

Nga Hekenga O Te Atiawa



Waitangi Tribunal Report

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Editing of Nga Hekenga o Te Atiawa

Nga Hekenga o Te Atiawa was edited in April 2003. Where changes have been made to the main text, this has been done to provide greater clarity; such changes are minimal and do not alter the content of the original text as such.

Where appropriate, punctuation has been added to direct quotes in the main text in order to provide greater clarity.

Additional references have been added to the footnotes in order to identify information sources not acknowledged in the original report.

The most significant amendments have been made to the footnotes; every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of references given and the page numbers referred to.

The document bank for this report is with the author.

Preface

The Author

Ko Alan Tahuaroa Riwaka taku ingoa. Ko ahau tetahi o nga uri o Rihari Tahuaroa, ko ia tetahi o nga rangatira o te raupatu kua tatu i Totaranui. Ka moe a Rihari i a Roka Pawau, ka puta mai a Karira. Ka moe a Karira i a Meretoro, ka puta mai a Karira (tuarua). Ka moe a Karira (tuarua) i a Tinipere o Ngati Rarua, ka puta mai toku kuia a Nancy Whanganui Watson (Tahuaroa). Ka moe a Nancy i a Tamahoukura Riwaka, ka puta mai a Wiremu Tuteuruoho. Ka moe a Wiremu Tuteuruoho i a Agnes Taakiwaiora Matana, ka puta mai a Alan Tahuaroa Riwaka.

Ko Taranaki te maunga tuatahi
 Ko Raukawa te moana
 Ko Arapaoa te moutere tapu
 Ko Waitohi te awa
 Ko Piripiri te maunga tuarua
 Ko Waikawa te marae
 Ko Arapaoa te whare tipuna
 Ko Te Atiawa te iwi

Through whakapapa, I have connections to most of the iwi within the South Island including Ngati Apa, Ngati Kuia, Rangitane, Ngati Rarua, Ngati Toa, Ngati Tama and Ngai Tahu.

For the past five years, I have been employed by Te Atiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust. One of my many tasks has been the compilation of a history that looks at the origins and settlement of Te Atiawa within Te Tau Ihu.

Acknowledgments

In piecing together the history of Te Atiawa, I have relied to a large extent upon the support of our kaumatua, many of whom are no longer with us. I have also relied upon the support of past and current trustees of Te Atiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust, Te Atiawa Trust Whenua Komiti, Don Loveridge, Mary Gillingham and Mike Taylor in completing this report. I would also like to acknowledge the support of iwi, particularly for attending the various wananga, where many points raised in this report were discussed. *Ko te totara weherua he kai na te ahi, ko te totara weherua he kai na te toki.*

Structure and Scope of The report

The purpose of the report, 'Nga Hekenga o Te Atiawa', is to present an overview of the traditional history of Te Atiawa as supporting evidence to claim 607 to the Waitangi Tribunal. This presentation of the history covers four periods, starting with the origins of Te Atiawa and concluding with their settlement of the northern South Island.

There are nine chapters in the document. The first examines the origins of Te Atiawa people and their settlement of the Taranaki district, up until the beginning of the nineteenth century. This chapter also seeks to clarify the relationship between the names, Ngatiawa and Te Atiawa.

The second chapter looks at events in the years just prior to 1824. The arrival of the Europeans with their muskets in the early 1800s had a huge impact on the Maori population. At first, chiefs seized on the new weapon as a deadly and effective way of settling old scores with old enemies. They quickly recognised that it had a further potential in that a taua armed with muskets had a decided advantage over one that was more traditionally armed. The conquest of new lands was possible on a far grander scale than ever before. As a result, people found themselves driven from their homes, either temporarily or permanently. In turn, they drove weaker opponents from their land, thereby causing the displacement of yet more tribes. At the end of this line, the least lucky had no choices; those who were not killed in the fighting were absorbed into the conquering tribes. In effect, the events of the early period set off a chain reaction that would span almost the full length of the country.

It was from these beginnings and against a background of escalated warring amongst the more northern tribes that the 'Musket Wars' erupted. The Kawhia tribes, who were continually at war with the powerful Waikato and Maniapoto, became involved and, as a result, many Ngati Toa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Koata chose to leave Kawhia. They decided that relocation to Kapiti would give them a better chance of survival. On the long journey south they were pursued by Waikato and, at Taranaki, Te Atiawa (Ngatiawa) stood with the Kawhia people and defeated Waikato at the battle of Motunui. Following this success, Te Atiawa assisted the Kawhia people to Kapiti, unaware that they too would settle there within a short time.

The third chapter deals with the migrations of Te Atiawa people from Taranaki. The earlier assistance given to the Kawhia tribes brought them into conflict with Waikato and Maniapoto; they knew that their only chance of survival was to acquire muskets. Had Te Atiawa decided against giving the Kawhia tribes assistance, their history could well have been quite different.

The next chapter relates the history of the heke. At least four main heke left Taranaki between 1822 and 1833. The first, already mentioned, was as the escort to the Kawhia tribes. After the majority of Te Atiawa people returned to Taranaki, the second heke, consisting largely of Ngati Tama, moved south in Te Heke Hauhaua. They were followed by a large contingent of Ngati Mutunga, Manukorihi and Puketapu, about 1824. The next heke, Tamateuaua, left Taranaki in 1832 with about two thousand men, women and

children. On this last occasion Waikato and Maniapoto finally executed their threat to seek payment for both the assistance given to the Kawhia tribes at the Battle of Motunui, and for the subsequent loss of chiefs.

The fifth chapter reviews the conquest of the northern South Island. As the numbers of Te Atiawa (or Ngatiawa as they were also known) increased in the lower North Island, so too did the demand for more land and resources. Inevitably, the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes turned their attention to the South Island. They fought battles against Ngati Kuia, Rangitane, Ngati Apa and Tu-mata-kokiri, who never really stood a chance against the northern tribes. Eventually they all succumbed to the authority of their conquerors. Ngai Tahu did not escape the wrath of the northern tribes either. The Poutini people occupying the West Coast were subdued and those on the East Coast suffered great losses.

With the advent of Christianity and European colonisation, the Kurahaupo people of the northern South Island were able to feel a little more secure on the lands that were left for them to occupy.

The sixth chapter is an account of events in Taranaki in the early 1830s. Battles were fought at Pukerangiora and Nga Motu, when Waikato returned to avenge their defeat at Motunui, a decade earlier. Thousands more Te Atiawa migrated south as a result, putting pressure on both land and resources. Some of these people were to eventually settle in the north of the South Island, where a number of their descendants remain to this day.

According to James Belich, it is most likely that the restoration of the inter-tribal balance of military power brought an end to the Maori Wars.¹ In so far as Te Atiawa were concerned, missionary influence persuaded them to put down their arms. Bishop Hadfield summed it up in 1840, when he wrote in his diary that Te Atiawa had laid down their arms and in future would only fight in self-defence.

The last two chapters look at the settlement of the northern South Island by Te Atiawa people. Settlement of the land did not take place overnight. It was a gradual process influenced by a number of factors, including the return of many Te Atiawa to Taranaki in 1848 and the subsequent heke, which occurred after the mid 1850s. In both cases the return was influenced by concern about the land in Taranaki and, in the latter, as a result of the actions of the Colonial Government. The Taranaki Land Wars, one of the major events of the nineteenth century, stemmed from the desire of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake to protect the tribal estate of Te Atiawa. In 1860, the first of the country's land wars involving the Crown began and Maori resistance at Parihaka continued through until the end of the century.

The distribution of Te Atiawa within the northern South Island around 1840 was quite extensive. Te Atiawa was occupying, or had occupied, the Wairau, Queen Charlotte,

¹ Belich, J. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland University Press, 1986, p 20.

Pelorus, Wakapuaka, Wakatu, Motueka, Te Taitapu and areas on the West Coast of the South Island. Customary usage was even more widespread.

By 1860 Te Atiawa were more restricted in their movements, largely because huge land purchases had already taken place by this time. In the 1840s and 1850s reserves were established for Te Atiawa to live on. These reserves were all that remained of their land. Apart from the fact that the reserves were inadequate, in many cases, the land was worthless. Through successive government legislation and policy, Te Atiawa have been systematically stripped of their main asset base, and the ability to exercise rangatiratanga in accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

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Chapter One

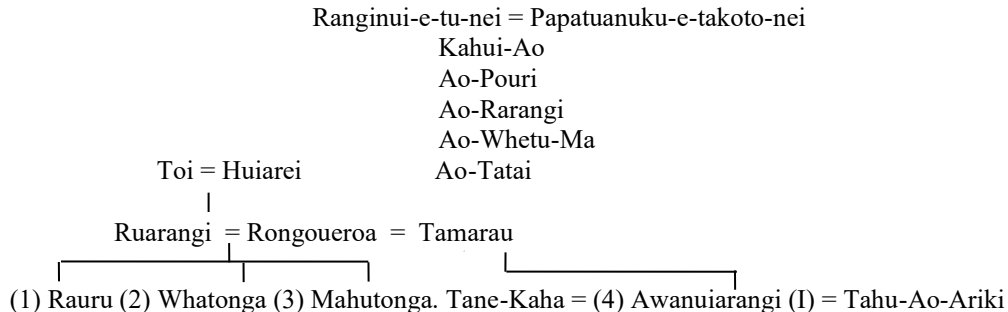
1.0 Ko Te Atiawa no Runga i Te Rangi

In order to trace the origins of Te Atiawa we should start with Toi-te-huatahi or Toi-kai-rakau, the wood eater. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, Toi was the progenitor of many tribes that occupied a considerable stretch of country, eight generations prior to the waka migrations of the fourteenth century. He was so-named on account of his dependence upon the forest to provide his people with food. They did not have any cultivated land.²

Soon after Toi arrived in New Zealand with his people he established a pa called Kaputerangi, situated at Whakatane.³ In the succeeding years the descendants of Toi were increased by intermarriage with the original occupants of the land about Whakatane and further afield. They became known as Te Tini o Toi (the multitudes of Toi). Some of the principal branches were Te Tini o Awa, Te Marangaranga, Te Tini o Tuio, Te Tini o Taunga and Ngai-Turanga.⁴

One of Toi's sons was called Ruarangi who married a woman called Rongoueroa. She was the mother of Awanuiarangi, our eponymous ancestor. The father of Awanuiarangi was Tamarau-Te-Heketanga-A-Rangi (Tamarau) who was a Whatukura, a heavenly guardian from the tenth heaven. Tamarau was one of the seventy children of Rangi and Papa, hence the name 'Ko Te Atiawa no runga i Te Rangi' - 'Te Atiawa from the heavens above.'⁵

See whakapapa below: ⁶



² Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Cawthron Lecture, Thomas Avery & Sons Limited, New Plymouth, second edition, 1929, p 17.

See also:

Whatahoro, H.T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc.* Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, p 268. Shows the whakapapa from Toi-kai-rakau.

³ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint 1974, p 23.

See also:

Best, Eldson. *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, A Polynesian Society Publication, Vol. I, A.H. & A.W. Reed, third edition, 1977, p 62.

⁴ Best, Eldson. *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist*, A Polynesian Society Publication, Vol. I, A.H. & A.W. Reed, third edition, 1977, p 62.

⁵ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, pp 5 - 6.

See also:

Whatahoro, H.T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc.* Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, pp 268, 269.

⁶ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint 1974, p 27.

See also:

Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 5.

According to Te Atiawa tradition, Tamarau came down from the heavens in a whirlwind after seeing Rongoueroa washing beside a stream. Upon landing, he took the form of a man who first appeared to Rongoueroa as a reflection in the waters of the stream. Tamarau then stepped forward and embraced her. Afterwards he said, 'Should our child be a son, call him Awanui-a-rangi to commemorate my descent from the heavens to this stream.' In due course, Rongoueroa gave birth to a son and called him Awanuiarangi.⁷

The following ngeri clearly explains the origins of Te Atiawa:⁸

Tamarau no Runga i Te Rangi	Tamarau from the heavens above
Heke iho ki raro ki te whakamarimari te tatari ai	Came down to make love and waited
Ki te hurahanga i te tapora o Rongo-ue-roa	Until he could have Rongo-u-eroa
	to wife
Taku kuia e! Taku kuia e!	She is our Kuia! She is our Kuia!
Te Ara o taku tupuna o tohia ai au	This therefore is the consecrated
	pathway of my ancestors
Ko Te Atiawa no Runga i Te Rangi	Te Atiawa from the heavens above
Te toki te tangatanga e te ra	The adze (of Tamarau) which can
	remove the very sun from its axis. ⁹
Taringa mango, ko te kete nge	
Ue ha! Ue ha!	

1.1 Occupation of Taranaki

The occupation of Taranaki by the Awa people, descendants of Awanuiarangi, dates back many generations. However, before we look at this, we should deal with the earlier tangata whenua of Taranaki. Te Atiawa, sometimes referred to as the Awa tribes or Ngatiawa, will be introduced at the appropriate time.

⁷ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 4.

See also:-

Whatahoro, H.T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, p 269. 'He said to Rongo-ue-roa, 'Farewell, o thou! if a male child is born to thee hereafter, name him from the awa (river) from whence I ascend, Awa-nui-a-rangi. And if a girl, call her Hine-awa-nui-a-rangi [Lady-the great river of heaven].'

Simmons, D. R. *The Great New Zealand Myth: a study of the discovery and origin traditions of the Maori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1976, p 187. Himina Te Wehi of Motueka in GNZMMS 50, written in 1847: 'Te Atiawa o runga i te rangi ko Tamarau te heketangarangi he wairua tenei tangata. Ko to Ngati Awa tupuna tenei. Heke iho ana ia i te rangi ko raro nei, a ka tae iho. Rokohanga iho e ia, ka whanau a Rongouaroa i tana tamaiti i a Rauru...'

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 23.

Elvy, W.J. *Kei Puta Te Wairau, A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe & Tombs Limited, First published 1957, pp 98 - 99.

Broughton, Ruka, *The Origins of Ngaa Rauru Kiitahi*, (English translation) MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1979, p 11.

Elvy, W.J. *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 98 - 99.

⁸ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 6.

⁹ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 6. Ritai provides the above translation but does not translate the last two lines. He suggests the true meaning might be found in the carved Poupuu representing Tamarau, which is inside the wharenui, Te Ika A Maui, at Owae Marae, Waitara. He alludes to Tamarau having very large ears.

According to Kaumatua, Joe Ritai, the Kahui Maunga were the first to occupy Taranaki.¹⁰ The Kahui Maunga sprang out of the land, *No ro' te whenua*.¹¹

Ritai goes on to say that the Kahui Maunga were also connected with Rua Taranaki, the first man ever to climb the peak of Maunga Taranaki. Three of the many hapu that descend from Rua Taranaki were Te Kahui Tu, Te Kahui Rangi, and Te Kahui Tawake. These three hapu had their kainga at Waitara and, in time, spread to occupy many parts of Aotearoa, including Te Tau Ihu O Te Waka a Maui, (the Northern South Island.)¹²

According to Te Rangi Hiroa, in later years the Taitawaro tribe joined the Kahui Maunga in Taranaki and established themselves between Oakura and Mokau. They were apparently blown off shore while out on a fishing trip in Hawaiki, and eventually came to land on Nga Motu Beach, situated to the Southwest of New Plymouth.¹³

It was not too long after the arrival of the Taitawaro people that they became embroiled in a feud with Toi who was living in Whakatane. Toi ordered an attack on the Taitawaro people and a battle was fought at Te Mangakino, on the East Side of Mokau. Toi won the battle and many of the defeated were taken back to Whakatane. One of those captured was the daughter of Pohokura the principle chief of the Taitawaro. After hearing that his daughter, Piopio, had been captured, he travelled to Whakatane where he met with Toi. To save his daughter from death, or a life of slavery, he offered her as a wife for Toi. The offer was a way to bring peace between the warring tribes and, in this case, also to protect his child. Toi declined the offer but instead gave Piopio as a wife to one of his grandsons, Te Atakore.¹⁴

Another important marriage that took place, around this time, was between Awanuiarangi (I) and a Taitawaro woman by the name of Tane Kaha. From this union came a son called Ue Kaha, who married a Taitawaro woman by the name of Hoewaka.¹⁵ It is understood that Awanuiarangi had other wives as well.

According to Te Rangi Hiroa, the descendants of Awanuiarangi were referred to as Ngatiawa.¹⁶ In time they grew in number and also became known as Te Tini o Awa or Te

¹⁰ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, pp 1 - 3.

¹¹ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 1.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 29. The Kahui Maunga, according to Taranaki tradition, say they walked to Aotearoa.

¹² Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 2.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 26. Says that Rua Taranaki was of the Kahui Maunga people.

¹³ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint, 1974, pp 10, 12.

¹⁴ Whatahoro, H. T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, pp 102 - 103.

See also:

Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint, 1974, pp 23 - 24.

¹⁵ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 5.

¹⁶ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint 1974, p 24.

See also:

Whatahoro, H. T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, p 103.

Tini o Awanuiarangi, (the multitudes of Awanuiarangi). It is worth noting that the 'Ngatiawa' name is still used by the Whakatane people today and also by a number of Taranaki Ngatiawa / Te Atiawa who currently reside in Te Tau Ihu. This subject is discussed in more depth further on.

It was during the lifetime of Awanuiarangi that his descendants moved from Whakatane to Taranaki. They occupied places at Nga-Puke-Turua, inland of Mahoetahi, and Puketapu. Te Rangi Hiroa applies the 'Atiawa' name to these people and says that they rapidly spread throughout the area. In the generations that followed they became a large and powerful tribe.¹⁷

Relations between the Atiawa and the northern Taranaki tribes were at first friendly but after the passing of Pohokura, the situation turned sour. War broke out and the Kahui Maunga and Taitawaro people were defeated by the Atiawa. Many were driven out and those that remained behind were more than likely absorbed into the more dominant tribe. Essentially, the rangatiratanga of the land passed to the people of Awanuiarangi.¹⁸

According to some authorities, this was how the Awa people first came to occupy Taranaki. However, there are accounts that say they were already living on the land, prior to the arrival of their relatives from Whakatane. The people of the Awa tribe living in the Bay of Plenty had originally separated from those in Taranaki and afterwards some of them travelled to Whakatane. Awanuiarangi is said to have been born at Taranaki. Kaumatua Alex Watene, in addressing the origins of the 'Te Atiawa or Ngaatiawa,' says:¹⁹

I can recall my parents and kaumatua of 50-60 years ago talking about our iwi. They always maintained that the 'affair' between Rongoueroa and Tamarau happened beside the Waiongana River near Waitara and that this is where Te Atiawa sprang from. They also talked about migrations from Taranaki to the Bay of Plenty and referred to the people who finally settled there as Te Koroatiawa.

A further increase to the Atiawa population of Taranaki came with the arrival of the Tokomaru waka about 1350. It should be explained here though, that the Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga are not strictly part of Atiawa or Ngatiawa, other than through the subsequent marriages that took place after their arrival in Taranaki.

¹⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 120 - 121.

See also:

Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint, 1974, p 24.

Whatahoro, H. T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, p 103. Whatahoro says that the first Ngati Awa went to Taranaki following the marriage of Piopio and Te Atakore.

¹⁸ Whatahoro, H. T. *Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Maori College On their History and Migrations, etc*, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. IV, Part II - Te Kauwae-raro, translated and annotated by Smith, S.P. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth, 1915, pp 102 - 103. '... when great troubles arose between Ngati-Awa and the local Taranaki people involving all the hapus of that part, and during which Te Tini-o Maru-iwi and Tini-o-Rua-tamore were sorely smitten, and finally fled to Mokau, then to Whanganui [Upper] and on to Turanga [Poverty Bay] and to the Wairoa in Hawkes Bay...'

See also:

Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint, 1974, p 24. Taitawaro was the younger brother of Pohokura.

¹⁹ Watene, Alex Te Rairini. 'Te Atiawa o Runga Te Rangi, Ngaatiawa Taringa Mango, 3 Nov 1999. A paper written for presentation at a Te Atiawa Iwi hui, to discuss the origins of the name Ngaatiawa and Te Atiawa.

Te Rangi Hiroa says that when the Tokomaru arrived off the Taranaki coast it was beached in the Mohakatino River, south of Mokau.²⁰ There were at least two captains, Whata and Nganaruru (some include Manaia as a third captain). Tama Ariki, from whom Ngati Tama claim descent, was the navigator and Nganaruru was the ancestor of Ngati Mutunga. Te Rangi Hiroa says they settled between Paraninihi (White Cliffs) and Onuku-taipari, south of New Plymouth.²¹

In the period following the arrival of the Tokomaru, there was another accession to the number of Awanuiarangi's people at Taranaki. This came with the arrival of the Mataatua waka, which landed many of its people in the Bay of Plenty. The Mataatua traditions say that Toroa was the Captain of this waka and that their people descend from Awanuiarangi.

One of the traditions associated with Mataatua relates to a dispute between Toroa and Puhi. As a consequence, Puhi along with his son Rahiri, took the Mataatua waka and travelled north from Whakatane until they reached Whangaroa in the far north. It was here that the Mataatua waka was wrecked. After settling in the area for a short while, a section of these people travelled to Taranaki where they joined their northern Taranaki relations.²²

Another occasion when there was an increase to the Awa population at Taranaki relates to a waka that travelled from Waitara to Whakatane. The name of this waka was Nukutere-o-Taranaki. Among those on board were Tukai-te-uru, Tama-teamatangi and Te-mai-ure-nui. During the visit, Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa, fell in love with the handsome Tukai-te-uru. One night after they all retired to the sleeping house, Tu-mai-ure-nui observed Wairaka's longing looks at Tukai-te-uru. Suspecting what was about to happen, Tu-mai-ure-nui persuaded Tukai-te-uru to change sleeping mats with him. Sure enough, that night Wairaka stole across to the mat of the handsome visitor and early the next morning informed her father that she wished to take as her husband the man she had marked with a scratch on his face. Toroa gathered his people together to see his new son-in-law emerge from the wharepuni, and, alas for Wairaka, she had been tricked. She had given her word and was obliged to take Tu-mai-ure-nui as her husband. According to Percy Smith, this event took place somewhere around 1360-1370. The event was immortalised in a tau: ²³

Piki mai ra kake mai ra
Homai te waioara ki ahau
E Tu-tehua ana koa te moe a te kuia i te po
Po po e rarua ai a Wairaka e Tu-mai-urenui
Papaki tu ana te tai Te Reinga
Ka po ka ao ka ea, ka awatea.

²⁰ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Cawthron Lecture, Thomas Avery & Sons Limited, New Plymouth, second edition, 1929, p 15.

²¹ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Cawthron Lecture, Thomas Avery & Sons Limited, New Plymouth, second edition, 1929, p 15.

See also:

Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, pp 7 - 8.

²² *Personal communications*, Kaumatua Hipp Fenton, 1997, Owae Marae.

See also:

Simmons, D. R. *The Great New Zealand Myth: a study of the discovery and origin traditions of the Maori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1976, pp 155 - 156.

²³ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, pp 8, 9.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 121.

According to Ritai, after this event the visitors from Waitara settled and married into the Mataatua people and became known as 'Koro Atiawa' so that they would not be confused with Ngati-Awa; or as they were described earlier, Te Tini O Awanuiarangi.²⁴ Watene of course says that the name 'Koroatiawa' was actually applied to Awanuiarangi's people who originally broke away and went to live at Whakatane.²⁵

Soon after the marriage of Wairaka and Tu-mai-urenuī, the brother of Wairaka had a grandson named Awanuiarangi II and, being mindful of his genealogical links with his celebrated ancestor of the same name, journeyed to Taranaki to visit his relations. While he was there, he was given a number of wives of whom Tatarau was one. From this union descend a number of families who make up Otaraua. From another wife called Nuia, descends Manukorihi. Both are acknowledged hapu of Te Atiawa. Ritai provides us with the following whakapapa, which shows two connections between Toroa of the Mataatua waka and the Manukorihi hapu of Te Atiawa.²⁶ One of our celebrated ancestors who descends from this line is the great poet, Makere. He is one of the tupuna represented in the Whare tupuna, Arapaoa, which is situated at Waikawa Marae.

²⁴ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, p 9.

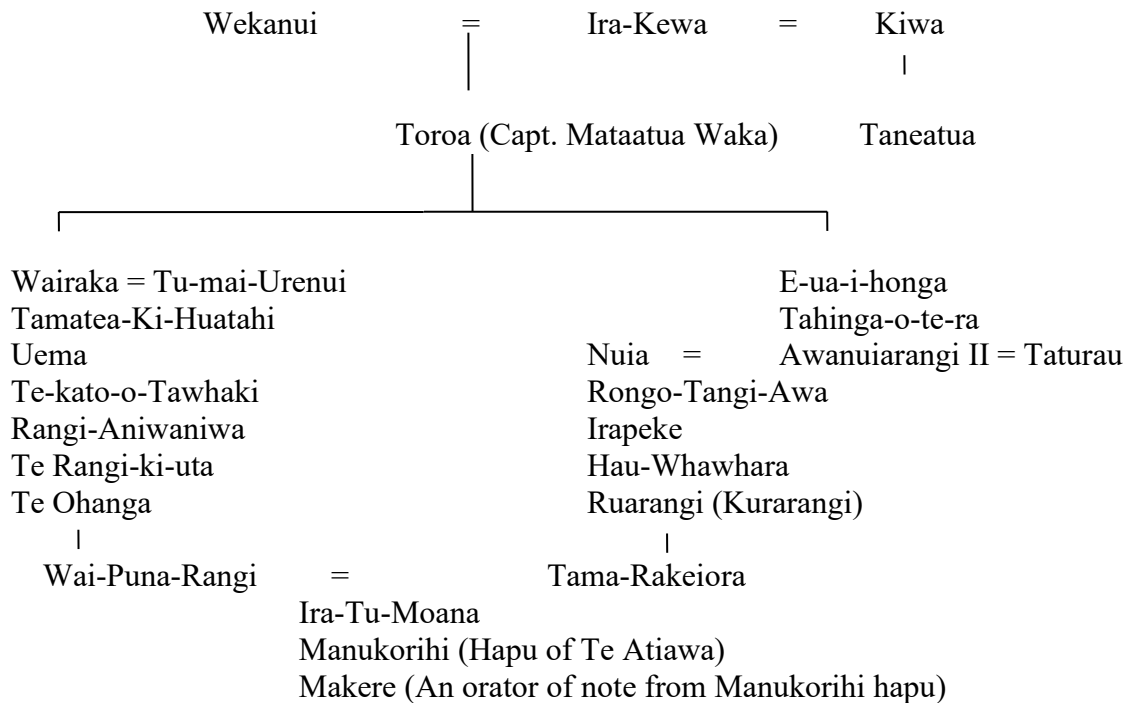
See also:

Mead to Chambers, *Letter*, 21 March 1995, Te Atiawa Trust Archives, Picton.

²⁵ Watene, Alex Te Rairini. '*Te Atiawa o Runga Te Rangi, Ngaatiawa Taringa Mango*', 3 Nov 1999. A paper written for presentation at a Te Atiawa Iwi hui, to discuss the origins of the name Ngatiawa and Te Atiawa.

²⁶ Ritai, J. *Taranaki MuruRaupatu*, 1991, Vol. 1, Wai 143, #D1-D10, pp 9 - 10.

Connections between Toroa of the Mataatua waka and the Manukorihi hapu of Te Atiawa



An account given by Smith says that there were a number of others who departed from Whakatane, and after a short stay in the north, they eventually made their way to Taranaki. This apparently took place around 1460. The people involved were the Ngati Kahu, one of the many branches of Toi.²⁷

As mentioned, the occupation of Taranaki by the descendants of Awanuiarangi dates back almost eight hundred and fifty years to around 1150. Their relationship with the Awa people living at Whakatane was very close and, despite there being differing traditions about how they came to occupy Taranaki and Whakatane, they still acknowledge their common descent from Awanuiarangi.

According to Smith, the divisions of Te Atiawa residing at Taranaki include:²⁸

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Hamua | 6. Puke-tapu | 11. Otaraua |
| 2. Ngati-Rahiri | 7. Ngati-Tawhiri-kura | 12. Ngati-Taupari-kino |
| 3. Ngati-Tawako | 8. Kai-tangata | 13. Ngati-Tuahū |
| 4. Ngati-Ue-nuku | 9. Manu-korihi | |
| 5. Puke-rangi-ora | 10. Nga-Motu | |

²⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 123, 124.

²⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 122.

By the turn of the nineteenth century the Awa people in northern Taranaki, which included the Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga, were settled between Mokau and the present-day New Plymouth. They were a large population; evidence from the period suggests that it was likely that there were between five and ten thousand of them. One source estimated that between the period of 1822 and 1834, 1519 Ngati Tama, and 3461 Atiawa migrated to the Horowhenua, Port Nicholson, Queen Charlotte, Motueka and West Coast districts. This does not take into account the number of Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Maru who settled the South Island in the 1830s.²⁹ In 1839, well after most of the people had left Taranaki, there were 7000 of the Ngatiawa people at Waikanae living in 3 villages.³⁰

1.2 Ngatiawa or Te Atiawa

In the remaining part of this report we have used the name 'Ngatiawa' to identify the Te Atiawa people at Taranaki and their migrations to Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka A Maui between 1822-1833. Where the context provides, we have also used the name Ngatiawa to encompass all the people living in northern Taranaki within this same period, that is the Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Te Atiawa (Atiawa) and Ngati Maru.

Pikau Te Rangi of Ngati Mutunga gave evidence in the Native Land Court in 1890 and he, like many other witnesses, refer to Ngatiawa as being the name of the 'bigger tribe' and encompassing all the northern Taranaki tribes or hapu as they are sometimes referred to. Pikau Te Rangi was about 12 years old when Ngatiawa escorted the Kawhia tribes from Taranaki to the Kapiti Coast in approximately 1822.³¹ Watene Taungatara of Ngati Rahiri and Otaraua³² was probably a little younger than Pikau Te Rangi. He also agrees that 'Ngatiawas was name of big tribe.'³³ Taungatara includes Ngati Kura, Otaraua, Ngati Rahiri, Ngati Mutunga, Kaitangata, Ngati Hinetuhi, Ngati Tuaho³⁴ and the tribe of Te Puoho, Ngati Tama.³⁵

²⁹ Clover, Gary, *Going Mihinare and Evangelical Religion*, MS 639, Taranaki Museum, Auckland, 1986.

See also:

Chapters 8 and 9 of Nga Hekenga o Te Atiawa.

³⁰ Hadfield, *Olive Wright Collection*, MS1719, Folder 9, 640, p 5. The file is made up of a number of pieces relating to history behind Hadfield. He was about 25 years old when he arrived at Waikanae in 1839. There is also a reference to Dieffenbach stating in 1839 that he arrived at Waikanae, and there were some 7000 souls contained within 3 villages.

³¹ *Otahi minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, pp 294 – 299. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. See also p 300. 'Was Puaho a Ngatiawa and Ngatitama chief – yes - He came down after Werarua was fought...'

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 6 February 1890, p 155. Evidence of Wi Parata.

Otahi minute book 10, 25 February 1890, p 326. Evidence of Mere Pomare: 'I belong to Ngati Toa and Ngatiawa... Hapus of Ngatiawas, Kaitangata - N Mutunga - & N. Kura & others...'

Otahi minute book 2, 6 March 1874, p 242. Evidence of Wiremu Tamihana Te Neke, of Ngatiawa: Ngati Tama and Ngati Rahiri are sub-tribes of Ngatiawa.

³² *Napier minute book 15*, 20 January 1890, p 4. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. Refers to the tribes of N Awa: 'I went there - long before the Kuititanga on the migration of the last heke of N Awa.' All names mentioned are the tribes of N Awa.

³³ *Otahi minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 325. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

³⁴ *Otahi minute book 10*, 30 January 1890, p 79. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 25 January 1890, p 29. Evidence of Eruini Te Marau. Supporting evidence of Taungatara re N Rahiri.

Wellington minute book 16A, 8 March 1890, p 50. Evidence of Hori Kokako. Kokako was born before Kuititanga and says: 'N. Mutunga is a hapu is N. Awa. ' Of Ngati Hineuru, Ngati Tuaho and Ngati Hinga. Son of Tukoko and Karoro, the latter who was Ngai Tahu.

Kokako was in heke Mairaro. Hori Kokako was born prior to Kuititanga.

³⁵ *Napier minute book 15*, 30 January 1890, pp. 83, 84. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. All names mentioned are the tribes of N Awa.

See also:

Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands by The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1892, Vol. 1, p 90.

Includes Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama as part of Ngatiawa.

Mokau minute book 1, 5 June 1882, p 12. Evidence of Wi Tako. 'I am a chief of N awa. I know that in 1848 some of N.awa, N. Tama, N. puketapu and N. pukerangiora came back from the South, these are all sections of N awa.'

Mokau minute book 1, 9 June 1882, p 33. Evidence of Tupoki Te Herewine Ngapiko: 'My tribe is N. tama.'

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 264: 'Ngati-Tama, another hapu or subdivision of the Ati-Awa tribe...'

Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake used the name Ngatiawa in his correspondence with the Government in the 1860s.³⁶ Te Rangitake was the son of Reretawhangawhanga who led many of the Ngatiawa people south from Taranaki in the migrations of the 1820s. Te Rangitake was responsible for leading many of the same people back to Taranaki in 1848, including some of those, who by then, were settled in the northern South Island.³⁷

The missionary Archdeacon Hadfield was on very good terms with the people whom he refers to in his journal and letters as 'Ngatiawa.' Hadfield was particularly close to Ngatiawa who were living at Waikanae and in Queen Charlotte Sound when he arrived in the Cook Strait region near the end of 1839. Church records after 1840 have many references to Ngatiawa, especially in the Nelson and Marlborough districts.³⁸

The name Ngatiawa can also be found on some of the early headstones. One example can be found at Wakapuaka in the Nelson districts and there are others in the North Island at Petone and Waikanae.

There is a considerable amount of evidence that the name Ngatiawa applied to the people living between present-day New Plymouth and the Mokau River c1820, and that within this formation existed the principle hapu or tribes of Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Te Atiawa (Atiawa) and Ngati Maru. Some of those who descend from Ngatiawa continue to identify with this name, although there has been a significant departure from this over the past 50 or more years.

³⁶ Houston, J. *Maori Life in Old Taranaki*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 133.

See also:

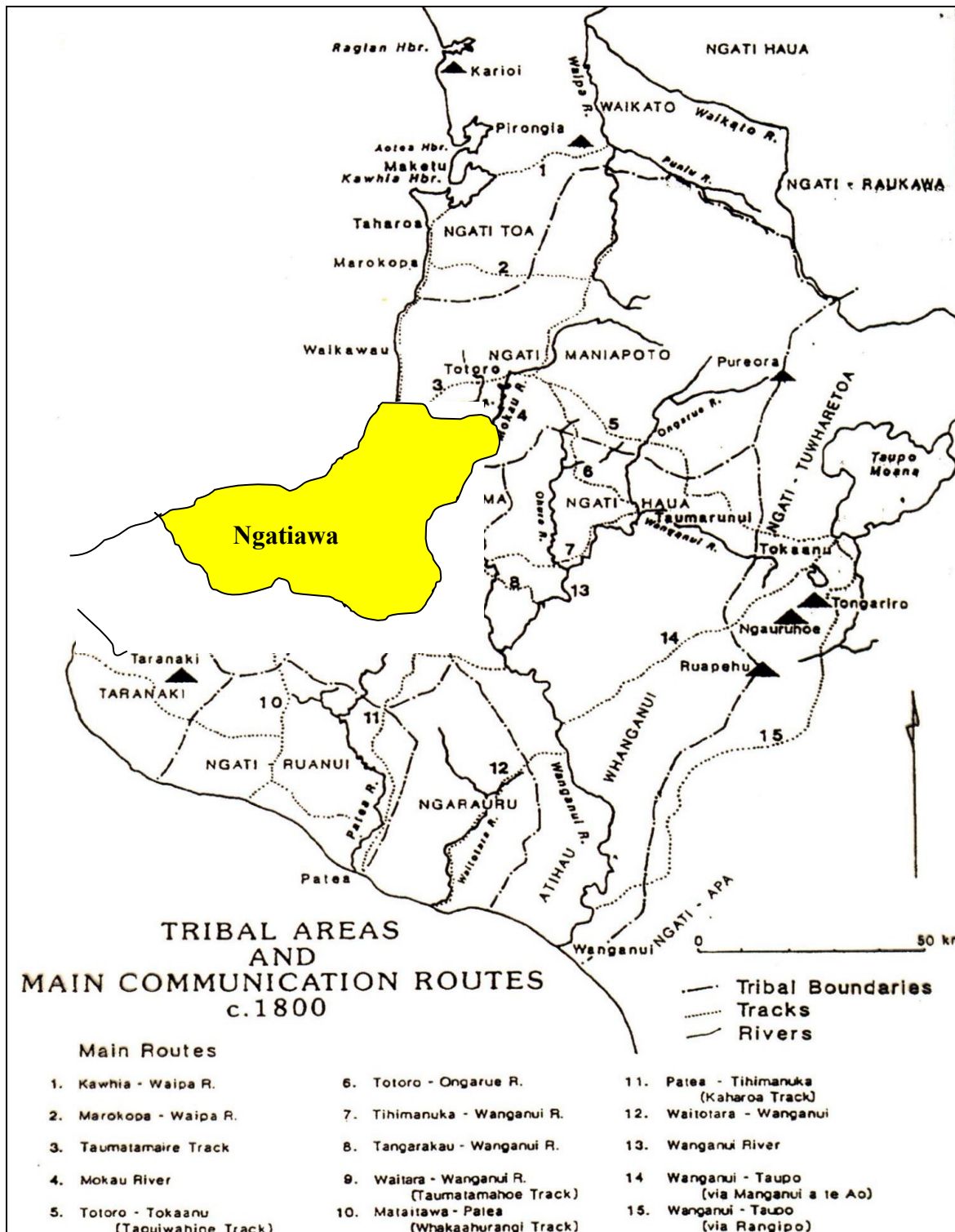
A.J.H.R., E-No.1 *Extracts from Letter of Rev. Riwai Te Ahu of Ngati Kura to the Superintendent of Wellington, 23 June 1860*, p 47. Te Ahu uses the name Ngatiawa.

A.J.H.R., E-No.2. *Letter from Certain Members of the Ngatiawa Tribe to the Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, Waikanae, 29 July 1860*, p 13. Letter signed by 11 Ngatiawa. They refer to themselves as Ngatiawa.

³⁷ Te Rangitake is depicted in the whakairo of Te Ika A Maui, the whare tupuna at Owae Marae in Waitara. Te Rangitake is also depicted in the Whare tupuna at Waikawa Marae.

³⁸ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary, Soc. qms - 0895*, 1st February 1841, p 11.

Figure 1. Principle Awa tribes / hapu residing in Northern Taranaki c1820



1.3 Displacement of the name Ngatiawa

Shand and Mead acknowledge that the name Ngatiawa was commonly used by the Awa people living in Taranaki in the nineteenth century. They also say that the name 'Te Atiawa' was a convenient term used to distinguish Ngatiawa in Taranaki from those of the same name living at Whakatane.³⁹ From this, it can be inferred that there was a name change and that 'Te Atiawa' became more commonly used from the turn of the century onwards. A point worth noting is that the names Te Atiawa, Atiawa and Ngatiawa can carry the same meaning.⁴⁰

According to Hirini Moko Mead of the Bay of Plenty Ngatiawa, there was a name change but he does not explain why. It is still worth recording what he had to say on the subject:

... it is true that it is only in recent times that the Southern branch of Ngati Awa changed its name to Te Ati Awa... I am not in any way put out by the change in name. That is the name they wish to use now and I have no judgement to make regarding it. In fact, it is less confusing for other iwi. The two cannot be mixed up.⁴¹

Others suggest that the name 'Te Atiawa' was not spread until much later. According to Maui Pomare, giving evidence in the Chathams case of 1995, the name 'Te Atiawa' was applied to a confederation of five northern Taranaki tribes, including Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Tama, Ngati Maru, Atiawa and Taranaki. Pomare also says that Te Whiti, the prophet, leader and Messiah, gave the name 'Te Atiawa' to those who pledged their allegiance to him.⁴²

³⁹ Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands By The Maoris in 1835*, Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, p 86, refer footnotes in text.

See also:

Mead to Chambers, *Letter*, 21 March 1995, Te Atiawa Trust Archives, Picton.

Sinclair, Keith, *Some Historical Notes on an Atiawa Genealogy*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 60, 1951, p 61. Sinclair says that Atiawa were always called Ngatiawa in 1860. This is not disputed, as Ngatiawa encompassed all the Northern Taranaki tribes belonging to Awanuiarangi. We mention further on that the Atiawa name was in existence prior to 1860.

⁴⁰ Barrett, R., *Extracts from Barrett's Journal*, MS 1736, pp 2, 5 – 9, 15. Richard Barrett was present at the battle of Ngamotu in 1832 and was among the people who left Taranaki for Cook Strait, some twelve months later. This was Te Heke Tamateuaua, which left Taranaki with around two thousand people, women, children and old people included. Writing about these events in his journal, Barrett refers to the 'Atiawa' people. The people Barrett was referring to were in fact living at Nga Motu. Barrett died in 1847.

See also:

Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands By The Maoris in 1835*, Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, p 86. 'Te Atiawa is another name for Ngatiawa, the people who owned the country lying North of the present site of New Plymouth as far as Mokau; it is a convenient term to distinguish them from the Ngatiawa tribe of the Bay of Plenty, with whom, however, they claim kindred.'

⁴¹ Mead to Chambers, *Letter*, 21 March 1995, Te Atiawa Trust Archives, Picton.

⁴² Pomare, Maui. 20 February 1995, transcript concerning the renaming of Ngatiawa as Te Atiawa. Part evidence at the seventh hearing of the Chatham Islands case, held at Waiwhetu Marae. *Waitangi Tribunal 102*. Whilst we have no difficulty in accepting Pomare's evidence concerning Te Whiti, there are problems with some of his evidence, particularly where he suggests that the name 'Ngatiawa' was an invention of last century's pakeha historians. He acknowledges that the inscription 'Ngatiawa' appears on some of the old headstones but he suggests that the name itself was the work of historians. It is difficult to justify this conclusion because the documented evidence indicates that it was Ngatiawa people themselves and not just the historians who were using the name. The Native Land Court records and early correspondence written by tupuna support this conclusion.

Whether the spreading or change in name had anything to do with Te Whiti and the Parihaka movement is unclear. What we do know is that the Te Atiawa of the South Island have always had very close associations with Parihaka. These associations are signified in a carving of Te Whiti o Rongomai, which stands in the front of Te Whare o Arapaoa, at Waikawa Marae.

According to Alex Watene, the name Te Atiawa was spread over all the northern Taranaki tribes including others that lay to the south. He says:

... in the time of Te Whiti which was during the late 1800s to early 1900s, the name of Te Atiawa (rather than Ngaatiawa) was spread across to other tribes viz: Ngaati Tama, Ngaati Mutunga and Ngaati Maru. Today this confederation of the four northern tribes is known as “Te Atiawa nui tonu”. So Te Atiawa was in fact only the one tribe, that is the descendants of Awanuiarangi who lived between Te Rau O Te Huia in the north to Onukutaipari in the south.⁴³

According to Kaumatua Peter White, the name ‘Te Atiawa’ can be used to describe a confederation of tribes that includes Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Maru and Atiawa. He does not clarify how this circumstance came about, but he does say the arrangement was well recognised by the old people in the 1920s.⁴⁴

Some writers make reference to ‘Ngatiawa proper’ and ‘Ngatiawa.’ They are simply distinguishing ‘Te Atiawa from the more inclusive arrangement with Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Tama and Ngati Maru, as described above by Kaumatua Peter White.

It seems clear from the evidence that the Ngatiawa name was in common use in Taranaki around the period of 1820, and that the name Ngatiawa could be exclusive to the descendants of Awanuiarangi (Ngatiawa, Te Atiawa, Atiawa), or it could be inclusive of Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, and Ngati Maru. It is also clear that the name Ngatiawa became less used over the course of time.

After the Ngatiawa migrations and their subsequent settlement of the northern South Island c1830, the make up of the original Ngatiawa alliance changed. The Ngati Tama broke away and identified themselves as a separate entity to the Ngatiawa. This distinction is quite apparent in the Crown land purchases and the Nelson Tenth case, heard in 1892. As for the Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Maru, they did not break away as separate tribes as had been the case in Taranaki, instead, they continued to come under the name of ‘Ngatiawa.’ This is evident in the Crown land purchases where Ngati Mutunga (Ngati Hinetuhi) participated in the 1856 Ngatiawa purchase; they were also involved in a separate purchase in 1854.

⁴³ Watene, Alex Te Rairini, ‘*Te Atiawa o Runga Te Rangi, Ngaatiawa Taringa Mango*,’ 3 Nov 1999, p 6. A paper written for presentation at a Te Atiawa Iwi hui, to discuss the origins of the name Ngatiawa and Te Atiawa.

See also:

Personal communications, Kaumatua Alex Te Rairini Watene 1994/5: Alex Watene describes the confederated tribes as a Tokomaru association, known as Te Atiawa Nui Tonu (The greater Te Atiawa). Within this confederation he includes Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Te Atiawa and Ngati Maru. Watene also says that the name Te Atiawa has always existed.

⁴⁴ *Personal communications*, Kaumatua Peter White, 1997.

Nelson Native Land Court minute books are full of references to the Ngatiawa, especially prior to the early 1900s. The name can also be found in relatively recent cases heard in the Maori Land Court. There are a number of people alive today who remember their grandparents using the name Ngatiawa and some kaumatua are adamant that this was our original name. A number of people still use the name today. However, it seems that the vast majority of the Awa people, within the northern South Island, now identify themselves as Te Atiawa. Today, we have two recognised tribal structures (Te Atiawa and Ngati Tama) that are mandated by Iwi to represent the interests of the original Ngatiawa who settled Te Tau Ihu. Te Atiawa are represented by Te Atiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust, the body mandated to speak on behalf of Te Atiawa Iwi in Te Tau Ihu.

There are 1252 descendants of the original 'Ngatiawa' land owners within the South Island, that are currently registered as Te Atiawa beneficiaries. They are all descendants of original Ngatiawa landowners across Te Tau Ihu.

In the 1996 National census, there were 13,164 people who affiliated with Te Atiawa. This number represents approximately 2.2% of the 1996 Maori descent population, resident in New Zealand, of 579,714. Those identifying with the South Island numbered 267.⁴⁵ Of this number, there were 72 living in Te Tau Ihu, including 27 on the West Coast.⁴⁶ These figures are interesting because we know there are more than 72 Te Atiawa currently residing in Marlborough alone. The 8487 Te Atiawa nationally who did not specify their area of affiliation, may explain this discrepancy.⁴⁷

Table 1. 1996 Census figures:

	Marlborough	Nelson	Tasman	West Coast		Total
Te Atiawa (Taranaki) ⁴⁸	102	18	39	9		168
Te Atiawa (Wellington) ⁴⁹	6					6
Te Atiawa (South Is) ⁵⁰	54	6	9	3		72
Te Atiawa (unspecified) ⁵¹	459	87	102	27		675
Te Atiawa totals	621	111	150	39		921
Ngatiawa ⁵²	30	36	78	42		186
Te Atiawa (unspecified Nationally)						8487

⁴⁵ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, pp 19 - 20.

⁴⁶ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 66.

⁴⁷ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 19.

⁴⁸ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 60.

⁴⁹ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 66.

⁵⁰ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 66.

⁵¹ Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 69.

⁵² Statistics New Zealand, *Census 96, Iwi*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1998, p 57.

Chapter Two

2.0 The period before Ngatiawa migrations c1819-c1824

In order to understand why Ngatiawa people migrated from Taranaki, we must look at some of the events in the period spanning approximately 1819 to 1824. These were turbulent years, as inter-tribal warfare seems to have dominated much of the period.

The most significant events for Ngatiawa were connected with the Kawhia tribes and the circumstances in which they were forced to leave their homes and seek refuge for a while with their Ngatiawa relatives in Taranaki. Ngatiawa stood with the Kawhia tribes after their arrival and repelled Waikato and Maniapoto, who were in hot pursuit. When the Kawhia tribes abandoned their homes they chose Kapiti to re-establish themselves. They knew, though, that they would not get there on their own and, at the time of their departure, there was really no one they could ask for protection, other than Ngatiawa in Taranaki. They appealed to Ngati Raukawa but were denied any assistance.

It seems likely that Ngatiawa knew they would be buying into a fight when they agreed to support their Kawhia relatives, but they probably did not realise that this action would precipitate their own migration from Taranaki. As a result of their involvement with their northern relatives, Ngatiawa too became the target for Waikato and Maniapoto, with many preferring migration to the prospect of living in constant fear of a powerful foe.

The whakapapa of Ngatiawa and the Kawhia tribes are very closely linked and help to explain the extent to which Ngatiawa willingly became involved in protecting the Kawhia tribes after they arrived in Taranaki about 1820.

At the time of the Kawhia tribes migrating south, one of the more important whakapapa relationships was the link between Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Toa. Toa Rangatira, from whom the Ngati Toa descend, was the mokopuna of Mutunga, through the marriage of his daughter Tuwhareiti, and Korokino, the son of Tu Pahau.⁵³ When the Kawhia tribes arrived in Taranaki they stayed with Ngati Mutunga.⁵⁴ Smith says, ‘...it will thus be understood that Toa-Rangatira was half Ati-Awa, a fact that helps to explain the alliance of the latter tribe and Ngati-Mutunga with Ngati-Toa in the nineteenth century.’⁵⁵

Other important marriages, more closely connected to the immediate period in which we are interested, include that of Waipunahau, another descendant of Mutunga. She was the

⁵³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 193.

See also:

Oral Evidence given by Sam Raumati at Wellington Tenth Case.

⁵⁴ *Otahi minute book 10*, 3 February 1890, p 111. Evidence of Karehana: ‘That first Heke came from Kawhia & went to Kawaka above Waitara.’

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 297. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. ‘They fled before Waikatos. They came from Kawhia to the Kaweka. They remained there for some time until Waikato had made a raid all round... Waikato was defeated.’

⁵⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 193.

mother of Te Pehi Kupe, one of the leading chiefs of Ngati Toa.⁵⁶ According to Watene Taungatara, 'Te Pehi belonged to Ngati Kuri, hapu of Ngati Toa. He too belonged to Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Hinetuhi.'⁵⁷ Through Waipunahau, his mother, Te Pehi was Ngatiawa and through his father, Toitoi, he was Ngati Toa. Te Pehi married Tiaia and from this union came Te Hiko o Te Rangi who, like his father, was very close to his Ngatiawa relatives.⁵⁸

Te Hiko fought alongside Ngatiawa in the conquest of the northern South Island about 1829. He also led a Ngatiawa war party on the third attack on Ngai Tahu in 1832. Although he was Ngati Toa, his close connections with Ngatiawa meant Te Hiko was also regarded as a Ngatiawa chief, as was his father, Te Pehi. They carried mana amongst both the Kawhia and northern Taranaki tribes.⁵⁹

There are further connections stemming from the union of Toitoi and Waipunahau. One relates to the brother of Te Pehi, Te Rangihiroa, who was the grandfather of Wi Parata. Te Rangihiroa was involved with Ngatiawa after they commenced their migrations to Kapiti. Te Rangihiroa made sure that Ngatiawa had land to live on, once they arrived in the lower North Island. Te Rangihiroa also supported Ngatiawa when they fought Ngati Raukawa at the battle of Haowhenua about 1834, and again at the battle of Kuititanga in 1839.

Te Rangihiroa had a number of wives, including Pohe, who was Ngatiawa. Pohe was the daughter of Ngati Rahiri chief, Haukione. As we discover later, Pohe was killed at Kapiti, a short time after the Kawhia tribes arrived there. Because Pohe's blood had been spilt upon the land, lands were gifted to Haukione after he arrived at Kapiti with Te Heke Hauhau.⁶⁰

Nohorua, of Ngati Toa, also had close links with Ngatiawa. He married Te Wharemahai of Ngati Rahiri.⁶¹ By 1840, Ngati Rahiri were occupying the upper Queen Charlotte Sound and Tory Channel. The chief of Ngati Rahiri at this time was Huriwhenua, the brother of Wharemahai. Other Ngati Rahiri were also living in the Motueka and Te Taitapu districts. It should also be mentioned that Nohorua had another wife, Wainokenoke, who descends from Te Whiti o Rongomai.⁶²

⁵⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 154a. Evidence of Wi Parata. Gives whakapapa of Wi Parata and shows relationship of Te Pehi and Waipunahau.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 31 January 1890, pp 91, 92. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

⁵⁷ *Napier minute book 15*, 30 January 1890, p 85. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁵⁸ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, pp 153, 154a. Evidence of Wi Parata. Wi Parata was a great grandson of Waipunahau.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 6 February 1890, p 157. Evidence of Wi Parata.

⁵⁹ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaipohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 80.

See also:

Supplementary Information, Relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, p 118.

⁶⁰ *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, pp 103 - 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 6 February 1890, p 161. Evidence of Wi Parata.

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 118. Evidence of Te Karehana.

A.J.H.R., G-2, p 4.

⁶¹ *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, pp 91 - 92. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata. 'He [Nohorua] was the older brother of my father.'

⁶² *Personal communications*, George Walker, 1999. Descendant of Wainokenoke.

Another important marriage was that of Te Whetu of Ngati Koata and Poke of Ngati Tuaho.⁶³ An account given by Enoka Taitea says that, at the battle of Waiorua, which took place in 1824, Poke captured a man by the name of Rimurapa.⁶⁴ According to Taungatara, this man was a prophet. After his capture, Ngatiawa kept him to pilot canoes across to Arapaoa in the South Island. Later on, however, his masters killed him.⁶⁵ Another account claims that he was not killed but remained with Ngatiawa until the arrival of Christianity, when he was allowed to return to his people of Ngati Kahungunu.⁶⁶

Ngati Rarua also have very important links to Ngatiawa through Turangapeke. Many Ngatiawa or Te Atiawa people, currently residing in the northern South Island, belong to both tribes.⁶⁷

The whakapapa links outlined above show but a handful of the many connections between Ngatiawa and the Kawhia tribes. At the time of their migration south, one of the most important of these relationships was the link with Waipunahau and her son, Te Pehi. When the Kawhia tribes arrived in Taranaki they stayed with Ngati Mutunga. The descendants of Waipunahau played a major role in supporting their Ngatiawa people after their migration to the lower North Island. This support continued when there was a move into the northern South Island. There is an account that says Te Pehi went as far as to give Arapaoa to Ngatiawa.⁶⁸

Strategic marriages were quite common in these times and were often used to bring about tribal alliances for the purposes of war or to bring peace. When the Kawhia tribes found themselves ousted from their homes, they knew that they could rely on these marriages to protect them and to assist them on their migration to Kapiti. When the Kawhia tribes reached Taranaki, they married more of their young people to Ngatiawa to strengthen the alliance.

Clearly, the histories of the migrations of Ngatiawa and the Kawhia tribes are closely intertwined. Much of the background material dealing with the period prior to Ngatiawa migrations includes the Kawhia tribes and their migration from Kawhia to Kapiti. It was not until after the Kawhia tribes first established themselves at Kapiti that the first of the main Ngatiawa migrations commenced.

⁶³ *Wellington minute book 3*, 10 March 1890, p 55. Evidence of Hori Kokako. Additional info: Poke had no issue from her marriage to Te Whetu.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 317. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁶⁴ *Otaki minute book 11*, 19 March 1890, p 79. Evidence of Enoka Taitea.

⁶⁵ *Otaki minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 317. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁶⁶ *Otaki minute book 11*, 10 March 1890, p 7. Evidence of Hori Kokako.

⁶⁷ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1997.

⁶⁸ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 115. Evidence of Te Karchana.

2.1 Nga Puhi Expedition c1819-1820

The involvement of the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes in the Nga Puhi Expedition gave some their first sight of Kapiti. The land and its resources, not to mention its distance from their powerful enemies, particularly appealed to the people from Kawhia; it was at this time that they conceived the idea of moving there.

About the year 1819-1820, a war party from the north arrived at Waitara under the leadership of Patuone, Tamati Waka and others of Nga Puhi tribe. They were heading to the Cook Strait districts, prepared to cause total devastation among the local inhabitants. When they travelled through Kawhia, they were joined by some thirty of Ngati Toa at Taharoa, making up their number to one hundred and thirty.⁶⁹ Among the chiefs of Ngati Toa who joined were Te Pehi, Te Rauparaha, Pokaitara, Tungia, Nohorua and Puaha.⁷⁰

When the war party arrived at Waitara, they stayed at Manukorihi. From here, they launched an attack on Ngati Maru at Te Kerikeringa Pa, a short distance inland of Waitara. Patuwairua, the chief of this pa, and Tuarua from Pukerangiora were killed.⁷¹ There was little reaction to this incident insofar as other Ngatiawa were concerned and, in fact, when it came time for the invaders to continue their rampage further south, they were joined by some of Ngati Mutunga. Their chiefs included Ngatata, Te Karu, and Tumokemoke. As Pikau Te Rangi recorded, 'a great number of Ngapuhi came down - Manukonga & Takaratahi were the chiefs of Ngatiawa - They commenced killing at the beach & right away to Wairarapa...'⁷²

From Taranaki, the northern war party continued down the coast until it reached Waitotara where an attack was made on Nga Rauru. After killing some of them, the war party continued to Whanganui where Purua Pa was attacked. They then moved on to Whangaehu, Rangitikei and along the coast to Otaki, where another pa was taken.⁷³

Hunia Te Hakeke of Ngati Apa, Rangitane and Muaupoko, describes the war party's progress south as follows:

Have heard from my father of the 'taua' of Rauparaha it was come to Kapiti and went on as far as Wairarapa - This war party came upon Whanganui and Ngati Apa

⁶⁹ *Otaki minute book 1*, 3 December 1872, pp 135 - 136. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi. Matene says he belongs to Ngati Toa, Ngatiawa and N Raukawa.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1C, 11 March 1868, pp 195 - 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

⁷⁰ Kelly, L. *Tainui: The Story of Hotoroa and His Descendants*, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1949, No. 25, p 315. Additional names of Ngati Toa are given. According to Kelly, there were four hundred Ngati Toa.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 30 January 1890, p 82. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁷¹ Skinner, W.H. *Reminiscences of a Taranaki Surveyor*, Thomas Avery and Sons, New Plymouth, 1946, pp 74 - 76.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 298 - 301.

⁷² *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 298. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

⁷³ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 3.

unexpectedly - Purua was the 'pa' - The 'ope' came. 'Ka mate Purua' Whanganui were 'mate'. The chief Tihi, Hoani Hipango's father and 9 Ngati Apa chiefs also. Those who escaped turned and killed of the taua, 2 Ngapuhi chiefs. Rauparaha's driving off of the tribes was 'he patu haere' - Rauparaha came to Turakina - Rangitikei, Oroua where Arapata and Pikinga were taken - 3 were shot at Oroua - 200 were coming to fight, were fired on and ran away - the men of Whangaehu, Turakina and Rangitikei remained where they were - ⁷⁴

Eventually the war party made a stop at Kapiti Island.⁷⁵ According to Wi Parata's account, the northern war party attacked Ngati Kahungunu and Muaupoko who were occupying Taipiro. Te Pahi was apparently presented with a green stone mere after the fighting ceased and peace was made between the respective parties.⁷⁶

The situation was not so satisfactory on the mainland. Many Muaupoko were gathering at Pukerua Pa, organising for an attack on the northern war party. According to Watene Taungatara's account, their efforts proved fruitless.

The northern war party made an attack upon Pukerua but the occupiers managed to hold the pa. Unfortunately, the defenders made one major mistake. After the northern tribes had made their first unsuccessful attack, they made a peace offering. Those defending the pa thought the intentions of the northern war party were genuine and so agreed to an end to the fighting. However, when they opened the gates to their pa to welcome in the northern war party, they were immediately attacked.⁷⁷ Te Ama of Ngapuhi and 30 Muaupoko were killed in the affair.⁷⁸ When their neighbouring relatives found out about the attack they fled to the mountains and to their people of Ngati Kahungunu on the Wairarapa Coast.⁷⁹

After the fight at Pukerua, the northern war party helped themselves to canoes belonging to the Muaupoko and continued around the coast.⁸⁰

At least two battles took place east of Te Whanganui-a-tara. Matene Te Whiwhi mentions a fight taking place at Orongorongo with the loss of twenty Ngapuhi.⁸¹ Te Kanae mentions another incident 'near to the yonder side of Poneke' (Palliser Bay) where some of them were ambushed and killed.⁸² Other casualties, besides those lost in battle, included three canoes that overturned at Rimurapa. One hundred men were lost in this tragedy.⁸³

⁷⁴ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 6 April 1868, pp. 510 - 511. Evidence of Hunia Te Hakeke.

⁷⁵ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 3.

⁷⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 154. Evidence of Wi Parata.

⁷⁷ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 7.

See also:

Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 4. Pukerua was attacked over many days.

⁷⁸ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 369. Evidence of Mr. Fox.

⁷⁹ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati Toarangatira, Ngati Awa-o-te-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 4.

⁸⁰ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 7.

⁸¹ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

⁸² Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 4.

⁸³ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 7.

In order to avenge the Ngapuhi losses, Ngati Kahungunu were chased to the Wairarapa and into the heart of Ngati Kahungunu tribal land. The subsequent battles resulted in the defeat of Kahungunu but not without the loss of two hundred Nga Puhi. The chief Te Karu was killed, as were a number of lesser chiefs. After this the northern war party thought it wise to withdraw before more reinforcements of Kahungunu arrived. They turned and headed for home.⁸⁴

Matene Te Whiwhi tells us that some of the captives were released on the home journey. Taheke and To Herini of Muaupoko were left on the land when they reached Ohau, and Arapata Hireaa and Rewanga Uma of Ngati Apa were left at Rangitikei. Some of the Muaupoko and Ngati Apa were taken back to Kawhia.⁸⁵ Hunia Te Hakeke says that one of these people was a chieftainess by the name of Pikinga. She was the daughter of Ngati Apa chief, Rangihauku, and after being taken back to Kawhia she became the wife of Ngati Toa chief, Rangihaeata.⁸⁶

At this point we must draw attention to the Kawhia tribes, Ngati Toa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Koata. According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, while the party were in the Cook Strait district, his father, Te Rauparaha, made the decision to move his people to Kapiti. While they were at Omere, they saw a sailing ship out at sea and this prompted Nene to exclaim to Te Rauparaha, 'leave your place and come here to be near the 'pakeha': - this is a good place - plenty of 'pounamu' and eels.'⁸⁷ When Ngati Toa returned home, Te Rauparaha urged the people to migrate to the Kapiti district.⁸⁸ Pikau Te Rangi briefly discussed the Ngapuhi expedition and the difficult choice facing the tribes - whether to migrate or not:

'...when Rauparaha got back to his own place they had more trouble with Waikato & Rauparaha went to his pa & then chiefs of a Maniapoto told him he had better come down here...'

⁸⁴ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, pp 8 - 9.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1C, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi. After the battle with Ngati Kahungunu the war party returned to Port Nicholson [Wellington].

⁸⁵ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1, 3 December 1872, p 136. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

⁸⁶ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 6 April 1868, pp 511 - 512. Evidence of Hunia Te Hakeke.

⁸⁷ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 373. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

See also:

White, J. *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions, Tai-nui*, Vol. VI, Government Print, Wellington, 1890, pp 15 - 16. According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, his father was told, 'O Raha! [Rauparaha]!- do you see the people who are sailing out yonder on the sea? They are a very good tribe of people. If you obtain possession of this district you will become a great man - you will be able to possess guns and powder.'

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, pp 3 - 4. Omere is by the lookout point at Ohariu Bay from which weather conditions across Cook Strait were observed. Here, it is said, that Tuwhare (or some say Nene) drew the attention of Te Rauparaha to a ship crossing through the Straits. Tuwhare told Te Rauparaha that if he wished to procure muskets and become great, then he should migrate to a place where he could get in touch with ships and effect the necessary trade.

Otaki minute book 1C, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi. At Port Nicholson they saw a ship where Tamati Waka said to Rauparaha, 'Take the land as a possession for yourself.'

⁸⁸ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes, Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 5.

It would appear that the people were divided over this whole idea of abandoning their homes.⁸⁹ Tamihana Te Rauparaha says that Ngati Koata did not want to leave:⁹⁰

‘Rauparaha proposed to them to go to Kapiti - they assented, except Ngati Koata - they objected to leave Kawhia.’

According to Te Kanae, Te Rako and Te Rangikatukua also argued that they should not go to Kapiti. Their words were, ‘Let us remain here, in the place where our ancestors were born and we also.’ These words gained some support but in the end most were prepared to leave. Te Pehi, the *Ariki Rangatira* of Ngati Toa at this time, and senior to Te Rauparaha,⁹¹ must have played a major role in the decision to migrate. The early records, however, seem to be silent on this subject.

The warfare that took place on the Nga Puhi expedition prompted Ngati Toa to lay claim to the lands in the northern Cook Strait districts. Witnesses in the Native Land Court claimed that the destruction of the many pa, situated along the northern Cook Strait shores, and the subsequent placement of the captured enemy upon the land prior to the northern party returning home, was reason enough to support an argument of rights. It would seem though, that on its own, the argument couldn’t be sustained. What was ultimately required was occupation and, at this stage, that had not been achieved, other than through the placement of the original inhabitants back on the land.

There were more fights with the original inhabitants of the northern Cook Strait districts after the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes migrated south. One has to therefore, question whether the Ngapuhi expedition conquered any land at all. It could be accepted that the Ngapuhi expedition was just one in a sequence of events, (some of which we are yet to discuss), that culminated in the conquest of certain portions of the northern Cook Strait District.

As for Nga Puhi, they did not press any claims to the land in the lower North Island. However, Parakaia Pouepa did say, ‘If Ngapuhi had remained the ‘mana’ would have been with them’.⁹²

The interesting thing with the Ngati Toa claim is that, although there were very few of them involved in the Ngapuhi expedition, they still claimed rights to the land. The same situation applied to Ngatiawa in terms of numbers, and, as such, there was no reason why they

⁸⁹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 298. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

⁹⁰ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 373. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

⁹¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 154. Evidence of Wi Parata. Gives whakapapa of Wi Parata.

See also:

Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 5.

New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian, 4 July 1846. Letter to the Editor, McDonald, A. - ‘Pehi was the overall leader of Ngati Toa.’

⁹² *Otaki minute book 1C*, 12 March 1868, p 204. Evidence of Parakaia Pouepa.

shouldn't have advanced a similar argument, which, according to the records, they did.⁹³ Similar circumstances arise in regard to the battle of Waiorua, some years later. Ngati Toa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Koata made up the greater number of people involved, however, there is no doubt that Ngatiawa were also there.⁹⁴

2.2 The Invasion of Kawhia c1819-1820

A short time after the Nga Puhi expedition Waikato and Maniapoto planned an attack on their Kawhia relatives, mainly to avenge offences committed by Te Rauparaha. For a number of years, the Kawhia tribes had been living in a state of war against Waikato and Maniapoto and by 1819-1820 the latter were determined to escalate the situation in to an all-out war. They were to make two major strikes to achieve this aim. Ultimately the Kawhia tribes would be forced to leave their homes and to migrate south to Kapiti.

Waikato and Maniapoto divided themselves into two sections, one to go by sea to do battle with Ngati Toa at Taharoa and the other to take the inland route by way of the Waipa Valley and over the ranges to the Waikawau pa of Ngati Rarua.

A large force set out on the expedition to Kawhia. Among the leaders of the first party were the chiefs Te Wherowhero (Ngati Mahuta), Tu-korehu, Hou, Te Au, Te Ake, Te Tihi-rahi and Te Pae-waka. The leaders of the second group included Te Kanawa, Kiwa, Te Hiakai and Te Awa-i-taia. The first war party landed on the shores and moved inland to Taharoa where they attacked and defeated Waikawau, Tau-mata-kaue and Te Kawau. From here they moved on to Te Kakara.⁹⁵

The Kawhia tribes saw the approach of the enemy and went out to meet them, anticipating a battle. Halting at Te Kakara, both armies lay in hiding, waiting for the first shot to be fired. The Kawhia people had six guns; Te Rauparaha had four, Te Pehi had one, and Pokaitara had one. At this point, their numbers were reinforced by the arrival of Raparapa of Ngati Tama, who brought people from Poutama, Omahu and Te Kawau.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Napier minute book 15*, 24 January 1890, p 23. Evidence of Eruini Te Marau. Of N Tama (on his mother's side) and N Rahiri (on his father's side). In response to a question about 'who were the original conquerors of this land' Te Marau stated: 'I have heard (not seen) N Mutunga and N Toa. Pehi and Rauparaha were the generals...'

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 27 January 1890, p 78. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. 'N Awa and Te Pehi conquered this land.' This refers to Te Heke Mairaro when the northern tribes left Kawhia about 1820. Another Ngatiawa heke, connected with Niho Puta, 1824, is also sometimes referred to as Mairaro.

Napier minute book 15, 30 January 1890, pp 82 - 83. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. 'The fight at Kuititanga settled this land.'

⁹⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 398.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 314. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Otaki minute book 10, 3 February 1890, p 118. Evidence of Karehana.

Otaki minute book 11, 19 March 1890, p 79. Evidence of Enoke Taitea.

⁹⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 328 - 330.

⁹⁶ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 9. Ngati Toa acquired muskets from Nga Puhi after their return from the 1819-1820 expedition.

Ngati Tama joined the battle and Raparapa jumped out, ignoring the crossfire. He disliked muskets and was armed only with a wooden-handled hatchet. He hacked his way through enemy ranks until, finally, he took a captive, catching him by the belt. Retaining his hold, Raparapa managed to drag the unfortunate man a short distance before he himself was killed. Kawhia casualties were high and reportedly included the brother of Te Rauparaha. Another account, however, claims that he was not killed here but at Te Arawi.⁹⁷

The defeat at Te Kakara, and the fall of their pa, was a serious blow to the Kawhia people. Ngati Toa abandoned their pa at Te Roro for their stronghold of Te Arawi. Some of them headed straight for Waikawau where the second division of Waikato and Maniapoto were besieging Ngati Rarua by this time.

News of the defeat of Ngati Toa at Te Kakara reached the Waikato and Maniapoto at the siege of Waikawau. When they heard that the other division had been successful they decided to attack Waikawau the following morning. By this time the Kawhia people lucky enough to escape from Taharoa had managed to get through the enemy lines and into the pa. This was a major mistake on their part as many of the occupants were killed the next day.⁹⁸ Kanae says that there were survivors who evaded capture and others who were taken as prisoners or slaves. Te Kanae reports that some of those who escaped went to Taranaki.⁹⁹ Survivors from Waikato and Maniapoto returned to their homes.

Shortly afterwards Waikato and Maniapoto assembled another war party. They had heard that the Kawhia tribes had re-occupied some of their old pa, including Whenuapo and Te Arawi,¹⁰⁰ so they returned to Kawhia to renew the fighting. At this time Whenuapo was under the chiefs Te Poakai, Rae-herea and Rawaho while Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata and Matu of Ngati Koata were at Te Arawi.

Te Wheoro described the attack upon Whenuapo as follows:

Te Hiakai was desirous to prevent bloodshed and asked the chiefs of the *pa* to come forth, together with the *hapu* Ngati-Te-Ra. When they did so Te Hiakai escorted them so they should not be harmed by Waikato. Ngati-Te-Wehi, (Waikato) pursued

⁹⁷ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 9, 10.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 335.

⁹⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 332.

⁹⁹ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes, Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 6. Te Kanae also says that many Ngati Rarua were killed in this battle.

¹⁰⁰ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 6. Te Kanae states that the Kawhia tribes had just built these pa. It is more likely they had just rebuilt them.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 298. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. Rauparaha returned from the expedition to the south. After joining the Nga Puhi there was more trouble with Waikato. He was, about this time, told by some of the Maniapoto chiefs that they should go south to Kapiti.

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 334 - 335.

the party, and Te Moke, seeing a greenstone *heitiki* on Te Hiakai's neck, snatched it off, which *heitiki* I (Te Wheoro) now have. But these people, together with Ngati-Whanga, were led away by Te Hiakai and Muri-whenua.¹⁰¹

After the attack on Whenuapo, Waikato and Maniapoto moved on to Te Arawi. When they arrived they found two people outside the pa and killed them. The war party then launched an attack. During the fighting a warrior was seen to escape from the pa and was chased by Haututu of Waikato. Haututu did not catch him but, as he returned, he was confronted by a number of the enemy, including Rangihaeata, who had also managed to escape from the pa. There was only one option for Haututu and that was to jump over the cliff. This he did, injuring himself on a rock when he landed.¹⁰²

Among the Kawhia people killed at Te Arawi were Te Werawera and Taungawai. Te Werawera was Te Rauparaha's father's name, however, this may have been someone else with the same name. Taungawai was Te Rauparaha's brother.¹⁰³

The fight continued until dark. Then there was a significant development. During the night, Riki and Maru of Ngati Te Kore secretly met Taiwa of Waikato to arrange the escape of their families. Te Kanawa of Waikato also arranged the escape of Ngati-Tuirirangi. By the next morning they had left Te Arawi, abandoning their relatives who awoke to find that they had been deserted.

By the second day, Waikato and Maniapoto had settled down to besiege Te Arawi. Two Ngati Toa women were captured. They were released a short time later to facilitate the following arrangements. Rangi-tuatea of Maniapoto apparently asked to meet with Te Rauparaha. Rangi-tuatea did not want his relatives in Te Arawi to die and needed to arrange their escape.¹⁰⁴ Watene Taungatara gives an account of what happened:

Then one of the chiefs of Ngati Maniapoto and Waikato called up Rangi-tuatea, thought that he should allow Te Rauparaha to escape. Te Rangi-tuatea went and disappeared below the pa and called to Te Rauparaha to come down. They spoke and Rangi-tuatea advised him to go to Te Atiawa.

Te Rauparaha replied that he should go to Ngati Raukawa, to Maunga-tautari. Te Rangi-tuatea said he would not escape by going there but he should go to the 'ngaio bush' standing yonder. That word was for Te Atiawa. Then Te Rauparaha asked when.

¹⁰¹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 335.

¹⁰² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 335.

¹⁰³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 335.

See also:

Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 10. Taungatara places the death of Te Rauparaha's brother at Te Kakara.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 335, 336.

Te Rangi-tuatea replied he was to go that very night.

Te Rauparaha and his people left that night and they escaped. The women were left below the pa. By dawn the war parties looked around in vain. Then they saw a fire at the summit of Tapiri-moko. Te Rangi-tuatea wept. He was asked why he wept.

He replied, your father Te Rauparaha has passed by and gone. They escaped through a narrow place...¹⁰⁵

Te Kanae gives a different account of what happened from that of Taungatara and Smith. He says that some time during the fighting, Rangi-tuatea went into Te Arawi and he noticed that the occupants were running short of food. He advised Ngati Toa to abandon the pa and go with him to a place inland where they could get some food. Not all agreed to this however. Te Rauparaha said to his people, 'Who could be sure that this was a sincere move of Te Rangituatea concerning Ngati-Toa?' Te Rauparaha thought that Te Rangi-tuatea would deceive them and that all he really wished to do was take them inland where they would be killed and eaten.¹⁰⁶

What happened next is not clear but a decision was made to leave Kawhia. Mere Pomare of Ngati Toa and Ngatiawa described the situation this way. '...Rauparaha fled to Kaweka [Te Kaweka] for protection of Ngatiawa...' These same sentiments were also expressed by Pikau te Rangi and Hera Te Aratangata. They claimed that the Kawhia tribes fled their homes in fear of Waikato.¹⁰⁷ According to Smith, Waikato and Maniapoto were set on exterminating their Kawhia relatives.¹⁰⁸ There is no reason to believe that the Kawhia tribes could have sustained many more battles.

2.3 Te Heke 'Mairaro' - c1820

About 1820, Ngati Toa migrated south to Taranaki with the intention of travelling on to Kapiti to make their new home. The exercise of moving a large number of people including women, children and old folk, was a feat in itself, made more significant by the hardship that the people would have to bear along the way. The main means of getting to Taranaki was by foot. This in itself was bad enough, however, they would also be exposed to attack from marauding war parties of Waikato and Maniapoto.

¹⁰⁵ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 10.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 312. Evidence of Watene Taungatara: 'There was a battle, Kawhia was defeated battle called Kakara. They assembled in pa of Arohe. Rangituhata attacked the pa. They wanted to go with Ngatiraukawa, Rangi-tuatea said let us go to Taranaki & they went to Kaweka. Ngatiawas defended Ngati Toas.'

¹⁰⁶ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Otahi minute book 10*, 25 February 1890, p 326. Evidence of Mere Pomare.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 297. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. The reason for why the Kawhia tribes departed for the North Island was 'they fled before Waikatos....'

Otahi minute book 10, 31 January 1890, pp 87 - 88. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata: '...belong to Ngatitua, Ngatiawa - (Ngatimutunga, Ngatitama, N Kura hapus -) ... was born at Kawhia.... Waikato came to kill us, & Waikato was beaten by Ngatiawa then we continued our journey....'

Otahi minute book 10, 31 January 1890, p 98. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara. Of N Toa and Ngatiawa. Originally from Kawhia. In referring to an attack from Waikato he says, 'Taua came on us from Waikato and came after Rauparaha to kill him.' Hohaia Pokaitara was on the first heke from Kawhia.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 348.

Hiria Te Aratangata, who was about six or seven years old when the heke left Kawhia, says that the leaders of their party were Te Pehi, Te Rauparaha and Rangihacata.¹⁰⁹ Hohaia Pokaitara was also with the heke when it left Kawhia. Besides those mentioned above, he includes Te Aratangata, Nohorua, and Pokaitara.¹¹⁰

Tamihana Te Rauparaha estimated that there were about three hundred and forty men plus women, children and the elderly who left Kawhia. Other accounts put the total number at more than one thousand.¹¹¹ According to Matene Te Whiwhi, Ngati Toa had only one hundred warriors.¹¹²

The Kawhia tribes burned their homes¹¹³ and bid farewell to those who had chosen to stay behind. They moved on to the Marakopa River, some twelve miles south of Kawhia. Ngati Kinohaku were living here at Tauranga-rua Pa. When they arrived, the chiefs made arrangements for some of the women and children to stay, while others continued on to Taranaki to seek help from Ngatiawa. No doubt, Ngatiawa already knew about their Kawhia relatives' predicament, after all, Raparapa had fought alongside the Kawhia tribes at the battle of Te Kakara.

The arrangements to stay at Marakopa were finally settled, with Te Puaha remaining at the pa to ensure the safety of his people.¹¹⁴ According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, some of the women were left at Mokau with his mother while the others continued the journey; he must have been mistaken.¹¹⁵ Other accounts agree that his pregnant mother, Te Akau, was left at Marakopa. Tamihana Te Rauparaha was the child she was carrying.

Te Kanae places a section of the Kawhia tribes at Tanota, a pa belonging to the chief, Pukeroa. Apparently, the women stayed here to cultivate food for their journey to Kapiti. The reason given for their staying at Tanota was that Pukeroa was the son of Karewa, a very important Maniapoto chief, and consequently, for as long as they were at this pa, they were safe.¹¹⁶

The main party travelled on to Waikawau, which had been attacked by the Waikato and Maniapoto on their last invasion of Kawhia. According to Smith, Rangi-tuatea of Maniapoto reappeared, supposedly to warn the Kawhia tribes of an advancing Maniapoto war party. On this occasion Te Rauparaha wanted to kill Rangi-tuatea in revenge for the

¹⁰⁹ *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 89. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata. Also says, '...there were a great number of chiefs...'

¹¹⁰ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 98. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

¹¹¹ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 373. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 341.

¹¹² *Otaki minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

¹¹³ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 373. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

¹¹⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 345.

¹¹⁵ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 374. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

¹¹⁶ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 6.

defeat at Taharoa. He would have got his way had it not been for the wife of Te Pehi and the rest of the Kawhia people. They saved the life of the Maniapoto chief.

It is not known what happened to Rangi-tuatea afterwards, but he probably fell in with Maniapoto who were roaming the country, looking for the Kawhia people.

The heke moved on and finally reached their Ngati Tama relatives at Mokau. While they were crossing the river, a boat capsized and Rangihaeata's only child was drowned. Topeora, the sister of Rangihaeata, almost suffered the same fate.

When the heke finally reached the other side, the people were taken in by Ngati Tama at Poutama. After a short stay the Kawhia tribes set off for Te Kaweka, a pa belonging to Ngati Mutunga, situated on the south side of the Urenui River. When the Kawhia people eventually arrived here they made arrangements to stay, while Te Rauparaha returned to Marokopa to pick up the rest of their people.¹¹⁷ Estimates of the number of people who returned with Te Rauparaha range from twenty to sixty.¹¹⁸

When Te Rauparaha reached Marokopa, he found the people in good spirits. After two or three days rest he started the journey back to Te Kaweka with them. Watene Taungatara gave Smith the following account of what happened as the party journeyed on to Te Kaweka:

Prior to the departure of Te Rau-paraha from Maro-kopa, they had acquired a good many of the red garments... Some of these they divided up so that each person wore a broad band across the chest. He had also taken the precaution to spread a report for the benefit of Ngati-Mania-poto that a large party of Nga-Puhi was hastening down the coast all dressed in red and armed with muskets. As Ngati-Toa came down the coast they reached a place where a descent had to be made to the beach, and where the whole party, with their red garments, could be seen a long way off. At the other end of the beach was a large party of Ngati-Mania-poto, who, as soon as they caught sight of the red glowing in the sunlight, said, '*Koia ano! he tika te korero!*' (Truly it is so! the story is correct!) And at once the whole departed inland, leaving the way open for Te Rauparaha.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 344 - 347. States that Tukaweriri, who was Ngati Mutunga, had only recently returned from the Hokianga with a number of muskets when he met the war party of Tupoki, heading off to avenge the killing of several Ngati Tama chiefs.

See also:

Taungatara, *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, MS 1187, folder 181, 1899, pp 10, 11. According to Taungatara, the Kawhia people stayed at Okoki but this was after their stay at Te Kaweka and probably before they went to Pukewhakamaru.

¹¹⁸ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 374. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha. Refers to 60 persons.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 345. Returned with 20 men.

Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 7.

¹¹⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 345.

