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Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa



Commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu and produced by Te Uira Associates, April 2012

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Abbreviations Used

AJHR	*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
CFRT	Crown Forestry Rental Trust
Doc Bank	Papa Hapu Library and Archive Document Bank
DoC	Department of Conservation
NLC	Native Land Court
ND	Native Department
NMB	Native Land Court Minute Book
NZHPT	New Zealand Historic Places Trust
PBCMB	Papatupu Block Committee Minute Book
RM	Resident Magistrate
WPH	Whangaroa Papa Hapu

Rarangi maunga – tu te ao, tu te po.
Rarangi tangata – ka ngaro, ka ngaro.

INTRODUCTION

This is an oral and traditional history report for te rohe o Whangaroa, which Whangaroa Papa Hapu (WPH) commissioned from Te Uira Associates in May 2009. It is but one component of a much larger research project, and an even larger project in iwi Maori development for Whangaroa. In effect –as WPH has made very clear – it is but a first step and ideally more research will follow. Meanwhile, this report extends a preliminary working draft first submitted to the Papa Hapu in September 2009, and draws together and finalises the various draft papers that have been distributed to Papa Hapu members in the intervening months. At this time, it is intended primarily for the Papa Hapu, distribution to be subject to their policies and discretion.

Nga Mihi – He Toa Takitini

Many people contributed to this report and enabled its completion. Foremost among them are the members and associates of WPH who – since the first hui with the research team in March 2009, and with great commitment – have contested and critiqued the research process, findings and results. They have also generously hosted and fed the research team at the several hui and meetings that have supported all aspects of the report, and provided work space during the periods that research was undertaken in Whangaroa. Additionally, many Whangaroa people kindly gave of their time to contribute korero to this report, in both oral history interviews and hui convened to discuss hapu histories. The specifics of these contributions are outlined below, and their importance to the project overall is acknowledged here. Among the Papa Hapu are people who have been at work on their claims for years and decades, so to some extent this report consolidates and builds on the earlier work of others including those who were involved with Te Taumata o Tangitu, the group established in relation to claims to Otangaroa State Forest in the 1990s. Therefore the hard-won contributions of the many people who have been at work on researching and presenting their claims, including those who are sadly no longer with us, long before WPH was set up, are also acknowledged here. The Whangaroa contributions to this report are all the more important because not only is the Whangaroa past its focus, but the Whangaroa people are its essential audience. It is with some nervousness then that the report is offered as a culmination of the generosity of spirit of those people who have variously participated in hui, agreed to be interviewed, emailed and phoned, written feedback on drafts, organised visits throughout their rohe, lent videos, shared photos, maps and manuscripts and laughed, growled and questioned.

Alongside the support and guidance of WPH, several research practitioners brought the report together. The first three were introduced to WPH at hui they variously attended during the course of the project. Wellington-based researcher Paul Meredith and scholar Arini loader were involved during the early months of the project. Researcher Nathan Williams picked up specific parts of the project as it developed. Already known to and working for WPH was Robyn Tauroa whose contributions span the whole of the project. Her efforts began in the engine room of the project – administering the multiple associated research tasks including interviews, sources, feedback, templates, transcripts, hui and much more – before joining the report production phase. Supporting these four practitioners was a team of kaimahi, mostly local and all connected to Whangaroa, who variously transcribed interviews and manuscripts that were sometimes indecipherable. Therefore, many hands and minds have worked in some way on this report and all are owed a considerable debt of gratitude, including for their forbearance with unfriendly deadlines, and circumstances that could be trying at times.

Finally, the Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT) – both Taitokerau and Wellington offices – are also acknowledged for their material support of the project and its related contracts.

Overview

As contracted, the report pays particular attention to the traditional histories of Whangaroa and its constituent hapu; hapu and rangatira engagement with the Native Land Court (NLC); and hapu and whanau historical narratives of their experiences of and engagements with the Crown.[1] Aspects of the report dovetail with issues and themes already raised by the suite of technical research reports the CFRT commissioned as part of its Northland Research Programme.[2] However, as established in early discussions with both CFRT and the Papa Hapu, it is not within the parameters of this report to revisit those issues and themes in detail, which are largely understood to sit in the background to this report which maintains a focus on Whangaroa as much as possible.

The report is intended to support the Papa Hapu to prepare evidence for their claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. To that end, one of the fundamental questions that underpinned the

[1] Te Uira Associates, 'Oral and Traditional History Project for the Whangaroa Papa Hapū: Revised Project Proposal', 19 February 2009 (later incorporated into the Letter of Engagement between Te Uira Associates and Whangaroa Papa Hapu, 25 May 2009).
[2] There are too many of these 'technical reports' to list here, but those have been particularly useful to this report include: Merata Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti and its Northern Context', 2008; Manuka Henare, Hazel Petrie and Adrienne Puckey, '"He Whenua Rangatira" Northern Tribal Landscape Overview (Hokianga, Whangaroa, Bay of Islands, Whangarei, Mahurangi and Gulf Islands)', unpublished report, Mira Szászy Research Centre for Maori and Pacific Economic Development, University of Auckland Business School, 2008; and Paula Berghan, 'Block Research Narratives Related to Native Land Court Blocks 1865-1960, Vol. X, Whangaroa Hearing District', 2006.

research is: Who are the people of Whangaroa? It is a simple question, one that belies the complexities of the various possible answers. Certainly no one-sentence, or even one-page, answer has evolved from the research. Rather, what the research has found is a contested and multi-layered set of histories; they weave through waves of tangata whenua settlement as distant as the time of Kupe (at least), and as recent as the time of Hongi Hika, while also contending with the added complications wrought by the Pakeha who arrived on their ships and the machinery of state that followed in their wake. This report, then, attempts to present the narratives that establish Whangaroa people – in the past and in the present – as tangata whenua. Sophisticated and strategic holders of the land, they lived with each other, their territories and resources in dynamic and intelligent ways, and took that dynamism into their engagements with newcomers – Pakeha traders, missionaries, settlers, Crown representatives and government officials. The report moves through these general sweeps of history – from the cosmological events that created Whangaroa in the first instance to the present-day expressions of Whangaroa hapu identities – with particular pauses on people, events and themes of relevance.

Following this introduction the report is organised into two parts of three chapters each. Note that in addition to the six chapters, which this section outlines, two appendices are included at the end of the report: the first is a compiled list and description of wahi whakahirahira. Earlier versions of this appendix were distributed to members of the Papa Hapu, and feedback received has been incorporated. It is suited to being treated as a working document, which could be effectively updated when and as the Papa Hapu sees fit. The second appendix is a summary of the claims known to exist among the Papa Hapu collective and within the Whangaroa rohe, provided primarily as a reference tool. As already suggested the key research practitioners who worked on this report each contributed to particular parts. Paul Meredith developed early draft versions of chapter four and appendix one. Several of Arini Loader's efforts can be seen in the discussion of archaeological evidence in chapter one, and in the coverage of some of the blocks in chapter five. Nathan Williams took responsibility for chapters three and six, and parts of chapter five. The majority of Robyn Tauroa's input went into chapters one, two and five, and the appendices.

Part one of the report retells the traditions and histories that establish the landscape – physical and metaphysical – which provide the stage on which Whangaroa's tribal stories subsequently played out. It is a reminder of the depth of belonging that resides with tangata whenua groups, explaining their iconic landmarks, the naming and claiming of their territories, and their everyday relationships and interactions with each other and their environments. It follows through to the living memories of those who continue to know

Whangaroa as their homeland, steeped not only in the pasts and traditions of their tupuna, but also in their present-day expressions of hapu identity. Specifically, chapter one offers a brief general description of Whangaroa, the people and the place, drawing on korero tuku iho gathered mainly from various contributing hui that have been an important component of the research project since it began nearly two years ago. It is followed and complemented by chapter two which lays out the korero whanau (life history interviews) garnered from an oral histories sub-project, another critical element of the research on which this report is based. Chapter three focuses on Hongi Hika, whose story casts a long shadow across Whangaroa history, and completes part one.

Read together, the chapters that constitute part one defy the telling of a neatly packaged lineal history and tradition of settlement. Instead, what it shows is Maori settlement that occurred in waves and layers that overlapped and dovetailed and which could be hotly debated. People were displaced, for sure, some were decimated. But none disappeared into oblivion necessarily, and the lineages of current day hapu refer back to hapu contemporaneous with Ngati Awa and others before and since. Ngati Kahu and Ngapuhi feature too, and though Whangaroa people link to both, they have also developed a historio-political identity that is distinct from both, one that is typically expressed these days through whanau, hapu and marae interactions with each other and with the rich resources of land and sea. Importantly, Whangaroa descends from all these factors of their history and traditions, and not a singular tribal unit that, after periods of inter-tribal warfare, reigned permanently victorious and supreme. Therefore, their history complicates views of Hongi Hika as an 'invader' of their territory who established his authority over the area by 'conquest' in the 1820s. While not refuting Hongi's important leadership and whanaungatanga, or even his now familiar story, the point is made that his mother, Tuhikura, was from Whangaroa. His pa, Whare-ra, was her pa. True, aided by fighting men who included his own Whangaroa kin, Hongi ousted Ngati Pou. But that ousting did not leave Whangaroa empty of people and available for settlement by an incoming homogenous group unrelated to those who were there already. Neither does tangata whenua settlement sit neatly on the land. Hapu seem to have their centres of influence, usually based around marae and kainga and their attendant mahinga kai and wahi tapu, but there is also a strong theme of interconnectedness throughout the rohe, with inland and coastal hapu sharing whakapapa, histories and resources.

The historical twists and turns of part one of the report carry on into part two, which considers Pakeha, settlement and the Crown. Chapter four narrates early Maori-Pakeha contact in the Whangaroa district, tracking key economic and political developments and

following through to He Wakaputanga in 1835 and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. Chapter five then opens up the theme of relations with the Crown. It focuses on one of the main engines of colonisation, the NLC, using key investigations of title from the 1860s to the early 1900s to lay out the Court's general arrangements for tribal land tenure in Whangaroa. The general theme of Whangaroa and the state is continued into chapter six which presents the findings of research into official publications from the late 1850s through to the early 1900s. As a whole, then, part two introduces the historical factors that interrupted and permanently disrupted the tribal dynamics laid out in part one. Part two also moves to a more substantial use of documentary sources such as NLC minutes and official publications, a necessity of the kind of research undertaken, but also a challenge to attempts to maintain a Whangaroa view.

