

I te Kōti Matua o Aotearoa
Te Whanganui-ā-Tara Rohe

CIV-2017-485-305
Group D & E

I TE TAKE O

the Marine and Coastal Area
(Takutai Moana) Act 2011

A

I TE TAKE O

an application by Tamihana Paki on
behalf of Te Parawhau seeking
recognition orders under the Act

Affidavit of Riripeti Mira Norris

Dated 5 August 2023

Judicial Officer – Harvey J

**HOCKLY
LEGAL**

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AUCKLAND 2022

Tēnā, e te Kōti

*Takatohaua toku maunga
Otaika toku Awa
Whangarei Terenga Paraoa te moana
Tu Nui a Rangi taku waka
Manaia te Tupuna
Tiakiriri Kukupa toku Tupuna
Te Uri Puha o Te Parawhau te Hapu
Otaika toku kainga
Mira Norris ahau.*

1. I, Riripeti Mira Norris, retired, of Otaika, swear/affirm this statement of evidence in support of the application for Te Parawhau lodged by Tamihana Paki.
2. My paternal grandfather was Eru Moko Pou, of Ueoneone, Ngati Tautahi, Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rangi me Ngāpuhi of Kaikohe.
3. My paternal grandmother was Te Owai Karaka, Ngāti Porou of Tikitiki, Gisborne.
4. My maternal grandfather was Matenga Te Hau Pitimana, (Harry Pitman), Ngati Tu, Te Koiwi of Takahiwai.
5. My maternal grandmother was Iwingaro Kepa Rata, Te Parawhau of Toe Toe, Otaika, Portland, Kopuawaiwaha and Takahiwai
6. My father was Horo Himi Te Waihika Pou (Jim Pou). My mother was Violet Sylvia Pou (nee Pitman). My mother was a shorthand typist working for the Public Works Department. *(My parents meet on the train when they attended boarding school in Auckland. My dad attended St Stephens College and my mum Queen Victoria College)*
7. When my father returned from serving in the J Forces (Japan) He also worked for the Public Works Department. My father transferred to the Department of Māori Affairs as a Welfare officer and worked to become the District Welfare Officer.
8. My parents were heavily involved in the community serving not only in Whangarei but also the whole of Tai Tokerau. While working within Community and administration for local Māori Committee's, both lobbied for the creation of the "Community Development Act 1962. My mother was a founding member of the Māori Womens' Welfare League of which she was the National President 1980 to 1983. Both believed Māori needed "Legislated tools" to make a difference and assist Māori to change the political footprint.
9. My maternal grandparents started married life living at Portland on her maternal grandmother's whenua known as the Maungakaramaea 2 Block. They settled on my grandmother's maternal father's (Kepa Te Rata) land at Otaika Valley in 1930, when my grandfather Matenga finished building their home.



10. This is where I live now and have lived for 20 years in the 92-year-old home.

Growing up on Whangārei Harbour

11. I begin by addressing the parts of the Harbour which I have lived with all my life, the areas I have constantly lived close to, visited and been involved in.
12. From a family of six girls, we grew up in central Whangārei. Four of us would be collected by our grandparents and spent our weekends at Otaika Valley. Most weekends we would travel to Takahiwai and Pouwhenua (Marsden Point) to gather kai moana and visit whanau. During the summer holidays we would visit Toetoe and grandmum Iwingaro would sit with her sister Wara (Aunty Louie) making mats and kete and they would talk for hours. On hot summer days we would go with our cousins to Ruakaka Beach for a swim, wait for the right tide and collect Tuatua before we went home.
13. We also collected pipi at Marsden Point in the kete made by grandmum. At home grandmum would open the pipi and soak them in saltwater overnight. She then bottled the pipi and sent them to Auckland by bus for her daughters.
14. All my life we have always had a close connection to the Harbor. With my husband Selwyn and our children we spent many hours fishing and collecting kai moana for our whanau, the many special occasions and ourselves. Diving for Crayfish in November at The Old Women (Te Whara) while the Crayfish match.
15. Around Smugglers and Peach Cove (Urquhart Bay), The Nook and around the Bluff at The Shark pools are some of the best scallop beds. Since the return of the sea grass scallops are constant in the harbour channel, but they have never been as plentiful as in the 1970/1980s around the waters at Takahiwai.
16. In my mother's youth, they would collect scallops wading the waters at Takahiwai and in the estuary set their nets for herrings, mullet and baby eels.
17. My most memorable fishing is at the Mokahinau, Hapuka fishing and taking in the amazing scenery on our boat trip. Taranga Island (Wahine Kohatu) silhouette depicted the back of my grandmother's hair flowing into the water, from my childhood memories. A Wairua connection to the physical manifestation of plentiful fish and kai moana is the story of Atakura, Manaia's daughter, "No te miraka o te uma o Atakura"

Otaika

18. At Otaika we would walk the river as grandmum Iwingaro always checked the Mauri of the Awa, and the riparian vegetation was lush, the fauna healthy, the smell, sound touch and taste of the water was also important. She set her nets

- to provide kai for whanau and her many pets. As her mokopuna we would play along the water's edge and help when asked. She told us many stories but my favourite was of grand-dad organising a baptism but it always rained and flooded so he gave up and put it down to baptisms being bad omens.
19. Sometimes we would help grandmum take raupō mats for her to place across the Awa like a cover or shade, and when it changed colour grandmum would chop a ti tree on the riverside to lie in the waterway. She would remove some of the ti tree branches and use them for sweeping the water edge and then lay them alongside the Awa in a bundle. During summer granddad would trim the grass and leave bundles on the river's edge to collect whitebait eggs.
 20. This routine was continual until I turned 12 years old. I returned to live at Otaika Valley at 17 years old when I moved in full time with my grandparents as my parents had moved to Wellington for my father to become the Private Secretary to the Minister of Māori Affairs.
 21. Otaika River was salty and tidal until Portland Cement Works needed a dam to generate power.
 22. We were always able to catch Whitebait from our whenua adjoining the Awa until that dam went in and we haven't been able to catch the Whitebait since then. As a member of the WHCG we worked with Northland Regional Council (Whangarei Harbour Catchment Group) which helped install ropes ladders for the elves to climb above the dam.
 23. Today the Otaika River health is diminished – impaired. The large volume of water allocated over the years has negatively impacted the Mauri.

Tapu Point

24. Tapu Point, is on the Coastal end of the Otaika Awa (Oaks Road), where we would collect oysters, shell them there on the shore and bring the flesh back in a billy can.
25. This practice is on hold at Tapu Point because of the silt pollution which happened around the late 1970's.

Although we do collect oysters at Onemama Point but only on special occasions when our relations are home on holiday. Onemama Point is at the other end to Tapu Point on the Peninsula, Harbour side near Portland. Tapu Point is a site of significance to Te Parawhau as it is registered as the killing place of Te Tawhiro. Te Tawhiro lived on the otherside of the Otaika Awa which included Native Land Block "Te Ru O Te Taniwha" and Tauranga Kotuku around to Tapu

Point. The extent of the use of this area by our tupuna is seen by the number of middens in the area.

Opau

26. Opau is the Māori Land Block at the southern end of the Ha Ha River (also known as Limeburner's creek) and extends around the water's edge down to the Lower Port and includes all the land between.
The oyster ground here is known as Ko Tio.
27. In the late 1960's many of the cousins were wharfies working at the Docking Port (Whangarei Port) – when they arrived at work they would put their fishing lines into the water – the cousins from Otaika, Toetoe and Portland – and at lunchtime bring out the sliced onions, cream – and have raw fish from there morning catch.
28. There was watercress nearby from the waterways around lower Opau, as most of the whanau were hunters and gatherers.
Fresh fish and boil up was a continual menu until the 90s, and whanau continually fish these areas by boat as the wharf has been security fenced to keep the general public out to comply with Health and Safety.
29. I would go for long bike rides with my children, leaving from Herekino Street to the lower Port. (6km) The fishing from the wharf was great fun as we had easy access back in the late 1980's. Ahu Pupurangi, the town basin was another bike riding excursion to go fishing and enjoy the ambience on the waters edge, sit and smell the salt air and count our blessings to have this Harbour at our back door.
30. Our tupuna collected oysters, speared flounder, netted herrings from the lower Port and Upper Haha area as did we until recently, but all is on hold because of the silt and pollution. As a condition on a recent Resource Consent, Tangata whenua will be part of a management plan to revitalise the Ha Ha Awa at Port Road and clean the waterways. Opau remains a good place to fish, a new fishing ramp has been built to allow access to vehicles and foot traffic.

Hihiaua Reserve

31. Selwyn (my husband) and I operated our Engineering business on the whenua known as the Hihiaua Fishing Reserve. We leased the whenua from the Harbour Board 1978 to 1990 when the lease was transferred to the Whangarei District Council during the LGA reform Act. We applied to the Harbour Board to purchase the 21 year lease in perpetuity to freehold because of the significance of the Land to Te Parawhau and Ngāpuhi. We tried to purchase the land at the

"Freehold Valuation price", but 3 time we were refused. The leasehold price per annum was \$900 dollars– in 1994 the lease was renewed for another 21 years and the annual Harbour Board lease was increased to \$24,000 per annum. Before and after the transfer of the Harbour Board Freehold lease to Whangarei District Council, all our attempts to purchase the whenua were rejected. When we could no longer afford to keep the 21 year Leasehold and sold the lease 2011, Whangarei District Council sold the Freehold to a property developer in Christchurch as they required a freehold title to complete their business plans.

32. Hihiaua Fishing Reserve – 2 1/2 acres was set aside – the Harbour Board with the Whangarei Council rebuilt the Waiharahia Awa crossing over the fishing reserve whenua.
33. Grandmother Iwingaro and my Ngāpuhi Nanipa lobbied over the unjust treatment by the Harbour Board for not honouring written agreements to protect and recognise Te Tiriti over the Hihiaua Fishing Reserve to be set aside for Māori.
34. Hihiaua was originally a 52 acres Native Land title removed from Māori which is most of the upper Port Road, Lower Dent Street and Commerce Street area today and connected with the Okara Land block– all removed from Māori which we consider an unextinguished Native Land Title.
35. Ponahia Te Wana and Areka are our tupuna listed as owners on the document – and listed as petitioners.
36. My grandmother Iwingaro visited our workshop and told us the history of the whenua and how Acts of Parliament removed the ownership without the knowledge of the people, that it was a meeting place where large hui would be held by Te Parawhau and a main trading depot (fresh food and Kai Moana Markets).
37. Large gatherings of people would congregate to make plans to travel together to Auckland or Okaihau to the Courts to object to the settlers taking their lands without consideration for the rightful owners. Hihiaua was the central meeting place for Māori pre 1940.
38. While we were kaitiaki of Hihiaua from 1978 to 2011 we maintained and protected the waterways from Industrial pollution by insuring the businesses did not dispose their factory cleaning waters directly into the Awa. We worked with the Harbour Board and Whangarei Council for businesses to install sump tanks and a commercial sewage waste tank remove all the contents such as heavy metals and trade waste away from the Awa. Waiharahia Awa is plentiful with mullet.

Kissing Point

39. Kissing Point – we would go fishing in dingys to gather snapper for breakfast or lunchtime smoke up, because we lived at Mackesy Road (1975 to 2007). Kissing Point is at the city end of Mackesy Road, on our way the town. Several of our relations from Poroti, Ngati Kahu o Torongare, Tangiteroria and Maungakahia would come fishing at Kissing Point and picnic under the Pohutakawa trees. In 1994 the Kissing Point Boating Club sectioned off most of the access to the waterway and the Boast sheds are becoming waterfront apartments by default.
40. The significance of Kissing Point was that the cousins would always meet there – we all knew it was good fishing here and the Harbour was for all of us, and while the fishing was good we always allowed others from everywhere in the North to fish these waters and enjoy the Harbour too.
41. Today the many Waka Ama clubs have a facility and fenced area set aside at Kissing Point with dingys ready to go.

18th Century Landscape

42. Te Parawhau have been using the mudflats as fishing villages, utilised the foreshore and estuaries around the Whangarei Harbour for fishing, kai gathering purposes and kaitiakitanga since before the signing of Te Tiriti. We live today on the lands our Tupuna occupied since the early 1500AD. We are connected to the whenua at Takahiwai, Waipu, Ruakaka, Poupouwhenua, Kopuwaiwaha, Te Mata, Te Mahe, Mangapai, Portland, Opau, Otaika, Toetoe and Taukata.
43. The Native Land Court in 1879 did not investigate our Native Land titles that lay below the high water mark, the Native Land Court did not award or recognise the customary interests practiced in those areas held by our tupuna as *tuku whenua*, and caused pernicious effects to Te Parawhau.
44. The confiscation by the Crown under the Harbours Act and in particular the Whangarei Harbour Act of between 3500-4000 acres, removed the ability for Te Parawhau to develop an economic sustainable future for their *mokopuna*. The transfer of lands taken by the Crown for local bodies such as the Local Council and Harbour Board effectively removed the lands from Te Parawhau and the spectrum of Treaty relationships. Our dealing with Whangarei District Council and Harbour Board over the sale of port lands known as the Kaituna Block, changed the legal landscape as Council refused to engage and acknowledge any Treaty obligations. Our attempts to negotiate the purchase of Kioreroa

Wharfe by Te Parawhau, Ngāti Kahu o Torongare and Te Waiariki was refused July 1999 at a Port Corp meeting.



Opau Block

45. The Opau block was Māori land surrounding the peninsula of the Kioreroa Block on the Whangārei Harbour. The name Opau was from the Pa destroyed to reclaim the lower Port area. The hill was developed as the Northland Fertiliser Works at the easternmost boundary of the Kioreroa peninsula.¹ Over time the name of the hill changed to Kioreroa Hill.
46. Opau was 652 acres of Māori Land and was the location of two camping sites, oyster grounds, fishing grounds and was the site of a tauranga waka.
47. Opau is located opposite Pohe Island and at low water, on the edge of the channel where the waters flow from the Ha Ha River and the Hatea River into the Whangārei river it was traditionally known by the name Karerewai.

¹ As depicted on the plan ML 3494, 20 September 1876.

48. A site of significance to Te Parawhau are the oyster grounds known as Ko Tio but now is covered by the old WECO shed and the old Northport building occupied by Heren Engineering.
49. The area where the Fertilizer Works wharf extends along to the Old Port Whangarei Wharf is another traditional camping ground site and a traditional fishing ground used by Te Parawhau back then and continues today as another good fishing spot.
50. The Chief Crown Surveyor, S Percy Smith surveyed Opau and then used his Surveyor General powers to claim for the Crown on the 7th of August 1879² because it was covered by the tide at high water.³ The Native owners ordered the survey as the survey book notes "The survey is Opau Native Claim, Whangarei River."⁴
51. An application by Taurau Kukupa of Te Parawhau sought to have the Opau Block heard by the Native Land Court was made on the 27th of September 1879 but was dismissed by Judge Munroe as he ruled the block to be below high water mark.⁵
52. A further two applications were made to the Native Land Court in 1882 for investigation of title to the lands. The Court notes the case was called, the claim heard, and a map produced, and the applicant was informed that the land being under the high water mark the Court had no jurisdiction and the application was dismissed.⁶
53. Below is the survey of the Opau block. The survey shows the whole of the block is under water at high tide, the *Karerewai* traditional fishing grounds are shown on the eastern section shown just south of the entrance to the Ha Ha River (Limeburners Creek) and *Opau* traditional fishing grounds shown on the southwest boundary.

² See map M1. 4475 - August 1879 Opau Block Survey Plan

³ Opau was given the appellation Opau No. 1 and No. 2, parts of blocks IX & XIII Whangarei survey district. The total area of Opau No. 1 (the northeastern part) is 221 acres; the total area of Opau No. 2 (the southwestern part) is 431 acres.

⁴ Field Book no 288. Pp. 33-40.

⁵ Whangarei Minute Book 2 27/9/1879, pg. 265.

⁶ Whangarei Minute Book 2, 2/2/1882, pg. 292.

54. The reclaimed land at the eastern side of Opau was called Kaituna when it was formed by the Council, Culham Engineering occupies this area, but for us the name of the entire area is Opau.

Surveys of the Whangarei Harbour

55. HMS Buffalo did the first marine survey of Whangarei Harbour in 1834.⁷ The first traders entered the harbour in 1839 and Te Parawhau Ngāpuhi leaders claimed entrance fees from the settlers.
56. Robert Mair entered in 1856 piloting a 152-ton steamer called the Wanga Wanga. In 1876 Captain McGregor purchased a 429-ton steamer from the Union Steamship Company in Wellington. The Northern steamship Company began scheduled Whangarei Services in 1891.⁸
57. Our tupuna Te Tirarau Kukupa was the owner of a 40-ton cutter, the *Petrel*. Te Tirarau employed Pākehā masters Robert Mair and T. S. Carmichael to make weekly trips between Auckland and Whangarei.⁹
58. Our rangatira were actively engaged in the use of the Port of Whangārei prior to and during the colonial period. At this time the deep-water port was located on the Onerahi side of the Harbour an area known as Grahamstown.¹⁰

Map 1 Showing site area of Whangarei Harbour (Opua)



⁷ Portrait of Whangarei Harbour, Northland Harbour Board, 16 June 1977 and 1980

⁸ Portrait of Whangarei Harbour, 16 June 1977

⁹ Manuka Henare, Tribal Landscape Overview report, Wai 1040 #A37, pg. 674

¹⁰ Onerahi itself was owned by Te Tirarau. This wharf was termed a jetty on the maps.

11 A clause of the Harbours Act 1878 relating to the appointment of a chairman attending that meeting were: Messrs JM McKay, JD McKenzie, GH Minchin, N Ormandy, J Mallabond, AH Mason, JW Kerr and A McLeod. Mr Mason was elected Chair and Mr J Mc Kenzie secretary. 12 Pickmere pg 139 13 Northland Harbour Board 1980

59. The harbour administration was in the remote hands of Central Government, and it was not until the establishment of Counties after provincial councils had been abolished that local control of the Whangarei Harbour was exercised. The Whangarei County Council was elected in 1876, and had its first meeting in January of 1877¹¹. In 1879 the Whangarei Harbour Board was instituted but was administered by the Whangarei County Council¹², but not as a separate committee.¹³ Northland Harbour Board records on 13th August 1879 are headed "Whangarei Harbour Board", by 1884 a letter written by Robert Thompson as Chairman of the Whangarei County Council to the Premier makes reference the Whangarei Harbour Board having been handed over to the Whangarei County Council.
60. In November 1892 an Order in Council was gazetted declaring that the Whangarei County Council shall exercise the powers of a Harbour Board¹³. This changed nothing for Te Parawhau, we continued our kaitiakitanga around and in the Harbour as always.

Kaitiaki Rōpū

61. Since the year 2000 I have been actively involved in the promotion and protection of Te Parawhau tikanga, taonga, whenua and moana Maori values (tikanga) particularly as they applied under the Resource Management Act 1991.
62. The Te Parawhau RMA Roopu has been active since 1996 with a range of members, dealing with resource consents Cultural Impact Assessments, ensuring kaitiakitanga practices and Cultural Values are built into all developments to avoid damaging our wahi tapu and Taonga around the Harbour.
63. With the new Port Expansion at Marsden Point (2000) the Whangarei Terenga Paraoa Kaitiaki Rōpū was formed. The original members of the Whangarei Terenga Paraoa Kaitiaki Rōpū being Marina Fletcher, myself for Toetoe, Willy and Dawn Pohe for Parua Bay, Waimarie Bruce for Ngāti Kahu o Torongare, Violet Sāde for Te Waiariki, Mary and Ray Wassell for Takahiwai. Our Kaitiaki Rōpū was a condition of the Port Development at Marsden Point Section 11 of the permitted document specified the Māori of Parua Bay, Toetoe and Takahiwai form the Kaitiaki Rōpū membership.

64. Our Rōpū continues the legacy of previous Whangārei Māori committees to protect our rohe moana, to act as kaitiaki and maintain our resources in the Harbour are protected, and the health of the surrounding environment.
65. Some of the projects undertaken by Whangarei Terenga Paraoa Kaitiaki Rōpū was the reseeding of Seagrass and Pipi. A resident of Parua Bay for over 40 years Gregg Innes verified the reseeding of seagrass has improved the Harbour Health and the return of many aquatic species around Parua Bay.
66. Other project undertaken- Patuharakeke as WTPKR monitored the pipi beds at Marsden Point, Ruakaka and Takahiwai over a two year period and funded (\$80,000) Willie Pohe did the same at Parua Bay as a kaitiaki without compensation. Toetoe worked alongside Whitebait connection, the Portland School and Otaika School to develop habitats to collect whitebait eggs. WTPKR Fund gifted \$22,000 to the Whitebait Connection Trust for this project.
67. I have promoted Te Parawhau tikanga values through engagement with local bodies and the general public as a member of the Whangarei Maori Committee – representing Otaika since 1990's with the Ropu Kaumatua who drove the politics of the day and I was in the background supporting there initiatives.
68. 1990 – the Rōpū Kaumatua appointed me to represent them as a candidate for the local Whangārei District Council elections, I did not do well, then when they asked again in 1996 I declined and would not place myself in that situation again. 1996 I accepted the position as Whangārei Māori Committee – and Whangārei District Māori Committee Chair. I am mindful that as Maori we are kaitiaki for life, our attachment to our Marae Committee, Maori Committee operating under the Community Development Act and our several Maori Land Trusts are constant. As the years roll by, we also becoming the memory stick and keeper of all records. Staff at Northland Regional Council and Whangarei District Council are here today and gone tomorrow, as Kaitiaki we are always present.

Ma te korero ka mohio

Ma te mohio ka matau

Ma te matau ka marama.

With dialogue comes understanding

With understanding comes knowledge

With knowledge comes enlightenment.

69. In 2004 as Te Parawhau Resource Consent Practitioners we worked with Whangarei District Council on many infrastructure and precinct plans such as the Hatea River crossing, which is the Bascule Bridge "Te Matau". We also selected the design to depict the Fish Hooks that Ngaitahuhu tupuna (pre 1840) made when they occupied what is now called Pohe Island. We helped create the Hatea Loop as part of the Future Plans for the Hatea Awa and the Kotuitui Bridge at Hihiaua. The design for Kotuitui depicted fishing nets our tupuna made when so when the bridge-sides are parted it looks like fishing nets being cast.
70. We are currently working on the new roundabout at Port and Kioreroa Road intersection to interlink with the new four lane bridge has just been completed. The final artistic bridge designwork was to depict the abundance of fish and oysters collected from the Ha Ha Awa. Unfortunately with cost over-runs the funding ran out and the core steel design work is incomplete.
71. In 2018 we became actively involved in establishing a Marina in the Ha Ha Creek (Limeburner's Creek) Opau Peninsula, alongside the Bascule Bridge. Some reclamation is required to form the "Okara Marina" Facilities and amenities complex. The freehold land will be owned by Te Parawhau, and leased back to the WDC and NRC trading as Whangarei Marina Trust for a peppercorn rental. Also included in the signed Partnership Agreement is that Okara Marina will support Te Parawhau in our MACA claims in the Whangarei Harbour. Te Parawhau have been active as kaitiaki by guiding the design process, and ensuring that the whenua raised above the tidal area is given an appropriate Te Parawhau name as per the Partnership agreement.
72. Another RMA Partnership Agreement in 2017 was with (Portland Cement Works) Fletcher New Zealand. Portland Cement applied for a Resource Consent to upgrade their wharf and required dredging some of the Mangapai channel in 2016. During the project kaitiaki monitored visual water quality from the wharfe as the EMP health and safety did not allow our presence on the barge which was not consistent with our matauranga practice, but being adaptable to situations is tikanga.
73. A trend we have around the Harbour is RMA applicants who have boat sheds are applying to renovate and upgrade the boat sheds into Riverside apartments. The deep sediment around these boatsheds have Mangrove pneumatophores (aerial roots) exposed at low tide and the Mauri of the water is degraded, this can be seen by the colour, smell and appearance. Our ancestral waterways are

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becoming gin palaces for the wealthy and total disregard for the spiritual wellbeing of the Awa.

74. All applicants are asking for 35 year leases, when it should be 10 years maximum in order for Maori to nurture Mana Atua, Mana o te Wai, Mana i te Whenua, Mana Ao Tūroa and Mana Tangata. Day to day we are being isolated from our Awa and our rights to practise our kaitiakitanga.

Kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga

75. This means more than mere guardianship or hospitality and supporting others. It is the intergenerational responsibility inherited at birth, which is passed down from generation to generation to care for Mother Earths environment and to uphold our spiritual (wairuatanga) obligations and to safeguard these from harm. Wairuatanga is an essential requirement to health and therefore vital to Te Parawhau wellbeing and identity.
76. Kaitiakitanga is not only about protecting the life supporting capacity of resources, but it also includes the deep relationship between the spirit realm, tangata and the natural world. Fulfilling spiritual and inherited responsibilities to te taiao, maintaining tino rangatiratanga (absolute authority) over those resources on which tāngata depend upon but also ensures the welfare of the people those resources support is integral to kaitiakitanga. This also means that as part of our obligations, Te Parawhau have a continuous and ongoing obligation to protect and use our natural resources and to interact and associate with our taonga and wahi tapu.
77. Kaitiakitanga is maintaining a natural balance with all things. In this way, the legacy of kaitiakitanga and wairuatanga is passed from one generation to another.
78. Outlined are the Local Government committees that Te Parawhau has engaged with and through to keep ahead of the policy changes that could impact Te Parawhau:
- Northland Regional Council volunteer*
 - Whangarei Harbour Catchment Group (2010-)*
 - Urban Whangarei Rivers (2014-)*
 - Whangarei Harbour Kaitiaki Roopu (2000-)*
 - Kotuku Retention Dam (Hopua te Nihoteatea) (2007-2014)*
 - (Slow release waters to prevent flooding in central Whangarei)*
 - Climate Change Adaptation Group (2018 to 2020)*
 - Joint representation with elected Councillors*
 - Natural Resources Working Group (2023-)*
 - Climate Change Working Group (2018 to 2022)*
 - Water and Land Working Group (2020-2023)*

*Tai Tokerau Māori Advisory Collective (2014-) TTMAC
Tai Tokerau Water Advisory Group (2019-) TTWAG
Māori Technical Advisory Group (2018-) MTAG
NRC Draft Freshwater Policy Working Group (2020-2023)
Biosecurity & Biodiversity Working Group (2023-*

79. This affidavit also supplies a range of support material and research which is available regarding the history and ongoing occupation of Te Parawhau in Whangārei Terenga Paraoa.
80. Attached as Exhibit MN-1 are pages 5 and 14 of Nancy Preece Pickmere's book "Whangārei – The Founding Years" which show maps and locate our hapū, pa and kāinga in the Harbour.
81. Attached as Exhibit "MN-2" are source documents to David Alexander's report recorded in the Waitangi Tribunal as Wai 1040, #A7, in which the Whangārei Harbour is addressed at Chapter 13;
- a. Pages 846-848 referenced at footnote 1492;
 - b. Pages 827-832 referenced at footnote 1522;
 - c. Pages 1590-1592 referenced at footnote 1593;
 - d. Page 1611 referenced at footnote 1608;
 - e. Pages 1617-1618 referenced at footnote 1634; and
 - f. Pages 1637-1638 reference at footnote 1644.
82. Attached as Exhibit "MN-3" is part of an Oral History Report on Mangakahia and Ngāti Rehia, recorded as Wai 1040 #AA3 in the Waitangi Tribunal. I have supplied pages 1-7 and 85-156, as the rest of the report deal with Ngāti Rehia and matters unrelated to Te Parawhau and the Harbour.
83. This report featured two of our witnesses; Marina Fletcher and Taipari Munro.
84. Attached as Exhibit "MN-4" are selections of He Whenua Rangatira, a report lead by Dr Manuka Henare, recorded in the Waitangi Tribunal as Wai 1040, #A37. I have included pages 1-8, 23-30, 90-92, 112-127, 151-159, 190-221, 312-360, 373, 397-419, although I am aware there are other references to Te Parawhau and its rangatira in various other places in the report.

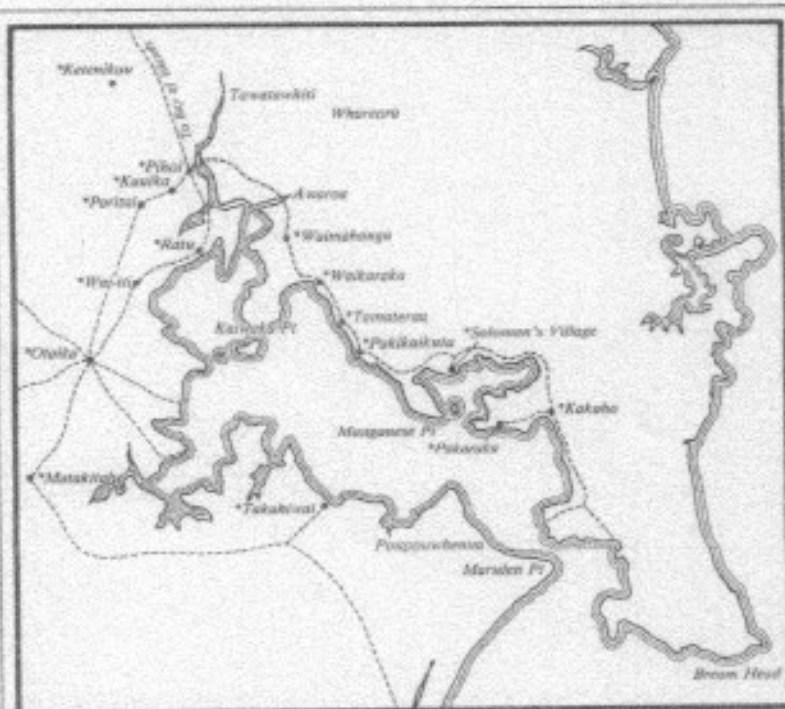
*Affirmed this 21st day of August 2023
at Whangārei, before me:*

*C. Browne
Deputy Registrar
Whangārei District/High Court*

*SIGNED [Signature]
Rupati Mira Norris*



The missionary, William Colenso, who came from Cornwall. He joined the C.M.S. Mission as a printer in 1834.
Photo by permission Hawke Bay Art Gallery and Museum.



After the musketry wars had terminated in the late 1830's, many Maoris returned to their tribal lands at Whangarei — not to their old fortified *pa*-sites, but to live in *kainga* (villages) mostly built near the shore of the harbour. The names of these villages (marked*) and their chiefs have been recorded by William Colenso.

CHIEF	HAPU	NAME OF VILLAGE
Iwitahi	Parawhau	Paritai — later of Pihoi
Rua (son)	"	"
Toka-tutahi	"	Wai-iti
Toru (tohunga)	"	"
Te Akiriri	"	Otaika
Karekare (tohunga)	"	Ratu
Kahunui	"	Kauika
Kawanui	"	Matakitake
Whaka-ariki (tohunga)	Pou-harakeke	Takahiwi and Heads Area
Pou	"	"
Tipene (Steven)	Ngati-Kahu	Pihoi (1836)
		Waikaraka (1840)
Hirawani	"	Waimahanga
Te Puhia	"	"
Pohe (Wiremu)	"	Tamaterau
Tauru-rangi	"	Keenikau
Amoteriri	Tawera	Paki-kai-kutu
Horomona (Solomon)	Ngati-Tu	Parua Bay (at Solomon's Point)
Parihoro	Ngati-Manu	Whareora and Marsden Point Area
Tauwhitu	Maungatunga	Rukaka
Te Hara		Whangarei Heads

Many of the chiefs had several villages but usually one principal village.

No Pitihana

Whangarei 6th June 1915

Ki te Honore Pika

He nga eema Honore e huihui mai nei
 ito Paremata o Kiri Terehi e hanga mai
 nei i nga iure mo te Lomimia

- 1) Ko ehatou ko Koutou Kai Pitihana e
 Inoi tonu atu ana ki to Koutou Huihui
 Honore Kia Whakaaetia mai ta ehatou
 eoi mo to ehatou Tauranga Unga Haka
 i roto ito Taone o Whangarei, Ko tenei
 Tauranga Ko te ...
 Poraka K
 ona take
 Kei ten
 a te

250
 250

This is the marked "MN-2"
 Referred to in the annexed declaration/affidavit
 Of Rupiah M. N. N. N.
 And
 Declared before me at Whangarei this 25th day
 Of June 1915 before me:

Deputy Registrar

Whangarei District/High Court

23

Hhangarei 6th/Hura 1915

Ki te Honore Pika

ehe nga eheema Honore e huihui mai nei
 i te Paremata o Keri Viremi e hanga mai
 nei i nga iure mo te Yominia

- 1) Ko eheaton Ko Koutou Kai Pitihana e
 Inoi tonu atu ana ki te Koutou Huihui
 Honore Kia Hhakaetia mai ta eheaton
 Koroi mo to eheaton Tauranga Vnga Naka
 i roto i te Yaone o Hhangarei, Ko tenei
 Tauranga Ko tona ingoa Ko Hihiana
 Poraka Ko tenei Hhenua Kua mima
 ona take ete Kooti Hhenua eheori
 Kei tenei Pitihana e mau ana te Kape
 a te Kooti Hhenua eheori

Hhangarei eheinu Vol 8 Page

294 + 304 + 308 + 318 + 320 + 321 + 322

- 2) Ko tenei Hhenua Ko Hihiana Poraka e
 maramatia ana Kahore tenei Hhenua e
 Ngaromia ana ete eheana, a he Hhenua
 e Kahore ana ete Tangata he Hhare
 Papa Kei runga e rua Ko nga moni
 i Hhakaapana mo enei Hhare e rua
 Erua Ran e rima tekan Pauma £250-
 Kei tenei Pitihana e mau ana nga
 Hhakaahua o ana Hhare
- 3) Ko tenei Hhenua Ko Hihiana e
 maramatia ana Kahore ano te
 Kawanatangia i Hhakaaputa moni
 mo tenei Hhenua mo Hihiana

no 2

- 4) Ko tenei Tauranga e Karangata mei ko Hihiana no mua iho i wehea ai e nga Kaumatua ki waho. i nga whemua hoko i Rahuitia ete ehaori hei Tauranga nohoanga Kai Pipi, haka, Vio, nohoanga hoki mo Raton ina haere mai ki te Kooti i Hhangarei
- 5) Ko tenei Tauranga ko Hihiana Poraka Kua Tangohia ete Kawamatanga, e hana ete mea hoko ete Kawamatanga. Engari na te Iure i tango ete 1907. i riro ai ete Harbour Board act o Hhangarei e Hhakahuatia ana ete "second schedule" e 53 eka me te 13 eka e 2 Ruri a e whakahuatia ana ona Rohe. me te Hhakahua i Hihiana i roto i tenei Rarangi ete Iure a e Hhaka pono ana hoki ehaori. Kahore te Kawamatanga i mohio he Hhemua ano tenei e mohio ana ete tangata i mua iho. He Tauranga Inga Haka no mua Kareira i Pahitia ai tenei Iteleona ete Iure ete Kawamatanga. Ite mea e rua Hhare Kei runga no Hori Rewi
- 6) E Inoi Kaha ana ehaori o Koutou Kai Pitihana Kia Patua te Rarangi ete Iure i Tangohia ai to ehaori Tauranga. "Kia whakawhaua enei Kupu ki roto ko te 53 eka me te 13 eka me te 2 Ruri Kia Hhakatana kite hunga i roto i tenei Pitihana me o Raton haka e kitea e Raton i waenganui ete Iwi ete hunga no Raton tenei Tauranga Kia Waiho tenei Tauranga hei Hhemua Rahui mo

mo enei iwi ina huihui Raton Ki Hhangarei
 He mate nei tenei e pa ana kua ehaton ina
 tae Ki Hhangarei Ki te Kooti de Kore
 Kainga e rite ana ehaton ina tae Ki
 reira he iwi Hhema Kore Ka moho Ki te
 Kainga Pakeha hei a utu te Kai
 Ka kitea i Konei He ehaton tenei

- 7) Ko te mate nei rawa atu Ko te Yangohanga
 o ehaton Hhare etenei Iure. Ko te Pakaru
 tanga o nga Ruma ete Kaunihara a
 Haino Rawa hei takotoranga mea ma
 Raton mehe mea na ehaton tenei mahi
 Kua whina ehaton ete Iure.

Koi ete Honore Pika Kouton Ko ehaton
 Honore nga Honore Pivimia me
 nga Honore ehaton e huihui nei
 ite Paremata.

E Inoi atu ana i raro i to Kouton
 mana e tangi atu ana, me to Kouton
 titiro iho i te nei o tenei mate
 Kia Hhakaritea mai ta ehaton mo
 mo to ehaton Tauranga Kia
 Hhakaho Kia mai. Kia ehaton
 Ki o Kouton Kai Pitihana me
 te iwi itenei take

— Koi ano

Na ehaton na te hunga
 e man ake nei o ehaton
 ingoa me a ehaton Iohu

Koia nei o matou ingoa ka tuihia
 ki raro iho nei. ko matou e tahi
 onga tangata mo Ratau Tenei
 whenua. A Kihiaua i Roto ike Takirua
 o whangarei koia matou ingoa
 ka tuihia ki raro iho nei inua
 ike aro aro e tahi kai Titiro
 Kei Tohu nei ike ponga o ta matou
 maina me tana tou tau tohu
 Hoki i tana tou piki wana
 kua tae atu naka. Kite aro aro
 o te paremete. mo to matou whenua
 mo Kihiaua

No

- Hoori Rewi
 1. Akeha. Wikaue
 2. Hone Poho
 3. Patia Setaka
 4. Haroro Akeha
 5. Akeha Rata
 6. Hone Poho
 7. taki hoterene
 8. koke erura
 9. Te awana ^{tohu} Tika
 10. neri Waho
 1. Huria ^{tohu} Setahi
 2. Te more hu wa parra
 3. Tapa roto ^{tohu} tau raw
 4. matini ^{tohu} Teka
 5. ponahia Te Wana

56 Agatita
7 Hami Paui Lepene

VK
4577

House of Representatives,

Wellington, 15th July, 1910

Sir,—

By direction of the Chairman of the _____

Native Affairs Committee,

I have the honour to forward to you herewith the petition noted in the margin, and to ask you to attach any papers you may have on the subject, and to return it to the Committee together with any report you may wish to make thereon.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. W. Harris

Clerk of the Committee.

500/10/1909—11068]

The Under Secretary
Native Dep^t.

No. 72/10
Petition of
Mingi & 38 others

P E T I T I O N.

To the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives in Parliament assembled. The petition of the undersigned humbly sheweth:--

THAT we the undersigned being descendants of the original native aboriginal owners of the lands described in the Second Schedule to "The Whangarei Harbours Act, 1907" do hereby most respectfully PROTEST against the said land having been vested in the Whangarei Harbour Board as an endowment under the said Act the said land being the property of members of the Native Aboriginal Tribes of this district and of which lands we are interested as owners and as members of such tribes. We also most respectfully point out:--

1. THAT we hearing that it was proposed that the said lands were to be vested in the said Board on the seventh day of May, 1907 during the sitting of the Native Land Court at Whangarei before Mr Justice Edger made representations to the said Court protesting against the proposed endowments being made and that the said Court was adjourned for one hour in order that we might make representations to the onorable J.A. Millar (he being a Minister of the Crown) who was then visiting Whangarei protesting against the said endowments being made and which representations were made by us.

2. That the land described in the first paragraph of the said Schedule is an old Tauranga Waaka (or landing place for the canoes of our forefathers and of us when visiting the town of Whangarei and that we and our forefathers up to the passing of the said Act used to reside upon the said land and had buildings and landing places upon the said land And that the other lands described in the said Schedule have always been dealt with and considered by us to be Native Land and that from time immemorial we have made use of the said lands for fishing purposes and as oyster and pipi grounds and as landing places and ~~fishing grounds~~ that we claim that we are the owners of the said lands and the owners of the areas between high and low water marks which we and our forefathers have made use of for generations as landing places and fishing grounds and which ownership we have never parted with.

3. That the greater proportion of the lands described in the said Schedule but more particularly in the First Schedule are above high water mark. The lands described in the First Schedule being used as grazing land for European and as landing places for their boats at the present time.

4. That by the Treaty of Waitangi by the custom of the Courts and by the custom of the dealing of the Government of this Dominion these lands belong to us@

5. That we should have applied to the Native Land Court to have the said land vested in ourselves and the other members of the Native tribes of this District as owners if we had not considered these lands as reserves and as land that should not be sold or alienated but as reserves for fishing purposes and as landing places.

6. That after it was made public that it was intended to vest the said lands in the said Board we wrote to the Board protesting against such vesting but that no notice was taken or reply given whatsoever to our representations and that we have twice since then asked the said Board to hold an inquiry as to whether we have not rights of ownership in the said land which would warrant the said Board asking for a repeal of the said Act in respect of the said endowments and that the said Board will give us no satisfaction whatever.

7. That the said Board hold that this land is only foreshore and that they have a perfect right to same and that we cannot possibly have any interest in foreshore. In reply to this we beg most respectfully to point out that by the Treaty of Waitangi we are entitled in some cases to lands below high water mark and further that nearly all the most valuable of the said lands are above high water mark and further that land near the railway line North of the Okara Block and obtained by the said Board from Europeans is of a like description and quality and was sold by us and our forefathers and that nearly all the lands lying in the lowlying portions of Whangarei are of a like description and quality and were sold by our forefathers and ourselves to the Government and the European owners and which lands have all been passed through the Native Land Court.

8. That the block of land known as "Pohe's Island" inclusive of the dry hill-lock thereon and described in the second paragraph of the said Schedule had been admitted by a Minister of the Crown by wire sent to His

Honor Mr Justice Stout when holding the Native Lands Commission at Whangarei to be erroneously included in the said endowments.

9. That His Honor Ms Justice Stout expressed the opinion that our said lands should never have been vested in the said Board without our consent as he stated that he considered from the evidence before him they belonged to the Native tribes of this district.

10. That the Native Land Court when last sitting in Whangarei found that amongst others that your petitioners would according to Native law be adjudged the owners of the land described in the first paragraph of the said Schedule but that the said Court had no power to vest the ownership of the said lands in us as such lands had been vested in the said Board by Act of Parliament.

WE THEREFORE most respectfully beg and request that we may again be permitted to hold as owners these our said lands and our landing and fishing rights therein which we respectfully submit are ours in all justice and equity and according to the Treaty of Waitangi by repealing the said Second Schedule to the said Whangarei Harbour Board Act, 1907", and enabling us to have our claims investigated.

And your petitions etc.

Dated at Whangarei this 27th day of January 1910.

L. Kingi and 38 others.

Hon. Helford

Korotau
May 18th 1919

I believe on the last sitting of the Whangarei Magistrate Court some Maori Boys has no knowledge for any kind being so young and they have been fined for picking Oysters. Therefore it is only advisable to set aside a ground for them in Whangarei Harbour. I think you'll find in Whangarei Harbour Board ^{visiting} ~~visiting~~ local bill 17th Oct. 1917. It seems to me the punishment is very hard and I wish you'll be able to report on this matter in every possible way satisfying my people. sending you a letter I receive from my people.

Yours Faithfully
Tan Henare

Secretary of Marine:

Please get Native Department to translate Panoho's letter, and I should like to have your report on the representations made.

D.W.N.
29.5.19.The Under Secretary,
Native Dept.

I shall be glad if you will let me have

a translation of the attached letter as soon as possible.

According to
Mr. Tan Henare 9-6-19
17/6/19

George Beeson
5.6.19

Portland

Hhangarei County

April 30th 1919.

Kia, Tau Henare

Tena koe, Koutou ko o Tamariki
 i te mate o tau rangatira kua huri atu nei aia kiti poo
 ara inga mate tini tini e kore nei etara Tewhakaaro e te
 ngakau enei mate kikiro, kahore enei mate inga
 tupuna kati kia taea te pehea, kati kia ora koutou
 ko Otameriki panui kati itahi atu ai ahau kia koe irongo
 ahau kua mau etahi tangata kai i te haapa^{vi} Hhangarei
 nei, kamutu keite whakapapa tonu taua tangata i te inga
 mea mahi i te tahi irongo ahau te puka puka tau
 ihomai kite tiamana o te kaurihera o Hhangarei pukapuka
 tohutohu i te mahi inga i te meke kai hoki na reira ka
 patai tonu atu keite pehea te ahua mote kai inga i te
 tuarua mo wai maa tenei whakapuaru tanga kia kaurihera
 te i te keite i te kaha to meton nei mataku ara kei te
 X kai tahae noa iho matou i te i te

Hoi Ano Kia Ora

Kamutu na

Hohepa Panoho

712

0592

M.

SUB NO.

7/13

Trans. N. M. A.

Portland,

Whangarei County,

30th April, 1919.

Mr. Tau Henare: With sad greetings on our losses by epidemic death.

I write to you because I hear that some persons have been arrested for eating (taking) oysters in Whangarei Harbour: and that an Inspector is always on the watch for persons taking oysters.

I also hear that you have given a paper to the chairman of the (Maori) Council of Whangarei, showing how oysters may be (? legally) taken and eaten..

Now I want to know direct from you what the actual position is in regard to the taking and eating of these oysters. Secondly : What persons in particular are allowed to take and eat these oysters ?

We are all so much in fear that some are eating the oysters in the most secret way.

That is all kia ora

Hohepa Panoho.

1611



Wm. Williams
H. Williams

2
141. SUB-NO. 7163

Taumatarau

Onerahi

8th Sep 1923

Hon Mr Anderson

Sir —

meeting held today at
Taumatarau to erect a
Committee for the
Fisheries Amendment Bill
or for the Oyster fishery
in Parua Bay for Maoris

(Title)	Resident	(Name)
Chairman	Taumatarau	A Dickey
Secretary	"	H. Williams
member	Parua Bay	J. Pohe
"	Kamo	J. Pohe
"	Parua Bay	J. Mahanga
"	"	J. Mahanga
"	Takahiwai	M. Pirih

I am, yours Truly

H. Williams

Received
Marine Department
12th September 1923

1617

M.

SERIES
SUB-NO.

W H A N G A R E I.

22 nd Febry 1924.

THE SECRETARY

MARINE DEPARTMENT



WELLINGTON.

Dear Sir/

On behalf of the Maori people residing on the foreshore of the Whangarei Harbour namely Opae, Wahar^{au}, Putahi, te Teetee, Otaika, Mangapae to Takahiwai we humbly ask your Department to set aside all OYSTER rights to us under our supervision.

Your Mr Aysen is quite conversent with our requirements.

Again thanking you

We are Yours Faithfully

Piriniha Whareumu

Chairman Whangarei Maori

Council.

Wahi Lilo

Wiki Pirihiri

Hare Teuwha

Keha Wikamo

Laa Patira

Hone H. Waata

Waata Hoani

Ngara Waata

Tirarau Manihera

I Hito

Hiremu Pahi

Rauahi Whareumu

Papara Waikohua

Ko nga tangata enei mo
te komiti tiki i ana te
Hei kai ma nga maori me o
ratou uri

1. Piriniha Whareumu

2. Papara Waikohua

3. Hohepa Panoho

4. Lautohu Paki

5. Wiki Pirihiri

a e whakaae ratou ana

nga maori e noho ana i

tenei taha tika taew atu

ki nga uri e noho ana i

Whangarei ana nga maori

he nui atu nga maori e haina

e ngari i mangere au ki te haere

ki nga kainu konga mema

tana o te Kaimihara Kua haina

a e ratou i nga ki te kore te

kua ana e whakapono ki ana

ana taha tiki atu e kore a

whakapono hua.

PIRINIHA, WHAREUMU

WHANGAREI.

Chairman

Chairman Whangarei Maori Council

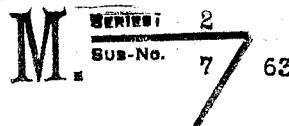
3/7/24

Konga Ingoa tēnei o te Taha
ki uta o Awa tō

O pao. e kīia ana i naianei e te
Pakeha ko Kioreroa
waharau. Putahi te tōtōe te Awa
o tāika motukiwi o ne maama
tāuoma te Awa o mangapae
Litahi te karaka o kahū kapahaa
mangawhati motupomana kotukutuk
kara whero kōatiti motupapa
Takahiwai

Hoo And

PIRINIHA. WHAREMU
WHANGAREI.



G/B.

OYSTER BEDS IN WHANGAREI HARBOUR.

Hon. Minister,

You are aware that a considerable area of the foreshore and mudflats of Whangarei Harbour is vested in the Harbour Board. Some difficulty arose a little while ago over allowing Natives to take some oysters off the rocks on this vested foreshore. We could not deal with it by way of setting up a Committee because it was not Crown foreshore and we did not wish to admit that a Harbour Board could deal with oysters. I went into the matter confidentially at the time with Mr. Fraser, Engineer to the Harbour Board, and who is an Hon. Inspector of Fisheries. He is keenly interested in these matters and wishes to assist us out of the difficulty. As a matter of fact there are very few oysters indeed on these rocks.

Mr. Fraser now submits proposals for cultivating oysters for the Maoris in this locality. He tells me that whenever a log of timber gets on to these tidal flats it very quickly becomes covered with oysters, and he has an idea of setting up a Committee of Maoris who would build bits of timber fences or strutted logs and grow oysters for their own use. The Committee which he proposes, and of which he would be Chairman, contains two Natives of absolute authority amongst their tribe, viz., Piriniha Whareumu and Maki Pirihi, one on one side of the Harbour and the other on the other side. The former is Chairman of the Maori Land Board.

Mr. Fraser's proposals prohibit the Maoris from giving, selling or bartering oysters either amongst Maoris or with Europeans. They further provide that if eventually they find themselves with a surplus quantity the same may in the open season be sold to the Marine Department at a price to be fixed

by

by the Department, the proceeds of the sale to be used by the Committee for conservation and extension of the fishery.

The Natives will be strictly bound by the close season, and provision is made for prosecution if they commit a breach of any of the conditions.

As the document is drawn I think some of its provisions will be ineffective because the penal provisions of the Fisheries Act regarding oysters deal with oysters which are the property of the Crown, and the oysters which exist in this particular area, or which will be cultivated, are not and will not be the property of the Crown being on foreshore and tidal lands vested in the Harbour Board. Furthermore, not being Crown oysters the provisions enabling the setting up of a Committee to administer the Maori reserves are not applicable. I think the document will have to be redrawn by way of agreement between the Harbour Board and the Maoris, with provision enabling cancellation in the event of a breach of conditions.

However, if you agree with the general principle of the proposal I can then go into detail of how the object should be given effect to with Mr. Fraser.

W. J. Sedgwick
Secretary.
6. 8. 25

W11-3

OFFICIAL

Wai 1040, #AA3

W11-3
marked as
Related to the annexed documents
Of Rangitahi Māori Kaitiaki
And
Decisions of Whangarei
Of Rangitahi Māori Kaitiaki
C Deputy Registrar
Deputy Registrar
Whangarei District/High Court



He kōrero tuku iho nō Ngāpuhi nui tonu,

Me Ngāti Rehia rātou ko ngā hapū o Mangakāhia

Tai Tokerau
District
Māori Council

ORAL HISTORY REPORT



RECEIVED

Waitangi Tribunal

30 September 2016

Ministry of Justice
WELLINGTON

Hapū Claims Collective - Oral and Traditional Histories

Piripi Moore, Te Ao Limited, Whangarei

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Mihi

E ngā reo, e ngā mana, e ngā rangatira karangaranga o roto o Ngapuhi he reo mihi tēnei i a koutou e nonoho mai nā i o tātou marae kāinga.

He mihi nui, mihi aroha tēnei ki o tātou rangatira kaumātua kūkuia kua ngaro atu i te tirohanga kanohi, te pāhurutanga o te manotini ki tua o māturu roimata.

He nui, he maha rātou te hunga i whakapau kaha i roto i te ahuaranga o ngā kerēme i raro i Te Tiriti o Waitangi e whakapikauria haeretia nei i roto i a Ngapuhi, i ngā tau kua huri, ā tae noa mai ki tēnei rā. He whakaputanga i te mana i o tātou tūpuna mātua, he mea hei tiaki, hei manaaki i te iwi, tatū hoki ki a tātou tamariki mokopuna, ngā uri whakaheke a ngā rā ki mua i te aroaro.

Nā reira e ngā mātua e ngā whaea, haere mai, haere, haere hoki atu koutou ki te kāinga tūturu kua oti te whakarite mō tātou mō te tangata, haere, haere whakaoti atu.

Ka hoki ake rā ki a tātou ki ngā maramara mahueranga mai o rātou mā e tumanako nei ki ngā hua ka puta i roto i ngā pitopito kōrero kua oti nei te kohikohi haere i ngā pātaka kōrero, i kō, i kō i kō.

Mai te Waokū ki ngā rerenga huhua o te awaawa o Mangakāhia, ngoto whakauru atu ki te whatumanawa o Kaipara Moana. Timata pū i reira ka puta ki tuawhenua, pohutu rawa ki te takutai i runga i ngā takahanga, i takahia ai e ngā mātua e ngā tūpuna onamata.

Kāti rā, kua nui anō rā ēnei kōrero e rau rangatira mā, ko te tumanako ia mā Te Atua anō rā tātou e tiaki, e arataki e manaaki i ngā wā katoa.

Kia ora huihui mai tātou.

Rārangi ingoa o te hunga kua okioki:

Rima Edwards, Tupari Tito, Akuhata Nahi, Hone Mitai Heihei, Tuauahiroa Kemp, Wiritua Heihei, Henare Ngawati, Rewi Wiki, Remarie Kapa, Te Hurihanga Heihei,

Makoare Parangi, Koko Heihei, Karena Karena, Piwiki Taurua, Weri Te Pou Tito and Matiu Rata.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research report would not have been possible without the support of many individuals and hapū members who contributed their skills, knowledge, resources and time to the project. A particular acknowledgement goes out to all of those who openly shared the oral histories of their people. Ngā whakaaronui me ngā mihi whānui ki a koutou katoa.

A special thank you is offered to those who worked as part of the wider research team. These include;

Mangakāhia

Richard Nathan, Gail Rika, Bob Ashby, Te Ihi Tito, Mere Mangu, Violet Nathan, Yvonne Janout.

Ngāti Rehia

Nora Rameka, Te Huranga Hohaia, Waitai Tua, Tajim Mohammad, Wiremu Heihei, Hemirua Rapata, Ruth Wiki.

Te Ao Limited: Research Facilitation and Oral History Team

Thalea Pompey, Warren Moetara and Lawrence Wharerau

Crown Forestry Rental Trust

Mihi Harris, Tania Smith, Derek Toia

Walghan Partners - Mana Whenua Report

Tony Walzl

Introduction

This report primarily presents a compilation of submissions and interviews with key informants involved in the Oral Histories Project to support the claimant groups within the Te Tai Tokerau District Māori Council Hapū Claims Collective (TTDMC).

The first section of the report focuses on the world view of the hapū, iwi and rangatira prior to contact with the Pākehā. These pre-contact perceptions provide a reference point for the reader to consider in regards to what mindset rangatira and hapū are likely to have brought to their involvement and participation in He Whakaputanga (1835), and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840).

The following two section focus on the histories of the hapū of Mangakāhia and those hapū directly linked to Ngāti Rēhia.

The interviews for the research were conducted primary by Piripi Moore, Project Manager and Lawrence Wharerau. The majority of the interviews were conducted with individuals, however a number of wānanga amd workshop type focus group sessions were also held during the research.

Some of the interviews were conducted completely in te reo Māori, however the majority of the interviews included both te reo Māori and English.

The primary focus of the overall project was to capture extant oral recordings and oral traditions, not recorded before, retained and preserved within the various hapū represented by the claimant groups. These have provided a new and unique insight into the hapū perspectives on the histories and issues explored by the research. However these insights are limited to those who have been chosen and agreed to participate and therefore in no way represent the full extent of views and opinions within the hapū involved. It worthy to note however that those who have participated in the research hold positions of significant mana within their hapū, and therefore their input to the research should be given due consideration.

In addition hapū traditions and histories within existing whānau manuscripts and collections, affidivats and submissions from relevant hapū members along with

information from the draft Mana Whenua Report prepared for these hapū by Tony Walzl, have complimented this oral material.

1 Te Ao Namata

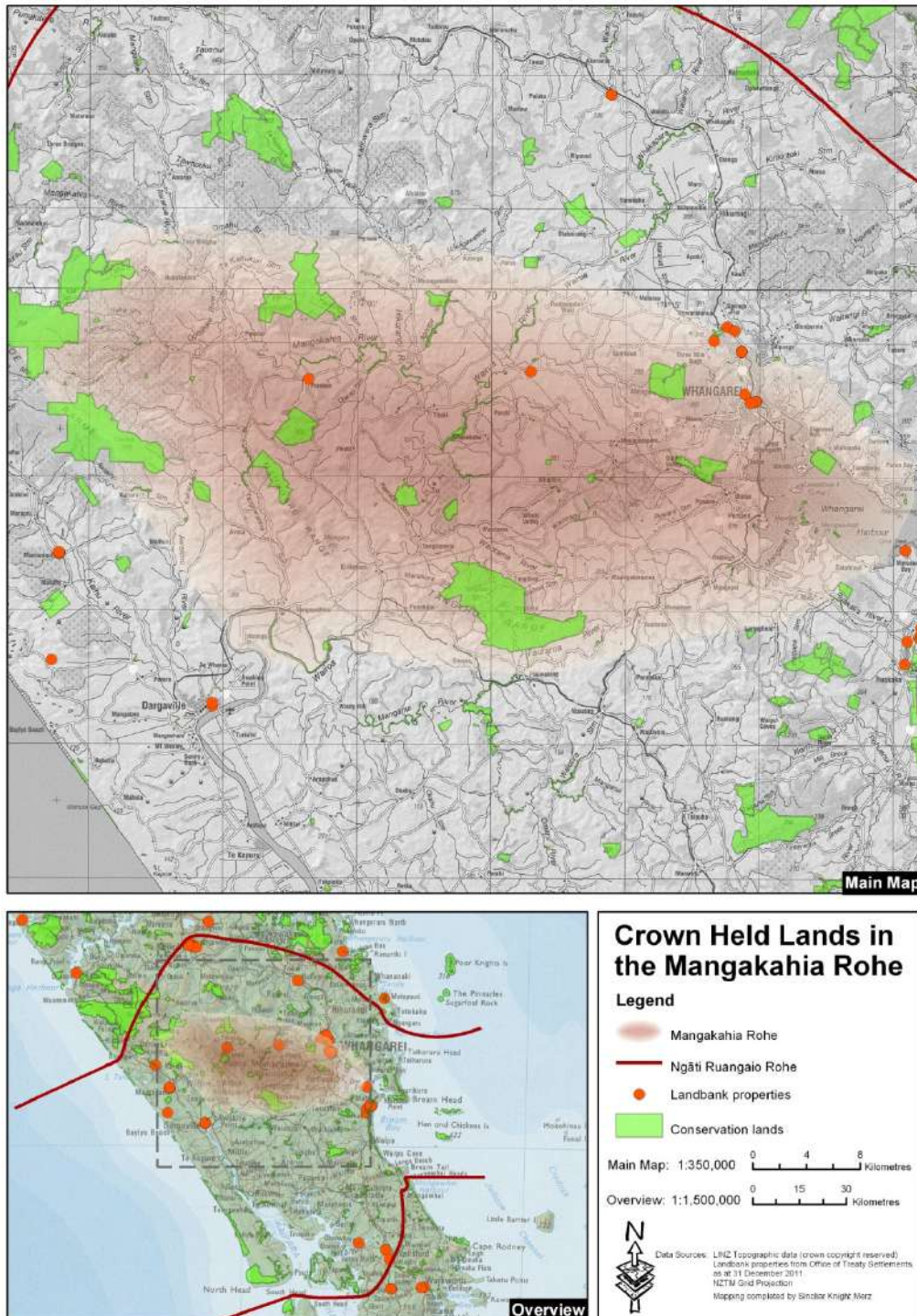
The first section of this chapter regarding pre-contact is used to present a picture of te ao Māori prior to the arrival of Pākehā. It is only a glimpse but there are some key concepts discussed by the informants that provide an idea of the customs, practices, and philosophies which formed the foundations upon which tūpuna approached He Whakaputanga (1835) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840).

In respect of He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti, the focus was to capture that oral traditions which showed amongst other things the involvement, approach, or attitude of tūpuna to those events. Much of that has been reflected in a number of ways:

- Accounts of the tūpuna who were involved in the signing of the documents,
- Their lives before, during, and after the signings,
- Descriptions of the nature of the relationships between those tūpuna and Pākehā settlers, traders and missionaries
- Explanations or discussions about the lives and customs of Māori during those times.

5 Mangakāhia

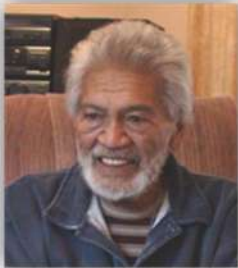
(Wai 1402, 1407, 1930, 861)



Geographically the inland valley of the Mangakāhia is surrounded by spectacular mountain ranges, extending along with the Mangakāhia River out onto the Whangarei plains towards the East Coast, then turning with its river to join with the Wairua River and out to the Kaipara Harbour on the West Coast. The physically features of the

Mangakāhia have provided a natural pathway upon which various tribal and whānau groupings have moved and settled in the area over time.

Interviews of the following people are referred to in this chapter:

Kaikorero	
 Tupari Tito Te Parawhau	 Te Ihi Tito Te Parawhau
 Taipari Munro Te Uriroroi / Te Parawhau	 Violet Kelly Ngāti Horahia
 Haahi Brown Ngāti Moe	 Bob Ashby Ngāti Toki



Richard Nathan
Maungaunga / Te Parawhau



Hirini Heta
Ngāti Te Rino



Hori Tuhiwai
Te Parawhau



Fred Tito
Te Parawhau



Boss Tipene
Ngāti Hine



Wallace Wihongi
Awarua



Marina Fletcher
Te Parawhau

Ngā hapū me ngā iwi o Te Mangakāhia

The Mangakāhia Valley is situated in the middle of significant tribal groupings, notably Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Hine to the North, Te Parawhau to the East, Ngāti Whatua to the south and Te Roroa and Te Uri o Hau to the West. Along with others many of these tribal groupings have well established links into the Mangakāhia.

The hapū and iwi affiliations for the Mangakāhia are therefore extensive and varied with a number of whakapapa and hapū connections across the local and wider Te Taitokerau region.

In a compilation of Kamareira Wharepapa's documents in the Rika Heke Whānau Manuscripts a number of the hapū and iwi connections into the Mangakāhia are outlined by members of the Mangakāhia Marae Committee in the early 1900's. The following list of hapū from Mangakāhia are outlined in those manuscripts by various kaumātua and Rangatira from that time including Kamareira Wharepapa.⁸²

Ngāti Pongia

Kitohi Moraki's claim to the Mangakāhia. He claims through his ancestor Pongia. Ngāti Pongia is his hapū.

Kamareira Wharepapa supports Kitohi and also claims from Pongia. He says that it was in the time of Kukupa that these hoariri of his lived at Mareikura and at Mataiwaka far north of this. He says that Ngāti Pongia own the wāhi tapu at Te Paritu. Moeorunga was the Pā of Pongia there.

Ngāti Rangi

Wharepapa says that Te Huarahi laid down this boundary between him and the tribe of Tauru who was a Ngāti Rangi (or of Ngāti Rangi tau mai i waho) from Tangaroa and Rāhiri and from Tahinganui. He says there are two Ngāti Rangi's, they are all from Tangaroa and Whakamanamana. Uri o Hau are from Rāhiri.

⁸² DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.2

Tauru lived at Whatatiri and Tangihua, they never lived at Mangakāhia nor did Tauru, at least not on the piece that he claims.



Wharepapa clearly considered Kukupa a Ngāti Whatua as he says, “Kukupa would have taken Mangakāhia but for the war that stopped him. The tribes of Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Rangi were not able to resist them (Ngāpuhi).” And in the case of Maunganui “we won the case against the Ngāti Whatua.”

Ngāti Moeroa

Netana Ripa’s claim to Mangakāhia. He claims through his ancestor Tauru of Ngāti Moeroa a hapū of Ngāti Whatua.

Te Uri Roroi

Hori Rewi’s claim to Mangakāhia. He claims Tauru gave this land to Te Wha, Ngo and Kirimango, ancestors of Uri Roroi.

Kaora Areka says that Te Uri Roroi is the hapū of Matu Arama and Ngāti Rua. Matu Arama was a man of mana on Mangakāhia.

Wharepapa had heard of Koukou the descendant of Te Wha intended to make war on Te Huarahi but he was killed by Ngāpuhi in another dispute over Kiri mahure. Wharepapa say that Uriroroi were the hapū who lived here and it was after the war that Pou and Meretiana came to Mangakāhia.

Te Parawhau

In the lifetime of Te Tirarau there were many Parawhau motuhake living on Mangakāhia. ‘Te Raupo teretere’ was a name given to Kukupa because of his

moving canoes from his kainga Mareikura to Waipoua that is moving about from one kainga to another of his own. It was not from here that he went but from Whangarei. It was this moving about that gave Kukupa all his land he own through his descendants.

Uri o Hau

Wharepapa says that Tomoaure was from the Ngāti Whatua, Ngāti Rau, Uri o Hau and Ngāti Rongo tribes. He says Tomoaure lived at Whatitiri, Tangihua and Kaipara and had heard that he was slain at Kiripaka. He had never heard that Tomoaure was a nephew of Tauru. He didn't know why Te Ponaharakeke wrapped Tomoaure's body in his blanket (huru).

Ngāi Tuhukea

Ngakau a Hui was a Ngāi Tuhukea. He was sent to Mahuika the ancestor of Pouaka when he lived at Papataura.

Ngāi Tāhūhū

Netana Ripa says that Wiki te Pirihi is also a Ngāi Tāhūhū and has a claim to land. Wharepapa says that Ngāi Tāhūhū lived at Tangihia, they never lived at Mangakāhia nor did Tauru. Tauru lived at Whatitiri and Tangihia.

Maungaunga

Haora Areka says that the Maungaunga were at Tapawera. At Oue kainga, he lived with Heni Hiakai (wife of Matu Arama) who was his father's sister. Netana Ripa, Moihi and Panapa were living at Tapawera – they were known as Maungaunga.

Ngāi Tāhūhū

Kaumātua Wallace Wihongi from Awarua explains about Ngāi Tāhūhū's history in the Mangakāhia, Tamaki and throughout Northland.

Some people are saying that the waka that brought Ngāi Tāhūhū, called in at other places before arriving at in Whangarei...or they were poisoned or something. That may well have been.

But the story, by the time it got to us, the waka...all we know the waka landed in you know...Bream Bay; and Tāhūhū had offered an altar...had offered sacrifice to God...thanking the gods for their safe passaged to this land, eh.

And so Ngāi Tāhūhū came from there and we heard the story of...I heard the story about him wanting to explore the rest of this land that he now found himself in. And getting to South Auckland where he lived....where Otāhuhu is now. Otāhuhu means belonging to Tāhūhū, eh.

Where he died...me mākutu e nga...e Tainui i reira...in Māngere way somewhere [sic]. And the family returned and they settled around the Mangakāhia area, eh.

But prior to that, of course they'd already spread. Whether that was the start, whether he left...it seems to me that they'd already spread through Northland and like Rāhiri, this Tāhūhū wanted to discover more about this land and that.

