

## CHAPTER 1

# MAORI OCCUPATION PATTERNS PRIOR TO 1840

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the main iwi of the Poverty Bay district, in order that the reader of this report might more easily identify the groups involved in later discussion and have some broad appreciation of their origins. Secondary source accounts have been used to draw a broad picture only of the iwi that have lived in the area, and those that continue to do so. These sources have often presented conflicting accounts of the deeds of different ancestors, and in these cases all accounts are given. Many hapu will not be named specifically in this, or indeed in later chapters of this report. It is not implied that those hapu that are named have any greater interests in the land than others of the tangata whenua of the Gisborne region. In the text which follows many Maori names and place names have been hyphenated. This has not been continued throughout this report, and is only adopted in accordance with the nineteenth-century sources from which the names have been taken in this instance. It is hoped that any errors of fact or emphasis presented in this chapter will be rectified through the evidence provided by claimants and tangata whenua of Gisborne in the course of their own research.

The three main tribal groups that now reside in Poverty Bay and claim tangata whenua status are Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, and Ngai Tamanuhiri. As with most areas, there are differing origin traditions of iwi in and around Poverty Bay, leading to complex tribal histories. Common ancestry and extensive intermarriage within these groups have resulted in a degree of fluidity of hapu boundaries. In gathering material for this chapter, it has seemed that the definition of iwi groups as the predominant form of Maori social identity and structure is something of a modern phenomenon. In the area in question, social identity and interaction seems to have occurred mainly on the basis of hapu. The expansion, contraction, division, or migration of hapu units have resulted in the development of the present dominant iwi of Poverty Bay. A hapu-based social organisation would help to explain the confusion, obvious in a variety of primary source material, experienced by nineteenth-century Europeans in distinguishing between hapu and tribal groups. The tribe as a whole would become important only at certain times, especially when there was a significant threat or insult offered by a group from another tribe or locality.

## 1.2 TURANGANUI A KIWA

Throughout the nineteenth century, official sources continued to refer to this region as Turanga or Turanganui, rather than using the name, given by Cook, of Poverty Bay. Turanga is a shortened version of the Maori name for the bay area, Turanganui a Kiwa, ‘the standing place of Kiwa’, named after the ancestor who is claimed by some to have been the navigator of the Takitimu canoe, and by others as the tohunga on Horouta. In Mackay’s *Historic Poverty Bay* it is suggested that the name resulted from Kiwa having settled in the area after travelling on foot from Mahia, where the Takitimu was temporarily beached.<sup>1</sup> The same area is said to have been known as Turanganui a Rua, after either Ruawharo, tohunga of the Takitimu canoe, Ruamatua, chief of Hawaiki, or Ruapani, principal chief of the region in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.3 TOI AND WHATONGA

Toi, known as Toi-kai-rakau or Toi-te-huatahi, is said to have arrived in New Zealand around ad 1150; his son Whatonga and his people arriving shortly thereafter. The descendants of Toi and Whatonga absorbed the original inhabitants through conquest and intermarriage. The group of tribes descended from these men divided into different areas and became known as Te Tini o Toi (sometimes referred to as Te Uri o Toi).<sup>3</sup>

D R Simmons, in his book *The Great New Zealand Myth*, has expressed the view that the supposed arrival of Toi and Whatonga in the twelfth century is not supported by available evidence. The Toi of Bay of Plenty tradition is a figure of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, while the Arawa Toi dates from the late thirteenth century. Simmons contends that the Toi of Arawa tradition is not the Toi who appears in genealogies as the father of Rauru and Whatonga. The Bay of Plenty and East Coast traditions are fairly consistent in placing Toi at approximately 24 generations ago and this, according to Simmons, gives a more likely arrival date, making the Toi migrations to New Zealand almost contemporaneous with those of the ‘fleet’ canoes.<sup>4</sup> Regardless of the date of Toi’s arrival, it seems likely that new arrivals in the Poverty Bay area soon assimilated these people and those whom Best referred to as the Mouriuri or Maruiwi.<sup>5</sup>

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1. J A Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, North Island, New Zealand*, Gisborne, J G Mackay, 1949, p 5
  2. Ibid, pp 5–6
  3. Tairawhiti Maori Association, *Echoes of The Pa, Proceedings of the Tairawhiti Maori Association for the Year 1932*, Gisborne, 1932, p 16
  4. Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori*, Wellington, A H & A W Reed, 1976, p 100
  5. Mackay, p 1

## **1.4 THE HOROUTA AND TAKITIMU CANOES**

The two canoes from Hawaiki with which the Poverty Bay tribes and many of their neighbours primarily associate are Horouta and Takitimu. It has sometimes been asserted that these were alternative names for the one canoe.<sup>6</sup> This is refuted by several sources on the basis that Takitimu was tapu and could not therefore carry women or food, both of which Horouta is known to have carried.<sup>7</sup> Amongst those who agree that the two canoes were separate, some assert that Horouta arrived at New Zealand at an earlier period than Takitimu, which was contemporaneous with the arrival of that group of canoes including Tainui, Aotea, and Matatua. Others place the arrival of Horouta at the same time as Takitimu.

In his series of lectures entitled 'Rauru Nui a Toi', A T Ngata discussed the Horouta canoe area, which he referred to as extending from Te Paritu, south of Gisborne, around to Taumata-o-Apanui, in the Bay of Plenty. The Paritu boundary of this area excludes the Mahia peninsula, traditionally associated with the arrival of the Takitimu canoe.<sup>8</sup> Ngati Porou have regarded Takitimu as a relatively unimportant canoe in their history but it is this canoe with which Ngati Kahungunu primarily associate. Ngati Porou regard Toka-a-Taiau, a rock which lay at the mouth of the Turanganui River, prior to the construction of the Port of Gisborne, as their southern boundary. Ngati Kahungunu sometimes claim this same rock as their northern boundary and that of the Takitimu canoe area.

Poverty Bay was the point from which most of the people of Hawke's Bay, the East Coast, and the Bay of Plenty spread, and the tribes of these areas all have traditions regarding their early history in the Gisborne area<sup>9</sup>. They trace their descent to one of the Takitimu and Horouta canoes, and very often both, although one will usually be regarded as the more important of the two.