Hongi Hika's influence continues well into part two – in his own strategic engagements with Pakeha traders, missionaries and British officials; in the debates about the impact of his battles with Ngati Pou on land tenure in Whangaroa argued before the Court; and even in Governor Bowen's public interpretation (in 1870), of Hongi's 1820 meeting with King George IV, as emblematic of his desire for European settlement. And part two also moves – historically and analytically – beyond Hongi. It demonstrates a Whangaroa people actively and intelligently engaged with their changing circumstances. They contested and negotiated with the institutions of the state in ways that put Whangaroa priorities and aspirations to the fore. They were not uniformly opposed to all aspects of the state, but rather aimed to orient any potential benefits of interaction with the state towards Whangaroa goals. Thus part two suggests that some Whangaroa people kept their distance from institutions like the NLC and the district runanga – key tools of colonisation – while others aimed to have those same institutions fulfil the goals that tangata whenua themselves defined. Whatever approach Maori took, they were concerned with maintaining their rightful share of authority, at both local and national levels. Over time, the state's strengthening of its legal and regulatory roles in Whangaroa communities was paralleled by Whangaroa Maori doing what they could to retain and continue their customary life-ways while also cultivating their 'modern' economic and political aspirations. But political circumstances were trying, and Maori were never the authors (as they wanted to be) of the laws to which they were subject. It is these circumstances, and Whangaroa engagement with them, that shape the history and legacy with which the tangata whenua of Whangaroa continue to live today.

As a history, this report stimulates as many questions as it answers, if not more. It is best read, therefore, as a start – a document that sows seeds for research that may follow. WPH has made this point very clear, knowing that there is so much more that further research can deliver, and mindful of the limits set by the commissioning of this research (discussed

below).[3] Nonetheless, the people of Whangaroa are the products of all the histories presented here: from the tupuna, whanaungatanga, wahi, mahi and even the pakanga that feature, to the trading agreements, mission stations, courts and schools that over time entered upon the customary Whangaroa landscape. Whangaroa is a product of all these things and more, descending not only from the blood and bones of their tupuna, but also from their deeds, aspirations, relationships, decisions, experiences and debates. This descent, this past, is what makes Whangaroa people the vibrant 'hapu takutaimoana' that they are today, knowledgeable about their environments, interconnected with and simultaneously distinct from their iwi neighbours. It is particularly expressed these days through marae – arguably the institution that has best weathered colonisation, and which will remain as governments come and go, and even as the Waitangi Tribunal hears Whangaroa's claims and retires to write its report.[4]

Sources and Methods

There is a dearth of historical information on Whangaroa for the early period and running through much of the nineteenth century. Among the sources that do exist the tangata whenua histories remain largely unwritten. In addition, available sources are dominated by the views of Pakeha observers. Secondary sources seem to quote each other and the same clutch of primary sources. In his history of Whangaroa, C. S. Williams relied (according to his acknowledgements) on the knowledge of Tom Toms of Matauri Bay, Paora Paora of Wainui, Keina Poata of Pupuke, Peeti King of Mangaiti, Wiremu Naihi of Totara North and Peeti Riwhi of Taupo Bay.[5] Williams was a doctor at Whangaroa Hospital, and local knowledge says that his book is based on long discussions that he had with his informants who he recorded. Later on local historian E. V. Sale relied on Williams for his book *Whangaroa*, published in 1986, although he is said to have only used information that he could 'verify' (without saying what verification meant in practice).[6] Since then, Sale has been treated as something of an authority on Whangaroa history. His work has seeped into more recent works, as evidenced in the footnotes in this report and in others produced as part of the Paparahi o te Raki (Wai 1040) claims process. Within Whangaroa, Hongi Hika looms large as an historical figure. In recent years Dorothy Urlich Cloher wrote a biography of him, and Manuka Henare included him in his study of emerging Maori nationalism in the nineteenth century.[7] These and other writings about Hongi help to shed light on the history

[3] General discussion, WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 2 December 2010.
[4] Patricia Tauroa, WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 2 December 2010.
[5] C. S. Williams, 'Whangaroa: a collection of legends and tales of Whangaroa', Whangaroa, n.d.
[6] E. V. Sale, *Whangaroa*, Whangaroa, 1986.
[7] Manuka Henare, 'The Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Maori Society - From Tribes to Nation', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2003.

of Whangaroa, but the overall emphasis on Hongi as a military leader can have the effect of sidelining innumerable other aspects.

Unfortunately for this project, the paucity of secondary sources directly relevant to Whangaroa is further reflected in the primary sources. Official reports from 'officers in Native Districts', which are usually so helpful in studies of Maori in the nineteenth century, gleaned some information but not as much as expected. It did not help that Whangaroa did not on its own comprise a Native district (in official administrative terms) and instead fell between two districts – Mangonui and Waimate. Minutes of the NLC offered useful information, as did minutes of relevant Papatupu Block Committees – the committees set up in 1900 to investigate 'papatupu' or customary land for which a NLC title had yet to issue. Both kinds of minutes have their limits, and the 'papatupu books' presented the additional challenge of te reo. Even so, the report will demonstrate the usefulness of these sources throughout.

In the absence of a solid body of directly relevant literature, primary and secondary, the research relied heavily on WPH for historical and traditional korero, particularly about their whenua and tupuna. Though not without its difficulties, the situation led to the consideration of some important methodological issues about researching with and among hapu groupings. Consequently, a template for hapu information was developed to gather basic information and korero tuku iho about each hapu – rohe, wahi whakahirahira, mahinga, tupuna, marae, contemporary concerns and other relevant matters as discussed in chapter one. It took some time to finalise the template to ensure it would provide a workable process that could produce an outcome that served both the research and WPH. Facilitating completion of the template at hui the people convened themselves is what seems to have worked best, which itself relied on the presence of trust in the research process. It is with some regret that this report acknowledges that fewer templates were completed than were desired, one for Mangaiti and another for Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai (which includes a third template for Te Aeto). Sufficient information was gathered for Matangirau also, although not by convening a hui specifically to complete a template. In compiling and reporting on the templates, a range of supplementary hui and interviews have been drawn on as well. So, the information is there, although arguably difficult to access. And the korero tuku iho contained in this report could be further developed if the template process is taken up by other Whangaroa groups. This is something WPH has clearly indicated it would like to happen and it is important therefore that report is read as a document open (and not closed) to the influences of more korero being shared.

Related to the korero tuku iho of chapter one are the korero whanau of chapter two. These are the oral history interviews that sought to incorporate the lived experiences of Whangaroa people into the report. Concerned with upbringing, customary interactions with the environment, marae activities and social and domestic life, the oral histories used throughout this report essentially draw on interviews conducted in three distinct projects. The first was managed and administered by Te Taumata o Tangitu. Based in Kaeo, Te Taumata o Tangitu was established in 1993 to research claims to the Waitangi Tribunal for nga ngahere o Tangitu, the Otangaroa State Forest. As part of that project, in 1995 over a five-month period, interviews were recorded with seven kaumatua from Whangaroa and neighbouring districts. The interviews were variously conducted by Tony Tuoro, Paraire Eruera, Te Uru Heta, Poihakena Kira and Nuki Aldridge, and since then the audio tapes have been stored in the Papa Hapu Library and Archive (formerly the Tangitu Library and Archive). The focus of the Tangitu research differed from the focus of this current project, and this point is illustrated by the varying degrees of relevance of the interview material. Therefore, these 'Tangitu' interviews are used unevenly, and the report draws on the interviews with Turo Tepania in particular.

CFRT commissioned the second of the three projects from Cutting Edge Productions. Undertaken between 2005 and 2007, it was administered by Mike Smith. For that project, Mr Smith, in consultation with WPH, conducted twenty life-history interviews with different whanau members from Whangaroa. Of the twenty interviews completed, material from transcripts of the following interview contributors has been included in this report: Dahlia McGeachie, Hariata Heke, Erimana Taniora, Patricia Tauroa, Rosie Renata, Tarzan Hori, Hone Ututaonga, Louie Katene, Nuki Aldridge, Iwa Alker and Tarihau Heta. Other interviews have not been used due to some ongoing problems accessing useable copies of them. The third oral history project, also commissioned by CFRT, was jointly conducted by WPH and Te Uira Associates as part of the research for this report. After considerable discussion and planning, the interviewing began in January 2010. It has had a dual focus, the first being to collect life histories, and the second to add material relevant to the Oral and Traditional Histories Report. Interviews with the following people were therefore undertaken and included in this analysis: Ani Taniwha, Bill Wilson, Mere Apiata, Ruiha Collier, Toka Williams, Mae Hona, Pereni Urlich, Myrna Rika, Peggy White, Amelia Oppenheim and Iwa Alker.

Interviews can be rich sources of information that add substance to any research project. They also require careful ethical consideration for everyone involved. In practice, this means that some people had a lot of questions to ask of the project before agreeing to be

interviewed, and some people declined to be interviewed. To be clear (and WPH is) the intellectual property rights of all the interviews rest with the hapu and whanau for both the oral history interviews and the hapu histories templates and oral histories. In the 2010 set of interviews, contributors understood at the outset that their korero was intended for inclusion in this report. Some of them signed consent forms that in fact prevent their korero from being used for any other purpose without their prior written consent. Everyone interviewed reviewed a copy of their transcript as part of the process of including their korero in the report. Those who requested it also received a copy of their recording. Similarly, those who completed a hapu template received a version which they can keep and develop as they please.

This main body of oral history and korero tuku iho work has been supplemented by other relevant sources, including episodes of *Waka Huia*, briefs of evidence that Whangaroa claimants have submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal during the 'Stage One' hearings of the Paparahi o te Raki claims, and korero gathered at a variety of research wananga and other hui that have run alongside the research project. In addition, specific questions were asked of the Papa Hapu throughout the course of the research, for example, to provide details of tupuna who signed He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti. Among the hui that participants from a range of ages and backgrounds have variously shared much of this supplementary korero are those listed below. Where possible and relevant footnotes will attribute specific korero to individual hui participants:

- Research hui, Kaeo Union Church Hall, 3 June 2008;
- Research hui, Te Tapui Marae, Matauri Bay, 20 – 22 March 2009;
- Research hui, Karangahape Marae, Matangirau, 1-3 May 2009;
- Mapping hui, Kaeo, 19 September 2009;
- Research hui, Mangaiti Marae, Mangaiti, 2 October 2009;
- Wai1843 Te Aeto Wananga held at Te Patunga Marae, 3 – 5 April 2010;
- Research hui, Karangahape Marae, Matangirau, 23-24 April 2010;
- Mana Wahine hui, Te Patunga Marae, 21-23 May 2010;
- Research hui, Kaeo, 17 July 2010;
- Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010;
- Research hui, Kaeo, 16 October 2010;
- Mangaiti hapu histories hui, Mangaiti Marae, 21 November 2010 ; and
- Research hui, Karangahape Marae, 2 December 2010.

Associated with the matter of sources is the use of te reo throughout the report. Where te reo is used translations are provided. If the translations are taken from the source document then they are introduced with the phrase 'translation in original' in square brackets. All the other translations have been developed by someone on the research team – usually either Paul Meredith or Robyn Tauroa – and sometimes with advice from WPH members. Common words and phrases are not translated. Nor are macrons used throughout the report, except when they occur in sources from which direct quotes are taken. The decision to omit macrons is at odds with current orthographic conventions concerning te reo, but it was a decision taken after seeking advice. It was the view of some WPH kaumatua that the meaning of te reo is best taken from its oral delivery. Also, macrons – which apply to written reo – can obscure dialectal differences in pronunciation and totally alter meanings if misapplied (usually by inexpert hands).

