

CHAPTER 1

MAORI OCCUPATION OF WAIROA

1.1 SOURCES

The following account of Maori history in the Wairoa district is mainly drawn from the work of nineteenth and twentieth-century writers who have recorded Maori oral traditions from Wairoa and neighbouring districts. Nineteenth-century Pakeha authorities who wrote down and interpreted oral traditions include W E Gudgeon, S Percy Smith, T Lambert, and Elsdon Best. Twentieth-century writers include J G Wilson and J H Mitchell, who gathered Maori traditions in the first half of the present century. Their work has been re-examined by Angela Ballara, using the Native Land Court minutes of the nineteenth century as a major source, in her doctoral thesis 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu'. Ballara was also commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal in 1991 to prepare a report for the claimants in respect of the Crown purchases in the Wairoa ki Wairarapa district (Wai 201 ROD, doc I1). Her work has been heavily drawn upon in this report.

As in all reports of this nature, the material is subject to interpretation. The claimants need not feel this is the only version; but it is the one this author has come to on the material available to her. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the hapu that had an interest in the district in 1840. However, the names mentioned may not necessarily be the only hapu associated with the area.

1.2 THE ORIGINS OF NGATI KAHUNGUNU

The origins of Ngati Kahungunu begin with Tamatea. One tradition suggests that Kahungunu's father, Tamatea, was the commander of the Takitimu canoe.¹ Gudgeon, Lambert and Mitchell all maintain that Tamatea-ariki-nui (or Tamatea-mai-tawhiti) captain of Takitumu and Tamatea-pokai-whenua, father of Kahungunu, were grandfather and grandson.²

In one version of events Tamatea left the Takitumu at Muriwhenua (Northland) before moving on to Tauranga,³ according to Mitchell he left it at Tauranga.⁴ He had

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1. Angela Heather Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu', Phd thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991, p 61
 2. W E Gudgeon, 'The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand', JPS, vol 4, 1895, p 183; T Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast*, 2nd ed, Christchurch, Capper Press, 1977, p 257, although Lambert calls him the captain of Horouta, but still Tamatea of the migration; J H Mitchell, *Takitimu*, Southern Reprints, 1972, p 41
 3. See Ballara, 'Origins', p 61

a son named Rongakako, who married Muriwhenua and they had a son named Tamatea-urehaea.⁵ This son, says Mitchell, was ‘born to be an explorer’,⁶ thus the later name Tamatea-pokai-whenua. His travels took him to Kaitaia where he married three sisters, Te Onoonoiwaho, Iwipupu and Te Moanaikauia, descendants of Porourangi. To his wife, Iwipupu, was born a male child named Kahungunu.⁷ Leaving Muriwhenua, Tamatea travelled around a while before taking his family back to Tauranga. He subsequently went on via Whanganui to meet his fate by drowning at the Huka Falls on the Waikato River.⁸

1.3 THE STORY OF KAHUNGUNU

Although he was born in Tai Tokerau, Kahungunu grew to manhood in Tauranga. His adult travels started through a quarrel with his half brother, Whaene. Leaving Tauranga he journeyed to Opotiki, where he stayed with his first cousin, Haumanga, and her husband. He didn’t stop long at Opotiki though, travelling on to Whangara, just up the coast from Turanganui (present day Gisborne).⁹

While visiting a pa on the hill Titirangi, above the Turanganui harbour, Kahungunu saw the smoke of the fires of a large settlement inland on the opposite side of the Waipaoa River. On asking who was living there, he was told that the pa was Popoia, owned by Ruapani.¹⁰ The people of whom Ruapani was chief, later known as Ngati Ruapani, controlled the land from Turanganui a Kiwa (Poverty Bay) to Waikaremoana, extending into the Huiarau range.¹¹ Gudgeon speculates that the early tribes of Poverty Bay were descendants of Maui-potiki, through the ancestor Toi. Other ancestors of these people were the crew of the Horouta canoe which came at least eight generations before Takitimu. These people were living under the mana of Ruapani when Kahungunu came from the north.¹² Gudgeon and Mitchell regarded Ruapani as the descendant of Paoa (the captain of Horouta) and Kiwa (its priest) for whom Turanganui a Kiwa and Te Moananui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) were named. Paoa’s daughter Hine-akua married Kahutuanui, the son of Kiwa.¹³

Kahungunu journeyed to Popoia where he married Ruapani’s daughter Ruareretai. A daughter named Ruahereheretieke was born to them. After a time Kahungunu started on his travels again. This time he proceeded to Whareongaonga where he married Hinepuariari, a daughter of Panui. He also married her sister, Kahukurawaiaraia. Hinepuariari had two children, Powhiro and another, while Kahukurawaiaraia also bore two, Tuati and another.¹⁴

4. Mitchell, p 41

5. Ibid, p 42, 55; Lambert, p 258

6. Mitchell, p 56

7. Ibid, see genealogies, pp v, vi, for Iwipupu’s whakapapa

8. Mitchell, p 59–60; Ballara, p 61

9. Mitchell, pp 75–76

10. Ibid, p 76

11. Ibid, p 26; Ballara, p 64

12. W E Gudgeon, ‘The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand’, JPS, vol 5, 1896, p 1

13. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, 1897, p 177; Mitchell, p 22

