

PART I

1840 to 1870

CHAPTER 1

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

1.1 SOURCES

Ethnographers who have examined the history of the Wellington region include S Percy Smith, A Shand, and Elsdon Best. The interest of Smith and Shand lay primarily with the Taranaki tribes and waves of conquest in the 1820s and 1830s. Smith's informants included, for example, Rangipito of Kaitangata, Te Ati Awa, while Shand relied on the Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama people living in the Chatham Islands of the 1870s. They describe in detail, from the perspective of the invading tribes, the migration down the Taranaki and Kapiti coasts and the battles fought there. Tamihana Te Rauparaha, in the memoirs of his father, provides a further Ngati Toa perspective, while the Spain commission records are a useful source for the Te Ati Awa and Ngati Toa view of occupation of the region. Particularly useful published material includes Patricia Burn's *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, which provides a Ngati Toa history, and *The Kapiti Coast: Maori History and Place Names*, by W Carkeek, of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa, who draws on the Maori Land Court record, as well as the writings of Smith and Best. A Parsonson discusses the northern heke to the coast in her PhD thesis, *He Whenua te Utu*, while P Erhardt draws on the Spain commission and Native Land Court record of the Ngarara hearing to discuss customary tenure in Whanganui-a-Tara. The perspective of Ngati Raukawa who migrated to the coast in the 1830s, is to be found in work by T L Buick and W L T Travers and in the correspondence of W Buller.

Generally, less accessible is the history of those who were resident in the region before the arrival of the northern tribes. Best also drew on informants amongst the migrating tribes (from Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa) but consulted Aporo Kumeroa of Ngati Moe, manuscripts by Nepia Pohuhu of Ngati Tumapuhiarangi, and the records of Te Whatahoro of Te Matorohanga of Ngati Kahukura-whitia for the pre-Rauparaha history of Porirua and Whanganui-a-Tara. Useful recent work includes *Rangitane: A Tribal History* by J M McEwen, and that of H A Ballara who has written extensively about the migrations of people from the east coast (Ngati Ira, Ngati Kahungunu, and Ngati Kahukurawhitia. The Native Land Court investigation of the Himatangi block provides a fuller Ngati Apa perspective of the invasion period, 1819–40. Selected Maori Land Court hearings – for Ngarara and Kukutauaki – also have been consulted for the following discussion.

1.2 PRE-INVASION STATUS QUO ALONG THE COAST

In 1800, the Wellington region was occupied by people whose ancestors had migrated from the East Coast over the course of a number of generations, fighting and intermarrying with those already resident or with whom they found themselves in competition. Battles were fought, followed by peace-making through high-ranking marriages. Groups identified as being present in the general region include Ngati Apa, Rangitane, Muaupoko, and Ngati Ira. The demarcations between these peoples are obscured because of the complex genealogical origins of the iwi concerned. Best comments that the tribes became so mingled that one scarcely knows what name to apply to them.¹ While Muaupoko were not included within Best's assessment, they too intermarried extensively with the other peoples.

According to Rangitane traditional history, the first occupants of the region from Wellington to Manawatu were descendants of Toi, his son Whatonga, and grandsons, Tara and Tautoki (by Whatonga's marriage with Hotuwaipara and Reretua, respectively). The descendants of Tara, after whom the harbour was named, assumed the tribal name of Ngai Tara. Although tradition maintains that Toi and his family arrived at the harbour together, it is likely that the migration occurred over a number of years. Ngai Tara took up residence at Matiu and Te Motukairangi (Miramar) and according to Best 'occupied the district from the Hutt to the northern side of Porirua Harbour, settling on the coast line, but not occupying the forest lands back from the coast.' Fortified positions were established at various sites on the harbour – Te Whetu-kairangi on Miramar; Uruhau at Island Bay; Te Aka-tarewa at Matairangi (Mt Victoria); Te Wai-hirere at Point Jerningham; and at Pencarrow Head and Oruaiti. Cultivations were situated at Seatoun, Miramar, Island Bay, and Te Aro.²

Tautoki's descendants, known by the name of his son, Rangitane, were concentrated in the Manawatu, and in the Wairarapa where they came to call themselves 'Hamua'. Their tribal lands, and those of Ngai Tara, met at Kapiti.³ Ballara suggests that the relationship between Ngai Tara and Rangitane went through various phases, but in general there was a close interweaving of the two groups, initially through their shared descent from Toi and Whatonga, and later by intermarriage. Rangitane gradually established themselves as the pre-eminent group, defeating Ngai Tara in a series of battles fought in the vicinity of Pahiatua in the first half of the eighteenth century. Tara's descendants

-
1. E Best, 'The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It: The Story of the Occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (The Great Harbour of Tara) or Port Nicholson by the Maori', pt 5, JPS, vol 27, no 105, 1918, p 14
 2. E Best, 'The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It: The Story of the Occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (The Great Harbour of Tara) or Port Nicholson by the Maori', pt 1, JPS, vol 26, no 104, 1917, pp 162–163
 3. E Best, 'The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It: The Story of the Occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (The Great Harbour of Tara) or Port Nicholson by the Maori', pt 2, JPS, vol 27, no 105, 1918, p 9

continued to flourish, but they took on the name of Rangitane in the Wairarapa and that of Ngati Ira in Whanganui-a-Tara.⁴

4. H A Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu', PhD thesis, Victoria University, 1991

Buick suggests that the Rangitane people ‘were not long in undisputed possession of the Manawatu before they were flanked on either hand by a new set of neighbours.’⁵ Ngati Apa settled at the Rangitikei River. According to S Percy Smith, Ngati Apa were descended from Kuruhaupo and Apa-hapai-taketake who were originally from the Bay of Plenty. They were later joined by a second migration, led by Te Whakakahu and Tumakoha of Te Apa-o-Rangatira.⁶ Muaupoko settled to the south of Rangitane. They were concentrated around Horowhenua and Papaitonga Lakes but also maintained scattered settlements as far south as Pukerua Bay. Adkin describes Muaupoko as a ‘tribe of somewhat mixed descent.’ Their ancestral lines include the Kuruhaupo peoples who migrated from Mahia; those of Aotea who had established themselves primarily along the Taranaki coast; and original peoples whom the migrants found already inhabiting the region.⁷ The close relationship between these neighbouring tribes did not preclude conflict over disputed resources. Control of the lower reaches of the Oroua River, which were rich in tuna and provided good conditions for kumara cultivation, was, for example, hotly disputed between Rangitane and Ngati Apa from the middle of the eighteenth century. Matheson states that tradition records 26 battles in this area prior to 1840.⁸