So, with part of the family, he got down to Tāmaki, you know, to Auckland and set up, you know, a little settlement there. And when he died they all came back – none were left there.

And then Ahuaiti suddenly comes on the scene...well after that eh.

Other than that... was the fact that in Te Ōrewai, there's this story that they were a very populous people. They covered the mountains, like they had settlements all along those hills.

Motatau, you know the...Motatau...there were Turehu there...no not Turehu – Ngāi Tāhūhū there, eh. All the way to Pouerua...and that Pouerua had a huge population.”⁸³

⁸³ DB06 - TTDMC: Wallace Wihongi of Awarua, Mangakahia, pp6-7

Richard Nathan identifies his connections to Whatitiri through his great-grandfather Netana Ripa who identifies as belonging to the hapū Maungaunga of Ngāi Tāhūhū.⁸⁴

The haukainga at Whatitiri is Kawanui... so there's a decision on how the Judges at that time determined who actually had the occupational mana whenua in 1895. The mana whenua was established by that file and by that court record... I wanted to find intimately who this Netana Ripa, who is my tūpuna, and in it we found that he had a place, he had a whare named Te Akakahia, the awa obviously a small creek within his haukainga is called Waitukuhuruhuru, the wahitapu is Huiterangiora and the puna is Karukaru, and his hapū of that time was Maungaunga, and Maungaunga is the remnant of the Ngāi Tāhūhū...

Heta identifies a number of older hapū and iwi for the Mangakāhia, including Ngāi Tāhūhū, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Rua and Ngāti Poniga.⁸⁵

Ngāi Tāhūhū was the hapū of our whaea tūpuna Ahuaiti. She is a direct descendant of Tāhūhūnuiorangi. When Rāhiri joined with Ahuaiti that is when Ngāpuhi influence started to be felt in the Mangakāhia. If you're looking at who we are as Ngāpuhi then you have to look at the teke (female influence) as well as the ure (male influence). So our whaea tūpuna, as Ngāi Tāhūhū hold as much mana. When Ngāpuhi went up to their pakanga, they stayed on the Ngāi Tāhūhū pā at Te Maata.

Ngāti Pongia are an older hapū as well, based on the pā sites on Maunga Kōhatu. Similarly Pongia was a tūpuna. I know of three Pongia on that line of whakapapa.

Another ancient hapū is Ngāti Rua. They derived from the tūpuna Ruangaio. All of Mangakāhia can claim ancestry of this tūpuna. Even the surrounding districts like Whangarei, Pipiwai, Ngararatunua, Tangiteroria can claim decent of this tūpuna.

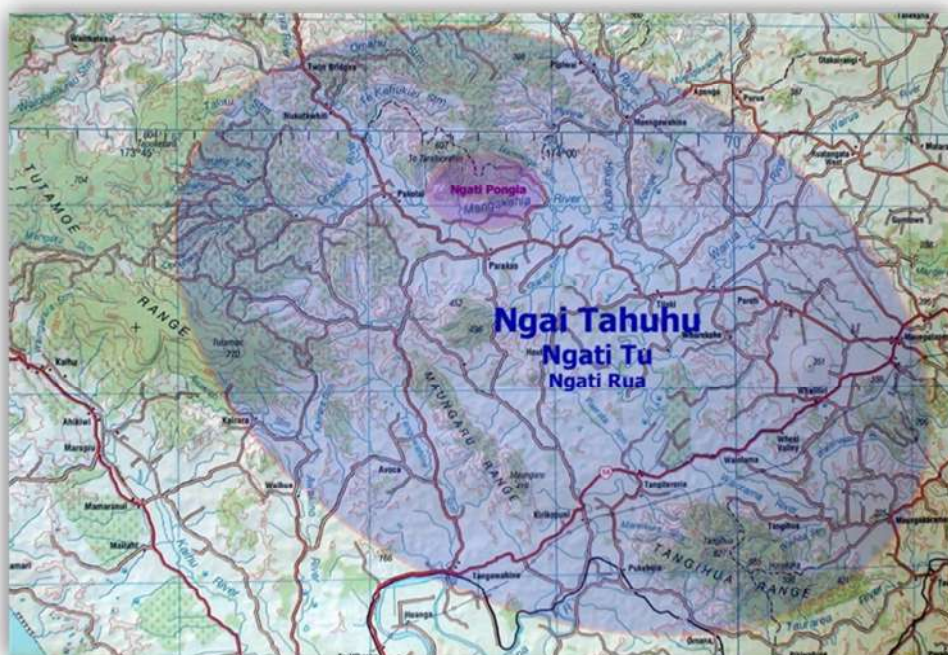
Ngāti Tū are derived from the tūpuna Tū Hukea who originated from around Maunga Kōhatu.

⁸⁴ DB10 - TTDMC: Richard Nathan of Whatitiri, Mangakahia, p.5

⁸⁵ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p18.

Other hapū also have a strong connection to Maunga Kōhatu. I've heard kaumātua from Whangaruru, Ngāti Wai, talk about their tohunga being sent, as they did in those days, and collect bone after particular battles. They were instructed to take these bones up into the Mangakāhia into ana (burial caves) which I believe were on Maunga Kotahu. When Pākehā started raiding our burial caves, our kaumātua started clearing out these caves and burying them in our urupa. I remember one kaumātua Pehikura a tohunga did work like this clearing out the caves on our maunga.

Today there are many other hapū also acknowledged as making up the greater body of Mangakāhia. Many of these hapū have all married into our whānau over the generations since Pākehā arrived on our shores.



Pakotai based kaumātua Haahi Brown remembers his kaumātua acknowledging their hapū connections to Ngāti Moe through their tūpuna Mate⁸⁶.

I a au e nohinohi ana kia mea mai tētahi o aku tūpuna ki au, 'kia haere koe ki waho a taihoa ake nei, waiho a Ngāti Hine, mā wētahi atu e kōrero. Engari ahau, me hoki au ki a Ngāti Moe.' I reira tae mai kōrero pera ana kaumātua- kihai au i

⁸⁶ DB03 - TTDMC: Haahi Brown of Mangakahia, p1.

mōhio, it's the same hapū tēnei kōrero nei e ki ana. ka mea mai nei ki au, koia tana, 'Heke mai koe ia Mate. Ko wēnei ko mātou i wērā taima.

When I was young one of my elders told me, 'If you leave the area be careful, let Ngāti Hine and others speak for themselves. However for me I return to Ngāti Moe.' At those times that is how my kaumātua spoke, however I didn't realise it's the same hapū that's being spoken about. This is how he said it to me, 'You descend from Mate. That is who we were in those times. [Translation by Piripi Moore]

Evidence in the Rika Heke Whānau Manuscripts from Kamariera Wharepapa, of Ngāti Horahia from Pakotai in 1911 regarding 3485 acres of land in the Mimitu Block provides further details of the various hapū connections in the Mangakāhia⁸⁷.

Mate Komene's mother belonged to my people. Plenty of others besides Rori and Pahara took possession of land, Ngāti Rua and Ngāti Rangi, my list (shareholders list) will show that."

"I have heard of Ngāti Pongia, they themselves say their rights are at Ruarei. Ruarei and Mimitu was one piece of land before the survey."

"I know Ngāti Moe hapū, Te Keha belonged to that hapū. Paora Kiwi came back to the land either shortly before or shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Tangiteroria kaumātua Te Ihi Tito provides an overview of the hapū of Te Parawhau and Te Uriroroi. Tito describes how Te Parawhau's authority was established in the Whangarei and Kaipara regions during the time of Kukupa and his son's Te Ihi and Tirarau (3).⁸⁸

The central Northland area was dominated by two main iwi, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua. They were often at war with each other, and at different times gaining ascendancy over each other.

⁸⁷ DB42- TDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p4.

⁸⁸ DB02 - TDMC: Te Ihi Tito of Te Parawhau, pp. 4-5

Ngāti Whātua defeated Ngāpuhi at Moremonui in 1807 in the battle Te Kai a Te Kārōrō. The name describes the aftermath, as the feast of the seagulls.

Hongi Hika and Ngāpuhi avenged that defeat in 1825 scattering Ngāti Whātua at the battle of Te Ika Ranganui at Kaiwaka, driving them out of the Kaipara and Tamaki area and into Waikato and up into the Tangihua ranges. Ngāpuhi had more muskets than Ngāti Whātua at this battle.

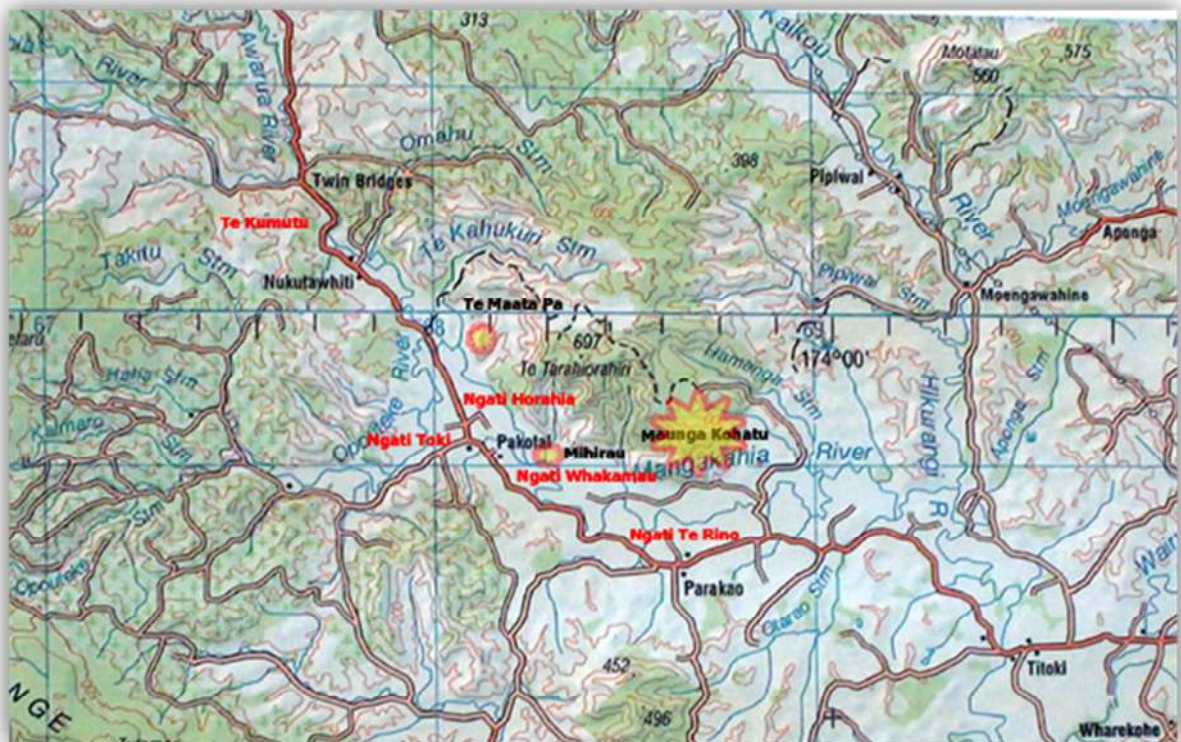
After the battle of Te Ika Ranganui, Te Parawhau's dominance over the land south of Whangarei and into the Kaipara was unchallenged. Kukupa's sons Te Ihi and Te Tirarau fought beside Ngāpuhi at the battle of Te Ika Ranganui.

Te Parawhau held mana over land Whangarei heads across Titoki, Maungatepere, Tangiteroria, and deep into the Kaipara.

Kukupa's son-in-law Parore Te Awha was another Rangatira of Te Parawhau and Te Kuihi from the Kaipara.

In 1844 Paora Tuhaere the peace maker along with other Ngāti Whātua chiefs came to Whangarei to make peace with Te Parawhau, after his uncle Apihai Te Kawau attacked and slaughtered Te Parawhau in 1824 in Whangarei. Kia houhia ai te rongo.

Heta identifies several of these hapū today in the Mangakāhia Valley from the Twin Bridges to Parakao, and their association with the contemporary marae there today⁸⁹.



There used to be a whare at Te Oruru that was used as a Marae... This was looked after by one committee of our home people. We had no problems working together. That committee also looked after the marae at Te Kioire and Te Kawau...

Te Kumutu are based around Parahaki at Nukutawhiti.

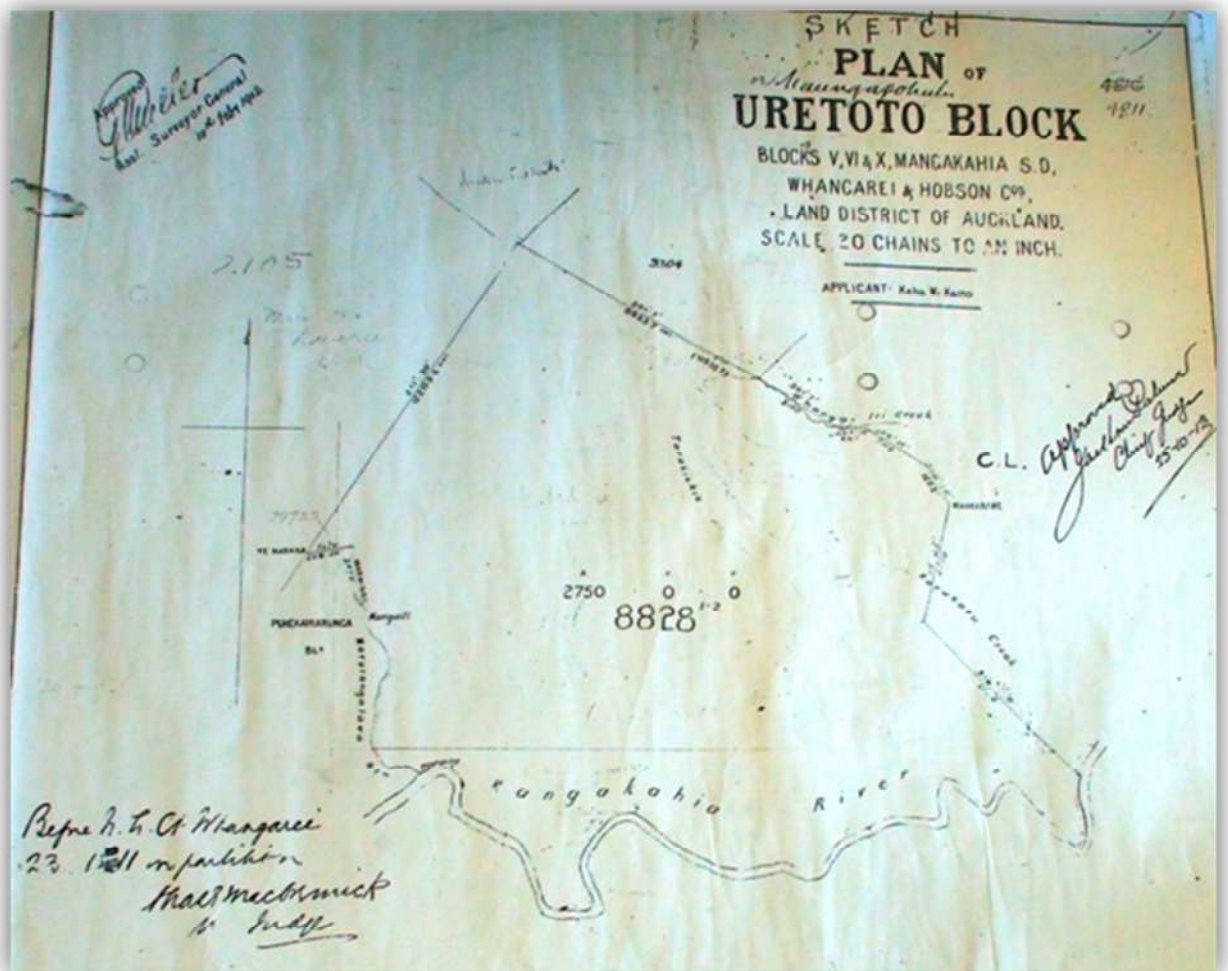
Ngāti Toki is centred around the marae at Te Tarai o Rāhiri on Mimitu. Ngāti Toki also extends out to Whangaruru, through their whānaunga Moetanga. Toki is a tūpuna which I whakapapa to.

Ngāti Horahia is based at Te Oruru, Pakotai. Horahia is also a tūpuna of that hapū.

Ngāti whakamaunga / whakamaui is a hapū based at Te Kioire. I don't have much information about them, but the Te Rangi whānau know their kōrero.

⁸⁹ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakāhia, pp.12-13

Ngāti Te Rino, were based at Te Kawau on other side of the river, but are now at Parakao, Te Aroha Marae. Te Rino is related to a land block called Uretoto. There was a tūpuna called Te Rino who was adopted by the people of Te Kawau village. Unbeknown to them, he was a puremu, sleeping with a number of their women, and he was caught. So, they cut off his ure and that is how the whenua was named uretoto, or blood from the penis. I believe that is how Ngāti Te Rino came about, as the children of those women who slept with Te Rino.



Uretoto, Maunga Kōhatu, Mangakāhia

Hirini Heta presents the flag that was developed for their hapū Ngāti Te Rino, showing their location at the foot of Maunga Kōhatu and identifying their role as a gathering place for the descendants of Tāhūhūnuiorangi.



Te Ihi Tito explains the how the hapū of Te Parawhau was originally established, following an incident involving the Ngāti Ruangaio chiefs Ponaharakeke and Tirarau.⁹⁰

Pukawakawa was the pā of Ponaharakeke of Ngāti Ruangaio where Whangarei hospital now stands. Kōnui a relation of Te Ponaharakeke came to warn him about a party of Ngāti Wai warriors. Kōnui had eight pūtiki heru in her hair which represented eight hundred Ngāti Wai toa.

Kōnui told Ponaharekeke not to attack them because she was with them and they would will soon leave together, however he refused to listen. Te Ponaharakeke and his brother Waikeri of Ngāti Ruangaio attacked the party of Ngāti Wai at the mouth of the Waiarohia river.

Ponaharakeke and Waikeri along with other warriors were killed at Hihīaua Te Pou Herenga Waka just above where the Waiarohia River flows in to the Hōteo river near Ahipūpū Rangi. This is where the Whangarei Town Basin is today.”



Hihīaua, Te Pou Herenga Waka, Hoteo Awa, Whangarei

To avenge these deaths Tirarau tuatahi the son of Tawhiro, not to be confused with Te Tirarau Kukupa, led a Ngāti Ruangaio war party against the Ngāti Wai at Punaruku north of Whangarei.

Tirarau tuatahi challenged Rangitukiwaho the Ngāti Wai chief, to a duel. They were both famous fighting chiefs and both tribes stopped fighting to watch the famous chiefs do battle. They fought all day and fell in to a

⁹⁰ DB02 - TTDMC: Te Ihi Tito of Te Parawhau, p.4

pool. After a long period of time the chief Rangitukiwaho rose up out of the pool. Tirarau tuatahi drowned.

The Ngāti Wai chief Rangitukiwaho said to Tirarau tuatahi's people, "Take your Rangatira home. This was an hoTawhible fight."

The body was retrieved from the pool by his people and wrapped in leaves of the whau tree. Tirarau tuatahi was carried back to the burial place of his people at Whatitiri.



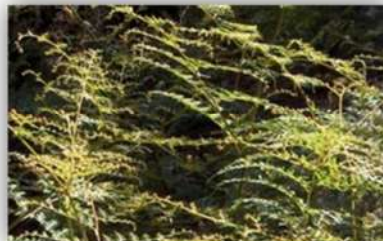
Whatitiri, Whangarei

When the whau leaves were being removed from the body his skin or para came away also, leaving the imprint of the leaves behind on his body. "Kua para katoa te tūpāpāku e te whau." After that Ngāti Ruangaio were called Te Parawhau.

Te whau me te rahurahu, he rākau mana mō ngā hapū Te Parawhau, Te Uri Roroi." *The Whau and Rahurahu are trees of mana for the hapū of Te Parawhau and Te Uri Roroi.*



Te Whau



Te Rahurahu

Poroti kaumātua Taipari Munro identifies the hapū of Te Parawhau and Te Uriroi as descending from Ngāpuhi through the tūpuna Ruangio and to Ngāi Tāhūhū through the tūpuna Tāhūhūnuiarangi. Munro explains the origins of these hapū and provides further details about the origins of Te Uri Roroi and Te Parawhau.⁹¹

Ngā hapū nei ko Te Uri Roroi rāua ko Te Parawhau, he uri rātou no Ruangaio, tētahi taha, to rātou taha kia Ngāpuhi. Ko tētahi atu taha ko Ngāi Tāhūhū, e mea atu ana ahau ko te nuinga o ngā hapū e noho ana ki tēnei takiwā o Whangarei nei he uri no Tāhūhūnuiorangi, koia tērā ko te tūpuna o te hapū nei o Ngāi Tāhūhū.

Ko ngā iwi o Porotī, tētahi taha ko Te Uri Roroi, ko te taha kia Ngāpuhi tērā, ko tētahi taha ko Ngāi Tāhūhū, na ko te taha tērā ki te tūpuna Rā ki a Tāhūhūnuiorangi.

Te Uri Roroi, tērā ingoa i timatahia mai i te wā o te taetanga mai o Ngāpuhi ki kōnei ki roto o Whangarei nei. I tērā wā i reira rātou e ‘hakatikangia ana ki te ‘hakatū i tētahi hui hahu koiwi, hahutia ana i ngā koiwi o te tūpuna nei o – wareware hoki au tana ingoa engari koia tērā ta rātou mahi i tērā wa, he hahu koiwi. I mua atu o te hahu o ngā koiwi i puta atu te tono ki ngā whānaunga kātoa ki te whakareri kai, whakatika kai mō tērā hui nui. A, ka tae atu ki te ra, kia taetae atu ngā iwi kātoa ki te marae me wā rātou kai, i hAuwhaketia e rātou, nā ka tae atu ngā iwi ki te marae, ka tae atu rātou me wā rātou kete kūmara. Engari ko te iwi o taku tūpuna a Te Whā, horekau wā rātou kūmara, hoino ngā kai kei roto i wā rātou kete, he roi. E mōhio ana koutou ko te roi he hua tērā o te rahurahu. Ka tae atu a Te Whā me tana iwi ki runga i te marae me wā rātou kete roi, ka tirohia e te iwi i a rātou i taetae mai ki runga i te marae, katahi ka kii atu tētahi kuia, ko Tataia tōna ingoa, ka kii atu ‘Katahi ka kite atu ngā uri o te roi’ i te mea koia hoki wā rātou kai i roto i wā rātou kete. E mōhio ana koutou ko te kai papai rawa ko te kūmara, engari mehemea horekau wāu kūmara, oh well, muri mai, ana, ko te roi te kai. Ko te take mō te kōrero a Tataia, ‘a kite atu tēnei iwi he uri no te roi’, i te mea e mōhio ana a Tataia te whenua i noho nei a Te Whā me tana iwi, kua kohatuhatu

⁹¹ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, pp.2-3

kātoa, kohatuhatu kātoa tērā whenua, horekau i te whenua pai ki te whakatupu, whakatō kūmara. Hoino ngā kai e tupu ana ki te whenua, he roi. Na reira ko te hohonutanga o te kōrero a Tataia e pēnei ana, kotahi anō te mea e taea te tupu ki runga i to rātou whenua, ki runga i te whenua o Te Whā mā, ko te roi. Na reira, ko te kōrero a Tataia, ko ngā mea kātoa e noho ana i runga i tērā whenua, ahakoa he tangata, he roi. Koia te tikanga o tēnā ingoa Te Uri Roroi.

Koia tēnā ko te ingoa hapū kaumātua o ngā ingoa hapū e rua nei.

Te hapū tuarua, Te Parawhau, muri iho mai o te ingoa nei o Te Uri Roroi, muri iho mai o te timatatanga o tēnā ingoa hapū, ka pakaru mai tētahi whawhai ki kōnei ki roto o Whangarei nei. He whawhai i waenganui i ngā hapū o Ngāti Wai rūa ko Ngāpuhi. Timata mai te whawhai i konei, i roto i tērā whawhai ka hinga wētahi o ngā Rangatira o Ngāpuhi, me kii, ko ngā tūpuna o tēnei iwi o Te Uri Roroi ka hinga.

Katahi ka hoki atu a Ngāti Wai ki te takutai moana, pera atu ana ki Whangaruru. Ka aru atu ko ngā toa o Te Uri Roroi, o Ngāpuhi nei. Ka tae atu rātou ki te wāhi e mōhiotia ana i tēnei wā ko Punaruku, ka tae atu rātou ki tērā wāhi katahi ka pakanga rātou i reira. Na i roto i taua pakanga ko ngā Rangatira nei, he toa rūa, ana ko Te Tirarau tētahi, rūa ko Te Rangitūkiwaho. Ko Te Tirarau ko te toa tērā o tēnei iwi o Ngāpuhi, ko Te Rangitūkiwaho ko te toa tērā o Ngāti Wai. Katahi ka timata te tokorua nei ki te whawhai, ka whawhai, ka whawhai, ka huri atu wā rātou toa ki te mātakitaki i a rūa e whawhai ana. Mutu ake, hoino ngā mea e whawhai ana ko te tokorua nei ko Te Tirarau rūa ko te Rangitūkiwaho. Ka whawhai rūa ki te taha o tētahi awa, katahi ka taka atu rūa ki roto i te awa, engari i a rūa i roto i te awa, na Te Rangitūkiwaho a Te Tirarau i patu, nana Te Tirarau i patu, a patua kia mate.

Muri atu o tērā i whakaaetia ngā Rangatira o ngā hapū nei o Ngāpuhi rūa ko Ngāti Wai, i whakaae rātou kia whakamutu ake i to rātou whawhai i reira. Katahi ka puta atu wētahi ki te tiki i ngā rau me te hiako o te whau kia tākangia te tūpāpaku o Te Tirarau, ā, katahi ka whakahokiatu ki roto o Whatitiri, ki te kāinga o tēnei iwi o Ngāpuhi. Ka tae atu rātou ki Whatitiri, ka puta atu ngā wāhine i te mea kua rongo rātou kua mate a Te Tirarau. Ka tae atu ngā toa ki te kāinga, ka

puta atu ngā wāhine nei, ka tangihia rātou ki to rātou Rangatira, ka timata rātou ki te tangotangohia mai i ngā rau o te whau, me te hiako o te whau e taka ana ki te tinana, ki te tūpāpaku o Te Tirarau. Ka tangohia mai, katahi ka kite atu te tūpāpaku kua para kātoa te tūpāpaku, i te mea kua pirau haere ne. E hia ngā rā mai i Punaruku ki Whatitiri, e hia ngā rā ka tae atu rātou ki Whatitiri ka kite rātou kua para katoa te tūpāpaku. Rapa ana te para ki te tūpāpaku, rapa ana hoki ki ngā rau o te whau, na i reira ka puta mai tērā ingoa hapū Te Parawhau, i te mea ko ngā para e rapa ana ki ngā rau o te whau.

Muri mai te timatatanga o tēnā ingoa hapū ko te whānau, ko rātou ngā uri whakaheke mai i tērā tūpuna i a Te Tirarau ko ngā Mānihera, ko rātou. Koia hoki tērā ngā kōrero mō ngā ingoa hapū mō Te Uri Roroi rāua ko Te Parawhau. Engari hoino kia mōhio mai kei tētahi taha o rātou he Ngāpuhi, engari ko tētahi taha he Ngāi Tāhūhū.

The strong Ngai Tahu origins for the hapū of the region are also highlights by Marina Fletcher,⁹²

Ngai Tahu interests, although they're so called conquered by Ngapuhi, Ngai Tahu interests still remain, because no one put a conquered claim, or claim by conquest. None of our ancestors did that. They claimed as Ngai Tahu...

The interesting thing about Toetoe... Cause Ngapuhi would come to Whangarei and live quite comfortably with Ngai Tahu cause there was never any challenges really. Te Kahore came to live here. Anyway our version of the whole story is that he fell in love with Pae. One of two sisters from Ngai Tahu, chiefs.

But she wasn't terribly interested at all. So he sent a runner home to get a tohunga to put a spell over Pae so that she would accept him. It wasn't like picking up the phone today. It probably took two years. By the time a whole ope came down, the message got slightly mixed up by the time it got up there. So the message turned

⁹² DB12 - TTDMC: Marina Fletcher, pp.2-3

into, ‘came and beat up all of Ngai Tahu because they won’t let me have a wife’. So a whole ope showed up in Whangarei.

But by that time Pae and Te Kahore were actually married and living at Toetoe. Kahore was horrified to find the whole ope had turned up but he had no option but to join them because they were his relations. What he did was he rounded up as many of the Ngai Tahu people as he could, he and Pae were living at Toetoe at the time. And he kept them under his protection at Toetoe. Toetoe was never a conquered land.

Boss Tipene of Ngāti Hine was brought up in Pipiwai, one valley over from Mangakāhia on the other side of Te Tārai o Rāhiri. Boss has connections to Ngāti Toki of Mangakāhia through his mother’s tūpuna. He is also married to Mate Maihi who was brought up in the Mangakāhia valley. Tipene explains his understanding of the hapū in the Mangakāhia valley and how they are connected to others in the region, particularly Ngāti Hine,⁹³

Ngā Whakapapa o ngā hapū o Mangakāhia i rapu au ia Ngāti Toki ka kite e ono ngā wehenga ki muri ka ngaro ngā ingoa horekau ngā ingoa i roto o Mangakāhia e rima, ono pea ngā wehenga.

Ka rapu ka rapu e kore taea te hono. Ka hoki au ki runga pouaka whakaata ka hama atu te ingoa o Ngāti Toki noho mai ana i runga o Poornight Island. Kei reira tētahi wahanga o te hapū nei o roto o Ngāti Wai. I ngā kōrero, tahi mano waru rau mā waru pea, ērā tau, ka mahua te mautere na ia Ngāti Toki e te patunga o te iwi na e te Hikutu ka mahua te iwi na. I ngā kōrero o ērā wā ka hoki ake te Hikutu i roto o rātou pakanga i te kotiti i hea ki Hauraki Ngāti Parau, na ka tae kona ka mate te mate wai, mate kai ka inoi kia peka atu rātou ki reira. Kore tukuna atu a Ngāti Wai me Ngāti Toki. Ka hoki te iwi na. E hia ngā tau huringa mai ka mōhio ko haere te iwi nei a Ngāti Toki i te pakanga ano na ka rongō a te Hikutu na i kona ka hoki mai rātou ka patua te iwi na.

E maha rātou i mate i runga o te mautere na. Ka mahua tapu. Wareware au ki te ingoa o te mautere na. No te mea nohinohi ngā mautere e rua nei.

⁹³ DB09 - TTDMC: Boss Tipene, Mangakahia, p.4

Na i kona ka wehe mai rātou kona ka hoki mai i tuawhenua noho ai.

Na i kona ka hari au e tētahi tikanga ko kite au a Ngāti Toki e pā ana ki roto o Ngāti Wai.

Ko te wāhi aroha e e peke nei au a Ngāti Toki no Mangakāhia. I reira te wāhi aroha au. Ki ahau ano tētahi take o tētahi wahanga o te tātai o ngā Pepuere nei o Ngāti Toki i kuhu mai mā roto mai o kaikohe i reira tētahi wahanga o rātou whakapapa kite atu i reira

No reira koia tērā te hapū e mōhio ana au e pā atu au te take i o maua tūpuna o Bob ngā Pepuere nei no reira to matau panga.

Wētahi o ngā hapū o Mangakāhia na Ngāti Horohia raruraru ana hau.

E tērā hapū taku rongo e pā ana ki roto o Tautoro i taku rongo na pera ano a Ngāti Toki e pā ana ki Tautoro te Kumutu, Ngāti Whakahotu. Na tērā no roto o Touroto.

Na huri ki ngā whānaunga a Mate, te Kumutu e kore e taea te kereme. Na haunga mō Ngāti Te Rino. E tauwhau ano ahau tonu ki tērā ingoa. Na te take ētahi e mea ana na tētahi tangata nō kona. Ko ētahi e mea ana nō rātou katoa. Na reira mena, e tika ana ngā kōrero horekau rawa au no Ngāti Te Rino engari no Ngāti Tu. Ngāti Tū o Tū Hūkea.

Koia tērā te hapū i roto o Mangakāhia i mōhio ake au ko Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Pongia.

Tera hapū a Ngāti Tū, ka uru mai a Ngāti Hine i roto te rohe kōrerongia nei ko Ngāti Hine, na i kona ka kitea nei rātou te wahine nei a Roku. Ka whakahoahoa te iwi nei nā tō rātau pai hoki ki Waiomio, na, ka tomongia te wahine nei ki a Tukuhia. tērā kaumātua no runga te paringa o mauri, Pipiwai ka tomongia te hunga. Na ka moe te hunga na. Ka noho i reira mō te wā poto ka mate, ki mai a Ngāti Hine ki te tuawhenua ka peia haere te tokorua na ka noho runga o Maunga Kōhatu i roto o Mangakāhia. Noho atu i kona mate atu i kona. Na koia rā ngā kōrero e mōhio ana a hau mō Ngāti Tū.

E kōrerohia nei ko tēnā te kaumātua na wai nei i kitea i te ngahere. Na wai rā nei i hoko i mou rā nei ki te Pākehā. Na i ngā tau o muri, ngā tau ono tekau 1960 pea. Ka whakahokia mai ki roto o Parakao ka tanungia i reira i tērā taha o te awa. Ko Tū Hukea tērā ko Ngāti Tū.

I reira koia rano toku maramatanga ki ngā hapū roto o Mangakāhia ko ngā mea pā atu au ko ngā mea whaiwhai au kia marama au.

Ko ērā ngā tino hapū o Mangakāhia i marama au. Pekepeke taku iwi ko mea tū Pipiwai ko Ngāti Tū katoa ko totohe mātou. Hoei noa koe tērā ngā maramatanga e mōhio ana au.

E mōhio ana au a Ngāti Hau, ngaro atu i roto o Mangakāhia. He pā tona i reira ko Kahukuri kei muri o Mangakāhia na. Ētahi o ngā pānga o Ngāti Hau taka mai i roto o Parakao ki roto o Poroti.

Taipari Munro also acknowledges the varied and numerous hapū that are connected into the area.⁹⁴

Ko te marae o Korokota, te hapū i reira ko Te Parawhau. E mea atu ana ahau koia wēnei ko ngā ingoa hapū kua kite atu e au i runga i ngā pepa o te kooti ne, ahakoa e mōhio ana ahau kei reira wētahi atu o ngā hapū, wētahi atu tangata kua whai pānga ki wētahi atu o ngā hapū o Te Tai Tokerau nei, engari tāku e mōhio ana ko te ingoa hapū e rapa ana ki ngā pepa o te kooti mō te marae o Korokota ko Te Parawhau.

Kei Parakao, kei te marae o Te Aroha, ko ngā hapū i reira ko Ngāti Te Rino tētahi, engari e ‘hakapae ana ahau kei reira anō wētahi atu karanga hapū.

Ka tae atu ki Pakotai, ko te hapū e mōhio ana ki au, ko Ngāti Toki, engari ahakoa tērā, e mōhio ana kei reira anō wētahi atu hapū e noho ana. Ko te take e mōhio ana ahau kia Ngāti Toki, nōku anō tērā hapū, Ngāti Toki. Kua whai panga tērā iwi ki ngā hapū e noho ana ki te takutai moana i waho atu nei. I te wā i mua o te taenga mai o te Pākehā ki kōnei ko te hapū e noho ana i runga i ngā motu o Poo

⁹⁴ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, p.5

Naiti, ko Ngāti Toki tērā. I te wā o te hanganga o te whare hui i Pakotai i tono atu kia haere atu te tungāne o taku karani māmā ki te 'hakahaere i ngā kawanga whare, i ngā karakia mō ngā kawanga whare, na ko Te Ngaronoa Mahanga tērā, ko ia te tohunga nānā tērā whare i whakatūwhera. Na rātou anō tērā whare i whakaingoa ko Nukutawhiti, engari muri iho mai na ngā iwi o Mangakāhia o tērā marae, na rātou tērā ingoa i tīnīhia ki tōna ingoa i tēnei rā ko Te Tārai o Rāhiri.

I rongo ahau i te wā o aku tūpuna i reira anōtētahi atu marae, ko Te Tārai o Rāhiri te ingoa, engari waihotia atu mā ngā iwi o tērā kāinga e kōrero mō o rātou marae.

Kei te kāinga o Parahaki, ko te marae i reira ko Parahaki te ingoa, ko te hapū ko Te Kumutu, engari kei reira anō wētahi atu hapū.

Engari koia hoki wēnei o ngā ingoa hapū kua kite atu e au e rapa ana ki runga i ngā pepa o Te Kooti Whenua Māori.

Munro has no trouble marrying together the various tribal affiliations and histories for the area, placing more importance on understanding whakapapa and how each are connected to various tūpuna and knowing the relationships to other whānaunga.⁹⁵

E hakapae ana ahau, oh well, me kī ko te taha ki a Ngāpuhi ko Ngātokimatawhaorua te waka, mō te taha ki a Ngāpuhi. Engari mō te taha ki a Ngāti Whātua, ko Mahuhukiterangi te waka.

E kōrero ana ahau ki Mangakāhia, e kore koe e kite kei hea a Ngāpuhi e noho ana, kei hea a Ngāti Whātua e noho ana, kei hea a Ngāti Wai e noho ana, kei hea a Ngāti Hine e noho ana i te mea mātou kātoa e noho ana ki tēnei takiwa o Whangarei, ko mātou hapū, ko o mātou iwi kātoa wēra. Koia tēnā e mea ana ngā historian Pākehā, e mea ana rātou koia hoki tētahi o, tētahi raruraru mō tēnei rohe, ne, e kore taea te kī atu ko Ngāpuhi anahenahe e noho ana ki konei, ko Ngāti Whātua anahenahe e noho ana ki konei, ko Ngāti Hine anahenahe e noho ana ki konei, ne, i te mea ko ngā hapū kātoa, ko ngā tangata kātoa e noho ana ki tēnei rohe o tātou, ki Whangarei nei, koia hoki wēna ko wā rātou ingoa hapū kātoa, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Wai, Ngāpuhi, wēna kārangatanga hapū kātoa.

⁹⁵ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, p.6

Horekau e pohehe ana ki ahau i te mea menā e mōhio ana koe ki tou whānaungatanga, ki tou whakapapa, e mōhio ana koe he aha kē te take e pera ana. Engari me kore koe mōhio ki tou whakapapa, ki ngā kōrero mō tou iwi, ka tino poraruru to mātenga ka tika. Engari ahau nei e mōhio ana ki wāku whānaunga kātoa, na reira horekau he raruru ki ahau, engari kia tae atu ki ngā kāinga ne, kia tae atu ki ngā kāinga, ka taea koe te kii atu ko Ngāti mea tērā, ko Ngāti mea tērā, ko Ngāti mea tērā. Engari ki te ata titiro ki ngā kōrero mō tērā iwi katahi ka kite atu ēnei ingoa hapū kātoa ne, ērā pānga ki runga i a rātou.

“E ‘hakapae ana ahau ko te taha ki a Ngāti Whātua, ko te taha tērā kia Tāhūhūnuiorangi, ko te taha tērā ki a Tāhūhūnuiorangi, i te mea e kiia nei ngā whakapapa o ngā iwi o Whangarei nei, Tāhūhūnuiorangi ka puta mai, i puta mai a Tāhūhūnuiorangi i a Manaia. Na reira a Manaia i haere mai ia, e mea ana te kōrero, i haere mai ia i runga i te waka o Mahuhukiterangi, me ngā whakaritenga tapu o tēnei iwi e noho nei, i ahu mai i te whare wānanga o Mahuhukiterangi, na reira ahakoa e kōrero ana te nuinga o ngā iwi mō te Atua nei mō Tane, nana i haere ki te tiki ngā kete o te mātauranga, engari ki ā mātou wānanga o Mahuhukiterangi ko te kai tiki i ngā wānanga ko Tawhaki. Na reira kei koneitētahi karakia kei roto i tēnei iwi mō te pikinga o Tawhaki ki runga ki Rangitūhāhā. Nā, e kaha nei aku mātua ki te karakia tēnā karakia, koia e mōhio ana ahau, e mārama ana ahau te pātatatanga o tēnei iwi o Whangarei nei ki Mahuhukiterangi me ōna hapū.



Manaia, Whangarei Harbour

Nukutāwhiti / Awarua

Awarua is positioned on the northern end of the Nukutawhiti block at the top of the Mangakāhia valley. Local Awarua kaumātua Wallace Wihongi, provides an explanation of how this block got its name from his tūpuna off the Ngatokimatawhaorua waka Nukutawhiti, and how he came into the area and established a wānanga, known by him as Marino Kato.⁹⁶

Ae, ko Awarua tēnei whenua. Tēra ingoa, he ingoa tino tāwhito. And ko te kōrero puta noa i tēnei whenua, a ngā Māori, i roto i ngā Hawaiki katoa – he Awarua. I roto i ngā Awarua – he whare kura.

So, in every homeland, Hawaiki was an Awarua. And in every Awarua, was a house of learning – he whare kura, whare wānanga.

And Nukutawhiti, according to the traditions here, brought on Ngatokimatawhaorua, ngā tohunga o Hawaiki. And so a priority in his mind...i runga i ētahi atu o ngā waka, Mataatua...and Ngāpuhi kaumātua say that they carried other people...he waka mau kai...you know things like that.

But on Ngatokimatawhaorua there came a special people to accompany ngā koiwi of this Hawaiki ariki called Wahieroa.

And because...well the tohunga themselves wanted to move here. According to the story there was trouble in Hawaiki. Hawaiki was being...well, the Hawaiki of this area, they kind of disassociated themselves from Tahiti.

From Tahiti came a new group who...to rātou atua ko Kū or Tū – Tūmatauenga. And they were at conflict with the Hawaīan...a Hawaiki that those people who followed Kāne or Tāne.

And so there was conflict and the tohunga around Kupe's time wanted to...because of that pressure from these new invaders coming into Hawaī or Hawaiki. And so they grabbed the opportunity to come with Nukutawhiti...

⁹⁶ DB06 - TTDMC: Wallace Wihongi of Awarua, Mangakahia, p.1

And so a priority with him was to set up the whare wānanga. He named this place Awarua because the whare wānanga was going to be set up here.

It's a wānanga place was the only reason for its existence. And Nukutawhiti had chosen it because it was far away from the market place...far away from Hokianga...from Mataatua...you know, out on the Bay of Islands. It was in a...in the bush. A long way from anything.

Ae and people came here...Sir James Henare came here. He was one of the last of the...came here as a five year old and stayed here for a year. And then his father Tau Henare...I was telling Gail, he got tired of tracking across country to here...he moved the whare wānanga to Waiomio...then to Taumārere and then to it disappeared from there.

But ae, ko tēnā...the only reason for Awarua was the whare wānanga.

Pakotai kaumātua Bob Ashby, and kuia Violet Kelly comment on the nature of Mangakāhia as a place where inter-hapū connections have been formed over a wide area.⁹⁷

Yes there is a lot of mixture of sub tribes that went on in Mangakāhia. As I say Ngāti Toki came from Mangakāhia right through here, through to Whanagruru out to Takahiwai. That hapū goes right through here.

You see when you think about it the people moved around a lot. The different people, subtribes or whatever.

Violet Kelly, Ngāti Horahia /Ngāti Whakaeke, Pakotai

A lot of those hapus though they came to Mangakāhia because they married into the hapus at Mangakāhia... They come married all the sisters in Mangakāhia and then they lived there. So even those people that came into Mangakāhia mainly when they get married like say my grandfather. So we take his hapū name from Kaikohe.

⁹⁷ DB04 - TTDMC: Violet Kelly of Mangakāhia, p.12

Boss Tipene explains why some of the original hapū are seldom mentioned in the Mangakāhia anymore.⁹⁸

Matakitaki a Ngāti Pongia kua ngaro, na te aha? Na te kaha rawa o te turuturu o ngā mea muri iho. Ka mahue a Ngāti Pongia ia Ngāti Te Rino kia tū wehe ai. E maha wā tātou hapū i perangia. Maha ngā hapū rerekē.

If you look at Ngāti Pongia they are gone, why is that? It is because of the strength of identity of those hapū that came along afterwards. Ngāti Pongia was left behind as Ngāti Te Rino separated from it. Lots of our hapū are like that. There are lots of different hapū in the Mangakāhia. [Translation by Piripi Moore]

The tribal origins and hapū composition for the Mangakāhia is widespread and varied. The coming together of hapū and iwi in the Mangakāhia over a long period of time, coupled with the physical isolation and protection offered by the natural landscape of the valley, has resulted in a unique and independent identity for the people of the Mangakāhia.

⁹⁸ DB09 - TTDMC: Boss Tipene, Mangakahia, p.5

Ngā Tūpuna Rangatira o Te Mangakāhia

The numerous hapū affiliations for the Mangakāhia have brought with them a multitude of founding tūpuna and well recognised Rangatira for the area.

Tāhūhūnuiarangi and Ahuaiti

Tāhūhūnuiarangi the son of Manaia is the principal tūpuna of Ngāi Tāhūhū. Tāhūhūnuiarangi as mentioned Taipari Munro previously, connects the hapū of the region to the Mahuhukiterangi waka and to Ngāti Whatua.

In the Rika – Heke Whānau manuscripts Mate Komene offers the clearest perspective on the position of Tāhūhūnuiorangi in the Mangakāhia, whilst also acknowledging the Ngāpuhi ancestor Rāhiri at the same time⁹⁹.

Tāhūhūnuiorangi was the general ancestor for the lands at Mangakāhia and northwards. I can't go further back than Rāhiri.

Although Mate Komene suggested that he could not go back further than Rāhiri, in reality he has, as Tāhūhūnuiorangi lived several generations prior to the time of Rāhiri. Tāhūhūnuiarangi is also the tūpuna for one of the key female ancestors of the Mangakāhia and Ngāpuhi, Ahuaiti. Whakapapa in the Rika Heke Whānau Manuscripts provides a lineage from Tāhūhūnuiarangi to Ahuaiti.¹⁰⁰



⁹⁹ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.2

¹⁰⁰ DB42- Ibid, p.10

Rāhiri

The principal Ngāpuhi tūpuna Rāhiri is a revered ancestor in Mangakāhia, providing a strong connection for Mangakāhia to the waka Ngatokimatawhaorua.

When concerns arose in the 1950's about Pākehā violating the burial caves in the Mangakāhia and disturbing ancestral remains, local tohunga set out to protect them by burying them in local cemeteries. Wi Pou tells of one discussion he overheard about Rāhiri when tohunga started gathering the bones and taonga from the caves on Te Tarai o Rāhiri in Mangakāhia.¹⁰¹

Therefore the tohungas in their wisdom came to the conclusion in saying “Te mana, te ihi o tō tātou tūpuna a Rāhiri, he nui atu i tō tātou, e kore e taea”. The mana, the power of our great ancestor Rāhiri is much greater than ours, we cannot equal it. The tohunga knew there were a lot of remains and taonga there on the peak and lower down that they will never be able to return to the cemeteries.

Pou explains how the mountain in the Mangakāhia known as ‘Te Tarai o Rāhiri’ was named.¹⁰²

It was named after him because as we are told by our ancestors Rāhiri used this very mountain as a resting place for him on his many journeys from his ‘Whiria Pā’ in Pakanae in the Hokianga when journeying south, and also on his homeward journeys.

There is no other known place like this that Rāhiri used like he did this mountain.

The name ‘Te Tarai o’ referred to Rāhiri’s head of hair which actually translates ‘The head of hair of Rāhiri’.

I was told by my ancestors that when Rāhiri arrived on this mountain on his journeys he would rest for sometime, then when he felt he could carry on he prepared himself, that meant washing himself, his head and hear, hence the name “Te Tarai o Rāhiri”.

¹⁰¹ DB34- TTDMC: Mangakahia Whenua Workshop, p.11

¹⁰² Ibid. p.11

Therefore when we look at the naming of this mountain, “Te Tarai o Rāhiri”, we think of the great mana and significance the name itself has which refers to this great chief’s head.

Hirini Heta highlights the connections that were forged between Ngāi Tāhūhū and Ngāpuhi in the Mangakāhia when Rāhiri met Ahuaiti.¹⁰³

I believe that Te Maata pā is Ahuaiti’s Pā. It is registered in the Historical Places Trust. It’s an old Pā, and is where Rāhiri found Ahuaiti.

He was on Te Tarai-o-Rāhiri, which is named after Rāhiri tying up his top knot, to make him look attractive to Ahuaiti. Even to this day there is a toka, with a basin in it on top of that maunga, where Rāhiri washed and groomed his hair. He didn’t know it was Ahuaiti, but he smelt her as he travelled across that maunga, and he knew that she was going to be his. So he followed her scent down to Te Maata Pā, where he found her. We all descend from that union, and here is the whakapapa to me.

¹⁰³ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.12

Wallace Wihongi provides a different explanation for Te Tarai o Rāhiri and also believes Rāhiri found Ahuaiti at Maungatapere and not at her Pa site in the Mangakāhia.¹⁰⁴

(Manga Tau) said he followed this perfume... as the perfume grew stronger and stronger. Naturally, because Ahuaiti wasn't far away [sic]. He slept on that maunga.

Now, our interpretation of 'tārai,' may not be the same as in that...in the book. 'Tārai,' to us is a hollow in the ground...it's an excavation. And the story is that, being the vain person that he was, Rāhiri, and expecting to meet the woman of his dreams, he didn't want to spoil the set of his hair, his tikitiki, his topknot. So he hollowed out the ground and he put his topknot on there see, so it wouldn't be disturbed. Koia te 'tārai' a Rāhiri...a hollow in the ground.

So, ko te tārai a Rāhiri...

Getting up in the morning he saw...i te Whangaparaoa. On the mountain he would have been able to see easily the coast, you know. And he saw there, smoke rising up from a fire some distance away. The local interpretation for 'Whangaparaoa'...not only is it a sea...seaview - te whanga: a bay of...you know – whales. But it also means a great distance.

And that's the only thing about our story...would Maungatapere be a great distance from Pakotai? Really eh, it's not that far?

But i te Whangaparaoa is the story, i kite ia e paoa ake ana he ahi paoa. And he went there and found Ahuaiti there. Could of been that her family had gone there for the week, for the day, for the month or whatever?

Down at Maungatapere...round Maungatapere was where he actually found Ahuaiti there.

But that's not to say, that the pa that you mentioned there was her pa, near Te Tārai a Rāhiri. But the family wasn't there when Rāhiri met her. But they are

¹⁰⁴ DB06 - TTDMC: Wallace Wihongi of Awarua, Mangakahia, p.4

quite strong in saying, that he saw the smoke rising... i te Whangaparaoa.’ Maybe in the direction of the sea that he could see [sic].

And Whangaparaoa... according to Manga, I asked him: “I Whangaparaoa, do you mean down at Orewa?”

“No, no, no,” he said. Whangaparaoa means a distance...a great distance. [sic]

And that’s where...and then they celebrated their honeymoon, which probably isn’t mentioned there, at a place near Pipiwai called Moengawahine – te moenga e Rāhiri i tana wahine...Moengawahine. And you know it’s actually where that is in Pipiwai. They always talk about Moengawahine being where Rāhiri and Ahuatiti consummated their union.

Heta provides his whakapapa from Rāhiri and Ahuaiti.¹⁰⁵



¹⁰⁵ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.23

Tū Hūkea

Tū Hūkea is the founding tūpuna of Ngāti Tū. Hirini Heta identifies Tū Hūkea as being from around the same generation as Rāhiri and Ahuaiti.¹⁰⁶

This ancestor was found on the very top of Maunga Kohatu, mummified in a cave facing the rising sun. He was taken by Tauivi for 40 years to try and study him on how he was mummified. Our kaumātua went in 1968 and got him back and he is now buried in Mangakāhia. What I have heard is that Tū Hūkea took over from Tāhūhūnui-O-rangi. Tū Hūkea was well known in the North, there are many of our people who claim to descend from this tūpuna in Te Taitokerau.

Taipari Munro remembers the remains of Tū Hūkea coming through Poroti marae on their way back to Pakao.¹⁰⁷

Tū Hūkea. When they brought Tū Hūkea back, because Tū Hūkea's body had been kept by Willim Fraser the Pākehā anthropologist or historian or whatever he was living in Whangarei here. He'd had the body for years and years in the museum on Mill Road.

Eventually the elders swere able to have the body returned to them. When they brought that body back they brought it to the marae at Poroti. Because of the sacred nature of that tūpuna they wouldn't bring the body inside the house, because they said, 'Who can talk to this old fella? Who can talk his language?'

The othe issue was the way that house had been built with the wharekai joined onto the wharehui. The old people said it is no good bringing that tupapaku here because of those old tikanga. So he was kept in my uncle Mana Edward's car, outside the meeting house. When people came to that hui, they had to go and pay their respects at the car first before they went inside the meeting house.

The kaupupuri i te tūpāpaku was Te Rapu Pou, that's Paraire Pou and them's father.

¹⁰⁶ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.18

¹⁰⁷ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, p.15

During the time that that body was kept on the marae at Poroti no food was allowed to be prepared. In those days the cooking areas were outside where they cooked the kai on the big open fire. Somebody had a big tin of water that they used to use for boiling water. Somebody had put that on and it had been on there for ages and ages and ages and the bloody thing never boiled. All it did was just let stem heat off the water. There was no boiling, and they reckon the thing had been on there for bloody hours and not a bubble came to the surface.

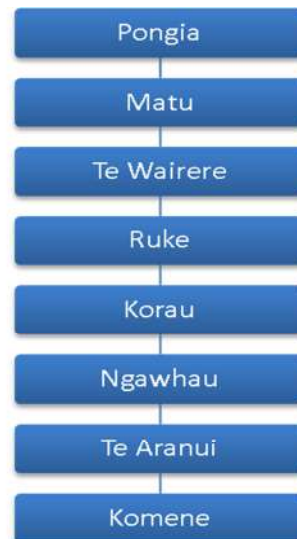
Heta provides the whakapapa connection from Tū Hūkea to Te Ika o te Awa the wife of Ruangaio and eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Rua / Ngāti Ruangaio.¹⁰⁸



¹⁰⁸ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.19

Pongia

Pongia is the founding tūpuna for Ngāti Pongia. Whakapapa evidence provided by Komene, Mate Komene's father in the Rika – Heke Whānau Manuscripts shows his connection to this tūpuna.¹⁰⁹



The Rika Heke Whānau Manuscripts also provide evidence from Wharepapa regarding Ngāti Pongia, defining the following boundary through Pongia, as laid out by Wharepapa's tūpuna Te Huarahi¹¹⁰.

Kamareira Te Wharepapa claims from Pongia. Part of the block and land outside of the survey to the north. He claims boundary: commencing at Te Titoki thence to Mangakāhia and up that stream to the Unukiore, Wharekiri, the mouth of Waitomotomo, thence by Government boundary Te Kowhai, Te Ipukai, Haparua thence west to the boundary of Oputeke thence to the Government road to Houtere, Te Titoki, te motu a Meri, Te Kawehu o tēnā puta noa and to point of commencement. Says that Te Huarahi, is challenging Kukupa's claim to Mangakāhia.

He claims that his tūpuna, Huarahi told Kukupa that his (Kukupa's) lands were only at Whangarei and Te Wairoa and that it was Te Huarahi that laid down the above boundary. He tells that in the time of Pongia, a dog known to belong to

¹⁰⁹ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.6

¹¹⁰ DB42 - Ibid, pp.6-7

Wānanga of Ngāi Tāhūhū was seen and killed in revenge for Wānanga stealing kiwis on this land. And later on Wānanga and his 30 strong taua were all killed when they came to take the karakas of the land. Wharepapa says that it was after this that Parawhau lived on the land. He claims that Ngāti Pongia lived to the north of this land and that Parawhau to the south of it. He says that at that time, also living on the land, were the children of Te Korae, and, because of the war with Waikato, the whole of the Uri Roroi lived on Mangakāhia. He claims that the Ngāpuhi drove off the Uri Roroi, then the Uri Roroi went to Te Tirarau for assistance and he fought for them until Parore made peace.

The following whakapapa for Pongia from Kupe is provided in the Rika - Heke Manuscripts¹¹¹.



¹¹¹ DB42 - Ibid, p.9

Torongare

Torongare is a key tūpuna for many of the hapū in the region and is also a direct descendant of Rāhiri and Ahuaiti. Torongare's whakapapa is provided in the Rika Heke Whānau Manuscripts.¹¹²



Torongare is acknowledged by Te Parawhau and many hapū in the Mangakāhia and wider Whangarei area as one of their founding tūpuna. Te Nohonga o Torongare (The Seat of Torongare) is a rock on a pā site on Ruarangi maunga in Whangarei, where Torongare, and in later generations Ngāti Ruangio is said to have lived. It is a strategic position overlooking the Whangarei harbour, allowing observation of anyone entering or leaving the area by waka. It was also used as a burial site for the internment of bones, which were taken from this site and buried at Toetoe in 1986.¹¹³

¹¹² DB42 - Ibid, p.7

¹¹³ DB35- TTDMC: Parawhau Whenua Wānanga, pp.6-8



Te Nohonga o Torongare on Ruarangi

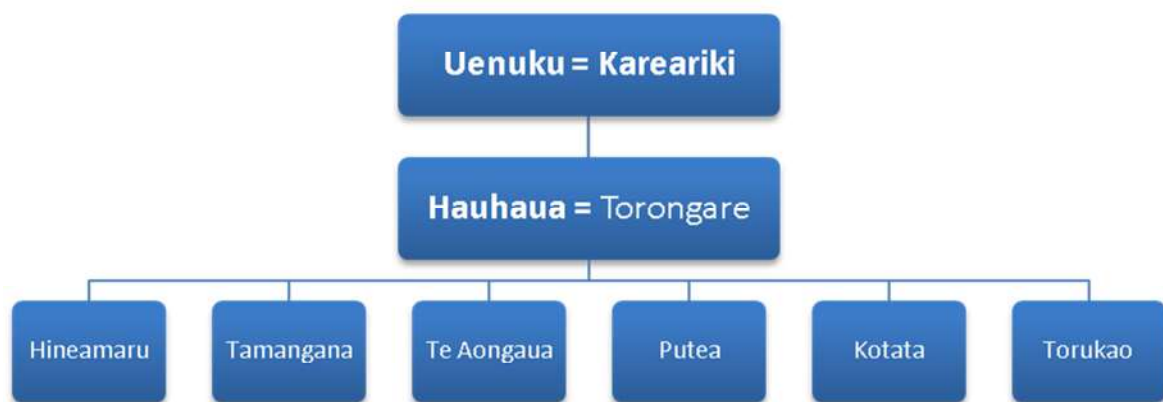


This plaque is embedded in Torongare's seat on Ruarangi. The plaque reads as follows;

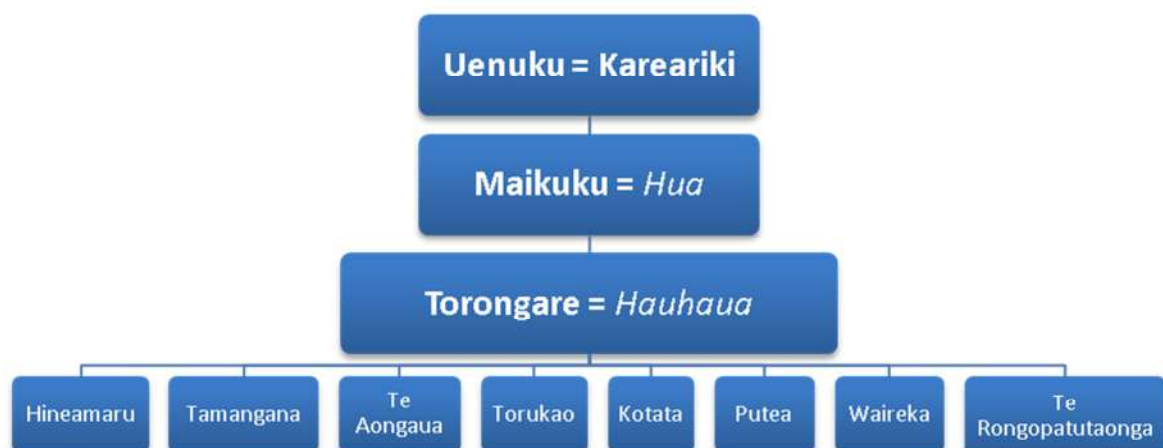
“Koia nei te nohonga o Torongare te tūpuna i whakaritea hei kai tiaki mō ngā koiwi o konei. No tata ake nei i kawea ai ngā koiwi mutunga ki Toetoe tanu ai. 13 Aperira 1986. He taonga aroha na ngā kai tiaki o Ruarangi”

“This is the seat of the ancestor Torongare who was selected to look after the bones from here. The last of these bones have now been taken and buried at Toetoe. 13th April 1986 This (plaque) is a symbol of respect and admiration from the guardians of Ruarangi.”
[Translation Piripi Moore]

Torongare’s union with Hauhaua produced progeny which helped to establish many of the hapū in the region. From Tukāriri and Huirama whakapapa book in the Rika – Heke Whānau manuscripts the following issue for the union of Torongare and Hauhaua are identified,¹¹⁴



Te Pukapuka a te Komiti Māori o Mangakāhia¹¹⁵ provides the following issue for this same union.



¹¹⁴ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.8

¹¹⁵ DB42- Ibid, p.7

Torongare's daughter Hineamaru is well recognised as the founding tūpuna of Ngāti Hine. His son Tamangana is acknowledged as the father of Ruangaio, the founding tūpuna for Ngāti Rua / Ngāti Ruangaio.

Whakapapa provided by Richard Nathan shows Tamangana as the older brother of Hineamaru.¹¹⁶



This whakapapa is supported by Taipari Munro. Munro also talks about Hauhaua and Torongare's return from Hokianga, the settling of Waiomio by Hineamaru and the separation formed with Ruangio staying in Whangarei.¹¹⁷

Ko Tamangana te tuakana (o Hineamaru) ki ngā wānanga o konei.

Within the Whangarei wānanga the kōrero is that after Torongare and Hauhaua left Hokianga to take their children to see their people at Pouerua, that they still needed to go and look for somewhere for them to set themselves up. It wasn't only Torongare and Hauhaua and their children but there was also all those people who were living with them. They had to find a place to live.

So then you hear them talking about the great migration of Torongare and those people. During that migration they came across Kaikohe lands and Tamangana died, I think Hauhaua died too on this haerenga. But certainly Tamangana died. They put his body into a cave called Te Kotikotinga I think. They called it Te Kotikotinga because when they were transferring Tamangana's body it blouted. So they had to nick it to release the fluid, hence the Kotikotinga. So Tamangana is

¹¹⁶ DB10 - TTDMC: Richard Nathan of Whatitiri, Mangakahia, p.31

¹¹⁷ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, pp.17-18

near Ngawha somewhere in this burial cave. Tamangana never arrived here to Whangarei.

Torongare, Hineamaru, Ruangaio, Tamangana's son, all arrived here. The kōrero was the place was already quite populated with their relations. One of the reasons they came here was because, *kia puta mai ki waenganui o ngā uri o o rātou tūpuna nei o Ahuaiti*.

While they were here I understand that Hineamaru was given a directive by her father to continue to look for a place for them. They went to the Bay of Islands on one occasion to get this particular type of pipi and on that journey they came across Waiomio. It appeared that no one else was living in Waiomio. So Hineamaru had them burn down a tree as part of the preparation to cultivate the land but also as a marker, that this place had been claimed.

Before Hineamaru actually came back they cultivated the land. There's a kōrero there *mo te mara tukau a Hineamaru* I think. In talking to Ngāti Hine they might give you the right name if this name isn't correct. *Kua whakatauki tēnei kōrero*.

So they cultivated that place and then they came back and told the father (Torongare) and the people (in Whangarei) that they had found a place for them. They left here and went to Waiomio, but they left Ruangaio and his people behind here. Then all the rest of them went with Hineamaru and Torongare to Waiomio.

Ironically the place they went to (Waiomio) looked just like the one they'd just come from (Ruarangi), with the limestone outcrops. All around Whangarei here was all limestone places. A lot of it you can't see if now, but if you go to places like up the back of the hospital, or up at Nikau place or whatever it is as you come from the other way up Maunu road you can see all the limestone outcrops. So Waiomio was similar in geographical appearance to where they had just come from.

There's always been a *whakataetae* between those people here to argue for Tamangana and those ones in Ngāti Hine who will argue for Hineamaru. Certainly what the Whangarei people will say is that the mana of Torongare was

inherited by Hineamaru. So that says that, that is Hineamaru and those one there (in Waiomio) and this is Ruangaio and these ones here (in Whangarei). So when you hear them speak it's like that's a separate group of people, they're not included in Ngāti Hine.

Hirini Heta sees Ruangaio as one of the defining tūpuna of the Mangakāhia. He provides his whakapapa connection to Ruangio as follows¹¹⁸.

Another ancient hapū is Ngāti Rua. They derived from the tūpuna Ruangaio. All of Mangakāhia can claim ancestry of this tūpuna. Even the surrounding districts like Whangarei, Pipiwai, Ngāraratunua and Tangiteroria can claim decent of this tūpuna.

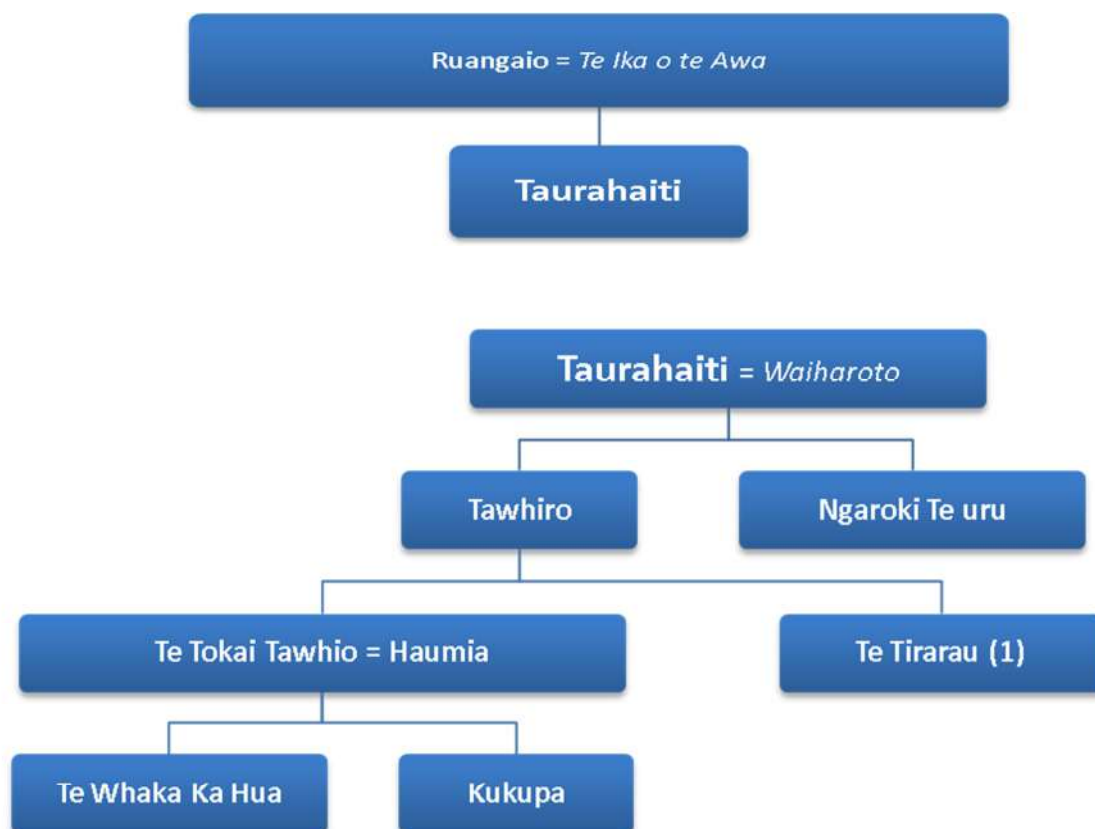


¹¹⁸ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.18

Taurahaiti

One of Ruangaio and Te Ika o te Awa's children Taurahaiti provided another important significant link for the hapū of Whangarei. Taurahaiti's union with Waiharoto produced Tawhiro, a prominent Ngāti Ruangaio warlord. Tawhiro's son Tirarau (1) became the founding tūpuna for the hapū of Te Parawhau. Tawhiro's other child Te Tokai Tawhio produced Kukupa a reknown leader of Te Parawhau, who was present here when Pākehā first entered the area.