Limitations and Complications of the Research

Several factors limited and constrained the production of this report. Those related to sources have already been discussed. In the first instance, though, the parameters for the project were set by the 2008 CFRT project brief which then shaped the commission. The research then was required to pay particular attention to:

- the traditional histories of the Whangaroa Papa Hapu and its constituent hapu, including their respective origins, and establishment of mana whenua;
- hapu and rangatira engagement with the Native Land Court, c.1865-1912, particularly in respect of traditional hapu relationships with the lands investigated by the court; and
- hapu and whanau historical narratives of their experiences and engagements with the Crown in respect of the land and its resources, including those issues and themes identified in the technical research reports already on the record.

Despite the reference to the Northland Research Programme technical reports, the commission stipulated that care had to be taken to 'avoid repeating discussions already covered' in that suite of research, a complication that was carefully worked out in discussions with CFRT and WPH as the project was being established.[8] The research also had to be conducted in a way that was cognisant of WPH goals and priorities, and responsive to its ways of operating, while also making use of the oral and documentary sources that WPH already held (in the Papa Hapu Library and Archive).

[8] Te Uira Associates, 'Revised Project Proposal', 2009.

From the outset then, the project relied heavily on the guidance and support of WPH, not only for the content of the research itself, but also for the way it was administered and managed both within the project and in the WPH setting. That invaluable WPH support was critical to the success of the project and has been forthcoming for the duration of it. However, it has also been unduly stretched and burdened. This research report has been but one of many claims-related tasks that have sapped the energies of WPH since the commission formally began in May 2009. While keeping a close and critical eye on the research, WPH had to also manage and balance the internal dynamics that characterise the kinds of collectives designed to advance the variety of claims in their respective areas. Furthermore, of particular importance has been the set of stage one hearings that the Waitangi Tribunal convened for its inquiry into the Te Paparahi o te Raki claims, in which WPH has invested much time and energy, and many resources. In effect, the hearings drew off much attention that might otherwise have been turned to the research and may, at least partially, explain why more groups did not complete a hapu histories template.

The project also faced other challenges and tensions, most of which were reported to WPH (and therefore CFRT) during the course of the project. For example, contractual delays during the summer of 2009-10 meant that office staff worked unpaid for a significant period. Both the committee and the kaimahi are acknowledged for their demonstration of commitment by carrying on with the work nonetheless. However, the trying circumstances in which they worked and its impact on the project at that time ought not to be overlooked. For the period that they were unpaid, the WPH focussed on the core tasks associated with servicing the committee and claimants. In the meantime, the Papa Hapu Library and Archive – which had been in a state of disorganisation since the project began and needed to be operational for the purposes of the project – received scant attention, as did the work involved in transcribing the interviews. Fortunately for the project, the situation was eventually resolved satisfactorily, but not before creating some setbacks and diverting energy meant for the research into administrative matters.

Setbacks occurred in other parts of the project as well. Interviews were delayed because it took so long to access the Cutting Edge interviews (which were required for analytical purposes before embarking on the most recent WPH interviews). Also, the task of transcribing and analysing the papatupu books was disadvantaged from the beginning of the project because it was agreed that CFRT would not fund transcribing costs. Further problems with analysing the papatupu books occurred when it became apparent that Paul Meredith – on whom the project relied for translation expertise – would no longer contribute to the project. In hindsight the work with the papatupu books was probably one of the most

ambitious components of the research, but it continued nonetheless, and as a result WPH will be left with a useful set of hard-copy and electronic versions of the books. There is still much more that could be done with the papatupu books, however, which are comprehensive enough to comprise a distinct project in their own right.

Matters for Further Research

Given the limitations of and complications with the research, and the WPH comment that this report is a 'good start' that 'sows seeds', it is unsurprising that there should be some matters for which further research is advisable. From the beginning of the project WPH members repeatedly requested the inclusion of social, cultural and economic impacts in the research. This is a large and important subject for research, but one that effectively sat outside the scope of the overall project design. However, rather than ignore the importance of the topic, after much discussion it was agreed that if matters regarding social, cultural and economic impacts arose naturally during the course of the research, then they would be reported on, with a view to leaving open the potential to develop further research. Thus, some discussion about paid work, housing, health and education was derived from the oral history interviews, but this discussion is best read as a starting off point for further research rather than a comprehensive examination of the topic.

As already identified, another important area for further research is the continuation of the hapu histories exercise, and WPH members and associates have already identified their willingness to continue that exercise, but without holding up completion of this report. In the meantime, any reading of chapter one ought to be mindful that some areas have not yet participated in the exercise that produced much of its content. Coverage is therefore limited to that extent, and open to the benefits of additional research.

The operations of the NLC are also worthy of further research attention, particularly in those aspects that intersect with the hapu histories and which could benefit from the kind of analysis that only tangata whenua can provide. In many respects it is unhelpful to try and set Maori in fixed groups on the land, as the NLC aimed to do, and even acknowledging fluidity and movement does not always convey the particularities of how that works out in specific ways, at specific times, in specific places. All that knowledge is squarely in the domain of the tangata whenua. Further research could bring that tangata whenua knowledge to bear on the discussion about the NLC in chapter five. Further research could also expand and particularise what is already known about the alienation of specific Whangaroa blocks, an important subject that was not a consideration for this project. Chapter five offers some consideration of the patterns and characteristics of the Court's work in Whangaroa, but is

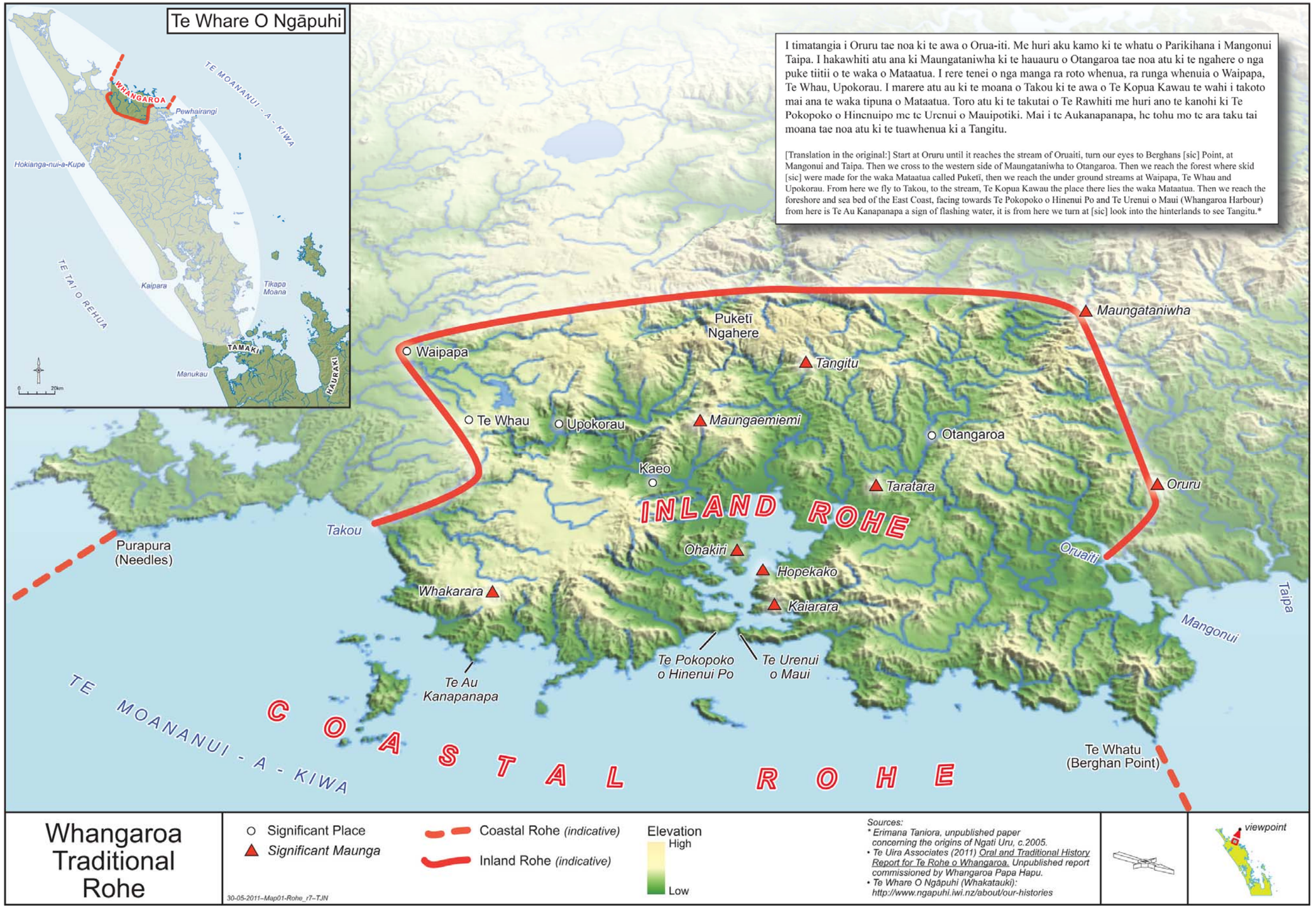
more fundamentally interested in providing an overview of key investigations of title in the rohe. So much more could be done if further research is undertaken, particularly to deal with the important matter of land alienation that occurred subsequent to (and sometimes alongside) the various Court hearings. Though it might be argued that the issues surrounding the NLC and land alienation are adequately covered in the technical reports, what remains absent is an analytical study focused on Whangaroa, and highlighting Whangaroa-specific examples. Some ground work has been done – for example in Berghan's 'Block Research Narratives', and David Armstrong and Evald Subasic's 'Northern Land and Politics: 1860-1910'.[9] These works add to the useful start that this report signals, and it is expected that the related but distinct mapping project which began in 2010 will also add a visual dimension to much of the material presented here. Greater specificity to support individual Whangaroa claims could add even more substance, and there are no doubt other areas that could warrant further research attention. The few presented here have mostly been brought to the fore by the WPH themselves.

[9] Berghan, 2006; and David Armstrong and Evald Subasic, 'Northern Land and Politics: 1860-1910', 2007.