From Te Karihana of Porirua, Smith also obtained an account of the events that followed:

At the approach of night... the party reached the banks of the Awa-kino river, where they were again seen by another party of Ngati-Mania-poto, which was one hundred strong, under their chief Tu-takaro. The Ngati-Mania-poto now made an attack on Ngati-Toa at dusk, when a fierce fight took place, in which Ngati-Toa lost two of their men; but in revenge Te Rau-paraha and Te Rangi-hounga-riri managed to kill Tu-takaro, the leader of the enemy, besides four others. As Tu-takaro lay wounded on the ground he recognised Te Rangi-hounga-riri, and said, “Hua noa, na Nga-Puhi au i patu. Kaore! ko koe, E Rangi. [‘I thought I had been stricken down by Nga-Puhi! But now I see it is thee, O Rangi!’] The small party of Ngati-Toa had the advantage of possessing muskets. The fight took place at Hukarere or, as another account says, at Purapura.¹²⁰

The next day Te Rauparaha reached the Mokau River, but was unable to cross because of a high tide. This left no option but to set up camp for the night. This was a major problem because they were afraid that Ngati Maniapoto would renew the attack if they discovered how few Ngati Toa were in number. So, as a deterrent, several large fires were lit and all the women were dressed like men. During the night the men made warlike speeches around each of the fires so that, should the enemy be near, they would get the impression that this was a large war party. Te Akau, Te Rauparaha’s wife, and Tiaia, Te Pehi Kupe’s wife, were the leading women and they ran to and fro all night, attending imaginary bands of warriors.¹²¹ Whether or not Maniapoto were near or had even contemplated an attack will probably never be known. All that can be said is that an attack did not take place that night.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha gave his version of these events:

- Rauparaha came on to Mokau and a ‘taua’ appeared - I heard there were 200 of that party - Ngati Maniapoto - women made to stand as men to deceive the ‘taua’ – ‘taua’ thought it was a large party and ran away - Chief of party killed, Tutakaro, by Rauparaha and his women - Rauparaha returned to Te Kaweka - the party there were glad at the news -¹²²

The next day, the party reached Te Kaweka where they finally rejoined the earlier arrivals.¹²³ The Kawhia tribes were given land at Puke-whakamaru, situated a little inland

¹²⁰ S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 345 - 346.

¹²¹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 346.

¹²² *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 374. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

¹²³ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, pp 87, 88. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata: ‘Waikato came to kill us & Waikato was beaten by Ngatiawa...’

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 3 February 1890, p 111. Evidence of Karehana: ‘That first Heke came from Kawhia & went to Kawaka above Waitara.’

Otaki minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 297. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. ‘They fled before Waikatos. They came from Kawhia to the Kaweka. They remained there for some time until Waikato had made a raid all round... Waikato was defeated.’

from Ngati Mutunga pa of Okoki.¹²⁴ Here they cultivated crops for their journey further south.

2.4 Amiowhenua c1820

Ngatiawa tribes faced increasing difficulties. Shortly after the arrival of the Kawhia tribes at Taranaki, a war party from the far north arrived. It is referred to as the 'Amiowhenua expedition.' Over the next few months the whole of Ngatiawa would be put on alert, for this war party was by no means friendly.

The purpose of the Amiowhenua expedition was, as the name itself reveals, 'surveying of the land.'¹²⁵ They set off from the far North around the middle of 1820¹²⁶ and travelled down the East Coast, passing through the districts of Rotorua, Hawkes Bay, and Wairarapa, then on to Cook Strait, fighting as they went.¹²⁷ They travelled back up the West Coast, continuing their attacks on the tribes they encountered. Many who came into contact with the northern expedition were armed with traditional weapons only and therefore suffered great losses. Those who were lucky enough to have adequate warning of their approach retreated to Kapiti Island.¹²⁸

Watene Taungatara had this to say of the Amiowhenua war party as they progressed up the West Coast and reached Taranaki:

This war party came straight to Whanganui and then to Ngati Ruanui. It was attacked by Ngati Ruanui who defeated them with great loss of life. There was great fighting power on each side. Eventually Ngati Ruanui disengaged inland and allowed the party to go through. Many pa were overcome by this war party and many people were killed from the eastern shores right around to Taranaki.¹²⁹

On previous occasions these northern tribes had passed through Taranaki without any major problems with Ngatiawa, but this time they met on far less friendly terms.

¹²⁴ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 10.

See also:

Personal Communications, Kaumatua Hipp Fenton, 1997.

¹²⁵ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, pp 11 - 12.

¹²⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 357. Pehi-Korehu, one of the leading chiefs of the Maniapoto section of the taua, is said to have left Mangatoatoa pa on the Waipa River about 1820. He had 600 warriors.

See also:

Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Te Kanae, Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 8. Amiowhenua arrived in Taranaki about July - September. Waikato arrived in pursuit of the Kawhia people, and to raise the siege on Pukerangiora about November of the same year.

¹²⁷ Burns, P. *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1980, p 55. Rev S. Marsden noted in his Journal that this taua arrived back in the Hokianga in November 1820. If they were in Taranaki for 7 months as Watene states, and if we allowed two months for them to get from Taranaki to Hokianga, then they would have arrived about March 1820.

¹²⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 354.

¹²⁹ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 11.

The Amiowhenua expedition eventually reached Ngatiawa territory in Taranaki and went to Rewarewa Pa, located at the south side of the Wai-whakaiho River mouth. They apparently stayed here for a short time. Tautara, an 'Ati Awa' chief, who was at the time living at Rewarewa, decided to kill the northern visitors. This killing was incited by Te Rauparaha who wished to have revenge upon Manaipoto and Tukorehu.¹³⁰ Ngatiawa were divided over whether they should support the northern war party. Those situated to the south of the Waitara River wanted to assist them while those to the north wanted to attack.¹³¹

Some time during this period of indecision, Tautara sent a messenger to tell Ngati Rahiri that there was a plan to attack the Amiowhenua war party as it crossed the Waitara River, on its way home. The assault would be launched once some of them had reached the far bank, thus effectively dividing the northern forces. In response to the message, Huriwhenua assembled eight hundred Ngati Rahiri. He advanced towards the Waitara River where he lay in wait for the enemy.

Meanwhile the Amiowhenua war party left Rewarewa Pa and set off towards the Waitara River, unaware of Huriwhenua and his plan, but wary of a potential attack. They had been warned by some of their Ngamotu and Pukerangiora supporters.

At dawn, they arrived at the Waitara River and a small number of scouts were sent across. One of them had almost reached the other side when he saw the reflections of men in the water. He hesitated for a moment before he turned and yelled to the others to go back. Pokaitara of Ngatiawa, realising that the plan had misfired, took aim at one of the northern party with his musket and killed him. The northerners retreated, giving up any hope of crossing the river. The Amiowhenua war party then moved inland to Nga Puke-Turua, an old pa located about a half-mile Northeast from Sentry Hill Railway Station.¹³² When they arrived at Puketurua they discovered that some Puketapu occupied the pa. The war party fired several shots, which alarmed the inhabitants. Realising the probability of the pa falling into the hands of the attackers, they decided to abandon it. They made a gallant dash, breaking through the ranks of the enemy and reached their fellow tribesmen at Waitara. Puketapu had only their rakau - Maori or traditional weapons, which were no match for the enemy's muskets.

The Amiowhenua war party now occupied Puketurua, but perhaps not under very favourable conditions. Shortly after they took over the pa a very large force of Ngatiawa warriors arrived from Waitara.¹³³ This brought a complete reversal of the situation.

Taungatara describes a running battle with the men from Waitara. The Amiowhenua war party was eventually forced behind the gates of Puketurua, where they were now under siege:

¹³⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 357, 358.

¹³¹ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 12.

¹³² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 359.

¹³³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 359 - 360.

The invaders went back to Ngapuke-tu-rua and this army was completely surrounded by Te Ati Awa. The invaders broke the blockade but with great loss of life. Te Ati Awa was shot down by this army and twenty were killed. This pleased the army.¹³⁴ The invaders continued their push and met a Te Ati Awa company who were lying in wait. The company was led by one of the renown warriors of Te Atiawa, called Huri-whenua. Tawhia, Manukino and Topa-ki-Waikato were others.

This company rose up from the ground and led by their brave chief attacked vigorously. They defeated the army. Twenty five were killed. Notwithstanding, two tested warriors decided to have a duel. Te Tupeotu represented Te Ati Awa, and Tukorehu the invading army. Each was armed with traditional weapons, Tukorehu had a stone patu and Te Tupe wielded a long handled hatchet. Neither was able to strike the other. One matched the other whatever the move. Tukorehu was a big man, a tall man, and there was no one of this generation quite like him.¹³⁵

Ngatiawa, in their thousands, camped around the beleaguered pa after the repulse, content to cut off all supplies and, by that means, hoping to starve the Amiowhenua war party into submission. According to Rangipito, as provisions fell short within the pa, the besiegers began to pity Waikato. Negotiations ensued and Te Manutoheroa of Puketapu, suddenly appearing among Tu-korehu's warriors, caused all fighting to cease.¹³⁶ According to Taungatara, the Amiowhenua war party was permitted to leave Puketurua to travel to Pukerangiora.¹³⁷

However, that night the chiefs of Pukerangiora thought the army should go to Pukerangiora.¹³⁸ So the song of the army was sung. There were three thousand in

¹³⁴ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 12.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 360. Rameka Te Ami is supposed to have told W. H. Skinner that the northern taua had only one musket, the property of Te Totara-i-ahua of Ngati Whatua. He claims that this gun killed four Ngatiawa but was rendered useless after that. Smith considers that it is unlikely Ngati Whatua only had one musket.

¹³⁵ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 12.

¹³⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 362.

¹³⁷ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 14.

¹³⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 361, 362. Refer footnote p 361: 'The Puke-rangi-ora hapu takes its name from the pa. It is said to be the rangatira hapu of Te Ati-Awa, ie, the hapu whose chiefs were the principal men of all Te Ati-Awa, and whose original home - and the head-quarters of the hapu, where their meetings took place, and where was the principal tuahu - was at Okawa, a little way inland from the Puke-rangi-ora pa. They, at any rate, have the longest pedigree of any of Te Ati-Awa...'

See also:

Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 12.

that army according to Maori reckoning; six thousand (6000) according to the Pakeha... At the conclusion of the lament the war party left immediately at night and headed for Puke-rangi-ora, accompanied by the people of Te Ati Awa who joined them.¹³⁹

The events that followed are referred to as Raipoaka. Once the Amiowhenua war party arrived at Pukerangiora they were attacked and penned inside the pa. For three months they remained under siege and were saved only by messengers who managed to escape to report the situation to the Waikato and Maniapoto. It is interesting to note that quite clearly a number of Ngatiawa were supporting the Amiowhenua war party. They were also under siege within the pa.

Taungatara's account continues:

Then did gather all the hapu of Te Ati Awa who completely surrounded Puke-rangi-ora, leaving no escape route for the war party. Hence the name given Raipoaka indicating there was no possibility of escape for this army. As some came out they were killed. That was the pattern. After a while no one tried to go outside. Te Ati Awa fought against Te Ati Awa and many fell on each side.

The hapu who surrounded the pa and fought against Waikato on one side of Te Ati Awa, and who were assisting Waikato, Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Whatua and other tribes these were also the hapu of Te Ati Awa, who were surrounding the pa. They were Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Te Rauparaha¹⁴⁰ and his tribes, Ngati Hinetuhi, Kaitangata, Ngati Rahiri, Manukorihi, Otaraua.¹⁴¹ The names of the chiefs who assisted Waikato, that is the war party of Ngamotu, were Tautara¹⁴², Raua-ki-tua, Ngatata, Te

¹³⁹ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, pp 12, 14.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 361 - 364: 'Amongst those who sympathized with the northern people (possibly through relationship, more or less distant) were the principal chiefs of the great Puke-rangi-ora pa, situated three miles inland of Nga-puke-turua: Whatitiri (the elder father of Mahau), Pekapeka, Ngata, and Te Morehu; together with the whole of their hapu (Puke-rangi-ora), with Koro-tiwha, Te Iho-o-te-rangi, and Whakaruru, and a few of the Puke-tapu hapu.' He also said that Tautara and Matatoru befriended Waikato.

Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 8: '...when the people of Pukerangiora found that Pehikorehu would be killed, he was conducted by the Pukerangiora into their pa to stay.'

¹⁴⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 363. Watene Taungatara, according to Smith, is the only one who places Te Rauparaha at Raihe-poaka.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 313. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

¹⁴¹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 363. W.H. Skinner, (in Smith), gives additional names: '...Okoki, Arapawa, Whaka-rewa, Otu-matua, (Ngati Mutunga); Pukearuhe, Katikati-aka, Pa-tangata, Omaha, Te Kawau, (Ngati Tama); Otaka Pa, (Nga Motu), and Puketapu of Puketapu, (part of them, probably).'

¹⁴² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 357, 358. According to Skinner, Tautara instigated the attack against the northern taua and their Te Atiawa supporters.

Rangi-tu-matatoru, Whare-pairi,¹⁴³ Puke-ki-Mahurangi, and Te Puni of Puketapu.¹⁴⁴ However, Puketapu was divided, as Te Manu-toheroa did not join¹⁴⁵; he remained to one side of his people who joined to assist the war party. The chiefs of Puke-rangi-ora were Te Morehu and there were many other chiefs of Puke-rangi-ora. This was a very large pa with eight hundred people in it, according to Maori arithmetic. According to Pakeha calculations sixteen hundred (1600).

Puke-rangi-ora was besieged for three months. Messengers were sent, two of them went, one was killed and one escaped.¹⁴⁶ The one who escaped went to Waikato and explained their predicament. It was then that Waikato knew that Tukorehu's army was besieged by Te Ati Awa at Puke-rangi-ora. Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto then came to rescue Tukorehu and his war party. And so came the army of Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto. There were many chiefs of Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto. Here are their names, Potatau Te Wherowhero, Te Rangi-tuatea, Te Kanawa, Maama, Te Hiaki, Hori, Te Tumu, and Te Kahukahu-o-te-rangi. But there were also many chiefs of Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto whose names have not been listed.¹⁴⁷

Waikato and Maniapoto arrived and the battle of Motunui took place. As Taungatara mentioned, these northern allies came to Taranaki for two reasons. They wanted to lift the siege at Pukerangiora and rescue their beleaguered relatives. They also saw an opportunity to deal a final blow to the Kawhia tribes. According to Smith, news of the advancing Waikato and Maniapoto spread quickly and many Ngatiawa assembled to give battle. A number of the men involved in the siege of Pukerangiora relaxed their guard and went to Okoki to assist. Ngati Tama from Poutama joined them. The Kawhia tribes also assembled to repel the enemy.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 363 - 364. Smith quotes the same names in the same order although Whare-pairi is given as Te Whare-po. In this version, which also uses Taungatara as the source, he says Te Whare-po belonged to Nga Motu.

¹⁴⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 364. Smith says that Te Puni belonged to Nga Motu but also uses a quote from Watene Taungatara.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 364, Skinner, states that Te Manutoheroa remained neutral, whilst many of his people joined the northern taua. Most, if not all, of the Pukerangiora people under Te Morehu were there.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 366. Skinner states that seven messengers were sent from Pukerangiora. All except one was caught and killed. Their heads were cut off and hung up on poles for the northern people to see.

See also:

White, J. *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions, Tai-nui*, Vol. VI, Government Print, Wellington, 1890, p 2. Two messengers escaped. One of them was killed and the other, whose name was Rahi-ora, escaped.

¹⁴⁷ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, pp 14, 15.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 366 - 369.

It should be remembered that the presence of the Kawhia people in Taranaki was one of the principal reasons for Waikato and Maniapoto being there in the first place.

2.5 Battle of Motunui c1820-1821

The plain of Motunui, from which the battle takes its name, lies along the coast between the Urenui and Mimi Rivers. It was from here that the Waikato were seen as they approached from the north. The scene must have been far from reassuring. Ngatiawa knew that Waikato and Maniapoto had muskets and that they themselves had very few. Ngatiawa also knew why they had come. As Hera Te Aratangata said, 'Waikato came to kill us.'¹⁴⁹ Hohaia Pokaitara agreed. '...in 1821 the Tawa [sic] came on us from Waikato & came after Rauparaha to kill him.'¹⁵⁰ Pikau Te Rangi said the same; '...the reason of the fight was simply to kill -'.¹⁵¹ Once again the manuscript of Watene Taungatara tells the story:¹⁵²

This visiting group came, one thousand of them (1000) or two thousand counted individually. The group arrived at Mimi,¹⁵³ stayed there and built a camp. The pa of Te Ati Awa and Te Rauparaha was Koki [Okoki] at Urenui. Then Rere-ta-whanga-whanga one of the chiefs of Te Ati Awa inside that pa, asked that eighty men be assigned to him to challenge the defence. Te Rauparaha advised them to wait for the warriors of Te Ati Awa. Some of the warriors were besieging Raipoaka.¹⁵⁴

Rere said to Te Rauparaha that the two of them should stand. It was agreed. So the eighty went to challenge the army.¹⁵⁵ They arrived at Waitoetoe and the war party saw them. The weapons were made ready. But the company continued to advance, led in groups of twenty.

Then one of the leaders of the army, named Te Hiaki, shouted a command. His command went like this, keep together, keep together!

Then another of the war party named Maama also called out. He said run, run!¹⁵⁶ Then did the war party quicken its charge and began killing the company of eighty. As they approached the pa they came to the elders who

¹⁴⁹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 88. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

¹⁵⁰ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 98. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

¹⁵¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 297. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

¹⁵² Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, pp 15, 16.

¹⁵³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 369. Says that the northern war party camped at Waitoetoe on the south side of Mimi River.

See also:

Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands By The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol 1, 1892, p 85. He says that they camped at a small ridge called Motunui on the south side of the Mimi River.

¹⁵⁴ First siege at Pukerangiora.

¹⁵⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Marisa of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 369. States that Ngati Hinetuhi, under Te Rangi-Puahoaho, set out to test the strength of the Waikato and Maniapoto.

¹⁵⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 370.

There was a division amongst the Waikato and Maniapoto as to whether they should give chase to Ngatiawa, Te Wherowhero maintaining that they should stay and complete the building of their whare. Others preferred to go on. All this was seen as a bad omen but in the end the whole party would follow the Maniapoto who were not going to wait around. Meanwhile, their supreme chief Te Rau-angaanga was seated on a hill in full view of what was going on, engaged in karakia, trying to weaken the enemy chiefs.

were just lying about. The survivors of the eighty then stood up.¹⁵⁷ They were lying immediately behind these elders, who let them pass through. And the survivors then ran into a waiting division. Pokaitara levelled his gun and Te Kahukahu was killed. Rangiwhahia stood upon the corpse. The defence was breached and Te Ati Awa rose up. They slaughtered the army. There were four main divisions in the army.

Of the first division thirty were killed and Hori was the chief warrior. Beyond them was the division of Te Tuumu and forty of them were killed. Beyond them was the division of Maama and thirty were killed. Beyond them was the division of Te Hiakai and twenty were killed. By this time they became tired of killing. The warriors of Te Atiawa spotted Potatau. Then Te Rangipapi thrust his taiaha at Potatau. It was parried and when he thrust back with his weapon, Te Tohi-Maire, he struck him in the face. Another warrior of Te Ati Awa, named Puanaki, jumped forward; his weapon was a taiaha. He thrust at Potatau; and re [he] retaliated and hit him in the face. Thus two of the warriors were felled by Potatau. Another warrior called Pikiwhata rose to the occasion, and his weapon was a pointed staff (pouwhenua). He thrust at Potatau. He retaliated as before and hit him in the shoulder. That warrior was defeated. However these three were not killed.

When Hiria Aratangata described events she simply said that ‘...some of Waikato followed us up. Waikato was beaten. We the N. Awa fought and beat them. I am a true N. Awa & also N. Toa - both tribes were together at Kawhia.’¹⁵⁸

According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, there were about eight hundred Waikato at Motunui and two hundred of them were killed.¹⁵⁹

Mere Pomare of Ngati Toa and Ngatiawa was the wife of Inia Tuhata. She made a brief mention of the battle at Motunui:

My ancestors were when Rauparaha fled to Kaiweka for protection of Ngatiawa. Waikato pursued him, and my ancestors fought at Kaiweka, the largest Hapus were Kaitangata & N Mutunga - there were other hapus there too. After fight of Motunui Waikato were defeated...¹⁶⁰

Shand says that eventually the Waikato were allowed to retreat towards their camp, but not unmolested. About this time, another chief of Ngati Mutunga, Pi-tawa, with a small group of followers, arrived from Te Tarata Pa, situated in the Mimi Valley. As the Waikato and

¹⁵⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 370 - 371. The veteran force of Ngatiawa had gone ahead, hid in wait for the Waikato and Maniapoto to arrive so they could ambush them and allow Te Rauparaha and his men to catch up.

¹⁵⁸ *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 89. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata: Was around 6 or 7 years old when the heke departed Kawhia. Of Ngati Toa and Ngati Awa. Belongs to ‘N Mutunga, N Tama N Kura. Of N Awa.’

¹⁵⁹ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 374. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

¹⁶⁰ *Otaki minute book 10*, 25 February 1890, pp 326 - 327. Evidence of Mere Pomare. Note: Ngati Mutunga and Kaitangata are referred to as hapu of Ngatiawa.

Maniapoto retreated, they launched an attack; six of the enemy were killed by Pi-tawa and his followers.

Pi-tawa was noted for his dexterity in the use of taiaha. When he confronted Te Wherowhero they looked at each other, neither wanting to strike the other, for they knew the first to miss his blow would lose his life.¹⁶¹

The narrative of Taungatara continues:

Since the battle had now come to a standstill, Potatau and Rangituatea were able to see Te Rauparaha and they called to him. This is what they said, “Oh Raha, what gift have you to offer us two? Te Rauparaha said, if you should return below by the route you took to come here, the upper jaw will open wide and the lower jaw will open wide, but should you head towards Puke-rangi-ora you will be saved.”¹⁶²

The reference to the ‘upper jaw’ was an allusion to the fact that Taringa-kuri, with nearly all the fighting men of Ngati Tama, was expected from inland Mokau and, if Waikato and Maniapoto fell in with that party, they would probably suffer a very severe defeat. So the advice was to go south to Pukerangiora and join the Amiowhenua war party still beleaguered in that pa.¹⁶³

As soon as darkness set in Waikato and Maniapoto marched southwards, taking to the beach wherever possible, until they reached the Waitara at daybreak. They crossed the river and made their way inland, finally reaching Tu-korehu’s party at Pukerangiora. Shand says that Ngatiawa, who had stayed to guard the besieged party, must have either allowed them through or been too afraid to challenge them because of their number. He also suggests that Ngatiawa were not content with Te Rauparaha’s arrangement to allow Waikato and Maniapoto to escape because they sent a large war party from Urenui with the intention of stopping them at Waitara. They were too late however, as the Northern party had already reached Pukerangiora.

From Rangipito of Ngatiawa, Shand and Smith collected the following account of the defeated war party going to Pukerangiora:

...on the night of Waikato’s defeat as they rested in their camp, gloomy and sorrowful for the losses of their chiefs, some one started an old lament for the dead, which was taken up by hundreds of voices. In the stillness of the summer night this

¹⁶¹ Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands By The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, p 86.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 372.

¹⁶² Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, pp 16, 17.

¹⁶³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 372 - 373.

was heard by their enemies, who, it appears, kept watch at no great distance, until the Waikato *taua* departed for Puke-rangi-ora.¹⁶⁴

Watene Taungatara says that the Waikato and Maniapoto did not stay at Pukerangiora long; they collected Tukorehu and headed for home.¹⁶⁵

The battle of Motunui was a disastrous defeat for the northern tribes and it was the last, but one, great battle between Waikato and Ngatiawa. It left Waikato with a strong desire to revenge the deaths of their chiefs. However, this opportunity did not come until late 1831 early 1832, at the Battle of Pukerangiora.

Until the harvest season of 1822, the Kawhia tribes remained with Ngatiawa. Pukewhakamaru Pa, which Ngati Mutunga had given them, was just inland of Okoki Pa. Its position made it easy to defend against attack, which was important in view of the hostility between the Waikato alliance and the Kawhia tribes. It would have proved a difficult place to take, being sited high upon an island formation, separated from the main ranges by a narrow pathway. There were also ample grounds for the cultivation of crops. This of course would be extremely useful if there was a siege.¹⁶⁶

According to Te Kanae, a short while after Waikato and Maniapoto left more Kawhia people arrived in Taranaki. They decided to leave Te Arawi, after another attack by Waikato on a recent invasion of Kawhia. Apparently, they had been staying at Matakitaiki Pa, but it had recently come under attack. Fearful for their lives, they decided to catch up with the main heke.¹⁶⁷

By this time, Ngatiawa had become heavily embroiled in the so-called 'Maori Wars.' This was the result of the protection they gave to the Kawhia tribes in Taranaki and the subsequent defeat of Waikato at the battle of Motunui. Had they chosen to stay out of the affairs of the Kawhia tribes, then the history of these people, and that of Ngatiawa, could well have been very different. Nevertheless, both the marriages between these tribes and their past allegiances held well throughout these difficult times.

2.6 The Plan to continue to Kapiti c1821-1822

The Kawhia tribes had completed the first stage of their journey to Kapiti and still had over two hundred and fifty miles to go.¹⁶⁸ Te Rauparaha obviously believed that the heke could go

¹⁶⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 377 - 378.

¹⁶⁵ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 17.

¹⁶⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 346, 347, 367, 368.

¹⁶⁷ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 9.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 384.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4. The heke left Waitara about autumn 1821.

no further without support, a fact that had become more apparent since the Battle of Motunui.

According to various accounts, Te Rauparaha made a visit to his Ngati Raukawa relatives at Maungatautari for the express purpose of obtaining their support for the journey south. Ngati Raukawa poured scorn on the proposal however, and Te Whatanui, Te Ao, and the other chiefs, to whom he spoke, refused to support him.¹⁶⁹ This must have been a severe setback for Te Rauparaha, whose mother was Ngati Raukawa. He valued his Ngati Raukawa connection.

Nopera Te Ngiha went with Te Rauparaha to seek aid from Ngati Raukawa:

I came with Rauparaha from Kawhia in the second 'heke.' I went with Rauparaha to Waikato when he went to fetch his tribe Ngati Raukawa. Rauparaha said, 'I am going to Kapiti: do you join me, and let us take Kapiti.' Raukawa did not consent. [We] went with Whatanui as far as Taupo. At Rotorua and Tauranga Rauparaha had asked Ngati Whakaue and Te Waru to join him and they had refused. Horowhau heard of us - Rauparaha left Ngati Raukawa on their way to Heretaunga and came on after us - Rangihaeata, others - Rauparaha came on to Rotoaira and to Whanganui. We went to Te Kaweka, after a short time left with Ngatiawa.¹⁷⁰

Tatana Whautaupiko discusses the Ngati Raukawa response to Te Rauparaha's request for help. It is obvious that at this stage of his life Te Rauparaha did not have the mana that he would be accorded in later years:

When he [Te Rauparaha] got to Taranaki with the great migration news reached him that the Ngati Raukawa were going to Napier. He said to his people, Ngati Toa, he would go after them. He took twenty men with him. He overtook them at Opepe. He told them, the Ngati Raukawa, that they had best come with him to this land. [i.e. Kapiti]. They would not. Te Au was the one who said no. He said, who will follow the lead of a common person? Rauparaha and his companions felt very dark at that saying and they returned to Taranaki. Te Au was of Ngati Tuwhakahewa hapu...¹⁷¹

When Te Rauparaha arrived back in Taranaki he sought help from Ngatiawa, in particular Ngati Mutunga and Kaitangata. There were others.¹⁷² It was pointed out earlier that Ngatiawa were very closely related to Ngati Toa and these ties were again strengthened

¹⁶⁹ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 374. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 297. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 313. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

¹⁷⁰ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 30 March 1868, pp 391, 392. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngiha.

¹⁷¹ Boast, R. *Ngati Toa in the Wellington Region*, Vol. 1: Text, 1997, p 38. Refer quote of Tatana Whautaupiko, cited from *Otaki minute book 16*, 1891, pp 346 - 347. Evidence of Tatana Whautaupiko.

¹⁷² *Otaki minute book 10*, 25 February 1890, pp 326 - 327. Evidence of Mere Pomare.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 313. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Otaki minute book 10, 21 February 1890, pp 295 - 297. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

when the Kawhia tribes arrived in Taranaki. In the Wellington Tenth's case it was stated that, 'Te Rauparaha had shrewdly married off some of his young people with some of Ngatiawa which instantly acquired for him allies.' In terms of the migrations south it was said, 'We reacted to any threat to them and to our whanau among them by sending 300 to 400 warriors to their assistance. When Te Rauparaha travelled to Kapiti Island we and the other hapu of the coast went to their aid.'¹⁷³

The importance of the relationships between the Kawhia and Ngatiawa tribes is further highlighted by the words of Wi Parata, the grandson of Te Rangihiroa. He said that had Ngatiawa not assisted Ngati Toa in their migration to the south, they would not have gone to Kapiti. They were related and one would not have gone without the other. 'Ngatiawa was the horse on which Ngatitua rode.'¹⁷⁴ Hohaia Pokaitara in responding to a question concerning whether Ngatiawa migrated South in response to an invitation, stated, 'They had one ancestor a common ancestor.'¹⁷⁵

As records show, a number of Ngatiawa assisted the Kawhia tribes south. Watene Te Nehu of Ngati Tuaho described the relationship between the Kawhia and Taranaki tribes by saying, '...Ngatitua & Ngatiawa were as one tribe & they worked together they helped each other when fighting.'¹⁷⁶

Table 2. Ngatiawa who assisted the Kawhia tribes ¹⁷⁷

Hapu	Names of Ngatiawa Chiefs	
Puketapu	Whakapaheke	Takarei
Ngati Mutunga	Reretawhangawhanga	Te Karu
Kaitangata	Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake	Hone Tuhata
Manukorihi	Tu Mokemoke	Wi Kakupe
Ngati Tuaho	Te Pa-kai-ahi	Te Koihua
Ngati Rahiri	Kawe	Pomare
Ngati Hinetuhi	Kohiwi	Te ReuRangitakaro
Ngati Kura	Ngatata	Te Puni
Ngati Tupawhenua	Tewai Te Arahu	WharepouriTakaratahi
Ngati Hineuru	Te Poki	Rangikatuta
	Manukonga	
	Pakihai	

¹⁷³ Oral Evidence given by Sam Raumati at Wellington Tenth's Case.

¹⁷⁴ *Otahi minute book 10*, 11 February 1890, pp 208 - 209. Evidence of Wi Parata.

¹⁷⁵ *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 102. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

¹⁷⁶ *Otahi minute book 11*, 11 March 1890, p 17. Evidence of Watene Te Nehu.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 313. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Otahi minute book 1C, 11 March 1868, pp 195 - 199. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

¹⁷⁷ *Otahi minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, pp 313, 318. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 21 February 1890, pp 295, 298. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

Otahi minute book 10, 30 January 1890, p 82. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Shand, A. *The Occupation of the Chatham Islands by The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.1, 1892, p 87.

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 384.

Otahi minute book 10, 25 February 1890, p 326. Evidence of Mere Pomare.

Te Rauparaha, *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha*, By His son Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Edited by Peter Butler, Martinborough, 1980, p 23.

2.7 Te Heke Tataramoa

The name given to the heke from Kawhia to Kapiti was ‘Te heke mai raro’ or ‘the migration from the north.’ The name given to this second stage of the Kawhia migrations from Taranaki to Kapiti was Tataramoa, meaning ‘the bramble bush migration.’ The name derives from the difficulties that the people encountered on their way to Kapiti.¹⁷⁸

The party was quite large. Ngatiawa sent a force consisting of some four to five hundred warriors¹⁷⁹ and the Kawhia tribes, according to Travers, would have numbered four hundred, including all the women and children. One hundred and seventy of them were fighting men.¹⁸⁰ Matene Te Whiwhi states that there were in fact only 100 Ngati Toa warriors.¹⁸¹ We cannot be sure whether this included the forces of Ngati Koata and Ngati Rarua or not.

Around February - March 1822, after harvesting the crops planted for the journey, Te Heke Mairaro set off for Kapiti. They travelled from Waitara, via the Whakaahu-rangi, which ran on the east side of Maunga Taranaki. This course was chosen to avoid encounters with enemy tribes. They then passed through Ngati Ruanui country to Patea and on without any trouble, until reaching Nga Rauru territories. At Waitotara some of Ngati Toa were killed.

When they arrived, the northern allies occupied a deserted pa called Ihu-puku. This pa had apparently been abandoned after the Nga Rauru occupants were warned of the approaching war party. The northern tribes set up camp and five men were sent inland to find the Nga Rauru and to obtain food for their journey further south.¹⁸²

The five men eventually found the Nga Rauru but they were far from welcome. A fight broke out and four of the five men were killed.¹⁸³ One of them was Te Ra-tu-tonu, the husband of Topeora, the sister of Rangihaeata and niece of Te Rauparaha. Te Ra-tu-tonu was a chief of Ngati Mahanga hapu of the Taranaki tribe.¹⁸⁴ The sole survivor made his

¹⁷⁸ S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 383.

¹⁷⁹ *Otahi minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 313. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Otahi minute book 1C, 11 March 1868, pp 195 - 199. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

¹⁸⁰ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, pp 88 - 89.

¹⁸¹ *Otahi minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi. There were only one hundred Ngati Toa and between four and five hundred Ngatiawa.

See also:

Te Rauparaha, Tamihana, *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha*, By His son Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Edited by Peter Butler, Martinborough, 1980, p 23. Says there were 170 Ngati Toa all told.

Burns, P. *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington. 1980, p 96. Says there were two thousand in this heke.

¹⁸² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 384 - 385.

¹⁸³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 385.

See also:

Otahi minute book 1C, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi. Five of the party were murdered at Waitotara.

¹⁸⁴ Taungatara, W. *Te Pukapuka A Te Watene Taungatara*, 1899, MS 1187, Folder 181, Polynesian Society, p 4.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 385.

way back to Ihu-puku, and told his people what had happened. Immediately a war party assembled.¹⁸⁵

In the subsequent battles a number of pa belonging to Nga Rauru were taken, and at Waitotara, the northern allies managed to acquire a large number of canoes which were later used to transport many of the children and old people to Kapiti. According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, his father was exceedingly anxious to possess canoes, as he had already contemplated crossing Cook Strait and launching an attack on the South Island..¹⁸⁶

Smith says that Ngati Apa arrived to offer their assistance to the northern tribes at Waitotara. Ngati Apa and Muaupoko had met previously at Horowhenua Lake to consider how peace could be maintained with the northern tribes.¹⁸⁷ Therefore it might reasonably be assumed that Ngati Apa were simply guarding their own interests.¹⁸⁸ Hunia Te Hakeke, though, suggests that there was a genuine intention on the part of Ngati Apa to ensure that the northern tribes arrived safely. Hakeke discusses how the two Whanganui chiefs wanted to make war on the northern tribes but Ngati Apa chose to assist the heke rather than support an offensive against them.¹⁸⁹ Earlier, Pikinga of Ngati Apa was captured by Rangihaeata on the Ngapuhi Expedition in 1819. Since then, arrangements had been made with Ngati Apa for Rangihaeata to return and occupy the land. Rangihaeata had also since married Pikinga, a chieftainess.¹⁹⁰

Nopera Te Ngiha mentions that Ngati Apa met the heke at Waitotara:

At Waitotara some Ngati Apa came up - 4 chiefs: Mekomoko. Ku. Te Pauhu. Rauparaha greeted them and said - "you come to arahi me to my land at Kapiti. Came with heke on to Whanganui and Rangitikei."¹⁹¹

Hohepa Tamaihengia mentions the release of some of Ngati Apa captives on this occasion:

At the return of Rauparaha, after first expedition, he took slaves with him. They were with us when Ngati Apa came to us at Waitotara. The prisoners were given back - Pikinga, Tangutu and Takaoi.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 385 - 386.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 386.

¹⁸⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 386.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1C, 27 March 1868, pp 374 - 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

Otaki minute book 1, 19 November 1872, p 25. Evidence of Major Kemp.

¹⁸⁸ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, pp 374 - 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

¹⁸⁹ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 6 April 1868, p 513. Evidence of Hunia Te Hakeke.

¹⁹⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 386.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1D, 30 March 1868, p 392. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngiha.

¹⁹¹ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 30 March 1868, p 392. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngiha.

¹⁹² *Otaki minute book 1D*, 30 March 1868, pp 399 - 400. Evidence of Hohepa Tamaihengia.

Major Kemp's account says that there was a plan to kill Te Rauparaha, probably in consequence of some incident during the Nga Puhi expedition about 1819. He also confirms that Ngati Apa met the northern tribes at Waitotara:

...when Rauparaha came the second time, he came as far as Waitotara. Pehituroa being at that time at Manawatu. Pehi gave orders that if Rauparaha appeared he should be killed. Pehituroa went to Whanganui & the Chiefs of Ngatiapa went up to Waitotara to fetch Rauparaha. Pehituroa was a Chief of Whanganui. He gave his instructions to the Muaupoko about Rauparaha. They went, that is the Ngatiapa, to bring Rauparaha to protect him from being killed. Pehi's wish to kill Rauparaha was his own. The tribes did not wish it - A Whanganui Chief called Rangiwhakarurua went with the Ngatiapa Chiefs to bring Rauparaha & to prevent Pehi's instructions from being carried out. Rauparaha then came down with these Chiefs to Rangitikei [sic]. He stayed there and was there a long time, about 2 months. They then let him come on to Manawatu...¹⁹³

After obtaining adequate supplies of food, the northern allies continued their trek. From Waitotara they moved on to Whanganui, some travelling in the canoes, the rest overland. Ngati Apa escorted them from Whanganui to Rangitikei. Here they were met by more Ngati Apa and taken on to Te Awamate where they stayed for a while. During their visit, a greenstone gift was presented but it is not clear who was actually giving the taonga or what it actually was. No doubt it was a gesture to acknowledge peace between the tribes.

The northern tribes eventually left Te Awamate and travelled further south to Te Wharangi, a pa belonging to the Rangitane. The Muaupoko and Ngati Apa who had accompanied the party to Rangitikei, do not appear to have continued this far. Possibly their absence explains why a fight broke out on the arrival of the heke and several Rangitane were killed.¹⁹⁴ One of the casualties was a chieftainess called Waimai.¹⁹⁵ Nohorua was apparently responsible for her death.¹⁹⁶ According to Nopera Te Ngiha, Te Rauparaha arrived at Manawatu and after making camp, Nohorua and Te Aratangata of Ngati Toa went up the river. When they

¹⁹³ *Otaki minute book 1*, 19 November 1872, p 25. Evidence of Major Kemp.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 386, 387.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1, 19 November 1872, p 25. Evidence of Major Kemp.

Otaki minute book 1C, 27 March 1868, p 374. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

Otaki minute book 1D, 30 March 1868, p 392. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngiha.

Otaki minute book 1D, 6 April 1868, p 513. Evidence of Hunia Te Hakeke.

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 387.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1, 19 November 1872, p 25. Evidence of Major Kemp. (See p 22 re Kemp's whakapapa. Belongs to Rangitane, Muaupoko, N Apa, Whanganui and Kahungunu.)

¹⁹⁶ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 7 April 1868, p 538. Evidence of Hunia Te Hakeke.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1, 19 November 1872, p 25. Evidence of Major Kemp: '...Rauparaha then came down with these chiefs to Rangitikei, he stayed there and was there a long time, about 2 months. They then let him come on to Manawatu and crossed the River to the other side. He found some women here and he killed them. Waimai was one and was a great Chiefteness of Muaupoko, she was eaten ...'

returned their canoe had been stolen. They went out searching for the canoe but found only a Rangitane woman, Waimai. In this account Waimai was killed by Te Aratangata.¹⁹⁷

2.8 Papaitonga c1822

The northern allies moved on to Kotahi after the above incident and camped on the Waikawa River, about seven miles from Otaki. There they had a visit from Warakihi of Muaupoko and Ngati Apa who told them that some Muaupoko wanted to attack the northern tribes in revenge for Waimai's death. Rauparaha asked Warakihi if there were any canoes available on Lake Papaitonga and was told that there were. Warakihi then went off to Te Wi to report his conversation to the chief, Toheriri, who in turn approved their being taken.¹⁹⁸ Unbeknown to the northern allies though, trouble was brewing.

Some time later, Toheriri invited Te Rauparaha to join him and his people in a feast of eels. The invitation was accepted and a party of about 20, including Te Rauparaha and his daughters, headed off for the pa at Te Wi.¹⁹⁹ Meanwhile the Muaupoko were collecting in numbers. Rangihaeata warned Te Rauparaha that an attempt would be made on his life but he seems to have paid no attention. The warning had originally come from Pikinga's people.²⁰⁰ When Te Rauparaha arrived he was welcomed by the Muaupoko chiefs Toheriri, Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, and Tanguru. After the feast the visitors settled for the night. Te Rauparaha chose to stay with Toheriri.²⁰¹

That night many Muaupoko assembled at Te Wi, ready and eager to massacre the visitors. When Toheriri heard them arrive and surround the houses he rose and quickly went outside. The slaughter was about to begin. Te Rauparaha, alerted to the attack and finding that he could not escape through the front door, quickly made a hole in the rear of the raupo house and scrambled out. Making his way to a stream he came across Te Ra-ka-herea with a spear sticking out of his back. The two of them made their escape as best they could, arriving some time later at Ohau. They were fortunate to escape - many were killed.²⁰²

Major Kemp says that sixty people were killed at Te Whi, although this is at variance with other sources, which report that only twenty people went with Te Rauparaha on this visit. Kemp also says that only two persons escaped and that Te Rauparaha's children were

¹⁹⁷ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 30 March 1868, p 392. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngiha.

¹⁹⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 387.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4. The heke arrived at Ohau in 1822.

Otaki minute book 1, 19 November 1872, p 26. Evidence of Major Kemp.

¹⁹⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 388.

²⁰⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 388.

See also:

Otaki minute book 1, 3 December 1872, pp 136 - 137. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²⁰¹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 388.

²⁰² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 388 - 389.

among those killed.²⁰³ They included his son, Rangihoungariri, and his daughters, Poaka and Te Uira. A third daughter, Hononga, was taken prisoner.²⁰⁴

Hira Te Aratangata gave her version of events leading up to the killing of Te Rauparaha's children. It summarises the progress of Te Heke Tataramoa or 'Te Heke Mairaro,' as it is sometimes called. The latter name is sometimes used to describe the whole of the migrations from Kawhia to Kapiti:

We got to Taranaki, then to Ngatiruanui, and then to Ngarauru. We fought with Ngarauru and came on to Whanganui and then to Rangitikei, then on to Manawatu, and on to Otaki and then to Ohau where Rauparaha's children were murdered by Muaupoko. We remained there to take revenge. The leaders were Te Pehi, Rauparaha, Rangihaeata. Ngatiawa chief was Reretawhanga, [sic] my father was Aratangata, he was Te Pehi's nephew.²⁰⁵

Tamihana Te Rauparaha also commented on the fighting at Papaitonga:

He [Te Rauparaha] went there to get a canoe. Induced to go by Muaupoko. They asked him to go there to get a canoe. Don't know how many. Some of my father's children went. [?] Ngati Toas and his children went. My father did not bring [a] canoe. I only know of my father who came back alive. The others were killed by Muaupoko. They were killed at night.²⁰⁶

The death of the children enraged Ngati Toa who set about exterminating the Muaupoko tribe. The violent events that followed are often referred to in the Native Land Court records as Horowhenua.²⁰⁷ According to Wi Parata, Ngati Toa avenged the death of Te Rauparaha's children, assisted by Ngati Kura. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake was also involved.²⁰⁸

2.9 Horowhenua c1822-1823

For at least six months, the northern allies raided Muaupoko settlements in an orgy of killing. The Muaupoko did not realise what a heavy price would be exacted from them in revenge for the massacre at Papaitonga. With only traditional weapons, they could do little

²⁰³ *Otaki minute book 1*, 19 November 1872, p 26. Evidence of Major Kemp.

²⁰⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 389.

²⁰⁵ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 88. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

²⁰⁶ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 27 March 1868, p 383. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

²⁰⁷ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 5. 'In revenge for this attack Rauparaha fell upon the people from Manawatu to Porirua, and, after clearing out the inhabitants with ruthless efficiency, took possession of the country.' According to this version, Te Puoho arrived at that point, apparently to see how Te Rauparaha was fairing. A party of Ngati Tama and Ngati Whakarete accompanied him. These latter people remained near the Manawatu River to harass Ngati Apa while Ngati Tama went on to Waikanae.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 314. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Otaki minute book 1, 3 December 1872, pp 137, 138. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

Otaki minute book 1, 5 December 1872, p 156. Evidence of Henare Herekau.

²⁰⁸ *Otaki minute book 10*, 7 February 1890, p 163. Evidence of Wi Parata.

to defend themselves. Eventually the tribe was forced to abandon their settlements and retreat for safety to Wai-pata, and Wai-kie-kie, the island pa of Lake Papaitonga. These pa were not, however, as safe as they thought. Two subsequent attacks were made and more than two hundred Muaupoko slaughtered. Survivors made their way through the forest ranges to Paekakariki, and the hills behind Waikanae, where they appear to have stayed for some time.

Two Ngati Kuia chiefs from the Pelorus Sounds, Pakauera and Maihi of Ngati Rongomai hapu of Ngati Kuia, actively supported their Muaupoko relatives in their opposition to the northern alliance. No doubt some of their followers were also involved.²⁰⁹ In years to come, the northern allies would use this involvement of Ngati Kuia as one of the reasons to justify their conquest of the northern South Island.

2.10 Ngatiawa return from Kapiti to Taranaki c1823

After the affair at Papaitonga, Ngatiawa, who had assisted their Kawhia relations in the purge of Muaupoko that followed, felt that it was time to return to Taranaki. There were a number of reasons for the decision. They felt that the lands they wished to settle were now reasonably secure, even if not completely safe. Increasingly, they had reservations about Te Rauparaha's attitude to them, suspecting that they were being manipulated to his advantage. The most powerful motivation, however, was provided by the news that Waikato were planning a further attack on their families in Taranaki; they were still determined to revenge their earlier defeat at the hands of a combined Ngatiawa and Kawhia force in the Battle of Motunui. Some influential Ngatiawa chiefs, including Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake and Te Puoho, decided to return.²¹⁰

Matene Te Whiwhi says that not all Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki and that about ten people remained behind.²¹¹ Other evidence would suggest there could have been more, but certainly not a great many more, who stayed behind with their Kawhia relatives. Hohepa Tamaihengia was with Te Heke Mairaro and he says that twenty Ngatiawa remained on the Kapiti coast.²¹² Hiria Te Aratangata travelled with Te Heke Mairaro and she also says that there were Ngatiawa who remained behind: 'Ngatata, Tiwai, Mare, Kawe of N. Kura, Te Puke. Ru. of N. Hinetuhi. Pakaiahi, Ngatata was of N. Mutunga. So was Tiwai & Mare. Also Manukorihi was there...'²¹³

2.11 The Taking of Kapiti Island c1823

After the military action at Horowhenua, the northern allies lived at Ohau for about a year before they finally took the island of Kapiti from the Muaupoko. Te Pehi led this operation

²⁰⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 389 - 392.

²¹⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 393, 396.

²¹¹ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 197. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²¹² *Otaki minute book 1D*, 30 March 1868, p 402. Evidence of Hohepa Tamaihengia.

²¹³ *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 91. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 31 January 1890, 3 February 1890, p 121. Evidence of Te Karehana. Although unsure of the tribal affiliations of Tiwai, the witness does acknowledge the help and assistance given at Waiorua.

while another party was away with Te Rauparaha, making an attack on Ngati Apa of Rangitikei.²¹⁴

According to E.J.Wakefield, who talked to close relatives of Te Pehi, Te Pehi and Te Rauparaha were becoming increasingly jealous of each other's fame and influence. Several united attempts to conquer Kapiti had been repulsed when, one night, Te Rauparaha left Te Pehi asleep at the common encampment and, accompanied by all but a small party of those closest to Te Pehi, started for Rangitikei, intending to win the glory of a victory for himself.²¹⁵

Te Rauparaha made an attack on the Rangitane who had rebuilt one of their pa, Hotuiti, between Shannon and Foxton. The Rangitane were supported by a small group of Ngati Apa. This constituted a gathering so Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, along with a war party, went to disperse them. Pikinga accompanied them. When they arrived she went into the pa and asked the occupants to leave but they refused. Te Rauparaha, in his cunning way, later managed to persuade the chiefs to come outside to make peace. When they came out from the pa they were all killed, along with the people who had stayed inside.²¹⁶

Matene Te Whiwhi described a battle at Hotuiti and it could very well be the same incident. The main difference between the two versions is that the evidence of Wakefield suggests that the attack on Hotuiti took place before the northern tribes went to live on Kapiti and the evidence of Te Whiwhi suggests that it took place afterwards. Other than this the two versions are almost identical. Te Whiwhi says:

... our war party came on shore to hunt for people & we went inland to Otuiti. Pekinga went to Rangitani [sic] & pretended peace was to be made and persuaded them to come out Rangitani were in their Pah at Otuiti. 30 chiefs of Rangitani were killed. There were some Ngatiapa with them. They had been about an hour with the war party when they were killed or made prisoners. Awe Awe was spared. All the people in the Pah did not come out; the women and children were there. Tokipoto, Tamariki, Te Oio & Pokahuwai were killed. Ngatiapa when they heard that these men had been killed they were very angry these men were killed in revenge for the murder of Rauparaha's friends at Te Whi. Ngatiapa sent a messenger across the Range to the Hamua Tribe and a war party of 200 came. We were all on Kapiti with the exception of a few at Waikanae. They attacked us secretly in the night and killed 30 of us at Waikanae...²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 392, 393.

²¹⁵ Wakefield, E. J. *Adventure in New Zealand, From 1839 - 1844*, Vol. 1., John Murray, London, 1845, pp 117 - 118.

²¹⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 394.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4.

²¹⁷ *Otaki minute book 1*, 3 December 1872, p 139. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

It is said that, on the return from Hotuiti, Te Rauparaha and his party stopped at Waikanae to feast on the defeated people.²¹⁸

Meanwhile, returning to Wakefield's story, when Te Pehi woke up he was told that Te Rauparaha had left for Rangitikei. His immediate reaction was:

'Then I shall be master of *Kapiti* or "dead" by the time he returns.' Wakefield continues, 'He mustered his men in the canoes, and, gallantly effected with the few devoted followers who had refused to desert him, the conquest which had been impossible to the whole body when divided by *Rauparaha's* envious intrigues.'²¹⁹

According to Smith, the Kawhia people occupied both Ohau and Kapiti Island after Ngatiawa returned home, but this situation changed within a few months when the Kahungunu and Ngati Ira attacked them at Paekakariki.²²⁰

Previously, the Kawhia people had attacked the Muaupoko and for two months they had been feasting and helping themselves to their provisions. After the attack by Kahungunu, the Kawhia people were forced to leave the mainland and to join their relations on Kapiti Island, (actual reference talks about Waikanae).²²¹ They fortified themselves against attack and continued their frequent raids on their enemies in the Horowhenua and Manawatu districts, whenever they were detected returning to their old pa.²²²

Te Kanae gives an account of an incident that took place while they were on Kapiti. They had been living on the island and one day some Ngati Toa went across to the mainland to collect fern root. At Waimea they met a war party of the Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngati Kahungunu, and Ngati Apa. The war party attacked Ngati Toa at night, killing several men and women.²²³ Nopera Te Ngiha says that there were twenty Ngati Toa killed in this confrontation and, on this same occasion, Te Rauparaha's gun was taken from him.²²⁴ In another account, thirty Ngati Toa, including three of their chiefs and four children

²¹⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 394.

²¹⁹ Wakefield, E.J. *Adventure in New Zealand, From 1839 - 1844*, Vol. 1., John Murray, London, 1845, pp 117 - 118.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4. Discusses the attack made by Te Rauparaha upon Rangitane at Hotuiti. Also says Rauparaha had to retire to Kapiti as he could not maintain the mainland.

²²⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 393.

²²¹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 393.

See also:

Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands by The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, p 88. Te Rauparaha and the northern tribes on Kapiti were unable to occupy the mainland until after the arrival of Niho Puta.

²²² A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4.

²²³ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 9.

²²⁴ *Otaki minute book 1D*, 30 March 1868, p 393. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngiha.

belonging to Te Pehi, are said to have been killed.²²⁵ Hiria Te Aratangata said that it was a surprise attack.²²⁶ Hohaia Pokaitara said, 'At night Ngatiapa & Ngati Kahungunu fell on them and killed Pohe & children of Te Pehi. They took her onto Waikanae & killed her at Otaki at a place called Ngahuruhuru.' This place was not too far from Arapawaiti.²²⁷ Pohe was the daughter of Haukione, one of the leading Ngatiawa chiefs. Pohe was also the wife of Te Rangihiroa, a leading Ngati Toa chief.

According to Major Kemp:

Paora Turangapito & a party of Ngatiapa came down and joined with Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngatikahungunu, they went as far [as] Waimea a place near Waikanae. They attacked Ngatitoa & slaughtered 100. They caught Pehi's children and killed them...²²⁸

Up to this point, the northern tribes had been able to occupy both the mainland and Kapiti Island. Now they had to withdraw to the safety of Kapiti Island. From here, messengers were sent to Maungatautari to seek assistance from Ngati Raukawa. The two messengers were Rangiwai and Repeka of Ngati Toa.²²⁹

They must have taken the word via Taranaki, as shortly afterwards some Ngatiawa set off with every intention of going to Kapiti to assist their relatives. Further on there is a description of Te Puoho of Ngati Tama and Haukione of Ngati Rahiri both receiving the message that Pohe had been killed. They arrived in Te Heke Hauhaua, shortly after the Battle of Waiorua.

There is an incident that should be mentioned here, as it is relevant to the allocation of lands, after the arrival of Ngati Tama. Wi Parata gave the following account:

...Ngati Toa had quarrelled with Muaupoko They went & attacked Muaupoko & killed some of them, & those who escaped ran away into the bush. They, the Ngatitoa, followed in search of them into the bush. When they got to Kahikatea they found the chief of this land named Ratu. They pursued him & all the chiefs of Ngati Toa were standing on shore. This man swam the lake. Pehi then jumped into [the] water & swam after him, the man who was in the water was up to his chest & he kept his spear under the water & when he came up to him he struck Te Pehi on the hip with his spear. Te Pehi then pulled the spear out but the other man was still grasping it & led him on one side. When he got on shore Aratangata & other chiefs saw Te Pehi was wounded, the blood was flowing. Ngati Toa then came forward to kill the man but he was saved. This took place on the land called Kukutauaki, first of all given to Te Pehi & Aratangata but after Te Pehi was hit the others, the section belonged to Aratangata, gave it up to him. They captured the Muaupoko

²²⁵ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4.

²²⁶ *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 92. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata. The reference relates to Kenakena but does say that Pehi's children were killed.

²²⁷ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, pp 99, 100. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara. Pohe was the daughter of Haukione.

²²⁸ *Otaki minute book 1*, 19 November 1872, p 26. Evidence of Major Kemp.

²²⁹ *Otaki minute book 11*, 25 March 1890, p 141. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

tribe & absorbed them in their own tribe - When Te Ahu's life was spared he went into the bush & collected his people - Muaupoko the followers of this man then came out of the bush - Muaupoko then knew they would not be killed - ²³⁰

Meanwhile Te Pehi nursed a powerful hatred of the tribes who had killed his children and was obsessed with the thought of revenge. His attacks on local tribes stopped only when he sailed for England. His reason for going was to obtain muskets to facilitate the extermination of his children's killers.²³¹ He left New Zealand on 25th February 1824, some two years after leaving Taranaki.

2.12 Waiorua / Whakapatae 1824

The next major event was the battle of Waiorua, sometimes referred to as Whakapatae. The earlier assaults and killings of the Muaupoko, Apa and Rangitane had finally brought matters to a head.

Te Ratu instigated the battle of Waiorua. Previously captured by Te Pehi, he managed to escape. Given the situation over the previous five or six years, it would not have taken much persuasion to bring about a concerted attack by the original Cook Strait tribes. They all had some cause to be involved.²³²

While the Muaupoko were still being hunted down in Horowhenua, Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki. Shortly afterwards the original inhabitants of the Cook Strait districts assembled in great numbers, intent on ridding themselves of the remaining northern allies now confined to Kapiti. South Island tribes were there too, possibly because they knew that Te Rauparaha planned to cross the Straits to attack them and very probably because some of their relatives had been killed in the earlier fighting.²³³

Estimates of the size of the force that attacked Kapiti range as high as two thousand. With these numbers on their side, against the few left on Kapiti Island, the attacking forces must have felt that the odds were stacked in their favour. Moreover, the knowledge that most Ngatiawa had returned to Taranaki surely gave them an added boost of confidence.²³⁴

²³⁰ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, pp 156 - 157. Evidence of Wi Parata.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 118. Evidence of Te Karehana. Te Ratu was the owner of the land, prior to its coming into the possession of Te Pehi.

²³¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 3 February 1890, p 120. Evidence of Te Karehana.

²³² A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4. Also called Te Rato and nicknamed Te Kotuku by Te Rauparaha.

²³³ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 4.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 396.

²³⁴ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 397.

Several hundred canoes assembled between Otaki and Waikanae in preparation for the attack on Kapiti.²³⁵ The first indication of trouble for the northern tribes came when two of Te Rauparaha's children, playing in a tree, saw the fires of the war party on the mainland. Its proximity was not regarded as an immediate threat and any retaliatory action was postponed until the following morning. By that time the attack was under way.²³⁶

Matene Te Whiwhi says that the war party arrived at Kapiti Island and launched their attack about four o'clock in the morning.²³⁷ The first landing place was near Waiorua, located at the northern end of the Island. One division proceeded south to the pa of Rangatira and the other launched an attack upon Waiorua.

There was an element of surprise in the intended attack but the war party did not take proper precautions. When they approached the shore they were heard by three of the Kawhia people who were camped on a hill, near where the war party made their landing, a short distance from the main pa at Waiorua. When they realised what was about to happen they cried out to the people in the main village, '*E Puta ki waho! Ko te whakaariki! Ko te whakaariki!*' (Come forth! The army! The army!) So the assault commenced with Ngati Koata and Ngatiawa at Waiorua, the first to come under fire. They opened fire on the attackers and many of the enemy tribes were killed.

It was not too long after the fighting began that Pokaitara arrived from Rangatira with some Ngati Toa warriors. He had a running battle with the enemy trying to reach Waiorua, and at one stage had to use treachery to secure his safety. He was cornered by some Ngati Apa under Rangi-maire-hau and, in order to buy himself some time, he proposed a truce. This plan worked long enough for help to arrive. The arrival of Pokaitara at Waiorua saw the fighting renewed with considerable vigour.²³⁸

Tamihana Te Rauparaha suggests that not all the people at Kapiti knew that the war party had arrived. They were scattered around the island.²³⁹ According to Matene Te Whiwhi, Te Rauparaha had planned to cross to the mainland to attack the enemy on the morning of the battle, but when he arrived at Waiorua the fighting had been raging for quite some time.²⁴⁰

Travers says that there were no less than one hundred and seventy bodies left on the shores. Others drowned, trying to escape to their canoes, which were still anchored off shore.²⁴¹ The musket power of the Kawhia tribes and the lack of co-ordination of the attacking party

²³⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 397.

²³⁶ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 5.

²³⁷ *Otaki minute book I*, 3 December 1872, p 140. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²³⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 398.

²³⁹ *Otaki minute book IC*, 27 March 1868, p 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

²⁴⁰ *Otaki minute book I*, 3 December 1872, p 140. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²⁴¹ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 114.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 5. The Kurahaupo were having problems with their long canoes, thus causing confusion amongst them.

gave the Kawhia and Ngatiawa tribes a decisive victory. According to Hohaia Pokaitara, 'the people of the Mainland were annihilated. The land was taken from Wellington to Rangitikei - '.²⁴² Survivors were not allowed to go unmolested and were chased across to the mainland where they abandoned their canoes. Many were captured and later killed while others, including some of the chiefs, were taken and enslaved by the northern allies.²⁴³

Matene Te Whiwhi gave the following account of Waiorua:

They only lit their fires at night when they had all collected from Whanganui, Wairarapa, Rangitikei [sic]. Two of Rauparaha's children were up in a tree and saw the fires at Waikanae. This was the first time we knew of their being there. Rauparaha & Rangihaeata wanted to cross to the mainland in the morning. During the night those 1000 of people who were at Waikanae came off in their canoe's and came to East end of the Island, Waioru [Waiorua]. They wanted to attack at night. Kekerengu said, 'Let us wait until morning, Some of our people heard them disputing and went & reported it at the Pah. At 4 am the Pah was attacked; just after dawn the Pah was taken. The people who attacked were defeated. The canoes were close together and covered the space between Waikanae & Kapiti. Waiorua is the name of the battle 5 of them were spared.'²⁴⁴

Matene Te Whiwhi also discusses the subsequent raids made by Te Rauparaha on those who escaped from Waiorua:

...after the fight we went to Rangitikei[sic]. We took a Pah called Awematemate. We killed ten people. The chiefs Rangihauku & Kopeka were killed, all the rest of the Chiefs made their escape (Hakeke and others). We came back from Rangitikei to Manawatu. We went up the river as far as Kareione (?) and we found Natives there who had escaped from Waiorua. We killed them; they were Rangitani's and Ngarauru from Waitotara. 40 were killed. We spared the life of a Ngarauru chief called Koukou and we went back to Kapiti and Rauparaha began to think about Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiapa...²⁴⁵

2.13 The Capture of Tawhi 1824

The northern tribes did not get it all their own way at Waiorua. Ngati Kuia, from Pelorus Sound, managed to capture a young boy by the name of Tawhi as they fled from the Island

²⁴² *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 101. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

²⁴³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 398 - 399.

See also:

Ngati Toa Chiefs to Grey, 11 December 1851, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 68, p 272. An account given by Ngati Toa: It is said that of the 2000 Kurahaupo who attacked Waiorua, four were spared. They were Tutepourangi, Tautioma, Tukihono and Waimea from Whakatu and Motueka. In addition, Te Rimurapa and Te Kiwa of Kahungunu also survived.

²⁴⁴ *Otaki minute book 1*, 3 December 1872, p 140. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²⁴⁵ *Otaki minute book 1*, 4 December 1872, p 143. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

after the battle. He was taken back to the South Island. Tawhi was the son of Te Putu, a high-ranking chief of Ngati Koata.

When Ngati Koata found out that Tawhi had been taken, it was decided to send a war party to the South Island to retrieve him. Amongst the rescue party was a senior chief of Ngati Kuia called Tutepourangi. He and three other chiefs had been spared after the fighting at Waiorua and were now being held as ransom for the return of Tawhi.

To summarise, they managed to find Tawhi and peace was made between Ngati Kuia and Ngati Koata, those most concerned for the boy. As a result of the peace made, members of Ngati Koata moved to D'Urville Island (Rangitoto), marking the first instance of any of the northern tribes settling in the South Island.²⁴⁶

In the section dealing with the settlement of the Northern South Island there is consideration of the gift of land which permitted Ngati Koata to take up residence on the island.

Little has been said of Ngatiawa participation in the battle of Waiorua but, without any doubt, they were there, although numbers were relatively small. Many had returned to Taranaki following the Horowhenua affair.

Table 3. Ngatiawa at Waiorua c1824 ²⁴⁷

Ngatiawa		Hapu
Tumokemoke	Mari	Mutunga Kaitangata Ngati Hinetuhi Ngati Kura Manukorihi
Ngatata	Te Puke	
Tewai	Reu	
Te Pakaiahi	Okawe	
Wiremu King		
Rawiri Te Rauponga		
Pomare		

²⁴⁶ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 5. Tawhi never returned to the north but stayed with his brother, Te Patete, and Ngati Kuia on D'Urville.

²⁴⁷ *Otaki minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 314. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 31 January 1890, p 89. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

Otaki minute book 10, 3 February 1890, p 118. Evidence of Karehana.

Otaki minute book 11, 19 March 1890, p 79. Evidence of Enoka Taitea.

Napier minute book 15, 31 January 1890, p 91. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata.

Napier minute book 15, 31 January 1890, 3 February 1890, p 121. Evidence of Te Karehana. Although unsure of the tribal affiliations of Tiwai, the witness does acknowledge the help and assistance given at Waiorua.

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 398.

Table 4. Those who assisted the attack on the Northern Tribes at Waiorua ²⁴⁸

South Island Tribes Kainga		Chiefs
Ngati Apa-ki-te-ra-to	Massacre Bay	Te Rato
Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri	“	Te Hapuku
Ngati Kuia	Pelorus	Tutepourangi, Maihi, Pakauwera
Rangitane, Ngati Apa	Queen Charlotte Sound	
Rangitane	Wairau	Te Ra-maru, Tuki-hongi
North Island		Chiefs
Ngati Ruanui		Te Hana-taua, Tu-rau-kawa, Te Matangi-o-Rupe
Nga-Rauru		
Whanganui		Turoa, Paetaha, Te Anaua, Rangi-te-whata, Te Rangi-whaka-ruru, Te Kuru-kanga, Te Kotuku
Ngati Apa		Te Hakeke, Marumaru, Turanga-pito, Papaka, Tahataha, Te Ahuru
Rangitane		Mahuri, Tutai, Kai-moko-puna, Te Awa-kautere
Muaupoko		Rangi-hiwi-nui, Tanguru, Kotuku (Te Rato), Maru, Tawhati, Tu-mata
Ngati Ira		Te Kekerengu, Huru, Ta-unuunu
Ngati Kahungunu		Tu-te-pakihi-rangi

Te Kanae says that around twelve months after the Kawhia tribes leaving Taranaki, the mainland about Kapiti was finally secured from the Muaupoko and their allies.²⁴⁹ It would seem a little early, however, to suggest that the mana of the land had passed over. Although many of the enemy had been killed at the battle of Waiorua, a great many escaped. The northern tribes still had serious reservations about moving to the mainland. It is perhaps more accurate to say the land was secured, only after Ngatiawa arrived from Taranaki in Te Heke Niho Puta. It was not until then that the mainland was settled to any real extent and, after this, there was little chance of the Muaupoko and their allies ever making any major reprisals.

Meanwhile, at the time the Battle of Waiorua was about to be fought, Ngatiawa were contemplating their own migrations south.

²⁴⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 396 - 397.

²⁴⁹ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, pp 9, 10.

See also:

Otahi minute book 11, 25 March 1890, p 141. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa: ‘Ngatitao fought Waiarua [sic], the original owners of the soil had been defeated.’

Chapter Three

3.0 Ngatiawa decision to leave for Kapiti c1824

The main cause of Ngatiawa migrations arose out of the Battle of Motunui and the part played by Ngatiawa in protecting their Kawhia relatives from Waikato and Maniapoto. Rangipito says that a short time afterwards, Kainga of Ngati Mutunga visited his Ngati Apakura relatives living in Waikato. While he was there, Turimanu, a relative, told him that Waikato had not yet forgiven Ngatiawa for their defeat and that they would not be long in seeking revenge. Other relatives of Turimanu echoed this message and so when Kainga returned home to Taranaki he passed it on to his people.²⁵⁰

The move to Kapiti was not a knee-jerk reaction to the situation; it was more of a strategic move. Certainly the migrations were intended to be only temporary and for a specific purpose. The plan was to buy muskets to defend themselves against Waikato when they returned to Taranaki.²⁵¹ It is worth noting that not all Ngatiawa actually left Taranaki.²⁵²

Other matters also influenced the decision to leave Taranaki. Invitations to settle the lands about Kapiti had apparently been extended to some Ngatiawa, no doubt to strengthen the position of the Kawhia and Taranaki tribes who were living there.²⁵³ They had been left in a weakened position after the majority of Ngatiawa returned home. Those who remained at Kapiti were worried by the threat of an attack by the original inhabitants of the Kapiti Coast. Their fears proved to be well founded when the Battle of Waiorua was fought.²⁵⁴ It should be recalled that, prior to this battle, Muaupoko and their allies had forced the northern tribes off the mainland to the safety of Kapiti Island.

Another deciding factor in the decision to migrate was the plague, which swept through Taranaki about 1823-1824. The plague originated in 1820, apparently from a ship called "Coromandel." It spread from the crew of the vessel to the Maori people and then from tribe to tribe until it reached Ngatiawa in Taranaki. Many Taranaki people perished in the fearsome plague that they called 'Te Ariki.' As for the survivors, migration to Kapiti must have seemed to offer an escape from almost certain death.²⁵⁵

Land claims resulting from Ngatiawa participation in the Nga Puhi expedition c1819, and the subsequent Te Heke Mairaro, provided another motive for migration. These events gave

²⁵⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 399 - 400.

²⁵¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 323. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

²⁵² A.J.H.R., C-No.1. *Extract from Despatch from Governor Hobson to the Secretary of State*, 13 November 1841, p 167. Ngatiawa were residing at Taranaki when Wakefield visited there at the end of 1839.

See also:

Ironside, *Extracts from the Diary of Rev. S. Ironside from 9 June 1840 - 23 July 1840*, p 2. Discusses those found at Nga Motu and the surrounding districts.

Seffern, W.H.J., '*Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand Known as Taranaki.*' New Plymouth, Seffern, W.H.J., 1896, p 115.

²⁵³ *Otaki minute book 2*, 25 March 1874, p 326. Evidence of Pauira Te Rangikatu. Belongs to Ngati Tama and Ngatiawa.

²⁵⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 396, 400.

²⁵⁵ Houston, J., *Maori Life in Old Taranaki*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 50.

rise to the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes claiming rights to the land at Kapiti by conquest.²⁵⁶ The only difference between Ngatiawa and the Kawhia tribes at this stage was that the former had not yet taken up occupation in any great numbers. The migrations from Taranaki would, however, change this.

Although the migrations were originally intended to be a temporary move for Ngatiawa, most people did not return to Taranaki until 1848, some twenty-four years after the first heke departed. Watene Taungatara says that when they arrived at Kapiti they did not want to leave.²⁵⁷ The opportunities presented were obviously too attractive to reject. There were new lands to conquer. When sections of Ngatiawa moved from Waikanae to the Wellington District they drove out the remnant Ngati Ira who had survived the previous assault made by the Ngapuhi expedition. Similar conquests were made when Taranaki and Kawhia tribes attacked the South Island about 1829. Ngatiawa, mainly Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama, also migrated to the Chatham Islands in 1835.²⁵⁸

The growing number of European whalers and flax traders frequenting Cook Strait after 1825 would have also played a major part in delaying the return to Taranaki. The Europeans introduced their technology. The new implements and materials must have been a startling revelation to Maori, who were previously quite isolated from other cultures.²⁵⁹

The arrival of missionaries in the late 1830s had a huge impact upon Ngatiawa of the time. Many of them became Christians, as did many other Maori.

Despite all that has been said, Ngatiawa still retained the idea of going home and this they did in 1848.²⁶⁰ Not all of them returned though. Some remained to look after the newly acquired lands.

For some Ngatiawa, it was never an option to leave their homes in Taranaki and a number of them are known to have remained in occupation long after the last main heke left for the Cook Strait districts in 1833.²⁶¹

²⁵⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 25 February 1890, p 327. Evidence of Mere Pomare.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 22 February 1890, pp 298 - 301. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. 'A great number of Ngapuhi came down - Manukonga and Takaratahi were the chiefs of Ngatiawa.'

Otaki minute book 11, 19 March 1890, p 79. Evidence of Enoke Taitea.

Otaki minute book 1D, 31 March 1868, p 420. Evidence of Te Karira Tonoa, '... it was my land, mine and Ngatiawa's who helped me to take the land on our first coming and at Haowhenua.'

Napier minute book 15, 30 January 1890, p 78. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

²⁵⁷ *Otaki minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 323. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

²⁵⁸ Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands by The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, pp 87, 90 - 94.

²⁵⁹ Smith, A. L. *Background to the Parihaka Movement*, Waitangi Tribunal Hearing, Parihaka, 20 October 1992, p 6.

²⁶⁰ Hadfield, *Parliamentary Debates of 1858-1860*, p 286. He claimed that those Ngatiawa, who left Taranaki in the southern migrations, always intended to return home. Note: Hadfield also states that the return to Taranaki in 1848 was partly because there was not enough land available in the Waikanae area to accommodate all Ngatiawa arriving there. Also mentions they had been considering returning to Taranaki as early as 1839.

²⁶¹ *Supplementary Information, Relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, p 152.

See also:

Ironside, *Extracts from the Diary of Rev. S. Ironside from 9 June 1840 - 23 July 1840*, p 2. Discusses Ngatiawa found at Nga Motu and in the surrounding districts.

Evidence given in the early Native Land Courts suggests that four main heke left Taranaki between 1824 and 1833. There were others, but they seem to have been too small to attach any name to.

The first two were Te Heke Hauhaua and Niho Puta. The first was mainly Ngati Tama with a few Ngati Rahiri and Kawhia refugees. The second was made up of most of the northern Taranaki tribes. The third large heke left Taranaki in 1833. Its name was Tamateuaua and it consisted of some two thousand women, children and old people and a number of fighting men. The last heke was called Te Heke Poukina and seems to have followed shortly after Tamateuaua.

One estimate suggests that that between 1822 and 1834, some ten thousand Ngatiawa migrated to the Horowhenua, Port Nicholson, Queen Charlotte, Motueka and West Coast districts.²⁶²

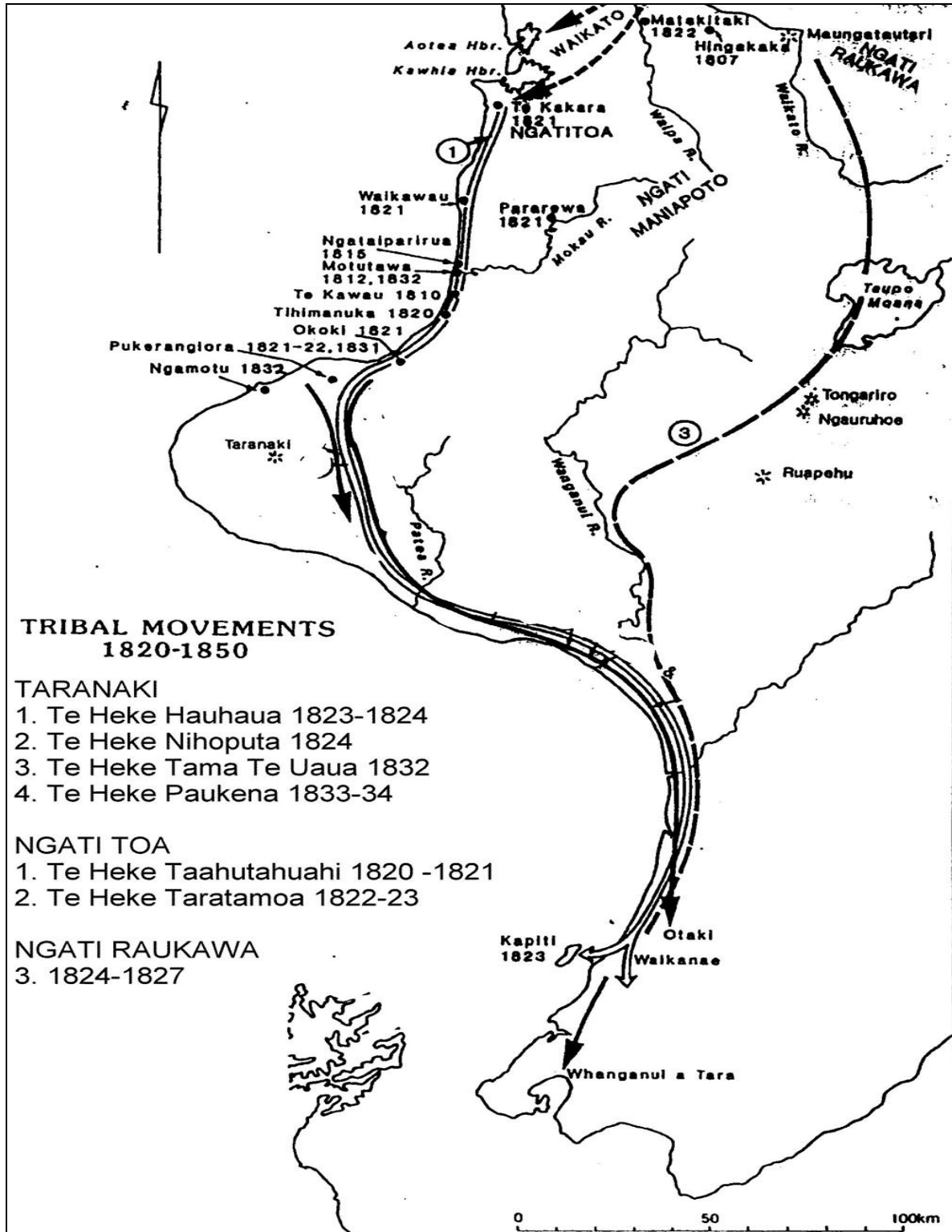
Seffern, W.H.J., *'Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand Known as Taranaki'*. New Plymouth, Seffern, W.H.J., 1896, p 115.

A.J.H.R, C-No.1. *Extract from Despatch from Governor Hobson to the Secretary of State*, 13 November 1841, p 167. Ngatiawa were residing at Taranaki when Wakefield visited there at the end of 1839.

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 459.

²⁶² Clover, Gary, *Going Mihinare and Evangelical Religion*, MS 639, Taranaki Museum, Auckland, 1986.

Figure 2. Nga Hekenga: Migration Trails



3.1 Te Heke Hauhaua c1823

According to Travers²⁶³ and Hohepa Horomona,²⁶⁴ Te Puoho journeyed south, shortly after the Battle of Waiorua.

Pikau Te Rangi says that Te Heke Hauhaua was led by Te Puoho-ki-te-rangi,²⁶⁵ Pehitaka and Taringakuri. According to Pauira Te Rangi Katu, messengers had been sent to Poutama, with an invitation for the Ngati Tama to come and occupy Kapiti.²⁶⁶ Ngati Tama were not alone either. Haukione had heard that Muaupoko and their allies had murdered his daughter, Pohe. (Haukione was a chief of Ngati Rahiri and Kaitangata, and his daughter, Pohe, had been married to Ngati Toa chief, Te Rangihiroa.)²⁶⁷ According to Hohaia Pokaitara:

What I know of Haukione is when Pohe was killed by N Apa & N Kahungunu, also the children of Pehi. Te Haukione was at North when the Puaho's heke came down. He came with that heke. He came to bring down his daughter to be a wife for Rangihiroa.²⁶⁸

According to Wi Parata, when Haukione arrived it was found that Te Rangihiroa had married Kapa, the sister of Pomare.²⁶⁹

There were others as well who joined the heke. Some of Ngati Toa and Ngati Rarua, who had remained in Taranaki after the departure of Te Heke Mairaro, also joined.²⁷⁰ Some of them had only recently arrived in Taranaki. Matene Te Whiwhi says in his account that Ngati Whakaterere were also with Te Heke Hauhaua and that there was a total of about 70 people in the heke. Te Whiwhi also says that Te Puoho made two trips to Kapiti. One was to see how the Kawhia tribes were getting on and the second was to migrate:

²⁶³ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, pp 115 - 116.

²⁶⁴ *Nelson Minute Book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 275. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. Te Puoho was still at Poutama at the time of Waiorua.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 22 February 1890, p 301. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 6. Te Puoho did not arrive at Kapiti until just after Waiorua.

²⁶⁵ *Otahi minute book 10*, 22 February 1890, p 301. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

²⁶⁶ *Otahi minute book 2*, 25 March 1874, p 326. Evidence of Pauira Te Rangikatu.

²⁶⁷ *Otahi minute book 10*, 3 February 1890, p 117. Evidence of Karihana: 'Heard Houkiore [sic] belonged to Kaitangata.'

²⁶⁸ *Otahi minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, pp 101 - 102. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

See also: *Otahi minute book 10*, 3 February 1890, p 121. Evidence of Hira Maika. Of Ngatiawa Puketapu. Born 1838.

²⁶⁹ *Otahi minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 159. Evidence of Wi Parata.

²⁷⁰ *Otahi minute book 10*, 3 February 1890, p 111. Evidence of Karihana.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1872, p 275. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

...70 came with him. They belonged to several hapu's, partly Ngatitama, Ngatiwhakare and others. He came and saw we were all right and then went back. In summer Ngatiwhakare and Ngatitama came down in a party. They were now commencing to migrate. On their arrival at Rangitiki a party of us came ashore from Kapiti. The Ngatiwhakare party killed Ragihirinui, the principal chief of Muaupoko. Ngatitama came on to Waikanae while the other went on to Rangitiki to fight Ngatiapa. They took a pah called Pikitara up the Rangitiki. It belonged to Ngatiapa. They came down here, we left Ngatiwhakare here and went down the coast. They afterwards went up Manawatu and killed Katia of Ngatiapa. They caught Hunia's mother there, also Mokomoko and some other chiefs. The tribes then continued to come to this part of the country.²⁷¹

Despite the battle of Waiorua, it is clear that there was still fighting going on when Te Heke Hauhau arrived. Some witnesses in the Native Land Court stated that the Battle of Waiorua had conquered the land.²⁷² If in fact the land had been taken at the Battle of Waiorua, then one has to question why they were still fighting. The simple answer is that the situation remained unstable and obviously there were still a number of Muaupoko and their allies on the land, although they had been displaced from the areas in close proximity to Kapiti Island.

According to the evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi, Ngati Tama also occupied the mainland. But it seems to have been after they had lived on Kapiti Island.

I am going back to when Ngatiawa arrived here. The Ngatitama came to Waikanae and then came back to take possession of Otaki, Ohau and other places. They lived a year and half there and subdivided the land. It might have been in the year 1827.²⁷³

One of the subjects that a number of witnesses discussed in the Native Land Court was that on the arrival of Ngati Tama, Te Pehi gifted land to Haukione. This was to compensate him for the death of his daughter, Pohe.²⁷⁴ Hiria Maheke of Ngatiawa says that: 'Te Puoho & Haukaione [sic] and Waikanae was given to Te Haukaione [sic]. Rangihira said I give you this in consequence of your neck having been chopped off on this land, i.e. on account of

²⁷¹ *Otaki minute book 1*, 3 December 1872, p 141. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²⁷² *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 90. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata: 'Te Aratangata was my father, he was a nephew of Te Pehi - child of his brother.'

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 122. Evidence of Te Karehana.

²⁷³ *Otaki minute book 1*, 4 December 1872, p 145. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

²⁷⁴ *Otaki minute book 10*, 3 February 1890, pp 117 - 118. Evidence of Karehana.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 1 February 1890, pp 101, 106. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

Otaki minute book 10, 6 February 1890, p 159. Evidence of Wi Parata.