After some 11 generations the occupation of the Porirua–Wellington area by Whatonga’s descendants was intruded upon by later arrivals from the east coast, who traced their descent lines from Iraturoto and Kahungunu. As Ira’s progeny, led by Te Ao-matarahi, moved into the southern Hawke’s Bay, they met with the descendants of Kahungunu. Together, they moved south, fighting and intermarrying with each other and with earlier inhabitants, descended from Whatumamoa, Awanui-a-rangi, Whatonga, and Toi. Ira’s descendants who intermarried extensively with Ngati Kahungunu called themselves Rakaiwhakairi and Kahukuraawhitia. They settled in the area south of Tukituki River, at Porangahau, in the Wairarapa and Te Awakairangi (Hutt Valley). The group who eventually occupied the harbour, coastal Wairarapa, Palliser Bay, and the Kapiti Coast as far as Waimapihi, retained the name, Ngati Ira. Ngati Ira were also very closely interrelated with Ngai Tahu, the names of Tahu and Iraturoto, father and son, having been adopted to distinguish their separate descent lines. Ballara suggests, however, that the distinction was not made until after the migration to Heretaunga, where they arrived in about 1500AD. Ngai Tahu were concentrated at Takapau and in the Wairarapa.⁹ But to later migrants from Northland, Kawhia, Waikato, and

-
5. T L Buick, *Old Manawatu, or the Wild Days of the West*, Palmerston North, Buick and Young, 1903, p 32
 6. S P Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*, New Plymouth, Polynesian Society, 1910, p 154
 7. G L Adkin, *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-Names and Their Topographic and Historical Background*, Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, 1948, pp 124–125
 8. I Matheson, ‘The Maori History of Rangiotu’, in *A History of Rangiotu*, Maren Dixon and Ngaire Watson (eds), Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1983, p 6
 9. Ballara, p 145

Traditional History

Taranaki, all people whose origins lay in the east belonged to ‘Ngati Kahungunu’ – just as the occupants of the harbour regarded those from the Taranaki area as ‘Ngati Awa’. Ballara points out that this blanket labelling acted as a ‘convenient regional coding’ but contributed to later European confusion about tribal identity.¹⁰

10. H A Ballara, ‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Phases of Maori Occupation of Wellington Harbour c 1800–1840’, in *The Making of Wellington 1800–1914*, D Hamer and R Nicholls (eds), Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1990, p 15

At the peak of their power in the first half of the eighteenth century, Ngati Ira were so numerous that it was said of them, ‘Ko tini o te pekeha ki te moana, ko Ngati Ira ki uta’ (as the myriads of petrel on the sea, so too Ngati Ira on the land). By 1800, they were living on the eastern shores of the harbour (Waiwhetu to Turakirae) but the western side from Ngauranga to Thorndon, and the Miramar Peninsula extending to Island Bay, were deserted after battles fought with Whanganui tribes, Ngati Hau and Ngati Apa, some five generations earlier. It is thought that Ngati Ira, although victorious, had withdrawn to the Hutt Valley where, in 1800, there were at least three major pa still occupied by Rakai-whakairi and Ngati Kahakura-awhitia – people of Ngati Ira descent, intermarried with Ngati Kahungunu, Ngai Tara, and Rangitane.¹¹

Ethnographers such as Smith and Best tended to see Ngati Ira as conquering and displacing Ngai Tara. However, so much intermarriage took place over a number of generations that the people who settled Whanganui-a-Tara might be considered to descend from Tara, Rangitane, and Muaupoko as well as from Ira-turoto, Ira-kai-putahi, and Kahungunu.¹² This intermingling is illustrated by the line descended from Tuteremoana, one of the great chiefs in the history of the region, who is known to have lived on Kapiti and at Rangitatau Pa at Palmer Head. Although Tuteremoana is identified as Ngai Tara, he is also regarded as an important ancestral figure by Ngati Ira, Muaupoko, and Rangitane.¹³

11. Ibid, p 13

12. Ibid, pp 12–13

13. The following account is drawn from information supplied by Rangitane ki Wairarapa claimants.

Tuteremoana's wife, Wharekohu, who was of Rangitane descent, died at Rangitatau and was taken to Kapiti for burial. Various sites in the area were named after these tupuna. An important fishing ground at Barrett's Reef was known as Te Punga-whangai-o-Tuteremoana. The northern peak of Kapiti was named after Tuteremoana, and a cave on the island was called Te Ana-o-Wharekohu.¹⁴ Moeteao, the only child of Tuteremoana, was married to Ngati Ira chief Whakaihurangi to cement peace between the two groups. Moeteao gave birth to twins, Mahanga Puhua (or Puhunga) and Mahanga Tiikaro. During the birth rites, the second-born, Mahanga Tiikaro, was affirmed as belonging to the Wairarapa, while the mana of Mahanga Puhua was fixed to the western seaboard. Smith, however, identifies Puhua as a Ngati Ira chief who migrated from the east coast. Rangitane claimants suggest that Smith had confused 'southern' Ngati Ira of Wairarapa with Ngati Ira from Anaura Bay descended from Tura, but that his mistaken identification, although subsequently questioned by Best, has been widely accepted by historians.¹⁵ For this reason, Mahanga Puhua's descendant, Tamairangi, who held mana from Arapawa to Pukerua is generally described as a high-ranking Ngati Ira woman. But according to their tradition, Tamairangi was Muaupoko. Kaitangata, her grandparent, was the founding ancestor of the Muaupoko, Ngati Kaitangata, who were associated with Ngati Ira during the wars that were to follow in the 1820s.¹⁶ Her mother, Te Ronaki, is variously described as connected with Muaupoko through the Tireo line and as Ngai Te Ao, Rangitane, and Ngati Kuia.¹⁷ Tamairangi married Te Hukatai o Ruatapu, also known as Te Whanake, who was of Ngati Ira and Aitanga a Tumapuhiarangi descent. His father was also associated with Ngati Moe of Wairarapa. The son of Tamairangi and Te Huka was Te Kekerengu. This was the dominant family in the southern part of the Wellington region in the early nineteenth century. The destruction of that dominance is an important element in the wider picture of what happened to the established inhabitants of the west coast, as waves of migration from the north hit them in the 1820s and 1830s.