PART ONE

KO WHANGAROA E NGUNGURU NEI

This part of the report begins the task of laying out the Whangaroa past, guided as much as possible by Whangaroa understandings of it – the lands to which the people of Whangaroa belong, their expressions of whanau and hapu identity, and their interactions with their natural environments. It puts the 'long history' of tangata whenua to the fore, an approach that is reflected in the reliance on oral sources – a mix of korero tuku iho and korero whanau – particularly in the first two chapters. The korero contributed to the research for this part highlights Whangaroa's inventiveness, fortitude and intelligence. It shows that the connections to, and within, the Whangaroa past are historical, sophisticated and complex, and lateral, not simply lineal. It also demonstrates the people's deep and practical understanding of the world in which they live, a world that altered irrevocably in the wake of engagement with Pakeha. A chapter on Hongi Hika, which concludes this first part, is suggestive of the change that Whangaroa would experience. That change is mirrored in the notion that the 'Hongi chapter' also adds its own layers of complexity to the history presented, highlighting the way he negotiated and spanned tradition and modernity, drawing on both the customary world of Whangaroa and the Bay of Islands and the introduced world of Europe. The 'Hongi chapter' similarly acts as a kind of bridge between the two parts of the report, and signals a methodological shift in terms of the sources it favours, moving from the korero of earlier chapters to the kinds of documentary sources that will dominate part two.


Te Whare O Ngāpuhi
WHANGAROA
Pewhairangi
TE MOANANUI - A - KIWA
Hokianga-nui-a-Kupe
TE TAI O REHUA
Kaipara
Tikapa Moana
TAMAKI
Manukau
HAURAKI
0 20km
I timatangia i Oruru tae noa ki te awa o Orua-iti. Me huri aku kamo ki te whatu o Parikihana i Mangonui Taipa. I hakawhiti atu ana ki Maungataniwha ki te hauauru o Otangaroa tae noa atu ki te ngahere o nga puke tiitii o te waka o Mataatua. I rere tenei o nga manga ra roto whenua, ra runga whenuia o Waipapa, Te Whau, Upokorau. I marere atu au ki te moana o Takou ki te awa o Te Kopua Kawau te wahi i takoto mai ana te waka tipuna o Mataatua. Toro atu ki te takutai o Te Rawhiti me huri ano te kanohi ki Te Pokopoko o Hincnuipo mc tc Urcnui o Mauipotiki. Mai i tc Aukanapanapa, hc tohu mo tc ara taku tai moana tae noa atu ki te tuawhenua ki a Tangitu.
[Translation in the original:] Start at Oruru until it reaches the stream of Oruaiti, turn our eyes to Berghans [sic] Point, at Mangonui and Taipa. Then we cross to the western side of Maungataniwha to Otangaroa. Then we reach the forest where skid [sic] were made for the waka Mataatua called Puketī, then we reach the under ground streams at Waipapa, Te Whau and Upokorau. From here we fly to Takou, to the stream, Te Kopua Kawau the place there lies the waka Mataatua. Then we reach the foreshore and sea bed of the East Coast, facing towards Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po and Te Urenui o Maui (Whangaroa Harbour) from here is Te Au Kanapanapa a sign of flashing water, it is from here we turn at [sic] look into the hinterlands to see Tangitu.*
Maungataniwha
Puketī Ngahere
Waipapa
Tangitu
Te Whau
Upokorau
Maungaemiemi
Otangaroa
Kaeo
Taratara
Oruru
INLAND ROHE
Takou
Purapura (Needles)
Ohakiri
Hopekako
Oruaiti
Whakarara
Kaiarara
Taipa
Mangonui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Au Kanapanapa
TE MOANANUI - A - KIWA
COASTAL ROHE
Te Whatu (Berghan Point)
Whangaroa Traditional Rohe
Significant Place
Significant Maunga
Coastal Rohe (indicative)
Inland Rohe (indicative)
Elevation
High
Low
30-05-2011--Map01-Rohe_r7--TJN
Sources:
* Erimana Taniora, unpublished paper concerning the origins of Ngati Uru, c.2005.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Te Whare O Ngāpuhi (Whakatauki): http://www.ngapuhi.iwi.nz/about/our-histories
viewpoint

CHAPTER ONE

MANA TANGATA, MANA WHENUA

Whangaroa kaumatua Nuki Aldridge warns against dating New Zealand history from the time that the first European vessels landed on these shores, because such an approach overlooks the 'tangata whenua long history of settlement' typically recorded in whakapapa, waiata and oral traditions.[1] This chapter begins the job of presenting that 'long history' of WPH. It indicates who the tangata whenua are and discusses historical aspects of their occupation in the rohe o Whangaroa. The history is multi-layered and intersects with cosmology, whenua and tupuna, yielding an autonomous identity specific to Whangaroa hapu. It shows how the physical landscape is marked by cosmological events; how iconic landmarks are named for ancient tupuna; and how the identity politics of Whangaroa tangata whenua have developed and changed over time, accounting for hapu identification with the early Ngati Awa, as well as the more recent Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu iwi.

Te Whenua e Hora nei

In WPH histories and understandings of their territory, the land itself is a central character marking the deep cultural and historical interconnections between people and place. Ancestors are explained as being in, on and of the land. Indeed, the name Whangaroa itself is credited to the tupuna Rauru-iti, who endured a long and lonely wait for her husband, Kaimohi, who had ventured south. One version of this story explains that Rauru-iti stood over the harbour and called out "Whaingaroa", referring to her long wait for Kaimohi's return, hence Te Whaingaroa a Rauru-iti.[2] Hungry, she set out to gather kaimoana. Paddling her canoe past Ohauwai, she looked up to the skyline and saw her beloved husband cast in stone. Worse still, he was looking towards Te Reinga. Rauru-iti knew then that Kaimohi would never return and in despair she cast herself off the cliff Tumarangai. Her remains feature in the landscape – her hipbone forms Ohakiri on the southern side of the harbour, and her knee is Hopekako on the northern side. Meanwhile, Kaimohi's head can still be seen on the ridge above Waihi Bay.[3]

Other historical and cosmological personalities have also left their mark on the Whangaroa territory. For example, Tawhaki – who is generally credited with ascending the heavens and acquiring knowledge – is eternally memorialised at Matanehunehu, near Pa Point. There he is said to have stubbed his toe as he was about to leave the land and embark on his heroic

[1] Nuki Aldridge, report prepared concerning wananga at Te Patunga and Te Ngaere, 12 July 2009, p. 5.
[2] Note that the Ngata Dictionary (online) also translates 'whanga' as 'wait' or 'await': http://www.learningmedia.co.nz/ngata/maori/whanga, viewed 7 January 2010.
[3] Sale, p.2; James Henare Research Centre (JHRC), 'Sustainable Development in Tai Tokerau – Case Study Three: Whangaroa' unpublished research report, October 1997, p.220; and Lane Tauroa 'Whangaroa, the early occupation of Whangaroa', unpublished manuscript, c.1986, Tauroa whanau private collection.

climb to the heavens. His blood stained the earth there, and to this day crimson rocks and soil mark that particular point in Tawhaki's track.[4] The James Henare Research Centre notes the importance of Matanehunehu as a place where humans have evidence of Tawhaki's presence in the world, which in turn becomes 'a source of the tapu and mana of Whangaroa and its people'.[5]

Other narratives explain the influence of volcanic activity, water and ice on Whangaroa's topography. Dating back centuries, these korero refer not only to Aotearoa's connections in the Pacific, but also the carving out of the harbours and river plains. The korero for Maungataniwha, for example, is instructive in that sense. Maungataniwha is the dominant peak who now resides in the Mangamuka ranges north-west of Whangaroa. Initially he came to Aotearoa from Hawaiki ahead of the first human inhabitants, and was accompanied by his beautiful companion Taratara and several lesser deities. The main goal of Maungataniwha's journey here was to scout the land and ensure it was suitable for human settlement. When he got here, though, he had to bring the lesser taniwha under control as they boisterously treated the new land as something of a playground. Scrambling about, battling each other and trying to grab land for themselves, they climbed mountains and scored deep indentations in the earth. They even gouged out several harbours including Aotea, Kaipara, Hokianga, Mangonui and Whangaroa. Maungataniwha had to overcome and subdue each of the taniwha involved. The last taniwha to be dispatched ripped the earth with his fierce death throes and so caused the lake Omapere. Exhausted by the epic battles, Maungataniwha returned to the warmer climes of the central Pacific to recuperate, leaving his precious Taratara behind, ostensibly 'in charge' of things.[6]

The story goes that while resting Maungataniwha heard rumours of Taratara's infidelity. He sped back to Whangaroa to find that, indeed, Taratara had been unfaithful. In a rage, he kicked Taratara, leaving her with a broken back. He then turned on Taratara's lover, Hotou, kicking him beyond Kaikohe. This upheaval is recorded on the landscape. (Taratara and her attendants – Kokakohiria, Puketona and Turau – are scattered throughout the district). Her head, for example, is the island Horoiwi (destroyer of bones), and Hotou is a maunga between Kaikohe and Dargaville. Meanwhile, Maungataniwha took up his final and current location. He is the highest peak in the Mangamuka ranges and with views to both coasts can keep a watchful and jealous eye over both Taratara and Hotou.

[4]Sale, pp.4,18,20; and JHRC, p.223. Also referred to at WPH research hui, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.
[5] JHRC, p.223.
[6] JHRC, pp.219-20; and Lane Tauroa manuscript. See also: Wharehuia Hemara, 'Whangaroa Papahapu Final [Scoping] Report', unpublished research report, 20 November 2006, pp.22-3.

Taratara Pa[7]



As is often the case with such traditions, there are other versions of this korero that explain Taratara in relation to the other maunga in the area. In arguably the most popular version Taratara was an imposing and handsome man, with many wives and attendants. His two beautiful wives Okoha-hiria and Turou still stand by his side. Taratara was also concerned for the welfare of all living things, and regularly gave guidance on tides and winds, fishing, planting and harvesting. His good looks, popularity and benevolence were the object of jealousy on the part of Maungataniwha (or, in some tellings of this story, the demi-god Hautupu, who lived at Mangamuka). One day Maungataniwha (or Hautupu) asked Taratara for a wife. Taratara laughed long and hard at the request, and Maungataniwha went home and sulked. Some time passed, and – feeling stronger – Maungataniwha approached Taratara again with the same request. This time when Taratara laughed, Maungataniwha struck him with a mighty blow. Maungataniwha kicked and beat Taratara so savagely that his body parts were left scattered about Whangaroa – his head at Motuwai, and other parts at Ohakiri and Hopekako. Meanwhile Maungaemiemi, another of Taratara's wives, watched in despair as Maungataniwha and Taratara battled. She weeps to this day, her tears welling up in the puna, rivers and streams that run from her slopes to the sea.

