed. Iwikohurehure's descendants merged into those of Te Upokoiri. Hikawera Mokai went to Tukituki. Paka went to Patea and has no right to the land before the Court.'

The above locations of Hikateko's children bears relation to the block before the Court and doesn't discuss their interests in the Ahuriri block. Certainly three of the children, Manuatea, Hikawera Mokai and Paka left the district and didn't return but the other seven continued to occupy and their descendants are among the claimant groups today. They will be discussed further on.

INFLUENCE OF HIKAWERA II.

The circumstances of Hikawera II's return to Heretaunga are documented on pages 39 - 40 of this report. He was Hikateko's nephew.



⁸⁶ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 203. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Hamana Tiakiwai defines Hikawera's status in Heretaunga. 'Hikawera's mana on this land was not through the conquest of Whatuiapiti. The mana of the conquest ceased with Hikawera. In his time fighting ceased and his mana was over the land and he protected the people, viz. Ngati Hinehore, Ngati Hineiao, Ngati Hikateko, Ngati Mahu, Ngati Kuke, Ngati Tu, Ngati Hinepare and others whom I cannot name. Ngati Tu belonged to the end of the block towards Arapawanui, Maungaharuru and Tangoio. I don't know that Hikawera said anything to these hapus or that he turned them off this land.'⁸⁷

The second, and principal wife of Hikawera II. was Te Uiraiwaho, grand daughter of Kahutapere II. and a beauty of note. The circumstances of the marriage are given by Prentice in J.G. Wilson's History of Hawke's Bay. (see page 52) There were eight children of the marriage.

Kahutapere II. = Hineterangi

|
Wharekotore = Huimaiaro

|
Te Uiraiwaho (f) = Hikawera II.

- |
1. Te Rangitohumare(f) = Te Huki (of Wairoa)
2. Whakapakaru(f) = Ruruarau (son of Hikateko)
3. Tuku a Te Rangi = Hinetewai(f)
4. Kata
5. Hinehou(f) = Pahu
6. Kaipawe(f) = Kiore
7. Hinetara(f)
8. Tamakitahanga

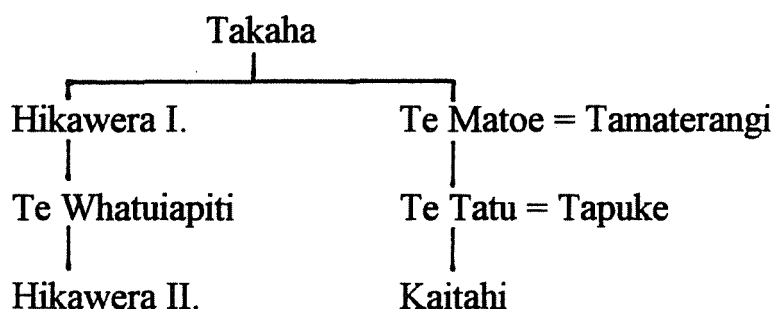
According to Wiramina Ngahuka the above family lived at Otatara and Waiohiki. 'Whakapakaru, a descendant of Hikawera, has a right to this block. [Omahu] Hikawera lived at Otatara outside this block. That was his pa. Te Rangitohumare, Tuku a Te Rangi, Kata, Hinehou, Kaipawe, Hinetara, Tamakitahanga, descendants of Hikawera have no right to this land. They lived at Waiohiki and Otatara outside this land. Tuku a Te Rangi lived at Tangoio and Arapawanui. He returned from Tangoio and lived at Te Awanga.'⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Omahu Hearing 1889. Blake Manuscripts, 7.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

⁸⁸ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts, 16.7.1889. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

Paora Kaiwhata gives Oueroa, pa of Hikawera's grandfather, as his principal residence. 'Hikawera lived in Rangitaumaha's pa at Oueroa. Rangitaumaha, his grandfather, may have been dead. He had a right from Huhuti to live there. Manahuna was another place at which he lived but by his own right. It was opposite Pawhakairo. [opposite the refuse disposal station in Springfield road.] He derived his right to live there from Huhuti, his mother. His son Tuku a Te Rangi's rights I have not heard as regards Oueroa. Never heard that Hikawera lost his right to that place.'⁸⁹

It was while Hikawera was living at Oueroa that events occurred which led to the naming of the Tutaekuri river. The story concerned Kaitahi, a cousin of Hikawera who lived at Porangahau.



Te Teira Tiakitai gives the details. 'I have stated that Hikawera lived at Oueroa and Motukumara. Whilst living at Oueroa a party of Ngati Kahungunu came there on a visit. They came because Kaitahi told them there was plenty of food at his place. They asked him at what time of the year food was plentiful.

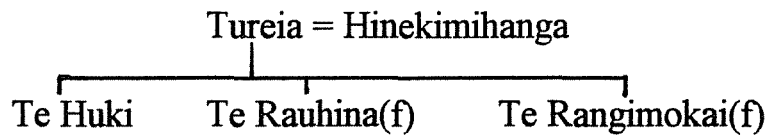
They came back starving. They went by way of Otupaopao. Hikawera saw them gathering cabbage tree shoots to eat as they came along the road. He invited them to his pa at Oueroa. Hikawera ordered his people to prepare food for them, eels, kakahi and seventy (Maori count = 140) dogs were killed and cooked above where the mill is at Te Umukuri.'⁹⁰

Umukuri is located on the Korokipo road near the Crissoge homestead where Airini and G.P. Donnelly used to live. The offal from the dogs used in this feast, according to local tradition, was disposed of in the Tutaekuri river which took its name from this event.

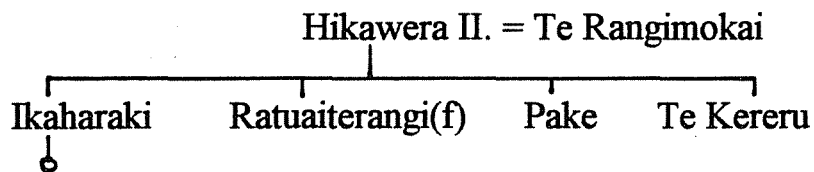
⁸⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. napier Minute Bk. 19, page 548. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

⁹⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts, 12.8.1889. Ev. Te Teira Tiakitai.

Hikawera's consideration for these starving Wairoa people didn't go unrewarded. In gratitude for his hospitality to them they gave him Te Rangimokai for a wife. She was a sister of his son in law Te Huki.

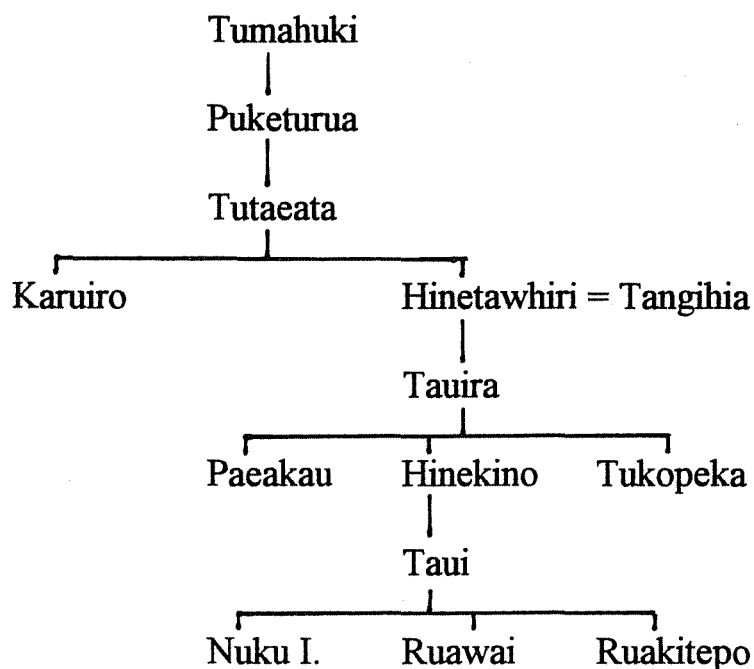


There were four children of the marriage. ⁹¹



Hikawera II. may have had the mana of Heretaunga but Hikateko and his wife, through inheritance, held a sizeable share of the land. The manner in which Hikawera married off his daughter Whakapakaru to Ruruarau, son of Hikateko, demonstrates the mana he held over the people in his generation.

Ruruarau was already married at this time to Hinekino of Ngati Mahu and had one son Tau.



⁹¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 32. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

Hikawera and Whakapakaru were living at Manahuna pa on the Tutaekuri river, a little upstream from Otatara. Ruruarau and his father were at Motukumara pa on Lake Oingo. The following version of the story was given by Hamana Tiakiwai. 'Whakapakaru fell in love with Hikateko's son Ruruarau and married him. Hikateko took his son away and stayed at Tutaekuri. He was opposed to the match. He did not want his son to marry the daughter of a great chief. He was afraid.

Hikawera returned on a visit from Raukawa. When he arrived he found his daughter was lovesick. He asked her what ailed her. She said she was lovesick because of Ruruarau. Hikawera took his daughter and went after Hikateko. when he found Hikateko he got up and spoke. Hikateko said, "Welcome friend. What plebeian would presume to mate with a chief? Go and find a husband for your daughter amongst chiefs."

Hikawera replied, "Sit down. Cease your talk or I will roast you. Do you wish my daughter to die while your son lives?" Hikateko felt very much alarmed and had nothing more to say. Whakapakaru then married Ruruarau and she recovered. Their first child was Tuku, named after Tuku a Te Rangi. Umutaowhare [the second child] was named after Hikawera's threat.' ⁹²

Wiramina Ngahuka puts another interpretation on the story. 'Te Whakapakaru grew up. Hikawera looked to her as the means of getting a right within the boundaries of Hikateko. So he married her to a younger relative of his - Ruruarau. Hikateko would not agree to this and carried Ruruarau away to Mataotao outside this block at Moteo. He had two other pas elsewhere.

The reason Hikateko carried Ruruarau away was because he believed that Hikawera was marrying Whakapakaru [to Ruruarau] in order to get a share of this land. Hikawera said to Hikateko that he would kill him in revenge for this slight. Hikateko was not afraid. Finally Whakapakaru married Ruruarau and they returned to their pa Motukumara.' ⁹³

Hohaia Te Hoata supports Wiramina's version of events and quotes Hikawera's threat in Maori. 'Hikawera had a great deal of trouble before he succeeded in marrying Whakapakaru to Ruruarau. Hikawera followed

⁹² Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 3.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

⁹³ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 19.7.1889. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

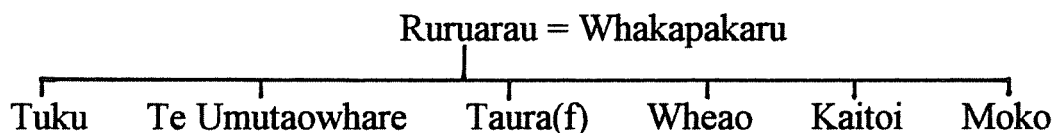
Hikateko and his son Ruruarau to two different pas. They had cleared out from Motukumara to avoid Hikawera and went to Te Pa o Hikateko where they were overtaken by Hikawera and the young couple were "married." Hikawera used the threat,

"Akuanei korua ko to tama
Umurangi tia ai ki roto ki ta korua whare
Akuanei korua ko to tama
Taona tia ki roto ki ta korua whare."

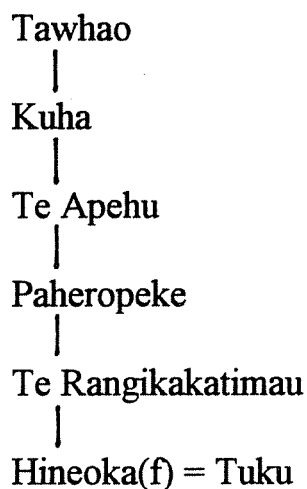
Hikawera made use of these threats - one to burn them in their house, the other to roast them in an oven.'⁹⁴

The marriage of Whakapakaru to Ruruarau may have been a strategic manoeuvre on the part of Hikawera. His son Te Kereru married Taotahi and Te Iwikohurehure, daughters of Hikateko, as well. The benefit of these marriages to the next generation was that there would be no quarrels as to who had authority over the land.

If the above marriages were designed to provide stability in the coming generations this didn't prove to be the case. Ruruarau and Whakapakaru had six children.

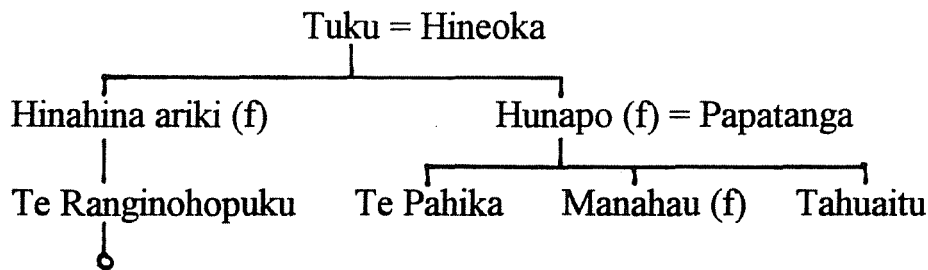


Tuku, the first-born child of the marriage was named after his uncle Tuku a Te Rangi. He married Hineoka a descendant of Tawhao.



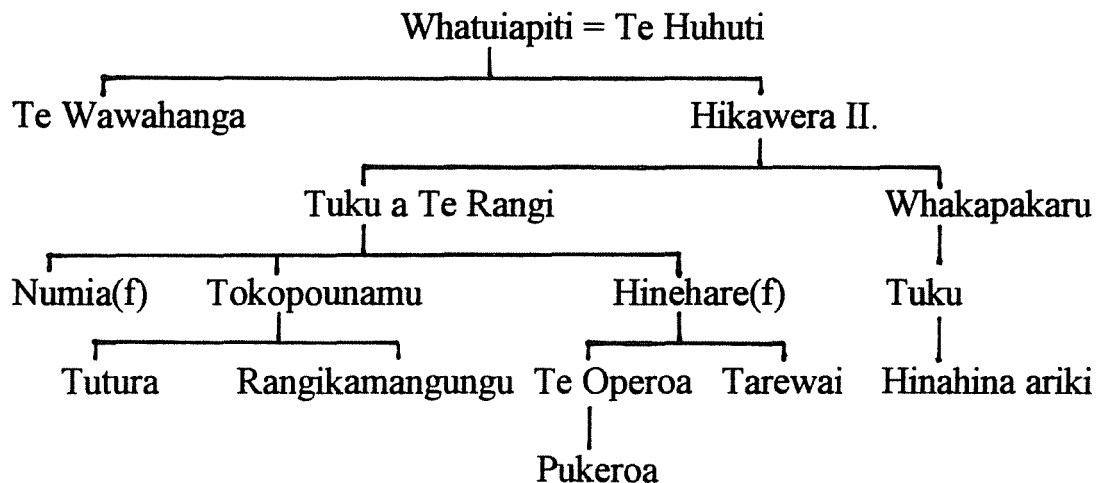
⁹⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 30.7.1889. Ev. Hohaia Te Hoata.

Two daughters were born of the marriage of Tuku and Hineoka.



Hinahina ariki, alternatively recorded as Hinehine ariki, by birth was senior of the grandchildren of Ruruarau and Whakapakaru. This gave her a position of high rank within Ngati Hinepare. In her evidence in the Pirau Rehearing Wiramina Ngahuka sets the scene for events which occurred during and after Hinahina ariki's time. 'The chief descendant of Hikateko who had a right to this land was Ruruarau. His mana extended over this block and outside of it to Omahu. On his death it descended to Tuku, and on his death Hinahina ariki gave orders to bring Te Operoa to be her adopted child in place of Te Ranginohopuku, her own child who had died. Te Operoa was adopted and reared by the hapus and recognised as their chief - I mean Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tangihia. He had mana over the people and the land, this land I mean.'⁹⁵

Te Operoa was closely related to Hinahina ariki. He descended from Tuku a Te Rangi, brother of Whakapakaru.



The two sisters Numia i te rangi and Hinehare were married to Manawaakawa, grandson of Te Wawahanga. Opinions differ on whether

⁹⁵ Pirau Rehearing - 1890. Napier Minute Bk.20, page 312. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

Te Operoa was the son of Numia or of Hinehare. The greater likelihood is that he and his younger brother Tarewai were the sons of Hinehare.

Tarewai was born and raised at Te Wheao pa above Te Hauke. As the son of Manawaakawa and Hinehare he was second in rank only to his elder half-brother Te Rangikoianake. A quarrel arose over their servants. 'Tarewai lived upon this land and exercised influence over this block. The land belonged to his father. Tarewai quarrelled with his elder brother Te Rangikoianake. The quarrell was the result of a man of one party taking the wife of another party. Te Rangikoianake was overcome and thrown by Tarewai. Te Manawaakawa became ashamed and said to Tarewai, " As your brother has been thrown by you, you had better go to your elder brother Te Operoa living at Te Whanga." ' 96

Manawaakawa instructed Tarewai that he would find his brother Te Operoa where the smoke was rising at Puketitiri. Because of his rank Ngati Hinepare made much of him. His arrival was witnessed by the carefully guarded puhi Manahau, grand-daughter of Tuku, concealed in a tree house high in a native tree. Tarewai being considered a suitable mate for Manahau they were betrothed. 97

In honour of her forthcoming marriage Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu elevated her to the rank of queen. Koputauaki Te Hoata speaks of this in the Puketitiri hearing. 'There are landmarks on the reserve of 500 acres. Manahau was made queen before the Ahuriri sale. She was selected by Hinepare and Ngati Mahu. A throne was erected and is still there. It is a stone. The next landmark is a basin and the third a swimming [hole], fourth a well, fifth a house, sixth was her dog, a watchdog to guard the block.' 98

At the time of these events Ngati Mahu were living on the upper Tutaekuri under the chief Paku o Te Rangi, son of Te Aopare. 'Tarewai came from Raukawa and went to Tutaekuri. He found Te Operoa there. He belonged to Ngati Te Manawakawa and had previously come to that place. He was a relative of Tarewai's and also came from Raukawa. They met at Tutaekuri. Whilst living there Tarewai's fire was noticed by Te Paku o Te Rangi who belonged to Ngati Mahu. He inquired whose fire it was that was burning. The people told him it was Tarewai's fire. Paku then said that it was not "Tarewai" but "Tareahi," and Tarewai, hearing of this, went to

96 Waihuahua Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk.14, page 386. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

97 Personal communication - the late Bob Mokopuna Cottrell

98 Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Minute Bk. 70, page 273. Ev. Koputauaki Hoata.

kill Ngati Mahu because that expression of Paku's was a curse. He killed a portion of Ngati Mahu only, those at the settlement at the source of Tutaekuri. Those that were left Tarewai took under himself who spared them. Tarewai remained at Tutaekuri and took the place where Ngati Mahu had lived and they lived under him.'⁹⁹

Some versions of Hinahina ariki's adoption give Pukeroa, son of Te Operoa, as the person adopted. Paora Kaiwhata comments, 'Tarewai became a chief of Ngati Mahu because Pukeroa was sent for by that hapu to be a chief and he came and lived with my people. Te Operoa was his father.'¹⁰⁰

TUKU'S GIFT.

Tuku, father of Hinahina ariki, fell ill at Motukumara and it was suspected that he had been cursed by Ngati Puke, a subtribe living among Ngati Hinepare at Papoto on the shores of Te Whanganui a Orotu near Poraiti. Hamana Tiakiwai gives a full account in the Omahu hearing. 'Tuku was taken ill. He was bewitched by Ngati Puke. When dying he told Hinahina ariki, "When I die let Te Rangikoianake [if he should] cry for me, give my people and my lands to him. (He was called Te Whero because he was red-headed.) If your black-haired brother (Rangikamangungu) crys for me give him my lands and people."

Tutura was at the Wairoa at the time. Tuku died before Tutura returned from there. When Tutura returned he went to Rangikoianake at Raukawa and told him that Tuku had been bewitched and was dead. Rangikoianake told him to kill Ngati Puke who were Tuku's people, but did not [not to] kill his namesake Paraheke, a descendant of Whakapakaru.

Tutura o Te Rangi then came on to his younger brother Rangikamangungu and they went on to kill Ngati Puke who were Tuku's people. They were assembled at Papoto. The pa was taken. One portion of the people were to be slaughtered and the people on the other side were to be saved. Ngati Puke were slaughtered and Tuku's death was avenged. The war party then returned to Oueroa.

⁹⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 23.8.1889. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

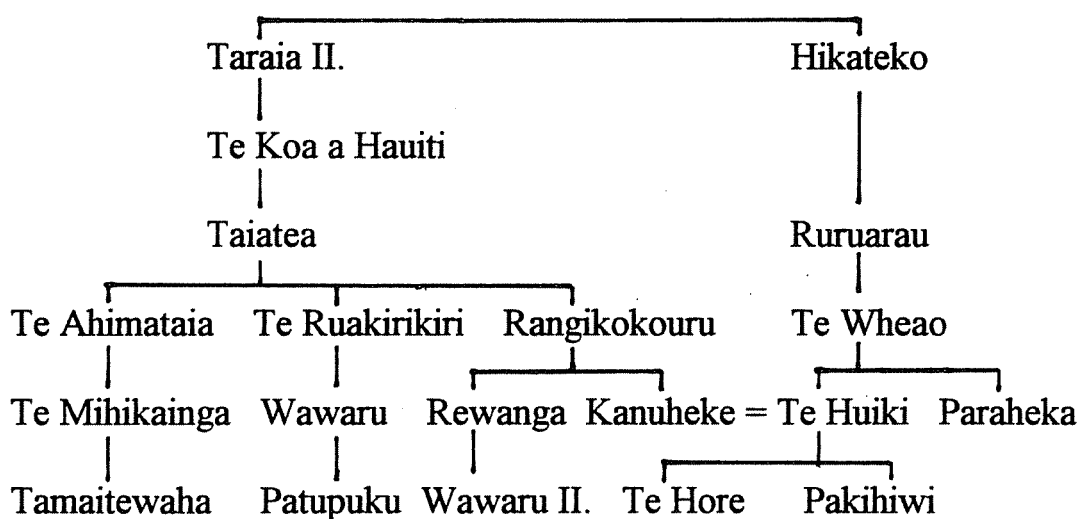
¹⁰⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 562. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Hinahina ariki then came from Upokohina to carry out her father's instructions to give away the land and the people to Tutura and Rangikamangungu and the land became the property of these two people. The land given included this block and on to Tutaekuri. There were no internal boundaries. I have heard that internal boundaries of that gift have been given in Court but there were none. No boundaries were given by Hinahina ariki but the whole of Tuku's land was given.¹⁰¹

The question arises why Tuku would disinherit his own people, Ngati Hinepare, when they were the origin of the inheritance which he was bequeathing outside the hapu to Ngati Hikawera, his mother's subtribe. The answer lies in the actions of his younger brother Wheao, a skilled fisherman, who was cleaning out all the best eeling grounds on Lake Oingo on his own account. Tuku took exception to this and turned him off.

His brother Wheao was suspected of having bewitched him because he had been turned away. The reason why he was turned away was because he was an expert fisherman and was grabbing all the eels for himself. When Wheao was ordered away by Tuku he went to Te Whanga to an island, Tapu Te Ranga where he lived and was afterwards killed by a war party.¹⁰²

The Ngati Puke who were attacked by Rangikamangungu at Papoto were descendants of Taraia II. through Te Koa a Hauiti. One of Wheao's children, Te Huiki, was married to Kanuheke of Ngati Puke who were accused of bewitching Tuku. This hapu were either living with or living under Wheao.



¹⁰¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 3.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

¹⁰² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

Meihana Takihi states that it was Rangikamangungu who went to see Te Rangikoianake at Te Hauke about avenging Tuku's death. 'When Te Rangikamangungu went to Wheao, a pa near Te Hauke, he addressed Te Rangikoianake and told him of Tuku's dying words. He replied, "Go and kill them" (Ngati Puke) but to spare his namesake Te Paraheka. "Te Paraheka o taku ringa me waho." Te Rangikamangungu mustered a war-party and attacked Papoto pa and took it killing all the people of one end of the pa but sparing the people at the other end who were Paraheka [son of Wheao] and the others under him.

Some of the bodies slain were taken by Tutura and Te Rangikamangungu to Hinahina ariki. She welcomed them. Wheao was not killed at Papoto. He was killed with his nephew, Te Putanga o Te Rangi, at Paruparu fight by Ngati Kahungunu not by Rangikamangungu. Hinahina ariki welcomed Te Rangikamangungu and Tutura and said, "There is your land," pointing with her staff. I was not told the boundaries of the land she gave away but I have heard that it extended to Puketitiri, Kouturoa and Ohuarau. Turirau, Tokiahi and Te Kapua were eel lagoons included within that gift.' ¹⁰³

Paora Kaiwhata summed up the impact of Tuku's gift in the Omahu hearing. 'The fight at Papoto gave Rangikamangungu all the land and my people were left destitute. We fled before him.' ¹⁰⁴

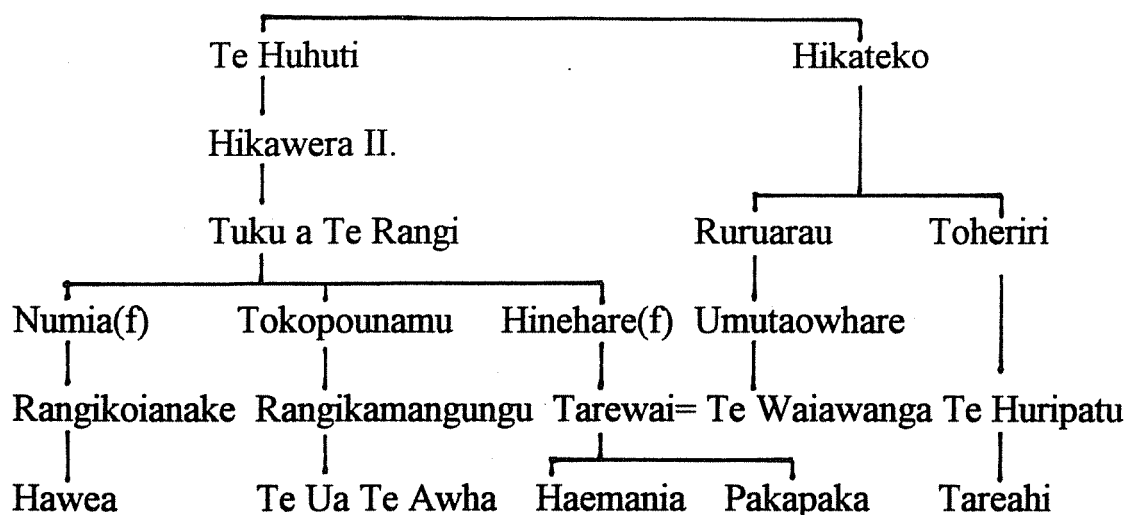
Upon receiving Tuku's gift of land Rangikamangungu's next move was to enforce it. He placed men at the boundaries of the gift to act as rahui's. One man was placed on the island, Tapu Te Ranga. Another named Kauhurangi was placed at Lake Oingo. A third man was placed at Puketitiri. His name was Piko.

NGATI HINEPARE CONTEST TUKU'S GIFT.

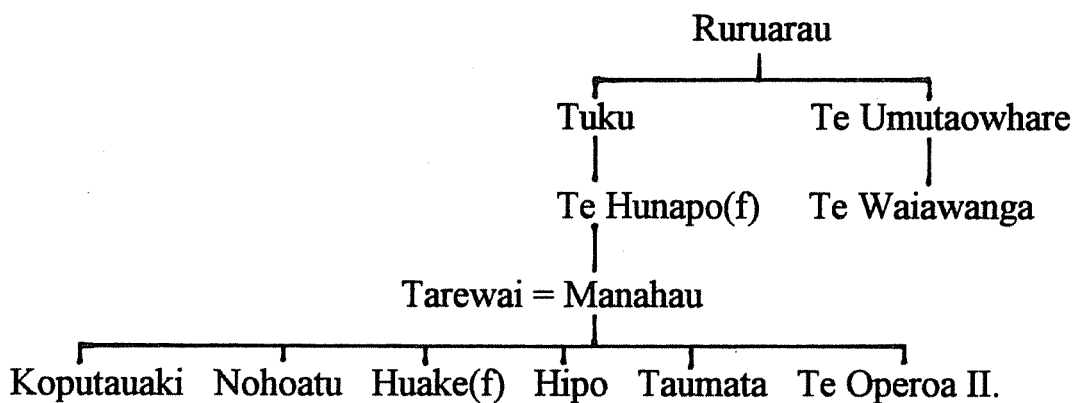
The events described above involved the ancestors Rangikamangungu, Rangikoianake, Tarewai and Tuku. The aftermath involved the men of the next generation, in some cases the sons of the above chiefs. The following genealogy shows the relationships of these main players and others who participated in succeeding events.