Otaki minute book 11, 2 April 1890, p 235. Evidence of Tamihana Te Karu.

his child having been killed.’²⁷⁵ Later, Haukione gave some of this land to Ngatiawa who arrived in Te Heke Niho Puta.²⁷⁶

3.2 Te Heke Niho Puta c1824

The next heke to leave Taranaki was Niho Puta. At the time of its departure the threat of a Waikato attack upon Ngatiawa seemed imminent.²⁷⁷ Some witnesses at the Native Land Court refer to Niho Puta as Te Heke Mairaro, the name given to the earlier heke when the Kawhia tribes first settled Kapiti.²⁷⁸

According to Smith, a great number of people joined Te Heke Niho Puta. Almost all Ngatiawa living between the White Cliffs and Waitara were there. Ngati Mutunga furnished the largest contingent and there were also members of Ngati Hinetuhi, Kaitangata, Te Kekerewai, Ngati Hineuru and Ngati Tama among others. Some of the principal chiefs included Reretawhangawhanga, Te Tiwai, Tu Mokemoke, Te Pakaia and Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake.²⁷⁹ The estimates of armed men alone ranged between four and five hundred.²⁸⁰ According to Rihari Tahuaroa, approximately four hundred Puketapu under Te Manutoheroa went too.²⁸¹

It is interesting that Smith places Te Puoho in Te Heke Niho Puta, as he was one of the chiefs who had led ‘Te Heke Hauhau’ down to Kapiti, only a few months earlier. It is however possible that he could have returned to escort another group of migrants, as other chiefs did in subsequent heke. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake is known to have returned to Taranaki for more of his people, shortly after the arrival of Niho Puta at Kapiti.

The heke left Taranaki in the winter of 1824 and travelled by way of the Whakaahu-rangi track, onwards into Ngati Ruanui country. Here, Ngatiawa attacked Ngati Ruanui in

²⁷⁵ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 124. Evidence of Hiria Maheke: ‘I belong to N. Awa. tribe - hapus Puketapu & Kaitangata...’ Born c1838.

²⁷⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 101. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 3 February 1890, pp 117, 119. Evidence of Karihana.

Otaki minute book 11, 21 March/22 March 1890, pp 112, 118. Evidence of Raniera Ellison.

Otaki minute book 11, 2 April 1890, p 235. Evidence of Tamihana Te Karu.

²⁷⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 399 - 400.

²⁷⁸ *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, p 106. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

²⁷⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 400.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 30 January 1890, p 83. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. Says that Mairaro was after Niho Puta but also says Mairaro followed Hauhau and was after Tataramoa.

²⁸⁰ Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands by The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, pp 87 - 88. The people in this heke were mostly Ngati Mutunga, about 540 in number. They came from the country between Whakarewa and Onaero, north of the Waitara River. Among the many chiefs with this party were Ngatata, (Pomare’s uncle), Te Arahua, and Te Poki. It should be noted that Shand places Te Hauhau after Niho Puta, which, from the evidence, appears incorrect.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 400.

²⁸¹ *Otaki minute book 11*, 24 March 1890, p 140. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

revenge for killings on a previous heke.²⁸² The pa was taken but many of the local inhabitants managed to escape inland. From Patea, Ngatiawa continued along the sandy beach as far as Waitotara, at which point they turned inland and headed for the pa of Ihupuku, belonging to Nga Rauru. When Te Heke Tataramoa had travelled through earlier, the pa had been vacated but on this occasion the inhabitants were present.

When Ngatiawa arrived at Ihupuku the Nga Rauru invited them to stay. That night a Nga Rauru chief, Tama-i-akina warned Ngatiawa that his people were planning some sort of treachery, however, the information seems to have been ignored. That night Ngatiawa were dispersed in small numbers, among the outlying villages. After everyone had settled the attack began. The Nga Rauru went from house to house killing the people.

It was from this occasion that the heke received its name, Niho Puta. While the killing was going on a chief of the Nga Rauru went to one of the houses where there were several Ngatiawa sleeping. As he entered, he called out, 'Ku [sic] patua noatia taku niho- puta mo te rurenga.' - 'My-pig-with-tusks has long since been killed for the guests.' This was the signal for the killing to commence.²⁸³

An old man, Hone Potete, was in one of the houses when the attack was made. He told Shand that:

I suspected there was treachery, and sitting beside my companion, with my big toenail scratched him (*kia whiwha*) to indicate that we should attack our hosts, but he was afraid to do so. They attacked and killed many of us, but the bulk escaped.²⁸⁴

The survivors managed to find their way back to Ihupuku where the majority of Ngatiawa were staying. Ngatiawa did not retaliate at this stage, as their priority was to reach their destination. Rangipoto says that they postponed any sort of retaliation for another time.²⁸⁵

They passed through Whanganui and finally reached Waikanae without incurring any problems. On their arrival, they found that the battle of Waiorua, which they had come to assist, had already been fought and won. The arrival of the heke, however, made it much safer for the allies on Kapiti to move back onto the mainland.²⁸⁶ There was little possibility now of the Muaupoko and their allies attempting any major assault, particularly with the significant increase in the numbers of Ngatiawa.

²⁸² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 400.

²⁸³ S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 400, 401.

²⁸⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 401.

²⁸⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 401.

²⁸⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 401.

See also:

Shand, A. *The Occupation of The Chatham Islands by The Maoris in 1835*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 1, 1892, p 88. Te Rauparaha and the northern tribes on Kapiti were unable to occupy the mainland before the arrival of Niho Puta.

The evidence suggests that the people who travelled with Niho Puta did not all arrive at the same time. There were at least three main groups, followed by a number of smaller heke over the next twelve months.²⁸⁷

Ngati Mutunga were the first to arrive at Waikanae²⁸⁸ and they were followed shortly afterwards by the Puketapu under Te Manutoheroa.²⁸⁹ It would appear that Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake returned to Taranaki after arriving with the first group and brought more of his people on, including his father Reretawhangawhanga. He followed the heke of Te Manutoheroa. Rihari Tahuaroa, who was in Niho Puta, says there were eight hundred people in the heke. When they arrived they stayed at Waikanae and on the second day Ngati Toa, living on Kapiti, paid them a visit.²⁹⁰ Paratawhera was in Te Heke Niho Puta and gives a similar account of the event:

Paratawhera (sworn) is my name also (Pirihera te Neke). I live at Waikanae. I am Ngatiawa Ngati Uenuku - N. Kura N. Tama, & Kaitangata that is my own Kaitangata - I was born at Waitara. My fathers name was Ngakawe his name is in [the] Treaty of Waitangi - My mother was Taonga. I came down in Heke Miraro; I was an infant in arms -.

Toheroa Reretawhangawhanga - Te Hawe - Karewa Taranui - Huriwhenua - these were the principal chiefs - ...the Ngatitoa were at Waikanae when they saw our heke over 800 men had arrived the Ngatitoa came over from Kapiti to greet us...²⁹¹

Different accounts report that Ngatiawa were gifted lands to stay on, shortly after their arrival. Te Pehi was the owner of the land,²⁹² having acquired it after a fight with Te Ratu, the former occupant. Te Pehi subsequently gifted the land to Haukione, after he arrived with his Ngati Tama relations in Te Heke Hauhau.²⁹³ When Ngati Mutunga arrived at Waikanae in Te Heke Niho Puta, Haukione gifted them, as well as others, land to stay on. According to Te Karehana of Ngati Toa, 'Haukione said let all N. Awa stop here at Waikanae.'²⁹⁴

²⁸⁷ *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 295. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

²⁸⁸ *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, pp 295 - 296. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 30 January 1890, pp 82 - 83. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Otaki minute book 10, 25 February 1890, p 327. Evidence of Mere Pomare.

Otaki minute book 10, 6 February 1890, p 159. Evidence of Wi Parata.

²⁸⁹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 295. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

See also:

Otaki minute book 11, 24 March 1890, p 140. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

²⁹⁰ *Otaki minute book 11*, 24 March 1890, pp 140 - 141. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

²⁹¹ *Otaki minute book 11*, 29 March 1890, p 199. Evidence of Paratawhera. Also known as Pirihera Te Neke.

²⁹² *Napier minute book 15*, 31 January 1890, p 91. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata.

²⁹³ *Otaki minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 101; 1 February 1890, p 106. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 3 February 1890, pp 117, 119. Evidence of Karihana.

Napier minute book 15, 4 February 1890, p 139. Evidence of Hiria Maheke.

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 319. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Otaki minute book 11, 21 March 1890, p112; 22 March 1890, p 118. Evidence of Raniera Ellison.

Otaki minute book 11, 2 April 1890, p 235. Evidence of Tamihana Te Karu.

²⁹⁴ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 120. Evidence of Te Karehana.

There are records of other such gifts. Hera Te Wairingiringi of Ngati Rahiri, referring to the land about Kapiti, says that, 'Te Pehi & Nohorua & others gave it to the people. Nohorua gave Kukutauaki to Huriwhenua when we came from Waitara.'²⁹⁵

Depending on the location of the land they received, some hapu went to the south side of the Waikanae River mouth²⁹⁶ and others, including Ngati Kura, Ngati Hinetuhi and Ngati Mutunga, settled at Waimea.²⁹⁷ Ngati Kura built a fortified pa at Taewapirau and Ngati Hinetuhi built another at Pikiho.²⁹⁸ The main pa seems to have been built at Waikanae and was occupied by Ngatiawa, Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Rahiri.²⁹⁹ Hera Aratangata also mentions that a section of Ngati Rahiri settled at the mouth of the Kukutauaki stream. There were about thirty to fifty of them under the chief Huriwhenua.³⁰⁰ A great number of Ngati Rahiri must have arrived afterwards, as Tahuaroa says there were four hundred of them all told. Tahuaroa also says that Tungia gave land to the Puketapu and that they stayed at Urui, Wainui and Paekakariki.³⁰¹ According to Pikau Te Rangi, Ngati Rahiri also had a pa called Upokotikaia.³⁰² Taungatara suggests, however, that this was a Ngati Mutunga pa under their chief Te Arau. Ngati Kura and Ngati Hinetuhi also lived there. Ngati Rahiri lived at a pa called Mutukatoha [Motukatea] and Ngati Kura were cultivating land at Kukutauaki.³⁰³

²⁹⁵ *Napier minute book 15*, 25 January 1890, p 36. Evidence of Hera Te Wairingiringi.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 25 January 1890, p 42. Evidence of Hera Te Wairingiringi. Also says that Huriwhenua, Toheroa and W King were equal as Chiefs.

Napier minute book 15, 31 January 1890, pp 91 - 92. Evidence of Hiria Te Aratangata: 'Nohorua married Te Wharemawhai the sister of Huriwhenua that is the reason N. Rahiri lived at Kukutauaki.'

Napier minute book 15, 27 January 1890, pp 52, 53. Evidence of Hone Taramoua, (John Drummond). Huriwhenua apparently had a fight over the land. This was probably after Te Pehi returned from England, some time in 1828-29.

²⁹⁶ *Otahi minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, pp 295 - 296, 299 - 300. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. Arapawaiti was the pa nearest to the mouth of the Waikanae River mouth. Kenakena was a little further north but inside the river mouth. This was old Waikanae Pa.

²⁹⁷ *Otahi minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 296; 22 February 1890, p 304. Evidence Of Pikau Te Rangi.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 31 January 1890, p 93. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

²⁹⁸ *Otahi minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, pp 97 - 98. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 21 February 1890, p 296. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

²⁹⁹ *Otahi minute book 10*, 30 January 1890, p 82. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 31 January 1890, p 101. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

Otahi minute book 10, 3 February 1890, p 113. Evidence of Karihana. Of N. Toa.

Otahi minute book 10, 21 February 1890, pp 296, 303. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

³⁰⁰ *Otahi minute book 10*, 31 January 1890, p 90. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 25 January 1890, pp 33 - 36, 41. Evidence of Hiria Te Wairingiringi.

³⁰¹ *Otahi minute book 11*, 24 March 1890, pp 140 - 141. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

³⁰² *Otahi minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, p 296. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

See also:

Otahi minute book 10, 30 January 1890, p 80. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

³⁰³ *Otahi minute book 10*, 30 January 1890, p 80. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Table 5. Kapiti Coast – Occupation sites

Occupation Sites	Hapu
South side of Waikanae River mouth (Waikanae Pa)	Ngati Kura, Ngati Hinetuhi, Ngatiawa, Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Rahiri
Upokotikaihau	Ngati Rahiri. Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Kura, Ngati Hinetuhi
Pikiho	Ngati Hinetuhi
Mutukatoha	Ngati Rahiri
Waikanae	Ngati Mutunga
Kukutauaki	Ngati Kura, Ngati Rahiri
Waimea	Ngati Mutunga
Taewapirau	Ngati Kura
Uruhi	Puketapu
Wainui	Puketapu
Paekakariki (Paripari)	Puketapu

After the arrival of Niho Puta, Ngatiawa, who had been living on Kapiti with their Kawhia relatives, moved across to the mainland and occupied land. These people had remained with the Kawhia tribes when the majority of Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki, after the fighting in Horowhenua. These same people also fought in the Battle of Waiorua.³⁰⁴

After the arrival of Niho Puta, some Ngati Mutunga moved on to occupy Wellington.³⁰⁵ This move was designed to make way for the many Ngatiawa who continued to arrive, as some of the chiefs who had been amongst the first to arrive in Te Heke Niho Puta returned to Taranaki and brought down more of their people. Wi Parata says that, ‘Rangihoro told them (Ngati Mutunga) to go & live at Wellington in consequence of death of their sister.’³⁰⁶ Paratawhera was a child in arms when Te Heke Niho Puta left Taranaki. He says that Ngati Mutunga had in fact left for Wellington, prior to the arrival of his heke. It has already been pointed out that there were at least three heke associated with Niho Puta.³⁰⁷

The history of Ngatiawa occupation of the Whanganui-a-Tara district is not covered in this document, nor are the subsequent incursions into the Wairarapa district and the Chatham Islands. These have been covered in the several reports submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal in respect of the Wellington Tenth Case.

References are made to Ngati Raukawa migrations only where they are relevant to the history of Ngatiawa. It should be remembered that Ngati Raukawa refused Te Rauparaha’s plea for assistance when he went to ask for their support in getting the Kawhia tribes south to Kapiti. Despite this rejection, Te Rauparaha continued to court Ngati Raukawa with

³⁰⁴ *Otaki minute book 10*, 21 February 1890, pp 295 - 304. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi. Mainly on pp 295 - 296.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 25 February 1890, p 327. Evidence of Mere Pomare.

³⁰⁵ *Otaki minute book 10*, 25 February 1890, p 327. Evidence of Mere Pomare. Some of the Kaitangata and N Mutunga moved off the island of Kapiti soon after the arrival of Niho Puta.

³⁰⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 160. Evidence of Wi Parata.

³⁰⁷ *Otaki minute book 11*, 29 March 1890, pp 199, 202. Evidence of Paratawhera.

invitations to join the Kawhia tribes in the occupation of land around Kapiti. Within a few years Ngati Raukawa arrived at Kapiti to make new homes for themselves.

Patricia Burns mentions Te Heke Whirinui, the heke of Ngati Raukawa under Whatanui, and that Te Heu Heu of Tuwharetoa also accompanied them.³⁰⁸ However, the Land Court records that have been consulted for the purpose of this report, make no mention of Te Heke Whirinui belonging to Ngatiawa. This is not the place to unravel these discrepancies, but it is probable that Ngatiawa continued to arrive about the Kapiti district between the period of Niho Puta in 1824 and Te Heke Tamateuaua, some ten years later.

In the meantime however, the majority of Ngatiawa had left their homes at Taranaki and were occupying the land in the lower North Island. At this point, it is appropriate to look more closely at the northern South Island and the events that led to the conquest of these lands by the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes.

³⁰⁸ Burns, *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1980, pp 126 - 127.

Chapter Four

4.0 Conquest of the Northern South Island 1827-1834

The conquest of land in the South Island did not take place overnight. There was a succession of attacks before the Taranaki and Tainui tribes eventually crossed Cook Strait to settle. This chapter looks at the battles prior to 1834, which secured the northern South Island from the original inhabitants, mainly the Kurahaupo and Ngai Tahu tribes. There were later battles, but they will be dealt with in the section on the settlement of the northern South Island.

The fighting was ferocious. The Kurahaupo tribes were brought to their knees in one of the bloodiest affairs in the South Island's history. The Tu-mata-kokiri, Kurahaupo and Ngai Tahu tribes, living in the northern South Island lost many men. Tu-mata-kokiri was almost completely annihilated. As a tribe they ceased to exist; there were only three men left after the land had been fully conquered.

Some historians claim that the reasons given for the southern conquest were mere excuses to justify the invasion. This could be true to some extent. It was mentioned earlier that Te Rauparaha, according to his son Tamihana, had decided to conquer the South Island while the heke Tataramoa was travelling from Taranaki in Te Heke Mairaro.³⁰⁹ At the time that decision was made, Te Rauparaha had no grievance against the South Island tribes. He was motivated by the ambition to make a great conquest. Afterwards however, South Island tribes gave Te Rauparaha some cause for resentment.

A number of the South Island Kurahaupo were involved in some of the battles in the lower North Island over the previous few years. Some had supported Muaupoko in Horowhenua after the murder of Te Rauparaha's children at Papaitonga, while others were involved in the deaths of the children of Te Pehi. More of them crossed the Strait to join Muaupoko and their allies in the battle of Waiorua. A string of insults directed at Te Rauparaha stemmed from Waiorua. Ruaoneone, of Rangitane, boasted that he would beat the head of Te Rauparaha with a fern-root pounder. Rerewaka of Ngai Tahu threatened to rip open the stomach of the Ngati Toa chief with a niho mango if he set foot on his land.³¹⁰ Pamariki Paaka made a statement about collective responsibility, which is applicable to these circumstances. He said, 'According to Maori custom, although only one person commits the offence, all his tribe are attacked.'³¹¹

Ngatiawa had their own reasons for joining the southern conquest. Quite clearly, they needed more land to accommodate the people who continued to migrate from Taranaki. They were also interested in the opportunities afforded by the presence of traders and settlers in the South Island. Atholl Anderson says that 'Atiawa...composed a haka which

³⁰⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 386.

³¹⁰ Te Rauparaha, T, *Life & Times of Te Rauparaha*, Edited by Butler, Peter, Alister Taylor, 1980, pp 30, 34.

³¹¹ *Nelson minute book* 2, 15 November 1892, p 283. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

expressed their determination to find a new home 'where ships may visit them' but unfortunately he does not provide the words.³¹²

Before we deal with the main assault on the northern South Island, some of the earlier events should be noted. They concern mainly the Kawhia tribes, particularly those closely attached to Te Rauparaha. These events were a prelude to the conquest of the northern South Island.

Figure 3. See map book: *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui*

4.1 Tukituki Aruhe - The Fern-Root Pounder 1827-1829

The first assault upon the South Island stemmed from the words of Rangitane chief, Ruaoneone, who was living in the Wairau at the time. Angered by his people's defeat at Waiorua, Ruaoneone boasted, 'If Te Rauparaha crosses to this island, I will pound his head with a fern-root pounder.' His threat was later reported to Te Rauparaha who raised a war party to seek retribution for the insult. According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha:

- Rauparaha fame reached the Middle Island - Te Ruaone chief of (Rangitane) Wairau heard and said 'this man is very brave' - He said, he would 'like to crack his skull with a 'tukituki aruhe'.' Rauparaha heard and took a 'taua' and slated Ruaone and his people - Rauparaha returned to Kapiti - ³¹³

This first attack on the people of the Wairau is perhaps the most difficult to place. Much of the evidence tends to be contradictory but almost equally credible. Some say that the first attack upon the Wairau took place on Te Rauparaha's way down to Kaiapohia,³¹⁴ and there are those who suggest that the Wairau attack occurred as this same war party travelled home from Kaiapohia.³¹⁵ Others claim that it happened after the taking of Pelorus and Queen Charlotte Sound, but not necessarily at the same time as the war party set out to avenge the niho mango threat, made by Rerewaka of Ngai Tahu.³¹⁶ There are also those who suggest that the attack on the Wairau was executed before the main offensive against Queen Charlotte Sound, Pelorus Sound and the Nelson districts began.³¹⁷

³¹² Anderson, A. *Te Puoho's last Raid, The Battle of Tukurau 1836-1837*, Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin, 1986, Appendix 4, p 78. Anderson quotes from Te Rauparaha, ms 874.

³¹³ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

³¹⁴ Taylor, W. A., *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch, 1952, pp 20 - 21.

³¹⁵ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 68 - 70.

³¹⁶ Buick, T. *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, Christchurch, 1911, pp 125 - 126.

See also:

Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., *The Press*, A Hundred Years Ago, 26 May 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, 'The Attack,' MS 582/A/6, p 4.

³¹⁷ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 27 March 1868, p 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

See also:

Burns, P. *Te Rauparaha, A New Perspective*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1980, p 139.

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 6. Ruaoneone was attacked before Niho Mango.

Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati- Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, pp 12 - 14.

Consideration of all the different accounts makes it appear most probable that the attack took place before the main assault on the South Island, about 1829. Te Rauparaha was at Kapiti when he heard about the boastful Ruaoneone and, according to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, his father went across from Kapiti, launched his attack and then returned. There is no mention of any other battle.³¹⁸

Few details of the actual attack on the Wairau are available. In fact the only information located that gives us any real idea of what actually happened is contained in an account written by W. J. Elvy. He obtained separate reports from the Kawhia and Kurahaupo tribes.

According to Elvy, the Rangitane people say that Te Rauparaha used treachery to conquer the Wairau. Their story is that when he was returning from his first unsuccessful raid on Kaiapohia, he struck a heavy storm off the mouth of the Waimakariri and steered his canoe into the Wairau where he sought permission to land. At first the Rangitane were hostile. They would have been happy to see the unwelcome visitors driven out to sea to take their chance with the elements. Unfortunately for them, they had a change of heart and decided to allow Te Rauparaha's party to land, on the promise of friendship and protection. When they reached the shore, Te Rauparaha and his men were taken to the Rangitane pa, Te Kowhai, which was located where the Marukoko River meets the Wairau.³¹⁹

In time Te Rauparaha managed to acquire the confidence of the Rangitane and took the opportunity to discuss their pa defences with them. Te Rauparaha apparently talked to the local residents about the revolutionary style of warfare using muskets. He suggested that they should dig a trench around the perimeter of the pa so that young warriors could be deployed there for defence against an attacking war party. The Rangitane approved the idea and set about building trenches. The Kawhia warriors helped, carefully choosing to dig some distance away from their hosts, for Te Rauparaha was playing a treacherous game. When the Rangitane were shoulder deep in the trenches, the order was given to attack. Approximately seven hundred Rangitane warriors were slain.³²⁰

Elvy heard another account of the incident from Ngati Toa and Ngati Rarua sources. They say that while one of their divisions made an attack directly on the Wairau, another party landed at Whites Bay and proceeded to attack from the rear, after travelling along the coast on foot, presumably to the pa of Te Kowhai. In submitting the above details, Elvy admits that he had no idea, which of the two accounts is the true version, although he points out that the end result was the same in both cases. The Rangitane in the Wairau were annihilated.³²¹

4.2 Pelorus and Wakatu

The second attack on the South Island concentrated on the area between Pelorus and Whakatu. The Rangitane and Ngati Kuia had been involved in some of the fighting in the

³¹⁸ *Otaki minute book IC*, 27 March 1868, p 375. Evidence of Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

³¹⁹ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 68 - 70.

³²⁰ *Marlborough Express*, Historic Marlborough Coast, 7 May 1938, pp 9 - 10.

³²¹ *Marlborough Express*, Historic Marlborough Coast, 7 May 1938, p 10.

North Island, both before and since the battle of Waiorua. Now, Te Rauparaha planned to eliminate them. However, he did not anticipate that his plan would bring him into conflict with Ngati Koata. They moved to the South Island after the battle of Waiorua and the subsequent gift of land by Tutepourangi. Since their settlement, many Ngati Koata warriors had married women belonging to the Kurahaupo tribes.³²²

It so happened that Whakatari of Ngati Koata met Te Rauparaha on his way to the Nelson district to launch an attack. When Whakatari spoke to Te Rauparaha, he advised him not to make any trouble with the Kurahaupo tribes. This was a serious matter and one that was not taken lightly by either of these chiefs. Ngati Koata give the following account:

Te Rauparaha on his first trip across was met at the mouth of the Pelorus Sound by Whakatari, a Ngati Koata chief to whom he was bound by ties of friendship and relationship. In the course of conversation Rauparaha conveyed to Whakatari the impression that he was becoming tired of petty annoyances from the South Island people and had come to exterminate them. ('He was not going to be annoyed by fleas.') He intended to commence on the Ngati Kuia and Rangitane of Pelorus Sound. This did not suit Whakatari, very probably on account of his fear that once the war party commenced killing they might not discriminate between plain Ngati Kuia, and Ngati Kuia who had intermarried with Ngati Koata or Ngati Koata people themselves. An argument ensued followed by a scuffle between Whakatari and Rauparaha in which the latter was tumbled into the water, not an improbable thing to happen, as Rauparaha was not a big man physically. It had also been suggested to Rauparaha that he would not be allowed to proceed through French Pass.

Rauparaha thereupon went back to Queen Charlotte Sound, and after raiding down Tory Channel returned to Queen Charlotte Sound and portaged his canoes over Torea Neck into Kenepuru Sound. From here he sailed up Pelorus Sound and through Tawhitinui Reach to Elaine Bay. He again portaged his canoes over Tawhitinui Neck into Whakitenga (Squally Cove) thence on to Whakapuaka, thus carrying out his original intention by following another route. Whakapuaka was thereupon attacked, and it is recorded that Tekateka (a Ngati Koata man who was living there), fearing that he would come to injury at the hands of his friends and allies, climbed on to a house and made his identity known: "I am Tekateka! I am Tekateka!" Upon his being recognized, hostilities ceased, but not before Tutepourangi had been killed.³²³

³²² A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 7.

See also:

Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, 1911, pp 122 - 123. Buick suggests that Te Rauparaha was looking for an excuse to invade the South Island. He provided reasons designed to justify a course of action, which he had already decided to follow.

³²³ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 7.

If in fact the argument between Whakatari and Te Rauparaha took place, it probably means that the Ngati Toa chief was not accompanied by a large war party. If the numbers had been on his side, it is almost certain that blood would have been spilt. The evidence here coupled with that of Tamihana Te Rauparaha, separate this incident from what others consider to be the first main attack.

4.3 Te Niho Mango c1829

So far, the raids had been minor, involving small bands of warriors; they were insignificant when compared with later events. On this occasion, the northern allies including Ngatiawa would launch the biggest attack yet. This would see the almost total destruction of the Kurahaupo tribes of the South Island. Past offences committed by the southern tribes still lingered in the minds of the northern allies and now it was time for further retribution.³²⁴

Ngatiawa do not appear to have played any role in the earlier attacks but on this occasion they furnished quite a large contingent. Ngatiawa took part in the invasion, not only because of the close relationships between the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes, but also because, like the other tribes involved, they wanted more land for themselves. The number of Taranaki people occupying the Kapiti coast was increasing and there was not enough land for everyone. It must be remembered that the majority of northern Taranaki people had migrated to Kapiti by this time. The problem of land and resources, or the lack of them, was compounded by the recent arrival of Ngati Raukawa.

³²⁴ Te Kotuku, Te Pehi's children, Te Rauparaha's children, Waiorua.

Table 6. Leading Ngatiawa Chiefs involved with Niho Mango c1829 ³²⁵

Ngatiawa Chiefs.		Hapu
Te Manutoheroa	Te Hawe	Puketapu
Te Koihua	Tukuratahi	Manukorihi
Te Puoho	Tuterangiwhatuka	Ngati Mutunga
Te Keha ³²⁶	Tuhata	Hutiwai
Rihari Tahuaroa	Pehi ³²⁷	Ngati Tama ³²⁸
Tukurua	Ropoama	Ngati Hinetuhi
Reretawhangawhanga	Horoatua	Kaitangata
Wiremu Kingi Te	Oti (Otu)	
Rangitake	Huriwhenua	
Tamati Marino		

Each of the Ngatiawa hapu would have had their own leaders and therefore there are likely to be more persons involved than those mentioned in the above table.

Te Rauparaha is said to have been the main leader in the southern attack and this is acknowledged by many in the Nelson Native Land Court records.³²⁹ However, this command did not make him paramount over the allied tribes, as is the impression that some early writers leave and, furthermore, others might claim today.³³⁰

The immediate motivation for Te Rauparaha was an insult directed at him by Rerewaka of Kaikoura. After the first attack upon the Wairau and Tasman Bay, Te Rauparaha received a report from a runaway slave who told him that Rerewaka had threatened to rip open his stomach with a shark's tooth if he dared to set one foot in his country. The threat was partly

³²⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 267. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 230. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

Pear, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 32. Mentions only Te Manutoheroa and Te Puoho as Ngatiawa chiefs in this war party. It is also of interest that he makes a distinction between the Puketapu and Te Atiawa, when they are one and the same people.

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 427.

Otaki minute book 11, 25 March 1890, p 142. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 180. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Otaki minute book 11, 25 March 1890, p 143. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa. Horoatua was a Puketapu chief and arrived at Waikanae around the time of Niho Puta.

³²⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 427.

³²⁷ *Otaki minute book 11*, 25 March 1890, p 142. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

³²⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol XVIII, p 185.

Pear, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 32.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 180. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

³²⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 180. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

³³⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 177. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona: Te Rauparaha was not paramount over the hapu who conquered the northern South Island. Te Rauparaha was an elected leader.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 180. Evidence of Hemi Matenga. Te Rauparaha was selected.

in response to the Battle of Waiorua but probably more so because Rerewaka had heard that Te Rauparaha intended to invade the South Island.³³¹

Rangihaeata, the nephew of Te Rauparaha, also had a personal grudge against Rerewaka. Rangihaeata rescued Tamai-rangi and some of Ngati Ira, after Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama attacked them at Whanganui-a-tara. Earlier, it was mentioned that Ngati Mutunga moved on to Whanganui-a-tara, shortly after their arrival in Niho Puta. For a time, they occupied the land along with Ngati Ira. This was until war broke out between the tribes and Ngati Ira were defeated. Rangihaeata apparently took Tamai-rangi and her people back to Kapiti. Some time later Kekerengu, who was the son of Tamai-rangi, had an affair with one of the wives of Rangihaeata. When Rangihaeata found out about this he went in search of Kekerengu, but by this time, he had escaped to Kaikoura where he was reported to be staying with Rerewaka at Takahanga Pa.³³²

According to Skinner, Ngati Toa handpicked three hundred and forty of their warriors for the attack.³³³ This must have been inclusive of all the Kawhia war party, as Matene Te Whiwhi states that Ngati Toa had only one hundred fighting men.³³⁴ With Te Rauparaha were Te Hiko, the son of Te Pehi; Rangihaeata, the fighting general; and a large number of other influential chiefs.³³⁵ Ngati Rarua warriors were³³⁶ under Niho Te Whareaitu, Takarei,³³⁷ Te Iti, Pikiwhara, Te Aupouri, Kawatiri, Turangapeke and Te Poa Karoro.³³⁸ Their hapu were Ngati Pareteata and Ngati Turangapeke.³³⁹ As for Ngati Koata, they were split in the decision to join the war party. Ngati Koata who were already living in the South Island, probably supported the Kurahaupo tribes,³⁴⁰ while those who were still settled at Kapiti probably joined the war party.

³³¹ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 123.

³³² Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, pp 26 - 27.

³³³ Alexander, W. F. and Skinner, H. D., *Press Report*, A Hundred Years Ago, 26 May 1930, p 4.

See also:

Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 124.

³³⁴ *Otaki minute book 1C*, 11 March 1868, p 196. Evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi.

³³⁵ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 32.

See also:

Burns, P. *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1980, p 165.

³³⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 32.

³³⁷ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 124.

³³⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, pp 172 - 173. Evidence of Taka Herewine Ngapiko, son of Ngapiko of N Rarua and Herehere of N Tama.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, p 193. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. Was born in the North Island and appears to have settled in the Nelson districts in the early to mid 1830s.

³³⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 217. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. 'Ngatipareteata are not allied to Ngatiawa.'

³⁴⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1890, p 310. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

4.4 Ngatiawa attack Queen Charlotte Sound c1829

It is not clear where the war party landed when they reached the South Island. Two different places in Queen Charlotte and another at Te Hoiere are named.³⁴¹ From a practical point of view, the best place to land would have been at Te Awaiti, which has sheltered waters and the space to pull ashore a reasonable number of waka. Timoti Tahuaroa says that there were twenty waka belonging to Ngatiawa, although only ten completed the journey to the South Island.³⁴² Timoti Tahuaroa was a descendent of Rihari Tahuaroa who took part in the invasion. Rihari's waka was forty-five feet long.³⁴³ Some waka were over seventy feet long.³⁴⁴

When Ngatiawa and the Kawhia allies landed on the southern shores of Cook Strait they divided into two sections. Ngatiawa had the task of taking the Queen Charlotte Sound and the Kawhia tribes the Pelorus.³⁴⁵ Once they had achieved this, it was intended to spread further into the Nelson and West Coast districts and also down the East Coast of the South Island.

According to Elvy, Ngatiawa attacked a number of pa as they made their way through Queen Charlotte Sound. The occupants of the land at this time were mainly Rangitane, with a few Ngati Apa. Their main pa were situated at Punaruawhiti in Endeavour Inlet, Anakiwa at the head of the Grove arm, Okukari at the entrance to Tory Channel, Waitohi and Te Rae-o-Te-Karaka (Te Karaka), not far from Waikawa Bay.³⁴⁶ According to other sources, there may well have been other places.

Nancy Riwaka, who is a descendant of Rihari Tahuaroa, says that she remembers going to Puriri Bay where at one time there were skeletal remains scattered all over the land. Quite often remains would come ashore in a storm and the people would go there and put them into sacks to be re-interred. There were also other places within East Bay where this happened.³⁴⁷ It is not clear whether the human remains belonged to people who were actually living at the sites, or whether they had been taken there by Ngatiawa following their capture.

³⁴¹ Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, 1911, p 124.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1890, p 310. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa. Says that Te Whetu went to Te Awaiti.

³⁴² *Taranaki Herald*, Historic Canoe, Te Rauparaha Relic, Part of Famous Fleet, Attack on Kaiapohia, 26 May 1934.

³⁴³ *Taranaki Herald*, Historic Canoe, Te Rauparaha Relic, Part of Famous Fleet, Attack on Kaiapohia, 26 May 1934.

³⁴⁴ MacDonald, C.A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 245.

³⁴⁵ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 60 - 62.

³⁴⁶ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 60 - 61.

³⁴⁷ *Personal communications*, Nancy Riwaka 1982.

Other parts of the Sound offer a similar puzzle. Worser Heberley was one of the earliest European settlers to inhabit Queen Charlotte Sound, around 1830. A year later, he married a Ngatiawa woman who was then living in the Wairau. He wrote of an occasion in 1830 when he found a great many human remains at Te Awaiti. The situation was the same in Jackson's Bay which lies just to the south of Te Awaiti. Heberley alludes to the fact that the unfortunate people may very well have been taken there to be killed.³⁴⁸

Some of the Kurahaupo occupying the outer Queen Charlotte Sound survived the attack. Many went to Te Rae O Te Karaka, which was a pa, situated to the north of Waikawa Bay.³⁴⁹ Te Karaka was strategically important, being fortified and commanding a clear view to the north and west.³⁵⁰ When the fugitives arrived at Te Karaka they told their relatives that it was useless to put up a fight against Ngatiawa as they had a great many muskets. However, the locals believed that they could stand up to the northern war party, despite having only traditional weapons.³⁵¹

After ravaging the outer Sounds, Ngatiawa eventually reached Te Karaka. By this time the Rangitane and Ngati Apa had begun making preparations for an attack and were gathering stones and spears to hurl down on to Ngatiawa when they drew near. As Ngatiawa stood a short distance out off the pa in their canoes, they singled out the chiefs of the defenders and insultingly called out to them that they would be cooked and eaten. Meanwhile another party of Ngatiawa had landed further up in Whatamango,³⁵² which lay just to the Northeast. They made their way to the rear of the pa where they hid themselves in the scrub, awaiting the launch of the attack.³⁵³ Their task was to ensure as few people as possible escaped, via the rear of the pa.

When this second party was in position, the warriors in the canoes closed in and started shooting. The noise of the muskets and the sight of their fellow warriors dropping all around them caused a major panic. The chiefs decided to abandon the pa. As the gates at the rear of the pa were opened for their escape, Ngatiawa who had been hiding in the scrub confronted them. Many, if not all the occupants of the pa were killed.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁸ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, April 1830, p 18.

³⁴⁹ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 61.

³⁵⁰ *Marlborough Express*, Dollimore, E. S. Historic Sound Reserve was an Old Time Fortress, 21 October 1955, p 26. Te Karaka is named after a Ngati Mamoe chief by that name. He was killed by a force of Tuahuriri and Ngati Kuri c1720. N Apa were occupying the pa c1829.

³⁵¹ *Marlborough Express*, Dollimore, E. S. Historic Sound Reserve was an Old Time Fortress, 21 October 1955, pp 26 - 27.

³⁵² *Marlborough Express*, Dollimore, E. S. Historic Sound Reserve was an Old Time Fortress, 21 October 1955, pp 26 - 27.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *Notes on the Ngati-Kuia Tribe of the South Island, N. Z.*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 26, Polynesian Society, Wellington, pp 116-118. Eruera Wirihana Pakauwera of Ngati Kuia (also known as E. W. Kaipara, Kaipara being the name of his father), told Smith that at the time of the southern conquest, Ngati Kuia occupied only the Pelorus and Durville Island. Pakauwera witnessed the killing of his people in Pelorus when the northern tribes crossed Cook Strait in 1828. He was 12 years old when this took place.

³⁵³ The contingent that went into Whatamango would have needed to go there in darkness if they were to hide their presence.

³⁵⁴ *Marlborough Express*, Dollimore, E. S. Historic Sound Reserve was an Old Time Fortress, 21 October 1955, p 27.

Not satisfied with taking the Queen Charlotte Sound, some Ngatiawa warriors decided to take their canoes to Torea Bay and over the low saddle into the Kenepuru Sound. They were joined by a number of Ngati Rarua and Ngati Koata.³⁵⁵ First they attacked the pa at Mud Bay, located a short distance to the Southwest from the point of crossing. After taking this pa, they worked their way through the Sounds, killing as they went. Meanwhile the Kawhia tribes were making their way around from the outer Sounds.

4.5 The taking of Pelorus c1829

The principal tribe in the Pelorus Sounds was Ngati Kuia, although there were a few Rangitane and Ngati Apa.³⁵⁶

When they left Ngatiawa in Queen Charlotte Sound the Kawhia tribes headed west. The first pa that they came across was at Lambert Head, just west of Port Gore in the outer Sounds. The pa was taken. It belonged to the chief, Pou-whakarewarewa, who was responsible for the capture of Tawhi³⁵⁷ at the battle of Waiorua. Pou-whakarewarewa was not there on this occasion. The next place was Titirangi. Here a canoe-load of the northern warriors paddled up the bay, closely watched by the inhabitants who were hiding in the bush. They planned to surprise the war party after they had landed but, as it turned out, they suffered a disastrous defeat. Some escaped. Further along were Forsyth Island and Whakatahuri, which were also taken. For some unknown reason, the pa of Nukuwaiata on the larger of the Chetwode Islands was spared.

The next target was the fortified pa of Hikapu, located opposite the headland of Kenepuru and Mahau Sounds. This was one of the principal Ngati Kuia strongholds under Pakauwera and Maihi.³⁵⁸ These two chiefs had been involved in the killings connected with the Horowhenua affair. They had also fought in the battle of Waiorua of 1824.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 434.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 258. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 65.

³⁵⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *Notes on the Ngati-Kuia Tribe of the South Island, N. Z.*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 26, Polynesian Society, Wellington, pp 117 - 118.

See also:

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 67.

³⁵⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, pp 198 - 199. The capture of Tawhi led to the exchange of Tutepourangi and the gift of land to Koata.

See also:

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 62.

³⁵⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, p 186.

See also:

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 62.

³⁵⁹ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 63.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 392, 396.

The war party headed toward Hikapu where the occupants were ready to give battle using their traditional weapons. There was little chance of any victory for the Kurahaupo. As soon as the fight started they were thrown into total disarray, yelling and screaming as they ran. Like their relatives, they were defeated. Captives were either taken as slaves or killed, some of them inevitably finding their way to the ovens of the conquerors.³⁶⁰

In Crail Bay, further west of Hikapu, the invasion forces took an island pa called Ouokaha, which they used to hold the prisoners. After securing Ouokaha the northern war party went in pursuit of the people who had escaped into the bush at Pelorus Valley. They caught and killed a number at Titi-raukawa (Pelorus Bridge).³⁶¹ According to Meihana Kereopa, Te Koihua of Ngatiawa was responsible for killing Pakauwera.³⁶²

In the meantime, Pou-whakarewarewa, mentioned earlier as the captor of Tawhi, had taken refuge on top of a hill called Kauaeroa,³⁶³ east of Taituku, (Canvastown).³⁶⁴ At the completion of the conquest, Te Rauparaha sent a messenger to order him to come down from the hill. He was taken away and became a vassal to his conquerors. His tribe were later given lands in Canvastown, also known as Te Hora.³⁶⁵

With the first conquests completed, the war parties, including Ngatiawa - who by this time had conquered Queen Charlotte Sound and parts of the Pelorus, reassembled at Rangitoto.³⁶⁶ It was at this time that the Chief Te Pehi-Kupe crossed over from Kapiti, with more troops eager to join the fighting. He had been away from his people since before the Battle of Waiorua,³⁶⁷ when he sailed for England to buy muskets with the avowed intention

³⁶⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, pp 186 - 187.

³⁶¹ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Early Marlborough: Fascinating History, Before the Pakeha's Advent, 'Pa At Pelorus Bridge,' 6 July 1940, p 16. After the northern invasion, this pa seems to have been retained as one of the main pa for the Kurahaupo tribes. The Coupers, an early European family who settled in the area, said that they had seen 17 canoes on the banks of the village.

See also:

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 63 - 64.

³⁶² *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, pp 307, 310. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa. Was born at Wakapuaka and belongs to N Kuia, Rangitane, N Whakamana, N Hine, Ngaiteraro, N Apa, are sub hapus of N Kuia.

³⁶³ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Early Marlborough: Fascinating History, Before the Pakeha's Advent, 'Twidle's Island,' 6 July 1940, p 16. Also spelt 'Kanaeroa' or translated as 'the long jaw bone.'

³⁶⁴ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Early Marlborough: Fascinating History, Before the Pakeha's Advent, 'Twidle's Island,' 6 July 1940, p 16.

³⁶⁵ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 64.

³⁶⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 36.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 7. 'Waihaere, (a leader of the South Island attack on Kapiti,) was killed at Puna-a-Tawake on the north-west of Rangitoto [Durville].' This Ngati Koata account, however, is said to be inconsistent with the times and suggests that the incident to which it refers was the preliminary attack on the South.

³⁶⁷ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 4 July 1846. Letter to The Editor, McDonald, A. He states that Te Pehi was the overall chief of Ngati Toa.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 426.

of wiping out the Muaupoko who had murdered his children. He came to the South Island, fresh from an engagement with that tribe.³⁶⁸

After the tribes assembled at Rangitoto, they divided into two divisions again, one to execute an attack on the East Coast and the other to conquer Tasman Bay and the West Coast. In the distribution of the war party, the main body of the Kawhia tribes were to launch the attack on the East Coast while the Tasman and West Coast districts would be in the hands of Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua.³⁶⁹ Reimana Nutana gave the names of some of the Ngatiawa chiefs who led their contingent in the attack upon the Nelson districts:

Te Manutoheroa	Matangi
Rere Tawhangawhanga	Tuterangiwakataka
Te Wakapakeke	Tutokutea ³⁷⁰

According to Elvy, whose information came from Tuiti Makitanara, the Rangitane were forced to join Te Rauparaha in the attacks against Ngai Tahu.³⁷¹

Figure 4. See map book: *Niho Mango - Battle Sites*

4.6 The Second attack on Wakatu c1829

After the combined force of Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua left Rangitoto, they took the pa at Anatoto, located on a point extending from the mainland and just west of Rangitoto. Here, according to Smith, a rangatira by the name of Nge was killed and his wife was taken prisoner.

They then moved on to attack the pa at Whangarae, where many of the inhabitants managed to flee into the hills. From there it was only about one hour's good paddling to reach Wakapuaka.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 426.

See also:

Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, 1911, p 127.

Otaki minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 26. Evidence of Major Kemp. Concerning Te Pehi's children being killed.

³⁶⁹ Allan, R. *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 24. Te Atiawa were the main conquerors of Tasman, assisted by Ngati Rarua and Ngati Tama.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 426 - 427, pp 434 - 435.

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 7.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, pp 257 - 258. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka. This account suggests that this attack took place after the taua returned from Niho Mango. He states that the taua went to the Tasman District after their return to Kapiti.

³⁷⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 211. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

³⁷¹ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 81.

³⁷² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 434, '...killing Te Nge and captured his wife Whakaata...'

Ngati Apa had five or six pa at Wakapuaka (also known as Delaware Bay). The largest was situated on the Turawhiti Peninsula.³⁷³ Another large pa by the name of Ngawhakapakoko, was located close to where an old Maori church used to stand.³⁷⁴ When the northern allies arrived at Wakapuaka they immediately launched their attack on the defenceless and unprepared population. During the fighting the Ngati Koata brother-in-law of Tutepourangi was rescued. He was apparently saved by Te Kanae who saw him on a roof shouting, 'This is I! Tekateka.'³⁷⁵ As for Tutepourangi, the man who gifted his land to Ngati Koata in exchange for his freedom, he was killed by Te Wahapiro of Ngati Tama.³⁷⁶ Te Kahawai, who apparently belonged to Ngati Kuia, was also killed. His daughter was taken by Te Wahapiro, a nephew and stepson of Te Puoho.³⁷⁷ Another account maintains that Te Kahawai died at Te Mamaku, (Moutere).³⁷⁸

After this conflict, the war party had the attendant banquet, which was always the sequel to a victory of this sort. The survivors had no way of avenging their losses; there were too few of them left.³⁷⁹

Leaving Wakapuaka, the northern war party made their way down the coast. After passing Mackay's Bluff, they came out at the Boulder Bank, which extends towards Nelson. Here they found another pa belonging to Ngati Apa, and destroyed it. D'Urville had visited this pa a few years earlier and given it the name of Skoitahai.³⁸⁰

The war party then went on to what is now the site of Nelson. It was deserted, probably because the residents had been warned. The houses that were found there are said to have belonged to Tuhawaiki of Ngai Tahu.³⁸¹

Somewhere around Nelson the war party divided, with some travelling overland and others going by canoe.³⁸² Te Puoho³⁸³ was the leader of one of the parties and he took the inland or coastal route to Waimea, while others of his section went by sea.³⁸⁴ Some Ngati Rarua

³⁷³ Skinner, P. *The Press*, Warrior's Bones Lie Bleached In The Sun, date unknown, pp 3 - 4. Elvy also had an interview with a Mr W. J. Hunter who showed him the locations of Ngatiawa settlements in that area after the conquest. About the time of the interview, Mr Hunter had marked out the area where the main battle took place.

³⁷⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 42.

³⁷⁵ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 43.

³⁷⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 43. Also said to have been killed in the first attack on Wakapuaka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 23. Evidence of Alexander MacKay.

³⁷⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 267. Evidence of Paremena Haereiti.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 9.

³⁷⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 263. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

³⁷⁹ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 43 - 44.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 281. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Te Kahawai was killed at Wakapuaka.

³⁸⁰ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 44.

³⁸¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 267. Evidence of Paremena Haereiti.

³⁸² *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 267 - 268. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 15 November 1883 p 7. Evidence of Rawiri Watino. Watino says, that each invading tribe made its own separate conquest. '[I] belong to Ngatiawa.'

³⁸³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 423. Says that Te Puoho was one of the leading chiefs of Ngati Tama.

³⁸⁴ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 267 - 268. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

accompanied him. At Waimea, Te Puoho placed his Raukura in the ground as proof of his being the first to take possession of the land.³⁸⁵

According to Peart's version of the war party's arrival at Waimea, a battle took place with Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri, who were living a short distance up the Waimea River. The site of their pa was behind the present day Appleby School and was quite large. Much of the surrounding land was extensively planted in kumara. Ngati Kuia say that this place was the political centre of the tribe's affairs and that the principal chief of the whole district at this time was Te Hapuku.³⁸⁶

After conquering the Tu-mata-kokiri at Waimea, Te Puoho took his canoes through the channel separating Moturoa (Rabbit Island) and Best Islands, arriving at the northern entrance that feeds the Waimea Inlet. They then continued to Moutere where they met Te Manutoheroa and his party. They must have landed somewhere close after coming directly across from Nelson. According to Rangiauru, Horoatua and Te Manutoheroa were the main Puketapu leaders.³⁸⁷

Joining together, the parties travelled towards Motueka. When they arrived off the northern end of the Moutere Bluffs, they came out in full view of Te Mamaku Pa, also inhabited by Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri. The arrival of Te Puoho and Te Manutoheroa, along with their muskets, caused the local inhabitants to flee into the mountains, trying to make good their escape. This did not save them, as the northern forces were intent on staying until most of the fugitives were killed. Some were slaughtered on the hills close to the old Lower Moutere School, victims of a running battle as they made a retreat from the northern war party.³⁸⁸ Pamariki Paaka says that Te Kotuku was killed at Te Mamaku,³⁸⁹ others say that he was simply captured at Te Taitapu.³⁹⁰

In 1883 Meihana Kereopa stated that both he and his mother ran away from the northern war party for fear of being eaten.³⁹¹ This seems to have been the general reaction of the Kurahaupo tribes as they quickly came to realise that they could do little to stop the northern allies. Elvy notes that some of the Rangitane were living in the upper reaches of

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 303. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Allan, R. *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 24.

³⁸⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 277. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

³⁸⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 46 - 47.

³⁸⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 289. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Rangiauru says that these events were part of the first attack upon the Nelson districts. They are described in this report as being the second attack. Te Rauparaha's earlier assault has been identified as the first attack. Manukino of N Rahiri is also mentioned but not as a chief.

³⁸⁸ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 50 - 51.

³⁸⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 182. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

³⁹⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892, p 220. Evidence of Ramari Herewine.

³⁹¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 6. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 212. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. The Tu-mata-kokiri took refuge in the hills.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 265. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. Some of the people of Tutepourangi fled into the hills.

the Wairau Valley about 1841, still hiding from the northern allies.³⁹² In 1854, while the lands in the Wairau were being surveyed, some of the remnant Rangitane were found in the upper Wairau, still quite ignorant of the fact that the tribal warring had long ceased.³⁹³

One of the people captured at Te Mamaku was a chief, Pakipaki, who had been caught by the Puketapu chief, Te Manutoheroa. Pakipaki had a famous greenstone mere, Kokopu, which he offered to his captor in the hope that he might be freed. It was a vain hope, as Te Manutoheroa confiscated the mere. His remaining hope was for one of the conquerors to throw his cloak over him - traditionally, this signalled that the captive's life was spared. When this did not happen, Pakipaki bent his head forward and said to Te Manutoheroa, 'Do thou kill me with my weapon Kokopu.' This was duly carried out. The Maori warrior of rank could wish for no higher honour than to be killed by a chief with a chief's weapon.³⁹⁴ Kokopu was probably kept by Manutoheroa during his lifetime; kokopu is now in the possession of a Maori family living near Sentry Hill, in Taranaki.³⁹⁵

Once the lands were cleared, the party moved on to Anawakau and, finding no one there, they proceeded to Pukatea. Soon after their arrival at Pukatea, Te Puoho and his party ended their rampage and returned to the North Island. There is a suggestion that there was an argument between Te Puoho and Te Manutoheroa over the mere pounamu captured from Pakipaki.³⁹⁶ Te Puoho did not return to the area again until after the battle of Haowhenua in 1836. Meanwhile the others continued making their way around the coast.³⁹⁷ Hohaia Rangiauru of Ngatiawa discussed the battles that took place on the first attack, which is referred to in this report as the second. He says:

.... I live at Motueka. I belong to Ngatiawa. I was born at Motueka. The evidence that I have to give is hearsay. I heard that the 'take' of Ngatiawa was conquest, ara,

³⁹² Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 80.

³⁹³ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 5. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika. In making claim to the land he stated, 'If they had killed them all, they would now be able to have undisputed possession. There are other witnesses who are descended from the survivors. I consider I have a right to the land under the law.' Says he belongs to Ngati Kuia, N Apa and Rangitane.

³⁹⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R. Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 51 - 52.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 282. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Paaka was a boy at the time of the Ngatiawa migrations. He says that Pakipaki was killed at Moutere.

³⁹⁵ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 52.

³⁹⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 302. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

³⁹⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 268. Evidence of Paremena Haereiti. Te Puoho left for Maraekuta in the north and then Kahikatea.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, pp 7 - 8. 'Although Te Puoho took a considerable part in the conquest of the Blind and Massacre Bay districts, however, he did not immediately take up permanent residence upon the land conquered. He seems to have spent some time on the land, but to have also had a semi-permanent home at Te Horo. Here, about 1834, he was concerned in a typical Rauparaha affair, which is sometimes referred to as the Ohariu Massacre.'

Te Raupatu o te Rauparaha and Ngatitōa; Ngatikoata; Ngatiawa; Ngatitama; Ngatirarua.

Ngatikoata occupied Rangitoto, Ngatitōa occupied Wairau. Ngatiawa lived at Arapaoa, Motueka and Te Taitapu. Ngatirarua lived at Motueka & Te Taitapu.. Afterwards some went to the Wairau. The hapus referred to have lived at these places ever since.

Ngatitama lived at Wakapuaka and Te Taitapu.

The taua o te Rauparaha came from the other Island accompanied by the other hapus.

They landed at Wakapuaka. Ka mate i reira te Kahawai i te taua a te Rauparaha. The war party came on to Nelson but found no one there. The 'taua' then went on to Moutere, there it captured Pakipaki; Tawhera; & Parua;

The only taonga that was obtained was a patu pounamu called Te Kokopu. Pakipaki was not killed. From Moutere the taua went to Motueka. Toheroa saw the Wood, then called Te Matu. Ka tuku -tukua ki te hokowhitu o Ngatikamako.

No Puketapu tana hapu; no Ngatiawa. Te Manu Toheroa; and Horatua were the Rangatiras of that hapu.

Manukino of Ngatirahiri got a waka called Tuhare at Motueka. The "taua" then went on to Te Pukatea. Some of the [hapus] returned from there. Te Puoho and his party returned from Te Pukatea. This was not a preconcerted arrangement.

The cause of Te Puoho returning from Te Pukatea was through a quarrel with Toheroa about the patu pounamu called Te Kokopu. All Te Puoho's party (Ngatitama) returned from Te Pukatea.

The taua of Ngatiawa proceeded onward, there were other hapu's besides but I don't remember who they were. On the 'taua' reaching Te Taitapu it returned. No one remained. The taua went back to the North Island.³⁹⁸

Paramena Haereiti of Ngati Tama described the war party's progress through the Nelson districts. (Haereiti was born at Poutama, at the time of the heke leaving Kawhia and would have been around eight years old at the time):

Te Puoho was one who came with the first expedition.

The people who he came with were Ngatitōa; Ngati Koata; Ngati Rarua and Ngatiawa who formed the war party of Te Rauparaha.

³⁹⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 288 - 289. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Belongs to N Awa.

The Ngatitōia leader was Te Rauparaha. Niho was Ngatirarua leader and Toheroa the Ngatiawa.

Te Whetu was the leader of the Ngatikoata. Ngatitama were led by Te Puoho.

The force landed at Wakapuaka. Te Kahawai was killed there, the daughter was taken by Te Wahapiro. Her name was Hinekawa.³⁹⁹

Te Kahawai probably belonged to Ngatikuia. Afterward the ope came on to Nelson but found no one. Kua pahure mai nga tangata; they had been warned by a Messenger. The ope came by sea and landed at the Port. They did not find any person, here, having been forewarned.

Heard that the dwellings belonged to Tahawaiki [sic] of Ngaitahu.

The taua left their canoes at Nelson and went by land to the Waimea. Te Puoho was the leader of the party. Some of the taua took the canoes by sea.

On reaching Waimea ka titia te Kotuku o te Puoho ki reira.

The party then went on to Te Mamaku and were met there by Toheroa and party. They joined and travelled together overland to Moutere. Pakipaki was caught there by Toheroa. Ka mau te Mere Pounamu o taua tangata. Toheroa gave it to Ngarau (Te Puoho) who gave it back to Toheroa.

The taua did not find any person at Anawakaau. They then proceeded by canoe to Te Pukatea. Te Puoho's waka returned from Pukatea but the remainder of the war party proceeded onward. Te Puoho returned to the other Island to Maraekuta. I was living at this place when Te Puoho arrived.⁴⁰⁰

Hohepa Horomona claims that Te Puoho returned north, after the war party reached West Whanganui. He also says that this was because of a dispute between Te Puoho and Ngati Rarua. At West Whanganui, Te Puoho apparently refused to surrender people who had been responsible for killing Te Rauparaha's children at Papaitonga. Ngati Rarua wanted these people killed.⁴⁰¹ If we were to accept that Te Puoho returned to the North Island, after the incident concerning Pakipaki and Te Manutoheroa, it would seem probable that this

³⁹⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 267. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

See also:

Baldwin, Olive, *Story of New Zealand's French Pass and d'Urville Island, Book 1*, Field's Publishing House, 1979, p 66. Tutepourangi had a daughter called Hinekawa, who was taken away from d'Urville Island just prior to the battle of Waiorua.

⁴⁰⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 267 - 268. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

⁴⁰¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, pp 277 - 279. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, p 284. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Discusses going to Whanganui because of kaipuke (whalers).

incident occurred on a later occasion and before Te Puoho made his journey south about 1836.

The war party left Motueka. They rounded Separation Point and entered Golden Bay (Taitapu). All along the coast the inhabitants were hunted and killed.⁴⁰² Totaranui, Wharewharangi, Wainui, Waiwero, Motupipi, Aorere, and Pakawau were all attacked.⁴⁰³ On reaching West Whanganui, a leading chief of Ngati Apa, Te Kotuku, was captured and subsequently killed by Ngatiawa.⁴⁰⁴

Hohaia Rangiauru, Taka Herewini and Ngamuka Kawharu say that the whole war party returned to the North Island after reaching Awaruatohu (Big River), situated at Te Taitapu.⁴⁰⁵ This was about 1829. Not all, however, returned. A section under Niho and Takarei, and Otu of Ngatiawa proceeded further south down the West Coast with a contingent of Ngati Rarua, Ngatiawa and Ngati Tama. Their purpose was to attack the Poutini Ngai Tahu. They conquered parts of the West Coast and ended up settling the area⁴⁰⁶ as far as Okarito in South Westland.⁴⁰⁷ At Kohiterangi near Hokitika, Tuhuru of the Poutini Ngai Tahu was captured. At this point the whole country from D'Urville to Hokitika was under the dominance of the allied northern tribes. Most survivors of the original South Island tribes were held in subjection.⁴⁰⁸

In 1849, a writer recorded in 'Karere Maori,' No 16, the following:

Along this coast the Ngati-Tama chief Nga-Niho led his people in the year 1827 (1828?) against the Ngai-Tahu people of the greenstone country, whom he defeated in every battle. The assailants had all of them guns, and although, amidst the almost inaccessible rocks and fastnesses of their coast, the Ngai-Tahu might have defied

⁴⁰² Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 53.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 15 November 1883, p 5. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika. Kotuku was killed at Awaruto. He and Paihora were the principal chiefs killed. Paihora was killed at Turangahioi.

⁴⁰³ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, p xxvii.

⁴⁰⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 53.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 15 November 1883, p 5. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika.

Nelson minute book 1, 16 November 1883, pp 8 - 9. Evidence of Henare Wiremu. Cross-examination by Paora Paniere. Ngatiawa killed Kotuku on the third attack.

⁴⁰⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 290. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 21. Evidence of Ngamuka Kawharu.

⁴⁰⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, pp 196 - 198.

⁴⁰⁷ MacKay, A., *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, pp 46 - 47.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, p 198.

⁴⁰⁸ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 7.

any enemy similarly armed to themselves, yet the fear of the fire-arms brought against them, together with their deadly effect, caused them in every instance to give way. The localities of the fights are yet pointed out, and scorched stones, which formed the *umus*, or ovens, are still discernible. It is very doubtful if these valleys – between West Whanganui and Karamea – were ever at any time peopled. The Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribes that formerly occupied the Middle Island occupied chiefly the Northern and Eastern Coasts and only visited the Western Coast in quest of greenstone and sealskins. A section of these latter people retreated to the rocky fastnesses of the Karamea Country upon the invasion of the Ngati-Tama and Kawhia (Ngati-Rarua) tribes. Thence, after a succession of fights in which their strength was broken, they dispersed, going yet further to the southwards, where, at Arahura River and towards Milford Sound (Waka-tipu, *sic.*) a community of about seventy persons, half of whom are of the Kawhia tribe, intermarried with the Ngai-Tahu, are all that remain of them, and the only inhabitants of a coast country of four hundred and seventy-five miles in length... ⁴⁰⁹

Smith says that it is very doubtful if these valleys between West Whanganui and Karamea were ever inhabited. The Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribes who formerly inhabited the Middle Island occupied chiefly the Northern and Eastern Coasts and only visited the Western Coast in quest of greenstone and sealskins. A section of these latter people retreated to the rocky fastness of the Karamea country upon the invasion of Ngati-Tama and the Kawhia (Ngati-Rarua) tribes. After a succession of fights in which their strength was broken, they dispersed, going yet further south-westwards. ⁴¹⁰

In concluding the account of this attack on the Tasman, Golden Bay and West Coast, some observations by Charles Heaphy, recorded some 15 or 16 years after the event, are relevant. He described the people whose deserted huts he found at the source of the Howard River:

The tribe of Ngatitumatakokiri, to which those people belonged, was the most powerful on the north end of the Middle Island; and was located from the Pelorus river to the Motuaka [sic], Massacre Bay, and the western coast, the principal pas being in the Waimea, on the sandflat near the snapper-fishing ground at Wakatu, where the trenches are still observable, at the Moutere, and at Kaiteiteri. From these several places the inhabitants were driven inland by the Taranaki tribes, assisted by Rauparaha; and at the termination of the war only three men remained of the tribe; they being E Kehu, our guide, Pikiwati, who accompanied the late Mr. Cotterell on his expeditions, and another a slave at Motuaka. ⁴¹¹

Thomas Brunner and Charles Heaphy, setting off on an expedition to the West Coast, met the Ngati Rarua chief, Te Niho, at West Whanganui. An extract from the manuscript states:

⁴⁰⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 435.

⁴¹⁰ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 435.

⁴¹¹ Heaphy, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 7 March 1846. Account of an Exploring Expedition to the S.W. of Nelson.

At West Whanganui they encountered some opposition from an old chief, Te Niho. He regarded all territory south of the Whanganui as his by right of conquest but was pacified by a present of tobacco. This Niho had been recognised a paramount chief of the West Coast (the Poutini Coast, as it was called) since 1828. He was a North Island Chief and had been associated with Te Rauparaha. With another of Rauparaha's war leaders called Te Kerei [Takarei] he had, eighteen years before led a war party down the Coast right to Okarito. There they killed the local chief, Kahu. Tuhura, fighting chief of Arahura, they captured; they held him to ransom, the price of the ransom being a famous greenstone mere called Kaikonohi. This was forthcoming, and the Arahura chief was liberated. Then with great presence of mind, Niho married Tuhuru's daughter and became chief from Karamea to far South Westland. Now in 1846 this old time warrior for a few sticks of tobacco allowed the pakeha to pass peacefully through his dominions.⁴¹²

Brunner and Heaphy eventually made their way south, returning to West Whanganui on 5 August. Here they met Maori people who were in charge of stores, which Fox had apparently sent from Nelson for them.

When Fox, Brunner, and Charles Heaphy were doing much of their exploring throughout the upper South Island, they had one of the few surviving Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri with them. He was a guide called E Kehu.⁴¹³

The 1829 attack severely crippled the Kurahaupo tribes. Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri ceased to exist as a people. The few survivors were eventually absorbed into Ngati Kuia, Rangitane and Ngatiapa. In turn, the Tu-mata-kokiri and Kurahaupo tribes were partially absorbed into the Taranaki and Tainui tribes, most probably as subjects at first. There are a number of Ngatiawa people today who have whakapapa to the Kurahaupo tribes and to the land.

As for those who escaped into the hills, they remained there for some years but do not appear to have made any attacks upon their conquerors. This was despite the fact that in the later part of the 1830s, Kauhoe along with the Ngati Tama, were too afraid to live in the Waimea district because they feared an attack from Ngai Tahu.⁴¹⁴

From these extracts we can see quite clearly that the northern tribes came close to crushing the people inhabiting Tasman and Golden Bays and parts of the West Coast, in particular Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri.⁴¹⁵ Survivors would have been swallowed up by the other tribes of

⁴¹² Kehoe, Edward, L., *West Coast and Nelson Exploration*. ATL. QMS 1088, pp 4 - 5.

⁴¹³ Heaphy and Brunner, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 September 1846. Notes on an Expedition to Kawatiri and Araura, on the Western Coast of the Middle Island.

⁴¹⁴ *Nelson minute book* 2, 15 November 1892, p 279. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

⁴¹⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 432. In Judge Mackay's account, it is inferred that Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri were exterminated.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 430. Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri were '...destroyed root and branch always excepting some of the women who were taken prisoners by their conquerors...'

Ngati Kuia, Rangitane and Ngati Apa or by the conquering Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua tribes.⁴¹⁶ Smith says that some were forced further south after the conquest and they may have been absorbed by Ngai Tahu.⁴¹⁷

As for Ngati Apa and Ngati Kuia, they were not quite so unfortunate. They suffered great losses but they were not in danger of extinction. Most certainly, they were making claims to the Native Land Courts in 1883. While some of them acknowledged the southern conquest, others preferred to say that they were not all killed and therefore the conquering tribes did not have undisputed possession.⁴¹⁸

Hoani Mahuika, while giving evidence in the Native Land Court in relation to the lands at Whanganui, stated:

I belong to Rangitane, Ngati Apa, and Ngatikuia. I live at Westport. I know this land. I am one of the claimants (by occupation). I occupied previous to the time of the fighting. They fought without warning or provocation. Ngatirarua with Ngatitoa came over. Paihora & Kotuku were the two principle chiefs killed. They were my ancestors. They conquered & took possession.⁴¹⁹

A witness belonging to the Kurahaupo tribes, and giving evidence in the same case, discussed the conquest of his people and how they were slaves to their conquerors. Wirihana Maihe says:

I belong to Rangitane, Ngati Kuia & Ngati Apa. I know this land & claim it. I claim it by ancestry. My ancestors were conquered while living on the land. Some few only are living. I have not lived on the land subsequent to the conquest. I was taken as a slave to Wairau & have not returned. Some of our people lived as slaves at Whanganui & Motueka.⁴²⁰

Hemi Whiro described the situation this way while giving evidence in the Wakapuaka case in 1883:

The conquest was made by Ngatitoa, Ngatiawa & Puketapu. We were conquered and cleared out.

⁴¹⁶ The first war party to go to Tasman Bay only went as far as Whakatu and only fought battles to the point of Wakapuaka. It was the second war party that dealt to those remaining from D'Urville to Whakatu, and then carried on, around on to the West Coast.

⁴¹⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 430.

⁴¹⁸ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, pp 5 - 6. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika, Te Winini Wiremu, Wirihana Maihi, Paora, Rora and Meihana Kereopa.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 17 November 1883, p 15. Evidence of Hemi Whiro.

Nelson minute book 1, 17 November 1883, p 16. Meihana Kereopa.

Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 59.

⁴¹⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 5. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika.

⁴²⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 6. Evidence of Wirihana Maihi.

Some Kurahaupo witnesses, however, contested allegations that their people were turned into slaves. Meihana Kereopa certainly did not agree, but he did acknowledge the conquest:⁴²¹

...My mother & I left through fear of being eaten...My father was never captured & made a slave; nor I. I acknowledge the right of conquest.

4.7 Ngati Koata in the second attack on the Nelson Districts c1829 - 1833

Meihana Kereopa says that Ngati Koata did not take part in the attack on the Nelson districts but this cannot be reconciled with other evidence, which tends to indicate strongly that Ngati Koata were in fact part of the invading force. Kereopa in fact contradicts himself because he acknowledges that Mauriri of Ngati Koata participated in the attack upon the Nelson districts.⁴²²

Ihaka Tekateka, Paramena Haereiti and Hohepa Horomona say that Ngati Koata were involved in the second attack. Te Whetu is said to have been the leader of the contingent of Ngati Koata.⁴²³ This is surprising, given the association of Ngati Koata with the Kurahaupo tribes, through Tutepourangi's gift of land to Ngati Koata in 1824. The Kurahaupo had been living with Ngati Koata at Wakapuaka and Rangitoto and presumably marriages had taken place over the five years prior to the attack about 1829.⁴²⁴

Whakatari, as mentioned earlier, stood up against Te Rauparaha to protect Ngati Kuia. This was when the first war party went through, before the 1829 attack. His relationship with the Kurahaupo was obviously a good one.⁴²⁵

According to Pamariki Paaka, Ngati Koata should have protected the Kurahaupo if the gift really had been made:

⁴²¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, pp 6 - 7. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 17 November 1883, p 15. Evidence of Hemi Whiro.

⁴²² *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, pp 310 - 311. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

⁴²³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 258. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 267. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 230. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona: 'I admit that Ngatikoata assisted Ngatirarua to conquer the land...'

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 301. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. Mauriri was present with Te Koihua at Whanganui.

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, p 314. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. Says that Koata did not participate but acknowledges Mauriri being at Whanganui after the fighting took place.

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, p 199. Te Paki told Best that Ngati Koata were involved in the 1829 attack. Te Paki said that he was involved in the affair.

⁴²⁴ *Nelson minute book 1*, 17 November 1883, p 15. Evidence of Hemi Whiro. Te Whetu and Te Patete lived at Rangitoto after the conquest.

⁴²⁵ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 7.

See also:

Baldwin, Olive, *Story of New Zealand's French Pass and D'Urville Island, Book 1*, Field's Publishing House, 1979, p 34.

I heard that the Waka's of the war party that went to seek revenge for desecrating the bones of Te Pehi, landed at Wakapuaka and killed Te Kahawai. It is only now that I have heard that Tutepourangi was killed there. I don't know why Ngatikoata or Ngatitoa did not protect Tutepourangi from being killed by others. That is what should have been done by the persons who received a gift of land from another, but I did not hear that Ngatikoata made any attempt to protect the life of the persons they were indebted to, or the lives of the persons with whom they had made peace.
⁴²⁶

The evidence given by Mackay and supported by Paaka, was that the conquest that took place around 1829 invalidated Tutepourangi's gift.⁴²⁷ The fact that Ngati Koata took part in the conquest certainly supports this argument. However, if we look at things from hapu level we might possibly arrive at a different conclusion.

⁴²⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, pp 281 - 282. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Paaka considered that Ngati Koata had invented the gift to make it look as if they had a superior claim.

⁴²⁷ *Nelson minute book 1*, 19 November 1883, p 23. Evidence of Alexander MacKay.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, pp 283 - 284. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

4.8 The raids of the East Coast

The division that departed to avenge the 'Niho Mango' consisted mainly of the Kawhia tribes. Among their chiefs were Te Pehi,⁴²⁸ Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata, Te Hiko, Pokaitara, Te Aratangata, Te Rangikatuta, Te Hua and Te Kohi. Some Taupo and Ngatiawa forces are also believed to have accompanied them. According to Travers and Buick, the Kawhia tribes had approximately three hundred well-armed men.⁴²⁹ The number probably included some Ngatiawa. Hera Te Wairingiringi says that 'all' Ngati Rahiri accompanied Te Pehi when he went to fight Ngai Tahu.⁴³⁰ Worser Heberley mentioned Ngatiawa when he described the return from Kaiapohia.⁴³¹

The northern allies set off from Rangitoto, travelling four days before arriving at Takahanga Pa in Kaikoura,⁴³² some time around dawn. Anchoring a short distance offshore from the pa, the northern war party watched to see how their arrival might be taken. As it turned out, they made enough noise to wake the Ngai Tahu (Ngati Kuri) people. They were expecting a visit from Hawkes Bay relatives and naturally thought that they had arrived.⁴³³ The Ngai Tahu quickly assembled, many heading down the beach to welcome the visitors. Te Rauparaha landed and received a friendly welcome from the locals. He called for the other canoes to come on shore. By this time the beach was crowded with Ngai Tahu, men, women and children. The canoes landed, the warriors deployed and, without any warning, they launched a frenzied attack. Before long the whole beach was scattered with the dead. One section ran to the pa and slaughtered the people who had stayed inside, no doubt the older folk and mothers tending their children. Stack says that the chief Rerewaka, whose 'niho mango' threat was the cause of this attack, was killed in the battle.⁴³⁴ Travers, though, says that Rerewaka was taken prisoner and shipped back to Kapiti where he was later killed.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁸ Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, 1911, p 128.

⁴²⁹ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 125.

See also:

Buick, T. Lindsay, *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Limited, 1911, p 124.

Te Rauparaha, T, *Life & Times of Te Rauparaha*, Edited by Butler, Peter, Alister Taylor, 1980, p 34.

Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 35.

⁴³⁰ *Napier minute book* 15, 25 January 1890, pp 30, 33. Evidence of Hera Te Wairingiringi: 'My tribe is N Rahiri.' Hera says she was a child when she came with the heke prior to Haowhenua. Does not state which one.

⁴³¹ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, April 1830, p 20.

⁴³² *The Press*, Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., A Hundred Years Ago, 26 May 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, MS 582/A/6, p 4. Skinner says that: 'The chief pa of the Kai Tahu, and the first one built by them, was known as Takahaka, which stood under the terrace on the foreshore, just north of the peninsula where the small township of Kaikoura stretches on either side today.'

See also:

Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated by to Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, pp 94 - 95. Taare Wetere Te Kahu of Ngai Tahu says that the Ngai Tahu were attacked at Otama-a-kura, beyond Omih.

⁴³³ *The Press*, Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., A Hundred Years Ago, 26 May 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, MS 582/A/6, p 4.

⁴³⁴ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 35.

⁴³⁵ Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 130.

Skinner obtained the following information from Charles Palmer and Alick Arber. The former, who knew about the attack on Takahanga, said:

Memory takes me more than half way back to those old times. I look back over fifty years to the days when, as a child of five or seven, I used to tremble as the tattooed Maori men rode up along the sandy track through the flax and fern and under the ngaio trees to Maungamaunu. I trembled more when they pleasantly smiled, nodded and said 'Koot Jay.'

Then it was that I saw Poharama Waruhe, he whose warrior father fell in fight against Ngati Toa. Poharama then assured my mother that on the dread day of Niho Manga his mother fled with him, then an infant in arms, and hid herself in the raupo of the great swamp. Certain also of those old men made sport of the fact that Te Rauparaha had set them free from Kapiti, whither they had been carried captive, and bade them return to this coast and hold the land. Renata, was it, or some other, who said: 'I was too skinny to eat. He couldn't make me fat so he let me go.'⁴³⁶

Skinner asked Arber if he knew where Niho Mango was fought. He replied:

Yes. I once knew one who had been one of Te Rauparaha's warriors. He was a bullet-headed, short, thick, sturdy man; very formidable for any one to meet in fight. The battle was right here on Takahaka. Te Rauparaha ran his canoes ashore at the mouth of the creek here, and started the attack on Rerewhaka's wharepuni.

My father tells me that when he came to Kaikoura in 1867 the chief's house, surrounded by a strong stockade, stood at the corner a little below where the manse now is, and that boats used to be drawn up on the skids just below.

Mrs. John Beaton tells me that on the day of the Shark's Tooth the Kaikoura people had only two guns.⁴³⁷

After the attack on Takahanga, the northern war party went to Omihi where Kekerengu, who had seduced one of the wives of Rangihaeata, was thought to be hiding. The war party eventually reached Omihi but there does not seem to have been any battle with the locals nor was there any sign of Kekerengu.

Te Kanae says that the war party then decided to go to Kaiapohia, but not for the purpose of waging war. Tamaiharanui of the Tuahuriri people had invited Te Pehi to visit him on his recent return from England.⁴³⁸ There was also an invitation from Taiaroa, another of the

⁴³⁶ *The Press*, Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., A Hundred Years Ago, 26 May 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, MS 582/A/6, p 4.

⁴³⁷ *The Press*, Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., A Hundred Years Ago, 26 May 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, MS 582/A/6, p 4.

⁴³⁸ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Te Kanae, The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 12.

Ngai Tahu chiefs who apparently visited Kapiti on his way home from the far north. This must have occurred prior to Te Pehi leaving for England in 1824.⁴³⁹

Not all the northern war party went to Kaiapohia. Some apparently returned to Kapiti, along with some of their captives. As for those who travelled to Kaiapohia, it is not known whether they went as one group or whether there were two separate parties. The following events will explain this uncertainty.

In Stack's version, the war party of about one hundred men headed for Kaiapoi, stopping first at the mouth of the Waipara River. They rested there, then moved to a site within a few hundred yards south west of the Kaiapohia pa and made camp. Soon after Tamaiharanui paid them a visit. He was accompanied by Hakitara, a man from the north, who was well acquainted with the reputation for treachery, which Te Rauparaha had acquired. Inquiries about the purpose of the visit made Hakitara acutely suspicious that trouble was brewing and he advised Tamaiharanui to return to Kaiapohia Pa immediately.⁴⁴⁰

Hakitara returned later to find out why Te Rauparaha and his war party had come. He talked to some of the slaves who had accompanied the northern war party and they told him about an ugly incident involving Ruaki, an aunt of Tamaiharanui. While Te Rauparaha was staying at Omihi, he had dug up Ruaki; she had only recently been buried. Te Rauparaha apparently removed her body from the grave and, after washing it in the river, he had her cooked and eaten. Later there was to be speculation that his action was deliberately designed to incite trouble for Te Pehi who had already gone off to Kaiapohia.⁴⁴¹

Hakitara relayed the story to Tamaiharanui, who was left in little doubt that this was proof of hostility and that the northern party would attack when the opportunity arose. A short time after this, more of the party from Omihi arrived. They reported their defeat by the northern tribe and confirmed the story about Ruaki. The detailed account horrified the people of Kaiapohia and they decided to confront Te Rauparaha over the affair. When they did this, Te Rauparaha said that he had the friendliest intentions toward them and, to prove his point, he allowed a number of the most distinguished chiefs to enter the pa at will.⁴⁴² Other accounts claim that Te Rauparaha warned people not to go into the pa.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 12.

⁴⁴⁰ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 35 - 36.

⁴⁴¹ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 36.

See also:

The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle, 7 June 1845. Rauparaha, Letter to the Editor, 30 May 1845.

⁴⁴² Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 36.

See also:

Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated to Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, p 95. In the account given by Taare Wetere Te Kahu, the chiefs were at the pa for three days before entering.

⁴⁴³ *Personal communications*, John Mitchell, 1997.

While this was happening, Hakitara was living in the camp of Te Rauparaha and his party.⁴⁴⁴ One night he overheard a conversation between Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata. Listening closely, he heard them say, 'Soon we shall have our pah.' Then he was surprised to hear one of them say, 'Beware of the Nga Puhi man,' and he realised that he was the man under discussion. Thoroughly alarmed, he slipped away just before dawn the following morning and returned to the pa to warn the others. Immediately, all the chiefs were summoned to a meeting where they decided to break the truce concluded between the parties on the previous day; they would take the offensive.⁴⁴⁵

The opportunity for Ngai Tahu to make their move was not long in coming. Within hours, Te Pehi was seen emerging from a whare, dragging a block of greenstone. Moi Moi, the owner of the greenstone, shouted at Te Pehi to leave it alone. Te Pehi, who was almost at the gate of the pa, turned to the owner and cried, 'Badly tattooed; badly tattooed...what use would your ugly head be to me if I were to carry it with me to Kapiti...' Te Pehi, a paramount chief, was clearly furious and more than likely humiliated by the way Moi Moi spoke to him. He turned to another man standing near and added, 'But here is a man...his head would be worth having, but you with the valueless head, how dare you call in question the doings of Pehi-tu-a-te Rangi!'⁴⁴⁶

While the argument raged, Rongotara noticed Pokaitara standing at the gate, trying to gain admission to the pa. Rongotara was the brother of one of the northern party's Omihi victims. Seizing the opportunity for revenge, he ordered the gates to be opened to allow his target to enter. Pokaitara had no sooner entered the pa than he was killed by a blow to the neck. Te Pehi immediately realised the implications of this action. He abandoned the greenstone and tried to make an escape over the fence at the south-western corner of the pa. He was shot several times but this did not stop him. Then Tangatahara, a man of great strength, reached Te Pehi, grabbed him and dispatched him with a hatchet. By this time all hell had broken loose and the rest of the northern war party were trying to escape. Te Aratangata had gone to the extreme end of the pa to try and secure a greenstone called Teruahikihiki. Some twenty men chased him. Te Aratangata was a very tall and most powerfully built man. With only his greenstone mere, he defended himself with such success that he made some considerable distance toward the gate. A shot from a person called Te Pa did not put him down and he continued his dash for freedom. By this time he had taken three spears, all of them hanging from him as he tried to make his escape. What happened next, however, put an end to any chance that Te Aratangata had. At this point a shot hit his mere and cracked it, leaving no more than a stub in his hand. Now defenceless, he was quickly grabbed by Te Koreke and wrestled to the ground. Tuwhakarawa, following up, delivered the final blow, killing him outright.⁴⁴⁷ Te Rangikatuta, Te Ruatahi, Te Hua Piko, Te Kohi and Te Kohua were also killed.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaipohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 36 - 37. Te Rauparaha gave one of his women, Te Aka, to Hakitara in an attempt to gain his confidence.

⁴⁴⁵ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaipohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 37.

⁴⁴⁶ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaipohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 38.

⁴⁴⁷ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaipohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 38 - 40.

⁴⁴⁸ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaipohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 40.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, pp 6 - 7. Another account which, in general terms, is consistent with Stack.