A popular rendition of Taratara's story was composed under the leadership of Hiwi Tauroa – who is from Whangaroa himself – for a 1986 'Myths and Legends of the Maori' calendar published by the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator (when Hiwi was the Conciliator) and incorporated the art and written works of Whangaroa College and Waitangi Marae:

> Long, long ago there were two Gods: Taratara was tall and handsome with many treasures and two beautiful wives, Okoha-hiria [or Kokakohiria] and Turou. Maungataniwha, who lived further up the Otangaroa valley, was a jealous god who would use force if he could not get his way. As Maungataniwha did not have a wife he became very envious of Taratara, and decided to ask Taratara for one of his wives. As he walked, the ground shook for miles around. He stopped beside Taratara and asked for a wife. Taratara burst out laughing and refused, so Maungataniwha went away, very disappointed. Many months passed before Maungataniwha decided to ask again, but again Taratara turned him down. Maungataniwha was furious and threatened to

[7] Trevor Lloyd, *Tara Tara Pah, Whangaroa*, Auckland Art Gallery, 1973/7/76/A, n.d.

> disfigure Taratara. More months passed and Maungataniwha decided to make a final request; so down the valley he thundered once more. This time when Taratara said "No!" and laughed, Maungataniwha became so enraged he lashed at Taratara, whose head flew from his shoulders across the Whangaroa Harbour to its present position – Ohakira [sic] or St. Pauls. Bits and pieces of Taratara were scattered far and near and lie on the valley floors of Pupuke and Otangaroa. Maungamimi [or Maungaemiemi] was so distressed at the sight of her mighty neighbours fighting that she wept and to this day her tears continue to flow in the streams that wind down to the waters of the Whangaroa Harbour.
>
> [Also:] Taratara is known as a tapu area because this used to be a sacred burial ground to the Maori people. … Long before the Pakeha came to New Zealand and maybe even before the Maoris came, Taratara stood tall, he even had a head.[8]

In another version of this story, usually told from the people living on the Hokianga side of the district, Taratara and Maungataniwha battled for the female mountain Owhata. Maungataniwha defeated Taratara and kicked him out to Whangaroa, while Maungataniwha stayed put with Owhata faithfully by his side.

There is no intention here to assert one story or another as the 'correct' version. Rather, the importance of these narratives is in their explanations of the formation of the land, and the depth of tangata whenua connection with it. The korero acknowledge an ancient period of natural environmental upheaval in and on the land, as well as the physical presence and dominance of the maunga (and related rock formations) on Whangaroa's landscape, and their inter-relationships. For example, these korero mark relationships to the west – particularly with Maungataniwha, but also with Owhata and Hautupu – and simultaneously entrench Whangaroa histories in, at and around Whangaroa itself.

Furthermore, the korero for maunga such as Taratara have not faded into the background of daily whanau and hapu lives, as if they are fanciful myths with no current-day relevance. The competing stories about Taratara and Maungataniwha contribute to contemporary understandings of Whangaroa identity, both within Whangaroa and in relation to neighbouring hapu and iwi. As recently as 1989, Hone Maaka Te Pania reminded television viewers of how Whangaroa people might speak to Taratara or read Taratara's shifting moods to predict the weather. In an interview for the television programme *Waka Huia* he spoke not only of the origins of Taratara, but also its relationship with the tangata whenua:

> Na o matou nei matua, te whanau o tō matou ki konei, e kōrero ana ki tēna maunga rite tonu e kōrero ki a ratou, ki a ratou tamariki. Na, he pēnei te ahua apōpō, he pēra. Kore kē e mōhio ana me pēhea kē ratou e mōhio engari tae mai tēra ra pēra pu me tō ratou e kōrero ai koia tēnei e hanga mai nei te maunga nei, na kaati. Kore tēna i te

[8] Office of the Race Relations Conciliator, *1986 New Zealand Calendar: Myths and Legends of the Maori*, Auckland, 1986, July/Hurae.

> panatanga, i te kikitanga o te matenga a Taratara ka rere ki reira koia ēna ko nga korakora, e nga kōhatu e takotokoto haere nei i te taha o te maunga na, i roto i te awa nei, i roto i te pupuke, a, i roto hoki i te awa marika o te wahapū e takoto nei o Whangaroa, no runga katoa no te tihi o te Matenga a Taratara e tū iho nei.
>
> [Translation in Henare et al:] Our forebears from this area spoke to that mountain as if they were speaking to another person, or to their child. It will be like this and tomorrow it'll be like that [the weather]. I don't understand how they knew but when a new day began, it was as they had predicted. The mountain had told them. And so when the head of Taratara was kicked [by the monster] it flew from there. Those are the pieces, those rocks scattered on the side of that mountain and in this valley, at Pupuke, and within the Whangaroa Harbour. They are all from the summit, the head of Taratara standing there.[9]

This view is in keeping with Taratara's traditional reputation for benevolence and guidance in matters concerning the weather and the environment.

Like Taratara, the maunga Tangitu stands tall among the icons of Whangaroa culture, identity and history, all of which signify the importance of wairuatanga alongside and derived from the whenua. Tangitu provides a water source that eventually feeds into four harbours and, together with its streams, Tangitu physically and metaphorically encases and sustains Whangaroa, giving a natural frame to the district's river plains and wetlands. Simultaneously, Tangitu signifies the people's deep connections to the local district and broader, more lateral connections to Taitokerau environs generally. Explanations of Tangitu are variously given by the kaumatua, kuia, whanau and hapu of Whangaroa including the following agreed version:

> Tangitu is the maunga from which arises Kaingapiipiiwai, which is the birthplace of the four rivers that feed into the four harbours of Whangaroa, Pewhairangi (Bay of Islands), Hokianga and Mangonui. Where these streams flow they are puna wai (springs) which give sustenance to the people. The spiritual essence is created when the flow from the harbours converge at Te Reinga – [Papaki tu ana nga tai ki Te Reinga] - and the kohu (mists) thus created with this union of streams, drift back to Tangitu continuing the flow of life giving water. . .[10]

Similarly, kaumatua Te Uru Heta explained the significance of Tangitu thus:

> Ko Tangitu te maunga i timata mai nga wai e rere ana ki nga wahapu o te Hokianga, Mangonui, Whangaroa me te Pewhairangi. Ko eenei wai e tuitui ana i nga hapu, nga whanau o nga takiwa e pa ana ki nga ngahere kua ingoatia nei Otangaroa State Forest.

[9] Hone Maaka Te Pania interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989, video recording transcribed and translated by Hohipere Tarau. See Henare et al., p. 54. The source of translations used throughout the report will be noted. If no source is given, the translation was produced from within the research team.
[10] Verbatim feedback from Whangaroa Papa Hapu to Wharehuia Hemara, received 14th April 2005 and confirmed at Te Huia Marae 26th May 2006, in Hemara, p.20.

> Tangitu is a maunga in the Whangaroa rohe. Four streams originate from Tangitu. These four streams become rivers. The rivers flow through nga ngahere o Tangitu, and into four harbours – Hokianga, Mangonui, Whangaroa and Pewhairangi.[11]

Te Uru Heta credits the tupuna kuia, also named Tangitu, with starting the flow of the waters. From the Hokianga, this kuia is said to have stood and cried because of the fighting between Hokianga and Whangaroa, her tears forming the streams that now flow from that place.[12] It is worth noting here that traditional Whangaroa knowledge understands that waters from Tangitu run underground to the Bay of Islands.[13]

Nga Tangata me te Whenua

The important connections that are made between the land and key ancestors are sometimes specific to Whangaroa, and at other times feature in the larger cosmologies and traditions that are common to iwi throughout Aotearoa. For example, Hinenui-i-te-po and Maui are remembered at the harbour entrance, where their names are given to the rocky headlands Te Pokopoko o Hinenuiitepo and Te Urenui a Maui.

More recently, the great Pacific voyager, Kupe, left his mark on Whangaroa. And, as in other parts of the country, he is responsible for naming several key features given to Whangaroa by Ranginui, Papatuanuku and their children. Kupe journeyed to Aotearoa from Hawaiki on his waka *Matawhaorua*. He is said to have sailed past the Motukawa Islands and landed at a point he called Te Au Kanapanapa (The Flashing Current). Te Au Kanapanapa refers to the strong current or tide that features at Whangaroa due to a drowned river system which cuts through the volcanic rock in the harbour to reach the sea.[14] The point where Kupe landed is now known as Opounui, and tradition identifies it as one of the setting off places from which other waka would make their return to Hawaiki.

Kupe left his mark on Whangaroa in other ways too. For example, he is said to have brought the pukeko to Mangaiti, while his daughter is known to have used the kawau – the only native cormorant from which Ngati Kawau takes its name – for puhipuhi (feather decorations).[15] Kupe is also said to have gardened both Motueka-iti and Motueka-nui.[16] The gardens make sense in the context of a great hakari that Kupe gave inland from Te Au

[11] Te Taumata o Tangitu, 'Te Taumata o Tangitu', information booklet about the Tangitu claims, April 1995, p.4.
[12] Te Uru Heta interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989, video recording.
[13] General Whangaroa knowledge; personal communication, Patricia Tauroa, 2 November 2009.
[14] Northland Tourist Publications, *Whangaroa Harbour: a brief historical background*, 1969, p.1, cited in Hemara, 'Whangaroa Papahapu', p.6. See also: 'Whangaroa and District' and 'Landscapes – Northern New Zealand' in *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* available online at (respectively): http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/northland-places/4 and http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/landscapes-overview/3/2/1, viewed 15 October 2009.
[15] Ruiha Collier, WPH research hui, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.
[16] WPH research hui, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.

Kanapanapa at Tarata-roto-rua. According to the tradition, Kupe used tall stones to arrange his pyramids of food rather than the wooden sticks or scaffolds that other Pacific peoples typically used. The site that Kupe's banquet took place is known as Te Hakari, and the stones were Nga Whakarara, or Te Whakarara o Kupe. This element of the Whangaroa past remains imbued in the land. Whakarara is a hill that dominates the landscape above Matauri Bay, the apex of a ridge that runs down to the point Te Au Kanapanapa. Together, the point and the hill comprise coordinates that both locate the tarakihi fishing grounds and signal landfall to vessels far out at sea.[17]

Collectively, the people of Whangaroa acknowledge a range of relationships between Whangaroa and Ngapuhi and Whangaroa and Ngati Kahu. Many descend from both Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu ancestors.[18] However, the Whangaroa people take their hapu as their primary units of identity, and they view their Whangaroa whakapapa as autonomous in relation to Whangaroa. In asserting their identity this way, many Whangaroa hapu identify with ancestors who predate Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu ancestors, and trace descent through various multiple lines from the waka *Mamaru*, *Tinana*, *Kurahaupo*, *Takitimu* and *Mataatua*.[19] At Mangaiti, for example, the *Mataatua* is commonly cited as the waka, although kaumatua Wake Tua says descendants of Patara ought to claim the *Mamaru*.[20] Nonetheless, Whangaroa has a particular association with Ngati Awa of *Mataatua* waka who are often positioned as the earlier holders of the land, as illustrated by the following exchange between Rameka Te Tirarau and the Papatupu Block Committee investigating the Kahikatoa Block in 1902:

> - No Ngatiawa tenei whenua?
> - Ae.
> - Kore koe e matau ana ki tetahi iwi i mua atu i a Ngatiawa?
> - Kahore.[21]
>
> [- Does this land belong to Ngati Awa?
> - Yes.
> - Do you know of any other people before Ngati Awa?
> - No.]