¹⁰³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

¹⁰⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 414. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.



There were six children of the marriage of Tarewai and Manahau. Manahau was a niece of Te Waiawanga who also married Tarewai.



The result of Tuku's gift was that Ngati Hinepare were left destitute. If the situation went unchallenged they would lose their inheritance. As Paora Kaiwhata summed it up, 'Rangikamangungu took the mana over all the lands. My ancestors Pakapaka, Haemania and Tareahi were in a bad way on account of this gift of the mana over all the lands as it left them landless.'¹⁰⁵

The placing of rahui posts and men on their principal food-gathering areas further provoked Ngati Hinepare. 'Rangikamangungu put up a rahui on the land at Tapu Te Ranga. He took a man also to Puketitiri to act as a game-keeper. Tapu Te Ranga is in the Napier harbour near Petane. Piko was the man sent as game-keeper to preserve the birds in that district. My people were angry over this and went to pull down the rahui at Tapu Te

¹⁰⁵ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute bk. 17, page 204. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Ranga. They went and killed and ate shags there but Rangikamangungu took no notice of it.' ¹⁰⁶

Soon after a raid on Ngati Hinepare's hinaki at Wharerangi by the son of Rangikamangungu resulted in a confrontation at Kouturoa pa. 'During that season there was a bar across the stream and in the summer eels congregated there and Tareahi, Pakapaka and others set eel-baskets there in holes they dug. When they went in the morning they found the slime of the eels but the fish gone. My grandfather, Waitaringa, opened an outlet and put his basket in, and dug a hole to conceal himself.

Towards daylight a thief came in a canoe and was emptying his eel-baskets into the canoe when my grandfather seized him and held him under the water till he was nearly drowned. It was discovered that the thief was Te Ua Te Awha and he let him go.

War was declared and the people assembled to destroy my ancestors. My people were living in a pa called Kouturoa. The defenders of the pa allowed the enemy to come and climb the palisading and then seized Te Waharoa, a chief. They took him into the pa and the others fled. One of my people called Haemania wished to follow them up and kill them but Pakapaka interfered and said, "Let them alone and be inhabitants of Heretaunga." ¹⁰⁷

The Ngati Parau chiefs persisted in exercising their mana over the Ngati Hinepare lands. 'There was a flood at Wharerangi. Te Kapua was the swamp that flooded. Te Hauwaho came to catch eels there. He was accompanied by his servant Tawhai and Korara, a relative. Te Hauwaho was a descendant of Te Rangikamangungu. Te Hauwaho found the Ngati Hinepare living at Te Kapua. Koputauaki was the chief and owned the eel-weir. Waharoa [was] another chief of Ngati Hinepare, also Te Moana. Ngati Hinepare was a hapu name of Manawakawa.

When Hauwaho went there he found that the Ngati Hinepare had put up their weirs which were called Timutimu, Matawhero and Te Pakiaka. When Hauwaho arrived there Tawhai pulled one of the baskets out and put one of his own in. While he was putting it in Koputauaki rushed at him

¹⁰⁶ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 204. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹⁰⁷ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 204. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

with a spear and ran him through the body. Hauwaho took his wounded man and left the place and therefore Kapua was retained.¹⁰⁸

Ngati Hinepare next turned its attention to Te Kauhorangi, the human rahui set up by Ngati Parau as guardian of Lake Oingo. 'Koputauaki died shortly after and it was said Hauwaho had bewitched him. About this time a brother in law of Rangikamangungu named Te Kauhaurangi was living at Oingo. The Ngati Hinepare killed Te Kauhaurangi, and spared his wife Hinemaka and children, and they took his body to Kouturoa and ate it. Tareahi, Pakapaka and Haemania, my elders were with the Ngati Hinepare.'¹⁰⁹

The bereaved woman, Hinemaka, made her way back to Tanenuiarangi, where Rangikamangungu was living. 'The woman and children returned to Tanenuiarangi. She cried continually and Hauwaho heard of it through Tutura o Te Rangi who said, "Do you not hear the woman wailing night and day. It is not for me to notice it but for you, the chief as outside would say."

After this the people of Heretaunga assembled at Tanenuiarangi and a person was sent to us named Punanga i Te Rangi. The people intended to slaughter Ngati Hinepare. The woman, [Punanga, wife of Ngarangikaunuhia] went to Ohuarau pa where Pakapaka was and said, "I came to you and all you shall have will be an oven, but the kumaras of your grandchild are to go to your other grandchild Hauwaho." It meant they were to be satisfied with the man they had killed but the kumaras were to be handed over to Hauwaho in payment for the killing.'¹¹⁰

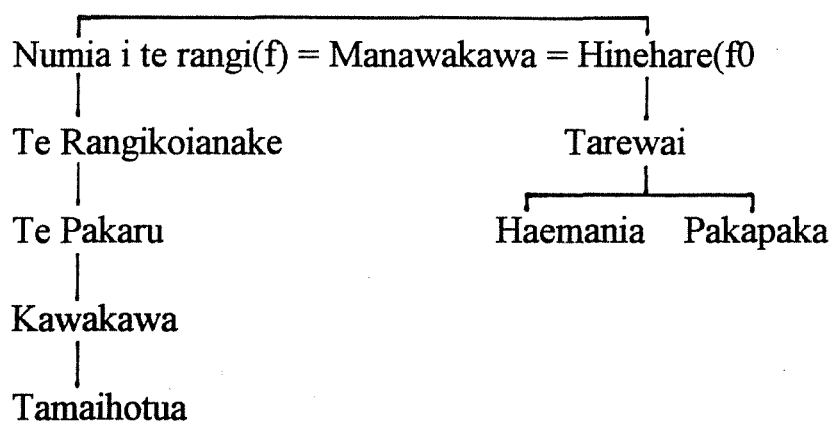
The kumaras in question were a gift from the Ngati Rangikoianake chief Kawakawa to feed his son Tamaihotua who had been adopted by Haemania. Haemania and Pakapaka. A plantation had been prepared for them at Turirau on the Ahuriri purchase side of the Tutaekuri river. 'Haemania went to cultivate kumaras at Turirau at Tutaekuri. This plantation belonged to his foster son who gave him the seed. The foster son was named Tamaihotua, son of Kawakawa, who was grandchild of Rangikoianake. Rangikamangungu heard that Haemania's kumaras were growing and he and his tribes went to eat them.'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 206. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹⁰⁹ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 206. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹¹⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 416. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹¹¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 5.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.



When Punanga i Te Rangi delivered her message to Pakapaka he sent for his brother. Pakapaka then sent messengers to Te Iho o Te Rei where the Ngati Hinepare were living to inform them that Punawaitangi had arrived at Ohuarau. They then all started in a canoe called Moanahoehoe and when they got near the pa Pakapaka went out in front and told Haermania, who was on board, Punawaitangi's message. He replied, "Well we are all descendants of Hinetewai."

Haermania did not respond to his brother's invitation to land [at Ohuarau] but went straight on and reached Rangitoto. They there uttered incantations. Haermania had 40 with him in the canoe. There were 30 in Pakapaka's pa. There were 70 altogether of them. They made straight for Puketapu where the people were digging up kumaras and cooking. They had left the canoe at Ohuarau and the 70 went on foot to Puketapu.¹¹²

'They then went on along the side of a swamp. Pakapaka called out to his people to keep close together. When they came to a flat the people of Rangikamangungus (Heretaunga people) saw them. Tukauwhakahi, son in law of Haermania and Pakapaka, ran to the party and told them not to proceed further as the enemy was too strong for them.

When Haermania's party saw him coming to them they said, "Here is a shag coming - a solitary person coming - diving unto death." When Rangikamangungu's people saw them still coming on they fled. They were pursued to the Tutaekuri which they crossed and then rallied. The opponents fought in two separate parties on each side.

Pakapaka was looking on. A weapon was given him and he advanced to the fight. When Rangikamangungu's people saw him they singled him out

¹¹² Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 207. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

for attack but he parried their thrusts. The first person Pakapaka caught was Rakato. The people of Rangikamungu fled on that. Tukutahi was about to dispatch Rakato when Pakapaka gave him the second blow. Pakapaka then called out to Korara to take charge of Rakato.

Pakapaka's party singled out their own relatives among the fugitives and spared them. The pursuit was continued to Ngatahira where Pakapaka captured Tukauwhakahi, his son in law. The last-named at that instant threw Hape to his father in law and said, "Let this one be enough for you (to dispatch). Now go back!" That was the end of the Turirau fight.¹¹³

It wasn't long before word was sent to Kawakawa that Rangikamungu's people had eaten the kumaras planted for his son. He wanted to get to the bottom of the matter (see the water in which the kumaras had been washed.) The intelligence that the kumaras were being eaten reached Kawakawa at Poukawa. His pa was Wheao. Tamaihotua was the son of Kawakawa who had given the kumaras to Haemania and Pakapaka to plant. They were planted at Puketapu.

Kawakawa invited Kaiwaru and Ringanohu to come and join him. Ringanohu was a Hinepare and so was Kaiwaru. They lived inland from Porangahau at Te Reinga a Mahuru. They came on the invitation to Wheao pa to Kawakawa. They took him to where the kumaras were. The party then came through this district to Omahu and on to Taumataiaheke a little beyond Waima. Thence they went on to Rotohenga in the Rahuirua block. [on the shores of Lake Rotokare] ¹¹⁴

HAWEA'S PRESENCE.

As the chief Hawea makes his entrance here some background details will help to clarify his involvement. He was a son of Te Rangikoianake's second marriage to Te Kaihou, younger sister of his first wife Wakiterangi. Because of an indiscretion committed by Wakiterangi, (Napier Minute Bk. 2, pages 68 - 69) the children of the second marriage gained the ascendancy over the issue of the first marriage. Being of the senior male line of the marriage of Whatuiapiti and Te Huhuti they were much sought after by sub-tribes who needed strong leadership. Ngai Toroiwaho of the Waipukurau district took Te Kikiri, the eldest son, to be a chief over them.

¹¹³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 418. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹¹⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 418. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

The third son, Te Karaha was taken by the Waimarama people to be a chief over them. (Napier Minute Bk. 27, page 234.)

Hawea's position is a little less clear. He is documented in the reference above as being taken by Ngati Tuhokairangi to be a chief over them. He is strongly associated with the lands at Matahiwi, Haumoana and Te Awanga where his pa was. Whether the above hapu had land interests there is uncertain. However a well-documented incident concerning the brothers Te Tutura and Rangikamungu is the probable source of his influence in Heretaunga.

'My take's are gift by Te Tutura to Hawea and permanent occupation. The reason of the gift was, or originated in a whale. A school of whales came ashore and the largest one was taken possession of by Te Tutura who climbed on it. Te Rangikamungu [his younger brother] pushed him into the water. He swam ashore and said to Rangikamungu, "The only land you shall have is that whale." He then gave the land to Hawea who married Hinetokaiti daughter of Te Tutura, and then the land was properly given and also the people to Hawea.' ¹¹⁵

At the time of the kumara wars Hawea was living at Upokohina pa at the outlet to Lake Rotokare. 'Hawea who was living at the time, saw them coming. Hawea was living there because he had married a daughter of Tutura called Hinepatokariki.' ¹¹⁶

Paora Kaiwhata picks up the narrative as Kawakawa and his forces approached Hawea's pa around the shores of Lake Rotokare. 'Hawea then came out of his pa there which was called Upokohina and a fight ensued and Hawea was wounded by Kaiwaru and Ringanohu at Rotohenga. The weapon that wounded Hawea was called Maipi and Hamana's mother was therefore called Maipitahi. Meihana's mother got the name of Rotohenga after the name of the place where the fight took place.

After the wounding of Hawea his people followed those of Kaiwaru, Ringanohu and Kawakawa who were retiring. Hawea was carried on a litter by his people while they pursued the foe. They called to them and asked them to take Hawea and eat him instead of letting his body go to waste. Kawakawa said, "We are not brave but you are."

¹¹⁵ Matahiwi Hearing - 1896. Napier Minute Bk. 40, page 368. Ev. Hone Wharemakō

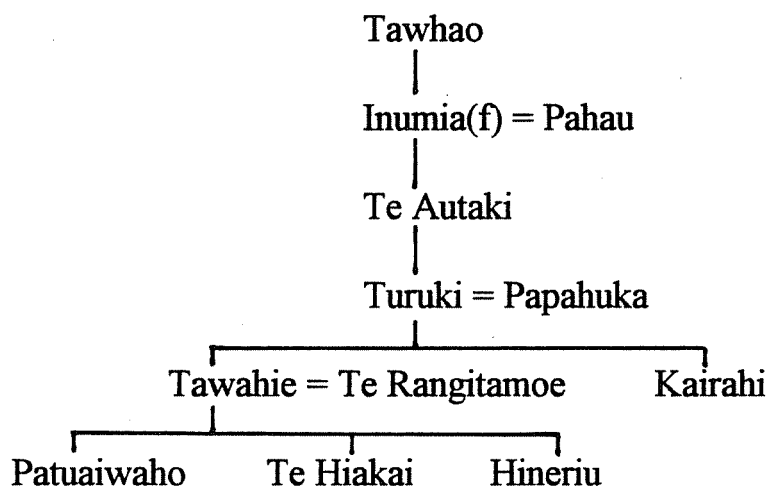
¹¹⁶ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 17.9.1889. Ev. Airini Tonore.

When the pursuers got to Taumata e a Heke they left their wounded chief there and still pursued the enemy unencumbered. On arrival at Paherumanihi the fugitives turned and a fight ensued and Hawea's people were worsted at Waima.¹¹⁷

UPOKOHINA PA AND THE GIFT OF TE AMOHIA.

The historical and well-preserved Upokohina pa is still visible at the outlet to Lake Rotokare on the Omarunui road. Apart from its good natural defences it is strategically placed at the exit to a renowned eeling lake where kakahi and ducks were found in abundance as well. Upokohina has been associated with Ngai Tamawahine since the time of Taraia's invasion.

In particular Upokohina is associated with the ancestor Patuaiwaho



Te Amohia, who features in the story of how the land fell into the possession of Tutura and Rangikamangungu, appears to have been the nearest of kin to Patuaiwaho, possibly his daughter or grand-daughter.

'There was a gift by Te Amohia to Rangikamangungu and Tutura of land outside this block. She gave away her own portion of the land. Te Rotokare was given to Rangikamangungu by Amohia in exchange. She gave that land because Patuaiwaho bewitched Tokopounamu, the father of Tutura and Rangikamangungu. Tokopounamu died at Tanenuiarangi. It was his permanent residence and his descendants'.

Hauwaho did not live at Tanenuiarangi. He lived at Upokohina through the gift of Amohia. That pa is on the Rahuirua block. Te Hauwaho had an

¹¹⁷ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 418. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

ancestral right to Upokohina through Patuairaho. I can't trace his genealogy from Patuairaho. Patuairaho derived his right from Ngai Tamawahine to Upokohuia.' ¹¹⁸

Paora Kaiwhata states that it was Rangikamungu himself who was bewitched by Patuairaho. 'Hawea was living at Rotohenga (after being wounded) at Upokohina pa on account of his wife, Hinepatokariki, and she through the death of Rangikamungu and Ngai Tamawahine for bewitching him. The people of Heretaunga then assembled and went to kill the people of the Ngai Tamawahine pa. On arrival there all the men were absent from Upokohina. Amohia called out, "Come and I, a woman, will fight you with other women!"

The war-party at that, sat down. The woman called out, "As you have not hurt us I will hand over this pool to you," referring to an eel lagoon. This was the second time this pool Rotokare was given away. It extended to Puketitiri, Mohaka and Maungaharuru. She waved her stick and indicated the extent of the land given. That was the right of Hinepatokariki to live there.' ¹¹⁹

Other witnesses maintained that Te Amohia only gave away Rotokare and the lands immediately surrounding it. Paora Kaiwhata may have been confusing the gifts of Hinahina Ariki and Te Amohia. Later in his evidence (page 479) he states, 'Te Amohia's mana extended from Maungaharuru to Tangoio from what right I don't know.' If in fact Ngati Hinepare's land losses were a combination of the gifts of both women it would explain their determination to recover them.

AFTERMATH OF THE WOUNDING OF HAWEA.

Te Meihana Takihi gave an account of the aftermath of Hawea's wounding in the Omaha hearing. 'After this the people on the land went away being afraid because the land became tapu through Hawea's blood having been shed upon the land. Te Rangikamungu fell back to Matapane, a pa where Napier is now.

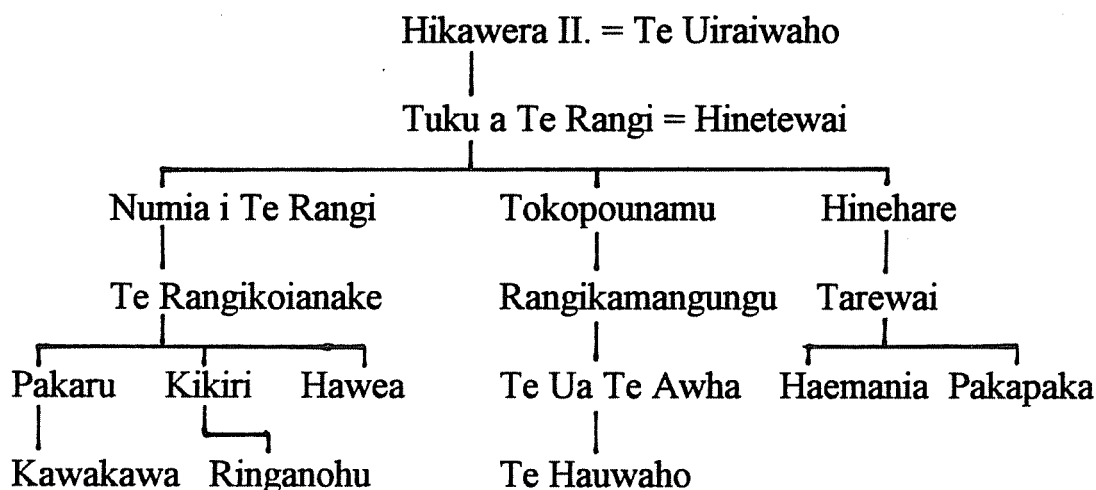
Hawea also went away to Te Awanga taking Ngati Hineiao with him lest they might be killed (on account of the tapu.) Not a soul remained on

¹¹⁸ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 30.8.1889. Ev. Meihana Takihi.

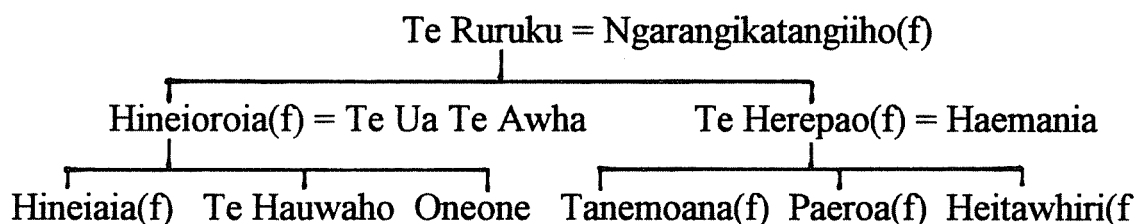
¹¹⁹ Omaha Hearing -1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 425. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

the land given by Hinahina Ariki to Te Rangikamungu. Not even a rat was left. If any had remained on the land they would have been killed. Ngati Hinepare took refuge at Puketitiri and Kaweka but they were still on the extremity of the land given by Hinahina Ariki to Te Rangikamungu.' ¹²⁰

Ngati Hinepare may not have been present at the wounding of Hawea but the incident was precipitated by their actions during the kumara wars. As a result there was a general uprising against them which included the forces of Rangikamungu, Tutura, Hawea, Kawakawa, Ringanohu and Kaiwaru. Haemania and Pakapaka, the principal chiefs of Ngati Hinepare were closely related to the enemy.



The wives of Te Ua Te Awaha and Haemania were sisters as well which would have put limitations on an all-out conflict.



Ngati Hinepare suffered two attacks, one at Otaia Pa on Roro o kuri island in Te Whanganui a Orotu and the other at Ouru near Puketitiri.

'When Hawea reached Te Awanga with the Ngati Hineiao they went to attack the pa of Te Whakapkaru's descendants named Otaia at Te Whanga on a peninsula on the inner harbour side of the road from Napier

¹²⁰ Omahu Hearing -1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

to Petane. Hawea took the pa. They killed the people who were strangers to them and saved those who were related to Hikawera and Te Whakapakaru. He attacked them because of the wound he had received. Kiatoro was the only chief killed. The other chiefs were descendants of Hikawera and Te Whakapakaru and were saved.

After this attack on Otaia Hawea returned to Te Awanga. Next they went to attack the Ngati Hinepare at Te Puketitiri. Ringanohu, Hawea II., Kaiwaru, Hinuheke and Ngati Rangikoianake, Ngati Whatuiapiti. When they reached Puketitiri they defeated Ngati Mahu, Ngati Hinepare, Ngai Tamawahine. Tahito, Kaingakiore and other chiefs whose names I don't know were killed.' ¹²¹

Referring to these fights Paora Kaiwhata observed, 'It is customary with the natives to seek payment for the killing of relatives. Haemania and Pakapaka were the cause of the wounding of Hawea and that is the reason Ngati Mahu and Ngati Hinepare were attacked.' ¹²²

From Puketitiri Ngati Hinepare made a daylight raid on Tanenuiarangi, the pa of Rangikamangungu. 'After this the Ngati Hinepare came out headed by Tareahi, Pakapaka and Haemania. They came in day-time to Kohupatiki. They found Te Rangikamangungu's net hanging there. The Ngati Hinepare were invisible owing to a karakia called Te Rehu.

The inhabitants took fright and went into their canoe to cross the river, others were hanging on to the gunwale. Pakapaka said that Takatoroa was amongst them. He shoved the canoe off because Haemania wanted to kill Takatoroa. There was only one man killed. He was killed by the gods, by a spear. [killed by the priest Kotikoti] This fight was called Pohutuwai.

Rangikamangungu saw Haemania and Pakapaka standing on the other side of the river. He said he would give their hearts to his child to eat. [To his grandson Hikawai.] ¹²³

Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu then made their way back to Puketitiri. 'Haemania and Pakapaka returned then to Puketitiri and the words [of Rangikamangungu] were told to their elder Matoru. He said, "This time tomorrow we shall have his heart for food for my son Pipimatawai." Rangikamangungu's heart was meant.

¹²¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

¹²² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 420. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹²³ Pirau Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 208. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

After this Matoru was taken ill and when dying he said to his children, "Go and take Hauwaho's rahui and bring him to me (Piko, a man was indicated) to be food for me on my way." (to Hades) The man was killed and cooked and while the old man was eating him he died. This was done because he wanted his threat verified before he died.' ¹²⁴

NGATI HINEPARE OCCUPY PUKETAPU.

Puketapu is the isolated hill pa where the Turirau swamp empties into the Tutaekuri river. It is at the first bend in Springfield road. It was this pa that the chiefs decided to occupy on their return from Puketitiri. 'The Ngati Hinepare then left Puketitiri and brought the palisading and binding to Puketapu. They built a pa there. Pakapaka made two eel-baskets there called Hauhau and Rahokato, these being the names of two pieces of land belonging to Rangikamangungu, and he named the baskets as a sign of having taken possession of the land. Ngarangitumoremore, a go-between, went to Hauwaho and told him of the baskets and the names they had been called. He replied, "He should name them after me, and not after the land." This go-between went back and told Pakapaka who said, "I will name them after him, why not?"

Kawakawa heard of this and thought it would end in war so he sent for Ringanohu and Kaiwaru. When they found Kawakawa they sent a message to Pakapaka and the Ngati Hinepare to join them at Oingo. Pakapaka (when they got there) said to Kaiwaru and Ringanohu that they should take the other side of Ngaruroro with its inhabitants, leaving this side to him.

Then an old man named Tanemore of Ngati Rangikoianake said to Haemania and Pakapaka, "Are you not satisfied with the blood of your victim, but you must claim land as well. Let the matter drop!" Then that boundary was not adopted and Ngaruroro did not become a boundary but Hauhau and Rahokato (the pieces of land) were retained by Rangikamangungu. These were the only lands which had been taken by my ringakaha which were given up.' ¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 421. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹²⁵ Pirau Hearing -1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 209. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

NGATI HINEPARE RETAIN POSSESSION.

The gifts of Tuku and Te Amohia to Rangikamangungu in principle left Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu landless. Yet the series of fights recorded above demonstrate that Rangikamangungu never succeeded in budging them from their possession of the land. Paora Kaiwhata cites one further battle, Te Ana a Te Kaiatahu, where Ngati Hinepare avenged a Ngati Honomokai presence at the Ouru fight, as the last clash between Ngati Hinepare and Rangikamangungu concerning the land.

Paora Kaiwhata was instructed in the history of his tribe by his father Tareahi who was present at most of the fights referred to above. The following is his summary of the end result of all these clashes.

'The matter of the kumaras was a small matter. The lands were the principal matter. Kouturoa fight was not caused by the ducking of Te Ua Te Awha by Te Waitaringa. Papoto fight was the cause of it. A whole hapu (Ngati Puke) was massacred by Rangikamangungu to avenge Tuku's death. After Tuku's gift Ngati Hinepare and Ngai Te Upokoiri lived on this land - after the Papoto fight. Rangikamangungu had not then got the land. His mana was never established over this land. The two hapus lost the land at one time and had regained it. This land was never in the possession of Rangikamangungu. My ancestors recovered the land by force of arms.' ¹²⁶

As a demonstration that they were still in possession Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu had taken up residence at Puketapu close to the boundary with Rangikamangungu and Ngati Parau. Their presence was not challenged. They shared their time between Puketapu and Kouturoa pa on the shores of Te Whanga. The former was located on their eeling swamps and the latter close to their fishing grounds. This was in the period from 1810 to 1820.

TANGI TE RURU'S RAID ON HERETAUNGA.

Events were fast approaching which obliged the hapu of Heretaunga to put aside their differences and unite to repel powerful enemies who were hell-bent on destruction. The first raiding party to make an appearance was led by Tangi Te Ruru, an aggressive chief of Ngati Paoa from Hauraki who joined forces with the Wanganui chief, Peehi Turoa of Ngati Maru. This raiding party is said to have come to Heretaunga at the invitation of

¹²⁶ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk.19, page 549. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Ngai Te Upokoiri who were seeking revenge for a defeat suffered at Mangatoetoe in the Tikokino district. ¹²⁷

Tangi Te Ruru swept through Heretaunga like a whirlwind. The war party crossed the Ruahine ranges and spilled out onto the Ruataniwha plains. 'Tangi Te Ruru then came to Heretaunga with his war party. He came to Roto a Tara. Ngati Whatuiapiti were staying at that pa. They attacked and captured the pa. Te Kawakawa was killed there. The war party marched on to Waimarama and captured Karamea pa. It was a general rendezvous for all the tribes of Heretaunga at this time. Strategy was used to get them out of the pa and they were defeated. Hawea's Grandson Turereiao was killed there.' ¹²⁸

Ngati Hawea occupied Te Rae o Tahumata, a steep hill rising above the Otupaopao flats north-west of the Omahu settlement. 'Rae o Tahumata was the place where the people used to congregate when war parties came from the north. It was after the fights I have named that the people met there when war parties were said to be coming, such for instance as Ngati Paoa and Ngati Maru. This was after the pa was built.