Te Rauparaha, reportedly angered by the killing of his fellow chiefs, does not appear to have managed any successful retaliatory attack on the pa and made a retreat for home soon after. On his way through Omihi he ordered the execution of all the slaves still there, probably awaiting their transportation to Kapiti. Some of those who remained at Kaikoura were killed too.⁴⁴⁹

An account appearing in the Nelson Examiner on 30th May 1845 gives a rather different version of the events. The article suggests that Te Rauparaha might have set up Te Pehi and the other chiefs as the following extract illustrates:

Te Pehi (the father of Te Hiko, the present co-equal of Rauparaha), who had visited England, was then chief of the whole tribe, and was as remarkable as his son for his attachment to Europeans. Jealous of this chief's superior power, Rauparaha took the first opportunity to rid himself of his presence. The Kawhia natives having followed to near Akaroa the Ngaitao tribe under Tuawaike, to which the Wairau and adjacent coast belonged met them in force by Banks Peninsula. Te Pehi attacked these natives early in the morning with a small party of men, while Rauparaha with the greater force delayed advancing. Te Pehi was soon in close combat. Rauparaha was urged to join in the fight, but answered that he was awaiting the result of an augury with which he had been made acquainted the night previous; and that should the smoke from the adjacent fire trend towards the sea, he would join in the fight, assured of complete success. The wily rascal knew at what time to expect the sea breeze, and as he spoke the first breath of driving the smoke landward, he and his party retired, leaving Te Pehi and his men to be overpowered. Rauparaha was now chief. Hiko was too young to be influential, but there was nevertheless dissatisfaction in the tribe at the manner in which his father met with his death. To divert what threatened to become a division in the tribe, Rauparaha proposed an expedition against the Ngaitahu to revenge Te Pehi's death.⁴⁵⁰

If the accounts in The Nelson Examiner and Stack's story are to be reconciled, then Te Rauparaha must have been at Kaiapohia at the time Te Pehi and his men were killed. It must also mean that he and Te Rauparaha did not travel together. It does seem possible to construct some consistency between the two versions, simply by saying that two parties left at different times for Kaiapohia.⁴⁵¹ The truth will probably never be known. What we can

⁴⁴⁹ Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated to Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, p 96. After Te Pehi and his companions were killed, the northern allies attempted to take the pa but failed. They returned to Omihi and killed many of the prisoners captured earlier. From here they returned to Kaiapoi, where once again they were unsuccessful. Now they decided to go home. They made a stop at Kaikoura and killed a few more people. After that they headed for Kapiti.

See also:

Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, May 1830, pp 19 - 20. This would explain the number described by Heberley, when they returned to Kapiti after a short stay at Te Awaiti in Queen Charlotte Sound. Heberley describes their activities at Te Awaiti in May 1830.

⁴⁵⁰ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 7 June 1845. Rauparaha, Letter to the Editor, 30 May 1845.

⁴⁵¹ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 6. Rauparaha did not enter the pa because he thought that he might be in danger.

be sure of, though, is that the first real attack upon the Ngai Tahu situated on the East Coast had been a disaster, inasmuch as many of the leading Ngati Toa chiefs were killed.

4.9 An Account of the Return to Kapiti 1830

The following extract is from the diary of Worser Heberley, who witnessed the return of the northern war party from Kaiapohia in May 1830. Heberley was staying at Te Awaitei in Queen Charlotte Sound. In his account he mentions that some Ngatiawa were with the war party, whereas in Stack's and Skinner's versions, there is no mention of them at all.

On the 10th of May the Natives come from Kaiapoa [sic] they had returned from War, there was about 2000 Natives including females and children, among them were 500 prisoners, they had from 60 to 70 Canoes, the Canoes were decorated with dead Mens Hands and Heads they landed at Te Awaite, and the Tarwit (Te Awaite) people stoped at home to look after our Property the Natives stole a Tablecloth belonging to John Gard he was our employer so we took our Muskets and went to the Chief to make them give up the property, they took up arms against us, when they saw we were determined they gave up the property, then the Natives were friends again, and made Presents to us, consisting of Pigs and Potatoes, and we gave them in return Tobacco and Blankets then the Natives had a Feast, the Chief Te Rauparaha send some of the Prisoners Slaves in the Bush to get Firewood to make a Copper Maori (that is (a) hole made in the earth and a Fire made in it, as soon as the Oven was ready then the Chief took his Tomahawk and kill the Slave Prisoners that fetched the Wood to cook themselves, then some of the other Slaves cook his friends, and dish them up in Baskets and set the human flesh before the Chief, then the Chief got up and made a speech, after that they all sat down and feasted, as soon as they had done their meal, they got up and made another speech and they quivered their Tomahawks and Spears, they stopped about nine days on the Beach with us, then they left and went to the North Island, there were four different tribes, the name of one tribe is Ngatiawas one the Puketapu and one the Taniwas and the other Kawhia the same tribe that is in the Wairau now so we saw no more of them till the summer except what we saw in Port Underwood,⁴⁵²

4.10 The capture of Tamaiharanui c1830

Once the northern allies arrived back in the north the news of their chiefs' deaths was broken to the people. They demanded utu and the opportunity for this was not long in coming. They managed to charter a vessel to take them to Kaiapohia to capture Tamaiharanui.

In October 1830, the brig Elizabeth arrived at Kapiti, trading in flax for the Sydney market. Te Rauparaha apparently went to the captain, Stewart, and told him that, if he put his vessel at his disposal and transported some of his men to Kaiapohia, he would pay him with flax. This proposition had been previously put to Captain Briggs of the Dragon. Captain Briggs however refused to have anything to do with it and, furthermore, he warned Captain Stewart not to get involved in the tribal wars. Stewart, however, was indifferent to the feuding and very much influenced by profit.

⁴⁵² Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, 10 May 1830, pp 19 - 20.

Therefore he accepted the terms of the proposition and agreed to take one hundred and twenty of the northern force to the shores of Akaroa, all armed with both muskets and traditional weapons. He knew very well what was going to happen on their arrival and, in fact, there are accounts that indicate that he may have assisted in the capture of the Ngai Tahu.

Wi Parata discusses what happened after the war party returned from Kaiapohia and how Ngatiawa prepared quantities of flax in order to pay Captain Stewart:

Te Hiko Te Pehi's son began to think about revenge & began to consider how he should carry war into other Island & spoke to Ngatiawa & told them all to scrape flax & they all did so not a man was idle right away to Manawatu, this flax was to pay for a vessel to take them to where his father had been slain & when the European owner of vessel saw they had flax enough, he agreed to take them.⁴⁵³

On 29th October, the Elizabeth set sail from Kapiti. When she arrived at her destination, the war party remained below while Stewart and some of his men went ashore to see the locals. Their plan was to entice the chief, Tamaiharanui, aboard their ship with promises of presents. However, Tamaiharanui was not there so they left a message for him to come and visit them.

Tamaiharanui returned some time later and received the message. He set off in search of Captain Stewart, accompanied by some of his immediate family and a small contingent of warriors. The unsuspecting victims came alongside the brig in their canoes and were called aboard. They were immediately seized and taken below.

The members of the war party who had remained below decks now manned the ship's boats and went ashore. They returned only when they had finished feasting on the local people. Some of the crew, including Stewart himself, are believed to have taken part in this incident. The brig Elizabeth returned to Kapiti, arriving there on 11th November.⁴⁵⁴

Back at Kapiti, Tamaiharanui was subjected to great indignities before being put to death. Wi Parata says that it was Ngatiawa who killed him:

Rauparaha & all his following went, & when they brought Te Maihi Haranui, he gave him to Ngatiawa - after this man was killed...⁴⁵⁵

According to Smith, who heard an account from Jackson, the son of a whaler at this time occupying Evans Island, 'chief persons of Ngati Toa' killed Tamaiharanui. They are reported to have cut open the unfortunate man's body at the navel and pulled out his entrails. His wife Te Whe, was hung up by her heels and her jugular vein cut. The widows

⁴⁵³ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 160. Evidence of Wi Parata.

⁴⁵⁴ McNab, R. *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand From 1830 to 1840*, Golden Press, Auckland, 1975, pp 25 - 29.

⁴⁵⁵ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 160. Evidence of Wi Parata.

of Te Pehi then drank her blood until she was dead. As for the daughter of Tamaiharanui, she was strangled by her father on the voyage to Kapiti. Tamaiharanui did not want her to suffer the treatment that he knew awaited him.⁴⁵⁶

John Crawford made some brief remarks about this incident in his journal:⁴⁵⁷

Pehi who went to England in 1823 he returned here and was since killed at Bankses Penusa [Banks Peninsula] by the chief of that place Te Maikaranui [Tamaiharanui] who has since fallen in the hands of Tarauparaha [Te Rauparaha] (by the assistance I am sorry to one of our own Country Men Capt. Stewart Master and owner of the Brig Elizabeth) who was killed in a most cruel manner and eaten opposite Kapiti at a little river Waitoho north of Otaki River. (I went to look at that place where he was killed and eaten he was dived among some hundreds of Natives, this happened in summer of 1833.

The whole of this episode thoroughly incensed the whalers who were in the area at the time, not so much because Tamaiharanui had been killed, but more because one of their own (Stewart) had aided in the capture and killing of the people. At first they tried to detain Stewart in the area to await a ship and have him arrested but he escaped to Sydney. Some time later his ship is believed to have sunk, thus leaving his judgement to a much higher authority.⁴⁵⁸

4.11 The third attack on Ngai Tahu 1831-1832

Not satisfied with the vengeance already taken for Te Pehi's death, the northern allies went south again and laid siege to Kaiapohia. This was approximately a year after the brig Elizabeth's voyage to Akaroa.⁴⁵⁹ On this occasion, the war party consisted of a fleet of canoes manned by about six hundred Ngatiawa and Kawhia warriors.⁴⁶⁰ According to Te Karehana of Ngati Toa, 'N. Awa went there in consequence of Te Pehi's death at Kaiapoi.'⁴⁶¹ When they arrived, their numbers were increased by another section of the northern allies who had gone to Kaiapohia via Mangatewai, (Top House track), and which came out at Hanmer Springs.⁴⁶² This division included a great many Ngati Kuia from Pelorus, captured after their defeat in about 1829 and now forced to join this expedition.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 441.

See also:

The Press, Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., A Hundred Years Ago, 7 June 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, MS 582/A/6, p 7.

⁴⁵⁷ Crawford, J. MS 1635, p 12. NB: Page numbers added for ease of locating reference.

⁴⁵⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 441 - 442.

⁴⁵⁹ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 64. See pp 58 - 80 for full account.

⁴⁶⁰ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 58.

⁴⁶¹ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 122. Evidence of Te Karehana. Also says: 'N. Awa numbered more than N. Toa. Latter smaller. Tribe. N. Toa. was 170 doubled.'

⁴⁶² Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 70: 'The back country of Nelson was quite well known to the old native people, and stone adzes have been found near the head water of the Motueka River and other out-of-the-way places. Certain well-defined tracks connected the various villages, as well as to places visited by them for food supplies. The route to the east coast of the South Island was frequently via Tophouse (Manga Tawai) and a party of natives from Tasman Bay proceeded to Kaiapohia during the siege of that pa. Undoubtedly there was a recognised trail to the Buller Valley, also to Golden Bay, while the outlet from Nelson to the Pelorous District, was via the Maitai Valley and Maungatapu.'

See also:

The Press, Alexander, W.F. and Skinner, H.D., A Hundred Years Ago, 14 June 1930, Beattie Album, Vol. 6, MS 582/A/6, p 8.

The northern forces, travelling by sea, landed at a place called Double Corner, not too far from Kaiapohia Pa. Here they pulled their canoes up above the high water mark and, after joining those who had come overland, marched off to Kaiapohia to carry out a surprise attack. However this move failed. The people at Kaiapohia had already been warned of their northern enemy's approach.⁴⁶⁴

When the northern allies arrived at Kaiapohia Pa, they found that the people had locked themselves inside and were peering down on them from along the defences. They did not realise that the faces that they could see belonged mostly to old men and young children. If they had attempted an attack at this point, they could have easily taken the pa. Most of the Ngai Tahu warriors had recently gone to Port Cooper to escort Taiaroa; others were scattered about the country.

The war party chose not to make an immediate attack and instead camped outside the pa. Meanwhile, some Ngai Tahu had managed to escape the attention of the war party and headed off to Port Cooper to warn the others. When Taiaroa heard the news, he turned his men around and started the march back to Kaiapohia, accompanied by as many men as could be gathered from the Peninsula. After travelling along the coast, they finally came to the Waimakariri River where they crossed on a number of rafts made of dry flax stalks. On the other side they thought it a good idea to rest a while before continuing.⁴⁶⁵

After nightfall, Taiaroa and his party made their way along the beach then headed inland until they were opposite Kaiapohia Pa. As they got closer, they could see the camp fires of the northern war party as well as a large number of warriors walking around outside the pa. Obviously, it would be futile to attempt an entry from the landside, particularly as this was where many of the enemy were camped. The only way into the pa was through the lagoon, but even there, guards were posted at intervals along the sand ridges on the edge.⁴⁶⁶ Taiaroa decided to take his men through the stretch of tussock grass and sedge leading to the lagoon. Making use of the wave action of the grass as it swayed in the strong nor-west wind, Taiaroa and his men crouched in the tussock and crept along, hoping not to be detected. As they moved they had to be sure to remain perfectly still whenever the wind dropped. They were so close to the northern war party that they could hear what they were talking about and, had there been any movement in the grass while the wind was still, they would have been detected instantly. Managing to find their way to the margin of the lagoon, they jumped in shouting, 'Taiaroa! to the rescue,' - a warning to their relatives inside the pa not to shoot them. The northern war party thought that it was an attempted

Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 58 - 65.

⁴⁶³ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 71.

⁴⁶⁴ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 62.

See also:

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 81. Talks about Rangitane slaves helping.

⁴⁶⁵ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 62 - 63.

⁴⁶⁶ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 63 - 64.

escape, and immediately started firing at Taiaroa and his party. Luckily for them, they were able to keep their heads low enough to the water and were not easy targets. As Taiaroa and his men got closer to the pa, they were recognised by the people inside and admitted.

The arrival of Taiaroa's party no doubt heartened everyone in the pa. Soon after, each of the chiefs was assigned one of the various jobs involved in taking care of their defences. One advantage that Ngai Tahu had was their tower, which gave a commanding view over the heads of the northern war party. From here they could see every move their enemy made.⁴⁶⁷

For the next three months the Ngai Tahu were besieged. There was an occasion though, when Taiaroa and a handful of others slipped out of the pa unnoticed. On this particular night there was a bad storm which kept the northern party under cover. They made their way to a spot near the mouth of the Ashley River, where thirty of the northern party's canoes lay. They set about trying to destroy them but their hatchets were too light. They contemplated burning the canoes but the rain made that very difficult. In the end they settled for doing as much damage as possible so that the canoes were disabled, at least temporarily before they returned to the pa.

After the third month, Te Rauparaha had to acknowledge that the previous plan had not been effective and he decided to change tactics. No doubt all the chiefs discussed the new strategy and were satisfied that it would work.⁴⁶⁸

About this time, one hundred Ngati Rarua warriors arrived from the West Coast. They had come from their conquest of the people of Poutini. Niho, who was the leader of this section, suggested that they should make a concerted attack. There was unanimous agreement.⁴⁶⁹ The plan was to dig a trench in a zigzag direction towards the pa walls. The execution of this plan cost a number of lives because they were exposed to the gun fire from the pa as they dug their way through, but they did manage to get within a few feet of the pa's defence walls.⁴⁷⁰

The next stage was to carry bundles of dry manuka through the trenches and to place them up against the walls of the pa, then set fire to them. By day the northern allies worked at getting manuka to the walls of the pa and by night Ngai Tahu would try to take it away. Eventually the Ngai Tahu had to give in, unable to cope with the amount of manuka which by now was reaching the tops of the walls. The people in the pa became increasingly frightened and insecure as they tried to decide what to do next.

⁴⁶⁷ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 64 - 65.

⁴⁶⁸ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 66.

See also:

Travers, W.T.L. *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, also The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, by Stack, Rev J. W. Whitcombe And Tombs Limited, p 67. The plan was likely decided by a council of war, probably made up of the chiefs of all the confederated tribes.

⁴⁶⁹ Evison, Harry, C. *Te Waipounamu, The Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori during the European Colonization of New Zealand*, Aoraki Press, 1993, p 60.

⁴⁷⁰ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, p 66.

Taiaroa, knowing that it was only a matter of time before the northern war party gained entry, decided to take the men under his command and escape. He told the rest that he would make a diversion to distract the enemy, giving them time to get away. However, there was never an opportunity to effect this rescue. Soon after he managed to leave, the manuka was set on fire.⁴⁷¹

Te Kanae gives a different version of Taiaroa's escape. He says that Taiaroa called out to Te Hiko⁴⁷² and pleaded for mercy, claiming that he had no part in the killing of Te Pehi and the other northern chiefs. Te Hiko advised Taiaroa to leave the pa, told him which route to follow and guaranteed his safety. Taiaroa followed his instructions and escaped.⁴⁷³

Ngati Tama claim that it was through intercession of their tupuna, Te Puoho ki Te Rangi and his nephew, Te Wahapiro Paremata, that Taiaroa was able to escape from Kaiapohia Pa. In support of this they say that Taiaroa repaid this debt in 1836 by protecting Paremata after the killing of Te Puoho and his taua at Tukurau. Taiaroa gave his daughter Ngamaianga, in marriage to Paremata and also gave him a block of land in Southland.⁴⁷⁴

To continue Stack's account, on this particular day the wind had been blowing quite hard from the northwest and the people in the pa knew that a southwesterly would almost certainly follow. They knew also that the enemy would choose the right time to set fire to the manuka. Pureko was one Ngai Tahu who was not going to sit back and wait; he decided that he would set light to the manuka while the wind was still blowing north west. This, he hoped, would cause the fire to burn away from the walls. Had he done it a lot earlier the plan might have worked but, as luck would have it, the wind turned in the opposite direction soon after the fire was lit. Before long the whole pa was enveloped in smoke and the men were driven down from the defence walls. Meanwhile, the northern party waited for their chance to get in. The people inside the pa panicked and, when the walls finally fell, the northern party rushed in. The first to be killed was Pureko, followed shortly after by Te Auta, the high priest, who was consulting with his gods right to the end. In a state of total confusion, some people scrambled to escape through the gate called Huirapa, while others

⁴⁷¹ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 72 - 73.

⁴⁷² Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 15.

⁴⁷³ Te Kanae, W. *The History of the Tribes: Ngati-Toarangatira, Ngati-Awa-o-Runga-o-te-Rangi and Ngati-Raukawa*, 20 August 1888, Porirua, p 15.

See also:

Burns, P. *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1980, p 166.

Te Rauparaha, Tamihana, *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha*, By His son Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Edited by Peter Butler, Martinborough, 1980, p 49.

⁴⁷⁴ A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 9. 'Wahapiro, the stepson and nephew of Te Puoho was taken prisoner and held by Taiaroa, who was present at the fight and appears to have done what he could to crush the invasion with a minimum of bloodshed.'

climbed the walls and jumped down into the lagoon. Terrified screams came from all directions as many were killed.⁴⁷⁵

Over two hundred Ngai Tahu managed to escape through the lagoon, with the smoke across the water screening them from the enemy. They made for relatives in Banks Peninsula and other places.

When the fighting came to an end the remnant of the Ngai Tahu were rounded up and taken back to their camp, the spot now known as Massacre Hill. Here many of the prisoners were executed. Some were fastened to poles to bleed to death and, once dead, they were put into the ovens and eaten at the victory feast.

The northern allies continued south to attack the fortress of Onawe, located in Akaroa Harbour. They found the pa heavily fortified and, rather than set in for another siege which probably would not work here either, they decided to take some of their most distinguished prisoners and present them at the gates to the pa. It is said that Te Rauparaha stood there taunting them. He ordered the occupants of the pa to surrender and submit to his clemency.

Meanwhile, a party of Ngai Tahu had returned to Onawe and the gates were opened to let them in. Warriors from the northern force, who had been hiding in the bush, seized the opportunity to infiltrate the pa by mingling with the returning Ngai Tahu. They started the assault, then let in the rest of the northern allies.⁴⁷⁶ In the frenzied attack many of the occupants were killed or taken prisoner.

There is another version of these events, which says that the northern allies obtained entry to the pa by forcing one of the Ngai Tahu chiefs to gain admission. It is probably of little consequence, for all accounts agree on the final result. The Ngai Tahu were defeated and a great many of their people were killed or enslaved.

The northern allies had accomplished their objective and now decided that it was time to return north, along with their many captives. It is relevant here, to recount one of the incidents that occurred on the journey.

The canoe of Te Hiko had been damaged and was taken to Okaruru (Gough's Bay) where it was repaired for the home journey. One of the prisoners captured by Te Hiko was Tangatahara, the commander of Onawe and the man responsible for killing Te Pehi, his father. He was with Te Hiko when a detachment of the northern party arrived accompanied by two women. They recognised Tangatahara as the man who killed Te Pehi and demanded that he be handed over to them. They said, 'Light an oven. We must have a feast. Here is our man!' Te Hiko was annoyed by their arrogance. He refused and immediately put a guard around him. The women of the party were not happy. They nagged continually. Still Te Hiko refused to hand over Tangatahara. In the end the women begged to be allowed to

⁴⁷⁵ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 73 - 74.

⁴⁷⁶ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 79 - 80.

hit the prisoner on the head with the kauru fibre they were chewing and so degrade him by pretending to use his head as a relish for the kauru. After a while Te Hiko relented enough to grant their request and the punishment was carried out in full view of Ngatiawa warriors.

Te Hiko was incensed by the whole affair, particularly by the disregard for his wishes shown by these relatives of Te Rauparaha. He decided that he would allow the prisoner to escape as soon as they had gone. During the night he let Tangatahara know that he would allow him to escape. The prisoner duly disappeared. This encouraged other Ngai Tahu to make successful breaks for freedom.⁴⁷⁷

The northern party departed for home and, despite the Ngai Tahu who managed to escape, many prisoners were taken back to the North Island to become slaves to the northern allies. It was probably fortunate for many of them that the northern tribes got involved in quarrels immediately on their return, as they might otherwise have been cooked on landing at Kapiti.⁴⁷⁸

When they returned from Akaroa, the northern allies were told that Waikato had attacked Pukerangiora Pa, back in Taranaki. The battle of Motunui, fought near Urenui about 1820-1821, (in which the Waikato tribes had suffered so severely and lost so many of their great chiefs), had not by any means been forgotten, nor Ngatiawa people forgiven. Since their last encounter at Motunui, Waikato had acquired a great many more muskets from traders who were now established at ports such as Kawhia and Tauranga; consequently, they felt more confident in coping with their southern enemies.⁴⁷⁹ They also knew that the bulk of Ngatiawa were away at the time. They had discovered this on a previous visit, made under the pretence of trading.⁴⁸⁰

According to the records of the brig Zebra, the northern allies did not return from Akaroa until after 17 March 1832.⁴⁸¹ At this point, the grim history of events in Taranaki needs to be brought up to date.

⁴⁷⁷ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 80 - 82.

⁴⁷⁸ Stack, Rev. J. W. *Kaiapohia: The Story of a Siege*, Reprinted by Wilson Brothers, Rangiora, 1990, pp 82 - 83.

⁴⁷⁹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 459.

⁴⁸⁰ McNab, R. *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand From 1830 to 1840*. Golden Press, Auckland, 1975, p 42.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 460.

⁴⁸¹ McNab, R. *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand From 1830 to 1840*. Golden Press, Auckland, 1975, p 59.

Chapter Five

5.0 The second siege of Pukerangiora - 1832

Ngatiawa who had been involved in the attack on Ngai Tahu wasted no time in returning to Taranaki, but they were too late to give any assistance to their unfortunate relatives. Waikato had already completed their mission and headed for home. Ngatiawa immediately went in pursuit, but managed to kill only a few stragglers. Soon after this many Ngatiawa, including some Ngati Tama, returned to Kapiti.⁴⁸²

It is not intended to describe the attack upon Pukerangiora in any great detail here but the whole affair amounted to one of the darkest days ever in the history of Ngatiawa. After hundreds of them had been killed at Pukerangiora, in the most horrible manner imaginable, Waikato and Maniapoto carried on to Nga Motu (also known as Otaka) where they planned another massacre.⁴⁸³ Here, though, they were not quite so successful, largely owing to a small group of Europeans who were in Nga Motu at the time. Had it not been for these people, Waikato could very well have got their own way, as they had at Pukerangiora.

The details of these grim events are recorded in a letter written by Daniel Henry Sheridan, one of the European people present throughout the battles. A copy of this can be found in McNab, 'Old Whaling Days.'⁴⁸⁴

Apparently, a ship or canoes arrived at Moturoa from Kawhia, carrying passengers who claimed to be buying certain goods for their chiefs; their real mission was to gather information. These people supposedly returned home on 24th December 1831.⁴⁸⁵

Only a few hours after they left, fires were seen in the distance. A group of unsuspecting Ngatiawa decided to go and investigate the situation. As they neared the camps of Waikato and their allies, they realised that they were close to a Waikato and Maniapoto war party. They fled back to their camp to warn the others. A party set out to intercept Waikato at the Waitara River but they were unsuccessful in stopping their progress. Meanwhile, all the people within six miles of Pukerangiora gathered there and waited for the arrival of Waikato. In all, there were some three thousand Ngatiawa inside the pa, including a number of children and old people. On 2nd January 1832 the enemy reached Pukerangiora and immediately surrounded the pa.

⁴⁸² *Otaki minute book 11*, 10 April 1890, p 283. Evidence of Piripi Taua. Of Puketapu and Ngatiawa. Was in heke mairaro.

⁴⁸³ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 469 - 471. Ngati Tama were still occupying areas around the Mokau District.

⁴⁸⁴ McNab, R. *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand From 1830 to 1840*. Golden Press, Auckland, 1975, pp 41 - 59.

⁴⁸⁵ McNab, R. *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand From 1830 to 1840*. Golden Press, Auckland, 1975, p 42.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 460.

Barrett, R., *Extracts from Barrett's Journal*, MS 1736, p 5. Barrett and Love had been warned of the Waikato attack. The report had come from a Maori interpreter who was aboard a trading ship under the command of Captain Le Quesne.

For almost three weeks Ngatiawa lay under siege and by that time starvation was rife. The last-minute warning had come too late to give them time to collect provisions before they locked themselves inside the pa. It is not hard to imagine just how much food and water would have been required to supply the three thousand occupants.

By 21 January, Ngatiawa were desperate and thought their best chance of survival was to make an escape bid through the gates of the pa. This, however, was not an option for everyone. Many people were now too weak to run and others were in no position to escape because they had their young families with them. Nevertheless, the gates were opened with those strong enough making a run for their lives. Others chose instead to jump off the cliff to the east of the pa, falling many hundreds of feet into the Waitara River below. They knew they had little or no chance of surviving the fall but preferred to die this way rather than be put to a cruel death by the Waikato. It is said that there were twelve hundred Ngatiawa captured on this day, in addition to the many who were killed.

On 23 January, the prisoners were made to parade in front of Te Wherowhero and, as each came before him, he decided their fate. Over the next two days almost five hundred were killed by Te Wherowhero himself, many having their heads removed to be traded and others being killed for feasting. One of the most disturbing acts was that Te Wherowhero had many of the young men and children killed, then cut open and suspended from sticks of manuka. Many of those who were fortunate enough to remain alive were kept as slaves and later taken back to Waikato, where they were held until about 1840.

Waikato and Maniapoto, having completed their attack on Pukerangiora and satisfied their appetites, moved on to Nga Motu. Here, they were confident that they could take Ngatiawa with relative ease.

5.1 The attack on Nga Motu 1832

On 28th January, a party of about one hundred Waikato were observed from Nga Motu, heading towards Otaka Pa; the whole pa was immediately put on alert. Ngatiawa despatched a war party to offer resistance to them but this proved useless. Within an hour of their having exchanged gunfire they returned to Nga Motu, pursued by Waikato.

On 30 January, the enemy finally reached Nga Motu, having established their camps within a mile and posted a guard around those who were now besieged. Unlike their relatives at Pukerangiora, the occupants of Otaka Pa had sufficient food to last them three months.

On 31 January, Waikato chiefs put a proposal to Ngatiawa that they surrender; this they refused to do, saying that they would rather fight than be taken away as slaves or killed and eaten. Very shortly after that Otaka Pa was attacked.

According to Smith, some of the chiefs involved in the defence of Otaka included Tautara of Puketapu, Te Puni and Ngatata of Rewarewa Pa, Porutu, Poharama, Wi Hape and Te

Raru, the younger brother of Wi Tako.⁴⁸⁶ Sheridan tells us that there were sixteen hundred Ngatiawa at Otaka Pa, along with some two hundred and fifty slaves.

There were a small number of Europeans at Nga Motu, who had also firmly resolved to die rather than be taken alive. As they had no place of security to run to, necessity compelled them to remain on the spot and protect their property. They happened to have a large number of weapons, which they issued to the people in the pa. Perhaps the biggest assets were three cannons that the Europeans removed from their ship, the *Adventure*, which had sunk at anchor at Nga Motu.⁴⁸⁷

By 22 February, Waikato and Maniapoto had made a number of unsuccessful attempts to take the pa. According to reports, on occasions there was a cease-fire while each of the opponents tried to find out how the other was fairing, even going to each other's camps to see for themselves. Apparently, at one stage, a cease-fire was arranged so that the occupants of the pa could tend enemies lying wounded in the field. After attending to them they returned to the pa and continued shooting. On another occasion Waikato were allowed to enter the pa to sell muskets and goods to the occupants. The items that they were trading were all pilfered from Ngatiawa defeated at Pukerangiora.

On the morning of 23 February, the final assault was made on Otaka Pa.⁴⁸⁸ According to Daniel Sheridan who witnessed all these events, the people in the pa knew of the planned attack and had made preparations the night before. When Waikato and Maniapoto made their move the next morning, they were fired upon for a solid forty minutes, with Ngatiawa throwing all they could at the Waikato with their muskets. This worked, eventually forcing Te Wherowhero and his troops to make a withdrawal, dragging behind them some of the injured and dead. Shortly afterwards, Ngatiawa, seeing that the enemy had fled, went out looking for the Waikato who had been left behind. Those found were subjected to the most barbaric treatment, being killed and cut up on the spot to be eaten. One man who was still alive is said to have had his arms and legs cut off while a chief pierced a hole in his throat to drink his blood.

Richard Barrett, mentioned earlier, was one of the Englishmen who witnessed the battle at Nga Motu. He arrived in Taranaki in 1827, as first mate aboard the *Adventure* (Toroa). Others on the ship were John Agar Love, the commander, and William Keenan, the missionary. In July 1828, Barrett and Love took Ngatiawa wives. Barrett's wife was Ngati Rahiri and Love's wife was Ngati Te Whiti.⁴⁸⁹ In his journal, Barrett wrote his version of events at Nga Motu:

⁴⁸⁶ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 473.

⁴⁸⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 471, 472. The cannons were named Rua-koura, One-poto, and Pu-poipoi.

⁴⁸⁸ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 475 - 477. Between thirty and forty Ngati Tama arrived from the island pa of Patangata at the mouth of the Tongaporutu River. They were under their chief Taringakuri, also known as Te Kaeaea.

⁴⁸⁹ Snow, H. MS 2175 - 01. *Notes on Barrett's Journal*, 1979.

In the middle of the year 1832, one early morning Love sighted some small craft well to the east of Moturoa Island. We all arose, and after scanning them for some time we arrived at the conclusion that they were Maori raiders in canoes. We hastily took to our boat, including the womenfolk and headed for the shore.

On arrival we aroused all the Maoris, handed out the guns, about 750 in all, distributed powder and slugs at various points, taking up our positions along the water front which we had built up some time previous with huge trees sand banks and flax bushes.

Love, myself, Keenan and Williams manned the cannon on the hilltop and prepared for action, the rest of the natives being armed with spears.

After landing, the raiders, led by their chief, chanting ake ake ake, which meant that they would fight on forever, came along the beach. Love had given the signal to commence by firing a cannon, the charge dropping amongst them caused havoc, our guns were now mowing them down, and their numbers were dwindling. We discharged the remaining three cannon, immediately reloading and joining in. By this time many had reached the barricades, but in attempting to climb in they were promptly speared by the women.

The battle lasted about eight hours, when they retreated to the waters edge. Keenan who was now amongst the Maoris as the "pakeha tohunga" noted that the enemy were short of food. He suggested that as the battle was done we should feed them before their return. Love said, 'If you are game to ask them it will be all right.' Keenan advanced with his right arm raised above his head, talking to them at the same time. They laid down their arms at the request of their chief, the food being carried out to them by Keenan's disciples and the drink by some of the women.

That ended the raid, as they returned that evening leaving about 400 dead bodies for us to bury.

Many may wonder why we fed them, but here is the answer. Keenan through continually preaching had a band of adherents about 800 who believed in the Bible and he had taught them the text of Holy Scripture, which had suggested the deed. 'If thine enemy thirst give him drink; if thine enemy hunger, feed him.' Keenan was quite pleased with this act and no doubt he was becoming a force of great good in settling the many squabbles which took place in the settlement.

Our losses were only fifty, principally members of the Ati-awa. We buried the dead to the east of the settlement.⁴⁹⁰

Waikato and Maniapoto did not return after the battle but went away and killed many of the prisoners captured at Pukerangiora; ten were slaughtered for every chief they had lost in battle. Sheridan tells us that there were some two hundred of the northern enemy killed in

⁴⁹⁰ Barrett, R., *Extracts from Barrett's Journal*, MS 1736, pp 6 - 8.

the battle, whilst the people at Nga Motu do not appear to have lost half as many. Most of the damage to Ngatiawa had been done at Pukerangiora. Many of those who were fortunate enough to remain alive, after being captured by Waikato and Maniapoto, were kept as slaves and later taken back to Waikato, where they were held until about 1840, by which time the missionaries were having a marked influence upon the Maori people.

As a result of Waikato making their attack, most of the remaining Ngatiawa people decided to migrate South to join their relatives; many were now widely distributed about the Cook Strait district, including the northern South Island.

5.2 Te Heke Tamateuaua c1833

The events at Pukerangiora and Nga Motu were the main reasons for the next heke from Taranaki. Europeans also left Taranaki to join the growing whaling and trading industries around Cook Strait. Taranaki had become too dangerous and the main article of trade, dressed flax, was decreasing in availability since fewer people were alive to harvest and dress the flax. Also its value was much lower than that of whaling products. Without the Europeans and their weapons and continuing supplies of powder and shot, Ngatiawa in Taranaki knew that they would be vulnerable to attack from Waikato and Maniapoto. Therefore, many decided to migrate south to Cook Strait.

Te Heke Tamateuaua is believed to have left for the Cook Strait District during the winter of June 1832, taking with them the European men who had supported them throughout the ordeal at Nga Motu. Those who joined the heke included Ngati Mutunga under their chiefs Rangiwhia, Hautohoro (Hau Te Horo); Onemihi and Te Ito from Waitara; Te Puponga (William Keenan) from New Plymouth; Ngati Tawhirikura led by Tautara, Ruaukitua; Te Puni, Ngatata, Te Wharepouri and Henare Te Keha. There were also some Ngati Tama under their chiefs Te Tu-o-te-rangi, Te Rangikatau, Kaeaea (Taringakuri) and Te Rangitamarau. As we mentioned earlier though, not everyone would leave, some people preferring to remain on their ancestral lands.⁴⁹¹

Smith says that the heke did not take place until after Ngatiawa made another attack on the Maniapoto in retaliation for their part in the deaths at Pukerangiora and Nga Motu. Their target was Maniapoto living at the island pa of Motukawa.⁴⁹²

According to Rangipito of Kaitangata, the heke started off from the Waiongona River. There were some fourteen hundred fighting men plus probably an equal number of women and children. After leaving via the Whakaahurangi track, they made their way south, encountering a small number of skirmishes along the way before eventually making it to Waikanae.

Richard Barrett was on the heke when it left Taranaki:

⁴⁹¹ Seffern, W.H.J., *Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand Known as Taranaki*. New Plymouth, Seffern, W.H.J., 1896, p 115.

⁴⁹² Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 485.

Packing our pikau each adult had carried about 40lbs including the women, we took a quantity of guns and ammunition. We made way by the Te Whakaahurangi track, much hard work was entailed in cutting our way, but favoured with good summer weather we made fair progress but was compelled to rest a great deal on account of the children becoming foot sore. On reaching Whanganui we found ourselves involved in a serious battle with northern tribes, our guns were the deciding factor after three days battle, in which we lost a few men. Continuing our journey we reached Port Nicholson after three months of hardship, the party numbered about 2000 all told. Little did we think that Te Wherowhero on hearing of our migration would return and take Ngamotu by conquest, which he did.⁴⁹³

According to Watene Taungatara who was with this heke, there were a number of people at Waikanae. In reply to a question from the Court concerning who was living on the land when they arrived at Kapiti, he said:

Huriwhenua, W King. Tawhangawhanga & others. They belonged to N. Rahiri. their chief was Huriwhenua - N. Kura, Wi King was their chief - N. Mutunga. Under Ngatata. Patukaurunga. Te Poke. Kaitangata. N. Hinetuhi Otarawa. N. Uenuku. N. Tuaho. All these were hapus of N. Awa.⁴⁹⁴

This was the last of the main heke to leave Taranaki for the Cook Strait districts; the land was largely deserted, apart from the few who remained behind, preferring to risk death rather than leave the land of their ancestors. When Wakefield arrived at Nga Motu at the end of 1839 he recorded that there were a small number of Ngatiawa living there. As for the people who migrated, their problems were by no means over.

5.3 The Battle of Haowhenua 1834

After the arrival of Te Heke Tamateuaua at Waikanae, the northern allies again went into battle at an event that became known as Haowhenua. At the centre of this dispute was an argument over occupation of the conquered land in the Otaki area, but that was not the flash point for the violence. This was provided by a rather more trivial incident, the theft of potatoes from Ngati Raukawa. Apparently, the culprits were Ngatiawa who arrived with the heke.⁴⁹⁵

According to Rihari Tahuaroa, the people of Te Heke Tamateuaua did not fight the battle alone. Ngatiawa, who were settled in the Queen Charlotte Sound by this time, travelled across the Straits to support their kinsfolk against Ngati Raukawa.

The Kawhia people were divided over the whole affair, some supporting Ngati Raukawa and others their Ngatiawa relatives.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ Barrett, R., *Extracts from Barrett's Journal*, MS 1736, pp 8 - 9.

⁴⁹⁴ *Napier minute book 15*, 30 January 1890, p 80. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁴⁹⁵ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 161. Evidence of Wi Parata.

⁴⁹⁶ *Otaki minute book 11*, 24 March 1890, p 143. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa. When word was received at Arapawa about Haowhenua, they all took up arms and crossed to the North Island.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 30 January 1890, p 81. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

According to Pokaitara:

Some of us went to N. Raukawa. & some to N. Awa. Te Aratangata & Te Pehi were dead then. Te Aratangata was represented by his elder brother & children and Te Pehi by Rangihiroa. - Rangihiroa fought on N. Awa's side - Nohorua was Aratangata's elder brother. Hiko was alive then, he was our chief. I was with N. Awa. I am with N. Awa. Te Aratangata & Te Rangihiroa and all his tribe were with us.⁴⁹⁷

Wi Parata says that '... a portion of Ngati Toa remained with N Raukawa but my ancestor joined the Ngatiawa...' Wi Parata was referring here to Te Hiko and Rangihiroa.⁴⁹⁸ We have already discussed the relationship of Te Pehi with Ngati Mutunga and once again, we see his immediate family or hapu supporting their Ngatiawa relatives. Rangihiroa was the brother of Te Pehi, and Te Hiko was Te Pehi's son.⁴⁹⁹ Watene Taungatara described them as being on friendly terms with Ngatiawa.⁵⁰⁰

Wi Parata and Te Karehana of Ngati Toa went as far to say that Te Hiko and Rangihiroa built a pa for Ngatiawa after the fighting had ceased. According to Wi Parata's version:

After they had been fighting, Te Hiko & others, though the Ngatiawas had not been defeated, they then heard that messengers had been sent to Taupo to bring the tribes down. Then Te Hiko & Rangihiroa settled to make a strong pa at Kenakena. After it was finished the fight ended & Ngatiawa came back & occupied pa at Kenakena. When they all assembled in this pa N. Rauka [sic] heard of it. Then they knew Ngatitoa had joined with Ngatiawa. N. Rauka [sic] then were afraid of attacking them shortly after this they made peace...⁵⁰¹

Watene Taungatara suggests that the peace was made by Rangihaeata and Topeora who arbitrated on the allocation of the land. Ngatiawa were given the lands at Waikanae and Ngati Raukawa took lands north of Otaki.⁵⁰²

After the fighting had ceased, a number of the people from Te Heke Tamateuaua dispersed among their Ngatiawa relatives. A great many went off to Whanganui-a-tara and joined

⁴⁹⁷ *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, pp 103 - 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁴⁹⁸ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 161. Evidence of Wi Parata.

⁴⁹⁹ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1999.

See also:

Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, p 86.

⁵⁰⁰ *Napier minute book 15*, 30 January 1890, p 84. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. Also says, 'N. Tama is a hapu of N. Awa.'

⁵⁰¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 6 February 1890, p 161. Evidence of Wi Parata.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 118. Evidence of Te Karehana: 'There was a pa there belonging to N Toa, when Te Hauwhenua was being fought-Te Hiko te rangi built it when Hauwhenua was being fought.'

⁵⁰² *Otaki minute book 10*, 30 January 1890, p 81. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 30 January 1890, p 82. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama, a number of others, including those from earlier migrations, crossed Cook Strait and settled the northern South Island.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰³ *Napier minute book 15*, 21 January 1890, p 9. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 27 January 1890, p 45. Evidence of Hera Te Wairingiringi: 'After the Hauwhenua there was a panic and N. Awa & all others went to Arapawa.'

Napier minute book 15, 1 February 1890, p 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

Chapter Six

6.0 Ngatiawa Occupation of the Northern South Island 1827-1860

At first, the occupation of the northern South Island by the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes was intermittent. The situation there remained unstable because the conquest was not yet complete. The principal battles occurred around 1829, but they were by no means the last.

In retribution for the losses at Kaiapohia and Akaroa, Ngai Tahu sent a war party north to challenge the northern tribes. Success was limited. Only one battle, Kaparategau, was fought. Nevertheless there were many casualties. Te Puoho attempted another assault on the Ngai Tahu about 1836. This followed his dispute with Ngati Rarua at Motueka regarding the recognition of his mana there. When he met with resistance on this issue from Ngati Rarua, he became determined to conquer the rest of the South Island. Te Puoho travelled south with a war party but was killed at Tutarau.

Increasingly, the northern alliance suffered internal disruptions. One was the Battle of Kuititanga in 1839, where long-standing grievances erupted into violence. Kuititanga was about the land and its resources; it concerned both the ambition of Te Rauparaha to maintain his mana over hundreds of Ngatiawa, and his desire to control their occupation of both the lower North Island and the northern South Island.

The conquest of and subsequent settlement of Ngatiawa in the northern South Island had its effects upon the Kurahaupo tribes. In 1840, they were in no way able to exert any manawhenua over their original lands, particularly against Ngatiawa and the Kawhia tribes. Since the time of the southern conquest, the vast majority of Kurahaupo had been held in subjection by their conquerors. Ngati Tu-mata-kokiri were destroyed and today, they no longer exist as an active iwi identity.⁵⁰⁴

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, gave the Kurahaupo people rights as British subjects, whilst at the same time affording them all the rights and privileges under British law. However, the Government gave little comfort to the Kurahaupo tribes. They lived in subjection, under the northern conquerors beyond 1840, although the worst effects of their situation were gradually softened, largely due to the influence of the early missionaries. Despite this, the courts held the view that the Kurahaupo tribes had been conquered and that this was still the situation in the 1890s. The Court ruled, 'The land was conquered and the Court has no power to re-instate these latter tribes.'⁵⁰⁵ Some Kurahaupo, who gave evidence in the Nelson Tenth Case, acknowledged their conquest, although some preferred to argue that they were not totally destroyed.

⁵⁰⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, pp 430, 432.

⁵⁰⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 67. Judgement by the Court.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 9 March 1889, p 118. Evidence of Kereopa Pura.

Nelson minute book 1, 15 November 1883, p 6. Evidence of Wirihi Maihi. Belong to Rangitane, N Kuia and N Apa.

It is apparent, from the record, that many ways of the old time Maori died with those who had taken part in the conquest of the lower North and upper South Islands. The next generation had a different outlook on life and this drifted even further in succeeding generations.

Had it not been for the advent of colonisation and the subsequent arrival of both the missionaries and settlers, it is probable that the Kurahaupo tribes would have been more fully assimilated by their northern conquerors. Any who escaped this fate would have conformed to the traditional pattern of the displaced Maori by moving south to face further conquest or assimilation or a combination of both.

Ngatiawa settlements of the northern South Island, prior to 1840, were strategically placed to maximise access to natural food resources and to provide sufficient land for cultivation. The potential for an attack by marauding parties from the conquered tribes was always a problem in the first decade of settlement. Although it was not the primary consideration, the northern tribes ensured that their settlements were large enough to ward off any attack, and that they could rally at any given location. The other consideration was of course proximity to European traders. There were advantages in living near a port where they could exchange produce for muskets and blankets, the usual commodities traded in these early times.

By 1840, settlement patterns were emerging and by the 1850s and 60s, these were becoming more fixed. The advent of European colonisation brought with it a new concept of land tenure and the resulting land sales placed restrictions on where Maori could live. By their very nature, Ngatiawa had always been mobile, moving frequently from one place to another. One of the reasons for this was rotational cropping to ensure the fertility of the soil. Another reason was the seasonal nature of access to a whole variety of resources. Sometimes this could involve travelling great distances; sometimes it could simply mean going to the next bay. There was always frequent travel across the Straits to and from the Marlborough, Nelson and West Coast districts.

In the next part of this report the progressive settlement of Ngatiawa in the northern South Island and the subsequent widespread establishment of the Native Reserves in the same area will be examined.

Figure 5. See map book: Totaranui

Chapter Seven

7.0 Ngatiawa Settlement of Marlborough 1827-1860

The first documented evidence of Ngatiawa occupying the Queen Charlotte Sound can be found in Wakefield and Dieffenbach's despatches. These establish that Ngatiawa were occupying Queen Charlotte Sound as early as 1827 and that they were with Captain John Guard and Joseph Thoms Snr, after they established the first shore whaling station at Te Awaiti, also in 1827.⁵⁰⁶ They do not specify the number of Ngatiawa or who they were. Whether they remained there, after the failure of Guard and Thoms's whaling venture is not known.⁵⁰⁷

On 14th April 1830, Worser Heberley arrived in Tory Channel and found both European and Maori present at Te Awaiti. The latter were preparing to head south for an attack on Ngai Tahu. Whilst he was selecting timber to build himself a house, Heberley came across human remains, obviously the product of a recent feast.⁵⁰⁸ Ngatiawa had just completed their main attack on the former occupiers of the Queen Charlotte Sound, the Rangitane; the corpses and body parts, which Heberley found, would no doubt have been Rangitane.⁵⁰⁹

A short time after Heberley's arrival at Te Awaiti, a war party of Ngatiawa and Tainui headed south to attack Ngai Tahu, leaving their women to take care of the land. The warriors did not return to Te Awaiti until 10 May, along with their captives. According to Heberley, the war party stayed for about nine days before crossing the Straits. He did not see them again until the summer, five or six months later. The only Maori people he claims to have seen during this period were those who lived in Cloudy Bay.⁵¹⁰

Heberley appears to have stayed on at Te Awaiti until the fall of 1831, and then relocated to Port Underwood, travelling between there and Te Awaiti to prepare for the coming whaling season. It was at Port Underwood that Heberley met his Ngatiawa wife, Maata Te Naihe, also known as Te Wai.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁶ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1839, p 103.

⁵⁰⁷ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, p 27.

See also:

Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1839, p 103. There is a story that Te Rauparaha had gifted the land here to Europeans and to his brother Thomas Street (Nohorua). Thoms married a daughter of Nohorua, by whom he had two children. When his wife died he married a European woman from Port Jackson. She and another woman were the only European females at Te Awaiti in 1839. Te Atiawa tradition says that Ngatiawa settled the land in 1827. This would have had to have been on a small scale.

⁵⁰⁸ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, 14 April 1830, p 18.

⁵⁰⁹ See Nga Hekenga O Te Atiawa, Chapter 4, sections 4.4 and 4.5, for an account of the attack on Queen Charlotte and the attack made by the Tainui people on Pelorus.

⁵¹⁰ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, 14 April - 10 May 1830, pp 18 - 20.

⁵¹¹ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, 14 April - 10 May 1830, pp 18 - 20.

In 1832, the barque William IV, under Captain Steine, sailed to Queen Charlotte Sound from Kapiti Island. When the ship entered Tory Channel the captain found a large native settlement at Te Awaiti. He does not appear to have stayed there very long. He moved further up the Sound, where he entered a bay surrounded by trees interspersed with tracts of fertile soil. Here he found many Maori, living in a small village close to the beach. This part of the Sound he named Hornes Bay, after the owner of his vessel. This could be Waitohi.⁵¹² Captain Steine says that the people seemed 'gradually to be acquiring industrious and civilised habits.' They had obtained gardening tools from the people at Te Awaiti and prepared the soil for growing potatoes. Captain Steine found them very friendly and he easily persuaded them to help him cut the trees and load his vessel.⁵¹³

Exactly who these people were, we cannot be sure.⁵¹⁴ Captain Steine does mention the 'Kankatattoo', which is more than likely a reference to the Rangitane.⁵¹⁵ As for who the people were at Te Awaiti, the record is silent. If the Rangitane were residing at either of these places, at the time of Steine's visit, they would no doubt have been displaced soon after the arrival of the Ngatiawa in the summer of 1832 and onwards. Te Awaiti and Waitohi were two of the many Ngatiawa pa that were scattered throughout the Sounds.⁵¹⁶ More follows on this subject shortly.

In January 1833, Heberley, along with his new wife Maata Te Naihe, returned to Queen Charlotte Sound from Cloudy Bay.⁵¹⁷ Just prior to their leaving Cloudy Bay, Maata Te Naihe gave birth to their first son.⁵¹⁸ They arrived at Te Awaiti and established their home there. The descendants of Heberley and Maata Te Naihe reside in the Sounds to this day. In 1998, Kaumatua Charlie Heberley stated, 'I consider that our family have been the caretakers. We've kept the fires burning for the Ngatiawa people.'⁵¹⁹

The Heberley's were not alone when they returned to the Sounds. Rihari Tahuaroa was living at Ipapakareru around this time. He says that Ngatiawa settled Queen Charlotte

⁵¹² McNab, R. *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. II, Government Print, Wellington, 1914, p 13.

See also:

MacDonald, C.A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 74. Hornes Bay was possibly Waitohi.

⁵¹³ McNab, R. *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. II, Government Print, Wellington, 1914, p 13.

See also:

MacDonald, C.A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 74.

⁵¹⁴ MacDonald, C. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, pp 243 - 246. Atiawa were occupying the land in 1853 when Captain Hood went through the Sound.

⁵¹⁵ McNab, R. *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol II, Government Print, Wellington, 1914, p 13.

⁵¹⁶ *Otaki minute book 11*, 25 March 1890, pp 143 - 145. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

Personal communications, Neville Watson, 1995. According to the descendants of Tahuaroa, he was in Queen Charlotte as early as 1827.

⁵¹⁷ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, January 1833, p 22.

See also:

Heberley, C. *Oral Interview*, Ngatiawa / Te Ati Awa Whenua Komiti Oral History Project, 1998.

⁵¹⁸ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, January 1833, pp 21 - 22. According to the manuscript, it was actually a girl she gave birth to.

⁵¹⁹ Heberley, C. *Oral Interview*, Ngatiawa / Te Ati Awa Whenua Komiti Oral History Project, 1998.

Sound, shortly after the third attack on Ngai Tahu. These were probably the same people that Heberley reported seeing in the summer of 1832. Apart from this, Ngatiawa were involved in a battle that took place in the Sound in early 1833. Te Manutoheroa and a number of Puketapu defended their Kawhia relatives, after they were attacked by the Ngai Tahu at Kaparatehau. The Kawhia people were chased to the head of Port Underwood where a battle took place upon the ridge above Onapua Bay in Tory Channel. On this occasion Te Manutoheroa saved the life of Te Rauparaha.⁵²⁰

7.1 The Ngai Tahu Retaliations 1833-1834

The Ngai Tahu were still a powerful tribe, despite their earlier losses against the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes. Following the third attack on Kaiapohia, the Ngai Tahu made two retaliatory attacks on the northern allies.⁵²¹ According to Elvy, the first was carried out by about three hundred and forty warriors.⁵²² Apparently, Te Rauparaha and his party were known to be heading for Kaparatehau to catch eels and ducks for their winter supplies. Ngai Tahu decided to ambush them. They set off for the Flaxbourne River (Waiharakeke) in six large war canoes and on arriving they waited for their quarry.⁵²³

Very soon they saw the canoes of Te Rauparaha heading towards them from Port Underwood. Ngai Tahu moved across country to Paruparu, situated where the outlet of the lake used to be, prior to being transformed into the present-day salt lakes.

When Te Rauparaha and his party arrived they waited off shore, uncertain whether it was safe for them to land. After a while Te Rauparaha decided to send a scouting party ashore to investigate. The scouts found nothing amiss and so the signal was given for the others to come ashore. This was a major mistake, as once they landed Ngai Tahu executed their plan.

Elvy says that three hundred of Te Rauparaha's men were killed and that there were only forty survivors. Te Rauparaha was himself caught in this battle and, had it not been for a chief trying to take him alive, he would have been killed immediately. The chief concerned

⁵²⁰ Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 184. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

See also:

Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 77.

⁵²¹ Taylor, W. A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch, 1952, p 21.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 8. This particular battle (according to a Ngai Tahu account) took place about February 1836.

⁵²² Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 75.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 8. In the Wakapuaka case it was said that only a few men accompanied Te Rauparaha, but no particular number is specified.

⁵²³ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Maori History, Marlborough Records, Old Time Warriors, Te Rauparaha's Raids, 10 May 1939, pp 9 - 10.

wanted to take Te Rauparaha alive so that he could be returned to Kaiapohia to suffer the same indignities as Tamaiharanui had been subjected to.⁵²⁴

After his capture, however, Te Rauparaha managed to escape, freeing himself of the garment by which they were holding him and scampering for the sea in full flight. He swam out to one of the canoes and he quickly dispatched some of his people over the side to make enough room for himself. He then headed the canoe to Ngakuta Bay at the north-west head of Port Underwood. The Ngai Tahu manned their canoes and pursued him. At Port Underwood they chased Te Rauparaha and his remaining men onto the ridge looking down onto Onapua Bay in Queen Charlotte Sound. Here an altercation took place, which terminated only after Te Rauparaha managed to escape into Tory Channel,⁵²⁵ where he was saved by Te Manutoheroa.⁵²⁶ From Tory Channel, Te Rauparaha dispatched two messengers to the North Island to obtain reinforcements.⁵²⁷

According to Elvy, two of the Ngai Tahu chiefs, Ouiramaomao and Te Rua-Kawharu were shot dead and buried with their muskets near the top of the saddle.⁵²⁸

Meanwhile the Ngai Tahu had withdrawn into Port Underwood and had gone onto Oraumoa (Fighting Bay) in Cook Strait, where they made camp.

It was two days before reinforcements arrived from the North Island. They were a mixture of Ngati Toa, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Mutunga. They located Te Rauparaha and the remnants of his party and they all headed to Oraumoa. There, the fighting continued on the beach with opposing parties at each end. Elvy suggests that the northern allies got the worst of it in their first confrontation, and that the fighting only ended when Ngai Tahu made a retreat for the night, having expended all their ammunition. The following day the battle continued but this time it was a sea battle fought from the canoes with traditional weapons. The Ngai Tahu account claims that the northern allies had no option but to retreat from this battle.⁵²⁹

Shand's version places the action at Waiharakeke (the Flaxbourne River). He describes how Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama were so eager to launch an attack that, although they landed at night, one section decided to try an immediate assault. Lead by a number of chiefs including Te Wharepa, Riwai, Taupata and Mohi Ngawaina, they took the wrong track in the dark and were unable to get close enough to put their plan into operation. By the

⁵²⁴ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Maori History, Marlborough Records, Old Time Warriors, Te Rauparaha's Raids, 10 May 1939, p 9.

See also:

Taylor, W. A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch., 1952, p 21. Taylor states that there were one hundred and forty of the northern tribes killed by Ngai Tahu.

⁵²⁵ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Maori History, Marlborough Records, Old Time Warriors, Te Rauparaha's Raids, 10 May 1939, p 9.

⁵²⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 184. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁵²⁷ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Maori History, Marlborough Records, Old Time Warriors, Te Rauparaha's Raids, 10 May 1939, p 9.

⁵²⁸ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, p 77.

⁵²⁹ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Maori History, Marlborough Records, Old Time Warriors, Te Rauparaha's Raids, 10 May 1939, p 10.

following morning the Ngai Tahu had gone, slipping silently away to their canoes, which had remained undetected by the northern allies, and making their escape. Shand's narrative does not discuss the sea battle described by Elvy but it is still likely he was writing about the events at Oraumoa.⁵³⁰

Tare Wetere Te Kahu, although not staying strictly to the detail given in other accounts, says Ngati Kuri, Ngati Moki, Ngati Pahi and Ngati Tuahiriri were the hapu in the war party of Ngai Tahu in this first retaliatory attack. The chiefs were Tuhawaiki, Paitu, Makere, Haere-roa, Karetai, Iwi-kau, Paora Te Koea, and Tira-kapiti. Te Kahu also states that three canoes of the northern allies, which arrived at Paruparu, included a boat carrying Te Rauparaha. Insofar as the battle at Oraumoa is concerned, he says that the reinforcements of Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Toa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Raukawa did not arrive from the north until after the rest had been camped for two days. On their first confrontation, a large number of Ngati Mutunga were reported to have been killed, along with others of the allied tribes. Ngai Tahu are believed to have suffered few losses. The fighting continued until night, by which time Ngai Tahu had run out of ammunition and had to retire. The following morning they saw the northern allies pursuing them and so they immediately launched their canoes in preparation for a sea battle. The northern allies fled to the North Island shortly afterwards, thus ending the campaign.⁵³¹

Wakefield was given yet another version of the Ngai Tahu attack. It led him to suggest that Ngatiawa were set up during the fight. Wakefield wrote that Te Rauparaha:

... subsequently took advantage of a fog to abandon the scene of combat, leaving *Ngatiawa*, whom he had persuaded to join him, at the mercy of their foes. This treacherous policy was, we were told, by no means uncommon on his part, it being his plan to destroy one enemy by means of another.⁵³²

This is most interesting because once again it illustrates a breakdown in the relationships amongst the allied northern tribes. More specifically, it probably indicates emerging tribal jealousies.

In February / March 1834, the Ngai Tahu made another attack upon the Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte areas. This time though, there were no Ngatiawa or Tainui people there. According to Heberley, they had crossed Cook Strait to join in the battle of Haowhenua, which was described earlier:

The southern natives came back, and set fire to our Houses and drove us out, and destroyed our crops, we took too our Boats and crossed the Straits for the North Island. The Ngatiawa tribe was at war with the Nga te goats .(N. Raukawa) so we

⁵³⁰ Shand, A. *The Occupation of the Chatham Islands by the Maoris in 1835*, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, 1892, p 94.

⁵³¹ Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated to Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, pp 98 - 99.

⁵³² Wakefield, E.J. *Adventure in New Zealand, From 1839 - 1844*, Vol. 1., John Murray, London, 1845, pp 108 - 109.

stoped [sic] on Kapiti Island till the war was over which lasted five weeks, then the Natives came back to the Sound.⁵³³

There were five hundred⁵³⁴ warriors in this second Ngai Tahu war party and the leaders were Taiaroa, Whakataupuka and Tuhawaiki. They travelled to Cloudy Bay (Port Underwood) in twenty-nine canoes. There, they harassed the Europeans and destroyed property.⁵³⁵ One of the Europeans was a Captain Shaw from the vessel *Harlequin*. In an extract from his ship records he wrote:

Every station was completely annihilated - those of Messrs. Campbell and Captain Blinkinsoppe in particular - their men taken prisoners, and one or more of the women shot - two of the white men, accompanied by several native women, escaped in a whale boat. On the 7th March the *Harlequin* schooner came to anchor in the Bay. Three boats, filled with natives, bringing the remaining two white men (for whom they expected ransom) boarded her, and commenced plundering the vessel of sails, colours, muskets &c., cutting part of her running rigging, &c., and but for the good policy of Captain Shaw, the vessel doubtless would have been taken, nearly two hundred of the natives being on deck searching for plunder and scarcely a part of the vessel but what underwent their scrutiny. However, Captain Shaw, with much address, persuaded the New Zealanders to go on shore and immediately made sail for Cavity (Kapiti) Island, where a similar fate awaited him, from which he also luckily managed to extricate himself.⁵³⁶

From here the Ngai Tahu continued to Queen Charlotte Sound but they found the place almost deserted as the northern allies had gone to the North Island to fight at Haowhenua.⁵³⁷

The Ngai Tahu divided after reaching Tory Channel, some staying at Te Awaiti and others moving further up the Sound close to Waitohi, the present town of Picton.⁵³⁸ They stayed for a while and destroyed the houses and cultivated plots of people belonging to Ngatiawa,

⁵³³ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, January 1831, p 21.

⁵³⁴ Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated to Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, p 99. In Taare Wetere Te Kahu's account, there were eight hundred in the Ngai Tahu war party: 'it was composed of 400 men (probably 400 topu or 800)...'

⁵³⁵ Taylor, W. A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch, 1952, p 21.

⁵³⁶ McNab, R. *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand From 1830 to 1840*. Golden Press, Auckland, 1975, p 70.

⁵³⁷ Taylor, W. A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch, 1952, p 21. Taylor's explanation of why Ngai Tahu did not engage with Te Rauparaha and his warriors is that, 'Te Rauparaha and his warriors kept out of sight.'

⁵³⁸ Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated by Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, p 99.

See also:

Fox painting, 1849, Ngatiawa had a pa at Waitohi prior to the Waitohi Purchase of 1856.

as well as those of the early whalers who were living in the area at the time.⁵³⁹ They then returned home.

As they passed through the Wairau on their way home, a division under Tu Hawaiki stopped and raided the remaining Rangitane, small numbers of whom still lived in various parts of the district. One little group in the Avon Valley were attacked and killed, with about twenty being taken away as slaves. Continuing south, the Ngai Tahu decided that they had done enough damage to provoke reprisals from the northern allies. They left a small party of warriors at Omihi to keep a watch for surprise attacks. This precaution was kept in place for many months but none of the enemy came and the lookouts eventually returned to their homes.⁵⁴⁰

In 1838 and 1839, Ngai Tahu travelled north again to do battle with Te Rauparaha but on those occasions, he was not in a position to do battle; Te Rauparaha had fallen out with Ngatiawa, his greatest allies in war.⁵⁴¹

Exactly what Ngai Tahu achieved in the retaliatory raids is debatable. Judge Hingston's 1990 judgement, concerning Ngai Tahu tribal land⁵⁴² boundaries, ruled that the forces raised by Ngai Tahu against the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes secured for them the boundaries that had existed prior to the arrival of the northern allies in the northern South Island. There are issues that arise in respect of the decision, such as the suggestion that the northern allies had no customary usage south of Paraninihi o Whiti. The mere fact that the northern allies were going to Kaparategau to catch birds, was the exercise of rights and rangatiratanga. The battle that took place there was no more than a strategic location for Ngai Tahu to ambush the northern allies.

It is worth pointing out here, that for the last one hundred and seventy years, Ngatiawa people have enjoyed exercising customary rights, south of the Court boundary. This situation has continued, through to present day, without any obstruction from Ngai Tahu.⁵⁴³

7.2 The second group of Ngatiawa to Cross Cook Strait 1834

The next wave of Ngatiawa to cross the Cook Strait occurred after the battle of Haowhenua in 1834. Not everyone went to the South Island. Some went to Whanganui-a-tara ⁵⁴⁴ and

⁵³⁹ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, January 1830, p 21.

⁵⁴⁰ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, Maori History, Marlborough Records, Old Time Warriors, Te Rauparaha's Raids, 10 May 1939, p 10.

See also:

Te Kahu, Taare Wetere, dictated to Parata, Taare, *The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai Tahu) With Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 10, 1901, p 99.

⁵⁴¹ Taylor, W. A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch, 1952, p 22.

⁵⁴² *Personal communications*, James Elkington, 1999. The court decision only related to the land.

⁵⁴³ *Personal communications*, Refer Customary Usage report, 2000.

⁵⁴⁴ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 406.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 24 February 1890, p 311. Evidence of Pikau Te Rangi.

others went to the Chathams. This latter group, consisting of sections of Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama, did not leave until 1835.⁵⁴⁵

Rihari Tahuaroa was among those who went to Queen Charlotte after Haowhenua. We mentioned earlier that, along with others of Puketapu, including Te Manutoheroa, he had settled in the Sounds shortly after the attack upon the Ngai Tahu in 1832. He describes the heke crossing the Straits and going to Arapaoa:

I remember Hauwhenua, this was fought after we returned from Kaiapoi between N. Kawa [Ngati Raukawa]& Taupo & other tribes, against Ngatiawa, N. Mutunga & Ngatitoa - Ngatitoa took part in this – Tungia - Te Hiko - & others took part - I was living at Houwhenua.

Before Houwhenua, I had gone to Arapawa I was living at Tiwapukeruru [Ipapakreru]. News came that N. Raukawa were fighting Ngatiawa & we all came across. I took up arms-...

After Houwhenua some Ngatiawa went to Arapawa. Te Hawe- Ropata Whitikau- & others. Ropata Whitikau took Tuhata to Whekanui with him, I was living at Tipikakerehu [Ipapakreru] about 3 miles from Whekanui.⁵⁴⁶

According to Hera Te Wairingiringi, many hapu of Ngatiawa migrated to the South Island after Haowhenua, although most Ngati Rahiri stayed in the North until after Kuititanga. As for Haowhenua, Wairingiringi described the departure of Ngatiawa to the South Island as a panic situation fuelled by fear of Ngati Raukawa.⁵⁴⁷

However, Hira Maheke suggests that some Ngatiawa remained in the North Island:

After Haowhenua, Huriwhenua and all the people left for Arapawa. All the people of N. Awa. Some remd [sic] on this land.⁵⁴⁸

Ngatiawa seem to have gone south shortly after Haowhenua, travelling in a number of groups at various times. After their arrival, they were quite widely dispersed in the Wairau and throughout the Queen Charlotte and Pelorus Sounds. Some went to the Nelson, Golden Bay, Te Taitapu and the West Coast districts. By this time the northern South Island had been well and truly conquered.

The only people who were able to put up any resistance to the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes were the Ngai Tahu living on the East Coast, south of Akaroa. In retribution for the losses at Kaiapoi and Akaroa, the Ngai Tahu sent a war party north to attack the northern tribes.

⁵⁴⁵ *Otaki minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 324. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Boast, R. Ngati Toa in the Wellington Region, Vol. 1:Text, 1997, p 15.

⁵⁴⁶ *Otaki minute book 11*, 25 March 1890, p 143. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

⁵⁴⁷ *Napier minute book 15*, 27 January 1890, p 45 - 46. Evidence of Hera Te Wairingiringi.

⁵⁴⁸ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 125. Evidence of Hira Maheke.

As stated previously, their success was limited in that they only engaged in battle once, at Kaparatchau.

Ngatiawa were not the only people to move to the South Island. Many of the Kawhia tribes also crossed the Straits. At this point it is appropriate to deal with Ngatiawa settlement of the northern South Island. To do this, we need to return to 1827, the year of the first records of Ngatiawa occupation of the South Island.

Among the first places to be settled in Queen Charlotte Sound were Whekenui and Okukari. Whitikau, one of the leading Ngatiawa chiefs, was the first to take possession of land at Whekenui and put it under cultivation. There must have been a considerable number of new arrivals because eventually Ngatiawa spread themselves throughout the Sounds.⁵⁴⁹

According to Watene Taungatara, Ngatiawa did not just arrive in one heke but continued to arrive for a period after the battle of Haowhenua. Moioio Island, Whekenui, and Watomangu [Whatomango] were pa occupied by Ngatiawa but there were many more. Some have already been mentioned - others will be later.⁵⁵⁰

Quite clearly there was a major redistribution of Ngatiawa as they crossed Cook Strait from the Waikanae district and joined relatives already living in the Sounds.

7.3 Tuku Whenua 1835

Soon after the arrival of Ngatiawa in Queen Charlotte Sound, an allocation or gifting of the land between the Wairau and Rangitoto is supposed to have taken place. Te Rauparaha who considered he owned all the land was responsible for this distribution. However, his view was not shared by Ngatiawa who had already laid claim to the Queen Charlotte and Pelorus Sounds and to land in the Nelson districts. Te Rauparaha made his announcement.

In his apportionment, Ngatiawa were to receive the Queen Charlotte and Pelorus Sounds. Some accounts say that they were given Queen Charlotte only. The gift of Arapaoa to Ngatiawa was in recognition of the fact that Te Manutoheroa saved the life of Te Rauparaha in the Ngai Tahu attack in 1833.⁵⁵¹ Ngati Toa were supposed to have the Wairau and Pelorus,⁵⁵² and, perhaps Tory Channel, depending on which account you consider to be the truth.

⁵⁴⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 107. Evidence of Mere Naera.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 14 March 1889, p 167. Evidence of Retimana Uriwi. Also discusses the name of Waitohi and it being named after Rawiri Puaha's wife, also called Waitohi.

⁵⁵⁰ *Otahi minute book 10*, 24 February 1890, p 320. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁵⁵¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 300. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1889, p 184. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁵⁵² *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1889, p 174. Evidence of Taka Herewine Ngapiko.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 23. Evidence of Alexander MacKay. Additional Information.

Whether there was any truth in the report of Te Rauparaha allocating land is difficult to judge. Karehana of Ngati Toa was living on Kapiti at the time of Kuititanga and says that the Ngatiawa claim to land at Arapaoa was in fact derived through Te Pehi and caused dissention between Te Pehi and Te Rauparaha. However, as the only times at which Te Pehi could have made such a gift were either before he went to England in 1823/1824, or soon after he arrived back in the Cook Strait district some six years later,⁵⁵³ it is difficult to believe that there could be any truth in this claim.

Wakefield made a comment that is relevant to Te Rauparaha's supposed allocation or gifting of land to Ngatiawa. His view was that Te Rauparaha did not really have much choice anyway because Ngatiawa were already firmly settled on the land that he was allocating to them:

Unable to cope with Nyatiawas [sic] whom he was forced to allow to live on the lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, Port Nicholson, and on the main abreast of Kapiti, when they were driven from Taranake [sic], he is occasionally in alliance with them, and more than once has led them into an encounter with their mutual Southern enemies, for the purpose of deserting them with his people in the midst' of the fight; by losses in which manner they have been much thinned...⁵⁵⁴

Rihari Tahuaroa expressed the strong view that Ngati Toa had no claim to the land at Queen Charlotte. He stated, 'We will let them (the Ngatitoas) see that this land is our own and not theirs.'⁵⁵⁵ Disagreements between Ngatiawa and Te Rauparaha culminated in the Battle of Kuititanga. According to Watene Taungatara, this battle finally sorted out who owned what land.⁵⁵⁶

An interesting point that was noted by Wakefield relates to a rumour that was going around at the time about Ngati Toa:

'Various rumours reached me of the opinion of the natives as to the sale and payment. Some said they had sold land which did not belong to them, alluding to the districts occupied by the Ngatiawas...'⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵³ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 115. Evidence of Te Karehana.

⁵⁵⁴ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 113.

⁵⁵⁵ Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299.

⁵⁵⁶ *Napier minute book 15*, 30 January 1890, pp 82 - 83. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 127. Evidence of Hiria Maheke. When Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki in 1848, there was the laying of a boundary for the Kukutauaki block. What is of particular interest is that Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha are to have gone to W King and asked him where the boundaries were. In the end they were referred to Waipunahau. Waipunahau set a boundary and Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha disputed this. Things remained this way for quite some time. Waipunahau belonged to Ngatiawa.

⁵⁵⁷ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 129.

7.4 The arrival of Colonel Wakefield August 1839

By 1839, a number of Ngatiawa pa and kainga had been established throughout Queen Charlotte Sound. Colonel William Wakefield and Ernest Dieffenbach identified some of these when they visited the Sound aboard the brig *Tory* on 19 August 1839.⁵⁵⁸ According to Dieffenbach, they passed two pa sites as they entered the Sound through the Northern Entrance. The first was situated at Point Jackson and the second was at Anahou, otherwise known as Cannibal Cove.⁵⁵⁹ The occupants of these sites were Ngati Hinetuhi (Ngatiawa). There were between eighty and ninety people at Anahou under Ngarewa. There were also some 200 more living 3 hours distant in the *Tory* Channel.⁵⁶⁰

Dieffenbach describes a small settlement of low huts and land under cultivation both in and around Anahou and on the island of Motuara. The people were growing potatoes, cabbages and turnips and they reared pigs. Under the supervision of an Englishman, Arthur Elmslie, they had built a large meeting house. According to Dieffenbach, Elmslie was married to the sister of Ngarewa, the chief, and by 1839 he had been living with Ngati Hinetuhi for about three years.⁵⁶¹ In referring to Motuara Island, Dieffenbach says that, 'The natives have cleared much land there, and other large patches are covered with a species of *ligustrum*. About a half a dozen natives are on the island, and a great number of pigs are running wild, but they have their proprietors in the neighbouring native settlements.'⁵⁶²

Point Jackson and Anahou must have been the principal pa sites of Ngati Hinetuhi, as Dieffenbach also writes about the huts scattered along the coast, strategically located for fishing. They had cultivated the land on the hillsides where the dense bush had been cleared by burning.⁵⁶³ Wakefield also mentions that both Motuara and Long Island showed signs of hastily built fortifications.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁸ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, pp 81 - 83, 103 - 104.

⁵⁵⁹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1860, pp 81 - 82.

⁵⁶⁰ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield 1860, p 13.

⁵⁶¹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1860, p 102.

⁵⁶² *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1860, p 86.

⁵⁶³ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, p 83.

⁵⁶⁴ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, p 9.

See also:

Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, p 55. The pa at Onahou was still occupied in 1843. Also mentions the Maori there being involved in whaling.

While the Tory was anchored at Ship Cove, four canoes arrived from Admiralty Bay (Pelorus Sound). They were on their way to Cloudy Bay to trade pigs and potatoes with the large European population there. They stopped off at the Tory, perhaps hoping for a better deal. Wakefield makes the comment that they appeared less civilised than the people in Queen Charlotte Sound did.⁵⁶⁵

Wakefield claims that there were no Maori pa sites in the Sounds in 1836. As he did not arrive until 1839, his statement implies that someone had made an earlier visit, but so far, no records indicating this have been located. In any case, this assertion is difficult to reconcile with other available evidence. As we know, Ngatiawa were settled in the Sounds by 1832, if not earlier. Following the battle of Haowhenua in 1834 their numbers swelled with the arrival of relatives from the North Island.

Wakefield also says that the Northern Entrance to the Sounds belonged to Te Hiko who had inherited it from Te Pehi, his father.⁵⁶⁶ Te Hiko, although a Ngati Toa chief, was also Ngatiawa, a situation explained in the earlier part of this report. Hohaia Pokaitara refers to Te Hiko as a chief of Ngatiawa,⁵⁶⁷ and Wakefield too acknowledges that Te Hiko had considerable influence with Ngatiawa.⁵⁶⁸

Despite these statements, the land actually belonged to Ngati Hinetuhi under Ngarewa. They were in occupation when Wakefield arrived in the Sounds and there is ample evidence to confirm that they were still there well into the 1850s.⁵⁶⁹ What is terribly lacking is any evidence concerning Te Hiko or Te Pehi living in the Sounds. The only information we have in respect of Te Pehi is that his daughter was buried at Ship Cove.⁵⁷⁰ Other than this, there is no evidence that any settlement in the Sounds belonged to either Te Pehi or Te Hiko. However, although Ngai Tahu killed Te Pehi, in approximately 1829, and Te Hiko never lived in the South Island as far as we know, they may possibly have owned land there. There is a slight possibility that the statement by Karehana of Ngati Toa was right and that Te Pehi did, in fact, gift Arapaoa to Ngatiawa.

A few months before Wakefield's visit, Ngatiawa and Ngati Toa battled over the ownership of Motuara and Long Islands. The result seems to have been inconclusive, even though

⁵⁶⁵ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, p 11.

⁵⁶⁶ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, p 9. Te Pehi had nothing to do with the taking of Queen Charlotte Sound so it is difficult to see how Te Hiko his son could have inherited this part of the Sounds from his father. Te Hiko was however of Ngatiawa descent and this could explain why he was living among Ngatiawa.

⁵⁶⁷ *Otaki minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, p 102.

⁵⁶⁸ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 118.

⁵⁶⁹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, pp 13, 102.

⁵⁷⁰ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1998.

eight Ngatiawa lost their lives. Then, a Maori missionary from the Bay of Islands arrived and persuaded them to put an end to fighting. He preached the Gospel to a very receptive audience of Ngatiawa. One can only speculate what could have happened if he had not arrived, for numbers favoured Ngatiawa. Had they all chosen to join the battle, most likely they would have won. This quarrel over Motuara and Long Islands was a prelude to Kuititanga.⁵⁷¹

Colonel Wakefield described the relationship between Ngatiawa in Queen Charlotte Sound and the Kawhia tribes in Cloudy Bay. It was by no means friendly. Wakefield wrote that:

Those resident in the Sound and Cloudy Bay with the Nyatiawa and Kafia tribes, who have been long in deadly contention with each other, mutually disparage their rivals; and in each place separate bays contain varying interests, and the same beach affords subsistence to individuals, whom no love of gain, nor community of danger, has, for years, been able to unite.⁵⁷²

Ngati Raukawa and Ngatiawa met at the battle of Kuititanga on 16th October 1839. Some Ngati Toa, including Te Rauparaha, were supporters of Ngati Raukawa. Members of Ngati Kimihia hapu, of which Te Rauparaha was a member, were living at the Wairau before the battle. Wakefield's description alerts us to the continuing bitter hostility between the tribes. Clearly the situation had never stabilised after the battle of Haowhenua.

Arthur Elmslie was one of the early whalers operating at Te Awaiti at the time of the Tory's arrival. When Colonel Wakefield visited the Sounds, Elmslie was at Te Awaiti. He heard from Maori that the Tory was anchored at Ship Cove, but at first he paid no attention, believing that they were telling lies. It was not until one of Wakefield's men arrived at Te Awaiti that he realised that he had been told the truth. The newcomer had walked over the hill after crossing from the western side of the Sounds in a boat. Elmslie was quite excited about his visitor and invited him to his home where he spent the night. The following morning the two of them set off on the twenty-five mile journey around to Ship Cove, to join Colonel Wakefield.

Elmslie spent that night aboard the Tory, entertained by Colonel Wakefield. He told the Colonel about the whaling settlement at Te Awaiti and agreed to accompany him there the following morning.

On 31 August, Wakefield pulled anchor and headed the Tory to Te Awaiti located in Tory Channel or Kura Te Au, named after the legendary Te Wheke o Muturangi, who was killed at the southern end of the Channel. As they passed down the Channel he noted an island

⁵⁷¹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, pp 9 - 10, 102.

⁵⁷² *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 29.

situated about midway. Here Ngatiawa had a pa called Moioio, while on the adjacent mainland they had another, Kaihinu.⁵⁷³

Moioio Island was once the pa of Purahonui of Ngati Kuri, but the Ngati Kuri abandoned it after an attack by Ngai Tara, prior to the arrival of Ngatiawa.⁵⁷⁴ After the southern conquest around 1829, Moioio and Kaihinu were taken over by Ngati Rahiri under their chief Huriwhenua. Dieffenbach says that there were about forty Maori at Kaihinu and that he recognised them as the people who had supplied them with fish at Ship Cove. They supplied the Tory with fish, again when it arrived at Te Awaiti a short time later.⁵⁷⁵ In 1849 Kaihinu was still occupied by Ngati Rahiri, although some of their number moved to Motueka in the early part of 1844, where they lived with their Ngati Rarua and Ngatiawa relatives.⁵⁷⁶ Huriwhenua is buried on Moioio Island and there are urupa on Kaihinu.

Dieffenbach tells us that he visited two other places while the Tory was in the southern end of the Channel but he does not tell us a great deal about the people. The two places, although not specified by Dieffenbach, are Hitaua and a settlement called Toko Karoro, situated on the eastern side of Kura Te Au. William Keenan (II) and his Maori family were living at Hitaua and Maraitai at this time. William Keenan (II) is buried at the urupa at the head of Hitaua Bay.⁵⁷⁷ Dieffenbach described the area of Tory Channel and everywhere along Queen Charlotte Sound:

On these beaches, which are the only accessible portions of the shore, the native huts are commonly located, for the convenience of fishing; their cultivation, however, is for the most part on the sides and in the ravines of the hills, in spots cleared by burning wood, by which they are universally clothed.

Reference above is from ‘*Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company’s Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 83.

⁵⁷³ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company’s Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 22.

⁵⁷⁴ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 40 - 41.

⁵⁷⁵ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company’s Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1860, p 103.

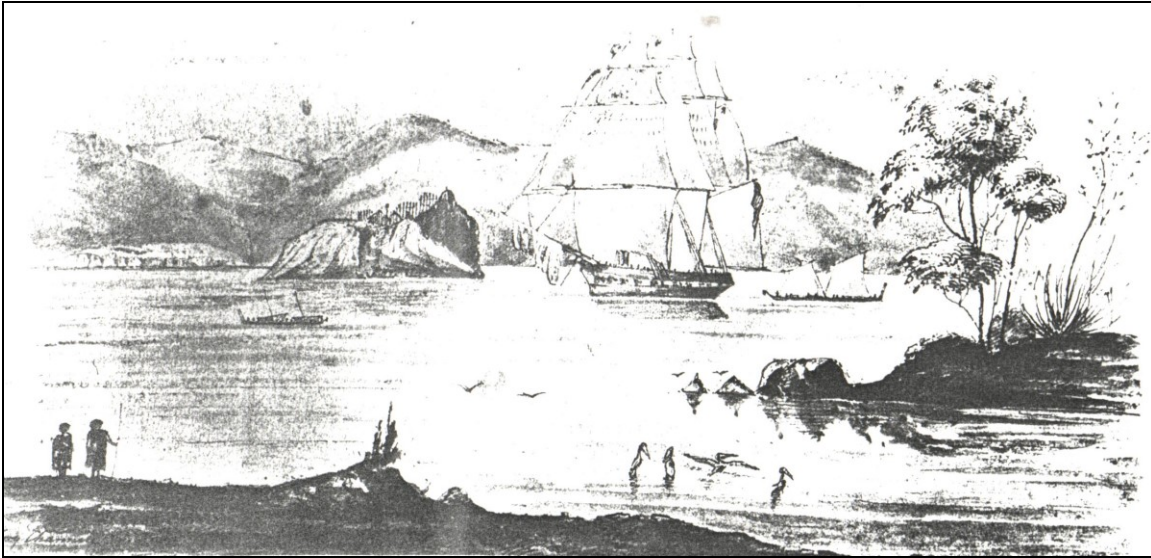
⁵⁷⁶ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 3 March 1844. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, p 9.