The *Mataatua* waka is said to have landed at Takou Bay. Tu Keepa recounted its arrival in 1990:

[17] JHRC, p.222.
[18] Henare et al, 2008, p. 184.
[19] Henare et al. 2008.
[20] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[21] Kahikatoa Papatupu Block Committee Minute Book (PBCMB) 34, p.30. (Also draft typescript PBC 34, p.16, WPH, August 2009).

> Ae, mehemea ka kōrerotia mai te ūnga mai o te waka nei, a, i ū ki Takou. I tomokina te awa i Takou e Mataatua. Kei reira e takoto ana. I ahua taumaha te ūnga mai o te waka na ki te awa o Takou. No kona ka [kirihia?] ētahi o nga tangata –nga wahine, ki te wahapū o te awa o Takou. Kei kona e takoto ana i tēnei ra. E ai, ta nga kōrero, ko hakakōhatu aua tangata i ūkea [?] i runga i te waka, kia mama ai te tomo o te waka i roto i te awa o Takou, tae atu ana ki te wahi e takoto na te waka tūpuna nei. Ko Kōpua Kawau te ingoa o te wahi kei reira a Mataatua e takoto ana. No muri iho nei tēra ingoa ka kīa. [Translation in the original:] When the landing place of the waka is spoken about, it landed at Takou. Mataatua went up river and it is lying there. That waka had great difficulty landing at Takou (Bay). It was there that people were tossed overboard – women were tossed into the sea at Takou. They [the women] are still there today. According to the kōrero, those women that were thrown off the waka turned to stone. They were thrown off the waka to lighten the load thus.[22]

Other korero tuku iho suggest that the *Mataatua* stopped in at Whangaroa after either sailing around North Cape or being hauled overland from the Hokianga.[23] Whatever the details of the *Mataatua*'s arrival and stay in Whangaroa, it clearly left its mark. According to Morore Piripi, Puhi left one of the *Mataatua*'s anchors (named Whaingaroa) at Whangaroa; the other anchor had been left at the entrance to Whakatane. After leaving Whangaroa Puhi sailed to Takou and anchored in the river then called Kopuakawai, and repaired the *Mataatua* with pohutukawa. The two taniwha that Puhi left there were Koakoa and Tapirau, they are still there today and take the form of stone. Puhi settled at Takou and his descendants later took the name Ngapuhi.[24] Teri Te Heihei adds to the korero noting that the body of the *Mataatua* was left in the Takou River, and the specific resting place was called Mataatua. In a slightly different version of events compared to Piripi, Te Heihei said an anchor named Kohakoha was left at the mouth of the Takou. He further added:

> I whakahaere rahui ano a Puhimoanariki mo te whenua, no reira i poua ai e ia te hoe o te urunga o Matatua ki te taha hauraro o Whangaroa huaina iho tona ingoa ko Kahoe tona tino tikanga ke, ko te hoe kaha o te urunga o Matatua. He whakatauki tuturu to nga ngaru o te puaha o Takou. E kia ana e nga kaumatua ka tangi te hoe a Matatua…. He tapu nui to nga uri o Puhimoanariki. Kei te taha hauraro o Takou te tapu. Tarere e wha nga matapihi, mano, mano te hunga kua moe kei tenei tapu. Nga ingoa o nga matapihi ko enei ara: 1. Ko Piakoa. 2. Ko te Kahika. 3 Ko te Tahuhu. 4 Ko Ruareimokaroa. [The land was reserved for Puhimoanariki so the paddle on the western side of Mataatua was erected on the northern side of Whangaroa wich was named Kahoe. The meaning is that it was the sturdy paddle of the western side of the Mataatua. There is a proverb that referes to the waves at the mouth of the Takou. According to the elders the paddle of Mataatua is crying…. The descendents of Puhimoanariki have a important burial place. The burial is on the northern side of the Takou. There are 4 sites. Many are buried there. The names of these sites are 1. Piakoa. 2. Te Kahika. 3. Te Tahuhu. 4. Rareimokaroa].[25]

[22] Tu Keepa (Kemp), 'Mataatua Waka', *Waka Huia*, 1 July 1990, translated and transcribed by Hohipere Tarau, quoted in Henare et al 2008, p. 122.
[23] Nuki Aldridge, Research hui, Kaeo, 16 October 2010. See further discussion in the korero tuku iho section that follows.
[24] 'A History of the Ngati Wai', *Te Ao Hou*, 38, March 1962, pp.46, 60.
[25] *Te Pipiwharauroa*, 179, June 1913, pp.7-8.

As for the Whangaroa rohe, Arapata Taniora is credited with describing it, including Takou Bay. According to Erimana Taniora, Arapata first gave this description in 1856 in relation to the Crown's acquisition of the Taraire Block:

> I timatangia i Oruru tae noa ki te awa o Orua-iti. Me huri aku kamo ki te whatu o Parikihana i Mangonui Taipa. I hakawhiti atu ana ki Maungataniwha ki te hauauru o Otangaroa tae noa atu ki te ngahere o nga puke tiitii o te waka o Mataatua. I rere tenei o nga manga ra roto whenua, ra runga whenua o Waipapa, Te Whau, Upokorau. I marere atu au ki te moana o Takou ki te awa o Te Kopua Kawau te wahi i takoto mai ana te waka tipuna o Mataatua. Toro atu ki te takutai o Te Rawhiti me huri ano te kanohi ki Te Pokopoko o Hinenuipo me te Urenui o Mauipotiki. Mai i te Aukanapanapa, he tohu mo te ara taku tai moana tae noa atu ki te tuawhenua ki a Tangitu.
>
> [Translation in the original:] Start at Oruru until it reaches the stream of Oruaiti, turn our eyes to Berghans [sic] Point, at Mangonui and Taipa. Then we cross to the western side of Maungataniwha to Otangaroa. Then we reach the forest where skid [sic] were made for the waka Mataatua called Puketī, then we reach the under ground streams at Waipapa, Te Whau and Upokorau. From here we fly to Takou, to the stream, Te Kopua Kawau the place there lies the waka Mataatua. Then we reach the foreshore and sea bed of the East Coast, facing towards Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po and Te Urenui o Maui (Whangaroa Harbour) from here is Te Au Kanapanapa a sign of flashing water, it is from here we turn at [sic] look into the hinterlands to see Tangitu.[26]

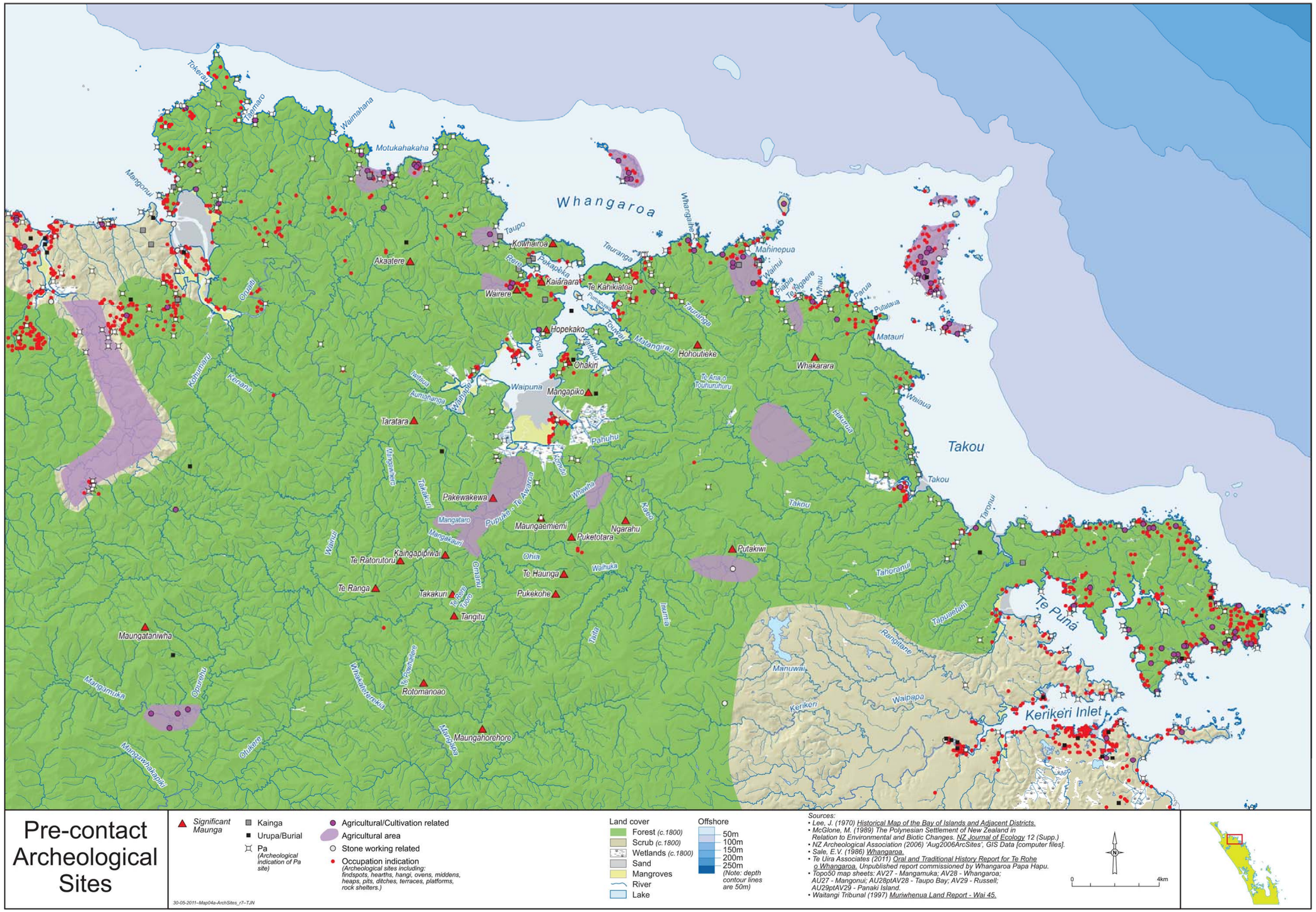
The archaeological evidence supports oral and traditional accounts that the Whangaroa rohe had areas of extensive and dense Maori settlement and that Whangaroa Maori traditionally utilized the abundant coastal resources, undertaking both large-scale and smaller horticultural production.[27] This level of settlement is also in keeping with the general pattern of settlement in and around the harbours of Aotearoa which offered a continuous supply of marine resources, and often access to fertile soils and other productive inland environments, including valleys, bush, wetlands, rivers and streams.[28] The specific natural offerings of Whangaroa Harbour would have included sheltered coastal waters, an abundance of kaimoana, a mild climate with ample rainfall, and areas of alluvial soils suited to cultivation of crops.[29] Undefended settlements – indicating degrees and periods of peace – included