### **1.4.1 Horouta**

Kahungunu tradition states that Pawa was the captain of Horouta and Kiwa was the tohunga of that canoe. J H Mitchell has written that the Horouta canoe reached New Zealand around 100 years before the main body of canoes, which arrived around 1350.<sup>10</sup> Horouta called at different places along the East Coast until it was beached at Gisborne. Kiwa was the first to set foot on the land, according to custom. The place was thereafter known as Turanganui a Kiwa, or the standing place of Kiwa and the name was later extended to include the whole of the Poverty Bay flats area. Pawa named the river Te wai-o-Pawa, 'the water of Pawa' (now known as the Waipaoa River), and the hill past Muriwai was named Te Kuri a Pawa

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6. S Locke, 'Historical Traditions of Taupo and East Coast Tribes', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 15, 1882, p 448

7. J H Mitchell, *Takitimu: A History of Ngati Kahungunu*, Wellington, A H & A W Reed, 1944, p 24; E Tregear, 'Kiwa the Navigator', *JPS*, vol 7, no 26, 1988, p 111

8. A T Ngata, *Rauru-Nui-a-Toi Lectures*, Porourangi Maori Cultural School (1944), Gisborne, H K Ngata, 1972, p 3

9. Tairawhiti Maori Association, *Echoes of the Pa*, p 7

10. J H Mitchell, p 22. According to Mitchell, Toi and Whatonga arrived 200 years prior to the arrival of the fleet, making the approximate date of their migration ad 1250.

after his dog, Whakao, that whined softly when lost in the bush, thus giving its name to Pipi-Whakao ('the whining of Whakao').<sup>11</sup>

According to Mitchell, Pawa returned to Hawaiki leaving his daughter Hine-akua, who had married the son of Kiwa, Kahutuanui. Hine-akua's mana eventually fell to Ruapani, the paramount chief of the whole of the Poverty Bay area in his time and arguably one of the most important figures in the genealogies of the Poverty Bay tribes. Ruapani's influence extended beyond Turanganui-a-Kiwa to the Huiarau range beyond Waikaremoana.<sup>12</sup> Horouta is claimed by Ngati Porou as the canoe of their migration and they trace their descent to the ancestress Hine-akua, through the children she produced with Kahutuanui, son of Kiwa.

In the Matarohanga-Best manuscript, the Horouta canoe is spoken of as belonging to Pawa, Ira, and Tai-kehu. It was, by this account, named for the speed of the canoe Takitimu, and both arrived in New Zealand in the same period. Horouta struck rocks at Tukerae o Te Kanawa and broke up, losing her stern section. Pawa went inland to look for wood for a new stern section and, as there were no men to pull it out of the high inland country, he floated it down on a river created from his own urine; the Wai-paoa River.<sup>13</sup> The two histories given by Nepia Pohuhu (translated by White) and Paratene Okawhare are slightly more detailed but are composed along similar lines. In White's translated version of the Horouta story, the canoe brought kumara and kowhai, and was cast onto rocks at Te rae o Kanawa at the mouth of the Ohiwa River. There Hinekaurangi, sister of Ira, left the boat and others soon followed her onto land. All then went into the forest to search for food. They came out at Maungatapere and Maungahaumia where they intended to find a piece of wood to make a new stern piece for the canoe. Subsequently, they travelled to Muriwai and Wherowhero where they stopped and collected food. Hinekaurangi planted her kumara roots in the ground at Manuwaru. Ira, her brother, after spending some time residing at Turanganui, went on to Pakarae and built a pa there.<sup>14</sup>

Paratene Okawhare's version related that Ngati Ira of Hawaiki were fighting over trees and kumara cultivations, so some of them appropriated the Horouta canoe from its owners (Hikitapua, Tamakawa, and Tuakarikawa) and after it was loaded with kumara, kowhai and mapou, they sailed from Hawaiki. From this point the story is related as earlier. After Pawa had urinated a river in order to transport the new stern piece of the canoe to the coast, the people came out of the bush at Whangara and settled at Muriwai, where Hinekaurangi planted her kumara in the ground called Manawaru. Ira soon moved to Pakarae, where Paikea also later arrived and settled. Ruawharo and Tupai came in the Takitimu canoe to see Paikea and bring an offering of kumara. These two wanted to murder Ira because his father Uenuku had once insulted Ruawharo by allowing him to be thrown into a fishing net. Paikea, however, would not allow such vengeance to be taken for events that had occurred in Hawaiki, so Ruawharo and Tupai returned to Patea. Ira and Paikea soon moved on to live at Uawa.<sup>15</sup>

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11. Ibid, p 22

12. Ibid, p 23

13. Simmons, pp 132-133

14. Nepia Pohuhu MS, (translated by White), cited in Simmons, p 134

Mitchell stated in 1944, that the story of the Muriwai landing of Horouta was one of recent origin and without historical background. Ngai Tamanuhiri of Muriwai (who inherited the mana of Tahu-Potiki, descendant of Paikea, through Tamanuhiri) apparently have no such tradition.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, traditions of settlement at Muriwai need not be discounted on the basis of Mitchell's argument. Ngata believed Muriwai to have been the last resting place of the Horouta canoe.<sup>17</sup> Te Kani te Ua has also recounted the story of the arrival of the two canoes Horouta and Takitimu, saying that the river Waiapu was named after the bailing of water from Horouta after it struck rocks, and that the kumara plantation was at Whakararanui. Pawa received word of Takitimu having landed further south and ordered the canoe to continue on while he travelled overland. He soon arrived at Temata, a high ridge in the Mangatu area, and here while performing incantations to avert evil, Pawa urinated a stream, Te Mimi o Pawa, which turned into the Motu River. This river was named after the pause in his incantation caused by his urinating, and the Wai-paoa River was named after the 'scattering' of his water. Te Kani also recorded that some of the crew settled at Tokitoki, on the Patutahi block.<sup>18</sup>

#### **1.4.2 Takitimu**

Kahungunu also claim descent from Horouta, but the main canoe of their migration was Takitimu, the tapu canoe captained by Tamatea-Ariki-Nui who left the canoe at Tauranga and married Toto, a descendant of Toi-kai-Rakau<sup>19</sup>. After this, Takitimu continued to trace the coast of the North Island under the captaincy of Tahu-potiki (or Tahu-matua), the younger brother of Porourangi. They named Whangara, north of Gisborne, after the place called Whangara in Hawaiki. The hill next to the Turanganui River was named Titirangi after the pa of that name in Hawaiki.<sup>20</sup> The tohunga of the Takitimu canoe, Ruawharo, left it at Mahia Peninsula (Nukutaurua).<sup>21</sup> According to some accounts the final resting place of the Takitimu canoe was Murihiku, at the lower end of the South Island.