⁵⁷⁷ *Personal communications*, Laura Bowdler, Jan 2000.

See also:

Brunner’s Field Book, 1855.

*Figure 6. Moioio Island c1840*⁵⁷⁸



Continuing down the Channel, the Tory finally reached Te Awaiti where the crew dropped anchor. Here they found a number of Ngatiawa people who were involved in the whaling operation. Fifteen boats operated out of Te Awaiti alone. Dieffenbach wrote that:

In Te-Awaiti are three whaling establishments. The proprietors have a number of boats in their service, manned with white people and natives. Sometimes the minor settlers have boats of their own, and sell their oil to the former. These give a certain sum either for the whale, or for every tun [sic] of oil, and derive large profits from the practice of paying their more poor associates with necessaries of life, and articles of luxury, such as tobacco, spirits, clothes, powder & c., which the latter are obliged to take from them... From Te-awaiti fifteen to twenty boats run out every morning; the boat-steerer is generally an European, a large portion of the crew are natives as skilful as Europeans...⁵⁷⁹

Most of the natives are employed by the white men. They either have houses of their own or are accommodated in those of the whites; they work as hard as any white man, pull an oar and kill a whale as good as they do all services, and are paid for them. The white people do not impose upon them; being all relations, they have a common interest. The native women are well treated by their white husbands and are dressed in a mixture of European clothes and native mats; they are fond of their children, and are anxious to have them educated. The natives plant potatoes and rear

⁵⁷⁸ Sketch, ATL. Ref:255RNK Y1. Water Colour by Captain Robert Maish Wascott. Sketched by G.F. Swainson.

⁵⁷⁹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1860, p 96.

pigs, with the sale of which they procure European necessities and luxuries. Where there are native missionaries, they are much attended to...⁵⁸⁰

Colonel Wakefield estimated that there were about two hundred Ngatiawa at Te Awaiti upon his visit,⁵⁸¹ although Dieffenbach says that there was only about one hundred and twenty people altogether, forty of whom were Europeans.⁵⁸² Europeans residing at Te Awaiti at the time of Colonel Wakefield's visit included James Heberley, John Molroy and Philip Himes.⁵⁸³

The following day, Wakefield rowed a couple of miles north from Te Awaiti toward the Tory Channel entrance leading into Cook Strait. He noticed a number of people living in a valley⁵⁸⁴ that was probably Whekenui or Okukari. Dieffenbach says that there were two settlements, each with a population of about one hundred and fifty. Well-fenced gardens contained potatoes and taro and he could see a large number of pigs. As far as he could observe, the communities appeared to be well off. He mentions the two places above, adding that that they were both occupied by Ngatiawa.⁵⁸⁵

On 20th September the Tory weighed anchor and headed for Port Nicholson with Wakefield intent on buying land from Ngatiawa.⁵⁸⁶

7.5 East Bay

Wakefield was not gone for long. He returned to carry out an inspection of the East Bay area, and to execute the first of the Land Purchases with the Ngatiawa residing at Queen Charlotte Sound.⁵⁸⁷ Wakefield says in his writings:

I found many delightful bays eligible for small settlements. A considerable space of open flat land, of excellent quality, with a gradual slope up the hill sides, spreads

⁵⁸⁰ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, p 104.

⁵⁸¹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, p 13.

⁵⁸² *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1860, p 103.

⁵⁸³ *Brunner's Field Book*, 1855.

⁵⁸⁴ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, pp 23 - 24.

⁵⁸⁵ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Dieffenbach, 1839, p 104.

⁵⁸⁶ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, pp 40 - 42.

⁵⁸⁷ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, pp 136, 137.

itself out at the bottom of these bays, in which is a safe anchorage in all weathers. Large-potato grounds and plots of wheat, and tarra, a sort of yam, are cultivated in these places. The native settlements are very small, and the few residents enjoy great abundance. The water literally swarms with fish.⁵⁸⁸

The people to whom Wakefield referred were probably the Puketapu and Ngati Hinetuhi. Rihari Tahuaroa, who was living in Ngakuta in the 1880s and 90s, mentions that the Puketapu lived at Mokopeke and cultivated the land there, as they did in other parts of East Bay and the Northern Entrance.⁵⁸⁹ Kereopa Pura, of Ngati Apa, mentions that his people lived at Otanerau and Anahou, but, as he says, they were never on an equal footing. They were vassals to their Ngati Hinetuhi captors.⁵⁹⁰

Some time during the 1850s, Ngati Te Whiti settled Mokopeke and other parts of East Bay. Originally they lived at Te Awaiti under their Chief Tanerau (Hone).⁵⁹¹ When Tanerau left Te Awaiti, originally he intended to move to Te Tai Tapu to stay with Henare Te Keha and other relatives but this did not happen. Instead Tanerau went to East Bay.⁵⁹² It could have been because the sister of Merenui was residing at East Bay. Her name was Hoeta Te Rawhi.⁵⁹³

Tanerau had four sons who lived at East Bay. Taniora was the eldest and possessed the mana of his father in law, Wi Tako, the famous chief who led many of his people south in Te Heke Tamateuaua. Wi Tako came south in the company of some very important chiefs, including Te Puni and Te Wharepouri. These three chiefs settled at Whanganui-a-tara.⁵⁹⁴

When Wi Tako was on his deathbed, it was arranged that Taniora would be there to receive his mana under a rite, which was called Whaka ha. With the last breath of Wi Tako his mana passed to Taniora who became intensely tapu. In later years, Taniora had his tapu removed because of its effects on other people.⁵⁹⁵

The descendants of Taniora, and indeed John Agar Love and Merenui Te Hikanui, still live in the Sounds area at Anatoia, Waikawa and Picton. As a point of interest, the island adjacent to Anatoia is an urupa. James Kura Te Au Keenan, who was born in 1914 and is a direct descendant of William Keenan, spent much of his life growing up in the Sounds at a

⁵⁸⁸ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, p 139.

⁵⁸⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, p 137. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

See also:

Personal communications, George Martin, 1997.

⁵⁹⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 118. Evidence of Kereopa Pura. Also says that N Apa lost their rights through the conquest of N Toa. They were saved by that hapu (implies N Toa) and allowed to live on the land.

⁵⁹¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, p 137. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

⁵⁹² *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, p 137. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

⁵⁹³ *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, p 131. Taniora Love. Whakapapa showing relationship between Hoeta Te Rawhi and Merenui.

⁵⁹⁴ *Personal communications*, Chris Love, 1999.

See also:

Wi Tako, Te Puni, Te Wharepouri and John Agar Love are all represented in Te Whare o Arapaoa.

⁵⁹⁵ Elvy, W.J., *Kei Puta Te Wairau A History of Marlborough in Maori Times*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957, pp 96 - 98.

place called Tamarewa. In writing his family history he made a brief mention of having witnessed one of the burials taking place on the island:

I have seen when I was a boy, watching my grandfather and his children, burying our tupuna on the Island in Queen Charlotte Sound. Seeing them as they carried the caskets up the face of the island, by strapping the casket to a long pole and up the cliff face they went, the launches that carried the funeral down the sounds, stand off the island, a site [sight] that very few people can say they have seen.... Other burial places in the sound were similar ways which were two or three places that I know of, these are very sacred to me.⁵⁹⁶

At Anatoia there is a low saddle that goes over the hill into the northern entrance of the Sound. According to Kaumatua Enoka Love, in the old days the people used to take their waka over the hill to save having to bring them right around when travelling into East Bay.⁵⁹⁷

There are other traditions attached to the early history of Ngatiawa at East Bay. According to Puketapu tradition, an old Ngatiawa lady used to live on the hill above Mokoheke. She had her own crops, one of which was Maori potato brought from Taranaki. A great number of these delicacies can still be found today, growing wild in the hills surrounding East Bay and Cook Strait. At the top of the hill there was a look out point where messages could be sent across the Straits by lighting a fire. There is a clear view of the Straits from this point.

Another story that is associated with East Bay relates to a place on the Cook Strait side of the hill called the Hura. Most of the coastline in this area is cliff face with only very small pockets that could be used for shelter. Often when waka crossed the Strait from the North Island, the crews had to wait for the seas to calm before they could round Cape Koamaru. While they were waiting they would go to the Hura and haul their waka ashore. To protect them from the crashing seas they stood them on end and sheltered them, always between the same special rocks.⁵⁹⁸ According to James Keenan:⁵⁹⁹

...a Chief Hura died in the 1840s and was buried in the Tamarewa area, this is why the cliffs of the Arapawa Island, facing into Cook Straits are called the 'Hura.'

There is a story also associated with the islands called Nga Whatu, the eyeballs of Te Wheke o Maturangi. In the early times when people were travelling past Nga Whatu for the first time, they had to be blindfolded because of the tapu of the islands. If any new travellers were to look at the islands, the seas would become rough and all would be sure to drown.⁶⁰⁰

In writing of the history of the Watson family, Timoti Watson stated:

⁵⁹⁶ Keenan, James Henare Kura Te Au, *Keenan Family History*. Manuscript written c1984, p 20.

⁵⁹⁷ *Personal communications*, Enoka Love, 1996. From a site visit.

⁵⁹⁸ *Personal communications*, George Martin, 1997.

⁵⁹⁹ Keenan, James Henare Kura Te Au, *Keenan Family History*. Manuscript written c1984, p 11.

⁶⁰⁰ *Personal communications*, George Martin, 1997.

According to Maori legend, strangers crossing from the North Island to Oamaru had to be blindfolded so that they would not see the Brothers Islets (Ngawhatu) 'pupils of the eye'. On the arrival at Oamaru, the blindfolded stranger was led to a cave and the chief or leader of the party would give a 'karakia' or incantation to remove the 'tapu' so that calamity would not overtake the stranger; the blindfold was then removed.⁶⁰¹

The traditions associated with Te Wheke and the legendary ancestor Kupe are depicted in the carvings of the Wharenuī at Waikawa Marae. It was Kupe who named many places in Queen Charlotte Sound. The footprints of Kupe are preserved in stone to this day, at a place situated in Port Gore.⁶⁰²

Another place that deserves a mention is Onamaru, at the northern entrance of the Sound. When the waka crossed the Strait, heading for East Bay, the crews often left their canoes there. Essentially it was a waka-landing place. The men dragged their canoes ashore and then followed a track over the hill into East Bay. There were houses at this particular place and evidence of their existence is still present today. Further down the coastline there was another settlement called Te Kakahu.⁶⁰³ A short distance offshore is the island of Motungarara. Like most other islands in the Sounds, it was a favourite place for collecting titi.⁶⁰⁴ James Keenan says that:⁶⁰⁵

Mutton birds were caught off the Ngarara Island in the Northern Entrance, of Queen Charlotte Sounds, wild pigeon or Kuku as the bird was called. Fish which were plentiful, wild pigs and young nanny goats, greens that they had was puha, the inside of the Nikau tree, gea gea and Karaka berries...

According to evidence, the Puketapu and Ngati Rahiri originally occupied the area around Te Kakahu and Cabbage Beach.⁶⁰⁶

7.6 Kuititanga 16th October 1839

Between the Battle of Kuititanga in October 1839 and the close of 1839, there was another big increase in the number of Ngatiawa occupying Queen Charlotte Sound. Within a few years of their settling about the northern Cook Strait shores, relations between the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes started to deteriorate. The Battle of Haowhenua was the first major internal disruption. By the end of 1839, this peace had been disrupted once again. Again, as at

⁶⁰¹ Watson, Timoti, Manuscript, *The Watson Family*, 9 June 1954.

⁶⁰² *Personal communications*, Tom Smith, 1978.

⁶⁰³ *Personal communications*, Tom Smith, 1978.

⁶⁰⁴ *Nelson minute book 11*, 4 February 1949, pp 79 - 81. Motungarara Island. Te Atiawa attempted to argue ownership rights with the Crown in respect of Motungarara Island. The Crown would not hear any such arguments but preferred to hear arguments in respect of user rights. In the end the Crown established Maori Trustees for the Island, for the purpose of managing customary usage upon the Island. Additional information: Original trustees were Tim Watson, Riwai Keenan and William Watson.

⁶⁰⁵ Keenan, James Henare Kura Te Au, *Keenan Family History*. Manuscript written c1984, p 20.

⁶⁰⁶ MacKay, *A Compendium Of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299. Interpreter's report of information obtained during a visit to Kaiaua, Pelorus, Kaituna, Wairau and Queen Charlotte Sound, &c., 1854-1855.

Haowhenua, it was principally Ngatiawa and Ngati Raukawa who fought. Despite the battle of Kuititanga taking place in the North Island, Ngatiawa residing in the South Island were still very much involved.

Hohaia Pokaitara had been living in the South Island and at the time of Kuititanga taking place, had crossed the Straits with his parents. Pokaitara was on Kapiti Island when the battle was fought.⁶⁰⁷ Pokaitara says, 'Kuhititanga was between N Raukawa led by Rauparaha against Ngatiawa & Ngatitaoa.'⁶⁰⁸ The interesting thing here is Te Rauparaha's involvement. We have on more than one occasion in this report, referred to the declining relations between the northern tribes, and particularly relations between Te Rauparaha and Ngatiawa.

According to Wakefield, Te Rauparaha supported Ngati Raukawa at Kuititanga and in fact encouraged them to attack Ngatiawa. He had apparently urged them on, promising to supply them with two canoes of ammunition.⁶⁰⁹ Pokaitara, in referring to Ngati Raukawa says that, 'Rauparaha went actually & led his people at the fight...'⁶¹⁰ It would appear though, that Te Rauparaha moved more behind the scenes. In response to a question concerning Te Rauparaha's part in the affairs at Kuititanga, Pokaitara responded by saying Te Rauparaha had weapons at the fight. 'His mouth was his weapon...'⁶¹¹ Pokaitara also says, 'He incited his people (he was not actually in the fight).'⁶¹² Te Rauparaha wished that Ngatiawa, including their Ngati Toa supporters, were all killed. As we discuss shortly, Te Rangihiroa, Te Hiko and others of the Kawhia tribes, gave support to their Ngatiawa relations.⁶¹³

Wakefield talks about why the fight took place and says that it was related to the way in which Ngatiawa had been treating Te Rauparaha's sister, Waitohi. She had died a few days prior to Kuititanga; there was also an issue concerning Ngati Raukawa killing some sheep at Mana:

The quarrel, which is of long standing, was brought to a crisis by the former having killed some sheep at Mana during the late crying-feast, which the latter had tried to protect...⁶¹⁴

As with the case of Haowhenua, this act was probably the catalyst for the fighting, rather than the actual cause. The real issue, as with Haowhenua, was more likely to have been

⁶⁰⁷ *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, p 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶⁰⁸ *Otaki minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, p 103. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara. Of Ngati Toa and N Awa. Originally from Kawhia.

⁶⁰⁹ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 119.

⁶¹⁰ *Otaki minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, p 103. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶¹¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, p 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶¹² *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, p 105. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶¹³ *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, p 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶¹⁴ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, p 115.

competing interests in the land and resources situated on the Kapiti Coast, in the Queen Charlotte Sound and other parts of the Northern South Island.⁶¹⁵ Hori Kokako certainly gives this as one of his reasons for the fighting:

...N. Tama took away his sister Waitohi and robbed her and ill treated her and she died. He [Rauparaha] was angry & incited N. Raukawa to fight N. Awa. That was one cause & another was that N. Awa had occupied the whole of the land...⁶¹⁶

Kokako was also recorded elsewhere as saying Te Rauparaha had something to do with Kuititanga, owing to Ngati Tama taking away his sister Waitohi. They had apparently robbed and ill-treated her.⁶¹⁷

Karehana of Ngati Toa did not take part in Kuititanga, but was living on Kapiti Island at the time. Karehana explains that there were jealousies between Te Rauparaha and Ngatiawa, owing to Te Pehi giving them the land at Waikanae and Arapaoa.

Rauparaha was jealous of Te Pehi because Te Pehi had taken Waikanae & Arapawa possessions for his tribe N. Awa; that was the cause of the jealousy - Then Rauparaha spoke to his tribe N. Raukawa to come secretly & kill Te Pehi. This was not announced publicly. They came secretly to do it.⁶¹⁸

Wakefield says that Te Rauparaha had been unable to cope with Ngatiawa and had been forced to allow them to live in Queen Charlotte Sound, Whanganui-a-tara and about the Kapiti Coast. He didn't like this and had for some time been trying to thin the number of Ngatiawa. Occasionally, while in alliance with Ngatiawa, Te Rauparaha would lead them against the southern enemies for the purpose of deserting them in the midst of war.⁶¹⁹ Kuititanga appears to be yet another occasion in which Te Rauparaha attempted to decimate the number of Ngatiawa and this time he would again use Ngati Raukawa. He did not, however, anticipate their defeat.

According to Wi Parata, those who had been living at Waikanae when the battle took place included Ngati Rahiri, Kaitangata, Ngati Hinetuhi and Ngati Kura (the largest hapu).⁶²⁰ Piripi Taua of Puketapu says that they had warning of Ngati Raukawa's intentions of making an attack:

⁶¹⁵ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1860, p 113.

⁶¹⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 8 March 1890, p 458. Evidence of Hori Kokako.

⁶¹⁷ *Wellington minute book 16A*, 8 March 1890, p 51. Evidence of Hori Kokako.

⁶¹⁸ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 115. Evidence of Te Karehana.

⁶¹⁹ *Supplementary Information relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's officers of the First Expedition, and the First report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, p 113.

⁶²⁰ *Otaki minute book 10*, 7 February 1890, p 165. Evidence of Wi Parata. Says the majority of N Awa were at Arapaoa.

... Tamatoa went to look for timber for his house, he saw the beach black with men- He came to Kuititanga & told us the Ngatiraukawa were coming & we were on our guard to receive the enemy.

There was also a small pa at Kukutauaki. Some N. Rahiri were here –

we waited for them for three days, & we ceased to believe Tamatoa. On the third night we were attacked....⁶²¹

Pokaitara says that while he was on Kapiti Island, he and his people received word of the pending attack. The message had been received from Kutia who was a wife of Te Rauparaha:

Kutia came to tell us of the attack about the time the morning star was rising. N. Toa. were all asleep. She said the N. Awa are being attacked. (Ka hinga a N. Awa). She knew this having heard from her husband Rauparaha that an attack would be made. She had not heard the noise of the fight. The fight had not commenced. It was from what she knew from her husband that an attack would be made and it was made soon after. As soon as they heard this they sent messengers to Waiorua to Whariki & other places. on Kapiti to assemble and go to the assistance of N. Awa.
⁶²²

Pokaitara was also aware that Te Hiko had taken word to Ngatiawa concerning the pending attack:

...they were well aware of it... Ngati Toa did warn Ngatiawa of it. Te Hiko warned them. Went to Waikanae to do so. N. Awa were aware they would be attacked. They took precautions but not sufficient. They guarded themselves carefully for a long time.⁶²³

There were a number of Ngatiawa from Queen Charlotte Sound who assisted their Waikanae relations against Raukawa. Karewa Taranui, of Ngati Tuaho, says that many canoes travelled across from the South Island, and so during the two nights previous to the attack taking place, messengers must have been sent out to obtain assistance. Taranui says:

I was old enough to know people at time of Kuititanga. Everybody came across from Arapawa, men women & children, nobody remained behind big or little. They all came in canoes all started together, there might be thirty or forty canoes, they crossed over in a day. We landed at Waikanae, a number of days had elapsed since fight before we landed. Ropata Te Hawe, Wi te Puke Tamati Kohiroaroa - Te Tupe, Toheroa, Te Marai...⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ *Otaki minute book 11*, 10 April 1890, pp 284 - 285. Evidence of Piripi Taua.

⁶²² *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, p 112. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶²³ *Napier minute book 15*, 1 February 1890, pp 111 - 112.

⁶²⁴ *Otaki minute book 11*, 26 March 1890, p 161. Evidence of Karewa Taranui.

On the 31 October, Colonel Wakefield was at Queen Charlotte Sound, and had anchored at Grass Cove (Wharehunga Bay), which is situated on the western side of the hill separating Tory Channel and the Northern Entrance of Queen Charlotte. From here, they went ashore and proceeded over the hill to Okukari where some 200 Ngatiawa warriors were found in a state of alarm, preparing themselves to cross Cook Strait for battle. They had obtained word of the attack on their relations at Kuititanga and were intent on joining in the fighting.⁶²⁵ According to Hadfield, their number was in fact much higher than the 200 mentioned by Wakefield:

I was at Waikanae in 1839 – The Ngatiawa were living there then. There were about 600 fighting men lived in the pa at that time... They expected further hostilities & 400 men came from Arapawa to support them...⁶²⁶

Elsdon Best recorded the following Kupu Whakaari, which was said to have been recited by Te Kukurangi for the benefit of Atiawa, prior to the battle of Kuititanga. Te Kukurangi was a seer or oracle of his times and was apparently approached about what the outcome would be if the Ngatiawa engaged in war:⁶²⁷

Nga whenua ka tere mai nei
Nga moana ka tere mai nei
Nau mai! kia kite koe
I nga tai whakatu o Kupe -
I nga tai pakipaki

The lands that are hastening hither,
The seas that are fast approaching,
Welcome! For ye shall see
The towering seas of Kupe
The dashing waves of the sea.

Hoenga waka o Horopara tai; ara!
A Tu-riri, a Tu-nguha, a Tu mai-
Kirikiri
A takoto mai nei na, e, e, a!
A. ko tena ka tuai, tuaia!
Tuaia rawatia te uri o te tangata,
Kei hoki Tu ki tona whenua: aia, a!

Behold!
Tu the angry, Tu the raging, Tu-mai
Kirikiri
That there lies in view! E! E! A!
A! These shall be killed! Killed!
Utterly exterminated the sons of men
Before Tu returns to his own land
Drive on!

A! Ko tena, ka tuaia, ka tuaia!

A! And then be killed, killed!

An account of the fighting appeared in the 'Historical records of New Zealand South.' It would appear that Ngati Raukawa felt quite confident of a successful attack, but as we alluded to earlier, this was not what actually eventuated:

On October 16 the Notorowkow [Ngati Raukawa] attacked the Nottyarber [Ngati Awa tribe at 3 a.m., while asleep in their huts. The alarm being given, the

⁶²⁵ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 137.

⁶²⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 28 February 1890, pp 377 - 378. Evidence of Bishop Hadfield.

⁶²⁷ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 555.

Nottyarber tribe immediately rose, and a dreadful conflict ensued, which lasted till 9 a.m. About 150 of the Notorwkow were killed, and nearly twice that number wounded, while on the other side scarcely one-fourth were hurt. So confident were the Notorowkows of success that they even brought ropes to bind their captives, as also accompanied by their women and children to enjoy the feast upon the slain after the contemplated victory. The Nottyarbers were as forbearing after their victory as they proved themselves courageous in the battle.⁶²⁸

In an account of these affairs given by Flemming, fifty-five of Ngati Raukawa were captured at Kuititanga and dispatched by the patu of Te Manutoheroa of Puketapu. We mentioned earlier that Te Manutoheroa had been living in Queen Charlotte Sound. In reference to their nighttime surprise he said to them, 'If you had come as men I would have spared you; but you are murderers and must die.'⁶²⁹

Wakefield also records an account of Kuititanga. There were losses on both sides but the greater number lay with Ngati Raukawa:

We arrived just at the close of a smart engagement which had taken place on the main about two miles distant, and in sight of our anchorage, between the Ngatirowas (Ngati Raukawa), and Ngatiawas. The former mustered in great force from all parts of the coast I mentioned yesterday, and stealing into the pah, or fortified village of the latter in the night, killed some of them as they left their huts at daylight. In the course of the morning, the fighting was carried on on the beach, and ended with Ngatirowas (Ngati Raukawa) being defeated, with a loss of forty-five left dead on the shore, whilst the enemy had but fourteen killed.... Raupero (Rauparaha) with his usual caution, had kept himself out of harm's way, but had gone over late in the conquest, as he told us afterwards, of making peace, but as people here say, with that of encouraging his allies... It appeared that he had landed on the main, but finding his party defeated, and unwilling to trust himself with their opponents, had returned to Kapiti.⁶³⁰

Bishop Hadfield arrived at Kuititanga shortly after the battle. According to his version of events, Kuititanga was fought at daybreak and was over in about an hour. Soon after the fighting more of Ngatiawa arrived, bringing their total number of warriors to around 1000 strong.⁶³¹

I was at Waikanae in 1839 – the Ngatiawa were living there then. There were about 600 fighting men lived in the pa at that time. What I mentioned took place at the war referred to Kuhititanga. I heard every detail about the Kuhititanga fight-

⁶²⁸ McNab, R. *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. II, Government Print, Wellington, 1914, p 14.

⁶²⁹ Flemming, M.A. MS 1551, Folder 1, 1973, p 1.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*: Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I, Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, 1910, p 556.

⁶³⁰ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, pp 115 - 116.

⁶³¹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 28 February 1890, pp 377 - 378. Evidence of Bishop Hadfield.

I was five years living at Waikanae as my head quarters. Only Ngatiawa resided there while I was there, that is including Puketapu & I knew exactly what the Ngatiawa limits were on North & South.

Kukutauaki to the North & a little to the South of Te Urui-

Only the Ngatiawa opposed the Ngatiraukawa at Kuhititanga, it was fought at daybreak & over in about an hour.

Mr Williams was with me when I reached Waikanae.

They were in a state of hostility with their neighbours. Ngatiraukawa.

They expected further hostilities & 400 men came from Arapawa to support them-

No other people came from other tribes to support them that I am aware of-

The Ngatitoa were scattered on both side the Straits- but there were none to the North of Urui-

Te Rauparaha- Rangihiroa Rangihaeata & some Ngatitoa & Ngatiawa living at Kapiti at this time-

I should have said Kapiti belonged to Ngatitoa-

The land between Kukutauaki & Urui was unquestionably Ngatiawa-

Reretawhanga & W Kings Son were the leading men-

There was no one above W King certainly not-

There was about 600 fighting men of Ngatiawa- There were as near as possible 1000 men including those who came from across the Straits. Mr Williams & I counted them.

About 200 Ngatitoas-

Rangihiroa was alive then. Te Hiko was also alive.

The authority of Rangihiroa & Te Hiko would not be recognised at Waikanae. I never recollect seeing either Te Hiko or Rangihiroa there.

I am quite certain Te Hiko was not Kuhititanga.

I should know if any Ngatitoa had been at Kuhititanga fight. I was there & heard names of all killed & wounded...

Ngatitoas could not have asserted any right to a voice in sale of Waikanae...

It is obvious from Hadfield's latter comments, that the battle of Kuititanga had settled the question of land ownership, especially at Waikanae.⁶³²

It is said that on the occasion of Kuititanga, Ngatiawa tried to kill Te Rauparaha but he was saved by some of Ngati Raukawa who defended him while he ran for his canoe.⁶³³ Te Rauparaha must have escaped to Kapiti as according to Pokaitara, he went and spoke to Te Rangihiroa and Te Pehi about them making peace with Ngatiawa. Pokaitara says that Te Rauparaha:

... came to Rangihiroa & Te Hiko to tell them to go & rub noses with their people Rangihiroa said to Rauparaha go & rub noses with your own tribe because Rangihiroa knew N kawa would be defeated - Rauparaha & Puhi came to Waikanae & when they came there N Raukawa were defeated...⁶³⁴

This was the same situation with Karehana who also discussed the above matters.⁶³⁵

Pokaitara mentions that after the first fight, the Ngatiawa war party were later on sent out to pursue Ngati Raukawa, but there was no fighting as Pokaitara explains:

2 of our chiefs came, Mohi te Hua Paua Waka te Kotua. N Rawa fled Paue saw a lot of dead were laying in a bad position & Ngatiawa wished to go on in pursuit of Raukaw. Paue said no, don't let us go we shall be defeated...⁶³⁶

Despite Ngatiawa deciding they should not continue with the fighting, Te Rauparaha, according to Wakefield, still had in mind to stir things up:

Raupero (Rauparaha) with his usual caution, had kept himself out of harm's way, but had gone over late in the conquest, with a view, as he told us afterwards, of making peace, but as people here say, with that of encouraging his allies.⁶³⁷

The fighting at Kuititanga had by now ceased but Ngatiawa were still arriving at the scene of the battle. They had come from all parts of the country and included those who had settled in the Northern South Island. They assembled from all quarters, expecting that the war would continue. There were 200 more who came across from Arapaoa in the south and

⁶³² *Otaki minute book 10*, 28 February 1890, pp 377 - 379. Evidence of Bishop Hadfield.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 127. Evidence of Hiria Maheke. When Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki in 1848, there was the laying of a boundary for the Kukutauaki block. What is of particular interest is that Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha are to have gone to W King and asked him where the boundaries were. In the end they were referred to Waipunahau. Waipunahau set a boundary and Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha disputed this. Things remained this way for quite some time. Waipunahau belonged to Ngatiawa.

⁶³³ *The Nelson Examiner*, and *New Zealand Chronicle*, Rauparaha, 7 June 1845.

⁶³⁴ *Otaki minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, p 103. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶³⁵ *Napier minute book 15*, 3 February 1890, p 116. Evidence of Karehana.

⁶³⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 1 February 1890, pp 103 - 104. Evidence of Hohaia Pokaitara.

⁶³⁷ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 115.

Te Wharepouri had his people from Whanganui-a-tara.⁶³⁸ According to Taungatara, who was living in Queen Charlotte Sound at the time of Kuititanga:

...Tatauri came over in a canoe, he started on a Saturday & said N. Raukawa & N. Awa had fought – Uriwhenua [Huriwhenua] there desired us to prepare canoes, We did so & came to see the battle field. Otarawa had three canoes & N. Rahiri four.⁶³⁹ We came to Waikanae & the N. Rahiri from Port Nicholson had come there - that was how we knew when we came to Waikanae. We arrived same time as Hadfield & H Williams did & they made peace with the N. Raukawa. that was the work of H. & W. & then the N. Raukawa came to lament over their dead. & then went back again.⁶⁴⁰

A great many Ngatiawa also came from the Nelson Bays⁶⁴¹ and as far away as Whanganui on the West Coast.⁶⁴² Wakefield says that Ngatiawa were quite capable of raising 1400 fighting men, not to mention those of the Whanganui tribe who were at this time allied to Ngatiawa. They could easily have mustered another 200.⁶⁴³ As was mentioned by Hadfield, there were at least 1000 fighting men of Ngatiawa, including those who arrived later.⁶⁴⁴

So this was the last major show of arms for Ngatiawa and they were obviously too big for Ngati Raukawa or Te Rauparaha to take on. Te Rauparaha had well and truly fallen out with Ngatiawa.⁶⁴⁵ If Te Rauparaha ever had any form of control over Ngatiawa, then that came to an end with Kuititanga. Ngatiawa had fought for what they considered theirs and it did not matter what Te Rauparaha had to say. According to Watene Taungatara, the battle of Kuititanga settled the question of the land.⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁸ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 122.

See also:

Otaki minute book 11, 25 March 1890, p 143. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

Otaki minute book 11, 25 March 1890, 26 March 1890, p 153. Evidence of Karewa Taranui. The word of Kuititanga was taken to both Arapawa and Taitapu.

⁶³⁹ *Napier minute book 15*, 21 January 1890, pp 13 - 14. Evidence of Watene Taungatara. Taungatara says that Ngati Rahiri and Otaraua always stayed together. He says they were a war-like people and assisted each other in battle. '...they intermarried, and being always together came over together...'

⁶⁴⁰ *Napier minute book 15*, 21 January 1890, p 13. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

⁶⁴¹ *Otaki minute book 11*, 2 April 1890, p 235. Evidence of Tamihana Te Karu. Te Kohiua and a number of others went to Haowhenua from Taitapu.

⁶⁴² *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield, 1839, p 146.

See also:

Otaki minute book 11, 25 March 1890, p 143. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

Otaki minute book 11, 26 March 1890, p 153. Evidence of Karewa Taranui. The word of Kuititanga was taken to both Arapawa and Taitapu.

⁶⁴³ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, pp 144, 146.

⁶⁴⁴ *Otaki minute book 10*, 28 February 1890, pp 377 - 378. Evidence of Octavius Hadfield.

⁶⁴⁵ Taylor, W. A. *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Bascands, Christchurch., 1952, p 22.

⁶⁴⁶ *Napier minute book 15*, 30 January 1890, pp 82 - 83. Evidence of Watene Taungatara.

See also:

Napier minute book 15, 3 February 1890, p 127. Evidence of Hiria Maheke. When Ngatiawa returned to Taranaki in 1848, there was the laying of a boundary for the Kukutauaki block. What is of particular interest is that Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha are to have gone to W King and asked him where the boundaries were. In the end they were referred to Waipunahau. Waipunahau set a boundary and Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha disputed this. Things remained this way for quite some time. Waipunahau belonged to Ngatiawa.

Hadfield says that the effects of the conflict at Kuititanga did not fester in the people and that by 1840 peace had been made. In a letter, dated 1st February 1841, Hadfield wrote that, 'These tribes though engaged in a bloody war on my arrival, have now established peace and the chiefs of either tribe visit the opposite one without fear or suspicion.'⁶⁴⁷

This was not, however, the impression that James Crawford had. He was in Queen Charlotte Sound a short while after Kuititanga had been fought and considered things were still quite tense. Crawford tells us, that Ngatiawa residing in the Sounds were prepared for any attack by Ngati Raukawa. In speaking of those who were residing in the Northern Entrance of Queen Charlotte, Crawford wrote:

The natives of Anaho and the contiguous part of Queen Charlotte's Sound had been in considerable dread of an attack from Ngatiraukawa for some time past. They had watch stations on the summit of the hills commanding a view of Cooks Straits and an anxious look-out was kept day & night for the appearance of the hostile canoes. Several strong pahs had also been repaired on the various islands in the Sound, which might form rallying points for all the different settlements to concentrate their forces. But in case of retreating to those fortresses they must have left their settlements to be ravaged by the enemy and their potato grounds exposed to plunder & destruction which it may be supposed they have much hesitation doing.⁶⁴⁸

Despite the alert, there were no major battles that followed Kuititanga. Given the number of Ngatiawa warriors situated in the Sounds by this time, it is difficult to see how Ngati Raukawa and their Ngati Toa supporters could have ousted Ngatiawa; there were too many of them, and they had a number of muskets with which to defend themselves.

Owing to the battle of Kuititanga taking place, there was another accession to Ngatiawa population living in the Queen Charlotte Sound and by c1840 their numbers must have been up around 800-900 people. Hira Te Wairingiringi of Ngati Rahiri and Hera Te Aratangata say that the greatest number of Ngatiawa went to the South Island after Kuititanga.⁶⁴⁹

Richard Barrett states that many of Ngatiawa at Wellington were still leaving for the South Island, after 1840, and some were also returning to Taranaki. He goes so far as to say that they would have had to have left anyway to make way for the rapidly expanding business area.⁶⁵⁰

By the end of 1839, Ngatiawa had firmly established themselves in Queen Charlotte Sound. The early settlement of Ngatiawa had at first been slow, but by 1832-1833, it had become more stable with greater numbers of people. Following the battle of Haowhenua, there was

⁶⁴⁷ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary*, Soc. qms - 0895, pp 10 - 11.

⁶⁴⁸ Barratt, Glynn., *Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand: The Traditional and European Records 1820*, Carleton University Press Inc, 1987, Canada, p 123.

⁶⁴⁹ *Otaki minute book 10*, 24 January 1890, pp 41, 47. Evidence of Hera Te Wairingiringi. Note: Te Hawe died at Arapaoa.

See also:

Otaki minute book 10, 31 January 1890, p 92. Evidence of Hera Te Aratangata.

⁶⁵⁰ Barrett, R., *Extracts from Barrett's Journal*, MS 1736, p 15.

an accession to the number of Ngatiawa residing in the Sounds. After first settling in the area around the Tory Channel Entrance, they then dispersed themselves throughout the Sounds. As to the question of whether or not there were any other 'settlements' in the Sounds belonging to other tribes, the answer is no. We have not found any evidence that the settlements at Queen Charlotte were anything other than Ngatiawa. The fact that there may well have been the odd Rangitane in the Sounds is of little relevance, considering they no longer had any standing. We have already mentioned that Ngati Apa acknowledged they were not on an equal footing with Ngatiawa. As for any question concerning the ownership of the land in Queen Charlotte, this was settled in 1839, at the battle of Kuititanga, at least between Ngatiawa, Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa. In terms of the Ngai Tahu, they may have made retaliatory attacks upon the northern allies but it is questionable as to what was actually achieved. As it was said earlier, Ngatiawa have for the last 170 years, enjoyed the exercise of their customary rights, south of the line drawn by the Appellate Court in 1990. The same situation applies to areas outside of the immediate Queen Charlotte Sound.

7.7 The 1839 Purchase

We discussed earlier that Wakefield was present in Queen Charlotte Sounds at the end of October, and again, just over two weeks after the commencement of Kuititanga on the 16 October 1839. The purpose of Wakefield's second visit was to execute a deed of purchase from the Ngatiawa of their interests in Queen Charlotte Sounds, Port Gore, and 'all those lands, Islands &c' (other than Kapiti and Mana Islands), situated between the 43rd degree of South Latitude, and a line drawn across the North Island from the 38th to the 41st degrees of South Latitude.' Wakefield had just completed two previous deeds of sale. On September 27th a deed had been signed with the Ngatiawa residing at Port Nicholson which purported to transfer the whole of the harbour and it's hinterland to the New Zealand Company. The second deed was signed by the Ngati Toa on the 25th October at Kapiti Island and in the main, covered the same area that was now being considered by the Ngatiawa at Queen Charlotte Sound.⁶⁵¹

Negotiations between Wakefield and the Ngatiawa at Queen Charlotte went on for a 'few days' and the deed was eventually signed on the 8th November by thirty Ngatiawa chiefs. Loveridge described the payment as 'enough military equipment, one might think, to outfit a fair sized expedition to Kapiti.'⁶⁵² Although Kuititanga had been fought some 3 weeks earlier, things were still in a state of war.

Loveridge suggests that 'the [Queen Charlotte Sound] chiefs [presumably] understood that an exchange had taken place, involving the transfer of some kind of right to lands in the Sound (at least) to the Company in exchange for the goods handed over. But what kind of right or rights they would have been prepared to acknowledge is by no means clear...' As Loveridge points out, that it is impossible for us to know what the Ngatiawa signatories

⁶⁵¹ Loveridge, D. *"Let the White Men Come Here": The Alienation of Ngati Awa / Te Atiawa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856*, A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, p 37.

⁶⁵² Loveridge, D. *"Let the White Men Come Here": The Alienation of Ngati Awa / Te Atiawa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856*, A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, pp 40 - 41.

understood of the Queen Charlotte Sound deed as it was never investigated ‘in any detail’ by the New Zealand Land Claims Commission.⁶⁵³

Worser Heberley expressed an opinion in relation to the Ngatiawa purchase of 1839. He believed that the Ngatiawa did not understand the purchase and that they could never have understood the longitudes and latitudes mentioned in the purchase. Heberley stated, ‘There were no writing to show the boundarys or any quantity of land but a certain hill or point so the natives did not know what land they sold...’⁶⁵⁴

This seems to be supported by the fact that ‘the only version of the document was in English’ and that Richard Barrett who was interpreter for Wakefield, was ‘quite incapable of conveying to the alleged vendors the significance of its terms.’ The Land Claims Commissioner ‘elicited’ this latter point from Barrett in 1843. According to Loveridge, ‘...the supposed vendors had no clear understanding of what Wakefield’s *booka-booka* actually meant, but rather focussed their attentions exclusively on the guns, ammunition and other goods which he piled on the deck of the Tory.’⁶⁵⁵ The goods which the Company offered Ngatiawa, included, amongst other things:⁶⁵⁶

- ten single-barrelled guns
- three double barrelled guns
- sixty muskets
- forty kegs of gun powder
- two kegs of lead slabs
- fifty cartridge boxes
- one hundred tomahawks
- one thousand flints
- five quires of cartridge paper; and
- twelve bullet moulds

The New Zealand Company abandoned all claims to land in Queen Charlotte.⁶⁵⁷ This was not, however, the case for the Nelson districts, which the 1839 Queen Charlotte and Kapiti deeds had purportedly sold. When the New Zealand Company arrived at Nelson in 1841, they laid claim to the land, based upon the 1839 deed. This was despite the fact that the deeds were obviously flawed. Even if the Queen Charlotte Ngatiawa had fully understood the terms of the deed, they would still not have been able to extinguish the rights of those who were residing on the land within the Nelson and West Coast districts of the South Island. This would also have applied to Ngati Toa, even though they acknowledged selling their

⁶⁵³ Loveridge, D. “*Let the White Men Come Here*”: *The Alienation of Ngati Awa / Te Atiawa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856*, A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, pp 43 - 44.

⁶⁵⁴ Heberley, Worser, J. *Diary*, pp 32 - 33. Page number added, but the actual date of the diary being written cannot be found, c1860.

⁶⁵⁵ Loveridge, D. “*Let the White Men Come Here*”: *The Alienation of Ngati Awa / Te Atiawa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856*, A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, p 43.

⁶⁵⁶ Loveridge, D. “*Let the White Men Come Here*”: *The Alienation of Ngati Awa / Te Atiawa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856*, A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, p 41.

⁶⁵⁷ Loveridge, D. “*Let the White Men Come Here*”: *The Alienation of Ngati Awa / Te Atiawa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856*, A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, p 47.

interests there. Despite this situation, Commissioner Spain awarded 150,000 acres to the New Zealand Company, all within the Nelson districts.

In returning to the Queen Charlotte Sounds, we find that the Ngatiawa deed of purchase contains the names of a number of places that were more than likely occupied by the Ngatiawa at the time of the 1839 signing. There were thirty locations identified in the deed that can be matched with settlement sites identified in other records discussed further on. Donald Loveridge has produced the following table:

Table 7. Places Names in the New Zealand Company Deed of 8 November 1839

Omahanga or Port Gore,	[Port Gore]
<i>Queen Charlotte's Sound and the Tory Channel, including,</i>	////////////////////////////////////
Motukawa,	Not identified
Anahou,	[Canibal Cove, E of Ships Cove]
Okokota, ⁶⁵⁸	Not identified
Meretoto or Ships Cove,	"Ships Cove"
Te Kurakura or Shag Cove,	"Te Kurakura" [Kurakura Point is south head of Endeavour, opposite Blumine]
Punaruawhite or West Bay,	"Te Punarua Whiti" [Endeavour Inet]
Watapu,	"Watapu" Resolution Bay
Miritu,	"Miritu" [Bay of Many Coves]
Te Era Wahine,	Not identified
Anakiwa,	"Onakiwa" [Grove arm head]
Ngakuta,	"Ngakuta" [Grove arm, south shore]
Te Weringa, ⁶⁵⁹	Not identified, but "te Weringa o Waitohi" is referred to in the Waitohi conveyance of 5 March 1850.
Waitohi,	"Waitohi"
Wata Manga,	"Watamango" [East of Waikawa]
Kotuna,	Not identified [could be Kaituna]
Hitana,	"Hitaua" [Tory Channel]
Opua,	[Opua Bay, Tory Cannel]
Mohi,	probably Moioio Island [Tory Channel]
Te Tio or Oyster Bay,	"Te Tio" Oyster Bay [Tory Channel]
Owarua,	Not identified*
Onara, ⁶⁶⁰	Not identified*
Ngahu,	Not identified*
<i>The Islands of Arapaoa, including,</i>	[Arapaoa Island] //////////////////////////////////
Okukari,	"Okukari" [Tory Channel]
Wekanui, and	"Wekenui" [Tory Channel]
East Bay,	"East Bay"
<i>The Islands of</i>	////////////////////////////////////
Motuara,	"Cooks Island" [Motuara]
Kietu or Long Island,	[Long Island]
Matapara and the,	"Motupra" [Pickersgill Island]
Tui Kiopi...	"Taikaiopoe" [Blumine Island]

* These three sites are all probably on the Southern Shore of Tory Channel, since the Arapawa side is listed separately.

⁶⁵⁸ *Personal communications*, John Henare, 2000. Okokota could be Anakokoti, situated in Port Gore.

⁶⁵⁹ *Personal communications*, John Henare, 2000. Te Weringa o Waitohi is also an area situated in the present Picton Marina.

⁶⁶⁰ Could be Oamaru or Onamaru.

7.8 Treaty of Waitangi, Queen Charlotte Sound 1840

One of the most significant events of the 1840s was the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. It was signed at two places in the northern South Island. One was at Cloudy Bay and the other was in Queen Charlotte Sound. The latter was signed on the 4th and 5th of May 1840, and was signed by 27 of the resident Ngatiawa chiefs in Queen Charlotte Sound, in the presence of Henry Williams and George Thomas Clayton.⁶⁶¹ Many of the details surrounding the Treaty being signed at Queen Charlotte are not well known, although we do know who signed. According to evidence given in the Native Land Court by Raniera Ellison of Ngati Hinetuhi, Te Tupe was one of the signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. Although we cannot be one hundred percent sure, the Treaty may have been signed at Merokihengahenga, a pa that belonged to Te Tupe. Unfortunately, we have not been able to locate exactly where this place was situated.⁶⁶² According to Rev. Ironside, Te Tupe had his pa at Te Awaiti.⁶⁶³

Table 8. Signatories Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Totaranui 1840

<u>4th May 1840</u>	<u>5th May 1840</u>
Toheroa	Huriwhenua
Rewa	Taukina
Watino	Iwikau
Te Tupe	Punga
Taiaho	Te Rangowaka
Ti Kaukau	Ngakirikiri
Te Orakaa	Potiki
Tuterapouri	Nga Taraheke
Te Tairarau	Anara
Ngaoranga	Pikau
Hone	Te Uapiki
Inana	Maru
Kaparangi	Karaka
Tapotuku	

⁶⁶¹ Simpson, M. *Nga Tohu O Te Tiriti: Making a Mark, The Signatories to The Treaty of Waitangi*, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, 1990, pp 88 - 93.

See also:

Hadfield, Octavius, *Letter to his mother*, Qms - 0897, 27 January 1842. Relations between Maori and Pakeha had up until now been reasonably good. However by 1842 things had started to change. On the 27th January 1842, Hadfield wrote a letter to his mother saying there were fears that war was about to break out between the two races. Hadfield makes the comment that the Treaty of Waitangi was never recognised in the same light by the settlers as it was by the Maori. Exactly what this meant we can only speculate. Hadfield may have been alluding to the build up to the Wairau Incident, which took place between Ngati Toa and the Government, in 1843.

⁶⁶² *Otaki minute book 11*, 22 March 1890, p 122. Evidence of Raniera Ellison.

⁶⁶³ Ironside, S., *The Journal of The Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary to New Zealand, Covering Period 15-10-1839 to 8 July 1843*, p 58.

Figure 7. See Map book: Ngatiawa Settlements, Totaranui - Pre 1840

Okukari	Anahou
Whekenui / Whekenui	Little Waikawa
Te Awaiti	Point Jackson
Moioio Island	Motuara Island
Kaihinu	Kokomohua Island
Hिताua	Onamaru
Maraetai	Te Kakahu
Anakiwa	Cabbage Beach
Ruakaka	Anatoia
Kaireperepe	Onauku
Matamungu (Whatamango)	Mokopeke
Toko Karoro	Otanerau
Ipapakreru	

7.9 The Missionary Influence 1840-1850

The period of the 1840s brought with it a number of major changes for Ngatiawa people in both the North and South Islands. The attitude of Maori generally towards one another, was somewhat improved, particularly with the arrival of missionaries. Intertribal armed combat had now come to an end and the many people who were enslaved following the Southern Conquest began to be released from their shackles, or were treated a little more leniently by their captors.

Octavius Hadfield was one of the first Anglican missionaries to bear great influence amongst Ngatiawa people residing at Queen Charlotte Sound. In the ten years following 1840, he recorded in his journal and letters, some of the visits he made to the Sounds.⁶⁶⁴ Ngatiawa people were regularly attending school and were well versed in the bible.⁶⁶⁵ In July 1840 Hadfield held a church service at Okukari and on that occasion there were some 900 people present.⁶⁶⁶

During the 1840s, Ngatiawa built a number of chapels throughout the Sounds, the largest being at Okukari. They also built a number of schools that were regularly attended. In referring to a visit made to the Queen Charlotte in December 1840, Hadfield stated:

In December last I made a visit to the opposite side of the Straits, which was most interesting. I crossed in my boat, and reached Queen Charlotte's Sound, where I was well received by the natives - These people belong to Ngatiawa tribe, and are connected and related to the people among whom I live at Waikanae. There I found several well built places of worship, one especially at Okukari about sixty feet in length; at this place there is a good school which I established about six months

⁶⁶⁴ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary, Soc. qms* - 0895, 8 October 1841, p 16.

⁶⁶⁵ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary, Soc. qms* - 0895, 22 July 1840, p 7.

⁶⁶⁶ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary, Soc. qms* - 0895, 8 October 1841, p 16.

before; about eighty adults attend daily - there are several other schools. They many times enquired of me whether there was no Minister to live among them: I could only tell them that if they believed the gospel the Lord would provide for them.⁶⁶⁷

On 8 March 1842, Hadfield made another visit to Ngatiawa residing at Okukari. The congregations were still very large and on this particular occasion there were some 700 people present.⁶⁶⁸ Ngatiawa commitment to Christianity was also apparent at Whekenui, where Rev. Aldred of Wellington opened a Wesleyan Chapel in August 1842.⁶⁶⁹ Ironside, who we discuss shortly, visited this place in 1841 and mentioned that there were some 200 of Ngatiawa living there.

In 1843, Hadfield made other visits to Queen Charlotte Sound and the approximate number of people was still up around 700. 300 to 400 persons regularly attended the church services held by Hadfield.⁶⁷⁰ Hadfield wrote to his father on the 8th March 1843:

I have lately had a pleasant visit to Queen Charlotte's Sound & I find the Natives there as attentive as ever & as desirous of receiving instruction. They seem to care for little else than religion & are regardless of worldly concerns to their own detriment in some measure; but as they are following the scriptural command of 'seeking first the Kingdom of God & His righteousness' I trust that they will have the blessing of God upon their temporal concerns, & that they may be preserved amidst the dangers to which they are exposed by the habits etc. of our countrymen.⁶⁷¹

In January 1841, Carrington was travelling back to Wellington from Nelson. Owing to poor weather conditions, he was forced to shelter in Queen Charlotte Sound. After a night in East Bay, he travelled around to Tory Channel where he visited Jackson's Bay, situated immediately to the south of Te Awaiti. Carrington wrote of his visit to Te Awaiti:

Soon after coming to an anchor went ashore in Mr. Thoms Whaleboat. Saw the whaling establishment etc. etc. returned to the ship at 4 o/c & at 6 o/c went again on shore and visited the native pah in which we saw about 150 natives, also their Chapel which is a very large & neat building built by Mr. Williams the missionary. Having no interpreter with us we did not get much information - called on our return to the Ship & again saw Mr. Thoms, got to the ship at 7 o/c pm...⁶⁷²

Thoms, who is mentioned above, was one of the early whalers to inhabit the Cook Strait district. Thoms was married to the daughter of Wharemawhai who was the sister of Huriwhenua, chief of Ngati Rahiri. Wharemawhai was also the wife of Nohorua, quite a

⁶⁶⁷ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary*, Soc. qms - 0895, 1 February 1841, p 11.

⁶⁶⁸ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary*, Soc. qms - 0895, 5 May 1842, p 22.

⁶⁶⁹ Chambers, W. A., *Samuel Ironside in New Zealand, 1839 - 1858*, Ray Richards Publisher, Auckland, 1982, pp 119, 125. It would seem that both Wesleyan and Anglican were using these Chapels. Aldred opened the Chapel but the Wesleyans claim to have built it.

⁶⁷⁰ Hadfield, O. *ATL. Letters to Church Missionary*, Soc. qms - 0895, Report for ending July 1, 1843, p 34.

⁶⁷¹ Hadfield, Octavius, *Letter to his father*, Qms - 0897, Mitchell Notes, Hadfield to his father, 8 March 1843.

⁶⁷² Carrington, F.A. *Journal and Correspondence*, Vol. I, 1840-1845, p 24.

prominent chief of Ngati Toa. We discuss further on that Thoms was involved in a transaction concerning Ngati Rahiri lands at Anakiwa.

Samuel Ironside was a Wesleyan missionary who arrived on the scene almost immediately after Hadfield. He carried much influence with Ngatiawa in Queen Charlotte, and also collected a lot of information relating to their occupation of the Sounds. Ironside was actually stationed at Cloudy Bay.

In February of 1841, Ironside made a visit to the Sounds and this time he visited Mokoapeke, which as we mentioned earlier, was situated in East Bay. The people occupying Mokoapeke at the time were the Puketapu. Ironside mentions in his Journal that they were busy cutting timber for a chapel.⁶⁷³ In a letter to the Secretaries, Ironside says that this chapel was opened in 1843, with a membership of 50.⁶⁷⁴

Six months later Ironside was back in Queen Charlotte and this time he paid a visit to the Puketapu chief, Te Manutoheroa. At the time the old chief was living at Ipapakereru, situated on the Western Shores of Arapaoa. On this occasion, Te Manutoheroa was found to be quite ill, as the following extract from Ironside's Journal describes:

...we arrived at his place on the 2nd July & finding him near death, I conversed seriously with him, he stated his hope was in the Lord Jesus Christ, that tho' his sins were great Jesus Christ was the sinners friend - I thought it right to administer to him the ordinance of baptism - the service was solemn.⁶⁷⁵

Te Manutoheroa, as we discussed earlier, was one of the leading chiefs of Ngatiawa. He led his people south in Te Heke Niho Puta and also led a war party in the conquest of the northern South Island. He had been in many memorable battles throughout his lifetime.⁶⁷⁶

On the 20 July 1841, Ironside again paid a visit to Te Manutoheroa but as he reported in his Journal, Te Manutoheroa had died:

The Old Chief TOHEROA is dead & gone to heaven I hope, & this (my death) is the lot of all Happy, they who are found with their lamps trimmed & all ready.⁶⁷⁷

Nancy Riwaka says that it had originally been intended to bury Te Manutoheroa at Te Umukuri, which is a Puketapu urupa situated at the head of East Bay. But owing to poor

⁶⁷³ Ironside, S., *The Journal of The Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary to New Zealand, Covering Period 15-10-1839 to 8 July 1843*, p 54.

⁶⁷⁴ Ironside, Samuel, *Letter from Samuel Ironside to the Secretaries*, 7 January 1843.

⁶⁷⁵ Ironside, S., *The Journal of The Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary to New Zealand, Covering Period 15-10-1839 to 8 July 1843*, p 56.

⁶⁷⁶ The mana of this very important chief is recognised in three of the whare tupuna across the northern South Island and he will be represented in the Whare Tupuna at Mohua, which is due for completion in the year 2000.

⁶⁷⁷ Ironside, S., *The Journal of The Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary to New Zealand, Covering Period 15-10-1839 to 8 July 1843*, p 57.

weather conditions he was unable to be moved and was instead buried at Ipapakareru.⁶⁷⁸ Just why he was not buried on the Island to the south of Ipapakareru, is not known. The Island, according to Mackay Love, has a number of Ngatiawa buried on it.⁶⁷⁹

Apart from Hadfield and Ironside, there were also two other missionaries who had some involvement with Ngatiawa at Queen Charlotte during the 1840s. Rev. Reay belonged to the Anglican Church and between the period of 1843 and 1849, he baptised 157 of Ngatiawa who were residing in Queen Charlotte Sound. Rev. Butt appeared on the scene towards the close of the 1840s and he baptised another 31 persons.⁶⁸⁰

In the following table we have identified the Chapels that were built in the Sounds during the period of the 1840s. Many of the Chapels were built in places where Ngatiawa were in occupation and therefore the information is useful in establishing the distribution of Ngatiawa throughout the Sounds during the 1840s. A point that we should mention is that Ngatiawa were not overly fussed about which church services they would attend and in fact they were happy to attend either of the religious denominations. All Ngatiawa wanted was religious instruction.

Figure 8. Chapel Sites 1840-1850 - Totaranui (Also see map book)

Okukari	Mangareporepo
Whekenui	Mokopeke
Te Awaiti	Oamaru
Te Tio	Anahou
Puhe	Anakiwa
Wakamea	Wharehunga

⁶⁷⁸ *Personal communications*, Nancy Riwaka, 1982.

⁶⁷⁹ *Personal communications*, MacKay Love, 1986.

⁶⁸⁰ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, pp 3 - 6, 9 - 13, 17 - 22.

7.10 Barnicoat 1843

On 14 March 1843, the New Zealand Company Surveyors John Barnicoat and Patchett departed from Nelson with the object of making a visit to the Wairau. After making a few stops at various villages along the way they finally reached Port Gore on 16 March where they camped for the night in a small bay. The following morning the local residents paid them a visit, but Barnicoat does not tell us who they were. They were probably some of Ngati Hinetuhi who were residing in Port Gore at this time.

On 17 March, Barnicoat and Patchett rounded Cape Jackson and headed into Queen Charlotte Sound. Passing a bay he called 'Little Bay' (Little Waikawa), Barnicoat noted that there were two or three Europeans there with as many natives. Continuing further on they came to the village of Anaho, where the night was spent with Ngati Hinetuhi. These people were the same mentioned by Wakefield and Dieffenbach when they visited the area in 1839. They were under the Chief Ngarewa. Barnicoat says there were about 50 obliging and hospitable Maori, some of whom were engaged in whaling.

On rising the following morning, Barnicoat found half of Ngati Hinetuhi learning to read and write, some even having slates to write on. Barnicoat also tells us that the missionary influence was prevalent amongst Ngatiawa in Queen Charlotte Sound, something that is quite apparent in the writings of Octavius Hadfield and Samuel Ironside.⁶⁸¹

Moving on further up the Sound, Barnicoat passed Ships Cove, where on the opposite shore they observed a native fortification consisting of a railed enclosure. Barnicoat was referring to Motuara Island:

We left early and passed the Bay known as Capt'n. Cook's Bay [Ships Cove] where he lay at anchor some time and at the bottom of which he planted a garden the remains of which as well as of some outhouses he put up are said to be still visible. The Bay is surrounded by lofty hills, wooded from the shore to their summits, the effect is indescribably beautiful. On the opposite shore is a native fortification consisting of [a] railed enclosure on the hill. The Bays are numberless and in each there is a little stream of water and some level land of the richest description, but the intermediate hilly land seems generally speaking equally good.⁶⁸²

On 20 March, Barnicoat obtained the assistance of a number of natives to guide him to the Wairau. Those at Anaho had informed him he could find a guide further up the Sound and so he proceeded without too much delay. We learn later in Barnicoat's writings, that his guide belonged to the Rangitane, some of whom had been living at Kaituna:

We then proceeded down the Sound till coming to a party of natives fishing whom we joined with some luck. They were very friendly and presented Mr. Patchett with a large basket of potatoes. Just below this we were pointed out a Creek of the Sound

⁶⁸¹ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, 1841 - 1842, p 55.

⁶⁸² Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, 1841 - 1842, p 55.

which approaches so near to an arm of the Pelorus that Natives used to shoulder their canoes in wartime and carry them across. This feat is not now practised being merely used for purposes of surprise in war, which had ceased since missionary influence has extended. We were now in search of a Native as a guide, to take us from the bottom of Queen Charlotte Sound to the Wairoo, [Wairau] as we have been repeatedly assured such a part existed and that it was but a days journey. The tribe we were in search of we were informed by the Natives at Onahau were in a certain Harbour - which we arrived about sunset - It is a little lake like Harbour, perhaps about a half a mile in diameter surrounded by woodland, a great portion of which is flat and of the most excellent description... There were a few gardens containing pumpkins. There are two or three little streams flowing into it. Thought we could find no natives there were a hut or two in which we slept and paid dearly for our lodgings by more than the usual number of flea bites.

About a mile from our resting-place we found a village on the water side where we hired a native to show us the road from the extremity of the Sound to the Wairoa [Wairau]. He says it can easily be walked between sunrise and sunset....⁶⁸³

Barnicoat says that their native guide claimed to be a chief, and that he owned the land between Anakiwa and Mahakipawa. He was prepared to sell the land. Barnicoat did not have a problem accepting he was a chief of his people but he was doubtful he owned the land.⁶⁸⁴ As we have previously mentioned, the remnant Rangitane had no standing in these times, neither are there any further references that suggest they remained there in later years.⁶⁸⁵

Soon after getting things organised, Barnicoat and his men commenced their journey through what is known today as Linkwater, accompanied by their Maori guide and some of his people.

Barnicoat and his men failed in their attempt to get to the Wairau and only got as far as Kaituna, where they spent the night at a Rangitane pa. Those at the pa were apparently related to the guides that had been picked up in Queen Charlotte Sound. Unimpressed with the situation, Barnicoat and his men returned to Queen Charlotte on the following day and headed for Te Awaitei.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸³ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, 1841 - 1842, pp 55 - 56.

⁶⁸⁴ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, p 56. This is the first and last reference we have found of Rangitane having a village in Queen Charlotte. They probably moved when Ngati Rahiri moved to Anakiwa a short while later. The first village mentioned does not identify how many people were there or who they were. Nor does the second pa mentioned. Our only clue that they may have been Rangitane can be found on page 57, where a connection is made between the Rangitane at Kaituna and the guide from QCS. There is also a mention of cultivations around Anakiwa but it is not said who they belonged to. They could easily have belonged to the Ngatiawa residing in the Sounds. This was the case at Waitohi c1848.

⁶⁸⁵ Maori Appellate Court Decision, 4 *South Island Appellate Court Minute Book* 672, Judge Hingston, p 1131.

⁶⁸⁶ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, pp 56 - 57.

According to Ironside, the chief of Te Awaitei at this time was Edwin White (Te Tupe) and apparently, he and his people had built a strong chapel about thirty feet square, and had paid three pigs to a European carpenter for the pulpit. Whether this was the same church that Carrington referred to in January 1841, is not clear. The one referred to now could very well have been a new building.⁶⁸⁷

As for the population of Te Awaitei at this time, Barnicoat says it consisted largely of white whalers who had married native women:

The village of Taiwaite [Te Awaitei] is chiefly inhabited by white people and these are all connected with whaling. It contains several houses much like native waries [whare] with the addition of chimneys. There is a pretty looking native Methodist Chapel. The whaling season days not begin till the 1st of May, but indications of whaling are not wanting. The beach is strewn with gigantic bones, the large boilers for the blubber are lying about - sheds with several whale boats, the shears used in lifting off the detached pieces of the whale etc... I observed the native artificers at work on a canoe, the tool which served as a hatchet, adze, plane was made out of a bit of hoop iron with its edge sharpened and ingeniously set in a wooden handle. Another was making the poles for tying the canoe together...

The Maoris are short of tobacco and showed the greatest anxiety to get some off us. They first exchanged potatoes with us for tobacco to our hearts content, and then finding fish would be acceptable they launched three canoes and went fishing. They merely took with them a bit of wood coloured red with a fish-hook fixed firmly to one end by a means of which they managed to pull in fish at a surprising rate. When they had taken a quantity they came in and bartered them for tobacco. The fish were of the kind called baracouta and remarkably excellent.⁶⁸⁸

While at Te Awaitei, Barnicoat observed a tomb, erected in memory of John Agar Love.⁶⁸⁹ As we discussed earlier, Love, along with William Keenan and others were involved in the battle at Moturoa, which took place at Taranaki in January 1832. They were also involved in aiding the passage of Ngatiawa, when they left Taranaki in the heke Tamateuaua in June 1832.⁶⁹⁰ Barnicoat says:

I was attracted by a strange looking monument put up by the natives to a white man sometime ago. It consists of about half a canoe standing erect at the corner of a little railed enclosure. The canoe is rather fancifully painted...

We rowed about a mile to the Native village of Whakanui [Whakenui]. Here we met with a few natives we had known at Nelson and were most kindly received and

⁶⁸⁷ Ironside, S., *The Journal of The Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary to New Zealand, Covering Period 15-10-1839 to 8 July 1843*, p 58.

⁶⁸⁸ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, pp 57, 58, 66.

⁶⁸⁹ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, p 58.

⁶⁹⁰ Barrett, R., *Extracts from Barrett's Journal*, MS 1736, pp 8 - 9.

made several sketches of their huts and of the strange carved faces around the stockade... In this village (Whekenui) too, there is a very pretty Chapel built by the natives and another in another village almost adjoining (Okukari). We here found a Rangatani [Rangitane] from whom we learned that our Wairoa [Wairau] guide had deceived us and that we were at Kaituna, within a days work [walk] by a Maurie [Maori] path of the wood and the Great Wairoa Valley.⁶⁹¹

We have mentioned on a number of occasions that the pa of Okukari belonged to Ngatiawa. In terms of the Rangitane person who Barnicoat refers to above, he, like the few others who were mentioned as being in the upper arm of the Sounds, were subordinates to Ngatiawa. As it was said by Kereopa Pura of Ngati Apa, they were never on an equal footing with Ngati Hinetuhi. This was alluding to them being a conquered people.

One of the occupation sites that Barnicoat would have passed, as he made his way up the Sounds, was Ruakaka. According to Heta Love, when giving evidence to the Native Land Court in 1903, the first of Ngatiawa to settle at Ruakaka were Ngati Hinetuhi and Ngati Kura. They were living on what was called Ruakaka No.1. One of the reasons for them going there in the first place had been to obtain fern root.⁶⁹² Their occupation of the land appears to have been up to or prior to the Ruakaka Reserve being established in 1856,⁶⁹³ although according to Heni Mimikau, the majority of the people left when Ngatiawa heke returned to Taranaki, probably that which took place in 1848 under Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake. Others, however, continued to occupy the land after them.⁶⁹⁴

Mere Whitikau was born at Te Pangu in Tory Channel and after growing up she went to live at Ruakaka and Puku o Rongo. This latter place was named after her sister who was brought up by Te Pakaiahi and Te Manupurenga who was a hump back.⁶⁹⁵ Mere Whitikau, in referring to her grandparents, says that they had their principal kainga on the part known as Ruakaka 1 and that they used to go to Puku o Rongo to collect Karaka berries.

Whitikau did not occupy the land permanently, but split her residence between here and Te Pangu. Both Ruakaka and Te Pangu were occupied around the same time.⁶⁹⁶ Whitikau states that she was too young to know of her mother's death, only that Kurae died at Te Pangu. Mere continues on to say that her father, Ropata Whitikau, died at Waikawa, but she could not remember how long ago.⁶⁹⁷ In Mere's own words:- 'I was born before the Hakari at Waikawa for Ropata Whitikau. I can't say whether it was in 1857 that this took place... I can't say whether it was before or afterwards. Think it was before the Hakari that we went

⁶⁹¹ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, p 58.

⁶⁹² *Wellington minute book 11*, 3 February 1903, p 6. Evidence of Heta Love.

See also:

Wellington minute book 11, 10 February 1903, pp 46. Evidence of Heni Mimikau.

⁶⁹³ *Wellington minute book 11*, 3 February 1903, p 6. Evidence of Heta Love.

⁶⁹⁴ *Wellington minute book 11*, 10 February 1903, pp 47. Evidence of Heni Mimikau.

⁶⁹⁵ *Wellington minute book 11*, 24 February 1903, pp 90, 92. Evidence of Mere Whitikau.

⁶⁹⁶ *Wellington minute book 11*, 24 February 1903, pp 91 - 92. Evidence of Mere Whitikau. Jacob Hebblerley lived on Long Island.

⁶⁹⁷ *Wellington minute book 11*, 24 February 1903, p 92. Evidence of Mere Whitikau.

to get berries. I ahua tamariki au i taku taenga tuatahi.' Mere Whitikau died in 1932 aged 97 years of age,⁶⁹⁸ which would make her birth date circa 1835.

James Keenan makes some interesting remarks in relation to the Ngatiawa who had originally been occupying the area about Ships Cove:⁶⁹⁹

The family moved up and around the bays until they settled in Waikawa Bay, most of the family owns many acres in Waikawa.... These families and many more moved out of Ship Cove and moved into the Bay from Big Bay, Endeavour Inlet to Drydens Bay which was called Simon Bay before someone changed it.

On to Bay of Many Coves to Ruakaka, Blackwood Bay, Cherry Bay, Anikawa block, Ngakuta Bay and on to Picton and Waikawa.

7.11 The Pa of Waitohi 1843-1850

There are at least three versions concerning the origins of the name Waitohi or Te Wera a Waitohi, which is its full name. The first version is that Waitohi was named after the wife of Rawiri Puaha of Ngati Toa.⁷⁰⁰ The second version says it originated from a man called Waitohi, who lit a big forest fire. As a consequence of this event, the name Waitohi was applied to the present day Picton.⁷⁰¹ In the third version it is said that Waitohi referred to a Tohi rite.⁷⁰² According to Te Atiawa tradition, the name 'Waitohi' refers to a ritual that was performed at the awa that bears this name. Prior to going to war, the people would gather at the Waitohi and the appropriate karakia and incantations would be said over the warriors for protection.⁷⁰³ In the early days, the banks of the Waitohi were lined with Toitoi bushes that were said to represent those who had been lost in war. They were the Kaitiaki of the awa.⁷⁰⁴ Te Atiawa strongly associate themselves with the Waitohi and kaumatua refer to it in whaikorero, as did tupuna who have long since passed on.

In 1845, William Fox travelled through the Queen Charlotte Sound on his way to the Wairau. He had chosen a path through the Waitohi Valley that would eventually lead him to his destination. After spending a night at Te Awaite and engaging a guide, Fox travelled further up the Sounds until he reached Waitohi. At the head of the bay, Fox described a piece of open flat land of approximately one thousand acres in extent, through which flowed a small stream. This was probably the Waitohi stream. The occupants of Waitohi

⁶⁹⁸ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1998.

See also:

Wellington minute book 11, 24 February 1903, p 96. Evidence of Mere Whitikau.

⁶⁹⁹ Keenan, James Henare Kura Te Au, *Keenan Family History*. Manuscript written c1984, p 13.

⁷⁰⁰ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1999.

⁷⁰¹ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, pp 185 - 186. This account gives Koamaru as Cape Jackson, and Te Tao o Kupe as Koamaru, this information is incorrect.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, pp 185 - 186. 'Atiawa went on to the head of the Sound to Te Wera a Waitohi, which is the name of the place where the town of Picton now stands, and is so named on account of a big forest fire that occurred many years ago...'

⁷⁰² Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 7.

⁷⁰³ *Personal communications*, Moutere Love, 1997.

⁷⁰⁴ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1997.

were Ngatiawa under the chiefs' Ropoama, Te Moana and others. They had large cultivations that were owned by the locals including those of Ngatiawa who were living in the Sounds. There were about 80 acres under cultivation. Fox reported that:

The Natives have the largest cultivation on the flat at Waitoi [Waitohi], which I have met with. I saw as much as 40 or 50 acres of potatoes and maize in one patch, and was told that they have 80 acres under crop altogether. The Pah is small, and occupied by a few Natives, the crop as I understood, being the property of several 'mobs' in different parts of the Sound.⁷⁰⁵

Two gentlemen by the names of Joseph Ward and Sirus Goulter drew a plan of Waitohi in 1849, showing the outlay of the harbour, occupation sites and cultivations.⁷⁰⁶ The cultivations were extensive and covered a huge area. Around the same time, Fox did a painting of Waitohi, which clearly shows the main pa and its fortifications.⁷⁰⁷

Figure 9. Waitohi c1848



According to Mouere Love and Nancy Riwaka, there were a number of kainga situated to the East of where the main pa of Waitohi stood. The Kainga were in fact connected to a waka-landing place that was established as a Fish Market Reserve in the 1860s.⁷⁰⁸ This

⁷⁰⁵ Fox, W. Report of 24 March 1845; *The Nineteenth Report of The Court of Directors of The New Zealand Company*, October 1845, pp 68 - 72.

⁷⁰⁶ Ward, Joseph and Goulter, Sirus. National Archives. Ref.: C0700 Reel 2, Case 27, no. 5. Micro 26356.

⁷⁰⁷ Fox Painting. Original held in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

⁷⁰⁸ *Personal communications*, Mouere Love, 1983.

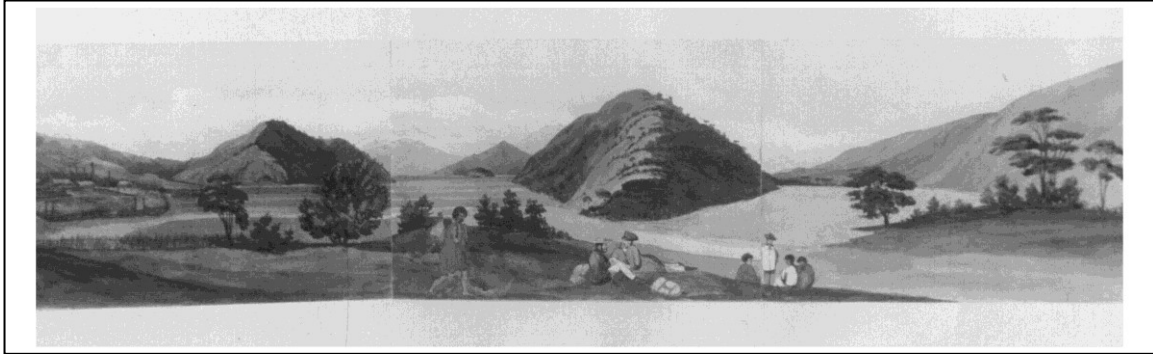
See also:

Personal communications, Nancy Riwaka, 1983.

Watson, Tim, *Marlborough Express*, Descendants from Tokomaru Canoe.

particular area is known as Te Weringa o Waitohi. In Fox's paintings, these sites are obscure. We do know that after 1860, Ngatiawa built European style hostels in the area of the waka-landing place.⁷⁰⁹

Waitohi c1858



As a point of interest we should also mention something of the hill that is situated immediately to the West of the Reserve. According to traditional sources, this is a Taniwha called 'Tui Ngarara', who got stuck, in the mud. It had apparently slid there after a major eruption many years ago. The snout of this Taniwha is referred to as 'Te Ihu Moe One.'⁷¹⁰

There were also kainga situated on the Western side of what used to be Kaiana, an important fishing area for Ngatiawa in these early times. This place has since been destroyed through reclamation, as has all archaeological evidence associated with Ngatiawa occupation sites at Waitohi.

The Waitohi Valley was and still is an important mahinga kai area for Ngatiawa. It was also an important area for obtaining totara logs that were turned into canoes or simply used for building materials. When Fox travelled through Waitohi in 1845, he gave the following description:

For about 5 miles from Waitoi [Waitohi] as we advanced through the Valley, we travelled by a Native Road, which at its commencement, being one of their usual narrow tracks, gradually expands, and for between two and three miles, is of the breadth of from six to twelve feet. This is owing to the natives building their canoes in a Totara wood about 5 miles from Waitoi Bay, to which they drag them on rollers by the native route we followed; a fact which speaks of the facility of the road. Beyond this point we lost the native track; but from the dry native of the ground,

Alexander, David, *Supporting Papers To The Evidence of David James Alexander, Reserves of Te Tau Ihu, Part 3B Queen Charlotte (Totaranui) District*. October 1999, pp 3867 - 3877. See p 3871. The land was claimed by Ngati Tuaho.

⁷⁰⁹ Watson, Tim, *Marlborough Express*, Descendants from Tokomaru Canoe.

⁷¹⁰ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1997. Information provided to him by Jim Keenan and Moutere Love.

and the open character of the bush, I should say that a road for bullock carts could be made at a very trifling cost.⁷¹¹

In September of 1848, Octavius Hadfield travelled through the Waitohi valley. He makes mention of the canoes that were being made in the Waitohi Valley, and also the cultivations that Ngatiawa had at Waitohi:

After Morning Prayer, I started with my friend Joseph, the Native teacher, as my guide, to walk to the plain of Wairau. The path lay for a short distance through the Native corn fields (Waitohi, Koromiko) but soon led to a woody passage between two hills, with an ascent so easy and gradual that a native road for dragging canoes out of the wood had been made for several miles, on both sides of the low intervening ridge which separates Queen Charlotte Sound from the valley of Tuamarino, one of the tributaries of the Wairau.⁷¹²

Karewa Taranui gave evidence in the Native Land Court that in 1843, totara logs were taken from the Waitohi Valley for the purpose of erecting a church at Waikanae. Ngati Hinetuhi and Ngati Kura were involved in this, after receiving a request from Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake.

In 1843, a request from Te Rangitake was made to the Arapaoa people for a ridgepole and rafters for the new church at Waikanae. This resulted in Ngati Kura and Ngati Hinetuhi going to Waitohi, where they acquired the ridgepole and some rafters. They then went to Whatamango. Those who went were Hone Tuhata, Ropata Whitikau, Te Hawe and a number of others. The task of transporting the ridgepole and rafters across Raukawa Moana was accomplished by lashing them to the sides of the waka for the voyage to Waikanae.⁷¹³

In 1848, investigations were carried out by the Government to ascertain the prospect of purchasing land at Waitohi.⁷¹⁴ According to Governor Grey, the New Zealand Company were particularly interested in purchasing Waitohi to enable them to fulfil their engagements with the Nelson settlers.⁷¹⁵

On 19 January 1848, William Fox wrote a letter to Colonel Wakefield, outlining his views on the suitability of Wairau and Waitohi as shipping ports. In terms of who was occupying Waitohi in 1848, Fox only mentions Ngatiawa:

The Waitohi is at present occupied by a considerable number of natives of the Nga Tiawa tribe. They have a pah situated in the best part of the water frontage, and about fifty to seventy acres of land in cultivation. But they profess great anxiety to have the White Men residing there, and are as far as I could gather from themselves,

⁷¹¹ Fox, W. Report of 24 March 1845, *The Nineteenth Report of The Court of Directors of The New Zealand Company*, October 1845, pp 68 - 72.

⁷¹² Hadfield, O, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 12 September 1848.

⁷¹³ *Otahi minute book 11*, 26 March 1890, p 155. Evidence of Karewa Taranui.

⁷¹⁴ Fox Painting, original in Hocken Library.

⁷¹⁵ Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 264. Despatch Grey to Grey, 7 April 1849.

and from the European resident before-mentioned, quite willing to leave the place for some other part of the Sound... There is no chief of eminence residing there, but four or five, whose names I have, who may be considered the principal residents, but the chief of the tribe William King who I believe is at Waikanae, would have to be treated with.⁷¹⁶

Fox makes an interesting statement in his letter of the 19th to the effect that William King was recognised as the principal chief of Waitohi and that he would certainly need to be treated with, in respect of any purchase being effected. William King, otherwise known as Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake was in fact residing at Waikanae in the North Island. The reason for why he may have been recognised as the principal chief is perhaps explained by the mana he carried amongst his Ngatiawa people.

Over the next 12 months the Government commenced negotiations with Ngatiawa concerning the sale of their lands at Waitohi. During the course of this time, a great many of Ngatiawa left Waitohi and departed for the North Island. Fox reported in March 1848, that the principal chief had died, and a large number of the people had returned to settle at Taranaki. Fox was referring to the 1848 return to Taranaki, which will be dealt with shortly. Those who remained at Waitohi numbered about fifty.⁷¹⁷

On 30 December 1848, Ngatiawa residing at Waitohi entered into an interim agreement with the Governor, Mr. Bell, for the purchase of their land at Waitohi.⁷¹⁸ Among other things, Ngatiawa would relocate to Waikawa where a Reserve would be established for them. The reserve is referred to in a letter dated 27 March 1849.

Major Richmond wrote to Sir George Grey stating:

The spot selected for the village is on a dry fern slope, at the junction of the stream which runs through the reserve with the waters of the Sound in Waikawa Bay; and the land for their cultivations will be laid out immediately behind. Natural boundaries have been selected which comprise between 300 and 400 acres of level ground, of which about 200 are available for cultivation. There is a considerable extent of forest land, and some unfit for culture, which the Natives requested to have for the pasture of their cattle, so that they should not trespass on the settlers' land. This will all be given in a plan which Mr. Jollie has directed to be made, and for which I am writing before I forward an official despatch...⁷¹⁹

A couple of weeks prior to Grey writing his report, a census of the local inhabitants was taken. This was done on 5 March 1849, on the direction of the New Zealand Company

⁷¹⁶ Fox to Wakefield, 19 January 1848, NA. NZC 3. 1/48, Appendix to: *Twenty-Fourth report of the Court of the Directors of the New Zealand Company*, p 38.

⁷¹⁷ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 4 March 1848.

⁷¹⁸ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 264.

⁷¹⁹ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 264.

Superintendent and conducted by John Tinline. A total population of 89 residents, inclusive of all the men, women and children was established.⁷²⁰

In a letter dated 26 June 1849, Major Richmond informed George Grey of the situation concerning the Government purchase of Waitohi. Richmond discussed that arrangements had been made with Ngatiawa concerning the purchase and the establishment of a new reserve at Waikawa. It would contain 280 acres of level land, of which about 200 acres would be available for cultivation.

The boundaries of the reserve would follow natural boundaries, being the summit of the hills on either side, till they descended to the water at the Capes, which formed the Bay of Waikawa. The back or inland boundary would be the ridge of the first rising ground from the beach.