We were living at Te Whanga and used to rendezvous at Rae o Tahumata pa. From Te Whanga we used to go to a pa near to Ngati Hawea's pa - Rakato, Ngati Hinepare's pa. Ngati Hawea assembled at Rae o Tahumata and Ngati Hinepare at Rakato. They waited there some time and when no war party attacked them, Ngati Hinepare returned to the pa at the sea-side called Kouturoa and Ngati Hawea went back to Te Awanga, their own place.

Raniera Te Ahiko was correct that the pa at Rae o Tahumata was occupied only once - on the occasion now referred to by me. I was born at Rakato pa on the occasion of the assembling of all the tribes of Heretaunga there.' ¹²⁹

Raniera Te Ahiko was living amongst Ngati Hinepare, his wife's people, at Puketapu on the Tutaekuri river when word of Tangi Te ruru's presence reached them. They moved inland out of the way to Te Korea pa at the junction of the Mangahouhou and Mangaone streams. 'Karamea, a pa at Waimarama belonging to Te Teira's people. A war party came to attack

¹²⁷ History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, pages 85-86.

¹²⁸ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 24.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

¹²⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 434. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

that place - Ngati Paoa, Ngati Maru and Taranaki. They took that pa. Te Kaeaea of Taranaki was there. The war party then came to attack our pa, Te Korea, at Mangahouhou, a branch of the Tutaekuri. The refugees from the other pa warned us of the enemy's approach and advised us to leave it.

We fled into the bush and came and lived at Te Rae o Tahumata. Afterwards all the people assembled at that place after the war party passed on. No one was living at the pa when we went there. The hapus who assembled there were Ngati Hawea, Ngati Mahu, Ngati Hinepare. Ngati Hikawera, the owners of the land, brought these other people to Te Rae o Tahumata. The chiefs were Whakato, Kaikuri, Te Koari of Ngati Hawea, Pakapaka was a chief of Ngati Hinepare. Haemania was dead at that time - Te Aria, Pakapaka's son, Tarewa, a younger brother of Te Aria - these were all the chiefs of Ngati Mahu and Ngati Hinepare.' ¹³⁰

Tangi Te Ruru's raid was not an isolated incident for the people of Heretaunga during the years 1815 to 1825. Another well-documented assault on the district involved Ngati Awa and Urewera under the chief Te Hura Kohukohu. The attack was unexpected. No one knew this warparty was coming. Whakato had fled to Taupo because it was dangerous to live in this district through the continuous attacks from outsiders. Tareahi, Pakapaka and Ngati Hinepare had also gone to Taupo.

The only ones who remained were my people - Ngati Tuku a Te Rangi, Ngati Parau, Ngati Matepu, ie, a portion of Ngati Matepu - a portion had gone to Taupo. These hapus were in Pakake pa. I was an infant at the time. Te Hauwaho and his son Te Kauru were the chiefs and Te Humenga, Te Koari, Te Tore, Kariwhenua - these were the old chiefs. We had just finished fighting against Ngati Kahungunu and we did not know this warparty of Ngati Awa was coming. Ngati Kahungunu were camped across the stream. In the evening a tohunga said, "A large warparty is coming." ("He whaka ariki kei te haere mai.")

Te Hauwaho crossed over to Ngati Kahungunu and invited them into the pa or they would be killed by the warparty approaching. They refused. Te Hauwaho asked them a second time but they refused again. At daylight the Ureweras slaughtered them. Not one escaped. Toromata, the chief, and his wife escaped by swimming. They called out to the people in the pa to get

¹³⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 5.9.1889. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

them a canoe. A canoe was sent to them and they were brought ashore to the pa.

In the morning Hura Kohukohu crossed with his people to Te Koau where they cooked the slain. They attacked our pa and Te Koari said, "Don't let them land but fight them whilst they are in the water." The people of the pa met them at the water's edge as they were approaching. Each person was provided with three or four sticks, (epas) to throw at the enemy. The enemy stooped to dodge the missiles and their canoes capsized and the occupants were all thrown into the water. The attacking party succeeded in landing near the side of the pa which Te Kauru was looking after. Those who escaped from the water swam across the river and got away. The warparty got defeated. The fight was called Te Hura Kohukohu.

Those who escaped went and told Te Waru of Ngai Te Rangi. He was father of Tupaea. Te Waru said, "If Meika comes we will kill the people." When Whakato heard that Urewera had been defeated he came back. Ngati Hinepare were at Patea. My people alone fought against the Urewera and Ngati Awa.

Te Waru came to avenge Te Hura Kohukohu's defeat. They came by way of Turanga, killing as they came. They came to Wairoa and Mohaka bringing canoes with them as they had heard that the pa was in the water and could not be taken without canoes. At Petane they dragged the canoes into the fresh water. When they came to Te Whanga they went inside.

Te Whatanui had arrived and was located at the soldiers' barracks - Onepoto. We invited him to join us against Te Waru. We afterwards found out that Te Waru and Te Whatanui were related. Te Whatanui refused to join us.

When at Te Koau they called out to Pakapaka to go over to them. Pakapaka joined the warparty. Te Waru said to him that as they had 20 guns he should come out of the pa and leave his 'grandchild' Te Hauwaho to him to eat as fern stalks were no good against bullets. Tikitu said to Pakapaka, "Come out." Pakapaka agreed to what Te Waru said but did not leave the pa at the time.

Te Waru went to assault the pa. He had guns. The occupants of the pa had no guns. A number of persons were killed and their dead bodies piled up to form a breastwork. After some time the enemy set fire to the pa.

When the pa was on fire Ngati Hinepare withdrew. Tikitu had brought a canoe named 'Hatua' to take them away. The canoe came to the place where the Iron Pot now is. Pakapaka and Ngati Hinepare got into that canoe. Someone called out, "Our pa is being taken!" Hauwaho went to the gate and placed a Maori spade across it so that Pakapaka and Ngati Hinepare could not get out. The people endeavoured to get out but could not.

When Ngati Raukawa saw that the people were inclined to leave the pa a woman called from the top of a hill, "Ngati Kahungunu, the smoke of the guns of the warparty is enveloping themselves." At this moment the inmates of the pa under Te Kauru rushed the attacking party. The attacking party compelled them to fall back. Ngati Matepu then rushed forward and charged and the enemy were compelled to retreat. Ngati Hinepare joined in and completed the defeat.

When Te Waru returned to his boats he found them high and dry and had to take to the waters and [they] were slaughtered. Ngati Hinepare did not leave the pa. Te Waru was killed. All his people were slaughtered. Te Waru's body was afterwards found where the town of Napier now is, near the gasworks.

After the fight Te Whatanui went into the pa as he was going. Te Kauru said to Pakapaka, "Let us kill him." Pakapaka replied, 'You will have two titles, one for bravery and one for murder.' Te Whatanui was thus saved. He stayed a while. ¹³¹

A common enemy had caused Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Parau to put aside their differences and unite to drive them out. Soon, however, they were at odds again after Hauwaho and Te Kauru robbed some kumaras above Maraekakaho on the Ngaruroro river. Tareahi's father, Te Waitaringa, belonged to Ngai Takaha who lived with Ngai Te Upokoiri. Rewharewha of the hapu who had been robbed, cursed Te Kauru and when Ngati Parau heard of this they attacked Ngai Te Upokoiri at Taumata o He pa killing the chief Te Kiipatu.

Ngati Hinepare joined Ngai Te Upokoiri in avenging Te Kiipatu's death. 'When the warparty got home Ngai Te Upokoiri then came, and arrived at Te Ngaue close by here. At night they went down to Upokopoito and on to

¹³¹ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 26.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

Pukemokimoki and into the pa. The people there were alarmed and a fight ensued. Pakapaka was killed by the people of the pa. Tete and Pahau killed him. The invaders were defeated and retreated. They wailed outside because their man had been cut in pieces before the morning. Ngati Parau and Ngati Kahungunu were in the pa - Hauwaho, Oneone, Tete, Pahau and others. Latter two were of Ngati Parau.

The warparty that fled went to a bend in the river but were not pursued. It was arranged that all Ngai Te Upokoiri should gather the canoes of the people in the pa and burn them to draw the people out of the pa. It was determined that 140 should take up a position near the pa so that when the canoes were on fire the remainder of the warparty might appear to be retreating and the people in the pa coming out to quench the fire might be killed. (Witness sang a song). That song was Tareahi's. He sang it in the sore distress of his people and inspirited them.

A part of the warparty set fire to the canoes and the main body of Ngai Te Upokoiri withdrew along where the railway line is now. When the people saw this they came out of the pa to save their canoes. When leaving the pa Poawha of the attacking party thought he saw Humenga when he saw Makuru as their head-dresses were alike.

Those in ambush then rose and charged those leaving the pa. All those outside were killed. Two of them - Moukiri and Kanoi - jumped into the water. Tuhoto Ariki chased them and killed them and dragged them on shore. Many of the people of the pa were killed. The name of the fight was Taitimuroa. It was never avenged. The pa was not taken. The chiefs escaped but many people were killed. That was the second fight that was the result of the stealing of kumaras.'¹³²

With the death of Pakapaka, Tareahi became the principal chief of Ngati Hinepare. In the turbulent times that were to follow, when few chiefs lived to see old age, he was remarkable in that he survived until after the Ahuriri Purchase of 1851. Because of his links with Ngai Te Upokoiri he moved freely between Ahuriri and the Ruahine ranges and, as future events were to prove, he had the character to put aside personal grievances in the best interests of his people.

¹³² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 423. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

TE PUKETAPU.

After the death of Te Waru at Te Pakake, the Ngati Raukawa chief, Te Whatanui moved south to Lake Hatuma near Waipukurau which had been gifted to him by a daughter of Te Kikiri for avenging the defeat at Mangatoetoe. But Te Whatanui had further ambitions in Heretaunga. A capable and energetic chief, he had had ample opportunity to reconnoitre the district. Without warning he occupied the Ngati Hinepare pa, Te Puketapu, on the north side of the Tutaekuri river. He must have had a sizeable force with him because the local sub-tribes gathered together on Te Pakake island for mutual protection.

Te Meihana Takihi was a boy at the time. He built a pa there and lived there. He took possession of the mainland, and the hapus there - Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Tuku a Te Rangi, Ngati Matepu, Ngati Parau - still lived at Te Pakake pa. Whatanui took possession of Wharerangi, Puketapu, Tutaekuri, Rotowhenua, Turirau, Te Kapua, Te Rotokare, Rahokato, Hauhau, Ohiwia and Pakowhai. All these places were occupied by Ngati Raukawa.

The people at Te Pakake were afraid to come ashore to collect food. Te Pakake was on an island. We lived there until the summer-time. Te Hauwaho then called the people of Heretaunga together to fight Te Whatanui. They were living at Wheao, Te Roto a Tara, Ngai Te Upokoiri who were at Ruahine, Ngati Kurukuru from Waimarama and Ngati Pahauwera at Mohaka. All coalesced with those at Te Pakake for the purpose of driving Te Whatanui from Heretaunga.

They all responded except Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Whatuiapiti who, however, came later on but after Whatanui had been defeated. The people from Te Pakake camped above Puketapu waiting for Ngati Whatuiapiti. They stayed three nights on this hill and at length felt very hungry. On the third night they attacked Puketapu and captured it. Ngati Raukawa were defeated. Ngai Te Upokoiri were looking on at the fight at Paepaetahi and would not join. They calmly looked on. Te Whatanui escaped but his men, women and children were taken prisoners. The guns were also captured.

The victors then proceeded down the Tutaekuri on their way home and came to where Ngai Te Upokoiri were located. During the fight some of Ngati Hinepare escaped from the pa, and taking canoes, made for Pakake. when Ngai Te Upokoiri saw them coming they first mistook them for a

portion of the enemy but on recognising Kauru their minds were at peace. Kauru was a giant and distinguishable in any crowd. Subsequently the respective hapus and parties returned to their respective pas. I personally saw the prisoners being brought in.' ¹³³

The following kaioaraora was composed by Rangimotuhia of Ngati Raukawa upon hearing of the death of her husband at Te Puketapu. She is said to have sung it to her infant daughter Mere Pupuha.

'E Hine! aku ka tangi, mate noa taua
 Me pewhea te whakarongo e
 E paheke rahi ana te toto rewa
 Te Humenga i raro e
 E kai E Hine! i te wai roro
 Nou, e Te Kauru
 Te tangata patu kino i te makau
 Ka noho pania nei
 Tenei o kutu, E Te Hauwaho
 Te Ngaua iho nei
 Tera o kai, kei Ahuriri
 Ko Ngati Matepu, ko te rau hoko whitu
 O Kahungunu, O Ngati Kurukuru
 Kia nui mai ai, kia kai atu au, kia ruaki
 I te wai takataka o Muheke
 Nana nei aku hoa i whakahinga nui
 Ki te awa o Tutaekuri
 He aroha tonu atu ki te whenua
 i mate ai taku tau
 Ka nunumi whakararo
 Te Pua ki te Reinga
 Ki te makau, oti tonu atu e.' ¹³⁴

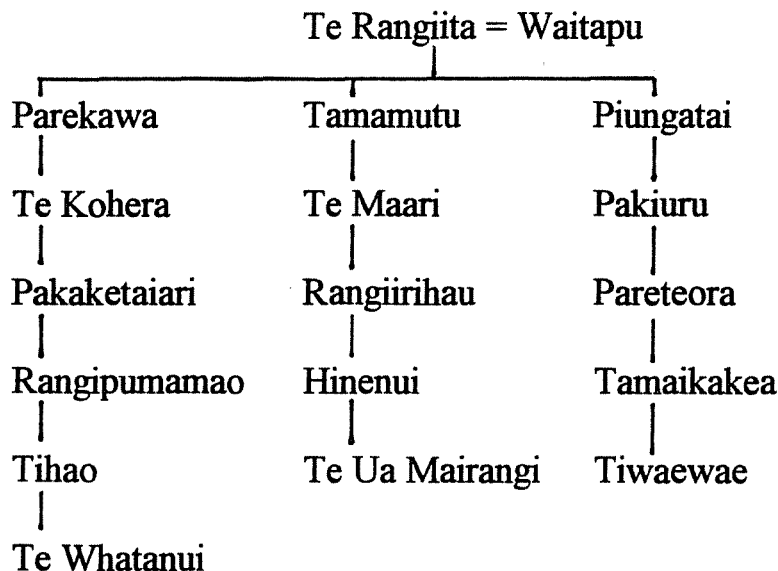
Raniera Te Ahiko told of his father and uncle being killed at Te Awa Tamateanui near Old Omahu in revenge for Te Puketapu. 'My ancestors lived and died there - my father and uncle - who were killed by Ngati Tuwharetoa. My father's name was Te Kere and my uncle's Nohopare. The chief of that warparty was Te Heuheu of Ngati Tuwharetoa. This warparty came to seek revenge for the defeat of Te Whatanui at Puketapu.' ¹³⁵

¹³³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 27.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

¹³⁴ J.P.S. Vol. 1X, No. 3, pages 137, 140.

¹³⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 5.8.1889. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

Te Whatanui was widely connected by whakapapa through which he was able to enlist support from surprising quarters. The Ngati Raukawa ancestress Waitapu married Rangiita of Ngati Tuwharetoa. Ngai Te Upokoiri descend from that marriage, hence the reluctance to participate at Te Puketapu. Tiwaewae of Tutira had a line of descent from Ngati Rangiita and it was to him that Te Whatanui and his sister Hitau fled from Te Puketapu.



TE IHO O TE REI. (QUARANTINE ISLAND).

The northern tribes were advantaged by their access to muskets which were barely known in Heretaunga at the time. Another battle took place on the islands of Parapara and Te Iho o Te Rei at the northern end of the Ahuriri inner harbour which demonstrated the futility of traditional fighting methods against the gun.

The events which triggered off Te Iho o Te Rei occurred in the Putere and Mohaka districts and it is not immediately apparent why revenge should have been sought at Ahuriri. The following causes and description of the battle were given by Wi Prentice. 'The raid was the result of various incidents at Putere and Mohaka, among which were the following:-

The people of Te Putere had given refuge to the people of the Ngati Manawa tribes when they were driven out of Te Whaiti district.

The death of a member of the Raukawa tribe named Whatiuru, who died while being carried through Petane and was buried at Te Putere; and the subsequent exhumation and putrid feast.

The killing of Te Ohomaori, another member of the same tribe, by Te Kahu o te Rangi the Mohaka chief.

The killing of Tiwaewae at Tutira, his wife being a member of the Raukawa tribe.

A large party, therefore, comprised of warriors from the Tuwharetoa, Raukawa and Waikato tribes came to make reprisals for these insults and attacked the island pas. The local people had heard of the pu, the Maori name for gun, but what of that? They also had the pu, a kind of blow pipe, and they thought the new pu was something similar.

The first island pa to be attacked was Parapara. There was a very stubborn resistance by the defenders. They even came out of the pa to fight the invaders who simply mowed them down with the guns. They could not understand the new pu that killed its man without giving any chance to close up with the enemy. The fight did not last long and ended in the utter defeat of the defenders.

The invaders now attacked the larger pa on Iho o Te Rei. There again the fight was uneven, and the defenders soon succumbed to the superior pu of the pakeha. The two chiefs, Kumara and Te Aitu o Te Rangi, as well as most of their followers, were slain. The invaders made no further attacks. They were content with their victories which they considered as sufficient utu for the offences before mentioned. They then returned to their own land by way of Tarawera.'¹³⁶

Few of those who fell at Te Iho o Te Rei are documented. A young man named Te Iho Te Rangi of Ngati Mahu, the grandson for whom Te Whatu composed his lament, died there. Te Aitu o Te Rangi mentioned above was a grandson of Te Ruruku. Maata Puti, mother of Hohaia Te Hoata, was taken prisoner there. 'My mother, when young, was taken prisoner by Ngapuhi. I don't know that Raukawa took her. Her foster parents went with her. They came for her at Otiere. She was not taken prisoner at Puketitiri. She was taken at Te Iho o Te Rei. That pa is at the mouth of the Te Waiohinga. Ngapuhi took my mother. She was not taken by Ngati Raukawa. I never heard that my mother was exchanged by Ngati Raukawa to Ngapuhi for some guns, along with some other prisoners.'¹³⁷

In the book Tuwharetoa, John Grace records that Te Whatanui was with the attacking party at Te Iho o Te Rei. This may explain why the people of

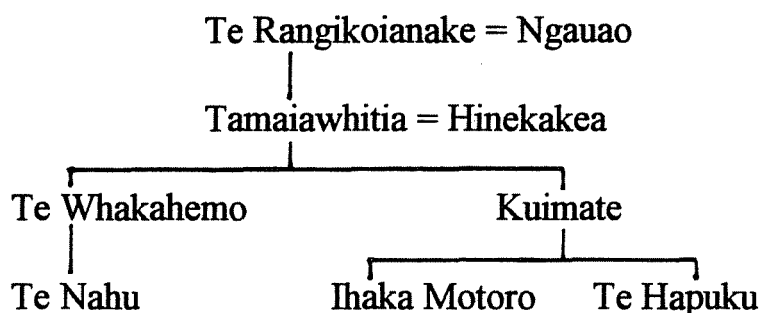
¹³⁶ The History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, pages 93 - 94.

¹³⁷ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 31.7.1889. Ev. Hohaia Te Hoata.

Ahuriri were attacked, as a reprisal for his defeat at Te Puketapu. The hapu who occupied Te Iho o Te Rei were known up till this time as Ngati Hineterangi. As a result of their destruction by guns they adopted the hapu name Ngati Matepu.

BACKGROUND TO TE PAKAKE.

The hapu of Heretaunga had been subjected to a continuous succession of invasions, not all of them through their own doings. The most devastating battle was yet to come and it was triggered by events over which they had no control. While various events contributed to the build up of tension there is general agreement that the catalyst was the death of Te Nahu, a senior cousin to Te Hapuku.



Previously at the Mangatoetoe fight Te Nahu's father had been killed and subsequently a peace accord was concluded with Te Wanikau, principal chief of Ngai Te Upokoiri. Ihukino, sister of Te Wanikau, was given in marriage to Te Nahu to seal the accord.

The events leading up to the battle at Te Pakake are well-documented in chapters 35 - 38 of the book *Tuwharetoa* by J. Grace and by Te Meihana Takihi in the Omaha hearing of 1889. (Napier Minute Bk. 19, pages 120 - 126.) The following summary focuses on the lead-up to Te Pakake.

Te Nahu died at Lake Poukawa and his brother in law Te Wanikau took charge of arrangements for his tangi. As a mark of respect for Te Nahu he erected rahui poles at Lake Poukawa placing a temporary ban on eeling at the lake. This action was not universally approved by Ngati Rangikoianake as it cut off their food supply. They pulled down the poles and cursed them saying they were the bones of Te Wanikau.

Te Wanikau took offence at this and called on his relative Te Heuheu, chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, to help him avenge this slight. Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Peehi answered the call. Crossing the Ruahine

ranges they converged on Lake Roto a Tara, south of Te Aute, where Ngati Whatuiapiti and Ngati Rangikoianake had taken refuge on the island pa Te Awarua o Porirua. Without canoes the island was impregnable so a section of the warparty diverted to Maungawharau near the coast at Waimarama where a section of the Roto a Tara people had gone on a fishing trip. Te Heuheu meanwhile laid siege to Roto a Tara.

When the warparty returned from Maungawharau the news was not good. They had suffered a defeat at the hands of the enemy. Worse, they had to break the news that Te Heuheu's younger brother Manuhiri was among the slain. Te Heuheu was grief-stricken and returned to Taupo where he amassed a formidable army. Among them were the Waikato tribes, the Hauraki tribes, Ngati Maru, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Maniapoto and others.

The tribes of Roto a Tara, led by their renowned fighting chief Pareihe, strengthened their fortifications for the anticipated reprisal. They chose the island fortress because the enemy would be ineffectual without canoes. When Te Heuheu arrived his strategy soon became apparent. His men set about felling timber from the Te Aute forest to build a causeway out to the island. Pareihe responded by building his own causeway out towards the advancing structure from the mainland. At the end of it he erected a tower or puhara from which to bombard the enemy with rocks and other missiles.

As the enemy structure neared the puhara Pareihe's men pelted the builders with rocks. One of the missiles struck Te Arawai, an important Waikato chief, on the head and killed him. The enemy then began lobbing firebrands into the pa and set fire to some of the whares. Pareihe retreated to the upper end of the pa and as the invaders stormed over the palisades Pareihe's men charged and rammed them. In the resulting confusion, as the enemy tried to retreat along the causeway, many fell in the water and were drowned. Fifty chiefs fell there and Te Heuheu and his followers returned to the interior via Ahuriri and Titiokura.

With the death of Te Arawai and the drowning of other important chiefs Pareihe had let loose the dogs of war. Te Wera, the Ngapuhi chief, resident at Nukutaurua on Mahia peninsula came to Tanenuiarangi at the invitation of Te Hauwaho to help avenge the death of his brother Hungahunga. Pareihe took the opportunity to meet with Te Wera and it was arranged that the people of Heretaunga should join him at Nukutaurua and go under his protection.

Convincing his people of the need to abandon their homes and go into exile was another matter for Pareihe. In the end he had his warriors round up the various isolated hapu of Central Hawke's Bay as he knew there wasn't much time to waste. He was well aware that his most difficult task would be to persuade Te Hauwaho, the principal chief of Ahuriri, to follow him.

Pareihe was keen to visit Te Hauwaho for another reason as well. His tohunga had had a premonition. He warned Pareihe that a warparty was approaching Heretaunga and advised him to rescue a venerated adze which was in the possession of Te Hauwaho, whose death he presaged. When Pareihe arrived at Te Pakake pa he found Ngati Hawea, Ngati Tuku a Te Rangi, Ngati Rangikamangu, Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Matepu in occupation. In spite of his best endeavours he could not budge them.

Te Hauwaho prized the greenstone adze and never let it out of his sight. When Pareihe asked him to hand it over lest it be lost the old chief replied, "If I hand it over to you, where is one for me? Is it not mine?" Realising the futility of trying to reason with him, Pareihe turned his attention to persuading him and his people to join the exodus to Nukutaurua. Te Hauwaho declined, saying, "Pareihe, this journey is of your own undertaking. Am I the person that should escort you to your destination? I shall stay here!" Thus the fate of Te Hauwaho's people was sealed.

On hearing these words Pareihe lost patience with the old chief and said, "Very well then! Remain here and be fuel for the fires that I have set alight at Te Whiti o Tu!" Te Hauwaho replied that if he was to die, he preferred to die on his own soil. Several chiefs, including Whakato of Ngati Hawea and Tareahi of Ngati Hinepare, elected to remain with him at Te Pakake. Pareihe and his followers then departed for Nukutaurua.

TE PAKAKE.

The following account of the battle of Te Pakake was gathered by Percy Smith who gives 1824 as the year of the conflict.

'The Waikato and Hauraki tribes, together with some of Ngapuhi, Ngati Maniapoto of Waipa, and Ngati Raukawa of Maungatautari now assembled at Taupo and from there returned to Ahuriri with some of the Taupo people, in all 1000 warriors, and besieged the pa of Te Pakake in revenge for the death of Tukorehu's son, Te Arawai, killed at Te Roto a Tara.

After Pareihe had visited Te Pakake, the people set to with a will to fortify their pa so that it might not be taken. That pa, Te Pakake, is an island, but at low water it can be reached from the mainland by a sand-bank stretching out from the east side of the harbour. The island is situated on one side of the mouth of Ahuriri Harbour (the spit on which the railway station is built.) This spit was the place where the people gathered mussels in former days.

On arrival, one part of the taua occupied that sand-spit, and during the night time they used to attack the pa. Kawatiri was one of those in the pa; but the taua could not for some time gain any advantage. One night some of the young men of the pa took a fast canoe and paddled off to the north end of Te Whanganui a Orotu towards Petane and awaited there the advent of some of the enemy who were coming to join the others. Here they overheard some of the taua say the newcomers were expected the following morning, and were coming overland via the Petane Beach, and that they intended to attack the pa of Te Pakake on the north side.

The scouts now returned to the pa, when a number of young men assembled, and taking canoes returned to the place which the others had visited, where they also heard some of the taua talking of the expected reinforcement. Kawatiri was with this party which waited in ambush for the taua to come along. It was quite dark when they arrived. Kawatiri stood behind some scrub and saw the foremost of the enemy appear. He was an old man. They engaged in single combat but through the quickness of Kawatiri he killed his man.

After the young men had returned to the pa with the spoil they had taken the people of the taua, who occupied the point where mussels were gathered, went inland of the harbour to a place where raupo grew, and there made mokihis (or rafts) which they brought down the Ngaruroro river and then paddled along in the sea to the entrance of Ahuriri. The taua now embarked and assaulted the pa of Te Pakake. It was just at daylight that the pa was stormed and then the people of the pa were defeated and a great many killed. Children at the breast were cast into the sea and were washed about by the waves, just like porpoises, whilst many adults were dashed on the shore by the waves. Those who escaped the massacre fled inland to the Ruahine mountains, whilst the taua stayed at the pa and consumed 'the fish of war,' and afterwards returned to their homes.'¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century by Percy Smith, page 302 - 304.

Along with Te Hauwaho his younger brother Te Humenga perished. One of his brothers, Oneone, wasn't in the pa. He was returning from a tangi at Wairoa by canoe and had his young son Tareha on board.

'Tareha and his father Oneone were returning from the Wairoa. They found the mouth of the river (Iron Pot) blockaded with the enemy. They went back to Wairoa. The following were amongst those taken prisoners:- Karawa, Tiakitai, Hapuku, Te Moananui, Te Matenga and others - young chiefs. I was at that fight and taken prisoner. I was not big enough to fight. Te Katene was there with me. He was about my age. He belongs to Ngati Hinepare.

When Waikato returned home they left Tiakitai and Karawa. They left them guns and powder and the wounded who were unable to walk. When Waikatos wished them goodbye they invited Tiakitai and Karawa to come later on. The Waikatos returned home and waited some time for Tiakitai and Karawa to come. At length they sent Matenga and Takawhiu, a chief of Waikato, to fetch Tiakitai and Karawa. About 100 then went with Tiakitai and Karawa. They went by way of Taupo to Te Heuheu. They found Ngai Te Upokoiri at Taupo. One hundred of Ngai Te Upokoiri went with them.