According to Thomas Lambert in *Old Wairoa*, descendants of Ngati Kahungunu and of Ngai Tahu, claim that Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti (Tamatea-Ariki-Nui) was the captain of the Horouta canoe, and that he came with his brother Rongokako. He gave Ruawharo as the captain of Takitimu, and with him Tupai. Tamatea-pokai-whenua, father of Kahungunu, is identified as the son of Rongokako and the nephew of the Tamatea who captained Horouta.<sup>22</sup> In this, as in other areas, Lambert's account seems somewhat confused. Yet another account has been given

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15. Paratene Okawhare MS, cited in Simmons, pp 135–137

16. Mitchell, p 23

17. A T Ngata, 'A Brief Account of Ngati Kahungunu Origins', Rauru-Nui-a-Toi Lectures, Porourangi Maori Cultural School (1944), Gisborne, H K Ngata, 1972, p 24

18. Te Kani te Ua, 'The True History of the Canoes of Kiwa and Pawa', MS (undated), Gisborne Museum, V F Box 993, pp 1–2

19. Mitchell, p24

20. Ibid, p 42

21. Ibid, p 43

22. T Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast District, North Island, New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1925, pp 257, 261

by E Tregear (collected from Wi Pere), who gave the chief of Takitimu to be Kiwa, who travelled with his son Kahutuanui and others, among them Matua-tonga, Matua-iti, and Rua-wharo. Rua-wharo was, according to this account, the owner of Takitimu. He had won the canoe by *mu* from subject tribes in Hawaiki.<sup>23</sup> Samuel Locke seems to have believed that the Tamatea of the Takitimu canoe was himself the father of Kahungunu, and that the Rongokako who sailed was actually the father of the Takitimu Tamatea rather than his son.<sup>24</sup> This would not fit into the genealogical sequence which makes Kahungunu and Ruapani the contemporaries they seem, by all accounts, to have been.

## 1.5 PAIKEA

Another very important ancestor of the East Coast tribes, most especially Ngati Porou but also Ngai Tahu who migrated to the south, and the Poverty Bay tribe of Rongowhakaata, was Paikea. This ancestor is sometimes said to have arrived from Hawaiki on the back of a taniwha, but is also occasionally given descent from Toi-kai-rakau.<sup>25</sup> It would seem that details of Paikea's arrival in New Zealand are somewhat cloudy although William Colenso, in relating the story of Ruatapu and Paikea in *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute 1881*, wrote that Paikea was the son of Uenuku and brother of Ruatapu. The latter was, however, the son of a slave and was consequently of inferior rank to his brothers. Ruatapu devised a way of gaining redress for an insult paid him by Uenuku (concerning Ruatapu's inferior rank) which involved drowning his brothers when at sea in the canoe of their father. Only Paikea survived the sinking of the canoe, making land again at a place called Ahuahu, by chanting a long spell which gave him strength enough to swim the long distance. This particular event is supposed to have occurred on the East Coast of the North Island between Table and East capes. Paikea took a wife at Ahuahu named Parawhenuamea and they had several offspring; Marumuri and others. Later, Paikea travelled to Whakatane where he took as a wife Te Manawatina, and eventually to Waiapu where he married a woman named Hutu, who bore Pouheni.<sup>26</sup>

The Hutu referred to in Colenso's account was identified by John White as Hutorangi, daughter of Whironui and his wife Araiara (Whironui was the captain of the Nukutere canoe, significant in the history of Ngati Porou). Hutorangi and Paikea had Pouheni who then married Nanaia and bore Porourangi, eponymous ancestor of Ngati Porou.<sup>27</sup> In Ngata's lecture series it was stated that in Ngati Porou tradition Paikea married Hutorangi, who bore Pouheni. Pouheni then married Mahanaiterangi and bore Tarawhakatu, whose offspring included Nanaia. It was through Nanaia's cohabitation with Niwaniwa that Porourangi and Tahupotiki were born.<sup>28</sup> Simmons relates that in the Ngati Porou tradition, as recorded in the

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23. E Tregear, JPS, vol 7, no 26, 1898, pp 111–112

24. S Locke, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 15, 1882, p 448

25. W E Gudgeon, 'The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand', JPS, vol 3, 1894, pp 211–212

26. W Colenso, 'Historical Incidents and Traditions of the Olden Times, Pertaining to the Maoris of the North Island (East Coast), New Zealand', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 14, 1881, pp 17–24

27. J White Manuscript, cited in Simmons, p 126

Matarohanga-Best manuscript, Paikea did not land at Ahuahu in New Zealand, but in Hawaiki where Ahuahu was the site of Te Pakaroa, the Pa of Ira and Ruawharo. According to Simmons, Paikea's landing place in New Zealand was at Whangara.<sup>29</sup>

## **1.6 RUAPANI AND KAHUNGUNU**

### **1.6.1 Ruapani**

Mackay wrote in *Historic Poverty Bay* that Ruapani was seven generations from Hine-a-kua, daughter of Paoa (Pawa), and Kahutuanui, the son of Kiwa. He stated further that the descendants of these two married with the offspring of Paikea and Toi and that Ruapani himself had three wives and 25 children.<sup>30</sup> Gudgeon also placed Ruapani eighth in descent from Paoa (Pawa).<sup>31</sup> This placement would make him a contemporary of Kahungunu, fourth in line from the captain of Takitimu, if Horouta arrived in New Zealand approximately 100 years prior to Takitimu. At the time of Kahungunu's migration to the East Coast in the early sixteenth century (ad 1500 to 1525), Ruapani was the principal chief of Turanganui-a-Kiwa. His pa, called Popoia, was on the western bank of the Waipaoa River (between Ormond and Kaiteratahi).<sup>32</sup>

### **1.6.2 Kahungunu**

Tamatea-pokai-whenua, the father of Kahungunu, was so named due to his extensive travelling in the North Island. According to Mitchell, Kahungunu was born at Kaitaia, but grew up in Tauranga after his father and family were driven away from the former place.<sup>33</sup> This Tamatea was the son of Rongokako, son in turn of the Tamatea (Ariki-Nui or Mai-Tawhiti) who captained the Takitimu canoe from Hawaiki.<sup>34</sup> In the Rauru-Nui-a-Toi lectures, Ngata asserted that Tamatea-a-Muriwhenua (Tamatea-pokai-whenua) married Iwipupu, a daughter of Ira (Ira-kai-Putahi) who came from the Poverty Bay area. These two had Kahungunu and a daughter named Iranui.<sup>35</sup> Iranui married Hinangaroa, a descendant of Porourangi.<sup>36</sup>

In an article published in *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* during 1882, Locke referred to an incident in Tauranga when Tamatea and his son braided the hair of Iwi, Kahungunu's mother, into a fishing net, causing great insult. They were expelled from Tauranga and settled at the pa Wharepatari, where Tamatea married Ruatai. Eventually both proceeded to Turanga and to Hawke's Bay where they quarrelled and separated. Kahungunu returned to Tauranga which he again left after

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28. A T Ngata, lecture 2, Rauru-Nui-a-Toi Lectures, p 5