14. J M McEwen, *Rangitane: A Tribal History*, Auckland, Reed Methuen, 1986, pp 39–40

15. E Best, 'The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It: The Story of the Occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (The Great Harbour of Tara) or Port Nicholson by the Maori', pt 3, JPS, vol 27, no 106, 1918, p 55

16. H C Christie, 'Rangitatau Pa', JPS, vol 52, 1943, pp 202–203

17. G Biltcliff, 'Ngati Pariri: The Genealogies of this Sub-Tribe of the Muaupoko, With Some Considerations of the Link Between This People and the Better Known Tribes of the Heke', JPS, vol 55, 1946, pp 40–80; DNZB, Wellington, Allen Unwin and Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, vol 1, p 422

1.3 MIGRATIONS AND RESPONSE, 1820–40

By 1820, the tribes occupying the west coast had not been seriously disturbed by outside groups in the possession of that area for many generations. This situation began to change as a consequence of tensions originating at Kawhia Harbour where resident tribes were under intensifying pressure from the musket-equipped Waikato people. The competition for control of the fertile coastal land resulted in a cycle of war which eventually prompted the Kawhia tribes to migrate. Pursuit from the Waikato drew the Taranaki tribes into the conflict and prompted their migration also.¹⁸ The conduct and impact of the subsequent invasion of the Kapiti Coast provided narratives of great significance in the later arguments regarding ownership in the area. The import of particular victories and alliances was disputed between resident and migrant tribes, and among incoming tribes as they argued about how conquered territory had been divided. The following account highlights some of the events represented to the ethnographers, and in Native Land Court hearings as being significant.

Playing a leading role in the events outlined below was Te Rauparaha, the toa rangatira of Ngati Toa. Ballara has pointed out that the spiralling warfare of the 1820s put ‘unprecedented power into the hands of the toa’.¹⁹ Te Rauparaha, like Te Pareihe of Ngati Kahungunu, expanded the traditional role of the toa to bring together disparate groups through judicious alliance, land allocations, military prowess, and charismatic leadership. His success in forging together traditional and novel elements of leadership led to a misconception among Europeans that he was the paramount chief of Ngati Toa.²⁰ The degree of authority and control exercised by Te Rauparaha over both his own people and the other tribes in the region was to be an issue of some significance in the later consideration of ownership.

18. N Gilmore, ‘Kei Pipitea Taku Kainga – Ko te Matchou te Ingoa o Taku Iwi: The New Zealand Company “Native Reserve” Scheme and Pipitea, 1839–88’, MA thesis, La Trobe University, 1986, p 7

19. Ballara, ‘Origins’, p 295

20. Ibid, pp 295–298

In 1819 Ngati Toa, led by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, joined members of Ngapuhi in a war expedition through Taranaki and down the west coast. Battles were fought in the Wanganui area where Purua, a Ngati Apa pa, was taken. A running fight developed along the route of the taua from Rangitikei, Turakina to Oroua. Te Arapata Hiria, a Ngati Apa chief, and his sister Te Pikinga were captured and taken on the expedition further southwards. Ngati Ira successfully defended their pa at Pukerua but it fell when they were deceived by a false offer of peace – a stratagem attributed to Te Rauparaha.²¹ Returning home by canoe, the party landed north of the Rangitikei River at Te Pou-a-te-rehunga. Te Rangihaeata sent the husband of his sister, Toperoa, and Te Arapata Hiria to make peace with Ngati Apa at Awamate Pa. According to Ngati Apa sources, a peace alliance was concluded. Te Rangihaeata took Te Pikinga as a wife of chiefly status, while she received a gift of greenstone named Whakahiamoe from Ngati Apa leaders Te Hanea and Te Pouhu.²² In customary law, marriage with the tangata whenua gave occupation rights to those who held mana by conquest and Ballara argues that ‘by this action, Te Rangihaeata was bound to Ngati Apa by ties of mutual protection’.²³ Ngati Raukawa, however, later disputed any interpretation of that event as impinging on rights of conquest and insisted that Te Pikinga had been captured and was a ‘slave wife’.²⁴

Taking Te Pikinga with them, Ngati Toa returned to Kawhia. Fighting in the region escalated. In 1820 several thousand Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto invaded Kawhia. After losses at Te Kakara near Lake Taharoa and Waikawau Pa at Tirau Point, and a siege of Te Arawi from which Ngati Toa were allowed to withdraw by relatives among the enemy, Te Rauparaha persuaded the majority of his people to relocate on the Kapiti Coast.²⁵ In 1821, Ngati Toa began the first step (Te Heke Tahu-tahu-ahi) of a many-staged migration that was also to draw the Taranaki tribes southwards. Ngati Toa were allowed resting places by their kin, growing numbers of whom were to join in the heke to the Cook Strait region over the following years.