I escaped from captivity at Maungatautari with my mother Winipere and Hira Te Ota, father of Pene Te Ua and Henare Tomoana, before the party from here left for Waikato. Te Potatau wept over these people when they reached his kainga because he had slaughtered the Heretaunga people without sufficient cause. The whole of the prisoners were sent back. They were given guns and a cask of powder called "Heretaunga". Te Paewaka called Titiokura his back to prevent warparties from crossing over it to attack Heretaunga.¹³⁹

Paora Kaiwhata was a young boy at Te Pakake, just able to run about and not able to carry arms. He walked to Waikato with his father Tareahi.

'When my father was taken prisoner at Pakake all the prisoners came together to lament over him - they mingled their tears in fact. He mentioned places to them that they might go to them if they escaped. This was done in his lament. Matahorua was one as they had cultivated there. When Takirua and Tahana escaped they went straight for that place. Previous to that capture Matahorua was my father's cultivation.'¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 26.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

¹⁴⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 435. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Tareha's sister Taihoa was on board the canoe with her father Oneone and avoided capture. 'We went to Wairoa just before Pakake to tangi. When we returned we found a battle had been fought and we ran away to Nukutaurua. We didn't remain there long but we came back. Oneone fled to Nukutaurua after Pakake and a short time later came back to cremate the bodies at Pakake.' ¹⁴¹

Some prisoners returned sooner than others. Paora Kaiwhata estimated that he and his father were away eighteen months. Others were detained longer, the men demonstrating haka at which they were expert, and the women preparing flax for fibre at which they were highly skilled. On returning from the Waikato not all prisoners made their way to Nukutaurua. 'We went to Waikato and then returned as I have said, and lived at Pakake and then on this land. The remnant of those who returned lived at Pakake.' ¹⁴²

OCCUPATION BY OUTSIDERS.

The Ahuriri and Heretaunga lands, denuded of population, became ripe pickings for those with territorial ambitions. The Taupo chief Koha made a serious attempt to establish himself permanently at Ahuriri, occupying a pa at the head of the Wharerangi valley called Kohukete. He fortified it with timber from the forest in the Wharerangi valley and grew his cultivations on the rich flats.

While he was completing the earthworks of the pa he intended as his permanent headquarters, word arrived of a large warparty from the Waikato destined for Kaiuku on Mahia peninsula. The warparty detoured to Kohukete and laid siege to Koha and his people. The high location of the pa made it vulnerable to siege and very soon the inhabitants were on the verge of starvation. 'After a few days the pa was reduced to straits. Day by day Koha looked round him. With the grim foe waiting for him below he found no chance of escape. Utterly hopeless Koha gave vent to the words, "Ka Kai a Koha i te kiko o tana Ngarengare." (Koha now eats himself.) Starved and weakened the pa fell - an easy prey to the besiegers. They soon put an end to Koha's dreams of the conquest and occupation of Heretaunga." ¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Omahu Personal Claims - 1892. Napier Minute Bk. 26, page 193, 198. Ev. Taihoa.

¹⁴² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 436. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹⁴³ The History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, page 96.

Ngai Te Upokoiri, so often at odds with their relatives, so often taking sides with raiding parties from outside Heretaunga, took the opportunity, in the absence of Ngati Whatuiapiti, to stake their claim to Lake Roto a Tara. The following is Meihana Takihi's version of events: -

Ngai Te Upokoiri returned to this district. Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Kohera returned with them. Te Momo was their chief. Motumotu, Whiuwhiu and Te Puke were the chiefs of Ngai Te Upokoiri, and others. They came and lived at Roto a Tara. Whiuwhiu and his followers went to Poukawa.

Our people sent a message to Nukutaurua to inform those at that place that Ngai Te Upokoiri had settled on the land. Te Heuheu had also sent a messenger to us to see what Te Momo was doing. ("Ina a Te Momo tirohia mai.") Te Heuheu had told Te Momo not to go to Heretaunga as Pareihe and his children were still living. Te Momo replied, "Here is an old gun of mine for Ngapuhi." He said this in defiance. (He was a very tall man with a long head.) A message was sent to Nukutaurua to Te Wera and Pareihe.

The warparty then came. Whilst they were on their way Paerikiriki, grandson of Hawea, told Ngai Te Upokoiri to go back to their own land. He told Whiuwhiu and his people. Paerikiriki meant that Ngai Te Upokoiri should go back to Ruahine, Maraekakaho. Paerikiriki told them to go back to these places. Paerikiriki was partly of Ngai Te Upokoiri. His mother was a Ngai Te Upokoiri.

The warparty that came from Nukutaurua consisted of 2000 people. They landed at Ahuriri. Our people joined afterwards. The warparty marched on for Roto a Tara the same day that they landed. They left Ahuriri in the evening. Paerikiriki had returned from warning Ngai Te Upokoiri. The warparty met him at Pakowhai and killed him.

Next morning they marched on. About that time my people left Te Pakake to join the warparty. In the morning they charged and killed Ngati Raukawa at Kahotea. We had not yet come up with the warparty. Kahotea is a ridge above Roto a Tara. Ngati Raukawa and Ngai Te Kohera were there collecting food. Te Momo their chief was killed there.

After defeating Ngati Raukawa the warparty returned to Ahuriri. We also returned. Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatuiapiti occupied Pakake. We stayed at Koau pa. Pakake was "tapu" to us through Te Hauwaho and others

being killed there. Ngati Kahungunu of Wairoa and Ngati Tahupo went to their homes - to the east.

Ngai Te Kohera, Ngati Raukawa and Ngai Te Upokoiri came with a warparty from Roto a Tara to kill people at Ahuriri. The women of Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatuiapiti went to gather potatoes at Wharerangi. The warparty fell on them and killed them all. There was one man in the party. After that the warparty returned to Roto a Tara.

Ngapuhi and Whatuiapiti mustered a warparty and went by way of Tukituki in their canoes to Roto a Tara. They took the canoes to Papanui and dragged them across to Roto a Tara. They besieged the pa. After two months they captured it. I was not there. Ngai Te Kohera and Ngai Te Upokoiri were defeated. Motumotu, Te Puke were killed. They were the great chiefs. Whiuwhiu was also killed.'¹⁴⁴ The fight described above, where the chiefs of Ngai Te Upokoiri were killed, is often referred to as Roto a Tara II. J. Grace dates the event at 1826.

These events spawned a series of reprisal raids between the two warring factions. Te Whatanui, the fighting chief of Ngati Raukawa, was prominent in most of them and the people of Heretaunga developed a healthy regard for his fighting abilities. It was after the release of Maata Te Hei, sister of the Ngai Te Upokoiri chief Tuhoto Ariki, who was captured at Roto a Tara II that matters worsened again.

'After this Maata Te Hei went to Manawatu and a warparty then came of Te Whatanui and Ngai Te Upokoiri and attacked at Tangoio. The hapus there were Ngati Tu, Ngati Kurumokihi. Meke was their chief. These were hapus of Ngati Kahungunu. Paeroa and her "mother" Kutia were killed there. Kutia was an elder relative of Paeroa and mother of Meke. Kutia's daughter was captured named Koihoio. Wahapango, Meke's son, was also captured. Te Whatanui's party stayed at Tangoio and sent a message to Meke to join them. Te Whatanui's son was living with Meke. He had been taken prisoner at Roto a Tara. Tutake was not killed at Roto a Tara. He was taken prisoner and saved.

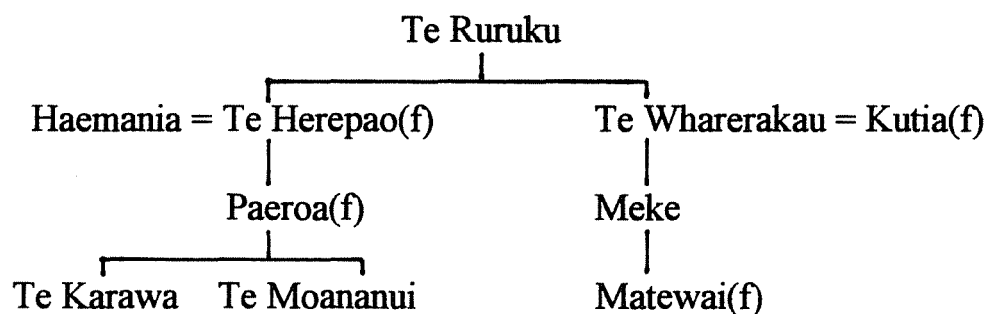
We sent a messenger to Ngapuhi, Ngati Whatuiapiti and Ngati Kahungunu at Nukutaurua and Wairoa to join us to fight this warparty. Ngati Kahungunu arrived first. Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatuiapiti were

¹⁴⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 26.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

further away. When Ngati Kahungunu arrived at Meke's pa he told them not to attack as he had made peace. Meke's pa was Te Iho o Torohanga. Ngati Kahungunu returned home. Te Whatanui remained at Tangoio and lashed on the topsides to Meke's canoes.

When they had done this they came and attacked us at Pakake. When they drew near we fired upon them and they retired and landed below the barracks. The name of that place is Te Pou a Te Rehunga. They landed at Onepoto. They came on the hill and fired on the pa and in the evening went away. They went back to Manawatu.¹⁴⁵

The killings of Paeroa and her aunt Kutia condemned Ngai Te Upokoiri to 25 years exile from Heretaunga. It wasn't until the return of her preserved head that the Upokoiri were invited to return. Paeroa's father was Haemania, principal chief of Ngati Hinepare, and her mother was Te Herepao, daughter of Te Ruruku. She was mother of Te Karawa and Te Moananui, principal chiefs of the next generation.



It was after these killings that the remnants of Ngati Kahungunu at Ahuriri abandoned Heretaunga for Nukutaurua. 'After Kutia and Paeroa were killed the people of Heretaunga went to Nukutaurua, I included. When Kutia and Paeroa were killed I was living at Pakake. They were killed at Tangoio. The people fled to Nukutaurua on account of that killing. They were frightened of Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Raukawa. They did not attack Pakake where I was because we had guns. We remained at Nukutaurua and joined in fights and took a pa called Kekeparana. On our return we came to Heretaunga.'¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 26.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

¹⁴⁶ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 437. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

KAIUKU.

'Several years after the fall of Te Pakake, when most of the people of Ngati Kahungunu from Hawke's Bay and the Wairarapa were living on Te Mahia Peninsula, a great warparty was gathered from the various districts extending from the domains of Ngati Maru in the north, to the Horowhenua district where some sections of Ngati Raukawa had established themselves, and journeyed to Nukutaurua to settle differences with Pareihe and his chiefs.' ¹⁴⁷

Even in exile the refugees from Heretaunga could not escape the deeds of the past coming back to haunt them. The motives of those who joined the warparty were complex. Ngati Maru and Te Arawa had a score to settle with Te Wera over an earlier defeat they had suffered at the hands of Ngapuhi. Ngati Tuwharetoa entertained grievances dating back to the defeat at Whiti o Tu. Te Whatanui wished to avenge the death of his relative Te Momo at the Kahotea fight.

J. Grace isolates the spring of 1828 as the time the warparties left Waikato, Hauraki, the domains of Te Arawa, Whanganui and Horowhenua heading for Hawke's Bay. The combined force of over one thousand was under the command of Te Heuheu. Travelling separately the various sections of the warparty converged on Wairoa. A series of confrontations took place from Wairoa up to Mahia. Raniera Te Ahiko comments, 'Te Whiti o Tu was avenged by Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Maniapoto, Te Arawa [and] Ngati Awa o Whakatane. The battle was at Te Umu Inanga at Wairoa. The second battle was at Te Pukenui near Nukutaurua. The third battle was at Kaiuku. An attempt was made to take the Okurarenga pa but it failed. Some of the occupants were killed. Te Motuiti, younger brother of Te Wera was killed.' ¹⁴⁸

The warparty met with unexpected resistance when they tried to take Okurarenga pa, the stronghold of Pareihe, and laid siege to it. Te Kani a Takirau tried to relieve the besieged warriors but was beaten back by the strong force surrounding the pa. Ngati Rongowhakaata attempted to assist but were driven off. Te Ratau, father of Ihaka Whaanga, made overtures of peace but they were rejected.

¹⁴⁷ Tuwharetoa by J. Grace, page 326.

¹⁴⁸ Owhaoko Hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 16, page 248. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko

Pareihe and his followers were reduced to eating clay to supplement their diet in the siege which is reputed to have lasted weeks. This was the origin of the name Kaiuku. The Waikato tribes becoming impatient at the delay in taking Okurarenga, tried to persuade Te Heuheu to lure the enemy out with promises of peace then attack them. Te Heuheu, who had the greatest respect for Pareihe, would have nothing to do with such tactics. Turning to the Waikato chiefs he said, "Whakarongo mai Waikato. Kaore au e whakaae kai mate ware taku whanaunga a Pareihe; engari kia mate i te ra e whiti ana!" (Hearken Waikato! I will not agree to my relative Pareihe being struck down like a slave; I would rather he met his end with the sun shining above him!)

Te Heuheu knew that if he lifted the siege the other tribes would have no alternative but to follow him. He is said to have had another motive for abandoning the siege. The Ngati Tuwharetoa tribal god Rongomai came to him three times during the night and on the last occasion said, "Lift the siege and return to your country for a great wave of Waikato and Ngapuhi is about to sweep Taupo. Within the space of ten days you must be in your own territory!"

Approaching within earshot of Pareihe, Te Heuheu called out, 'Listen O Pareihe! When you see my houses ablaze and the clouds all red in the skies, you will know that I have returned to Taupo, but I will leave behind the thunder of my footsteps for you to hear!' Pareihe understood the meaning of the words and knew that he was saved by a man who fought honourably and whose word was his bond, so calling out to Te Heuheu he said, "This is a strange land both to you and to me, but I shall follow the thunder of your footsteps that you leave behind!" The next morning the Taupo chief withdrew and the siege was lifted. ¹⁴⁹

Although Okurarenga didn't fall the name 'Kaiuku' became associated with the degradation suffered by Pareihe's followers. Pareihe and his chiefs never forgot the humiliation and waited the opportunity to march on the tribes at whose hands they had suffered and restore their name.

Two years after Kaiuku, Pareihe and his chiefs took leave of the people of Mahia and travelled to Heretaunga. On reaching Ngamoerangi near Tangoio they were approached by Tohutohu and the chiefs of Ngati Kurumokihi requesting help to enable them to take revenge on Ngati

¹⁴⁹ Tuwharetoa by J. Grace, Page 330.

Raukawa and Waikato for past injuries. Remembering how those two tribes had urged Te Heuheu to resort to treachery at Kaiuku, and being aware that sections of Ngati Raukawa were living on the north-western shore of Lake Taupo with Ngati Te Kohera, Pareihe readily assented. He also wanted to visit Te Heuheu and make peace with him, as it was he who had saved the defenders of Kaiuku. ¹⁵⁰

OMAKUKARA.

Te Meihana Takihi accompanied Pareihe's taua of 800 warriors to Taupo which occurred in the mid - 1830s. 'This warparty afterwards went to Taupo. It consisted of Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Whatuiapiti, Ngati Kurumokihi, Ngati Hineuru of Tarawera - the whole of the people of Ahuriri went. Pareihe went with them. They crossed to the other side of Taupo to a spot below Titiraupeka and captured a pa there called Omakukara, also Maunutehi. We were fighting against Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Kohera and Ngati Raukawa. I handled a gun there. We paid them back.

All the people assembled at their pa at Waitahanui, an extensive pa as far as from here to Mr. J.N. Williams' place. Our party went to Pukawa and viewed Te Heuheu's pa from there. Ngai Te Upokoiri were with Te Heuheu under Te Wanikau. Te Heuheu said, "Who will be brave enough to fight Ngati Kahungunu? My word is 'Don't fight' or there will be none of us left." We went to Tokaanu and in the morning Te Iwikau, a younger [brother] of Te Heuheu was sent to us. Peace was made. They came and visited us.

Ngai Te Upokoiri stayed with Te Heuheu. Paora Kaiwhata who went with us, stayed behind and returned by way of Patea bringing the Patea people, Ngati Hineiao back as peace had been made. He brought them back to Te Pakake. Ngati Hineiao were sent back to Ngai Te Upokoiri to make peace. Peace was made. It was Te Moananui, Tiakitai, Tareha and other chiefs that sent Ngati Hineiao to Ngai Te Upokoiri - to Manawatu. Ngati Hineiao brought back Paeroa's head.' ¹⁵¹

Pareihe's warparty returned to Ahuriri and as they approached Te Awapuni pa the chieftainess Winipere Rotohenga, daughter of Hawea

¹⁵⁰ Tuwharetoa by J. Grace, page 334.

¹⁵¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 26.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

stood to welcome them saying, "Naumai, nohia te whenua nei. Kaore he tangata hei noho kati rawa ko koe!" (Welcome! Come to this land and occupy it. There is no person to do so except you.) When Winipere finished her welcome the warriors of the pa stood up and she led them in the following haka:-

I tawhiti ano nga rongo i a Pareihe -
 Kai a te kokopu -
 E haramai ana pairi taku poho.
 A ha! ha!
 E whakahongihongi ka rongona nei e au ki te tangata
 Hura ana mai roto!
 Hura ana mai roto!
 Ka rere rawa nga momo ki whea
 E whaia mai nei e Hongi
 E haria mai nei e mara ma?
 Ka whakaneke naana ka pakia;
 Hei! Hei! Hei ha!

From a distance Pareihe was heard -
 The food of the mountain fish -
 Coming solicitous to my chest.
 A ha! ha!
 My nostrils sensed it a man
 Then there was twitching inside!
 There was twitching inside!
 But where will the descendants flee
 Now pursued by Hongi
 And forced here by his people?
 But they will move along and together strike:
 Hei! Hei! Hei ha!

A year or so after Pareihe's expedition Ngati Tuwharetoa under Te Heuheu set out for Heretaunga to make peace with Ngati Kahungunu. When they reached Pawhakauro at Waiohiki they found Pareihe and the people of the district assembled to welcome them. Addressing his hosts Te Heuheu said, "E Ngati Kahungunu! Ko te maungarongo i oti i a taua, tenei a Ngati Tuwharetoa e haere nei ki te whakatutuki. Ko te tatau pounamu tenei!" (O people of Ngati Kahungunu! Ngati Tuwharetoa has now come to confirm the peace that was made, and here is the emblem - the greenstone door!)

Gifts were exchanged and a peace-making marriage arranged between the two tribes. Some years later two large carved figures were erected on the brow of a steep hill near Te Pohue symbolising the restoration of peace and goodwill between the tribes of the coast and those of the interior. These figures representing Rongomaipapa and Kahungunu were erected shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The missionary William Colenso records seeing them in his journal of 23 April, 1846.

HERETAUNGA IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE TREATY.

The twenty years leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February, 1840 have been documented fully in this report. No other period in the history of the Ngati Kahungunu of Heretaunga competes with it for the turbulence and upheaval suffered continually over a whole generation. Their ranks had been decimated by the European musket, hence the obsession with acquiring as many as they could. The survivors were war-weary and fragmented, hungering to repatriate their former territory, in desperate need of a period of peace and stability to pick themselves up and regenerate.

Even when they were in exile however, certain customs were observed, most importantly the retention of ahika. A leading kaitiaki in this respect was Tareahi, principal chief of Ngati Hinepare. Not only did he maintain the occupation of Ngati Hinepare but there is evidence that he served a similar role for Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu. Alternating between Te Pakake and Marumaru on Lake Oingo he and his son Paora Kaiwhata maintained a lonely vigil. Apart from eighteen months in captivity in the Waikato when Te Karawa and Tiakitai remained on the land, and a brief period at Nukutaurua immediately after the killing of Paeroa and Kutia, Tareahi and his son occupied their tribal lands.

Paora Kaiwhata speaks of this in the Omahu hearing. 'Okawa and Kawera were places of my long occupation - Oingo also and Ohiwia extending to Omahu - from the days of my ancestors to my own. When Ngai Te Upokoiri went to Taupo I continued to live on this land. When I returned from captivity I continued to live on this land. I alone was in occupation of this land. No other chief was on this block, down to the days that Ngai Te Upokoiri went to Manawatu. No other chief was here at that time. From that time to the present my mana has continued on this land.'

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¹⁵² Omahu Hearing - 1889. napier Minute Bk. 19, page 477. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Noa Huke, chief of Ngati Hinemanu corroborates Paora Kaiwhata's statement. 'I am a Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu. Paora Kaiwhata kept our fires burning on this land in our respective portions.' ¹⁵³

During the period 1837 - 1840 European whaling and trading vessels began frequenting the Hawke's Bay coast more and more regularly which impacted on the people of Ahuriri, not always to their benefit. T. Lambert writes, 'In 1837 two fisheries were established, one by Ward brothers at Waikokopu and the other by Mr. Ellis at Mahia, and a number of whites collected together in consequence. At the time Mahia, like Wairoa, was thickly populated by Natives - Hapuku, Puhara, Morena and the chiefs of Heretaunga then residing there, so that there could have been no fewer than 12,000 Maoris at that end of the Bay. The whites lived a careless, reckless kind of life, drinking and gambling, having nothing to check them, and it is said that more people died of drink at these settlements than by the accidents of the trade, hazardous as it was.' ¹⁵⁴

While some of the whaling community provided a positive role model for the Maori the same couldn't be said for all. Most of the whaling companies operated from Sydney and the captains weren't always able to be as selective of their crews as they would have wished. William Colenso recorded a meeting with a Mr. Smith in his journal of 7.7.1847. 'This afternoon a decent looking white man from Te Wairoa called upon me for advice - as his house had been broken into by a party of whites during his absence and all his property abstracted. He spoke of the whites residing in this Bay as the very lowest and worst he ever knew - runaway soldiers, ditto men o' war'smen - convicts from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, etc., who openly boast of their defiance to Government.'

An extract from the journals of the Wairoa missionary, James Hamlin dated 20.2.1852 leaves little to the imagination. 'I went on to the Mahia expecting to find Mr. Ellis ready to sail but he had scarcely anything in the vessel. The whole of the whites and it is reported many natives also were in a dreadful state of intoxication so that no oil could be put on board. Robberies were continually being perpetrated. Even some of the little children, half-caste were intoxicated. Some or one of them was known to be stealing money out of pockets and was found buying some little things with it. Obscene language might be continually heard issuing from the half-

¹⁵³ Omahu Hearing - 1889 . Napier Minute Bk. 19, Page 577. Ev. Noa Huke.

¹⁵⁴ The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast by T. Lambert, page 366.

caste childrens' mouths and how can this be wondered at when their parents are presenting before them language and actions too bad to be mentioned.'

Many of these whalers might have been the dregs of humanity but they were held in high regard by the Maori. An extract from Dr. Thompson's 'Story of New Zealand' published in 1859 is quoted in J.G. Wilson's History of Hawke's Bay. 'Killing whales being an exciting and dangerous occupation, whalers were held in high esteem by the natives, who glorified in accompanying them in their daily avocations. Most whalers possessed native wives selected from the best families; for a New Zealand girl considered an alliance with a whaler as a capital match and her relations looked upon it as a good connection.'¹⁵⁵

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI AND THE MISSIONARIES.

When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Bay of Islands on 6 February, 1840, the Anglican missionary William Williams and his wife Jane had already been installed at Turanganui (Gisborne) for two weeks. It was apparent from the demand for bibles that the exiles on Mahia Peninsula had already been exposed to missionary influence. On the day of the Treaty signing William Williams recorded in his journal, 'In the afternoon another party from Table Cape (Mahia) arrived for books, or rather from four places, at each of which they say chapels are erected. The principal man, a chief of very pleasing manners, told me that his tribe is very fond of our clothing, of which they purchase a good deal from Europeans living with them, "but I am not come for that. I want books." '

Interest in purchasing land at Heretaunga was evident from the time of the signing of the Treaty. On 9.2.1840 William Williams visited Mahia. 'Went at noon to Werowero to see the chief Tohutohu, whose request I noticed on the 5th. My reception was most gracious, and in a speech of some length, he expressed a wish that I should instruct him and his people, though he has hitherto objected to hear the native teachers. He told me on leaving that he is about to go to Ahuriri in H.B., which is his proper home, to prevent his place from being sold to Europeans, who are coming there he says in great numbers from Cook's straits.'

¹⁵⁵ The History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, page 136.

On 20.2.1840 Williams recorded another meeting with Tohutohu subsequent to his visit to Ahuriri. 'We found here Tohutohu, the chief at Werowero who is just back from Ahuriri in a vessel, whither he has been to see his people, and to look after his land. He reports that our countrymen are arriving there in great numbers and that he saw nine vessels at the place. A nominal purchase has been made by a Captain Rhodes from one chief, but the natives generally are altogether opposed, and the principal claimants are now living upon Table Cape.'

Williams visited Ahuriri on 7.10.1840. He records, 'Proceeded to Ahuriri to a small settlement where the natives did not exceed 50.' That evening he preached to a congregation numbering about 100, some of whom no doubt had walked over from Te Awapuni. It is apparent from the above quotes, published in the Turanga Journals edited by Frances Porter, that the bulk of the people of Heretaunga were still based mainly at Nukutaurua.

Apart from the settlement at Ahuriri on Te Pakake island the only other settlement close at hand was Te Awapuni where Pareihe resided. His homelands were at Patangata and Williams records seeing him there on 11.11.1842. According to the Retia Pareihe whakapapa book he died at Te Awapuni on 20.8.1843. It may have been his tangi that Williams referred to on 8.12.1843. 'Reached Ahuriri at 5 pm. About half an hour later a party arrived from Table Cape who came to cry with the friends of a deceased chief.'

The chiefs of Heretaunga are not known to have attended the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. F.W.C. Sturm, who was resident at Nuhaka in 1839 and 1840 was present when HMS Herald called at Mahia in quest of signatures. 'All the chiefs I have mentioned were at Nukutaurua at the time I am speaking of. I left just before Christmas in '39 and arrived in Wellington in '40. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Bay of Islands before I left Nukutaurua for Wellington. It was signed at Nukutaurua after my return from Wellington. Te Hapuku and Puhara signed. I saw them go on board and return with two red blankets apiece. Others went on board at Mahia. Hapuku told the natives that he touched a little stick and got two red blankets for doing so. The officers of the Herald came ashore - Major Bunbury and others. No signatures were obtained on shore. Saw the Treaty but did not look at it very particularly.'¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Porangahau Hearing - 1887. Napier Minute Bk. 14. Ev. Frederick Sturm.

Private archives in the possession of a descendant of Harawira Te Mahikai record that he signed the Treaty on board the Herald in Waipureku harbour, Clive, on 23.6.1840. Captain Wright witnessed. This was the occasion when Te Hapuku was persuaded to sign which suggests that the occasion witnessed by Sturm was a hoax signing by Te Hapuku designed to encourage the chiefs of Mahia to follow suit.¹⁵⁷

In total seven chiefs of Hawke's Bay are known to have signed the Treaty. Of these, only one, Te Tore of Ngati Matepu, had ahika at Ahuriri.

1. Matenga Tukareaho of Ngati Rakaipaka (Nuhaka)
2. Te Tore of Ngati Matepu (Petane)
3. Te Hapuku of Ngati Rangikoianake (Te Hauke)
4. Harawira Mahikai of Ngati Whakaiti (Waimarama)
5. Hoani Waikato of Ngati Hori (Tanenuiarangi)
6. Rawiri Paturoa of Ngai Te Upokoiri (Omahu)
7. Wiremu Te Ota of Ngai Te Upokoiri (Omahu)

The journals of William Williams are valuable in that they document the repatriation of Heretaunga. The following entries demonstrate this:-

6.12.1843 - Came to Manawarakau [Kairakau] - entertained by chief who lately lived at Table Cape.

23.10.1845 - Arrived at Mohaka. A large party of natives formerly refugees at Mahia are now returning home and will make Mohaka a place of consequence again.

27.10.1845 - Went on to Tangoio where there is a large population.