Taurahiti's second union with Whareangiangi produced Ponaharakeke another legendary Ngāti Ruangaio warlord. His other child to this union produced Te Waikeri was based at Maunga Kōhatu, and provided strong links into Te Uri Roroi.¹¹⁹



¹¹⁹ DB10 - TTDMC: Richard Nathan of Whatitiri, Mangakahia, pp.31-32



Toki

Toki is the principal tūpuna of the hapū of Ngāti Toki.

In the Rika – Heke Whānau Manuscripts, Mate Komene identifies his tūpuna Matiu Te Aranui as a descendant of Toki and provides the following Whakapapa¹²⁰.

I heard Toki lived and died at Mangakāhia. The boundary between Nukutawhiti and Mimitu was a matter of arrangement not an ancestral boundary. I think the boundary between Mimitu and Parahaki is ancestral.



¹²⁰ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts. P.5

Hirini Heta also provides his lineage to Toki as follows¹²¹;



Te Rā

Te Rā is another significant tūpuna for the Mangakāhia with descent from both Ngāti Ruangaio through Tamangana, and Ngāti Hine by way of Hineamaru's child Pera.

In the Rika – Heke Whānau Manuscripts, Neri Waho indicates that Te Rā originated from Orauta in Motatau and settled on the banks of the Mangakāhia.¹²²

I claim from Te Rā. Te Rā came from Orauta. (Motatau) While living there his tupua Te Putotara and some others suggested that he and some others should come to Mangakāhia to visit a mountain called Te Tarai o Rāhiri after an ancestor of Te Rā's. The object was to preserve the land as some tribe was threatening to take it.

¹²¹ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.21

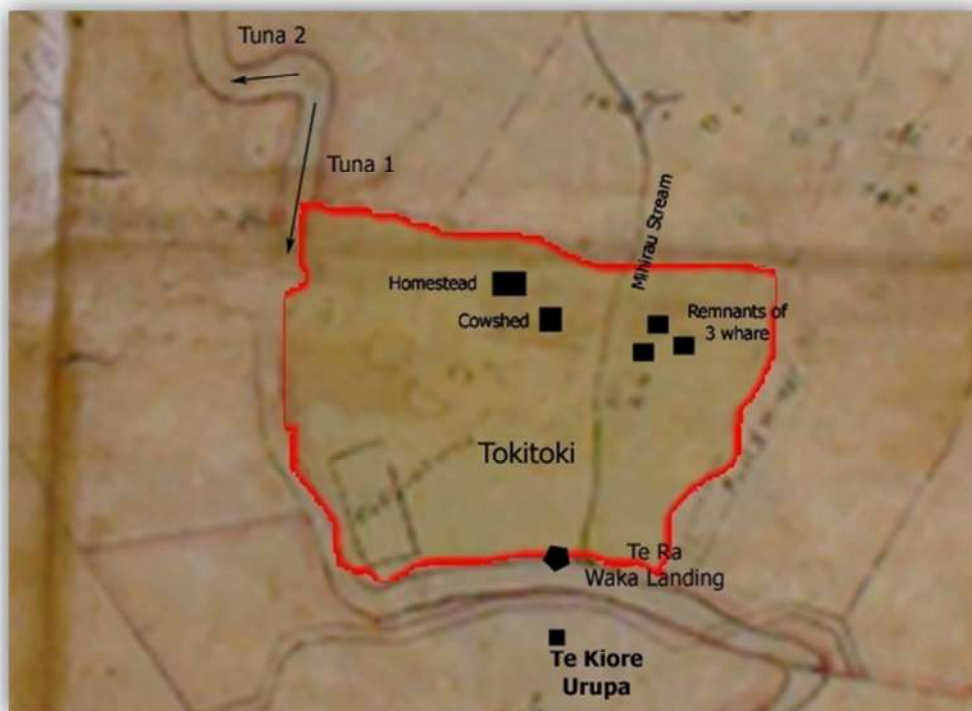
¹²² DB42 - TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts. P.6

So Te Rā came with his people Ngāti Hine and Orewai. They settled in Mangakāhia at Oturewai and Mimitu, near the west end.

Te Rā and Mate cultivated along the river back.

Mihirau near northern end was also where Te Rā lived and cultivated. He lived there the rest of his life. He died there. Some of his children were born there; Mate was born on the land, some at Orauta. Waimiro, Mate's older brother and Potaka were born at Orauta.

Hirini Heta was brought up on a block of land called Tokitoki at Mihirau on the bank of the Mangakāhia river near Pakotai, and identifies a waka landing place for his tūpuna Te Rā near his homestead.



Map showing the land at Mihirau called Tokitoki where Te Rā lived next to the Mangakāhia river.

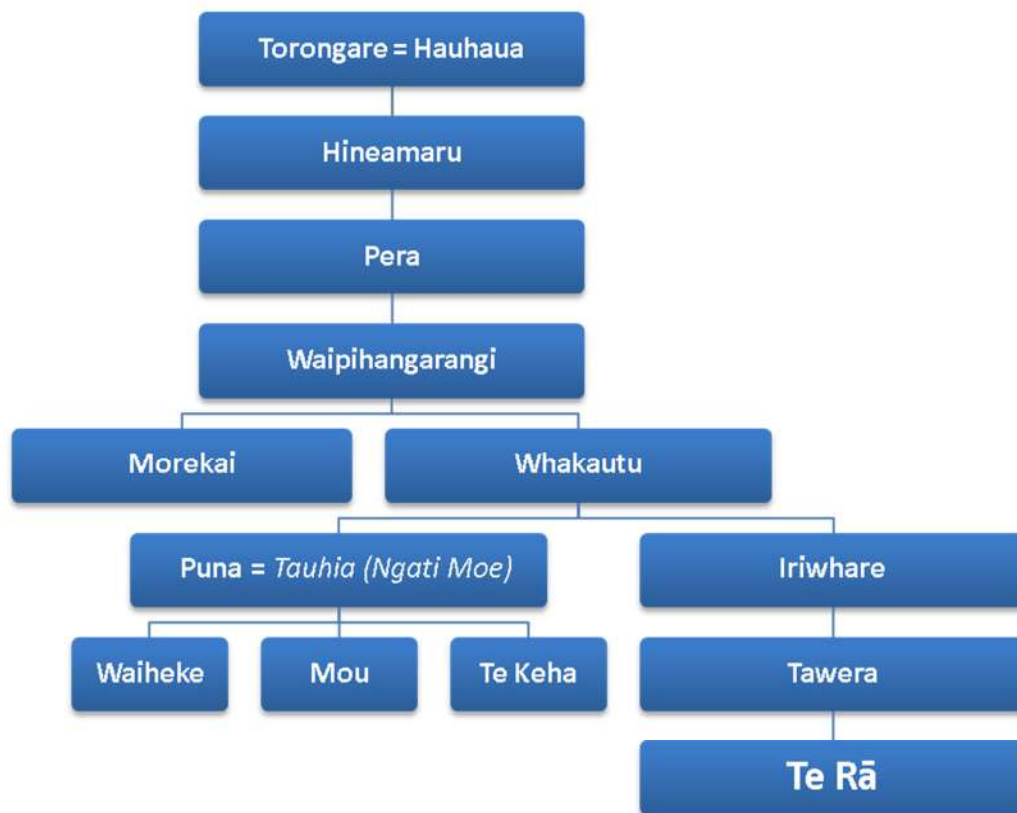
Heta describes some detail of the area as follows.¹²³

¹²³ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.11

Mihirau stream ran through our whenua, and we had a cowshed next to our whare by that stream. On the other side of the Mihirau where the remnants of three houses. I remember all that was left was their chimneys.

At the mouth of Mihirau which flowed in to the Mangakāhia, is te herenga waka o tētahi o ngā tūpuna. Ko tōna ingoa ko ‘Te Rā’. That’s where the tūpuna Te Rā tied his waka. His descendants stayed on Tokitoki, right up until my time.

Neri Waho offers this whakapapa for Te Rā in the Rika – Heke Manuscripts¹²⁴,



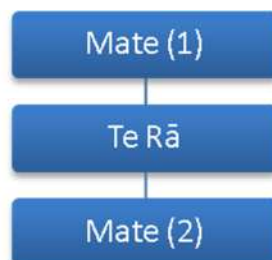
¹²⁴ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.6

Wiboy Heta's whakapapa for Te Rā stems back from Ta Rā's father Mate (1) to Ruangaio the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Rua / Ngāti Ruangaio.¹²⁵



Mate 1,2,3

There are three different Mate of interest in the Mangakāhia. Heta's whakapapa¹²⁶ identifies Mate (1) as the father of Te Rā and Mate (2) as Te Rā's son.



Mate (2) is likely to have lived around the time of Tirarau (3), up until the middle of the 1800's. Further Neri Waho recalls an attempt that was made on Mate's life after the death of Te Rā¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.19

¹²⁶ DB07 – Ibid, p.19

¹²⁷ DB42 - TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, pp.6-7

After Te Ra's death, Mate's life was attempted by *Te Moho a hapū of Ngāti Porou*, who lived at Tangihua. Te Moho came to Mangakāhia and the Ngāti Whatua there defeated them. There was no further invasion by te Moho. After Te Ra's death, Mate continued to live on the land with not only the people that had come from Orauta, but a number of Ngāti Whatua to which people he also belonged.

Te Rā is said to have been sent to Mangakāhia from Orauta (Motatau) by his grandfather Te Putotara, spending his whole life there until he died. It is more likely that Te Rā's son Mate (2) is the one who's life was attempted upon Te Ra's death, than his father Mate (1) from Orauta.

From the whakapapa presented already for Te Rā, Mate (2) has connections to both Ngāti Ruangaio and Ngāti Hine, however in the evidence provided by Haahi Brown, Mate is identified as being of Ngāti Moe. In the evidence provided by Neri Waho mentioned above Mate also had connections to Ngāti Whatua, however the detailed whakapapa connections for Mate to Ngāti Moe and Ngāti Whatua has not been identified within this research and may be an area for further research in the future.

Haahi Brown provides the oral history about his tūpuna Mate regarding his prowess in battle and his role in protecting Ngāti Whatua from Hongi Hika.¹²⁸

Hoki atu ahau ki tērā o tātou tūpuna kia Mate and a i timata ai i tana patu I te tangata e hoea ake nei i roto i te Awa o Mangakāhia ne? Ko Mate me tana tuakana. Ka huri o te iwi on the bankside. Ka puhipuhia ka makaa, Ka hinga ko tana tuakana. Tana tuakana hoki he was a man pēnei like a mea nei, a 'Man of God' - Na no reira ka riria a Mate. They reckon hokinga atu I te ahiahi ki tana Pa, he pulled out this yellow flag ne? And they reckon a hope atu pupuhi o te hau pēnei tahu pera no te mea nei- that's where he go ki te patu tangata tau iho nei ki kōnei ko haere pēnei. Ko Potaka hoki tana elder brother and they reckon he was an ugly looking man- he only had one eye!

¹²⁸ DB03 - TTDMC: Haahi Brown of Mangakahia, p.1

Potaka but he was very religious you know. He knew all about God and things like that, but they reckon if you see him a very ugly looking man. Engari a Mate himself he's a handsome looking fella they all reckon. Now kia haere kite whawhai there were three of them going altogether. There's a Mate, the eldest, and i tētahi the third one, well like a i mate roto ne? When they came out he was already dead, but they wrapped it in a Kauwau feathers and put it in a hopua up home you know. Everytime i haere ra a Mate anywhere ki te whawhai he asked this fella, ki tana teina ne, to lead him ki te whawhai. They reckon he was never conquered anywhere.

Pera hoki i te meanga o Ngāti Whatua nei. They reckon it was Mate that saved them in the end a Ngāti Whatua. Well Kawiti knew the way Hongi Hika was going he'd wipe the whole blinking Ngāti Whatua out so he sent Mate down and yet little did I realise they were all related to one another Mate, Hongi Hika, you know they more or less... He tūpuna, ehara nei, ehara nei, they more or less one family.

Brown seems to indicate that Mate saved Ngāti Whatua through his close whakapapa connection to Hongi Hika. Evidence in the Rika Heke Whānau Manuscripts from Wharepapa indicates that Mate was living for a time at Puaterangi Pa in Pakotai with a contingent of Ngāti Whatua refugees.¹²⁹

Puaterangi Pa is on Ruarei.... This pa was owned by Papara and built after Rori's death. Mate, Karekare and Te Wha were other owners. The hapū resident at the pa were Ngāti Horahia, Ngāti Moe and Ngāti Whatua refugees.

Haahi Brown goes on to explain about a gift of land to Mate from Ngāti Whatua, and suggests he was under instructions from Kawiti, which would indicate that the relationship between Mangakāhia and Ngāti Hine established by Mate's father Te Rā was being maintained through Mate.¹³⁰

Just like when Mate came through to help save Ngāti Whatua. Ngāti Whatua donated, I don't know how many acres, about 300 acres i Kakaraia you know for

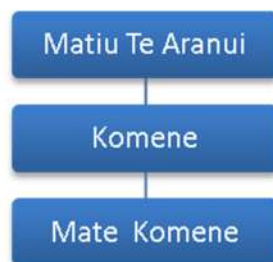
¹²⁹ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.4

¹³⁰ DB03 - TTDMC: Haahi Brown of Mangakahia, p.2

Mate. But ahh.. apart from that vaguely go back here to the land except what Kawiti said, Kawiti said ah ‘that land belonged to so and so’. He sent in Mate to clear the land.

Mate Komene (Mate 3)

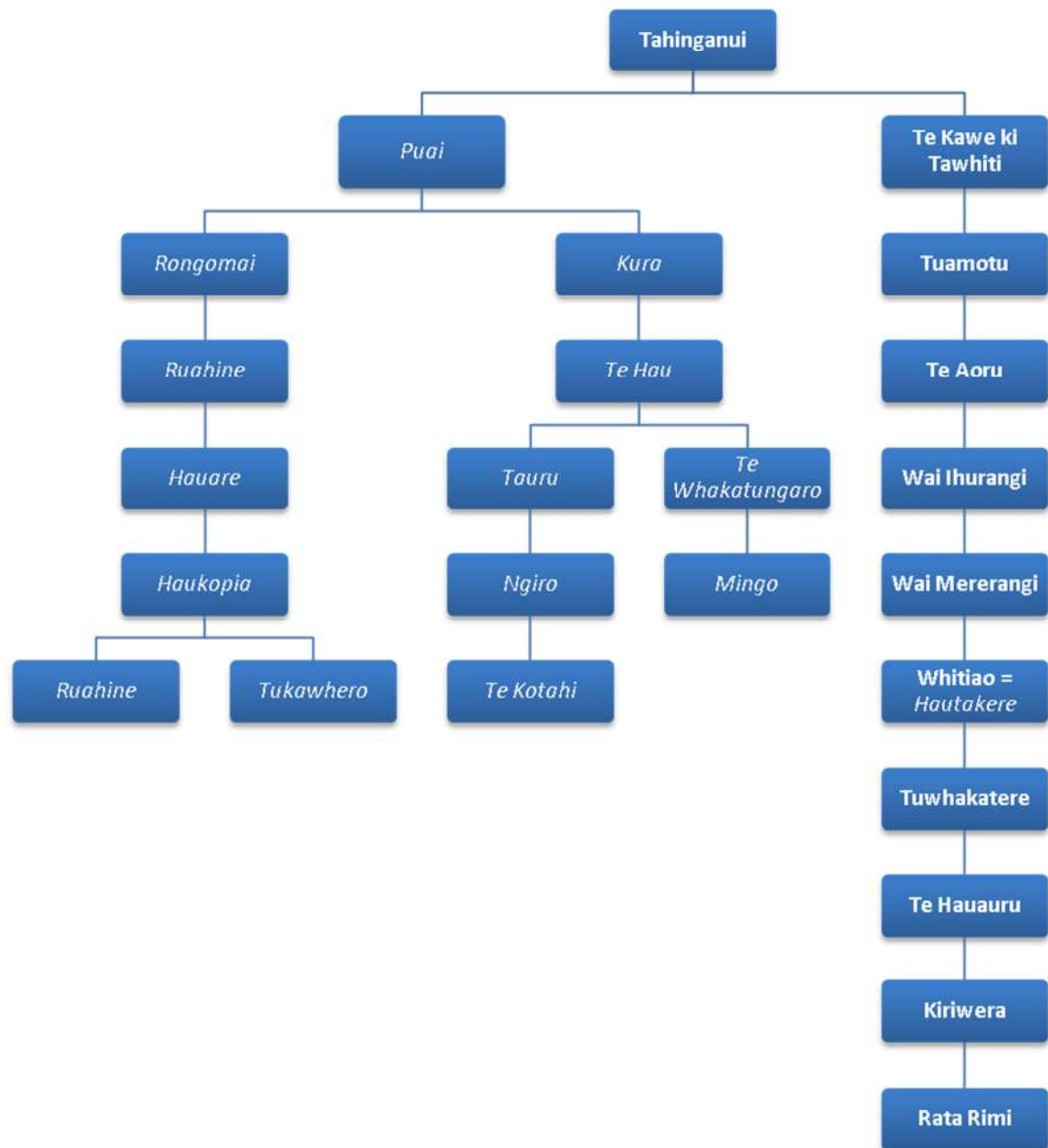
Mate Komene is the third Mate in the Mangakāhia, grandson of Matiu Te Aranui and son of Komene. Mate Komene lived in the through the early 1900 providing evidence during the Māori Land Board Committee meetings along Kamareira Wharepapa and other kaumātua of that time.¹³¹



¹³¹ DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.4

Tahinganui, Maungauna

One prominent Rangatira from the hapū of Maungauna is identified at Tahinganui. Evidence provided Rata Rimi for the hapū of Maungauna shows his connection to Tahinganui a descendant of Tāhūhūnuiorangi.¹³²



¹³² DB42- TTDMC: Rika - Heke Whanau Manuscripts, p.8

Kukupu, Te Ihi, Tirarau and Taurau

Kukupu and his sons Te Ihi, Tirarau and Taurau held the mana for Parawhau leading up to and during the arrival of Pākehā to the region.

Te Ihi Tito describes Kukupu in the following way.¹³³

Te Kukupu came from a long line of fierce and ambitious chiefs. He himself spent much of his time warring against southern tribes with his sons Te Ihi and Te Tirarau.

Fred Tito talks about the mana these chiefs held in their time.

In their day the likes of Tirarau Tuatahi, Kukupu, Tirarau Tuatoru from the Parawhau perspective did have absolute authority.

Hori Tuhiwai explains how Kukupu received the mantle of leadership, and his connection to Te Tirarau (1), widely recognised as the eponymous ancestor of Te Parawhau. He provides the descendants from Kukupu's union with Whitiao, including Te Tirarau (3), and a timeline for Kukupu's death in 1829.¹³⁴

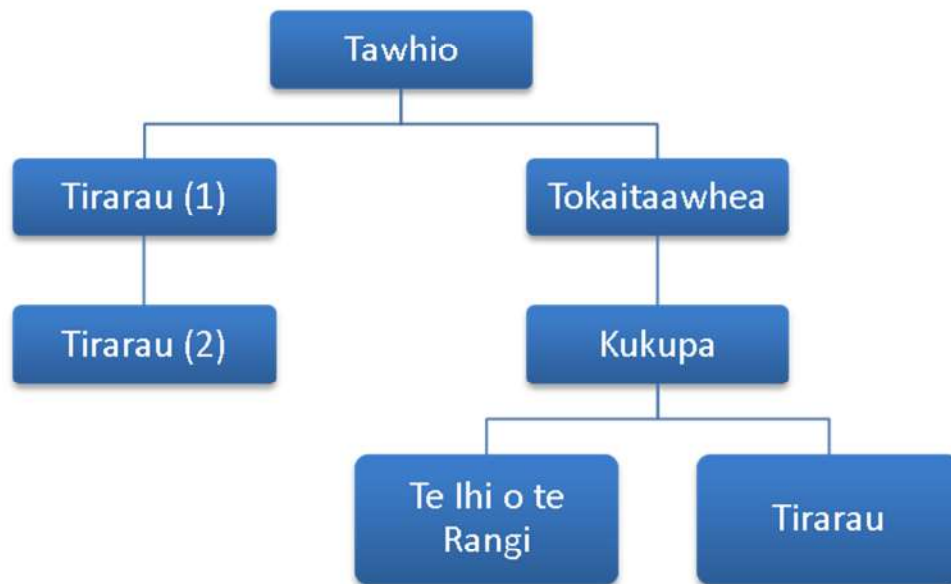
Now, Te Tirarau Tuatahi, after his death you think the mana would go to his tamaiti, but kahore. Not in the Māori world. In the Māori world it goes to the teina till it's finished then it goes to the next generation. And it stays in that generation. The mana went to his teina Tokaitaawhea. Tokaitaawhea ka moe i a Haumu, ka puta ko Kukupu, so the mana went from Te Tirarau Tuatahi to his teina Tokaitaawhea who was the matua of Kukupu. That's how the mana went over to kukupu. That's the kōrero I heard from my matuas.

Ka moe a Kukupu i a Whitiao. A, ka puta Te Ipu Whakatara, Moetara, Te Ihi o te Rangi, Koke, Te Ringi, Te Roma, Te Tirarau. And out of that first moe only his daughters had kids, Te Ipuwhakatara and Koke. The boys had no uri. Oh they did have uri but they never lasted, they have no descendants here. So that's why the mana went over to the boys to Tirarau.

¹³³ DB02 - TTDMC: Te Ihi Tito of Te Parawhau, p.3

¹³⁴ DB02 - p.14, p.14

At the pakanga the battle of Te Ikaranganui, Kukupa me tana tamaiti tuatahi a Te Ihi o Te Rangi they were at that battle at that pakanga. Two years after Te Ikaranganui, a Te Ihi a Te Rangi ka mate ia. In 1828, and in 1829 the father died so the mana went to Te Tirarau. So the mana carried on from there.



Whenua Rangatira o te Mangakāhia

Significant lands in Mangakāhia

Wi Pou was from the Parakao region of Mangakāhia. During his time he advocated to establish the local mountain Te Tarai o Rāhiri as a conservation reserve. Several historical and tribal documents Pou produced for the Mangakāhia during his lifetime have been archived in the Rika - Heke Whānau Manuscripts. Wi Pou outlines the hapū associated with the various marae of the Mangakāhia as he knew them.¹³⁵

[Translations by Wi Pou]

“Ka huri ngā kōrero ki ngā marae, hapū, iwi puta noa i te rohe o Mangakāhia timata mai i te puputanga o te awa ki te puahatanga. Te marae tuatahi ko Parahaki, te hapū ko Te Kumutu.

We will now turn to the stories of the Marae, hapū, iwi throughout the rohe of Mangakāhia, beginning with the Twin Bridges. The first Marae being Parahaki and its hapū, Te Kumutu, Ngāti Toki, Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Whakahotu, Ngāti Horahia.



Parahaki Marae

Te marae tuarua ko te Tarai o Rāhiri. Te ingoa tuatahi o tēnei marae o Nukutawhiti ara na ngā tūpuna i whakairi ki tēnei ingoa. No tata ake nei ano ka whakarereketia te ingoa tuatahi ka whakairia atu te ingoa hou Te Tarai o Rāhiri. ngā hapū o tēnei marae ko Ngāti Horohia me Ngāti Toki o roto i te rohe o Pakotai.

¹³⁵ DB34- TTDMC: Mangakahia Whenua Workshop, pp.3-5

Come to Pakotai to the Te Tarai o Rāhiri Marae, orginially called Nukutawhiti by the Tūpuna and changed of late to its present name. Here the hapū of Ngāti Toki, Ngāti Horahia and Ngāti Te Rino.



Te Tarai o Rāhiri Marae

Ka heke ki te Kiore. Ahakoa kahore te marae o tēnei mahi, ngā whānau e noho ana ki kōnei ko ngā Komene, Paraone me ngā Te Rangi. Te nuinga o ēnei iwi he uri no Ngāti Whatua ara te hapū o tēnei wāhi ko Ngāti Whakamaunga.

Next comes Te Kiore, and although there is no Marae here the families here are the Komene, Paraone and Te Rangi's. These people are descendants of Ngāti Whatua and the hapū Ngāti Whakamaunga.

Ka heke iho ki Te Aroha i roto i te rohe o Parakao, te hapū ko Ngāti Te Rino.

On to the area of Parakao and its Marae Te Aroha and the Ngāti Te Rino hapū.



Te Aroha Marae

Ka heke iho ki Titoki ko Korokota te marae ko Parawhau te hapū. Te nuinga o tēnei iwi kei raro i te maru o Ti Rarau i roto i te roha o Tangiteroria, ara kei raro hoki i te maru o Ngāti Whatua.

The journey takes us on to Titoki to the Korokota Mara and the Parawhau hapū. Most of these people are under the protection of Tirarau and Ngāti Whatua of Tangiterorira.



Korokota Marae

Ka heke iho ki Poroti ko Maungarongo te marae, ko Te Parawhau me Te Uri Roroī ngā hapū. Na ka kapi ai ngā marae tokokrima o roto i te rohe potae o te takiwa o Mangakāhia.

Then we reach Maungarongo Marae in Poroti area and of the Te Parawhau and Te Uri Roroī hapū. These are the five Marae of the Mangakāhia Valley.



Maungarongo Marae

Hirini Heta was brought up in Pakotai and has a strong connection to Ngāti Te Rino in Parakao. Heta explains how originally one Marae committee managed all three of the

original wharehui in the upper part of the Mangakāhia. These older wharehui were located at Te Oruru, Te Kiore and Te Kawau.¹³⁶

Te Awa o Mangakāhia

Wi Pou provides the following description of the Mangakāhia river in the Rika - Heke Whānau Manuscripts under the heading “Nga Kōrero e pa ana ki Mangakāhia e mohio ana ahau”¹³⁷:

“Te ingoa Mangakāhia o tēnei takiwa, rohe ranei i timata mai i te awa o Mangakāhia. Te Awa o Mangakāhia i timata iho i te maunga o Tutamoe. Tona timatatanga he puna wai e pupu ake ana i te whenua i runga i Tutamoe.

Me whakamarama ake ahau i te ingoa nei o Mangakāhia. Kei te taha o te puna wai i te timatatanga o tēnei awa e tupu ana he rākau ara te ingoa o tēnei rākau he Kahia, hoi nahe te rākau e tupu ana koia tēnei te ingoa. Ko ngā manga o te rākau e totoro atu ana ki runga o te puna wai i te timatatanga iho o tēnei awa, na reri ra ka huangia te ingoa o tēnei awa Mangakāhia ara me te whenua e tere haere ana tēnei awa i waenganui.

Te rohe me ngā awaawa e tere haere nei te awa o Mangakāhia I waenganui ko Waimatenui, Te Awamutu, Parahaki, Mimitu-Rua-Rei, Pakotai, Te Kiore, Parakai, Hapi-Rua, Titoki tatu atu ki Korokota, ki te puahatanga atu o Mangakāhia, ki te awa Wairua. I kōnei ka tere atu a Wairua ki Tangiteroria, a puta atu ana ki te awa o Te Wairoa. I kōnei ka tere atu te awa o Wairoa ki te puaha o Kaipara a ruku atu o tātou awa ki roto I te Moana nui a kiwa. Koia nei ētahi o ngā kōrero mo te awa o Mangakāhia.”

[Translation from Wi Pou follows]

“Our rohe of Mangakāhia is truly unique and steeped in Māori lore. The name ‘Mangakāhia’ comes from its awa which has its beginnings in a well of sparkling waters, bubbling up from the ground on the Tutamoe Ranges.

¹³⁶ DB07 - TTDMC: Hirini Heta, Mangakahia, p.12

¹³⁷ DB34 - TTDMC: Mangakahia Whenua Workshop, pp.2-6

Embracing the well was a beautiful tree of gigantic proportions, its great branches (manga) reaching out into the beyond. This tree, the only one of its kind was the 'Kahia' (Cassis or NZ Passion Vine) and so from this weel was formed the head waters of oru great river 'Mangakāhia', which flows through the centre of our rohe. On it's way it is joined by other streams.

The areas through which it flows are Waimatenui, Te Awamutu, Parahaki, Mimitu-Ruarei, Pakotai, Te Kiore, Parakao, Hapi-Rua, Titoki and on to Korokota. The river then joins the Wairua river. From here it flows to Tangiteroria to join the river Te Wairoa which in turn flows to the mouth of the Kaipara. From here our rivers then flow into the mighty ocean te Moana nui a Kiwa. This is one of the stories about the Mangakāhia River."

Taipari Munro outlines the role of the Mangakāhia River as a pathway and as an essential source of sustenance for the people of the Mangakāhia.¹³⁸

Koia tērā me kī, ko te ōranga o ngā iwi e noho ana i te Mangakāhia i te wā a o mātou kaumātua, a o mātou tūpuna. E mōhio ana koe i to rātou wā horekau he rori, pēnei i te rori e haere ana i roto i tērā awa iaianeina. Me kī ko te rori i tērā wā ko te awa nei.

Ma te awaawa o Mangakāhia kua whai wai ngā papakāinga e tū ana ki ngā tahataha o tērā awa. I rongo au ngā kōrero o aku matua, ka tere te kanae ki roto i tērā awa ne, e mōhio ana koe ka nui te tawhiti, e tino tawhiti ana mai i te moana ki roto o Mangakāhia, engari ka kau atu ngā ika kei roto i tērā awa.

"In considering the life of the people living in the Mangakāhia in our kaumātua's time, you need to realise that there was no roads like our roads today. The road in those days was the river.

The Mangakāhia River was the source of water for all the communities that lived along the bank of the river. I heard my elders talk about the mullet running up that river, even though I know that the Mangakāhia is a long way from the ocean, the fish still managed to get up into this river." [Translation by Piripi Moore]

¹³⁸ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, p.10

Ngā Maunga o Mangakāhia

Wi Pou provides an overview of the mountains for the Mangakāhia in the Rika – Heke Whānau Manuscripts¹³⁹:

[Translations by Wi Pou]

“Ka huri ngā kōrero inaiane ki ngā maunga, ara ki ngā pātu o te whare o Mangakāhia. Tutamoe te maunga i timata mai i roto o Kaihu / Ngāti Whatua, puta noa atu ki te puaha o Hokianga / Ngāpuhi nui tonu te timatatanga o te awa o Mangakāhia.



Tutamoe

The Tutamoe Range begins in Kaihu and extends to the mouth of the Hokainga.

Tutamoe ka heke iho i te taha tai rawhiti ka titiro ki “Nga Toru Whakatupuranga” (Three Kings), i ingoatia ai ēnei maunga hei tohu whakamaharatanga ki a Kupe me one uri a Nukutawhiti raua ko Rāhiri.

The headwaters of the Mangakāhia is located here and flowing on the eastern side it then descend to Ngā Toru Whakatupuranga (Three Kings) This mountain was given this name in memort of Kupe and his descendants Nukutawhiti and Rāhiri.

¹³⁹ DB34 - TTDMC: Mangakahia Whenua Workshop, pp.3-5



Nga Toru Whakatupuranga – *The Three Kings*

Nga Toru Whakatupuranga titiro ki te maunga ‘Te Tarai o Rāhiri’, te mana, te tapu, te ihi puta noa i a Ngāpuhi, te maunga i whakakai Ngātia, a okiokinga o Rāhiri te tūpuna o ngā uri katoa o Ngāpuhi nui Tonu.

From here one looks across to the maunga Te Tarai o Rāhiri and the Mangakāhia Awa continues its journey along the foot of this prestigious and sacred mountain, hauntingly beautiful in its entirety. It takes this name from Rāhiri, the great ancestor of all Ngāpuhi.



Te Tarai o Rāhiri

Te Tarai o Rāhiri titiro ki Maunga Kohatu. *Te Tarai o Rāhiri looks across to Maunga Kohatu.*



Maunga Kōhatu

Maunga Kohatu titiro ki Whatitiri *and on to Whatitiri mountain.*



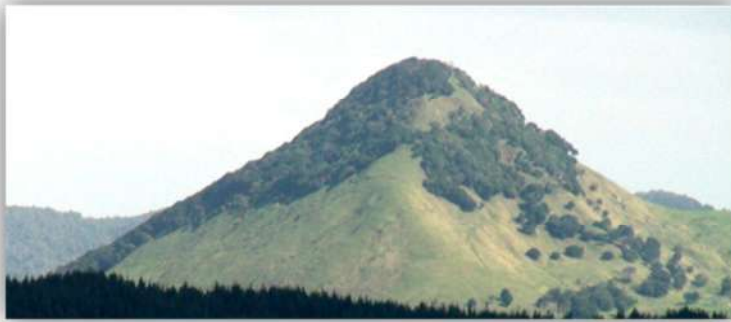
Whatitiri

Whatitiri ka huri ka hoki ake ki te tai hauauru titiro kite Hiko o te Rangi. *From here there is a change of direction to the west looking to Hiko o Te Rangi,*



Hiko o te Rangi

Hiko o te Rangi titiro ki te maunga o Houto. *Hiko o te Rangi then to Houto mountain,*



Houto

Houto titiro ki Maunga Tipa, Maunga Tipa titiro ki Tutamoe. Koia ra ēnei ko ngā maunga o Mangakāhia i raro i te maru whare tapu o Ngāpuhi. *Houto on to Maunga Tipa and then to Tutamoe. These are the ranges of Mangakāhia under the hallowed rood of the Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi.*

Ngā Kūkūpā o Whatitiri / The Thunder of the Wood Pigeons

Taipari Munro identifies the maunga of Whatitiri as a significant gathering place for kukupa or wood pigeons. The oral history regarding the naming of Whatitiri relates to the abundance of kukupa on that mountain. It is told that as the kukupa feasted on the miro berries on Whatitiri their excrement was so abundant that it made a thunderous sound as it hit the ground. Hence the mountain was named after that noise, Whatitiri or thunder.¹⁴⁰

I mua, ko te tino manu o Whatitiri ko te kukupa, ko tērā te tino manu o tērā maunga o Whatitiri. Koia e mea ana wā tātou kaumātua, engari e ‘hakapae ana ahau he kōrero noa iho pea, engari ko ta rātou kōrero kia mātou i te wā i a mātou e tamariki ana mo te ingoa Whatitiri nei, ka mea mai rātou i te mea, te tino kaha o ngā manu nei o ngā kukupa, kei reira rātou kei roto i te ngahere o Whatitiri e kaikai ana i ngā miro me ngā hua rakau, i te mea hoki te kaha tini, ka tikotiko hoki te manu, ka taka te tiko ki te whenua, i te mea te kaha tini o ngā manu, e hanga rite ana ki te whatitiri, te haruru mai o te tūtae e tiko ana ki runga i te whenua, ka haruru mai. Koia tērā, e mea ana ngā kaumātua koia tērā te take o tērā ingoa Whatitiri, engari e ‘hakapae ana ahau he kōrero noaiho tērā. Engari ahakoa e mea ana ahau he kōrero noaiho, i roto i tērā kōrero e taea te kite he aha kē te take ko te

¹⁴⁰ DB05 - TTDMC: Taipari Munro of Mangakahia, p.14

tino manu o tērā maunga ko te kukupa, itemea he tini ngā kukupa o tērā maunga.
Koia hoki tērā ko tētahi tino kai.

Te Rohe Potae o Te Parawhau

During a series of Te Parawhau hapū wānanga and workshops a number of significant sites of interest were identified. The inclusion of these sites within this report should not be interpreted as a claim to exclusive interest, rather one which defines the historical whenua interests and activities of Te Parawhau over a period of time within the region.¹⁴¹

1. Manaia

A cornerstone maunga for Parawhau and Ngāpuhi nui tonu. Manaia was the grandfather of Tāhūhū Potiki who married Reipae. This union helped to establish Ngāi Tahu.

2. Parihaka

Parihaka was a prominent Parawhau pa, an established and extensive area of settlement. It was named because of the sounds of haka echoing on the cliffs prior to battles. This ritual was conducted by warriors in making their preparations to go to war.

3. Parikiore

Parikiore is a dominant feature on the Parawhau landscape. It used as a defensive pa and an area used to defend Parawhau's northern interest particularly in the resources of the Hikurangi swamp. Kiore is an important food source and this was one of the areas to collect this kai.

4. Hikurangi / Te Hiko o Te Rangi

This is a significant maunga and pa site for Te Parawhau where some of the descendant of Kukupa are buried.

¹⁴¹ DB35- TTDMC: Parawhau Whenua Wānanga, pp.1-9

One kōrero tells us that after the death of Te Rape Teretere Kukupa in 1829 his head was decapitated taken and hung in a Papakauri on the old Pa site Hiko o te Rangi away from enemy eyes. The Tinana was wrapped in kohekohe and taken to one of the sacred caves. Sometime later the head and body was both taken to the sacred ana in Waiomio.

Another kōrero identifies this pa as belonging to the Ngāi Tāhūhū Rangatira Hikurangi.

5. Maunga Tipa

If you look at Maunga Tipa from Titoki this maunga resembles a scallop or tipa. However the hapū from Parakao looking at it from their rohe, names the same maunga as Ruahine. Maunga Tipa is a signpost mountain for Parawhau.

6. Tutamoi

Tuta is part of the name of a tūpuna who had great affection for his dog. The old name for puppy is moi, an indigenous dog. Tuta feel asleep and when he woke up puppy was missing. The moi of Tuta now inhabits this mountain range and hence it is called Tutamoi. Tutamoi is another part of the cultural landscape for Parawhau and Ngāpuhi nui tonu. Tutamoi is the highest mountains range in Taitokerau, starting at Kaihu and ending at Waima.

7. Maunganui

The Mamari waka was wrecked at the foot of Maunganui at a place called Omamari. This maunga marks our connections and relationship to our tūpuna from the Hokianga. Taramainuku was the grandfather of Kukupa who resided in this area at one stage. Maunganui marks an area of seasonal food collection for us on the west coast. We still gather kaimoana from this area to this day.

8. Te Tarai o Rāhiri

The Parawhau tūpuna Kukupa and his son Tirarau have known fighting pa and settlements at the southern foot of Te Tarai o Rāhiri. The story of Rāhiri's exploits on this maunga are well known in Ngāpuhi.

9. Maunga Kōhatu

The resting place of the Ngāi Tāhūhū tūpuna Tuhukea, from which emerged Ngāti Tu. Tuhukea in his time nearly 400 years ago held mana from Te Rerenga Wairua ki Tamaki Makaurau. His mummified body was taken around the world when it was discovered in an ana on Maunga Kōhatu in 1929 and came into the possession of William Fraser. Thirty year later in 1959 Tuhukea's remains were returned to his people. After an all night hui held at Maungarongo Marae, Porotiti it was decided that he was to be taken back to Maunga Kōhatu. He is buried under a Kauri tree in Aputahera Cemetary. This is on the of significant in Te Taitokerau. From the top of this maunga you can see both coasts, and view the physical boundaries of Ngāpuhi nui tonu. There is a significant area on this mountain called 'The number eight' where even today the kaitiaki hapū Ngāti Te Rino still gather kai and rongoā. Te Ipu Whakatara and her siblings are direct descendants of Tuhukea. Te Ipu Whakatara is Kukupa and Whitiao's eldest child.

10. Tangihua

When Rāhiri was on a journey south he climbed this mountain. He was sad about leaving his tamariki behind and he had a tangi for his children (hua) on the top of this mountain. Hence the mountain was called Tangihua. There are burial places and pa on this mountain as well one of which belonged to Kukupa and his son Tirarau. Tangihua was also rich in resources that were utilised by Parawhau.

11. Whatitiri

Whatitiri is the birth place of Te Parawhau and hence had significant settlements, cultivations and wahitapu all around it. This is where the hapū Ruangaio became Te Parawhau at the tangi of Tirarau tuatahi.

There were networks of tracks leading from Whatitiri to all other settlements including both coasts and harbours. One kōrero credit Whatitiri's name to the abundance of kukupa (wood pigeons) on this maunga and the sounds they may. Whatitiri is a word for thunder. All of the children of Kukupa were born at Whatitiri.

12. Maungatapere and Ōmāunu

Te Uma Pahaha (the parted breast) was the original old name mentioned by our tūpuna for both Maungatapere and Ōmaunu. These two maunga represent the woman's breasts.

Maungatapere was named after a village called Tapere which was occupied by Taramainuku the grandfather of Kukupa.

Ōmāunu was a settlement which the Pākehā today call Māunu. When the road was put through it was then labelled by the Pākehā Maunu after the village Omaunu. Both of these settlement areas are within Te Parawhau's domain.

13. Pukenui

There are pa sites all over this ridge, including both defensive and occupations sites. A resource rich area full of cultivations, wetlands and forestry.

14. Maungarū

Maungarū has many pa site on it. It was a Te Parawhau strong hold. Many battles were fought here with neighbouring hapū such as Te Roroa, Te Uri o Hau, Ngāti Rangi, Te Whiu, Ngāti Whatua and Ngāti Toki. Reason for the battles was mana motuhake / ownership and resources.

15. Maungakamea

16. Horokaka

There is a lot of old battle ground on and around this maunga. Horokaka is the most southern peak of Tangihua. It was abundant with the manu Kaka.

17. Mangarata

Mangarata is west of Tangihua and was a big fortified pa of Te Parawhau

(Please find this Todd on the southern range of Tangihua. There should be a road called Mangarata leading to it.)

18. Whāngaimokopuna (Find this also, on western side of Tangihua)

Whāngaimokopuna is situated on the western face of the Tangihua ranges. It was one of Kukupa's pa site. In the old days when someone within the hapū died you could hear rumbling or thunder like sounds in the night coming from that direction. The next day there was a slip and the status of that person would determine the size of the slip.

19. Maungaraho

20. Tokatoka

21. Putahi

22. Ruarangi

Is an old pa site and burial place for the hapū of Ruangaio a founding hapū of Te Parawhau. Torongare is said to have spent time here.

23. Tikorangi

This is the original name of the maunga at Portland, what is left of it anyway since the limestone has been extracted for cement.

24. Mangawhati

Was a very old and very large pa site.

25. Puketitoti

This place is rich in resources such as food and medicines. There was Te Parawhau pa on this site.

26. Pukehuia

Pukehuia was a place abundant with the Huia bird. There feathers were treasured and used for korowai and adornment. At the foot of this hill is a very significant waka tauranga for Tirarau where he landed his waka.

27. Purua

The community at Purua is situated on a block of land in which there is a wāhi tapu where Te Ipu Whakatarā is said to be interred. Purua marks a boundary between Te Parāwhau, Te Kahu o Torongare and Te Orewai / Ngāti Hine.

28. Houto (Find on map next to Maunga Tipa)

Houto is a cone shape mountain that stands out in the heart of Te Parāwhau. It was used as a lookout, but also had valuable resources around it.

29. Hatoi

The Catholic Mission was established at Hatoi under the authority of Te Tirarau Kukupa. The original name is Pahiaotawa.

30. Te Ripo

Named after the swirling of the waters from the tide and the Mangakāhia and the Wairua river, Te Ripo was a village near this junction on the side of the Wairoa river. All the old tūpuna tracks from North, South, East and West lead to this sacred area, both by foot and river. There was a fortified pa of Kukupa's near here called Maunga Kokopu. Te Ripo is the gate way to the Wairoa and the Kaipara.

31. Kaipara

Tirarau often spent part of each year in Te Kaipara fishing for sharks around the Otamatea area. He was known to have kumara and riwai gardens in this area. Tirarau

is recorded to have taken tuna and placed them in the lakes just north of Pouto. He would spend between 4-5 months in the Kaipara doing this mahi.

32. Te Ripiro

Parawhau Toheroa gathering grounds.

33. Poutu ki te Rangi

This was one of the first pa sites for the ancient tūpuna of Te Parawhau.

34. Te Ouepu

Tirarau and other chiefs gifted land here to Te Aprehama Taonui from Poutu ki te Rangi south to Te Kopuru. Te Ouepu marks out a new boundary area for Te Parawhau in Tirarau's time on the west coast.

35. Tokatoka

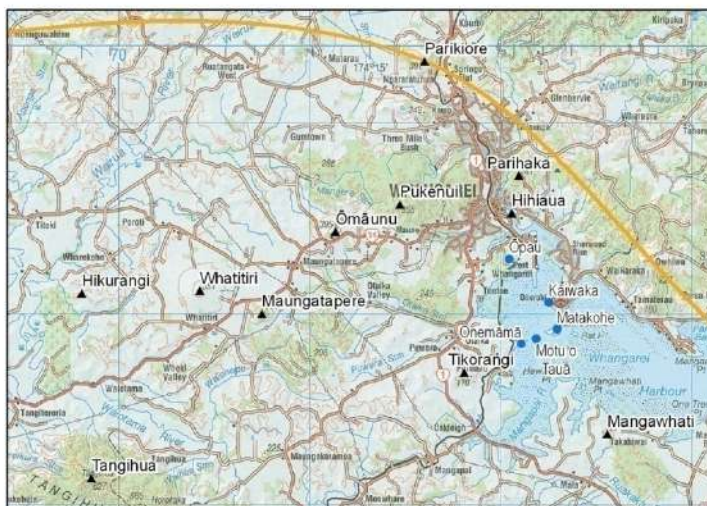
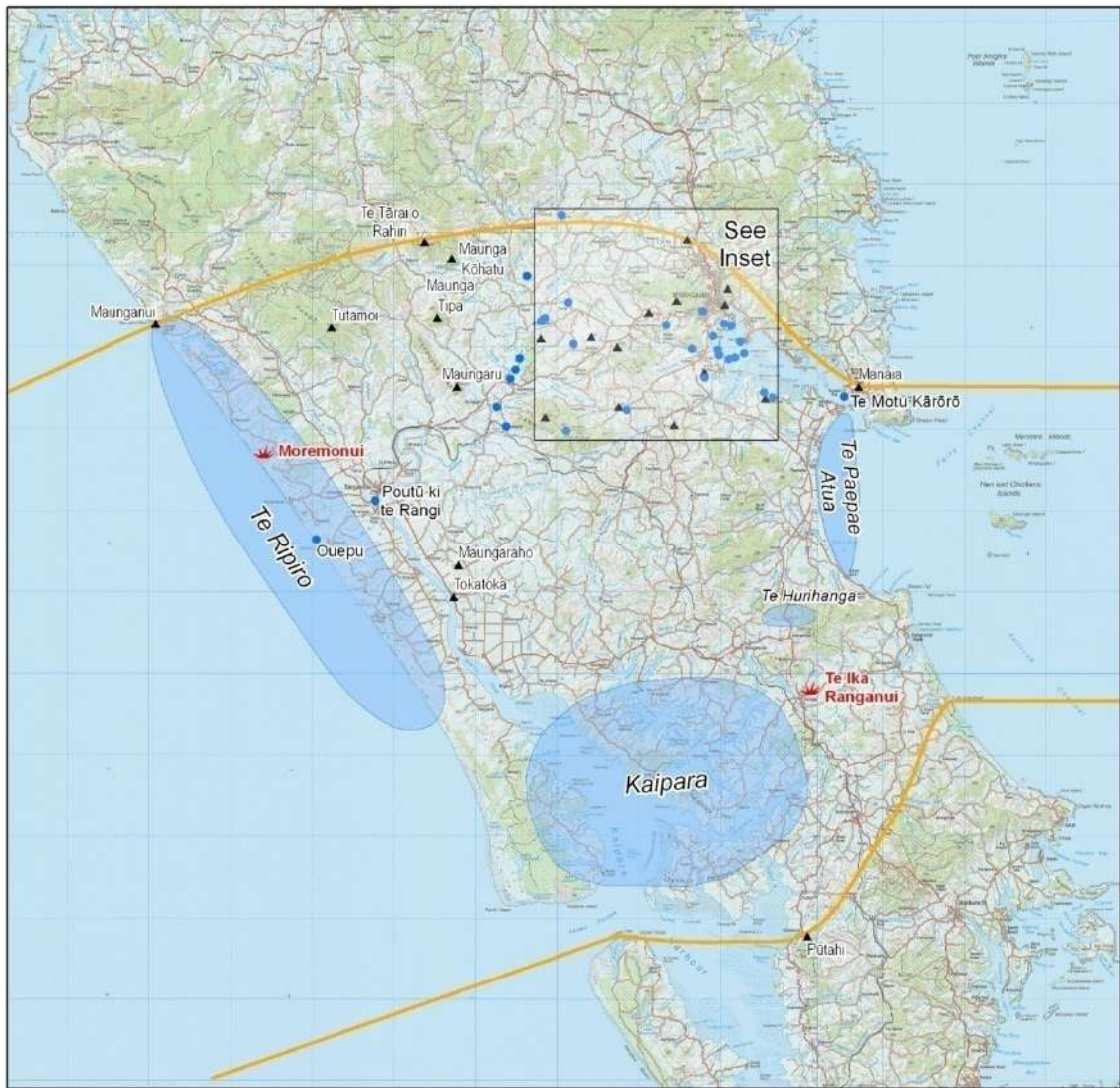
An old pa site.

36. Te Hurihanga

Another boundary marker for Te Parawhau.

37. Te Paepae Atua

Te Paepae Atua is the name of the coastline from Mangawhai to the Whangarei harbour entrance. The coastline marks the threshold between atua, Tangaroa to the sea, Tāne inland, and Tumatauenga the atua of man and war in the middle.



Parawhau Hearings Map

— Te Mana o Te Parawhau

▲ Maunga

● Papakainga, places

🔥 Battlefields

■ Papakainga, areas

Scale 1:700,000 Main Map

Scale 1:300,000 Inset Map



Data Sources: LINZ Topographic data (crown copyright reserved)

Mangakāhia Chapter Conclusion

The boundary role that the hapū and whānau of Mangakāhia have played for many generations has helped to form the natural groupings within the region and protect and sustain the hapū and whānau who live there.

In times of war the hapū of the Mangakāhia have played a key role as guard and protector and also as a refuge for those that needed it. Its geographical location on both the main North to South, and East to West trunk lines created a complicated inter-relationship with bordering hapū and iwi, acting as both an ally to Ngāti Hine and Ngāpuhi whilst at the same time allowing elements of Ngāti Whatua to take refuge within its secure mountain ranges.

Mangakāhia origins stem back to the arrival of many of the founding waka for Te Taitokerau and incorporate the emergence of Ngāi Tāhūhū, Ngāi Tū, Ngāti Pongia and Ngāpuhi through Rahiri. The later arrival of Torongare and Hauhaua and all of their progeny, and the unions between Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Whatua, Ngāti Rehia and the many other neighbouring hapu were incorporated seamlessly into the fabric of the Mangakahia whakapapa helping to define who they are today, whilst maintaining their distinct identity and local level authority.

This complex web of whakapapa alliances created both opportunities and challenges for the Mangakāhia. Regardless of the trials and pressures from neighbouring hapū, the whānau and hapū of the Mangakāhia have managed to maintain their own mana throughout and in doing so carved out a unique place historically and regionally within Te Taitokerau.

u MN-L^u

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Tribal Landscape Overview Report 16 November 2009
Mira Szászy Research Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development
University of Auckland Business School

“He Whenua Rangatira”
Northern Tribal Landscape Overview
(Hokianga, Whangaroa, Bay of Islands, Whāngārei,
Mahurangi and Gulf Islands)

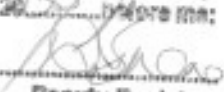
16 November 2009

Prepared for:

Crown Forestry Rental Trust
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Filed for registration at the Registrar of the High Court of New Zealand
Of Registrar of the High Court of New Zealand
And
Declared/ sworn at Whangarei on 20th day of August 2009 before me:

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Welcome with the wind flow of love on the dawn light
In the mists of the dawn tide
In the lowering shadows of the sheltered eve
In the blackness causing the permanent worlds slumber

You came, my bird
From the searching, seeking, & fashioning
Of the sea and land birds

Stand on this courtyard Sirs
Speak of the plight
that caused you to travel to Rangiatea

Where the circle of Women and the band of Men
The assembly of the brave, the flow of memories disappeared
So you lot let these matters be changed
For words are the food of Chiefs.
That's it.⁷

1.2 Who are Ngāpuhi?: Tribal autonomy

Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu

Ngāpuhi or Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu (great everlasting Ngāpuhi) is a term used to describe the multiplicity of tribes and marae within its territories. According to Professor Patu Hohepa, within Ngāpuhi there are several other terms used. Ngāpuhi-whānui (broad Ngāpuhi) is another name for Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu. Ngāpuhi-iti, also known as Ngāpuhi-tūturu, is the Ngāpuhi within the eleven mountains that form the supports of the house of Ngāpuhi, described later in this chapter. The borders of Ngāpuhi-tūturu are the valleys and seas adjacent to the eleven mountains that protect the territory. The remainder of Northland, from the Tāmaki River north, is part of Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu.

Although the term is sometimes used to cover the ways in which the far northern tribes of Ngāti Kuri, Ngāti Kahu, Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri, as well as more southerly tribes, including Ngāti Wai, Te Parawhau, Te Roroa and Ngāti Whātua, are closely related to Ngāpuhi, this title is not necessarily accepted by some of these groups, because each is a tribe in its own right, with an independent identity and autonomous existence.

Ngāpuhi is not a waka or a waka grouping or confederation, as others are. Members associate with the many waka that made initial landfall in the north, which are referred to at the end of

⁷ Translation by Patu Hohepa, June 2009.

this chapter, and in more detail in Chapter 3. Nor is Ngāpuhi an iwi in the sense of being a small number of genealogically linked founding ancestors; a defined territory; a single defining mountain; a single defining river, lake or ocean, or a single unifying person of the past or present.

The origins and division of Ngāpuhi

The origins of the name Ngāpuhi are ancient and there is not agreement between various whakapapa. Nukutāwhiti's arrival in Hokianga, in the double-hulled *Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua*, can be taken as a starting point for tracing the genesis of the tribal group. According to one tradition, this and the waka *Māmari*, captained by Ruānui, came together.⁸ Nukutāwhiti is known to have explored inland from the Hokianga harbour, Puketapu at Ngāwhā being considered to be an old settlement of his. He is also identified with Pouerua, where some of his skeletal remains were deposited in caves.

Having separated from Ruānui and his followers, Nukutāwhiti and his people moved into South Hokianga, migrating along the rivers and ridges to the area now known as Taiāmai, or the inland Bay of Islands, as well as north-westwards to Waihou. During this process, they met the descendants of Tamatea (Ngāti Tamatea), who were expanding from Kaitia, and the descendants of Tahūhūniarangi (Ngāti Tahūhū) who were migrating northwards from the Auckland isthmus.

In about the seventh generation, Nukutāwhiti's descendant Tauramoko married Hauangiangi of Ngāti Awa (daughter of Puhi), and they became the parents of Rāhiri. A Ngāti Awa tradition reports that Rāhiri was born in Whakatāne and travelled north on *Mataatua*. Rāhiri undertook many journeys in the north, and a number of place names commemorate his travels. Throughout and between his extensive travels, Whiria Pā at Pākanāe was Rāhiri's principal residence.

By the time he had grown to manhood, Rāhiri's mandate over the Hokianga and inland Bay of Islands regions, and that of his cousin Te Kaka at Whangaroa, were being threatened by Ngāti Awa. In defence of these mandates, Rāhiri waged several battles in Hokianga, while Te Kaka and Tomuri fought others against Ngāti Awa at Whangaroa. In the aftermath of these challenges, Ngāti Awa were ejected from Hokianga and Whangaroa and began moving

⁸ H M Tawhai to S P Smith, 1892, in Tawhai, Hone Mohi, Letters (Letters to S P Smith from Hone Mohi Tawhai, Waimā), MS 281 Auckland Institute Museum Library, pp.13-14, DB3; Hohepa notes, p.29, DB1.

southwards. Some returned to Whakatāne, others went to Taranaki where they formed or merged into Atiawa. One of Rāhiri's sons, named Māui, went south with them.

At this time, Ngāi Tāhuhu were the dominant group at Pouerua, Ngāwhā, Whāngārei and southwards to Tāmaki. Strategic marriage alliances between Rāhiri and Ahuaiti of Ngāi Tāhuhu from Pouerua, and between their son, Uenuku-kūare and another Ngāi Tāhuhu woman, Kareariki, from the same place, strengthened Rāhiri's hold in the area.

The story of Rāhiri's two sons and how the boundary came to be set between the Hokianga and Taumārere areas is well known, albeit with some minor discrepancies. In one version, while Rāhiri was living at Whiria with his first wife Ahuaiti, some food she had prepared in a hāngi was not properly cooked when it was taken out. This would have been a most unfortunate occurrence in customary terms and, because Rāhiri insulted her for it, Ahuaiti left Whiria. In another version, the couple separated following a visit by Ahuaiti's brothers or brothers-in-law. It is said that she had given the visitors the best of the food (or fern root) in Rāhiri's stores against his explicit instructions and that he banished her for this deed. In either case, the accounts agree that Ahuaiti returned to her own people on the east coast. Some say that her son had already been born at Whiria and that they were exiled together, others that she was pregnant at the time of her banishment and that he was born after she had left. The latter version fits with the reason for his being named Uenuku (Rainbow) from the circumstances of his birth — Ahuaiti was alone when she went into labour with her only companion being Āniwaniwa (the rainbow). This son became known as Uenuku-kūare because he had no father to teach him karakia and traditional lore.⁹ He was brought up at Pouerua, Ngāwhā and Waitangi.¹⁰ Meanwhile, Rāhiri married again, to Whakaruru, and had a child with her, named Kaharau, who lived with him at Pākanae.

In time, Uenuku-kūare asked about this father, and his mother gave him directions to find him at Pākanae in the Hokianga. His purpose was to avenge his insulting name and to have his status as tuakana (the elder and senior brother) acknowledged. In due course he found his father and lived with him there, but Kaharau was jealous of Rāhiri's fondness for Uenuku and refused to acknowledge Uenuku as the tuakana.

⁹ Jane McRae, 'Whakataukii: Māori sayings', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1988, p. 259; Tanengapuia Te Rangiawhina Mokena, 'Structural framework of the Māori quest story', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2005, p. 337.

¹⁰ Patu Hohepa notes, p. 41. DB1.

Within a short time, conflict seemed imminent. Kaharau challenged Uenuku to a contest of physical prowess and ability at karakia, but, concerned that Kaharau was in the weaker position and in the hope of avoiding harm to either of his sons, Rāhiri intervened. He told them to prepare a plaited flax rope long enough to go around the maunga on which their pā was built (Whiria) and himself made a manurere (kite) which was tied to the rope. When it was first released, the rope broke and the manurere, which landed on a hill above the valley, was found either at Tahuna leaning up against a pūriri tree or at Motukauri where it landed in a grove of kahikatea trees. The place name, Whirinaki, commemorates this event.

When the kite was released a second time, it flew and landed near Kaikohe.¹¹ The place where it landed became the dividing line between the areas of Hokianga and Taumārere. Uenuku controlled the land to the east and Kaharau that to the west of the line. From these events, Kaikohe became known as Te Pua o te Wheke, the heart of the octopus, or the gateway between the east and the west. This is how Rāhiri established the two sections of Ngāpuhi, with the intention of avoiding fighting between the two brothers and their descendants, who would instead come to each other's aid in times of need.¹² The name of Ngāti Korokoro's famous maunga, 'Whiria', commemorates Uenuku and Kaharau plaiting the kite's tail.¹³ Rāhiri's third son, Māui, was named from his father's proverbialised words 'Whiria te taura mo to māui' (Plait the flaxtwine for your kite).¹⁴

From Rāhiri's establishment of the two sections of Ngāpuhi came the well-known whakataukī:

Ka mimiti te puna o Hokianga, ka totō ki Taumārere;
Ka mimiti te puna ki Taumārere, ka totō ki Hokianga.

When the spring of Hokianga dries up, that of Taumārere fills up;
When the spring of Taumārere dries up, that of Hokianga fills up.

On one level, this refers to the differential tides of the two coasts and the underground waterways that link Hokianga and Taumārere – the pathway of taniwha – but on another, it refers to the ancestral human spring that, because of the ties of kinship, flows backwards and

¹¹ <http://www.hokianga.org/whirinaki/htm>; and John Klaricich, *The Land History of Whiria*, n.p., n.d., p. 11.

¹² Maori Marsden, 19 September 1985, cit. McRae, 'Whakataukii'.

¹³ Klaricich, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴ Patu Hohepa notes, p. 41. DB1.

forwards from Hokianga to Taumārere or from Taumārere to Hokianga to support each other in times of war.¹⁵

Although most of the iwi and hapū forming Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu have descended from Ahuaiti and Whakaruru,¹⁶ Rāhiri married other women, including Moetonga, whose descendants live in the Waipoua Forest and south of the Hokianga, and Paru, whose descendants live along the coast between Whangaruru and Whāngārei.¹⁷

Some 150 years after the time of Uenuku and his wife Kareariki, when Captain James Cook reached Aotearoa New Zealand, the political situation in Te Taitokerau was extremely volatile. According to Ann Salmond, only remnants of Ngāti Awa remained in the Bay of Islands area by then, while Ngāpuhi (the descendants of Puhi-moana-ariki and Rāhiri) were in the process of expanding into that area from the Hokianga and other inland areas.¹⁸ Ngāti Pou were at Ōhaeawai, the south-east islands and to the north at Whangaroa, while Ngāti Miru and Te Wahineiti (who might have been subdivisions of Ngāti Pou) controlled the Waimate-Kerikeri district. The leading rangatira at this time, those that led the expansion of Ngāpuhi, included Tapua, Auha, Te Wairua, Te Hōtete, Whakaaria, Kauteāwhā, Pehirangi, Whakahotu, Hineira, Waipihangarangi, Tukarawa, and others.

This time of Ngāpuhi expansion was simultaneously one of splitting into two alliances, (discussed further in Chapter 5), as the various groups sought to gain control of the rich local resources, foreign trade and the missionaries whom they saw as conduits for European manufactures and processed foods. As they sought to acquire mana over the region, they also began a process of clearing out many of the non-Ngāpuhi elements that remained within their territories.

The whakataukī, ‘Ngāpuhi kohao rau kai tangata’ (Ngāpuhi of a hundred holes, man-eaters), refers to the fact that, historically, Ngāpuhi have been fierce as well as fiercely independent. Jane McRae has recorded one explanation of this saying which was probably given by Hōne Mohi Tāwhai and written down in the nineteenth century:

Te whakamaoritanga o teenei whakataukii, he tini no ngaa rangatira whai mana o teenei iwi o Ngaapuhi, he rangatira anoo me taana whakahaere i

¹⁵ Patu Hohepa notes, p. 42. DB1.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 42. DB1.

¹⁷ Rāwiri Taonui, ‘Ngā Puhi’, *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/NgaPuhi/en> (updated 26 Sep 2006).

¹⁸ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds. First Meetings Between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Auckland, 1991, pp. 377, 386-387, 397-402.

runga i taana mana i taana mana. E noho rangimaarie ana teetahi rangatira me taana iwi, e whawhai ana teetahi rangatira me taana iwi, i hohou rongo anoo teetahi, eetahi rangatira, e koohuru ana teetahi, eetahi rangatira me aa raatou iwi, koia te tikanga o te whakataukii i runga ake nei. Otiraa, te tino tikanga o taua whakataukii nei he mea whakarite ki te waka pakaru, tini ngaa koowhao, aa, e purua ana eetahi; e pipi mai ana te wai i eetahi koowhao i te tini hoki o ngaa koowhao o te waka. Whaihoki ko ngaa rangatiratanga i roto i te iwi o Ngaapuhi, e pehi noa ana eetahi rangatira kia mutu te whawhai, e whakatika ana eetahi ki te whawhai.

The explanation of this saying is that there are many influential chiefs amongst the Ngāpuhi tribes, and that each leader rules according to his own authority. One chief lives in peace with his people, another fights with his; yet others keep the peace while others again fight by stealth – this is the meaning of the above saying. However, the real interpretation of that saying lies in the comparison with a broken canoe which has many holes in it, for when some of these are blocked up, others let the water through because of the great number of holes in the canoe. Similarly with the chiefs of the Ngāpuhi people, while some chiefs press for a cease to fighting, others are up and fighting.¹⁹

This was evident in significant political and economic events in Ngāpuhi modern history prior to 1840 when Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed. These events, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, include the drama associated with trade relations and foreign traders, the meeting of Hongi Hika and Waikato with King George in 1820 and the handshake that started the formal relations with the British Crown; the 1831 Rangatira letter to King William IV requesting trade and a long-term relationship; the appointment of James Busby by British Authorities as the first British Resident and his engagement with Ngāpuhi leaders from 1833; Busby's proposal in 1834 – which was accepted by tribal leaders – that a flag of convenience was appropriate for trade; the adoption and proclamation in 1835 of a declaration of independence and assertion of a national mana of Māori leaders embodied in He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tīreni.

Tribal leaders of 1840 refused to surrender their mana over their own territories or to become in any way subservient to Queen Victoria. While some other Pacific islands, such as Tahiti, Hawai'i and Tonga, became kingdoms, Aotearoa did not. Even in the second half of the

¹⁹ Department of Maori Affairs, Whangarei, *He Pepeha, He Whakatauki No Taitokerau*, Auckland, 1987, pp. 59-60.

nineteenth century the tribes of Te Taitokerau refused to join the Kīngitanga movement, preferring instead to put their efforts towards their own Kotahitanga movement.²⁰

Historically, rangatira fiercely protected their territories and the inhabitants of these, and the mana they held over both. For example, when Marsden visited the Hokianga Harbour in 1819, the local rangatira and tohunga were anxious to be assured that Hongi Hika was aware and approved of the visit. They asked Marsden's party:

if we had mentioned our coming to Shunghee [Hongi], for they feared the chiefs on the east side would not be pleased if any ship should visit them. I told them I had acquainted Shunghee with our intention, and he had sent his son to show us the way. They were much pleased at this information and remarked that, as we had come of our own accord, without invitation, the chiefs had no ground to be offended with them.²¹

Similarly, when a party of Wesleyan missionaries, including John Hobbs, consulted Patuone over the availability of some land for a mission settlement, the rangatira refused to accompany Hobbs to the sailing ship to consult his brother missionary James Stack, lest 'it would look as if he wished to bring the vessel away from the people who lived down at the Heads'.²²

Tribal groups tended to maintain a physical separation from others on many occasions. This was especially evident at Te Wherowhero's hākari at Remuera, in 1844, when Robert Fitzroy reported:

Each tribe, or rather portion of a tribe, [was located] by itself, on its own hillock or ridge; an army could have been encamped more skilfully, or with a greater appearance of regularity.²³

Fitzroy was taken to address each group separately, waiting outside each encampment while the group to be visited made their preparations to welcome him and his party. The missionary Richard Taylor described a similar situation when Hōne Heke, who hosted a hākari at Waimate in 1841, mixed with various separate groups present and addressed each one in turn.²⁴

²⁰ Judith Binney, Kaaro, Ani Fl. 1885-1901, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 7 July 2005, available at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> (7 January 2006), (original version, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume Two (1870-1900), 1993); Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Kawiti, Kirihi Te Riri Maihi 1877-1964, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 7 July 2005, available at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> (7 January 2006), (original version *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume Four (1921-1940), 1998); O'Malley and Robertson, p.145.