Hearing of the famed beauty of Rongomaiwahine, from Te Mahia, Kahungunu journeyed on down the coast. On arriving at Tawapata, on the Mahia peninsula, Kahungunu found an established community where Rongomaiwahine lived with her husband, Tamatakutai. Rongomaiwahine is said to have been the daughter of Rapa who was descended from Popoto, captain of the Kurahaupo waka, and Ruawharo, priest of Takitimu (Ruawharo had travelled on down the east coast on Takitimu after it had dropped Tamatea off at Tauranga, see above). Her other parent was Moekakara, a descendant of Paikea.¹⁵ Tamatakutai's descent is not given.

Other early peoples living in the vicinity of Te Mahia and Wairoa were, according to Gudgeon, Ngati Rakaipaaka, a people who claimed descent from the ancestor Ruakapuanui and who subsequently intermarried with and became indistinguishable from the descendants of Kahungunu's grandson, Rakaipaaka,¹⁶ and Ngai Tahu, the descendants of Porourangi's younger brother Tahupotiki, who lived in this district before migrating to the South Island. Another people living in the Wairoa and Waiau valleys was a tribe called Ngai Tauira, descended from Hotunui of Tainui, through Panui.¹⁷

On finding Rongomaiwahine married to Tamatakutai, Kahungunu proceeded to win her through trickery.¹⁸ His success and their subsequent relationship was, says Mitchell, 'one of the most important love matches of the East Coast . . . it undoubtedly changed the whole Maori history of the East Coast'.¹⁹

According to Mitchell the first child born to the couple was not Kahungunu's but that of Rongomaiwahine's first husband, Tamatakutai. The child, a girl, was named Hinerauri. The children of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine were Kahukuranui (m), Rongomaipapa (f), Tamateakota (m), Mahakinui (m), and Tauheikuri (f).²⁰

All of Kahungunu's children eventually migrated from Mahia to Turanganui, where they intermarried with prominent people of the Poverty Bay district. Kahungunu, however, continued to live at Mahia. His principal pa was Maungaakahia, situated on a high hill overlooking the sea on the eastern side of Mahia peninsula, north of Nukutaurua. About the year 1475, by which time Kahungunu was an old man, the pa at Mahia sustained a seige, by nephews of Kahungunu, Tutamure and Tamataipunua (the sons of his cousin Haumanga from Opotiki). The only one of his children still remaining at home at the time was Tauheikuri and in order to achieve peace she was married to Tamataipunua (the younger brother). They later went to live at Turanganui (Poverty Bay) where they had Tawhiwhi and Mahaki. From the latter descended the Poverty Bay tribe known as Te Aitangi-a-Mahaki.²¹

Kahungunu's fifth and last wife came through an expedition that he had arranged to avenge the death of Tuaiti, his son by his third wife, Kahukurawaiaraia. Tuaiti

14. Mitchell, p 76

15. Mitchell, see genealogies pp i, xxii

16. As Ruakapuanui was the son of Ruawharo, priest of Takitimu, they were marrying back into Takitimu anyway, see Mitchell genealogies, p i

17. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, 1896, p 2; Lambert, p 254–255; Mitchell, p i; Ballara, 'Origins', p 64

18. See Mitchell, pp 77–78

19. Ibid, p 79

20. Mitchell, pp 79–80

21. Ibid, pp 80–81

Figure 2: Hapu and migrations

married Moetai, a daughter of Moeahu of Poverty Bay. Their home was at Rurutawhao, on the Aranui block, to the north of Awamate. Te Rironga, a brother of Moetai, one day paid a visit to his sister. During his stay Tuaiti lured him across the river, ostensibly to gather the berries of the kahikatea which grew there. Te Rironga never returned, but was murdered by Tuaiti (why, the authorities do not say). The scene of the tragedy was in a bush gully on the Frasertown Road, not far from the junction of the Kauhoroa stream and the Wairoa River. Tuaiti returned alone and when his wife asked where her brother was, he replied that Te Rironga had returned to Poverty Bay (or Turanganui). His wife was suspicious in view of the fact that her brother had left without bidding her goodbye and her suspicions were increased by the fact that her husband crossed the river every day. Her certainty that her husband had murdered her brother was proved by smelling her husband's breath while he was asleep. His breath smelt strongly of human flesh.