Ropoama, who was the leading Chief in the negotiations, selected a site for a village at Waikawa and according to Richmond, a better one could not have been chosen. It was situated in the centre of the Bay, at the junction of a stream that flowed through the centre of the reserve. The Resident Agent of the New Zealand Company proposed that 20 acres would be used for establishing the Waikawa Village and 95 acres for their cultivations would be immediately adjacent.⁷²¹

On 4 March 1850, the Government purchased Waitohi from Ngatiawa people as a settlement for the Pakeha.⁷²² Heni Mimikau was an old lady when she gave evidence to the Native Land Court in 1903. She says that the first place she lived, when moving to the Sounds from the North Island, was at Waitohi. She remained there up until the land was sold to the Crown and then moved to Waikawa.⁷²³

According to Enoka Taitea, who was a youngster at the time of the Waitohi purchase, Ropoama was the first to take possession of Waikawa.⁷²⁴ Dr. Don Loveridge has covered the details concerning the Waitohi Purchase in his report. All we are interested in here are the movements and settlement sites of Ngatiawa people.

⁷²⁰ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 266.

⁷²¹ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 265.

⁷²² MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 266.

⁷²³ *Wellington minute book 11*, 10 February 1903, pp 44 - 45. Evidence of Heni Mimikau. She was married to Kereopa and lived formerly at Arapaoa with her husband.

⁷²⁴ *Nelson minute book 1*, 14 March 1889, p 168. Evidence of Enoka Taitea. Also says that Tawhirikura was Neta's mother.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 5 March 1889, p 199. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

Table 9. Census of Waitohi c1848

Names of Adults		No. Children		Names of Adults.		No. Children	
Males	Females	M	F	Males	Females	M	F
Ropoama	Ko Neta			Rawiri	Neta		
Tiaki Puku	Kawena		1	Timoti	Kutu		1
Kari Topira			2	Eruera	Miriama		
Moana				Te Roki			
Nga Pungarehu	Kai	1		Ko Koi	Ringa Ringa		
Hohepa	Karia	2	1	Ihaka	Rahera		
Arapere				Mana			
Taka				Ko Kapua			
Hamiora	Kapa				Rahera		
Nopera		1		Timoti			
Hamuiatara				Ropoama			
Tamaki				Eruwira			
Retimana				Nihana	Hene		1
Hona				Materaketa			
Ngara	Ahirangi			Araia			
Paora				Pepene			
Taiko				Imai	Makara	3	
Hakaraia	Pirihia			Kehetu	Pirihira		
Tawhi				Nga Watu	Te Rangi		
Taka				Te Karoro			
Wetikau	Rangihehe		3	Miti Kowanga	Lena		
	Kurae			Te Tawhia			
Makoua	Aterata	1		Akia	Tana		
	Kino			Karanama	Hara		
Te Pa	Miriama						
Total Adults - Males, 46; Females, 25; Children - Males, 8; females, 10. Collected by John Tinline.							

7.12 Return of Ngatiawa to Taranaki 1848

In 1848, after an absence of some 24 years, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, along with many of Ngatiawa, returned to Taranaki. They had the express intention of defending their lands against the Government who were trying to purchase it off the Waikato and Maniapoto tribes.⁷²⁵ Ngatiawa never thought for one minute that they had ever given up their lands at Taranaki and nor were they about to let Waikato and Maniapoto sell it. The Government was of course trying to effect a purchase to enable European settlers greater access to the fertile lands at Waitara. It suited the Government, at the time, to purchase land from a

⁷²⁵ Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, pp 83, 86.

couple of tribes who basically had no rights at Taranaki.⁷²⁶ Hadfield held that, although Waikato had been successful in their attack upon Pukerangiora in 1832, they never occupied the land and therefore the rights of the Taranaki people who migrated to the Cook Strait district, prior to the fighting, had not been affected. Hadfield was at Taranaki in February 1840 and says that at that time he had heard nothing of any Waikato occupation.

The first intentions of Ngatiawa returning to Taranaki had in fact arisen in 1842, after word had been received that Ngati Maniapoto had cleared some land at Waitara. One of the Ngatiawa chiefs by the name of Ngaraurekau thus returned to Taranaki with a few of his people to protect the land. In referring to subsequent migrations George Clarke, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, said that the Puketapu were quite eager to sell their land in order that they could acquire muskets and powder to protect themselves against the Waikato.⁷²⁷ It does seem quite obvious that Ngatiawa were prepared to fight the Waikato and Maniapoto if it were found necessary, and this would equally apply to the Government if they chose to get in the way.

Things were serious. Neither Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, nor his father, Reretawhangawhanga, who had died at Waikanae in 1843, ever considered their old tribal claims at Taranaki had been fully extinguished by Te Wherowhero. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake promised his father that he would return with the people to Taranaki. In 1845, these intentions were made public, however, plans for their immediate return were somewhat hindered, owing to the rebellion of Ngati Toa chief Te Rangihaeata in 1846.⁷²⁸ By 1847, other problems had become apparent with the Government opposing the return of Ngatiawa to Taranaki.⁷²⁹ It was not until April 1848, that Ngatiawa made their move.⁷³⁰

Ngatiawa, who had been living in the lower North Island were not the only ones of their number to return to Taranaki. Some had in fact been residing in the South Island, in the Queen Charlotte and the Nelson districts.

An article appeared In the New Zealand Spectator on the 19 April, 1848, and reported that:

William King and the other Natives at Waikanae who intend returning to Taranaki are on the eve of departing, and are only waiting for a favourable wind to commence their intended migration. They have engaged some small coasters to take

⁷²⁶ Ramsden, E. *Rangiatea: The Story of the Otaki Church its First Pastor and its People*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1978, pp 122, 123.

⁷²⁷ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 9 December 1848.

See also:

Clarke, George, *Letter 75*, Hocken Library - MS 53.

⁷²⁸ Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, pp 75 - 83.

⁷²⁹ Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, p 83.

See also:

Mitchell Notes: Compiled at Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 18 June 1992, re Hadfield references, 18 May 1847, p 7.

⁷³⁰ Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, p 86.

a portion of their baggage, and on Saturday, Major Durie, the Inspector of Police, searched these vessels to ascertain if they had on board any ammunition, but none was discovered. The Scotia and Governor Grey were at anchor under Kapiti on Saturday morning, waiting for a fair wind to proceed to Wanganui.⁷³¹

Rev Richard Taylor compiled a census when Ngatiawa reached Whanganui Heads in June 1848. He estimated there were 271 men, 193 women, and 116 children, giving a total of 580 people. On top of this, they had 44 canoes that were fully manned, and four European boats. Included amongst the people were also some of Ngati Ruanui and the Taranaki tribe; both were, by this time, closely allied to Ngatiawa.⁷³² On arriving at Whanganui, Te Rangitake had half expected to have his guns and ammunition seized, however, this did not eventuate. Prior to leaving Waikanae, Te Rangitake had been having problems with the Government concerning the arms he was carrying; he no doubt thought they would try again.

It was not until 9 December that the last of the people reached Waitara. They had taken almost 9 months to make the journey from Waikanae; it must have been a considerable relief to know that it was over.⁷³³

Rev. Taylor says that, in 1851, a party returned to Waikanae from Taranaki. The party had come to disinter the bones of their dead, a custom called hahunga. Taylor met sixty of Ngatiawa at Whanganui on 12 August 1851, as they were making their way south. Taylor tried desperately to dissuade them from their intentions, but to no avail.⁷³⁴

Despite the 1848 and subsequent migrations back to Taranaki, there were still a number that stayed in Queen Charlotte Sound, Nelson, Te Taitapu and the West Coast. They remained behind to take care of the land. Between 1853 and 1854, William Jenkins took a census of the area between Cloudy Bay and Rangitoto, and he identified 315 of Ngatiawa living in Queen Charlotte Sound at this time. In comparison with the other Tainui and Kurahaupo tribes who were accounted for in this census, Ngatiawa represented the greatest numbers.

In October 1859, about fifty of the Ngatiawa (possibly Ngati Hinetuhi) left Queen Charlotte Sound for Taranaki, and upon their arrival there they all, with the exception of two or three, joined the so called 'friendly Natives' under Nikorima and Ihaia.

In 1860, the Ngatiawa residing in Queen Charlotte Sound informed Mr MacKay, Assistant Native Secretary, that 'the whole of those who had left the Sounds as above stated, intended to return, as they could not occupy the lands they formerly possessed at Taranaki, on account of the fighting going on upon them.'⁷³⁵

⁷³¹ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 19 April 1848.

⁷³² Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, pp 86 - 87.

⁷³³ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* 9 December 1848.

⁷³⁴ Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, p 90.

⁷³⁵ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 23 February 1861.

According to Dr. John Robinson, there was a Maori population decline in the Nelson region from the 1850s onwards, caused by an excess of deaths over births. This was accelerated between 1874 and 1878 by emigration, when 146 left Marlborough, Nelson and Westland.

A census conducted in 1878 shows that there were 138 Ngatiawa residing in the northern South Island at the time. Ngatiawa had the largest population of all the tribes. The latter months of 1881 saw the emigration to the North Island of 25 Maori, more than likely Ngatiawa. When a census was done in 1886, they had still not returned.

A census conducted in 1896 shows some interesting figures. There were 332 Ngatiawa identified. Rangitane had the next highest population of 65 persons.⁷³⁶

Table 10. Census of migrations to Taranaki c1848⁷³⁷

Tribe	Canoe	Chief men	Men	Women	Children
<u>Intend settling north of Waitara:</u>					
Ngati Tama	Takahurihuri	Rangikataku	5	5	0
	Wangaroa	Hurihanga	5	2	2
Ngati Mutunga	Tokekura	Ku	5	3	2
	Paterangi	Hokika	5	6	6
	Murutangata	Te Kani-a-Takirau	6	2	2
Pai Tapu	Vessel	Te Ponga	20	2	1
	Kairuru	Te Wirihana	9	5	5
Ngati Rahiri	Mohia	Ongiong	7	8	2
	Haruru ki terangi	Tutawa	9	7	1
	Kaitaniwha	Governor Grey	4	3	1
	Kaihaka	Nicodemus	6	3	3
	Kirioraukawa	Arena	9	8	5
	Kaitone (boat)	Te Kakinga	6	5	2
	Waka Aurangi	Te Kaukau	13	7	4
<u>Intend settling at Waitara:</u>					
Patupo	Taupaki	Te Heke	4	4	1
Manukorihi	Piritahatoha	Maika	5	2	2
	Maroro	Tararua	6	5	3
	Wikitoria	Emoka	5	4	4
	Marokopa	Tamate	5	8	1
	Oropi	Te Rangi	6	7	6
	Tipapa	Hoane	3	3	5
	Taiaioia	Kamu	5	1	0
	Tamatama	Pera	6	5	4
	Kapakanui	William King	3	8	3
	Uenuku	Maniera te Mutu	6	4	4
	Eau	Pukapomate	4	1	1
	Rongatekateka	Wm. Robert Taupinga	4	1	0
	Apupu	Pauna	2	2	3
	Maketu	Takaratahi	3	3	1
	Pukawa	Rewai Tamihaka	4	3	1

⁷³⁶ Robinson, Dr. John, *Demographic Analysis of Maori Population Trends in the Northern South Island / Te Tau Ihu from 1840*, pp 8 - 9, 25.

⁷³⁷ Carkeek, W. C., *The Kapiti Coast, Maori History and Place Names*, Reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1978, pp 86 - 87.

Continued from previous page:

	Heuheu	Hapimana	3	2	2
	Hukipapa	Wirihana	3	2	3
	Rauparaha	Ihaitewarepa	3	3	4
	Aratototara	Heke	5	10	3
	Louisa (boat)	Rawiri	3	4	2
	Prince Albert (boat)	Albert	3	5	2
	Tamakaihou	Raiuera	2	1	0
Intend settling between Waitara and New Plymouth:					
Pukutatu	Wakaaue	Martin Luther	9	4	4
	Okatarewa	Patikitao	6	3	1
	Kawakawa	Henery	6	4	4
Tribe	Canoe	Chief men	M	W	C
South of New Plymouth					
Taranaki	Hekenui	Horopapua	5	3	0
	Ruapairoa	Ohua	5	6	0
	Haraurangi	Haia	4	4	3
	Marietuahu	Petua	4	3	3
Taranaki	(On horses)	42 horses	20	1	0
Ngati Ruanui	Te Warau	Herewini	3	4	4
	Te Waho	Paura	2	2	2
	Te Puruatainui	Kewite	3	3	3
	Rongotekateka	Orumana	2	2	1
	Total removing to Taranaki				
	Men	Women	Children		
	271	193	116	= 580	

Figure 10. See Map book: Ngatiawa Settlement Sites, Queen Charlotte Sound 1840-1850

Distribution of Ngatiawa 1840-1850

Okukari	Anahou	Te Tio and Puhe
Whekenui	Ruakaka	Mangareporepo
Te Awaiti	Toreamona	Te Waiopiopi
Te Iro	Anakiwa	Pakamaru & Puarere
Ipapakareru	Ngakuta	Wakakaramea
Wharehunga	Whenuanui	Te Umuwheke
Mokopeke	Waitohi	
Onauku	Waikawa	
Anatoia	Whatamango	
Cabbage Beach	Maraitai	
Te Kakahu	Hitaua	
Onamaru	Te Weuweu	
Port Gore	Moioio Island	
Point Jackson	Kaihinu	
Little Waikawa		

7.13 Queen Charlotte 1850-1860

Some major changes took place for Ngatiawa during the 1850s. The most significant related to the land purchases, particularly that which took place in 1856. There were still a number of Ngatiawa residing in Queen Charlotte Sound, despite many having returned to Taranaki in 1848; the distribution of Ngatiawa during the 1850s remained very much the same as it had been in 1840.

In 1853, the Archdeacon J. P. Salisbury and his brother boarded the *Augusta* and crossed Cook Strait with the intention of travelling on to Nelson where they hoped to purchase some land. On arrival at Te Awaiti, they wasted no time in progressing their plans. They seized the opportunity afforded to them by four Maori who were preparing their canoes for going to Anakiwa Pah, situated at the head of the Sounds. From here, they could make their way into Te Hoiere and then on to Nelson.⁷³⁸

That night they got as far as the southern end of Tory Channel, where they made camp for the night with the resident Maori. Salisbury is silent in regards to the exact location of this stay, however, from his description it was most likely Hitaua or Maraitai.⁷³⁹

There was no sleep that night for anyone, instead, they spent their time talking around the campfire. After breakfast the following morning, the Salisbury brothers again set off. On rounding Dieffenbach, they continued on up the Sounds, passing a number of small settlements. Eventually they reached Anakiwa Pa, situated at the most south-west extremity of the Sounds. There were at least 100 of Ngati Rahiri⁷⁴⁰ living there. The pa was enclosed by a stout palisade and, within the confines of the pa, there were a number of small huts and a chapel. Along the shores there was a fleet of canoes ready for use. To one side of the bay, there was a 70 foot war canoe housed under a low thatched shed. To the rear of the pa, much of the land was under cultivation.⁷⁴¹ The Salisbury brothers did not spend a great deal of time at Anakiwa or in Queen Charlotte Sound, but what they recorded of the events, is of particular interest here.

Archdeacon J. P. Salisbury recorded the following account of his travels. These events follow immediately after their departure from Hitaua or Maraitai, as discussed above:

Our course now tended to the northern shore of the Sound, whilst in many of the bays running inland might be seen smoke, indicating a native village or two, to which the men would point, give a name, and then run on again. Then we ran close in under a pretty wooded island, the bright green of which, and the dark rocks, were reflected in the far depths below, and clusters of mussels, seaweed, star fish, and the

⁷³⁸ MacDonald, C. A, *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 243.

⁷³⁹ MacDonald, C. A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, pp 243 - 244.

⁷⁴⁰ MacDonald, C. A, *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, pp 244 - 245.

⁷⁴¹ MacDonald, C. A, *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, pp 245 - 246.

like. Shoals of mullet, a garfish now and then, all to be hidden in dark blue water, as we shot into the open Sound by the island called Tahuahua...

We now pass some small bays which we were told were Kiripirip, Whenuania [Whenuanui], and Ngakutu [Ngakuta], the last-named being marked by a bold wooded peninsula, running far back northward into the Sound, while away back in the recess appeared a wooded valley with a clearing and Maori *Pah* to the front, all bounded and skirted with a bright golden strip of beach.

At last the head of the Sound was reached, known by the name of *Anakiwa Pah*, and quite a populous place, and picturesque in the extreme. Dark huts clustered together on a rising ground, one, more imposing than the rest being the church or chapel, the whole *pah* being enclosed by a stout palisade. Stiles were fixed at different corners by way of fortification against the visits of the Waikatoos, who might perchance pay an unexpected visit.

A great welcome awaited the young white men. They were conducted to the *pah*, and the chapel was to be the strangers' dormitory. These churches are mostly well-built, the high door and lattice-reed windows, the walls decorated with consummate taste, with bright yellow reeds in contrast to the ebony obtained from fern tree trunks arranged in quaint designs; the floor was covered with flax mats. The missionary was a middle-aged native, whose sober, kindly bearing was fully in accord with the title bestowed.

There may have been quite a hundred Maoris there, and a very sober, quiet, diligent folk did they appear to be. Quite a fleet of canoes lay there ready for use. At the back of the *pah* were extensive patches of cultivation, potatoes, kumeras, and Indian corn.

At one side of this bay lay a fine war canoe, carefully covered in a low thatched shed. The canoe was over seventy feet long, the gunwale being neatly lashed with dressed flax and latticed with straw, which gave a good effect against the bright red sides; the stern and posts were beautifully carved. What scenes of war and bloodshed had the weird craft been engaged in! Doubtless she had borne many a cargo of dead bodies, but all past now.

We stayed the Sunday at Anakiwa, and were much struck with the subdued bearing of the natives; they had religious services at least twice during the day in the chapel, and they reverently asked a blessing, with real earnestness apparently, before meals, a lesson, indeed, to some white men.⁷⁴²

In July 1861, Alexander Scott Duncan and his daughter moved to the Grove, where they built their first home at the edge of a Maori track. According to them, the Ngati Rahiri were settled at Anakiwa where there was a large pa; smaller groups settled in different spots. Mrs

⁷⁴² MacDonald, C. A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, pp 244 - 246.

Duncan remembers on one occasion in 1866, when Ngati Rahiri built a war canoe for the purposes of transporting a crew to Waikato to fight in the uprising.⁷⁴³

Continuing on with the Salisbury brothers, they eventually reached their destination of Nelson and from there continued on to Motueka. They had no luck in finding suitable land at Nelson and this was the same situation at Motueka. It was decided that a visit should be made to the Wairau, as favourable reports had been heard of this place. On their travels there, another visit was made to Anakiwa Pa. This time he mentions Waitohi and a white man by the name of McDonald.⁷⁴⁴ He and his Maori family were the sole occupants of Waitohi at this time.⁷⁴⁵ Salisbury also alludes to Ngatiawa people at Waitohi having moved to Waikawa:

‘We were welcomed by our old friends aforementioned,’ proceeds Mr Salisbury, ‘and, hearing our intentions, they told us they had a boat which belonged to McDonald of Waitohi, and we might take it down to him. With full instructions as to which creek we were to turn into we voyaged down the Sound... and in due time reached Picton, known then as Waitohi. McDonald’s hut was not far from the beach and he soon came down, surrounded by some fierce-looking pig-dogs, to give us welcome, and a hearty one it was...

His wife, a Maori lady, was introduced as the ‘Missus.’ She looked years younger than her husband. They had three children. Yes, he said, he had the whole township to himself, and he appeared to think it would always be so, though we could see survey pegs marked out and numbered near at hand.⁷⁴⁶ He had seen a great deal in his time, he said, of bloodshed and cannibalism - had often been trading with the natives and whaling off and on for years. He was about sixty, and could hardly speak a word of Maori himself, and appeared to take a pride in his deficiency.⁷⁴⁷

The Salisbury brothers spent the night with McDonald and the following morning were sent on their way to the Maori pa at Waikawa. Here they were given instructions on how to get to Port Underwood:

In the morning we were conducted to Waikawa, a rough kind of native village, lots of canoes shining in the sun, painted bright ochre - a compound the natives manage to burn into their crafts all hot. Here we were shown a mountain spur, which if we

⁷⁴³ *Recollections of Mrs Duncan-Smith, daughter of Alexander Scott Duncan*. Transcribed by Mike Taylor.

⁷⁴⁴ MacDonald, C. A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 246.

⁷⁴⁵ This is a different McDonald to those who were living at Wairau. See: *Nelson minute book 3*, 19 April 1899, pp 367-368. Evidence of George McDonald: ‘I live at Wairau. I was born at the mouth of the Boulder Bank (about 1853).’ There were other Rangitane living to the Northwest including Rea Makitanare, Wi Maui (Te Keukeu) and Karonira Paraone. Rea Makitanare lived at Tautaranui.

See also:

Nelson minute book 3, 19 April 1899, p 370. Evidence of Tuiti Makitanara. The latter cultivated at Tautaranui.

⁷⁴⁶ MacDonald, C. A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, pp 246 - 247. Waitohi Township was surveyed in 1848.

⁷⁴⁷ MacDonald, C. A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 247.

followed some miles eastward, would bring us to the dividing range between Queen Charlotte Sound and Port Underwood.⁷⁴⁸

William Jenkins wrote a report in respect of a visit to Queen Charlotte Sound in 1853-1854. Jenkins had apparently arrived at Waitohi where he and Brunner (who was accompanying him), spent a night amongst Ngatiawa. Despite the Waitohi purchase, 3 or 4 years earlier, there were still some of Ngatiawa who were frequenting the area. The following morning Jenkins then travelled on to Anakiwa where he met with the Ngati Rahiri. They were asked to assemble all their people and told that they would be visited again by Jenkins and Brunner, after Christmas day. The object of Jenkins visit was to try and secure a deal with Ngatiawa in respect of the land.

When Jenkins and Brunner did finally return, they went to Waikawa and after finding the Natives were in Tory Channel seeking Christmas cheer, they proceeded to this part of the Sound.⁷⁴⁹ It appears that Jenkins and Brunner went to Te Awaiti and spent Christmas amongst Ngatiawa who were residing there with some of the early European whalers.

After a day of Christmas rest, Jenkins visited Ngawhenua, otherwise known as Whitikau. According to Jenkins, 'Ngawheua is a fine fellow, high spirited and independent, yet very friendly to white men. Though very quiet, he is an eloquent speaker, always commanding attention, and generally carries his point: he is one of the oldest residents in Queen Charlotte Sound.'⁷⁵⁰ Whitikau was of course one of the principal Ngatiawa chiefs.

Jenkins and Brunner were particularly eager to purchase Whitikau's interests in the Sounds, but as they would discover, he would refuse to do anything of the sort. As far as he was concerned, the land was required for his people to live on. At one stage Brunner and Jenkins even tried to play Ngati Toa off against Ngatiawa, by saying the former had sold the land anyway, an assertion that was out right rejected by Ngatiawa. Whitikau's response was, 'My land is not sold, nor has anyone but myself a right to sell it; and I have never been asked to do so by the Government. When I sell it I shall make my own bargain and receive the money for it into my own hand, or it shall never go.'⁷⁵¹

Jenkins and Brunner returned to Te Awaiti that night without achieving their purpose. This did not, however, deter them. On the following morning (27 December), they again went to see Whitikau, perhaps in hope that the old chief may have changed his mind. This was not the case and Whitikau was firm to his word. After sharing breakfast with him, Jenkins and Brunner moved on further up the Sounds, accompanied by Whitikau and some of his people.

⁷⁴⁸ MacDonald, C. A. *Pages From The Past: Some Chapters in the History of Marlborough*, H. Duckworth, Blenheim, 1933, p 247.

⁷⁴⁹ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 298.

⁷⁵⁰ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 298.

⁷⁵¹ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 298.

There were a number of Ngatiawa that gathered at the first place they stopped, and that evening they sat to discuss matters concerning the sale of the land. It would appear that the meeting was held at Waikawa, the place where many people had gone to live following the sale of Waitohi. The outcome of the meeting was that some of the chiefs would be prepared to sell the land, provided they received a fair price, and secondly, that they would reserve unsold certain places of their own choosing. In terms of the sale that had been completed by Ngati Toa, Jenkins says, 'They appeared very jealous of the proceedings of Ngatitua, and strongly asserted their individual right to the land they possessed, and to the payment for it should it be sold.'⁷⁵²

The following day Jenkins continued further up the Sounds until they reached the pa at Ngakuta. Some of the chiefs here were Tuwhata (Hone Tuhata), Rawiri, Te Roupunga, Hemi Kepa, as well as others. The first two appear to have been supportive of the land being sold,⁷⁵³ but they may not have been permanent residents at Ngakuta.⁷⁵⁴ In any case, Whitikau who had continued to follow Jenkins and Brunner, again laid it down that no agreements would be entered into, at least for the time being. This was a view that was expressed by Ropoama, who had also joined Whitikau. After taking down some of the particulars, Jenkins travelled on to the Ngati Rahiri pa at Anakiwa.

According to Elvy, there were two villages situated at Ngakuta. The main pa seems to have been at the head of the Bay, although there was another situated on the Peninsula that served as a refuge when under attack. There is also an urupa situated on the Peninsula that was in subsequent years given to the Crown to look after in order that the bones of their ancestors should not be disturbed.⁷⁵⁵

According to Jenkins, they did not have a lot of land. They appeared much annoyed at a European called Joseph Thoms who apparently had a claim to some of the land at Anakiwa. Ngatiawa view of the matter was that Thoms had not purchased the land, and that it was only the timber and not the land that was sold. Jenkins says that there were 1160 acres of land involved in the Thoms claim. Ngati Rahiri also argued that they wished for a Reserve to be made off for them on the Thoms land but this was something that neither Jenkins nor Brunner was prepared to commit to.⁷⁵⁶

Continuing on from Jenkins, the following day (29 December), they travelled down the western side of the Sounds until they reached Torea. Here he mentions the saddle leading

⁷⁵² MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 298.

⁷⁵³ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 298.

⁷⁵⁴ *Nelson minute book 1*, 8 March 1889, p 89. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 8 March 1889, p 89. Evidence of Mere Naera.

⁷⁵⁵ Elvy, W. J., *Marlborough Express*, The Grove Track: An Historical Survey, Meaning of Maori Names, 24 April 1948, p 34. Elvy says that the name Ngakuta is derived from edible seaweed that could be found at this place. He says it could be eaten with flesh or fish in a Maori oven.

⁷⁵⁶ Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, pp 298 - 299.

over the hill into the Pelorus Sounds and adds that canoes had been dragged over the saddle in times of war. We mentioned this place in our discussions concerning Ngatiawa attack upon Queen Charlotte, almost 25 years earlier.

By 30 December, Jenkins and Brunner were at Whatamango. That evening they continued on to Tory Channel and spent that night and the following day at Te Awaiti, with a Mr Bowden.

On the following Monday, they proceeded to Ships Cove and after a night there, they travelled across the Northern Entrance to Onamaru⁷⁵⁷ (Cabbage Beach), a large and favourite settlement of the Puketapu and Ngati Rahiri tribes.⁷⁵⁸ According to Brunner, Ngatiawa had cultivations on the sides of the hills and although the land was steep, they could still produce a good crop.⁷⁵⁹

On their arrival, messengers were dispatched over the hill to muster the natives from the various cultivations, and before evening the place was swarming with men, women and children. A korero was held at night, and continued until nearly daybreak. The principal speakers were Heremaia, Te Matenga, Aminarapa, Tamati Waka, Hoani Koenaki, Wiremu Paratene, Hori Patene and Rihari.⁷⁶⁰ Jenkins and Brunner did not, at this stage, enter into any of the discussions. It was not until the internal politics had been dealt with that they were given the opportunity to speak.

Jenkins, more or less, put to Ngatiawa that their lands had already been sold and that all that remained to be done was the laying off of Reserves. In response to this, Ngatiawa said:

This is all very good, but we now tell you that you and the Government are playing with us. Mr. McLean has broken faith with us, and instead of paying the remaining instalments in Nelson, as agreed upon when we signed the document you refer to, he has actually only a few days since paid into the hands of Ngatitoa the sum of £2000, without asking our consent, or even acquainting us with his intention of doing so.⁷⁶¹

Ngatiawa were much annoyed at Ngati Toa having received the £2000. They said to Jenkins:

... those Ngatitoas appear to do as they please with the Government: they ask for the loaf and it is given them without a word, but we have to beg for the crumbs, and wait a long time before they are thrown to us. However, we will let them (the Ngatitoas) see that this land is our own and not theirs, and that the money they

⁷⁵⁷ Onamaru is situated further north. The nearest pa to Cabbage Beach was Te Kakahu.

⁷⁵⁸ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299.

⁷⁵⁹ Brunner's *Field Book*, 2 January 1855.

⁷⁶⁰ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299.

⁷⁶¹ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299.

received the other day shall not be considered by us as any part of the payment for Arapawa. The money for this land shall be paid into our own hands, as it was into the hands of our friend Tamati Ngarewa the other day at Nelson. 'Tis true we signed the deed to which you refer, but we are not compelled to adhere to it, since Mr. McLean and Ngatitoas have violated its conditions.' The speaker then turned to the company and asked, 'Do [you] approve of these words spoken by me?' when every voice responded loudly and heartily, 'Ae, ae, tika rawa, - Yes, yes, it's quite correct.'⁷⁶²

Jenkins and Brunner did not stay too long after they had spoken. They retired to their boat and did not return again until that evening. By this time the position of Ngatiawa was that they would part with some of the land. They then pointed out what they would sell, and what they wanted for it. This information was written down but we have no record of it.

On 4 January, Jenkins and Brunner returned to Ships Cove and visited a Mr Elmslie who was residing amongst Ngati Hinetuhi at Anahou. Here, there were also some discussions with Tamati Ngarewa in respect of the land, and it was decided from this that he would have a reserve for him and his people at Port Gore. Jenkins refers to this place as Gore Harbour.⁷⁶³

The following day these lands were inspected in the company of Ngarewa and Ngati Hinetuhi. That night was spent at Te Maka Whiu, a small bay occupied by a white man named Smith (Te Mete). Jenkins spent the next two days at Port Gore surveying off Ngarewa's Reserve, which was referred to as the Anamahanga Block. According to Jenkins, the Reserve was in fact made for Ngati Hinetuhi and Ngati Apa. This brings us to the point where we must look more closely at the circumstances leading to Ngati Apa being in Port Gore. Jenkins statement may have been quite loosely said. We shortly discuss more of the background concerning the occupation of Ngati Apa at Port Gore.

Brunner, who we have referred to as being with Jenkins in the above account, wrote his report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, on 11 January 1855. There is one important difference in the separate accounts and this relates to Ngatiawa claiming they had an equal right to the land rather than as Jenkins puts it, an exclusive right. Jenkins was in fact the interpreter and Brunner had little knowledge of the language.⁷⁶⁴

7.14 Ngati Hinetuhi block at Port Gore

In 1883, the Native Land Court sat at Waikawa to hear evidence in respect of the ownership of this reserve. Essentially, the case revolved around Ngati Apa who were claiming they had a right to the land through their occupation. The evidence, however, suggests that this was not quite the case. Ngati Apa had been taken in by Ngatiawa following the southern

⁷⁶² MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299.

⁷⁶³ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 299.

⁷⁶⁴ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 294.

campaign, which conquered the northern South Island. When the Taranaki wars broke out in 1860, most of Ngati Hinetuhi returned to Taranaki to assist their relatives. Before leaving, they instructed Ngati Apa to remain on the land.

Kereopa Pura of Ngati Apa gave evidence concerning the Hinetuhi block. He says that after the conquest they lost their rights to the land but were afterwards allowed to live at Anamahanga, Anahou and Totaranui. Pura says that the land was originally set up for Ngati Hinetuhi but that Ngati Apa were living with them. Shortly after the sale of land to the Crown in 1856, Ngati Hinetuhi returned to Taranaki, and before leaving they told Ngati Apa to remain upon the land. In so far as the relationship between the two tribes was concerned, Pura acknowledged that they held no position:

When Ngatihinetuhi lived at Anamahanga we lived there with them, but we were not on the same footing. The land was set apart for Ngatihinetuhi, but we lived with them, but held no position up to the time of their leaving the land.

Received some of the money paid by the Government for the land, but it was only given out of good will. Ropoama te One gave me £4 and Nopera and Haimona gave me £3.

Otaki was set apart by Messrs Brunner and Jenkins at the request of Tamiti Taopuku.⁷⁶⁵

The son of Kereopa Pura also gave evidence on the Anamahanga land. He also acknowledged Ngati Hinetuhi and that Ngati Apa had been told to stay and look after the land and to not go elsewhere. The departing words of Ngati Hinetuhi were, 'Kia u te moko ki te whenua.' Another statement made by the son was that the Anamahanga block had been established for Ngati Apa and Ngati Hinetuhi. At the same time though, he says, 'It was Ngati Hinetuhi who had the reserve made there. It was Nikorima Mapihi who asked for the land as well as Tamati Ngarewa.' At the time of the hearing taking place, Pura had been living on the land for some time and had about 30 acres of the land under cultivation.⁷⁶⁶

Hemi Matenga responded to the evidence submitted by Pura and his son, while acting in the interests of Ngati Hinetuhi. He says that Ngati Hinetuhi reserved the land at Anamahanga in 1854 and that the only land retained by them was at Anamahanga and Otaki. Matenga went on to say that, 'I don't admit that Kereopa Pura and his party had any right to the land although they were living with Ngatihinetuhi when the reserve was made.'⁷⁶⁷

In response to Matenga's evidence Kereopa said that when he was young he lived at Anahou. He went on to acknowledge that at that time, the land at Anamahanga was reserved for Ngati Hinetuhi and not Ngati Apa. The reason for this he could not explain. He did, however, say that the 'Ngatihinetuhi are not disposed to consider Ngatiapa in the

⁷⁶⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 118. Evidence of Kereopa Pura.

⁷⁶⁶ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 119. Evidence of Kereopa Pura (Jnr).

⁷⁶⁷ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 119 - 120. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

matter because of their longer occupation of the land.’ In response to a question from the court Kereopa Pura stated:

... heard the poroporoaki of Ngatihinetuhi to Ngatiapa, when they went to Taranaki, it was to the effect that they the Ngatiapa were to remain permanently on the land.⁷⁶⁸

It is most noticeable that Kereopa and his son both fell short of saying the land was given to them. Raniera Ellison was one of Ngati Hinetuhi at the hearing of the Anamahanga block and gave the following evidence:

I belong to Ngatihinetuhi. I know of the place called Anamahanga and know that it was reserved for that hapu. I know they were living there at the time the land was sold. Never heard that they had left the land to Ngatiapa. Ngatihinetuhi did not tell me that they done so. Henare Ngakoti and Te Wakapake both spoke of the land to Matenga when they visited Nelson and they asked him to take care of it. Never heard from Ngatihinetuhi that they had abandoned the land.

Was asked why Hewa did not go to Anamahanga to live, and remarked in reply that it was possible he preferred living at Waikawa to be close to the Public houses.⁷⁶⁹

In Kereopa Pura’s closing submission to the court he stated that if the land at Anamahanga had been papatipu land, then the people who had been saved (Ngatiapa) would be entitled to part of the land.⁷⁷⁰

In the Courts decision, which was given on 12 March 1889, it was stated that the land belonged to Ngati Hinetuhi. However, owing to the length of time that Kereopa Pura had been in occupation, without any disturbance from anyone, it was thought right to grant him and his son some of the land. Five acres was granted; this encompassed the place where their houses were standing. The remaining part of the block was granted to Ngati Hinetuhi, for which Raniera Ellison submitted names. There were 36 names in total.⁷⁷¹

It is of particular interest that on 11 March 1889, the court heard evidence in respect of the adjacent block of land that was called Otaki. Hemi Matenga stated to the court that the land had originally been reserved for Ngati Hinetuhi but they were happy to give the land to Kereopa Pura, his son and 3 others by the name of Te Mete (Smith). There were no objections to this and the land was ordered accordingly.⁷⁷²

7.15 The 1854 and 1856 Native Reserves

Despite the refusal of Ngatiawa to sell their land, the Government surveyor Mr Brunner, along with Jenkins the Native Interpreter, were sent to Queen Charlotte to mark off reserves

⁷⁶⁸ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 120. Evidence of Kereopa Pura.

⁷⁶⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, pp 120 - 121. Evidence of Raniera Ellison.

⁷⁷⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 121. Evidence of Kereopa Pura.

⁷⁷¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, pp 123 – 124. Judgment.

⁷⁷² *Nelson minute book 1*, 11 March 1889, p 139. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

for the resident Ngatiawa. Owing to the non-existence of any agreement by Ngatiawa to accept the Ngati Toa sale, they were unable, except in a few instances, to effect any permanent adjustment in respect of the land being surveyed. The lands that were settled upon in 1854 were the interests of the Ngati Hinetuhi. Although they seem to have been principally settled down the western side of the Northern Entrance, between the 1840s and 1850s, they reserved lands in Port Gore, known as Anamahanga. Ngati Hinetuhi also participated in the later sale that was to take place.⁷⁷³

Twelve months later in November 1855, another attempt was made to survey the land in Queen Charlotte. By this time McLean had had further negotiations with Ngatiawa. Shortly after 13 November, a survey party arrived in the Sounds, and despite there still being some opposition to the lands being surveyed, the survey was completed by 15 January 1856.

On 9 February 1856, a deed of sale was finally executed with Ngatiawa for their claims to land within the greater Queen Charlotte.⁷⁷⁴ In a report dated 7 April 1856, Commissioner McLean wrote of a visit to the Queen Charlotte Sound where he met with Ngatiawa at Waikawa, with the purpose of effecting a sale. Negotiations in fact went on for some days.⁷⁷⁵

McLean wrote in his report that the unsettled state of Ngatiawa tribe, and the disposition manifested by them to return to their former possessions at Taranaki, made negotiations difficult.⁷⁷⁶ McLean was in no way wanting to see Ngatiawa return to Taranaki where there were already major land problems relating to those who had returned with Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake in 1848. McLean was therefore put in a position where he had to assent to reserves of considerable extent being assigned to Ngatiawa, in the various bays they then inhabited.⁷⁷⁷ Whilst McLean may have thought he was making concessions by creating larger reserves, the fact is that much of the land reserved was unuseable, consisting of mountainous country and cliff face.

McLean wrote that Ngatiawa attached great importance to the Sounds, as the scene of many hard fought battles and of final conquest. They had already built up a lucrative trade with whaling ships from different parts of the world. They could also resort to its well-sheltered bays and harbours for supplies of fish, throughout all seasons of the year.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷³ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 294.

⁷⁷⁴ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 314.

⁷⁷⁵ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 302.

⁷⁷⁶ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 302.

⁷⁷⁷ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 302.

⁷⁷⁸ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 302.

On 9 February, a deed of sale was finally executed with Ngatiawa for their claims to land within the greater Queen Charlotte and outer Pelorus Sound. The following table lists the signatories:

Table 11. Signatories to Ngatiawa Deed of Sale - 9 February 1856⁷⁷⁹

Te Maraini x Huriwhenua	Ihaka Mauriri
Hoera Tauhei	Whitikau Ngawhena x
Tereti Repo	Hohepa Ngapaki
Ihaia x Te Ahuroa	Tuhatu x Hone Wetere
Tiriti x Pakaroa	Tamiti Te Hawe
Amiria x Te Piata	Hoani x Ngapake
Mohi Waikawau x	Aranumu x Koparaura
Patara x Tawanga	Inia Tuhata
Morea x	Wiremu Te Puke x
Hakaraia x Te Tapu	Himiona x Wetanuku
Hakaraia x Te Ngongohau	Hemi x Te Mura
Te Tura x Ngarawhare	Rihari x Te Kanau
Nehana x Pakira	Tamiti x Katipi
Hori x Karaka Te Kihi	Ropata x Te Pana
Tahana x Apo	Wiremu x Tohea
Kirihipa x Rapa	Hamuera x Tutawai
Porana x Wharemaru	Wiwi x Rangimoko
Ropoama x Teone	Hori Kewetone x
	(And 130 others).

⁷⁷⁹ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 314.

Two days after the purchase, the following list, representing Ngatiawa families or hapu, was collated for the purpose of dividing payment from the 1856 purchase:

Table 12. Principle Ngatiawa chiefs and hapu at time of 1856 purchase⁷⁸⁰

Name of Principal men	Names of Hapu	Name of Principal men	Names of Hapu
Whitikau	Ngatiawa	Te Rei	Ngatirahiri
Ropoama	Ngatituaho	Himona	Ngatiwaiparea
Herewini	Ngatihitinga	Hemi	Ngatitarepa
Te Matene	Ngatikahukura	Minarapa	Ngatitarewa
Hohepa	Ngatikuru	Paora Koinaki	Ngatiterematou
Tamiti Te Hawe	Ngatihaumia	Rihari Tahuaroa	Ngatikomako
Tamiti Hipimana	Ngatitu	Karoraina	Ngatihinerauhui
Rena	Ngatihinehuru	Paratene	Ngatihine
Timoti	Ngatiwai	Hare Purumeru	NgatirangiNgatiteao
Henere	Ngatituiti	Karira	waina
Hoani Tuhatu	Ngatiturapunanui	Tamati	NgatiruakiNgatitu
Wirimu Onataika	Ngatihaumia	Whakapakeke	Ngatimawahine
Kereopa	Ngatiuenuku	Horomana	Ngatikaituaroa
Marami	Ngatirahiri	Hamarama	Ngatitewiti
Te Watene	Ngatimoeao	Hone Tanerau	Ngatitai
Hoera	Ngatihine	Pumipi	Ngatitamarereaha
Te Teti	Ngatipopoia	Penaha	Ngatitaraharau
Wi Tapiana	Ngatituhakarangi	Roka	Ngatirahiri
Hakarana	Ngatihangai	Te Pata	Ngatituparekino
Ihaia	Hamua	Hori Patene	Ngatipai
Hori	Ngatiwairaka	Paraone	Ngatihinepakoko
Aperahama	Ngatiarewaere	Hoeta Te Rawe	Ngatipurei
Karu	Ngatirungarou	Heremaia	Ngatikoromoko
Te Tuiti	Ngatiwaewai	Tamihana	Ngatihinetuhi
Hakaraia	Ngamahanga	Ehairu	
		Hapimana	

On 7 March 1889, the Native Land Court sat to hear claims in respect of the lands reserved at Queen Charlotte Sound and Port Gore in 1856. The total of these Reserves was established for the benefit of Ngatiawa, who were resident in the area at the time. These were the only Native Reserves to be set up in the Queen Charlotte and Port Gore, in 1854 and 1856.⁷⁸¹ The Crown established other Reserves, but not all were allocated or had titles issued. They were Landless Native Reserves, which were essentially Crown lands set aside for 'landless people.' In Queen Charlotte Sounds, Landless Native Reserves were set up at Endeavour Inlet, Edgecombe and Miritu. Others were established in the Pelorus Sound,

⁷⁸⁰ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 315.

⁷⁸¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 7 March 1889, p 71.

including an area adjacent to Ngati Hinetuhi lands in Port Gore, and also at Big Bay. A Landless Native Reserve was also established at Tennyson Inlet and interestingly enough, some Marlborough Maori were allocated lands at Port Adventure, on the east coast of Stewart Island. By 1894, none of the Landless Reserves had been occupied.⁷⁸² In addition to these allocations, there were Crown Grants issued to various Maori, such as those issued for sections in Waitohi.

Table 13 Settlement Sites 1856, Tōtaranui – Port Gore

Place name⁷⁸³	Place name
1. Anakiwa	16. Wekenui
2. Iwituroa	17. Te Awaiti
3. Moumourangi	18. Ngaruru (Kiti tautanui)
4. Ngakuta	19. Te Iro
5. Whenuanui	20. Mokopeke
6. Toreamona ⁷⁸⁴	21. Anauku
7. Kaipakirikiri	22. Ngakuta
8. Kumutoto	23. Onanamaru
9. Tunoamai	24. Anatoia
10. Tahuahua	25. Anakokoti
11. Ruakaka	26. Anamahanga
12. Waikawa	27. Umungata
13. Whatamango	28. Anahou
14. Hitaua	
15. Te Pangu	
Source: MacKay - Judge. Nelson Minute Book 1, 7 March 1889., pp 71 -72	

⁷⁸² Alexander, David., Draft report, *Landless Native Reserves in Nelson and Marlborough*, 1998, pp 8 - 10, 53, 60, 62, 63.

⁷⁸³ *Nelson minute book 1*, 7 March 1889, pp 71, 72. By the Court, Judge Mackay.

⁷⁸⁴ *Nelson minute book 3*, 10 February 1897, p 320. See description of the subdivision of Toreamona. The surveys were in part, to follow natural boundaries.

Table 14. Schedule of Ngatiawa Reserves in Tataranui and Port Gore 1856

Native Reserves Established in Ngatiawa 1856 purchase ⁷⁸⁵	
1. Iwiturua	10. Ngaruru
2. Ngakuta	11. Wekenui
3. Whenuanui	12. Mokoapeke
4. Waikawa	13. Onamaru
5. Toreamona	14. Kumutoto
6. Ruakaka ⁷⁸⁶	15. Tahuahua
7. Hitaua	16. Anamahanga
8. Te Pangu	17. Otaka
9. Te Iro	

Figure 11. See map book: Ngatiawa Reserves, Tataranui, 1854, 1856

⁷⁸⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 7 March 1889, pp 70 - 71. Judge McKay.

⁷⁸⁶ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 24 October 1860: According to James MacKay (Jnr.) some of the Natives had been occupying Crown Land at Te Ruakaka and these same people had been occupying these lands prior to the 1856 purchase.

Chapter Eight

8.0 Settlement of the Nelson and West Coast districts

The Nelson Native Land Court records contain the most substantive information concerning pre 1840 history of the Nelson, Motueka, and Massacre Bay districts. The Nelson Tenth's case that was heard at Nelson in 1892 is of particular interest. The investigation of the New Zealand Company Tenth's at Nelson came before Judge MacKay in 1892, on application by the Public Trustee. The Native Land Court proceeded to ascertain the persons beneficially interested in these reserves. In the course of the inquiry it was found that five sets of claimants preferred a right to the land from various causes. Much of the evidence submitted in the Tenth's case related to the rights of the respective tribes, and where each of them were residing throughout the period between 1834 and the arrival of the New Zealand Company c1840. Each of the claimant groups were essentially establishing their rights or *take* to the land.⁷⁸⁷

The Taranaki and Kawhia tribes launched their attack upon the northern portion of the South Island c1829, and brought total disaster to the Kurahaupo people scattered throughout. The Nelson Districts were principally occupied by the Ngati Apa and Tumatakokiri, the latter whom derive their origins from Taupo.⁷⁸⁸ The Ngatiawa, Ngati Tama, Ngati Rarua and to some extent the Ngati Koata, had all been responsible for the demise of these people and others situated on the West Coast of the South Island. Te Rauparaha, although not a participant in the 1829 attack upon the Nelson Districts, was the central point for co-ordinating the attack.

The settlement of the Ngatiawa, Ngati Tama and Ngati Rarua, following the southern conquest of c1829, was gradual with the first significant influx of people going there in 1834. Others of them had arrived earlier, but they seem to have had more of a military presence. Many of the women and children would still have been residing in the North Island, and the wars between the northern and southern tribes were far from over.

Ngatiawa, Ngati Rarua, Ngati Tama and Ngati Koata were the only ones of the Taranaki and Kawhia tribes, to take up occupation of the Nelson districts prior to 1840. Ngati Toa did not take up occupation, probably because their principal place of abode was at Kapiti and because there were too few of them anyway to populate the Nelson districts. Ngati Toa

⁷⁸⁷ *Nelson minute book* 3, 21 November 1892, pp 3 - 6. The five claimants were Tupoki Herewini Ngapiko on behalf of Ngati Rarua; Ihaka Tekateka on behalf of Ngati Koata; Huria Matenga on behalf of Ngati Tama Hapu; Hohaia Te Rangiauru on behalf of Ngatiawa; and Meihana Kereopa on behalf of the Ngati Kuia and Rangitane. The court dismissed the Kurahaupo claims.

⁷⁸⁸ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 7 March 1846. The Ngatitumatakokiri, were driven inland by the Taranaki tribes, assisted by Te Rauparaha. The Ngatitumatakokiri were located from the Pelorus River to the Motueka, Massacre Bay, and the western coast, the principal pa's being in the Waimea, on the sandflat near the Snapper fishing ground at Wakatu.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 29. Says that Ngati Apa were the principal owners of the land between Wakapuaka and Farewell Spit at the time of the conquest.

were particularly interested in the Wairau and Kapiti, and Te Rauparaha required most of his people to maintain these two places.

In the following section we intend to traverse the history of the Nelson Districts, prior to 1840, and to outline some of the important events and happenings. Quite clearly, the actual 'settlement' of the people occurred over a number of years, although by the 1840s, the principal districts occupied by the respective tribes were becoming much more fixed. This was despite the people, as individuals or hapu, remaining quite mobile.

8.1 Ngati Koata first to occupy the land - c1824

As we explained earlier in this report, the Ngati Koata were the first of the northern allies to take up occupation of the Nelson Districts. This followed the 1824 battle of Waiorua and the subsequent gift of land by Tutepourangi.

After the battle of Waiorua, it was discovered that the Kurahaupo had captured a young boy by the name of Tawhi. Tawhi was taken back to the South Island where he was kept amongst the Ngati Kuia, then residing in Pelorus Sound.⁷⁸⁹

A war party consisting of the Ngati Toa, Ngati Koata and Kaitangata, accompanied by some of their Ngati Kuia captives, shortly afterwards went in search of Tawhi. On arriving at Opuia in Queen Charlotte Sound, the Ngati Kuia were sent to retrieve him. They eventually found him safe and well at Te Hoiere. Tawhi was not taken back to the North Island but instead remained with Te Patete and Te Kurua in the South Island.⁷⁹⁰ This was done for the following reason:

To avert any reprisals from the northern tribes, Tutepourangi who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Waiorua, made a gift of land to the Ngati Toa and Ngati Koata,⁷⁹¹ although some say it was only to the latter.⁷⁹² Tutepourangi belonged to the Ngati Apa, Ngati Kuia and Rangitane.⁷⁹³ The land comprised in this gift lay between Rangitoto and Te Matau (Separation Point) situated to the north of Motueka. It was after this gift had been made, that some of the Ngati Koata settled the land in the Nelson districts, thus marking the first

⁷⁸⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, pp 308 - 309, 313. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa and Hohepa Horomona.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, p 319. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, pp 254 - 255. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 5.

⁷⁹⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, pp 308 - 309. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, p 319. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁷⁹¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 265. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 257. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

⁷⁹² *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, p 319. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 23. Evidence of Alexander MacKay.

Nelson minute book 1, 17 November 1883, p 15. Evidence of Hemi Whiro.

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, p 316. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa: 'I consider that the gift by Tutepourangi is confined to the Ngati Koata but perhaps Ngatitoa ought also to participate as that hapu assisted to save his life.'

⁷⁹³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, p 325. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

occasion for any of the Kawhia or Taranaki allies being in the South Island.⁷⁹⁴ According to Alexander MacKay, Commissioner of Native Reserves, Tutepourangi's gift only applied to Rangitoto.⁷⁹⁵

Pamariki Paaka, whilst giving evidence in the Rangitane and Ngati Kuia case, had this to say of Tawhi's capture and Tutepourangi's gift of land:⁷⁹⁶

Tawhe of Ngatikoata was captured and his life spared by Ngatiapa at the fight at Waiorua (Kapiti). Ngatitoa and Ngatikoata spared the life of Tutepourangi, and in return for this he gave his land to Ngatikoata.

I cannot explain why Ngatikoata did not reward the Ngatiapa for sparing the life of Tawhe.

Tutepourangi belonged to Ngatiapa, Ngatikuia and Rangitaane.

The Gift of Rangitoto is correct but it also extended to the Matau (Separation Point).

Ihaka Tekateka was the son of Tekateka Wharehia of Ngati Koata and his mother was Nukuhoro of Ngati Kuia, Rangitane and Ngati Apa. In his version of events surrounding the battle of Waiorua and the capture of Tawhi, he says:

Te Rauparaha and his party afterwards crossed over to the South Island and landed at Opuia to attack the residents of this Island owing to Tawhe having been captured by them.

There were three hapu's who came with Te Rauparaha viz. Ngatitoa; Ngatikoata and Kai Tangata. On reaching Opuia they released Tutepourangi e ui atu whenea kua patua e Tawhe E ki ana tana iwi kei te ora ano at Te Hoiere with Ngatikuia.

Some of the Ngatikuia were sent to fetch Tawhe. He was brought to Te Rauparaha. Ka houhia te rongo.

Rauparaha and party then returned viz, Ngatitoa and Kaitangata, Ngati Koata remained at Rangitoto taking with them Tutepourangi.

On reaching Rangitoto Tutepourangi gave all his land to Ngatikoata and Ngatitoa. The boundaries of this Tuku commenced at Rangitoto and went to Whitikareao on the Main land thence towards the West Kaiaua; Wakatu; Waimea; Motueka; and on to Te Matau (Separation Point) where the boundaries terminated.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁴ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 254 - 256. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 265. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, pp 319, 325. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁷⁹⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 19 November 1883, p 23. Evidence of Alexander MacKay.

⁷⁹⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, p 325. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁷⁹⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 253 - 255. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

Not long after being at Rangitoto, the Ngati Koata went on a visit to the surrounding lands gifted to them by Tutepourangi. They met a number of the Kurahaupo at various villages and kainga as they worked their way around to Te Matau. Tekateka and Kereopa named some of the places occupied by the Kurahaupo at the time. They were Whitikareao, Te Kaiti, Whangamoa, Wakapuaka, Nelson, Horoirangi, Waimea and Motueka.⁷⁹⁸

While at Waimea, a chief by the name of Turangahapuku told Ngati Koata about a waka called Te Awatea. It had apparently been hidden in Motueka at a place called Pakihi. Ngati Koata proceeded to Motueka, where the waka was eventually located and taken possession of by them.⁷⁹⁹

On the way back to Rangitoto, Tekateka was left at Whakatu to take charge of the land and later on he was joined by some of the Ngati Apa and Tumatakokiri. Tekateka seems to have moved between here, Whakapuaka and Waimea.⁸⁰⁰ As mentioned earlier, Te Patete and Te Kurua of Ngati Koata went to Te Hoiere. Later on it appears Te Patete went to Rangitoto⁸⁰¹ and was afterwards joined by Te Whetu.

In 1883 and 1892, the Native Land Court dealt with the question of Tutepourangi's gift. The court took the view that the evidence presented did not support the argument that land between the southern end of Wakapuaka and Separation Point, was included in the gift of Tutepourangi to Ngati Koata. The text would suggest the gift did not take place at all rather than it being invalidated by the 1829 conquest.⁸⁰² One witness even suggested that the gift of Tutepourangi was made up and that it was done to make Ngati Koata's claim look superior.⁸⁰³ Some of those giving evidence claimed they did not hear about the gift until they had heard it at the Court. It was something that was never discussed by their old people.⁸⁰⁴ The overall evidence however suggests that the gift did in fact take place.

⁷⁹⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 255 - 256. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, pp 308 - 309. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

⁷⁹⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 256. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, p 309. Evidence of Meihana Kereopa.

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 214. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

⁸⁰⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 256. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 265. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

Nelson minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 18. Evidence of Hoera Ruruku.

⁸⁰¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 256. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

⁸⁰² *Nelson minute book 3*, 21 November 1892, pp 5 - 7. Judgement.

⁸⁰³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 282. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Koata's boundary did not go beyond Wakapuaka.

⁸⁰⁴ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 276. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, pp 281 - 282. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Says, 'I did not hear that Ngatikoata made any attempt to protect the life of the persons they were indebted to, or the lives of the persons with whom they had made peace.'

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 299. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. Did not hear about the gift until it was raised in the court.

8.2 The Taranaki and Kawhia tribes settle the land c1834 -1840

As we discussed earlier, the second attack upon the Nelson Districts had been the most severe. The earlier assault, made by Te Rauparaha and a few of his men, had only been of minor proportions in comparison to the second attack. The principal tribes involved in the second attack were Ngatiawa, Ngati Tama and Ngati Rarua. They hunted and killed a great many of the Kurahaupo people before a section of them continued on down the West Coast where they conquered the land as far south as Arahura.⁸⁰⁵

The next arrival of the northern tribe's occurred with the third attack upon the Nelson Districts, which was in consequence of Te Pehi's bones being turned into fishhooks. The Kurahaupo people were held responsible for this unforgivable act and accordingly paid the price. Somewhere between 1831 and the end of 1833, the northern allies attacked the Nelson districts.⁸⁰⁶

There appears to have been fewer of the Ngatiawa involved in the third attack than there had been in the second. The third occurred at a time in which the Ngatiawa were trying to deal with problems in the North Island and particularly the events concerning Waikato and their attack upon Pukerangiora in 1832. Just prior to this, there had been the concerted attack by the northern allies upon the Ngai Tahu at Kaiapohia and Onawe.

There were witnesses in the Tenths case who stated that the Ngatiawa did not participate at all in the third attack. They were the same people who were claiming Ngatiawa had no *take* to the land. This does not however bear out with other evidence submitted in the Native Land Court or which can be found elsewhere; in any case, the land had already been conquered in 1829. On this occasion, the Ngatiawa had played a major part in the attack and Te Koihua, Horoatua, Tamati Pirimona, Te Hunahuna, Wi Parana, Te Keha, Te Manutoheroa and others were amongst those who were involved. According to Peart, Horoatua was one of the original people to settle the land at Motueka.⁸⁰⁷ The Ngatiawa were still living on the ground when the court sat in 1892.

Much of the evidence given in the Native Land Court tended to confuse the third assault with that which took place in 1829. This is particularly noticeable with the accounts given

⁸⁰⁵ Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, pp 196 - 198. There is a tradition within Te Atiawa that records a mere pounamu that was taken from Tuhuru of the Poutini Ngai Tahu. The name of this mere is Kaikanohi and is apparently held by Ngati Rarua.

See also:

Smith, S. Percy, *History and Traditions of The Taranaki Coast*, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1909, Vol. XVIII, p 196. Otu was the 'Ati-Awa' chief who joined Niho and Takarei against the Poutini Ngai Tahu.

⁸⁰⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, p 196. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. This witness says that the first attack was Niho Mango. There is no reference to Te Rauparaha's earlier assault on Wakapuaka. The second, which was to have taken place after Niho Mango, was to avenge a curse. That curse although not specifically stated, was the desecration of Te Pehi's bones.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 283. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'Te Rauparaha heard that Te Pehi's bones had been taken to Nelson and were used as fish hooks. This caused him to send a war party to attack the people of this Island to avenge the insult... It was Tuhawaiki of Kaiapoi who brought Te Pehi's bones here, not the Tuhawaiki of Ruapeke who killed Te Puoho.'

⁸⁰⁷ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 58, 60 - 61.

See also:

Otaki minute book 11, 2 April 1890, p 235. Evidence of Tamihana Te Karu.

in relation to the attack on Wakapuaka. Different witnesses say that the events concerning Tutepourangi being killed took place in the first, second and third assault on the Nelson districts.

There is also confusion about the time in which Te Kotuku was killed. Was it at Whanganui or Te Mamaku, and was it the second or third attack? What we can be sure of is that a third attack did in fact take place and that the Ngatiawa,⁸⁰⁸ Ngati Rarua, and Ngati Tama were all part of it. This was also the situation on the second attack.

In 1834, tension between the Ngatiawa and Ngati Raukawa in the North Island, had escalated to the point of war between the two tribes. They fought in what became known as Haowhenua. There were hundreds of Ngatiawa who migrated to the South Island following this event, with some going to the Nelson districts. This was also the case with the Ngati Rarua and Ngati Tama.

At least three and possibly four 'main' groups made up the first wave of heke to leave the North Island for the Nelson districts. There were possibly others but they were probably too small or insignificant in number to have been remembered by those giving evidence some 50 to 60 years later in the Native Land Court.

The Ngatiawa were amongst the first wave of heke to have settled the Nelson districts in 1834. Amongst them was Merenako.⁸⁰⁹ She was daughter of Ngaruerangi and Hotu.⁸¹⁰ Merenako was also accompanied by two of her brothers Te Katara and Tame Te Kara. There was also a sister by the name of Toitoi.⁸¹¹

Rangiauru was another important chief of the Ngatiawa who went to reside in the Motueka district from the outset. He belonged to Ngati Maru. It was his grandson Hohaia, who gave

⁸⁰⁸ *Nelson minute book* 1, 10 November 1883, p 9. Evidence of Henare Wiremu. Kotuku was killed by Ngatiawa on the third assault.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 15 November 1883, p 5. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika. Kotuku was killed at Awaruto. He and Paihora were the principal chiefs killed.

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, pp 182 - 183. Kotuku was killed at Te Mamaku by the Ngatiawa.

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, p 196. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. 'It was Puketapu who killed Kotuku.'

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 220. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. It was Puketapu who captured Kotuku.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 224. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. 'It was Puketapu who killed Te Kotuku. It was Heremaia of Puketapu who captured Te Pakepake.'

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November, 1892, p 235. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. 'Kotuku was killed by Ngatiawa.'

⁸⁰⁹ *Nelson minute book* 2, 8 November 1892, p 190. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. 'Ngatiawa occupied Motueka. I whai mana ki Motueka engari i wakarerea. I whai mana nga tangata ia te noho. I whai mana ratou kia ratou taupa Ko nga mea i haere, ka hoki mai te mana kia Ngatirarua. The nature of the tuku was kei konei. Ngatiawa hei mahinga mou... Reupene Maroki and Huta are the only persons of that hapu who are left. No Ngatirarua te mana o Merenako. She was one of the first who went to Motueka but that was through her marrying Taare te Ahimanawa of Ngatirarua...'

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 217. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, pp 292, 298. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁸¹⁰ *Nelson minute book* 7, 21 September 1914, pp 293 - 295. Gives a lot of background on Merenako and her mother who was called Hotu of Puketapu. The father of Merenako was Ngaruerangi and belonged to Ngati Ruanui. Merenako, Hana Te Uruhi, Te Katara, Tame Te Maepa were the children of Hotu. None of these left children. Merenako adopted Mere Paaka. Taare Te Ahimanawa was the husband of Merenako.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, p 192. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. 'I admit that Merenako has through long residence acquired similar rights to Ngati Rarua...'

⁸¹¹ *Nelson minute book* 2, 8 November 1892, p 192. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

some of the evidence we discuss shortly.⁸¹² There were also two brothers by the names of Wi Parana, and Rawiri Putaputa that were amongst the first to settle Motueka.⁸¹³ They were the sons of Tuwaerokura and Ahimanawa, and belonged to Puketapu. Wi Parana's wife was Rangimatohe and their son was Whakamura,⁸¹⁴ also known as Tamati Parana. Tamati married Roka Turangapeke, the sister to Riwai Turangapeke who we discuss further on as going to Whanganui.⁸¹⁵ There were also the Mitiwai who took up occupation in Massacre Bay and these people we discuss further on also.⁸¹⁶ Some of the Ngatiawa such as Te Koihua, were already on the ground, having been part of the military presence that had been in the area, possibly since the time of the utu concerning Te Pehi's bones being turned into fish hooks,⁸¹⁷ possibly even earlier.

Hohaia Rangiauru says that a number of the Ngatiawa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Koata, crossed to the South Island about the time of Haowhenua. There are two heke referred to by him.⁸¹⁸ Merenako,⁸¹⁹ Te Katara and others of the Ngatiawa were amongst the first to have gone to the Nelson districts and Pukekohatu, Te Iti, Whatanui, Te Haramu, Ngaru, Hikaka and Anarewa were some of the Ngati Rarua.⁸²⁰

⁸¹² *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, p 192. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁸¹³ *Personal Communications*, Ropata Taylor, April 2003.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, p 189. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 292. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁸¹⁴ *Personal Communications*, Ropata Taylor, April 2003.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 221. Evidence of Ramari Herewine.

⁸¹⁵ *Personal Communications*, Ropata Taylor, April 2003.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 221. Evidence of Ramari Herewine.

⁸¹⁶ *Otaki minute book 10*, 3 March 1890, pp 399 - 400. Evidence of Inia Te Hunahuna. Came in Niho Puta as a child.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 219. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. '... the land at Aorere belonged to Tamiti Pirimona, no te Mitiwai...' Pirimona apparently took the Ngatiawa to Aorere and that is how they got there.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, pp 220. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. 'Tamiti Pirimona had a 'take' to the land and the others derived their rights through them.'

⁸¹⁷ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and yearbook*, Nelson, 1872, p xxiv.

⁸¹⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 291 - 292. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁸¹⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, p 190. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. The evidence acknowledges Merenako as being one of the first to go to Motueka but that it was through one of her husbands Te Ahimanawa.

See also :

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 217. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Mentions Merenako and her tungane being amongst the first to go to Motueka. Rangiauru is also mentioned but it is said he belonged to Ngati Rarua and Ngati Maru. (Ngati Maru are in fact Ngatiawa or Te Atiawa).

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 222. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. The Ngatiawa remained at Motueka to strengthen Ngati Rarua occupation of the land.

⁸²⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892, p 222. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. 'Mohi Takanga; Hoani Koinake; nga Pakawau (Toheroa Jnr) Ngapuranga cultivated at Te Matu i manaakitia oku tipuna e Te Poa Arama Clarke and others. Te take ko te tukutuku o aku matua...' 'Te Maipa (Tame), Te Katara, Te Unuhi (f), Te Tohe married Himiona were Merenako's brothers and sisters...'

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, pp 291 - 292. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

The second heke, according to Rangiauru, was that of Te Puoho's. He had apparently been part of the earlier heke but had returned to the North Island after the affairs at Haowhenua had settled down. When he returned again to the South Island, he was accompanied by more of the Ngati Tama, Ngati Rarua and Ngatiawa. There were no Ngati Koata amongst them on this occasion.

When the second heke landed at Motueka they found some of the Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua on the land, presumably those mentioned by Rangiauru, or possibly those who had been part of the war party sent there earlier to avenge the desecration of Te Pehi's bones. Te Puoho did not stay in Motueka long and travelled on to Te Taitapu, taking with him some of the Ngati Tama, Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua. Wi Parana, Rawiri Putaputa, Rangiauru, Te Poa Karoro, and their families remained at Motueka. Turangapeke stayed at Motueka after the others had gone, but joined Te Puoho later at Te Taitapu. Hohaia Rangiauru says:

It was not long after the return of the war party to the other Island that the Conflict happened at Haowhenua (1836). Na te Rauparaha and his people Ngatiraukawa; & Ngatituwharetoa; The people who Ngatiraukawa fought against were Ngatiawa; Taranaki; Ngatitama; Ngatiruanui; Peace was restored. Some of the people who went North after the Kaiapoi fight returned here about the time of the conflict at Haowhenua viz. - some of the Ngatirarua; and Ngatikoata; and Ngatiawa crossed over to this Island. After peace was restored the Ngatitama under Te Puoho and others returned to the North Island.

Pukekohatu; Te Iti; Whatanui; Te Haramu; Ngaru; Hikaka; Anarewa; were the people who returned to the South Island in the first place. These people belonged to Ngatirarua. Don't know who the Ngatikoata were who returned. Of the Ngatiawa; Merenako; Te Katara; and others came back.

After the Haowhenua fight the heke of Te Puoho returned, also some of the Ngatirarua; Ngatiawa; Te Puoho's hapu was Ngatitama.

There was no Ngatikoata's amongst that heke.

The party landed at Motueka, some of the Ngatirarua and Ngatiawa were there.

Te Poa Karoro and his party remained at Motueka. Wi Parana of Ngatiawa and his party, Rawiri Putaputa Rangiauru; and their families.

The other part of the heke went on to Te Taitapu viz. - Ngatitama, Ngatirarua and Ngatiawa.

Te Puoho was the leader of Ngatitama who went to Te Taitapu.

Turangapeke remained at Motueka in the first place and afterwards went to Te Taitapu. Do not know the names of the leaders of the other hapu's who went to Te Taitapu.

It was before the arrival of the Company that the Section of Ngatirarua went to Cloudy Bay.⁸²¹

We discussed earlier that Henare Te Keha assisted many of his Ngatiawa relatives in making their way south in 1832, in Te Heke Tamateuaua. Some of these people may have been some of those who are referred to by Rangiauru as going to Te Taitapu. Those that were with Te Keha located themselves at Turimawiri, south of Whanganui Inlet. Other settlements were situated at Whanganui and Aorere. The principal chiefs were Te Koihua, Tamati Pirimona, Rawiri Watino and Te Hunahuna.

Paramena Haereiti was with one of the heke when they departed the North Island in 1834. He discusses the first wave of migrants and provides us with a date.⁸²²

John Guard was the first European to establish a whaling station at Te Awaitei, Queen Charlotte Sound, in 1827. He was unfortunate enough to have gone ashore at Wakapuaka when one of the heke arrived in the Nelson districts. He had just arrived from Taranaki, where the Maori inhabitants had kidnapped his wife. Guard was heading for Cloudy Bay where he hoped to obtain assistance in having her retrieved, but had been blown off course in rough seas. He now found himself in a similar situation to his wife.

For 3 or 4 days, Guard was detained and his boat was plundered of its contents. Guard says that he knew some of these people and had he not, things for him and his crew could have been much worse. Guard was eventually freed and managed to make his way to Cloudy Bay. All this took place in June 1834.⁸²³

Mere Te Momi of Ngati Koata composed a short waiata about Guards visit to Wakapuaka:

Tonga paraki e pupuhi mai nei
 Pakia a aku rongo te pape o Herine
 Kia whakarongo ake ko te Tamaiharoa
 Ko te kai korero
 Kia whakarongo mai koe e Tiaka
 Ka nunumi i te rae a taonui a Kupe

South-west wind blowing hither
 Bearing my news to the boat of Herine,

⁸²¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 291 - 292. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁸²² *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 268 - 269. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

⁸²³ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 94 - 96.

See also:

Baldwin, Olive, *Story of New Zealand's French Pass and D'Urville Island, Book 1*, Field's Publishing House, 1979, pp 69 - 70.

So that Tamiaharoa may hear (being the speaker)
 So that Jack Guard may hear and obey.
 You have now passed the headland of Taonui a Kupe (Jackson Head).⁸²⁴

The heke referred to by Haereiti, (who was, prior to the migrations, residing at a pa in the North Island called Kahikatea), was a fairly large one consisting of 13 canoes. Te Puoho had three waka called Tahuahua, Te Wera and Te Koputara. Paremata, Herewine, Tara and Wi Ngaparu of Ngati Tama were also in charge of some of the waka. Ngati Rarua had a double-hulled waka but no name is given. The Ngati Rarua people included Turangapeke, Te Poa Karoro, Wi Takirau, Takarei Pairata and others.⁸²⁵

There are no Ngatiawa mentioned in this heke although there are witnesses who place Merenako and others of Ngatiawa on the same heke as Te Poa Karoro.⁸²⁶ Haereiti says:

...the fleet went from Ohariu to Oamaru [in Queen Charlotte]. The next day they went to Te Ketu.

Found no one at these places. One of the canoes Te Maungatiroa, got upset at Te Awaiti. Only two women escaped and got on to the Rocks.

They went from Te Ketu to Hikoikoia, near the mouth of the Hoiere Estuary.

Found no one there. From Hikoikoia we went to Ngaionui. From there we went to Anaru near (Te Haumiti).

Found Te Whetu there who was bringing food for the heke. Te Whetu addressed the people. Afterwards Te Puoho addressed Te Whetu and Ngatikoata and sang a song relative to his occupation of the land.

From Anaru, Puoho's party went to Wakapuaka and while there a Boat belonging to a European named Tiaki Kaanga [Jack Guard] arrived. The Natives plundered the Boat. We left Wakapuaka and went to Te Mamaku. Wi Ngaparu's waka went to Waimea.

⁸²⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 94 - 95.

⁸²⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 268 - 269. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, pp 185 - 186. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Te Poa Karoro was one of the first Ngati Rarua to have gone to the Nelson districts.

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 284. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. 'No te heke tuarua ka haere mai te Poa Karoro me Turangapeke. I noho ratou ki Motueka with their relatives.' This heke went to Whanganui soon afterwards.

⁸²⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 217. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Says that there were no Ngatiawa on the heke other than Merenako and her tungane.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, p 190. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Also discusses that Merenako went to Motueka through Taare Te Ahimanawa.

Nelson minute book 2, 8 November 1892, p 185. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 222. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. Says that Merenako and Rangiauru were part of the same heke.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 226. Evidence of Mr. Pitt. Says that Te Poa offered Te Manutoheroa land to live on at Motueka.

Wi Ngaparu's daughter (Hereora) died at Waimea. He did not find any one there. No one was found at Te Mamaku. Te Puoho planted some taro there.

From there the Waka's went to Ana Wakaau. There was no one there at that time. Niho, Te Iti, Pikiwhara, Te Whawharua and Pukekohatu of Ngatirarua were at Anaru.

From Anaru we went to Potikitaua.

Te Iti and some of the Ngatirarua preceded Te Puoho's waka's and on reaching Wharawharangi they were found there.

Ngapiko who was one of the persons who had come over with Te Puoho's party was left behind at Wharawharangi.

We left Ihararia at Ngararahuarau.

Te Whawharua had already reached Takapu. Left Te Whetu and some of the Ngatitama at Takapu.

From Takapu we went to Pariwhakaoho found Kawatiri, Niho, Te Aupouri, Te Whareaitu. Some of the party went by sea and some by land to Te Parapara. Te Puoho settled there. Te Wahapiro and others went onto Pakawau. Te Haereiti and Herewine te Kohuwero were amongst those who went there.

Afterwards Te Puoho and others went to Te Taitapu and settled at Paturau where Niho had already gone.

Te Puoho returned to Te Parapara and went to and fro for several years between there and the Whanganui.⁸²⁷

As we discussed earlier, there were some of the Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua at Motueka prior to the first influx of Maori migrants in 1834. Their presence and occupation had been more military.

In Peart's version of the early settlement of Motueka, Horoatua of Ngatiawa was one of the first to occupy the lands about Motueka and in fact he named the area known as Te Maatu, situated on the South side of the Motueka River. Horoatua and the Ngati Rarua chief Te Poa Karoro, both claimed the land at Te Maatu. Horoatua claimed the land for him and about 70 persons of the Puketapu who were with him.⁸²⁸ One of these people was probably Merenako, a Ngatiawa chieftainess. Peart refers to her as belonging to Ngati Rarua but the

⁸²⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 269 - 271. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

⁸²⁸ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 58 - 61.

descendants of this great kuia say she belonged to Ngatiawa.⁸²⁹ Peart relates a short story concerning Merenako and her naming a place called Ture Auraki.

Some time after arriving in the Motueka district, Merenako journeyed up the mouth of the Waiatua stream, situated near Old Pa Hill. She followed the hillside up the valley to the neighbourhood of what is called Dehra Dhoon. From here she crossed the river and travelled along the foot of the opposite hills, to a place close to the Riwaka butter factory. Here she saw the Riwaka swamp which, at that time, covered a significantly large area. Disappointed by what she saw and considering it of no value to her, she called it Ture Auraki.⁸³⁰

We should also briefly relate another story concerning Merenako. One of the original occupants of the land who had been captured by the northern war parties was a chief called Tupou. Peart says that:⁸³¹



Figure 12. Merenako

... this man [Tupou] had a strong personal tapu, and to such a one the humiliation of being enslaved must have been very galling. The degradation of slavery was more feared by the ancient Maori than death. Along with Tupou came his little daughter, and rather than see her taken into captivity, he made an attempt to kill her. Before this atrocity could be accomplished, which in those days was considered to be right and proper, Merenako, a women of rank who had much influence amongst her people, intervened and said, 'Do not kill her, I will take her and bring her up as my daughter.' This was agreed to, the girl was adopted, grew up, married and some of her descendants were living at various places in the land.

8.3 Ngati Rarua gift land to Ngatiawa

Most witnesses giving evidence on behalf of the Ngati Rarua in the Nelson Tenth case made reference to them gifting land to the Ngatiawa and Ngati Tama, after they arrived in the 1834 heke. Ngati Rarua considered they had a superior claim over the Taranaki tribes, to the land, and particularly those who had arrived after 1834.⁸³² Some of the Ngati Rarua even advanced the argument that Ngatiawa did not participate in the conquest, but this we know is incorrect. Te Koihua and others of Ngatiawa had been involved in the second and third attack, which we have already described. Whilst it can be accepted that Ngati Rarua

⁸²⁹ *Personal communications*, Patrick Park, 1998.

⁸³⁰ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 63.

⁸³¹ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 59 - 60.

⁸³² *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892, p 222. Evidence of Ramari Herewine.

were part of the conquest and were part of the first people to settle the land, so were Ngatiawa.

In terms of the issue concerning the gifting of lands by Ngati Rarua to Ngatiawa, this did take place. However, not all the lands were gifted to the Ngatiawa. The likes of Merenako,⁸³³ Rangiauru, Wi Parana, and Rawiri Putaputa, each had land that was obtained in their own right. In so far as the descendants of these tupuna are concerned, their lands are Te Atiawa. It is under the mana of these tupuna that they receive their land.⁸³⁴

The Ngati Rarua were not the only ones to be gifting land. In some cases the Ngatiawa were the ones gifting land and this was particularly the case at Te Maatu where Merenako gave land to Pukekohatu.⁸³⁵ These were the lands that had been claimed by Horoatua and Te Poa Karoro when they first arrived in the Motueka district.⁸³⁶ In later years Merenako of Ngatiawa made available some of her land to her Ngatiawa relatives that arrived in the Nelson districts in the 1840s.⁸³⁷

In Massacre Bay, the Ngatiawa claimed the land in their own right, not as the result of any gift. Te Koihua of Ngatiawa had fought in many of the battles and after the conquest he settled the area between Aorere and Te Rae. Te Koihua had a right to the land, as did some of the other Ngatiawa that were with him.

When the heke of 1834 arrived in the Nelson Districts, each of the tribes would have had an equal right to a share in the conquered lands, merely through their earlier participation in the conquest. This shouldn't have diminished the rights of those who followed in the proceeding few years either. Settlement of the Nelson Districts did not take place overnight.

Some of those giving evidence in the Tenths case, on behalf of the Ngati Rarua, acknowledged the participation of Ngatiawa in the conquest, despite those who were arguing otherwise.⁸³⁸ One of the Ngati Rarua witnesses went as far to say that the Puketapu conquered the land and that afterwards, the Ngati Rarua occupied their ashes. He would no doubt have been referring to the third attack on the Nelson Districts, which appears to have

⁸³³ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 72. Evidence of Wi Neera.

⁸³⁴ *Personal communications*, Ropata Teira, 1999.

⁸³⁵ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 73. Evidence of Wi Neera.

⁸³⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 58 - 60.

⁸³⁷ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 72.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 24 April 1901, p 51. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Merenako gifted lands to Peeti Kurupopo, Wirupopo and others.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 222. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. The N Rahiri went to Motueka after the arrival of the NZ Company. Witness is referring to those who came after the heke tuatahi: Mohi Takanga, Hoani Koinake, nga Pakawau (Toheroa jnr). (Toheroa's father was Te Manutoheroa who was responsible for the death of Pakipaki at Te Mamaku, c 1830. Te Manutoheroa Jnr had a claim to the land through his father. 'The Ngatirahiri who went to Motueka after the Company viz Wi Punga, Matiu Huriwhare, Paora Taukino, Te Rei Nganiho. I am not able to name all the persons who came...')

⁸³⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, pp 196 - 198. Evidence of Reimana Nutana: 'It was Te Puketapu who conquered the original owners. We occupied the ashes of their fires. It was Puketapu who killed Kotuku.'

been of lesser magnitude than previous ones. Consequently, fewer Ngatiawa would have participated.⁸³⁹

It is not intended here to validate any of the respective claims concerning the gifting of land other than to say that Ngatiawa, Ngati Tama and Ngati Rarua had an equal claim to the conquered lands c1834, merely on the strength of the earlier conquest. The only limiting factor was, as time went on, that the land eventually came to be claimed by those who settled first, or it was taken in the land purchases after the arrival of the New Zealand Company.⁸⁴⁰

8.4 Ngati Koata Tuku Land

Ihaka Tekateka claims that Mauriri of Ngati Koata gifted Motueka to the Ngati Rarua, following the attack c1829. The land lay between Motueka and Separation Point.⁸⁴¹ This is partly supported by Pamariki Paaka, who says the land was given to Niho and Whareaitu and that after the time of Te Pehi's death being avenged, Mauriri and his father in law settled there.⁸⁴² The wife of Mauriri belonged to Ngati Rarua and that was why the gift was made.⁸⁴³

According to Horomona, Ngati Rarua occupied the land at Motueka through the Raupatu, not as a gift from Mauriri of Ngati Koata.⁸⁴⁴ The only gift discussed by Horomona, in relation to the land at Motueka, is one made by Te Puoho of Ngati Tama to Pokekohatu of Ngati Rarua. Pokekohatu received land because he was a relative of Te Puoho. There are no details as to whether the gift took place after the second attack on the Nelson districts in 1829, or whether it took place later. No other witnesses in the Nelson Tenth case discuss the matter.⁸⁴⁵

A gift that was acknowledged by a number of witnesses in the Nelson Tenth case is Ngati Koata's gift of land to Kauhoe of Ngati Hinetuhi. Te Whetu, who was at the time living on Rangitoto, gifted Wakapuaka to Kauhoe, who was then living at Te Taitapu. She had been living there

⁸³⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, pp 196 - 198. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

⁸⁴⁰ There is a question that arises here about how soon must a tribe take up occupation of conquered lands before they lose the ability to make a claim. An additional question relates to gifted lands and the obligations, if any, upon the recipient towards the donor or their successors. Some of Te Atiawa, who own land under these circumstances, consider their land is Te Atiawa.

⁸⁴¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 259. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

⁸⁴² *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 263 - 264. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'It was after the takitaki mate mo nga iwi o te Pehi that Mauriri and others settled at Motueka.'

⁸⁴³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 17 November 1892, p 322. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'The land was given by Mauriri of Ngati Koata to Ngati Rarua because his wife was a Ngati Rarua.'

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 259. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 263. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Says that Mauriri and his father inlaw settled at Motueka: 'It was after the takitaki mate mo nga iwi o te Pehi that Mauriri and others settled at Motueka.'

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 266. Evidence of Mr Pitt. Mauriri was living at Motueka at the time the New Zealand Company arrived.

Nelson minute book 2, 17 November 1892, p 314. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. Horomona states Mauriri killed Whioi at Whanganui.

⁸⁴⁴ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 300. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

⁸⁴⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 278. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

when Te Puoho was killed at Tukurau. Sometime after this, she moved to Wakapuaka and settled with some of the Ngati Tama and Ngati Hinetuhi. Her son Wi Katene was also amongst them,⁸⁴⁶ although his principal place of abode was at Massacre Bay.