On 1.11.1842 William Williams assessed the significance of Ahuriri as a future Mission station. 'As a missionary station Ahuriri will be highly important because though the population is not large having been diminished by attacks from the natives of Waikato, yet there are several hundreds remaining. It is a place moreover to which Europeans are likely soon to resort, when the natives, unless taken special care of, will many of them fall a prey to temptation.'

Easily the most comprehensive documentation of the repatriation of the Ahuriri and Heretaunga districts comes in the form of William Colenso's

¹⁵⁷ The Treaty of Waitangi by Claudia Orange, page 81.

journals. Colenso arrived at Ahuriri aboard the brig Nimrod on 29.12.1844 and maintained a daily journal until 29.11.1852. On his regular missionary rounds he recorded where the people were living and who was living where, unwittingly building up a clear pattern of tribal occupation.

At first a communal pa existed at Te Awapuni across a tidal stream to the north of Colenso's Waitangi mission station. Gradually the chiefs dispersed their respective hapu to their various tribal domains. Further along the coastal spit to the north of Te Awapuni Tareha set up residence at Awatoto. On the western shores of Te Whanganui a Orotu Tareahi and his sons Porokoru Mapu and Paora Kaiwhata occupied the fortified Te Poraiti pa. At the northern end of the harbour Ngati Matepu and its associated hapu set up camp at Te Kapemaihi on the flats between Heipipi and the coast. These were the principal kainga in the Ahuriri district during Colenso's first years .

The following journal entries give an insight into activities and occupation at these principal settlements :-

1. TE PORAITI AND WHARERANGI.

16 - 18.6.1845. Visited Te Kapemaihi and Te Poraiti villages, talking with Natives and holding services and schools.

4.5.1846. Morning engaged with candidates for baptism from Te Poraiti, seven in number.

19.10.1846. Morning prayers and school; 70 present. Mapu, an old chief and Paora Kaiwhata his brother, from Ahuriri, came today to see me about Marsden's improper conduct.

21.6.1847. At noon we left; and at sunset crossed the inner waters of Ahuriri harbour in a little canoe. An hour's wading through mud and water brought us to Wharerangi, an old and long-deserted village, where the Ngati Hinepare tribe have at length consented mainly to dwell, and have commenced erecting a chapel.

22.6.1847. Breakfast over I went to look at their chapel, a goodly building, 40' by 30' and 10 feet to wall-plate, and built of totara wood, the procuring, etc., of which has already cost them a deal of heavy labour. Here I hope many a one will be blessed. Now too I may begin to hope that my many strivings with this tribe will not have been in vain. They did run

well, but the white and black traders at Ahuriri (their ground) hindered them. This little village and party are now completely isolated, and yet near enough to the harbour.

23.6.1847. Breakfast over we left; a short two miles took us to Te Poraiti, (another village belonging to this tribe, on the inner shores of the harbour), where we found old Mapu, the principal man of the tribe but utterly careless as to religion.

19.6.1849. Resuming our paddling, an hour's more striving brought us in safety to the landing-place, whence we travelled by star-light to Wharerangi where we arrived by 8 pm, to the great surprise of the villagers who had given up expecting us.

20.6.1849. I was gratified, however, a little, in finding that they had been working about their long-abandoned chapel, a roomy, but not good building, which I now held service in for the first time.

16.1.1850. Leaving Wharerangi at 4 pm we soon reached Te Poraiti, where were the two chiefs Mapu and the venerable old David, [Tareahi] whose children and grandchildren compose the majority of this tribe. As we could not possibly cross the harbour at present, (owing to the roughness of the sea and the smallness of the canoe,) I sat and talked with the old man, who was busily employed in making ropes for his fishing nets. He said he always prayed at evening and morning even when alone; and seemed to be not a little indignant at my merely asking him the question. In reference to the present disturbed state of the Natives at and about the Station, he said that he wished me to take no notice of their mad proceedings; concluding with, "White man! You are now going into deep and troublous waters; you have already seen somewhat of Native evil, but you have yet to learn what these tribes can do. One only word will I say, Be patient; endure hardness."

KAPEMAIHI AND PETANE.

Kapemaihi served as the communal settlement for several related hapu upon the return from exile. Ngati Matepu, Ngai Te Ruruku, Ngati Tu and other hapu maintained a presence there, communicating regularly with Ahuriri and Tangoio as well. Kapemaihi served a transitional function and was never intended as a permanent settlement. Colenso's last reference to it is in October, 1848. By January, 1849 the population had transferred to

the new marae at Petane, about two kilometres from Kapemaihi on the north bank of the Waiohingnanga or Esk river.

17.1.1845. At 11 am. left in a canoe for Ngamoerangi, but owing to the low tides we did not reach Te Kapemaihi until half past 8 pm. hungry and weary with paddling.

14.6.1847. (at Kapemaihi) I now ascertained the cause of the non-appearance of a good number; they had left off attending Public Worship, etc., in consequence of Walker Takahari's refusal to inter a child out of the burial ground! Walker being for the present in the situation of teacher. Others were absent at Opotiki.

27.8.1847. (at Kapemaihi) Spent the evening talking with Paul Toki and Walker Te Takahari the two Natives of the village who (for the present) hold the situation of monitor.

22.2.1848. Early this morning we resumed our journey and by evening gained Kapemaihi village on the shore of Hawke's Bay. Into which, though inhabited by professedly Christian and baptised Natives, no one welcomed us. Such is the fruit of sin (Matt. XXIV. 12) I now never see any of this people though living so near to me, save when I come here. The constant coming of the whites to this village adjoining Ahuriri harbour to trade has so engaged the attention of the people that they now care for nothing else but gain. Would that such traffic was confined to its legitimate channel.
(mentions Paul Toki and James Stack Taina, alias Hemi Taka Taina.)

14.8.1848. At Te Kapemaihi I held Evening Service in the open air, congregation nearly 100, preaching from James IV, 3: a fine, serene, moonlight night.

16.10.1848. --- so striking the tent we returned to Te Kapemaihi, some of the Natives of Tangoio going with us. We arrived there dripping wet, and found that the poor old man whom I had seen on the 14th was dead and buried! Found also Paul Kaiwhata and his party from Wharerangi, come to meet me. Talked with Kariwhenua, one of the principal men of the place, a quiet old man but a Heathen, (entirely owing to the sad lives of the professing Christians of the place,) - which brought him to prayers.

30.1.1849. (first mention of Petane) Started early and by 4 pm. gained Petane, exceedingly tired. As usual we were welcomed by the natives, who gave us a good meal of potatoes and fish.

18.6.1849. At 2 pm. I left and gained Bethany (Petane) by sunset, where I found a good number assembled. While my tent was pitching, I went to look at their chapel, a large, high building 50' by 25' or more, which they have commenced adorning after their fashion, in a superior and elaborate manner.

15.5.1850. (at Petane) The lofty, white-reeded roof of the chapel, with its massy dark pillars and beams and cross-pieces of red pine, (every portion of which was clearly shown by the steady flame of the 3 fires which blazed in the nave,) were now seen to advantage. I could not but devoutly give God thanks for permitting me to see such a building erected in this place -----

23.12.1850. By 6, travelling leisurely, we reached Petane, held Evening Service, discoursing upon John III, 23; Congregation 35 - the greatest number not having yet returned from Ahuriri, where, I was grieved to find, they had also spent their sabbath. Yet I could not shut my eyes to the fact that here they had scarcely anything to eat, their crops not being near ripe; while there they had fish of many kinds in abundance -----

8.3.1851. (at Petane) -- the majority being grey-headed persons, and some very aged - of whom Te Tore and Kariwhenua, the two ancient chiefs of the tribe deserve particular mention. The latter, Kariwhenua, a simple, quiet, venerable man, was attended by his son, grand-daughter and great-grand-daughter, together with his daughter-in-law and grand-son-in-law!! Among the aged females was one, Hineitanumia, who had lived at Paihia with Mr. Fairburn and there nursed his daughter, now Mrs. Colenso, upwards of 20 years ago! She had been enslaved and taken hence by the Ngapuhi tribes in Hongi's bloody days ----

AWATOTO.

When Colenso set up his mission station at Waitangi at the beginning of 1845, Te Awapuni was the neighbouring residential pa. While it was a headquarters for the principal chiefs they also occupied individual kainga, mostly in the vicinity, where they grew their cultivations. On the 5th January, 1845 Colenso recorded in his journal, 'This morning Kurupou, (a heathen chief and one of the principal ones, of whom there are five, namely Te Hapuku, Kurupou, [alias Te Moananui], Tareha, Tiakitai and Puhara, all heathen.' Apart from Tiakitai who resided principally at Waimarama, these chiefs lived within easy reach of the mission station.

Awatoto was the principal settlement of Ngati Parau during Colenso's term as missionary. Tareha was the principal chief and his father Oneone was still living at this time. This hapu also had a kainga at Te Waitanoa, a stand of native timber further up the Tutaekuri river in the vicinity of present-day Allen's road at Pakowhai.

15.8.1848. In the afternoon we left, and by sunset arrived at Te Awatoto, Tareha's residence. Held service in the open air; congregation 50; discoursed from James V. 10. After supper conversed with Tareha, Kurupou, Ota, Rawiri and others, chiefs, till X pm; - thus spending a pleasant evening.

20.6.1849. At 2 pm. we left by an inland route, and by sunset reached Waitanoa, the principal residence of the chief Tareha, who came out to meet me, and to tell me of a sick man in the village, whom I went to see.

28.7.1850. Te Hira Te Ota (Tareha's father-in-law) attended school, and immediately afterwards went to Te Awatoto (Tareha's village) to tell Tareha my sermon.

3.7.1852. This morning I left Petane on my return, intending to visit Tareha by the way; two of the principal chiefs of Petane accompanying me; the weather being still rainy and cold. We reached Te Awatoto a short time before sunset, having both wind and tide against us, and being nearly benumbed with wet and cold. On landing from our small canoe, (in which we had with difficulty crossed the harbour, having had more than one narrow escape from swamping,) we rushed to a fire which the villagers seeing us coming had considerably kindled for us. While we were warming ourselves, the chiefs Tareha and Te Matenga Whakapiripiri (his brother-in-law) treated us with orations, which I answered.

LAND COMMISSIONERS IN HAWKE'S BAY.

The following extracts from Colenso's journals document the first approaches of the Government Land Commissioners to the chiefs of Hawke's Bay and the frame of mind of the chiefs at the time.

19.9.1848 - Kurupou called to say the Governor had written two letters to him, and letters also to the other principal chiefs, to go to see him, and to be kind to whites, should such come among them with sheep, etc. I gave him suitable advice:

- (1) To well consider the matter of letting or selling land, and to act together.
- (2) To take care they did not get corrupted, and so decline from the Faith.

20.12.1848 - Wrote notes to Native Chiefs to meet me at Whakatu, Te Hapuku's village on Friday 22nd, intending to give them the contents of the Government letters to me about their land, etc. and which were written to me for that purpose.

22.12.1848 - On landing (by canoe at Te Pakowhai, Puhara's village) I found Te Hapuku and Te Wiri (Puhara's uncle) busy in putting up a screen of fern for me, to shelter me from the sun. I began to tell them the purpose of my visit - giving them the heads of the two letters I had received from the Colonial Secretary and the Governor. In conclusion I said I did not wish them to express any opinion of theirs to me, but to talk the matter over among themselves, so as to be prepared to speak to the Land Commissioners on the subject when they should arrive.

After I had finished my relation I added, "Now I am asked to counsel you to sell all your lands to the Government; but I tell you candidly I cannot do so. I shall not now deviate from what I have always told you, never to part with the whole of your land and, when you part with any, be sure to have a good NATURAL boundary between. Henceforth I shall not have a word to say on the land question."

10.5.1849 - The real cause (of a major dispute between the leading chiefs) was a dispute about a land boundary; which disputes are now everywhere (even in this far-off district) of constant occurrence; mostly arising from the desire of the Government to obtain their lands, some few being inclined to sell, and the majority not to do so, Te Hapuku being among the latter.

11.10.1849 - Native chiefs assembling at Ahuriri from all quarters to talk over the matter of selling their land to the Government, whose agent is expected soon to be here.

15.10.1850 - From him (Micah Iwikatea, Native teacher at Patangata) I learn the near approach of Mr. McLean the Government Land buyer, and that Te Hapuku had called a great meeting of all the chiefs at Te Waipukurau to meet Mr. McLean; but that Te Moananui and others had said they would not go, in consequence of their being at variance with Te Hapuku.

Wrote a letter this evening to Tareha and Te Moananui, calling upon them to bury their petty animosities and to go together to Te Waipukurau (seeing they are but one tribe and all nearly related) and conjointly talk with the Government agent.

22.11.1850 - This village (Te Waipukurau) is almost within the block of land which the chiefs Te Hapuku and George (Hori) Niania intend offering to the Government, and which the people of the place lament much. They are not however of first rank, and therefore they must go to the wall, for here, (as in too many other places) it is not RIGHT but MIGHT which carried off the prize.

18.12.1850 - This morning the Government Land Agent (so long expected and wished for by the Natives) arrived. At noon he called at the Mission house, and remained with us during the remainder of the day. He told me that he much wished my co-operation; when I showed him the copy of my letter to the Government, in which I had respectfully declined to act for either side, and which fully satisfied him.

We had a great deal of conversation, in which he told me of his plans, etc. for their benefit. I felt greatly interested in much that he said, and I am thankful that a person (apparently) of such a proper disposition is come here upon this important business.

19.12.1850 - This morning Mr. McLean left for Ahuriri where a large meeting of chiefs is now about to be held, concerning the selling of the harbour and adjacent localities to the Government.

20.12.1850 - Crossing Ahuriri harbour and landing on the opposite shore, I found Mr. McLean and the chiefs very busily engaged.

10.3.1851 - About a mile from Petani we met Mr. McLean and several other whites coming from Ahuriri to talk with the chiefs about selling some more land.

19.3.1851 - I begin to feel pretty early the effects of the anticipated arrival of settlers and the formation of a township in this neighbourhood.

22.3.1851 - The news which Abraham brought that Mr. McLean was getting several additional estates from the two principal chiefs only, careless of the refusal of the legitimate owners, greatly discomposed the natives.

28.3.1851 - (at Porangahau) Several speeches were as usual made by the old chiefs, in which they professed to deplore the selling of their lands to the Government, as well as their consequent fears that in a little time the backs of the Natives would be turned towards me instead of their faces.

29.3.1851 - (at Porangahau) Mr. McLean was quickly in my tent. We had a long conversation together during which he informed me that he had followed me almost entirely on account of my note from Manawarakau, to assure me that I had been misinformed upon those matters concerning which I had written to him that he had not, and should not depart from his original intention, as formerly expressed by him, of not taking any lands without the full consent of the rightful owners, and that he still wished to have my counsel and co-operation as heretofore.

30.3.1851 - all were intently following Mr. McLean with the eager hope of getting some money for their lands.

13.10.1851 - The Natives in daily expectation of seeing Mr. McLean with the Government money.

3.11.1851 - This morning several chiefs, Tareha, Te Hira Te Ota, Walker Te Kawatini and others came to see me and to ask my advice about their retaining a portion of the harbour of Ahuriri, and not to part with the whole of it, which, in May last, they had consented to sell to the Government. They also wished me to go there to witness the transfer and payment. Notwithstanding all their entreaties I refused either to give them counsel, or to go with them; having in former years talked to them more than sufficient respecting their selling their lands.

7.11.1851 - Mr. McLean called on his way to Ahuriri and among other things, offered me a site for a Mission Station upon the Government ground; but I do not think it exactly eligible - ie. for the native benefit.

18.11.1851 - THIS DAY AHURIRI (so long coveted) HAS ALSO PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF THE FOREIGNER! the price 1,500 pounds of which 1000 has also been paid down in gold!! "Sic transit gloria mundi, aut Nova Zelandia!!!

21.11.1851 - At night, Te Hapuku and his two eldest sons called on their return from Ahuriri, all intoxicated! I find that the chiefs generally have NOT had money enough to pay their debts due for horses, etc.

MAORI POPULATION AT THIS PERIOD.

In a letter to the Governor dated 13.12.1851, possibly via the Colonial Secretary, Colenso refers to a census taken of the Hawke's Bay district in 1849. 'That according to a return of the population of this district, (which I sent to the Native Secretary at Auckland) in June, 1849, the number was 2,700 - of which number however more than an eighth have since died.'

HAPU INTERESTS WITHIN THE AHURIRI PURCHASE.

v At the time of the Ahuriri Purchase in 1851, Maori customary rights to land were governed by a well-established code. Both Colenso and McLean observed the response of the chiefs when their tribal boundaries were thrown open to question during the process of Government land acquisition. The main cause of the Pakiaka fight at Mangateretere in 1857 was the action of one chief exceeding his authority in negotiating land sales outside his tribal boundaries and ignoring the rights of other sub-tribes.

When Te Meihana Takihi, an authority on Maori custom and tradition, presented his case at the Omahu hearing of 1889 he introduced his claim in the following manner:-

'My name is Te Meihana Takihi. I live at Pakowhai, outside of the block before the Court. I know the block before the Court - "Omahu". I have a right to it under the following Hapus - Ngati Hawea, Ngati Hinetahu, Ngati Kautere.

Myself and my hapus claim by:-

1. Ancestry.
2. Permanent occupation.
3. Gift.
4. Ringakaha.
5. Conquest.
6. Mana.
7. Bravery.

The grounds of claim listed above demonstrate the multi-faceted nature of Maori customary rights. The result of the above processes was that certain sub-tribes established permanent occupation in specified areas. Other hapu acknowledged these rights and left them in undisturbed occupation. If a hapu occupied a territory without customary rights they were moved on by the tangatawhenua unless they had the strength of hand to defend their occupation.

This section of the report examines the customary rights of hapu claiming an interest in the Ahuriri Block and any documented evidence which supports their claims and indicates specific areas of influence. Where the research has already been done for other Waitangi Tribunal hearings the report references will be given.

The WAI 400 steering committee has adopted a broad-spectrum approach to the claim, inviting all hapu who believe they have interests to make a case. Ten hapu responded at a meeting held at Moteo in 1996.

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Ngati Hinepare. | 2. Ngati Hineuru. |
| 3. Ngati Mahu. | 4. Ngati Matepu. |
| 5. Ngati Ngarengare. | 6. Ngati Pahauwera. |
| 7. Ngati Parau. | 8. Ngai Te Ruruku. |
| 9. Ngai Tawhao. | 10. Ngati Tu. |

1. NGATI HINEPARE.

The history of Ngati Hinepare has been fully documented for the first time in this report. The previous Waitangi Tribunal hearing in which they were co-claimants was the WAI 55 Te Whanganui a Orotu claim. Customary rights focused only on the harbour and a full historical overview of the Ahuriri Purchase was not required. Section 1 of the claimants' report provided a brief overview of ancestors and linking whakapapa.

It is evident from the historical section of this report that Ngati Hinepare possessed and retained substantial interests within the Ahuriri Purchase. Within their rohe they became the dominant hapu. Although the customary rights of Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tawhao will be discussed separately, their interests amalgamated with Ngati Hinepare and in times of war Ngati Hinepare was their tribal identity.

Evidence supporting their boundaries was given in the Wharerangi and Puketitiri hearings. Both of these blocks are within the Ahuriri Purchase boundaries but were reserved for the continuing needs of the hapu. Ngati Hinepare also occupied Poraiti which neighbours Wharerangi to the east and south-east. Their pa sites Ohuarau and Te Ikatuwhenua are both located in this territory. Wiramina Ngahuka indicated in evidence that some of Ngati Hinepare wanted to include Poraiti in the Wharerangi reserve. For the lands of Umutaowhare were outside this block at Te Ikatuwhenua. Wi Te Raheke wanted that land included in the reserve but the descendants of Umu wanted to sell it, ie. Te Aria and Te Wakaunua.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Wharerangi Hearing - 1900. Napier Minute Bk. 52, page 91. Ev. Wiramina.

Tiheruheru, a kainga and canoe landing at Poraiti, has long associations with Ngati Hinepare. Paora Kaiwhata referred to it in the Pirau hearing.

'Te Whanga was a settlement of my father. Tuteranuku was too. Tiheruheru was his settlement also and so was it mine. My father lived there permanently.'¹⁵⁹

Hohaia spoke of boundaries at the Omahu hearing. 'I don't know the actual boundary between Ngati Mahu and Turauwha. [Ngati Hinepare] They lived together. There was no division between the lands of these two hapus. They owned the land from this block (inclusive) to Mohaka and from Wharerangi to Mohaka.'¹⁶⁰

Tutewake Rameka, an independent witness for the claimants at the Puketitiri hearing, spoke of Ngati Hinepare's rights. 'I belong to Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Te Upokoiri. I am in Omahu. I do not claim Puketitiri. I know Kohurau and occupied there for years and I know those who were included. They used to live there at Makeo and Kohurau proper. Makeo is about 10 miles from Puketitiri. There were tracks between these places and they seemed to have been used as a short route. So I was told by my elders. Paora Kaiwhata sent me to Puketitiri to get birds. My father was also sent. I heard Puketitiri belonged to Paora Kaiwhata and his people. Such was common knowledge. Hiha Ruruarau said so too.'¹⁶¹

Raniera Te Ahiko, who lived among Ngati Hinepare prior to Tangi Te Ruru's raid, named their pa sites in the Omahu hearing. 'There are two pas of theirs at Mangaone, a branch of the Tutaekuri. Opo is the name of one. It was captured by Ngati Manawa. Their chief Rakaiwerohia was captured here. Pawharawhara [was the other.] Mangareiora [Mangarangiora] was the name of the stream where it stood. Te Korea [was a further pa of Ngati Hinepare.] Mangahouhou is the stream there. It ran into the Mangaone.'¹⁶²

A final test of Ngati Hinepare's interests in the Ahuriri Purchase is the allocation of shares in the 500 acre Puketitiri reserve. While all nine claimant groups received shares, even those admitting no occupation, Ngati Hinepare and its associated hapu, Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tawhao, were awarded 80% of the total.

¹⁵⁹ Pirau hearing - 1888. Napier Minute Bk. 17, page 222. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹⁶⁰ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 31.7.1889. Ev. Hohaia Te Hoata.

¹⁶¹ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Napier Min. Bk. 70, page 266. Ev. Tutawake Rameka.

¹⁶² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 6.9.1889. Ev. Raniera Te Ahiko.

NGATI HINEPARE AREAS OF INFLUENCE.

The Maori relied on natural features such as mountain ranges, ranges of hills, rivers, streams and coasts to delineate tribal boundaries. In the absence of such features rahui or boundary stones were sometimes erected. There is evidence that water catchments sometimes determined the dividing point between hapu. Paora Kaiwhata described the boundaries of the two sections of Ngati Mahu thus: 'Taraia II. allowed Mahu Mokai to live on his land as it was the chiefs who divided the land between the two portions of Ngati Mahu. Ngati Mahu Mokai under Paku o Te Rangi were from Tunanui to Tutaekuri and those of them under Te Ua Mairangi were on the Ngaruroro side.'¹⁶³

The following areas of influence include Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tawhao, who with very few exceptions share common bloodlines:-

1. The Wharerangi Native Reserve extending to the headwaters of the Wharerangi valley at Newstead and westward to the Mangaone river at Rissington.
2. The Mangaone river on both sides from its mouth, upstream at least as far as Rissington, then upstream on the Patoka side of the river as far as the point where the Waipuna stream enters the Mangaone. The Ngati Hinepare pa sites Pawharawhara and Opo are located in this vicinity.
3. The Puketitiri district including Hukanui, Patoka and the eastern slopes of the Kaweka range. These were the bird-snaring grounds of Ngati Hinepare and its associated hapu.
4. The Turirau swamp from the Wharerangi valley down to the Tutaekuri river. The Ngati Hinepare pa sites Puketapu, Turirau and Parikowhai are located on the edges of this swamp.
5. The Poraiti district extending from the Wharerangi Native Reserve to Rauwera and the Wharerangi cemetery. The Ngati Hinepare pas Te Poraiti, Ohuarau and Te Ikatuwhenua are located on the old coastline here.
5. The central portion of Te Whanganui a Orotu or the inner harbour including interests on the Te Taha spit and communal rights on Te Pakake.

¹⁶³ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 538. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

NGATI HINEURU.

While the bulk of Ngati Hineuru's lands are located on the interior side of the Mohaka river in the Tarawera, Tataraaakina and Pohokura blocks there is evidence of an overlap into the Ahuriri Purchase and the Waitara block. Te Heuheu is recorded as having established a boundary which crossed the Mohaka river, in the early 1800s. The circumstances are detailed on pages 146 - 147 of the WAI 299 Ancestral Overview by Patrick Parsons, 1993.

As early as 30.3.1851 William Colenso advised Donald McLean against purchasing beyond Titiokura. In his journal of that date McLean records, 'Mr. Colenso considers that land originally given as a gift from one Chief to another, does not empower the recipient to sell, but to hold for himself and successors: that no land should be purchased beyond Titiokura, as it would rouse the interior tribes against the Europeans, if such were done.'

The following month on 23.4.1851 McLean recorded, 'News of a Taupo party on their way to dispute the rights of the Ngati Kahungunu tribe to sell some portions of the interior boundary of Tareha's block above Titiokura.'

McLean didn't make provision for Ngati Hineuru when he divided the payment for Ahuriri into nine portions. He later claimed that the chiefs should have settled with Ngati Hineuru out of their payments. Details of the ongoing dispute are documented in the Ahuriri Purchase overview by Vincent O'Malley pages 210 - 225.

The Ngati Hineuru chief, Te Rangihiroa, continued to extract timber from the Ahuriri block after the purchase. In his evidence in the Tarawera and Tataraaakina investigation of 1924 Paora Rokino spoke of the occasion. 'I heard of Church Crossing. Rangihiroa and his family arranged for the church building. Pererika, my father, my uncle Te Whetu, Parerohi and others procured the timber. Te Purotu was a meeting-house. Inangatahi is the place the timber for the church was obtained.'¹⁶⁴

Colenso makes no mention of the church being constructed in his journals which continue to 1852. This suggests the tree-felling at Inangatahi took place in the following years. There were other indications

¹⁶⁴ Tarawera Invest. - 1924. Napier Minute Bk. 72, page 175. Ev. Paora Rokino.

that Te Rangihiroa didn't recognise the purchase. On 7.5.1859 the H.B. Herald published a letter from Mr. Towgood to the Resident Magistrate.

'On Monday last, the 2nd May, Rangihiroa, an aboriginal native, entered upon the land leased by me from Government, and ordered me to quit, as I had no right to the land, that it belonged to him, as the commissioners of the Government had never paid him for it.'

Te Rangihiroa had one trump card up his sleeve. He had authority over the land McLean needed to push a road through from Port Napier to Taupo. O'Malley refers to this on page 214 of his report. 'McLean was anxious that work on the proposed overland road from Napier to Taupo should proceed smoothly, and reported that Te Rangihiroa's party had agreed to withdraw their opposition to this upon recognition of their claims to the Ahuriri block.'

O'Malley records two payments to Ngati Hineuru on page 215 of his report. The first payment of fifty pounds was made on 24.2.1858 on account of Te Rangihiroa's claim on the Ahuriri block. The second payment of fifty pounds was made on 20.8.1859 to Te Pataka and seven others.

NGATI HINEURU'S AREA OF INFLUENCE.

The evidence suggests that Ngati Hineuru's interests in the Ahuriri Block were confined to the Mohaka river catchment. This includes the western slopes of Te Waka range, the Inangatahi stream and the Mohaka river side of the Hukanui range. The lizard rock at the base of Hell's hole in the Crohane forest is said to be a boundary stone but details are vague.

NGATI MAHU.

The history of Ngati Mahu is well-documented earlier in this report. At the time when the Ngati Manawakawa chief, Tarewai, came to live among them, they amalgamated with Ngati Hinepare and brought a 'dowry' of land to the union. The interests of Ngati Mahu were partly inherited from intermarriage with Ngati Ruapirau and were located on both sides of the Tutaekuri river, mainly upstream from the junction with the Mangaone. They are also documented as occupying the lower Mangaone and on to Puketitiri.