Concealing the knowledge of her discovery from her husband, she communicated her suspicions to her father Moeahu, who raised a war-party. This was led by Rongowhakaata, the husband of her sister Kakahu-po. They eventually killed Tuaiti, putting his body into a canoe and pushing it into the Wairoa River,

where it made its way downstream. It eventually grounded at Te Uhi-a-karoro (Te Uhi) where his own people found him.²²

When Kahungunu heard of his son's death and that Rongowhakaata had taken Moetai to Turanganui as a second wife, he travelled to Wairoa from Mahia and persuaded a Wairoa toa, Wekanui, to lead a taua to avenge the death of Tuaiti. The battle was fought at a pa named Kaiwhakareirei, on the site where the Ormond township was later built. The battle was fiercely fought and some important chiefs, namely Rakainui and Tahito Tarere, were killed. Kahungunu emerged the winner and two pa, Te Huia and Kaiwhakareirei, were taken. It was here that Wekanui captured Pou-Wharekura, a woman of high status, but as he led her away, Kahukuranui also claimed her. Kahungunu settled the argument by taking the woman himself. According to Lambert, the woman herself chose to go with him. As Mitchell says, 'evidently preferring to be an old man's darling rather than a young man's slave'.²³

The wives and children of Kahungunu (Mitchell, p 85)

Ruareretai	Hinepuariari	Kahukurawaiaraia	Rongomaiwahine	Pouwharekura
Ruahereheretieke (f)	Te Pohiro (m)	Tuaiti (m) Potirohia (m)	Kahukuranui (m) Rongomaipapa (f) Tamateakota* (m) Mahakinui (m) Tauheikuri (f)	Ruatapui (f)

* Married Rongakauae, daughter of Rongowhakaata and Moetai, Mitchell, p x.

1.4 THE STORY OF KAHUKURANUI

Kahukuranui was the eldest of the three sons of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine. He was born at Nukutaurua, on the Mahia peninsula. In adulthood he married Ruatapuwhine, the daughter of Ruapani, the paramount chief of the whole of the Turanganui (Poverty Bay) district. They lived at Waerenga-a-hika and had Rongomaitara, a daughter and Rakaihikuroa, a son.

He also married Tuteihonga, the widow of Tupouriao, chief of the people and pa of Otatara, near Taradale. They had two children, Hinemanuhiri and Rakaipaaka, who were later to have a very important bearing on the settlement of the Wairoa district.

Kahukuranui later married a third wife, Hinekumu, and had another son, Tamanuhiri.²⁴

22. Mitchell says Ngai Tauira, Lambert says Ngati Rutanga, although Lambert had earlier identified Ngai Tauira as living at Te Uhi, see p 256

23. Lambert, pp 265–266; Mitchell, pp 83–85

24. Mitchell, pp 94–96

1.5 THE MIGRATION FROM TURANGANUI IN THE DAYS OF HINEMANUHIRI AND RAKAIPAACA

There were various migrations from Turanganui but the one that was to have the most important bearing on the Wairoa district was the one involving Hinemanuhiri and Rakaipaaka. Their migration commenced because of a quarrel over a dog and the co-habiting of one of Rakaipaaka's men with the wife of Mahaki, Rakaipaaka's cousin. A fight ensued and Rakaipaaka nearly lost his life but because of his family connections to Ruapani²⁵ and Porou-rangi, not to mention their grandfather Kahungunu, his life was spared on the condition that he leave the district. Gathering his family and his sister Hinemanuhiri and her family, they departed into exile, returning to the general area of the lands of their grandmother, Rongomaiwahine.

Soon after leaving the Turanga area the party separated. Hinemanuhiri took the inland route via Hangaroa. She and her people settled in the locality now known as Te Mania, in the Marumaru district. Rakaipaaka took the coastal route to Mahia, his ancestral home. His descendants settled the Mahia peninsula, while he journeyed on to Nuhaka and settled at Moumoukai pa on the hills behind Nuhaka.²⁶

Rakaipaaka lived alongside the resident Ngai Tauria in peace for a generation. The peace was broken by a people called Te Ngarengare, whom Mitchell and Lambert considered to be a section of Ngai Tauria.²⁷ Rakaipaaka supported Ngai Tauria and together they defeated Te Ngarengare and drove them south to Heretaunga.

There was peace once again until Rakaihakeke, a grandson of Hinemanuhiri (his father was Tamaterangi) cohabited with Hinekura, a daughter of Mutu, son of Tauria. This led to the battle of Taupara, where Ngai Tauria were defeated and their pa Rakautihi taken. This battle firmly established Ngati Hinemanuhiri as a tribe in the Wairoa district. They seized all the lands of Tauria on both sides of the Wairoa River up to Waikaremoana, while Ngai Tauria were forced into a dependent status.²⁸

Two of Hinemanuhiri's children, Tamaterangi and Hinganga, both became eponymous ancestors of hapu; Ngai Tamaterangi and Ngati Hinganga who had claims on the Waiau and Ruakituri Rivers, respectively.²⁹ According to Ballara, the Ruakituri River was an informal boundary between Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Kohatu, a people regarded as belonging to Tuhoe by some and to Ngati Kahungunu by others.³⁰

25. Not only had Kahungunu married Ruareretai (the first daughter of Ruapani) and Kahukuranui married Ruatupuwahine (another daughter of Ruapani) but Hinemanuhiri had married Pukaru (son of Ruapani). Another daughter of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine, Rongomai-papa married Ruapani himself and finally Rakaihikuroa (son of Kahukuranui and Ruatupuwahine) married Ruarauhanga (the last child of Ruapani and Rongomai-papa), Mitchell, p 25

26. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, 1896, p 10–11; Mitchell, pp 97–99; Ballara, p 175; Angela Ballara and Gary Scott, 'Crown Purchases of Maori Land in Early Provincial Hawke's Bay', claimants' report to the Waitangi Tribunal, 1994, p 37

27. Lambert, p 267; Mitchell, p 100; Ballara, 'Origins', p 175

28. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, 1896, pp 10–11; Mitchell, pp 101–103; Lambert, pp 269–271; Ballara, 'Origins', p 175

29. Ballara, 'Origins', p 177

Rakaihakeke married Hinekura after killing her parents at the battle of Taupara. They became the parents of Te Okuratawhiti who married Hinepehinga (a great-granddaughter of Hinemanuhiri) and they were the parents of the brothers Tapuwae and Te Maaha. In later life these brothers did not get along so their father placed them on opposite sides of the Wairoa River. Te Maaha on the eastern side and Tapuwae on the western. After their separation the names Te ari a Te Maaha and Te ari a Tapuwae were bestowed respectively on the eastern and western sides of the mouth of the river. The brothers remained separated until the intermarriage of their descendants brought them together again.³¹

According to Gudgeon and Mitchell, Tapuwae was the principal and most outstanding ancestor of the Wairoa district, from whom all the Wairoa rangatira derive their name and chieftainship.³² Mitchell gives a list of nine pa inhabited by Tapuwae's children by his two wives, Te Rauhina, sister of Te Huki, and Te Ruataumata. Tapuwae was buried close to the mouth of the Wairoa River, in the urupa called Tahuna-mai-Hawaiki.³³

Mitchell also records the pa of Tapuwae's nephew, Te O-Tane, the son of his younger brother Te Maaha; some of these pa were on the eastern side of the Wairoa River, others near or within the modern township, and one called Taramarama, on top of a high hill called Ohuka.³⁴

Another important ancestor of the Wairoa district was Te Huki. He was a descendant of Rakaipaaka. His first wife, Te Rangitohumare was the granddaughter of Te Whatuiapiti, the eponymous ancestor of the tribal name Ngai Te Whatuiapiti of Heretaunga. Their first son, Puruaute, was settled in the Wairoa district. The second son was Mataitai (1) who was placed at Mahia, from whom descended the chief Ihaka Whaanga and others. Their daughter Hineraru was married to Hopara, 'a prominent young chief of Porangahau'.³⁵

By his Nuhaka wife, Te Ropuhina, he had three sons: Te Rakato, who was settled at Mahia, to become the eponymous ancestor of the hapu Ngai Te Rakato; Tureia (2) was settled at Nuhaka, while Te Rehu was also settled at Nuhaka to become the prominent ancestor of that place and the origin of the hapu Ngai Te Rehu.

By his Poverty Bay wife, Rewanga, he had a daughter named Te Umupapa who married Marukawiti, the son of Kanohi (the eponymous ancestor of the hapu Ngati Kanohi). From this union descended Te Kani-a-Takirau of Whangara.

These marriage alliances and the kinship links they established were important because it was through them that the people could later unite and support each other when the need arose, such as during the musket wars in the early decades of the nineteenth century.³⁶

30. Ibid, p 178; Smith, p 353; although Gudgeon called them descendants of Ruapani, JPS, vol 6, 1897, p 177

31. Mitchell, p 120–121

32. Gudgeon, JPS, vol 6, 1897, p 183; Mitchell, p 118

33. According to Mitchell, the origins of the name of this urupa came through Ruawharo. When Ruawharo left Hawaiki he brought with him sand, some of which he placed at Mahia and some at Wairoa, at Whakamahia beach called Tahuna-mai-Hawaiki. These places later became the principal burial-grounds, Mitchell, p 61

34. Ibid, p 129

35. Ibid, p 145

36. Ibid, pp 143–145

Te Huki's son, Puruaaute, subsequently married Tapuwae's daughter, Te Matakaingaitetihi. His first son was Te Kapuamatatoru. Mataitai (2) was the next, from whom Ihaka Whaanga was descended. Ihaka became the paramount chief of Nuhaka and Te Mahia. Puruaaute's third son was Te Kahu o te Rangi from whom descended Paora Rerepu, the celebrated chief of Mohaka.³⁷

Te Kapuamatatoru was another important ancestor in the Wairoa area. Some of Te Kapuamatatoru's descendants in the inland Wairoa area included Hata Tipoki, a descendant of the former's daughter Hineori; Kerei Te Oatu, a descendant of his daughter Hinetunge, eponymous ancestor of Ngati Hinetunge of the Waiau River district; Hamana Tiakiwai and Timi and Turi Kara (Carroll), descendants of his son Hinerara; Maraki Kohea and Heremia Te Popo, descendants of his son Kokotangiao; and Paora and Rawinia Te Apatu, descendants of his youngest daughter, Hineinohi.³⁸

Another important ancestor was Pourangahua, eponymous ancestor of the tribe Ngati Pourangahua or Te Aitanga-a-Pourangahua³⁹ of Te Papuni. He was a descendant of Hinganga, the daughter of Hinemanuhiri, and his hapu were Ngati Hinganga and Ngati Te Wahanga (or Wawahanga). His people's territory included the Te Tahora block, situated inland at the far end of the Ruakituri Valley. He married a woman named Hinewhe, they had a son called Hikawai, who married Te Mihi of Tuhoe and had Mahia. Mahia was also known as Koari and was the father of Wi Tipuna. This was not the same Te Koari who Donald McLean encountered at Wairoa in 1851.⁴⁰ Mahia or Koari had been killed by the Urewera at Papuni much earlier.⁴¹ The Te Koari who Donald McLean met may have been the Te Koari captured at Te Pakake pa in 1824 (see below).