21. DNZB, vol 1, p 505

22. Ibid, p 479

23. Ibid

24. Wellington Native Land Court, Rangitikei–Manawatu claims, notes of evidence, 16 July 1869, MA series 13/71, p 20, NA Wellington

25. A Parsonson, ‘He Whenua Te Utu’, PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 1978, p 158

Before the next stage of the migration, Te Heke Tataramoa, Te Rauparaha travelled to Maungatautari to persuade Ngati Raukawa to whom he was closely related through his mother (Parekohatu) to assist in the migration. Ngati Raukawa were also under increasing pressure from neighbouring tribes but were intending to invade Heretaunga, and refused to accompany Ngati Toa to the west coast. Te Rauparaha also attempted, unsuccessfully, to win support for the migration at Taupo, Tauranga, and Rotorua.²⁶ However, pursuit by Waikato eventually involved Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Tama, Te Ati Awa, and sections of Taranaki in that conflict, providing Te Rauparaha with the military support he required for his venture. Although Waikato were defeated in the battle of Motunui, fear of retaliation impelled sections of people occupying the northern Taranaki to accompany the next stage of the journey to Kapiti. According to Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Ngati Toa forces were augmented by some 200 warriors. Parsonson comments that this figure may be an exaggeration and points out that Tamihana gives a second estimate of 600 warriors, which was certainly too high.²⁷

Te Rauparaha seems to have been anxious, at least initially, to conduct the migration peacefully. He ordered his people not to steal food south of Waitara, and during their winter at Otihoi in south Taranaki, the migrants were careful not to arouse local hostility.²⁸ The response of those already in occupation was divided. According to Metekingi of Whanganui, a confederation of chiefs of tribes related to his people – Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngati Apa – met at Kapiti, where it was agreed that Te Rauparaha should be killed.²⁹ However, not all local chiefs approved of this intention. While some members of Ngati Apa were advocating resistance, others, such as the chiefs Te Maraki and Mokomoko, travelled to Waitotora where they greeted their kinswoman, Te Pikinga. Carkeek, drawing on the evidence of Metekingi, includes Tokorou and Te Pauhu of Ngati Apa and Te Rangiwahakaruru of Whanganui in this group.³⁰ The alliance created by her marriage to Te Rangihaeata appears to have been acknowledged since the two groups lived together peacefully at Matahiwi, Te Awamate, and Tawhiriho over the course of the next few months as the heke slowly moved southwards. Ngati Apa saw themselves as escorting the northern people through their territory. Ngati Toa for their part agreed that Ngati Apa should remain undisturbed on their land. Te Pikinga was left for a period at Rangitikei as ‘he pohe rohe’, a link between the two tribes and as the embodiment of Te Rangihaeata’s authority in the region.³¹ The compact was, however, soon placed under strain as Ngati Apa were drawn into the resistance of the other local tribes to whom they were closely related.

26. Ibid

27. Ibid, p 162

28. Ibid, p 163

29. W Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast: Maori History and Place Names*, Wellington, A H & A W Reed, 1966, p 13

30. Ibid

31. DNZB, vol 1, p 489

Traditional History

When the two peoples separated, Ngati Apa hosts warned Ngati Toa not to attack the Muaupoko, who were based south of the Manawatu River. Although Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata agreed to this, Nohorua (Te Rauparaha's half-brother) killed Waimai, a Muaupoko woman of a senior family. This incident triggered the trouble that had been brewing between the established and the incoming tribes. Seeking revenge, Muaupoko chief, Toheriri, invited Te Rauparaha and the small band of kin with whom he was travelling to a feast at Papaitonga. In a surprise attack there, at least three of Te Rauparaha's children were killed, which demanded retaliation from Ngati Toa in turn. This initiated a period of sustained harassment of Muaupoko by Te Rauparaha, who is said to have sworn to kill them from dawn to dusk. Two island pa at Horowhenua were successfully attacked. The survivors dispersed widely, seeking refuge in the foothills of the Tararua Ranges from Horowhenua as far south as Paekakariki. According to Carkeek:

in some cases they remained in hiding for only short periods waiting for the danger of attack to pass when they would reoccupy their old cultivations and kaingas. In other cases their place of refuge became permanent.

Refuge sites included the summit of Pukehou Hill at Otaki, Toata close to Reikorangi on the Waikanae River, and one of the steep spurs at Paekakariki.³²

The relationship between Ngati Apa and Ngati Toa also deteriorated. A number of Ngati Apa joined their Rangitane kin in rebuilding an old pa at

32. Carkeek, p 14

Hotuiti on the Manawatu River. Te Rauparaha, threatened by this move, proceeded to the Manawatu with a war party. Pikinga was sent in to negotiate their withdrawal, but without success. When the Rangitane chiefs were subsequently persuaded to leave the safety of the pa to make peace, they were killed. The victors returned to Waikanae where they were assaulted in turn, by a force comprising Ngati Apa, Muaupoko, and Hamua from the Wairarapa, led by Te Hakeke and Paora Turangapito.³³

While Te Rauparaha was fighting on the mainland around Horowhenua, the senior chief of Ngati Toa, Te Pehi Kupe, led a successful attack on Kapiti. The migrants, including later arrivals, established themselves on the island for greater security. Kapiti offered great strategic advantages, being easily defended, commanding the coast of the mainland, and providing sheltered waka tauranga. Ballara points out that the northerners' capture of the island contributed to the deterioration of relations with the local tribes, since Kapiti was 'not a prize to be lightly relinquished'.³⁴ At this stage, however, matters appear to have been fairly evenly balanced. Small victories were scored by either side.³⁵ Raids were launched against the tangata whenua on the mainland, but the position of Ngati Toa and their allies was far from secure. They still had

33. 'Copy of Proceedings of Native Land Court at Foxton, November 1872, with Notes of Evidence', MA series 75/8, pp 172–173, NA Wellington

34. DNZB, vol 1, p 479

35. Parsonson, pp 164–165; Carkeek, pp 15–17

to leave the safety of Kapiti to gather certain foods and had been weakened by 'constant fighting'.³⁶

1.4 THE BATTLE OF WAIORUA

A crisis in the relationship between local and incoming tribes was reached at Waiorua in 1824. Members of Ngati Ruanui, Whanganui, Ngati Apa, Muaupoko, Ngati Ira, Ngati Kahungunu, and Ngati Kuia, estimated to number some 2000, attempted to regain their control of Kapiti. Despite being greatly outnumbered, the new occupants successfully defended the island. There seems to be little certainty about which migrant tribes other than Ngati Toa were involved in the defence. Ngati Koata, Ngati Hinetuhi, Ngati Rahiri, Kaitangata, Ngati Mutunga, and Ngati Haumia have been variously mentioned.³⁷ Ngati Toa date their authority in the general region from the battle, and accredit the willingness of other northern tribes to migrate to that victory. This belief was stated in a later letter to Grey, 'When they heard that we had captured all the land (they came down here)'.³⁸