29. Simmons, p 133

30. Mackay, p 3

31. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, p 177

32. *Echoes of the Pa*, p 12

33. Mitchell, pp 74-75

34. *Ibid*, p59

35. A T Ngata, lecture 1, Rauru-Nui-a-Toi Lectures, p 12

36. J B W Robertson, 'The Evaluation of Maori Tribal Tradition as History', JPS, vol 3, no 71, 1962, p 300

being struck over the head by his sister Whaene following another incident with a fishing net.<sup>37</sup> Locke's account of the Kahungunu story seems to mix different stories together and the result is somewhat confused. According to Gudgeon, Whaene was a son of Tamatea, who along with Kahungunu is an ancestor of Te Aitanga a Mahaki.<sup>38</sup>

Ngati Kahungunu tradition states that Kahungunu stayed with his sister at Opotiki for some time before travelling down the East Coast to Whangara. He visited Titirangi pa on the hill next to the mouth of the Turanganui River, from which place he saw the smoke from the fires at Popoia, the pa of Ruapani on the Waipaoa River. Kahungunu visited Ruapani and accepted the offer of the principal chief's daughter, named Rua-rere-tai, as a wife. He settled there with his wife for a time and they had a daughter named Rua-herehere-tieke.<sup>39</sup> Following this there occurred what Ngata has described as a 'bewildering' series of intermarriages between the families of Ruapani and Kahungunu.<sup>40</sup>

### **1.6.3 Intermarriage**

Following his marriage to the daughter of Ruapani (either Rua-rere-tai or Ruarauhanga)<sup>41</sup> Kahungunu travelled to Whareongaonga where he married two daughters of Pa-nui, Hine-puariari and Kahukura-waiaraia. With his second wife he had a son named Powhiro, and with his third he had two sons named Tuaiti and Potirohia.<sup>42</sup> Later, at Tawapata on the Mahia Peninsula, he married Rongomaiwahine, the former wife of Tama-taku-tai. Together these two famous ancestors of Ngati Kahungunu had five children: three sons (Kahukura-nui, Tamate-kota, Mahakinui), and two daughters (Rongomai-papa and Tauhei-kuri).<sup>43</sup> Gudgeon pointed out that it is not clear how Kahungunu gained the right to live in the Turanga and Mahia districts, but his mana may already have been known to East Coast chiefs and the legitimacy of his acceptance as a leading chief in these areas would only have been increased through his marriage alliances.<sup>44</sup>

All of Kahungunu's children by Rongomai-wahine, who has been seen as Kahungunu's principal wife, moved to Turanganui a Kiwa and intermarried with the people of that place.<sup>45</sup> The eldest son, Kahukuranui, married Ruatapu-wahine, a daughter of Ruapani, and settled at Waerenga-a-hika. This couple had two sons, Rongomai-tara and Rakai-hikuroa.<sup>46</sup> Kahukuranui took Tu-teihonga, the widow of Tu-pouriao of Otatara pa, as his second wife. They had two children also, Hine-manuhiri and Rakaipaaka. His third wife was Hine-kumu who bore a son,

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37. Locke, TNZI, vol 15, 1882, pp 449–451

38. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, 1894, p 213

39. Mitchell, p 76

40. Ngata, 'A Brief Account of Ngati Kahungunu Origins', p 27

41. Ibid, p 27, Ngata believed there to be some dispute over which of Ruapani's daughters Kahungunu married, namely, Rua-rere-tai or Ruarauhanga; Mitchell, p 116, in Mitchell's account Ruarauhanga was the daughter of Ruapani by Rongomai-papa, daughter of Kahungunu

42. Mitchell, p 7

43. Mitchell, p 80

44. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 213

45. Robertson, JPS, vol 3, no 71, p 300

46. Mitchell, p 94

Tamanuhiri.<sup>47</sup> Tamatea-kota married a daughter of Rongowhakaata, (the prominent ancestor of the people of the Te Arai/Manutuke area), Rongo-Kauae, and these two were the parents of Kahatapere, whose two sons were murdered by Tupurupuru, grandson of Kahukuranui, causing the fighting which would lead to the expulsion of the Ngati Kahungunu peoples from Turanganui a Kiwa.<sup>48</sup>

According to Mitchell, Mahakinui had no offspring, but Rongomai-papa married Ruapani in his old age and she bore Ruarauhanga who was the mother of Tupurupuru, mentioned above.<sup>49</sup> Lastly, Mitchell has written that Tauhei-kuri married her cousin Tama-taipunua in order that peace should be made after an attack by Tama and his elder brother on Kahungunu's pa at Mahia.<sup>50</sup> Tauhei-kuri and her husband settled at Waikohu, and apparently had two children, Tawhiwhi and Mahaki. Mitchell identifies this Mahaki as the eponymous ancestor of Te Aitanga a Mahaki of Poverty Bay.<sup>51</sup> Ngata believed that it was possible for all three of the tribes of Poverty Bay; Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, and Ngai Tamanuhiri, to claim descent from all 10 of Kahungunu's children, indicating the extent of common ancestry within these groups.<sup>52</sup>

## **1.7 MIGRATIONS FROM TURANGANUI A KIWA**

The next period in the history of the Poverty Bay district involves the breaking away of various hapu and the development and expansion of newly-powerful hapu. The period is marked by migrations of groups from the area as a result of fighting, exile, overcrowding, and the struggles for power typically involved in the development of a society. In these early times, such changes occurred within hapu groups. Through these migrations and movements, the larger and more modern tribal groupings evolved, and the iwi of Poverty Bay at 1840 established their hegemony over the area. It was primarily the events of the seventeenth century (inter and intra-hapu struggles and the migration of the Ngati Kahungunu peoples from the area) that led to the establishment of the present tribes as tangata whenua of Poverty Bay.

Hapu boundaries were altered as a consequence of conquest and the exile or voluntary migration of particular groups. Boundaries also changed through the gifting of land, to cement peace or as reward for the services of allies.<sup>53</sup> Certainly, from the late sixteenth century, and throughout the seventeenth century, the Poverty Bay population was thrown into upheaval through various struggles for power within the region. These struggles occurred amongst the direct descendants of Ruapani and Kahungunu. The extensive intermarriage between the main groups in

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47. Ibid, p 96

48. Ibid, p 116

49. Ibid, p 116

50. Ibid, pp 81–82

51. Ibid, pp 82, 116

52. Ngata, 'A Brief Account of Ngati Kahungunu Origins', p 28

53. Ibid, p 20

the region involved all of them in an inevitable struggle to inherit the mana whenua of the great chief Ruapani.