²¹ J R Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, Dunedin, 1932, p. 189.

²² John Hobbs Journal, Diaries and letter books, 1 November 1827, MS 144, AWMML. DB4.

²³ Fitzroy to Lord Stanley, GBPP, 1845 (247), Article 19, (Gilles Set 2, Vol. 2, Item5).

²⁴ Katherine Ruth Urry, 'Te Hakari: Feasting in Maori Society and its Archaeological Implications', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1993, p. 43.

This social and geographic separation was evident at the Māori hostelry in Auckland in 1852, when the Native Secretary reported ‘constant complaints’ about it. These complaints were about poor hygiene, and the lack of heating and promised partitioning to separate the different tribal groups who used the facility.²⁵ This could explain why John Jolliffe, who visited New Zealand in the early 1850s, reported that Māori travellers:

seldom make use of it, choosing rather to encamp under canvass tents made with the sails of their canoes; under their frail coverings they weather out the wet to stormy weather so prevalent at this time of the year.²⁶

William Fox made similar observations in Parliament in 1856, saying that the hostelry was ‘never inhabited’ ‘although he saw daily encampments of Natives on the adjoining beach’.²⁷ The independent autonomy of hapū or kāinga was assiduously maintained by Māori throughout the country but especially in Te Taitokerau.

1.3 Ngāpuhi world view

The Ngāpuhi world view is defined as an account of the world as it has been experienced and understood by Ngāpuhi over generations. The Rev. Māori Marsden provides this explanation of how Māori view the world in comparison to the scientific, Western approach:

Like the new physicists, the Māori perceived the universe as a ‘Process’. But they went beyond the New Physicists idea of the Real world as simply ‘pure energy’ to postulate a world comprised of a series of interconnected realms separated by aeons of time from which there eventually emerged the Natural World. This cosmic process is unified and bound together by spirit.²⁸

In this explanation of the divine connections and relationships between Māori and their spiritual and natural environments, the Ngāpuhi world view becomes not simply a description of Māori experience and thought: it is also imbued with an understanding of Māori cosmological, genealogical and spiritual philosophy.

In *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*, the following explanation is given for the Māori world view:

The Māori world-view is holistic and cyclic, one in which every person is linked to every living thing and to the *atua*. Māori customary concepts are

²⁵ Nugent to the Colonial Secretary, 18 Aug 1852, Native Secretary’s outward letter book 1840-1855, MA 4/1, ANZW. DB5.

²⁶ John Jolliffe New Zealand Journals, 1851-1856, 20 June 1853, Microfilm 10154: 1-2, Hocken Library. DB6.

²⁷ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (NZPD), 1856, First session Second parliament, p. 306.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 31.

people on the one hand and Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa on the other. In this way, they remind all of these groups of their links with one another.¹⁷⁶

Some names have dual meanings, as Taipari Munro of Parawhau and Te Urirotoi recounted for the origins of the name of Terengaparāoa, an island just beyond Limestone Island in Whāngārei Harbour:

Na kite atu koe kei raro ra te motu ne – te motu e mea ana wētahi ko Matakohē, e mea ana wētahi ko Motukohu. Ki ta te Pākehā ko Limestone Island. Ki tērā taha o te motu ra, ko te moana ra – na koia ra tērā ko Te Terengaparāoa. Na, ko te take o tēnā ingoa – e rua pea nga take. Ko te take tuatahi ko te paraoa nei ne. Horekau e korero ana mo te rohi engari e korero ana mo te tohoraha. Na, e mea ana ngā kaumatua – i mua ka tere mai te tohoraha ki waho ra. Wētahi taima ka kau mai ki roto – te ika nui nei te paraoa. A ka timu te tai ka rapa te paraoa ki runga i ngā tāhuna. Na, ka kite atu ngā tūpuna i te tohoraha e noho ana i runga i te tāhuna ā, ka haere atu ka patua hei kai ma rātou. Ka mahia te hinu mo a rātou rama – ki te mahi rongoa hei mirimiri i te tinana o te tūrora. Me ngā whēua o te tohoraha ka mahia te patu paraoa – nga patu mo ngā pakanga me wētahi atu mea mo ngā kāinga. Na koia na hoki tēnā te take tuatahi mo te ingoa nei Te Terengaparāoa. Mo te terenga mai o taua ika nui ki roto i te moana nei.

A, tētahi taima ka haere mai te paraoa nei engari i tētahi wā ka haere atu te tohunga nei ki wo rātou tuahu i runga i ngā maunga pēra i a Manaia – pēra i a Matariki i a Te Whara. Ka haere rātou ki reira ki wo rātou tuahu. I reira ka karakia rātou wo rātou karakia mo te tohoraha ki roto i te moana nei ne – kia taea e rātou te haere ki te patu i tera ika hei kai ma rātou. Na, koia hoki tena ko te take tuatahi.

Ko te take tuarua mo te ingoa nei. A, i te wā i a Hongi mā – i te wa i a Hongi mā ka puta te take kia pakanga Ngāpuhi mā ki a Ngāti Whatua. Na, mo te pakanga i tū ki Mōremonui i tera taha o te whenua ra i ko i a Tākiwira. Kei reira kei te taha moana ra tētahi wāhi ko Mōremonui. Na, i tū te pakanga nui i reira i waenganui i a Ngāpuhi rāua ko Ngāti Whatua.

Na, i muri mai i taua pakanga ra ka tukua atu te tonono e Hongi mā ki wo rātou iwi – ki ngā rangatira o wo rātou hapū o Ngāpuhi kia haere mai rātou katoa ki konei ki Whāngārei nei tūtaki ai. Na, katahi ka haere mai ngā hapū nei me wo ratou rangatira me ngā tauā. Ka haere mai ratou katoa ki konei ki Whāngārei ka tūtaki ratou ki roto i te moana nei – ki roto i te Terengaparāoa. I noho rātou i runga i te motu ra i a Motu kohu.

Ka noho ratou ki reira – ngā toa nei. Engari kei te taha katau ra e kite ana tētahi wāhi motu ra ko Motu-o-taua tērā. Na, i taua wā ra ka whakawhiti atu nga rangatira o ngā tauā ki taua motu – ki Motu-o-taua – ki reira rātou korero

¹⁷⁶ P W Hohepa, *Submissions to the Parliamentary Petitions Committee on the pronunciation of Maori place names*, Auckland, 1967, pp. 15-16.

ai mo to rātou hiahia ki te whaiwhai ki a Ngāti Whatua – ki te rapu utu mo ngā mate i hinga i roto o Mōremonui. Koia hoki tena ko te take tuarua mo te ingoa nei. I kite atu te iwi i ngā rangatira nui e haere mai ana ki konei – na ka kite atu te iwi ka mea, ‘e kite ana koe i nga tohoraha e tere ana i roto i te moana nei. Engari horekau e korero ana mo te ika nui nei. E korero ana mo ngā rangatira nui. Na, koia hoki wēnei ko ngā take e rua mo te ingoa nei mo te Terengaparāoa.

Now see the island down there – the island some (people) say it is Matakōhe and some say it is Motukohu. To the Pākehā it is Limestone Island. Over the other side of the island, out to sea – that is Terengaparāoa. The reason for that name – perhaps there are two (reasons). The first relates to the parāoa (whale). It is not in reference to bread but it relates to the whale. The old people say that long ago the whales swam out there. Sometimes they came into the harbour – this huge fish the parāoa. As the tide ebbed the whale(s) became stranded on the beach. The ancestors saw the stranded whale(s) and they went there and killed them to eat. They used the oil (fat) for their torches and for massaging the sick. The whalebones were used to make patu (hand weapons) for battle and for household implements. That is the first explanation for that name Terengaparāoa. It relates to the whales swimming into the sea (harbour) here.

One time the whale(s) came – the tohunga left and went to their altars (places for karakia) at the top of mountains like Manaia, like Matariki and Te Whara. There they performed their rituals for the whales that were out there at sea – to give them the abilities/powers to kill the whale(s) to eat. Now that is the first account in regards to that name.

The second explanation for that name was during the time of Hongi and others. In Hongi’s time war broke out between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua. That is the battle that occurred at Mōremonui over at Dargaville. It is there on the coast at a place called Mōremonui. The battle between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua happened there.

After that battle Hongi and the others sent a message to their people – to the chiefs of the hapū of Ngāpuhi, for them all to come and meet in Whāngārei. And so the tribes, their chiefs and war parties came. They all came here and met (Hongi and the others) out here at sea – at Terengaparāoa. They stayed at Motukoku Island. They stayed there – the warriors.

Over to the left there is a small island called Motu-o-taua. The chiefs of the war parties crossed over to that Motu-o-taua Island and it is there that they planned the attack on Ngāti Whātua – to avenge those who perished at Mōremonui. That is the second reason for that name – because when the people saw the chiefs coming they said, ‘Can you see those whales swimming there at sea?’ They weren’t relating to the large fish (whales). They were

referring to the noble chiefs. These are the two meanings for that name Terengaparāoa.¹⁷⁷

It is customary for Māori people to introduce themselves with a pepeha, especially when making any form of formal address. A pepeha is a set form of words that position an individual within a geographic area and tribal group. It identifies that person by indicating his or her connections to the landscape, an iwi or hapū, and a key ancestor. In this way, pepeha link individuals to particular places and kin groups.

A pepeha usually consists of a maunga (mountain), moana (sea) or waterway, an iwi or hapū, and the name of a key ancestor. These represent the foundations of the speaker's identity. Just as tauparapara, pepeha, whakataukī, and other traditional literary forms use phrases and patterns that convey meaning, so too do place names evoke complex messages to those most closely associated with the place.¹⁷⁸ They provide fixed points of reference for orally transmitted traditions and allow significant historical events to be kept in mind through their association with either a personal or a place name.¹⁷⁹ Those names, and the whakataukī that embody them, are seldom merely descriptive, but typically imply a particular event or act.¹⁸⁰ They might serve to commemorate historical events, to preserve tribal lore, or as imperatives for correct behaviour.

On the landscape, names serve as survey pegs of memory. They mark events that happened in a particular place; record some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe; serve as evidence of tribal history, memory and thought. Thus, Māori names are symbolic linguistic expressions of memory and meaning and a medium that embodies and expresses cultural concepts.¹⁸¹

Names can invoke different levels of meaning for different people – an 'insider' as opposed to an 'outsider' view. The way in which a name is received by the hearer depends on that hearer's reservoir of knowledge and understanding. Different memories or different explanations of the origins of place names reflect different tribal traditions. For example, a great many places in Te Taitokerau are recorded as having been named by Ihenga, grandson of Te Arawa's Tamatekapua and a tūpuna of Ngāti Whātua, who made an epic journey in the

¹⁷⁷ Taipari Munro, *Waka Huia*, 2 October 2005, video recording transcription and translation by Hohipere Tarau.

¹⁷⁸ Paul, 2000, p. 142.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 29

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*; McRae, 1988, p. 209.

¹⁸¹ Paul, 2000, p. 29.

CHAPTER 3 – MANA TANGATA: THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

The history of the peopling of te hiku o te ika a Māui, the tail of Māui's fish, follows in the wake of Kupe's travels. This part of the report addresses the following sections of our brief:

Who were the iwi and hapū,
what were the origins of the people, and
what were their patterns of settlement and land use?
How were hapū/iwi structures organised?
How did the people relate to each other, and
what was the nature of their historical relationships?

In earlier chapters of this report we have mentioned Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, Ngāpuhi-tuturu, other groups, and their spiritual and geographic origins. Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, groups (iwi and hapū) who identify as Ngāpuhi but stress other lines, and groups who do not identify with Ngāpuhi, are much more numerous and diverse than in similar land areas elsewhere in Aotearoa, because the north was the first landfall for many migration waka. This report focuses first on the migration waka, including some of the most significant traditions about the arrivals of various ancestral groups and their movements over time, and then on the origins of the main tribal groups, along with key features of their histories that have affected interrelationships within the Taitokerau region. The chapter therefore covers social aspects of relationships, settlement, society and societal control.

As an 'overview', this report focuses more attention on principles than would a claim-specific report. Because we cannot cover every tribal group, nor all aspects of their inter-relationships to the same level of detail, we have included a substantial appendix listing the names of all tribal groups that we have been able to locate, together with some information about their connections to the larger groups that are described. Our intention in providing this appendix has been to collate consistent data for every tribal group covered by the report to the extent that we have been able to obtain it.

The question about the nature of historical relationships is answered by a discussion of principles of whakapapa, as well as by describing specific genealogical links. Throughout this chapter we refer to substantial amounts of relevant material in other reports, such as Merata Kawharu's report on 'Te Tiriti and its Northern Context in the Nineteenth Century', and

Grant Phillipson's exploratory overview of Bay of Islands Māori and the Crown, and inter-tribal relations.²³³

3.1 Ngā waka – Northern landing places of waka

Various early groups of Eastern Polynesian people had either landed in the north, or landed elsewhere in Aotearoa and moved northward. For example, those who arrived on the waka *Kahutara* and *Taikoria*, commanded by Maruiwi and Ruatamore, are said to have landed on the Taranaki Coast and then moved. Maruiwi's people, who became known as Te Tini o Maruiwi, settled in the area now known as Tāmaki Makaurau, whereas Te Tini o Ruatamore moved further north to the Muriwhenua region. Hāmi (Sam) Maioha explained that the words 'Ngāti, ngāi, ngā and ati' all come from the root expression Ngātini; that is, "the many".²³⁴

Te Tini o Toi were an ancient people, descendants of the Polynesian navigator Toitehuatahi (Toi the only child), who is an important early tūpuna for many. In some traditions he came from Hawaiki, others state that he was indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. In the version that places him in Hawaiki, two of his grandsons, named Whatonga and Turahui, had accepted a challenge that had been issued by several chiefs who had been visiting their home area. These chiefs challenged that the local people did not measure up to the paddling prowess of their own. A race was organised, the course of which extended far out to sea. Whatonga and Turahui were leading the race when they reached the turning point, from where a strong wind took them beyond the horizon. An initial search failed to find them, so Toi set out to look for them with a large party of companions. Their pursuit extended on to the land that had been discovered previously by Kupe. Toi is said to have made landfall close to Tāmaki which was home to Te Tini o Maruiwi and other groups. Toi remained here for a period, during which time some of his men married local women, before he moved on again.

During his travels through Aotearoa, Toi is said to have stayed at Aotea (Great Barrier Island) before continuing down the coast to Tūhua (Mayor Island), which he named after an island near his original home, and then to Whakatāne and elsewhere.

Māori traditions recall a number of other events relating to Toi, who Hauraki people say lived at Whitianga on the Coromandel Peninsula, although others say that he resided on the East Coast of the North Island.

²³³ Kawharu, Merata, 'Te Tiriti and its Northern Context in the Nineteenth Century', 2006; Phillipson, Grant, 'Bay of Islands Māori and the Crown: 1793-1853: An Exploratory Overview for the CFRT', August 2005.

²³⁴ Sam Maioha papers, MS96/38, AWMML, p. 93. DB28.

Whether he originated in Hawaiki or within New Zealand, his tribe, known as Te Tini o Toi (Toi's multitudes), is said to have inhabited the land before some of the major waka, including *Mataatua*, arrived. Early peoples, such as these, are referred to as the tangata whenua, or the people of the land. Along with Māui traditions, the land tenure and mana of these people is acknowledged in the traditions of later arrivals.

Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao- Rua, Māmari and Nukutāwhiti

After these early arrivals, the north was peopled by groups who came with Nukutāwhiti and Ruānui on *Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua* and *Māmari*.

E tū te huru mā, haramai e noho,
E tū te huru pango, hanatu e haere.

Let the white hair remain here,
Let the black hair get up and go.

This whakataukī is attributed to Nukutāwhiti when he took up his grandfather Kupe's suggestion that he leave strife-torn Hawaiiki for Aotearoa.²³⁵ Another whakataukī recalls Nukutāwhiti's arrival, in the waka *Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua* (also spelled as *Matahorua*, *Matahaurua*, *Mataharua* and *Matawharua*), at the entrance to the Hokianga Harbour, when he cast his kura (treasured red feather ornament) into the sea to calm the waters for a safe crossing.

Ko te mauri he mea huna ki te moana
The mauri (life principle or living source) is hidden in the sea

The taonga was never recovered but the whakataukī remains to commemorate the event and remind people of the life-sustaining food sources of the waters.²³⁶

There are differences between accounts of the waka *Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua* and *Māmari*. Hōne Mohi Tāwhai wrote that Ruānui came on *Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua*, whereas Himiona Kāmira wrote that he came on *Māmari*. Several accounts refer to Nukutāwhiti as the tohunga, or ritual expert, on the *Māmari*. Kāmira claimed that *Māmari* came before *Ngā-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua*, escorted by the two taniwha, Niua and Araiteuru, who went back to fetch the second vessel. Professor Patu Hohepa finds that the balance of evidence favours the two

²³⁵ Department of Maori Affairs, 1987, p. 14. Patu Hohepa informed us, June 2009, that this saying is more correctly translated as: If the white hair stands, come and sit down. If the black hair stands, just leave – go.

²³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 51.

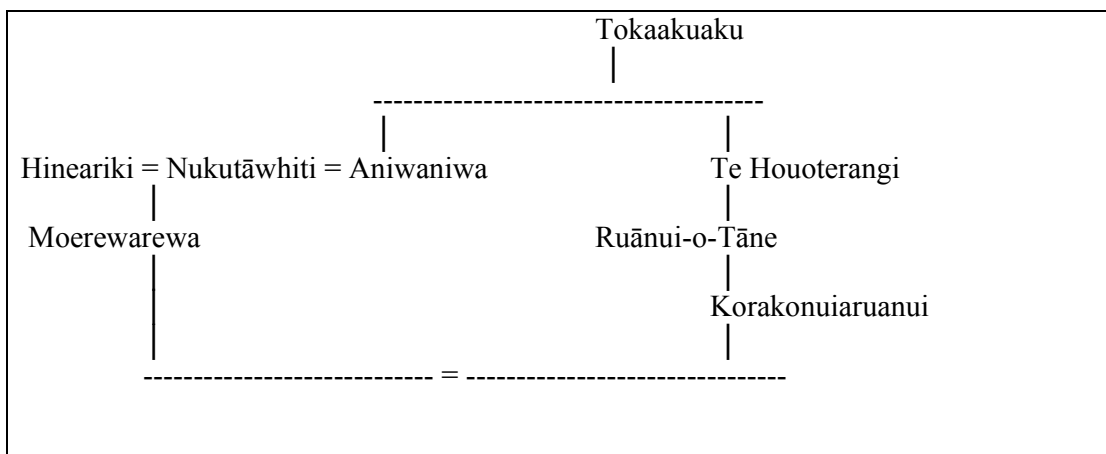
waka arriving together. Based on this understanding, and Rewi Maihi's version that *Māmari* was a double-hulled waka one of whose hulls was named *Tirea*, Hohepa has suggested that *Māmari* and *Tirea* were the two hulls of the waka named *Nga-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua*, which were separated after landfall.²³⁷ According to oral tradition, *Nga-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua* rests in a limestone crevasse at Te Pouahi where Kupe first landed.²³⁸

According to Kāmira's version, Ruānui was a taokete of Nukutāwhiti. Some translators have taken this to mean 'brother-in-law', the first meaning of the term, but an extended and older kinship meaning refers to the son of a brother-in-law. Kāmira's version includes the crucial sentence:

Ka korero ia [a Nukutawhiti] ki a Te Hou-o-te-rangi, tamaiti a Toka-akuaku, tungane o tana wahine o Niwa, ara, o Te Aniwaniwa. Ka mea a Te Hou-o-te-rangi mana e korero ki tana tamaiti, ki a Ruanui ...
And he [Nukutawhiti] spoke to Te Hou-o-te-rangi, son of Tokaakuaku, brother of his wife Niwa, that is, of Aniwaniwa. And Te Hou-o-te-rangi said that he would speak to his son, Ruanui ...

The whakapapa drawn from this statement indicates that Ruānui was a nephew, by marriage, of Nukutāwhiti, rather than a brother-in-law.

Figure 2 - Relationship of Nukutāwhiti and Ruānui



According to Kāmira, descendants of Ruānui separated from the descendants of Nukutāwhiti, who subsequently crossed to the South Hokianga while Ruānui and his people headed north. As Ruānui's group headed northward, they explored beyond Panguru-Papata towards Kaitaia,

²³⁷ Patu Hohepa notes, p. 33. DB1.

²³⁸ Klaricich, p. 6.

and east to Whangaroa. They were initially known as Ngāti Te Aewa, commemorating Puhiteaewa (when Puhi surfed over the nets of Kahukura) and then became Ngāti Ruanui. Later they became Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri.²³⁹ Nukutāwhiti and his daughter Moerewa (or Moerewarewa) lived at the mouth of the Waihuka Stream at Ōmāpere.²⁴⁰ Marriages between descendants of these two lines continued through the generations. The descent lines of Te Rarawa and Aupōuri (from Korakonuiarua and Moerewarewa) combined also with the descendants of Tauramoko and Rāhiri. Therefore, all Ngāpuhi-tuturu, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Wai, Te Roroa, Te Aupōuri, Ngāti Kurī, and Ngāi Takoto are karanga rua (dual relatives).²⁴¹

Māmari

Ko Ruanui te tangata
Ko *Māmari* te waka
i uu mai ki Ripino

Ruanui was the man
Māmari was the waka
that landed at Ripino

Jeff Evan's account of the first migratory waka includes this pepeha, which connects Ruānui to the *Māmari*. Whether it was a companion vessel, or one of two hulls of a single vessel, *Māmari's* arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand with *Nga-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua* makes it one of the earliest waka to arrive here. The same traditions hold that it was guided here by Kupe's directions under the protection of the taniwha that Kupe had arranged to swim with them, into the Hokianga Harbour. After staying for a while in the Hokianga area, the two hulls were possibly separated and Ruānui and his crew set out to explore the west coast south of the Hokianga Harbour. They were caught in a storm, the waka was wrecked, and the site of the wreck, previously known as Riripo Beach, became known as Ōmāmari.²⁴²

Kurahaupō

There are several variants of *Kurahaupō* traditions. For Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri, the saying 'Ko *Kurahaupō* te waka, te tangata o runga, ko Po' – the canoe was *Kurahaupō*, the

²³⁹ Patu Hohepa notes, pp. 33-35. DB1.

²⁴⁰ Klaricich, p. 6.

²⁴¹ Patu Hohepa notes, pp. 33-35. DB1.

²⁴² Jeff Evans, *Ngā Waka o Neherā: the first voyaging canoes*, Auckland, 1997, pp. 79-81.

man on board was Po – speaks their claim that this canoe brought many of their ancestors to Aotearoa under the leadership of Po or Pohurirangi.

According to some traditions, the *Kurahaupō* was wrecked on the Kermadec Islands, where some of its people boarded the *Mataatua*, while others stayed behind to repair the damage. Later, the *Kurahaupō* continued its journey and landed at Spirits Bay. Another local tradition places the wreck of *Kurahaupō* at Kurahaupō Rock, in Spirits Bay. Perhaps it was wrecked and repaired and wrecked a second time. For either tradition, some of its occupants landed at Spirit's Bay, from where they eventually spread over the far northern peninsula, the area Po saw as the end of the land and named it Muriwhenua.²⁴³ Po gave the same name to his daughter, who, in partnership with the son of the *Takitimu*'s captain, became progenitor for most of the far northern tribes.

In another tradition, the name *Kurahaupō* is associated with the migratory canoe that is believed to have landed at Ōrākei and with a canoe that arrived in Hawea around 1125.²⁴⁴

Areas outside Taitokerau have different traditions, which we state only in passing here. By the Taranaki tribes, Te Moungaroa is claimed to be the captain of the *Kurahaupō*. In their version, the canoe was wrecked in Hawaiki, or on Rangitāhua, an island in the middle of the sea, and similarly to the first version described here, the crew was brought to Aotearoa on the *Mataatua* or *Aotea* canoes. The Rangitāne tribe of the Manawatū, Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay regions claim that Whātonga was the captain of this canoe. In their version it was wrecked at Māhia Peninsula. The Ngāti Apa tribe of the Rangitīkei River agree that the canoe was wrecked at Māhia, but according to their version the captain was Ruatea.²⁴⁵

Takitimu

In his evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal for the Ngāwhā Springs claim, Rewi Maihi named *Takitimu* as a Ngāpuhi waka. Kahungunu accounts state that this was an exceptionally fast single-hulled waka. Tamatea-mai-i-tawhiti (also known as Tamatea Ariki-nui and hereafter referred to as Tamatea) was the commander, and the tohunga or priestly experts on board were Ruawharo and Te Rongopatahi.

243 Florence Keene, *Taitokerau*, Christchurch 1992, p. 19. Available at:
<http://www.teaupouri.iwi.nz/AboutUs/History/kurahaupo.htm>

244 <http://www.kurahaupo.gen.nz/>

245 *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Available at:
<http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/CanoeTraditions/7/en>

Takitimu made first landfall on the west coast on Te Oneroa-a-Tōhē near Awanui,²⁴⁶ several generations after Nukutāwhiti and Ruānui arrived in Taitokerau. Some people of this waka married the descendants of Kupe and Nukutāwhiti. Tamatea's son, Rongo-kako married Muriwhenua, daughter of Pohurihanga,²⁴⁷ captain of the waka *Kurahaupō*. *Takitimu* proceeded north, around the North Cape and continued its travels down the east coast to East Cape or Whangaparāoa, returning to the North some time later. Kahungunu and Kaitahu traditions say that *Takitimu* was wrecked on a voyage around the South Island.

The commander, Tamatea, married Te Kura, daughter of Ngamanu and Paimihia who were descendants of Tuhouhia and Mauwhena from the descent lines of Tuputupuwhenua. Mitchell shows Tamatea's wife as Toto, and their son Rongo-kako and Muriwhenua having Tamatea-Pokai-Whenua, referred to below. From this couple flow the original *Takitimu* links to all the tribes of Taitokerau. Whakapapa given by Hōne Mohi Tāwhai names Taurere (or Te Aurere, a descendant of Tamatea) as the wife of Tamakiterā and mother of Puhikaiariki and Puhimoanaariki.

Tamatea Ure Haea (or Tamata Pōkai Whenua, grandson of Tamatea-mai-i-tawhiti), had another waka named *Takitimu* built, in which he set out to circumnavigate the country. From the Hokianga, he travelled along the coast where the descendants of the first *Takitimu* had settled, visiting various places until he reached Rangaunu (Awanui), where he married Iwipupu and her two sisters. There he also built his pā, Tinotino, at Ōrongotea, where his son Kahungunu, progenitor of the present-day Ngāti Kahungunu, was born.²⁴⁸

Tinana

The waka *Tinana* landed at Tauroa near Ahipara. The commander, Tūmoana, laid claim to the land between Hokianga and Ahipara, as far inland as the mountains of the Maungataniwha range. When he returned to Hawaiiki, his daughter Kahutianui and son Tamahotu remained at Tauroa (Reef Point). The waka eventually returned, re-adzed and as the *Māmaru*, with Tūmoana's nephew Parata on board. Tūmoana's great-grandson, Haupare, married Paengatai and from that couple came Taranga. Their descendants were known as Ngāti Haupare, who later became Te Rarawa.

²⁴⁶ J H Mitchell (Tiaki Hikawera Mitira), *Takitimu: a History of the Ngati Kahungunu People*, Wellington, 1973, p. 41.

²⁴⁷ Cloher and Penfold, 2002, pp. 2, 4. In Mitchell, 1973, Genealogical table i, the captain is named as Popoto.

²⁴⁸ New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990, p. 73.

Haimona Snowden of Te Rarawa gave his kōrero for the waka *Tinana* and the lines of descent from Tūmoana in a 1992 television interview:

Me tīmata pea tātou i te tūpuna nei i a Tūmoana. Ko ia hoki te tohunga o te waka nei a Tinana i ū mai nei ki roto o Hokianga. Ā ka hoe mai ka tae mai ki te wāhi e kīa nei ko Te Tauroa. Na i reira tona nei pā i Otia i Te Tauroa. I ū mai ano hoki te waka nei ki te wāhi e kīa nei ko Te Kohanga.

Nā ngā tamariki a Tūmoana ko Tamahotu – te tamaiti tuatahi, ko Tamamoko na kei nga whakairo nei [ka tohutohu a Te Haimona ki ngā whakairo i tana tokotoko]. Tōku pānga ki tērā tūpuna na e mea nei kei nga whakairo e mea nei – ko ngā tamariki i heke i a Tūmoana, ko Tamahotu, ko Tamamoko, ko Houpure, ko Patito. Na koia ēnei nga whakairo e mea nei i te wharehui nei. Ko Patito ko Toakai.

Ka moe a Toakai i tana wahine tuatahi i a Tūkōtia ka puta ko Taranga, ta Taranga ko Whakaeke, tāna ko Te Kirianuhe, tana ko Te Ikaroa, ta Te Ikaroa ko Patuhu ta Patuhu ko Patungahere. Nā ka moe a Patungahere i a Te Ururoa. Te Ururoa he rangatira no roto o Ngāpuhi Whangaroa. Ka puta ngā tamariki a Te Ururoa – ko Paora, ko Raupane. Ka moe a Raupane i tētahi tangata ko Henare Reweti Notana. Ka moe a Henare Reweti Notana i a Raupane ka puta ka puta ko Haki Reweti. Ta Haki Reweti ka puta ko Te Harawe Te Ngo Reweti na ko te kai kōrero e noho nei. Koia tēnā tōku nei pānga ki te tūpuna nei ki a Tūmoana. Na nga pā o Tūmoana me āna mahinga kai i Te Tauroa me Kaitaia.

Ko Kaitaia hoki – te ingoa tawhito hoki o Kaitaia ko Te Ahu. Nā i reira a Toakai e noho ana me te wahine nei a Tūkōtia i puta nei a Taranga.

Nā te whare e tū nei, a Manu-a-roto – te ingoa i pā ki te wahine a Toakai –a Tūkōtia. I mua i te moenga o Toakai i tana wahine – e rua nga wāhine i hiahia mārena ki te toa nei ki a Toakai. Ka kī atu a Toakai – Hoia ano a kourua, me mahi mahinga a kourua – mahinga kai – mahinga kūmara, rīwai. Na ko te wahine e kī ai tāna hāpoki na koia tera ko te wahine ka moea a au.

Nā ka kī te wharekai a Tūkōtia – ka kī a Manu-a-roto – na te whare e tū nei. Te wharekai e tū nei me hua ki te wharekai – ki te hāpoki a Tūkōtia.

Tētahi hoki horekau nei kia moe ki a Toakai ka nui ano hoki te kī o tana wharekai, tana hāpoki i te kai. Engari i te mea i pai atu pea a Toakai ki tētahi o ngā wāhine ra ka moe i tērā.

Tango ake a Tarawheki i āna kai katahi ka tāia ki te whenua. Nā koia a Kaitaia – me tatā wana kai ki te whenua i te mea horekau a Toakai i moe a ia. Na koia tēnā te heke mai i a Tūmoana.

Tēnei iwi a Te Rarawa me kī ake i heke mai i te waka Māmari ā tatū mai ki a Rahiri. Nā a Rahiri e whā whakaturanga ka tatū mai ki a Ueoneone. Ka moe hoki a Ueoneone i a Reitu ka puta nga iwi e rima o Te Taitokerau. Koia tēnā te pānga o Te Rarawa ki nga iwi katoa o Te Taitokerau. Heke mai i a Rahiri.

E mōhiotia ana hoki e tātou, ā, e tangata kahore i a Rahiri ehara i te tangata e hoiho kē e aha rānei. Koia ēra ko nga kōrero i tēnei takiwā.

A Ruanui – ko tana waka. Mōhio ana pea tātou ki ētahi o nga kōrero mo ngā kiore i mauria mai i Hawaiiki hei kai ma rātou i runga i te waka. Ko Ruanui hoki te rangatira o te waka na. Ka mauria mai nga kiore nei hei kai ma rātou.

Ona kōrero – I a Ruanui e haere ana ka tae atu ki roto o Ngāti Whātua ka omaoma nga kiore nei – ka peke i te waka. Te pekenga atu i te waka ka pouri hoki a Ruanui i te mea kua ngaro wa rātou kai. Hoi ano ka karakia te kaumātua nei kia hoki mai ana kiore. Na kīhai i roa ko puta nga kiore e hoki mai ana.

Na koia ēna i te whare e tū mai na – nga kiore a Ruanui. E kōrerotia ana kei te ora tonu ēra kiore. Kei roto i te ngahere i Mangamuka nei – ko Maungataniwha. Kei reira ano nga kiore nei e noho ana i te rā nei. Kua kite au i ēra kiore engari kahore ano hau i kai noa. Engari nga manu o te ngahere a pai noa atu au ki te kai i ēra. Ko ēna, nga kiore nei?

Pātai: E aha nga kai a nga kiore nei? Ēnei kiore e kōrerotia nei e tāua e rite ano ki nga kiore a te Pākeha?

Ā tōku nei mōhiotanga nga kai a nga kiore nei pēnei ano i te kai a te manu o te ngahere. Ēhara i nga kiore e mōhio nei tātou e noho ana i roto i o tātou whare – e kai ana i nga āhua mea katoa.

Nga kiore nei e kai hua rākau, he kai nga mea o te ngahere. Ēhara i te kai i nga rāpihi o wo tātou whare. Na reira e mea ana ētahi o tātou e pai noa iho ēra kiore hei kai. Tēnā pea ki ētahi tāngata – ki a au pai atu te hoko mīti i te kai kiore i te rā nei. Na koia ēna ko nga kōrero mo nga kiore nei. E maha atu nga kōrero mo nga kiore nei.

Engari te ingoa nei a Te Rarawa – tēnei ingoa ko rapa katoa ki te iwi mai i Hokianga na puta mai ki Kaitaia nei – ki Ahipara huri noa huri noa. Na i te raki o Hokianga taemai ki Kaitaia nei ka hoki ano ki Mitimiti –heke pēra atu ki Mitimiti te rohe o Te Rarawa.

We'll begin with the ancestor Tūmoana. He was the tohunga on the waka Tinana that landed at Hokianga. So they sailed here to that place known as Te Tauroa. His pā was there – Otia at Te Tauroa. That waka also landed at a place called Te Kohanga.

Now Tūmoana's children were Tamahotu the first-born son and Tamamoko, here on these carvings [Te Haimona points to the carvings on his walking stick]. My connection to that tūpuna [Tūmoana] is depicted in these carvings. The children that descend from Tūmoana are Tamahotu, Tamamoko, Houpure

and Patito. Those are they in the carving on the meeting-house. There's Patito and Toakai.

When Toakai married his first wife they had Taranga [their child]. Taranga begat Whakaeke who begat Kirianuhe who begat Ikaroa. Ikaroa begat Patuhu. Patuhu begat Patungahere. Patungahere married Te Ururoa. Te Ururoa was a chief of Ngapuhi, Whangaroa. The children of Te Ururoa – was Paora, was Raupane. Raupane married Henare Reweti Notana. Henare Notana married Raupane and they had [a child] Haki Reweti. Haki Reweti begat Te Harawe Te Ngo Reweti and [from Te Harewe] hence the speaker [Te Haimona] sitting here today. That is my connection to this ancestor Tūmoana. Tūmoana's pā/fortified villages and gardens were at Te Tauroa and Kaitaia.

Kaitaia – the old/original name for Kaitaia is Te Ahu. Toakai and his wife Tūkotia, mother of Taranga lived there.

Now this house standing here, Manu-a-roto – its name is linked to Toakai's wife to Tūkotia. Long ago when Toakai married his wife – there were two women that wanted to marry Toakai. Toakai told them that they must both make gardens – gardens for kumara and potatoes. Now, the woman that fills her hāpoki²⁴⁹ is the one I will marry.

Tūkotia filled her hāpoki – [named] Manu-a-roto – that is the house standing here. This whare kai/dining house was named after Tūkotia's hāpoki.

As for the woman that did not marry Toakai her hāpoki was also quite full. But perhaps Toakai preferred the other woman and married that one.

Tarawheki took hold of her harvest and dumped them on the ground. She did this because Toakai did not choose her in marriage. That is the lineage from Tūmoana.

This tribe Te Rarawa descends from the canoe Māmari²⁵⁰ and down to Rahiri. There are four generations from Rahiri down to Ueoneone. Ueoneone married Reitu and hence the birth/ancestry of the five tribes of Te Taitokerau. They descend from Rahiri. We know that a person that is not of Rahiri is not human but a horse perhaps. That is the saying/proverb in this area.

Ruanui and his waka – we know some of the kōrero about the kiore/rats brought here from Hawaiiki on board the waka [Māmari] as part of their food supply. Ruanui was the chief of that waka. They [kiore] were brought along as food. The story is – Ruanui was on a journey and when he reached Ngāti Whātua his kiore escaped – they jumped overboard from his waka. Ruanui was unhappy because they had lost their food [supply]. And so he uttered a

²⁴⁹ **hāpoki:** covered pit for storing kūmara or potatoes (H W Williams, 2000, p 36).

²⁵⁰ When the name of a waka is mentioned it is inclusive of the tūpuna/ancestors that sailed here to Aotearoa on that waka hence the waka represents the tūpuna.

karakia²⁵¹ for the kiore to return. Shortly thereafter the kiore appeared, returning to the waka. Those are they, [the kiore] on the whare there [carvings] – the kiore of Ruanui. It is said that they [that species of rat] still exist in the Maungataniwha forest at Mangamuka. Those rats are still there today. I have seen those [species of] kiore but have not eaten them. However the birds of the forest are good to eat. But those rats?

Q: What do those kiore eat? Are these kiore that you and I are talking about the same as the rats²⁵² of the Pākehā?

To my knowledge kiore eat the same foods as those eaten by forest/native birds. They are not like the common rats that we are familiar with [sometimes] in our homes – which eats all sorts of things.

The kiore eat berries/fruit from the native trees in the forest. Not the scraps from our homes. That is why some of us say they are all right to eat. Perhaps to others – I prefer to eat bought meat [from a shop] than eat kiore these days. That is the kōrero about the kiore. There are other kōrero.

Te Haimona discussed the background to the ‘defeat’ of Ngāti Miru:

I will begin with Patito – as he made his way to his villages. He went from Te Tauroa to Te Ahu – Kaitaia to his gardens in Takahue. During his journey he interfered with the rules/customs of the iwi/people living at Oruawhoro there in Pukepoto. Those people attacked and killed Patito. His son Toakai heard about the incident and went to avenge his father’s death.

Toakai attacked the people that killed his father. Three brothers fell – warriors killed by Toakai. They were three warriors – Rangimimiti, Rangiwahia and Rangitane. They were the three warriors killed by Toakai.

Toakai decided to pursue those [warriors] that did not perish during his assault. One of them was Tamatama-a-rangi. He was one of the warriors that returned to Pawarenga to a pā there. That is [the place] where the church stands today.

When he [Toakai] reached that place the iwi/people launched an attack and he fell [mortally wounded]. As he laid on the ground he called to Tamatama-a-rangi, ‘Tama spare me, don’t kill me.’ Tamatama-a-rangi replied, ‘I will not let you live another three days.’ That phrase, ‘three days’ signifies his three brothers. The three brothers of Tamatama-a-rangi that were killed by Toakai at Pukepoto. And so Tamatama-rangi killed Toakai. He didn’t let him live.

After the three brothers perished he [Toakai] went to avenge his father in Pawarenga. That was where the younger siblings of the three [who perished in battle] lived. It was Toakai who fought them and he died there.

²⁵¹ **karakia:** spell, incantation; particularly the ancient rites proper to every important matter in the life of Maori (H W Williams, 2000, p. 98).

²⁵² Rats brought here by the early European settlers and are more commonly seen today.

As he lay there he pleaded for his life but Tamatama-a-rangi did not let him live, not even for three more days. That was in retaliation for his [Tamatama-a-rangi's] three brothers killed at Pukepoto.

Toakai's children went there and brought their father's remains back to Ahipara. As they sat one day, Toakai's children decided to prepare a feast and invite Ngāti Miru to come and join them at Ahipara. The place where the feast was held was here at Ahipara where a house stands [today] – at Paripari.

When the feast was arranged they sent for Ngāti Miru. Before they [Ngāti Miru] arrived Toakai's children revealed their motive for the feast.

The feast was intended for Ngāti Miru. Toakai's children had made plans that when Ngāti Miru entered the eldest brother would give a sign as to what they should do.

When Ngāti Miru sat down Toakai's children moved into position. One of them gave a signal and they moved into position and attacked all those people [Ngāti Miru] who had sat down to eat in the wharekai/dining area.

That iwi/tribe perished. That was the last of those people, there are none left today. It was at a place in Ahipara called Paripari. The feast was held there. Toakai's village was also there at Paripari, to one side was Marikena. The villages in that whole area were close-by to one another right over to Te Kohanga. That was why that iwi/tribe [Ngāti Miru] perished, because of Patito's death²⁵³. When Patito died he returned [perhaps in a vision] beseeching his son Toakai not to seek reprisal for his death.

Those pā – the three pā at Te Tauroa – were all overthrown by Toakai in one single night. Toakai's father came back urging him not to go and avenge his death. Toakai went and died there in Tukakahi. That is the end of the kōrero about Toakai. He was victorious in a battle.

Now Tūmoana – I'll relate to when Tūmoana was living at Te Tauroa. That was not what it was called when he was living there. That name Tauroa – now called Reef Point by the Pākehā. That is an additional [not the original] name [Te Tauroa].

While Tūmoana was living there he decided to return to Hawaiiki. He sailed on the waka Tinana. Before he left he told his daughter not worry about him for he knew he would reach the homeland. He said to his daughter, 'When I get there I will send a sign that I have arrived home.'

And so Tūmoana left and was gone for a very long time and still there was no omen for his daughter. Hence the name Tauroa [Long Season/ Long period of

²⁵³ The events described above were a chain reaction to Patito's death.

time] – it was the length of time his daughter Te Kahutianui waited for a sign from her father to indicate that he had reached his destination.

The sign appeared in the form of lightning, thunder and heavy rain above the hills at Te Tauroa. Kahutianui knew that her father had reached his homeland.

And a long time after that event Kahutianui heard that a waka had anchored at Taipa in the boundary of Ngāti Kahu. She journeyed to meet the tohunga from the waka that landed at Taipa.

Kahutianui left and when she arrived there she met the tohunga Parata. According to the stories the waka was Mamaru. It landed at Taipa.

However some stories relate that it was the same waka that her [Kahutianui's] father had returned home [to Hawaiiki] on. It was rebuilt for the journey back here to Aotearoa.

And when Kahutianui met Parata she married him and hence the tribe Ngāti Kahu. We know about the rest of Ngāti Kahu like Rongo and Henare Kingi and others who were experts/tohunga of Ngāti Kahu.

It was Henare Kingi – Ngāti Kahu are like Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri. It was Henare Kingi who named it that [Ngāti Kahu]. It is not an ancient name. It derives from the return of that waka.

When Kahutianui married Parata Te Rarawa became related to Ngāti Kahu. We know Te Rarawa descends from Tūmoana – we who are sitting here [now]. That is how Te Rarawa is related to Ngāti Kahu. That is the kōrero about that ancestor Tūmoana.

Mataatua

According to several traditions, Puhi was the leader aboard the *Mataatua* when it came to Taitokerau. One version says that *Mataatua* landed first on the East Coast, and rested in a quiet little river estuary known as Otakou. On the other hand, traditional accounts from Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Rēhia suggest that *Mataatua* landed and stayed for some time in the Whangaroa area before Puhi's brother Toroa took the waka south to the Bay of Plenty. Several Bay of Plenty tribes have descended from the crew of *Mataatua*.

There was a bitter argument over gardens and horticultural lands which led Puhi, the younger brother, to return the waka to the north. 'He taumaha te whenua, he māmā te tangata' (The land is heavy while the people are light) was his whakataukī. Puhi named many places as he travelled northward, including: Whananaki (Brave kick), Whangaruru (Harbour shelter), Tiheru (Canoe bailer, for where the *Mataatua*'s bailer dropped off the waka) and Te Tii. According to Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Rēhia accounts, Puhi would already have been well-

known in, and familiar with, the Whangaroa area, which could have made it a logical place to return to when he and Toroa fell out.²⁵⁴

Hare Hongi Stowell gave a different account in his draft manuscript ‘The Strange Māori’. In this narrative, the *Mataatua* was built in Northland. Ngāti Awa and their allies had been evicted for murdering Nukutāwhiti’s grandson at Pākanāe. Having suffered several defeats, Ngāti Awa fled south, some by the east coast and some by the west. Toroa assumed the leadership of those who fled eastwards to the Whangaroa-Tākou Bay area. It was here that this group built the *Mataatua*, in which to travel south to Whakatāne, where they settled. In this version, Toroa’s elder brother, Puhi, took no part in the warfare and remained in the North.²⁵⁵

The story of the arrival of *Mataatua* at Tākou Bay was recounted by Tu Keepa for the *Waka Huia* television programme in 1990:

Ae, mehemea ka kōrerotia mai te ūnga mai o te waka nei, a, i ū ki Takou. I tomokina te awa i Takou e *Mataatua*. Kei reira e takoto ana.

I āhua taumaha te ūnga mai o tē waka na ki te awa o Takou. No kona ka [kirihia?] ētahi o nga tāngata –nga wāhine, ki te wahapū o te awa o Takou. Kei kona e takoto ana i tēnei rā. E ai, tā nga kōrero, ko hakakōhatu aua tāngata i ūkea [?] i runga i te waka, kia māmā ai te tomo o te waka i roto i te awa o Takou, tae atu ana ki te wāhi e takoto na te waka tūpuna nei.

Ko Kōpua Kawau te ingoa o te wāhi kei reira a *Mataatua* e takoto ana. No muri iho nei tērā ingoa ka kīa. Na tēnei tūpuna, a Rimariki. Ana tūngane nei, ko Toko, ko Rae, ko Tauarikiriki, ko Titore. Nāna te kōrero ki ana tūngane i te kitenga atu i nga kawau e noho mai ana i runga i nga rākau. Ka pēnei tana kōrero ki ana tūngane – ‘mehemea e pēra ta koutou manaaki i au i to koutou tuahine, me nga kawau e noho mai ra, e manaaki mai ra i a rātou –koutou, ka rangatiratia koutou.’ Koia tērā ka kī te ingoa o tērā wāhi ko te Kōpua Kawau a Te Rimariki.²⁵⁶

When the landing place of the waka is spoken about, it landed at Takou. *Mataatua* went up river and it is lying there.

That waka had great difficulty landing at Takou (Bay). It was there that people were tossed overboard – women were tossed into the sea at Takou. They [the women] are still there today. According to the kōrero, those women that were thrown off the waka turned to stone. They were thrown off the waka to lighten the load thus enabling the waka to enter the Takou Bay and go upstream where it lies today.

²⁵⁴ Patu Hohepa notes, p. 36. DB1.

²⁵⁵ Hare Hongi Stowell, ‘The Strange Māori’, Microfilm 02-190, UAL pp. 313-315. DB29.

²⁵⁶ Tu Keepa (Kemp), ‘Mataatua Waka’, *Waka Huia*, 1 July 1990, translated and transcribed by Hohipere Tarau.

Kopua Kawau is the name of the place where *Mataatua* is lying (underwater). That name is from a later period. It is from the time of the tūpuna Rimariki whose brothers were Toko, Rae, Tauarikiriki and Titore.

It was her kōrero to her brothers, when she saw some shags perched in a tree. This is what she said to her brother, ‘if you showed kindness toward your sister, the way those shags perched there, show kindness toward each other, you would earn great respect’. That is the reason that place was called Kopua Kawau a Te Rimariki.

The prominent Ngāpuhi ancestor Rāhiri descended from occupants of both *Mataatua* and *Nga-Toki-Mata-Whao-Rua* and, and his descendants are connected to all the northern tribes through his wives Ahuaiti and Whakaruru.²⁵⁷

Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi

Te Roroa say that although Manumanu I and his tēina (younger brother), Rangitauwawaro, can be regarded as the more immediate of distant forebears, their whare tūpuna (ancestral house) extends beyond those tūpuna to embrace others more remote in time such as Whakatau and, several generations beyond him, to Tāwhaki. For them, Whakatau is the pou herenga (tying post) and they acknowledge him as the captain of their waka tūpuna *Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi*, which brought their tūpuna to Kawerua from the far north. Both Hawaiiki and Whakatau are immortalised in the Te Roroa whakataukī:

Kotahi tangata ki Hawaaiiki, ko Whakatau anake.
There was but one man in Hawaaiiki, Whakatau.

It is unclear, in this instance, whether Hawaiiki is the distant homeland of tradition or refers to Te Kapo Wairua. Their whakapapa and tradition show that the whare tūpuna of Te Roroa is connected to the descent lines from other waka tūpuna. Some of these pre-dated the *Māhuhu*, while others arrived at about the same time or later.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua Fishing Claim* A2.6 Nga Puhi. Available at: <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/viewchapter.asp?reportID=337EEC7B-555A-47A5-910E-B12796A26C01&chapter=18>

²⁵⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Roroa Report 1992 Wai 38*, Wellington, 1992, p.4.

Whakapapa is part of an interconnected knowledge system that is accessed through lists of names:

The physical presence recalls the name. The name recalls the event. The event recalls the whakapapa. The whakapapa recalls the connection between things past and things present. The connection between things past and things present is the element, which gives ... pride and identity.³²⁸

The interconnected knowledge system explains how relationships hang together, but besides explaining relationships, whakapapa has the qualities of movement and expansion. Whakapapa can be recited in any direction. It is capable of mua, of moving forwards, and muri, of moving backwards. It can move atu, away from its origin, and mai, back towards the origin. It can move iho, down away from the origin, and ake, back up towards the origin. When a person recites whakapapa, they might move away, down the layers, back up the layers, go forward from one place or backwards from another, thus expressing movement. The speaker eventually brings the whakapapa back to the purpose of its use, or the particular knowledge framework being sought. This is known as tātai whakapapa, or the movement expressed through the recitation of whakapapa, which demonstrates the fluidity and versatility of whakapapa when used to explain all relationships. Whakapapa, then, is a system of knowledge that helps unlock governance processes for all aspects of Māori society: political, social and economic.

3.3 Whānau, hapū, iwi, waka

When we explained who Ngāpuhi are, at the beginning of this report, we emphasised that they are not a waka and not an iwi, as defined by some other groups. Here we will revisit these descriptors and some recent debates, before returning to the northern description. First, some clarification of the meaning of the word ‘tribe’, as used in the early to mid-nineteenth century by British English speakers, is pertinent here because of the later rendering of ‘hapū’ to mean ‘sub-tribe’.

Māori society was made up of kin-based communities under the leadership of rangatira or chiefs. Larger corporate groups, such as the hapū, evolved from whānau or extended families. The whānau was typically an independent economic and work unit that cultivated crops and gathered food for its own consumption as well as producing its own clothing, small canoes, and implements. The larger unit, the hapū, comprised a number of closely related whānau

³²⁸ Cit. Waitangi Tribunal Report, *Te Roroa Report*, (Wai 038) 1992, 6.2.

who had chosen to settle in one place for food resources and defence. The term ‘hapū’, sometimes translated as ‘sub-tribe’, has been placed (not necessarily correctly) within an hierarchical model of whānau – hapū – iwi (tribe), the iwi being an incorporation of hapū, and the hapū an incorporation of whānau. Recent scholarship has recognised that iwi and hapū have been more fluid political units. As Angela Ballara put it:

A descent group, whether classed as iwi or hapū, need not be regarded as the exclusive category of persons forming any one effective political unit of Maori society. If the effective group was smaller than the iwi, it might be consonant with one hapū, several hapū, or a section of one hapū. The hapū and the iwi can be considered to be categories or corporate groups, and perhaps, in different circumstances and at different periods of history, to be both.³²⁹

Hapū has been taken here to mean tribe rather than sub-tribe, because it is the appropriate English term to be used and is the likely understanding that follows the English-language text of te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. Translations of the Māori version, printed in 1869 by order of the Legislative Council, refer to ‘ngā hapū’ as ‘tribes’.³³⁰

Two popular English-language dictionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries define tribe in the following ways. The 1768 and 1806 editions of Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* describe ‘tribe’ as deriving from the Latin *tribus* and give the following explanations:

1. A distinct body of peoples as divided by family or fortune, or any other characteristick (sic) and
2. [i]t is often used in contempt.³³¹

The 1813 *Barclay’s Dictionary* gives ‘tribe’ as, ‘[tribus, Latin] in antiquity, was a certain quantity or number of persons, when a division was made of a city or people into quarters or districts’.³³² Busby, Henry Williams, Colenso, Hobson, and others would have understood tribe as ‘a distinct body of peoples’, rather than understanding the later nineteenth- and twentieth-century usage of ‘tribe’.

Most Māori were connected to a number of hapū. While it is agreed that hapū consisted of an unspecified number of whānau, Metge (citing Winiata, Kawharu and Hohepa), warns that it

³²⁹ Ballara, 1998, p. 32.

³³⁰ See the Preamble and in Article Two of the Treaty; AJLC 1869, pp. 69-71; Orange, 1987, Appendix 2, p. 257 and Appendix 5, pp. 262-63.

³³¹ Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 8th ed., Dublin, 1768 and 9th ed., London, 1805; under the lemma: ‘TRI’.

³³² James Barclay, *A complete and universal dictionary of the English language*, Bungay, 1813; under the lemma ‘TRI’.

cannot be presumed that ‘whānau’ grew into hapū.³³³ Headed by rangatira, each hapū was autonomous. Its primary purpose was to foster and support its member whānau. Larger cultivations, fishing, canoe-making and political affairs were dealt with at hapū level. The larger group identity was reinforced in a range of activities and events organised at the appropriate level. The social and political processes were dynamic, and land and resources could be reapportioned as change occurred.

The translation of ‘hapū’ as ‘sub-tribe’ is a relatively recent rendering and relegates the hapū to a subordinate function of the iwi, which has taken the meaning of tribe. Reading the later nineteenth and twentieth-century interpretation of societal reality in the period from the 1820s to the 1840s is problematic. Two examples are seen in anthropological works. First is Anne Salmond who, for a submission to a Waitangi Tribunal Claim, has translated ‘hapū’ as ‘sub-tribe’.³³⁴ It is illustrated also in the Sir Hugh Kawharu English-language translation of the Māori text where ‘ngā hapū’ is rendered as ‘the subtribes’.³³⁵ The Kawharu translation of the Māori version was written and used by the New Zealand Appeal Court during the *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General* case, as a primary document in the late twentieth-century reworking and interpretation of the meanings of the 1840 Tiriti.³³⁶ The effect of the new interpretation is to shift the locus of political and economic mana, power, from the whānau-hapū nexus to that of the iwi. The effect of this is seen in post-Tiriti and colonial tribal politics, and remains troublesome in history and anthropology as well as Māori studies. The flexibility of the social structure, and the inherent links between individuals, whānau, hapū, and iwi, allowed a variety of regroupings in the face of social, political, or economic stress. Strategic political or diplomatic marriages between prominent families united tribal groups, and the granting of land-use rights with reciprocal obligations could also extend tribal strength. This might apply to migrants or refugees from other areas who lived under the sufferance of their patron. Raupatu (loosely translated as ‘conquest’) was another means of extending territory and resources, including labour – the vanquished being added to the labour pool as slaves. Consequently, alliances of hapū were typically shifting alliances, prone

³³³ Joan Metge, *New growth from old : the whanau in the modern world*, Wellington, 1995, pp. 38-9, 43.

³³⁴ Anne Salmond, ‘Submission for the Waitangi Tribunal: Muriwhenua Land Claim’, Auckland, 1992, pp.5, 8.

³³⁵ I Hugh Kawharu, Sovereignty vs Rangatiratanga: The Treaty of Waitangi 1840 and the New Zealand Māori Council’s Kaupapa 1983. In Andrew Pawley (ed.), *Man and A Half. Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer*. Auckland, 1991, p. 576.

³³⁶ I H Kawharu, Translation of the Māori Text of the Treaty of Waitangi to the Court of Appeal, in *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 *New Zealand Law Review* 641; The Rt Hon Sir Ivor Richardson, Court of Appeal Judgements in the *New Zealand Māori Council v. Attorney General and Others*, in P Haig (ed.), *New Zealand Administrative Reports*, Vol. 6, Part 12, Wellington, 1987.

to internal splitting or recombination.³³⁷ This freedom of association also applied to individuals, who could choose to connect with the hapū of any parent or grandparent or move to another community following marriage, a quarrel, or for other reasons.

Archaeologist Janet Davidson suggested that the advent of larger social groups in closer proximity might have stimulated pā building as well as the quest for personal status and group prestige. As a consequence, the concept of hapū became more pervasive in New Zealand than it had been in the Polynesian homeland.³³⁸ The size of socio-political units grew again after European contact as groups consolidated to confront increasing conflict over resources and opportunities for foreign trade.

Te Waka

Te Waka is defined as a group of people with a common territory and common links with members of a voyaging canoe. The term is used to identify larger groups than iwi or hapū. While the concept is strong in some regions of Aotearoa, identification with a single, primary waka is not found in all Māori communities. Waka affiliation in Te Taitokerau is extremely complex because most of the whānau and hapū are associated with the many different waka that landed around the peninsula. Some voyagers initially settled there, but later moved to other areas around the North and South Islands. The Northern peoples celebrate their multiplicity of waka associations as part of their identity, whereas some hapū and iwi groupings in other parts of the country associate with a sole primary waka. Tainui is an example of such a configuration of iwi and hapū. To what extent waka affiliations were significant in the economic, political and social dynamics of early to mid-nineteenth-century society is difficult to ascertain. Ranginui Walker has argued that the waka represented ‘a very loose ideological bond’.³³⁹ While agreeing with the ideology association, we have not found archival or oral evidence to suggest its prominence in shaping or driving Ngāpuhi agency in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

Iwi

The iwi was at the heart of Māori and Crown agency discourse in the 1990s but it has contestable meanings. While the term is as old as the language, its primary meanings have changed and been elaborated over time. According to the 1892 edition of the *Dictionary of*

³³⁷ Dame Joan Metge, cit. Cloher and Penfold, 2002, p. 25 f/n.

³³⁸ Janet Davidson, *Prehistory of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1984, p. 222.

³³⁹ Ranginui Walker, 1990, 2004, p. 65.

the Māori Language, iwi is glossed as ‘bones’ and ‘tribe’.³⁴⁰ In the 1975 edition of the *Dictionary of the Māori Language*, ‘iwi’ has the following primary meanings, ‘bones’, ‘stone of fruit’, ‘strength’ and ‘nation, people’.³⁴¹ In the context of this report the primary meanings of ‘bones’, ‘tribe’, ‘nation’ and ‘people’ are the most relevant.

Historically, the term ‘iwi’ was used to refer to people connected to one another through whakapapa – hence the ‘bones’ analogy. It is the older meaning of the term. Later, as Māori communities re-organised themselves from the 1800s, and later still as colonisation developed, hapū groupings formed iwi. These became more institutionalised from about the 1850s. A significant factor in the emergence of larger tribal configurations was the process of British colonisation and settler government policy. Ballara showed how institutionalised iwi were promoted for New Zealand settler government purposes, but that Māori communities responded in such a way that the government programme of reorganisation became a Māori programme of agency and resistance.³⁴² In this sense, the term ‘iwi’ refers to the Māori people and conveys the larger idea of Māori nation.

From the mid-1850s, two institutional forms expressed this new embedded notion of being a distinctive people. One was the traditional rūnanga, which refers to types of councils of local Māori administration and authority. The second was the Māori King movement, a specifically monarchist, nationalist movement in which Māori attempted to control the chaos of land dealings with the colonisers and the colonial government.³⁴³ These struggles for Māori autonomy and mana continued despite governments denigrating and working against the rūnanga, and being openly hostile towards the monarchy movement. According to Alan Ward, ‘the *runanga* persisted. It enjoyed favour because it embodied Māori, not alien, authority, because its proceedings and decisions in some respects were more appropriate than English law’.³⁴⁴

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the iwi has become a new system of social organisation. It constitutes a larger grouping of whānau-hapū, over which it often exhibits some political and social control in opposition to other kinship groups, and in dealings with settler governments

³⁴⁰ William Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, London, 1892, p. 44.

³⁴¹ H Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, Wellington, 1975, p. 80.

³⁴² Ballara, *Iwi*, 1998; Mason H Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kaawanatanga : The Politics of Maaori Self-determination*, Auckland, 1998.

³⁴³ Vincent O’Malley, *Agents of Autonomy: Maori Committees in the Nineteenth Century*, Wellington, 1998, pp. 187-188; Lindsay Cox, *Kotahitanga : The Search for Maaori Political Unity*, Auckland, 1993.

³⁴⁴ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial ‘Amalgamation’ in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland, 1973, p. 241.

and the New Zealand Crown. In many parts of the country, iwi acquired a territorial entity previously associated with the diverse numbers of local hapū. Iwi thus became the basis for a wider group ideology and in effect were alliances of whānau-hapū who remained together as interdependent political units, achieving self-sufficiency and self-government in economic and social matters. Prominent landmarks, significant ancestors and oral history all helped to establish firmly iwi identity throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.

We turn finally to the next level of social organisation, structure and identity – the hapū, whose members trace their descent from a common ancestor.

Hapū

The individual and his or her tribal group might be seen as one entity as it was in Pāora Tūhaere's kōrero about the origins of Ngāti Whātua. So too might people in different generations be discussed as if they are the same person – as occurs in Niki Conrad's kōrero concerning Tōhē:

Ae, tērā tangata ra hoki a Tōhē i eke mai i runga i te waka nei i a *Kurahaupō*. Nā ko *Kurahaupō* te waka kō Pohurihanga te tangata. Tā Pohurihanga, ko Muriwhenua, tā Muriwhenua ko Te Whatakaimarie, nā, ka puta ko te tangata nei ko Tōhē, ko Te Rangi-tuoro me te tuahine ko Te Kura.

Tōhē arrived on the waka *Kurahaupō*. *Kurahaupō* was the waka and Pohurihanga was the chief. Pohurihanga begat Muriwhenua, Muriwhenua begat Whatakaimarie who begat this man Tōhē, Te Ranguituro and their sister Te Kura.³⁴⁵

As the kōrero states, it was not Tōhē himself who arrived on the *Kurahaupō*, but his grandfather. Nevertheless, the narrative explains conceptually how the responsibilities and obligations of one person are those of all. Hence, if one person committed adultery or any other offence against customary law, the wider community suffered the consequences – such as a taua muru. The idea of one person as the whole group went both ways as Te Whare-Rahi Patuone and Matangi explained to John Hobbs. When the missionaries asked 'why they [Māori] made such general havoc when they went to war, not satisfying themselves with the life of the individual person who caused the death of their friend', they answered:

When a person is killed, one eats his leg, another his arm, another his body and so on, which makes him equally criminal, and again it is impossible to

³⁴⁵ Nicky Conrad interviewed by Whai Ngata, *Waka Huia*, 27 June 1987, video recording transcribed and translated by Hohipere Tarau.

find the individual among his relations who would never give him up and therefore it is necessary to go against the whole tribe.³⁴⁶

Hapū were kin-based corporate units that had separated themselves from a wider group at some point in their history. This might have been occasioned by circumstances such as voluntary or forced migration or defeat in battle; or it might have followed a quarrel, the subdivision of land or a change in allocated boundaries, banishment for a breach of the law, loss of mana, or any number of other causes. Once they had undergone such separation, hapū became completely independent and autonomous. In theory, they were free to choose whether they would respond to calls from other, possibly more powerful, hapū for their military support or contributions to major projects. Political factors, however, and the need to maintain good relations in case of their own need, were likely to influence a favourable response to allies. Economic factors entered the picture too, especially where a large workforce was required to complete a substantial project; for example, when Te Rarawa hapū joined forces in their annual fishing expeditions.³⁴⁷ Marsden came upon some 250 to 300 people in about 40 canoes fishing for swordfish when he travelled around North Cape in 1819.³⁴⁸ At such times, when major events requiring extensive provisions could be foreseen – such as a war campaign, hākari or major building or engineering works – hapū would typically join together in clearing fresh land for horticultural purposes. However, each of the smaller hapū would cultivate a defined portion within the new clearing.³⁴⁹

Although allied hapū or descent groups would normally unite in times of war, the mana of the rangatira ensured that internal disputes could usually be resolved without resorting to killing. As Angela Ballara has written, ‘relative forbearance among close kin was the norm’. She cites the example of events that followed the placing of a rāhui on a stretch of land called Ōmahutu by Te Tihi of Ngāti Korokoro. Korokoro was a son of Tūpoto so his descendants were closely related to Te Uri-o-Te Aho, descendants of Te Aho, a great-grandson of Tūpoto, and they all belonged to the major hapū of Ngāi Tūpoto. This relationship was recognised when Te Uri-o-Te Aho broke the rāhui by catching kiwis on the land and, when the offence was discovered, Ngāti Korokoro and Ngāti Hau, another closely related hapū, punished Te Uri-o-Te Aho by breaking their waka. Subsequently, Te Uri-o-Te Aho demanded and were granted the land as payment for the lost waka. The matter ended at that point but all the

³⁴⁶ John Hobbs Journal, 13 November •••, MS 144, AWMML. DB31.

³⁴⁷ Cox, 1993, pp.21-23.

³⁴⁸ J R Elder, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, Dunedin, 1932, p.145.

³⁴⁹ Ballara, 1998, p.196.

parties, Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāti Hau and Te Uri-o-Te Aho were able to base claims to the land on being the givers and receivers of the gift.³⁵⁰

Mana hapū motuhake: Hapū autonomy

Maintenance of hapū independence and autonomy was carefully respected. The well-known whakataukī ‘Ngāpuhi kowhao rau’ (Ngāpuhi of a hundred holes) has many interpretations but several of them refer to this characteristic. John White, author of the *Ancient History of the Maori*, recorded the following explanation during the nineteenth century:

Te whakamaoritanga o tēnei whakataukī, he tini no ngā rangatira whai mana o tēnei iwi o Ngāpuhi, he rangatira anō me tana whakahaere i runga i tana mana i tana mana. E noho rangimarie ana tētahi rangatira me tana iwi, e whawai ana tētahi rangatira me tana iwi, i hohou rongo anō tētahi, ētahi rangatira, e kohuru ana tētahi, ētahi rangatira me a rātou iwi, koia te tikanga o te whakataukī i runga ake nei. Otira te tino tikanga o taua whakataukī nei he mea whakarite ki te waka pakaru, tini ngā kowhao, a, e purua ana ētahi; e pipi mai ana te wai i ētahi kōwhao i te tini hoki o ngā kowhao o te waka. Whaihoki ko ngā rangatiratanga i roto i te iwi o Ngāpuhi, e pēhi ana ētahi rangatira kia mutu te whawai, e whakatika ana ētahi ki te whawhai.