Kauhoe had asked Ngati Koata for land at Wakapuaka for Wi Katene because she had no land herself.⁸⁴⁷ Horomona's evidence suggests that Kauhoe already had a right to the land through Wi Katene, who in turn obtained his *take* to the land through Te Puoho. Wi Katene had apparently made a claim to the land at the time of Te Whetu's gift.⁸⁴⁸ Whatever the case might be, there is a general view that Kauhoe received the gift from Ngati Koata.

Hoera Ruruku of Ngati Koata says that some of his people returned from Motueka and went to live at Wakapuaka, but that when the Ngati Tama and Ngati Hinetuhi arrived there, c1838, the Ngati Koata moved to Rangitoto.⁸⁴⁹ Hemi Whiro, in giving evidence in the Wakapuaka case on the 17th November 1883, supports this latter point.⁸⁵⁰

8.5 Te Rauparaha's Allocation 1835

In 1835, Te Rauparaha is said to have divided the conquered land in Te Tau Ihu amongst the Taranaki and Tainui allies. It appears, however, that it only applied to the land situated to the east of Rangitoto,⁸⁵¹ although some say it extended as far west as Wakapuaka.⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 18 November 1872, p 328. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 281. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1882, p 264. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 18 November 1892, pp 330 - 332. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 265. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

Nelson minute book 2, 14 November 1892, p 259. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

Nelson minute book 1, 17 November 1883, p 16. Evidence of Hemi Whiro. Says the land was given to Wi Katene.

Nelson minute book 2, 18 November 1892, p 278. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. The gift of land took place about 3 years prior to Wakefield arriving in the district.

⁸⁴⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 18 November 1892, p 331. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁸⁴⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 18 November 1892, pp 328 - 329. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

⁸⁴⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 19 November 1883, p 18. Evidence of Hoera Ruruku.

⁸⁵⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 17 November 1883, p 15. Evidence of Hemi Whiro.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 29. Ngati Koata argued that they still retained rights in respect of the land at Wakapuaka, owing to the nature of the gift from them to Kauhoe. This, however, was discarded, due to the fact that Wi Katene had undisturbed possession of the land in 1840.

⁸⁵¹ All of the evidence consulted suggests the allocation, or apportioning of land, was mainly between D'Urville and Wairau.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, pp 180 - 181. Evidence of Hemi Matenga: 'Te Rauparaha gave the land from Te Haumiti on to Wakapuaka.'

⁸⁵² *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 178. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona: 'The division of the land by Te Rauparaha terminated at Wakapuaka, the district beyond and on to Takaka was taken possession of by Ngatirua - chara i te mea tuku.'

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 177. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. N Tama, N Mutunga, N Hinetuhi, N Rahiri, Tatiawa [sic], Puketapu, N Motu, were the hapu who came with Rauparaha and settled at Kapiti. N Toa, N Koata, N Raruas and Puketapu were the hapu that conquered the land on the South side of Cook Strait.

The evidence submitted by Ngatiawa, Ngati Tama and Ngati Rarua, was that they claimed the land in the Nelson Districts through conquest and occupation, not any allocation from Te Rauparaha.⁸⁵³ When Arthur Wakefield arrived at Massacre Bay in November 1841, he was told that Te Rauparaha had no right to the land there. While accepting he was part of the conquest,⁸⁵⁴ they considered that he had sold his rights.⁸⁵⁵

It would be fair to say that Ngati Toa, as a 'tribe,' had not taken up occupation of the Nelson Districts by 1840. This is despite the fact that they might have still been able to press a claim to the area. There were certainly those of the Kawhia tribes who had Ngati Toa whakapapa but they preferred, at least in the Nelson Districts, to come under either the Ngati Koata or Ngati Rarua. As a tribe, Ngati Toa did not make any claim to the Nelson Tenth's lands that were allocated in the 1890s.

8.6 Ngati Rarua leave for Cloudy Bay 1834 - 1837

The exact timeframe when Ngati Rarua went to the Wairau is difficult to establish, but it appears to have taken place between the first heke arriving in the Motueka district in 1834 and 1837, the year in which Te Puoho was killed at Tukurau in the lower North Island. Pukekohatu, Hakopa Hotu, Hemara Te Toto, Tamarangataua, Tana Maui, Ihaka Te Meri and others formed the party of Ngati Rarua who went to Cloudy Bay.⁸⁵⁶ Merenako, her brothers and others of Ngatiawa are said to have joined Pukekohatu when he left Motueka.⁸⁵⁷

One of the reasons for them going is said to have been in consequence of an event at Kaparatehau, where a tapu had been broken by Te Tupe of Otaraua. Te Rauparaha had apparently laid a tapu on the land, and after hearing it had been broken by the Ngatiawa, he proceeded to Te Awaitei, in Queen Charlotte, and made an attack upon Te Tupe and his people. The name of this battle was Marokohenga; five of Te Tupe's men were killed. It is not said what Pukekohatu's part in this affair actually was, but it was feared that the Ngatiawa at Motueka who were closely related to Te Tupe, would make an attack upon the Ngati Rarua after Pukekohatu had left. He said to his people that he would abandon the land at Motueka if all the Ngati Rarua consented to follow. Not all consented. Ngati Rarua however, agreed, but some of those that did go returned before the arrival of the New Zealand Company.⁸⁵⁸ The Ngatiawa did not stay at Cloudy Bay but returned to Motueka.

⁸⁵³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 300. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. This is more a direct reference to Rarua claiming their rights through the raupatu.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 184. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Rauparaha only allotted to Ngatiawa and not N Rarua.

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 180. Evidence of Hemi Matenga: 'Did not hear that Te Rauparaha acquired any mana over the Nelson district.'

⁸⁵⁴ This indicates that the Southern conquest was seen as one. Te Rauparaha was fighting Ngai Tahu at Takahanga and Kaiapohia at the time of the 1829 attack. It was a joint effort.

⁸⁵⁵ Brook, John, *Case 374a. NA. OLC.907*. Evidence of John Brook, p 22.

⁸⁵⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 292 - 293. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 175. Evidence of Taka Herewine Ngapiko. Identifies people on the ground when Wakefield arrived at Nelson. They consist of N Rarua, Tama and Awa.

⁸⁵⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, p 190. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁸⁵⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 293 - 294. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

According to Pamariki Paaka, Pukekohatu and others remained, but this cannot be so.⁸⁵⁹ Stephens mentions Pukekohatu (Etani) and his wife Mary, living at Motueka in 1842.⁸⁶⁰

Hohaia Rangiauru gives us a description of the affairs surrounding Pukekohatu going to Cloudy Bay:

Pukekohatu; Hakopa; Hotu; Hemara te Toto; Tamarangataua; and others formed the party of Ngatirarua who settled at Cloudy Bay. Before leaving Te Pukekohatu said “E Noho i muri nei hei utu mo taku hara.” The people who remained did not make any remark in reply. My translation of that Kupu is that he abandoned the place and the people to those who might seek reprisals for his ill doings.

This remark referred to a circumstance that had happened previously at Kaparatehau.

Hei pakanga mo te Tupe Ka haere atu ki Kapara te hau ki te patu putangitangi. Hei tapu ana tana whenua na Ngatitua i Wakatapu, hei matenga ki reira.

Te Rauparaha heard that his tapu had been ignored and went to Te Awaiti Q.C.S. Te Tupe saw Te Rauparaha's waka's ka puhia e te Tupe nga waka o te Rauparaha. Te Rauparaha's party landed and attacked Te Tupe whose people were killed (5 in all).

This fight was called Marokohengahenga and the explanation of Pukekohatu's remark referred to this conflict. The Ngatiawa's at Motueka were related to Te Tupe of the Otarua hapu and it was supposed that they might attack the Ngatirarua who remained at Motueka after the Pukekohatu party left.

Pukekohatu's intention when he left was to abandon the land if all the Ngatirarua's had consented to follow him.

Pukekohatu and party settled at Cloudy Bay. Some of the Ngatirarua returned to Motueka before the Company arrived viz. Tamarangataua; Hakopa Hotu; Hemara te Toto; and others. Pukekohatu and others remained at Cloudy Bay.

Hei taonga nui ki te Maori te pakeha i tana takiwa.

The section of Ngatirarua who remained at Cloudy Bay obtained land in that locality.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁵⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, p 187. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Pukekohatu still obtained land interests in the Nelson districts even though he did not return to Motueka. He obtained interests in the land through his relatives.

⁸⁶⁰ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 100. According to Mike Taylor, Pukekohatu was also known as Etani.

⁸⁶¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 292 - 294. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

There is another event, which Pukekohatu had apparently been involved with, prior to him leaving the Motueka district, and it also played a part in his decision to leave for Cloudy Bay. When Pukekohatu arrived at Motueka he lit a fire on the Motueka side of the river and proclaimed the land as being for him. Te Poa Karoro however, who we mentioned earlier as having arrived in the district with Horoatua of Ngatiawa, had already claimed the land for him and his descendants.

To ensure Pukekohatu's desire was fulfilled, he placed a kanga over the district by personifying himself as the Motueka River, saying that, 'The source thereof is my head and the mouth is my feet.' In other words, Pukekohatu made himself to be the river. The thought, which is essentially Maori, was an absolutely effective way of holding on to a tract of country, as it brought into operation the iron law of old. The kanga lay a short distance south of the Motueka River and probably beyond the area known as Te Maatu.⁸⁶²

Te Poa Karoro took up a very defiant attitude towards Pukekohatu and the laying of his kanga. He went as far to say, 'Kia maoa taku umu tangata ki roto ki te Maatu,' meaning, 'If any strangers go to the Maatu, I will cook them in my oven.' We have already discussed that Horoatua and Te Poa Karoro claimed the area known as Te Maatu, after first settling at Motueka. We also mentioned that Horoatua had in fact named this place.⁸⁶³

Irihapeti Rore gives us a similar version, except for one important point. It was the people who remained behind at Motueka that laid the kanga over the Motueka River. Rore says, 'Pukekohatu was cursed by the people at Motueka. That his head (upoko) was at Motueka and his feet (waewae) were outside.' Unfortunately, Rore does not expand any further on the subject.⁸⁶⁴ (The word 'upoko' is a Maori reference to whakapapa.)

Pamariki Paaka says that the argument had originated through Pukekohatu going to cultivate the land at Te Maatu. This incensed Te Poa Karoro, as he had apparently made available the land for Te Manutoheroa and the Ngati Komako to cultivate. Paaka does not give us any further details on this matter.⁸⁶⁵

In later years, Pukekohatu removed his kanga in order to facilitate the opening of the land for development. The New Zealand Company had by this time arrived, and with it, came a change in the distribution of the Kawhia and Ngatiawa tribes occupying the district of Motueka. These matters are discussed further on in this report.

⁸⁶² Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 60 - 61.

⁸⁶³ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 60.

⁸⁶⁴ *Nelson minute book 5*, 25 April 1901, p 57. Evidence of Irihapiti Rore.

⁸⁶⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 218. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 2 May 1901, p 91. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru: 'Te Poa Karoro and his wife settled at Whanganui with Te Pehi. Te Poa Karoro returned from Whanganui and settled there at Kaiteretere. Hui Te Rangiora at Riwaka. From there they came to Wakapaetuara near (Pounamu). Ka haere ki Pounamu. Te Whana Kaitoa was an uncle of Te Poa. Te Whana died at Kaiteretere. Ka wehewehe te noho o Ngatiraru some settled at Pounamu and some at Matakino, and some at Pakawau, some at Wakarewa and some at Motueka (Te Mata).' Te Poa was in occupation of Wakapaetuara and at Pounamu.

8.7 Te Puoho killed at Tukurau 1837

Te Puoho was the last of the old time chiefs to have attempted the taking of land with the use of force and arms, at least in the South Island. In the later half of 1836, he led some of Ngati Tama and Ngatiawa, down the West Coast and across to Maitara, situated on the East Coast of the lower South Island. At a place called Tukurau, a few miles inland of the present day town of Gore, Te Puoho and many of the war party were killed. The reason for them going there in the first place, had been to conquer land.

Te Puoho's plan had been to scale the fish from the tail upward, meaning he would go right to the bottom of the South Island and commence his attack from there. According to Hohepa Horomona, there had been a dispute between Te Puoho and Ngapiko, and this was why Te Puoho went south.⁸⁶⁶ This could have been something to do with Te Puoho being angry about the land in the Nelson districts being allotted, before he arrived to settle in the area in 1834.⁸⁶⁷ It could equally have been owing to the Ngati Rarua refusing to recognise his Manawhenua at Motueka. Despite this, some of the Ngati Tama appear to have settled at Motueka, after the affairs concerning Te Puoho, but exactly when this may have occurred is unclear. The earliest record we've been able to locate, of Ngati Tama being at Motueka, is 1847.⁸⁶⁸

Paramena Haereiti says it had been arranged that Te Puoho should go with a war party to the South. There were about 30 in this party and the principal men were Te Puoho, Te Wahapiro, Te Whitu, Te Herewini, Wiremu Te Koihua, and Te Keha. The last two only went as far as Toropuhi. Some of the Ngatihinetuhi⁸⁶⁹ who joined the war party included Pou, Haumiti, Tango, Pakawau, and Tirarau.⁸⁷⁰

There were two survivors and only one, it seems, escaped; this was Te Wahapiro (Paremata). He was taken prisoner by the Ngai Tahu and was not released from captivity until the early 1840s. In 1841, Te Wahapiro was at Wakapuaka.⁸⁷¹ According to Peart's version of events, there had been some internal dispute amongst the Ngati Tama, and only some of them had agreed to support Te Puoho in his efforts to conquer the remaining South Island. Shortly afterwards Te Puoho's nephew returned to Wakapuaka, which had by this time, been settled by the Ngati Tama. Te Wahapiro (Paremata) tried to drive the defectors from the land.⁸⁷²

After word of Te Puoho being killed had reached Motueka, the Ngati Rarua proposed two war parties to avenge his death, but the furthest any of them got was Cloudy Bay. The Ngati Toa apparently stopped them. 'Tamarangatana, Aperahama te Panakenake, Te Hawharua, Te Iti, Ngapiko, Tana Maui, Pukekohatu, and Ihaka Te Meri were the Ngati Rarua who went to avenge Te Puoho.'⁸⁷³

⁸⁶⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 179. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona.

⁸⁶⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, pp 179, 198, 279. Evidence of Reimana Nutana. Hohepa Horomona.

⁸⁶⁸ Tinline, MS 0026. Summary of Native Population at Motueka. Census taken by John Tinline, 16 October 1847, p 9. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

⁸⁶⁹ Ngati Hinetuhi and Ngati Mutunga are both part of Ngatiawa. Te Koihua and Te Keha are Ngatiawa.

⁸⁷⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 271. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

⁸⁷¹ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, pp 372 - 373.

⁸⁷² Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 75.

⁸⁷³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, pp 271 - 272. Evidence of Paramena Haereiti.

See also:

As a consequence of Te Puoho's death Kauhoe, his wife, composed a lament in remembrance of her husband.

HE TANGI MO TE PUOHO

Tuatea au e hiko ku hoki mai teA Wairau
 E whakapu mai ra nga tau ki Pakawau.
 Me tangi atu i he tua koroi rangi
 Kua tu nga tonu raia a Poua i
 Tenei te pipi te katoto nu he haihe noa i te rae
 Me tangi mariri te tane i te whare ia i hanga
 U koe te whakaparinga i nga kakaho
 I hau patua iho ki nga kiri i ngaro ane ia Wahapiro
 E tu anai nga manu i pikana ia Te Matawhitu
 E Kopa ana ia nga Kopa
 In vain those southern rats with incantations
 Prevent thy spirit from returning to me
 As I lie in a heap by the tides at Pakawau,
 Lamenting thee as one of a spirit land.
 For the omens of Poua have been fulfilled,
 Here lie the sharp edged pipi shells
 To score my forehead with deep gashes,
 Whilst I lament my beloved spouse
 Disconsolately looking at thy home
 With its seried rows of lining reeds,
 They strike on my feelings with full force,
 Thou art lost together with Te Wahapiro
 Thou didst climb up with Te Matawhitu
 And passed away with Nga Kopa.⁸⁷⁴

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, pp 216 - 217. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

⁸⁷⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 76. Peart supplies a second waiata besides that referred to.

Chapter Nine

9.0 Ngatiawa Settlements – Nelson and West Coast districts post 1840

We now intend to look at the Ngatiawa settlement sites that were scattered throughout the Nelson and West Coast districts, post 1840. In the earlier period, following the 1834 settlement, the Ngatiawa appear to have been very much mixed with the Ngati Rarua and Ngati Tama, the latter who were becoming more distinct as a separate tribe from Ngatiawa, but still congregating in the same places.

There were many changes that took place for the Ngatiawa throughout the 1840s, much of it influenced by the arrival of European settlers and the establishment of a British Colony at Nelson in 1842. Opportunities and trading prospects brought a shift in the distribution of the people. Tribal rights had already been established in each of the districts.

We discussed earlier that the 1839 deeds of sale, signed by the Ngatiawa and Ngati Toa at Queen Charlotte Sound and Kapiti Island, led to the New Zealand Company assuming ownership of the lands situated throughout the Nelson and West Coast districts, including most of the northern South Island. In the two years following the deeds of purchase, Arthur Wakefield would eventually establish the second New Zealand Company settlement at Wakatu, and would survey much of the land about Wakatu and Motueka. The surveyor journals are a very good source for establishing the distribution of the tribes within a given period. An additional source of information is, again, the Native Land Court minute books and in particular, the 1901 case, which sought clarification of ownership of lands, situated in the Nelson districts. The evidence in the court centred on establishing rights to the land. Unlike the 1892 Native Land Court sittings, the focus in this case was more post 1840 occupation.

In this report we refer to the districts as Wakapuaka, Wakatu, Waimea, Motueka, Mohua, Te Taitapu and the West Coast. These have been broken into three areas - Wakapuaka to Separation Point, Massacre Bay, and the West Coast. Ngatiawa had rights in all of these regions or districts c1840.

9.1 Wakapuaka to Separation Point - Covered in 9.2 – 9.5

9.2 Motueka

Prior to 1840, the Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua had occupied a number of places along the coastline between Separation point and Moutere. Those that were closer to the immediate area of Riwaka included the two headlands situated at Kaiteretera and a place further to the south called Anarewa. According to the late Robert Parks, Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua occupied Kaiteretera and Anarewa.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁵ *Personal communications*, Robert Park, 1997.

See also:

Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 30.

Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain, Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 22.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 304. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

A short distance further south and situated against the hill heading towards the Riwaka valley was Anawhakau, situated under 'Old Pa Hill'.⁸⁷⁶ In referring to Anawhakau, Tom Bailey says, 'The occupants would spend the day in the village and retreat to the fortified Pah Hill for safety at night.'⁸⁷⁷

In times of war the waka could be hidden in a cave that lay below 'Old Pa Hill'.⁸⁷⁸ An article appearing in the Nelson Evening Mail in 1974 says that:

Midway between the bluffs and the bridge are the old marble rocks from which protrude natural posts. These convenient shaped rocks were used by the Maori to moor their canoes.⁸⁷⁹

At some stage this cave was apparently used as an urupa.⁸⁸⁰ These caves have been destroyed by the erection of the present day road.⁸⁸¹

Further around from these caves was another small pa called Puketawai. It was situated against Pa Hill, leading into the Riwaka Valley. Early surveyor records suggest that this was the main settlement within the Kaiteretera, Riwaka and Motueka districts, c1841.

Anawhakau and Puketawai were probably connected and no doubt formed part of the network of those that were occupying the area about Pa Hill.⁸⁸² On the south side of the pa is the Waiatua stream and at its mouth there was a large lagoon that served as a waka landing place.⁸⁸³

⁸⁷⁶ Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain., Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 30.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 182. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'Ngati Rarua first occupied the place called Ana-wakau beyond Kaiteretera. This was the first place they occupied and cultivated. They lived there for a number of years.'

⁸⁷⁷ *Nelson Evening Mail*, Sentinels of Our Ancestors? 14 December 1974. Te Atiawa Kaumatua, Tom Bailey.

See also:

Nelson Evening Mail, Pah Point, 26 July 1978.

⁸⁷⁸ Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain., Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 30.

See also:

Nelson Evening Mail, Sentinels of Our Ancestors? 14 December 1974.

Nelson Evening Mail, Pah Point, 26 July 1978.

Challis, A. J., *Motueka: An Archaeological Survey*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1978, pp 85 - 86.

Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 63.

⁸⁷⁹ *Nelson Evening Mail*, Sentinels of Our Ancestors? 14 December 1974.

See also:

Nelson Evening Mail, Pah Point, 26 July 1978.

⁸⁸⁰ Bailey, Tom. Hand written notes on Pah Point. NZA site records – s14/86 location map showing archaeological sites in the vicinity of Pah Point and the surrounding Riwaka and Motueka Lands.

⁸⁸¹ *Motueka News*, Pah Point site of bitter tribal fighting, 12 February 1982.

See also:

Nelson Evening Mail, "Sentinels of Our Ancestors?" 14 December 1974.

⁸⁸² Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain., Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 30.

⁸⁸³ Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain., Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 30.

See also:

Challis, A. J., *Motueka: An Archaeological Survey*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1978, p 85.

To the south-west is the swamp that was named by Merenako and further inland were large cultivations.⁸⁸⁴ These cultivations were described by Barnicoat in 1842, along with a general description of the Riwaka valley:

This valley is beautiful and picturesque in the extreme. It varies from a mile to a quarter of a mile in width. Its sides are generally steep and covered with fern beautifully interspersed with wooded glens and varied by gentler slopes. The woods are extremely beautiful possessing bold masses of light of shade and several varieties of green, - quite different from the usual unpicturesque and tiresome sameness of New Zealand woods. The lower part of the valley contains several native potatoe grounds and is extremely rich in soil.⁸⁸⁵

In mid 1840, Charles Heaphy and Captain Moore travelled to the Nelson districts and spent some ten to fourteen days exploring the country between Whanganui and Motueka. Moore says in his journal that there were a number of villages situated within these districts.⁸⁸⁶

At Motueka he was taken to a village that was probably Puketawai. Moore describes what he calls an 'assembly whare' that was 30 feet in length and 16 feet across. The walls of the whare, according to Moore:

... were lined carefully with long reeds of the toi-toi some stained black, some in bright yellow...all neat and had a particularly pretty appearance. The gable roof was high and supported by carved posts and planks. The inside of the roof was ornamented with plaited nikau branches: there were also carved doors and veranda posts... the floor was of rammed earth, smooth, hard and clean, covered with well made flax mats and carpets, as was the veranda, which was always a favourite place for a korero or friendly chat. Altogether this building was newly designed for an assembly house, and showed great architectural skill. The whare was strongly framed and well thatched and weather proof against a hot sun or cold rain and was altogether a very desirable meeting house.⁸⁸⁷

On 18 January 1841, the Chief Surveyor of the New Plymouth Company, Mr F. A. Carrington, made a visit to what appears to be Puketawai. There were between 50 and 60

⁸⁸⁴ Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain., Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 30.

See also:

Challis, A. J., *Motueka: An Archeological Survey*, Longman Paul, Auckland, 1978, pp 85 - 86.

Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 63.

⁸⁸⁵ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841-1842, p 26.

⁸⁸⁶ Moore, F. *Journal and Correspondence of Captain Frederick Moore, 1840-1931*, p 61.

⁸⁸⁷ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.173.

people living there at the time.⁸⁸⁸ According to a Mr. Aubrey, who was with Carrington on this occasion, the pa was surrounded by palisades and was the largest he had visited in the Motueka district. What is also interesting is the suggestion that this was the only or main settlement, at the time of their visit.⁸⁸⁹

In October 1841, Captain Arthur Wakefield arrived in Tasman Bay and on the 9th he made a visit to a village at Motueka. It is unclear as to whether or not this was Puketawai, but it does seem highly likely. There were about a dozen huts at this place which supported a population of about 20 people,⁸⁹⁰ a number which is less than half the 50 or 60 people mentioned by Carrington and Aubrey when they visited the area nine months earlier. Orchiston, in quoting Heaphy, refers to the pa nearest to the Riwaka River, as the old pa. The change in population since Carrington and Aubrey visited in January 1841, can be accounted for by the establishment of a new pa. According to Heaphy (October 1841), there was a second pa site that was situated closer to the Motueka River. This site had not been previously identified and Heaphy's reference to it as the 'new pa' is strongly suggestive of it having recently been built.⁸⁹¹ Stephens also makes reference to two pa sites being situated on the mainland. One of them he refers to as the 'old pa'.⁸⁹² The Anglican Church records refer to some of the people residing at these two places as the 'Ngati Awa's of Small Pa Motueka.'⁸⁹³

According to Peart, Puketawai was occupied up to 1841 but this cannot be so. He also says that the pa was abandoned in favour of a new one, which was built at the bottom of Lodders Lane, near the mouth of the Motueka River.⁸⁹⁴ Missionary records tell us that Puketawai was still occupied in 1845.⁸⁹⁵ As for the new pa, this was called Hui Te Rangiora, named after a famous navigator.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁸⁸ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.172.

⁸⁸⁹ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, pp 3.171 - 3.172.

⁸⁹⁰ Wakefield, A. Diary, 9 October 1841.

⁸⁹¹ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, pp 3.171 - 3.172.

⁸⁹² Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, 10 January 1842, p 89.

⁸⁹³ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 5 October 1845, 5 April 1846. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, pp 16, 20.

⁸⁹⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 64 - 65.

See also:

Lawrence, Morris and Mikaere, Tremain., Te Awhina Marae, Compiled by. *Maori Cultural Values*, A pilot project to record Maori cultural values and pre-European settlement of the Tasman Bay, Report to Department of Conservation, April 1992, draft, p 30.

⁸⁹⁵ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 5 October 1845, 5 April 1846. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, pp 16, 20. Ngatiawa Small Pa - Puketawai.

See also:

Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.174. The old pa was totally abandoned in 1842. Reference from Heaphy (1847b).

⁸⁹⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 65. See p 58, reference to Huitangiora.

Hui Te Rangiora is represented as the tekoteko upon Te Whare o Turangapeke, situated at Te Awhina Marae in Motueka. Turangapeke is a common ancestor of the Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua.⁸⁹⁷

Heaphy and Brown were employed by the New Zealand Company to assist the surveying of Motueka and Riwaka. After Wakefield's arrival in October 1841, they drew a map of the area showing the localities of the Maori settlements. There are three; the first near the Riwaka River (Puketawai), the second closer to the Motueka River (Hui Te Rangiora), and the third on the southern tip of the outer Island.

Figure 13. See map book: Settlement Sites at Motueka c1840

The expansion of the Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua in early 1842 does not appear to have been restricted to the building of one or two new villages. On 17 May 1842, Stephens travelled up the Motueka River and located a pine forest called Te Maatu, (The Bigwood). There was a large clearing here, which, according to Stephens, was producing hundreds of tons of potatoes annually.⁸⁹⁸ They were cultivating a strip of land along the border of Te Maatu, from Waipounamu to Wakarewa.⁸⁹⁹ The 1840 and 1841 surveys conducted by Moore, Stephens, Carrington and Wakefield,⁹⁰⁰ do not reveal the existence of these cultivations; neither does a map drawn by Heaphy and Brown. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that there was a shift to the south side of the Motueka River, after 1841.⁹⁰¹

Te Poa Karoro was one of the owners of the cultivations found at Te Maatu and he had apparently taken exception to Stephens and his party going there to survey the land. He obviously had his own ideas about what had previously been agreed to, between the New Zealand Company and the Maori vendors, in respect of the land at Motueka. Stephens recorded that:

Epoa [Te Poa Karoro],⁹⁰² one of the chiefs and proprietor at Te Matu, I met with there - he told me he did not like our coming there 'to make de road' as they call surveying, as they had given up the Riwaka valley they wished to keep this themselves. I explained to him through the interpreter I brought with me, that their potatoe grounds would be left entirely for their own use - and that they would also have one tenth of all that we surveyed besides - he appeared to comprehend this, and I left him more satisfied.⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁷ *Personal communications*, Kere Graham, 23 September 1999.

⁸⁹⁸ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 90 - 91.

⁸⁹⁹ MacKay, A *Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. II, Nelson, 1872, p 304. Evidence of Thomas Brunner.

⁹⁰⁰ Wakefield, A. *Diary*, 17 October 1841. Brown, Moore, Tytler, Bridge, Arnold, Heaphy, and Tuckett are all mentioned as being part of the survey teams.

⁹⁰¹ See Map 1045.

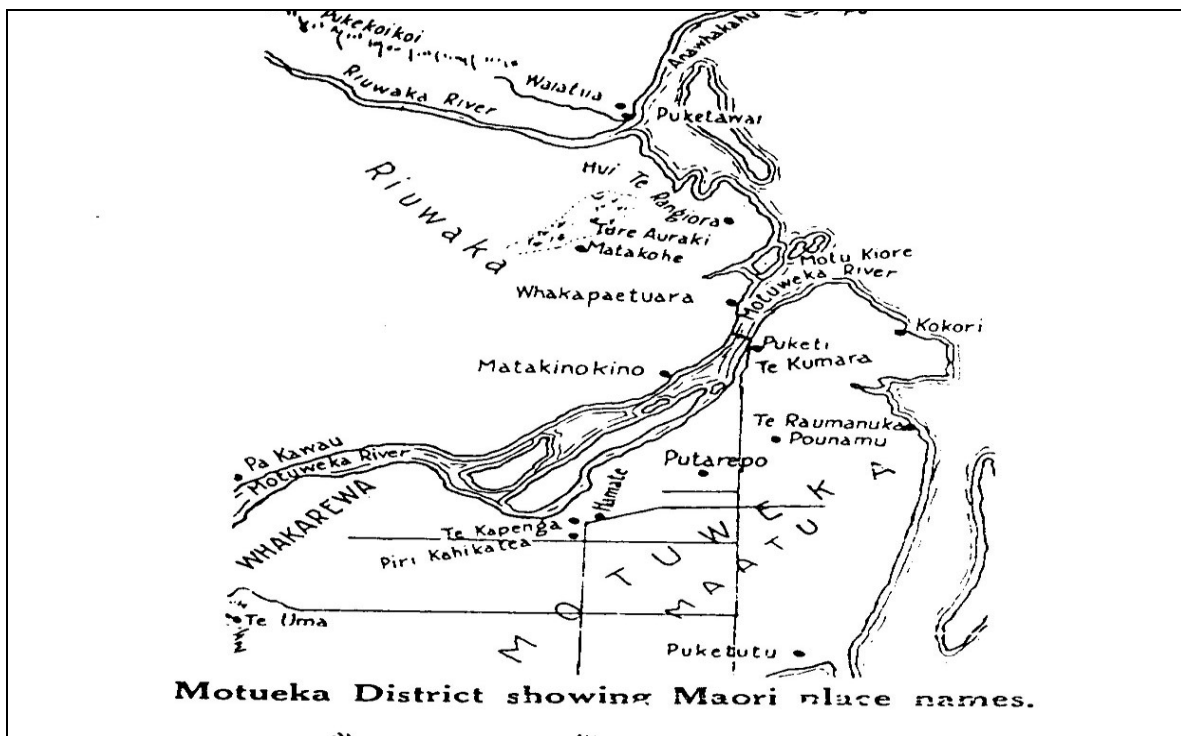
⁹⁰² Epoa, this is Te Poa Karoro, grandson of Turangapeke II & Te Hauwhangairua. His son, Pene Te Poa, was one of the Ngati Rarua husbands of Merenako of Ngati Awa.

⁹⁰³ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 91.

Stephens' promises were nothing more than words. According to Gillingham, 'the whole of Te Maatu was surveyed into 50-acre sections without exception, comprising 29 of the 264 suburban sections in the Motueka District.'⁹⁰⁴

As we have already explained, Horoatua, of Ngatiawa Puketapu, claimed the land at Te Maatu. He named this place after first arriving in the district with Te Poa Karoro in the early 1830s.⁹⁰⁵ According to Pamariki Paaka, '...Te Poa asked Toheroa to be allowed to cultivate at Te Matu and he consented...'⁹⁰⁶ The Puketapu did occupy Te Maatu but it is unlikely that Te Manutoheroa did, at least for any great period of time. In 1833, Te Manutoheroa was residing in Queen Charlotte Sound, and participated in the battle against Ngai Tahu. The old chief died in 1841 and was buried at Ipapakreru, a small bay situated on the western side of Arapaoa.

Figure 14. Motueka c1841-1850



The Puketapu were not the only ones to have an interest in the land at Te Maatu. According to Pamariki Paaka, the Ngati Maru occupied Putarepo, a short distance south of the present day Motueka Bridge. Rangiauru and his family were living there also,⁹⁰⁷ as was Te Poa

⁹⁰⁴ Gillingham, Mary, *Ngatiawa / Te Atiawa Lands in The West of Te Tau Ihu: Alienation and Reserves Issues, 1839-1901*, A report for the Crown Forestry rental Trust, 2000, p 56.

⁹⁰⁵ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 58 - 61.

⁹⁰⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 218. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Paaka says that Pukekohatu had been cursed because he had tried to establish a cultivation at Te Maatu, after it had been given to Ngati Komako, (Te Manutoheroa).

⁹⁰⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, pp 182 - 183. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Matenga also says some of the Ngati Rarua were living at Putarepo. 'Hui rangi ara' [Hui Te Rangiora] is described as being at Kaiteretere.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 298. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Hoera Rangiauru is the only Rangiauru mentioned.

Karoro and his wife.⁹⁰⁸ Others of the Ngatiawa were living to the west of the road leading to the Moutere. Katara, Merenako, Tame Te Maipi, Te Unuhi and Te Toi each had interests in the land.⁹⁰⁹ Katara and Merenako belonged to Puketapu.

It would appear that in the few years following 1840-1841, others of the Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua crossed the Motueka River. We mentioned earlier that at least some of the people left Puketawai around 1842. It is therefore, quite likely that they were involved in the shift to the south side of the Motueka River. No doubt some would have also left from Hui Te Rangiora; according to Pamariki Paaka they did. They went to a place called Wakapaetua.⁹¹⁰

A section of the Ngatiawa were living at Pounamu, which is situated in Staples Street. Amongst them were Merenako, Katara, Tame Te Maipi, Te Unuhi, Te Toi,⁹¹¹ and Wi Parana. According to Tuiti Makitonore, Tamati Parana was living at Pounamu when the New Zealand Company arrived at Motueka.⁹¹² He was probably one of the owners of the cultivations found by Stephens in 1842.

Pamariki Paaka mentioned, in 1901 that in early times much of the work carried out at Pounamu was dressing flax.⁹¹³ Kerei Roera says that Wi Parana had a number of young men, and that they were working the land.⁹¹⁴

Tamati Parana and others of the Ngatiawa also had interests in the land further to the north of Pounamu, bordering the Motueka River. Besides Tamati Parana,⁹¹⁵ there was Waiti,⁹¹⁶

Nelson minute book 5, 25 April 1901, p 56. Evidence of Tuiti Makitonore and Pamariki Paaka. Henare Wiremu and Riwai lived at Putarepo. Additional information: 'A number of persons came with Te Tana Pokekohatu when he came to Motueka. Te Tana Maui was left behind at Kawhia. The Ngatirarua who came as relatives to settle there but they had no 'take' to the land.'

⁹⁰⁸ *Nelson minute book 5*, 2 May 1901, pp 91 - 92. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Rangiauru also says that Te Poa Karoro and his wife had originally been living at Whanganui, but afterwards went to Kaiterere and then to Hui te Rangi-ora [Hui Te Rangiora]. They later moved on to Wakapaetua (near Pounamu) and then afterwards went to Pounamu.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, pp 182 - 183. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 284. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'No te heke tuarua ka haere mai te Poa Karoro me Turangapeke. I noho ratou ki Motueka with their relatives. The taua went to Whanganui because of their hearing that Kaipuke's reported there.'

⁹⁰⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 298. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹¹⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 182. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁹¹¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 297 - 298. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 23 April 1901, pp 44, 45. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru, Rewi Maaka and Tuiti Makitonore. Aperahama Te Panakeke, Pene Te Poa, Adam Clarke and Poria were others that lived at Pounamu. They appear to belong to Ngati Rarua.

Nelson minute book 5, 2 May 1901, p 91. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Aperahama Te Panakeke is mentioned as being one of the first to occupy Pounamu (part section 95).

Nelson minute book 5, 7 May 1901, p 105. Retimana Te Rei and Raharuhi are included in section 127.

⁹¹² *Nelson minute book 5*, 23 April 1901, p 45. Evidence of Tuiti Makitonore.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 2 May 1901, pp 91 - 92. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Rangiauru also says that Te Poa Karoro and his wife had originally been living at Whanganui, but afterwards went to Kaiterere and then to Hui te Rangi-ora [Hui Te Rangiora]. They later moved on to Wakapaetua (near Pounamu) and then afterwards went to Pounamu.

⁹¹³ *Nelson minute book 5*, 25 April 1901, p 57. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁹¹⁴ *Nelson minute book 5*, 23 April 1901, p 45. Evidence of Kerei Roera. 'Tamati Parana was the person found on the land by the Commissioner.'

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 23 April 1901, p 46. By The Court: 'Wi Parana was one of the first persons who cultivated at Pounamu. Wi Parana was one of the first to settle at Motueka.'

⁹¹⁵ *Nelson minute book 5*, 7 May 1901, p 106.

⁹¹⁶ *Nelson minute book 5*, 7 May 1901, p 105. Section 129.

Hohaia Te Rangiauru, Hohepa Te Rangiauru, and Haimona Te Rangiauru.⁹¹⁷ Rangiauru also mentions that Hoera Rangiauru was staying at Putarepo.⁹¹⁸

Situated at the end of Staples Street and running along the coastline was an area called the Kumaras. Captain Frederick Moore, whom we discussed earlier, was one of the first Europeans to use the area as a harbour. They referred to this place as ‘Murphy’s Harbour,’ named after a boatman who once worked for Captain Moore. Later the Kumaras became known to the Europeans as Doctors Creek, so named on account of a Maori tohunga who lived next to the creek.⁹¹⁹ When Washbourn first visited the Kumaras in 1857, he described it as a favourite Maori port with cartloads of carved figureheads and the sterns of war canoes lying about.⁹²⁰ An early settler at Motueka recorded that as a boy he remembered ‘... a number of Maori craftsmen at work on a totara log near where the River Dove enters the Motueka River. This canoe, when completed, was over sixty feet in length, and beautifully finished. The adzing was done by means of plane irons lashed on to pieces of wood, bent at right angles at one end or knee shaped. This was exactly the same method and style, and the same means of attachment to the handle, as the stone adzes which were used by the Maori a generation earlier. The canoe was floated down the river to Motueka where it was extensively used.’⁹²¹

Washbourn also says that the Motueka Maori had a fishing ground at Astrolabe where many sharks would be caught. They would be taken home and hung in pairs upon poles to dry. The livers were removed from the sharks before curing and the oil extracted as a fuel for lamps. Much of this was on-sold at a shilling a bottle. According to the memoirs of Edmund Parker, part of the Kumaras was also an urupa.⁹²²

Another place that was occupied by the Ngatiawa was in the area around Te Awhina Marae, situated at the western end of Pa Street. There were 3 pa sites in this area that were called Te Awamate, Te Kapenga and Piri Kahikatea.⁹²³ According to Hohaia Rangiauru, Merenako owned all of the land situated within the area identified as section 188 (see map 1045).⁹²⁴ This land was held by her in her own right.⁹²⁵ At some stage she had apparently provided some of her land for many of her relatives to settle upon, a point that is supported

⁹¹⁷ *Nelson minute book 5*, 7 May 1901, p 105. Section 126.

⁹¹⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 298. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹¹⁹ *Nelson Evening Mail*, Supplement to, ‘Fascinating History of the Kumaras,’ M16/CG, 3 April 1985.

⁹²⁰ *Nelson Evening Mail*, Supplement to, ‘Fascinating History of the Kumaras,’ M16/CG, 3 April 1985. It was noted that in the 1920s and 30s, the Kumaras was a very popular place for fishing and that it was common to see twelve people fishing at a time. During the depression years, two families lived in tents at the Kumaras for a year or two, one of the families with several young children. After the 1950s, the Kumaras was turned into a dump and became the site of the boroughs sewers.

⁹²¹ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 66.

⁹²² *Nelson Evening Mail*, Supplement to, ‘Fascinating History of the Kumaras,’ M16/CG, 3 April 1985.

⁹²³ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 129. See figure 14 in this report.

⁹²⁴ *Nelson minute book 5*, 24 April 1901, pp 50, 51. Section 188, evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹²⁵ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 72. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 29 April 1901, p 72. Evidence of Wi Neera.

by Pamariki Paaka.⁹²⁶ The people that Paaka refers to were more than likely the Ngati Rahiri who arrived from Queen Charlotte Sound, c1844.⁹²⁷

Merenako's interests in the land also extended further to the south-west, on section 212.⁹²⁸ Some of this land was gifted to her Ngatiawa relatives but in later years many of them returned to Taranaki. Merenako had also consented to Rore Pokekohatu, of Ngati Rarua, receiving some of the land.⁹²⁹

Hoera, Rangiauru's sister, and her brothers were living on section 183, which was in close proximity to section 212. Part of the land had originally been occupied by Paora Taukino of Ngati Rahiri and Te Wiremu.⁹³⁰ These two had previously been staying at Tata Pa with the Ngati Rarua but had been sent away from this place. On their way back to Arapaoa, they stopped at Motueka where they were gifted lands by Te Poa Karoro. Later on in his evidence, Rangiauru said that Te Poa did not have a *take* to the land allotted to Paora Tukino, but that he merely placed them with the Ngatiawa who were already living on the land. This seems to have been effected by Hoera Rangiauru who already had the land.⁹³¹ Some of the original owners were recorded on a map in 1858.⁹³²

Rangiauru gave evidence in respect of sections 163 and 164, the former being more connected with the Ngatiawa. He discussed the occupation of this land by Merenako and Pene Te Poa, her second husband. They apparently occupied the land up until their deaths.⁹³³ Both are buried on this land.⁹³⁴ It was on 9 September 1888, that Merenako passed away at a ripe old age of 105 years.⁹³⁵ The late Mr Warena Reuben Stephens remembered the time of Merenako's death. She had apparently called her Maori people

⁹²⁶ *Nelson minute book 5*, 24 April 1901, p 51. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁹²⁷ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 22 January 1843, 3 March 1844. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, p 7.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 29 April 1901, p 75. Evidence of Hohaia Te Rangiauru.

⁹²⁸ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, pp 72 - 73.

⁹²⁹ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 73.

⁹³⁰ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 75. Refer Section 183, and evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Taukino and Wiremu had been gifted the land from Te Poa Karoro.

⁹³¹ *Nelson minute book 5*, 29 April 1901, p 76, 30 April 1901, p 77. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 30 April 1901, p 77. Evidence of Rewi Maaka: 'Te Poa Karoro had no take to the part allotted to Paora Taukino and others. They were related to us and that is the reason why Te Poa took the people and placed them alongside of us.'

Nelson minute book 5, 30 April 1901, p 77. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Nelson minute book 5, 29 April 1901, pp 75 - 76. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. It was argued that Te Poa Karoro was the original donor of this land.

⁹³² *Nelson minute book 5*, 30 April 1901, p 77. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Additional information: Maps are currently held in Te Atiawa Archives. Supplied by Pat Park.

⁹³³ *Nelson minute book 5*, 26 April 1901, p 66. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹³⁴ *Nelson minute book 5*, 8 May 1901, p 114. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 9 May 1901, p 116. Evidence of Mere Hare Rore, The Court and Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹³⁵ *Personal communications*, Patrick Park, 1999.

together. She had appealed to them to be kind to one another, and then lay down and died.⁹³⁶

Besides Merenako and Pene Te Poa, some of the children belonging to Riwai of Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua were also buried on the land. They were Hakopa, Rama, Pehi and Pene Kuao.⁹³⁷ According to records of the former Motueka Borough Council, Pene Kuao [Pene Te Poa Kuao] was the son of Te Poa Karoro. The records also show that there were another 10 persons (Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua) that were buried at this urupa between 1881 and 1893. At the Methodist Cemetery, which is also situated on Pah Street, are at least another thirteen graves belonging to Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua. One of the graves, belonging to Martha Munu, is presently sitting under Pah Street.⁹³⁸

Rangiauru's sister Hoera, was one of the owners in sections 163 and 164. During her occupation, she apparently gifted some of the land to relatives, including Te Rei Nganiho and Hana.⁹³⁹ Rangiauru argued that when they died the land should have reverted to him. As we mentioned, he was the brother to Hoera Rangiauru.⁹⁴⁰ Rangiauru disputed the continued rights of Hana on the basis that she had returned to Taranaki and had since died. Hana had in fact given the land to Merenako and this was given effect by the Commissioner in 1858.⁹⁴¹ In respect of Te Rei, he had originally come from Arapaoa.⁹⁴²

Rangiauru gives the names of the people who were occupying the pa situated on section 184. Altogether there were 21 names but he argued that none of these people continued to have any rights over the land in question. They were either dead or had left the district.

The persons listed include:⁹⁴³

Table 15. Ngatiawa occupying section 184 Motueka

Hemi Taka	Iratapuwainoa	Hoani Te Poria
Wi Ruka	Hamiora Pito	Kiri Kirihipu
Te Rei Nganiho	Matiu Huriwhare	Heta Hurakia
Paora Ngamotu	Harawira Hiwawa	Wiremu Punga
Paora Taukino	Kipa te Hangaariki	Hoera Rangiauru
Muka Ngatiki	Hapurona Taupata	Epiha te Korokoro
Eruera Rauha	Ropoama Paupau	Teera Aohau

⁹³⁶ *Personal communications*, Patrick Park, 1999.

⁹³⁷ *Nelson minute book 5*, 9 May 1901, p 116. By the Court. Rewai was also Kaitangata and Ngati Maru.

⁹³⁸ *Personal communications*, Patrick Park, 1999.

⁹³⁹ *Nelson minute book 5*, 27 April 1901, p 67. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹⁴⁰ *Nelson minute book 5*, 27 April 1901, pp 67 - 68. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹⁴¹ *Nelson minute book 5*, 27 April 1901, pp 67, 69. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Pene Te Poa was Merenako's husband.

⁹⁴² *Nelson minute book 5*, 27 April 1901, pp 69 - 70. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹⁴³ *Nelson minute book 5*, 30 April 1901, p 81. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

Rangiauru says that Te Katara, brother of Merenako, owned the land and that Merenako built a house there that later burnt down.⁹⁴⁴ Tapata Harepeka says that Huta and Merenako lived on the land.⁹⁴⁵ After the death of Pene Te Poa, Merenako gifted some of her land to Ramari who was married to Te Herewine.⁹⁴⁶

All of the places we have just discussed either lie within or on the border of the area known as Te Maatu. A map drawn by Stephens identifies a number of sites that were in occupation c1842. We cannot, however, differentiate between sites, which were added later, with the re-survey of the land in 1847.⁹⁴⁷ This difficulty is not a major one, however, the information is significant. It would seem reasonable for us to assume that all the places identified were, or had been, in existence between 1842 and 1847.

The sites we have so far discussed were not the only places that Ngatiawa had an interest in. Some of them were residing at Marahau, a short distance north of Kaiteretere. Ngatiawa, under Wi Parana, occupied this pa.⁹⁴⁸ We have already mentioned that he was one of the persons to have originally occupied Pounamu.⁹⁴⁹ It was not uncommon for people to have more than one place of abode. The people were quite mobile in these times and, in some instances, their cultivations were miles away from where they were living. This was the case with Merenako, who had an interest in the land at Awaroa.⁹⁵⁰ At some stage there appears to have been quite a settlement there.⁹⁵¹

A story that we should briefly relate here, concerns Tamati Parana who was the son of Wi Parana. Tamati was apparently a tohunga of great influence. When travelling between Marahau and Motueka, he would often spend lengthy periods at a camp that was situated about halfway between Marahau and Motueka, and located on a promontory called 'Tapu'. According to Peart:

Parana was a tohunga or medicine man of renown, and when he left his whare at Tapu to go abroad or visit any of the nearby pa or kainga, he, following the usual custom of his class to keep trespassers at a safe distance, placed a hair from his head or a string from one of his flax cloaks near the doorway of his house. There might have been the slightest sign of a diabolical smile on his face when placing these tokens of his power in a prominent position, but of course this would be known only to himself. Full well the crafty tohunga knew that this act would keep all wandering Maori visitors at a safe distance for all time. He was highly tapu, a man much to be

⁹⁴⁴ *Nelson minute book 5*, 8 May 1901, p 113. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹⁴⁵ *Nelson minute book 5*, p 114. Evidence of Tapata Harepeka.

⁹⁴⁶ *Nelson minute book 5*, p 114. Evidence of Tapata Harepeka.

⁹⁴⁷ See Map 1045.

⁹⁴⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 8 November 1892, p 189. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

⁹⁴⁹ *Nelson minute book 5*, 23 April 1901, pp 45 - 46. Evidence of Tuiti Makitonore.

⁹⁵⁰ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 306.

⁹⁵¹ Hadfield, Bill, *Writings of Miss Elizabeth (Bessie) Winter, School Teacher*, later Mrs O'Connor, p 16. Transcripts by Mike Taylor.

See also:

Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 101. Also includes Totaranui, Awaroa, Torrent and Bark Bay.

feared and dreaded, owing to the power of magic possessed by such a priest. This point was a prohibited spot and was avoided, hence the name 'Tapu'.⁹⁵²

In 1840, Moore identified that there were a number of families occupying various bays surrounding Separation Point and Kaiteretere:

After rounding Separation Point I found we were in Tasman Gulf or Blind Bay which was so charted on some maps of Captain Cooks and D'Urville, a contemporary of Cooks and also a great French Navigator and discoverer who did for la Belle France similar services to the Immortal Cook, but shortly after Cooks discoveries of N.Z. and elsewhere...

Keeping well into the Western shores or sheltered side of Blind Bay, I observed and anchored at night in several snug little bays with sandy beaches. High wooded ranges were in the background, and fresh water streamlets were in every one and a few Maori families were settled here and there growing potatoes and catching fish, pigeons and other wild fowl. Everywhere plenty of food and comfortable shelter...⁹⁵³

Some of the places that appear to have been occupied were Totaranui, Awaroa, Tonga, Bark Bay, Torrent Bay⁹⁵⁴ and Marahau. Fisherman's Island was used as a cultivation site, as no doubt, other Islands were - there definitely appears to have been occupation on Kaka Island.⁹⁵⁵

By 1842, the New Zealand Company had founded Nelson and there was a shift in the population. When Tuckett travelled down this way in 1842, he identified that there was evidence of cultivations at Totaranui and Anatakapau.⁹⁵⁶ Most of the people would have shifted to Riwaka and Motueka.

By the mid-1840s, major changes had taken place. It is obvious that Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua were adopting many of the ways of the European settler, who had, by this time taken up occupation of the lands about Motueka. Stephens mentioned in a letter to his sister that:

The natives of this District are very fast progressing in the ways of civilisation and domestic comfort. At Motueka where the largest body of them reside, they have just commenced laying out a village after the European style. The plots of land are to be regularly marked out and divided into the necessary streets, and the houses are to be built in a uniform manner, at proper distances to guard against fire, with chimneys, windows, doors etc, like those of the 'Pakia.' (Englishmen or strangers). They are to

⁹⁵² Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 62 - 63.

⁹⁵³ Moore, F. *Journal and Correspondence of Captain Frederick Moore, 1840-1931*, Moore, *Journal*, p 62.

⁹⁵⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 101.

⁹⁵⁵ Alexander, David., *Reserves of Te Tau Ihu (Northern South Island)*, Vol. Two (Of Two), October 1999, pp 643 - 657.

⁹⁵⁶ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.177.

have a chapel, schoolhouse and other places, and in all respects are ambitious to make the village commodious and comfortable. The whole of the work to be done by themselves under the superintendence of an Englishman...⁹⁵⁷

In 1844 the Maori at Motueka had planted 30 to 40 acres of wheat, which was probably destined for the Nelson market. An extract from the Nelson Examiner says:

Those at Motuaka at once took possession of a number of the reserves in that district, and with a remarkable industry and perseverance they have broken up, fenced and cultivated somewhere between 30 and 40 acres, which now display as fine a crop of wheat as is to be found in any part of the settlement. All this they have done of their own accord, employing as far as they found it necessary, the assistance of some of the white settlers whose experience was valuable to them, but without receiving so much as a look or word of encouragement from those highly paid functionaries of the protectorate, whose duty one would think it is to support and assist them... Another instance of progressing civilisation among the race occurring of late is to be found in the arrival here of a very snug and tidy schooner, of some 25 tons burden, belonging to and now registered in the name of Ereno, a chief of Massacre Bay, one of the most intelligent, honest, and friendly of the natives with whom we have met in this district. This property he, also, has acquired, not by any aid from paid protectors, who never go near the place of his residence (fortunately for the peace of the district), but by his intercourse with certain white settlers in his neighbourhood, whom he has employed and paid for building and equipping his vessel.⁹⁵⁸

Ironside and Reay were the first missionaries to have a significant impact upon the tribes living at Motueka. By the end of 1842, Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua had built themselves a Chapel.⁹⁵⁹ Between 8 May 1842 and 14 May 1843, Samuel Ironside baptised 89 Maori living between Rangitoto and Te Taitapu. Sixty-three of these people were living at Motueka. Over the same period, Ironside carried out 16 marriages.⁹⁶⁰ On 22 January 1843, Rev. Charles Lucas Reay of the Anglican missionaries conducted his first baptism. On 3 March 1844, he baptised a number of Ngatiawa residing at Motueka. Of these people, 12 had recently arrived from Kaihinu Pa, at Queen Charlotte Sound.⁹⁶¹ Tinlin also noted the arrival of these same people when he visited the area around the same time as Reay. On 23 April 1844, Stephens stated that the majority of those residing at Motueka were Ngatiawa.⁹⁶²

⁹⁵⁷ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, pp 443 - 444.

⁹⁵⁸ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 17 January 1846, p 182.

⁹⁵⁹ Ironside, Samuel, *Letter from Samuel Ironside to the Secretaries*, 7 January 1843.

⁹⁶⁰ *Samuel Ironsides Register of Marriages, Cloudy Bay, 1840-1843*. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1999.

⁹⁶¹ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 22 January 1843, 3 March 1844. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, pp 2, 7, 8.

⁹⁶² Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, pp 252 - 253.

On 5 October 1845, Reay baptised a further 8 Ngatiawa and noted in the register that they were from 'The small Pa' of Motueka. Almost 6 months later on 5 April 1846, another 9 were baptised at this same place.⁹⁶³

The Nelson Examiner reported, on 4 April 1846, that the Maori population at Motueka was 194, made up of 112 males and 82 females. The proportion of those representing Ngatiawa is not stated, as is the case with other census records for this period. However, a census taken by Tinline in 1847, shows that there were 94 Ngatiawa living at Motueka, out of a population of 228.⁹⁶⁴ Tinline tells us that in 1845, a group of people had arrived from Cook Strait, but he does not leave any indication as to who they were, what tribe they belonged to, or exactly how many there were.⁹⁶⁵ On this occasion, Tinline estimated the Maori population at 178, which is not too far off that reported in the Nelson Examiner in 1846.⁹⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that Ngati Tama appear on Tinline's 1847 census.

In a letter dated 29 January 1848, Stephens stated that the Native population at Motueka amounted to 150 men, women and children. There were also about 100 Europeans, who were by this time, well and truly settled upon the land there.⁹⁶⁷ In another letter written by Stephens, he says the Maori population at Motueka, c1848, was about 200 with as many Europeans.⁹⁶⁸ As we have already mentioned, two explanations for the fluctuations in population could have been that some of the people were away visiting relations or tending to cultivations that were situated elsewhere. We know that the people were also highly mobile.⁹⁶⁹ In the case of Ngatiawa, they made regular visits to their relations who were residing both locally and in the Queen Charlotte and Waikanae districts.

In 1851, there were 150 Maori living at Motueka and by 1857 this had reduced to 130. By this time some of Ngatiawa had returned to Taranaki.⁹⁷⁰

Tinline's 1847 census shows that the tribes in occupation of Motueka were Ngati Tama, Ngati Rarua and Ngatiawa. There were 94 people belonging to Ngatiawa, inclusive of Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Hinetuhi. The Puketapu and Ngati Maru (Merenako and Rangiauru) are not accounted for in this census.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶³ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 5 October 1845, 5 April 1846. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, pp 16, 20.

⁹⁶⁴ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Native Population, 4 April 1846, p 18.

See also:

Tinline, MS 0026, p 9. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

⁹⁶⁵ Tinline, MS 0026, p 16. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

⁹⁶⁶ Tinline, MS 0026, p16. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

See also:

The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle, Native Population, 4 April 1846, p 18.

⁹⁶⁷ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 427.

⁹⁶⁸ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 460.

⁹⁶⁹ Rose, NZ *Geographer*, *The Maori in North West Nelson About 1840*, p 64: 'A peculiar feature of the Maori occupation at this time was the practice, common to at least two of the village groups, of having cultivated land at a considerable distance from the village itself.'

⁹⁷⁰ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 25 February 1857.

⁹⁷¹ Tinline, MS 0026, p 9. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

*Table 16. Summary of Native Population at Motueka, Census taken by John Tinline, 16 October 1847*⁹⁷²

[illegible]

Tinline also records the names of various individuals who were occupying Motueka at the time of collecting the census data. In the supplementary information to the census, there are names of individuals and the tribe they belonged to.⁹⁷³

It seems clear from the evidence that there was a major shift in the Maori population in response to the arrival of the New Zealand Company.

The rights of Ngatiawa, in relation to the lands situated between Waimea and Separation Point, were established prior to 1840. Their participation in the conquest of the lands and their subsequent settlement cemented their rights and rangatiratanga.

Occupation sites had been established that were restricted to the northern side of the Motueka River at 1840, but this changed with the arrival of the New Zealand Company surveyors, c1840. In the period preceding 1840, the Ngatiawa established their kainga at Motueka, particularly within the area known as Te Maatu.

Figure 15. See map book: Ngatiawa Reserves, Wakatu – Separation Point

⁹⁷² Tinline, MS 0026, p 9. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

⁹⁷³ Tinline, MS 0026, pp 20 - 21. There are 31 Ngati Rarua identified as living at Wakarewa. Page numbers added to facilitate ease of locating reference.

9.3 Wakatu

When Captain Arthur Wakefield arrived in Nelson in October 1841, he determined to find a site for establishing a port. According to Stephens, Wakefield had heard there was a good fishing ground that had been alluded to by some of the local Maori, but it would seem they would have preferred Wakefield to settle in the district of Motueka and Riwaka.⁹⁷⁴ The local Maori had good knowledge of the Nelson Haven, owing to the fishing stations there.⁹⁷⁵ According to Pamariki Paaka, 'Hoera and Hamuera Rangiauru brought the Europeans to Nelson from Motueka.'⁹⁷⁶ Rangiauru's account differed slightly in that he said it was Hoera Rangiauru and Hamiona Pito. They took Wakefield to Nelson, shortly after his arrival at Kaiteretera.⁹⁷⁷ In referring to the Native Reserves that were established at Nelson, he says, 'The people of Motueka viz - the Ngatirarua and Ngatiawa knew at the outset that the Reserves at Nelson and Motueka were for them...'⁹⁷⁸

Captain Wakefield had now found his port and in due course commenced surveying of the Nelson town sections. It was not long after the surveying had commenced that the first wave of settlers arrived at Nelson. This was in January 1842 and continued at a steady rate over the next few years. The colonisation and development of Nelson occurred very quickly, as is demonstrated by some early sketches of Nelson.⁹⁷⁹

Evidence submitted in the Native Land Court, suggests that immediately prior to Captain Wakefield's visit in 1841, no one actually lived at Nelson.⁹⁸⁰ Hemi Matenga of Ngati Tama stated 'our occupation of the land consisted of residing at Nelson during the fishing season. We had no houses here at the time the Europeans came.'⁹⁸¹ Matenga also said, 'The mahinga's of Ngatirarua at Nelson were at Maitai and other parts of the locality.'⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁴ Stephens, S. *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 2 May 1846.

⁹⁷⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 304. Evidence of Mr. Pitt.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 216. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

⁹⁷⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 219. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 216. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 304. Evidence of Mr. Pitt.

⁹⁷⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 294. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 304. Evidence of Mr. Pitt: 'The Ngati Rarua and Ngatiawa used to come over to fish to Wakatu.'

⁹⁷⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 296. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru. Rangiauru also alluded to the Maori people not understanding the purchases '... but they did not attempt to repudiate the disposal of it afterwards on the arrival of the early settlers.' Rangiauru described the purchases more as a 'hoko.'

⁹⁷⁹ See figures 16 and 17 in this report.

⁹⁸⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 279. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. There was no one occupying Wakatu when Ngati Tama went to Wakapuaka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 294. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 183. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'There were no Natives at Nelson at the time the place was founded.'

Pear, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 55: 'Whakatu, the name the Maori had given to the place occupied by the City of Nelson, more particularly the Port, was not permanently occupied or availed of, as a dwelling place by any of the fresh tribes.'

⁹⁸¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 206. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

⁹⁸² *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 216. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Reimana Nutana said as much about the Ngatiawa. 'The Ngatirarua and Ngatiawa used to come over to fish to Wakatu and that was the reason how they knew of it.'⁹⁸³ As a point of interest, Peart says that, 'There were no urupa, or burial grounds, at Whakatu; deceased members of tribes were taken to their own tribal lands and villages for the final rites'.⁹⁸⁴ Peart would no doubt have been referring to the period around the founding of Nelson.

The Ngati Koata occupied Wakatu a few years prior to the arrival of the New Zealand Company, but had moved, around the period of Ngati Tama establishing themselves at Wakapuaka c1838.⁹⁸⁵ The Ngati Koata however continued their associations with Wakatu in the same manner as the other tribes. They had a fishing village situated at Punawai, near the mouth of the Wakatu Harbour.⁹⁸⁶

From this point onwards to 1841, Wakatu remained as a mahinga kai area, utilised by the 4 tribes, Ngati Koata, Ngati Tama, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Awa.⁹⁸⁷ According to Peart, 'Wakatu was undoubtedly used as a fishing station and a resting place by the Wakapuaka and Riwaka natives. It was customary for them to camp there at frequent intervals.'⁹⁸⁸ The arrival of the New Zealand Company and the founding of Nelson in 1842 would change this, at least in so far as there were now other reasons for why the tribes would wish to visit Nelson.⁹⁸⁹

The attractions of the Nelson development had its Maori supporters, who like their relations in the North Island were eager to have interaction with the settlers for barter and trade and

⁹⁸³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 304. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

See also:

Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 55, 70. Peart makes mention of an eel pond that was once a 'favourite haunt of the Maori, when he wished to lay in a supply of this delectable diet of Maoriland.' This particular place is now the site of Queens Gardens. There were also the other fishing places, which we have already alluded to. Peart also discussed some of the old Native tracks that gave access to the East Coast via Manga Tawai. Other tracks that lay about Nelson directed themselves on to the West Coast via the Kawatiri and others led to Massacre Bay.

⁹⁸⁴ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 55.

⁹⁸⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 256. Evidence of Ihaka Tekateka.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 19 November 1883, p 18. Evidence of Hoera Ruruku. Belongs to Ngati Koata.

⁹⁸⁶ *Personal communications*, Steve Bagley, File Keeper, March 1999.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 206. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Nelson minute book 2, 11 November 1892, p 234, 16 November 1892, p 304. Evidence of Mr. Pitt.

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 181. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 296. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹⁸⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 234, 304. Evidence of Mr. Pitt.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 7 November 1892, p 181, 10 November 1892, p 206. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 296. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

⁹⁸⁸ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 55.

⁹⁸⁹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 7 November 1892, p 181. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 10 November 1892, p 206. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 235. Evidence of Mr. Pitt

Nelson minute book 2, 16 November 1892, p 296. Evidence of Hohaia Rangiauru.

all the other perceived advantages. The missionaries also had an influence upon the Maori going to Nelson, as was the case when 70 to 80 of them went there in June 1842, to attend one of Ironside's services.⁹⁹⁰ When the Bishop was at Nelson on 28 August of the same year, there were again a number of Maori who went to listen to the word of God.⁹⁹¹

An entry in Wakefield's Diary, dated January 1842, mentions some of the Ngati Tama making a visit to Nelson. There were three canoes and the principals of their membership were Kioure and Eparo. Wakefield says that he directed them to a place up the Maitai River, after they had asked his permission to establish a cultivation there. They, according to Wakefield, were perfectly satisfied.⁹⁹² Given that the Ngati Hinetuhi were residing at Wakapuaka with Kauhoe in 1838, it is quite probable that some of them were amongst the Ngati Tama on this occasion.⁹⁹³ There were a few others from Motueka that went to establish cultivations at Nelson about the same time. Ngapiko and Te Iti of Ngati Rarua are two names mentioned.⁹⁹⁴ Pamariki Paaka says that the Ngati Rarua and Ngatiawa were the first to occupy Nelson.⁹⁹⁵

Peart gives some discussion in regards to Maori occupation sites that were situated at Nelson, following its establishment. A site connected with Ngatiawa was located at the top of Church Hill, at the southern end of the present day Trafalgar Street. The origins of the pa actually predate Wakefield's arrival in 1841. According to Peart, 'it was fortified after the affair at Wairau.'

⁹⁹⁰ Ironside, *Journal*, 19 June 1842. This number was a fair representation of Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua residing at Motueka.

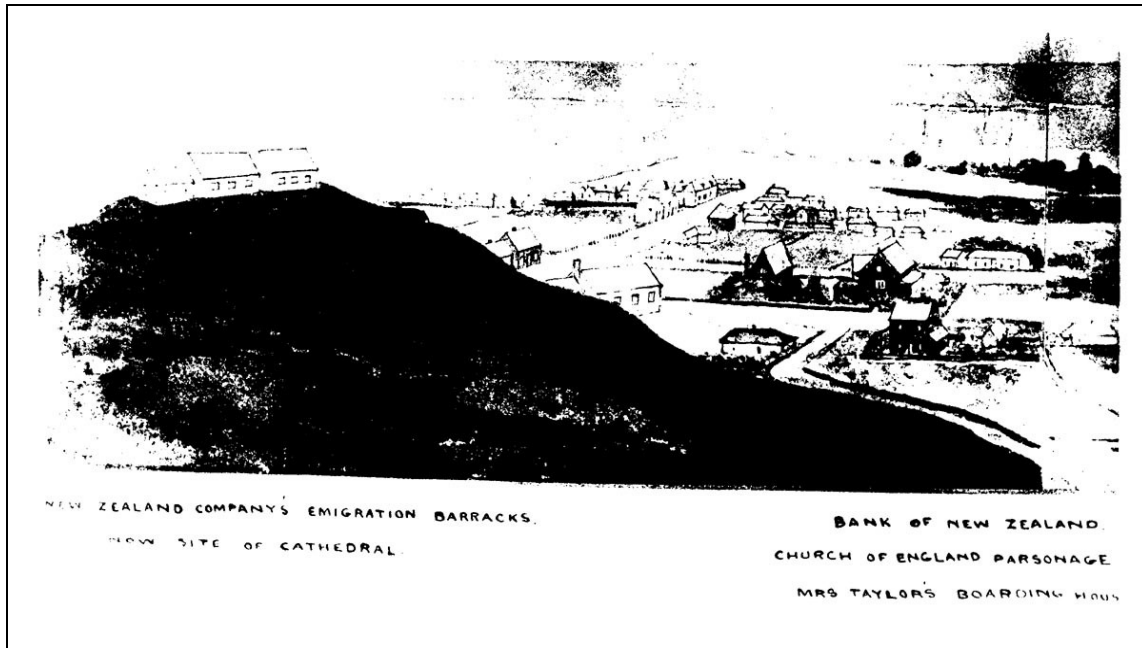
⁹⁹¹ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841 - 1842, p 28.

⁹⁹² Wakefield, A. *Diary*, 12-13 January 1842.

⁹⁹³ Refer to Kauhoe going to Wakapuaka.

⁹⁹⁴ Wakefield, A. *Diary*, 10 November 1841. Wakefield says there were others but does not say who. N Piko and Te Iti had decided they would move there.

⁹⁹⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 217. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka. Paaka includes Merenako and her tungane as the Ngatiawa. He also says that 'Rangiauru belonged to Ngatirarua, his tribe is Ngatimaru.' Ngatimaru is in fact part of Ngatiawa.

Figure 16. Pikimai - Church Hill

The name Pikimai owes its origins to the Ngatiawa chieftainess Wairaka, who we discussed in chapter 1 of this report.

There is a chant, which according to Peart, 'has been preserved during the gradual migration of the tribe through the North Island, to their final resting place in the South Island.' Whether this is referring to the Kahui tu who descended from Rua Taranaki, or whether it was more connected with the migrations from Taranaki c1824, is not stated.

Piki mai, kakemai,
 Homai te waiora ki a au,
 E tu te huata. Ko ata te moe a te Kuia i te Po,
 He Po au Wairaka i raru ai,
 E papaki tu ana te tangi a te tai.
 Ki te reinga,
 Ka ao! Ka ao.
 Ka ao atea.
 Ascend hither, climb hither.
 Yield to me the life giving waters.
 The spear pierces.
 In the night
 Lightly sleeps the slumbering old lady.
 'Twas the darkness of night,
 Which baffled the design of Wairaka (an ancestress).
 The waves dash against the cliff,
 Mournfully sings the sea
 To the spirit world.
 'Tis dawn, 'tis dawn, it is daylight.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁶ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, pp 56 - 57.

See also:

In the later part of 1843, the Government commenced building Native hostelries, as a place where Maori could stay when visiting Nelson.⁹⁹⁷ According to Hemi Matenga, there were four of them built. Ngati Rarua, Ngati Koata, Ngati Tama and Ngati Hinetuhi (Ngatiawa) had one each.⁹⁹⁸ Barnicoat mentioned these Hostelries in his journal:

Went to the ground on which the Maori houses are to be built and marked out the ground for central over which is to be put up immediately in brick. There are five planned and in a crescent form, but funds do not admit of the whole being put up at present. These houses are to be built out of the produce of the rentals of the Native Reserves, for the sole use of the natives. Eventually when the whole five are built the natives of each district are to have a distinct house, which will be indicated in its exterior - the words Motueka, Rangitoto etc, being written on them severally. The interior will contain a central room about 14 ft x 10 and two sets of sleeping berths on the sides. Besides the front windows there is a small one on each side of the central projecting wing. If completed according to the design with the little Maori Church on the hill immediately above, the effect will be very beautiful.⁹⁹⁹

Not all of the hostels were built, neither did the first one survive for more than four or five years. On the 18th February 1848, the Superintendent of Nelson wrote to the Colonial Secretary stating that:

the Native Hostelries were fast crumbling to ruins...The natives at Motueka have unfortunately had plans given them of the whole of the reserves in that district, and consequently consider them their property, although they comprise a much greater extent of land than they are entitled to, or even can make use of... It would therefore, in my opinion be advisable to assign to the Natives of that district out of these reserves, ample land for their present and future wants... Some difficulty may arise in getting the Natives to surrender land but... I do not apprehend much opposition, provided they, at the same time, perceive some practical good resulting such as building a small hospital, putting the hostelries in proper repair...¹⁰⁰⁰

Chapter 1.1 of this report.

⁹⁹⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892, p 235. Evidence of Mr. Pitt.

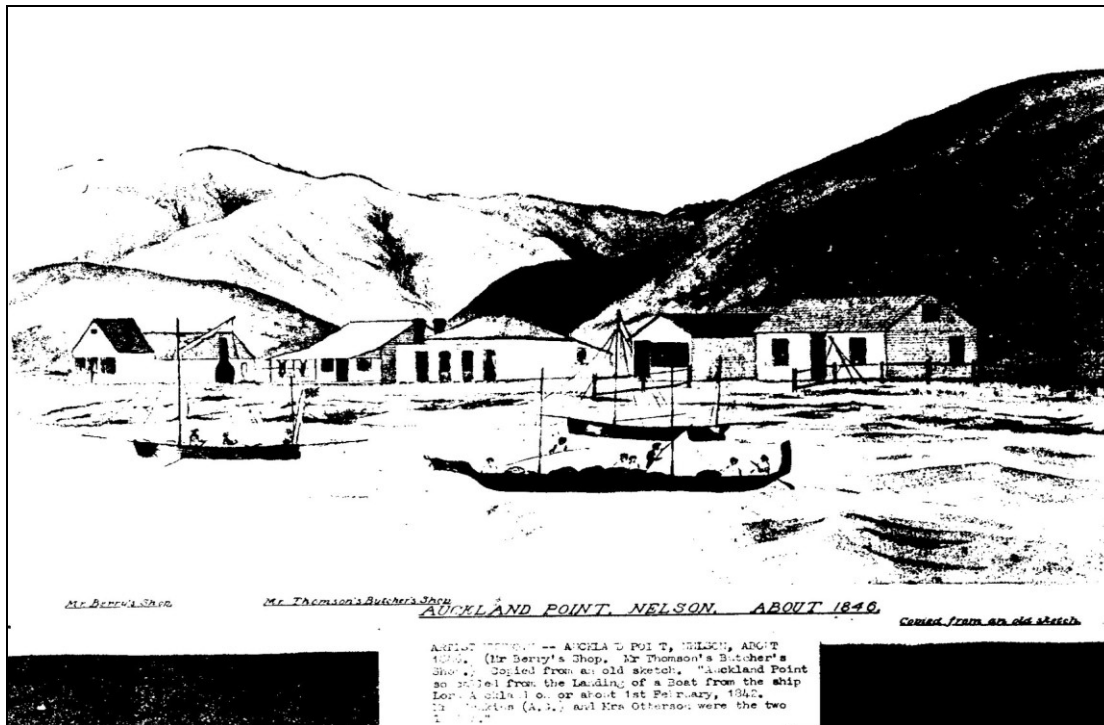
⁹⁹⁸ *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892, p 232. Evidence of Hemi Matenga.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, 15 November 1892, p 287. Evidence of Mr. Pitt.

⁹⁹⁹ Barnicoat, *Journal of Voyage From Gravesend to Nelson, New Zealand, by Ship 'Lord Auckland,' Captain Jardine*, MS qms 0139, 1841-1842, pp 47 - 48.

¹⁰⁰⁰ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. II, Nelson, 1872, pp 273 - 274.

Figure 17. Auckland Point 1843

Despite the state of affairs in the development of Nelson, there was continued interaction between the Europeans and those tribes living in the Nelson Districts. On 23 April 1844, Samuel Stephens mentions in his journal that he had been on his way to Nelson when he came upon some of the Massacre Bay Maori in canoes. They were on their way to Nelson where they intended selling pigs, potatoes, fish and other produce. They had first decided though, to make a visit to their relations who were living at Motueka Pa. Stephens says that the fish they had with them had been caught while on their way to Nelson, between Separation and Kaiteretere. They consisted mainly of barracuda. When they arrived at Motueka, they sold most of the fish to those aboard the Company's vessel. Fish had apparently been quite scarce at Nelson and the crew aboard the Company vessel intended to make a few extra dollars for themselves by on-selling.¹⁰⁰¹ In this same year, the Maori at Motueka had planted 30 to 40 acres of wheat and much of this was more than likely destined for the Nelson market.¹⁰⁰² There was also the flax trade. An article appearing in the Nelson Examiner on 31 August 1844 says that the going price for flax at this time was between 20 and 25 pounds per ton.¹⁰⁰³

The perceived advantages of the Nelson establishment also reached the West Coast. For example, Henare Te Keha and most of his family shifted from Turimawiri to

¹⁰⁰¹ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals, 1841-1854*, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, pp 252 - 253.

¹⁰⁰² *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 17 January 1846, p 182.

¹⁰⁰³ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Flax and Oil, 31 August 1844, p 103.

See also:

Nelson minute book 5, 25 April 1901, p 57. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Pariwhakaoho. It would appear that they, along with a number of the Ngati Rarua who also shifted from the West Coast, wanted to be nearer the action. By 1845, development and colonisation was taking place around Motupipi and Aorere, but most of the trade would have been happening at Nelson. According to a report contained in the Nelson Examiner on 8 March 1845, there was a total population of 1460 European settlers living at Nelson. There were an additional 1576 that were spread throughout the remaining Nelson districts.¹⁰⁰⁴

When the Native Land Court sat in 1892, the rights of Ngatiawa at Wakatu were not recognised by the Court, despite the evidence put forward. The Ngatiawa were little different to the other tribes who did in fact receive interests. Ngatiawa had in earlier years, prior to the arrival of the New Zealand Company, used Wakatu as a fishing station. They had traditions associated with Piki mai, and had interests in the Native hostels that were erected at Auckland Point in 1843. The Ngatiawa claimed their rights to the land at Wakatu under *take* raupatu, stemming from the conquest c1829-1834. During this period, through to present day, Ngatiawa have continued their ahi kaa within the district of Wakatu and are represented within Te Whare o Kakati, situated at Wakatu Marae.¹⁰⁰⁵ A number of our people also reside at Wakatu and are buried at Wakatu.

In terms of the area known as Waimea, the Ngatiawa did have their rights recognised by the Courts. There were four tribes that were found to have an interest at Waimea. They included Ngatiawa, Ngati Rarua, Ngati Koata and Ngati Tama. There does not appear to have been any settlement sites at Waimea c1840, and nor in the period that followed. There is evidence that Waimea was a place where flax was harvested.

Based upon the Courts ruling, in respect of the lands at Waimea, it is difficult to see how Ngatiawa did not receive rights at Nelson, given the closeness of circumstances. Neither was permanently occupied at 1840, and both places were, at this time, used for collecting flax, mahinga and fishing.

Figure 18. See map book: Wakatu

9.4 Wakapuaka

Some discussion has already taken place in regard to Whakapuaka. In 1838, Ngati Tama and Ngati Hinetuhi, under Kauhoe, went to live at Wakapuaka after being gifted the land by Ngati Koata. This occurred soon after the death of Kauhoe's husband, Te Puoho, who was killed by Ngai Tahu at Tukurau in 1837. Following Te Puoho's death, Kauhoe went to see Te Whetu of Ngati Koata who was at that time living on Rangitoto. Owing to a request from Kauhoe, Te Whetu gave her the land at Wakapuaka. From the year 1838, Kauhoe and her Ngati Tama and Ngatihinetuhi relatives lived at Wakapuaka. Kauhoe was the principal of the people at Wakapuaka. Paaka says the gifted lands were situated between Aukoupokira and Waihi. Koata kept the land beyond Waihi.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰⁴ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Account of the Settlement of Nelson, 8 March 1845.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Peart, J. D., *Old Tasman Bay*, R Lucas & Son, Ltd, Nelson, 1937, p 55 - 56.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 14 November 1892, p 264. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

Stephens gives us a brief description of Wakapuaka and says that there were about 40 people staying at the pa.¹⁰⁰⁷ In November 1883, Hemi Whiro of Ngati Apa, stated to the Native Land Court the history behind Kauhoe and her people occupying the land:

I live at Rangitoto and Pelorus Sound. I know this land. I claim it through my ancestors, who lived on the land at the time of the invasion. The conquest was made by Ngatitoa, Ngatiawa & Puketapu. We were conquered and cleared out. Wi Katene and others lived on the land since the conquest... After this the invasion took place by which all the people here were destroyed. Te Pateti¹⁰⁰⁸ & Te Whetu lived there after the conquest. Some years ago (I cannot say how long) they shared the land with Huria's ancestors... We did not move from the land until it was given to Wi Katene & his mother.¹⁰⁰⁹

Hoera Ruruku says that the Ngati Koata left Wakapuaka after, or just before Kauhoe went to live there.¹⁰¹⁰

Despite the Ngatiawa having taken Kauhoe to Wakapuaka and having continued their occupation after the 1840s, they did not make a claim to the land there. The descendants of Kauhoe preferred their claim through Te Puoho's side, being Ngati Tama. When titles were investigated in 1883, the land was awarded to Huria Matenga, the daughter of Wi Katene.¹⁰¹¹ Wi Katene was the son of Te Puoho and Kauhoe.

9.5 Te Taitapu

We mentioned earlier that Captain Moore travelled through this area in 1840. Moore mentioned a stop he made on the coast, which could have related to the people at Aorere:

We then stood over for the exploration of the coast line to the eastward of Cape Farewell and its long and dangerous sandspit then not known to Navigation. Under the lea of the sandspit I found smooth water and good safe anchorage. I took careful bearings and soundings noting all in my Log Book. Thence we sailed around Massacre or Golden Bay one of the largest and safest roadsteads on the coasts of N.Z. and I may say one of the most beautiful. We kept as close in shore as we could and found quite a number of little fresh water rivers at or near their entrance where several Native paha or villages all of which I visited. As food was plentiful I traded for potatoes, dressed flax, pigs and maize giving in exchange blankets, red and blue, axes and various tools suited for culture, some three leg iron pots for cooking and tin panikens all of which were new to the Maoris but eagerly sought for - then there were rolls of strong calico and coloured prints and needles and thread, pretty beads and hankerchiefs all of which the dark beauties must have their share of before the

¹⁰⁰⁷ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 372.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Te Patete.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 17 November 1883, p 15. Evidence of Hemi Whiro.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 19 November 1883, p 18. Evidence of Hoera Ruruku.

See also:

A.J.H.R. Vol. II.G-6B. *The Native Purposes Act 1934. Report and Recommendation on petition No. 262 of 1933, of Hari Wi Katene and Others, Petition No. 123 of 1934, of Waka Rawiri and Another, and Petition No. 329 of 1934-35, of J.A. Elkington and Others Regarding Wakapuaka Block*, 1936, p 29.

¹⁰¹¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 20 November 1883, p 27. Judgement. Koata were given 100 acres to the north of Wakapuaka.

men had exhausted their lots of farm produce. I found some of these natives knew the Rewi family at West Wanganui and they were glad to hear of them. This added to some tobacco pipes and other little presents from me gave me quite a welcome and more hospitality and good will from Golden Bay. From thence I kept the coast line discovering good grey marble and more coals and good lime specimens of which I took on board to show my Wellington friends.¹⁰¹²

According to Washbourn, there were a total of 16 pa situated along the coast of Massacre Bay and West Whanganui. It was estimated that the Maori population in 1840 was less than 200.¹⁰¹³

In 1842, Captain Arthur Wakefield concentrated his energies towards developing land to the north of Separation Point. This tract of country was an important feature in the Nelson colony, owing to the large quantities of coal and limestone found there. Wakefield more than knew its commercial value as a supply to other settlements of New Zealand. Besides this, there were large tracts of land in the bay available for agricultural purposes and a significant part of the estimated 60 000 acres of land was finely timbered.¹⁰¹⁴

On 19 March 1842, Frederick Tuckett, under Wakefield's instructions left Nelson for Massacre Bay.¹⁰¹⁵ Tuckett spent a total of nine days exploring the district and during this time recorded the locations of a number of Native villages, their cultivation sites and some of the chiefs that were living or had interests in the land there.¹⁰¹⁶ Tuckett went to some length to ascertain the population of the bay and its vicinity, and arrived at a total of 174, not too far off the estimates quoted in Washbourn.¹⁰¹⁷

The main concentration of the Ngatiawa residing at Massacre Bay appears to have been from Aorere northwards. However, there were some of Ngatiawa residing amongst the Ngati Rarua and Ngati Tama at this time, such as in the Ligar Bay area.¹⁰¹⁸ Frederick Tuckett visited Tata Pa on his 1842 travels, and identified two of Te Koihua's brothers,

¹⁰¹² Moore, F. *Journal and Correspondence of Captain Frederick Moore, 1840-1931*, pp 61 - 62.