The first of the major fights of this period which is documented in the available source material, arose over the murder of Rironga, the son of Moeahu, by Tuaiti. Tuaiti, who was Kahungunu's son by his third wife, Kahukura-waiaraia<sup>54</sup> (and was thus the grandson of Tuira-a-rangi, principal chief of the people of Wairoa), had married a daughter of Moeahu named Moetai, and these two lived at Ruru-tawhao in upper Wairoa.<sup>55</sup> Rironga was apparently killed and eaten by his brother-in-law but no reason for this action is given in any of the accounts of the story. Moetai suspected foulplay although Tuaiti denied any responsibility for the disappearance of her brother. She duly warned another of her brothers, Tu-whaka-oma, who returned to Turanganui to gather a taua together.<sup>56</sup> The taua was led by Rongowhakaata<sup>57</sup>, who had married another of Moeahu's daughter's by the name of Kakahu-po.<sup>58</sup> Tuaiti was killed and Moetai was taken as a second wife by Rongowhakaata when they returned to Turanganui.<sup>59</sup>

Following this raid, Kahungunu heard of the death of his son and came from Mahia to Wairoa to join the taua of Ngati-Rutanga, led by Weka-nui, who were travelling to Turanganui to avenge the murder of Tuaiti. A battle was fought on the Muhunga block at Kai-whaka-reirei (the site of present-day Ormond) and Kahungunu's party were the victors, taking two pa.<sup>60</sup> In Gudgeon's account the battle is referred to as Kahi-te-reirei and the two pa were those of Tuaiti, whose tribe were dispersed.<sup>61</sup> At this time, Pou-whare-kura, a woman of mana, was captured and became the fifth wife of Kahungunu.<sup>62</sup> According to Lambert, sections of Ngai Tahu were involved in this battle and survivors subsequently migrated south to Whanganui-a-Tara.<sup>63</sup> Gudgeon mentioned that this was not the first of the Ngai-Tahu migrations to the south as Tahu-matua had earlier gone south to Wairau, only returning at the news of the death of his brother, Porourangi. It was at this time that Tahu-matua took the wife of Porourangi, named Hamo, who bore him Tahu-muri-hape.<sup>64</sup>

Two major events followed involving migrations of Ngati Kahungunu from the Turanganui area. Although it is not entirely clear which of these migrations occurred first, Mitchell infers that the migration of Rakai-hikuroa's people to Heretaunga (Hawke's Bay) preceded that of Rakaipaaka to Nuhaka.<sup>65</sup> This seems

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54. Mitchell, p 83

55. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, 1896, p 9

56. Lambert, p 265

57. See section 1.8.2 for a genealogy of Rongowhakaata

58. Mitchell, p 84

59. Ibid

60. Ibid; Lambert, p266

61. Gudgeon, vol 5, p 9. Gudgeon may be confusing two separate incidents, one being the raid on Tuaiti by Rongowhakaata's party and the second, the subsequent battle at Kai-whaka-reirei.

62. Lambert, p 266

63. Lambert, p 266. Ngai Tahu were at that time resident at Muriwai and were most likely involved in the fighting as allies of the Rongowhakaata and Moeahu contingent. If the battle was indeed fought at Muhunga it seems likely that many of the hapu of Turanganui were involved in the fighting.

64. Gudgeon, pp 9-10

65. Mitchell, p 109

most likely as it would explain why no aid was given to Rakaipaaka and Hine-manuhiri when attacked by a taua led by Mahaki, considering that Tupurupuru was the principal chief of the area and would have been an obvious ally while he was alive.<sup>66</sup>

Rakai-hikuroa was the son of Kahu-kuranui by his first wife, Rua-tapu-wahine, and thus the grandson of both Kahungunu and Ruapani. Pukepoto, the pa of his son Tupurupuru, was on the western side of the Waipaoa River, opposite Waerenga-a-hika.<sup>67</sup> Tupurupuru was the principal chief of Turanganui until threatened by the mana of the twin sons of Kahutapere, son of Tamatea-kota (a son of Kahungunu). Tupurupuru reputedly killed the boys, and revenge was sought for these murders by their father.<sup>68</sup> In *Echoes of the Pa*, an account of these events named Rakai-hikuroa himself as the murderer of the two boys, and it was further stated that when Kahu-tapere confronted Rakai-hikuroa over the disappearance of his sons a fight ensued, resulting in the slaying of two more of the sons of Kahu-tapere.<sup>69</sup> Kahu-tapere sought assistance in the fight against Rakaihikuroa and his son from his cousin Mahaki, whose people joined the taua against Tupurupuru's pa. Tupurupuru was killed by Whakarau, the son of Mahaki and Hine-tapuarau. Whakarau had married Huruhuru, the sister of the dead twins.<sup>70</sup> After this defeat Rakai-hikuroa and another of his sons, Taraia, and Te Aomatahari (grandson of Tahito-tarere, chief of Ngai Tahu of Muriwai, who was killed in the fighting that resulted from the murder of Te Rironga<sup>71</sup>) led the remainder of their people to Mahia and from there to Hawke's Bay.<sup>72</sup> In *Echoes of the Pa*, these events have been dated at ad 1600.<sup>73</sup> As a result of the ejection of Rakai-hikuroa and his people, Whakarau (whose descendants are known as Nga-potiki) and his brother Ihu took over the lands formerly owned by Rakaihikuroa and Tupurupuru.<sup>74</sup> According to Mitchell, Rakaipaaka, the brother of Rakai-hikuroa, declined to join their migration, although it was only a short time later that he too would be expelled from Turanganui.<sup>75</sup>

In approximately 1630 the next migration occurred, involving the families of Rakaipaaka and his sister Hine-manuhiri, the grandchildren of Kahungunu through his son Kahukuranui and second wife Tu-teihonga.<sup>76</sup> Rakaipaaka lived at Waerenga-a-hika and his influence extended over a considerable area to the Te Arai River.<sup>77</sup> Hine-manuhiri also lived at Waerenga-a-hika. The exile of these two came about as a result of the killing of a dog named Kauari-hua-nui (or Kauere-huanui) that belonged to Tu-te-Kohi. Apparently this action was the result of an exchange of insults involving the dog, between Tu-te-Kohi and Rakaipaaka, at a feast held at

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66. Ibid, p 26

67. Ibid, p 106

68. Lambert, p 275; Mitchell, pp 107–108

69. *Echoes of the Pa*, pp 32–33; Mackay, p6, Mackay indicated in *Historic Poverty Bay* that the murder of the twins, while performed by Turupuru, was instigated by Rakai-hikuroa.