The explanation for this saying is that there are many influential chiefs amongst the Ngāpuhi tribes, and that each chief rules according to his own authority. One chief lives in peace with his people, another fights with his; yet others keep the peace while others again fight by stealth – this is the meaning of the above saying. However, the real meaning of that saying [lies in] the comparison with a broken canoe which has many holes in it, for when some of these are blocked up, others let the water through because of the great number of holes in the canoe. Similarly with the chiefs of the Ngāpuhi people, while some chiefs press for a cease to fighting, others are up and fighting.³⁵¹

Ngāti Hine express a similar concept in their saying ‘Ngāti Hine pukepukerau’ (Ngāti Hine of a hundred hills), which is a very ancient pepeha meaning that Ngāti Hine had a hundred chiefs and each hill its own rangatira.³⁵²

This idea of autonomy and separate identity is applied between hapū even when living in one community. In the Whirinaki case, a witness in the land court explained:

The Ngāti Tuapango and the Hikutu also live on Whirinaki. These hapus all descend from Kairewa, Korokoro and Tuteauru. They are now much intermarried; – but the Ngāti Kairewa still maintain themselves distinct (or, perhaps, a little more than the others.)³⁵³

³⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.182; and evidence of Rē Te Tai, Waimā No. 2 Block, 14 April 1885, NMB 7, pp.106-110. DB32, 33.

³⁵¹ John White papers, ATL, MS Papers 75, Folder 32, p. 6, cit. Department of Māori Affairs, 1987, p. 60.

³⁵² Notes from Sir James Hēnare, 26 September 1985, cit. Department of Māori Affairs, 1987, p. 61.

³⁵³ Evidence of Ruka Te Huru, Whirinaki counter case No. 9, 28 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 292. dB34.

Wiremu Pati (Birch)'s cross-examination of Hōne Mohi Tāwhai in the Arawhatatōtara No. 2 Block case indicated how each independent descent group exercised its own mana:

Were the descendants of Kuiawai and Mahuri the persons who had charge of this land? Yes.
Did they put up the 'Rahuis'? Yes, but each put up his own rahui. One would not interfere with the rahuis of another.³⁵⁴

It was to be expected then, that these patterns would continue in the era of international trade. For example, on Marsden's second visit to New Zealand in 1819, he discussed plans for a new settlement with Hongi and the Ngāre Raumati leader, Korokoro, from Pāroa. Korokoro was extremely disappointed when the missionary elected to reinforce Hongi's political strength by establishing the second mission under his jurisdiction at Kerikeri, and responded by warning that his rival should not be trusted.³⁵⁵ Slandering neighbouring communities with claims of cannibalism or treachery was a ploy Māori often used to deter Pākehā from visiting their rivals' areas.³⁵⁶ (The term used was 'heneraki', sometimes written as 'shenerica' or other spellings, which meant 'to deceive, mislead or hoax'.)³⁵⁷ Other chiefs might have complained about Hongi's monopoly, but they acknowledged his mana. This was evident when Marsden visited the Hokianga Harbour:

The chiefs and priest ... asked us if we had mentioned our coming to Shunghee [Hongi], for they feared the chiefs on the east side would not be pleased if any ship should visit them. I told them I had acquainted Shunghee with our intention, and he had sent his son to show us the way. They were much pleased at this information and remarked that, as we had come of our own accord, without invitation, the chiefs had no ground to be offended with them.³⁵⁸

The separate autonomy of hapū within a more overarching, but probably looser, tribal group was apparent at a Hokianga hākari described by Thomas McDonnell. On this occasion, scaffolding some 360 feet (110 metres) long was erected with tiers of diminishing length so that the structure tapered towards the top. The length of each tier correlated with the strength

³⁵⁴ Wiremu Pati (Birch), Arawhatatōtara Block No. 2, 13 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 275. DB35.

³⁵⁵ Elder, 1932, pp. 148-9.

³⁵⁶ See, for example, Roger P Wigglesworth, 'The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade 1769-1840', PhD thesis, Massey University, New Plymouth, 1981, pp. 219-220.

³⁵⁷ See, for example, Nicholas, 1817, 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 385 and 408, Vol. II, p. 34; R A Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, 2nd ed., London, 1824, facsimile ed. Christchurch, 1974, pp. 121, 138 and 167.

³⁵⁸ Elder, 1932, p. 189.

Tahawai) and Ururoa (also Te Tahawai) took Puketi; Tāreha took the land beyond Okura; Tupe had Karangahape. Tāreha went to Tapuaetahi and he left his share to Ururoa.⁴³⁶

Ngāti Uru, or Ngāti Paruru, were the people associated with the Whangaroa mission; they had also been responsible for taking the *Boyd* in 1809. In March 1825, the brig *Mercury* was plundered, and Ngāti Uru held Ngāti Pou responsible. Some Ngāti Uru people were caught up in Hongi's 1827 battle, which was primarily against Ngāti Pou and triggered by the *Mercury* plunder. They took refuge with Patuone and Wāka Nene of Ngāti Hao at Waihou in the Hokianga.⁴³⁷

3.5.6 Mid and East

Ngāti Hine

Ko Hikurangi, ko Mōtatau ngā maunga	Hikurangi and Mōtatau are the mountains
Ko Taumarere te awa	Taumarere is the river
Ko Hineamaru te tupuna	Hineamaru is the ancestress
Ko Ngāti Hine te hapū ⁴³⁸	Ngāti Hine is the tribe

Ngāti Hine pukepukerau (Ngāti Hine of a hundred mountains) is an independent, self-sustaining member of the Ngāpuhi Federation of Tribes, who regard themselves as the Kaitiaki or Keepers and Protectors o Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Many of the Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Hine stories involve those who directly participated in various transactions and encounters, both friendly and unfriendly, immediately before, and in the early days of European contact. An ancestor of these times, with whom many Ngāti Hine closely identify, is Kawiti. The relationships of Kawiti to some of his well-known contemporaries are shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12 - Kawiti and his Ngāpuhi contemporaries

[To come from Erima Henare]

Te Rohe o Ngāti Hine:

⁴³⁶ Sale, p.77. NB Some members of Whangaroa Papa Hapū do not agree with Sale's comment that all Whangaroa people came under Ururoa's protection. They believe there is some debate over whether the tūpuna was Ururoa or Ururangi.

⁴³⁷ Ballara, *Iwi*, p.131.

⁴³⁸ Martin, Kene Hine Te Uira. 'Kawiti, Te Ruki ? - 1854'. *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau*, updated 16 December 2003 URL: <http://www.dnz.govt.nz/> Original version, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume One (1769-1869), 1990.

Hikurangi titiro ki Pouerua, Pouerua titiro ki Rakaumangamanga,
Rakaumangamanga titiro ki Manaia,
Manaia titiro ki Whatitiri, Whatitiri titiro ki Tutemoi, Tutemoi titiro ki te
Tarai o Rahiri,
Te Tarai o Rahiri titiro ki Hikurangi ki nga Kiekie whawhanui a Uenuku

From Hikurangi look to Pouerua, from Pouerua look to
Rakaumangamanga, from Rakaumangamanga look to Manaia, from
Manaia look to Whatitiri, from Whatitiri look to Tutemoi, from Tutemoi
look to the coiffure of Rahiri, from the coiffure of Rahiri look to Hikurangi,
to the Kiekie⁴³⁹ that touch Uenuku⁴⁴⁰.

Ngāti Hine was declared by Kawiti's son, Te Maihi Paraone, to be a separate iwi sometime around the 1870s. In 1867, a major hui of Ngāpuhi at Okorihi Marae near Kaikohe, chose Te Maihi as their Ariki, giving him Hōne Heke's mere as a symbol of this status. However, because he was being constantly challenged by Mohi Tawhai, he rejected the status and, in 1878 indicated Ngāti Hine would become independent by throwing this mere on the ground at Okorihi. A whare rūnanga, called Te Porowini o Ngāti Hine (the province of Ngāti Hine) and a dining room were built at Taumārere. Te Porowini was later moved to Otiria Marae.⁴⁴¹ The proclamation was made for all descendants of Hine-a-maru living in the rohe potae described. This territory lies to the west and mainly north of Whāngārei.

Hapū with primary affiliation to Ngāti Hine include Ngāti Te Rino, Te Orewai, Ngāti Ngaherehere, Te Kau-i-mua, Ngāti Kopaki, Ngāti Te Ara, Ngāti Manu, Ngāti Te Tarawa. Allied hapū, whose descendants could claim to Ngāti Hine if they wished because of whakapapa, are Te Kapotai, Te Uriroi, Te Parawhau, Te Kahu o Torongare and Ngāti Hau ki Akerama.

Recognized Marae are: Te Aroha, Tau Henare, Eparaima Makapi, Matawaia, Te Rito, Tereawatea, Maramatautini, Otiria, Karetu, Te Rapunga, Kawiti Whānau, Mohinui, Motatau, Waimahae and the marae of those other hapū whose descendants choose to identify as Ngāti Hine.

Neighbouring Iwi are: Ngāti Wai, Te Roroa, Ngāti Whātua, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu and Te Aupōuri.

⁴³⁹ Climbing flax-like plant.

⁴⁴⁰ Personified form of rainbow, chief of Hawaiiki.

⁴⁴¹ This information has been taken from the Ngāti Hine website, <http://www.ngatihine.iwi.nz/>. It differs from the account in the DNZB for Te Maihi, which gives 1862 as the date of partitioning Ngāti Hine territory from Ngāpuhi.

3.5.7 *Moekākara, Tūnui, and others*

Te Waiariki

Because Te Waiariki is an ancient tribe, there are many versions of their origins. It is generally accepted that Te Waiariki were formed earlier than today's major tribal groupings and were once a large tribe, from whom most Hokianga hapū were able to trace their descent. Their Hokianga roots are remembered in the many ancient wāhi tapu attributed to them in that area. Although they left the Hokianga some 400 years ago, their links with the area were maintained through periodic exchanges. For example, Wharetohunga, a notable Waiariki warrior who spent his adult life in Ngunguru, returned to Waihou in his later years and died there.

Te Waiariki, who are closely linked to Ngāti Taka and Ngāti Kororā and derive their land originally from Ngāi Tāhuhu,⁴⁴² subsequently occupied an area centred on the Ngunguru sand-spit. Their mana whenua came to encompass the four rivers – Ngunguru, Hora Hora, Pataua and Taiharuru – that run into the Pacific Ocean, land that they still occupy. They had left the Hokianga, perhaps in the mid-sixteenth century, under the leadership of Rangitauwawaro, from whom all Whāngārei Te Waiariki are descended, and settled for some time in Kaipara before moving to Ngunguru. They remained here until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century when Ngāpuhi began to assert dominance in the Whāngārei area. The skirmishes that occurred at this time were between Ngāpuhi and Ngāi Tāhuhu, and although Te Waiariki are not Ngāpuhi, they joined them in their campaigns against other tribes to the southward during the 1820s and 1830s. Some of these were particularly bloody and, following an unsuccessful attack on Waikato at the Whāngāpē Lake area at Rangiriri, the Waikato people retaliated by coming north, meeting a contingent of Ngāpuhi at the Ngunguru sand-spit. The bones of the fallen remain today at the place named Horahora.

Through settlement and marriage with Ngāi Tāhuhu people, particularly the marriages of the Ngāi Tāhuhu sisters Te Huaki and Kahuwhero with the Te Waiariki brothers, Tukaiteuru and Te Uhi (or Uwhi), Te Waiariki entrenched themselves in the landscape. By 1800, they had established settlements at Kauri, Waikare, Taiharuru, Taranui, Tahere, Whānui, Pataua, Pukahakaha, Ohuatahi, Horahora, Ngunguru, Kiripaka, Maruata and Whareora. Te Waiariki consider that their rights to areas with which they have long unbroken associations have been compromised by the Crown's tendency to conflate a variety of overlapping rights under one

⁴⁴² Personal communication, Violet H. Sade, 30 April 2007.

allegedly overarching tribal grouping, as has happened in other areas. In Te Waiariki's case, despite retaining their independent autonomy, Mangawhai and other areas have often been described as coming under the umbrella of Ngāti Wai.⁴⁴³

Mitai Paraone-Kawiti and Violet Sade have provided us with slightly different version of Te Waiariki, and with a brief background to this group as well as to Ngāti Taka and Ngāti Kororā, who have occupied ancestral lands from Te Rerenga Parāoa to the sea, an area on the isthmus now generally known as Whāngārei. They explain that Te Mawe inherited mana (rangatiratanga) over the land and resources through his maternal grandfather, Tuatahi of Ngāi Tāhuhu, which group were the original inhabitants of that area. Te Mawe's paternal grandfather, on the other hand, was Rangitauwawaro, who came from the Hokianga and whose people were known as Te Waiariki and affiliated to Ngāpuhi.

Tuatahi begat two daughters – Kahuwhero and Te Huaki – and two sons – Tukaiteuru and Te Uhi. Kahuwhero married Te Uhi and Te Huaki married Tukaiteuru and the descendants of these two unions assumed the tribal name Te Waiariki. These hapū maintain their separate autonomy on the basis that they were not subjugated by Ngāpuhi when they invaded the region. As the key tūpuna for Pataua and other blocks have been identified as Tuatahi and Te Mawe, and the hapū being Ngāti Taka and Ngāti Kororā of Te Waiariki, they note that their rohe and/or mana does not extend as far as Whananaki or as far south as Pākiri.⁴⁴⁴

As mentioned earlier, other tribal groups in the Whāngārei area are Te Parawhau and Ngāti Kahu of the Whāngārei Heads.

Ngāi Tāhuhu

One of the earliest tribes in the northern Whāngārei and Bay of Islands region is Ngāi Tāhuhu (mentioned earlier at page 180) who descend from the captain of the *Moekākara* waka, Tāhuhunui-o-te-rangi. Ngāi Tāhuhu, who pre-dated Ngāpuhi, established pā at Pouērua in the Bay of Islands, in the Mangakāhia river valley, at Whāngārei, Te Ārai, and at Ōtāhuhu (Mt Richmond) in Auckland. By the mid-nineteenth century the territory under their control appeared to have diminished to encompass only the upper Wairoa and Mangakāhia valleys,⁴⁴⁵ although their claims based on ancestry continued to be asserted. For instance, in May 1858

⁴⁴³ This information is based on various documents supplied by Violet Sade of Te Waiariki.

⁴⁴⁴ 'Tribal Constitution', provided by Mitai Paraone-Kawiti and Violet Sade.

⁴⁴⁵ Rāwiri Taonui. 'Whāngārei tribes', *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Available at: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/WhangareiTribes/en>. (Updated 26 September 2006.)

their claims were officially recorded. In this report, Johnson noted that the claim arose ‘from the hereditary right advanced by an old man, named Hine Waru, derived through some undefined ancestry belonging to the former – but now extinct tribe of Ngāti Tāhuhu, who inhabited this district at one time’.⁴⁴⁶

Taipari Munro of Te Parawhau/Te Uriroroi recounted the origins of the Whāngārei people from Ngāi Tāhuhu and discussed the relationships between these groups:

Te hapu nui i roto i Te Taitokerau nei i mua ko Ngāi Tāhuhu. Koia hoki tēnā ko te hapū o tēnei takiwā i mua o te taenga mai o Ngāpuhi ki konei. Ka haere mai ki konei ka haere tuatahi mai i te wā o Torongare. Ko te matua tērā o Hine-a-maru. Ko Hine-a-maru me tō mātou tūpuna a Tama-a-ngana. Na i haere tuatahi mai rātou ki konei ki Whāngārei nei ka noho rātou ki runga i ngā puke rā i runga o Ruarangi mo tētahi wā. A, kātahi ka nuke atu rātou ki roto o Waiomio. Kei reira rātou i tēnei wā tonu – kei roto i taua awaawa rā kei Waiomio.

Nā i muri mai ka pahure atu te rima tekau tau pea, ono tekau tau pea, a, kātahi ka hoki mai ano a Ngāpuhi ki konei. E rapu ana i tētahi kāinga – tētahi wāhi hei kāinga mo rātou hei kāinga mo rātou. Te take i haere mai ai rātou ki konei i te mea tō rātou tūpuna ko Ahuaiti – no Whāngārei te Terengaparāoa nei. Ko tēnā te take i haere mai ai a Ngāpuhi ki waenganui o rātou whanaunga e rapu kāinga mō rātou – rapu ana kāinga rua.

Nā reira i aua tāima ra ka tū ngā pakanga i waenganui i a Ngāpuhi me Ngāi Tāhuhu. Ko tētahi take o te whawhai nei ko ngā hōpua mango o te Terengaparāoa. Ngā hōpua mango nei i aua tāima ra – i haere ngā tūpuna ki aua hōpua mango ki te tiki i ngā hua mango i te mea he kai rangatira tērā. He kai ma o rātou rangatira.

I aua tāima rā i moe tahi a Ngāpuhi raua ko Ngāi Tāhuhu – a Te Kahore i a Ngapai. A Te Kahore no Ngāpuhi, a Ngapai ko te kōtiro tērā a Hikurangi – tētahi o ngā tūpuna, ngā rangatira o Ngāi Tāhuhu. I te wā o te moenga ka hoatu e Ngapai ngā hōpua mango nei ki tana tāne me tana iwi. Kātahi ka rikarika ko Ngaro-ki-te-uru. Nā a Ngaro-ki-te-uru ko ia hoki tētahi o ngā tūpuna, ngā rangatira e noho ana ki konei i mua. Ka riri a Ngaro-ki-te-uru i te mea e kite ana ia kua ngaro wa rātou rawa. Koia hoki tēnā te take i tīmatahia te pakanga i waenganui i a Ngāpuhi raua ko Ngāi Tāhuhu. Mutu atu te pakanga kua hinga ko Ngāi Tāhuhu. Kua riro atu tēnei wāhi katoa i a Ngāpuhi.

E mea atu ana ahau ko te iwi o tēnei takiwā ko Ngāpuhi. I te mea i roto i aua pakanga i riro atu te mana whenua ki a rātou.

Nā reira ngā hapū e noho ana ki Whāngārei i tēnei wā – me tīmatahia ki waho ra, ki te moana rā ki Ruakaka, na ko Patuharakeke tērā. Ko Patuharakeke he uri tērā – he hapū tērā no Ngāi Tāhuhu. Nā ka haere pēnei mai ka tae ki atu ki

⁴⁴⁶ Johnson to McLean, AJHR, 1861, C-1, p.86, cit. O’Malley, ‘Northland Crown Purchases’, pp.314-15.

te awaawa o Otaika kei reira ko te Parawhau. E anga pēra atu ana ki ngā maunga rā ki Maunu ki Maungatapere, kei reira a te Parawhau e noho ana. Me kī te taha katau o te moana nei ko te Parawhau tērā.

In the past, a large tribe in Te Taitokerau was Ngāi Tāhuhu. That hapū was here before Ngāpuhi arrived here. Ngāpuhi came here during the era of Torongare. He was the father of Hine-a-maru and our tūpuna/ancestor Tama-a-ngana. When they first arrived they settled on that hill/mountain Ruarangi for a period of time. And then they moved to Waioomio. They are still there today – in that valley at Waioomio.

Time passed, perhaps fifty or sixty years, and Ngāpuhi came back. They were seeking a place to settle. They came here because their tūpuna was Ahuaiti – from here in Whāngārei, Terengaparāoa. That is why Ngāpuhi came to their relatives. They were looking for a second settlement.

It is during that time that war erupted between Ngāpuhi and Ngāi Tāhuhu. One of the reasons for the battle was over the shark lagoons/pools at Terengaparoa. In those days the tupuna would go to the lagoons to get shark roe because it was a delicacy. It was food for their chiefs.

At that time there was intermarriage between Ngāpuhi and Ngāi Tāhuhu – Te Kahore and Ngapai. Te Kahore was Ngāpuhi and Ngapai was the daughter of Hikurangi – one of the ancestors – chiefs of Ngāi Tāhuhu. When they married Ngapai gave/gifted the shark lagoons to her husband and his people. Ngaro-ki-te-uru was unhappy (with the situation). Now, Ngaro-ki-te-uru was one of the chiefs that lived here back in those days. He was angry because he realised that their resources were lost. That is how the battle between Ngāpuhi and Ngāi Tāhuhu started. When it (the battle) ended Ngāi Tāhuhu were defeated. This entire area was taken over by Ngāpuhi (through conquest).

Today the tribes that live here in Whāngārei – starting from the coast at Ruakaka – that is Patuharakeke. They are the descendants and hapū of Ngāi Tāhuhu. Now coming back this way to the valley at Otaika that is Te Parawhau there. Go towards those hills to Maunu and over to Maungatapere that is where Te Parawhau lives. Let's say that to the right side of the sea, that is Te Parawhau.⁴⁴⁷

Te Parawhau

Te Parawhau are located to the north and south of Whāngārei, and inland. An 1853 report to the Colonial Secretary declared that Te Parawhau were the 'original tribe of Whāngārei, occupying and claiming the southern bank, and the Ngāpuhi the northern bank of the Whāngārei, but both parties being connected with, and, in a great measure, controlled by

⁴⁴⁷ Taipari Munro, *Waka Huia*, 2 October 2005.

Tirarau, the rangatira of the Wairoa River in Kaipara'. O'Malley comments that 'customary rights at Whāngārei were rather more complex than [Johnson's] 'two tribes, one river' initial assessment'.⁴⁴⁸

According to one tradition, the tribal name was taken from the people's practice of making floats for fishing nets from the wood of the whau tree.⁴⁴⁹ However, another version relates the name to the custom of preserving the bodies of the dead in the gum of the whau tree.⁴⁵⁰ Te Parawhau have close connections with Ngāti Wai, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua, as well as with Tahuwhakatiki, a captain of the Te Arawa waka who settled at Whāngārei. Percy Smith was unable to identify their origins, but presumed that they traced their descent, in part, from these groups, concluding that whatever their origin they were 'closely allied and mixed up with the Ngai-Tahuhu tribe'.⁴⁵¹

The name of the tribal mountain has recently been changed back to its original name of Parihaka from Parahaki to which it had become distorted over time. This traditional name relates to a time when the tribe was under siege on a mountain in Whāngārei and their tūpuna Pari performed a haka there to rally his people to victory.

Ngāre Raumati

Other Whāngārei tribes include Ngāre Raumati (mentioned earlier at page 182), who are recognised as one of the oldest tribes in the northern Whāngārei area. The centre of their traditional homelands is at Te Rāwhiti. However, they lost much of their land during late eighteenth-century conflict with Ngāpuhi, who spread into the district from Kaikohe and Te Waimate into the Bay of Islands.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ Johnson to Colonial Secretary, 12 December 1853, *Epitome*, C, p.55, cit. O'Malley, 'Northland Crown Purchases', p.27.6

⁴⁴⁹ S Percy Smith, 'Peopling of the North', p.36.

⁴⁵⁰ Rāwiri Taonui. 'Whāngārei tribes', *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Available at: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/WhangareiTribes/en>. (Updated 26 September 2006.)

⁴⁵¹ S Percy Smith, *Peopling of the North*, p.36.

⁴⁵² Rāwiri Taonui. 'Whāngārei tribes', *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Available at: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/WhangareiTribes/en>. (Updated 26 September 2006.)

Ngāti Wai

Ngāti Wai trace their descent from Manaia, rangatira of the *Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi* or *Ruakamea* waka, and his people Ngāti Manaia. Their tribal name reflects their close association with the coastal waters. In their tradition, tohunga drew on their spiritual powers to foretell the fortunes of their people from the way in which water passed through the cave Manawahuna beneath Motu Kōkako. Ngāti Wai were renowned coastal raiders and traders whose tūpuna came from Whangaroa in the north to Tāmaki (Auckland) in the south, and east to Hauturu (Little Barrier) and Aotea (Great Barrier) islands, where Ngāti Rehua, a hapū of Ngāti Wai, settled. Ngāti Wai is now interspersed with other coastal groups such as Ngāti Kahu, Te Whānauwhero, Te Ākitai and Te Panupuha.⁴⁵³

Although Ngāti Wai are often presumed to be a section of Ngāpuhi, their first ancestor was not Rāhiri but Manaia, who lived several generations earlier, and to whom Rāhiri is not related in a direct line. It is possible for members of Ngāti Wai to whakapapa to Rāhiri because two of his wives, Ahuaiti and Whakaruru, were descended from Manaia. However, they both derive from a tēina line of Ngāti Wai whereas a number of families can trace a tuakana line from Manaia that does not relate to Rāhiri at all. Therefore, that tuakana line can be cited as evidence that Ngāti Wai is an iwi rather than a hapū of Ngāpuhi.

Morore Kaupeka Piripi suggested that confusion over the ancestry of Ngāti Wai arose because members have tended to trace their genealogies back to Rāhiri in recent times, because Ngāpuhi 'are very much the larger and stronger tribe, adjacent to Ngāti Wai territory and in constant contact at tribal meetings, where descent from Rāhiri is still an important source of status'. A history of Ngāti Wai, told by Piripi then transcribed and edited by Arapera Blank, was published in *Te Ao Hou* magazine in 1961 and 1962. Some extracts from this are given here:

Ko Ngatiwai i timata mai i a Ngati-Manaia. I haeremai mai i runga i a Mahuhu-Ki-Te-Rangi. Ko nga mana katoa o Ngatiwai kei te wai, i nga taniwha me o ratou manawa. Kei Motukokako, kei reira tetahi wahi e huaina ana te ingoa ko Manawahuna. Ki te whakakorikoria te oneone i reira, ka pa he awaha, ka marangai a ia, a, e kore te tangata e puta mai i reira. Na ka korero nga pakeke:

‘Kaua e whakakorikoria nga kirikiri o Manawahuna, kei ngaro koutou i te moana, kei mate.’

⁴⁵³ *ibid.*

No te haerengamai o Rahiri ka moe i nga wahine o Ngati-Manaia i a Ahuaiti, i a Whangaruru, i a Moetonga. Ka haeremai, ka moemoe haere mai etahi atu ki etahi atu, ka huihui katoa.

Ko Manaia i noho ki Motukokako, ara ki Maunganui, i tona taenga mai. Ka mutu ka haere ki Taupiri, ka mahue tana waka i tenei takiwa, ara ko te ingoa o taua wahi ko Taupiri. I pakaru te waka o Manaia i konei. Ka noho a ia ki tenei wahi, a, taria te roa ka haere a ia ki Mimiwhangata. Ka noho ia ki reira mo nga tau maha, a, ka ahu mai i reira ki Whangaruru nei, mo nga tau maha. Ka noho ki Tawhiti-Rahiri, ara, te ingoa o te Pakeha inaianei, ko Poor Knights. A, ko one wahi i noho haere ai ia i tenei takiwa, ko Ngunguru, ko Matapouri, ko Whananaki, tae atu ki Whangarei Heads. I mua ko tenei wahi ko Whangarei Heads e huainatia ana ko Whangarei-Terenga-Paraoa. Ko te take o tenei ingoa he terenga tohoro. Ko tenei mea ko te patuparaoa me tango mai i te tohoro.

I a Manaia e noho ana i reira, ko ona mana ko nga mana o te moana. Ko tetahi korero i reira e korerotia ana i reira, ara me korero patere ma ratou, penei te korero,

Takina ake ra te tai tara ki Motukokako,
Whakataha ia ra te tikitiki o Tu-te-mahurangi,
He manu kawē i nga kii ki roto o Pou-e-rua.
Nga kohu e tatao i runga o Rakaumangamanga:
Kei tahuna tapu te riri e
Whai mai ra ki au.
Tena ra pea, koe e Pa e te Apatunga!
Te korero a Wharena
Kia houhia te rongo—
E kore e mau te rongo:
Ka whakarauika a Ngapuhi.
Ka tu Taiharuru te moana
I hoea ai e Ngatiwai
Ki raro ki Putawiri—
Ka mate ki reira ko te Wehenga,
Ka ora ki reira ko te au Kumeroa.
Nga tai e to na ki waho o Morunga
He au here toroa,
Whai mai ra ki au.

Ko tenei korero, he korero mo nga mana kei reira kei Manawahuna. Ki te haere ki te whawhai, ka haere ki te ana nei ki Waimaturuturu-ma-tuaiwi-Manawahuna, a, i reira, ki te kitea e maku ana nga tangata i te wai, he tohu pai tera. Ki te kore e maku i te wai, he tohu kino tera. Ka pangia ratou i te raruraru, i te mate ranei, a, e kore ratou e ora i te hoariri. Na koia tera, ko tera mana o ratou. Ko tetahi o nga mana kei Waiharuru. He wai whakaata. Ko tetahi o nga mana kei Marotiri. He wai whakaata ano. Koi ara te take i huaina ai tenei iwi ko Ngatiwai.

Ko te tikanga o te patere ko te manu i whakahuatia ake nei ko te manu kawē korero tenei a Ngatiwai. Ko te ingoa o te manu nei ko Tu-Te-Mahurangi. Ko tetahi o nga ingoa o te manu nei ko Tukaiaia. Ki te haere a Ngatiwai ka kitea te manu nei e tau ana i tetahi wahi ka mohiotia kei te haere a Ngatiwai.

Ko Marotiri kei waho o Whangarei. He moutere e kiia ana e te Pakeha ko te 'Chicken', Ko te te 'Hen' e korerotia nei, ko Taranga te ingoa Maori. Na ko enei etahi o nga wahi i noho ai a Manaia. I a ia e noho ana i konei, ka puta tetahi raruraru ki a ratou.

Ko te mahi a manaia he hanga piriti kia puta ai ratou ki tawahi o te awa, ki te puaha o Whangarei. Ka mea a Manaia kia kaua rawa te tangata e haramai i te wai i a ratou e hanga ana i te piriti. Ara he korero i puta mai i tenei wa, a he korero whakatauki na Ngati-Manaia:

'Ka tu ki uta ka noho ki te moana, E mauria ana e ia kia whiti ki te awa.'
Na kahore te kotiro a Manaia i whakarongo ki nga korero whakatupatoranga a Manaia. Ka haere te kotiro nei ka takahia e ia te piriti nei. A, ka he te mahi a Manaia. Haere atu ana a Manaia, ka patua tana kotiro mo tenei kuare-tanga o ona. Ka mate te kotiro nei ka pangaia e Manaia ki te wai. Tae mai ki tenei wa kei reira tonu tana kotiro e takoto ana. Ki te timu te tai, ka mea nga huruhuru, ka kitea tetahi kohatu i te wahi i tau ai te kotiro nei ki roto i te wai. Ko ia te kohatu nei. Na Manaia i whakakohatu. Ki te timu te tai ka mea nga huruhuru ki waho. Ki te pari te tai ka ahu ki roto o te awa o Whangarei.

The Ngatiwai descended from the tribe of Ngati-Manaia. They came on the canoe Mahuhu-Ki-Te-Rangi. All of the power of Ngatiwai comes from the water; from the taniwhas and their spirits. At Motukokako there is a cave known as Manawahuna. If the sand of Manawahuna is disturbed a storm will rise, rain will fall, and no person will be able to escape from this place. Thus the elders have said:

'Do not disturb the sands of Manawahuna, lest you be lost at sea, lest you die.'

When Rahiri came he married the women of Ngati-Manaia; he married Ahuaiti, Whakaruru, and Moetonga. And as he journeyed he married women here and there and the tribe was unified.

When Manaia arrived he resided at Motukokako and Maunganui. From there he went to Taupiri. In the vicinity of this place his canoe was broken. He stayed here, then he went to Mimiwhangata where he remained for several years. From Mimiwhangata he came to Whangaruru where again he stayed for several years. He also stayed at Tawhiti-Rahiri which is known to the pakeha as Poor Knights. His places of residence (within this area) were Ngunguru, Matapouri, Whananaki, and as far as Whangarei Heads. In the old days this place Whangarei Heads was known as Whangarei-Terenga-Paraoa, which means 'Whangarei, the gathering place of whales'. The reason for this name

lies in the fact that whales gathered here. The weapon, the patu-paraoa, was obtained from the whale.

During Manaia's sojourn there his powers were the powers of the sea. One of the stories from there, told by the people in the form of a patere, tells of these powers:

Bring a stormy tide to Motukokako,
May the plumes of Tutemahurangi be moved
The birds that carries tiding to Pouerua.
Mists are clinging to Rakaumangamanga:
So you may bless the battlefield,
Follow me!
You are very welcome, Father Apatunga.
Wharena is saying,
Let us make peace—
But peace will never be made:
Ngapuhi will oppress us.
There lies the water of Taiharuru.
From there the Ngatiwai paddled
To Putawiri
Where Wehenga would spell death,
Kumeroa would spell victory.
The tides that flow out on the horizon
Are currents linking me to the albatross—
Follow me!

This patere tells also of the powers at Mana-wahuna. When Ngatiwai went to battle they would first visit the cave at Manawahuna and there, if they became wet, would take this as a propitious sign. If they did not get wet this would be a bad omen. Misfortune would befall them; they would either fall ill or else they would not survive the enemy. This power at Manawahuna was one of the many powers of Ngatiwai.

Tu-Te-Mahurangi mentioned in this patere is the messenger bird of Ngatiwai. Its other name is Tukaiaia. When Ngatiwai journeyed forth this bird would be seen settling in a certain place. And only then people would know that Ngatiwai was around.

Another of the powers was at Taiharuru. This was contained in the water, and was known as a cautioning water (for instance, this water would tell the people to be wary of the foe).

Still another of the powers, also a cautioning water, was at Marotiri. This is why Ngatiwai was called such.

Marotiri mentioned here is outside Whangarei. It is an island now known by the pakeha as 'Chicken'. The other island, now known as 'Hen', was called Taranga by the Maoris. These were some of the places where Manaia stayed when trouble came to him and his people.

Manaia was building a bridge so that he and his people could cross the river to get to the mouth of Whangarei. He warned people that they were not to come while work was in progress. And this warning was contained in a proverb still used by his tribe: *‘Though you are on the shore you are in the sea. He is taking you across the river.’*

That night Manaia’s daughter climbed onto the bridge and his work was spoilt. So he went and killed his daughter and threw her into the water. Manaia’s daughter still lies there. When the tide recedes the hair will part and spread outwards and a stone will be seen.

This stone is she, metamorphosed by Manaia. When the tide goes in, her hair flows landwards. When it goes out, the hair flows in towards the river of Whangarei.⁴⁵⁴

Patuharakeke, Ngāti Kahu, and Te Ākitai

Related to Ngāti Wai and Te Parawhau are Patuharakeke at Takahiwai, Ngāti Kahu on the northern side of the Whāngārei Harbour, and Te Ākitai who occupy the coastal lands that extend mainly from the southern side of the Whāngārei Harbour to Mahurangi.

The ancestral lands of the Ngāpuhi sub-tribe, Patuharakeke, are located on the south side of Whāngārei Harbour, stretching on the seaward side, including the foreshore and the seabed, from a point at the north of Mangawai Heads to the entrance of the Mangapai River just south of the city of Whāngārei.⁴⁵⁵

Ko Manaia te Maunga
Ko Whangarei Te Rerenga Paraoa Te Moana
Ko Takahiwai te whenua
Ko Rangiora te wharenuī
Ko Te Pirihi te tangata
Ko Patuharakeke te hapū

The name of the hapū Patuharakeke derives from Te Parawhau killing Te Taotahi about 1775. The name Takahiwai relates to an earlier battle where the body of a rangatira was hidden under water for later retrieval so that it would not impede the warriors who were still able to fight. The intention was that the body would remain undetected by the enemy and thus free from violation and desecration. The name Patuharakeke indicates that Te Taotahi’s death

⁴⁵⁴ Mororoe Piripi, ‘Ko te Timatanga Mai o Ngatiwai: History of Ngatiwai’, *Te Ao Hou*, December 1961, No. 37, pp. 18-20. Māori and English versions as per source.

⁴⁵⁵ Mere Kēpa, ‘Tūrangawaewae: A Place to stand. A discourse of Cultural Awareness or Hope’, MAI Review, 2, Article 1, 2007, available at <http://www.review.nai.ac.nz>.

occured in a harakeke patch, in the same way that Patuone was named after a tūpuna killed on a beach (one).⁴⁵⁶

Ngāti Kahu (described earlier in this chapter) is an old tribe that, according to Rawiri Taonui, has an important link to Ngāti Kahu of Muriwhenua.⁴⁵⁷ Whakapapa also point to Hokianga connections through Torongare and Maikuku.⁴⁵⁸

The name Te Ākitai (meaning ‘to be beaten by the tide’) is derived from an ancestor whose body was dashed on rocks.

Ngāti Pukenga

Taipari Munro described the origins of Ngāti Pukenga in the Whāngārei area:

Ka haere pēnei mai ka tae atu ki ngā maunga nei e tū ana i roto i te takiwā o tērā hapū o Ngāti Kahu. E noho ana i te taha mauī o te Terengaparāoa. Engari kei konei anō tētahi hapū. Ehara rātou i te uri o Rāhiri. Te hapū nei i ahu mai i Maketū. Ko Ngāti Pukenga te ingoa engari i tēnei wā kua moe rātou i a Ngāpuhi. Me kī kua huri rātou hei Ngāpuhi. Engari kia hakahua ake e rātou i tō rātou hapū na ko te ingoa hapū nei ko Ngāti Pukenga. Mohio ana tātou i ahu mai tērā hunga i runga engari e kōrero anō tērā. Te nuinga o ngā – me kī pea te toenga o ngā hapū nei ko ngā uri o Ngāpuhi.⁴⁵⁹

Coming in this direction you will reach the mountains/hills standing there within the hapū of Ngāti Kahu. They have settled to the left side of Terengaparāoa. However, there is another tribe here. They are not descendants of Rāhiri. This hapū came from Maketū. They are Ngāti Pukenga but they have intermarried with Ngāpuhi and it can now be said they have become Ngāpuhi (through marriage). But when they relate their hapū they describe themselves as Ngāti Pukenga. We know they originally came from the south and that is another story. The majority/rest of the hapū are Ngāpuhi.

It appears that this group was originally from Tauranga and named Te Tawera. Some members were living at Whakatuwhenua in the Mahurangi district in 1859. Their host, Te Kiri, was reluctant to deal with the land they occupied. As the Crown agent Rogan reported: ‘as there is a party of Natives belonging to Tauranga located on a portion of it, he [Te Kiri]

⁴⁵⁶ Dr Benjamin Pittman, site administrator, Patuone website, http://www.patuone.com/files_main/whakapapa_continued.html

⁴⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ Personal communication, Takiri Puriri, 5 April 2007.

⁴⁵⁹ Taipari Munro interviewed for *Te Waka Huia*, 2 October 2005, video recording transcribed and translated by Hohipere Tarau.

could not easily, if he would, dispose of it, as it would be difficult to oust these people from their cultivations'.⁴⁶⁰

3.5.8 *Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi*

Ngāti Whātua

The confederation of hapū collectively known as Ngāti Whātua originated in the Far North, making their way south over many generations, some establishing themselves at various places en route. Amongst these are Te Roroa, Te Uri o Hau, Ngāti Whātua ki te Tonga and Te Taoū, who, along with Ngāti Rongo (or Ngāti Rango), have populated the shores of the Waitemata Harbour and the Auckland Isthmus.⁴⁶¹ Ngāti Whātua-o-Ōrākei is a comparatively recent group in the migration history. Peter McBurney draws his overview from nineteenth century rangatira accounts in the Native Land Court records, as told to ethnologists of that era, with the caution that another author (Murdoch) suggests that the focus of these accounts tends to obscure the continuing presence of other tribal groups such as Te Kawerau a Maki, and even Te Taoū and Ngāti Rongo hapū of Ngāti Whātua; this report attempts to balance the accounts.

The Ngāti Whātua group includes descendants of Tumutumuwhenua and Kui, or Te Tini-o-Kui. Some members of Ngāti Whātua say that their ancestor, Tumutumuwhenua, came from the gods rather than from humankind. whereas others say that the name indicates descent from four gods. Like many other northern groups, they do not identify specifically with one particular ancestral waka but derive from several, including *Te Arawa* and *Tainui*. They are related to various other groups through many generations of intermarriage. Traditions refer back to Te Tini o Toi, one section of which were called Ngāti Awa, who occupied the northern peninsula; another called Ngā Oho occupied an area from South Auckland to Tauranga, merging with other early arrivals around Tāmaki to form Waiohūa.

Pāora Tūhaere gave an account of Ngāti Whātua's origins, in which he used the first person to describe the events involving his tūpuna:

Ko taku tupuna, ko Tumu-tumu-whenua. Ko tenei tangata no roto i te whenua,
e hara i tenei ao. Ko tana wahine ko Te Repo; no te ao nei taua wahine; he
Tahu-rangi; he iwi ano to tenei wahine; no Te Patu-paearehe tenei wahine, he

⁴⁶⁰ Rogan to McLean, 13 February 1861, *Epitome*, C p.144, cit. O'Malley, 'Northland Crown Purchases', pp.220-21.

⁴⁶¹ McBurney, 'Mahurangi and Gulf Islands Oral and Traditional report', Chapter 4.

iwi kei te ao nei; e kore a kitea e te tangata nei. Ko te nohoanga o tera iwi, kei nga pukepuke teitei nei e noho ana; e kore tera iwi e kitea e te tangata, erangi ma nga Matakite ka kitea ai tera iwi e haere ana i roto i te kohu o te ua kongu nei. No reira taua wahine – ta Tumu-tumu-whenua.

Ko te kainga tupu o tenei iwi o Ngati-Whatua, kei raro, kei Muri-whenua, i te Au-pouri, i te mutunga mai o tenei motu, i te Rerenga-wairua.

Ki ta matou ano, ko te take o te haerenga mai o tenei iwi o Ngati-Whatua ki Kaipara, he kohuru na Ngati-Kahu-mate-ika. Na taua iwa [sic] ra i kohuru taku tupuna a Taureka. Ko te iwi tera e noho ana i Hokianga; nona tera whenua, no taua iwi ra. Ko taku kainga ko Muri-whenua, he kainga pumau noku; ta te mea i tupu mai taku tupuna i reira, a, i mahue ai i au a Muri-whenua na taua kohuru. Katahi ahau ka rapu utu, a, patua ana nga tangata o Hokianga, a, riro ana i au te whenua i namata. Ko te mutunga i riro i au, i taua patunga; i riro Hokianga katoa, a, tae noa mai ki Maunganui, a, noho ana ahau i te whenua, no te mea kua mate katoa nga tangata te patu.

Ka roa te nohoanga i reira ka timata te whawhai a Kawharu ki Kaipara.

...

Ka patua haeretia taua iwi o Kaipara, a, tae noa mai ki Mahurangi, a, puta noa mai ki Motu-karaka i tahaki mai o Te Puru, i tawahi atu o Paparoa; ko tona pa whakamutunga tenei; ka hoki ano a ia ki Kaipara.

My ancestor was Tumu-tumu-whenua. This man was from out of the ground, he was not of this world. His wife was Te Repo; that woman was of this world; she was a Tahu-rangi; she had a people of her own (different from her husband's); she was of the Patu-paearehe, a people of this world. But ordinary people cannot see them; the dwelling-place of that people is on the high hills: there is where they live; they cannot be seen by ordinary mortals, but the Mata-kite (or seers) can distinguish them as they pass along in the fogs and mists of cloudy, rainy days. From thence was this woman, Tumu-tumu-whenua's wife.

The original home of this people of Ngati-Whatua, is in the north at Muri-whenua (the North Cape) at Te Au-pouri; at the end of this island; at the place of departed spirits.

According to us, the reason of the coming of this people of Ngati-Whatua to Kaipara, was a murder by Ngati-kahu-mate-ika. That people murdered my ancestor Taureka. That is the people who live at Hokianga; the land belonged to them, to that people. My home was at Muri-whenua; it was a permanent dwelling-place of mine; because my ancestors were born there, and I left Muri-whenua by reason of that murder. I then sought payment (for that murder) and killed the men of Hokianga, and the land became mine, formally. In the end all Hokianga became mine, right up to Maunga-nui (Bluff), and I dwelt in the land because all the men had been killed.

After a long occupation of that place, commenced the war of Kawharu with Kaipara.

...

That people of Kaipara were followed and killed, right over to Mahurangi (on the east coast of the island), and on to Motu-karaka, just this side of Te Puru, across the water from Paparoa (Howick); that was his last *pa*; he returned thence to Kaipara.

Thus, according to Paora Tuhaere's account,⁴⁶² Ngāti Whātua's origins are the original people – Tumutumuwhenua, who came out of the earth, and Tarepo of the Patupaiarehe people. The ancestral home of Ngāti Whātua is given as Te Rerenga o Wairua, from where they were evicted following the murder of his ancestor, Taureka, by Ngāti Kahu-mate-a Ika, who lived on the west coast north and south of Hokianga Heads. A later ancestor Kawharu was responsible for 'wiping out' all the people as far as the eastern shore of the Kaipara district.

One waka tradition begins with Rongomai Te Ariki who arrived in the waka *Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi*. It is unclear whether the waka was captained by Rongomai or his father, Whakatau. Jeff Evans has suggested the possibility that the father was the leading rangatira and Rongomai was the captain. *Māhuhu* made its first landfall at Tākou Bay. Finding the place to be already occupied, by people known as Kui, the voyagers sailed on to Whangaroa, Whangaruru, Ōhiwa, and possibly as far south as Waiapu on the East Cape, before returning to Tākou and Parengarenga. Various people left the waka at these stopping places along the way. After Parengarenga, *Māhuhu* rounded North Cape and sailed down to Taporapora, an island that once stood inside the Kaipara Heads, where the remaining members of the party settled. At some time after his arrival, Rongomai suffered an untimely death by drowning while fishing. A *rāhui* was laid over the fishing grounds and remained in place for a long time afterward. It is said that some of Rongomai's children and other tribal members returned to the north and settled at Rangaunu.⁴⁶³

Te Roroa

Te Roroa can be described as the northern-most group within a wider Ngāti Whātua tribal confederation. Although their name derives from their common Ngāi Tamatea tūpuna Manumanu I, special recognition is also given to his son, Manumanu II, whom traditions

⁴⁶² Paora Tuhaere, 'The Ancestors of the Ngati Whatua Tribe', ACL, NZMS 725, cit. McBurney, Chapter 4; from S P Smith 'The Peopling of the North'.

⁴⁶³ Evans, 1997, pp. 78-79

describe as an enormous and brave person. A warrior of repute, he repelled all attempts to conquer Waipoua, the ancestral heartland and the place to which his father Manumanu I had brought the people when they left the Far North. In his submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal for the Waipoua Forest Claim (1991), Māori Marsden named Maku as a tūpuna of Toi-kai-Rākau, who was, in turn, an ancestor of Te Roroa people. According to Marsden, Toi preceded Kupe. Over several hundred years, these people had moved steadily east, settling at Waimamaku, Ōtaua, Mataraua, and Tautoro. One of the principal Tautoro pā was Tauanui, beside Lake Kereru. They also settled other areas in the Hokianga and reached across to the Bay of Islands. The pre-1600 whakapapa lines of Te Roroa indicate their links to Tautoro, Taiāmai, Ōhaeawai, Te Ahuahu and Waimate North, and particularly their connections with Ngāti Pou who also lived in those areas.

According to the late E. D. Nathan, Manumanu I came back to Waipoua about 400 years ago. When Manumanu II was killed at Kawakawa in the Bay of Islands fighting Ngāi Tāhuhu, his enemies exclaimed:

Te Hei! Te Roroa o te tangata, rite tonui ki te kahikatea!’

Behold! How tall the men are. They resemble the kahikatea (white pine)!

It was from this whakataukī that the name Te Roroa came to replace the old one of Ngāi-te-Rangi or Ngāti Rangi.

Te Roroa say that although Manumanu 1 and his tēina (younger brother) Rangitauwawaro could be regarded as the more immediate of their distant forebears, their whare tūpuna (ancestral house) extends beyond them to embrace those of more remote times like Whakatau and several generations beyond him to include Tāwhaki. However, Whakatau is the pou herenga (tethering post) and Te Roroa generally acknowledge that it was he who captained their waka tūpuna *Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi* when it brought their tūpuna to Kawerua from the Far North. Both Hawaiki and Whakatau are immortalised in the Te Roroa whakataukī:

Kotahi tangata ki Hawaiki, ko Whakatau anake.

There was but one man in Hawaiki, Whakatau.

In this saying, Hawaiki might represent the distant homeland of tradition, or the name might refer to Te Kapo Wairua. Like other northern tribal groups, Te Roroa is connected to the

descent lines of other ancestral waka, some of which pre-dated *Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi*, others of which came about the same time or later.

Further details of the development of Te Roroa comes from the Waitangi Tribunal report concerning their own claims:

Te Roroa traditions state that Manumanu came first to the composite Waimamaku community, where his Ngai Tamatea relatives were living alongside Ngati Miru and Ngati Ririki. The latter were of tangata whenua stock. In that community too was a branch of Ngati Kahu, some of whom were apparently living at Maunganui Bluff among Te Roroa.

How Waimamaku came to be a mixed community is suggested in the story referring to bands of Ngai Tamatea, Ngati Miru and Ngati Ririki who had earlier come down from the far north to do battle with Ngati Kahu of Waimamaku, the take (reason) being the death at the hands of Ngati Kahu of the northerner's tūpuna Taureka. And consistent with custom whereby land was acquired through conquest, migration or marriage, the conquerors stayed on.

They may have been part of the frequently referred to movement of Ngati Whatua to the Kaipara. Manumanu chose to retire to Waipoua among his wife's relatives, the Ngati Rangi, one of the many lineages of the tangata whenua, Ngai Tuputupuwhenua. Waipoua must therefore have been a community of Ngati Rangi and Ngai Tamatea who Manumanu and his son were obligated to protect and provision. Traditions record that Manumanu had mana whenua over Waipoua, meaning that he neither owned the land nor had authority appropriate to existing rights of usufruct. Waipoua had been occupied long before his arrival and the rights of usufruct established by the early inhabitants remained intact. Such rights would have been transmitted to their descendants, among them Manumanu's wife, Maeroa.

In general, chiefs held relatively small rights of usufruct over land. Their leadership roles and the informal tributes of food they received, reduced the need for them to labour directly on the land and hold rights of usufruct in it. This is not to say that they did not or could not cultivate their own plots. Manumanu is said to have established a kainga on Whenuahou (new land) along with cultivations which he called Te Wai-o-Rua. He would have done so while acknowledging the right by occupation of every individual or family to an equal share of the community's resources. The protection of these rights and access to resources depended on his leadership, which in turn demanded the community's support. A system of mutual obligation and dependency was the result. To defend his mana whenua Manumanu built the pa Kaitieke. From this pa Manumanu and his son launched assaults against contenders.

In time more pa were built by their descendants. The brothers Ikataora and Taramainuku built Wairarapa. Toa inherited Wairarapa and built Pahinui, Te Rurunga, Kiwinui and Pananawe. The increase of pa over generations was

testimony to the richness of the resources in the valley and reinforced the mana whenua of successive chiefs.

Manumanu's brother Rangitauwawaro, and teina in terms of descent, remained at Waimamaku among relatives and neighbours. He married Taurangi of Ngati Kahu and became well known for his extraordinary powers as a tohunga (priest, specialist). To his son Rongotaumua fell the task of defending Waimamaku against Uetaoroa of Ngati Ue, a small Ngapuhi hapu closely related to Ngai Tu. Together with his teina Te Puni, Rongotaumua ensured the consolidation and identity of Ngai Tamatea by marrying women of their own hapū. Through their children the first direct linkages with Ngapuhi were forged. In the next generation a number of marriages between Te Roroa of Waimamaku and Ngati Pou of Taiamai occurred involving succession through women.

At Waipoua a similar pattern of consolidation over three to four generations followed Manumanu. Linkages between Te Roroa and Ngati Rangi were established through the marriage to Ngati Rangi women of his grandsons Rangiwhatuma and Matohi and great-grandson Pinea, the noted Te Roroa tohunga. While these marriages may have been influenced by Waipoua's isolation, they nonetheless stressed the Maori preference for marriage to close relatives. It is summed up in the whakatauki:

E moe i to tuahine, kia kino, e kino ana ki a koe ano.

Marry your cousin, so that if evil comes it will be kept to yourself.

The marriage rule changed little over succeeding generations. Notable among them in respect of the rule and this claim was the marriage of Toa to his cousin and first wife Waitarehu. This marriage strengthened the ties between Waimamaku and Waipoua. Through her he could claim interests at Hunoke, Waiwhatawhata and even further afield, at Wairau and the northern Wairoa. His second and third marriages were to women of an old enemy, Ngati Ruanui of Whangape. His third wife, Te Hei, is said to have been captured during one of the battles. She was the ancestress through whom Parore Te Awha, Tirarau and others claimed rights in Maunganui and Waipoua. The descendants of Toa's first and senior wife, Waitarehu, included Te Taua, Tiopira Kinaki's mother who married her cousin Te Rurunga. Tiopira himself married his second cousin Marara Mahuhu from Waimamaku. As we shall see, Parore Te Awha and Tiopira Kinaki were the main contestants to mana whenua over land with which this claim is concerned.

In the senior line of descent no direct links with Ngapuhi occur until Taoho's niece, Te Hana, married Rangatira Moetara, father of Hapakuku Moetara who also features in this claim.

These realities persisted in mixed communities of hapu which sometimes included closely related people.

Currently, there are several hapū in the Kaihū area, another five or six in Waimamaku, as well as Te Roroa of Waipoua, although Te Roroa see themselves as a composite group rather than a single hapū. In the north they have strong links with Ngāpuhi and, in the south, with Ngāti Whātua. They are essentially a borderlands community of closely related hapū each of which retains its separate identity. The late Raiha Paniora, a Te Roroa tūpuna whaea (female elder), likened the situation to a mange-mange vine because the people are ‘all inextricably tied together, both by tūpuna and intermarriage’.

3.5.9 Tāmaki groups

Because Tāmaki, which later became Auckland, was a choice spot with a wealth of resources, it was sought by many. It acquired its extended name of Tāmaki-makau-rau, the bride sought by a hundred suitors, indicating that it was subject to many invasions, including invasion by Ngāti Whātua under Kāwharu. In their move south, under his leadership, Ngāti Whātua first established an ascendancy around Kaipara and then extended its long move south to Tāmaki, absorbing members of other tribes, including the settlers of the waka *Māhuhu*, the northern section of Ngā Oho and Waiohua, certain of the Kawerau people of *Moekakara* waka, and a section of Te Arawa, who had previously lived at Ōrākei. Numerous skirmishes generated many outstanding take. Eventually, Tuperiri and a section of Ngāti Whātua called Te Taoū defeated Waiohua, the survivors of whom were incorporated into their own ranks. Waiohua, in turn, intermarried with some of Tainui; the marriage of Tuperiri’s son to a woman of Tainui-Waiohua lineage cemented a pact and restored the old name Ngā Oho to describe one line of descent. The name Uringutu was the outcome of other Te Taoū alliances.⁴⁶⁴

Ngāi Tai ki Umupuia/Tāmaki

The people of Ngāi Tai have land interests that ‘extend from Kawau Island in the north to Tirikohua in the south ... traditionally, their interests also extended from Aotea (Great Barrier Island) in the east to the Manukau Harbour in the west’.⁴⁶⁵

As has been the case with other groups described in this report, there are differing versions of the origins of Ngāi Tai. One tradition refers to a large pohutukawa tree, known as ‘Te Tuhi a

⁴⁶⁴ Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim, 3.1 The Origins of Ngāti Whātua, online at: <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/viewchapter.asp?reportID=49AF06E3-FBCB-45C5-9E97-2C2044B558C2&chapter=12>

⁴⁶⁵ Te Warena Taua, in Alan La Roche, *The History of Howick and Pakuranga, Whitford, Bucklands and Eastern Beaches and Surrounding Districts*, Auckland, 1991, p. 27.

Manawatere', the mark of Manawatere. It is said that this ancestor came from Hawaiki, not in a canoe, but rather that he glided over the ripples of the waves on the back of a taniwha, by way of Hauraki to Maraetai and further on to what is now known as Cockle Bay, where he landed and made his mark, using red ochre. The mark was a sign to those following that he had come that way, giving rise to the proverb 'Ma te tuhi rapa a Manawatere ka kitea'.⁴⁶⁶

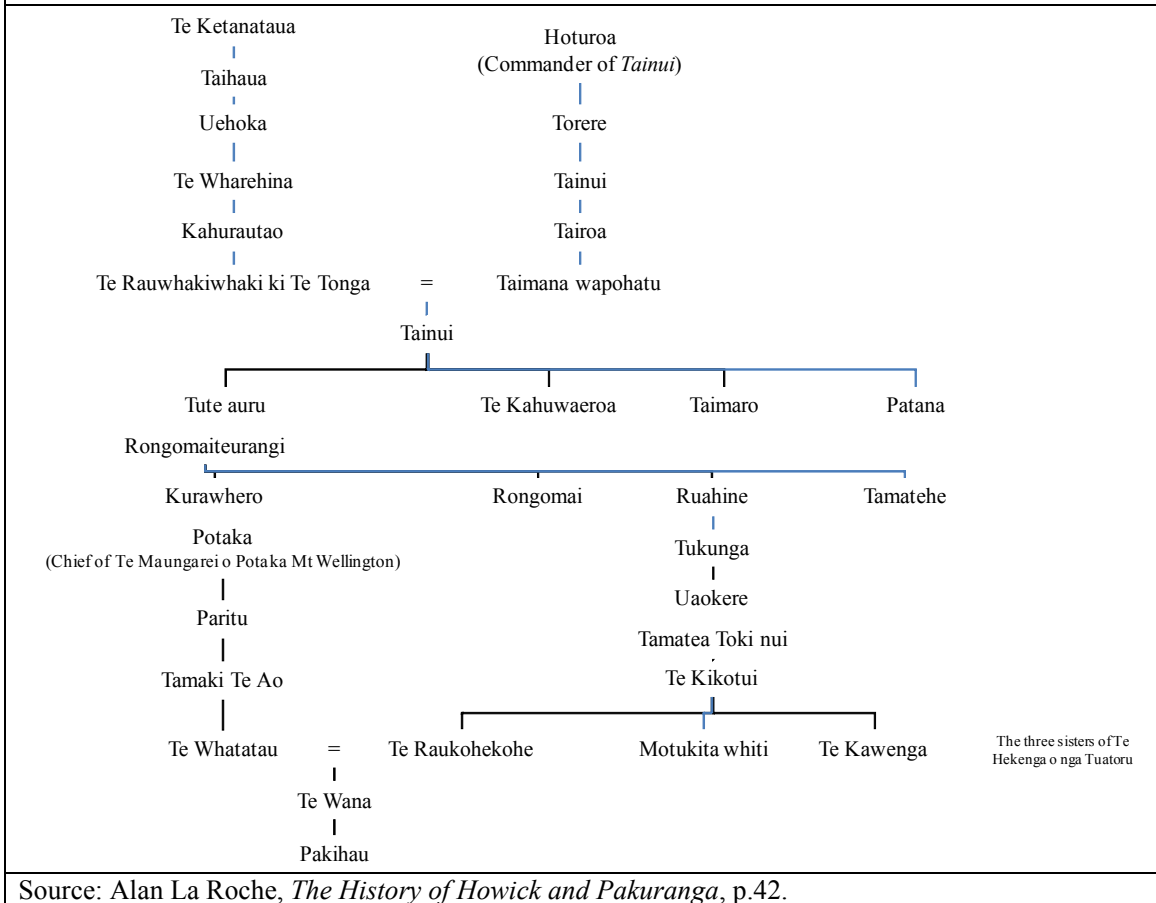
Another version suggests that the *Tainui* waka arrived almost simultaneously with the *Arawa* in Hauraki, from where they both moved on, although some from the *Tainui* remained at Tāmaki, taking the name Ngāti Tai or Ngāi Tai.⁴⁶⁷ Yet another version has the *Tainui* landing at Whangaparāoa in the Bay of Plenty. Hoturoa's daughter, Torere, was left at a place that took her name and there married a rangatira Manakiao. She later moved to Tāmaki and married another Tainui kinsman. The *Tainui* waka sailed north but turned back from Te Rerenga Wairua and eventually arrived on the west side of the Hauraki Gulf, where the guardian taniwha Paneiraira left the canoe. Eventually the travellers landed at Whakakaiwhara, beyond present day Howick, where a karaka tree was planted and a stone anchor was left further along the coast.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ From the narrative of Anaru Makiwhara of Ngāi Tai, recorded by George Graham, cit. La Roche, p.40.

⁴⁶⁷ D. Simmons, introduction in Gordon Ell, *Hauraki Gulf*, Auckland, 1993; Taimoana Turoa, Te Takoto o Te Whenua o Hauraki: *Hauraki Landmarks*, Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, ed., Auckland, 2000, p.71, cit. Paul Monin, *This is My Place: Hauraki Contested 1769-1875*, Wellington, 2001, p.11.

⁴⁶⁸ Alan La Roche, *The History of Howick and Pakuranga*, p.28.

Figure 13 - Ngāi Tai Tainui descent



Source: Alan La Roche, *The History of Howick and Pakuranga*, p.42.

Strategic marriages between Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Pāoa (discussed below) and other related tribes were forged in order to maintain peaceful co-habitation of the area. One of these other tribal groups was Te Kawerau a Maki, also descended from the captain of the *Tainui*.

Te Kawerau a Maki

Maki (or Maki-nui) is one of the key tūpuna on the Rangatira Coast on the North Shore of the Waitemata, in southern Kaipara and on the Mahurangi coast and gulf islands. He lived between seven and eight generations before the witnesses who appeared in the Native Land Court in the 1800s claiming ancestry from him as the basis of their manawhenua in these districts. Ancestry is also claimed by his descendants today, who have lived on these lands and coastal areas. The tribal name Te Kawerau a Maki comes from him, as does the name for

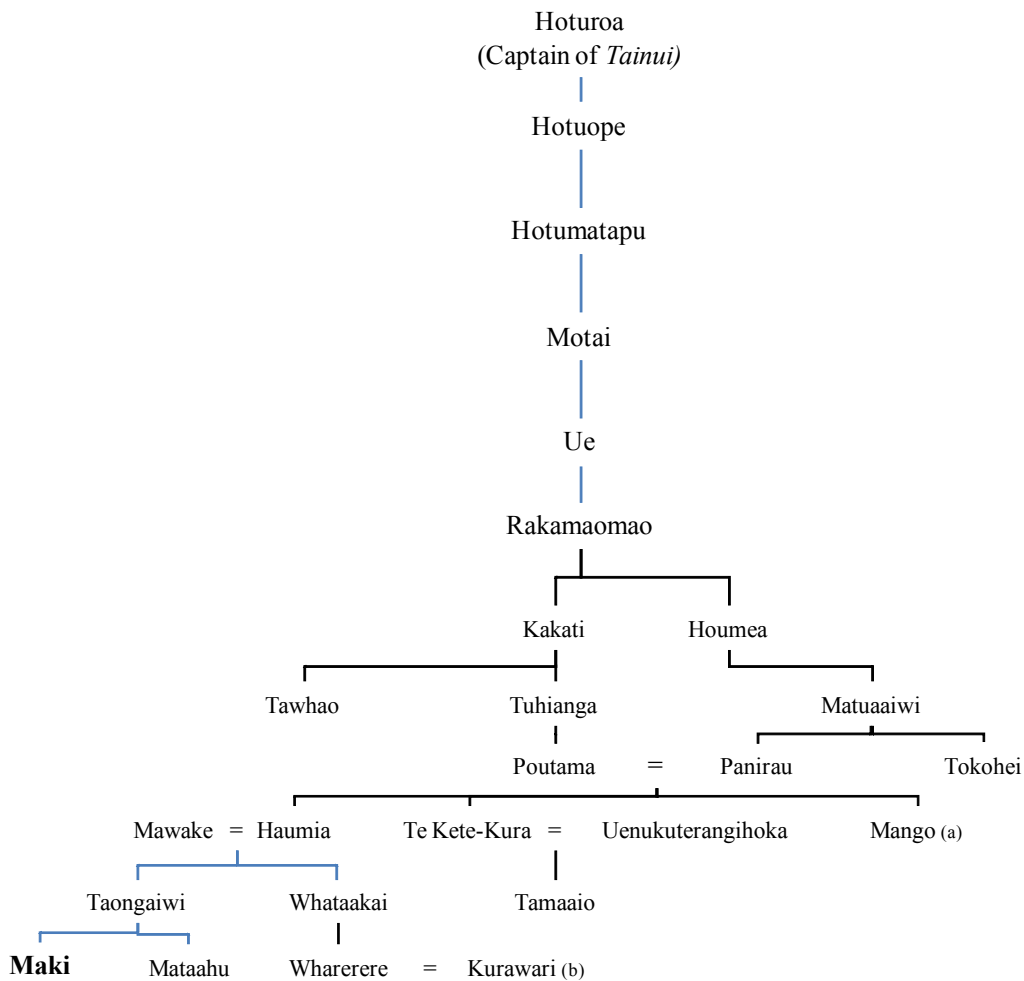
the isthmus ‘Taa-maki’, the land that Maki took.⁴⁶⁹ The origins of Te Kawerau a Maki are from the western North Island coast between northern Taranaki and Kahwia in the 13th and 14th centuries; tribal members descend from both Maki and his brother Mataahu (or Matau).

Maki’s father was Taongaiwi; his mother is not known. Taongaiwi is of Tainui descent on his father’s side, and from the *Tokomaru* waka on his mother’s side. He had a brother Mataahu, and a sister Kaka. In evidence given in the Native Land Court hearing for the Hauturu case in 1880, Te Hemara Tauhia stated that Maki belonged to one of the early Tāmaki peoples, Ngaiwi (of the wider Tainui descent group known as Ngaoho, Ngaohomatakamokamo, or Ngoho moko koha). According to Graeme Murdoch, Te Kawerau a Maki are also descendants of the leading rangatira of *Tokomaru*, *Kahuitara*, *Aotea*, *Kurahaupō* and *Tainui* canoes, and of Awanui-a-rangi, the progenitor of Ngāti Awa of the *Mataatua*. From the latter, they share descent with Rāhiri (Ngāpuhi). Ngāti Awa people migrated from Northland into the Kaipara area.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁹ Peter McBurney, Mahurangi and Gulf Islands Oral and traditional report, Chapters 3-5, August 2008 draft. McBurney draws heavily on Graeme Murdoch’s report ‘Te Kawerau a Maki and the Crown in Kaipara: A Traditional/Historical Report’, March 2000.

⁴⁷⁰ Murdoch, Graeme, “Waitakere River Catchment: History of Human Occupation”, in “Auckland Regional Water Board: Working Report Number 37/6” October 1989, p. 13.

Figure 14 - Descent lines of Maki



a) Five generations after Mango comes Toarangatira, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Toa.

b) Kurawari is the daughter of Raukawa, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Raukawa.