36. Best, 'The Land of Tara', pt 1, p 162

37. Smith, pp 396–399; Carkeek, p 18; P Burns, *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, Wellington, A H & A W Reed, 1980, p 120; Ballara, 'Te Whanganui-a-Tara', p 17

38. 'Two Letters from Ngaati-Toa to Sir George Grey', JPS, vol 68, no 3, 1959, p 272

Despite a number of earlier clashes and deaths, Ngati Apa had not been harassed in the same manner as their Muaupoko kin. But their participation at Waiorua caused a deterioration in their relationship with Ngati Toa. Pleas for clemency from one of the captives, Te Rangi-mairehau, on the grounds of his kinship to Te Pikinga were ignored and he was put to death. Other Ngati Apa chiefs were subsequently killed at Awamate and a Ngati Apa pa, Te Poutu, unsuccessfully besieged. Again, Te Pikinga was sent to her people to make peace and their relationship with the newcomers seems to have been restored by the end of the decade.³⁹

Rangitane and Muaupoko were also pursued. Te Whiwhi testified at the Kukutauaki hearing that a war party had travelled up the Manawatu River as far as Karekare, where they killed some 40 Rangitane and Nga Rauru from Waitotara who had escaped the battle at Waiorua.⁴⁰ Tamihana Te Rauparaha also talks of a war party ‘to punish Muaupoko, Rangitane and Ngati Apa at Rangitikei’, resulting in the capture of three pa and many deaths among the local tribes.⁴¹ According to Ballara, Muaupoko and Rangitane continued to live at Horowhenua and Manawatu, but were now considered a defeated people.⁴² The first Ngati Toa raid on the South Island tribes also resulted from the pursuit of Rangitane after Waiorua.

39. DNZB, vol 1, p 479

40. Otaki Native Land Court MB 1, 3 December 1872, pp 137–139

41. P Butler (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his Son Tamihana Te Rauparaha*, Martinborough, Alister Taylor, 1980, p 33

42. Ballara, ‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara’, p 18

Ngati Ira and Ngati Kahungunu, based further to the south, emerged from Waiorua in a better position than did their Rangitane and Muaupoko allies. The adoption of a traditional peace-making technique by Ngati Ira made it possible for the tribe to remain unmolested at Porirua. Ballara points out, however, that their status ‘whether they retained their mana or already were a client people, left at Porirua to catch fish for Ngati Toa, was a matter much debated in the Land Court’.⁴³ After Waiorua, Ngati Toa also made a peace treaty with Ngati Kahungunu. This compact is currently stressed as being of some importance by Ngati Toa. It is argued that this agreement helped to free Ngati Toa for the campaigns into the South Island and meant that they were not under the same sort of pressure in 1840 as were Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Tama, and Te Ati Awa, whose attempts to settle the Wairarapa and the Wellington Harbour had brought them into conflict with the east coast peoples.⁴⁴

1.5 THE ROLE OF TE ATI AWA, THE TARANAKI TRIBES, AND NGATI RAUKAWA

43. Ibid, pp 17–18

44. These comments result from discussions with Ngati Toa claimants.

Allied migrating tribes point to their presence at Waiorua also, but the bulk of their members reached the Kapiti Coast in successive waves over the next 10 years. This is not an easily delineated process. Each heke comprised a number of related but independent groups, and some individuals returned to their place of departure, only to set out on subsequent journeys southwards. The many-staged nature of the general movement south complicates the question of the relationship between Ngati Toa and other migrating tribes, since the motivations of later participants were likely to be different from those who set out earlier. The first stages of the migration, although including some members of the Taranaki tribes as well as Ngati Toa, were conducted largely under the mana of Te Rauparaha. It would seem too, that the success of the first arrivals in establishing occupation helped to attract others – Ngati Raukawa and the bulk of Te Ati Awa – to the region.

Te Rauparaha is generally described as welcoming the newcomers for their strength and as formally allocating them territory along the coast. Questions later arose as to the boundaries established, and about the implications for the authority of those who had received the land. Ngati Toa have asserted a general paramountcy in the region as indicated by that grant of territory, but Te Ati Awa and Ngati Raukawa have tended to emphasise their independence from Te Rauparaha. They interpret any allocation of territory as marking recognition of their assistance in the conquest of the region, and the importance of their presence in enabling Ngati Toa to retain its control over the Cook Strait region.

Gilmore argues that those sections of Te Ati Awa that were based further to the south and migrated later had not been involved in any alliance with Te Rauparaha, their closer kinship tie being to Te Pehi.⁴⁵ Ngati Raukawa, with whom Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata did have close kinship ties, also stress their independence of action. They argue, for example, that the decision to move to the Kapiti Coast was at the behest of his sister Waitohi, a woman of great mana within their tribe, rather than of Te Rauparaha himself.

In the Manawatu, the question of Te Rauparaha's allocation of territory also affected the relationship between allied migrant and earlier occupant groups. The question arose in the Native Land Court as to how far the territory received by Ngati Raukawa extended. Underlying the evidence asserting a boundary far short of that claimed by Ngati Raukawa was a challenge to their status as a conqueror. Ngati Apa argued that their only allegiance was to Ngati Toa, a view that was largely accepted by the court. Judge Maning in his judgment interpreted Te Rauparaha's division of territory as suggesting that only Ngati Toa could be seen as 'conquerors' of the region.⁴⁶

45. Gilmore, 'Kei Pipitea Taku Kainga', p 8

46. F D Fenton, *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court, 1864–79*, Auckland, 1879, pp 101–108

1.6 THE INVASION OF WELLINGTON HARBOUR REGION

In 1824, Nihoputa, a large heke of some 400 to 500 warriors largely of Ngati Kura, Ngati Kawhuruia, and Ngati Rangi of Ngati Mutunga, arrived in the region. Also participating in the heke was a large contingent of Ngati Tama and Ngatata-i-te-rangi of Ngati Te Whitu hapu, Te Ati Awa. The arrival of these allied forces strengthened the position of those already settled in the region. Ngati Mutunga settled first at Waikanae, and Ngati Tama at Ohariu. With Te Rauparaha's encouragement they began to extend the northerners' occupation. Ngati Tama moved to Tiakiwai, and were soon followed by Ngati Mutunga, who settled from Te Aro to Kaiwharawhara.⁴⁷