70. Mitchell, p 108

71. Ngata, 'A Brief Account of Ngati Kahungunu Origins', p 14

72. Mitchell, p 109; Lambert, pp 288–289; Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, 1897, p 179

73. *Echoes of the Pa*, p 13

74. Ibid, p33

75. Mitchell, p109

76. *Echoes of the Pa*, p 13

77. Mitchell, p 97

Tu-te-Kohi's pa near Gisborne. One of Rakaipaaka's people, Whakaruru-a-nuku, later killed the dog and ate it to avenge the insult.<sup>78</sup> Tu-te-Kohi sought revenge on Rakaipaaka and in light of a grievance that was held towards Rakaipaaka by Mahaki (over one of Rakaipaaka's men having slept with his wife) these two formed a taua, aided by Tu-te-Kohi's brothers Rongomai-mihiao and Rongomai-wehea from Uawa.<sup>79</sup>

At the battle of Whenua-nui, the party of Rakaipaaka and Hine-manuhiri were overcome, but Rakaipaaka's life was spared owing to his position as the first cousin of Mahaki. He and his sister were driven out of Turanganui along with their remaining people. Hine-manuhiri went inland to Wairoa and Ruapani lands at Manga-aruhe, where they built the pa named Te Mania.<sup>80</sup> Rakaipaaka went south to Mahia for a time. Ensuing battles between these people and Ngai-Taurira of Wairoa established Ngati Kahungunu in that area. Rakaipaaka and his people established themselves at Nuhaka. Ngati Rakaipaaka, a hapu of Ngati Kahungunu living in that area, are descended from this ancestor.<sup>81</sup>

It is also worth mentioning the troubles that soon beset the children of Iranui, sister of Kahungunu, who had become the second wife of Hingangaroa. Iranui was known as Te Wahine-iti, the lesser wife. By Hingangaroa she bore three sons: Taua, Mahaki-ewe-karoro, and Hauiti.<sup>82</sup> Hauiti fought his elder brothers in four different battles, and with the help of his son, Kahukuranui, defeated them and drove them out of Uawa. A vendetta began between the brothers which continued into the next generation, eventuating in the descendants of Mahaki and Taua migrating north and into the Bay of Plenty area.<sup>83</sup> Mahaki, leader and ancestor of Te Wahine-iti of Waiapu Valley, married Hinemakaho and the child of these two, named Paparu, married Tamarata and had three children: Ratanuku whose descendants married with Turanga people; Hineka, who married Tamaihikitiaterangi, a chief of Whangara and Turanga; and Whatukai, ancestor of Tiopira Tawhiao (Ngariki-kai-putahi of Muhunga),<sup>84</sup> a chief of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Te Wahine-iti were eventually absorbed into Ngati Porou.<sup>85</sup> Descendants of Mahaki also make up sections of Whanau-a-Apanui of the Bay of Plenty.<sup>86</sup>

Taua migrated to Te Kaha (Bay of Plenty) and married into the Ngariki tribe, thus becoming an ancestor of Te Whanau-a-Apanui.<sup>87</sup> Ngata gave Taua as the Ngati Porou element in Whanau-a-Apanui; Mahaki and wife Hine-makaho as ancestors of Ngati Porou proper; and Hauiti as principal ancestor of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti of Uawa.<sup>88</sup> Hauiti established himself at Titirangi pa on Kaiti hill, Turanganui.<sup>89</sup> He

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78. Mitchell, p 98; Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, p 10; Lambert, p 266

79. Mitchell, p 98

80. Ibid, p 26

81. Mitchell, pp 98–99; Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, p 11; Lambert, p 266

82. Ngata, lecture 4, p 8

83. Ngata, lecture 5, pp 2–3; the feud between the sons of Iranui and also between the sons of Taua and Hauiti, namely, Apanui and Kahukuranui, are documented in Colenso, *TNZI*, vol 13, pp 43–46

84. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, p 2. Tiopira Tawhiao appears at the bottom of Gudgeon's genealogical table for Ngariki.

85. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 216

86. Ngata, lecture 4, p 17

87. A Mahuika, 'Nga Wahine Kai-Huatu O Ngati Porou: Female Leaders of Ngati Porou', MA thesis, Sydney, 1973, p 47; Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 216

became involved in the constant fighting in the district as the descendants of Kahungunu were being forced out by the Ruapani element. It is possible that he may have received the wound that led to his death in one of these battles.<sup>90</sup> On the death of Hauti, his son Kahukuranui was left to consolidate the position of the group that would be known as Te Aitanga-a-Hauti, which had interests in the land from Titirangi northwards to Tolaga Bay. He took a wife from Turanga, Hinekahakura, a descendant of Ruapani, and also Hinetuere from Whangara, and a third, Tawhipare, from Waiapu, in order that links should be firmly established with tribes of all the surrounding areas.<sup>91</sup> It was Te Aitanga-a-Hauti that ejected the tribe Ngati Ira from their lands.<sup>92</sup>

## **1.8 THE TRIBES OF POVERTY BAY AT 1840**

### **1.8.1 Te Aitanga a Mahaki**

According to Mitchell, Te Aitanga a Mahaki drove Pukaru, son of Ruapani, and his children off the land at Turanganui-a-Kiwa and thus they, along with Rongowhakaata people, established their claim to that area through conquest.<sup>93</sup> The reasons for such actions are not made clear and it would seem that if Tupurupuru, as Mitchell has suggested, inherited the mana of Ruapani in Poverty Bay, the direct descendants of Ruapani must already have migrated inland by that time. Lambert spoke of Te Aitanga a Mahaki as once having owned all the lands between the Motu, Hangaroa, and Waimata rivers.<sup>94</sup> In 1894 this still appears to have been the case.<sup>95</sup>

According to Mitchell also, Mahaki married Hine-tapuarau, who was the daughter of Kahukuranui (son of Kahungunu and uncle of Mahaki).<sup>96</sup> At the time of the ejections of Kahungunu's descendants referred to earlier, Mahaki lived at Pa Werawera which was situated on the Waikohu block, inland from Turanganui.<sup>97</sup> After the killing of Tupurupuru, Mahaki's sons Ihu and Whakarau occupied the conquered lands on the western side of the Waipaoa River. The descendants of Whakarau are known by the hapu name Nga Potiki and have continued to occupy the Waituhi block, which Whakarau gained through these events.<sup>98</sup> It was as a result of the defeat and migration of the people of Rakaihikuroa, and slightly later, that of Rakaipaaka and Hine-manuhiri, that Mahaki and his descendants gained sole ownership of Ruapani's former lands.<sup>99</sup> Mitchell has written that in subsequent

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88. Ngata, lecture 4, p 13

89. Ngata, lecture 5, p 11

90. Ibid, p 13

91. Ibid, p 14

92. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 216; Ngata, lecture 5, p 16

93. Mitchell, p 26

94. Lambert, p 257

95. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 213

96. Mitchell, p 116

97. *Echoes of the Pa*, p 33

98. Ibid, pp 33–34

99. Mitchell, p 116; *Echoes of the Pa*, p 32

years, Te Aitanga a Mahaki extended their 'right and mana' over the area, becoming the most powerful of the Poverty Bay tribes.<sup>100</sup>