The Tutaekuri river was not their southern boundary. An examination of the titles to the Tunanui and Kohurau No's 1 and 2 blocks shows that

Ngati Mahu were awarded almost exclusive title. (Tunanui - NMB 2, pages 102-103, Kohurau - NMB 4, page 17). Paora Kaiwhata included Renata Kawepo's name in the titles because some of the block boundaries didn't correspond with ancestral boundaries. 'The boundary of Taraia II. that I gave in Pirau runs through Tunanui. Tunanui was put through the Court as an entire block irrespectively of Taraia's boundary and I put Renata's name into it.' ¹⁶⁵ In her evidence in the Owhaoko hearing of 1894 Wiramina Ngahuka identified the pa Te Waipahue on Kohurau as belonging to Ngaitaita and Ngati Mahu.

The portion of the Ahuriri Purchase south of the Tutaekuri river bordering the Kohurau blocks therefore was within the domain of Ngati Mahu. Because of the merger of this hapu with Ngati Hinepare, their boundaries within the Ahuriri Purchase are amalgamated under Ngati Hinepare.

NGATI MATEPU.

There is a common misconception that all the descendants of Kahutapere II. and his wife Hineterangi are known as Ngati Matepu and that all had occupational rights at the north end of Te Whanganui a Orotu. Like Te Whatuiapiti, Kahutapere II.'s issue has become widely dispersed over the generations and today most hapu in the wider Heretaunga district can trace a line of descent from him. But unlike those who abandoned their occupation there have always been certain lines of Ngati Matepu tuturu who permanently occupied and re-established that occupation upon the return from Nukutaurua.

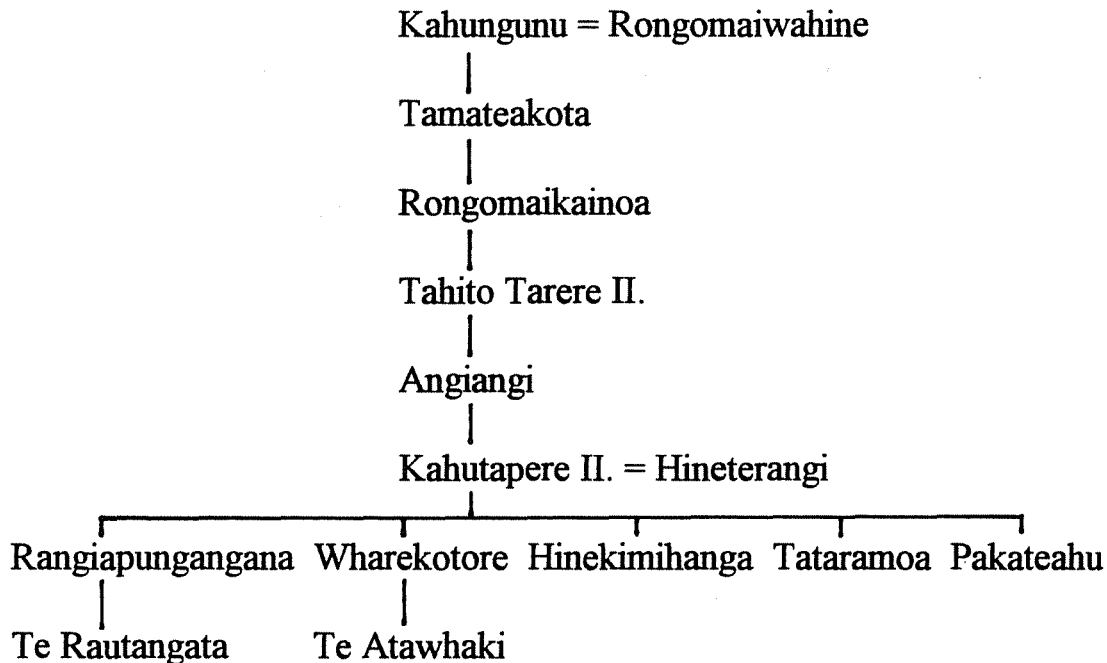
Hamana Tiakiwai's definition of Maori custom quoted in paragraph 2, page 3 of this report is very valid in this instance. If Maori custom didn't impose these restrictions, every descendant of a prominent ancestor could lay equal claim to a place associated with him, regardless of whether they had ever occupied or not.

Up until the time of the events described on pages 87 - 89 of this report the hapu name of these people was Ngati Hineterangi. The destruction caused by the muskets at Te Iho o Te Rei caused them to adopt the name Ngati Matepu. There is evidence that the name was used broadly by all the

¹⁶⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 538. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

hapu frequenting the shores of Te Whanganui a Orotu at this period, particularly after the destructive battle of Pakake.

A short history of Kahutapere II. is found on pages 51 - 57 of the WAI 299 Ancestral Overview by Patrick Parsons, 1993.



The Ngati Matepu tuturu descend almost without exception from Te Rautangata and Te Atawhaki. These were the people who returned to Kapemaihi and Petane upon the return from exile. These were the people Colenso recorded seeing at those marae during his years as missionary. The grantees in the Pahou and Petane blocks came mainly from this whakapapa.

In his journal of 23.12.1850, McLean recorded, '[Mr. Ankeld lent me his boat and a steersman: which, with a crew took our party and we went up to Petane, the kainga of the Ngati Matepu: where we had some "tutu" wine and other food: and held a korero with the natives, and came back in the evening. Gave Kariwenua, Te Tore, Te Putake o Te Rangi and Rawiri a blue shirt each.'

Regrettably the whakapapa of Te Tore, mentioned above, appears to have been lost. He attended McLean's meeting of 20.12.1850 to discuss the Ahuriri Purchase. He is described as a chief of Ngati Matepu and signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Uawa, the only representative of the hapu of the Ahuriri Purchase territory. It would be safe to assume, in the absence of any genealogy, that Te Tore left no issue.

As stated on page 108 of this report, Ngati Matepu occupied Kapemaihi pa on the return from exile. This pa was located on the Pahou block between Le Quesne Road and the Esk lagoon. It appears to have been only a temporary arrangement as the people removed to Petane pa in the summer of 1848 - 1849.

In his evidence in the Puketitiri hearing of 1922, Kipa Anaru stated that Ngati Matepu were entitled to Te Roro o Kuri, the 70 acre island at the north end of Te Whanganui a Orotu. Colenso recorded visiting the Ngati Matepu chief Akuhata Te Hapua, (alias Te Hokomako) at Otiere on Roro o Kuri on 20.6.1849.

NGATI MATEPU'S AREA'S OF INFLUENCE.

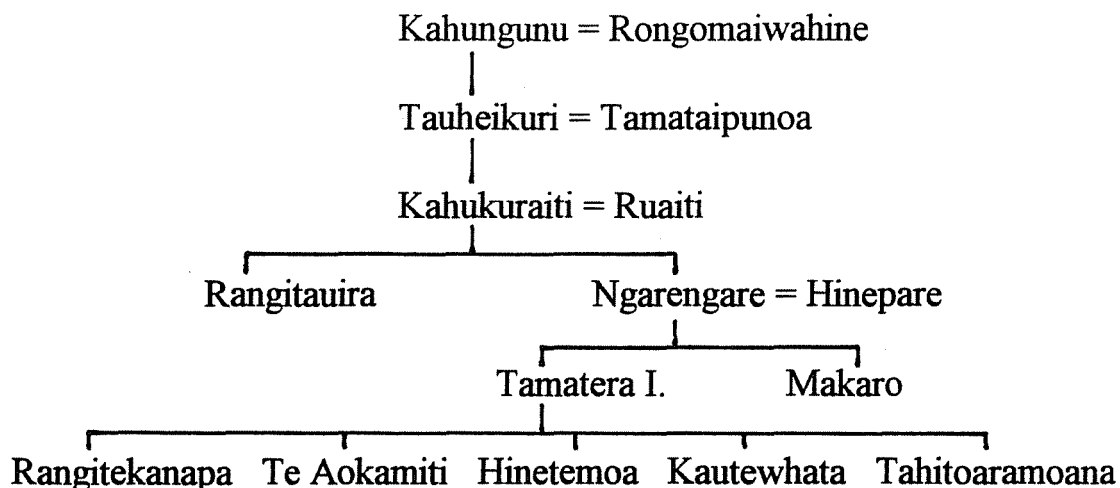
Ngati Matepu didn't have an exclusive identity, living as they did with Ngai Te Ruruku and Ngati Tu. This becomes evident in the Crown Grants for the Pahou block (16.8.1866) and the Petane block. (11.1.1867) Among the Crown Grantees are representatives of all three hapu. Certainly Ngati Matepu have the majority representation in both blocks which border the Ahuriri Purchase on its north-east boundary. Convincing cases could be made for all three hapu from the boundary with Ngati Hinepare at Te Niho north to the Esk river. Living witnesses observed Ngati Tu exercising fishing rights at the north end of Whareponga bay before the 1931 earthquake while Ngati Matepu fished the south end of the bay.

The interests of Ngati Matepu in the Ahuriri block extended up to the head of the Wairoaiti valley and the Whareponga valley. There is little evidence to suggest that their interests extended beyond these watersheds to the west. It is likely that they utilised the Lucky Hill basin as well which adjoins the head of the Wairoaiti valley. These watersheds all empty into Te Whanganui a Orotu or Te Waiohinganga.

NGATI NGARENGARE.

There are contradictions between the Heretaunga traditions concerning the ancestor Ngarengare and those found in the book 'Takitimu' by J.H. Mitchell. Firstly the genealogy given for Ngarengare in Table VII of Takitimu bears little resemblance to those preserved in Heretaunga, the only point in common being that Hinetemoa, mother of Whatuiapiti, is a descendant.

The following whakapapa consistently appears in Heretaunga records and is the one known to Ngati Ngarengare today.



According to Takitimu (page 104) Ngarengare was killed in a battle in the Wairoa district and his daughter, Hinetemoa, fled to the Heretaunga district. However, there is evidence that Ngarengare and his brother, Rangitauira, came down to Heretaunga either with Taraia I's invasion or shortly afterwards. Both men were involved in the fight mentioned on page 52 of this report when Tawhao and Ruatekuri were killed. Rangitauira and Ngarengare survived the fight only to get caught up in a snowstorm.

The following account is quoted from the book 'William Colenso' by Bagnall and Petersen. 'Furthermore, a famed ancestor of theirs, one Te Rangitauira, in endeavouring to cross from Patea, was overtaken by a violent snowstorm, and, seeking refuge in a cave named Te Reporoa, on the lower passes of the range, had perished miserably in the snow with all his followers, excepting his younger brother, who had struggled on through the storm and escaped.' ¹⁶⁶

The question then remains as to where Ngarengare and his descendants established their permanent occupation. Buchanan makes reference to him in *The Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*. 'So they had to move on towards Heretaunga. Ngarengare was one of this party, and he finally established himself in the Pakipaki - Poukawa area. He is thus the first inhabitant of Pakipaki whom we know by name.' ¹⁶⁷

On the same page as the above is a reference to Hinetemoa, the origin of the place name Pakipaki. 'Pakipaki is an old abbreviation of Te Pakipaki

¹⁶⁶ William Colenso by Bagnall and Petersen, page 196.

¹⁶⁷ Maori History and Place Names of H.B. by Buchanan, page 77.

o Hinetemoa, the place where Hinetemoa, caught naked while bathing, snatched up her rapaki or skirt, and pakipaki (huddled it) round her shoulders. Hinetemoa was the granddaughter of Ngarengare.'

Rangitekanapa, brother of Hinetemoa, is also associated with Pakipaki, where he lived in the Pekapeka pa. 'Ariari then retired and lived at Pakipaki. Pekapeka was the name of the pa. It belonged to Te Rangitekanapa ----' ¹⁶⁸

The old meeting house at Pakipaki was called Ngarengare and the present-day meeting house, Houngarea, belongs to Ngati Ngarengare. This hapu was included in the titles to the surrounding blocks. In light of the above evidence, and the lack of evidence of occupation in the Ahuriri block, it would be safe to conclude they don't have any significant interests in the WAI 400 claim. A claim which does involve the interests of Ngati Ngarengare is Karanema's reserve at Havelock North which is currently being investigated.

NGATI PAHAUWERA.

Ngati Pahauwera are the descendants of the ancestor Te Kahu o Te Rangi. Their marae are located at Raupunga and Mohaka on the north side of the Mohaka river. Other hapu living among them took the name Ngati Pahauwera in times of war. Their principal genealogical line descends through Rakaipaka.

Two Waitangi Tribunal reports have addressed the boundaries of Ngati Pahauwera. The first of these was the Mohaka River Report of 1992. On page 16 of this report is reproduced a boundary map presented by Ngati Pahauwera to the Waitangi Tribunal.

The second report dealing with Ngati Pahauwera's boundaries is the WAI 55 Te Whanganui a Orotu Report of 1995. They were not included with the seven claimant hapu and filed a cross-claim for inclusion in the claim. The Waitangi Tribunal found that they had failed to prove their claim and that any rights they possessed came under the heading of whanaungatanga. The evidence supporting this decision appears on pages 185 - 199 of the report.

¹⁶⁸ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 2.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

As stated above Ngati Pahauwera descend from the ancestor Rakaipaka.

Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine
 |
 Kahukuranui = Tuteihonga
 |
 Rakaipaka = Turumakina
 |
 Kaukohea = Mawete
 |
 Tutekanao = Tamateahirau
 |
 Tureia = Hinekimihanga
 |
 Te Huki = Te Rangitohumare
 |
 Puruaute = Te Matakainga
 |
 Te Kahu o Te Rangi

On page 191 of its WAI 55 Te Whanganui a Orotu report the Waitangi Tribunal made the following comment :- 'Ngati Pahauwera claimed that the boundary of their rohe ran from Te Haroto into Puketitiri bush and down through the Waiohinga River to the sea. Paora Rerepu, therefore, could have been representing Ngati Pahauwera's interests in other parts of the Ahuriri block.'

The above comment has reference to a description of the boundaries of Te Kahu o Te Rangi's mana given by Wepiha Te Wainohu in 1879. A transcript of this evidence with translation by the late Ramon Joe appears in appendix 16b of a WAI 119 report to the Waitangi Tribunal by Cordry Huata dated 1991. It reads, 'The boundaries of Te Kahu o Te Rangi extend from the sea at Pukekaraka to Puketitiri down to the Waiau river. It is here that he met Te Kapua ---- a chief from the Urewera who said, "This is as far as you go." (this is our boundary.) Te Kahu o Te Rangi took up his axe and began to make his mark on the bark of the tawai (birch) trees and up on to Te Haroto, and down into Puketitiri and down through the Te Wai o Hingaanga stream to the sea.'

Another version of Te Kahu o Te Rangi's boundary is given by Arapata Hapuku in the Mohaka hearing of 1896. It excludes the Ahuriri Purchase.

'Purua and Te Kahu o Te Rangi lived permanently on this land. Te Kahu o Te Rangi also laid down a boundary from Mangapukatea. At Ohinepaka was Te Pou a Waho, thence to Huiarau, thence south to Tatarakaia, Titiokura, to Wai o Hinganga, Ngetengeterau, where the post Mataitai was set up. The boundary was to fix the people under his mana.' ¹⁶⁹

Rewi Poukupaenga gave evidence at the same hearing. 'Kahu o Te Rangi had a boundary extending from Waihua to Petane and inland to Urewera but the boundary had no 'mana', each block passed the court on its own 'take'. ¹⁷⁰

None of the above witnesses imply that the laying of Te Kahu o Te Rangi's boundary gave him or Ngati Pahauwera possession of the land. Puketitiri, mentioned in Wepiha Te Wainohu's evidence, was the subject of a Native Land Court hearing in 1922. Ngati Pahauwera didn't make a case for inclusion in the title. The issue of the mana of Te Kahu o Te Rangi and Te Heuheu is discussed in Part D of the WAI 299 Ancestral Overview by Patrick Parsons, 1993.

Commenting further on the signature of Paora Rerepu, principal chief of Ngati Pahauwera, which appears on the Ahuriri Deed of Purchase, the Wai 55 Tribunal report states, 'Many of the signatories to the Ahuriri deed included Ngati Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga hapu other than the hapu of the principal sellers and, in addition, Ngati Hawea, Ngati Kurukuru, and Ngati Whatuiapiti, and others, yet these hapu are not included in the claim. It therefore seems likely that it was becoming a common practice for many leading figures to participate in such signings, whether or not they were tangatawhenua. Such participation may have been as much an assertion of personal mana to lend support and strength to the transaction as an assertion of mana over the land itself.' ¹⁷¹

In the absence of documentation, the role of Paora Rerepu at the signing of the Ahuriri Purchase is a matter for speculation. Was he there to accompany McLean on to Mohaka where the next purchase was about to be signed? On previous occasions he had been known to come down to Ahuriri to meet McLean. On 19.4.1851 McLean recorded in his journal, 'Rode to Ahuriri where I am now writing my journal; having agreed with the Mohaka chief, who is here waiting for me, to send Park there, when he

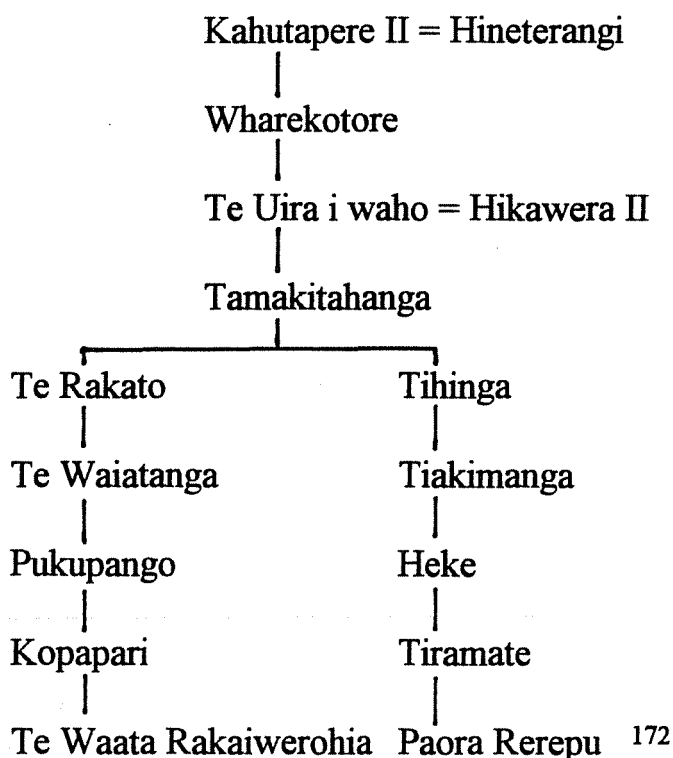
¹⁶⁹ Mohaka Hearing - 1896. Napier Minute Bk. 40, page 59. Ev. Arapata Hapuku.

¹⁷⁰ Mohaka Hearing - 1896. Napier Minute Bk. 39, page 381. Ev. Rewi Poukupaenga.

¹⁷¹ Te Whanganui a Orotu Report 1995. Waitangi Tribunal, page 191.

finishes Taria, his reserve at Poraiti, across the harbour.' Three days later, on 22.4.1851 he wrote, 'Paid the natives 1 dozen shirts, also a quantity of tobacco; Paora Rerepu, 1 blanket.'

Another possibility is that Paora Rerepu had lines of descent from one of the recognised hapu of Ahuriri. One whakapapa book shows him as a Ngati Matepu.



A third possibility, and the most likely, is that the significance of the event attracted the presence of chiefs from various parts of Hawke's Bay who were invited to witness or tautoko the transaction with a signature but received no part of the payment. McLean doesn't document a payment to Ngati Pahauwera although he records one of 150 pounds to Tangoio. This payment is believed to represent the interests of Ngati Tu in the Ahuriri block.

The WAI 55 Tribunal proposed the theory that Paora Rerepu could have been representing Ngati Pahauwera's interests in other parts of the Ahuriri block. (see above) Is there any evidence to support this? A search of the hearings which refer to the Ahuriri Purchase hasn't produced any evidence that would suggest occupational rights. A report entitled 'Report No 1 for

¹⁷² Tau Te Hoata Book, page 10.

the Mohaka Forest Claim - WAI 119/201 - Traditional Resources of Ngati Pahauwera before 1851' by Toro Waaka claims that Te Rangitohumare and Puruaute, grandmother and father of Te Kahu o Te Rangi, exercised rights of occupation in the Kaweka - Kuripapango area.

The reference to Te Rangitohumare reads, 'These were the hunting grounds of his mother Te Rangitohumare, a child of Hikawera II and his father's mother, Hinekimihanga.' (page 30) The source of this statement is not indicated. Te Rangitohumare married Te Huki, son of Tureia. Referring to Te Huki in the book 'Takitimu' J.H. Mitchell states. 'In order to maintain his popularity with the people, Te Huki did not remove his wives from their respective homes and people. Nor did he build for himself a special home and territory, but attended his wives by periodical visits throughout the vast country between Heretaunga and Poverty Bay.' ¹⁷³

However opinion is divided on whether Te Rangitohumare remained in Heretaunga after her marriage. Te Meihana Takihi speaks of Hikawera II and his children in the Omahu hearing. 'All I know is that Hikawera lived and had pas all over the land from Tangoio to Te Matau a Maui. (Cape Kidnappers) 1. Rangitohumare (f) lived at Wairoa and married Te Huki. 2. Whakapakaru was a woman. She married Ruruarau up the Tutaekuri.' ¹⁷⁴

Hamana Tiakiwai also speaks of Hikawera II and his daughter Te Rangitohumare. 'Hikawera then became the chief after Wawahanga and was brought back to Oueroa and took to him a wife, Te Uiraiwaho and the mana of all this land became Hikaweras.' Further on in the same evidence he states, 'Rangitohumare was taken to the Wairoa and married Te Huki and became a great chieftainess there. Whakapakaru remained here under the mana of Hikawera. Tuku a Te Rangi also remained here under Hikawera's mana.' ¹⁷⁵

Wiramina addressed the situation of a woman who married away in the Omahu Hearing. 'Te Huhuti forfeited her right because she never returned. Paora's (Paora Kaiwhata) mother returned to this block and went on to Te Whanga to live. She did not come on this land when she returned. A woman marrying away and not returning forfeits her right to the land.' ¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Takitimu by J.H. Mitchell, page 145.

¹⁷⁴ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 20.8.1889. Ev. Te Meihana Takihi.

¹⁷⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 3.8.1889. Ev. Hamana Tiakiwai.

¹⁷⁶ Omahu Hearing - 1889 Blake Manuscripts 18.7.1889. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

In their summary of the Owahaoko hearing in 1887, Judge Wilson and Karaka Tarawhiti addressed the above subject. 'According to Maori custom a woman could not marry out of her tribe and retain her interest in the lands of her tribe. This rule was forced upon the Maori people to enable them to keep their tribal lands intact, and to prevent the waging of wars by young chiefs of other tribes to obtain a mother's patrimony.'¹⁷⁷

Mr. Waaka supplies two references concerning Puruaute, son of Te Rangitohumare. The first, 'Purua Aute was captured at Kaweka in his Pa Ngutuawa,' (JPS. The wars of Mokai Patea, p 86) This information was supplied by Elsdon Best who appears to have been unaware that two ancestors of the same name existed. He has made an assumption that the Purua mentioned in this history was Puruaute of Mohaka whereas in fact he was of Ngati Maruwahine origins and came from Taupo. The full reference to the above is - (JPS Vol 21, No.3, page 83 -)

Purua of Ngati Maruwahine is well-documented in the Owahaoko hearing of 1885. '---- Rangitumatatoru informed him (Te Ua Mairangi) that the birds from off his lands were being stolen, alluding to the Ngati Maruwahine stealing them off. On his return he lived a short way off Omahu. He sent Ngati Mahu as a war party, telling them that Purua's life was to be saved if they came across the Ngati Maruwahine. Paruhi, the chief of the party, said if others captured Purua his life would be saved, but he would kill him if he took him prisoner. Te Ua Mairangi insisted on his being saved so as his descendants might say he had saved him. He overtook and killed 30 but saved Purua's life, who became a prisoner of Te Ua Mairangi who returned him to Taupo.'¹⁷⁸

Several witnesses in the Owahaoko hearing and the 1888 rehearing identify Purua as belonging to Ngati Maruwahine. One witness, Rehutahi, in his evidence in the Owahaoko rehearing provides a genealogy for Purua, tracing his descent from Maruwahine.¹⁷⁹

The second reference to Puruaute reads, 'The hunting ground there of Purua was in the evidence of Pango Te Whareauahi, called Te Komata o Te Rangi near Kuripapango.' (NMB 10/11/1885. Pohokura Hearing.) Pango Whareauahi did give evidence in the Pohokura rehearing. His reference to Purua reads, 'Ngati Pahauwera is my hapu: they live at

¹⁷⁷ Owahaoko Hearing - 1887. Napier Minute Bk. 13, page 108.

¹⁷⁸ Owahaoko Hearing - 1885. Napier Minute Bk. 10, page 250. Ev. Paramena Te N.

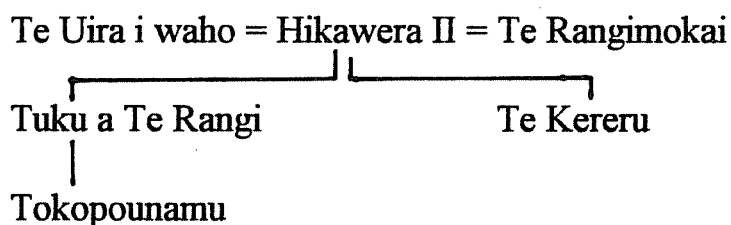
¹⁷⁹ Owahaoko Rehearing - 1888. Napier Min. Bk. 16, page 147. Ev. Rehutahi.

Mohaka: they are a hapu of Ngati Kahungunu; I was to include the descendants of Purua or Hineterangi in my claim, also Tahu and Pakuiru ---' 180 The above quote was unable to be located in Pango Whareauahi's evidence and may have come from another source.

Unless other documentation exists to the contrary, any interests Ngati Pahauwera may possess in the Ahuriri block are under whanaungatanga. This is dealt with on page 188 of the WAI 55 Tribunal report. It has reference to shared resources rather than rights to land.

NGATI PARAU.

Ngati Parau are the descendants of Hikawera II through his two sons, Tuku a Te Rangi and Te Kereru.



The background to Hikawera II's mana can be found on pages 39 and 57 of this report. In his generation he had authority over the whole of Heretaunga. On page 131 Te Meihana Takihi is quoted as saying, 'All I know is that Hikawera lived and had pas all over the land from Tangoio to Te Matau a Maui.' On the same page Hamana Tiakiwai is quoted. 'Hikawera then became the chief after Wawahanga and was brought back to Oueroa and took to him a wife, Te Uira i waho and the mana of all this land became Hikawera's.'

Apart from Oueroa which is in the Rahuirua block, Hikawera II is associated with several pa sites in the Ahuriri block. He is the only chief claimed to have occupied Otatara after it was abandoned by Turauwha. Wiramina Ngahuka states in the Omahu hearing, ' Whakapakaru, a descendant of Hikawera, has a right to this block. Hikawera lived at Otatara outside this block. That was his pa. Te Rangitohumare, Tuku a Te Rangi, Kata, Hinehore, Kaipawe, Hinetara, Tamakitahanga, des. of

¹⁸⁰ Pohokura Rehearing - 1885. Napier Min. Bk. 9A, page 23. Ev. Pango Whareauahi.

Hikawera have no right to this land. They lived at Waiohiki and Otatara outside this land.' ¹⁸¹

Another pa, arguably part of the greater Otatara complex, documented as being occupied by Hikawera II was Manahuna. This well-preserved pa is located opposite the refuse disposal station on a low hill in Springfield road. Paora Kaiwhata refers to this in the Omahu hearing. 'Hikawera was anxious that his daughter Whakapakaru should marry Ruruarau and share his greatness. Hikawera came from Manahuna when he was pursuing Ruruarau and Hikateko.' ¹⁸²

A third pa associated with Hikawera II in the Ahuriri block is Kaimata, located on the cliffs where the Taupo road branches off on the approaches to the Esk bridge. Wi Prentice recorded that Hikawera lived here with his wife Te Atawhaki and that his son Te Ngaru Putuputu was born at Kaimata. ¹⁸³ The descendants of Te Ngaru are known as Ngati Matepu.