The pattern reflected above is a continuous process of replacement of one set of iwi figures by another. By the eighteenth century, Rakaipaaka and his sister Hinemanuhiri were beginning to have at least as much relevance in Wairoa, Nuhaka and Mahia as Kahungunu and Ruapani.⁴² During the period 1769 to 1840 the major hapu of the Te Mahia–Wairoa region were Hinemanuhiri, Rakaipaaka, and Kahu.⁴³

The people known as Kahu occupied an intermediate position at the mouth of the Wairoa between Rakaipaaka and Ngati Hinemanuhiri to the east and north, and Ngati Pahauwera and its associated hapu to the south. Ballara maintains that they were descendants of Hinemanuhiri and Tapuwae and thus of Kahungunu, but according to Gudgeon they were the remnants of Ngai Tauira along with the Kurupakiaka hapu.⁴⁴

Other hapu with interests in the Mahia peninsula included Ngati Hikairo. Their lands were mainly at Tawapata. Hikairo was a descendant of Kahungunu through the latter's daughter Tauheikuri. However, they also claimed through their descent

37. Ibid, p 146

38. Ibid, p xx; and Ballara and Scott, 'Crown Purchases' re Wairoa

39. Elsdon Best, *Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist*, Wellington, A H & A W Reed, 1925, p 202

40. See Mitchell, pp 155; and Ballara and Scott, 'Crown Purchases' re Wairoa, p 5

41. Gisborne Minute Book no 18, MLC Gisborne, pp 8, 18; see also Smith, p 366

42. Ballara, 'Origins', pp 131–132

43. Ibid, p 167

44. Ballara, 'Origins', p 181; Gudgeon, JPS, vol 5, 1896, p 2

from Rongomaiwahine, through her first daughter, Hinerauri. The Mahia people often claim the mana of the pre-Kahungunu tangata whenua and are known by the name Ngati Rongomaiwahine. Another hapu with claims to the Mahia block was Ngai (or Ngati) Tu. This hapu was one of the tangata whenua groups at Nukutaurua. They were living there in the 1820s.⁴⁵

In the Wairoa–Waikaremoana area there was Ngati Ruapani.⁴⁶ Despite the kinship links between these descent groups there was no unified tribal hierarchy with control over all the people. The most effective social and political groups were major hapu, although, as Ballara says, some of the larger and more powerful hapu could well be described by the European term ‘tribe’. These major hapu were often associated with minor hapu, usually ‘numerically small and relatively weak’, which often derived from the major hapu by descent. But the basic social group, especially in times of peace, was the community of chiefs and people. Chiefs of differing degrees of status or mana led independent communities. The individuals within these communities could belong to more than one hapu (descent groups genealogically derived from earlier tribal figures) with developed or inherited complex rights to the mountains, valleys, swamps, forests, rivers, lagoons, lakes and coasts they occupied.⁴⁷

This pattern of independent communities survived the early contact with Europeans and persisted into the nineteenth century. In the early decades of the nineteenth century though, a new consciousness of the need for some form of wider identity emerged. Ballara maintains that Hinemanuhiri and Rakaipaaka had achieved similar importance to Kahungunu but ‘they had not replaced him as founding ancestor of iwi when the region became subject to influences that caused changes in social organisation’:

The apparently continuous process of establishment of new sets of eponymous ancestors of iwi was halted and reversed. Kahungunu gained in importance as factors promoting regional unification worked on the population.⁴⁸

One of the most important contributing factors to this consciousness was the pressure brought about by the invasions of northern tribes.

1.6 THE MUSKET WARS

From 1818, parts of the North Island were rent by increased tribal warfare. These conflicts have been termed the Musket Wars. Although not a ‘new kind of war’ – as Ballara points out, they were for the traditional reasons of mana, tapu and utu⁴⁹ – the introduction of the musket contributed to an unprecedented escalation of warfare. The wars began when the Nga Puhi, of the Tai Tokerau area, became the

45. J G Wilson, *History of Hawke’s Bay*, Christchurch, Capper Press reprint, 1976, p 81; Ballara and Scott, ‘Crown Purchases’ re Mahia, p 3

46. Ballara, ‘Origins’, p 167

47. Ballara, ‘Origins’, pp 18–19; and Ballara and Scott ‘Crown Purchases’, pp 33–39

48. Ballara, ‘Origins’, p 133

49. *Ibid*, p 425

first tribe to acquire significant numbers of muskets and used them to pay off old scores and increase their wealth and prestige.⁵⁰

The first expedition to the East Coast was in 1819 under Te Morenga, followed closely by Hongi Hika. In 1820 another expedition from the Bay of Islands under two chiefs, Te Wera Hauraki and Pomare, landed at Te Kawakawa, between Hicks Bay and the East Cape. After taking the strongly fortified pa on Te Whetu-matarau, Te Wera proceeded on to Waiapu and to various places along the coast as far as Nukutaurua. He arrived back in the Bay of Islands in April 1821 with 40 captives. These included Te Whareumu of Rakaipaaka and his sister. Te Wera subsequently took the sister as one of his wives.