There was, apparently, continuous fighting amongst Te Aitanga a Mahaki in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In *Echoes of the Pa* it was suggested that this fighting, beginning at Mapouriki, arose over an eel weir. Rongowhakaata eventually entered into the fray as sections of Te Aitanga a Mahaki sheltered with them, and some were reported to have been killed and eaten. In the fighting which ensued between these two tribes, Te Aitanga a Mahaki were apparently the victors.<sup>101</sup> In 1894, Gudgeon described this tribe as the largest of those in Poverty Bay. He gave them as descendants of Tamatea Pokai-whenua, through his sons Kahungunu and Whaene, but also from the Ngariki, and a group he referred to as 'ancient peoples'.<sup>102</sup> The Ngariki originally inhabited the Waipaoa Valley at Mangatu.<sup>103</sup> When Gudgeon wrote his series of essays on the East Coast tribes in the 1890s he estimated the number of remaining Ngariki in Poverty Bay at approximately 20, the original tribe having intermarried with Te Aitanga a Mahaki.<sup>104</sup> Ngariki kai-putahi of Poverty Bay are connected with the Ngariki who made up sections of the tribes of the Bay of Plenty.<sup>105</sup>

The general boundaries of Te Aitanga a Mahaki are as follows: to the north the border follows the Waimata River, although there are considerable interests held by this group in blocks beyond this boundary, such as in the Kaiti block; to the west the boundary of Mahaki lands is roughly in a line with Arowhana; in the south west they border with Tuhoe as their boundaries extend to the Huiarau ranges and Maungapohatu; and southward Mahaki lands meet those of Rongowhakaata at the Repongaere and Tangihanga blocks, lands in which Whanau a Kai hapu of Te Aitanga a Mahaki have interests.

### 1.8.2 Rongowhakaata

Lambert has written that Rongowhakaata, the eponymous ancestor of the present tribe, married three daughters of the chief Moeahu, descended from Kiwa.<sup>106</sup> According to Gudgeon there are several genealogies given for Rongowhakaata, most of which are contradictory. He claimed that Rongowhakaata was descended from an 'ancient people' of whom there is no record. It is possible, however, that he was descended from Paikea, earlier known as Kahutia-te-rangi.<sup>107</sup> Ngata believed Rongowhakaata to have come from Uawa, and to have migrated to Turanga where he married the daughters of Moeahu, descendants of Ruapani.<sup>108</sup> His people then occupied the area between the Turanganui and Waipaoa rivers.<sup>109</sup> His grand-

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100. Mitchell, p 116

101. *Echoes of the Pa*, p 14

102. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 213

103. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, p 2

104. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, p 186. Present day Ngariki, who have been known under the hapu name of Ngariki kai-putahi, now claim separate tribal identity to that of Te Aitanga a Mahaki.

105. A C Lyall, *Whakatohea of Opotiki*, Reed Ltd, Wellington, 1979, pp 13–18

106. Lambert, p 254

107. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 3, p 211

108. Ngata, lecture 4, p 9

daughter, Tupuhikai, married Hurumaiterangi, son of Hingangaroa by his first wife.<sup>110</sup> Thus, links were re-established between Rongowhakaata's family and the people of Uawa.

Gudgeon stated that through the marriage of Rongowhakaata with the daughters of Moeahu, arose the tribe that took his name as well as Ngati Ha and Ngati Pukenga of Opotiki.<sup>111</sup> Among the leading ancestors of Rongowhakaata were Rua-roa and Rongomaire, sons of Ruarauhanga (or Rua-rere-tai), first wife of Kahungunu and daughter of Ruapani.<sup>112</sup> Gudgeon mentioned hapu descended from Ruapani residing at Te Reinga Falls, by the hapu names Ngati-Hine-hika and Ngati Pohatu. Ngati Hine-hika apparently had interests in land on both sides of the Hangaroa River and the left bank of the Ruakituri River, and resided at Te Reinga Falls. It was to this place that the Wairoa people fled when attacked by Te Heuheu and Te Whatanui in 1828.<sup>113</sup> Some 40 years later, Te Kooti Arikirangi would also use this route in his escape into Tuhoe country.

By the 1860s, the area in which this tribe had interests extended well beyond the limits given by Gudgeon, as a result of extensive intermarriage with other groups including those in upper Wairoa, Waikaremoana, and the area of Whakapunake and Te Reinga Falls. The boundaries of Rongowhakaata with Mahaki are those mentioned above, where the Patutahi block meets Tangihanga. Rongowhakaata lands also border on those of Ngai Tamanuhiri where the Pakowai block meets the Maraetaha block at Muriwai. To the south and south east, Rongowhakaata meets Ngati Kahungunu (Ngati Rakaipaaka to the south-east). Their west-south west boundaries are between the hapu of the Te Reinga-Ruakituri area with Ngati Kahungunu–Ngati Ruapani of Waikaremoana.

### **1.8.3 Ngai Tamanuhiri**

Ngai Tamanuhiri have formerly been known by the tribal name of Ngai Tahupo. They are descended from the younger brother of Porourangi, Tahu-Potiki, who took his brother's widow as a wife and had Tahu-murihape.<sup>114</sup> Herein lies their connection with Ngai Tahu who formerly resided in the area around Muriwai. Following the migrations of most of Ngai Tahu from Poverty Bay, sections remained of those descended from Tahu-murihape, and these intermarried with other tribes establishing descent lines from Kahungunu and Ruapani. Mitchell has written that Tamanuhiri was the son of Kahukuranui, the son in turn of Kahungunu, by his third wife Hine-kumu.<sup>115</sup> Through Kahukuranui this tribe have links with sections of Ngati Kahungunu.

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109. Ibid, p 212

110. Ngata, lecture 4, pp 8–9

111. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, p 2

112. Ibid, p 8

113. Ibid, p 181. The hapu of Rongowhakaata who owned land around this area associate more closely with their ancestor Ruapani whilst those owning land at Te Arai and the Patutahi block on the Poverty Bay flats associate with Rongowhakaata, the eponymous ancestor.

114. Ngata, lecture 2, p 7

115. Mitchell, p 96

Gudgeon believed Tamanuhiri to have been a son of Rakai-hikuroa and thus the grandson of Kahukuranui and Rua-tapu-wahine, daughter of Ruapani.<sup>116</sup> In one of his genealogies he showed Tamanuhiri as fourth in descent from Tahu-murihape, through Raka-roa, Uenuku, and Rakai-toto-awa.<sup>117</sup> He also described how Tamanuhiri migrated to Hawke's Bay with his brother Taraia, and Rakaihikuroa, his father.<sup>118</sup> Mitchell's genealogies show Tamanuhiri as descended from Tahu-murihape through the alliance of Rakai-totorewa (child of Uenuku) and Rua-kahutia (child of Tamatea-upoko), both two generations from Tahu-murihape.<sup>119</sup> It is possible that there were two men named Tamanuhiri who lived in Poverty Bay at around the same period, one of them a minor son of Rakaihikuroa who left the area in the mid-seventeenth century. Considering that Ngai Tamanuhiri do claim descent from Kahungunu's children, these two figures are likely to be the same man although the available source material gives a different impression. It is certain, at least, that the Tamanuhiri descended from Taru-murihape is the eponymous ancestor of Ngai Tamanuhiri.