Sources: Robertson, *Maori Settlement*, 1983, p.13; Te Hurinui Jones, *Nga Iwi of Tainui*, 1995, p.277, cit. McBurney, Mahurangi and Gulf Islands report.

According to the Tainui tradition, Maki was born and raised in the southern Kawhia district but spent much of his early adult life with his paternal grandmother's Tokomaru kin in Taranaki. When he returned north, he and his followers⁴⁷¹ settled at Tirangi and Manurewa, with the rangatira Whauwhau [was Whauwhau of Waiohua?] and his close relatives Pohatu and Korongoi. Maki was approached here by a Tainui relative, Taihua of Ngāi Tai, seeking

⁴⁷¹ His two wives, Rotu and Paretutanganui, thir children Manuhiri, Ngawhetu and Maraiariki; his brother Mataahu and 300 others.

support to avenge his son's murder by the Waiohua. Under Maki's command Whauwhau's people were killed; their land was taken and named Taamaki. Maki then moved to the north of Oneonenui Pā (formerly Te Tuara o Titahi) on the Kaipara, at the request of Hauparoa (Ngaiwi and Ngaoho) who sought his support in avenging the deaths of his people at the hand of other Kaipara tribes. Maki and Hauparoa's forces attacked Ngaoho at Te Awaroa (near Helensville) in the battle known as Patukiri. Following the battle Hauparoa's people no longer supplied food to Maki's; Maki raided a kūmara pit, which gave rise to the naming of his group Te Kawerau (the carrying) a Maki. Maki then moved further north to Mimihani near Parakai. Disputes over fishing grounds led to Hauparoa being killed by Maki's people. Maki and Mataahu defeated a number of other groups, extending their influence north to North Piha and south to Te Rau o Te Huia (Huia Bay); they also intermarried with local Ngaoho to consolidate their presence in the Kaipara.

At the time he visited Maki, the Ngāi Tai rangatira Taihua lived at Takapuna. Ngāi Tai's territory extended along the North Shore coast from Takapuna to Whangaparāoa and out to the off-shore islands of the Hauraki Gulf. After the defeat of Hauparoa, relations between Ngāi Tai and Te Kawerau became strained. Maki attacked Ngāi Tai at Takapuna and forced Taihua to flee to Great Barrier. Other battles were fought at Te Oneroa o Kahu (Long Bay) and Te Haruhi (Whangaparāoa), Puhoi, Tawhatanui, Hauturu (Little Barrier) and Aotea (Great Barrier), through which Te Kawerau further extended their influence. Te Kawerau consolidated their success by occupying these lands on the North Shore, Mahurangi and the Gulf Islands – Mataahu settled at Hauturu; his son Rehua's descendants (Ngāti Rehua) remained at Aotea; Maki's son Maraeariki settled at Mahurangi and his descendants migrated to Pakiri, Omaha and the Gulf islands.

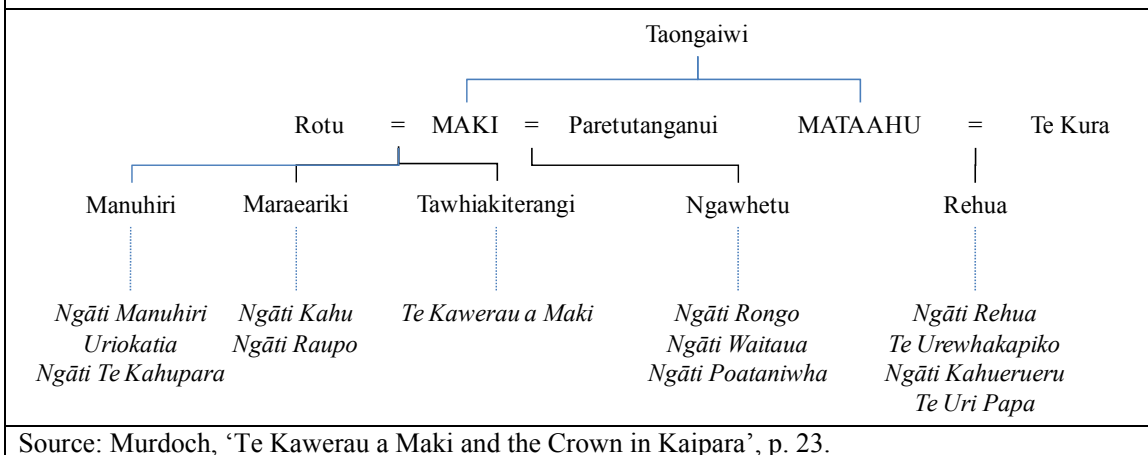
Descendants of Maki

The hapū that trace their descent from Maki and Mataahu became numerous. The whakapapa produced by Murdoch for the Kaipara Tribunal lists some of these. The larger groupings were Ngāti Manuhiri, Uriokatia, Ngāti Rongo, Ngāti Kahu,⁴⁷² Ngāti Poataniwha, Te Kawerau a Maki and Ngāti Rehua. By the early 1700s, Te Kawerau's territory extended 'from Okaka

⁴⁷² Note: This Ngāti Kahu is not related to Ngāti Kahu on the Karikari peninsula in the far north, nor Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, as will be shown.

(south Head, Kaipara) to Paratutai (North Head, Manukau) in the west; and from Te Arai o Tahutahu (Te Arai Point) to Takapuna in the east.⁴⁷³

Figure 15 - Descent lines and hapū of Maki and Mataahu



When Manuhiri assumed leadership of Maki's tribe, they had many kāinga in the southern Kaipara; Manuhiri's preferred abode was Otakamiro on the headland at the south of Te One Rangatira (Muriwai beach). A division within the tribe led to a northward migration of one group first to Hoteo and finally eastward to Matakana-Pakiri.⁴⁷⁴ According to a witness, Te Kiri-patuparaoa, in the Pakiri title investigation of May 1869, the group of 200 that remained with Manuhiri moved north to Mataia where they built Huikarokaro pā, and also to Pākaraka, Omaumau and Puatahi, where the pā Mangatu, Tuta and Umukuri were built.⁴⁷⁵ Manuhiri settled at Puatahi where he married Arapaoa and had a child, Turoa.⁴⁷⁶

The witness Te Kiri listed the original Ngatitewharau ancestors, to whom the land had belonged, adding that he could not trace his ancestry to any of them. These were Te Rangi, Te Arai, Kawhiti, Piohi, Werawheta, Mairo and Korakaikiri. Turangi, a child of Manuhiri, was the first of Te Kiri's ancestors to live on the Pakiri land; this descent line was Ngāti Manuhiri who continued to live there over the four generations to Te Kiri. Murdoch's version differs. He has Manuhiri marrying Paretakirangi, a peace offering from Te Kawerau, and having the two children, Kahikatearoa and Turangi. The many descendants of these two occupied land in the Hoteo district and further east, on the Mahurangi coast. The descendants

⁴⁷³ Murdoch, 'Te Kawerau a Maki and the Crown in Kaipara', p. 23.

⁴⁷⁴ Murdoch, 'Te Kawerau a Maki and the Crown in Kaipara', p. 24.

⁴⁷⁵ Evidence of Te Kiri-patuparaoa, Pakiri title investigation, May 1869, Kaipara MB 2, p.141. DB48.

⁴⁷⁶ Evidence of Arama Karaka Haututu, Hoteo title investigation, 10 January 1867, Kaipara MB 2, p.128. DB49.

of Tuwhakaeketiaroa, a child by another wife, remained in the Hoteo district where they took the name Uri o Katia.

After Manuhiri left southern Kaipara, his half brother Ngawhetu remained at Araparera taking over the role of rangatira and thereby the leadership of Maki in the southern Kaipara. McBurney observes that ‘the most notable aspect of Ngawhetu’s rangatiratanga is the connection he was able to forge with his neighbours in northern Kaipara, who were then known as Ngaririki, though they later took the name, Ngāti Whātua’.⁴⁷⁷ The good relationships were based on the common Tainui descent of Te Kawerau and Waihekeao, the wife of the principal Ngaririki rangatira Hamoewharangi. The son of this couple, Rongo, had a daughter, Moerangaranga, with whom Ngawhetu entered into a strategic marriage that brought together the descent lines of Ngāti Whātua and Te Kawerau a Maki. The hapū Ngāti Rongo arose from this union. According to Murdoch, the Ngāti Rongo mana whenua in southern Kaipara and Mahurangi come from Ngawhetu and his father Maki, even though the name was taken in honour of Ngawhetu’s Ngāti Whātua father-in-law – the name symbolised the ‘peace’ forged between the two iwi.⁴⁷⁸ Ngawhetu lived for a time between Mahurangi and Takapuna under the mana of Maki and Mataahu, and finally settled at Mangawhai.⁴⁷⁹

Some Ngawhetu descendants also claimed land at Tiritirimatangi under the mana of Ngāti Poataniwha, a hapū that resulted from the intermarriage between descendants of Ngawhetu and Ngāi Tai, who lived on the northern shores of the upper Waitemata Harbour. Murdoch states that these rights extended around the upper harbour and north through the eastern part of Riverhead Forest to Waikahikatea, near Kaukapakapa. The Ngāti Poataniwha rangatira, Te Manaoterangi (also of Ngāti Kahu – see below), lived at Kauri Point (west of Chelsea sugar refinery), and some of his descendants still occupied these ancestral lands when European settlement began.⁴⁸⁰ When the government enforced outstanding Old Land Claims and purchases under the pre-emptive waiver regime, Te Kawerau a Maki and Ngāti Poataniwha people who were displaced went to live on the Awataha Roman Catholic Reserve at Northcote.⁴⁸¹ In evidence presented to the Native Land Court in the Hauturu hearing, Te Hemara Tauhia stated that ‘Maki and his people, the Kawerau, have always occupied

⁴⁷⁷ McBurney, ‘The Ngawhetu traditions’, in Mahurangi and Gulf Islands Oral and traditional report, Chapter 3, emphasis added.

⁴⁷⁸ Murdoch, ‘Te Kawerau a Maki and the Crown in Kaipara’, p. 26.

⁴⁷⁹ Kaipara MB, p.12, cit. Murdoch, ‘Te Kawerau a Maki and the Crown in Kaipara’, p. 26.

⁴⁸⁰ Murdoch, ‘Te Kawerau a Maki and the Crown in Kaipara’, p. 27.

⁴⁸¹ McBurney, ‘The Ngawhetu traditions’, in Mahurangi and Gulf Islands Oral and traditional report, Chapter 3.

Mahurangi and Hauturu to the present time. Maki and Ngawhetu died at Mahurangi'.⁴⁸² In this evidence Te Hemara stresses the intermarriage of the Ngawhetu/Ngāti Rongo line with Te Kawerau and Te Taoū, in the marriages of Rotai to Waitaua of Te Kawerau, and Te Ripi to Whiti of Te Taoū.

Maraeariki, Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Poataniwha

After Maki and Mataahu defeated Taihua, the Ngāi Tai rangatira, Maki settled at Te Korotangi, near the mouth of the Mahurangi River, and his son Maraeariki settled between Whangaparāoa and Omaha, and finally at Orewa, close to his brothers Manuhiri and Ngawhetu. Maraeariki's children were Kahu, Te Utu and Te Rupenga. Ngāti Kahu who occupied the Whangaparāoa district until the nineteenth century, took their name from this Kahu. This group were forced to take sanctuary in the Waikato, before te Tiriti, and when they returned, they became squatters on what had then become Crown Land. The land remained unsold until 1877 and Ngāti Kahu used it for cultivation and for access to fishing.⁴⁸³ Ngāti Kahu were also related to and associated with Ngāti Wai, Te Parawhau, Patuharakeke and Te Akitai, which will be discussed later in this section.

It has been noted above that Ngāti Poataniwha arose from marriage between descendants of Ngawhetu and Ngāi Tai. The rights to the land on which Ngāi Tai lived derived from descent from Rangihina and Te Manaoterangi of Ngāti Poataniwha and Ngāti Kahu. Ngāti Poataniwha were closely linked to the descendants of Maki's youngest son, Tawhiakiterangi, also known as 'Kawerau a Maki', because he was born following the kūmara carrying. Tawhiakiterangi's grandson Te Hawiti, later known as Te Au o Te Whenua, married Rangihina, sister of Rautawhiri of Ngāti Poataniwha, thus cementing the links between Te Kawerau and Ngāti Poataniwha.

Mataahu and Ngāti Rehua

Mataahu is mostly associated with the gulf islands, particularly Hauturu and Aotea. A burial place at Maraeroa, called Ngapuamataahu by Mataahu for the puakahikatea (bird snare) he brought to Hauturu to catch kaka, marks the passing of Makinui and Mataahu. According to Roi McCabe, '[D]escendants of Manuhiri and Rehua intermarried with Ngāti Wai from the

⁴⁸² Evidence of Te Hemara Tauhia, Hauturu hearing, 16 July 1880, Kaipara MB3, p.390. DB50.

⁴⁸³ R. H. Locker, *Jade River: A History of the Mahurangi*, Warkworth, Friends of the Mahurangi Incorporated, 2001, p.55.

north and Ngāti Whātua and remained in possession of Hauturu up until 1894, when the government took possession of the island'.⁴⁸⁴ The Revd Wiremu Turipona stated that both of Rehua's wives were Ngāti Wai,⁴⁸⁵ although under cross-questioning by the Judge, he stated that one wife's brother was not Ngāti Wai. Turipona descended from both wives of Rehua and both of these lines also married Ngāti Maru, of the Marutūāhu confederation of Hauraki, which also includes Ngāti Rongo, Ngāti Tamatea (mentioned earlier), Ngāti Pāoa (described below) and Ngāti Whanaunga.

Ngāti Whātua, Te Uri o Hau and Te Taoū

Returning to where Paora Tuhaere's account (described above) left Kawharu, after peace had been restored, a party of Kawharu's people made a friendly visit to Hikurangi (Piha), where they were set upon, and most were killed by the Kawerau tribe. Kawharu was eventually killed at Wai-herunga pā, inside South Kaipara Head, by the occupants of that pā, one of whom was married to Kawharu's sister. War escalated between Kawerau and Ngāti Whātua, during which the rangatira leading Ngāti Whātua, Haumoewharangi was lured to his death. His successor, Tumupakihi, attacked and killed Te Kawerau a Maki of the Kaipara, and took over that area. Another party attacked, killed and took over the land of the Western Kaipara people. One of the men who led the second group, Poutapuaka, extended the boundaries of the Kaipara land until he encountered Te Kawerau rangatira, Te Au o Te Whenua. Poutapuaka dug a boundary ditch at Taupaki to mark the limit of the Ngāti Whātua conquest of the Kaipara, leaving Te Kawerau confined to the land to the south. In Tuhaere's JPS version,⁴⁸⁶ the battles are represented as being between branches of Ngāti Whātua. Tuhaere also states that Ngā Ririki, the antecedents of Ngāti Whātua, formed different factions that settled at Maunganui, Kaihu and Wairoa. He placed the various groups as follows: Te Roroa and Ngāti Pou spread between Waikara and Waimamaku to Hokianga; Ngā Ririki at Kaihu, Ngāti Tutaki at Riripo; Ngāti Rongo at Motu Wheteke and Te Wairoa; and Te Uri-o-Hau at Pouto. Te Uri-o-Hau dug up the kūmara crops and attacked Ngā Ririki, killing their rangatira Te Nganaia, but were defeated. Their rangatira woman, Toutara was killed when a spear pierced her breast, giving rise to the hapū name 'Te Tao-ū'.

⁴⁸⁴ Roi McCabe, 'Ko Hauturu te Moutere Koingo', 2004, p.19, cit. McBurney.

⁴⁸⁵ Evidence of Wiremu Turipona, Hauturu Rehearing, 11 May 1881, Kaipara MB 3, p.419. DB51.

⁴⁸⁶ Paora Tuahere, 'Narrative Concerning the conquest of Kaipara and Tamaki', JPS, 1923, pp.229-37, translated by G. S. Graham.

McBurney notes some inconsistencies in the various accounts of the battles that Ngāti Whātua engaged in. These are not explored here; instead readers are directed to the Mahurangi and Gulf Islands report. Graeme Murdoch also provides a different account of the early interactions between Ngāti Whātua and Te Kawerau, and the escalating tensions during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the stated objective of demonstrating how and why Te Kawerau continued to occupy Kaipara.

In the late 1600s, Ngāti Whātua, led by Haumoewharangi and his eldest sons Hakiputatomuri, Whiti and Rongo, occupied the Northern Wairoa area. Te Kawerau were led by Maki and his eldest sons Ngawhetu and Manuhiri. During this period several important marriages were arranged to ensure political stability between the two groups on opposite sides of the Kaipara: Ngawhetu of Te Kawerau and Moerangaranga of Ngāti Whātua; Pokopoko whiti te ra of Ngāti Whātua and Taumutu of Te Kawerau. Moerangarenga is the daughter of Rongo and therefore grand-daughter of Haumoewharangi; Taumutu is the second daughter of Ngawhetu and Moerangaranga. Despite these strategic marriages, disputes erupted when Haumoewharangi was elderly, one incident of which resulted in his, and his grand-daughter Rongo Te Ipu's, deaths. These deaths demanded the strong response that eventuated and led to the death of Toutara of Ngāti Marua. Following the battles and final muru, several peacemaking marriages were contracted between Ngāti Whātua and Te Kawerau.

Another round of hostilities was perpetrated by Haumoewharangi's grandson Tumupakihi (older brother of Poutapuaka) against Te Kawerau in South Kaipara and the Woodhill area. Following these, most of Ngāti Whātua returned to the Northern Wairoa, but divided the conquered land among them. Descendants of Poutapuaka and Te Atiakura settled on the Kaipara South Head Peninsula, in due course becoming known as Ngāti Whātua Tuturu. Descendants of Tumupakihi, Tuohopiko and Hakariri of Ngāti Marua settled between Parakai and Tuatetua, taking the name Te Taoū and considering themselves distinct from Ngāti Whātua. Once again the new arrangements were supported by whanaungatanga, which in turn gave rise to new hapū that were amalgams of Ngāti Whātua and Te Kawerau a Maki: Ngāti Mangamata, Ngāti Kahupara and Te Uri o Rangiawhiowhio.

In Te Kawerau's version, it is their rangatira Te Au o Te Wheuna who marked the boundary line with his mere, although they regard it as a place where peace was concluded rather than a

tribal boundary. By about 1730-40, relations between the various branches of Ngāti Whātua and Te Kawerau in southern Kaipara were relatively settled.

Ngāti Pāoa

The story of Ngāti Pāoa begins with the marriage to the Ngāti Tamaterā wahine rangatira, Tukutuku, the great-granddaughter of Marutūāhu, to the Tainui rangatira Pāoa. Pāoa's pā had previously stood at Kaitotehe, opposite Taupiri mountain, a convenient stopping-off place for many of his relatives travelling up and down the river. Consequently, his people were placed under enormous strain maintaining expected levels of customary hospitality.

One day, when his brother Mahuta visited and his wife Tauhakari was unable to provide the appropriate level of hospitality, Pāoa's shame led him to abandon his wife and family and travel to Hauraki. With a small group of followers, Pāoa followed the Mangawara Stream until he reached Tahuna beside the Piako River, then turned south towards the Mīrimirirau, making his new home among the Marutūāhu people.

Tukutuku, who had already spurned very many admirers, learned that this noted Tainui rangatira was journeying through her domains and wished to meet him. When Pāoa and his party reached her pā at Ruawehea, Ōhinemuri, near Paeroa, they were welcomed with generous hospitality. Despite reluctance on Pāoa's part, Tukutuku was determined that he should be her husband. Perhaps to entice him and to introduce him (and the possibility of an alliance) to her people, she took him on a tour of her domains in Hauraki. They set out from her pā at Rangiora, going on to Turua, Te Puru and the many other pā encircling the gulf and inland rivers. Although Tukutuku was received royally at each place, Pāoa was accorded less hospitality and subjected to various indignities by her people in order to test his suitability as a husband for Tukutuku. Ultimately, he withstood all their testing and the couple married. From this marriage Ngāti Pāoa, the fifth of the Marutūāhu tribal federation, emerged. Most of their boundaries had already been established by Tukutuku.⁴⁸⁷ Ngāti Pāoa were not the only of the Marutūāhu iwi with claims on the Mahurangi district, but others became less visible when nineteenth century officials conflated Ngāti Pāoa with the wider confederation.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ Hauraki Maori Trust Board, 'Nga Iwi o Hauraki: The Iwi of Hauraki', Paeroa, 1997, Vol. 2, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁸⁸ Rigby, Mahurangi report, p.17.

3.6 Social organisation

Patterns of settlement, land use and identity formation

Significant archaeological findings of individual residences, known as kāinga, show remarkable resilience and a high level of adaptability. According to Douglas Sutton, his team found evidence of four types of early Māori dwelling associated with undefended settlements around Pouerua.⁴⁸⁹ Pouerua pā is located south-west of the road connecting Moerewa and Ōhaeawai, near Kaikohe, in the Bay of Islands. The uniqueness of this kāinga study was that kāinga change was analysed over a much longer historical period than the study of the pā, the fortified settlement, which was itself a much later development resulting from societal change. The pā represents a relatively recent feature of Māori history apparently appearing about 1400 AD. On the other hand, the kāinga mode of settlement was the dominant pattern in the pre-1400 period, and was a particular feature of Taitokerau settlement building history.

Roger Green reconsidered the ethnographies of Firth and Te Rangi Hiroa, especially their tendency not to distinguish clearly between the pā, as the fortified village, and the kāinga, as the unfortified or unprotected village. According to Green, as the pā developed from 1400 AD, so too did the kāinga continue to change according to circumstances, many but not all becoming part of the fortified settlement system.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ Douglas G. Sutton, ed, *The Archaeology of the Kainga : a Study of Precontact Maori Undefended Settlements at Pouerua, Northland, New Zealand*, Auckland, 1990, pp. 186, 201, 203.

⁴⁹⁰ Roger Green, 'The Study of Open Settlements in New Zealand Prehistory', in Douglas Sutton, ed., *The Archaeology of the Kainga: A Study of Precontact Māori Undefended Settlements at Pouerua, Northland, New Zealand*, Auckland, 1990, p. 23; Firth, Raymond, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, Wellington, 1959; Te Rangihiroa, (Sir Peter Buck), *The Coming of the Maori*, Wellington, 1949, p. 137.

divided Waimā from Ōmanaia. But his account also mentions named pou, which were also significant for the messages conveyed by the names:

Sunday 27th June

... there is to be a Hakari @ Waiho to morrow ... the Hakari @ Omania [Omanaia?] will take place on Wednesday in the evening I took a canoe and accompanied the Omania natives taking a Blanket with me ... we pulled up the Waima for about a mile when we entered a small creek off the main river which leads to the bottom of a range of hills which divides Waima from Omani, ...the hakari is to commence on Wednesday and will continue a day or two there is a great scaffolding erected on which are platforms or stages on which the food is placed previous to distribution the four principal posts have got names always indicating to the natives invited whether the feast is given willingly or otherwise. This feast is in return for one received by the Omania natives from another tribe some time ago it would have taken place in summer but for the scarcity of food @ that time, one of the posts is called, hameme, meaning that the feast has been called often for and never taken place (till now) the second post kai were wera or fire eater i.e. that the food will be soon Done or consumed, 3^d te hau o te moana, the 4th waka takariri, i.e. angry because they have nothing better to give, – went to sleep amongst the natives ...⁷⁵³

From the time of Pākehā settlement in New Zealand, traders and settlers like Webster, who had to some extent become incorporated into their surrounding communities, typically attended hākari in the vicinity of their homes. A hākari held by Pōmare of Te Urikaraka, at Karetū on Christmas Day 1854, in return for another given the previous year by Ngāti Kahungunu's Tama Rehe at Waiomio, appears to have had binding his people with Pākehā as at least one of its objectives. The choice of day and presence of 'several' European men and women suggests this aim, as does a ngārahu (war dance) that was performed at their request.⁷⁵⁴

The market was only possible because Māori had a means of production that was based on reasonably secure land tenure. Tenure, in turn, was based on a complex of rules and contestation that originated in their pre-migration societies and evolved continually from the time of occupation.

4.2 Customary land tenure

The purpose of this section is to provide a basis for understanding a cluster of questions posed by our brief. These include:

⁷⁵³ John Webster 'Maori Journal', 27 June 1847. DB77.

⁷⁵⁴ Urry, 1993, p. 42; MM:TKM, 1 January 1855, p. 27.

Who had land and other rights and where, and what was the nature of customary land tenure and tikanga in the region?

Who had authority, under custom law, to alienate lands and resources in which specific areas for which specific groups?

What were the bases on which rights to land and resources were distributed, held and inherited, and how did the concept of mana and chiefly authority operate in relation to the control of land and resources?

To what extent did Māori mobility impact on ‘ahi kā’ and other customary means of establishing rights?

Because these matters are closely interrelated, we will deal with them jointly. This report addresses the *principles* of who had land rights and who had authority, rather than stating *specifically* which individual or group had these rights for any area. It is *not* the intention of this report to suggest which individual or tribal group had the authority to alienate lands or resources, nor to indicate what rights were correctly those of any particular group. These are matters for the tribal groups themselves to assert in their own way. What we intend to present is an understanding of customary land tenure in Te Taitokerau to form a basis from which claimant groups might present their own particular histories and perspectives.

The section builds on earlier sections which discussed spiritual associations with the land, Te Taitokerau social organisation, the significance of naming, and the relevance of whakapapa. It is also closely linked to the section on managing the land and its resources. The intention is to demonstrate how customary law had been exercised in Te Taitokerau.

The nature of Māori law

In this section of the report, Māori ‘law’ refers to the customary usages and practices of the pre-European oral Māori society rather than to written statutes. An alternative term could be ‘tikanga Māori’, derived from the word ‘tika’ meaning that which is right or just. Tikanga is typically translated into English as ‘rules’ or ‘rights’. Rangatira controlled the way these were put into practice through their rangatiratanga or powers of authority. Māori society operated by reference to tikanga, which was itself underpinned by philosophical and religious principles, goals and values. These in turn combined to regulate the conduct of individuals, whānau, hapū, and iwi. Social control was maintained by doctrines, such as the doctrine of

tapu, and it is this that determined and still determines Māori proprietary customary law.⁷⁵⁵ In recognition of this, chiefly authority or rangatiratanga was expressly protected under the terms of Article Two of te Tiriti o Waitangi .

Māori customary law is different in nature from the written statutes of various types of Western law. The nature of customary law was personal because the law-makers and interpreters were those of great mana, the rangatira or tribal leaders. The identity of the person adjudicating, prescribing or interpreting the law affected the way it was received. For this and a number of other reasons, Māori law might be seen as ‘performance law’.

A number of other characteristics distinguish the application and understanding of ‘performed law’ from Western legal systems. First is its personal nature:

Information cannot exist independent of the status or reputation of the human individual presenting it. The objective appreciation of a message is inevitably entangled with a subjective appreciation of its messenger.

People associate what is being decided, announced or interpreted with the person and the nature of their mana or authority, as the whakataukī states:

Ka rangona atu na tona ingoa.

Over time people came to recognise who the leader of a particular tribal group was, and their name became associated with that group.⁷⁵⁶ Through whakapapa and this recognition, the person came to be acknowledged as having a mandate to act on behalf of the group, although this person would have to appear publicly before an audience – ‘I te aroaro o te maha’ : ‘In the presence of the many’. Nineteenth century observers noted a further restriction. For instance F. D. Fenton commented that ‘No system of government that the world ever saw can be more democratic than that of the Maoris. The chief alone has no power’.⁷⁵⁷

Calling people to meet and debate issues before coming to a consensus decision was a common feature of communal decision making. Māori society required that changes to the laws or their application be made openly and publicly. William Colenso, who spent most of his early years in New Zealand in the Bay of Islands, used the term described above - ‘i te aroaro o te maha’ (in the presence of the many) - when describing rangatira declarations

⁷⁵⁵ Judge Caren Wickliffe, Introduction, ‘Access To Customary Law: New Zealand Issues: Visible Justice: Evolving Access To Law’, Wellington, 12 September 2002, p. 5.

⁷⁵⁶ Ngā Tuara, 1992, p. 16.

⁷⁵⁷ F D Fenton, Report as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, March 1857, AJHR, 1860, E-1C, p.11.

about allocating land use rights.⁷⁵⁸ Covert acts were not legitimate. Similarly, the use of waiata, whakataukī and other devices was more forceful when they were widely known. To make issues widely known, Māori readily adopted the use of newspapers to advertise land-related and other pronouncements once these began to be published in te reo Māori.

Māori law is dynamic and is perceived: not as things but as acts; not as rules or agreements, but as processes constituting rule or agreement. Under this understanding, a contract is not a document, but ‘a routine of words and gestures’. Māori ‘tend to think of justice not as something that simply is, but rather as something that is done’. Moreover, the nature of this type of law encourages the orchestration and organisation of occasions to maximise the likelihood of its being recalled in the future, to ingrain it in the memories of the attendees and to minimise the chance of future change.⁷⁵⁹ It should not be surprising then, that clues to customary concepts and principles can be found in time-honoured sayings, songs, and incantations.⁷⁶⁰ In describing and discussing the customary law as it applied in Te Taitokerau, reference will be made to a number of these features which were clearly important to its operation.

Māori customary law did not constrain natural justice. So, for example, following the killing of Te Ngawha by Ngāpuhi, the place named Kōwhatuhāpai (Raised Stone), to commemorate that deed, was allocated to his descendants:

It is true that Te Ngawha was killed by Ngāpuhi within Waihou, and then brought into a part of Otupahero, that is, Te Papa. His head was cut off on a stone and the place was named Kōwhatuhāpai and has remained so until today. That place where Te Ngawha’s head was cut off had been allocated to the descendants of Te Ngawha on account of his bad treatment at that place.

Te Ruapounamu had spoken to her husband Kaimanu about returning the place where Te Ngawha was killed to his descendants. Ngono agreed, saying, ‘It is right.’

No tena wa ka korero a Te Ruapounamu ki a Kaimanu kia whakahoki ki nga uri o Te Ngawha te wahi i patua ai Te Ngawha. Whakaae ana a Ngono, ka mea; ‘A, e tika ana.’ Katahi ka whakahokia te whenua nei ki a Punakiwai raua ko tana tungane, ara, ko Kaurehu.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁸ William Colenso, ‘On the Maori Races of New Zealand’, TNZI, 1 (1868); 2nd ed. (1875), p. 361.

⁷⁵⁹ Alex Frame and Paul Meredith with commentary by Tui Adams, ‘Performance and Māori Customary legal Process’, Paper prepared for Symposium on Concepts and Institutions of Polynesian Customary Law at the Fale, University of Auckland, 12 October 2004, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁰ The contrast between the pomp and ceremony surrounding the presentation of Te Tiriti at Waitangi and the less formal circumstances elsewhere might also explain why the contract was considered less enthusiastically in other areas as it was carried around the country.

⁷⁶¹ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 91. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

The context of the evidence

Because there are no written records pre-dating European contact, the evidence for the laws governing customary rights to land, waterways and their resources prior to that time must necessarily be derived from those who have had the traditional knowledge passed down to them, or from such written records that survive from later times.

The most substantial and consistently available source of documentary evidence is the records of the Native Land Court, established in 1865, especially the minutes of court proceedings. These should be treated with caution for a number of reasons, as explained extensively by Ballara.⁷⁶² However, bearing these difficulties in mind, as she suggests, by applying standard tests of evidence historians can make careful use of these records. The type of evidence varies with the place of sitting, the approach of the judge, the method of recording adopted, and the quality of translations. Māori witnesses addressed the court in Māori, but the minutes were kept in English and, therefore, represent only an approximate translation, the accuracy of which cannot be verified. Other factors include changes in the legislation, contemporary events and the ways in which witnesses presented their respective cases, or learned to adapt to the vagaries of the system so as to maximise benefit to themselves and their group.

Typically, the records of those cases heard soon after enactment of the legislation establishing the Native Land Court do not provide as much information as more commonly occurs in later records. The evidence given during the earlier period was not as detailed as that given later. As Jane McRae has noted, this is explained by the administrative capacity of the Court during the first ten years or so following its inception. In the early period, surveys of blocks were produced, a unanimous body of claimants stood unopposed, and following little discussion or dispute, Crown grants were readily issued. The basis of judicial endorsement was occasioned by the lack of opposition.⁷⁶³

So, for example, the first Whāngārei Minute Book, which commenced in June 1865, records that witnesses offered pre-agreed lists of names, outlined agreed boundaries, and typically named the ancestor from whom they derived their rights. These records tend to more clearly indicate the gender of ancestors by differentiating between women who ‘bore’ the next

⁷⁶² For example in Ballara, ‘I riro i te hoko: Problems in cross-Cultural Historical Scholarship’, NZJH, 34, 1, (2000).

⁷⁶³ Jane McRae, ‘Participation: Native Committees (1883) and Papatupu Block Committees (1900) in Tai Tokerau’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1981, p. 61.

person in the tātai, as opposed to men who ‘begat’ the individual from the next generation. The other difference apparent in the process is that the judge typically obtained an assurance that all the claimants had agreed to the Certificate of Title being issued in the name of a single rangatira. Alternatively, if it was issued in multiple names, the judge asked who would take charge of the certificate.

By the mid-1880s, however, there was a discernible shift in the Native Land Court records because the way claims were asserted and argued altered. Several factors are likely to have contributed to this situation, including the economic strains of the period; the Native Land Act 1873 that required memorials of ownership to list the names of all those interested in a block of land as equal owners; and a decline in the depth and breadth of authority that hereditary rangatira were able to wield in the new environment.

While earlier cases had frequently been conquest claims between larger tribal groupings, the cases of the later nineteenth century were more often between hapū or even between whānau within the same hapū. The case concerning Whatitiri in 1895, for example, was referred to as a ‘riri whanaunga’ because one section of a hapū was seeking to exclude another.⁷⁶⁴ During this period, the issue of the key ancestor, the one through whom mana whenua had been passed down, and the claimants’ descent from that person became the central focus of the evidence presented. In order to prove these more precise points, witnesses were obliged to offer much greater detail concerning the activities of their forebears and themselves. It has been suggested that this was, in part, a reflection of the fact that the generation of rangatira who had led earlier conquest claims was passing away and those that followed them were less able to maintain the same level of mana because the threats of the first half of the century were gone and therefore their capacity to hold the supra-tribal structures together was limited.⁷⁶⁵ There were also many other reasons for that decline in mana rangatira, as discussed in Part 2 of this report.

The point to be made here, however, is that the nature of these later claims resulted in much greater complexity. In the case of the 2800 acre Whirinaki Block, which came before the Court in November 1885, 40 objectors were eventually arranged into eleven counter-claimant parties. Most of these parties were descendants of the same ancestor (Kairewa) but they

⁷⁶⁴ Grant Young, ‘Nga Kooti Whenua: the dynamics of a colonial encounter’, PhD thesis, Massey University, Albany, 2003. p. 223.

⁷⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 211-2.

asserted their claims through different children.⁷⁶⁶ The changes in attitude that had come about over time were also evident when this case was heard. One witness stated under cross-examination that the various tribal groups that had descended from Tūteauru had ‘always joined forces against any assault from outside’ and that:

At the sittings of former courts these peoples never questioned one another as to place of birth.⁷⁶⁷

This was part of a general tendency towards a more individualist approach to asserting rights and a decline in cohesion among tribal groups that is evident from the later 1870s onward. It was also an issue that had implications for the mana of hapū. Previously, one person or one family could represent the hapū and keep their fires alight but as the communal systems began to break down, there was a greater onus on individuals to maintain their personal ahi kā. Moreover, these circumstances also encouraged witnesses to present their evidence and recount the history in ways that best favoured their individual or group claims. The 1891 Commission of Inquiry into Native Land Laws considered that:

So utterly unreliable have many of the Maoris become during late years that it is now the fashion amongst some of them not only to spoil the living, but to plunder the dead. The fabrication of spurious wills has ... like the false swearing in the Native Land Court, ‘become a fine art’. Natives who, speaking in their own runangas, will testify with strict and impartial truth, often against their own interests, when speaking in the Native Land Court will not hesitate to swear deliberately to a narrative false and groundless from beginning to end.⁷⁶⁸

As noted earlier, with respect to records of the Native Land Court, caution needs to be exercised when referring to official records of this period. It is timely to reiterate that where particular extracts of evidence recorded in the nineteenth-century minute books are quoted within the body of this report, they are given as examples of ways in which customary land tenure was understood at the time and do not represent an endorsement of the rights of a particular claimant or counter-claimant.

In the second part of this report, we discuss some of the changes in government legislation and policy and Māori responses to these during the nineteenth century. Papatupu Block Committees were established under the 1900 Māori Lands Administration Act. Although they slightly post-date the cut-off date for this report, the evidence presented to, and the issues

⁷⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 213.

⁷⁶⁷ Evidence of Waipapa Mihaka, Whirinaki Block, 20 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 270. DB78.

⁷⁶⁸ Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Native Land Laws, AJHR, 1891, G-1, p. xi.

discussed in, these committees, the minutes of which were recorded in the original Māori, are likely to provide useful insights into the understandings of those who took part in the process. For that reason, those minute books have also been considered in our research concerning customary land tenure.

Mana whenua

The significance of the land to Māori is evident in ancestral place names, whakataukī, waiata and in tribal kōrero or histories. For example, the following whakataukī refers to one tribal group's relationship with the land and with their ancestors. It also refers to the source of their mana whenua or land rights:

Ko Māhurehure, e tū atu nei,
E mihi atu nei , ki nga rau iwi e pae nei;
Ko taku mana ra, ehara ianei,
No aku tūpuna, whakarere mai;
 heke mai i a Rāhiri
Mai i a Kaharau
Mai i a Taurapoho
Mai i a Tūpoto taku mana e;
Tau te ihi, tau te whenua;
Kei Whiria ra, te paiaka o te riri.
Tū tonu aku maunga i te ao, i te pō
Ko Whakaterere – te maunga e;
Waima Tuhirangi – te whenua e;
Hokianga o Kupe – te moana e;
Ko Māhurehure – te iwi e

Māhurehure stands forth
And greets the many tribes assembled here;
My mana is not from recent times
But it is sent from my ancestors
 descending from Rāhiri
From Kaharau,
From Taurapoho
And from Tūpoto my mana comes;
And that power comes to rest, rests on the land;
There at Whiria, the taproot of strife.
And my mountains stand eternally day and night
Whakaterere – the mountain
Waima Tuhirangi – the land
Kupe's Hokianga – the sea

And Te Māhurehure – the people.⁷⁶⁹

Its centrality in the Māori world view is a reflection of their direct descent from the primordial ancestors, Ranginui (the heavens) and Papatūānuku (the land and the sea) who are also the parents of all resources and the patrons of all things tapu.⁷⁷⁰

As explained previously, whakapapa is fundamental to the operation of Māori society and underlies all relationships, but especially those relating to their land and waterways. The land is also a source of identity for Māori. As direct descendants of Papatūānuku, Māori are not only ‘of the land’, but ‘as the land’, an understanding that compels the ‘owners’ of the land to be its protectors and to exercise kaitiakitanga or guardianship over it. This guardianship is an obligation for the living to preserve what has been inherited from the ancestors to pass on to future generations. The land provides a link between the generations and is shared by them: the dead, the living, and those yet to be born.

Rights to land are based on ancestral links to the land, and this in turn is about the relationship between individuals, their rangatira leaders, and the land. Mana is derived from association with the land. As the ancestors of Māori dispersed progressively across the land, extensive areas were occupied and defined by the tribal groups that settled them. Growing populations increased pressure on the land and its resources, leading to the need to carefully guard them. Establishing a strong community on the land was fundamental to rangatira power. Attachment intensified the tribe’s close identification with its land.⁷⁷¹ The names of those ancestors who had originally occupied, defended, cleared and cultivated the land were committed to tribal memory. It was from those ancestors that rights to land were inherited. Establishing a line of descent with continuous occupation formed the fundamental basis of claim. As Father Henare Tate of the Ngāti Tamatea hapū of Motutī, Ngāti Manawa of the northern Hokianga, and Te Rarawa told about the case of Te Kauae o Ruru Wahine:

the process would be to look at the tupuna and the whakapapa. To be able to identify the pa sites, to be able to identify the koiwi ana (burial caves), to be able to identify nga mahinga kai ki raro (plantations), and if possible to strengthen the case, to identify the battles by which they fought to protect the land.⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁹ Hohepa, 1981, p. 361, cit. McRae, ‘Whakataukii’, p. 271.

⁷⁷⁰ Ministry of Justice, 2001.

⁷⁷¹ McRae, 1981, p. 9.

⁷⁷² Pā Henare Tate interviewed by Daniel Watkins. 1992.

Generally, the bases on which rights to land or resources might be claimed are asserted through a number of principal ‘take’ or underpinnings of tikanga Māori or Māori customary law, which are:

- take taunaha, (naming during discovery and exploration)
- take tūpuna (ancestral right)
- take ahi kā (continuous occupation or keeping one’s fires burning)
- take raupatu (right of conquest)
- take tuku (by gifting).

Professor Hohepa puts forward additional and reordered take for Te Taitokerau:

- take poukā (burial caves)
- take waenga (cultivations)
- ringa kaha (strong defence)
- ahi kā (continuous occupation)
- ahi kā mai i tawhiti (distant fire / fires of home).⁷⁷³

For instance, one oral account describes:

Then they addressed the land in terms of mahinga kai, where the plantations were. They were required to know the names and they were required to know where they were.

I remember the caves of Waihou when a certain speaker said, ‘We have plantations in Waihou’, and seemingly his claim was a lesser claim. So the committee said, ‘Alright, tomorrow you will take us to those plantations and you will show us where they were.’ The next day the speaker said, ‘Sorry, I don’t know where they are’, which of course proved he had a weaker claim to that piece of land.⁷⁷⁴

Corporate groups, whether whānau or hapū, had links to specific areas of land, which were not necessarily geographically contiguous. Nor were the rights to the land and its resources likely to be mutually exclusive.

Again in the case of Te Kauae o Ruru Wahine, there are various blocks involved because of their proximity or because they were below Te Kauae o Ruru Wahine. So for the complete picture of Te Kauae o Ruru Wahine, there would be need to look at Tauwhare at this end, and to consider it was neighbouring or if not included in partly Waihou block and Waireia block. Other blocks involved would have been Waireia D, which would have consisted of Waireia and Te Peke. Te Peke is beyond the stream past the manager’s quarters, as it climbs the hill towards Reinga. From the top of the hill right up to Te Mania, I think as far as Te Mania, where Waiomio lives, that was

⁷⁷³ Personal communication, Pat Hohepa.

⁷⁷⁴ Pa Henare Tate interviewed by Daniel Watkins, 1992.

Waihou block from the foot of Te Kauae o Ruru Wahine right up to the water's edge. Therefore the need to look at the tupuna for those blocks because they were below Te Kauae o Ruru Wahine, and to have a look at the history of those blocks, because obviously those in, te hoki mai te maunga, were those who would have had claims of the mountains, so those who lived below the mountains would have had claims to the mountains.⁷⁷⁵

The law of three

The significance of doing or saying something thrice has received little attention. Examples of this practice are when Tāwhaki brought three baskets of knowledge into the world, and when Kupe was preparing for his return to Hawaiki. He is said to have taken his child Tupu-tupu-whenua to a spring where he said the spell known as hirihihi. Having drunk for the last time of the water of the spring:

He bent down once, and a second time, and a third time, and then said these parting words, 'Farewell, oh spring in Te Ao-maarama. This is a going away. There shall not be a coming back.'⁷⁷⁶

When Tamatea Pōkai Whenua buried the pito of his son Kahungunu, it was accompanied by three sacred stones.

Traditional greetings to the living – such as 'tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou' – and to the dead – such as 'haere, haere, haere' – are customarily uttered three times; the tangihanga traditionally lasted three days; and it appears that three days was also the period during which people near death were given no food.⁷⁷⁷ According to White, patients were taken to a stream where their naked bodies were sprinkled with water and a karakia recited. After this treatment, which was intended to counter the effects of sickness caused by mākutū (bewitching), the patient would be in a highly tapu state and could not eat for three days.⁷⁷⁸

Another nineteenth-century example from Te Taitokerau region was recorded by the Pākehā trader, John Webster, in January 1847. Writing about a dispute over land at Herekino, he recorded that while some of the local people were clearing land for cultivation:

another tribe from Wangape came & claimed the Land as belonging to them. Pukeroa the chief of Herikino [sic] mustered his tribe and both parties met on the clearing to discuss their rights when one of the Wangape chiefs stepped out & in presence of both

⁷⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁷⁶ McRae, 1988, pp. 251-2.

⁷⁷⁷ Yate and Maning, cit. Oppenheim, 1973, p. 38.

⁷⁷⁸ Oppenheim, 1973, p. 39.

parties cut of a lock of his hair & buried it in the disputed soil this he repeated twice, thus according to their custom tapooing the Land this Chief being sacred, the Herikino party cannot make use of the ground without infringing the tapu which if they did would be a declaration of war both parties were eager for a fight, especially Pukeroa who is one of the greatest orators of the day he ended one of his speeches by saying let not the sun set until the hills echo with the reports of our guns however they had only a bit of a skirmish when pukero [Pukeroa?] drove the other party to Wangape firing on them all the way.⁷⁷⁹

Later in this report we refer to Henare Keepa's description of a boundary line at Waikare which was trespassed and reinstated three times. There are other examples of acts being carried out three times although there is no specific reference to the number of times being necessary or significant. For example, Mokaraka of Te Māhurehure, recounted that there had been many disputes over the land in the Tongariro block and that 'Mohi Tawhai came three times to try and settle the dispute and get Moka to move off the land'.⁷⁸⁰ Instances from other regions over different matters suggest that there was some 'legal' implication to repeating an act three times. For instance, in the Bay of Plenty in 1849, when Te Arawa's Tohi Te Ururangi attempted to arbitrate between contending parties over the appropriate utu for an incident of adultery, he reported that he had demanded the horse on three separate days 'according to the right of the law'.⁷⁸¹

And, according to James Cowan's description of the anointing of Pōtatau when he was ritually installed as the Māori King:

Wiremu Tamehana poured the oil on Potatau's head, and all the people bowed their heads three times in obeisance at the call, 'Whakahonare [sic] ki te Kingi' ('Do honour to the King').⁷⁸²

There might also be significance in the generally accepted notion that one's fires or ahi kā rights to land are extinguished after three generations, and Hemi Wi Hongi's statement that following the fire that killed Ngatikori, the local people ceased fishing at that place for three generations, although the inflexibility of ahi kā could be a more modern understanding. Nevertheless, the fact that nineteenth-century Māori so often testified to having carried out a procedure three times strongly suggests a particular point of law.

⁷⁷⁹ John Webster, 'Māori Journal', 13 January 1847.

⁷⁸⁰ Evidence of Mokaraka, Tongariro Block, 15 November 1876, NMB B 3, p. 301. DB79.

⁷⁸¹ Petrie, 2004, p. 248.

⁷⁸² James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period, Volume I: 1845-64*, Wellington, 1955, p. 446.

Iho whenua

As Te Papakupu o te Taitokerau (Taitokerau Māori Dictionary) explains:

The linguistic connection between land on the one hand and collective and personal identity on the other is particularly strongly marked in this part of Polynesia, where the proto-word **fenua* assumed the meanings of both ‘land’ and ‘placenta’. There was a corresponding development of the Proto-Polynesian word **ewe* in parts of Eastern Polynesia. Its original meaning seems to have been ‘torn, worn out’. In Hawaiian and Māori this word took on the meanings of ‘placenta, afterbirth’, and in the Tuamotos and Māori (at least in Tūhoe) it also acquired the meaning ‘womb’; however in Māori the meaning was extended still further, to include ‘a person’s mother or birthplace’, thus closely paralleling the meanings of whenua.

Arama Pou of Ngāti Whakaeke gave the following instance of its use in connection with the burial of the placenta:

He wāhi wehe ano mo te tanu i te whenua. The burial of the afterbirth is in a special place set aside for that purpose.⁷⁸³

As this example suggests, neither the placenta nor the umbilical cord were buried randomly but were deposited carefully – with the appropriate rituals performed by a tohunga – in a place closely associated with the child. This process indicated that the child had rights to that land derived from his or her ancestry. By linking individuals personally and spiritually to that land, the act of iho-whenua created a significant basis for rights to that land. As with other acts that could form a basis of claim, inappropriate acts were protested. Thus, when Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (also known as Tamatea-Ure-Haea) buried the pito of his son Kahungunu, together with three sacred stones (known as whatu-kura) in the soil near Te Tinotino pā in the Kaitia area, the action was regarded by the tangata whenua with suspicion. They considered that Tamatea was laying claim to land to which he had no right. Once it became clear that he was no longer welcome, Tamatea was obliged to move his people to Tauranga.⁷⁸⁴

Take waenga: Land clearing and cultivation

Kei raro i te tarutaru, te tuhi o ngā tūpuna.

⁷⁸³ Cit. Benton, ed, 2006.

⁷⁸⁴ New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990, p. 73; F Keene, 1992, pp. 3-4.

The signs or marks of the ancestors are embedded below the roots of the grass and the herbs. (a whakataukī)⁷⁸⁵

Rights of tenure originated with those ancestors who first cleared and cultivated or otherwise used the resources of the land. From them, the rights were handed down, generation by generation, to descendants who continued to occupy the land. Because the act of clearing land was a means of asserting rights over it, announcements of intention to clear might cause disputes.

Take tūpuna, or ancestral rights, reinforced by enduring signs of occupation and works, were significant:

The signs of occupation of the ancestors on the eastern side are the stones having been thrown into heaps, leaving the larger part of the land clear for the purposes of cultivation &c. ...⁷⁸⁶

For contemporary individuals, the extent of their own efforts on the land was also important. Land Court evidence that sought to exclude certain individuals would often betray the importance of how individual claimants were viewed by others from the community. The relationship of claimants with other members was significant, as were contributions to the communal economy or the welfare of the tribal group. One witness compared two individuals who had asked for a place to plant potatoes for seed, a request to which he consented, with another who was alleged to be a 'lazy old fellow' who 'simply squatted on the land while [the witness] made plantations to feed him'.⁷⁸⁷ The extent of the person's contribution of labour counted. Thus, Piri Teira contended under cross-examination that:

I myself cut and split the posts and rails for new fences on Paera: – your brother did not do any of it.⁷⁸⁸

and that

Hauraki Rewha commenced to erect a house at Paera but could not finish it. I myself split the shingles and bought timber for lining and [ceiling] the roof in order to complete it. I have built a house there myself two years ago – on the occasion of my marriage.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, Te Roroa Report 1992 Wai 38, Wellington, 1992, p. 49, referring to (D27:4-6).

⁷⁸⁶ Evidence of Heta Hamuera to Ani Tanaha, Counter case No. 4, NMB 8, p. 147. DB80.

⁷⁸⁷ Evidence of Wiremu Kātene Hariru Block, 29 October 1887 NMB 8, p. 396. DB81.

⁷⁸⁸ Evidence of Piri Teira, 26 November 1885, Whirinaki No. 2/1, NMB 7, p. 285. DB82.

⁷⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 285-6. DB83.

In the same way, the quality of materials and the amount of labour invested in houses or pā was also relevant to the rights to land:

Ko tena whare, he whare kakahu⁷⁹⁰
That house was a toetoe stalk or reed house.

He mea whakatu katoa nga rakau o tenei whare.⁷⁹¹
This house was completely made of wood.

Te Waihināu pā was merely a wooden pā fenced, there were no dykes cut.⁷⁹²

Akuhata Haki referred to a range of customary bases of claim. He claimed first on the basis of ancestry, second on the basis of wāhi tapu, and third by permanent occupation. He named his ancestor as Nuitakia[?], noting that te Tautaka ‘was sold under the mana of Te Angatoheroa’ and then referred to the burial grounds and who was interred in them. Next, he named two dwellings, one of which was ‘an ancient place of residence’ and affirmed that both places were cultivated. In detailing the cultivations, he asserted that his immediate ancestors had planted karaka trees at Te Tatau and Puiahine, which were still growing at the date of the court sitting. He also named people who planted peach trees in other locations, and the woman who planted flax at another place. In all cases, he stated that the plants in question were still growing. Akuhata named Te Pokare[?] as the person with mana to the karaka trees but also stated that, ‘on one occasion they were rahuied by Ngapeka daughter of Pirika at the request of Te Whareumu’. This was because the ‘latter wished to make provision for a feast’. The detail provided by this witness did not end there. He added that the feast was held at Pukahakaha and that ‘The places where the fruit of these trees was cooked are still visible.’⁷⁹³

There is similar evidence that longer-lived plants and trees conferred stronger rights than potato or even kūmara plantations that were no longer extant. Hare Matenga referred to this when he said:

Te Toha planted kumaras on the same Block – they did not grow – the place was Tureikura, his karaka trees are at Urupuka. From that time down to the present people do not trespass on these karaka grove [sic]. I always prevent it.⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹⁰ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 44. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

⁷⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷⁹² Evidence of Hakopa Taitua, Waimā No. 1 Block, 14 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 53. DB84.

⁷⁹³ Evidence of Akuhata Haki, Waimā No. 1 Block, 21 July 1886, NMB 8, pp. 193-4. DB85.

⁷⁹⁴ Evidence of Hare Matenga, Hariru Block, 31 October 1887, NMB 8, p. 400. DB86.

Nevertheless, evidence of named kūmara pits would also enhance a claim, but the duration of occupation and works undertaken was also relevant. Thus, Matenga also stressed that his fences had been erected for nineteen years.⁷⁹⁵ The implication was that the longer they had neither been interfered with nor objected to, the stronger the claim.

Pita Anihana named one ancestor from whom he claimed to derive his rights and another who had first cleared the land he claimed. He described his ancestral rat and bird snaring grounds, explained the place name Taumataotekuri as standing for the ancestor's dog who was skilled in hunting kiwi, and named two karowi or korowi trees (probably koroi, a northern term for the kahikatea tree⁷⁹⁶) as Mihimihi and Huaharamu. He clearly anticipated that his ability to give this amount of detail, including the names of trees, would strengthen his claim.⁷⁹⁷

One claimant put his basis of right quite simply:

I ate of the fruits of this block on which I had a home as well as at Te Tāheke.⁷⁹⁸

Even with these supplementary bases of claim, Father Tate stressed the overriding importance of ancestry:

At the time that they were establishing claims to the land, the old people said 'kaua e waiho ko to tupuna', don't let land clearing be your tupuna. In other words there is a tupuna, it doesn't matter what activities others are doing on that land, all those external factors do not contribute towards ownership. The ownership, the right, ki te whenua, came down to the tupuna.⁷⁹⁹

Take tūpuna / Mana heke

The way in which mana was vested was articulated by a Papatupu Block Committee, which had met to consider claims to land at Whakarapa:

The committee believes that Te Rarawa had the rangatira mana over these lands and those who held that mana were Te Hira and Te Tai.⁸⁰⁰

In laying claim to land or a share in land, other issues were taken into account which might support the individual's right to that particular area of land, waterway, or other resource. Angela Ballara noted that although raupatu gave occupation, it did not necessarily give the

⁷⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 402. DB87.

⁷⁹⁶ Personal communications, Hohipere Tarau and Deanne Wilson, July 2006.

⁷⁹⁷ Evidence of Pita Anihana, Waimā No. 1. Block, 12 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 159. DB88.

⁷⁹⁸ Evidence of Ruka Te Huru, Waimā No. 1. Block, 1 July 1886 NMB 8, p. 120. DB89.

⁷⁹⁹ Pa Henare Tate interviewed by Daniel Watkins, 1992.

⁸⁰⁰ Translation of Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 138. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

right to, or the mana over the land. ‘To acquire mana in the land one needed to show an ancestral right to the land and specific resources’. She summed up the interconnected nature of these take in the following way:

Land ownership in Maori society required that ancestral claims go hand in hand with inherited mana over the land, plus occupation or other use. Yet descent from an owning ancestor alone was insufficient; it had to be from an ancestor whose descendants had continued to occupy it. Descendants who lived elsewhere eventually lost their rights – their claims grew cold. Inheritance of land was from that limited group of ancestors known to have first cleared and cultivated or otherwise used the resources of the land, and who had handed down their rights from generation to generation of people who also occupied the land. The concept of ahikaaroa (long burning fires) presupposed continuous occupation or use of the land by descendants of ancestors with mana to the land.⁸⁰¹

Claimants often expressed their rights of tenure as deriving from a particular ancestor rather than from their affiliation with a particular contemporary hapū. But such claims were required to be based on descent from the appropriate ancestor. Piri Teira, for example, said that he:

should have admitted the claim of Mihaka Hapatu had it been preferred in right of Tuteauru.⁸⁰²

Such claims indicate that the parent of an ancestor might not have passed the mana whenua on to all his or her descendants equally, but only to certain named children. For example, one witness in the Waimā No. 1 Block case explained that:

The mana of Te Karehu and Matuku was from Mahuri whose mana was derived from Tuteauru. Tuteauru had many children besides Mahuri of whom Kohuru was one. Kuiawai was another. These [?] children’s lands are at [Otaua?] at least Kohuru’s lands are. I believe Kuiawai had a claim to this land but I am uncertain. I am not aware she had lands elsewhere. The reason why the lands of Tupoto were divided amongst his children into two Blocks was because his first wife was from down South, the second was from Hokianga. Thus their mana to the land was not the same.⁸⁰³

Another witness put it differently but the point about the different rights of inheritance remains the same:

⁸⁰¹ Ballara, 1998, p. 200.

⁸⁰² Evidence of Piri Teira Whirinaki Counter claim No. 2/1, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 284. DB90.

⁸⁰³ Evidence of Heta Hamuera, Waimā No. 1 Counter case No. 4, 8 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 146. DB91.

Te Karehu's mana was derived from Tuiti whose mana was from Tupoto. Kauwae and Te Wakeiti were the first wives of Tupoto. Koroko and Tuiti were the children of the former wife. Kairewa was the son of Te Wakeiti.⁸⁰⁴

Wiremu Kātene based his claim on his ancestry and a gift made by Moka and Arama Karaka Pī, adding that his claim to the area known as Te Repo-a-te-Karehu was acknowledged because he was 'the principal of the descendants of Te Karehu'.⁸⁰⁵ This indicated that mana equated to the authority to manage rather than to 'ownership' rights. Earlier in this case, another witness had referred to the pā at Ōnoke being known as Mohi Tāwhai's pā 'because he was the chief of it'. It had been erected at the time of a particular fight and 'was called his pā although he had no claim to the land on which it stood'.⁸⁰⁶

Rights to land and resources were based on interconnected take or bases. Claims based on inherited mana over the land needed to be combined with ringa kaha, occupation, take waenga or other forms of 'value-added' activity. Without supporting evidence to confirm continuous occupation, descent from an ancestor with mana whenua was not a sufficient basis of claim. The claimant's line of descent had to be supported by occupation over succeeding generations, traditionally referred to as ahi-kā-roa. Descendants who moved away would eventually lose their rights to the land and its resources because their claims had grown cold (ahi-matao).

The complexity of these rights was evident in the claims that came before the court from the mid-1880s. One example was in the Whirinaki Block case, which was heard at Rāwene at the end of 1885. Evidence was given about conflict among the ancestors and how the three ancestors – Tūteauru, Tamatea and Taonui – led by the first, drove out those who had attacked the people. In this case, most of the counter-claimants did not dispute the claim but wished to be admitted with the claimants. The larger proportion of the witnesses for the counter-claimants belonged to Ngāti Kairewa who argued their ancestral rights through one of the various children of Kairewa. Others belonged to Ngāti Tūteauru and claimed through Tūteauru. Ultimately, the Court found that Tūteauru had not conquered the land but that his descendants had acquired rights by occupation, and by intermarriage with those of Kairewa: 'for nearly all the persons now living at Whirinaki have the blood of Tūteauru intermingled in their veins with the blood of Kairewa'. On this basis, the Court decided that 'the principal

⁸⁰⁴ Evidence of Ruka te Korakora Waimā No. 1 Block, 7 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 141. DB92.

⁸⁰⁵ Evidence of Wi Kātene, Waimā No. 1 Block, 28 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 96. DB93.

⁸⁰⁶ Evidence of Hakopa Taitua, Waimā No. 1 Block, 15 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 56. DB94.

owners of the land' were those descended from both Kairewa and Tūteauru, who could prove that they had exercised their rights of ownership.⁸⁰⁷

Despite the fundamental rule that land rights emanated from a specific ancestor, confusion could arise when descendants of different tūpuna had been co-resident over a number of generations. Such a situation came to light when Heremia Te Wake claimed a block of land despite not being a descendant of Te Reinga who had held the mana. In this case the Papatupu Block Committee concluded that:

Na Te Reinga anake te rohe kei Te Ngarohau ki Maumaukai ... me nga pa, wahi tapu hoki, o enei whenua, no Te Reinga anake, tae iho ki aana uri, engari i noho huihui nga tupuna o Heremia Te Wake, me nga uri o Te Reinga ki roto i aua pa, me nga tupapaku o nga uri o nga tupuna o Heremia Te Wake, i takoto tahi ki nga wahi tapu o Te Reinga. Tae iho ki ona uri me nga whawhai a nga uri o Te Reinga, e uru ana nga tupuna o Heremia Te Wake ki te awhina.

Na konei, ki te titiro a te komiti, kotahi tonu te haere a nga uri o Te Reinga, me Te Matangi ma, mai i reira, tae noa mai ki o ratou uri e ora nei. Engari ko the mana nui ki runga i enei whenua, ki runga hoki i te iwi, no Te Reinga, tae iho ki ona uri.⁸⁰⁸

Only Te Reinga had an area at Te Ngarohau at Maumaukai ... the pā and the burial grounds of these lands belonged to Te Reinga and his descendants alone. However, the ancestors of Heremia Te Wake lived together with the descendants of Te Reinga in those pā and the dead of the descendants of Heremia Te Wake's ancestors were buried in Te Reinga's burial grounds. Down to the descendants and with the fights that the descendants of Te Reinga have had, Heremia Te Wake's ancestors have entered into to assist.

Thus, the committee finds the descendants of Te Reinga and Te Matangi went together from then down to their descendants living. However the principal mana over the land and the people rested with Te Reinga and his descendants.

Te mana o te rangatira

Particular rangatira were associated with particular areas of land and these associations might be reflected in whakataukī. For example, Wiremu Pūriri referred to 'nga kahakahaka o Waimirirangi' or 'the broken calabashes of Waimirirangi' being used as bailers to indicate her association with the Whirinaki 2/1 Block and to another connecting her husband, Kairewa, to the pipi of the Ruaparewhero or Kairewa Stream.⁸⁰⁹ However, there was also a clear distinction between land 'ownership' and 'mana' in the sense of control and the right to

⁸⁰⁷ NMB 7, 11 November 1885, pp. 225-324, cit. Young, 2003, pp. 236-7.

⁸⁰⁸ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 132. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

⁸⁰⁹ Evidence of Wiremu Pūriri, Whirinaki 2/1 Block, 19 November 1889, NMB 7, p. 261. DB9.

manage. As Ngāti Wai rangatira Te Kiri told Land Purchase Agents Donald McLean and John Rogan in 1862 about Hauturu or Little Barrier Island:

Te Urunga, Hore te More, Wiremu Taiawa, Paratene Te Manu, Henare Te Whahipu
Taukokopa, these are the people and the island is theirs, but it is through me only they
can sell it ...⁸¹⁰

Elsewhere, Ruka te Korakora acknowledged that Arama Karaka Pī held the mana to arrange the survey of the Waimā block and that that authority was derived from Te Kerekere.⁸¹¹ On another occasion, Ani Patene testified that ‘Te Mahurehure did not attend at the funeral of Pi but N Pakau and N Te Rauwawe did’ which implies that the identities of those who attended his tangi represent evidence of his hapū associations.⁸¹²

Sometimes reference was made to a leader’s rangatira status in a more oblique way. For example, Piri Teira agreed that ‘Mohi Tawhai had an undoubted claim: he was the general arbiter in disputes and especially on the occasion of the death of Nuku’, and that ‘[s]ince his death, his son Hōne Mohi has succeeded to his claims and his position.’⁸¹³ As mentioned earlier, rangatira were expected to have the ability and expertise to negotiate and settle a wide range of disputes. The other side of the coin was the need for rangatira consent to any arrangements for allocating land or resource rights. For example, in the Hariru Block case, Ruatara Taurapoko said that although Hare Matenga was correct in saying that Maikuku had been awarded to Meri, it could not have been done without Wiremu Kātene’s consent.⁸¹⁴

Hori Te Kuri remembered when the waka *Potaitaka* was made at Tuturimu, the maker, Patutai, had been given permission by Huna.⁸¹⁵ But, Pirika was obstructed when he attempted to make one at Kioreromiromi and was obliged to abandon the project.⁸¹⁶

Ahi-kā-roa

Ahi-kā-roa is a metaphor and one that might be unique to Māori as a term with legal effect. It refers to land rights established through continuous occupation. The term does not apply consistently across the region. For instance, in Whangaroa rights are determined according to

⁸¹⁰ Te Kiri to Rogan and McLean, 23 October 1862, Native Land Purchase Department 62/318, MA 13/45, part 7, cit. Ralph Johnson, ‘Report on the Crown Acquisition of Hauturu (Little Barrier Island)’, Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 2.

⁸¹¹ Evidence of Ruka Te Korakora, Waimā No. 1 Block, 6 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 138. DB96.

⁸¹² Evidence of Ani Patene, Waimā No. 1 Block, 6 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 135. DB97.

⁸¹³ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki No. 2/1 Block, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 285. DB98.

⁸¹⁴ Evidence of Ruatara Taurapoko, Hariru Block, 27 Oct 1887, NMB 8, p. 389. DB99.

⁸¹⁵ Evidence of H. Te Kuri, Waimā No. 1, 29 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 105. DB100.

⁸¹⁶ Evidence of Ruka Te Korakora, Waimā No. 1, 7 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 144. DB101.

whether one is ‘of the land’ or ‘in the land’. As *Te Papakupu o te Taitokerau* (*Taitokerau Māori Dictionary*) explains, the literal meaning of the phrase, ‘long-burning fire’, refers directly to one of the concrete phenomena through which the right to occupation could be both symbolised and established; that is, by keeping a fire burning in a special hangi-like fireplace even when everyone in the kāinga was away from home.⁸¹⁷ As a component of customary rights of tenure, it provides evidence of continuous and undisturbed occupation.

In order to maintain those rights to prevent dispossession or ahi matao, the fires had to be kept alight. Māori horticultural practice was to cultivate the land for one or two seasons and then to allow it to lie fallow for some years after being cropped. The ratio of people to land area had made this cyclical process possible and had obviated the need to exploit the same blocks of land continuously. It was customary, therefore, to relocate and spend periods of time on the various lands so that these would not be taken by another tribe. According to Rē Te Tai, this was the reason that his tūpuna Ngā-kahu-whereo was sent to the Hokianga:

At the time of the birth of my father, Kahi proposed that all the Rarawa chiefs should assemble at Rangiputa – at the meeting Kahi proposed that Ngakahuwhereo should return to Hokianga as the Rarawa lands there were left without occupants and he feared lest other tribes might come and occupy them. Ngakahuwhereo therefore came to Hokianga to live to take care of the Rarawa lands. Others went from Herekino at the same time to take care of the Rarawa lands there and others went to Whangape for the same purpose.⁸¹⁸

As this example indicates, rights of occupation were connected with kaitiakitanga or the responsibility of taking care of the land, guarding or protecting it.