[26] Erimana Taniora, unpublished paper concerning the origins of Ngati Uru, c.2005.
[27]Numerous archaeological reports have been completed for various parts of the Whangaroa district. See, for example: Leigh Johnson, 'Archaeological Site Survey of the Ratcliffe Residential Subdivision Whangaroa', Science and Research Internal Report 17, Department of Conservation (DoC), Wellington, June 1988; Johnson, 'Archaeological Survey of Vink Subdivisions, Takou Bay, Whangaroa', Science and Research Internal Report 28, DoC, Wellington, September 1988; Johnson, 'Archaeological Site Survey of the Shepherd Residential Subdivision, Whangaroa', Science and Research Internal Report 70, DoC, Wellington, March 1990; James Robinson, 'Whangaroa Archaeological Survey: An Interim Report on Fieldwork in the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve', DoC, Northland, December 1991; Johnson, 'Archaeological Survey of the Proposed Tepene Tablelands Golf Course, Waiaua Bay Farm Ltd, Whangaroa', October 1996; and Ivan Bruce, 'Archaeological Survey and Assessment of Lot 2 of the proposed subdivision of lot 3 DP 64318, Mahinepua Bay, Whangaroa', Northern Archaeological Research, Devonport, November 2005.
[28] Leigh Johnson, 'Ratcliffe', p.23.
[29] Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.1.

many storage pits, terraces, gardens, horticultural ditches and copious coastal middens. The valleys also contain agricultural sites including stone mounds, stone alignments, ditch systems and storage pits.[30] Such features and more, such as historic tracks, have been identified among the numerous clearly defined pa sites, along both the coastal fringe and the river valleys, all of which demonstrate the historical depth and breadth of tangata whenua settlement in the Whangaroa rohe.[31] These significant settlements would have been centuries old before the earliest Europeans even arrived. And some archaeologists agree that the evidence indicates Whangaroa had become a focus of political power prior to European arrival, with specific areas, such as Tauranga Valley, holding important local political and economic positions.[32] Furthermore, it is likely that many more similar archaeological sites recording traditional tangata whenua life and settlement remain unrecorded.[33]

In the Mahinepua area and outlying islands the archaeological evidence – such as a significant number of defended coastal pa – again points to a settlement pattern that was primarily supported by exploiting coastal resources and undertaking large-scale horticultural production.[34] Indeed, the outer harbour generally was intensively occupied, as evidenced by archaeological sites that demonstrate defence, residence, gardening, and preparation and consumption of kaimoana. Individual archaeological sites appear to have operated interdependently, and combined they formed a 'complex pattern of settlement' which had interconnections extending beyond the immediate geographical area to Te Touwai and Taupo Bay, for example.[35] Inside the harbour, such as in Pekapeka Bay, the main economic resources would have been the 'rich and diverse' supply of kaimoana and easy access to the open coast. Additional resources would have included the wide range of bush birds and plants, and cultivations like taro and kumara which would have grown well in pockets of naturally drained, fertile flat land along the coast and up the Wairakau Valley.[36] The pattern of abundance of kai and economic resources continues in the upper harbour area where, archaeologically speaking, one of the most intensively occupied areas was Pupuke-Waitaruke. According to Leigh Johnson, it is likely these sites were related to another strategically located permanent pa at the mouth of the Kaeo River, which could take advantage of the resources available from the inland, river and harbour environments.[37]

[30]Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.5.
[31] Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.1.
[32] Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.1; Johnson, 'Shepherd Residential', p.1.
[33] Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.18.
[34] Bruce, 'Mahinepua', p.5.
[35] Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.18.
[36] Robinson, 'Ranfurly', p.5.
[37] Johnson, 'Ratcliffe', p.23.


Whangaroa
Takou
Takou
Takou
Te Puna
Kerikeri Inlet
Tokerau
Waimahana
Motukahakaha
Mangonui
Taupo
Kowhairoa
Akaatere
Kaiaraara
Te Kahikiatoa
Wairere
Tauranga
Mahinepua
Whangaiehe
Hopekako
Ohakiri
Hohoutieke
Matauri
Whakarara
Waipuna
Mangapiko
Taratara
Pahuhu
Pakewakewa
Maungaemiemi
Puketotara
Ngarahu
Putakiwi
Te Ratorutoru
Kaingapipiwai
Te Haunga
Te Ranga
Takakuri
Pukekohe
Tangitu
Maungataniwha
Rotomanoao
Maungahorehore
Mangamuka
Kohumaru
Kemana
Waiaua
Tahoranui
Tapuaetahi
Manuwai
Waipapa
Kerikeri
Pre-contact Archeological Sites
Significant Maunga
Kainga
Urupa/Burial
Pa
(Archeological indication of Pa site)
Agricultural/Cultivation related
Agricultural area
Stone working related
Occupation indication
(Archeological sites including: findspots, hearths, hangi, ovens, middens, heaps, pits, ditches, terraces, platforms, rock shelters.)
Land cover
Forest (c.1800)
Scrub (c.1800)
Wetlands (c.1800)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake
Offshore
50m
100m
150m
200m
250m
(Note: depth contour lines are 50m)
Sources:
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
• NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites', GIS Data [computer files].
• Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
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These scientific and historical interpretations of the archaeological evidence are borne out by the korero tuku iho of the constituent hapu of Whangaroa, particularly in relation to the nature and location of settlement, and access to, cultivation and harvesting of the natural environment and its resources. Over the years, the tangata whenua population of Whangaroa variously moved around and occupied Whangaroa as the political and economic dynamics of the region continued to evolve and change. According to Henare et al by the early 1800s:

> Ngāti Kahu dominated from Mangonui to [Taupo]; Ngāti Rēhia controlled the coastline south of the harbour entrance, more particularly in the southern areas; Te Tahawai was inland between Matangirau and Wainui; Ngāti Uru lived at Kaeo and between there and the harbour; Ngāti Pou, who had previously lived between Whangaroa and the Ōhaeawai-Waimate area, had been driven back to Whangaroa by Ngāpuhi and occupied the area near the harbour entrance, west of the harbour and up the Pupuke valley at Taratara and Otangaroa.[1]

It is worth noting that, alongside this description, WPH attribute occupation of the area to several other hapu besides those mentioned here; nor is the description taken as definitive. Te Tahawai, for example, is more usually associated these days with the Pupuke area. Furthermore, there is a view that interpretations of individual tribal groups occupying broad tracts of land can over-simplify matters and lead to situations where people are miss-assigned tribal affiliations often because one tribal name is deemed to apply to all, particularly in Pakeha written records where the subtleties of iwi identity politics can be inadvertently overlooked.

Whatever the historical ebb and flow of tangata whenua settlement and political and economic organisation, which undoubtedly developed and changed over time, a contemporary rendition of that iwi and hapu dynamic can be represented by (but should not be restricted to) nga papa hapu o Whangaroa and their respective localities, which are summarised as:

- Matakairiri at Mangatowai;
- Ngaitupango at Te Ngaere;
- Ngati Aukiwa at Mangatowai, Taemaro and Waimahana;
- Ngati Tara;
- Ngati Kawau at Whakari and Matangirau;
- Kaitangata (also from the north side of the Harbour) at Matangirau;

[1] Henare et al, 2008, p. 187.

- Ngati Miru at Matangirau;
- Te Uri Putete;
- Ngati Kura at Matauri;
- Ngati Pakahi at Mangaiti;
- Ngati Rehia at Te Huia, Mangatowai and Takou Bay;
- Ngati Rua at Taupo Bay;
- Ngati Pou at Taratara;
- Ngati Uru at Mangaiti and Patunga;
- Ngati Hapute, Ngati Kohu at Waitaruke;
- Ngati Rangimatamomoe and Ngati Ruamahue at Waihapa and Wainui;
- Tahawai, Teketanumia, Te Aeto, Ngati Kahuiti, Te Whanau Pani and Ngai Te Whiu at Tahawai, Patunga and Te Huia;
- Ngati Mokokohi at Patunga; and
- others such as Ngati Hoia, Ngati Rangimatakaka, Ngatihou, Ngati Ruamahue, Ngati Rangi and Matarahurahu.[2]

The complexities of the hapu and iwi dynamics at play in the summary offered here ought not be downplayed or overlooked. Each marae, hapu and hapu grouping can offer its own interpretations and understandings of the histories outlined so far, and further refine and complicate them with korero tuku iho for and from their own areas. As already suggested in the introduction, this is one of the areas of the report that could benefit from the kind of analysis that only tangata whenua can provide to draw out the subtleties of the location of hapu on the land (in the past and in the present). In effect, the people on the land are relative to each other. Individual hapu moved across the land for different reasons at different times, they may have had a permanent kainga inland and a temporary seasonal kainga on the coast (or vice versa). But their interests in those different locations may have held different weight at different times and often in relation to the people with whom they shared those interests. Usage and access rights may not have carried the same weight as rights to permanent occupation. For example, the fact that Te Aeto is listed here as belonging to Tahawai, Patunga and Te Huia in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area should not overlook the fact that they also had a place at Matangirau, and continue to be connected there. Whether or not their interests at those places carried equal weight or not is something for them to explain in

[2] This summary of hapu was initially based on the hapu identified in the original CFRT Expression of Interest Project Brief (from which this research report took direction). It was subsequently amended and refined in line with relevant contributions and exchanges at various Whangaroa Papa Hapu hui throughout 2009-2010. However, there is a degree of contractual obligation that requires the hapu directed by the CFRT to remain included in the research. See 'Draft Project Brief: Oral and Traditional History Project for the Whangaroa Papa Hapu', CFRT, November 2008.

relation to those with whom those interests are shared. Similarly, listing Ngati Uru at Mangaiti and Patunga glosses over the complicated history of how and why they are there and the relative strength of their histories in other places, such as Kaeo. It is not always helpful, therefore, to try and set individual hapu in specified and inflexible boundaries. Yet that seems to be required in the current process of explaining oral and traditional histories in support of claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. Readers are warned to proceed with care, aware that the summary of nga hapu o Whangaroa and their respective localities is best read as suggestive. Even the particularities of hapu-specific korero tuku iho which follow are now somewhat removed from the cloak of tangata whenua oral knowledge from which they have been derived, being reworked and organised into neat sections and sub-sections so that they can be brought to the fore for closer examination.

Nga Korero Tuku Iho o nga Papa Hapu o Whangaroa

This section lays out hapu narratives for the Whangaroa rohe gathered throughout the research process using a hapu histories template distributed at two Papa Hapu research hui, and piloted at a hui of Te Aeto hapu.[3] The template facilitated a research exercise that invited whanau and hapu to contribute korero tuku iho drawing on local and hapu histories to discuss marae and their environs; fishing, gardening, hunting and other kai-related activities; key tupuna and landmarks; and any other significant hapu matters. Besides addressing the issue of paucity of sources, it was envisaged that the korero tuku iho exercise could be developed as a method that engaged directly with whanau and hapu and asked what kinds of history would be most useful and effective for them.