In 1823 a large force of Nga Puhi attacked the island of Mokoia in Lake Rotorua, where Te Arawa had taken refuge. Te Wera had taken part in this attack and after the campaign was over proceeded on to Nukutaurua, bringing with him Te Whareumu, whom he had promised to restore to his own people. Arriving at Mahia, he found that word of his presence had spread and the people had fled into the hills or to Waikawa (Portland Island). After some time, Ngati Rakaipaaka, Ngati Hikairo and other hapu were persuaded to emerge from their retreats, assembling at Pukenui, Mahia. Te Whareumu addressed the assembled people, telling them how Te Wera had safely delivered him home. He then went on to offer Te Wera the mana over the land and the people in return for his protection against outside invading tribes. Te Wera agreed to remain with his musket-armed followers and protect his brother-in-law's people. Other women were given as wives to him and land at Whangawehi was granted to him and his people.⁵¹

Not long after Te Wera had established himself at Mahia, he was approached by Te Waikopiro of Mohaka and Te Hauwaho of Nga Tukuaterangi (a hapu of Ngati Te Whatuiapiti) of Heretaunga and persuaded to join a taua to attack Ngati Hawea of Heretaunga in revenge for earlier grievances. Setting out from Mahia, Te Wera's ope sailed to Heretaunga, landing at the mouth of the Tukituki River. They attacked Ngati Hawea, led by Te Moananui, killing about fifty people, although Te Moananui himself managed to escape. Te Wera's force then proceeded on to Te Awanga, killing everyone they encountered. They travelled through Te Moananui's territory as far as Te Kauae o Maui (Cape Kidnappers) before returning to camp in the pa Tanenuiarangi, on the south bank of the Ngaruroro.⁵²

When Pareihe, a chief of Ngai Te Whatuiapiti, heard of the killings at Tukituki and learned of the presence of Te Wera's force at Tanenuiarangi, he persuaded his people to make peace with Te Wera and Te Whareumu. Under threat of attack from Tuwharetoa and Ngati Raukawa of Maungatautari, he withdraw his people to a refuge at Nukutaurua on the Mahia peninsula. Before leaving, Pareihe tried to persuade Te Hauwaho, Tareha, Te Waka Kawatini, Tiakitai, Te Hapuku, Te Moananui and other Heretaunga chiefs to accompany him but they refused to

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

51. W L Williams (Bishop), *East Coast Historical Records*, reprinted from the *Poverty Bay Herald*, Gisborne, 1932, p 4; S Percy Smith, *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth century*, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1910, pp 166–167, 263–264, 276, 278–281; Ballara, 'Origins', pp 441–442; Mitchell, pp 167–168

52. Ballara, 'Origins', p 442–443

follow him. Possibly, they were resentful of his assumption of mana and were determined to retain their independence. Leaving them to their fate, Pareihe retired to Nukutaurua. Some Wairarapa people accompanied him north. Weakened by attacks from Ngati Toa under Te Rauparaha, and fearing further invasion from the Taranaki tribes, themselves under pressure from the Waikato tribes, many of the people from the Wairarapa district decided to flee northward to Mahia for safety.⁵³

1.7 THE FALL OF TE PAKAKE, 1824

It was not long before Te Pakake, in Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, was attacked by Ngati Raukawa, Waikato and Tuwharetoa. Although the residents tried to defend the pa, without muskets they did not stand a chance. The chiefs, Te Hauwaho, Te Kauru and Te Humenga were killed as was Te Whakato of Wairoa. Te Hapuku was captured but he later managed to escape and make his way to Mahia. Te Moananui, Paora Kaiwhata, Tomoana and others were also captured. Te Koari of Wairoa was another captured but he was later given his liberty by Te Heuheu and on his return home he sent 20 men with a mere as a present to Te Heuheu. Tareha managed to escape capture by arriving too late for the battle. He arrived off Te Pakake in a canoe from Wairoa just after the pa had fallen.⁵⁴

According to Ballara, the Waikato chiefs, including Potatau Te Wherowhero, later seemed to have regretted their total victory. Peace was made and the captive chiefs were presented with a cask of gunpowder named 'Heretaunga' and a few muskets and released. Te Wherowhero also arranged that his son-in-law, the European trader Hampstead, should go to Heretaunga to load flax which could be traded in Port Jackson for muskets.⁵⁵