The genealogy on page 68 of this report shows the line of descent from Hikawera II to his great grandson Rangikamungu. Rangikamungu had an elder brother Te Tutura, but they separated some of their interests when they quarrelled over a school of whales which came ashore near Haumoana. Te Tutura was offended when his brother pushed him off the largest whale and he gifted his lands between Te Awanga and the Tukituki river to his son-in-law Hawea. ¹⁸⁴

Rangikamungu's interests were centred to the north of the Ngaruroro river although his principal residence was at Tanenuiarangi. 'It is correct that Tanenuiarangi was Rangikamungu's permanent abode - also Tutura's. It is in Heretaunga. Tanenuiarangi was the place in which Rangikamungu lived and where he held the land.' ¹⁸⁵

Another pa associated with Rangikamungu was Matapane, located on Mataruahou or Scinde island. It is believed to have been situated on the ridge where Goldsmith Terrace sits today. 'The Ngati Hinepare who had previously attacked Te Rangikamungu, went to Puketitiri. Hawea went

¹⁸¹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 16.7.1889. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

¹⁸² Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 414. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹⁸³ Prentice Papers - H.B. Museum library.

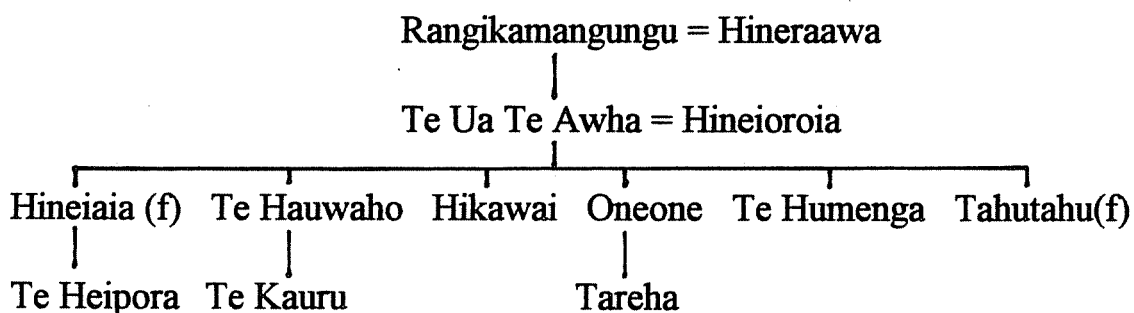
¹⁸⁴ Matahiwi Hearing - 1896. Napier Min. Bk. 40, p 368. Ev. Hone Te Wharemakeo.

¹⁸⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manusc. 25.9.1889. Ev. Airini Tonore.

to his pa at Te Awanga, taking with him Ngati Hineiao, and Te Rangikamungungu fell back on Matapane, a pa where Napier now is.'¹⁸⁶

Tareha gave evidence when the 1818 acre Te Whare o Maraenui block was Crown-granted on 18.11.1869. This block stretches south from Napier city approximately to the Maraenui golf club. 'I know the land shown on the map. It belongs to me. I derive my title from my ancestor Te Rangikamungungu. This land has always been in the possession of my fathers and ancestors. I had a kainga upon it.'¹⁸⁷

The following genealogy shows the descent of Rangikamungungu who occupied the above lands in their generation.



Another pa occupied by Ngati Parau was the island fortress Pukemokimoki. This was located across Carlisle street from the entrance to Chaucer road. The island took its name from the fragrant mokimoki fern which grew there. The Maori women wore it in lockets around their necks as a perfume. The following oriori is associated with Pukemokimoki:-

Taku hei peripiu
Taku hei mokimoki
Taku hei tawhiri
Taku kate - tareamea.

There are various references to Pukemokimoki associating it with the Ngati Parau chiefs Te Ua Te Awha and his son Te Hauwaho.

'After this Te Ua Te Awha returned to his pa at Pukemokimoki.'¹⁸⁸

'At night they went down to Upokopoito and on to Pukemokimoki and into the pa. The people there were alarmed and a fight ensued. Pakapaka was killed by the people of the pa. Tete and Paho killed him. The invaders were defeated and retreated. They wailed outside because their man had

¹⁸⁶ History of Hawke's Bay by J.G. Wilson, page 72.

¹⁸⁷ Te Whare o Maraenui Hearing- 1869. Napier Min. Bk. 2, p 93. Ev. Tareha.

¹⁸⁸ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 415. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

been cut to pieces before the morning. Ngati Parau and Ngati Kahungunu were in the pa - Hauwaho, Oneone, Tete, Paho and others. Latter two were Ngati Parau.' ¹⁸⁹

Pukemokimoki was reserved by Tareha from the Ahuriri Purchase of 1851. '----Pukemokimoki being the only portion of Mataruahou reserved for ourselves, together with the small piece of land where the children and family of Tareha are buried during such time as it remains unoccupied by the Europeans.' ¹⁹⁰

The 'small piece of land where the children and family of Tareha are buried' referred to above is Te Pakake island. Tareha's uncles Te Hauwaho and Te Humenga died at the battle of Te Pakake. (see pages 91 - 93 of this report.) Te Pakake was one of the communal gathering places for the hapu of Ngati Kahungunu in times of trouble. Ngati Parau, Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu, Ngati Hawea and Ngati Kurumokihi are all recorded as having occupied the pa under threat of invasion. Raniera Te Ahiko defined Te Pakake as 'belonging to us all.' No one was denied access in times of need.

A clear pattern of the customary rights of Ngati Parau emerges when the titles to the surrounding blocks are examined.

1. Mataruahou (lands adjacent to) Crown Purchase - 13.11.1856. The signatories to the sale were Tareha, (Ngati Parau) Karauria Pupu, (Ngati Parau, Ngati Hinepare) and Hone Hoeroa. (Ngati Hinemoa, Ngati Hinepare.)
2. Tutaekuri. Crown Purchase - 17.11.1856. The signatories to the sale were Tareha, Karauria Pupu and Hone Hoeroa.
3. Te Whare o Maraenui. Crown Grant in Native Land Court dated 18.11.1869. Awarded to Tareha and Wi Maiaia. (both Ngati Parau)
4. Papakura. Crown-granted on 5.3.1866 to Tareha and Wi Maiaia (both of Ngati Parau.
5. Waiohiki. (Native reserve) At a partition hearing on 26.8.1886 Airini Tonore stated, 'Waiohiki was reserved for settlement and occupation by

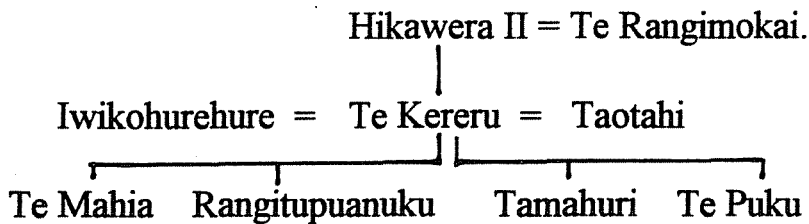
¹⁸⁹ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Napier Minute Bk. 19, page 423. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

¹⁹⁰ Turton's Deeds, page 491.

us. It was reserved for Ngati Rangikamungu and Ngati Parau and they occupied it. The reserve was made about 1867.' ¹⁹¹

6. Rahuirua. Crown-granted on 21.12.1866 to Tareha, Wiremu Maiaia, Rionihia and Tawhara. (the first three of these are Ngati Parau.

The other section of Ngati Parau are the descendants of Te Kereru.



Te Kereru married two sisters, Iwikohurehure and Taotahi, daughters of the Ngati Hinepare ancestor Hikateko. They lived at Motukumara pa on Lake Oingo and at Te Umuroimata pa near Park Island. Wiramina Ngahuka speaks of this occupation in the Pirau rehearing. 'There was no boundary at Tawhitinui. Have not heard that Kereru lived there. He lived at Te Whanga and Te Umuroimata. Te Pare o Te Kereru is at Oingo, beyond Tawhitinui. It is a swamp where flax was collected, and is, I think, outside this block. It is virtually part of this block. Iho o Te Rei is on the southern end of Oingo lake near Hauhau and Rakato. Never heard that this Te Iho o Te Rei was called after the other one at Te Whanga by Kereru. The descendants of Taotahi and Kereru live I don't know where. Taotahi I have only heard mentioned in this court. Don't know any of her descendants. Taotahi was killed at Otiere because she stole sweet-scented herbs at Mapouriki belonging to Te Rangihuakina. Te Umu o Te Taotahi is name of a place. Have heard that Hikateko avenged her death but don't know who was killed.' ¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Waiohiki Hearing - 1886. Napier Min.Bk. 12, page 85. Ev. Airini Tonore.

¹⁹² Pirau Rehearing - 1890. Napier Min. Bk. 20, p 316. Ev. Wiramina Ngahuka.

INTERESTS OF NGATI PARAU.

On the mainland portion of the Ahuriri block Ngati Parau occupied at Otatara and Manahuna, a pa site opposite the refuse disposal station at Redcliffe. Hikawera II is documented as having occupied both Otatara and Manahuna in his generation. The Ngati Parau chief Te Kereru occupied at Te Umuroimata, an island pa at Park Island. Tareha maintained a canoe landing there at the time of the Omarunui engagement.

When McLean was negotiating the purchase of Mataruahou, or Scinde island, he bargained with Tareha. In his journal of 17.3.1851 he notes, '--- Mr Park and I came to the Awatoto, where I have held a long korero with Tareha, about the purchase of the Ahuriri island.' This doesn't constitute proof in itself but there are other traditions associating Mataruahou with Ngati Parau. Some of the evidence quoted earlier in this section indicates occupation at both Matapane and Pukemokimoki pas. Among the oral evidence gathered for the WAI 55 Te Whanganui a Orotu claim, there was a recurring association between the Tareha family and Pania, her son Moremore and exclusive fishing rights from the Ahuriri outlet along to Port Napier. This evidence is discussed from page 38 in the WAI 55 report on Traditional Use and Environmental Change by Patrick Parsons.

Interestingly enough, when McLean crosses the Ahuriri outlet onto Te Taha or the Westshore spit he negotiates with Paora Torotoro who identifies in this area as a Ngati Hinepare. On 22.4.1851 he recorded, 'Tareha's party are very friendly; and Paora Torotoro has agreed to sell the land on which Ankatell's and the Survey office is erected.'

It is doubtful whether a fixed boundary existed in the water between the hapu but the southern shoreline of Te Whanganui a Orotu, from the Ahuriri heads around to Park Island and Te Umuroimata, where Ngati Parau had a canoe landing, appears to be within their area of authority. The examination of the neighbouring blocks such as Te Whare o Maraenui and Tutaekuri documented above, tend to support this. The inclusion of Hona Te Hoeroa's name in the Mataruahou (lands adjacent to) and Tutaekuri blocks indicates that either Ngati Hinepare or Ngati Hinemoa (or both) were acknowledged as having some rights.

NGAI TE RURUKU.

Ngai Te Ruruku are the descendants of the ancestor Te Ruruku who was active during the period 1750 - 1800. He was of Ngati Kahungunu origins.

Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine
 ↓
 Kahukuranui = Tuteihonga
 ↓
 Rakaipaka = Turumakina
 ↓
 Kaukohea = Mawete
 ↓
 Tutekanao = Tamateahirau
 ↓
 Tureia = Hinekimihanga
 ↓
 Te Huki = Te Rangitohumare
 ↓
 Puruaute = Te Matakainga
 ↓
 Te Kapuamatotoru = Te Whewhera
 ↓
 Te Ruruku

Te Ruruku was born and raised at Wairoa where his parents occupied the pas Whereinga and Hikawai, the latter pa being at the Mill, Frasertown. As a young man Te Ruruku paid a visit to his uncle Te Kahu o Te Rangi at Mohaka. While he was there trouble arose down in Heretaunga when Ngati Hineterangi interfered with the fishing grounds and canoes of Ngati Tu and Ngati Moe. Marangatu, the fighting chief of Ngati Tu approached Tuku a Te Rangi, son of Hikawera II, to sort the matter out. Tuku was closely related to the aggressors and didn't handle the matter to Ngati Tu's satisfaction. Marangatu heard of Te Ruruku's visit to Mohaka and journeyed up there to invite him down to be war lord for Ngati Tu. A fuller account of the circumstances of Te Ruruku's invitation to Heretaunga is contained in the WAI 299 Mohaka-Waikare Confiscated Lands Ancestral Overview by Patrick Parsons, pages 71 - 80.

For his services to Ngati Tu Te Ruruku was rewarded with certain lands between Arapawanui and Te Whanganui a Orotu. One of his daughters,

Hineioroia, married Te Ua Te Awha, chief of Ngati Parau. Another daughter, Te Herepao, married Haemania, chief of Ngati Hinepare. A grandson, Te Aitu o Te Rangi, was killed by the Waikatos on Te Iho o Te Rei island at the north end of Te Whanganui a Orotu. (see page 88, this report)

One of Te Ruruku's sons, Te Kariwhenua, was still living when Colenso established his mission station at Waitangi. He was living at Te Kapemaihi pa when Colenso paid a visit on 16.10.1848. (see page 109, this report) When the pa was relocated at Petane in 1849 Te Kariwhenua moved there and Colenso mentions him on several occasions. His descendants are the Puna family. The present - day urupa of Ngai Te Ruruku is Ararata near Nukurangi on the northern edge of the Esk lagoon.

INTERESTS OF NGAI TE RURUKU.

Certainly the interests of Ngai Te Ruruku in the Ahuriri block are located at the northern end of Te Whanganui a Orotu. They are integrated with those of Ngati Matepu and Ngati Tu. The hapu in this territory all identified as Ngati Matepu in times of war including Tareha's people who housed Ngati Matepu at Waiohiki for considerable periods in the 1860s and 1870s. Tareha himself was a descendant of both Ngati Matepu and Ngai Te Ruruku. It would not serve any useful purpose to try and differentiate between Ngati Tu and Ngai Te Ruruku in the same territory. After all he came to Heretaunga as Ngati Tu's war lord and functioned as such. This will be discussed under Ngati Tu.

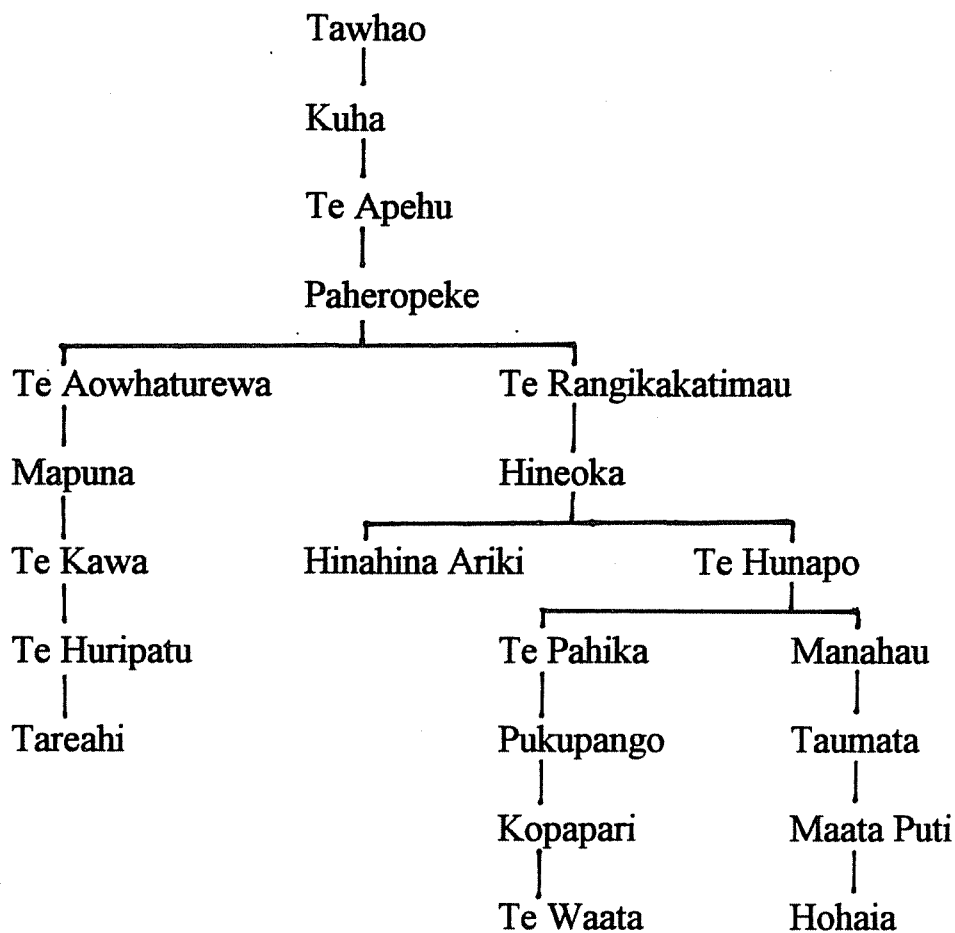
NGAI TAWHAO.

Today the hapu name Ngai Tawhao has disappeared from common usage. It is unusual for kaumatua to identify as a Ngai Tawhao on the marae. If an appropriate marae were to be designated to acknowledge Tawhao it would be Wharerangi. Both by history and genealogy Ngati Hinepare in particular are closely linked with Tawhao. (see pages 45 - 52 of this report for Summary of Ngai Tawhao.)

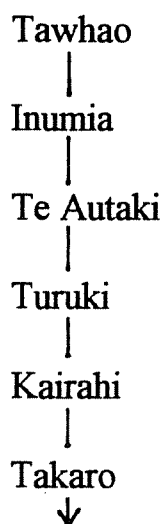
The reason Tawhao is identified as one of the ancestors for the Ahuriri block is that witnesses in both the Wharerangi hearing and the Puketitiri hearing cited him as the origin of their rights. Ngati Hinepare doesn't have exclusive claim to Tawhao. Other hapu who were in occupation on the Ahuriri block at the time of the 1851 purchase and who could trace descent from Tawhao included Ngati Mahu, Ngati Matepu, Ngai Te

Ruruku and Ngati Kurumokihi. Examples of integration with these hapu are as follows:-

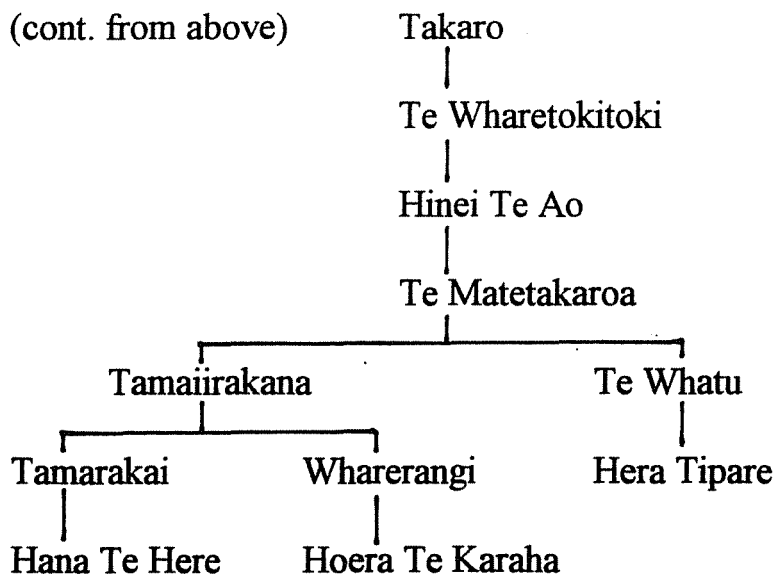
1. Ngati Hinepare.



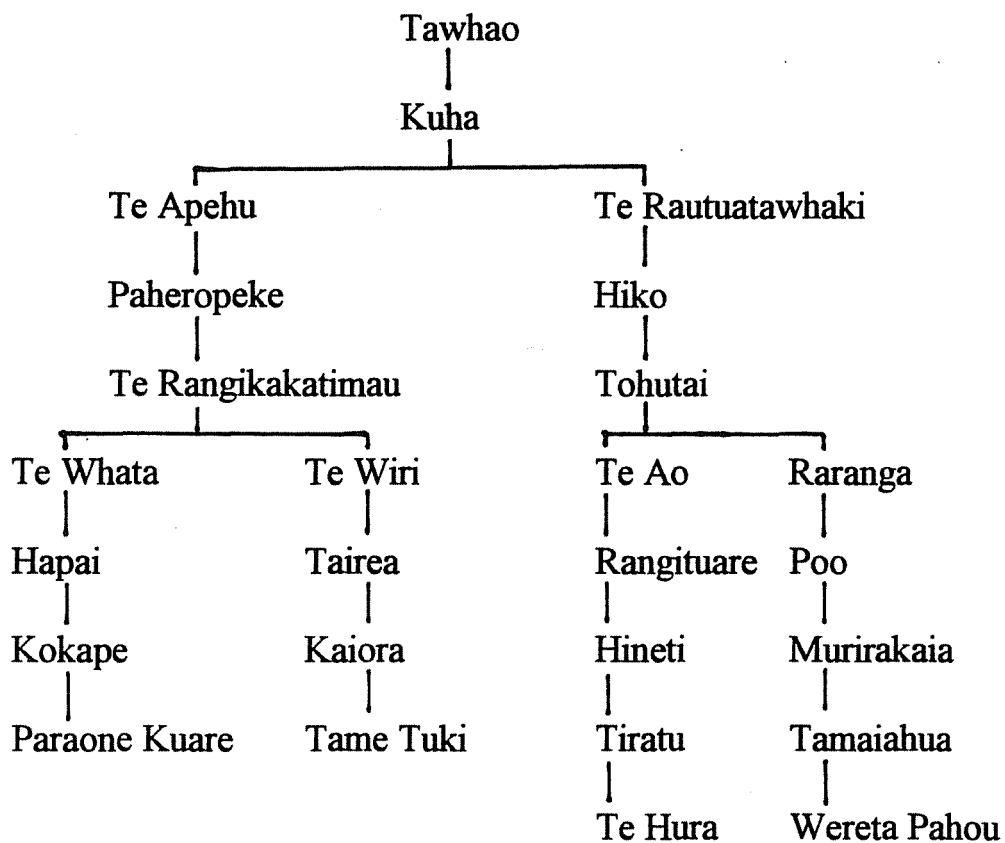
2. Ngati Mahu.



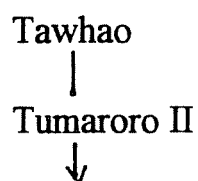
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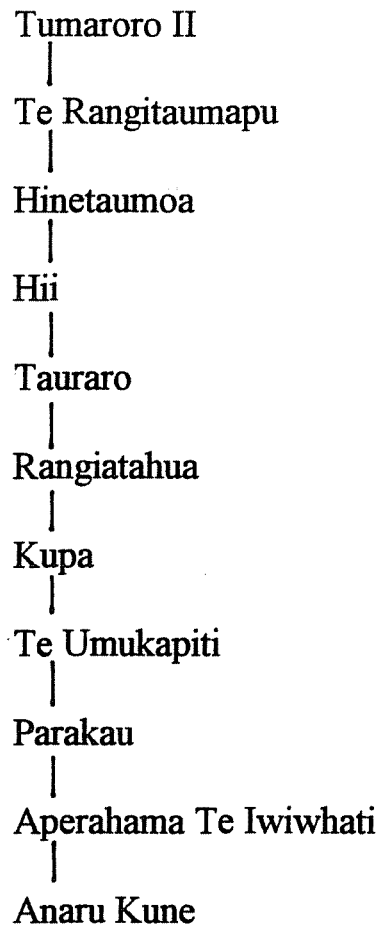
3. Ngati Matepu.



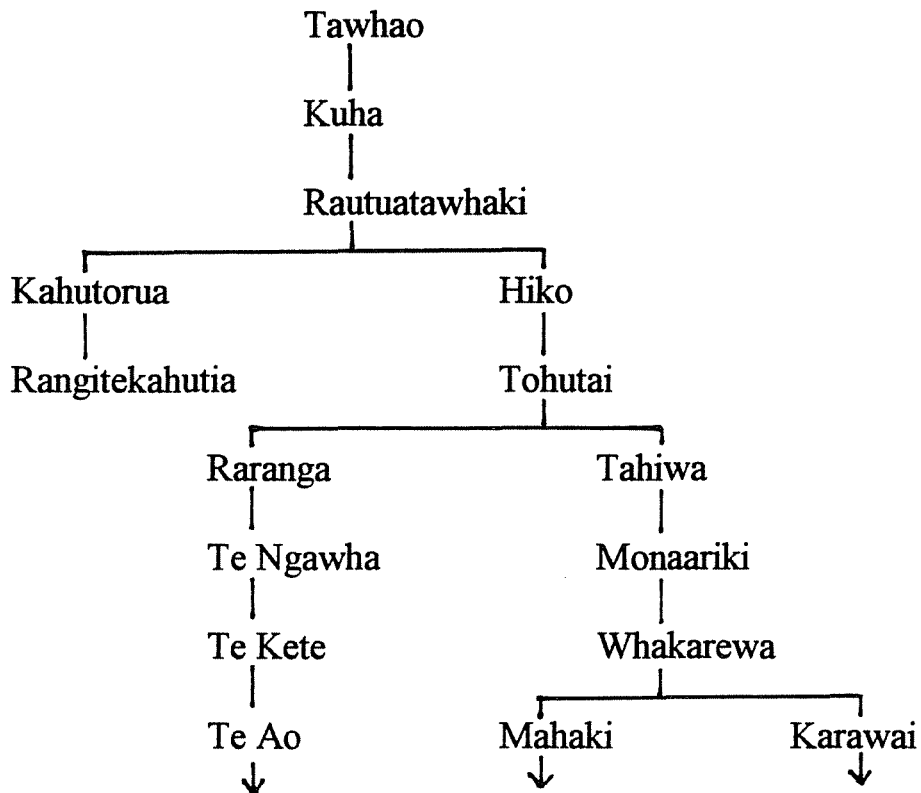
4. Ngati Kurumokihi.

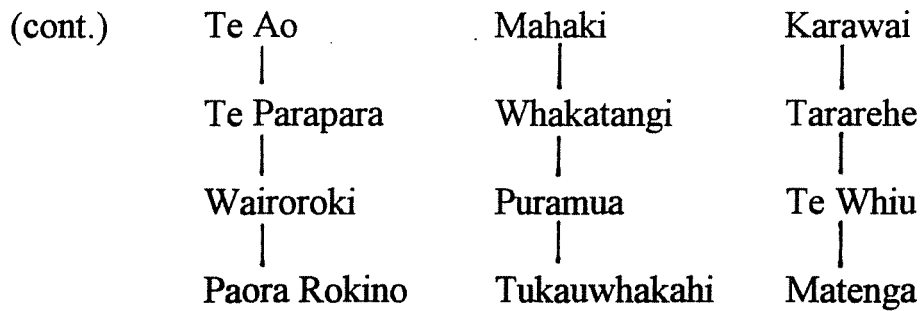


(cont.)



The following whakapapa shows other lines of descent from Tawhao:-





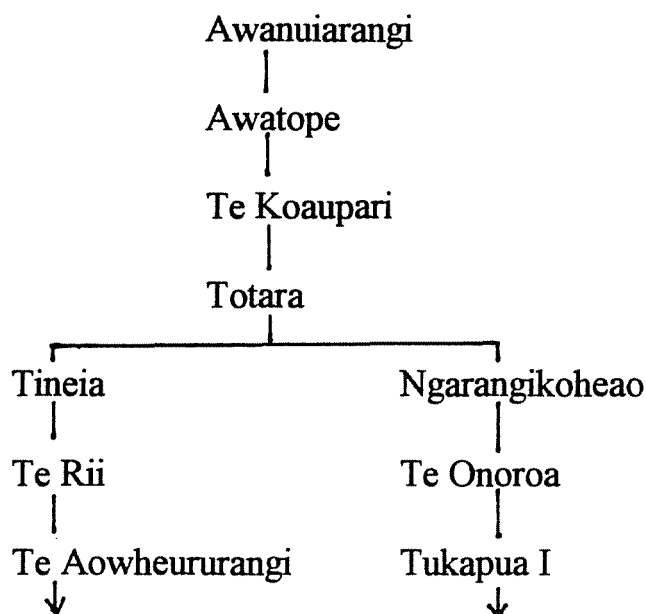
In the whakapapa illustrated above the descendants of Rangitekahutia lived at Waipawa, Paora Rokino of Ngati Tuwharetoa lived at Taupo, Tukauwhakahi of Ngati Toa Te Harapaki lived at Tanenuiarangi and Matenga Te Aohia of Ngati Kurahikakawa lived at Mohaka.