¹⁰¹³ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 33.

¹⁰¹⁴ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals, 1841 – 1854*, MS 2053 – 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 96.

See also:

Allan, R. *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 25: 'Wakefield estimated that there were 250 people in Golden Bay, representing the Puketapu, Ngati Tama, Te Atiawa and Ngati Rarua tribes. Te Atiawa were the principle inhabitants of Taitapu, although the Ngati Toa insisted that they had selling rights.'

¹⁰¹⁵ Tuckett, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Report of an Examination of the Shores and Lands adjacent to Massacre Bay, Tasman Gulf and also at Wanganui..., 9 April 1842.

¹⁰¹⁶ Tuckett, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Report of an Examination of the Shores and Lands adjacent to Massacre Bay, Tasman Gulf and also at Wanganui..., 9 April 1842, 16 April 1842.

¹⁰¹⁷ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 33.

See also:

Tuckett, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Report of an Examination of the Shores and Lands adjacent to Massacre Bay, Tasman Gulf and also at Wanganui..., 16 April 1842.

¹⁰¹⁸ Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 26. Another chief by the name of Wi Katene (Emanu), occasionally resided at either of these two places. Sherwood Roberts tells us that in 1856, there were several Maori whare at the Aorere River and that the land was covered with cape gooseberry.

Eiou and Eia, staying there.¹⁰¹⁹ At Taupo Pa situated at the entrance to Wainui, he also identified a number of the Ngati Hinetuhi who had recently arrived from Onahau in Queen Charlotte Sounds. A number of the pa were mixed, some more than others. This was also the case north of Aorere although the chief men are connected primarily with the Ngatiawa.

9.6 Aorere

Tuckett travelled up the coast during his 1842 expedition and found two small villages situated near the Aorere River, that were inhabited by the Ngatiawa. The principle chief appears to have been Tamati Pirimona.¹⁰²⁰ There were other Ngatiawa residing with Pirimona and they included the likes of Te Meera, Inia Hunahuna and Ringakuri. Ramari Herewine says that it was through Pirimona that the people obtained their *take* to the land at Aorere.¹⁰²¹

The pa that Tuckett was referring to is situated on the site of the present day Collingwood Motor Camp. When Wakefield visited this place in September, a short time after Tuckett, he found 50 'Missionary' Maori, and a few Europeans. They were under the chief Pirimona,¹⁰²² who belonged to the Ngati Mitiwai hapu of Ngatiawa.¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹⁹ Tuckett, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Report of an Examination of the Shores and Lands adjacent to Massacre Bay, Tasman Gulf and also at Wanganui..., 9 April 1842.

See also:

Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 26. Te Waukau was another name for Te Koihua, as the Europeans called him 'Go Ashore.'

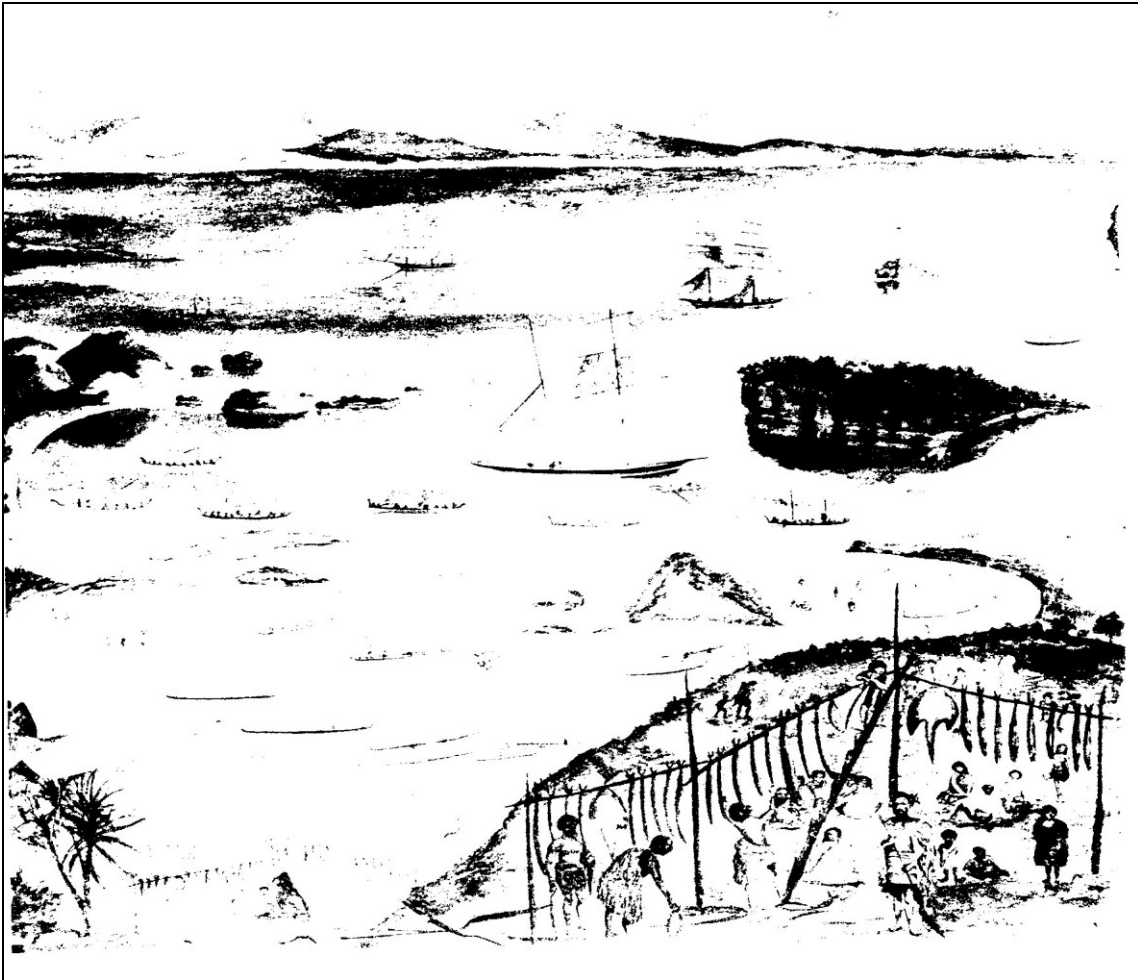
¹⁰²⁰ Tuckett, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, Report of an Examination of the Shores and Lands adjacent to Massacre Bay, Tasman's Gulf and also at Wanganui..., 16 April 1842.

¹⁰²¹ *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892, p 220. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. Herewini had a problem with some Puketapu obtaining lands at Aorere and although acknowledging Ngatiawa as having conquered the Te Taitapu district, objected to Puketapu participating in these lands: '...Ngatiawa conquered the country about Te Taitapu but did not occupy.'

¹⁰²² Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.187. Although there were no people in residence at the time of Tuckett's visit, there certainly were when Wakefield visited in September 1842. There is no direct reference to the N Awa residing at this place but there are references relating to subsequent happenings that do place N Awa here.

¹⁰²³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 10 November 1892, p 219. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka: 'The land at Aorere belonged to Pirimona, no te Mitiwai.'

Figure 19. Aorere



According to a report contained in the *Nelson Examiner*, Pirimona was quite an industrious character:

Another instance of progressing civilisation among the race occurring of late is to be found in the arrival here of a very snug and tidy schooner, of some 25 tons burden, belonging to and now registered in the name of Erino, a chief of Massacre Bay, one of the most intelligent, honest, and friendly of the natives with whom we have met in this district. This property he, also, has acquired, not by any aid from paid protectors, who never go near the place of his residence (fortunately for the peace of the district), but by his intercourse with certain white settlers in his neighbourhood, whom he has employed and paid for building and equipping his vessel.¹⁰²⁴

In Orchiston, Marino, (often referred to as Pirimona) and his wife are described in the following manner:

¹⁰²⁴ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 17 January 1846, p 182.

... a middle aged man with an oblong face, tattooed about the upper lip and chin only. He was 'decently' dressed in European clothes while his wife wore 'Maori blankets', had a shark tooth ear pendant, and was tattooed on the upper lip.¹⁰²⁵

Stephens visited Aorere in 1844 and the principal chief residing there was still Tamati Pirimona Marino. Stephens arrived late in the day at about 5 o'clock and finding that Marino had made arrangements for his stay, settled in. That night Stephens and his men sat down to eat and when they invited Pirimona to sit with them, he declined. Stephens thought it had more to do with consideration for their supposed hunger state. Marino said, 'No by-me get the kai-kai (food) - you too much the walk - too much no kai-kai me like see you eat- then me come.' Stephens, however, continued to press Marino and in the end he accepted the invitation, although he ate rather sparingly, no doubt ensuring there was sufficient food for Stephens and his men.¹⁰²⁶

Stephens spent four days surveying the land around Aorere, and on one occasion, whilst travelling up the Aorere River, Marino's (Erino) brother who was called Gideon accompanied him.¹⁰²⁷ Over the course of the next few days, Stephens surveyed a huge amount of land comprising of 200 rural sections at 150 acres each, or 30,000 acres altogether. Although this was what had been surveyed, Stephens believed there was no more than 20,000 acres that would have been desirable for occupation. The rest he considered as being hilly, rocky, and barren.

Information contained in Heaphy's Field Book (1847B), identifies large cultivations situated in the north, south and east sides of the Aorere River. Between 1846 and 1848, there were eight or nine cultivations and three pa:

42	Aorere deserted pa on mud flats				
113	Aorere River	No.1	cultivations	south side	
114	“ “	No.3	“	south side	
116	“ “	No.2	“	south side	
117	“ “	No.4	“	east side	
119	“ “	No.3	“	north side	
120	“ “	No.2	“	north side	
121	“ “	No.1	“	south side	
124	Aorere Coast				
125	Aorere Pa and coast cultivation				
152	Aorere Pa				

By 1861, Tamati Pirimona Marino was still the principal chief at Aorere and, according to Raniera Erihana, this place was a permanent settlement. Erihana also mentions that Te Koihua was at Aorere when he visited in 1861, but Te Koihua's presence may have had

¹⁰²⁵ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.187.

¹⁰²⁶ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 222.

¹⁰²⁷ Stephens, S. *Letters and Journals*, 1841-1854, MS 2053 - 2054, Nelson Provincial Museum, p 228.

more to do with a meeting involving MacKay, and some discussions concerning the Ngatiawa returning to Taranaki. Some of Ngatiawa had the view that 'they must go to fight at Taranaki.'¹⁰²⁸ Piraka was prepared to take things further. Washbourn, who was living at Massacre Bay in the 1850s, says that Piraka was busy casting bullets 'to shoot the white man.'¹⁰²⁹

Washbourn mentioned that sometimes at night, you could hear echoes of 'the Maori songs and chants, rising and falling on the breeze - and we knew that large war canoes were sent away laden with contributions of bullets and other accessories of war to Taranaki.'¹⁰³⁰

The earliest mention of gold in Massacre Bay was made by one of Wakefield's party in 1842 while visiting Aorere. Later in October 1856, two of the earliest settlers, Ned James and John Ellis, discovered gold.¹⁰³¹ It was not generally known at the time, but in 1855 traces of gold were found by Thomas Caldwell and his sons. This was apparently reported to the Commissioner of Crown Lands and to the Acting Superintendent at Nelson. Their advice was that it be kept secret for the time being, as Maori were disputing possession of some part of the property.

In January 1857, the peninsula where Collingwood now stands was swampy, with rushes and clumps of flax surrounded by black muddy water. At the far end of the point, a few Maori whare were scattered about. However, much of this part was washed away by the river and tide some time later.¹⁰³² In April 1857, the name of the township was changed from Aorere to Collingwood. The census taken in Collingwood on Christmas Eve 1858 recorded 700 white inhabitants and 200 Maori.¹⁰³³ A census that was done 12 years earlier showed that there was a population of 325, which if correct, would make it the highest populated area between Massacre Bay and Wakapuaka. For the same period Motueka had a population of 194 and Wakapuaka had 90.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰²⁸ *Otaki minute book 11*, 25 March 1890, pp 146 - 147. Evidence of Raniera Erihana. Te Koihua was at the battle of Kuititanga.

¹⁰²⁹ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 84.

¹⁰³⁰ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 86.

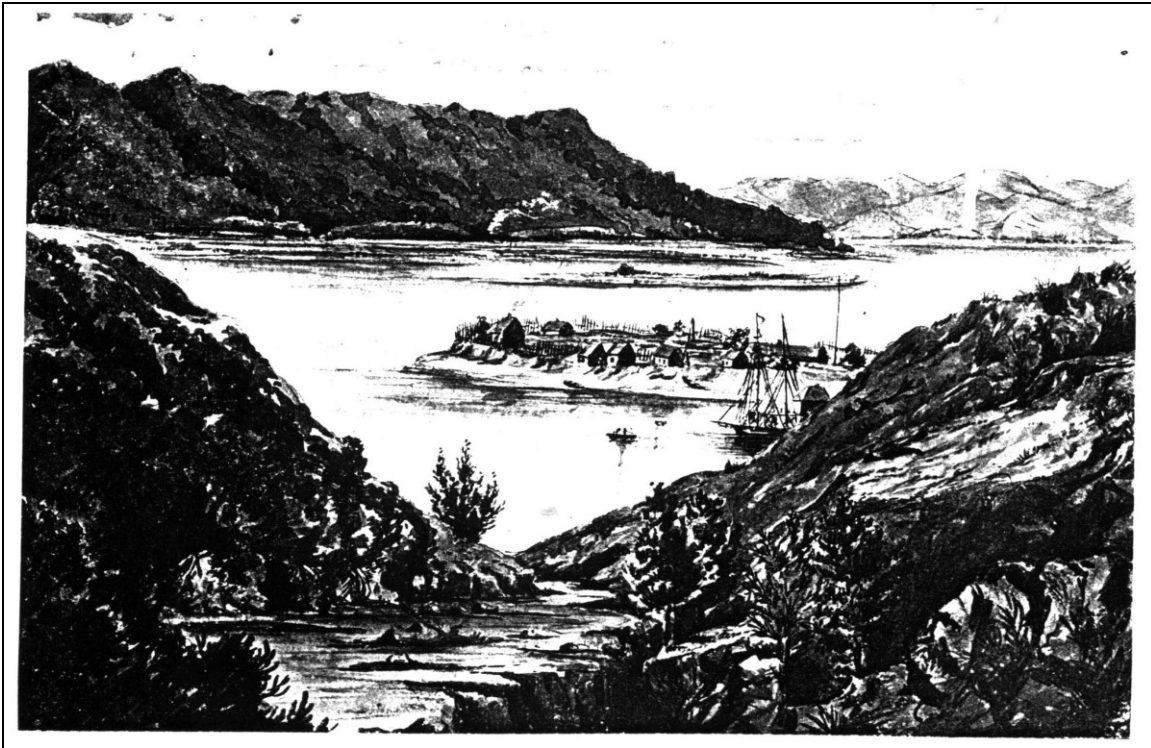
¹⁰³¹ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 37.

¹⁰³² Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 39.

¹⁰³³ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 41.

¹⁰³⁴ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 4 April 1846, Native Population, p 18.

Figure 20. Golden Bay, Collingwood 1864



9.7 Te Mattai

The next Ngatiawa pa, situated to the north, is Te Mattai. It stood upon a low hill, a very short distance back from the shores, and commanded a wide view over the bay.¹⁰³⁵ In 1842, Tuckett said there was a population of 20 people residing there.¹⁰³⁶ This number is lower than that identified by Reverend Reay when he visited the pa on the 31 January 1842. He recorded 42 inhabitants and noted that they were building a church on Wapping Point. There is some mention of Maori burial grounds being at the mouth of the river, divided by sandbanks. Tamati Pirimona Marino and Te Koihua have on various occasions been associated with Te Mattai.

Major Richmond and Tinline, the Native Interpreters, were at Massacre Bay in early 1852. They had gone there to assess the worth of the land lying at Massacre Bay, and to also enter into preliminary questions with the Maori owners concerning its purchase. Richmond thought that they should proceed with purchasing the land as quickly as possible, as the 'natives' were fast learning the true worth of the land. Richmond knew that it would be better if the Maori kept the land, but he was more determined to secure minerals that were known to exist in the hills behind Te Mattai and Pakawau. He discusses these matters, along with a description of the social conditions of the locals. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated 5 January 1852, Richmond wrote:

¹⁰³⁵ Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 26.

¹⁰³⁶ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 16 April 1842, p 24.

Plumbago exists upon a hill sloping into the Pakawau which appears easy of access; and copper is said to have been found in the rocks behind Tamatea Pa, on the sea coast, and a short distance from this valley.

With the prospect of such abundance of good coal and other valuable minerals in the district, I was the more anxious to acquire it for the Government at once, as the longer the purchase was delayed (it appears to me) the more difficult it would be of accomplishment, for I found the cupidity of the Natives had already been aroused by the reported value of the minerals upon their land, and if they were advised that it would be more to their interest to retain the ownership, the present opportunity might be lost of acquiring it. I therefore arranged with the Native chief William King Te Koihua,¹⁰³⁷ who resides at Pakawau, for the purchase of all the land commencing from the limits of the late New Zealand Company's survey at the mouth of the Aorere to Cape Farewell and the Sand Spit, and the West Coast from Cape Farewell to Te Whanganui, including the latter harbour...¹⁰³⁸

A report contained in the Nelson Examiner says that Te Koihua received a reserve just a few miles south of Pakawau and that he also received a larger proportion of the purchase money stemming from the sale of lands to the Crown. In part, this was because he was one of the sole surviving representatives in the district of the invading northern war party. He had conquered this part of the South Island, and therefore, in common with others of that party, acquired according to Maori usage, a right in the soil. There is also a comment in relation to how the pakeha saw Te Koihua.¹⁰³⁹ Reimana Nutana says, 'Te Koihua was the only one who obtained land through killing Te Whioi.'¹⁰⁴⁰

According to Orchiston, there was once a waterway that ran through the swamp leading from Pakawau to Te Mattai. It ran parallel to the shore, but was separated by some broad, flattened old beach ridges. In the early days this waterway was used for trafficking waka to and from Te Mattai, but it would have had its limitations owing to it being tidal.¹⁰⁴¹

9.8 Pakawau

Pakawau, which had a small population of eight people in 1842, was to the north of Te Mattai. Te Koihua was the Chief. This is supported by Sherwood Roberts who states, 'The

¹⁰³⁷ Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, pp 291 - 292 On the 15 September 1864, Te Koihua wrote a letter to His Excellency Governor Browne, asking for his two sections; one at Pakawau and the other at Te Rae. This was apparently agreed to in the 1852 sale of the land. According to James Mackay, the Natives had for a long time asserted that when Major Richmond purchased the land in 1852, he arranged for Te Koihua to have a reserve in the Township, at the site of his settlement or pa. MacKay, however, stated that there was no documentary evidence to support the claim. MacKay recommended that half of a Town section should be awarded to him.

¹⁰³⁸ Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, pp 289 - 290.

¹⁰³⁹ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 22 May 1852, p 50. Te Koihua lived at Pakawau in 1856.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, pp 303 - 304. Evidence of Reimana Nutana.

¹⁰⁴¹ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.193.

Maori chief at Pakawau in 1856 was Te Koihua (which the settlers pronounced ‘go ashore,’ the name given to a three-legged iron pot used by whalers) who had conquered the Rangitane and Ngati-apa tribes in Massacre and Blind Bays, and had assisted Te Rauparaha to destroy the Ngai Tahu Iwi, that had taken possession of the Nelson and Canterbury districts in the year 1828...¹⁰⁴²

Tuckett, however, suggests that as Te Koihua’s principal place of residence was at Wanganui, this could not be the case.

As discussed earlier in this report, Te Koihua came from Taranaki with the Heke Nihoputa.¹⁰⁴³ He belonged to the Ngati Hinetuhi, Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Uenuku and Kaitangata, through his great grandparents Te Ratuku and Kapuatahi. Through his grandmother Hineroro, he was connected to the Ngati Tupawhenua of Ngati Rahiri.¹⁰⁴⁴ Te Koihua had four children Mereana, Hemi Kuku, Te Muka and Ngapari, while his sister Te Iringarangi had three children, Ruka Meteriki, Hemi Kuku, and Tareao. Ruka Meteriki lived at Arahura, Westland.¹⁰⁴⁵

Between December 1839 and January 1840, James Coutts Crawford purchased six blocks of land at Wakapuaka and West Whanganui, for the sum of 301 pounds. He also negotiated the sale of some land at Pakawau.¹⁰⁴⁶ The land supposedly sold went from Farewell Spit to a line drawn east and west to both coasts through an unidentified pa located at Whanganui. Two of the blocks in the latter were supposed to have been purchased from Te Koihua and Komatorua.¹⁰⁴⁷

Pakawau would have been important for a number of reasons. Besides its proximity to the extensive mahinga that existed in the area at the time, it was also on the main track leading in and out of Whanganui. Heaphy mentioned the native track when he was at Pakawau in 1846. He said, ‘The path leads across the mudflat at the back of the pa, and then enters the forest, through which it continues in a westerly direction for three miles, crossing occasionally two small streams flowing in opposite directions, that leading to the west exposing coal in its bed.’¹⁰⁴⁸

Being on the main highway, Pakawau would have been subject to fluctuations in population.

¹⁰⁴² Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 26.

¹⁰⁴³ *Otaki minute book 11*, 2 April 1890, p 235. Evidence of Tamihana Te Karu.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1999.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Nelson minute book 2*, 4 November 1892, p 152. Evidence of Herewine Tatana: ‘Wi Te Kohua had four children, daughter and 3 sons viz Meriana, Hemi Kuku, Te Muka and Ngaparu. The two latter were drowned off Pakawau through the upsetting of a boat. They left no issue. Hemi Kuku died without issue and Meriana had children but they were all dead. The nearest of kin were Iringarangi’s grandchildren. Ordered that a title be issues in favour of Ruka Weteriki m of Arahura Westland and Hemi Kuku m and Tareao f of Taranaki in equal shares.’

¹⁰⁴⁶ Cases 75(a)-(d), James Coutts Crawford, OLC 1/149-152, NA: pp 4 - 8.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Allan, R. *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 31.

See also:

Cases 75(a)-(d), James Coutts Crawford, OLC 1/149-152, NA: pp 4 - 8.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Heaphy and Brunner, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 September 1846. Notes on an Expedition to Kawatiri and Araura, on the Western Coast of the Middle Island.

9.9 Taupata

The next pa you come to, north of Pakawau, is Taupata, another pa connected with Te Koihua. Roberts says that Taupata was a fortified pa and stood not too far from the beach at the foot and side of a low hill. There were a number of long posts stuck in the ground and notched upwards to prevent rats climbing up to the food stages which had evidently been built on top off them. On one was the figure of a man, carved in wood with only three fingers and a thumb on each hand - was said to have been the effigy of some celebrated warrior. The Maori only carved three fingers on human figures because they thought the spirits of the dead would be offended if an image was too exact in likeness.¹⁰⁴⁹ Roberts says that the land here was reserved in 1856 for Te Koihua¹⁰⁵⁰ of Ngatiawa.¹⁰⁵¹ By this time, the village was strictly tapu; it had been deserted and had fallen to decay.

At the time of Tuckett's 1842 visit, Te Koihua could very well have had his principal place of abode at Whanganui, but as we have just outlined, he also had interests in the land in Massacre Bay.

Those who are residents in the town of Nelson say that the old man Te Koihua, was conspicuous amongst the rest of his people, not only by his age, but also his volubility and perseverance of protest and vociferation which was to the pakeha and others, perfectly astounding.¹⁰⁵²

One of the common occurrences to take place around this area, and particularly in the north west of the bay, was the stranding of whales. Many used to go ashore on the extensive flats that were exposed at low tide. In March 1846, Heaphy remarked:

The flats off Taupata Point, in the corner of the bay, are strewn with the bones of the grampus, or black-fish of the whalers, which in the month of April frequent in great numbers this coast, in search of the molluscae, their food, and occasionally become entangled among the shoals, remaining dry at low water upon the banks.¹⁰⁵³

The north-western area of Massacre Bay also offered other advantages. Besides the huge abundance of shellfish, there were the extensive areas of fern root along the coastal strip between Taupata and Waikato Inlet. Barnicoat identified these in 1842.¹⁰⁵⁴ Around the area of Farewell spit there was a high population of waterfowl and other birds. Although this

¹⁰⁴⁹ Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, pp 26 - 27.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 16 November 1892, p 301. Evidence of Hohepa Horomona. Te Koihua obtained land at Te Taitapu owing to constant occupation. 'No te Raupatu te take o te ratou noho Ki taku wakaaro me uru katoa nga tangata ki te wahi o te Raupatu.'

¹⁰⁵¹ Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, pp 26 - 27.

¹⁰⁵² *The Nelson Examiner, And New Zealand Chronicle*, 22 May 1852, p 50. Additional information: Te Koihua still lived at Pakawau in 1856.

¹⁰⁵³ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.199. (Heaphy cited in Orchiston).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.199.

was the case over the whole of the coastline, there was nowhere more abundant than Farewell Spit.¹⁰⁵⁵ Farewell Spit is an important mahinga mataitai.

9.10 Wharawhariki

Travelling west from Puponga, was another important place called Wharawhariki. Tamati Pirimona was connected with this place. Occupation evidence is still visible today, on top of a ridge overlooking the sea.¹⁰⁵⁶

9.11 Te Koihua seeks the return of his slaves

On 9 March 1845, the Rev Charles Lucas Reay baptised Te Koihua, giving him the name of Wiremu King.¹⁰⁵⁷ He was also known by a number of alias names including William King, Wiremu Kingi, Billy King, or Wiremu Kingi Te Koihua, and at times Te Koi.¹⁰⁵⁸ Despite Te Koihua being baptised, it did not stop him from living his former ways. In 1857, Te Koihua travelled south from Aorere in his war canoe to obtain his slaves that were residing at Motupipi pa. There were about a dozen men with Te Koihua on this occasion.¹⁰⁵⁹ On arriving at the pa, he found there were about 100 Maori. Most of them were seated in little groups around the open space in the centre, while the women were congregated at one end.

Te Koihua was a stout built man of medium height, about sixty years of age. He wore a fully tattooed face and carried a beautifully carved taiaha, or staff, inlaid with¹⁰⁶⁰ mother of pearl and ornamented with a bunch of black and white tail feathers of the huia. A carved greenstone ornament, or heitiki, was suspended from his neck. Over his shoulders he wore an ornamental mat, and altogether he looked the very beautiful ideal of the old Maori chief, as he walked up the centre of the pah in a stately manner, followed by twelve sturdy, determined fellows. Te Koihua seated himself a little apart from the others, his men following his example. Te Koihua was received with great respect by most of the assembled Maori, although some of the older ones looked at him with a scowl. For a moment there was a silence as the people in the pa waited for something to take place. Then all of a sudden there was quite a stir, caused by the entrance of a tall Maori by the name of Wilson [Wirihana], dressed in European fashion, with several others following him. As soon as Te Koihua saw Wilson, he rose and demanded his slaves. Wilson's reply to this was that he would not let them go. Te Koihua responded:

Friends, you know me; I am Te Koihua. You have three men belonging to me, they are Tamati, Ewiri, and John the one-eyed with his daughter. They are my slaves.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Orchiston, D. *Studies In South Island New Zealand Prehistory and Protohistory*, Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Department of Anthropology), University of Sydney, 1974, p 3.199.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Personal communications*, Trina Mitchell, 1999.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Nelson District Anglican Maori Baptisms and Marriages*, 9 March 1845. Compiled by Mike Taylor from original records, 1996-1997, p 14.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Personal communications*, Mike Taylor, 1999.

See also:

Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, pp xxiv - xxv.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, pp xxiv, xxvi - xxvii.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, p xxv.

Edwin Wilson¹⁰⁶¹ there is keeping them from me. Martin is keeping them. Where have you hidden them? My men shall find them and drag them forth. Who is Martin that stands in my path? Who is Wilson that refuses to let the men go? I *will* have them, or payment shall be made. I say it. I, Te Koihua, say I will have the men that are mine.¹⁰⁶²

One of the men by the name of Martin then rose, and in a long address explained that the men Te Koihua claimed belonged to Motupipi. He also said that it was true they had been captured and taken to Pakawau years ago by Te Koihua, but at length they had become tired of their bondage and had returned to their people. Martin argued that these people were under the English rule and that the days of slavery were no more and that all men were free. Martin intimated that the men Te Koihua was looking for were now under his protection. Te Koihua responded to this by declaring that the men should not be taken away.¹⁰⁶³ 'Never! Never! Never!' The response from those who were sitting about was 'E tika tenei (that is correct).' Te Koihua bounced up in a great rage:

Am I no longer a great chief? Am I not a Ngatiawa? Look you Martin, and you Wilson, and you men of Motupipi, did I not fight with the great Te Rauparaha? Did we not conquer Rangitana [Rangitane] and Ngatiaha [Ngati Apa] and destroy them? Did not I, and Takerei, and Te Peho [Te Puoho ?] conquer you all round this coast? At Totaranui, at Wharewarangi, at Wainui, at Waiwero, at Motupipi, at Aorere, at Pakawau? Did we not eat you? Did we not take you as slaves? Is it not the law of the Maori? Why do you talk to me of the pakeha? What have I to do with the pakeha? Give me my slaves, or I will take them as I did in the days of old. You, Martin, and you men of Motupipi shall hear more of this.¹⁰⁶⁴

Gathering his mat around him he signed to his men to follow and left the pa.¹⁰⁶⁵ There are other stories that are connected with Te Koihua. In 1859, the Washbourn Family moved from Motueka to live near Collingwood. They had an encounter with Te Koihua at Pakawau, who told them of the cannibal feasts he had enjoyed: - 'Tamariki (children) be werry good, ka pai to eat, he said.'¹⁰⁶⁶ As we have already mentioned, Te Koihua was one of the chiefs that had fought in the earlier battles against the Kurahaupo tribes.

Before we leave off from here we must take a look at an article appearing in the Nelson Examiner. Again, reference is made to Te Koihua:

This scarcely aged savage has already seen a series of events and changes, which never, until these days, could have before been crowded into the life of one man. A

¹⁰⁶¹ *Saint Mary's Catholic Church Baptism's February 1853 to September 1904*, Blenheim, Volume One. Compiled by Michael J. Taylor, 1988. Eruera Kaipara Wirihana or Kaipara Pio Te Wirihana was given his last sacraments at his house at Canvastown on January 29 1872. Transcribed by Mike Taylor.

¹⁰⁶² Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, p xxvi.

¹⁰⁶³ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, pp xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, p xxvii.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Lucas, R., *Lucas's Nelson Almanac and year-book*, Nelson, 1872, p xxvii.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 92.

barbarian himself, he has seen the darkest barbarism, with all its attendant terrors - it's cannibalism - it's wars of extermination - it's vile treacheries which once made his countryman a byeword in the world for ferocity - give way before those strangers who, within his life time, scarce dared to land upon his shores. He has lived to see that European stranger not only arrive here, but dwell here in perfect safety; and not only so, but by his religion and civilisation, gain more in peace, than ever he or his could gain by force and bloodshed. He has seen one race, which probably he assisted to exterminate, utterly pass away, and he has walked for years upon their soil, as unconscious as they were of treasures of the earth beneath, which, visible to the eye on all sides around him, had yet no worth or usefulness to him.¹⁰⁶⁷

Te Koihua would have seen more changes in his lifetime than most. An article appearing in the Nelson Examiner described Te Koihua as 'a connecting link between the past and the present.' He was 'one of the few surviving warriors involved in the original invasion of the Nelson districts.'¹⁰⁶⁸ On top of this, Te Koihua had witnessed the initial impact period of European colonisation and saw his people go from the musket wars to becoming Christians and adopting many of the ways of the Pakeha. Most of this took place over a relatively short space of time - about 30 to 40 years.

Te Koihua stands in all Marae that Te Atiawa have an interest in today. This includes Onetahua, Te Awhina, Wakatu and Waikawa. The other Ngatiawa chief represented in all these Marae, is Te Manu Toheroa.

9.12 Motupipi

At 1840, there does not appear to have been any pa sites at Motupipi. The land in this locality had mainly been used for cultivations by the Maori who were residing to the south-east. Things however changed, and by the mid-1840s a settlement had developed there. One of the Ngatiawa residing at Motupipi was Rawiri Watino. He was there in 1856 when Sherwood Roberts visited. Sherwood Roberts gave the following description of Rawiri Watino:

The Rangatira (chief) of the Maoris at Motupipi in 1856 was Rawhiti (the east) [Rawiri Watino] who belonged to the Ngati Awa tribe, which originally came from Taranaki. He was a large, well-set man, very much tattooed, so that he looked nearly black, but he was very proud of it. The paepae, or curves of the moko on his cheeks, were very perfect and wonderfully graceful, showing that the spirals had been traced by a skilled expert in the art. He said it took a long time to complete and was very painful, but the beauty of it recompensed him for all. His nose was nearly flat and as low as his cheeks, for the cartilage, or bone, had been extracted when he was very young. He could talk a little English, and often boasted of having eaten human flesh at the cannibal feasts after fights with other tribes. He said it tasted something like pork, but nicer... He was very friendly with Europeans, and very

¹⁰⁶⁷ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 22 May 1852, p 50.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 22 May 1852, p 50.

fond of waipero, especially rum. At that time a Maori would not eat with a pakeha before he had known him at least two days.¹⁰⁶⁹

Rawiri Watino gave evidence in the Native Land Court in 1883; at that time he was still residing at Motupipi.¹⁰⁷⁰ In 1883 he succeeded to land belonging to his sister Hera Watino.¹⁰⁷¹ When Watino died he was buried at the urupa at Motupipi. Another urupa where a number of Ngatiawa are buried is Rototai.

9.13 Pariwhakaoho

Another Ngatiawa settlement was situated at Pariwhakaoho. The Chief of this pa was Henare Te Keha. We mentioned earlier that he had returned to Taranaki in 1832 when the Waikato attacked Pukerangiora. After assisting Te Heke Tamateuaua out of Taranaki, he then returned to the Nelson districts.

According to Washbourn, Te Keha was 'a great chief' and was 'a very tall man, greatly tattooed, and well dressed in a dark blue suit, but bare footed as he would never wear shoes.'¹⁰⁷² Up until 1845, Te Keha had been residing on the West Coast at Turimawivi. Like many of the people residing on the Coast, he moved to the Massacre Bay, so as to take advantages of the perceived benefits of trade.

In September 1847, Tinline and Sinclair were at Massacre Bay, engaged in laying off reserves for Native purposes.¹⁰⁷³ The last people mentioned by Tinline were at Te Waikaha, situated at the mouth of the Pariwhakaoho stream. The chief of this place was Henare Te Keha. He was there with his family, including his wife Wiki Te Amohou.

According to Tinline, Te Keha claimed that McLean had promised them their pa and cultivations, situated on section 79. Tinline, however, had the view that they would be best to purchase it, especially as there would be some jealousy owing to Te Keha having not resided there a long time.¹⁰⁷⁴ As far as Te Keha was concerned, he had every right to the land. He said in a petition to the Governor, that he had not received any money from the sale of the land and therefore, the land was still his. His descendants have recorded Te Keha's Tau, which accompanied his petition:

¹⁰⁶⁹ Roberts, Sherwood, W.H., *Maori Nomenclature*, p 29.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 7. Evidence of Rawiri Watino.

See also:

Nelson minute book 2, p 221. Evidence of Ramari Herewine. Says, 'Ngatiawa did not settle at Te Taitapu until after Reihana was drowned at Tane o Kupe. This was Rawiri Watino's party. They afterwards went to Motupipi. Don't know of Ngatiawa living at Takaka.'

¹⁰⁷¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 22 November 1883, p 52.

¹⁰⁷² Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, pp 76 - 77.

¹⁰⁷³ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 295. Tinline to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 18 December 1855.

¹⁰⁷⁴ MacKay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, p 297.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Kaore te whakama,
Ki oku korero,
E tara, e te ngutu,</p> <p>2. E tika? e whae?
Mei ata kite koe
Taku tonuitanga,
To rua patu, E roa i au,
Te one i Turangi, kia tae au e,
Te paepae, o te rua, i a Maheuheu.</p> <p>3. Te awhiawhi mai,
He rukenga naku,
I aku rangi mananga.</p> | <p>4. Tena te pari kai
Kei oku matua
Te hikoi atu. E uru e wehi ana.</p> <p>5. Te ai, he kopapa,
Hei reti i au, kia uru atu ana
Ko Tumukewhenua
Kia hopu taku ringa
Te pu ki Hawaiki</p> <p>6. Tena, aku rongo,
Ka riro i a Karaha, te
taihekenga atu,
O Taumatamairi,
Ka rongo Taweke
I aku rongo tupua
Hei paki, ki te whare¹⁰⁷⁵</p> |
|---|---|

Hoani Tatana Te Keha, the youngest son of Te Keha, gave evidence in the Native Land Court in 1892, concerning his family's residency at Pariwhakaoho. He stated:

.... I was born at Te Taitapu (West Wanganui). We went to Te Waikaha at the time the land was surveyed the second time (1845). We came from Te Taitapu and our first cultivation was at Te Waikaha. We lived at Pariwhakaoho. The reason why we left West Wanganui and settled at Pariwhakaoho was to be nearer Nelson. Rawiri Watino and his party were at Waikato to the north Aorere at the time.

There was no one at Pariwhakaoho nor yet at Te Waikaha when we went there. The land was covered with scrub.

No one pointed out the boundaries to the Surveyors. We merely looked on.

The old cultivations at Te Waikaha when we went there were overgrown with scrub. The place I refer to was to the West of the Whakiora Stream to the east of that and on to the Pariwhakaoho Stream was fern land.

There has been an old pa at the mouth of the Pariwhakaoho Stream but it had fallen to decay.

Takaka and Motupipi were the nearest places that the Ngatirarua occupied at that time.

We were not disturbed by anyone while occupying the land at Te Waikaha.

We did not ask anyone to allot us the land.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Mitchell, J. "Henare Tatana Te Keha Raua Ko Wiki Te Amahou", Family Biography, p 12.

I noho tuturu matou i tera wahi, taea noatia tenei wha. If I saw anyone living on my land I should not allow him to occupy without speaking about it. No one offered to interfere with us at Te Waikaha.

If I owned land at a distance I should return to see it. I cannot say whether Tiki Hikaka thought of this land when he travelled to Aorere.

A person would visit his land when travelling past it...

It was the people who lived at the pa at Pariwhakaoho who made the first clearing at Te Waikaha.

I don't know who these people were. Did not see Hikaka. Did not know that any tupapaku were buried at Te Waikaha but we were told there was hei whai tapu there.

Piripi Te Ngawhe lived at Pariwhakaoho. Did not see Matenga Te Aupouri there nor Kawatiri, Takarei or Te Whangai.

The Ngatirarua who lived with us did not assert a right to the land nor attempt to compel us to relinquish it.

It was in the days of Tiki Hikaka that we first heard of his claim. This was after the diggings at Aorere. Tiki Hikaka did not come to us to object to our occupying the land. Don't know when MacKay heard of Tiki's claim to the land.

Piripi Te Ngawhe belonged to Ngati Rarua. Hei raupatu te take ki nga whenua o te motu nei.

We all came together from Te Taitapu and Niho and others went on to Motupipi.

Don't know what induced Hikaka to go to Cloudy Bay.¹⁰⁷⁶

On 22 November 1892, the Native Land Court gave Judgement in respect of the beneficiaries to land at Te Waikaha. The block encompassed a little over 59 acres and was vested in Henare Te Keha and others.¹⁰⁷⁷

In the early 1860s, Washbourn's eldest son Tom paid a visit to Puramahoi, a well-known pa belonging to Henare Te Keha and his son Eruera. (Washbourn actually refers to Eruera as Edwin Stanton and his father, Te Keha, as the old Duke of York.) A group of about 200 appear to have gathered to discuss the outbreak of war at Taranaki. Washbourn says that there were long speeches for and against the propriety of joining in the rebellion against the pakeha, and that they did not arrive at a settlement.¹⁰⁷⁸

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Nelson minute book 2*, 19 November 1892, pp 350 - 352, 355 - 356. Evidence of Hoani Tatana Te Keha.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Nelson minute book 3*, 22 November 1892, p 17. Judgement.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Washbourn, E., *Courage and Camp Ovens, Five Generations at Golden Bay*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970, p 86.

A report that was written by the resident agent of the New Zealand Company, in 1849, indicates that some of the Ngatiawa had returned to Taranaki with Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake in 1848. This was discussed in the Ngatiawa settlement of the Marlborough district. Bell stated that:

...the Ngatiawa portion of them, though settled here for so many years, still retain a lurking affection for their original country in the North Island, and that numbers of them have followed Wiremu Kingi and his party to the Waitara district, I should not be surprised to see many more, especially of the Queen Charlotte's Sound people, go there by and bye, unless indeed they are retained by the formation of the new town.¹⁰⁷⁹

In 1863, the Compensation Court sat to hear evidence in respect of the land at Taranaki. One of the interesting things that comes through quite clearly in the evidence, was in regard to the 200 or more persons that returned to Taranaki, just prior to the Court sitting. They had all returned with a hope of being awarded their ancestral lands, and also to support their relations who were at war with the Government concerning the confiscated lands.¹⁰⁸⁰

According to a report compiled by the Commissioner of Native Reserves in 1865, 'there are about 30 Natives living at this settlement' (Pariwhakaoho) at this time.¹⁰⁸¹

9.14 West Whanganui

Immediately before the conquest of Whanganui c1829, Kotuku and Paihora occupied the land. They were the principle chiefs of this district and while they appear to have whakapapa to all of the Kurahaupo tribes, they were principally Ngatiapa. Kotuku was killed at Te Awaruto and Paihora was killed at Taurangahioi.¹⁰⁸²

Captain Moore was one of the earliest Europeans to visit West Whanganui. In May 1840, he attempted to circumnavigate the North Island aboard the *Jewess*, but after arriving off the coast of Taranaki, he was blown off course in a northerly gale and eventually ended up off Cape Farewell, at the Southern tip of the South Island. Having split one of his sails, Moore decided to put in at West Whanganui for repairs.¹⁰⁸³

According to Moore's description of Whanganui, he says that the waters of the harbour and the adjacent coast carried a plentiful supply of good fish, mussels, pipi, oysters, crayfish, and ducks. On the shores the forests and bush was full of pigeons, wild pigs, kaka,

¹⁰⁷⁹ Bell, F. D. Resident Agent of the New Zealand Company, *Report and notes upon the Nelson Settlement for 1849*, p 41.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Compensation Court Records, New Plymouth, June 1866, p 11. Refers to Ngamahanga. Only Wi Ruka returned from Taranaki to occupy land in the South Island.

¹⁰⁸¹ Alexander, David., *Reserves of Te Te Tau Ihu (Northern South Island)*, Vol. Two (Of Two), October 1999, p 554. (Commissioner of Native Reserves Nelson, to Native Minister, 6 December 1865. MacKay's Compendium, Volume 2, pp 310 - 315.)

¹⁰⁸² *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 5. Evidence of Hoani Mahuika. According to Hoani Mahuika, not all the people were killed and therefore their claim to the land still stood. While not all of them were killed, they were displaced from the land and others were taken as slaves.

¹⁰⁸³ Moore, F. *Journal and Correspondence of Captain Frederick Moore*, 1840-1931, p 52.

See also:

Allan, R. *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1965, p 33.

woodhens and songbirds. There was also plenty of edible fern, raupo roots and nikau. There was no shortage of food. As for the surrounding hills, they were clothed in great beauty and profusion peculiar to the more fertile lands of New Zealand.

Moore wrote in his Journal that he considered West Whanganui to be a most desirable place to establish a Port and also reported the abundance of coal, which could easily be extracted from along the shores of the harbour. He wrote:

West Wanganui has a good navigable bar close into the entrance with from 16 to 20 feet high water, this snug Inlet will some day be deemed one of the best ports on the West Coast of the Middle Island as well as a loading place for very many thousands of tons of the best coal found in N.Z. and other mineral.¹⁰⁸⁴

Moore only mentions one pa site at Whanganui when he made his visit in 1840. It belonged to a Native chief named Rewi who was residing there with his family.¹⁰⁸⁵ Wakefield wrote in October 1839, that the Ngatiawa were occupying Whanganui.¹⁰⁸⁶

According to Pamariki Paaka, one of the reasons why the people went to Whanganui was because they had heard ‘... Kaipuke’s reported there... Knew that they went after whales and would probably go where these fish were found.’¹⁰⁸⁷ The Maori people believed the whalers would bring, for them, a number of trading advantages and opportunities.

Wirihana Turangapeke of Ngati Rarua, whilst giving evidence in the Native Land Court in November 1883, mentions a few other pa sites at Whanganui, some that were situated on the coast heading towards Kahurangi. Turangapeke says:

Some of us lived at Whanganui, near the inlet; also at Te Apu; also at Wai Ngakihi; also a large settlement at Paturau, at the mouth of the river; also at Punapau; also at Ngutuihe at Turimawivi; at Anaoeka; also at Raukawa; at Awaruato and at Kahurangi. There is a pah at Paturau. This was the largest one where most of the people lived. There were small ones. Also burial places all along the Coast, at certain distance from one another...¹⁰⁸⁸

There were sixteen names identified by Turangapeke as having resided at Whanganui. The majority were Ngati Rarua, with only one identified as Ngatiawa. This was Eruera Tatana Te Keha’s son, Henare Tatana.¹⁰⁸⁹ It was mentioned earlier that Henare Te Keha and his family had been living at Turimawivi and that in 1845, some of them moved to Pariwhakaoho, situated in Massacre Bay. Hoani Tatana says that ‘... The reason why we

¹⁰⁸⁴ Moore, F. *Journal and Correspondence of Captain Frederick Moore*, 1840-1931, pp 60 - 61.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Moore, F. *Journal and Correspondence of Captain Frederick Moore*, 1840-1931, p 52.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Supplementary Information, relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company’s Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCCXL, Wakefield 1839, p 126.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Nelson minute book 2*, 15 November 1892, p 284. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1893, p 4. Evidence of Wirihana Turangapeke.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 22 November 1883, p 44. Evidence of Henare Tatana.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 22 November 1883, p 4. List of names identified by Turangapeke.

left West Wanganui and settled at Pariwhakaoho, was to be nearer Nelson... We all came together from Te Taitapu and Niho and others went on to Motupipi.’¹⁰⁹⁰

It would appear that Te Keha continued to travel to and from Whanganui after shifting to Pariwhakaoho. In March 1846, Brunner journeyed down the West Coast and found Te Keha at Whanganui. Brunner says:

A young native, called the *Duke of York*,¹⁰⁹¹ who with his family form exceptions to the distinguishing characteristic of the natives here, offered to take us down the harbour in his canoe, and as it would save a long tedious walk we engaged his services, and proceeded from *Owenga* down the northern arm of the harbour and past its entrance to a small bay, in which was a station of *Eneho* [Te Niho], a chief whom we had been warned against at Massarce Bay, having been told that he would endeavour to obtain from us all that we carried.¹⁰⁹²

According to Pamariki Paaka, Te Keha and his family lived at Whanganui owing to his relationship with Niho.¹⁰⁹³ Rawiri Watino had different ideas though. He says the Ngatiawa had always lived at Whanganui, and that their claim to the land was by take raupatu and occupation. Watino stated the following in evidence to the Native Land Court:

I live at Motupipi. Belong to Ngatiawa. I claim this land (all of it) by right of conquest. I came over with others & conquered the holders. I also occupied the land. We conquered Ngati Kuia, Ngatiapa & Rangitane. We killed most of them. Each conquering tribe made their own separate conquering. We took possession of Pelorus Sound, Wakapua [Wakapuaka] and Moutere. We then went to Whanganui, Killing the chiefs: the rest ran away. We lived on the land permanently.¹⁰⁹⁴

Rihari Tahuaroa of Ngatiawa gave evidence in the Te Taitapu case in 1883. He also claimed the land by right of conquest. ‘Kotuku was the principle man killed. We took this land...’¹⁰⁹⁵

When Tuckett visited Whanganui in 1842, he made mention that Te Koihua had a pa at Whanganui, which was situated in close proximity to a pa, called Raukawa. Despite him being in the Massacre Bay district in the years that followed, Te Koihua still maintained his mana at Whanganui and as we discuss further on, he exerted his mana as far south as Arahura.

Merenako and the family of Henare Te Keha were allocated interests when reserves were established at Whanganui and the country laying to the South. Henare Te Keha obtained the

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Nelson minute book 2*, 19 November 1892, pp 351, 356. Evidence of Hoani Tatana Te Keha.

¹⁰⁹¹ Heaphy and Brunner, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 September 1846. Notes on an Expedition to Kawatiri, and Araura, on the Western Coast of the Middle Island. Henare Te Keha was known as the Duke of York.

¹⁰⁹² Heaphy and Brunner, *The Nelson Examiner, and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 September 1846. Notes of an Expedition to Kawatiri and Araura, on the Western Coast of the Middle Island.

¹⁰⁹³ *Nelson minute book 2*, 11 November 1892 p 233. Evidence of Pamariki Paaka.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883 p 7. Evidence of Rawiri Watino.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 7. Evidence of Rihari Tahuaroa.

reserve that was established at Turimawiwī.¹⁰⁹⁶ Matiaha (another Ngātiawa chief) also obtained interests in the land at Whanganui. At the time of the reserve being established in 1852, he was living near a small pa called Toiere.¹⁰⁹⁷ Gillingham discusses Ngātiawa land ownership at Whanganui in much more detail than is provided here.

The Ngāti Rarua claimed (at least some of them) that there was no occupation of the lands at Whanganui by the Ngātiawa,¹⁰⁹⁸ but other evidence such as that produced by Watino, supports that they did occupy the land.¹⁰⁹⁹

In the gold mining days of the 1860s, permission was sought from the Ngāti Rarua to allow the occupation of the land at Whanganui for the purposes of gold mining. This was subsequently agreed to; in return, the owners of the land obtained rents. They were the Ngātiawa and Ngāti Rarua.¹¹⁰⁰

In 1865, Alexander MacKay, the Commissioner of Native Reserves, furnished a report to the Native Minister of the Native Reserves in Nelson and Marlborough. According to MacKay, lands at Whanganui were excepted from sale in 1855, when claims to the northern portion of the West Coast were surrendered. When the reserve was first established there were ten Māori living on and near the reserve.

Merenako and the family of Henare Te Keha, all acquired land interests when reserves were established at both Whanganui and the country lying to the South. Henare Te Keha obtained the reserve that was established at Turimawiwī.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, Mr James McKay, Junr, to the Native Secretary, 16 April 1863 p 325.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Alexander, David, *Reserves of Te Tau Ihu (Northern South Island)*, Vol. Two (Of Two), p 524.

See also:

Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative To Native Affairs in the South Island*, Vol. 1, G Didsbury, Wellington, 1873, Clerk to Nelson Superintendent to Government Surveyor Nelson, 31 August 1852, p 291.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Nelson minute book 1*, 16 November 1883, p 10. Evidence of Wirihana Turangapeke.

This is contradictory to a list drawn alongside the evidence of Turangapeke, showing Henare Tatana of Ngātiawa as being a resident. (See *Nelson minute book 1*, 16 November 1883, p 4.)

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 15 November 1883, p 7. Evidence of Rawiri Watino.

See also:

Gillingham, Mary, *Ngātiawa / Te Atiawa Lands in The West of Te Tau Ihu: Alienation and Reserves Issues, 1839-1901*, A report for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2000, p 21.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 16 November 1883, p 11. Evidence of Alexander MacKay.

Conclusion

The Kawhia tribes did not find their way south on their own. The Ngatiawa provided protection, but also assisted them in securing the lands about the Kapiti Coast. The Kawhia tribes did not have a large population and according to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, numbered some 340 all told. Matene Te Whiwhi says that the Ngati Toa had only 100 warriors.

The Ngatiawa migrations occurred for a number of reasons, the main one being connected to Waikato and the threat of a major attack in retribution for their supporting the Kawhia tribes at the battle of Motunui. The Waikato had easier access to muskets and the Ngatiawa knew this. Their response was to seek muskets of their own, so as to better defend themselves in any perceived attack by Waikato; this was a strategic move. The decision to migrate was also influenced by the plague *Te Arika*, which made its way south from Coromandel. It swept through Taranaki and killed many people. These and other matters all contributed to the decision to migrate to the Cook Strait districts.

It is obvious that there were some very strong connections between the northern Taranaki and Kawhia tribes. The descendants of Waipunahau clearly encouraged their Taranaki relatives to join them at Kapiti. This is apparent with land that was given to the Ngatiawa, once the first and second heke reached Waikanae, (Hauhau 1823, Niho Puta 1824). Te Pehi, Te Rangihiroa, Tungia and Waipunahau took care of the needs of their relations. To put things in perspective, one was dependent on the other in ensuring safety and success in future designs. If we accept the estimates of Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi as being the total number of Kawhia people, then this is a reasonable conclusion to reach.

In terms of Ngatiawa, they needed a place to stay while they sorted out how they would obtain muskets to defend themselves against Waikato. Despite the success at Waiorua, the land had not yet been secured. This did not occur until after the arrival of the first and second heke that departed from Taranaki in 1823 and 1824.

The Ngatiawa only ever intended their departure from Taranaki to be temporary and although one would reasonably expect this to have taken perhaps a year or less, the Ngatiawa did not return until 1848, even then, not all returned. There was a shift in focus. Opportunities presented themselves, with the arrival of the early whalers and traders, along with the opportunity to acquire more land. The Ngatiawa were eager to establish themselves amongst the pakeha as there were perceived advantages. To achieve this, it became necessary to acquire more lands, particularly in areas where the advantages were known. The Northern South Island was an obvious choice and there were a few old scores to settle with the local tribes.

The notion that one needed a reason for conquering another tribe's lands is debatable. It seems the only reason necessary for the aggressor could simply have come from a basic desire. However this was not the situation with the Kawhia and Taranaki tribes.

The Southern conquest was a joint effort. Some of the Ngatiawa warriors that had arrived in the first and second heke formed a large part of the war party. Te Manutoheroa, Huriwhenua, Te Koihua, Whitikau and many others led the Ngatiawa contingent.

There were a series of attacks made on the South Island. The main attack took place around 1829-1830. The consequences were devastating upon the original inhabitants, especially those residing north of a line between Omihi and Hokitika. Many of the pa were taken and the Kurahaupo, Ngati Tumatakokiri and sections of Ngai Tahu, were brought to their knees. The only major resistance encountered in the years leading up to 1840, came from those residing south of Kaikoura, but exactly what was achieved is debatable.

Many of those who had been living at Kaikoura, Omihi and Kaiapohia, when the northern tribes first attacked these areas, had either been killed or taken back to the North Island. Those of the Ngai Tahu who had participated in the retaliatory attacks upon the northern tribes were the Tuahuriri and others that were residing south of Kaiapohia. For a period, much of the coastline as far south as Kaikoura (and possibly further) would have been practically deserted of people. Exactly when the Ngati Kuri re-established at Kaikoura, after being taken back to the North Island, is unclear. It is known that some of the people that had been captured were released some time later. According to traditional sources, some of the women were carrying the children of their northern captors.

Settlement of Ngatiawa in the Northern South Island was gradual and occurred over a number of years. They first settled the land in 1832 and by 1840 they were widely dispersed. Wairau, Queen Charlotte, Pelorus, Wakapuaka, Motueka, and Te Taitapu were all occupied. There do not appear to be any major Ngatiawa settlements beyond Raukawa on the West Coast, but there is evidence of them exercising rights and residing on the land. Te Koihua would often make a journey down the West Coast for the purpose of obtaining his green stone and he was still doing this in the 1850s. The Ngatiawa lands, south of Kahurangi, are the subject of a separate report.

At 1840, none of the conquered people were able to exert any sort of influence over anyone other than themselves. The Taranaki and Kawhia tribes had effectively taken control. This state of subordination remained for many years following the conquest and only really changed after the advent of pakeha colonisation and Missionary influences. They brought a change in attitude towards the conquered tribes; the Kurahaupo and Ngai Tahu were gradually released from the clutches of the northern allies. This was also aided by the intermarriage that took place between the tribes. The situation for the Kurahaupo and Ngai Tahu improved with the passing of each generation. The marriages referred to above, including the Ngati Kuri and Tuahuriri that were sent back from the North Island, were all part of a 'culture' that deserves far more attention than has been given in this report.

The Northern South Island can be broken into a number of separate districts or rohe. Wairau, Totaranui, Te Hoiere, Rangitoto, Wakapuaka, Wakatu, Waimea, Motueka, and Te Taitapu are often referred to in the Native Land Court records. By looking at the iwi that were occupying the original Native Reserves, we can see which tribes were living within each of the districts. Although there is scope for iwi to have been residing outside of these

areas, and they were, their principal turangawaewae were situated in most cases, where reserves were established. One of the effects of the reserves was that the tribes become restricted in where they could reside. They could no longer roam as freely as they had done in the past.

In the Marlborough region, the Ngatiawa were principally settled in Queen Charlotte Sound. They had resided there since the summer of 1832 and were still there when the Crown commenced purchasing land from Ngatiawa during the 1850s. William Jenkins travelled through the Sounds in 1853 and recorded over 300 of the Ngatiawa living in Queen Charlotte and Port Gore. There were 8 Ngati Apa residing amongst the Ngati Hinetuhi at Port Gore, no doubt the people belonging to Kereopa Pura. Following the conquest of Te Tau Ihu, the Ngati Apa had been saved by the Ngati Hinetuhi and in subsequent years they were given some of the Ngatiawa Reserves that were established in Port Gore and Waikawa.

Rangitane were the principal occupants of Queen Charlotte, prior to the conquest taking place. However their occupation of the Sounds seems to disappear from the record following Ngatiawa settlement in the Sounds. The Rangitane never re-occupied their old pa sites and there have been no records located that would suggest the pa sites that did exist in the Sounds from 1833 onwards, were anything other than Ngatiawa. The Rangitane had effectively been displaced; as Kereopa Pura said of his own people, they were never on an equal footing with Ngatiawa.

The original occupants of the Nelson districts were Tumatakokiri, with a few Ngati Kuia and Ngati Apa residing at Wakapuaka. Ngatiapa say that they were in fact occupying Waimea and other places.

As a result of the 1829 assault, including those that followed, the Tumatakokiri were practically annihilated. Today, Tumatakokiri are not one of the 8 recognised Iwi of Te Tau Ihu. The Kurahaupo, although not suffering to the extent of Tumatakokiri, were like their Rangitane relatives living at Queen Charlotte, largely displaced from the Nelson districts.

The Ngati Rarua, Ngati Tama and Ngatiawa did not settle the Nelson districts to any real extent until 1834. The main Ngatiawa settlements were situated around Motueka and Te Taitapu.

One of the points that was argued in the Native Land Court, concerning rights to the Nelson Tenth's lands, was how the rights of individual whanau and hapu were derived. Was it through Ngatiawa, Ngati Rarua or Ngati Tama? In the case of Ngatiawa, they had a claim to the lands in their own right. They participated in the conquest and they were amongst the first to settle the land. They were there when the New Zealand Company arrived and they were still there throughout the period that reserves were made. The Ngatiawa claim to the Nelson districts is *take raupatu* and *take tupuna*.

Prior to 1840, occupation of the Motueka district was mainly to the north of the Riwaka River. After the arrival of the New Zealand Company agents, there was a move towards the

present town of Motueka. There were two Iwi that were occupying Motueka prior to 1840. They were Ngatiawa and Ngati Rarua. The records indicate that after the mid- 1840s, some of the Ngati Tama were residing at Motueka also. All 3 tribes had reserves established at Motueka and each except for Ngati Tama, received interests in the Tenth's reserves at Motueka. The main Ngatiawa hapu situated throughout Motueka included Puketapu, Ngati Maru and Ngati Rahiri.

There were outlying areas around Motueka where there were small settlements, and where reserves were established. The Ngatiawa received some of the reserved lands at Motueka and also lands situated at Marahau. Lands were reserved for Ngatiawa at Awaroa but it was never allotted to the owners.

The Ngatiawa settlements, throughout Te Taitapu, were distributed over a much greater length of the coastline than they were around Motueka. The main concentration of Ngatiawa, c1840, was around Aorere, where they had pa at Collingwood, Te Mattai, Pakawau, Te Rei, and Wharariki. Settlements were also established at Pariwhakaoho and Motupipi. On the West Coast, north of Kahurangi, the main settlements were situated at Turimawiri and Raukawa.

The issue of customary usage is important as it gives us a better idea of the greater area over which Ngatiawa exercised Rangatiratanga. This subject is covered in a separate report. I shall however make a couple of comments.

Despite Ngatiawa having their claim to the Nelson Reserves rejected, they still maintained ahi kaa in this particular place. As we have discussed, the Ngatiawa traditionally fished at Wakatu c1840, as did Ngati Rarua, Ngati Tama and Ngati Koata. It was not the only area within the Nelson districts that Ngatiawa exercised customary rights. We have already discussed Te Koihira exercising customary rights in the mid 1850s on the West Coast as far as Arahura. In Queen Charlotte there existed a similar situation. Although Ngatiawa had their principle settlements in the Sounds, they still exercised customary rights well beyond this area. Kaparatahou is a good example. When Ngai Tahu made one of their retaliatory attacks, the northern allies were going to Kaparatahou to catch birds.

The status of Ngatiawa or Te Atiawa is recognised within four of the Marae across Te Tau Ihu; Waikawa, Wakatu, Te Awhina and Mohua all have Te Atiawa interests.

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Ngamuka Kawharu

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Hemi Matenga

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Mere Pomare
Karehana
Hera Te Aratangata
Hori Kokako
Hira Maika

Otaki minute book 11, 1890

Piripi Taua
Enoka Taitea
Rihari Tahuaroa
Raniera Ellison
Karewa Taranui
Enoka Taitea
Raniera Ellison

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Hori Kokako

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Mere Whitiākau
Henī Mimikau

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Hori Kokako

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Matene Te Whiwhi

Parakaia Pouepa
Tamihana Te Rauparaha

Hohepa Tamaihengia
Nopera Te Ngihā

Wiremu Tamihana Te Neke

Pikau Te Rangi
Hera Te Wairingiringi
Evidence of Bishop Hadfield
Inia Te Hunahuna
Hohaia Pokaitara
Karehana

Hori Kokako
Tamihana Te Karu
Watene Te Nehu
Raniera Erihana
Paratawhera, also known as Pirihira Te Neke
Tamihana Te Karu
Karewa Taranui

Heta Love

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Appendices

1. Ngatiawa Reserves established in Queen Charlotte Sound, Cloudy Bay and Port Gore.

Iwituroa - Anakiwa 640 acres ¹¹⁰¹	
1. Watene Taungatara	20. Nikorima Ronaku+
2. Tiuti Kahutopa	21. Mohi Waikawau+
3. Teietu Werokina	22. Hemi Watene+
4. Rairini Watene	23. Renata te Raho+
5. Teietu Hoera	24. Patara Tawhanga+
6. Hamamara Watene	25. Ihaia Apuapu+
7. Eruera Patara	26. Te Ture Ngarauwhare+
8. Perere Nikorima	27. Hori te Kihī+
9. Rona Pungarehu	28. Hoani Pure+
10. Heni Hineahi	29. Te Pata Waiharakeke+
11. Kura Mahiao	30. Hemi te Parekuru+
12. Amiria Wakaruru	31. Aperahama Manukonga+
13. Ramari te Roto	32. Puti Metapere+
14. Mata Ngaonepu	33. Rewa Kuao+
15. Marainui Huriwhenua+	34. Reta Watene+
16. Hoera Nikorima+	35. Hipara Mohi Waikawau+
17. Hakaraia te Roma+	36. Erata Parana+
18. Nepea Taruina+	37. Mereaina
19. Parana te Wharemaru+	38. Pirihira Waipipi+
Whenuanui 25 acres estimated. ¹¹⁰²	
1. Watene Taungatara	5. Rairini Watene
2. Rona Pungarehu	6. Tuiti Kahutopa
3. Heni Hineahi	7. Parere Nikorima
4. Mina Kuramatua	
NB: + Deceased	

¹¹⁰¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 8 March 1889, pp 91 - 92. Schedule of owners as submitted by Watene Taungatara. Six names were removed from the list owing to them living at Motueka. They had been living at Anakiwa in 1856.

¹¹⁰² *Nelson minute book 1*, 8 March 1889, p 98.

Te Pangu 230 acres estimated ¹¹⁰³	
1. Ropata Whitikau+ 2. Matene te Mauoa+ 3. Henare te Moana+ 4. Mohi Ngawhati+ 5. Hamuera Tutawhio+ 6. Hemi Ngakaho+ 7. Kurae Witikau+	8. Ngawhira Witikau+ 9. Atereta te Manoa+ 10. Ema te Tawhaki+ 11. Pirihira Ngawaku+ 12. Amiria te Matene+ 13. Neta te Matene+
Wekenui - 130 acres estimated ¹¹⁰⁴	
1. Ropata Whitikau + 2. Ropata te Hawe + 3. Wi te Puke + 4. Nu + 5. Kurae Witikau +	6. Ngawhira Witikau + 7. Hariata + 8. Herahangu + 9. Roia + (Confirmed 9 March 1889)
Te Iro 70 acres estimated ¹¹⁰⁵	
1. Rawiri Keepa 2. Rupuha Paramahoe + 3. Miritona te Paki + 4. Timoti Parenga + 5. Rakera Rupuha + 6. Ropoama Rupuha + 7. Timoti Rupuha +	8. Eruera te Rangiwhiria + 9. Miriama + 10. Parae te Paki + 11. Para te Teira ¹¹⁰⁶ 12. Mere Teira 13. Pipi Teira 14. Ruhia Piripi (Confirmed 9 March 1998)
Ruakaka - 1640 acres estimated ¹¹⁰⁷	
1. Ropata Ngapaki 2. Hohepa Ngapaki + 3. Tamati te Hawe + 4. Hoani Ngapuke 5. Herata te Puke + 6. Wi te Puke + 7. Wi te Hono + 8. Retimana Whiwhi 9. Tipene Ngaruna + 10. Mata te Hawe	1. Kara te Hawe + 2. Irihapete Ngapaki + 3. Hariata te Puke + 4. Ngaiwi te Puke 5. Ropata Whitikau + 6. Hariata Ngapuke 7. Karanama Kopura + 8. Pirihira Witikau 9. Mata Whitikau + 10. Mere Whitikau Additional names that appeared on the list, 18 March 1889: ¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰³ *Nelson minute book 1*, 8 March 1889, pp 99 - 100.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 106. There were other claimants but their claims were rejected.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 110. List of names as submitted by Rawiri Keepa. List affirmed after no objectors appearing.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 110. 11 to 13 have an equal interest in 1 share. Number 14 also has one share. (List affirmed with no objectors).

¹¹⁰⁷ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, pp 113 - 114.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Nelson minute book 1*, 8 March 1889, p 207. 5 acres were set aside for Ropata Ngapaki and Hoani Ngapaki as an urupa on Ruakaka 3.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eruera te Rangiwhiua 2. Hemi te Moana
Tahuahua 230 acres estimated. ¹¹⁰⁹	
Anamahanga ¹¹¹⁰	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tipene Kaihi + 2. Te Hura Wakapaki + 3. Manihera Whakapaki+ 4. Hapimana Wikitoa + 5. Koromiko Timuera + 6. Eruera Paipa + 7. Teretiu 8. Hutiku + 9. Hohaia Pake 10. Ratimira Wi Keiri + 11. Ratimira Tipene 12. Hewa Pake 13. Te Whao Pake 14. Tuhanga Pake 15. Rameka Hape + 16. Hariota Tipene + 17. Hirutana Wakapaki <p>Objectors challenged none appeared. List affirmed names of Kereopa Pura (Snr) and Kereopa Pura (Junior) added to receive 5 acres of the Anamahanga Block.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mate Wakapaki + 2. Pirihira Tumeke + 3. Horina Pake 4. Mereana Pake 5. Ramari Pake 6. Metapere Temuera 7. Ruhi Hapimana + 8. Hariota Wi Keiri + 9. Tutini Mulroy 10. Herata Paihi 11. Tamati Ngarewa + 12. Nopera te Tuhanga + 13. Taimona Wi Keiri + 14. Wiremu Keiri + 15. Tarere Pikiwhara + 16. Mere Tarere (Mulroy) 17. Tiemi Tarere (Mulroy) 18. Wiremu Keiri Jnr. + 19. Hirawanu + <p>(List confirmed 12 March 1889-no objectors)</p>

¹¹⁰⁹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 9 March 1889, p 117. First list objected to and held over.

¹¹¹⁰ *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, pp 123 - 124. Names of Ngati Hinetuhi submitted by Raniera Ellison.

Mokopeke 80 acres estimated. ¹¹¹¹	
<u>Mokopeke No.1.</u> 1. Rora Te Puhia + 2. Hone Tanerau 3. Hana Rau + 4. Hoeta te Rau 5. Katerina Piki 6. Hone Tanerau (Jnr) 7. Riwai Tanerau 8. Pipi Tanerau 9. Hana Tanerau (Jnr) 10. Reta Tanirau + 11. Matiu Rau + (13 March 1889. See Nelson minute book 1, p 161 for orders)	<u>Mokopeke No. 2.</u> 1. Hoeta te Rawhi + 2. Pumipi te Rau + 3. Hamarama Rongomuarangi + 4. Hori Patene + 5. Wi te Taihua + 6. Kirhipu Kupapa + 7. Paraone Tiriwai + 8. Pitama Tipao + 9. Mere Kawerau + 10. Riria Hineata + 11. Mere Nui + 12. Eraitia Paraone +
Oamaru - 2500 acres estimated ¹¹¹²	
1. Rihari Tahuaroa 2. Tamati te Wakapakeke + 3. Te Karira Hakumanu + 4. Heremaia Matenga + 5. Minirapa Pohatu + 6. Wherereka Mapu + 7. Hoani Koianake + 8. Mohi Takanga + 9. Nou Napurangi + 10. Taituha Tawhiro + 11. Kaihapa Pokaikehua + 12. Meihona te Tau + 13. Te Pineha te Hunga + 14. Paora Panerera 15. Wi te Hauparapara + 16. Te Kariira Tawuaroa 17. Arapere Kaihapa + 18. Rihari Kaiapa + 19. Paraone Turiwai +	1. Tamati Ngaheua + 2. Roka Pawhau 3. Miriana Matenga + 4. Mere Painga + 5. Irihapete Kaiapa + 6. Mata Meihona + 7. Harata Heremaia 8. Pirihira Tawaroa 9. Kararaina Paneireia + 10. Harata Tanerau 11. Ruhi Paretutu + 12. Mere Karira 13. Utiku + 14. Te Pata + 15. Wiremu Pata 16. Taituha Pata 17. Komene Pata 18. Kehu Tukurua + 19. Heimaina Taraikama + (No objectors - List approved 12 March 1889)

¹¹¹¹ *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, p 131. List submitted by Taniora Love.

¹¹¹² *Nelson minute book 1*, 12 March 1889, pp 135 - 136. List submitted by Rihari Tahuaroa.

See also:

Nelson minute book 1, 12 March 1889, p 137. Additional names (14) were submitted by Taniora Te Rau. The case was subsequently adjourned till the following morning.

Otaki 50 acres estimated. ¹¹¹³	
1. Kereopa Pura 2. Kereopa Pura (Jnr) 3. Tini te Mete	1. Pipi te Mete 2. Pita te Mete (no objectors - list affirmed. 11 March 1889)
Toreamoia - Kumutoto 1950 acres estimated ¹¹¹⁴	
1. Ropoama te One + 2. Ihaka te Wharekaho + 3. Hita Ropoama + 4. Matina te Manoa + 5. Arapere te Hurakia + 6. Heremaia Nganuihenga + 7. Nihana Pakira 8. Retimana te Wharekaho + 9. Hamuera Pehitaka + 10. Henare te Moana + 11. Kereopa Taimoana + 12. Hakaraia te Rangihikoia + 13. Hamiora Tamarangi + 14. Rupuha Paramahoe + 15. Ropoama Rupuha + 16. Timoti Purenga + 17. Miritona te Paki + 18. Timoti Rupuha + 19. Honu te Aupoi + 20. Matini Tamuawai 21. Mohi te Moana + Haimona te Arama } struck out not Anaru te Anaru } entitled 22. Te Ranginoko + 23. Retimana Whiwhi + 24. Tipene Maiwhana +	25. Karitopira + 26. Taiariki Te Ariki + 27. Tamati Paipa + 28. Karoniria + 29. Paora + 30. Hapurona te Paki + 31. Neta Toea + 32. Rakira Kai Taumeta + 33. Pirihira Mokau + 34. Heni Hineahu + 35. Tarete te Whara + 36. Tauhei Rupuha + 37. Taraipine Tawake + 38. Mere Nihana + 39. Roka Nihana + 40. Taraipine Nihana + 41. Miriana te Paki + 42. Metapere te Rangi + 43. Pakia + 44. Roka Kereopa + 45. Heni Mimikau 46. Henare Kereopa + (Nelson minute book 1, 11 March 1889, p 141)
Tunoamai	
1. HareTiaki te Puku + 2. Henare te Puku + 3. Tiemi te Puku	4. Hematini te Puku 5. Tiripa + (List affirmed 11 March 1889)

¹¹¹³ *Nelson minute book 1*, 11 March 1889, p 139. List submitted by Kereopa Pura. Hemi Matenga states the lands at Otaki were originally set aside for Ngati Hinetuhi but they had decided to give it to the listed owners belonging to Ngatiapa.

¹¹¹⁴ *Nelson minute book 1*, 11 March 1889, pp 139 - 141. Toreamoia or Kumutoto.

Tahuahua -230 acres estimated. ¹¹¹⁵	
1. Tamati Katipa 2. Ripeka Rautamaiwaka	
Ngakuta - 300 acres estimated. ¹¹¹⁶	
1. Haimona te Arama + 2. Naru Hariata + 3. Hemi Rungaterangi + 4. Rena Hopa + 5. Rakera te Ringakura 6. Henare te Moana +	1. Mere Haimoana 2. Hemi Kereopa (Mimikau) 3. Matiria Karitopira + 4. Hemi te Moana 5. Tamihana Kereopa 6. Te Whiu + (List affirmed 13 March 1889. No objectors).
Waikawa - 2500 acres estimated. ¹¹¹⁷	
1. Ropoama 2. Kereopa Taimona + 3. Haimona te Arama + 4. Eruera Rangiwhirua + 5. Kereopa Pura 6. Haneta Toea + 7. Hakaraia te Rangihikoia + 8. Eruera te Rangiwhirua 9. Ihaka te Whare Kaho + 10. Hone Tanerau 11. Rihari Tahuaroa 12. Pumipi te Rau + 13. Mohi Takanga + 14. Ihaka Tanerau 15. Nihana Pakira 16. Herewine Ngaimutunga 17. Henare te Moana + 18. Ropoama Karawa +	19. Ropata Witikau + 20. Matua and Wi Ropata + 21. Karanama + 22. Hare Tiaki Puku + 23. Hamuera te Keheti + 24. Hakaraia te Ngongohau + 25. Nikorama + 26. Tamati Katipa + 27. Hamuera Taka + 28. Hakaraia te Rangihikoia + 29. Tiripa and Maikara + 30. Timoti Parenga + 31. Hunaiki + 32. Hona te Aupoi + 33. Miritona + 34. Kunia (No objectors. Orders given for 33 titles) p 201 for additional owners.

¹¹¹⁵ *Nelson minute book 1*, 13 March 1889, pp 161 - 162. There were originally 8 names put forward as the owners but Rihari Tahuaroa objected to them. The names given were those approved by the court.

¹¹¹⁶ *Nelson minute book 1*, 13 March 1889, p 162.

¹¹¹⁷ *Nelson minute book 1*, 14 March 1889, pp 172 - 173. The Court stated it was ready to deal with the block if the parties concerned were ready to go on with it. The best plan would be to deal with the part on the eastern side of the stream that had been apportioned to certain persons in 1862, and those allotments had been disposed of to ascertain the ownership of the remainder. There are references in the column, which indicate the numbers of each person as they appear on the original plan.

Waikawa cont. - 15 March 1889 ¹¹¹⁸	
<p><u>List A.</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ropoama Te One (Name withdrawn) + 2. Tiaki te Puku + 3. Karitopira + 4. Henare te Moana + 5. Nga Pungarehu + 6. Hohepa Ngapake + 7. Arapere te Hura + 8. Hamuera Taka + 9. Hamiora Tamaranga + 10. Nopera te Kaka + 11. Retimana te Wharekaho + 12. Houa te Aupoi + 13. Paora Rauparaha + 14. Hakaraia te Rangihikoia + 15. Ropata Witikau + 16. Rawiri te Paki + 17. Timoti te Paki + 18. Eruera te Rangihwhiria + 19. Miritona te Roke + 20. Te Koi + 21. Ihaka te Wharekaho + 22. Te Hita Mana + 23. Timoti Rupuha + 24. Herewine Ngamutunga + 25. Nihana te Pakira + 26. Pepene te Kaka + 27. Hamuera Kehetu + 28. Mohi Ngawahi + 29. Te Kararo + 30. Miti Kawanga + 31. Hamuera Tutawhio + 32. Hakiaha Kupapa + 33. Karanamu Kopura + 34. Neta Toea (withdrawn) + 35. Kawena Ngamu (withdrawn) + 36. Pirihira Ngawaka (withdrawn) + 37. Kurae Whitikau + 38. Atereta te Whara + 39. Amiria Kino + 40. Neta Matua + 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 41. Miriama te Paki + 42. Ringakura + 43. Rakera Tauhei + 44. Rahera te Ahinangu + 45. Heni Mimikau 46. Maikara + 47. Pirihira Mokai + 48. Matapere te Rangi + 49. Hare Karanama + 50. Ropoama Rupuha + <p style="text-align: center;">List B</p> <p>Supplementary List submitted by Raniera Ellison.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Matina te Manoa + 2. Kereopa Taimoana + 3. Timoti Parenga + 4. Matiu Tamaawai 5. Mohi te Moana + 6. Te Ranginoko + 7. Retimana Whiwhi 8. Tipene Maiwhana + 9. Te Ariki + 10. Tamati Paipa + 11. Koroniwa + 12. Hapurona te Paki + 13. Rakera Kaitaumata + 14. Heni Hineahi 15. Tarapine Tawake + 16. Mere Nihana + 17. Roka Nihana + 18. Tarapine Nihana + 19. Pakia + 20. Roka Kereopa + 21. Henare Kereopa + 22. Henare te Puku + 23. Tiemi te Puku 24. Hematini te Puku 25. Tiripa (te Puku) + <p>(List affirmed 15 March 1889)</p>

¹¹¹⁸ Nelson minute book 1, 15 March 1889, pp 182 - 184.

2. Nelson Land – Lists are not complete and does not include occupation reserves or Crown Grants.

Schedule of the proposed apportionment of the 151,000 acres amongst the several hapus for the purpose of determining their proportionate beneficial interests in the fund accrued from the Nelson, Moutere an Motueka Tenths under the management of the Public Trustee.

Alexander MacKay 14th March 1893, at Wellington.¹¹¹⁹

No	Name	Sex	Rel Int	
	forward Ngatiawa (Kaitangata)			
204	Kapurangi Arama		164 shares	
205	Karewa Riwai		164	
206	Makareta Riwai	f	164	
207	Tini Pere	f 14	33	
208	Te Hou	m 12	33	
209	Te Rangirihau	f 6	33	
210	Tioro	f 5	33	
211	Riwai	m 41/2	32	
212	Ngapaki Parana		328	
213	Edward Aumesley Bishop	m 20	328	
214	Hoani te Maki	m	1750	
215	Mata Riwai	f	55	
216	Peti Riwai	f	55	
217	Tima Riwai		55	
218	Turu Riwai		54	
219	Pikihuna		109	
220	Kawakawa	f 5	55	
221	Ngaru	m 7	55	
222	Metapere Rahira	f	291	
223	Pirihira Pirika	f	59	
224	Mata Pirika	f	59	
225	Mere Pirika	f	59	
226	Taura Piriha		58	
227	Te Karira Wiremu Pirika	m 16	29	
228	Mere Wiremu Pirika	f 17	29	
229	Meira Meira	m 8	291	
230	Inia te Hunahuna	m	875	
231	Te Teira Tamaru		875	
232	Rina Waikato	f	875	7000

¹¹¹⁹ *Nelson minute book 3*, pp 276 - 278.

	<u>Ngatiawa, Takaka and Aorere</u>			
233	Wikitoria te Puoho	f	214	
234	Herewine te Keha	m	214	
235	Hoani te Keha	m	214	
236	Henare Tatana	m	357	
237	Huhana Tatana	f	357	
238	Tukiaka Ihaka	m 16	90	
239	Eruera Ihaka	m 19	90	
240	Ihaka Ihaka	m 14	89	
241	Wiremu Ihaka	m 13	89	
242	Wikitoria Raniera	f	643	
243	Matiaha te Arohatai	m	643	3000
	<u>Ngatiawa - Motueka</u>			
244	Hohaia Rangiauru	m	4000	
245	Mere Nako	f	800	
246	Tame te Maepa	m	800	
247	Te Katara		800	
248	Te Toi		800	
249	Hana te Unuhi	f	800	8000
	Forward <u>Ngatiawa - Marahau -</u>			
250	Ngapaki Parana		1334 shares?	
251	Edward Aumesley Bishop	m 20	1334	
252	Miriama Putaputa	f	333	
253	Taiere Putaputa		333	
254	Reupene Maroki		333	
255	Poharama Tauhei		167	
256	Mihirei Tauhei		166	4000

TOTAL**22 000 Shares**