After the fall of Te Pakake there was a further migration of the tribes living in the Heretaunga district to Mahia, but some of the people remained in their old homes and in the course of time Te Pakake pa was occupied by them again.⁵⁶ The ones at Mahia were put to work preparing flax to trade for firearms. The quality of the fibre of the New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*) had first been commented on by Sir Joseph Banks;⁵⁷ now it was in great demand for the manufacture of ropes and cordage. Mercantile firms in Sydney placed agents in convenient positions to purchase the flax from the Maori and sent vessels to collect it from the various stations for the British market. The trade attained its greatest proportions in the year 1831, when 1062 tons were exported from Sydney.⁵⁸

The whaling fraternity was also encouraged and protected. It was deemed a great privilege to have a 'Pakeha', for the goods they could supply. Maori were more than ready to trade food in return for muskets and ammunition. In these circumstances, as Belich says, the more Pakeha, the better. But whaling ships were infrequent and

53. Smith, pp 281, 300–302; Ballara, 'Origins', pp 444, 446–447, 449

54. Smith, p 304–305; Mitchell, p 169; Ballara, 'Origins', p 45

55. Ballara, 'Origins', p 452

56. Smith, p 306

57. Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meeting Between Maori and Europeans, 1642–1772*, p 270

58. Williams, p 4

they were never as big a source of supply as the trade in flax.⁵⁹ With the additional muskets, Te Wera and Pareihe were later able to go on the offensive and expel the raiders from Heretaunga.

Around the same time as the fall of Te Pakake, events were taking place in the Wairoa district that brought the northern Nga Puhī back to the district. A series of grievances against the Wairoa tribes led to the Tuhoe tribes calling on outside help from Pomare and Nga Puhī, Ngai Te Rangi of Tauranga, and Ngati Tama Te Ra of Hauraki, to exact revenge. Pomare left the Bay of Islands about May 1824, sailing around the East Cape, down the coast to Mahia and then on to Wairoa. The allies from the other tribes gathered with Tuhoe at Ruatahuna. Smith lists the forces assembled at Ruatahuna as: Ngati Maru of Hauraki, Ngai Te Rangi of Tauranga, Te Arawa of Rotorua, Ngati Awa of Whakatane, Whakatohea of Opotiki and Ngati Whatua of Kaipara, each having their own take against the Wairoa tribes.⁶⁰

The taua left Ruatahuna for Wairoa about June 1824. They divided into two separate parties; one going over the hills to Maungapohatu, through the beech forests to Te Papuni and down the Ruakituri Valley. Half way down the valley this group met a force of Ngati Hinganga or Pourangahua under Te Ua, Tuakiaki and others. In the fierce encounter that followed Te Ua was wounded and the rest were forced to retreat. The taua then turned towards Titirangi, a stronghold of Ngai Tamaterangi, situated on the hills some three miles up the Waiau River from its junction with the Wairoa and under the command of Te Whenuariri, Hipara, Rangaika and other Ngai Tamaterangi chiefs.

The other taua was making its way to Titirangi over the Huiarau mountains, down to Lake Waikaremoana. Crossing the lake, they had come out at Te Onepoto, at the head of the Waikaretaheke River. Meanwhile the Nga Puhī taua under Pomare was approaching Titirangi from the Wairoa. Without waiting for the other tribes Pomare commenced the attack on Titirangi. Once again, without muskets the pa fell quickly with the loss of the chief Te Whenuariri. Ranga-ika, Hipara and other members of Ngai Tamaterangi escaped and fled to the wooded valley of Nuhaka.

The Tuhoe and their other allies, on arriving at Titirangi, found the pa fallen to Nga Puhī. They at once followed up the retreating Ngai Tamaterangi, picking up any stragglers they came across; but these were few, as all the tribes of the Wairoa district had retired to the forests of Nuhaka and the Mahia peninsula. In the Nuhaka valley they occupied Moumoukai, the old pa of Rakaipaaka, a hill 2065 feet high, some four miles inland from the shores of Hawke Bay. This was the main pa of Ngati Rakaipaaka and there is some dispute as to whether this pa was ever taken. According to Tuhoe tradition it was, but given that it was inaccessible except by a single-file track, which would not give the tribes with muskets any advantage, it would tend to bear out Ngati Rakaipaaka's view that it was not taken.⁶¹

The Tuhoe allies then went on to rout their enemies at Waikotero, near where Te Aparakau, a chief of Ngati Rakaipaaka, was killed by Te Ahikaiata and Te

59. Ibid; Ballara, 'Origins', p 454; Belich, p 19

60. Smith, p 320

61. Personal comment, John Whaanga, Ngati Rakaipaaka

Maitaranui of Tuhoe. The people who escaped from these fights retired to Pukekaroro at Te Mahia peninsula, to join those from Heretaunga and other parts of the Hawke's Bay district.