This initial move was peacefully conducted. Ngati Ira continued to live in the pa and kainga on the eastern shores of the harbour. The young chief, Te Kekerengu, although a participant at Waiorua, had been 'manoeuvred into an alliance with Ngati Toa's allies' and after a period of retirement to the Wairarapa was able to return to Porirua.⁴⁸ By the late 1820s, however, the relationship between the long-established occupants and the migrants had deteriorated to a point at which joint occupation was no longer possible. Patukawenga and Te Poki led a series of pre-emptive attacks by Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama which slowly drove Ngati Ira from the shores of Whanganui-a-

47. Ballara, 'Te Whanganui-a-Tara', p 18

Tara. During that process, however, Te Kekerengu remained undisturbed at Porirua. The last battle for control of Whanganui-a-Tara took place at Turikirae, and Tapu-te-ranga Pa in Island Bay finally fell in about 1827. Te Kekerengu's mother, Tamairangi, was captured but was offered protection by Te Rangihaeata. A subsequent indiscretion by Te Kekerengu subsequently resulted in their flight and pursuit to Kaikoura. Most surviving Ngati Ira appear to have found refuge in the Wairarapa.⁴⁹

In 1828, the last of the northern Taranaki peoples of Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama left that area. The defence of Te Ati Awa territory from attack by Waikato and their allies was now extremely doubtful. In 1831 and 1832, Waikato forces invaded, seeking revenge for their earlier loss at Motunui. The remaining northern Te Ati Awa were defeated at Pukerangiora Pa and the survivors sought safety at Ngamotu (New Plymouth). There, they helped Te Wharepouri, a Te Ati Awa chief of Ngati Tawhirikura hapu, to repel the Waikato attack. Knowing that their enemy would return, in 1832 the bulk of Te Ati Awa joined Tama-te-Uaua in the move to the Cook Strait region. The largest contingent in the heke were Ngati Te Whiti, Ngati Tawhirikura, and Te

48. Ibid, p 19

49. DNZB, vol 1, p 422

Wellington

Matehou, known collectively as Ngamotu.⁵⁰ These people were eventually to settle the shores of Whanganui-a-Tara.

1.7 THE IMPACT OF NGATI RAUKAWA'S ARRIVAL

50. P Ehrhardt, *Te Whanganui-a-Tara Customary Tenure, 1750–1850*, Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal Research series, 1993, no 3, pp 21–22

Traditional History

In the meantime, a second strain of migration consisting of Ngati Raukawa was starting to arrive on the Kapiti Coast. While Ngati Toa and their allies among the Taranaki peoples had been settling there, Ngati Raukawa under Te Whatanui had attempted to establish a presence in the Heretaunga. They travelled first to Taupo where they fought a series of battles against Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi of Upper Wanganui and Ngati Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu in the upper Rangitikei. Te Whatanui joined Tuwharetoa under Te Heuheu in taking Te Roto-a-Tara Pa and was then invited by Te Kaihou of Ngati Whatu-i-apiti to assist her people against Ngati Te Upokoiri. At first, Ngati Raukawa, numbering some 150 to 200 warriors, lived peacefully in Heretaunga but tensions developed over resource use. Ngati Raukawa's pa at Puketapu fell to the Heretaunga forces and Te Whatanui decided to lead his people to the Kapiti Coast by way of Rangipo, Turakina, and Rangitikei. Skirmishes took place along the route, Ngati Raukawa killing small numbers of local people including the Ngati Apa chief, Te Whareki.⁵¹

Te Rauparaha welcomed Ngati Raukawa, who arrived on the coast in three stages from 1825 onwards. The first arrivals may have lived on Kapiti for a while but eventually settled in the vicinity of Otaki, Manawatu, and Horowhenua. Certain sections of the tribe were also allowed by Te Rangihaeata to settle in the Rangitikei area. The timing and bases on which lands were

51. DNZB, vol 1, p 523

occupied by various Ngati Raukawa hapu later became matters of great controversy.

Similar questions arose in the upper Manawatu. Ngati Kauwhata took up residence on the Oroua River below Mangawhata; Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Turoa, and Ngati Tahuriwakanui above Mangawhata; among Ngati Taurira, Ngati Whakaterere in the vicinity of Shannon; and Ngati Wehiwehi among the Rangitane peoples on both banks of the lower Manawatu.⁵² For the next 30 years, the old occupants and the newcomers lived in peaceful co-existence with a good deal of intermarriage taking place between them. But the question of who held greatest mana in the upper Manawatu became a matter of great contention when land sales were initiated. Rangitane, for example, argued that Ngati Wehiwehi had been given land because a Ngati Raukawa chief, Te Whetu, had married a woman of their tribe, Te Hinetiti. In contradiction, Ngati Raukawa stressed their military dominance over the local tribe.⁵³ The relationship between Ngati Raukawa and Muaupoko was also to come to the attention of Government and court officials. During the course of his migration to the area, Te Whatanui had made a famous pledge to the Muaupoko still living at Horowhenua (numbering some 100 people) that he would shelter them as a rata tree would protect them from the rain. According to McDonald's account in *Te Hekenga*, Te Whatanui marked off 20,000 acres of land for

52. Matheson, 'Rangiotu', p 7. See also I Matheson, 'The Maori History of the Opiki District', in *From Fibre to Food: Opiki, the District and its Development, a Golden Jubilee Publication of the School and District, 1928-78*, M J Akers (ed), Opiki, Opiki Jubilee Book Committee, 1978, pp 6-7.