At 1840 this group, known at that time as Ngai Tahupo, still occupied the Muriwai area and had interests in land from Muriwai south to Paritu, including Te Kuri o Pawa (Young Nick's Head). Ngai Tamanuhiri's present boundaries are the same as these, and they are neighbours to the tribes of Rongowhakaata and Ngati Kahungunu (Rakaipaaka at Wharerata).

## 1.9 INTER-TRIBAL CONFLICT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the 1820s and 1830s, the Maori population of the North Island was on the move as parties armed with muskets swept downwards from the north in several waves. Although this activity had a dramatic effect on the tribes of Poverty Bay and their boundaries were undoubtedly threatened, these appear to have remained the same at 1840 as they were before the onset of severe inter-tribal conflict. Several taua of Nga Puhi attacked the East Coast beginning in 1818, and attacks on the tribes of the Bay of Plenty caused a corresponding wave of attacks by Whakatohea on the tribes of Poverty Bay.

Nga Puhi chief Te Wera Hauraki joined with Ngati Maniapoto and Waikato people in an attack on Rongowhakaata in 1818. Aided by Ngati Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata fought Te Wera's war party on the banks of the Waipaoa River.<sup>120</sup> They suffered a defeat there due to their lack of muskets at that time. In *Takitimu*, Mitchell referred to a raid on the Wairoa-Mahia section of Ngati Kahungunu in 1824 by a combined force of Nga Puhi, Waikato, Whakatohea, and Tuhoë which attacked pa at Nuhaka, Pukekaroro, and Titirangi, where Ngati Kahungunu and their Poverty Bay allies were defeated.<sup>121</sup> Te Wera later made peace with Te Kani a

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116. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, 1897, p 179

117. Ibid, p 184

118. Ibid, p 179

119. Mitchell, Appendix ii

120. Lambert, pp 299–300

Takirau and travelled to Mahia where he undertook to protect Ngati Rakaipaaka, and others of Ngati Kahungunu, from further attacks by central North Island tribes. In 1826, Te Wera was attacked by Te Heuheu Tukino of Te Arawa and others of Ngati Paoa. He was aided by Rongowhakaata, many of whom died in the siege of Pukenui Pa. The attack was given up after two months and the besiegers returned home.<sup>122</sup> In 1828, Te Wera aided Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Hauiti in their attack on Ngati Porou of Tokomaru Bay.<sup>123</sup>

Apparently Ngati Kahungunu, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, and Whanau a Kai hapu were often adversaries of Whakatohea of Opotiki at this time (although sometimes sections of them would be allied to that group).<sup>124</sup> Lyall contends that groups from the Bay of Plenty, Poverty Bay, and the central North Island were continually crossing boundaries into each others territory at this time. He writes:

In the main, the fights were between marauding war parties or parties seeking food, both animal and human. Judging, however, by the extent of Ngati-Rua involvement, it looks as though they had definite territorial ambitions which saw them actually in occupation south of their own lands for varying periods. Before this there was the expedition to the Mahia peninsula by combined tribes, in which Whakatohea participated.<sup>125</sup>

Ngati Rua made several incursions into Mahaki territory in the years before 1830. Lyall believes these attempts to occupy lands south of their borders were in response to pressure on their territory from Ngati Maru and Ngapuhi.<sup>126</sup>

In the early 1830s (possibly 1832), Whakatohea travelled to Te Muhunga following a battle with Ngati Porou and Whanau-a-Apanui at Wharekahika. Nga Potiki hapu of Te Aitanga a Mahaki (descended from Whakarau, son of Mahaki) allied themselves with Whakatohea against other sections of their tribe. Under Tahore, Te Aitanga a Mahaki attacked Whakatohea and Nga Potiki at Muhunga, aided by a group of Ngai Tai who were already in the area, and Whanau-a-Apanui. Whakatohea and Nga Potiki, left Muhunga and went on to Kekeparaoa where the situation developed into a siege, both parties being well armed with muskets by this time. Whakatohea eventually surrendered and the leader of the Nga Potiki group was killed for his acts against Te Aitanga a Mahaki.<sup>127</sup> Another attack was made on Poverty Bay later in the 1830s (between 1833 and 1834) in which Whakatohea gained some initial success and settled at Waioto near the Waikohu–Matawai block, but they were eventually repelled by Te Aitanga a Mahaki and returned to the Bay of Plenty. By this time the northern raids had ceased and Christianity was beginning to have an impact on the fighting. Whakatohea resumed occupation of their own lands.<sup>128</sup>

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121. Mitchell, p 163

122. Lambert, pp 302–304

123. Mackay, p 77

124. Lyall, p 113

125. *Ibid* pp 116–117

126. *Ibid*, p 119

127. *Ibid*, pp 119–120

128. *Ibid*, pp 120–121

At the time of these events there were only a handful of Europeans living in Poverty Bay. To all intents and purposes, they lived among Poverty Bay Maori under the patronage of the various chiefs and were involved, therefore, in the social upheavals of those people. Indeed, J W Harris, an early flax trader and settler, was present at the siege at Kekeparaoa.<sup>129</sup>

## **1.10 CONCLUSION**

The inadequacy of some of the secondary source accounts used in the compilation of this introduction to the early history of the people of Turanganui a Kiwa, is fully acknowledged. It is hoped, however, that this chapter has provided, for the purposes of this report, an adequate background to the Maori inhabitants of the region at 1840. By this time those hapu which made up the three iwi Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, and Ngai Tahupo (Ngai Tamanuhiri), had firmly established themselves as tangata whenua of their rohe. The later sections of this chapter have briefly outlined the inter-tribal wars of the 1820s and 1830s in order to demonstrate how these iwi defended their mana whenua in the rohe against a series of challenges from other tribal groups. The next period of this region's history involves the development of European settlement in the area, and the challenges Maori faced as a result of this, especially in terms of their ownership of the lands they had retained by military strength for at least two centuries prior to 1840.

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129. Ibid, p 120; Mackay, 'Joint Golden Jubilees: Life in Early Poverty Bay', *Gisborne Times*, May 1927, pp 52, 29. Barnet Burns, a European sailor, was involved in a variety of battles in this period as and when 'his chief' required his assistance.