There appears to be a widespread understanding that ahi kā is extinguished after three generations, but this is not absolute. For instance, Ruka Te Korakora claimed under cross-examination that:

The descendants of Tuiti though having been absent from this land for three generations would still have mana to it. This would bring us down to the time of Tike who lived on this land, he (Tike) was expelled by Hereure. But still in spite of this (Tuiti’s) descendants would have mana.⁸¹⁹

It is not clear in this instance whether the witness was simply saying that a group would not automatically lose their rights on the basis of ahi matao after only three generations or whether he meant that their mana would remain no matter how long they had been absent.

⁸¹⁷ Benton, ed, 2006.

⁸¹⁸ Evidence of Rē Te Tai, Rawhitiroa Block, 4 November 1876, NMB 3, pp. 218-9. DB102.

⁸¹⁹ Evidence of Ruka Te Korakora, Waimā No. 1 Block, 7 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 144. DB103.

Although it is often stated in modern times that one's ahi kā was extinguished after three generations, this appears to have been a broad general rule as there are instances on record where a much longer period has been allowed. In her Tribal Landscape Overview for the central North Island, Angela Ballara cited witnesses referring to seven or nine generations as the point when a person's fires went cold.⁸²⁰ However, this appears to have been a matter of discretion by those in current occupation. Consequently, those who remained outside their home areas for considerable lengths of time tended to take specific steps to reconnect themselves with the tangata whenua, ensure their reintegration and the retention of their rights. Those who travelled overseas, for example, were usually careful to return with gifts for their rangatira and other kin.⁸²¹

People who took up residence away from their home areas could also maintain their links from a distance by making regular return visits and maintaining relationships with the home community. Wiremu Kātene alluded to this when he testified that:

Uru[?] married a woman of Ngapuhi and afterwards lived with that people, as also did Te Rehupo. The latter paid frequent visits to the District. My mother did, too. She came to see Te Whaiti who was a near relative of hers ...⁸²²

Hori Paraea also noted that a woman gained the right to land over her brother by returning to it and thus maintaining her ahi kā:

The children of Uenuku (viz?) Ngati Hine are in this land. ... I deny that he returned to this land. His sister Hinepapa did.⁸²³

Ahi kā roa could be maintained by representatives of a group on behalf of all its members. This would have allowed individuals to travel or work in other areas, even for several generations, without losing their rights to the land. Wiremu Pati (Birch) made a claim to Hōne Mohi, that his (Pati's) people had never abandoned the land in the Arawhatatōtara Block:

There has always been someone on it Pero was always on it.⁸²⁴

⁸²⁰ Ballara, 2004, p. 231.

⁸²¹ Petrie, 2004, p. 58.

⁸²² Evidence of Wiremu Kātene, for the Waimā No. 1 Block, 15 June 1886, NMB 8, pp. 57-9. DB104.

⁸²³ Evidence of Hori Paraea for the Kohatutaka Block, 8 July, 1906, Tokerau Maori Land Board Minute Book, 4, pp. 372-380. DB105.

⁸²⁴ Evidence of Wiremu Pati (Birch), Arawhatatōtara No. 2 Block, 14 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 292. DB106.

Living on or cultivating the land could be evidence of ahi kā, but so could hunting or gathering resources from it, although these activities were generally seen as representing a lesser claim. The opposite of ahi kā, ahi mataotao, is generally understood to have occurred after an absence of three generations, a period deemed long enough for occupation to be resumed. Rights could be restored or residence resumed at the discretion of those remaining in occupation of the land. Someone who made contributions and had close and good relations with the tangata whenua was more likely to be accepted.

When giving his evidence for the Waimamaku Block, Ngāti Tū's Heremaia Kauere claimed on the basis of take tūpuna but stated that after his uncle Te Whata had made a cultivation there, he left two slaves behind. To reinforce his claim, Kauere added that 'when the people residing at Waimamaku sold the gum from the land to the Pākehā; he [Te Whata] got a mill as share of the payment' and although Te Whata did not return '[t]he slaves remained behind and died there'.⁸²⁵ This suggests that the witness claimed that the slaves were there in his stead, keeping his fires alight in his personal absence, in the same way that certain family members might remain on land belonging to their wider kin group, thus maintaining ahi kā roa on behalf of the wider group. Ruatara Taurapoko made a similar claim for land at Hariru:

Pōmare, though not actually living on the land, had it cultivated by his slaves.⁸²⁶

When the Hariru Block came before the Court, Wiremu Kātene explained the basis of his claim that Whataparāoa's rights had gone cold. Firstly, he stated that Whataparāoa had been driven from the land for various misdemeanours including theft, and that, having fled to Tāheke, he died there. Moreover, although his body was returned to the burial place of Te Ainga by Hihi, who, he attested, also lacked any rights to the land, it was devoured by dogs the same night. This might have been interpreted as a tohu or indication that he did not belong there or simply a matter of fact; that the body was not there long enough to have established a right. Kātene insisted that neither Whataparāoa nor Hihi had rights to the land and that Whataparāoa's grandson did not return until he was middle-aged and even then did not reside on it:

I therefore consider he has no right and that the rights of Whataparaoa have become cold.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁵ Evidence of Heremaia Kauere Waimamaku Block, 14 June 1875, NMB 2, p. 201. DB107.

⁸²⁶ Evidence of Ruatara Taurapoko, Hariru Block, 27 October 1887, NMB 8, p. 390. DB108.

⁸²⁷ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Block, 26 November 1885 NMB 8, pp. 394-5. DB109.

The combined conditions of ancestry and a history of ahi kā were acknowledged by several witnesses who gave evidence before the 1838 House of Lords select committee of inquiry ‘into the present state of the islands of New Zealand’. Having lived at Kororāreka and elsewhere, and having ‘purchased’ land from Māori, they nonetheless conceded that if they went away, the land allocated to them would be likely to be taken from them. Resources were treated in much the same way. For example, timber placed under tapu for the return of the British naval captain F. W. R. Sadler was restricted for only a limited period. When Sadler’s vessel, HMS *Buffalo*, did not return, Tītore transferred this land to missionary James Kemp.⁸²⁸

The importance of established residence

Current residence was also a matter of importance in determining land rights. Hence, when the Whirinaki Block came before the court in 1885, Piri Teira admitted that John Bryers’s claim was ‘good as regards his descent’ but he was non-resident.⁸²⁹ Similarly, he said that Hapakuku Moetara had ‘no house on Whirinaki, no cultivations within the limits of the Block’. In fact, according to Teira:

Hapakuku was damaging his own case by the questions he asked about the houses and cultivations of the residents on Whirinaki; in as much as he could not include himself among them: he has neither one nor the other⁸³⁰

At an investigation before the ‘Komiti o te Tiriti o Waitangi’ (initiated at the 1881 Tiriti commemorations) Makarena made a claim to land that was opposed by another group led by Heta Hamuera.⁸³¹ Their opposition was disallowed by the committee on the basis that Heta:

never had any domicile at Whirinaki and has only very recently been living on it. He lived at Opara and Te Tāheke and elsewhere before coming here.⁸³²

In other words, Hamuera and his group were considered to be newcomers to the land, who had not established rights on the land that they claimed. On the other hand, previous residents who had been absent for only a short period, might well be included:

⁸²⁸ Evidence of Joel Polack before the Select Committee on the State of the Islands of New Zealand, GBPP, 1837-38 (680), Vol XXI, p. 86, (IUP Vol. 1).

⁸²⁹ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Block, 26 November 1885, NMB 8, p. 285. DB110.

⁸³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 286. DB111.

⁸³¹ McRae, 1981, p. 62.

⁸³² Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Block, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, pp. 284-5. DB112.

I do admit Peri te Huhu: it is only recently that he left Whirinaki to reside at Waima.⁸³³

The issue of whether a claim remained current on the basis of ahi kā, or had been extinguished as ahi matao, where occupation was in the distant past, might be asserted by an individual or by a hapū.⁸³⁴

Resources and associated rights

Take waenga, especially current or recent cultivation, formed the strongest basis of claim for land-use rights. While claims on the basis of open and unopposed taking of other resources were generally considered to have lesser substance, because one group's right and practice might have overlapped those of other groups who shared rights to the resource, they were still an important factor. Resource-gathering practices typically included bird or rat snaring; taking eels and establishing pā tuna or eel weirs; taking fish and seafood, flax, timber or any other useful products of the land. Thus, the rat- and kiwi-snaring paths, the eel streams, flax swamps, and groves of particular species of tree came under this category of mana or ownership. Consequently claimants in Land Court hearings often referred to their forebears' use of resources in quite specific terms. For example:

Poukai was a place belonging to my ancestors where leaves were dyed for making ngeris or māori mats.⁸³⁵

All recognised resources were deemed to have 'owners' or kaitiaki who had the right to access and control their use, which included the mana to establish rāhui. One witness supported his claim by referring to his ancestors having obtained gravel from several of the places on the block that he had named. They used this resource for growing taro and kūmara.⁸³⁶ Hare Te Heihei, Tāreha's grandson, also mentioned that gravel was deliberately brought up from the Kerikeri river for use on the kūmara gardens in the Kerikeri/Kororipo area of the Bay of Islands.⁸³⁷ Kōkōwai, or red ochre, was another valued resource, the unauthorised taking of which was punished.

Water was treated as any other resource. Piri Teira of Whirinaki gave evidence in 1885 that a man named Taku had attempted to sell water from the Whirinaki Stream but was challenged

⁸³³ *ibid.* DB113.

⁸³⁴ See, for example, Wiremu Puriri, Whirinaki Block, NMB 7, p. 262. DB114.

⁸³⁵ Evidence of H. Matenga, Hariru Block, 31 October 1887, NMB 8, p. 401. DB115.

⁸³⁶ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Block, 23 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 276. DB116.

⁸³⁷ Evidence of Hare Te Heihei, Whakataha block, 8 October 1900, NMB 28, p. 230. DB117.

and not allowed to do so.⁸³⁸ Waka landing rights were another form of land tenure but such rights were typically seasonal rather than being permanent rights. They were also conditional.

In evidence to the Waikare Kopuakawau Papatupu Block Committee, Mita Wepiha laid claim to a variety of resources based on his ancestry and indicated how these rights had been passed down to the descendants of particular ancestors:

Ko ngā rore kore a aku tūpuna. I Taikonui ki Herangi, Kahungeri. I a Te Rangiurahia ēnei ara mahi kiore, kiwi, rātou ko āna teina me ngā tawa me ngā awa tuna. I Monoa, Te Here-a-te-Manu, tētahi taha o Kahungeri, Te Ranga, Tirikohua me Te Waio(o)ta. I a Rangiteki me Te Riwai; i Parangiora hoki rātou e noha ana. Te Ranga, Ngāiotonga, Mataiwhetu ahu atu ki waho i a Whakaeatu, i a Poteteke, Te Parawa, me ētahi anō o rātou, tēnā wāhi mahinga kiore kiwi. Otamarangāi, Te Waihutu, Tapukewharawhara. I a Rangiteki rātou ko āna tamariki. Tapukewharawhara, Ohinetepuna, Waitotoki ki Waihaaha. I ngā uri o Hiawe rāua ko Te Haua. Waihaaha, Waikino, Te Kapowai, Kaurinui. I ngā uri o Paru.

The rat-snaring grounds of my ancestors. From Taikonui to Herangi, Kahungeri. These rat and kiwi snaring paths were owned by Te Rangiurahia and his younger siblings, and the tawa trees, and the eel streams. From Monoa, Te Here-a-te-Manu, one side of Kahungeri, Te Ranga, Tirikohua and Te Waio(o)ta, they were owned by Rangiteki and Te Riwai; they also lived at Parangiora. Te Ranga, Ngāiotonga, Mataiwhetu and beyond, that rat and kiwi ground was owned by Whakaeatu, Poteteke, Te Parawa, and some others related to them. Otamarangai, Te Waihutu, Tapukewharawhara was owned by Rangiteki and his children. Tapukewharawhara, Ohinetepuna, Waitotoki to Waihaaha, owned by the descendants of Hiawe and Te Haua. Waihaaha, Waikino, Te Kapowai, Kaurinui, owned by the descendants of Paru.⁸³⁹

When the Court was asked to decide who of Ngāti Pākau were entitled to a share in the Arawhatatōtara Block, Judge Henry Monro ruled that Hōne Mohi Tāwhai's objection was proven on a number of counts, including the fact that his ancestors, his father and Hōne himself 'had exercised rights of ownership such as catching pigeons, kiwis &c on the land'.⁸⁴⁰ The claimant Wata Pati (Birch) had argued that Hōne Mohi's having shot pigeons was not a valid basis of claim: 'We did not know of your pigeon shooting – we go on anyone's land pigeon shooting'.⁸⁴¹ The point he was making, rightly or wrongly, was that it was essential that the right to take resources be known and acknowledged. Like gifting land

⁸³⁸ Whirinaki Counter-case Number 8, 24 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 278. DB118.

⁸³⁹ Original source: Waikare Kopuakawau Papatupu Committee Minute Book 11, pp. 22-3. Transcription and translation K V Smith, 2002, p. 102. DB119.

⁸⁴⁰ Judge H A H Munro, Arawhatatōtara Block, 15 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 297. DB120.

⁸⁴¹ Evidence of Ngāti Pati(?) (Birch), Arawhatatōtara No. 2 Block, 14 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 292. DB121.

and allocating use rights, taking birds or any other resources of the land did not constitute legitimate evidence of the right.

Mana rangatira is the power of rangatira to allocate specific rights of land use to particular individuals or groups, but necessarily involving a reciprocal obligation.⁸⁴² Wiremu Whata claimed that his uncle, Anaru, was the first to scrape flax on the Ōmāpere Block and that he invited other hapū to collect flax with him. Significantly, in order to confirm his mana over the land, Whata stressed that ‘no one opposed him’.⁸⁴³ Invitations extended by rangatira to share in resources might have been intended for a specific period of time, or for a specific purpose, rather than implying a permanent right. Allocation of resource use rights was always conditional.

Waterways

Kōrero recounted by Paraire Kingi in 1987 indicate how the coast and the sea came under the mana of particular rangatira in the same way as the land:

Ana, kei konei tetahi kōrero. I Tapeka tēnei kaumātua e noho ana. Tōna nei ingoa ko Tara. Ka oho ake a Tara i tetahi atatu, ka kite iho, a, e waka tauā tēnei. Ka kowhiti atu, ‘hena ko wai rā tēnā?’ Ka kī mai tērā kaumātua, ‘no Ngati Maru, i haere mai ahau ki te rapu i a Hongi Hika. I te raruraru o māua ko Hongi taku hiahia ki a pakanga māua.’

I tērā wā, a Hongi i whara i tetahi pakanga, a, na, kahore a Hongi e tino ora ana. Ara, a Kaingaroa, na, a ia i Te Tii kē hoki tērā kaumātua e noho mai ana. Engari i te toa o tēnei kaumātua o Tara ka kī iho a Tara, ‘ehara i taku hoa i a Kaingaroa, e purupuru, he taka ra, pātaia, ko au he titi, he aporei, e angaanga titi iho i te rangi. Ko Ngati Rangi tēnei.’

Ana, tērā kōrero e kōrero hōhonu hoki. Na, tērā kōrero e pēnei ana, he titi, he aporangi [aporei?]. Tērā mea te titi ko te hoariri tērā, ko te taiaha a Tara kua titi ki te aporei. Te aporei, na, koia tērā te rei o te tangata.

Na, e tino mate kai ana tērā kaumātua a Tara ki te rei e kīa ai ko te aporei. ‘Taku mahi e apo i nga rei o tēnei tangata tauīwi. Na, me mea koia tērā to rātou hiahia, e pakanga mātou, aue, ka apongia e au to rātou rei.’ Tērā kōrero e kōrero hōhonu, whakamatuku tangata.

Na, ka hoki te kaumātua raka a Ngati Maru. Ka wehi i a ia [i a Tara], na ka hoki, ka mahue mai tērā, to tātou moana, te moana o te rangatira ki a tonoa [puta noa] i Ngapuhi nei – kīhai i takatakahia.

Ka anga tātou ki roto ake, ko Waikare tērā. I roto o Waikare, tōna nei iwi ko Te Kapotai. Tērā kaumātua a Whiti, tōna nei pā e kīa i mua – tōna nei pā, koia tērā Motukura. Na, i kīa ai ko Te Kapotai – i noho a Whiti i tēnā pā i tētahi pō. Tana hiahia me pakanga ia.

⁸⁴² I H Kawharu, ‘Land and Identity in Tamaki: A Ngati Whatua Perspective’, Hillary Lecture 2001, Auckland War Memorial Museum Maori Court.

⁸⁴³ Evidence of Wiremu Whata, Omapere Block, 23 January 1879, NMB 3, p. 457. DB122.

A, ka tukua e ia ki tana tohunga, ‘hena karakiangia mai kia kitea pēhea tonu aini.’ Ka karakia te tohunga raka. Hoki mai te kōrero a te tohunga raka, ‘kahore i tēnei rā, e rā kino tēnei mōu hei haere ki te pakanga. Noho marika koe.’

Na, ka noho te kaumātua rā, ka whakaaro, a, e hē kē ana pūa ano te tohunga nei. Na, ka mea, ‘hena koia, karakiangia ano.’ Ka karakiangia anō, ka hoki mai ano taua whakamahara, ‘kahore, ehara tēnei i te rā.’

Ka mea a Whiti kia ahatia, e pai ana – okioki mārika. Ka hiahia te kaumātua nei te haere ki te pakanga. ‘Hei aha tēnei tohunga, e hē ana pūa ano āna kōrero, na hoki.’

A, na, ka totoro atu hoki ki uta. Te totorotanga atu ki uta, tahi te motu raka ka nekeneke atu ki waho – a Motukura. A, ka motu hoki i te one – kīhai hoki i pā atu ki te one na, ka kapo noa iho i te tai. I kīa ai ko te Kapotai – kapokapo noa iho a Whiti i te tai. Kīa ai Te Kapotai tērā. Na, koia tērā ko taku hapū, Te Kapotai.⁸⁴⁴

Well, there is a story. This old man called Tara was living in Tapeka. He awoke early one morning and noticed a war canoe. He called out, ‘Who are you?’ The other elderly man replied, ‘I am from Ngāti Maru, I am looking for Hongi Hika. There is conflict between us and I want the two of us to fight it out.’

At that time, Hongi had been wounded during another battle and so Hongi was of ill health. As for Kaingaroa well, that old man was living in Te Tii. However, because Tara was a brave man he called out, ‘[Fight not] with my friend Kaingaroa, he is just temporary caulking that will fall off, ask around! I am the head, the adorned one, a head which shines down from the skies. This is Ngāti Rangi.’

That is an old saying. It means, he titi, he aporangi [aporei?] The titi is the enemy, Tara’s taiaha has struck at the apo rei. The apo rei is the rei [mana embodied in a whalebone instrument or ornament].

*[Rei is normally the whale’s tooth, which can either mean a weapon made of it, or a whalebone weapon with its mana, or an ornament made of whale tooth, also symbolic of the mana of the person who has it. Here we have used the word ‘mana’ as a shorthand for this interpretation]*⁸⁴⁵

Tara had a hunger for rei [mana]. ‘I hunger for the rei [mana] of strangers. If they want war then I will collect their rei[mana].’ It is a traditional saying to scare people.

The other old man from Ngāti Maru returned home. He was fearful. And so the coastal area remained under Ngāpuhi. It was not trespassed.

Further in is Waikare. The hapū there is Te Kapotai. Whiti’s pā was Motukura. It was called Te Kapotai – one night Whiti stayed at that pā. He wanted to declare war.

He consulted his tohunga, ‘Cast a spell to see what the future holds.’ The tohunga worked his magic and replied, ‘Today is a bad day for you to go to

⁸⁴⁴ Paraire (Jim) Kingi interviewed by Hemana Waka, *Waka Huia*, 5 July 1987, video recording transcribed and translated by Hohipere Tarau, reviewed and amended by Patu Hohepa, June 2009.

⁸⁴⁵ Communication: Patu Hohepa, 30 June 2009.

battle. You mustn't go.' The old man remained there, but he decided that perhaps the tohunga was wrong. He asked for another spell. The reply was the same, 'Today is not the day.'

Whiti said, 'That fine, I'll rest.' He really wanted to go to battle. He decided that the advice from the tohunga was wrong.

He reached for the shore. As he reached out, the island Motukura moved further out to sea until it was detached from the shoreline. Whiti was left clutching/grasping at the seawater. That area was called Kapotai – Whiti was clutching at the seawater. That is my hapū Te Kapotai.

Māori continued to apply the same rules of tenure following the introduction of British law, but their writings were often mistranslated, as will be shown in Part 2.

Ringa kaha, take toa, take raupatu and military contributions

To protect land and resource rights, any attempts at trespass or encroachment had to be resisted. Henare Keepa gave an example with the 'conquest' of Waikare by Hiawe and Te Haua and subsequent attempts by Ngāti Hine to claim the area. According to Keepa's account, Tikipounamu and Pahara of Ngāti Hine tried to infiltrate the area after hearing that Waikare had been abandoned. In order to defend their rights, Hiawe and others demarcated their territory:

Ka tikina mai te whenua nei ka rahuitia e Tikipounamu raua ko Pahara, ara ka tangohia. Katahi ka tiaina mai i Koutoti, i Opanui tetahi taha, tetahi taha.

Katahi ka rangona e Te Rangitamaua, tamaiti a Te Otakohu. I Whangaruru a Te Rangitamaua e noho ana. Katahi ka haere mai, ka haere a Te Rangitamaua i tenei taha, whatiwhati haere ai i te rahui nei. Ko Whaingaroa i terea taha e haere ake. No Hiawe ma ano tena whanaunga. Ka hinga tena tianga ka tiaina ano e Tikipounamu raua ko Pahara. Ka whaita ano e Te Rangitamaua raua ko Whaingaroa, i muri ka tiaina ano. Katahi ka whakapapa e Te Rangitamaua i Pahiko. Ka mau a Tikipounamu raua ko Pahara – ko te toru tena o nga tianga rahui. Ka peia kia hoki nga tangata ra, mutu tonu atu te hoki mai, ka rua ena kaha. Kihai i riro tetahi o enei kaha i a Paru ma i a Rangiteki ma.

Tikipounamu and Pahara then proceeded to this land and marked it against trespass, that is, they took possession of it. Then from Koutoti from Opanui it was pegged, on one side, and on another side. Then Te Rangitamaua, child of Te Otakohu heard of this. Te Rangitamaua was living at Whangaruru. Then he came here, Te Rangitamaua went along this side breaking this trespass line. Whaingaroa was on that side going upwards, breaking it as he went. That relative also belonged to Hiawe and others. That boundary was destroyed, it was pegged again by Tikipounamu and Pahara. It was broken again by Te Rangitamaua and Whaingaroa, after which it was pegged out again. Then Te Rangitamaua lay in stealth at Pahiko. Tikipounamu and Pahara were caught – that was the third pegging out of the trespass line. Those men were made to

go back. They never returned again. There are now two claims. Neither of these claims were taken by Paru and others, by Rangiteki and others⁸⁴⁶

The need to take action could be disputed by parties from within the home group:

On Tuteauru's arrival he advised Taonui [his nephew] to expel Tangirere lest he take possession of the land but Taonui declined. A quarrel followed in which Ha & Mamaku, the sons of Tuteauru fell but Tangirere followed the pursuit too far – right up to Orei Pa and then Marama his son was killed by Tuteauru who cried as he speared him 'Tena te Titi o te rua o Tuteauru'. On this Tangirere abandoned the country and Tuteauru returned to Otaua.⁸⁴⁷

Claims to land based on ancestry were the strongest, but a claim on the basis of raupatu, or 'conquest', was legitimate, as long as it had been followed by continuous occupation. As Wiremu Wi Hongi explained, the battles associated with the 'conquest' of Te Waimate were concluded by killing all or most of the inhabitants of an area, followed by a symbolic act to mark the victory:

Ka titia he mere pounamu hei tohu kua riro tērā pā i a rāua. Ka huaina tērā pā, ko Whakataha. Ko te Whakatahatanga o taua tangata.

A greenstone club was stuck into [the ground] as a sign that they had taken possession of that pā. The pā was named Whakataha [move aside], the moving aside of that person.

Wiremu's narrative continued by stressing subsequent acts that symbolically consummated Ngāti Miru's 'defeat':

Ka hanga rāua anō i tētahi pā mo rāua i reira, ko Ōkuratope te ingoa. Ko te Whakatopetopetanga no Auha i tana patu i taua wāhi. Te ingoa o tana patu, ko Mākinikini. Ka riro ēnā whenua, arā, ka hinga Ngāti Miru.

They also built another pā there for themselves named Ōkuratope. The slicing up [whakatopetopetanga] of that place by Auha with his weapon. The name of his weapon was Mākinikini. Those lands were taken; that is, Ngāti Miru were defeated.

He then described how the victors, Auha and Whakaaria, moved from place to place to maintain their status as conquerors.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁶ Waikare Kopuakawau Papatupu Block Committee Minute Book, Vol. 11, 1902-3, MP 88/7, University of Auckland Library. Transcript and translation from Katherine Verity Smith, 2002, pp. 112-114.

⁸⁴⁷ Evidence of Ruka Te Huru, Whirinaki Counter Case No. 9, 27 November 1885 NMB 7, p. 288. DB123.

⁸⁴⁸ Sissons et al., 2001, pp. 98 and 99.

Although hapū histories about ancestral conquests tend to stress that the enemy were all killed and their tribal group extinguished, it was rarely the case that there were no survivors. Survivors might be allowed to remain on their lands, sometimes group members might be sent a distance away in advance or in anticipation, to live with relatives for a period to ensure the survival of the blood line.

Other options included the vanquished remaining on their original lands as vassals of the conquerors, or moving elsewhere to live under the sufferance of another tribe as refugees.

It was also possible for defeated peoples to maintain a presence on the land, and/or to rise up against the victors, regain their lands and have their mana restored, if they could muster the military strength themselves or co-opt allies to support them. In addition to these options, it was common for the two groups to integrate over time through marriage. In this way, the victors would cement their mana whenua by ensuring that their offspring could claim mana tūpuna or ancestral rights to the land. The ways in which the conquered group was dealt with was largely a matter to be decided by the rangatira of the victors.

Some Crown officials understood the basic principles of customary land tenure and rights derived from ancestry versus rights derived from conquest. For instance, the Sub-protector of Aborigines Edward Shortland said that:

A Chief, when speaking of the title by which he holds his lands, never fails to make a distinction between those which he has inherited and those which he or his ancestors have obtained by conquest; over the former his right is universally recognised, the latter appear to be tenable only so long as the party in possession are the most powerful. The claim which he advances is however quite characteristic, viz., that the lands are the *utu* or compensation for the death of his relations who perished in the fight.⁸⁴⁹

As Henare Keepa said about Hiawe's defeat of Ngāi Tamatea at Te Ahumapurapura:

Ka mutu i kōnā te ingoa o Ngāi Tamatea ki tenei whenua.

The name Ngāi Tamatea in relation to this land stopped there.⁸⁵⁰

Such claims, however, were typically more contentious and liable to dispute, because the former occupants (some or all of whom might even have remained on the land) could

⁸⁴⁹ Edward Shortland, 'Report to Chief Protector: in Parliamentary Papers, 29 July 1844', cit. AJHR, 1861, E-1, p. 12.

⁸⁵⁰ Cit. K V Smith, 2002, p. 113, 115.

contemplate regaining the land by force at a subsequent date, particularly if the conquest was relatively recent.

John White, the son of a Wesleyan missionary who lived at Mata, Hokianga, from the age of eight, was an interpreter in the Native Office, and told an 1856 audience that:

The right to land taken by conquest rests solely on the conquering party actually occupying the taken district, to the utter exclusion of its original owners or other tribes. If a portion of the conquered tribe escaped, the claim held good to as great an extent as they had courage to occupy: and if they could manage to keep within their own tribal boundary, and elude the enemy, their right to the whole of the land held good: hence the meaning of a sentence so often used by old Chiefs in their land disputes, '*I ka tonu taku ahi i runga i toku whenua*' (My fire has ever been kept alight upon my land.)⁸⁵¹

This type of scenario appears to have lain behind an incident that occurred one evening in December 1827. On this occasion, Te Puhi, who came to talk to the Wesleyan missionary John Hobbs, pointed out a large column of smoke. He explained that it was the smoke of the Scotchmen's timber that Te Taonui had set on fire 'because the place belonged to him and he could get no payment'. According to Hobbs, who was at the Hokianga considering potential new sites for a mission, Te Puhi added

that the jealousy of Te Taonui would cause a quarrel between Patuone and him, and that it would end in our being robbed if we go to Te Toke.

The missionary recorded his understanding that:

a strong jealousy exists between Patuone and Te Taonui, each wishing to maintain his own importance. There can be no doubt that the place on which the Scotchmen are sawing timber formerly belonged to Patuone's ancestors, but it is as clearly understood that it was taken from them by the ancestors of Te Taonui, who has for many days past said he would set the timber on fire if he did not receive part of the payment given by the Scotchmen for the ground.⁸⁵²

Land held under the notion of 'take raupatu' or conquered land was ever likely to be contested. Hobbs intimated this when he reported that:

A person by the name of Renata, who had some distant right to the place, stated that he would not come into the house to touch anything, but would seize the payment as

⁸⁵¹ J White, 'Lecture at the Mechanics' Institute: written in August, 1859', cit. AJHR, 1861, E-1, p. 13.

⁸⁵² John Hobbs Journal, 28 December 1827, AWMML. DB124.

soon as it was brought out to be given to Matangi, as Matangi had no other right to the place than that of conquest.⁸⁵³

As well as land rights, the concept of ‘ringa kaha’ or defence was also closely allied to preserving resources:

Te Whareumu came to fight the persons who owned this land. My father took the part of Ngati Pakau. He fought Te Whareumu because he destroyed the Waima crops. It was a saying of ours that if any one destroyed the Kai of Waima – the payment should be the death of the man.⁸⁵⁴

The minute books are full of examples of people who were killed for taking resources to which they had no rights. Ani Patene attested that Huriwaka’s son Waitara was killed at Te Tāheke for stealing kōkōwai that belonged to others.⁸⁵⁵ Hōne Mohi Tāwhai, on the other hand, sought to support the mana of his ancestors over Arawhatatōtara on the basis that his tūpuna Te Waha had killed a man from Ngāi Tū who stole kiwi from their land. ‘My matuas have had the mana over this land until now and have been in the habit of catching pigeons on it always’, he said.⁸⁵⁶

Resources were very much an integral part of the land so those who participated in the armed defence of the tribal territory were simultaneously strengthening their rights. As one witness said in support of his claim:

I went through the flash of the gun to save my people in the matter of their fight with the Rarawa while Moetara and his son did nothing.⁸⁵⁷

Such arguments might also be put forward on the basis of the actions of a particular rangatira:

When Manga was killed at Whangape, Te Kiripapa raised an armed force and marched to Takahue where he killed several people in revenge. On his return to Whirinaki he was pursued by the Takahue people. The pursuing force was encountered by Mohi Tawhai, then on his own march to revenge the death of Manga; he defeated them at Manganuiowai; and so prevented them from their projected attack on the Whirinaki people.⁸⁵⁸

When the defence of tribal lands was at issue, failure to help resulted in censure and defeat had its consequences. Ruka Te Huru recalled the fallout from an assault by Te Whānauarape

⁸⁵³ *ibid.*, 14 December 1827. DB125.

⁸⁵⁴ Evidence of Hone Mohi Tawhai, Arawhatatōtara No. 2 Block, 13 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 273. DB126.

⁸⁵⁵ The phrase used was ‘i tahae ia i te wai kōkōwai’ (NMB 8, p. 123.) DB127.

⁸⁵⁶ Evidence of Hone Mohi Tawhai, Arawhatatōtara No. 2 Block, 13 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 273. DB128.

⁸⁵⁷ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Counter Claim No. 8, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, p286. DB129.

⁸⁵⁸ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Counter Claim No. 8, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 285. DB130.

on Waimimiha near Ahipara. Tūteauru had come from Ōtaua and his son Te Kōhuru accompanied him. But their force was defeated by the Aupōuri, and Te Kōhuru and Whitiki were severely wounded and left for dead:

When Te Kohuru made his way home, he quarrelled with the rest of his family for not having gone with him and this resulted in Tuteauru leaving Otaua and removing to Whirinaki. The possible consequences of the defeat on Waiomimiha were a further reason for his removal.⁸⁵⁹

Claiming land by tapatapa has already been discussed. There were also other ways of imposing a state of tapu and thereby claiming land and waterways. An incident that appears to have occurred in the 1830s provides one example. According to Te Rarawa's Rē Te Tai:

Tetahi whawhai i nga ra o mua na Te Puaha te take. Ko Te Puaha me tona iwi e noho ana ki Whangape, engari ko tena whenua kei a Ngatamawahine te tikanga, o Rotokaakahi, me Te Awaroa. Naana i rahui nga mea o taua whenua. Ka pouri a Te Puaha, mona kaore e kai i nga mataitai o taua whenua. Ka paka te ngakau o Te Puaha ki a Ngapuhi, ara, ki a Papau, kia tikina mai kia patua Ngatamawahine kia waatea te whenua mona. Whakaaetia ana e Papau. Katahi ka haere mai te ope a Papau ka tae mai ki Rotokaakahi, riri tonu atu. Kaore tana ope i haere kookuhu mai. Tangohanga mai e Ngatamawahine, ka mate ko te ope a Papau. Ko Papau i tu i te tao, engari kaore i tino mate. Ka kauhoatia mai a Papau, ka ahu ki Rotokaakahi te haere. I muri ka takiri mai ko te ope a Papau, a, kaore i arumia mai. I Te Wai o Te Puia ka takahia a Papau kia puta nga toto kia ora ai, a, no te peratanga katahi ka mate, a, huaina iho taua wahi ra ko Te Wai Takahi a Papau. Ka kauhoatia mai i Te Tapuwae, ka utaina to ratou waka. I waho o te moana ka patere nga toto ki roto o te waka. Katahi ka tiherua ki te moana. Ka tae ki Waima, ka korerotia te tiherunga o nga toto o Papau ki te moana. Katahi ka rahuia te moana nei e Tokowha, e Whito, me etahi atu. Ka tae Ngati Te Reinga e tiirama ana nga ika o Whatiwhati. I te rongonga ai, katahi ka kiia he whainga na Ngati Te Reinga raua ko Ngaitupoto i Tirau.⁸⁶⁰

There was a fight in the past, the cause being Te Puaha. Te Puaha and his people were living at Whangape; however Ngā Tamawahine had the right over that land, over Rotokākahi and Te Awaroa. It was he who placed parts of that land under a rāhui. Te Pouri was saddened that he could not eat the shellfish of that district. Te Puaha turned to Ngāpuhi, that is to Papau, to get them to kill Ngā Tamawahine so that that land would be free for him. Papau agreed. Papau's war party then came arriving at Rotokākahi where they engaged in battle. His war party did not make headway. They were taken by Ngā Tamawahine and Papau's war party was defeated. Papau was wounded by a spear but did not die. Papau was carried off in the direction of Rotokākahi. Afterwards Papau's war party drew away and was not chased. At Te Wai

⁸⁵⁹ Evidence of Ruka Te Huru re Whirinaki Counter claim No. 9, 27 November 1885, NMB 7, pp. 287-8. DB131.

⁸⁶⁰ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 83. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

o Te Puia Papau was *takahia*⁸⁶¹ to release the blood so that he would live, but this action resulted in his death, and that place was named Te Wai Takahi a Papau. He was carried on a litter from Te Tapuwae, and loaded onto their canoe. Out at sea the canoe was dripping wet with blood. It was bailed out into the sea. On reaching Waimā, they spoke of bailing out Papau's blood into the sea. This part of the sea was then placed under a rahui by Tokowhā, Whito and some others. Ngāti Te Reinga came and fished Whatiwhati by torch light. On hearing this word was given to pursue Ngāti Te Reinga and Ngāi Tūpoto at Tirau.

Paihia Pukerewa of Ngāi Tūpoto and Ngāti Rangi described the incident from his people's perspective. He described how Te Papau's remains were taken home after the battle but that when they arrived at Te Tapuwae, the body was placed in a waka and his blood ran out into that waka. Te Māhurehure kept bailing the blood into the sea until they arrived at Herds Point (Rāwene). Even after reaching land they continued to spill his blood till they arrived at the house in order to make both land and water tapu so that it would be considered their property. Following Te Papau's subsequent burial at Waimā, his people returned and made the whole of Hokianga Harbour, including Motukaraka, a rāhui. Pukerewa stated that the tapu was recognised by all the tribes in Hokianga but that Te Māhurehure accused Muriwai of eating the fish at Whaiti while he was there on a visit. Having been warned of a threat to his life, Muriwai returned to Utakura, and called the people of Motukaraka to take him to their home, which they did. Muriwai was annoyed with Te Māhurehure for their accusation, and ate the pipi and fish of Hokianga River in revenge. He expected that Te Māhurehure would respond with violence because of this insult but they did not and thus the tapu of Hokianga was ended.⁸⁶²

Rights bequeathed

In order to avoid confusion or disputes in the future, it was important that the rangatira holding mana over particular lands indicate publicly who was to inherit the mana whenua after his or her death. If death could be anticipated, it was customary for the people to gather in the presence of the dying person to witness these directions. Ōhākī are the final instructions given before death, especially a deathbed speech, and can be defined in English

⁸⁶¹ Could be a mistranscription for 'tapahi' meaning 'to cut', and relate to a traditional form of medical treatment involving the release of congested blood?

⁸⁶² Evidence of Paihia Pukerewa, Waimā No. 1 Block Counter Case No. 5, 9 July 1886, NMB 8, pp. 151-2. DB132.

as a legacy (koha or oha).⁸⁶³ Like other gifts or acts of tuku whenua, it was necessary for the ōhākī to be heard by all the hapū involved to be valid.

Wiremu Kātene admitted Niu Hare's rights on the basis that without a publicly notified bequest, all of the deceased's children would inherit:

I have not heard that Waimā had been divided amongst the descendants of Miruiti. If the land of a parent had not been divided amongst his children before his death, some of the children could not afterwards be excluded.⁸⁶⁴

Women and customary land tenure

It is evident that a number of Te Taitokerau tribes had traditionally placed less emphasis on male lineage than had those of other regions of New Zealand. For example, the lines of Rāhiri, Kaharau, Hine-a-maru, Waimirangi, and a host of others within the rohe of the five hearing districts were not concerned with senior male lineage tracing.⁸⁶⁵

John Nicholas, who met Ruatara in 1814, noted that the father and other relations of that rangatira's senior wife had come to live with him 'as it was not convenient for the chief to leave his territory, and reside with them in the interior'.⁸⁶⁶ However, it was certainly not uncommon for men to reside with their wives' families. In such cases, men investing their labour on their spouses' land owned the product of that land but the rights to the land itself remained with the wives.⁸⁶⁷ The well-known Hokianga rangatira, Patuone, was buried at Mt Victoria, Devonport, in the territory of his last wife who belonged to Ngāti Pāoa.

Following the imposition of British land-tenure systems, wāhine rangatira were equally likely to have the lands under their mana surveyed and subdivided. For example, Wi Katene agreed with Hare Matenga that his mother Hariata had arranged the survey of the Poukai, Hariru, Te Ahitunutawa and Maikuku Blocks and had them cut into blocks.⁸⁶⁸

Evidence given to the Native Land Court and to Papatupu Block Committees frequently revealed the understanding of claimants that their rights had passed down from female ancestors. For example, in connection with a claim to the Waihou No. 2 or Ōtupahero Block, the Papatupu Block Committee found that Kahi had given this land to his in-laws but that it

⁸⁶³ Benton, ed, 2006.

⁸⁶⁴ Evidence of Wiremu Kātene, Waimā No. 1 Block, 15 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 60. DB133.

⁸⁶⁵ Rōpu Whakapiripiri feedback received 14 March 2006.

⁸⁶⁶ Nicholas, 1817, 1971, Vol. 1, p. 180.

⁸⁶⁷ Ballara, 2004, p. 237.

⁸⁶⁸ Evidence of Wiremu Katene, Hariru Block, 31 October 1857, NMB 8, p. 399. DB134.

was later given back to Kahi's daughter, Ngā-kahu-whereo.⁸⁶⁹ Giving evidence about a counter-claim for Whirinaki, Ruka Te Huru was at pains to explain that his land was inherited through a female line. He stated that the 'lordship of this land accrued to Kairewa by his marriage with Waimirirangi who inherited from her grandfather' and that it did not descend to him from his father, Tūpoto.⁸⁷⁰ Similarly, Re Te Tai claimed that:

Ko te takoto ia o te whenua nei, kei a Matauturangi, mai ano i a Kohinemataroa.⁸⁷¹

The authority over this land began with Kohinemataroa, and was handed down from her to Matauturangi, and so on.

The tribal name of Ngāti Pakau originated at the betrothal of Mahuri and Rangihana.⁸⁷² Mahuri and her daughter Karehu were key ancestors in Ngāti Pakau claims to the Waimā No. 1 Block when it went through the Land Court in 1886.⁸⁷³ When the 20,000-acre Whatitiri Block came before the Court in 1894, ancestral evidence focused on a gift by Pae, a Ngāi Tāhuhu woman, to her Ngāpuhi husband, Takahore.⁸⁷⁴ Several witnesses contended that the swamp, after which the area of land known as Te Repo-a-te-Karehu was named, had belonged to Karehu, who used its flax for her raranga, or weaving garments and other things. One counter-claimant had argued that the name derived simply from her cutting a blade of flax, which she used to carry a burden on her back. This claim might have been intended to reduce the strength of her association with the land, or even to deny her rangatira status, by referring to her carrying a burden on her back. The precedence of female ancestors was evident in the testimony of Heta Hamuera, quoted earlier and repeated here:

The mana of Te Karehu and Matuku was from Mahuri, whose mana was derived from Tuteauru. Tuteauru had many children besides Mahuri of whom Kohuru was one. Kuiawai was another. These latter children's lands are at [Otaua?] at least Kohuru's lands are. I believe Kuiawai had a claim to this land but I am uncertain. I am not aware she had lands elsewhere. The reason why the lands of Tupoto were divided amongst his children into two Blocks was because his first wife was from down South, the second was from Hokianga. Thus their mana to the land was not the same.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁶⁹ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 129, re Te Karaka, 3 June 1903. Translation prepared for David Armstrong.

⁸⁷⁰ Evidence of Ruka Te Huru re the Whirinaki Block, 27 Nov 1885, NMB 7, p. 290. DB135.

⁸⁷¹ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 126. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

⁸⁷² Evidence of Wiremu Katene, Waimā No. 1, 23 Jun 1886, NMB 8, p. 83. DB136.

⁸⁷³ NMB 8, various references, e.g. pp.97-8. DB137.

⁸⁷⁴ G Young, 2003, p. 222.

⁸⁷⁵ Evidence of Heta Hamuera, NMB 8, p. 146. DB138.

The equivalent status of children, regardless of gender, was evident in the statements of several witnesses. For example:

Korokoro was Tupoto's eldest son. Miruiti was a daughter, Tuiti was a son and Kairewa[?] also a son of the same ancestor. They had mana to all the lands in Hokianga. I have not heard that this land was given by Tupoto to Rapehuamutu alone all his children had mana to this land.⁸⁷⁶

and

Te Rarawa, Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahungunu are separate tribes but I belong to the first two, who are descended from the same ancestors. I know the difference between a brother, and sister, a younger brother and elder brother, an elder sister and a younger sister, they are all of the same blood. This is the same in respect of the children of Tupoto and their descendants.⁸⁷⁷

These types of comment continued in other cases in other areas. In his final order following the 1892 hearing concerning Hauturu, Judge von Sturmer, was careful to observe Taurau Kūkupa's request that all the grandchildren of his deceased relative be treated equally.⁸⁷⁸

Hōne Mohi Tāwhai confirmed that a woman's land rights and those of her children were unaffected by the actions of her husband:

Although the wife of Te Whareumu was with him when he fought the men of this land her children would still have a claim according to Maori customs – but Tāwhai brought the daughter of Te Whareumu and Moehuri back to Waima. The daughter of Moehuri never worked on this land after her return but she lived and worked at Waima or Manawakaiaia.⁸⁷⁹

In the Land Court, women frequently told the history of the blocks to which they laid claim, described the boundaries, related their whakapapa and explained the origin of place names just as male witnesses did. This is in itself evidence that they had been taught these things as had their male relatives.⁸⁸⁰ Just as women of mana had the authority to allocate land rights, so too were they subject to muru if those rights were contested. As will be seen in later discussion, Haua of Waimā was plundered when Arama Karaka Pī objected to her granting gum digging rights to Rawiri Te Tahua.

⁸⁷⁶ W Katene ex'd by Niu Hare, NMB 8, p. 94. DB139.

⁸⁷⁷ Ruka Te Huru cross-ex'd by H Papakakura, NMB 8, p. 115. DB140.

⁸⁷⁸ Ralph Johnson, 1999, p. 29; Kaipara Minute Book, 5, p. 87-88. DB141.

⁸⁷⁹ Evidence of Hone Mohi Tāwhai re the Arawhatatōtara Block, 13 November 1876, NMB 3, pp. 273-294. DB142.

⁸⁸⁰ For example, Ani Patene, NMB 8, p. 132 and elsewhere Waimā No. 1 block, July 1886. DB143.

Women continued to exercise their customary rights and obligations to retain or confirm their interests in communally owned lands following the passing of the Native Land Act 1865 and increasingly took cases to the Native Land Court, both as individuals and on behalf of their hapū.⁸⁸¹ Ani Patene, for example, who was recorded as being a senior rangatira of Ngāti Pākau in the minute books of the Kohatutaka Papatupu Committee, also gave evidence before the Native Land Court on behalf of that hapū in connection with the Waimā No. 1 Block in July 1886.⁸⁸² Yet from the time of British annexation, Māori women were increasingly frustrated by the restrictions placed on them by the precepts of British society which privileged males and accorded them greater status under the law. Until the Married Women's Property Act was passed in 1884, those who married under British law found that their land held under Crown grants had become the property of their husbands.⁸⁸³

Granting rights to other groups

The rangatira with mana over the land could grant rights of occupation or access to resources (tuku whenua) at their discretion. Such gifts, like other changes to arrangements, needed to be announced in public so that the basis of their residence or use rights was clearly understood by all. As with other aspects of customary law, and evident in the judgment of the papatupu committee that heard the claims based on an alleged gift by Tu (see below), granting land rights required ratification by public pronouncement. Hence, when Hakopa Taitua claimed that an area of land in the Waimā No. 1 block had been gifted to him by Arama Karaka Pī, Mohi Tāwhai and Hōne Moka, he stressed that '[t]here were a great many people present when this gift was made'. In fact, he added, Hōne Mohi Tāwhai was one of them. The last remark was probably made because Hōne Mohi, the son of Mohi Tāwhai, was still living.⁸⁸⁴ Public proclamation was an important aspect of the process to avoid disputes in the future:

Kaore he kaumatua i kuare ki tena tukunga, a, kaore hoki i whakaheekia e tetahi tangata.⁸⁸⁵

No elder was ignorant of that gift, not one person condemned it.

I muri ka riro i a Koroweo ma nga mahinga o taua iwi i a raua e noho ana ki taua whenua. I te wa e ora ana a Te Tai raua ko Te Hira, kaore ena tangata e taea te kiikii

⁸⁸¹ Tania Rei, *Māori Women and The Vote*, Wellington, 1993, p. 9.

⁸⁸² Kohatutaka Papatupu Book and NMB 8, p. 152. DB144.

⁸⁸³ Rei, 1993, p. 11.

⁸⁸⁴ Evidence of Hakopa Taitua, Waimā No. 1 Block, 15 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 59. DB145.

⁸⁸⁵ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 92. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

atu, e wai tangata. Kaore hoki he tangata o Waihou, o Whakarapa, kuare ki tena tukunga.

Afterwards, Koroweo and the others acquired the cultivations of that tribe while they were living on that land. At the time Te Tai and Te Hira were alive, none of those people were able to say anything. No person of Waihou or Whakarapa was ignorant of that gift.⁸⁸⁶

In order to gift land to another rangatira, as an acknowledgement of assistance given in battle, the boundaries of land might be reset. For example, Taniere Rangipaoa claimed the land at Oruanui on the basis that his tūpuna, Takarepa, was gifted land by Tū and gave a very detailed description of the relevant boundaries.⁸⁸⁷ Despite his precise detail, however, the Papatupu Block Committee that heard the case did not uphold his claim for several reasons. To begin with, the committee did not recognise Tū's mana over the land in question, but neither could Rangipaoa identify the particular battle in which his ancestor took part, nor had the gift been publicly notified (wikinihitia). A second claim by Te Hira Mataika for the Waihou No.2 block was also declined on the basis that Tū's mana on the land had not been witnessed. The inference here must be that there was no evidence of his asserting his authority over the land.⁸⁸⁸

Land rights could be granted (tuku) and they could also be retracted. Even when land that had been gifted was permanently occupied, the history and status of that right was never forgotten. In other words, history defined the right. To determine the validity of a claim, the underlying foundation of the rights enjoyed by the people occupying the land and their relationship with the rangatira and tangata whenua had to be taken into account. Rights derived from gift or refugee situations, for example, were not as strong as those derived from mana heke or direct descent from the founding ancestor.

Because of this status, gifted land could not be alienated by those granted rights of use. If no longer required by those to whom it had been allocated, the land and its resources would return to the original donor. In the post-European period, misunderstandings (deliberate or not) would upset this principle, as we will see later in this report.

⁸⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.101.

⁸⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp.133, 137.

Ensuring justice in land rights allocation

People might be included in rights to land for reasons of aroha or excluded as punishment. The rangatira's mandate allowed considerable flexibility and discretion. Negotiability was evident, for example, when a claimant before a Papatupu Block Committee agreed to accept an allotment of shares in the Kohatutaka Block as long as he and another claimant were 'not referred to as "mataotao"'.⁸⁸⁹ Witnesses giving evidence before Papatupu Block Committees or the Land Court alluded to this flexibility:

I distributed some of that money I got from that land to all of the people. Even if they were outsiders, I gave them some of the money. All that land was disposed of owing to my mana to distribute the money.⁸⁹⁰

I declined to coalesce with you because you admitted a number of people whom I considered to have no claims, such as Heremia, Tukarawa, and Te Kapo – with others.⁸⁹¹

As to Paihia Pukerewa and Mangi, I cannot recognize their claims as being non-resident – they have however made common cause with me; and I should allow their names to go into a title on that ground.⁸⁹²

Grafting new take onto existing tenure systems

Customary systems were demonstrably evolving to deal with changes in the social and economic environment and to incorporate new needs. Rights were asserted on the basis of new conditions such as the fact that they had received royalties from Pākehā traders, often using Māori terms to express these new forms of right, such as 'mana hoko i ngā pīhi whenua' ('authority to sell portions of land').⁸⁹³ 'Grass money' or payments for grazing, which was sometimes paid in sheep, cows, or other livestock, were also evidence of ownership rights. The Native Secretary Charles Nugent reported in 1853 that payments for timber-cutting rights were being cited in support of claims to the land in question:

These Natives, especially Hemara, are more obstinate on account of their receiving payments from Europeans for permission to cut firewood and timber on the disputed

⁸⁸⁹ Kohatutaka Papatupu Committee Minute Book [45? Or Taitokerau] 20 July 1906. DB146.

⁸⁹⁰ Translation of Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 23. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

⁸⁹¹ Evidence of Piri Teira, Whirinaki Counter Claim No. 8, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 285. DB147.

⁸⁹² *ibid.*

⁸⁹³ McRae, 1981, p. 71.

land, and which there would be no means of stopping unless the NLP Ordinance were put in force.⁸⁹⁴

During the Court sitting for the Waimā No. 1 Block, which was heard in 1886, H. Te Kuri told P. Te Waru that his parents had exercised rights over that land. They had cultivated and caught eels; used the European-introduced new weapon of choice, the gun, to kill pigeons; and bred introduced animals including pigs, horses, and cattle. They had also worked the timber such as kauri, tōtara and pūriri for sale to Pākehā as railway sleepers.

Te Kuri claimed parts of the Waimā block under Mitiha and would not ‘abandon’ his claim under Tūpoto. Mitiha, he said, was the first person to own Mangimangina pā, and on a portion of the land claimed through Mitiha and Rangihaua he offered to point out the place where Hōne Mohi Tāwhai had fed his pigs – the ‘kāinga whāngai poaka’.⁸⁹⁵

A history of working the resources of the land to derive income was another way of supporting claims to land. Thus, when land blocks were brought before the Court, a number of witnesses testified to having worked timber on behalf of Pākehā merchants.⁸⁹⁶ Receiving a share of rent money for leases, deposits, or royalties for timber or kauri gum was also offered as evidence of right. Sometimes people referred to their work as individuals, but on other occasions, they referred to their tribal group. For example:

Te Mahurehure worked the timber at Otauhi[?] and Whakanamu, Arama Karaka and Mohi Tawhai consented to the working of the timber for Mr. Cockrane [Cochrane] Snr. I don’t know what amount the workmen received for the timber. Ngatitoro worked the timber at Piha.⁸⁹⁷

Claims of this nature were not sufficient on their own; there was no change in the underlying process of claiming and ascertaining rights. Descent from the ancestor with mana remained essential:

Even if you claim through Rangihaua I should not admit your claim. Mr Cockrane Snr did employ natives to cut timber from the bush on this land, all the people who were able worked for him. Your people and mine did. My people worked the flax on this block to raise guns and ammunition.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁴ Nugent to Col. Sec. 24 February 1853, Turton Epitome C140, cit. Rigby, ‘The Crown, Maori, and Mahurangi 1840-1881’, A Historical Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1998, p. 37.

⁸⁹⁵ Evidence of H Te Kuri, 29 June 1886, Waimā No. 1 Block, NMB 8, p. 103. DB148.

⁸⁹⁶ For example, evidence of H Te Kuri, 29 June 1886, and Hakopa Taitua, Waimā No. 1 Block, 14 June 1886, NMB 8, pp. 53, 103-4 & 106. DB149.

⁸⁹⁷ Evidence of H Te Kuri, Waimā No. 1 Block, 29 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 106. DB150.

⁸⁹⁸ Evidence of Ani Patene, Waimā No. 1 Block, 5 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 132. DB151.

Once government was established and Crown title instituted, arranging land surveys and/or contributing to the cost of surveys became another way to establish a basis for claims.

N Pakau were at this time collecting money for the survey of Punakitere to which I contributed.⁸⁹⁹

Collective contributions might also be presented on the basis of descent:

the descendants of that ancestor [Te Karehu] contributed towards the cost of survey of Waima.⁹⁰⁰

Contributions might be made to the individual who was acknowledged as having mana over the land. For example, a witness in the Waimā No. 1 case acknowledged, under cross-examination by Te Hapuku Moetara, that Moetara's father, Rangatira, together with Pikitu, had collected £5 towards the cost of the survey which money had been paid to Arama.⁹⁰¹ Several witnesses indicated that Arama Karaka Pī was the person who had the mana to manage this land.⁹⁰² But equally, a claim could be evidenced where groups opposed or actively attempted to block survey parties.

New forms of rights were incorporated into existing law and these brought new types of dispute:

We claimed the right of leasing this land to Mr Yarborough in virtue of our descent from Tuteauru. This however caused a quarrel with some of the other residents at Whirinaki, and Heta Hamuera and others challenged the validity of our lease. Te Waharoa (ie Makarena) took the leading position on our side; and the lease as made by us was sustained. Heta Hamuera's name does not appear on it.⁹⁰³

The non-appearance of a name on a lease agreement became evidence that the individual's claims to the land in question had not been sanctioned.

British law, and the Christian teachings and ideologies that it embodied, promoted the idea of individual self-reliance, which acted to erode the unity of hapū. Whereas previously maintaining one's links to at least one tribal group had been essential to ensure physical and economic security, individuals were now presented with the option to 'go it alone'. The traditional support of the community could be replaced by the support of British law, the

⁸⁹⁹ Evidence of Wiremu Kātene, the Waimā No. 1 Block, 23 Jun 1886, NMB 8, p. 83. DB152.

⁹⁰⁰ Evidence of Hori te Kuri, Waimā No. 1 Block, 28 June 1886, NMB 8, p. 101. DB153.

⁹⁰¹ Hakopa Taitua, NMB 8, p. 60. DB154.

⁹⁰² For example, Ani Patene, Waimā No. 1 Block, 2 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 123. DB155.

⁹⁰³ Evidence of Piri Teira regarding the Whirinaki Block, 26 November 1885, NMB 7, p. 284. DB156.

church and other institutions. Uniting with others had always been a matter of choice, but there was no longer any penalty for opting out.

Effect of Land Court on Knowledge

Land Court records show that many people held a vast amount of information about their genealogy and tribal history. Remi Te Tai gave evidence to this effect:

When my father was a boy Papahia, Te Kohu and others led him over this land and explained to him his right to it. They also told him how the names on the land originated having been named by his ancestor.⁹⁰⁴

However, the testimony of a number of witnesses suggests that this might not always have been necessary in earlier times. For example, Pōmare Kingi confessed not to know

what Maori law is when a man fights against his own people (whether he loses his land or not).⁹⁰⁵

And John Bryers, who gave evidence about a number of blocks, and claimed to have led his people's case for the Waimahanui Block, stated plainly, 'I do not pretend to much local knowledge of the lands.'⁹⁰⁶ Angela Ballara's research has indicated that '[m]ost people knew their own whakapapa and knew in what relation they stood in terms of rank and seniority to the people with whom they lived, but were not versed in wider categories of descent.'⁹⁰⁷

Several Te Taitokerau witnesses testified that they did not know precisely where they had been born. One of these was Hōne Hare, who did not know if his people had ever worked on the land he claimed. Moreover, he also explained that he had gone to England as a young man and remained away for twenty-one years, only learning his whakapapa after his return in 1869.⁹⁰⁸ Others said that they did not know their whakapapa or indicated that other people would present it on their behalf. This indicates that the new judicial environment required each individual to have knowledge that had not previously been an essential requirement of ordinary people; an onus that does not appear to have weighed on them under customary law whereby it could have been dealt with by an appropriate person within their kin group and supported by community consensus.

⁹⁰⁴ Evidence of Remi Te Tai, Manganuiowae Block, 23 June 1875, NMB 2, pp. 234-5. DB157.

⁹⁰⁵ Evidence of Pōmare Kingi, Arawhatatōtara Block, 13 November 1876, NMB 3, p. 277. DB158.

⁹⁰⁶ Evidence of John Bryers, Whirinaki Block, 1 December 1885, NMB 7, p. 294. DB159.

⁹⁰⁷ Ballara, 1998, p. 201.

⁹⁰⁸ Evidence of Hone Hare, Manganuiowae Block, NMB 2, p. 233. DB160.

That Māori people were learning their own history through the court process was evident when Ruka Te Huru felt it necessary to stress that he had learned of Tomuri's mana over the land from his kaumātua (elder relative) and that he 'did not gain this information in the Court'.⁹⁰⁹ Clearly, the adversarial environment that the court system encouraged was causing people to present evidence to support their own cases and the evidence given was not necessarily reliable as a consequence. It must follow, therefore, that people 'learning' in this forum were sometimes taking misinformation on board which, if retained, would be passed on to subsequent generations.

Rē Te Tai considered that there had been a greater degree of confusion about boundaries after Pākehā arrived:

I roto i nga ra i a Te Reinga ahu iho ki nga uri, ko nga uri anake o Kairewa e eke mai ana ki te whenua nei i runga i to ratou ritenga whanaunga. Ka haere atu hoki nga uri o Te Reinga, taka atu ki tua i tera rohe. Kaore he whawhai i runga i to ratou tikanga whanaunga. Hore rawa o ratou kuare ki nga rohe o te whenua nei i te wa i a ratou. Katahi ano ka kuare no te wa i te pakeha nei. Ko nga uri o Kairewa hei rahui i te taha ki roto, a, kia turakina te rahui. No te wa i a Tupoto, tae noa mai ki nga uri ki au nei hoki, kaore rawa tena rohe i whakararua e tetahi atu iwi. Ko enei iwi ko Ngati Moetonga, ko Ngati Kairewa, ko Ngati Te Reinga, i piri a ratou tikanga ki a ratou mo nga whawhai ki nga iwi nei.⁹¹⁰

During the days of Te Reinga down to his descendants, only Kairewa's descendants were the ones who were on this land based on their kinship linkages. The descendants of Te Reinga also went beyond that boundary. There was no conflict because of their kinship ties. They were not ignorant of the boundaries of this land during their time. The ignorance only occurred during the time of the Europeans. The descendants of Kairewa were the ones to establish rahui on the inner side and to break the rahui. That boundary was not disturbed by any tribe during Tupoto's time down to his descendants and me also. These tribes Ngati Moetonga, Ngati Kairewa, Ngati Te Reinga pledged allegiance to each other to fight these people.

The names of the ancestral owners were typically recited and those who could confirm their descent were confirmed as being included. The inception of the Land Court, however, was changing the process in very meaningful ways. As one witness said:

⁹⁰⁹ Evidence of Ruka Te Huru, Waimā No. 1 Block, 1 July 1886, NMB 8, p. 116. DB161.

⁹¹⁰ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, p. 66. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

The ancestors enumerated all lived together during their life. I never heard of their quarrelling and separating. It is only since the period of Land Courts that I have heard the rights of any of these ancestors questioned.⁹¹¹

Summary of land tenure and resource rights

Here we return to the research questions posed for customary land tenure:

1. Who had land and other rights and where, and what was the nature of customary land tenure and tikanga in the region?
2. Who had authority, under custom law, to alienate lands and resources in which specific areas for which specific groups?
3. What were the bases on which rights to land and resources were distributed, held and inherited, and how did the concept of mana and chiefly authority operate in relation to the control of land and resources?
4. To what extent did Māori mobility impact on ‘ahi kā’ and other customary means of establishing rights?

1 Nature of customary land tenure and tikanga in the region

Māori society operated with reference to tikanga, which was underpinned by philosophical and religious principles, goals and values. These combined to regulate the conduct of individuals, their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Social control was maintained by doctrines, which determined Māori proprietary customary law, but which did not constrain natural justice.

Whakapapa was fundamental to the operation of Māori society and underlies all relationships, especially those relating to land and waterways. The land is also a source of identity – Māori are not only ‘of the land’ but ‘as the land’, which understanding compels them to exercise kaitiakitanga over it, to preserve what has been inherited for future generations. This relationship was established at birth through the practice of burying the placenta in a specially set-aside place, and confirmed at death with burial of the tūpāpaku.

The nature of customary law was personal, because the law-makers and interpreters were those of great mana, the rangatira or tribal leaders. Through whakapapa and recognition of leadership abilities a rangatira earned his or her mandate, which was more in the nature of influence because a rangatira did not have power alone.

⁹¹¹ Evidence of Ruka Te Korakora regarding the Waimā No. 2 Block Claim 1/32, 3 November 1885, NMB 7, pp. 197-8. DB162.

2 Who had authority under custom law to alienate lands and resources

Rangatira influenced and controlled the way customary law was practiced, through their rangatiratanga (authority and responsibility). Particular rangatira were associated with particular areas of land. Mana rangatira is the power of rangatira to allocate specific rights of land use to particular individuals or groups, with reciprocal obligations from those people. Generally the allocated rights ceased if the individuals or groups no longer occupied or used the land.

As is explained below, to acquire mana it was necessary to show an ancestral right to the land and specific resources. Mana equated to the authority to manage rather than to 'ownership' rights. Rangatira were expected to have the ability and expertise to negotiate and settle a wide range of disputes. Any arrangements for allocating land or resource rights required their consent.

Invitations extended by rangatira to share in resources, or gifts of land, might be for a specific period of time, or for a specific purpose, rather than implying or granting a permanent right.

The coast and sea came under the mana of particular rangatira in the same way as the land did.

The rights of rangatira with respect to land, water and resources applied more to management and allocation of use-rights than to alienation. Even gifting tended to be conditional and temporary. On some occasions it might be more permanent but still not amount to complete alienation. For instance, one rangatira might reset boundaries of land to acknowledge the assistance of another rangatira in battle. Land rights granted could also be retracted. People might be included in rights for aroha or excluded as punishment.

To avoid confusion or disputes in the future, the rangatira holding mana over particular lands would indicate publicly who was to inherit the mana whenua after his or her death. The status of women in this respect was the same as for men.

3 Bases of rights

Generally, the bases on which rights to land or resources might be claimed are asserted through a number of principal 'take' or underpinnings of tikanga Māori or Māori customary law, which are:

- take taunaha, (naming during discovery and exploration)
- take tūpuna (ancestral right)

- take ahi kā (continuous occupation or keeping one's fires burning)
- take raupatu (right of conquest)
- take tuku (by gifting).

Professor Patu Hohepa has put forward additional and reordered take for Te Taitokerau:

take poukā (burial caves)
take waenga (cultivations)
ringa kaha (strong defence)
ahi kā (continuous occupation)
ahi kā mai i tawhiti (distant fire / fires of home).⁹¹²

Rights to land are based on ancestral links to the land, which derive from relationships between individuals, their rangatira leaders and the land. As the ancestors dispersed across the land, extensive areas were occupied and defined by the tribal groups that settled them. Rights of tenure originated with those ancestors who first cleared and cultivated, or otherwise used the resources of the land. The names of those ancestors who originally occupied, defended, cleared and cultivated the land were committed to tribal memory, to be recalled as the fundamental basis for claiming rights to land.

Establishing a strong community underpinned rangatira power; attachment intensified the tribe's identification with the land. Take tūpuna, reinforced by enduring signs of occupation and works, were significant. Occupation did not need to be absolutely continuous, as some areas of land would be allowed to lie fallow, but these lands continued to be revisited, monitored and, if necessary, defended. To protect land and resource rights, any attempt at trespass or encroachment had to be resisted.

Take waenga, especially current or recent cultivation, was the strongest basis of claim for land-use rights. Longer-lived plants and trees conferred stronger rights than seasonal plantings, although evidence of kūmara pits was relevant. Resource use and gathering was also important. Waka landing rights were another form of tenure, although typically seasonal and conditional.

Claims to land based on ancestry were the strongest, but a claim on the basis of raupatu was legitimate, as long as 'conquest' was followed by continuous occupation. Although raupatu gave occupation, it did not necessarily confer rights to, or mana over, the land. To acquire mana it was necessary to show an ancestral right to the land and specific resource. Although hapū histories about ancestral conquests tend to stress that the enemy were all killed and their

⁹¹² Personal communication Pat Hohepa.

tribal group extinguished, it was rare for there to be no survivors. Survivors might be allowed to remain on their land; sometimes group members might be sent a distance away in anticipation of invasion, to ensure survival of the group; and it was common for the two groups to integrate through marriage, which then conferred ancestral rights on their offspring thus cementing the mana whenua based on ancestral rights.

Land held under the notion of take raupatu was ever likely to be disputed and contested. Former occupants could well regain their strength and challenge the ‘conquerors’ occupation.