Muaupoko, extending from Hokio to Tauataruru, ‘leaving in the Raukawa territory the whole of the Hokio stream and the lower half of the lake’. The northern boundary of Te Whatanui’s allocation of land ran through Poroutawhao swamp to Ngatokorua Island, and then in a south-westerly direction to Oioao flat.⁵⁴ The Native Land Court’s subsequent recognition of the rights of Muaupoko because of their continuing occupation of land at Horowhenua caused great bitterness among Ngati Raukawa, who had regarded them as a subject people at 1840. For their part, a resurgent Muaupoko later insisted that they had never been defeated by Ngati Raukawa. Te Rangi Mairehau stated before the 1896 Royal Commission, investigating disputed Horowhenua lands, ‘Ngati Raukawa made no conquests; let some old women of Ngati Toa who are here talk of conquests, but not Raukawa nor Whatanui.’⁵⁵

53. Buick, pp 103–104; Matheson, ‘Rangiotu’, pp 8–9

54. E O’Donnell, *Te Hekenga: Early Days in Horowhenua, Being the Reminiscences of Mr Rod McDonald*, Palmerston North, Bennett & Co, 1929, pp 18–20

55. Horowhenua Commission, Te Rangi Mairehau, 14 March 1896, AJHR, 1896, G-2, p 92

1.8 THE BATTLE OF HAOWHENUA

A battle of great significance, Haowhenua, was fought at Otaki in 1834. Although the conflict was initially between the migrant tribes the event also drew in, and had implications for the local peoples. The trigger was a raid by Te Ati Awa on potato grounds on the northern bank of Nga Totara stream. But underlying the dissension was increasing pressure on the resources of the Kapiti Coast, which reached crisis point with the arrival of a final group of people from Pukerangiora on lands that had already been divided among earlier migrants.⁵⁶ This group has been identified as Te Heke Hauhaua, comprising largely Ngati Tama led by Te Puoho.⁵⁷

A series of skirmishes were fought between Ngati Raukawa who claimed right over the area and Te Ati Awa. The latter eventually brought up a war party from Waikanae to the Otaki. Ngati Raukawa were driven into their pa – probably Rangiuru on the northern bank of the river. Ngati Ruanui joined the besieging forces but Te Rauparaha, who was living with his Ngati Raukawa kin at the time, managed to send messengers to Te Wherowhero for reinforcements. As Waikato, Ngati Maniapoto, and Tuwharetoa (who joined the expedition at Taupo) arrived on the field, Te Ati Awa withdrew a little north, to Pakakutu Pa.

56. Smith, p 516; Carkeek, p 34

57. Smith, p 497

Bitter fighting was conducted over the next two days while Te Rauparaha remained in Otaki. Both sides suffered considerable losses, but eventually Te Ati Awa were forced to withdraw to Haowhenua, their large fortified pa south of the Otaki River, where they took up a defensive position. A number of local tribes joined the besieging force. These included a section of Ngati Apa, a few Rangitane chiefs, some 200 Whanganui led by Pehi Turoa, and 100 Ngati Upokoiri from the upper Rangitikei under Te Whaiukau.⁵⁸ In the context of the Rangitikei–Manawatu land court hearings, Ngati Apa was to cite that assistance as indicating their status as allies. The opposing interpretation was, however, that such participation was in the nature of a tributary action on the part of a subject people.

Involved in the defence of Haowhenua were Ngati Ruanui, Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Kaitangata, Puketapu, Manu-korihi, Otaraua, Ngati Rahiri, and Ngamotu. They were also joined by a large segment of Ngati Toa. Te Hiko, who was closely related to Te Ati Awa through his mother, crossed to the mainland to join those kin.⁵⁹ The first attacks on Haowhenua were repulsed and the combined Ngati Raukawa and northern forces turned their attention to Te Ati Awa's pa at Kenakena, Waikanae.

58. H H Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, Wellington, Government Printer, 1883, sec D, p 64

59. Carkeek, p 39; Parsonson, pp 174–175

Opinion on where the final victory lay is divided. According to Rangipito of Te Ati Awa, who was Percy Smith's informant, the assailants were routed when the main body of Puketapu, Manukorihi, and Ngamotu came to the assistance of the pa, and retreated to Otaki.⁶⁰ Carkeek points out, however, that Rangipito left out 'many important details most of which concern defeats suffered by his own people'.⁶¹ Travers, drawing on Ngati Raukawa sources, suggests that the war was put to an end by a battle at Pakakutu in which Ngati Ruanui were defeated with serious loss. Soon afterwards, all the leading chiefs met, and on the advice of Te Heuheu and Te Whatanui, peace was made.⁶² Buller also sees Ngati Raukawa and their allies as the victors.⁶³

It would appear that the result was inconclusive, but that the greater honours probably lay with Te Ati Awa. In later years, they dated their rights of occupation in the region as being confirmed at Haowhenua. A rearrangement of tribal boundaries took place immediately following the cessation of hostilities. While some sections of Ngati Raukawa reoccupied their former settlements at Otaki, Ohau, and Horowhenua, others migrated to the area between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers. Te Ati Awa also drew back from the battle area to south of the Kukutauaki Stream, which was to become accepted as the boundary between the interests of Ngati Raukawa and Te Ati Awa. Some migrated further south to Arapaoa and to the Marlborough Sounds, others to

60. Smith, p 519

61. Carkeek, p 40

62. W L T Travers, *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngatitotoa*, Christchurch, Capper

Whanganui-a-Tara.⁶⁴ Included within that movement were the Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui contingent of Te Heke Paukena who were permitted to settle between the Waitangi and Te Aro streams by the Ngati Mutunga chief Ngatata-i-te-rangi.⁶⁵ The section of Ngati Tama who had maintained a presence at Kaiwharawhara since 1825 attempted to take advantage of the hiatus resulting from the war, making a vigorous attempt to establish themselves at Paremata and Mana. But Ngati Toa, with the assistance of Ngati Raukawa, exerted their control over that territory. Taringa Kuri is said to have acquired that nickname from these circumstances because, like a disobedient dog, he ‘refused to heed the expressed wishes of Te Rangihaeata, who held mana over the areas for which Ngati Tama yearned’.⁶⁶

1.9 WELLINGTON HARBOUR AT 1840

Press, 1975, p 71

63. Turton, *Epitome*, sec D, p 64

64. Ballara, ‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara’, p 25; Parsonson, p 175

65. Ballara, ‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara’, p 25

66. *Ibid*

According to Te Ati Awa witnesses before the Spain commission, continuing tension with Ngati Raukawa also contributed to the decision of Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama to migrate to the Chatham Islands.⁶⁷ On receiving news that Ngati Mutunga was about to vacate the harbour, Te Wharepouri, whose occupation of the Wairarapa was under challenge, decided to lead his people, numbering 200–300, back to Whanganui-a-Tara. Te Wharepouri settled initially at Waiwhetu and then moved to Matiu (Somes Island). Wi Tako led his hapu to the eastern shores of Miramar Peninsula (Seatoun). Te Matehou, under Te Ropiha, settled at Onehunga (Worser Bay) and Pipitea, where their interest was substantiated by the residence of Ngake, who was also the son of Patukawenga.⁶⁸