Tuhoe and their allies now advanced to attack Pukekaroro. Before reaching there, they were met by Te Ratau, the father of Ihaka Whaanga, who was distantly related to some of the Tuhoe and therefore, although a member of Ngati Rakaipaaka, was quite safe amongst the latter tribe's enemies. He endeavoured to make peace with the allies and for that purpose presented the Tuhoe people with a valuable mere named 'Te Rama-apakura'. His overtures were clearly not acceptable to the whole of the chiefs, for after telling Te Ratau not to enter Pukekaroro, they laid siege to the latter pa. After some time Te Ratau again attempted to make peace and presented the allies with two other mere, name Kahawai and Kauae-hurihia. But the siege went on until the inhabitants were reduced to the point of starvation and forced to eat clay. Subsequently the pa was given the name Kaiuku (clay food). Ultimately the war party withdrew without taking the pa.⁶² In other versions of this battle, Tuwharetoa under Te Heuheu is also said to have been there.⁶³

This battle marked a pivotal point in Ngati Kahungunu tradition. The concentration of a large portion of the population of the entire Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa region, under their various rangatira, into a single unit had profound repercussions. As Ballara says, 'being forced to live and labour in close proximity, the refugees at Nukutaurua began to regard themselves as linked by common goals as well as by common adversity'. As well, living and working together so closely naturally resulted in intermarriage between the various groups. These new networks of kinship bound together the disparate communities of the region. The 'ideological base for a regional, social and political unit was in place'.⁶⁴ The battle also represented a turning point in the wars, as it was after this that Te Wera and Pareihe were to go on the offensive.

After the siege was over a kind of peace was made between Tuhoe and Ngati Kahungunu and the allies returned to their various homes. But the peace was not to be of an enduring nature because there were long-standing grievances still unresolved. Throughout 1826, Ngati Ruapani and Ngati Hinemanuhiri, as well as Ngati Pahauwera, fought a series of battles against Tuhoe and its allies of Ngati Awa, Whakatohea, Ngati Maru, and Ngati Raukawa. During these battles, Tuakiaki of Hinemanuhiri was killed at Pohaturoa pa while Tiaki, Mauri, Pikopiko, Paiaka and Mahia of Ngati Ruapani were all killed at Waikaremoana.⁶⁵

By 1838 the wars had ended; with most of the tribes provided with muskets there were no more easy victories and the balance was restored.⁶⁶ Peace agreements were

62. Smith, pp 320–328; J D H Buchanan, *The Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*, Wellington, A H & A W Reed, 1973, p 23; Ballara, 'Crown Purchases' re Wairoa, p 7

63. See Ballara, 'Origins', pp 452–453; and A L D Fraser, quoted in Lambert, also claimed the pa had been besieged by Te Heuheu and his forces, Lambert, p 321; Buchanan says Tuwharetoa and Waikato, Buchanan, p 23

64. Ballara, 'Origins', pp 467–468

65. Smith, pp 359–366

66. Belich, p 20

arranged between former aggressors and victims. Between Tuhoe and Ngati Kahungunu the peace was arranged by Te Ahuru of Tuhoe and Hipara of Ngati Kahungunu and his brother Puhirua. Hipara's daughter, Hinekirunga, was given in marriage to one of the Tuhoe in order to cement the peace. A symbolic marriage between two mountains near the Waikaretaheke River, Kuhatarewa of Kahungunu and Tuhiokahu of Tuhoe, also took place. This had the effect of not only binding the peace more firmly but also of laying down the boundaries between Tuhoe and Kahungunu. Ngati Kahungunu could now start returning to their homes.⁶⁷

1.8 CONCLUSION

The shared experience of invasion and successful expulsion of the enemy, consolidated by the years spent together at Nukutaurua and reinforced by networks of kinship, contributed to a new regional identity. Coupled with this was the fact that the expelled invaders, knowing little of local genealogy, had tended to regard the tangata whenua as one people. They had been defeated by a taua of mixed origins led by chiefs from Wairoa, Heretaunga and Wairarapa, but to the people of Waikato, Taranaki, Taupo, and Te Tai Tokerau, the people who had eventually defeated them were all Ngati Kahungunu. They identified them this way to the incoming settlers. In return, the people of the region were impelled to respond as a unit called Ngati Kahungunu to outside tribes.

The choice of the name 'Ngati Kahungunu' reflected the mana of his descendants. The people of the region could trace their origin to many different seminal ancestors, including some belonging to people resident in the area before the arrival of Kahungunu's descendants. But of them all, the descendants of Kahungunu had been the most consistently successful in colonising the area. The tendency to identify with the iwi Ngati Kahungunu was reinforced during the wars of the 1820s and 1830s. The chiefs who had been most successful in these wars, were the descendants of Kahungunu.

Having said this, once the wars were over, the old patterns of independence reasserted themselves. The chiefs re-established their hegemony over various combinations of hapu living as separate communities. The early Europeans arriving in the area did not encounter an established Ngati Kahungunu hierarchy.

To summarise, those hapu which were based in the Wairoa district after the resumption of traditional rohe in the late 1830s were: Hinemanuhiri, Rakaipaaka, Kahu, Kurupakiaka, Ngati Hikairo, Rongomaiwahine, Ngati Tu, and Ruapani.

67. Ballara, 'Crown Purchases', p 41; Smith, p 367; Best, p 551