Rights to land and resources were based on interconnected take. Claims based on inherited mana needed to be combined with ringa kaha, occupation, take waenga or other forms of ‘value-added’ activity. Despite the fundamental rule that land rights emanated from a specific ancestor, this was complicated when descendants of different tūpuna had been co-resident over a number of generations.

4 Impact of Māori mobility on ‘ahi kā’ and other customary means of establishing rights

If a person or group were absent from the land, or failed to use resources, for a period of generally three generations, the basis of their rights lapsed through ahi mataotao, but could be rekindled with effort and acceptance by the currently occupying group. The extent of a person’s contributions of labour and other kinds, counted. Offences could terminate rights.

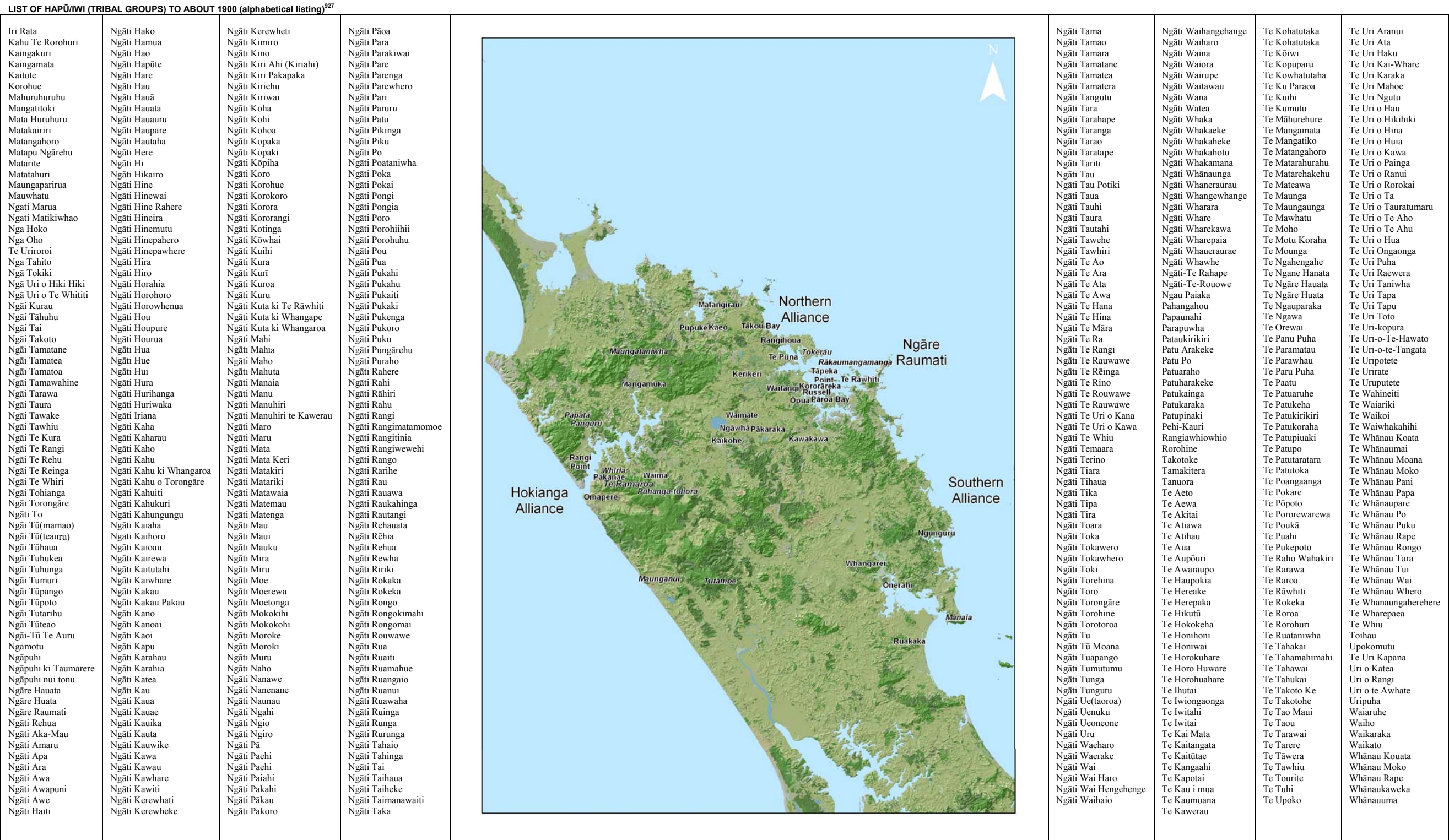
Those who moved away would need to revisit their lands regularly to maintain their ahi kā, and maintain good relations with those who remained on the land. In the post-European period, overseas travellers would typically bring back gifts as a quasi compensation for their absence, and they could also contribute newfound knowledge and skills and act as mediators in trade between their people and European traders.

4.3 Slaves

The part labour played as a means of production and wealth accumulation explains the importance of slavery and polygyny to successful leadership, those with greater mana having greater numbers of slaves and wives.⁹¹³ Even though the economic value of slaves was considerable, their availability did not mean that chiefs avoided work. They toiled alongside others making fishing nets; fishing; felling trees; building canoes – and, in agriculture, acting

⁹¹³ Firth, 1959, p. 134.

Map 2 - Map Indicating Zones of Influence of Ngāpuhi Alliances



⁹²⁷ The hapū list was compiled by taking all the names mentioned in the various sources that were consulted in the researching of this report and are shown in the iwi/hapū spreadsheet (Appendix A). These included old census records and it is highly likely that spellings have changed over time, remembering that spellings were not standardised while the language was still more oral than written, so it might be said that some spellings were incorrect. For instance there was a Patu Arakeke in the 1878 census, but should it have been Harakeke? Quite possibly but this has not been assumed in the compilation of this list. So, the list has captured all the variants for claimant consideration.

strategically and for their resources. There is evidence that major fishing spots in that district were shared and that the Kerikeri River was generally open to access between areas, especially for vessels travelling southward.⁹⁸⁴ Kororipo pā stands at one end of an overland track, which was an important accessway to inland areas and right across to the Hokianga. Overlapping rights here are complex as a result of historically established rights and contestation.

5.5 Relationships with neighbouring iwi and those beyond Te Taitokerau

Relationships with groups outside Te Taitokerau had their origins in pre-European times. Rather than segregate these relationships into pre- and post-1769 time periods, they are kept together, as the earlier explains the later to a large extent.

Rāhiri, the progenitor of Ngāpuhi, is connected to a number of other North Island tribes. Through his wife Paru, he has descendants who live along the coast between Whangaruru and Whāngārei. Rāhiri also travelled to Auckland, Te Aroha, Whakatāne, the East Coast, Wellington and Taranaki and his journey occurs in several traditions. The peak Maunga Rāhiri in Remuera, Auckland, which has since been quarried, was named after him. The Mataatua tribes of the Bay of Plenty say he lived at Kaputerangi, an ancient pā above present-day Whakatāne. Rāhiri is also linked to Ngāti Rāhiri-tumutumu-whenua of Te Aroha and Ngāti Rāhiri-pakarara in Taranaki.⁹⁸⁵

Relationships with tribal groups outside Te Taitokerau, like those within the region, are extensive and complex. Te Taitokerau is a gateway. Common to all Māori is the belief that the wairua of the deceased from many other areas of Aotearoa must pass through Te Taitokerau in order to reach Te Reinga. Relationships with other tribes are discussed here in geographical groupings, starting with those in Tāmaki and Hauraki, who also have interests in Te Taitokerau, and working south from there.

Tāmaki and Hauraki

Ngāti Pāoa

Ngāti Pāoa is one of the tribal groups covered by this report. Some details of the Ngāpuhi attack on the Ngāti Pāoa pā of Mauinaina have already been given, but that was just one

⁹⁸⁴ Phillipson, 'Bay of Islands Maori and the Crown', p.37.

⁹⁸⁵ Rāwiri Taonui, 'Ngā Puhi', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 26-Sep-2006, online at: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/NgaPuhi/en>

event in the longstanding history of conflict and co-operation between Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu and neighbouring tribes on the borders of their respective occupation zones.

The wife of Ngāti Manu's Kiwikiwi, Uru Mihi, for example, was from the Thames area⁹⁸⁶ and Patuone married Riria, the sister of Kupenga of Ngāti Pāoa at Tāmaki. Patuone spent the last two decades of his life on Ngāti Pāoa land at Devonport in a small pā called Riria, after his wife, and was buried there at the Anglican church of the Holy Trinity.⁹⁸⁷

Karanga Hokianga refers to the descendants of Pokopoko and Hinerangi nui of Ngāti Maru and how they dispersed among Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu:

No Ngati Whatua a Rangihimamao. He wahine te take i kitea mai ai ia ki konei, ko tena wahine he uri no Hinerangi nui o Ngati Maru, i moe ia a Pokopoko o Ngati Whatua. He mea tahae iho a Hinerangi e Pokopoko, noho rawa mai i Kokohuia. Ko Papango te ingoa o ta raua tamaiti. Ko enei tangata timata mai i a Hinerangi, a, tae mai ki a Tunuiatawheta, i whakatupungia ki Kokohuia, haunga ia etahi pekanga o ratou. Ko Waikona i whanau ki Whirinaki. Ko Hinerangi tuarua i ahu tana haere ki Kaipara. No te moenga o Waikona i a toia ka haere ki Motutoa. I moea atu a Hinerangi tuarua e Rangihimamao ki Kaipara.

Rangihimamao was from Ngāti Whātua. The reason he was seen here was a woman. That woman was a descendent of Hinerangi nui of Ngāti Maru who married Pokopoko of Ngāti Whātua. Pokopoko stole Hinerangi and retired to Kokohuia. Papango was the name of their child. These people start from Hinerangi come down to Tunuiatawheta. Besides some branches of them, they grew up at Kokohuia. Waikona was born at Whirinaki. Hinerangi II went to Kaipara. When Waikona married Toia, she went to Motutoa. Hinerangi II married Rangihimamao at Kaipara.

The mingling of rangatira lines is likely to have been common throughout the many areas of Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu and underlies many of the inter-relationships between tribal groups within and beyond Te Taitokerau to the present day.

Waikato

Ngāti Pou

The origins of Ngāti Pou suggest one of the ways in which Ngāpuhi are linked to groups in Hauraki and Waikato. According to Hare Matenga, Ngāti Pou originally came to Te

⁹⁸⁶ Jack Lee, *Bay of Islands*, p.156.

⁹⁸⁷ Angela Ballara, 'Patuone, Eruera Maihi ? – 1872', DNZB, updated 7 April 2006 online at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> The original version of this biography was published in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume One (1769-1869), 1990.

Taitokerau from Hauraki where they were known as Te Uri-o-Pou and were related to Ngāti Hako who were defeated by Ngāti Maru. Following the battle with Ngāti Maru, some members of Te Uri-o-Pou fled to Hokianga while others went to Waikato where they, too, took the name Ngāti Pou.

According to Māre Tūhapi of Waikato, whose kōrero was recorded by George Graham, some of the Waikato Ngāti Pou moved north beyond the Hokianga Harbour to the place they named Whāngāpē in memory of their home in Waikato. In this version of events, Ueoneone travelled from the Hokianga to Hauraki and Tāmaki before reaching Waikato on a journey designed to renew friendly relations. It was at the last place that he famously met the sisters, Reitu and Reipae and their brother, Rakamoana.⁹⁸⁸

Ueoneone, a grandson of Uenuku, who had moved from Pouerua to Waimā and Pākanae, is frequently said to have sent his enchanted bird to carry the two women while their brother travelled by land. However, Reipae alighted at Onerahirahi, Whāngārei, which some accounts say is an event commemorated in the name Te Whanga-a-Reipae (the tarrying or abiding place of Reipae). It was here that she married Korowhau, a Ngāti Rongo man from Kaipara. Reitu continued north to Whāngāpē where she married Ueoneone. Ueoneone's grandson, Tuiti, is also said to have married a Waikato woman and their child, Rangihaua, founded the northern Ngāti Pou.⁹⁸⁹

Shane Jones has provided an extended kōrero about the sisters and related events:

E ngā kōhine nei, mai roto i te waka o Tainui, ko to rāua hapū, ko Ngāti Tamainupo, tō rāua pāpā, to rāua matua, ko Kokako.

Ko Ueoneone he mokopuna na Uenuku Kuare, tā Rahiri, ko Uenuku Kuare, tāna ko Uewhati, tā Uewhati, ko Uetaoroa, tā Uetaoroa, ko Ueoneone.

Na ko Ueoneone, e heke iho ki te tonga, he aha te take ōna i haere ai ki reira, horekau i kōrerotia a i mututia, tēnā pea he haere ki te whakawhiti taonga haua, kaore au i mōhio. Nōna i reira, ka tupono atu i ngā wāhine niki e rua, he kōhine, e karangahia ana, he wāhine whakapuhi rawa, na wēnei wāhine ko Reitu, ko Reipae.

E ai ki ngā kōrero i roto i te whare o Ngā Puhi nui tonu, i tono e Ueoneone he manu ki te tiki i ngā kotiro nei e rua, te ingoa o taua manu, tōna whakaāhuatanga he manu, ōtira i roto i a Ngā Puhi tona ingoa tika he mana.

⁹⁸⁸ Sissons et al, p.115.

⁹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

Na ka tonoa, ka tae atu ki reira, a e rua kē ngā ingoa mo taua manu, hei tā Ngāti Hauā, puta i a Karaihe Mare tēnei kōrero, hei tāna ko te ingoa, ko Te Hauāwhiowhio, ēngari he rereke te ingoa i puta i a Dame Whina (Cooper), {a kua wareware au, a tona wā ka hoki mai} na ka tae atu ka kakekake mai ngā wāhine niki e rua, na, ka whakahokia mai, ta rāua hapū, ko Ngāti Tamainupō.

I mea mai a Wiki Popata, tangata wānanga tēnei, i a mātou e tamariki ana, nana ano ki a mātou te take e huangia ai taua hapū rā i roto i a Tainui, ko Ngāti Tamainupo, e hiahia ano te kaumatua nei ki te inu wai, na, ka tonoa tētahi o ngā tononga ki te tiki wai, e na ai i tana whenua, na, ka ngaro i te ahiahi rawa, a, pō, ka ngaro atu te wahine ki te tiki wai, ka urungia, ka whaia e te matua nei, na takototahi rāua, na, ka hapū te wahine nei i te rangatira, na, ka puta ko Kokako ma, na, ka huangia to rāua hapū, na, ko Ngāti Tamainupō, te tama i puta i te pō i te wā i tikina ai he wai e na ai i te inu o te matua rā. E kore au e mōhio pēnā i whakaaengia i tēnei kōrero e o tātou whanaunga o roto i a Tainui, ēngari māku i mea atu ki a tātou mēnā i te kōrero kua āhuhutia mai ki a mātou i a mātou e tamariki ana.

Na ka tae mai ngā wāhine niki e rua, ko Reipae, ka makere mai i Whāngārei, e meatia ana koia tēnā tētahi o ngā whakamāoritanga o te ingoa kāinga nei a Whāngārei, ēngari ko kaua a Ngāti Wai e whakaae ki tēnā kōrero, e mea ana a Ngāti Wai te tikanga o tērā ingoa o Whāngārei, no ngā rei o te tohorā, arā, te huarahi i pahure ai ngā tohorā waho atu i te moana rā, i Whāngārei, Whāngārei te Rerenga Parāoa.

Ka mutu ka haere tonu mai, taua manu, na ka tae ki tētahi kāinga e meinga nei ko Te Pona waho atu i a Whāngāpē, taha kē i te awa o Whāngāpē, ōtira, he wai rere mai ana i te pari, i te taha tonu o te awa i Whāngāpē, ki tētahi kāinga, horekau tāwhiti atu i Pawarenga.... taha tonu o te pā e kīa nei ko Mākora [?], na rere mai ana te wai i te pari, te ingoa o tērā rere ko Mutupakopako [??] e kī ana koia tēnā ko te makere ai te kuia nei, {ko kuia ki a tātou nei} te wahine nei a Reitu, ki te whakarite i a ia. Ko pakia ai e te ā [?], ko puhia te hau, na, ka haere ki reira ki te whakariterite i a ia, na ka tūtaki atu ki a Ueoneone, te wāhi i tūtaki ai rāua, ko Te Pona, kei reira ētahi kōhatu he porowhita te āhua, kei reira tonu, a, tae noa mai ki tēnei rā. Na, e hia rānei whanau mai i a Hokianga Whakapau Karakia, a, tae noa mai i a mātou i roto i Te Aupōuri, heke katoa mai mātou i a Reitu, ka moe i a Ueoneone, ka mutu ara noa atu tētahi o ngā hononga ātaahua tino rangatira, tino rongonui i waenga tonu i a Tainui me Ngā Puhi nui tonu.

Na, ko tētahi atu, ko Rongopatutaonga, a haerenga ano a {mea} Matere Toha me Rewa o roto i a Ngāti Rehia, no naku e tata ake nei i tērā hononga, ēngari, ko te pai o ērā kōrero hei akoako ma tātou i a tātou tamariki ngā huarahi whakawhanaunga i waenganui i a tātou o roto i a Ngā Puhi nui tonu me o tātou whanaunga mai i Tainui.

Those women were from the waka Tainui and their hapū was Ngāti Tamainupō. Their father was Kokako.

Ueoneone was the grandson of Uenuku Kuare. Rāhiri begat Uenuku Kuare who begat Uewhati, Uewhati begat Uetaoroa who begat Ueoneone.

Ueoneone travelled to the south. It is not known why he went there, perhaps it was to get a taonga, I don't know. While he was there he happened upon these two women. They were pūhi (certain women of high rank, virgins). They were Reitu and Reipae.

Within Ngāpuhi, it is told that Ueoneone sent a manu to get the young women. It was called a bird – the form was that of a bird or manu. In Ngāpuhi its proper description is manu.

It was sent there. It (the bird) has two names. According to Glass Murray of Ngāti Hauā, it was called Hauāwhiowhio but Dame Whina (Cooper) mentioned a different name {I forget, it'll come to me}. And so when the bird arrived the two young women climbed onto the bird and they were brought back here. They were Ngāti Tamainupō.

Wiki Popata a man who attended wānanga told us this when we were young. He also said that the reason the hapū from Tainui was called Ngāti Tamainupō was because; An old man was thirsty and one of the slaves was sent to fetch water on his land. It was late in the evening, then night fell and the woman (slave) was still gone. The old man went after her and he slept with the woman. She became pregnant to that chief (the old man) and Kokako was born. Their hapū was then named Ngāti Tamainupō — the child that was produced on the night water was fetched for the thirsty old man (chief). I don't know if our relatives from Tainui agree with this version. It was a story told directly to us when we were young.

Now when those two women came, Reipae stayed in Whāngārei. That is how Whāngārei got its name but Ngāti Wai does not agree with that explanation. According to Ngāti Wai the name Whāngārei means the rei [tooth/ivory?] of the tohorā, the passage where the whales pass through in Whāngārei harbour, Terengaparāoa.

The bird carried on and arrived at the village of Te Pona just on the outskirts of Whāngāpē, next to Whāngāpē harbour, at a waterfall. It was a village not far from Pawarenga, right next to the pā known as Makora. The waterfall is called Mutupakopako [??] It is said, that is where that old lady {we say old lady}, that woman Reitū rested and made herself presentable before meeting Ueoneone. They met at Te Pona. There are round boulders there and they are still today. There are numerous families from Hokianga through to us in Te Aupōuri who are descendents of Reitu. Through that marriage a noble link was made between Tainui and Ngāpuhi.

Another was Rongopatutaonga a journey of someone - Matere Toha and Rewa from Ngāti Rēhia. That was a more recent link for me, but the positive side of

those stories is that we teach our children about the connection between Ngāpuhi and our relatives from Tainui.⁹⁹⁰

These connections between Waikato and the descendants of Ueoneone were recalled when the government commenced land purchasing in the Hokianga, as Rē Te Tai explained to his Papatupu Block Committee at the beginning of the twentieth century:

I te wa i timata ai te hoko whenua a te kawanatanga, ka hiahia au kia tukua tetahi wahi o Waihou, o Whakarapa. Ka tono au i a Kereti, kia haere maua ki Akarana, kia hokoa tetahi wahi o nga maunga nei. Ka rite i au, i a Raiti, i a Wi Tana, te wahi hei tukunga, ka haere maua. Ka haere hoki a Wi Tana ki te tamana haere i nga whenua o raro. Ko ana i tamana ai ko Te Tauroa, ko Te Apakauri, me etahi atu wahi. Ko etahi wahi atu o Ahipara, na ratou tahi ko tera hunga, i tuku. Ka tae maua ki Akarana, kua tae noki a Wiremu Tana ki riera ki te tamana whenua noki. Ka tangohia mai e au i reira, kotahi rau pauna. I a matou i reira, ka tae mai nga rangatira o Waikato ki te tamana whenua noki, a Te Wheoro raua ko Ratima, i haere mai ki te tamana i Maungatautari, i Waikato. Ka mea mai Wiremu Tana ki au; “E koro, ka haere taua kia kite i a Ratima ma.” Tae atu maua, ka takoto te hakari a aua tangata. Katahi ka mihimihi mai ki a maua. Ka mutu, ka tu atu a Wiremu Tana. Ka mutu nga mihi ka kii atu; “Haere mai, ka tae mai korua i Maungatautari, i te kainga i whakatupungia ai o tatou tupuna.” Mo Reitu tena kupu ana, no Waikato tena tupuna, no Te Rarawa hoki. Ko Reitu, ko Reipae, ko Wairere, kotahi ano o ratou matua, ko Te Rauangaanga, tae iho ki a Potatau, nga tangata nunui o Waikato. Ta Potatau ko Tawhiao, ko Tamehana, ko Te Waharoa, ko nga tangata nunui ena o tena tatai. Tae atu ki a Te Heuheu, kei roto i tena tatai. Ko Te Tungutu, Ko Pakurakura, ko Kahi, nga tamariki ko Poroa, ko Papahia, ko nga uri ena o tena tatai, i noho ki konei. Ka noho a Wiremu Tana, ka tu mai a Te Wheoro; “Haere mai, e tika ana. Tenei te kainga o oo tupuna, ka kino i au, koia maua e noho nei to maunga, o Maungatautari.” Katahi ka kii atu ki te matua, ki a Ratima; “Rere, e pa, e pehea ana koe?” Ka mea mai te matua; “Koia ra tena.” Ka tae te tangata ra ki tana kapeti peeke, ka tatu kotahi rau pauna ki to maua aroaro, ko taku matua. Ka kii mai na; “Tena te moni o te whenua o korua tupuna.” I korero ai au i tena korero, mo te whanau o toku rangatiratanga. Ka tango au ki aua moni ki au. I te rori ka mea atu au kia a Wiremu Tana; “E kara, hoiano puhangaititanga, wehea a taua moni” Ka kata te kaumatua ra. No tana katanga ka mea au, e pai ana ia. Ka pakaruhia e au aua moni, e ono tekau pauna i a ia, e wha tekau pauna i au, no te mea, koia te kaumatua, i whakanuia ai e au maana. Ka tae ki a ia ka homai ano e ia tekau pauna, kaore au i tango atu. Ka hoki mai matou. Kaore au i mohio ki a Wiremu Tana whenua i tamana ai, ko Hone Harimana te kai mau i tana paahi.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁹⁰ Interview with Hon Shane Jones, 17 August 2006, transcribed by Te Aroha Rountree and translated by Hohipere Tarau.

⁹⁹¹ Tate, *Karanga Hokianga*, pp.112-113. Translation: Meredith and researchers.

When Government land purchasing started, I wanted to give over a piece of Waihou of Whakarapa. I asked Kereti to come with me to Auckland to sell an area in the mountains. Myself, Raiti and Wi Tana decided on the place to give over and we went. Wi Tana also came to get advances on the lands to the north. That which he advanced was Te Tauroa, Te Apakauri and some other places. Some places of Ahipara were given over by both them and that group. When we reached Auckland, Wiremu Tana had already arrived there to get advances on land. I got from there one hundred pounds. While we were there, the chiefs of Waikato arrived to get advances on land. Te Wheoro and Ratima came to advance Maungatautari at Waikato. Wiremu Tana said to me, 'We shall go and see Ratima and the others.' When we got there we sat down to feast with those men. They then greeted us. When finished, Wiremu Tana stood. When he finished his greetings he said; 'Welcome, you two have arrived from Maungatautari, the home where our ancestors grew up.' He was referring to Reitu. That ancestor was from Waikato and Te Rarawa also. Reitu, Reipae, Wairere, they had but one father, Te Rauangaanga, through to Potatau, those great men of Waikato. Potatau begat Tāwhiao, there was Tamehana, Te Waharoa, those great men of that line. Then there is Te Heuheu, he is in that genealogy. Te Tungutu, Pakurakura, Kahi, Poroa's children, Papahia, those are descendants of that genealogy who reside here. Wiremu Tana sat down and Te Wheoro stood up; 'Welcome, you are right. This is the home of your ancestors which I have ill- treated. We reside on your mountain Maungatautari.'

The reference to Potatau or Te Wherowhero probably recalls the alliance made during the early 1820s, perhaps late 1822, when his younger brother, Kati-takiwā (usually known as Hōri Kati) travelled to Te Taitokerau with two other great Waikato chiefs, Whakaiti and Te Kanawa. Travelling with a bodyguard of 100, they attempted to make peace with Ngāpuhi. Hongi and his people were also very amenable towards peace at this time, as they had some regrets over the overwhelming nature of their victory at Mātakitaki in late 1821 and early 1822. Some 2000 people had died and it had left them vulnerable to a renewal of invasions of their own territories. It was for this reason that the northern warriors had released several high-ranking women, including the wife and sister of Te Kanawa, following the siege to provide an opening for subsequent peace-making.

So, at Hongi's suggestion, Rewa, Te Wharerahi and Hinutote of Patukeha went south with a party of 60 to reassure the Waikato people that it was safe for them to reoccupy their previous territories. At Takapuna, they were joined by the chiefs of Ngā Oho and Te Taoū and then by Ngāti Whātua at Ōngarahu before the combined party continued on towards Waikato meeting up with Ngāti Pāoa refugees from Mauinaina at Waikato Heads. Considerable consulting and feasting with ambassadors from Waikato and the Bay of Islands took place, ultimately with

Te Wherowhero of Ngāti Mahuta and Te Rauroha of Ngāti Pāoa. This peace-making party stayed in the Waikato area for two seasons before they returned to the Bay of Islands. Kati travelled north with them at this time and lived with Rewa's family for several years until Matire was old enough for the marriage to be consummated.⁹⁹²

Tu Kemp referred to this rongo wahine or peace made by a woman as follows:

Ka tae ki roto, ki nga wā o te pakanga i waenganui i Taitokerau –Ngapuhi me Waikato. Ka pūpū ake nga whakaaro i roto i nga tungane o Matire Toha, kia tukua to rātou tuahine ki roto ki a Waikato, hei puru toto, hei hohounga rongo. Ka tukua e rātou to rātou tuahine a Matiretoha ki roto ki a Waikato. Tukua atu, haere, mate atu, tanua atu. Ka moe tēnei tūpuna a Matiretoha –ka moe i te teina o Potatau i roto i te kāhui kingitanga o Waikato. Ko o rāua uri, hoki mai, kei Te Rawhiti.

Then war broke out in Waikato, between Ngapuhi and Waikato. The brothers of Matire Toha decided to allow their sister to go to Waikato in order to stop the bloodshed and to bring peace [between the tribes]. They gave their sister Matire Toha to Waikato and she went — she died there and was buried there. Matire Toha married the younger brother of Potatau (Te Wherowhero) from the Kingitanga of Waikato. Their descendents who returned are at Te Rawhiti.⁹⁹³

Ngāti Raukawa

Other Waikato people, members of Ngāti Raukawa, lived in Pōmare's pā, Puketohunua, being relatives through his wife Rangingangana. When these relatives arrived under Tutake, Te Whatanui and Te Whare to see their relatives at Te Kāretu, they built a large whare called Tihema for Pōmare at Puketohunua.⁹⁹⁴

Tainui

There are also Tainui burial caves in the hills overlooking Whāngārei Harbour.⁹⁹⁵ As with all the interlocking and overlapping relationships within and beyond Te Taitokerau, those between Ngāpuhi and Waikato continue into the present.

Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa

For many generations Ngāti Toa lived around the Kāwhia region, but from the late eighteenth century, increased and intensified conflict with Waikato-Maniapoto iwi for control of the rich

⁹⁹² Ballara, *Taua*, pp.220-223.

⁹⁹³ Tu Keepa (Kemp), *Waka Huia*, 1 July 1990, transcribed and translated by Hohipere Tarau, and amended by Patu Hohepa, June 2009.

⁹⁹⁴ Munn, p.253

⁹⁹⁵ Personal communication Wikuki Kingi, QSM, Tohunga Whakairo, 7 February 2007.

fertile land north of Kāwhia forced them to migrate. Under the leadership of Te Rauparaha, Ngāti Toa migrated from Kāwhia in the 1820s, first to Taranaki and then to the Cook Strait region.

Between 1810 and 1815, Te Rauparaha was with Ngāti Maru in the Hauraki Gulf and there received his first musket. He also visited Ngāti Whātua at Kaipara, perhaps seeking to build a coalition to attack Waikato but possibly also looking for a place to resettle his people. A few years later, in about 1818, the Ngāti Whātua chiefs, Murupaenga and Tūwhare joined Ngāti Toa on a retaliatory raid into Taranaki following an attack that Ngāti Rāhiri from that area had made on Ngāti Toa. In 1819, Te Rauparaha joined a large taua from the north, which was armed with muskets and led by Tūwhare, Patuone and Nene.

Te Rauparaha's relations with Ngāpuhi appear to have been complex. At one point, he encouraged Te Arawa to attack a Ngāpuhi war party to avenge their killing of some of his Ngāti Maru relations. However, in the 1840s, when Te Rauparaha was arrested and held without charge aboard the British naval vessel, *Calliope*, Ngāpuhi intervened to secure his release.⁹⁹⁶

At the time of Te Rauparaha's incarceration, Ruiha Te Whiwhi, a daughter of Mātene Te Whiwhi and granddaughter of Rangitopeora who had signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi,⁹⁹⁷ was living with Governor George Grey in Auckland. On learning that Te Rauparaha was aboard the *Calliope*, she attempted to visit him and other Ngāti Toa relations when the vessel arrived in the North, but was not permitted to do so. However, when the vessel arrived at the Bay of Islands, Te Rauparaha's songs of lamentation were heard by Rewa's son, Kerei Mangonui, who visited and enquired about his welfare. The outcome of this meeting was that Kerei Mangonui agreed to see Grey and seek a release of all the Ngāti Toa chiefs. To encourage this intercession, Te Rauparaha gave Mangonui an impressive mere pounamu known as Hineari. This created a lasting bond between the people and that mere resides today in Taitokerau.⁹⁹⁸

Mangonui duly visited Grey and petitioned him to release Te Rauparaha and his relatives immediately. The Governor was unwilling to agree, but is said to have coerced Mangonui to

⁹⁹⁶ Steven Oliver, 'Te Rauparaha ? – 1849', DNZB, updated 7 April 2006, online at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
Original version, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume One (1769-1869), 1990.

⁹⁹⁷ Personal communication Matu Clendon, 21 April 2007.

⁹⁹⁸ Te Waari Carkeek, Brief of Evidence, 9 June 2003, Northern South Island Inquiry (Wai 785), online at: <http://www.ngatitoa.iwi.nz/briefs/Te%20Waari%20Carkeek.htm>; Personal communication, Matu Clendon, 21 April 2007.

give him a large block of land in the Bay of Islands at Te Tii, which was transferred to Crown ownership in return for the release of Te Rauparaha and his party. The ship left the Bay with the prisoners still on board and sailed to Auckland.

Kerei Mangonui subsequently found that the transfer of the land had not secured Te Rauparaha's release and organised an armed party of Ngāpuhi to accompany him to Auckland to visit the Governor again. By the time he reached Auckland, he found that pressure from others had led Grey to arrange for Te Rauparaha's release. Upon his release, he was permitted to live in Auckland but was not returned to his people at Ōtaki until 1848.⁹⁹⁹ Mangonui's anger was unabated over what he believed to be the Governor's deception, he demanded the release of Ruiha Te Whiwhi, who was thought to be being treated as a mokai or domestic servant in Grey's household. Kerei was aware of Te Rauparaha's intense concern for his mokopuna Ruiha, who was under the care of his antagonist, Grey. To assuage his own anger and to reassure Te Rauparaha, Kerei Mangonui took Ruiha to his home in the Bay of Islands and arranged her marriage to his son, Hori Ngawati. When Ihaka Te Tai's wife Takirua died, he married Ruiha Te Whiwhi, who was by then widowed. They had a daughter Erina, who married Pukepuke Rewha of Rāwhiti.¹⁰⁰⁰

Central North Island

Ngāti Tūwharetoa

Rē Te Tai referred to whakapapa links, not only with Tainui, but also with Iwikau (Te Heuheu Tūkino III). There were other links, too. Iwikau and his fellow rangatira had been hospitably and generously entertained by Pōmare II and Kawiti when they visited Tāpeka, Moturoa, in the Bay of Islands. This hospitality was more than a mere welcome to visitors; rather, it was calculated to further the friendship and good relationship that had been effected between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa a few years earlier. The level of goodwill was strengthened and symbolised when Ngāpuhi rangatira travelled to Rotorua to obtain signatures on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and they returned with Te Heuheu's eldest son, Te Waaka. This boy lived with Tāmati Wāka Nene for two years and adopted that rangatira's second name when he returned home. Iwikau was so impressed with the reception he received from Henry Williams and the treatment from his hosts at Tāpeka that he named a new whare

⁹⁹⁹ Steven Oliver, 'Te Rauparaha ? – 1849', DNZB, updated 7 April 2006, online at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

¹⁰⁰⁰ Personal communication, Matu Clendon, 21 April 2007.

whakairo (carved house) built beside the Waihi waterfall Tāpeke. At least four whare have now been built with that name.¹⁰⁰¹

Allegedly, the first recorded horse in the Central North Island was presented by Tāmati Wāka Nene of Hokianga to Te Waaka, the son of Te Heu Heu Tūkino, in 1844. This was some thirty years after horses were introduced to New Zealand in the Bay of Islands by the Rev. Samuel Marsden.¹⁰⁰²

Te Arawa

One Te Arawa connection is in the relationship between the Ngāpuhi warrior Hauraki and the Ngāti Rangiwewehi woman Te Ao-kapurangi, whom he captured in 1818 on an expedition to obtain utu from groups in the Bay of Plenty and East Cape districts. Following his return to the north, Te Ao-kapurangi became one of Hauraki's wives and they subsequently had a child who was accidentally burned. From this event, Hauraki took the additional name, Te Wera (the burning).

In 1823, Te Ao-kapurangi accompanied a Ngāpuhi party, which had set out to avenge the deaths of Te Pae-o-te-rangi and others of their kin. Some of these kin had been killed by Tūhourangi on Motutawa, the island in Rotokākahi, and others at Ōhinemutu by Ngāti Whakaue the previous year. When the Ngāpuhi group reached Tauranga, they heard that many Te Arawa had withdrawn to Mokoia Island. They chose to pursue them via an inland route from Waihi along the Pongakawa river valley. Te Ao-kapurangi was alarmed by the danger this would pose to her Ngāti Awa whanaunga who lived in that valley. Te Wera Hauraki allowed her to address the Ngāpuhi leaders and she gained Te Koki's agreement that his quarrel was only with Tūhourangi and Ngāti Whakaue, not Ngāti Awa. At Rotorua, Te Ao-kapurangi again addressed the Ngāpuhi taua, stressing that her Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Tapuika people had not been responsible for the death of Te Koki's nephew, Te Pae-o-te-rangi. Te Wera Hauraki subsequently sent her to Mokoia Island with another of his wives, where she was permitted to speak to her whanaunga, Hikairo, a Ngāti Rangiwewehi leader. She proposed that her relatives should go to another place, but Hikairo refused to abandon his other Te Arawa kin. Te Ao-kapurangi returned to Ngāpuhi, and Hongi Hika decreed that Ngāpuhi would spare only those people who passed between Te Ao-kapurangi's thighs.

¹⁰⁰¹ John Te H. Grace, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori people of the Taupo District*, Auckland, 1992, pp.440-441.

¹⁰⁰² 'Horse Talk: Equine News and Views' online at: <http://www.horsetalk.co.nz/features/kaiman.shtml>.

To meet this concession, she famously ran to the whare named Tama-te-kapua and, standing astride the ridge pole on the roof, called to her people to save themselves by running inside. Ngāpuhi allowed them to enter and respected the whare as a place of refuge. Peace was made the next day between Te Wera Hauraki and Ngāpuhi, on one side, and the survivors and the rest of Te Arawa on the other. Ngāpuhi agreed not to take the land nor to pursue the fugitives and permanent peace was established.

Shane Jones explained the background to Hongi's giving approval for this incident, and the possible reason for his not attempting to create an indigenous kingdom as occurred in other parts of the Pacific:

Na, te take e mea ai a Hongi i tērā kōrero e mōhio nōna, a ko Te Wera Hauraki, kei te mahi pokanoa [?] ki a Hongi. Na, ka kī atu a Hongi ki a Te Wera Hauraki; 'E pai ana, ka hoki tātou ki te kainga, hei kōnā ka hamahamangia koe e au'. Na, ka kī atu Te Wera Hauraki; 'I a koe e arahi ana i a tātou i te tonga, ko koe tō tātou upoko, ko koe te aporei, ēngari kia taha atu ki roto i te whare tapu o Ngā Puhi, māku ano koe e hamahama. Na, no te kitenga o tana wahine, tā Te Wera Hauraki nei wahine, ka ako tētahi o rāua ka mate, ka inoi atu ki tana tane, kia kaua rāua e hoki ki a Ngā Puhi, ka koi a Te Wera Hauraki e heke iho ai kia Tuhoe tae a ki Nukutaurua, ēngari e pai ana tērā haerenga ōna ki roto i Nukutaurua, he hokinga tupuna, tā te mea ko te waka o *Takitimu*, i ū mai ki roto i a Ngāti Kahu, nāna ano taua waka me ngā kaimā tō [?] i runga i taua waka i hari mai ētahi rakau mai Hawaiki, te ingoa o tēnā rakau, ko Te Kawapou [?], na ka tōngia ētahi o wērā rakau ki te taha tonu ki te tapawha {i mea} i Tokerau, i Taipa, na, wētahi atu ka taria e te waka, ngā tangata i runga i taua waka, o *Takitimu* ki Nukutaurua. Na, ko Te Wera Hauraki, {I mea} i tohetoe ai ki a Hongi tērā haerenga ōna ki roto i Nukutaurua, hei hokinga tupuna noki, tā te mea, tētahi o ngā waka i puta mai ai i a Ngāti Kahu, ko *Takitimu*.

Na i kitea a Hongi, i roto i Te Mangawhai, te mura o te riri, e oti i a ia te whakahuihui a Ngā Puhi, ēngari i roto ano i te kainga kātahi ngā kēhua, ngā kīhau o te ao kohatu ka hoki mai ki te pokepoke [?] i a ia, he mōhio pea nōna, me e kore ia i noho ki whakarārata, ki te whakatutua i ngā iwi o te tonga kia riro māna e tu hei kingi i runga i a rātou, ki te kore ia i mahi pērā kia kore oti i a ia te mahi pēnā noki i roto i a Ngā Puhi nui tonu. Me kaua hoki tātou e wareware, i reira a Patuone, i reira a Waka Nene, i reira hoki ngā toki [?] pēnei i a Poroa [?] i a Papahia, horekau rātou i matakū i a Hongi. Na Poroa [?] ano i kī kia Hongi; 'Ka nui tēnei patu tangata i roto i Matakītaki, i Waikato', na reira, ahakoa tātou e whakakororia ana, a, e whakanui ana i a Hongi, tika ana kia pērā, kia toa [??] kei tua atu i a Ngā Puhi. I reira ano ētahi tupua, ētahi hautupua kē atu, na tōku whakapai ko [?] i a Hongi, kore ai ia te whakakingi i a ia.

The reason for Hongi saying that was because he knew that Te Wera Hauraki was doing things without his approval. It was then that Hongi said to Te Wera, 'That's fine, when we return home, I will then hammer you'. Te Wera Hauraki replied, 'While you are leading us in the south you are the head or *aporei*, but within the sacred house of Ngāpuhi, I will then hammer you.'

When the wife of Te Wera Hauraki realised that [one of them may die?] she pleaded to her husband not to return to Ngāpuhi. Hence the reason Te Wera Hauraki went to Tūhoe and then to Nukutaurua (Māhia Peninsula). Actually, his journey to Nukutaurua was therefore a returning to his ancestors because the *Takitimu* waka landed in Ngāti Kahu and was his waka, and his elders on that waka brought tree plants from Hawaiki. The name of the plant was Te Kawapou. Some of the trees were planted right to the edge of Tokerau, at Taipa there. Some of it was taken by the people on board the *Takitimu* to Nukutaurua.

Well, Te Wera Hauraki said that it was the dispute with Hongi that made him leave and it was an ancestral return [connection] also to Nukutaurua. One of the waka that originated from Ngāti Kahu was *Takitimu*.

Hongi saw at Te Mangawhai, in the heat of battle, he was able to muster Ngāpuhi, but, back home (in Ngāpuhi) the spirits of the ancestors [and ghosts of the stone age] would return to haunt him. Perhaps he knew that if didn't subdue and enslave the people in the south so that he could be their king [rule or have authority over them?], then he would not have the same power in Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu.

We mustn't forget that Patuone and Waka Nene were there (in Ngāpuhi) and also fighting chiefs like Poroa and Pāpāhia who weren't afraid of Hongi. It was Poroa who said to Hongi, 'That's enough killing within Matakītaki in Waikato.'

Although we glorify and praise Hongi, and rightly so, he should be recognised beyond Ngāpuhi, there were others of high rank, and I guess that is why Hongi didn't make himself the king.¹⁰⁰³

Some two decades later, as will be discussed more fully in Chapter 9, Te Arawa groups were invited to dig kauri gum in Te Taitokerau. This type of arrangement placed reciprocal obligations on the guests to support their patrons when they were involved in military conflicts.

The relationships between Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu and Ngāti Whakaue were referred to by the Ngāti Whakaue rangatira Te Ao in his farewell address to Sir George Grey in 1853:

¹⁰⁰³ Interview with Shane Jones, 17 August 2006, transcription and translation by Hohipere Tarau.

E rahi taku aroha atu ki a koe, ki nga mata i toku hoa i a Hone Heke Pokai, i ou tatou matua i a Kawiti, i a Hikitene, i to taua whanaunga i a Pomare.

How great is my love to you who looked upon the countenance of my friend Hone Heke Pokai, and upon our fathers Kawiti and Hikitene, and our relative Pomare.¹⁰⁰⁴

Urewera

Ngāi Tūhoe

Ngāpuhi's third foray into the Bay of Plenty region was made in 1823, apparently with the objective of engaging with Ngāi Tūhoe. According to Ngāi Tūhoe historians, Pōmare had returned at the invitation of their rangatira, Te Maitaranui, who had travelled to the Bay of Islands earlier that year, seeking Ngāpuhi support for their battles against Ngāti Kahungunu. Ngāpuhi split into a number of raiding parties, which advanced in several different directions. As they did, Tūhoe evacuated Ruatāhuna, hiding at Maungapōhatu and elsewhere. Eventually Te Maitaranui appeared at Ruatāhuna and persuaded Pōmare to cease aggressions against Tūhoe. Peace was made on the basis of the whakapapa links that existed between them since Toroa's younger brother, Puhi, had sailed the *Mataatua* waka out of Whakatāne northwards to become a founder of the Ngāpuhi people. Peace was sealed with the ritual exchange of gifts, then Pōmare was taken to Maungapōhatu where he addressed the assembled Ngāi Tūhoe chiefs, restating his intention not to fight against them.¹⁰⁰⁵ In later years, a whareniui named *Rāhiri* was built at Waimana to commemorate this long-standing alliance between the two iwi.¹⁰⁰⁶

The Ngāi Tūhoe people still recall these events. In the 1970s, for example, Horopapera at Tawhana recounted an incident after he had enlisted for World War I:

During the war we had to put our number on our plates and cups, and on our clothes. One morning I looked for my cup, I was very dry. I couldn't find it. I looked around the table and I saw this Arawa fella twisting my cup, trying to hide the number. I told him, 'That's my cup, e hoa.' O no, that's my cup and number.' Then this Nga Puhi fella stood up, they don't like Arawa, and he said, 'You give that cup to Moko, and if you don't,

¹⁰⁰⁴ C. O. Davis, *Maori mementos: being a series of addresses, presented by the native people, to His Excellency Sir George Grey ...*, Auckland, 1855, p.108. Translation as published therein.

¹⁰⁰⁵ 'The Early History of the Iwi and Hapū of Te Urewera', 1.8.1, online at: <http://wai8155sI.verdi.2day.com/doclibrary/researchwhanui/district/04/Chapt01.pdf>.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Rua Heta cit. Jeffrey Sissons, *Te Waimana: The Spring of Mana: Tuhoe History and the Colonial Encounter*, Dunedin, 1991, p.174.

I'll give you a bloody hiding!' I got my cup and my knife and fork. See, Nga Puhi people like Tuhoe. Te Pou's people have some relations from there. Our koroua [Te Mai Taranui] went up to see the chiefs of Nga Puhi [about 1820] and they gave him a walking stick and a rooster. They said they were going to come and kill the Arawa and Waikato people instead. When Nga Puhi came to Whakatane they heard the rooster crowing at Ruatoki and they thought, 'Ah. This is Tūhoe.' They didn't kill any Tuhoe people. They went and they found that rooster — 'Oh. Here's Tuhoe. No fighting.' They went up to Ruatoki and to here. From that day Nga Puhi have been closely related to Tūhoe. Not to Te Arawa and Waikato. No. They came down and killed all the Arawa and Waikato people. The Ruatoki people carved that rooster on a walking stick, carved it on the handle. When Tamarau was the chief at Ruatoki he gave it to the Government when they came there.¹⁰⁰⁷

Mrs Nina Buxton of Ngāi Tūhoe recalls other recent events in which the relationship has continued with reference to this history. Immediately prior to the opening of a new wharehūi at the Waimako Pā in Waikaremoana, about 1981 or 1982, she had instructed some of her nephews to kill all the poultry in the village to augment the food supplies for the large number of visitors that were expected for the occasion. On the day of the opening, while a kaumātua was speaking, a lone chicken strolled across the open area in front of the whare, made a deposit and kept going. The local people, including the young ones, were aware of the story about the rooster and Pōmare, they chuckled to themselves because they understood the significance of the incident and knew that the speaker must have been from Ngāpuhi. A similar thing happened on another occasion when two car-loads of Ngāpuhi healers came to visit Te Kuha Tarewa at Waikaremoana and a number of chickens came onto the marae as they were arriving. The local people reminded them of the story in case any of them had not realised why this had happened.¹⁰⁰⁸

East Coast

Ngāti Porou

The relationship between Ngāti Porou and CMS missionaries in the Bay of Islands dates back to a chance event in April 1833. Missionary A. N. Brown investigated an incident in which seven men and five women were brought from the East Cape to Rangihoua, against their consent, on the whaling ship *Elizabeth*, delivered to Wharepoaka and distributed as slaves to eight different Ngāpuhi chiefs. The day after Brown's initial enquiry, one of the captured

¹⁰⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp.278-9.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Personal communication, Mrs Nina Puhina Buxton, 1 February 2007.

chiefs told him ‘that he and his companions were on board the *Elizabeth* trafficking and that the captain on his return from shore made prisoners of them and set sail’.¹⁰⁰⁹

Following negotiations between Brown, Henry and William Williams and the Ngāpuhi chiefs, the slaves were released on the proviso that the missionary schooner *Active* return them immediately to the East Cape. The *Active* set sail on 30 April with most of the Ngāti Porou group, but one was away and two others had already returned in another ship. Bad weather caused them to turn back and they decided not to make another attempt until the following summer. The missionaries had to ‘redeem’ the slaves, over the months they remained in the north, with payments totalling 11 blankets, 2 pots, an axe and some tobacco. For eight months the Ngāti Porou group lived at the Paihia mission station, and eventually formed the nucleus that established a stronghold of Anglicanism on the East Coast, before the first mission station was established there in 1840.

The Ngāti Porou group returned in December 1833 on the *Fortitude*. They travelled with about 30 other Māori passengers going to various places. The group included Pōmare and Te Kekeao of Ngāpuhi, who accompanied them for the full trip. The Ngāti Porou group was welcomed back to a population that had been severely reduced in numbers ten to fifteen years earlier, by Hongi’s raids of 1818 and those of Te Wera and Pōmare (uncle of the *Fortitude* passenger) in 1820 and 1823; many had been killed or taken as slaves. At Māhia, the missionary group was welcomed by Te Wera, who, after leading the expedition against the East Coast Māori in 1820, returned three years later, at the invitation of Ngāti Kahungunu, to live there as their protector.

Ngāti Kahungunu

As mentioned earlier, Kahungunu’s father Tamatea was captain of the *Takitimu* waka. The people who became known as Ngāti Kahungunu could trace their descent from many different prominent ancestors, including some who were resident in their present rohe before Kahungunu’s descendants arrived. From amongst these the Kahungunu name was taken because his descendents had been most consistently successful in colonising their rohe.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁹ A N Brown to CMS, 31 May 1833, cit. Frances Porter, ed., *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams, Missionaries to Poverty Bay*, Wellington, 1974, p.54.

¹⁰¹⁰ Māori Occupation of Wairoa, p.14, online at: <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/doclibrary/public/researchwhanui/district/11C/Chapt01.fm.pdf>

The relationships between Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāpuhi were reinforced during the intensive tribal warfare from 1818 into the 1830s, and the actions of Te Wera Hauraki and Pōmare. As Tiaki Hikawera Mitira wrote in his history of the Ngāti Kahungunu people:

Gratitude shall be the keynote of this chapter, gratitude to one who, when the Ngati-Kahungunu people faced the greatest crisis in their history, rose as their protector and saved them from almost certain annihilation.¹⁰¹¹

The first Ngāpuhi expedition to the East Coast area was in 1819, under Te Morenga, who was closely followed by Hongi Hika. Another taua left the Bay of Islands in 1820, under the leadership of Te Wera Hauraki and Pōmare, who landed at Te Kawakawa (Te Araroa) between Hicks Bay and the East Cape. Having taken the strongly fortified pā of Te Whetumatarau, Pōmare took Te Rangi-i-paia, wife of Nga-rangi-tokomauri, the highest ranking person left in the pā, as his wife. Te Wera proceeded on to Waiapu and other places along the coast as far as Māhia, where he led a raid on the pā Nukutaurua. In April the following year, he returned to the Bay of Islands with 40 prisoners from that expedition who included Te Whareumu of Rakaipaaka (Ngāti Kahungunu) and his sister. Te Wera subsequently took the sister as one of his wives.

These were troubled times all over the North Island. Sorties and threats from various tribal groups put the East Coast in a state of continual turmoil and fear. About 1824, a combined army of Ngāpuhi, Hauraki, Waikato, Whakatōhea and Tūhoe raided the Wairoa-Māhia section of the Ngāti Kahungunu tribes and defeated them at Titirangi, Nūhaka, Puke-karoro and other pā. This army had been brought together at the instigation of Te Maitaranui, a Tūhoe warrior, and was first assembled at Maunga-pōhatu. On leaving there, they formed into two parties. The Tūhoe, under Te Maitaranui, went by way of the Ruakituri River, while the combined party of Ngāpuhi, Hauraki, Whakatōhea and Waikato, under Pōmare's leadership, went through Waikaremoana and the Waiau Valley. Because the raiders had guns and the enemy did not, they were able to sweep all before them.

The Ngāpuhi under Pōmare attacked a section of Ngāti-Rakai-paaka at their pā inland from Nūhaka,¹⁰¹² but could not take it. While he lay siege at the base of this huge maunga, the people inside threw food down to the besiegers to show them that their supplies of food and access to spring water were sufficient for them to hold out indefinitely. The pā was given the

¹⁰¹¹ J H Mitchell (Tiaki Hikawera Mitira), *Takitimu: a History of the Ngati Kahungunu People*, Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch, 1972, p.163.

¹⁰¹² Mitchell, pp.163-166.

name Moumoukai, meaning squandering of food.¹⁰¹³ Before he left, Pōmare called out to the people inside that if there was a woman of high rank within the pā who was pregnant and should her child be male, he should be named Pōmare as a mark of honour for the efficiency of their pā. As it happened, Hine-i-koia, the wife of Te Matenga Tu-kareaho and a woman of rank, was carrying a male child who was named Pōmare and became the father of Te Ōtene Pōmare and others of Nūhaka.

Later in the 1820s, Te Wera Hauraki returned his captive, Te Whareumu, who had served Te Wera well in the ongoing warfare, together with a significant heirloom called Te Rama-apakura, to Ngāti Kahungunu. On their way, Te Wera Hauraki met Te Kani-a-takirau and a permanent peace was made. As a result, and at Te Kani-a-takirau's invitation, Te Wera and some of his followers took up permanent residence at Māhia in Hawke's Bay, on lands gifted to them in recognition of his returning Te Whareumu to his people.

Pōmare's campaigns extended to fighting in the Kaipara district in 1824, probably against enemies of Ngāti Whātua, then at Wairoa, north of Ahuriri (Napier), following an approach by the Urewera rangatira Te Maitaranui to help him avenge deaths caused by Ngāti Kahungunu. He took the pā named Titirangi, near Waikaremoana, and also took part in a campaign of harassment against the people of the Wairoa district. He might have assisted Te Whatanui and Ngāti Raukawa later that year against the people of Heretaunga (Hawke's Bay). On his return to the Bay of Islands, Pōmare was accompanied by a party of Ngāti Kahungunu from Wairoa, who hoped to obtain guns with his help. He established them on lands at Te Kāretu, while he lived in his house, Te Kata-o-te-kawariki, at the other end of the village.¹⁰¹⁴ Because the pā Te Whakamarumaru and Mangawheao were both already well-established by this time, Pōmare directed his people to build another pā on the site of an old abandoned one built by Hiawe and Te Haua of Kapotai many years previously. This new pā, called Puketohunua, was occupied by people from Ngāti Manu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁰¹⁵

By the 1830s, Ngāti Kahungunu were living under Pomāre II's (Whiria's) protection at Ōtūihu. Their rangatira, Te Mauparāoa, was a noted Ngāti Kahungunu warrior from Mōhaka who had been taken captive on one of Ngāpuhi's raids on the east coast but subsequently

¹⁰¹³ Personal communication, Mrs Nina Puhina Buxton, 1 February 2007.

¹⁰¹⁴ Angela Ballara, 'Pomare I ? – 1826', DNZB, updated 7 April 2006, online at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

¹⁰¹⁵ Munn, p.253

joined them in many of their battles.¹⁰¹⁶ Te Mauparāoa was allied to both Pōmare and Te Whareumu. Through them he was also aligned with Kawiti of Ngāti Hine, and Te Uri Kapana and the rangatira Te Haupokia.¹⁰¹⁷

According to Munn's history of Ngāti Manu, in 1837 Te Mauparāoa became involved in the war between Tītore Takiri and Pōmare II when Ngāti Kahungunu killed a woman called Kirimahore at Pāroa Bay. The death was said to have been utu for Te Mauparāoa's wife, Te Rangi-hekura, who had been killed earlier at Pakeretu, between Te Ahuahu and Waimā by people from Pī's hapū of lower Waimā. Munn suggests that the real reason was the 'Girls' War' of 1830, and that Kahungunu were taking advantage of a land dispute between Ngāti Hine and a Ngāpuhi hapū. The actual circumstances of Kirimahore's death are not known, but when her head was brought to Ōtūihu for exhibition, Pōmare and Kiwikiwi were enraged. Even though Kahungunu were severely reprimanded, they were not expelled from Ōtūihu, because of the long-standing friendship.¹⁰¹⁸

On his death bed, Pōmare I (Whetoi) is said to have told his brother, Te Hoia, to return Te Mauparāoa to his own land, because of Te Hoia's lack of hospitality towards him. Te Mauparāoa refused to leave, preferring instead to die at the kāinga of his friend, Pomāre. Despite this, some members of Ngāti Kahungunu and others from Ngāti Porou did return home at Wiremu Pomāre's insistence, but others elected to remain at Te Kāretu with their rangatira Te Honihana (Te Mauparāoa's son), Ngamoni Hapaera, Korahi and Maewa as well as Pohe and Mekemeke of Ngāti Porou. Te Mauparāoa's mana had increased to the extent that, following Pōmare's death in 1826, he succeeded to the leadership of Pōmare's people and fought with Hōne Heke.

Ngāti Rehua have recorded their own history of events that followed, when an ope (party) of 120 Ngāti Kahungunu led by Te Mauparāoa stopped at Aotea to reprovision on their way home from their visit to the Bay of Islands. This ope also included members of Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Manu. This was not an unusual occurrence as Aotea, Hauturu, Pokohinu and other islands lay on one of the main traditional routes from Te Taitokerau to the south. When Te Mauparāoa and his men entered Te Mariri's pā, they found that most of the men were away at Motu Okokewa, Hauturu and Pokohinu, harvesting manu oi, so they helped themselves to

¹⁰¹⁶ Angela Ballara, 'Warfare and Government in Ngāpuhi tribal society: 1814-1833', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1973, p.284.

¹⁰¹⁷ Munn, p.218.

¹⁰¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp.216-9.

guns, ammunition and food. Some of them were also alleged to have interfered with some of the women, including Kipo, the daughter of the Ngāti Maru rangatira Te Horeta Te Taniwha. Te Horeta would eventually lead a taua against the visitors.

After Te Mauparāoa and his men left the pā, Te Mariri sent a messenger to Marutūāhu asking for their help. Marutūāhu and its allies responded by gathering to support Te Mariri and Ngāti Rehua against Te Mauparāoa. A large taua of waka and fighting men, led by Horeta Te Taniwha, went to Aotea. A combined fighting force of Marutūāhu, Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Rehua and Ngāti Wai engaged Te Mauparāoa's ope in battle at Orehua and Kaikaikainga near the Whangapoua estuary, on the east coast of Aotea. Their victory cost them over 100 Marutūāhu warriors. After the defeat of Te Mauparāoa, Ngāti Rehua allowed Ngāti Maru to keep the 'spoils of war' as compensation for their losses in battle. They took eight Ngāti Kahungunu waka, including the famous waka *Waikohare*, guns, ammunition, traditional weapons, pounamu and other taonga. They were also given most of the Ngāti Kahungunu prisoners, including women and children. Te Heru and Taiawa Te Awaroa kept some of the Ngāti Kahungunu women as wives, including Taiawa's second wife, Poukino, who had a daughter named Ngapera.

Te Mauparāoa escaped during the battle and, being closely associated with Te Ururoa of Whaingaroa, left for Hauraki fearing Ngāpuhi reprisals. At Waiau, a hui was held to discuss *tuku whenua* or *utu* for Ngāti Maru's losses in the battle. Te Horeta demanded that Ngāti Rehua sell their land to his son-in-law Webster, saying: 'Ko ngā kiko ma mātou, ko ngā whenua ma koutou, me hoko ki te Pākehā, hei utu mo mātou', meaning, 'we have paid in flesh, you pay in land. Your land should be sold to the Pākehā as recompense for us.' Ngāti Maru then sold Aotea to William Webster, son-in-law of Te Horeta. These events formed the background to battles for Aotea, which were subsequently fought in the Māori Land Court.¹⁰¹⁹

The Ngāti Kahungunu people who stayed with Ngāti Manu established their own *kāinga* with some of their hosts at Rotoparera, which had previously belonged to Te Kapotai. From that time on, Ngāti Manu and Ngāti Kahungunu lived amicably together at Te Kāretu, without interference from Te Kapotai. The relationship was strengthened when Te Honihana married Maraea Ringi from Ngāti Manu. The couple did not always reside at Te Kāretu, however,

¹⁰¹⁹ From Ngāti Rehua online at: <http://www.ngatirehua.iwi.nz/Battle.htm> (2006)

living for some years instead at Mahurangi after accompanying Wiremu Pomāre, his sister Tiaho, and Rewe Pirihito to some of Pomāre's ancestral land there.¹⁰²⁰

During this period Te Hāpuku, an influential leader of Ngāti Te Whatu-i-apiti, with strong kinship links to Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne, Ngāti Ira and other major tribal groups in Hawke's Bay, visited the Bay of Islands. While there, on 25 September 1838, he signed He Whakaputanga o nga Rangatira o Niu Tīreni, the 1835 Declaration of Independence of New Zealand.¹⁰²¹

About 1839, some time after Te Wera Hauraki's death, Ngāti Kahungunu requested the return of one of their own, Rēnata Kawepō, who had been recaptured by Te Wera from the Ngāti Raukawa people of Wellington while he was still a young boy. While in the north, Kawepō had been treated as a rangatira. He was accompanied back to his home at Ōmāhu by Wiremu Kātene, a nephew of Te Wera. When Kawepō died in 1888, Kātene went back there to pay his respects. At that time, Te Wera's leadership and the close ties between the two tribal groups was recalled and Rēnata's people presented Te Wera's people with a significant collection of taonga, which included tiki, earrings and a large block of pounamu. Kātene divided these amongst Te Wera's relatives on his return but retained the large block of pounamu. From the pounamu, two mere were cut and shaped. They were presented by Hōne Haimona, Kerei Mihaka and Hare Ngawati, together with two pieces of pounamu, to Lord Freyberg at Waitangi, on 6 February 1952, on behalf of Te Wera's family.¹⁰²²

The history continues to be recalled in the present. For example, when Mrs Nina Buxton of Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu recently attended the Auckland christening of her grandson, whose father was Ngāpuhi, the officiating minister reminded the gathered family that if it had not been for Te Wera Hauraki, Ngāti Kahungunu would have been annihilated.¹⁰²³

Taranaki

Links with the Taranaki-Whanganui region began with Rongorongo, the younger sister of Kupe's wife Kuramarotini. Rongorongo married Turi. When Turi decided to migrate, he

¹⁰²⁰ Munn, p.262.

¹⁰²¹ Angela Ballara, 'Te Hapuku ? – 1878', DNZB, updated 7 April 2006, online at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>
Original version, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume One (1769-1869), 1990.

¹⁰²² 'Anaru', 'The Delectable Land of Taiamai', *Te Ao Hou*, 17, December 1956, pp.20-21.

¹⁰²³ Personal communication, Mrs Nina Puhina Buxton, 1 February 2007.

was given the *Aotea* waka by his father-in-law Toto (or Ngā-Toto) and directions to Taranaki by Kupe. Another sister, Rongokako married Muriwhenua of Te Aupōuri and Kurahaupō.¹⁰²⁴

Rāhiri's challenges to Ngāti Awa had led some of them to return to Whakatāne, while others went to Taranaki to become Atiawa. After his son Māui had travelled south with Te Atiawa, Rāhiri followed and died at Ōhākune. His other sons went deep into Taranaki-Wanganui in search of him.¹⁰²⁵ Other traditions say that, having moved to Taranaki, Rāhiri married Rākei of Ngāti Mutunga. In this version, they built their pā at Te Motunui and named it 'Te Patunga-taniwha-a-Rāhiri'. They are said to be the ancestors of Ngāti Rāhiri of Motunui and Ngāti Rākei of Mōkau. There are also whakapapa for Ngāti Ruanui of South Taranaki that name two Rāhiri, who would have lived ten generations after Turi or at about the same time as the Ngāpuhi tūpuna, but whether these are references to the same man or different men is uncertain. Tony Sole of Ngāti Ruanui notes that the Ruanui name has persisted among Ngāpuhi but, apart from Hoani Timo's account, which names Rāhiri as the ancestor of Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngāpuhi, no other evidence has been found linking Rāhiri and his two ancestors named Ruānui to Ngāti Ruanui of Taranaki.¹⁰²⁶

Between 1816 and 1817, Ngāpuhi taua penetrated as far south as Waimate pā, at the mouth of the Kapuni River. These were followed by others involving Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Whātua and other Ngāpuhi, and their rangatira Tūwhare, Murupaenga, Patuone, Nene, Tāwhai and others. In 1819, another taua led by several important northern leaders, including Patuone, raided deep into Taranaki, attacking Ngāti Ruanui at Ōkahūtī pā. Lacking muskets, many of the Ngāti Ruanui were killed or taken as slaves and generally dispersed. A tatau pounamu, or peace agreement, followed these events. Patuone left behind ten of his men, who had married locally, and took a number of others away with him. This could explain why many Ngāti Ruanui 'slaves' who were liberated from the Hokianga area in the late 1830s, did not return south – rather than being slaves, they were the partners or children of the marriages arranged by Patuone to cement peace.¹⁰²⁷ The enduring links between Taranaki and the Hokianga have been maintained by children born to Ngāti Ruanui and Ngāpuhi parents following this tatau pounamu.¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²⁴ Canon Wi Te Tau Huata cited at: www.maaori.com/whakapapa/hononga.htm

¹⁰²⁵ Personal communication, Patu Hohepa, 18 April 2007.

¹⁰²⁶ Tony Sole, *Ngāti Ruanui: A History*, Wellington, 2005, p.75.

¹⁰²⁷ Tony Sole, 'Ngāti Ruānui', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 21-Dec-2006 online at: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/NgatiRuanui/en>

¹⁰²⁸ Sole, *Ngāti Ruanui*, pp.75-6.

Hōne Mohi Tāwhai, Member of the House of Representatives for Northern Māori from 1879 to 1884, was appointed to sit on the West Coast Royal Commission to inquire into Māori claims against land confiscations in Taranaki and the detention of prisoners who resisted the government survey in January 1880. Although he was initially reluctant to take his place on the Commission, the Minister for Native Affairs persuaded him to on the grounds that he was impartial, not having been involved in the wars.

Before the commission sat, Tawhai voted against the Māori Prisoners Detention Bill of 1880, because it had not been printed in Māori and was being rushed through the House. He refused to support ‘blindfold’ a measure that had been presented hastily. He also criticised the transporting of Māori prisoners from Taranaki to Dunedin and Hokitika gaols. He felt they would perish in the South Island’s colder climate. He subsequently declined to sit on the commission with William Fox and Francis Dillon Bell, because the former had been implicated in the Taranaki confiscations and the latter in the land purchase at Waitara.¹⁰²⁹

Te Hokianga-Ngāpuhi were at Parihaka for the passive resistance organized by the Taranaki prophet Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, and many were jailed as ploughmen and passive resisters. Many from Taranaki came to Hokianga. Subsequent marriages included the great-great-grandmother of Professor Patu Hohepa, Katariana Puketapu, to Kahi, the step-brother of Moetara,¹⁰³⁰ and the Hokianga prophet Ani Kaaro formed a close relationship with Te Whiti following her pilgrimage to Parihaka. Tuakana-tēina links with the Taranaki-Whanganui area have continued to the present, including Ngāpuhi support for the Moutoa Gardens Whanganui occupation.

¹⁰²⁹ Ranginui J. Walker, ‘Tawhai, Hone Mohi 1827/1828? – 1894’, DNZB, updated 7 April 2006, online at: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> Original version, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume Two (1870-1900), 1993.

¹⁰³⁰ Personal communication, Patu Hohepa, 18 April 2007.