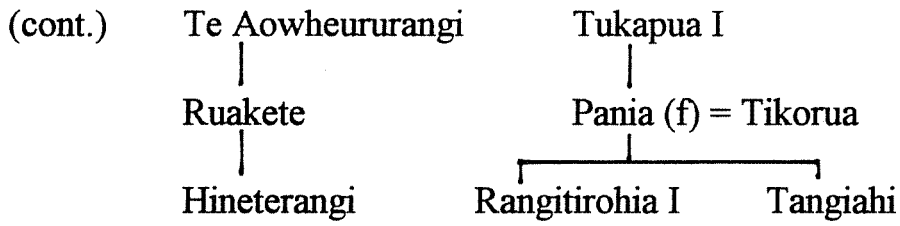
NGAI TAWHAO AREAS OF INFLUENCE.

As illustrated above Ngai Tawhao have merged with other hapu almost to the exclusion of their original identity. Those who merged with Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu and Ngati Matepu maintained the closest links with the Ahuriri block but each of the hapu shown above can trace a line of descent from Tawhao. The area known as Te Ranga a Tawhao is located in the vicinity of the Mangatutu stream where it enters the Mohaka river. The hot springs are on this stream. Tawhao's descendant Te Turuki was awarded interests across the Mohaka river in the Pakaututu block.

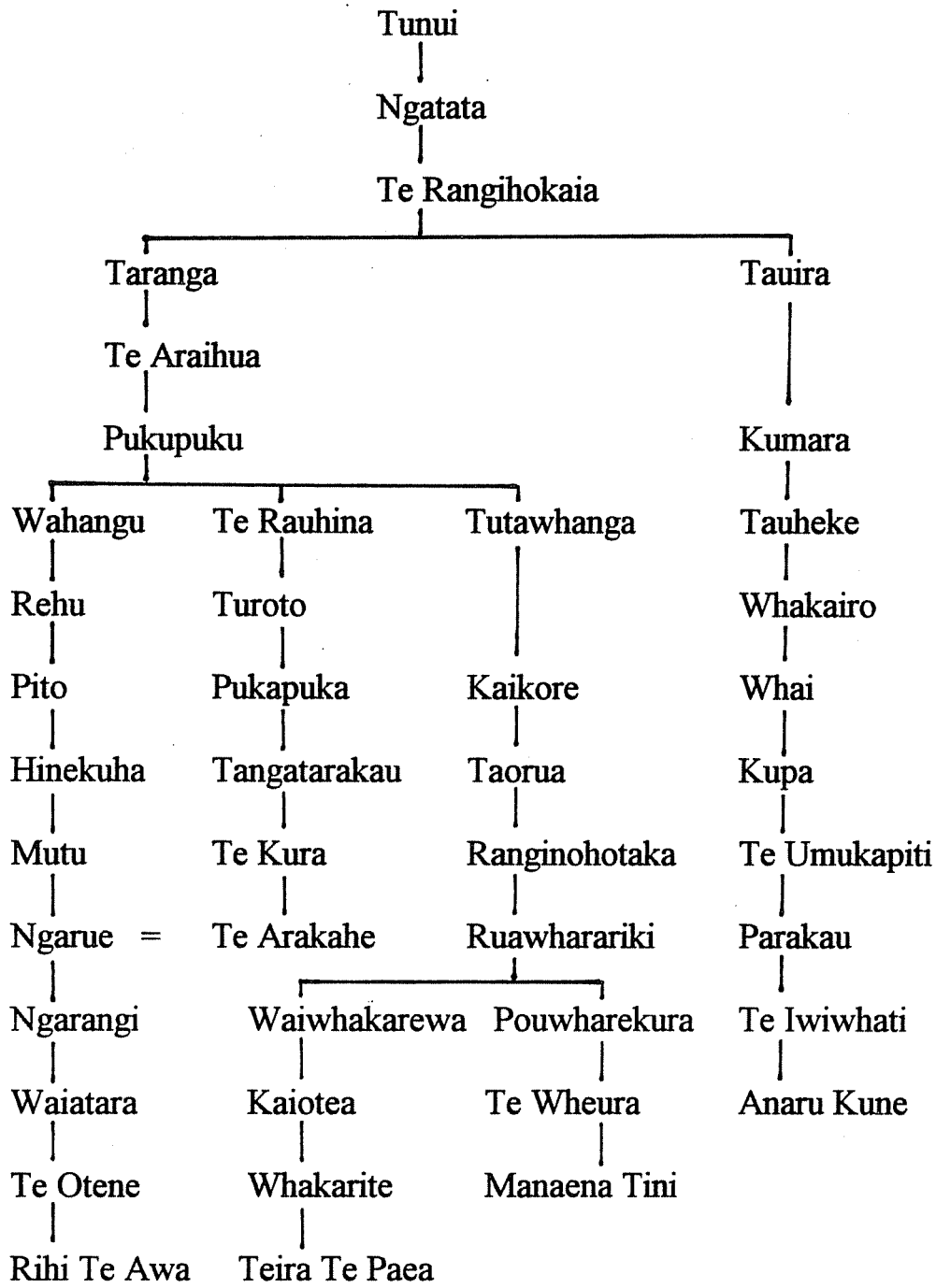
NGATI TU.

Ngati Tu are the descendants of Tukapua I, a descendant of the Ngati Awa ancestor Koaupari.





Ngati Tu also trace back to the ancestor Tunui of Heipipi pa.



Henare Pohio gave a line of descent through Tutawhanga in the J.P.S. Although he doesn't continue the line beyond Tutawhanga he states that Te Teira Te Paea, Anaru Kune and himself descend from it.¹⁹³

Ngati Tu's interests in the Ahuriri block centred on two areas, the north-west portion of Te Whanganui a Orotu and the Te Pohue district. The rights in the Seafield road area of Te Whanganui a Orotu and over the Hill road to Eskdale trace back to Tunui and the victory of their warlord, Te Ruruku, over Te Hika a Rautangata, one of the factions of Ngati Matepu. Living witnesses testify to Ngati Tu exercising fishing rights at the north end of Whareponga Bay in the 1920s. At the same time Ngati Matepu were observed fishing the southern end of the bay. Neither hapu was seen to encroach on the other's territory.

After the Purahotangihia purchase of 1915 some of Ngati Tu bought sections of the Ahuriri block based on their traditional lands. Waikato Mohi and Tari Papi purchased between the Eskdale school and the Napier - Taupo road. Te Paea Watene purchased over the hill near the junction of Hill road and Seafield road.

Ngati Tu also held customary title to lands in the Kaiwaka and Te Pohue districts. Their interests in the Ahuriri block were located in the upper Mangaone river catchment. The fortified Motu o Ruru pa at the junction of the Mangaone with the Waikinakitangata stream was their headquarters in the district. Their interests in this area are expanded on in the Wai 299 'Maori Customary Rights in the Te Pohue District' - 1994 report by Patrick Parsons. (page 14) A fuller history is contained in the newly-released book, 'In the Shadow of Te Waka', the centennial history of the Te Pohue district.¹⁹⁴

NGATI TU AREAS OF INFLUENCE.

As stated in the boundaries of Ngati Matepu (page 125) Ngati Tu was one of three hapu groups who occupied the territory bordering the northern end of Te Whanganui a Orotu. Ngati Matepu was the biggest shareholder of the three. It is difficult to define individual interests but Ngati Tu are identified with the northern end of Whareponga Bay, over the Maporiki

¹⁹³ Journal of the Polynesian Society Vol. XIII, No. 3, page 155.

¹⁹⁴ In the Shadow of Te Waka - 1997 by Patrick Parsons, pages 29 - 35.

ridge onto the Waipatupatu inlet and over the College hill into the Esk valley.

Ngati Tu's interests in the interior portion of the Ahuriri block are integrated with Ngati Taurira. Almost without exception the Ngati Taurira descendants have Ngati Tu lineage. The upper Mangaone catchment, from the summit of the Te Waka range, down through Rukumoana station to the old Glengarry station is within Ngati Tu's boundaries. The catchment doesn't quite reach Glengarry road at the northern end but does further along at the Valhalla and Rawhiti properties. The Mangaone river and the Waipuna stream are the boundary with Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu.

MAORI LEADERSHIP IN HAWKE'S BAY 1840 - 1865.

This section of the report is designed to give the Waitangi Tribunal an insight into tribal leadership, principally in the Ahuriri district, from the time of the signing of the Treaty up till the Native Land Act of 1865. Who were the principal chiefs of the various hapu during this period, what was their response to the land commissioners and how did they interact?

Much of the supporting information for this section is contained on pages 104 - 114 of this report. The repatriation of the Ahuriri district and Heretaunga generally, occurred for the most part between 1842 and the end of 1844 when the missionaries William Colenso and James Hamlin established Mission stations in Hawke's Bay. Colenso's Journals record that the chiefs took time to sever their links with Nukutaurua and still paid lengthy visits there for several years after Colenso's arrival.

The chiefs were equally slow to reoccupy their ancestral lands on a permanent basis, preferring to establish temporary residence close at hand to the Waitangi Mission station. This was likely a reflection of the insecurity ingrained in the people after the turbulent events referred to previously. It is doubtful whether they placed the same faith in a document signed in the Bay of Islands to protect them as they did in their combined manpower and the muskets they purchased by dressing flax from the neighbouring swamps.

Colenso landed at Ahuriri on 29 December, 1844. Ten days later on 8 January, 1845 he named the principal hereditary chiefs of Heretaunga. 'This morning Kurupou, (a heathen chief and one of the principal ones, of whom there are 5, namely, Te Hapuku, Kurupou, Tareha, Tiakitai and Puhara, all heathen ---)' Colenso's assessment is made on the basis of regional influence rather than hapu representation. Each hapu had one or more principal chiefs whose authority was confined to those hapu.

The common link between the five principal chiefs named by Colenso is that all descend from Te Rangikoianake. Four of them were great grandsons, and the fifth, Tareha, was a great great grandson. At the same time as their whakapapa decreed their rank it located their territorial interests on the land. The following is a brief summary of their principal hapu connections, their immediate location upon return from Nukutaurua and the ancestral lands they subsequently reoccupied when they severed their links with the Mission station.

1. Te Hapuku.

The principal hapu of Te Hapuku were Ngati Rangikoianake and Ngati Whatuiapiti. By ancestry his strongest interests were in the area from Te Hauke to Patangata and the old Ngaruroro river was his northern limit. Upon his return from Nukutaurua he occupied Pakowhai pa with his cousin Puhara. In mid - 1857 he started building a pa across the Ngaruroro river from Pakowhai at Te Ngaue. He came into conflict with the local chiefs at the battle of Pakiaka in the latter half of 1857 and was forced to retire to Te Hauke in March, 1858. This remained his headquarters until his death in 1878.

2. Te Moananui. (alias Kurupo)

On his father's side Te Moananui identified as both Ngati Hawea and Ngati Ngarengare. His mother, Paeroa, belonged to Ngati Hinepare and Ngai Te Ruruku. After the return from Nukutaurua he established himself at Waipureku close to the mouth of the Tukituki river. The victor at the battle of Pakiaka he then established himself at Matahiwi, about a mile upstream from Waipureku. He maintained yet another settlement at Te Wairua, still further up the Tukituki river but Matahiwi became his principal residence. He died there on 31.7.1861.

3. Tareha (Te Moananui.)

A descendant of Hikawera 11 in unbroken male succession, Tareha identified as Ngati Hikawera and the modern equivalent Ngati Parau. Upon returning from exile he made his residence briefly at Awatoto and Waitanoa, settling permanently at Pawhakairo, Waiohiki in the period 1853 - 1855. He supported Te Moananui at Pakiaka and upon the death of that chief in 1861 he assumed his name and was afterwards referred to as Tareha Te Moananui. The longest-surviving of the five principal chiefs of Colenso's era, he died at Waiohiki in December, 1880.

4. Tiakitai.

Of the five principal chiefs Tiakitai was the first to abandon the vicinity of the mission station and return to his ancestral lands at Waimarama. His principal hapu affiliation there was Ngati Kurukuru. He involved himself considerably with the whaling station at Rangaika, down the coast from Cape Kidnappers. He drowned off the coast near Wairoa on 1.9.1847, the victim of a canoing accident.

5. Puhara Hawaikirangi.

Of Ngati Rangikoianake and Ngati Ngarengare descent, Puhara was first cousin to Te Hapuku. He married Hineipaketia, the 'Queen of Heretaunga.' He established his residence at Pakowhai soon after Colenso's arrival where he was joined by Te Hapuku. Under Puhara's patronage the Catholic church was established at Pakowhai in the early 1850s. A supporter of Te Hapuku, he was the highest ranking casualty at the battle of Pakiaka in 1857.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE OTHER HAPU OF AHURIRI - 1845.

Without exception the hapu of the Ahuriri district abandoned their former pa sites in favour of new ones upon returning from exile. Colenso regularly visited Wharerangi, Te Poraiti, Kapemaihi and Tangoio in 1845. Each of these pa housed several allied hapu. The following breakdown shows the pattern of distribution at this time:-

1. Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tawhao.

When Colenso first arrived at Waitangi he records visiting Porokoru Mapu, the principal chief of Ngati Hinepare, at Ahuriri. Although he doesn't identify the precise site, Colenso probably found them on Te Pakake island or Te Koau island, both located just inside the Ahuriri heads. Ngati Hinepare only remained there briefly and when Colenso visited them on 18.6.1845 they had crossed the harbour and set up residence at Te Poraiti.

Te Poraiti was a fortified pa situated on the clifftops inside the Wharerangi Native Reserve close to the boundary point Te Rere a Tawhaki. The principal chief of Ngati Hinepare, Porokoru Mapu, lived here together with his aged father, the legendary Tareahi, and his younger half-brother Paora Kaiwhata. Tareahi died in the period 1853-1855 and was buried at Te Rere a Tawhaki. Porokoru Mapu was a bad asthmatic and the duties of leading his people fell more and more to Paora Kaiwhata. Kaiwhata's mother was of Ngati Mahu which made him acceptable as a leader of this hapu as well as Ngati Hinepare.

Another faction of Ngati Hinepare established a kainga at Paparakitangi in the Wharerangi valley during Colenso's mission. This is the settlement Colenso refers to in his journal of 21.6.1847. 'At noon we left; and at sunset crossed the inner waters of Ahuriri harbour in a little

canoe. An hour's wading through mud and water brought us to Wharerangi, an old and long-deserted village, where the Ngati Hinepare tribe have at length consented mainly to dwell, and have commenced erecting a chapel.'

The section of Ngati Hinepare who resided at Paparakaitangi comprised the descendants and followers of Tarewai and Manahau. Among their leaders were Hamahona Tarewai and Wi Te Raheke. Both portions of Ngati Hinepare took up residence at Omarunui in the mid-1850s under the leadership of Paora Kaiwhata. At this time the Wharerangi Native Reserve was leased out to the European trader Alexander Alexander which may explain the decision to move to Omarunui. (See Colenso Journals - 18.9.1850)

Another explanation for the move to Omarunui was the relative isolation of Wharerangi. The Ahuriri Purchase isolated it from other Maori lands and the neighbours were all European run-holders. The nearest Maori settlements were Pawhakairo south of the Tutaekuri river and Petane north of the Esk river.

The period 1851-1865 was an eventful era in the history of Heretaunga. Renata Kawepo worked tirelessly for the return of the Ngai Te Upokoiri hapu, exiled to the Manawatu and Taupo by the wars of the 1820s. He negotiated their repatriation which occurred in a series of hekes in 1850, 1853 and 1862. The transfer of these people from temporary accommodation at Pokonao near the Hohepa Home at Clive to Old Omahu took several years. During this period Renata Kawepo lived principally at Pawhakairo with Tareha.

In her evidence in the Omahu hearing Airini Donnelly stated, 'I remember first living at Pawhakairo. Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Hinepare, Renata and Maora his wife were living at that place also. I also remember the arrival of Ngati Upokoiri from Manawatu to Pawhakairo. I first saw them in a large wharepuni called "Kahukuranui" at the one end of a pa, the side towards Renata's own home. Paora [Kaiwhata] lived in a "kauta" kitchen at Pawhakairo.'¹⁹⁵

A strong bond of unity existed between these three chiefs, Tareha Te Moananui, Renata Kawepo and Paora Kaiwhata. They functioned as a

¹⁹⁵ Omahu Hearing - 1889. Blake Manuscripts 19.9.1889. Ev. Airini Tonore.

trinity with authority over most of the land between the Ngaruroro and the Esk rivers. With the exception of the Government purchases most of their lands were still intact at the time of their respective deaths. In his evidence in the Omaha hearing Paora Kaiwhata states, 'My mana did not cease as I and Renata always lived on the land. We were identified in all matters in respect of this land in peace and war.'¹⁹⁶

During the period in question the three chiefs functioned together over such issues as the confrontation at Pakiaka in 1857, the Maori King Movement hui held at Pawhakauro in April, 1859, the opening of the flour mill in July, 1863 and the Hauhau uprising which affected Heretaunga in 1865 and 1866. All three were Loyalist supporters and their unity had a stabilising influence on their people.

2. Ngati Matepu, Ngai Te Ruruku and Ngati Tu.

When Colenso arrived at Ahuriri Ngati Matepu and Ngai Te Ruruku were already established at the kainga of Kapemaihi near the beach on the south side of the Esk lagoon. He stayed there overnight on 17.1.1845. The principal chiefs of these people were aged. Te Tore was the chief of Ngati Matepu and Te Kariwhenua the chief of Ngai Te Ruruku.

These two hapu abandoned Kapemaihi in the summer of 1848-1849 for Petane, located on the north side of the Esk river. The above-named chiefs were even more aged when McLean visited them on 23.12.1850 during the Ahuriri purchase negotiations. '---- and we went up to Petane, the kainga of Ngati Matepu; where we had some "tutu" wine, and other food; and held a korero with the natives, and came back in the evening. Gave Kariwhenua, Te Tore, Te Putake o Te Rangi, and Rawiri a blue shirt each. They were old men, fast decaying, to whom a little kindness is both humane and proper at the present time.'

Among the more influential younger chiefs were Akuhata Te Hapua who was married to the grand daughter of Te Kariwhenua, and the brothers Hemi Taka Taina and Te Waka Takahari of Ngati Matepu. The good relations which existed between these hapu and Tareha and Paora Kaiwhata are largely accountable to whakapapa. Tareha, Te Kariwhenua and Akuhata Te Hapua were all descendants of Te Ruruku. Akuhata Te hapua's grandfather was Haemania of Ngati Hinepare, hence the link with

¹⁹⁶ Omaha Hearing - 1889. Napier Min Bk. 19, page 478. Ev. Paora Kaiwhata.

Paora Kaiwhata's people. Hemi Taka Taina and Te Waka Takahari were first cousins to Paora Kaiwhata on their Ngati Mahu side. It was these relationships which allowed the hapu of the Ahuriri block to move freely amongst one another and allowed McLean to advance his negotiations.

3. Ngati Tu.

At the time of the Ahuriri Purchase Ngati Tu were living at Tangoio. Colenso mentions Tamairuna, Tamaiawhitia and Tohutohu as the principal chiefs at Tangoio during his early visits. Of these the first two were of Ngati Tu origins and the third of Ngati Moe. Evidence survives that Ngati Tu wished to reserve an area of the Pohue bush as a bird-snaring ground when the purchase was being negotiated.

Te Teira Te Paea refers to the occasion in his evidence in the Puketitiri hearing. 'The owners of Pohue decided to have a reserve of 500 acres set aside after the [boundary] posts were erected. The hapus Ngati Tu and Ngati Taura arranged this.' (page 244) Tipene Oneone accompanied the surveyors to point out Ngati Tu's boundaries. 'All the land within these boundaries belonged to us and was sold at the Ahuriri sale in 1851, all but the 500 acres reserved for catching birds.' (page 245)

Ngati Tu abandoned their bird-snaring camps after the 1851 purchase. Te Teira states, 'They went back when Mr. Cooper became Commissioner in 1860. Our elders wished Cooper to locate the 500 acre reserve. He said a tribunal would be set up to decide where the reserve should be. Such was not done.'¹⁹⁷

Te Teira isolated Oturore near Lake Te Pohue as the area of the intended reserve. He further observed that as the reserve was not located his people lived about the locality, not sure where number 5 on the Pohue map was. (See WAI 299 report - Esk Forests in the Ahuriri Purchase by Patrick Parsons, August 1994, for background.)

As with the other sub-tribes who had occupational rights in the Ahuriri block Ngati Tu paid only seasonal visits to their traditional bird-snaring grounds in the post-purchase period. Tangoio became their permanent dwelling-place although Colenso often found them at Petane attending church services..

¹⁹⁷ Puketitiri Hearing - 1922. Nap. Min. Bk. 70, pages 243-247. Ev Te Teira Te Paea

DEGREE OF ACCORD AMONGST CHIEFS IN THE LEAD-UP TO
THE AHURIRI PURCHASE.

Most of the surviving documentation in the lead-up to the Ahuriri Purchase is contained in the journals of William Colenso and Donald McLean. While they present a European perspective of events they are believed to be reasonably faithful and neither man could have known at the time that their transactions would be subjected to Tribunal scrutiny 140 years later.

Colenso had been resident at Ahuriri for four years when negotiations began in October, 1849. His journal entries from this date make reference to the meetings of the chiefs and the purchase commissioners.

11.10.1849. Native chiefs assembling at Ahuriri, from all quarters, to talk over the matter of selling their land to the Government, whose agent is expected soon to be here.

18.12.1850. This morning the Government Land Agent (so long expected and wished for by the Natives) arrived.

20.12.1850. Crossing Ahuriri harbour and landing on the opposite shore, I found Mr. McLean and the chiefs, very busily engaged.

30.3.1851. - all were intently following Mr. McLean with the eager hope of getting some money for their lands.

13.10.1851. The natives in daily expectation of seeing Mr. McLean with the Government money.

3.11.1851. This morning, several chiefs, Tareha, Te Hira Te Ota, Walker Te Kawatini and others came to see me and to ask my advice about their retaining a portion of the harbour of Ahuriri, and not to part with the whole of it, which, in May last, they had consented to sell to the Government. They also wished me to go there, to witness the transfer and payment.

7.11.1851. Mr. McLean called on his way to Ahuriri and among other things, offered me a site for a Mission Station upon the Government ground; but I do not think it exactly eligible - ie. for the Native benefit.

Colenso's journals suggest that the chiefs of the Ahuriri district were comfortable about the purchase. He doesn't record any opposition to the proceedings.

McLean's first reference to the Ahuriri lands appears in his journal of December, 1850.

14.12.1850. Tareha said:- "Come, come, come! This is now your land, from end to end. Tomorrow you shall see another end of the land, - Ahuriri. Both Heretaunga, and Ahuriri, from end to end, shall be yours."

20.12.1850. About 12 o'clock Tareha gave me notice that the natives had discussed sufficiently long among themselves about the sale of their land. Therefore they were ready to meet me. They ranged themselves in a circle; their old senators displaying their white weather-worn locks to the breeze; and the women looking eagerly at the white stranger; who was to purchase the land of their ancestors. No doubt they were also thinking of the fineries the sale would bring them: when an old man named Te Tore of Ngati Matepu got up, with an old cheek-bone of a hog, in his hand, as emblematical of his decay; and said -"My children, let your words be good welcome to the stranger amongst you!"

Te Morehu said;- "Let us all consent to sell the land. Do you all do so?" appealing to the crowd of about 4 or 500. They all replied, "Ae!", old Tore shaking the old bone, with his infirm hand, in a most emphatic manner, as he lay on the ground, consenting to the sale of the land.

Te Ruakohai spoke, agreeing to what had been said by the preceding speakers.

Paora Torotoro said, "Welcome, welcome, welcome, McLean! Come to your land. This is your land, we give it to you!"

Tareha said, "Welcome, welcome to your land. The water is ours. The land you see before you, is yours." He then named boundaries, all agreeing to them.

7.1.1851. It is satisfactory to find the Chiefs coming in from such distances, to see, and consult with me, about their land, and their confidence in me should prompt me at all times to watch over their interests, as if they were mine own.

11.11.1851. The natives are not collecting so quickly as I expected, but they all seem in good spirits; and as far as I can judge, pleased with the amount, 1000 pounds, they are to receive.

(Later in same entry) Had a conversation with Tareha, and Te Moananui, about the boundaries of the purchase, and relinquishing their Reserves, or what they wish to be reserved for them, on the Mataruahou Island. They were very reasonable; much more so than during my former visit.

McLean doesn't record any dissent amongst the chiefs occupying the Ahuriri district. He does document, however, a delegation from Ngati Hineuru coming to challenge the rights of the chiefs to an interior boundary.

23.4.1851. News of a Taupo party, on their way, to dispute the rights of the Ngati Kahungunu tribe, to sell some portions of the interior boundary of Tareha's Block, above Titiokura.

28.4.1851. In the morning came in with Rangihiroa's party, [chief of Ngati Hineuru] and the Ahuriri natives, to Te Waihinganga;

The other reference to discontent concerned the hapu of Tangoio.

15.11.1851. It was dull and windy, so the natives did not request to have their money paid; nor is it, yet, after so many days, settled when, or how the Tongoio people are to be dealt with. They are a pretty troublesome lot to deal with, more so than any of the rest. Their discontent has probably arisen from not having been more consulted in the sale, during its first stages.

ONGOING BENEFITS IMPLICIT IN THE DEED OF SALE.

No hapu was displaced from a permanent settlement by the Ahuriri purchase. The two kainga within the purchase boundaries were included in the Wharerangi Native Reserve which meant they could continue to occupy if they so desired. A reserve of 500 acres was created at Puketitiri and the Purchase Deed included the right to snare birds throughout the whole of the Puketitiri forest. While no reserve was created at Pohue the Maori retained ownership of the northern portion of the Pohue Bush known as the Ohurakura Bush. These concessions add a dimension to the negotiations uncharacteristic of a sale as they provide for ongoing benefits which were written into the Deed of Purchase.

A section of one of McLean's addresses to the Maori people prior to the Waipukurau Purchase gives an insight into the nature of the Government's undertaking. McLean recorded on 17.4.1851 at Waipukurau, 'Therefore it was but right that they should know that land, when in Government hands, would rapidly increase in value; as they would expend money in making roads, bridges, and other improvements, to render the land attractive to their Queen's subjects, and induce them to come and live among them as friends, bringing their wealth with them to a strange land, among a strange people, whom they were to enrich by so doing; whereas the land in its present state, produced and reproduced nothing but fern. It should hereafter produce wealth and abundance to the rising generations of their race, if the elder people of the tribe, now treading on to the grave, did not enjoy it.'

On 17.11.1851, the day the Ahuriri Purchase was concluded, McLean addressed the assembled people. 'I made a long opening speech to the natives, when they were ready, explaining fully the nature of the Engagements they were here assembled to complete, expressing a hope that it would be the means, as they were on the decline, of uniting them with a stronger power, that would, under the mild dispensations of our laws, befriend and protect them.

There is evidence that other ongoing benefits were implied by the purchase even if not mentioned in the Deed. In his Commissioner's report to the Colonial Secretary dated 29 December, 1851, McLean wrote, 'I also informed the Chiefs that His Excellency had instructed public reservations to be made, which would most probably include a site for a church, hospital, market-ground, and landing place for their canoes, and that every facility would be afforded them of re-purchasing land from the Government.'

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