According to Ballara, before their departure in 1835 Ngati Mutunga handed over the territory from Pito-one to Ngauranga by formal ‘panui’ to their Te Ati Awa kinsmen Te Matangi and Te Manihera Te Toru, who had been residing with them. In confirmation and extension of the earlier gifting by Ngatata-i-te-rangi, the area from Waitangi to Te Aro were given to Ngati Haumia and to Ngati Tupaia, who had taken over lands given earlier to Ngati Ruanui. These gifts of land were acknowledged by the presentation of greenstone to Ngati Mutunga chiefs, Te Poki and Pomare.⁶⁹ When Ngati Mutunga left they burned

67. Spain commission, Te Puni, 7 July 1842, OLC series 1/906, pp 21, 29, NA Wellington

68. Gilmore, p 13

69. Ballara, ‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara’, p 28

their houses, although fences were left standing.⁷⁰ Only Ngake remained, although Pomare appears to have subsequently returned on visits.

Ballara argues that the transfer of lands by Ngati Mutunga cemented the occupation of the harbour by Te Ati Awa and their allies. She sums up the basis of that right:

Ngati Mutunga had occupied the harbour and gradually conquered and banished its original population; this population had either been killed or had withdrawn to Wairarapa or to the South Island, and had failed to regain its lands. Ngati Mutunga's claim had been legitimated by several years of unchallenged occupation; although they had abandoned their lands, they were a people with mana intact when they did so; the abandonment was unforced. In terms of traditional tenure, Ngati Mutunga had established an unchallenged right to large areas of the harbour, and this right they had formally transferred to Taranaki and Te Ati Awa in November 1835.⁷¹

She notes that Mohi Ngaponga later denied that there had been a formal transfer of territory while agreeing that there had been a meeting at Matiu.⁷²

Within a short period, Te Matangi invited Te Wharepouri, Te Puni, and Ngati Tawhirikura to reside with him at Pito-one. Ngamotu were welcomed for the protection offered by their numbers, since by this stage the harbour shores were deserted except for Te Matangi's own whanau, a small party of Ngati Tama remaining at Kaiwharawhara, and some Ngati Haumia and Ngati Tupaia

70. Spain commission, Wi Tako, 21 May 1842, OLC series 1/906, p 44, NA Wellington

71. Ballara, 'Te Whanganui-a-Tara', p 30

72. Wellington Native Land Court MB 1c, 9 July 1868, p 81

at Te Aro and Waitangi. Te Wharepouri subsequently moved to Ngauranga, which became his permanent home.

The various sections of Te Ati Awa located at Waikanae and Whanganui-a-Tara could call on each others' aid. None the less, their position in the region was not completely secure. Ballara points out that 'in 1836, it was by no means clear that the cycle of war, which had seen such gross changes in rights over the larger region which included the harbour was coming to an end'.⁷³ It seems likely that the security of those sections of the tribe that had settled the harbour was weakened by the departure of Ngati Mutunga and many of Ngati Tama. The relationship with the former occupants remained tense in the years immediately prior to 1840. In March of that year, the Waiwhetu chief Puakawa was killed in a raid from Wairarapa, and Heaphy later recorded travelling inland from Lowry Bay to the source of the Orongorongo Stream, where his Te Ati Awa guides were 'awfully afraid' of an attack because 'they were on the debateable land of the two tribes'.⁷⁴ Tensions were ameliorated, however, by efforts at peace-making in 1840. During their occupation of the Wairarapa, Te Ati Awa had been attacked by a war party led by Nuku-pewapewa of Ngati Kahungunu. Te Wharepouri's wife (Te Umairangi) and niece (Te Kakapi) had been captured, but their lives spared in order to prevent an escalation of conflict. Te Umairangi was released and sent with an escort to find Te Wharepouri, who saw an opportunity to make peace with at least some of Te Ati Awa's enemies.⁷⁵ In 1840 he was in a position to make the journey to redeem

73. Ballara, 'Te Whanganui-a-Tara', p 30

74. C Heaphy, 'Notes on Port Nicholson and the Natives in 1839', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 12, 1879, p 34

75. DNZB, vol 1, p 522

his niece but Nukapewapewa died before he arrived. Te Wharepouri thus negotiated with the assembled chiefs of the Wairarapa and Heretaunga, led by Pehi Tu-te-pakihi-rangi. They wanted the restoration of the Wairarapa in exchange for the return of Te Kakapi. After further negotiations at Pito-one in July, an agreement was reached that the Rimutaka and Tararua Ranges would form a dividing line between the two peoples. This was confirmed by marriage, gift-exchange, and the release of prisoners. According to Ballara, the claims of Ngati Ira and of people living east of the ranges were then abandoned.⁷⁶ The Wairarapa people would not avenge the take of their Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngati Ira, and Ngati Apa kin living on the west side of the divide. But neither were the claims of the west coast groups relinquished.

The impact of invasions from the north varied along the coast. By 1840 the record of Ngati Ira, Muaupoko, and other earlier occupiers was confined largely to the landscape of Wellington, north towards Horowhenua. Their names did not emerge in the Spain commission nor in subsequent Native Land Court investigations of title. In this portion of the region, questions of ownership revolved more closely around the relationships between the various allied incoming tribes, than the impact of the invasions on those already in occupation. Further to the north, it was a different matter. Purchase negotiations and land court investigation at the Rangitikei–Manawatu, Oroua River, and Horowhenua had to take into account the continuing presence of the original occupiers. The status and rights of these people vis a vis the invading

76. In 1853, Ngati Kahungunu accepted a payment of £100 for their interests in Wellington Harbour, the Hutt, and Porirua (H H Turton, TCD, vol 2, deed 87, pp 266–267).

tribes was a central issue in the conduct of land purchase activities in this part of the region.