Before continuing, it is important to note that uneven participation in the exercise throughout the rohe garnered uneven sets of information, and so different areas are covered to different extents. Specifically, the areas for which the bulk of the information was gathered are Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai, Matangirau and Mangaiti. This coverage represents the areas that responded quickly to the call for hapu to convene their own hui to complete a hapu histories template. It is hoped that other hapu and marae-based groupings, particularly along the coast south to Matauri and north-west of the harbour through to Otangaroa, will be supported to complete templates also. The mixed response to joining the exercise reflects a degree of general unease with the research process, as well as time constraints. Even at the most recent research discussions, hui participants continued to note their reluctance to join a research process over which they felt they had little control. Furthermore, time has been at a premium while the Paparahi o te Raki stage one Waitangi Tribunal hearings have been

[3] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23 and 24 April 2010 and Kaeo, 16 July 2010; and Te Aeto wananga, Te Patunga Marae, 3-5 April 2010.

underway, and several Papa Hapu members acknowledged that as a result they had limited time and energy to give to the research project, and did not complete as many hapu history hui as they would have liked.[4]

As a consequence of the uneven participation, the material presented here cannot be regarded as absolute. However, the Papa Hapu has indicated that it would like to continue the research exercise to further bolster the korero gathered so far. The research will also no doubt benefit from some detailed and tailored mapping of the information presented. In the meantime, it is important to be aware that there is no intention to compare or prioritise the hapu histories presented here; nor is there any intention to make specific claims on behalf of individual hapu. Indeed, overlaps and shared korero with related and neighbouring hapu ought to be expected, as well as references to places and people – like Taratara, for example – who are easily claimed throughout the rohe.

Because the focus of this part of the research was on korero tuku iho, oral sources have been privileged. In particular, much of this section has been compiled from oral information presented at a variety of research hui and wananga convened specifically as part of this research project, as well as other hui convened for specific hapu and whanau. Other sources include personal communications with individual whanau members, extracts from relevant programmes in the *Waka Huia* series, and oral interviews collected for and held by the Papa Hapu Library and Archive, Kaeo. While there is a deliberate focus on oral sources here, there has also been limited, supplementary use of some written sources, particularly the minute books of the Maori Land Court and Papatupu Block Committees, as well as affidavits presented to the Waitangi Tribunal enquiry for Te Paparahi o te Raki, various research reports, and a few privately held unpublished manuscripts.

Nga Takiwa me nga Papa Hapu

Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai, often known as the Pupuke River Valley, may be regarded as the area which runs from the hills in the Omahuta and Otangaroa Forests, and follows the Pupuke River to the harbour. The river is fundamental to this landscape, and the hapu who live in the area share an appreciation that every element of life depends on the health of the waters flowing. Thus the river is a focal point. Some know it as Te Awaroa; others as Pupuke. This is a point that illustrates the subtle and varied nature of hapu histories; kaumatua of similar ages who were raised alongside the same river have been given different korero about it by their respective elders.

[4] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 2 December 2010.

For this section the name Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai will be used, reflecting both tangata whenua names and block names the NLC used when it first investigated title to the lands in the area. Some sources distinguish between the Pupuke Valley and Te Pupuke ki Runga, the upper-valley area including the hills above Kaingapipiwai.[5] This distinction may be seen in the records of the NLC. Te Pupuke ki Runga was a block of 19,500 acres encompassing the maunga Tangitu and Rotomanoao on the northwest verge of the Puketi Forest, stretching across to Mangapa and along the northern tip of Omahuta Forest, continuing north to the southern boundary of Otangaroa Forest and northeast as far as Oruaiti and Kahoe. Kaingapipiwai adjoins Te Pupuke ki Runga to the south-east, and follows the river down to where it empties into the upper Whangaroa Harbour on the Te Pupuke block.

Turning to **Mangaiti**, this rohe covers what is now State Highway 10 near Kaeo from the start of Omaunu Road and at least up to Mangamanihi, encompassing Turner Street and the Whangaroa Health Trust. Mangaiti children went to school at Omaunu or the Gully School in Kaeo, or Te Moari Native School. (Kaeo and Te Moari were later combined into Kaeo School). Mangaiti seems to have been something of a cross-road for Whangaroa and the rivers and harbour provided a highway for movement between settlements. People travelling between Pupuke and Kaeo would often go through Mangaiti, using either of two tracks, one that went over scrub and farmland, coming out at Rataroa; the other traversing the hills and exiting nearer Pupuke valley. Tupuna from Te Ngaere would similarly visit at Mangaiti before returning to Ngai Tupango.[6] And, as was once the practice, the tupapaku of Paora Paora lay at Mangaiti (next to Meiporo or Mabel Kareko) for a short while before being taken back to his ukaipo at Te Ngaere. The broader Mangaiti area includes Matawherohia, known to some as Waihuka. However there is some debate over whether Matawherohia is a recent or traditional name; some informants remember the name from their childhood while others thought it had recently been introduced. Taraitaha is a waterfall at Waihuka next to Matawherohia, which is visible from the back of the school at Kaeo. Mangaiti people used to climb and play around the waterfall as children, but now they have to ask the current landowner for access. Waikukupa is also in the vicinity of Mangaiti. It is a finger of land that juts into the harbour near the mouth of Kaeo River.[7]

Matangirau is another area within Whangaroa, a valley stretching inland from Touwai Bay. One of the main original land blocks in the area was Te Touwai, and the kaikorero who spoke for the block at hearings of the Papatupu Block Committee often referred to it as being

[5] Joan Metge, 'Economic Development of Ngati Kahu o Whangaroa', unpublished report, 1997, p.185.
[6] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 2 December 2010.
[7] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, Mangaiti Marae, 21 November 2010.

encompassed within a 'rohe potae'.[8] In fact Matangirau, also known as Matangireia, is the name for the headland that separates Touwai and Waitapu Bays rather than the valley and was itself a pa. The main tupuna was Whakaki, who was constantly on the move, patrolling and looking after the area. It is understood that the name Matangirau derives from the 'long cry' for the return of Whakaki after he went away with Ngai Tamatea. When Whakaki did return it was in death, his koiwi being carried back to Whangaroa by Ngati Awa. Some of his bones were taken to the place that has become known as 'Whakaki's Pa', and his people stood and mourned for a long time, hence Matangirau. The people off the waka *Ruakaramea* under Pohurihanga are from Matangirau. The tupuna Maukihau descended from the *Ruakaramea*.

Ko Nga Hapu

Throughout history a considerable range of hapu has been associated with the **Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai** area. Twenty-five hapu have been identified at recent claims-related research hui, including: Ngaitawhia, Ngati Imiru, Ngati Kahuiti, Ngati Miru, Ngati Mokokohi, Ngati Pakahi, Ngati Pou, Ngati Rahurahu, Ngati Rangimatamoemoe, Ngati Tara, Ngati Uru, Teketanumia, Te Aeto, Te Paatu, Te Patoa, Te Tahawai, Te Uri Putete, Te Uri Taniwha, Te Whanau Pani and Whanau Pani.[9] This list of hapu is not necessarily exhaustive, and it is likely that others have been unwittingly omitted. As is typical, there are other variations for the spelling of some of these names. Also, their interests in the area might be usefully regarded as relative rather than uniform.

Several of these hapu are briefly profiled below. Tupuna and whanau names give an indication of current-day descendants, and discussion of place-names, marae, and hapu activities demonstrates the depth and breadth of many customary practices of Whangaroa. Some of the hapu are *relatively* old, identified in the NLC, for example, as one of the 'tangata whenua' groups of Whangaroa; tangata whenua in this context being used to clearly distinguish between the people already on the land and both Ngati Pou and the people who arrived with Hongi to drive Ngati Pou away.[10] The running battles that feature in Whangaroa history are often interpreted as having displaced whole hapu. However it is important to note that though sources frequently mention the expulsion or ejection of hapu, it does not necessarily follow that entire hapu left the district. Whatever the circumstances, there were

[8] The term rohe potae is used throughout Te Touwai and Ririwha PBCMB 33, Maori Land Court, Whangarei : see examples beginning on p.10.
[9] Te Whanau Pani and Whanau Pani are apparently two distinct hapu. Patricia Tauroa, feedback on penultimate draft report, 16 October 2010. This distinction is possibly related to two branches of Te Whanau Pani – one at Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai, and one at Matangirau.
[10] See, for example, evidence of Wiremu Pirihongo and Heremia Te Ara in the Native Land Court (NLC) investigation of title for Kaingapipiwai and Mahangatoaohautai, Northern Minute Book (NMB) 2, pp.263-6, and NMB 3, pp.1-4.

almost always survivors who continued to live in the area, either with their so-called conquerors or another related group; others might return later and reoccupy the whenua from which they had been 'driven off'. This rising and falling, ebbing and flowing of individual and collective hapu serves to further complicate the hapu narratives with which this section works, and reiterates the point that simplistic, single-explanation interpretations of the Whangaroa past may overlook its richness and complexity.

- *Ngati Imiru* is a resident hapu, their kainga being east of the Marapiu stream. The Taniora whanau affiliate to Ngati Imiru, which is said to be a spelling variation of Ngati Miru.[11] Ngati Miru is one of the tangata whenua hapu – distinct from both Ngati Pou and the people who arrived with Hongi, as described above. Ngati Miru is also one of the hapu to which Te Puta affiliates. Himiona Maaka was kaikorero for Ngati Miru in the Papatupu block committee hui for Mahimahi and Matauri.
- *Te Aeto* is another of the tangata whenua hapu of Whangaroa and its people were known to have lived at Matangirau and Whakaari as well.[12] The connection to Matangirau is remembered in the 'Himiona Maaka clearing', a hillside area above Karangahape Marae, while Whangaehe, above Te Ngaere, was one of the coastal nohoanga of Te Aeto.[13] Te Aeto was also resident for some time at Kaeo with Ngati Miru and Te Whanau Pani. They were also at Mahangatoa-Ohautai among others with the chief Paora Whiro, having been placed there by Ururoa following the battle between Ngapuhi and Ngati Pou in which Hongi received the wound from which he eventually died.[14]
- *Ngati Kahuiti* is the hapu of Kahu-kura-ariki and is one of several Whangaroa hapu that have strong connections to Ngati Kahu.[15] The association of Ngati Kahuiti in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area supposedly began after the assault on Kaitangata at Okahumoko. Survivors of that assault were taken to Kaeo. From there, Ngati Kahuiti, Ngati Kawau and Te Aeto went to Te Pupuke with Whiro. This included Tupe and his people, while Hone Tua was taken to Upokorau.[16]
- *Ngati Mokokohi* is named after the ancestor Mokokohi, and was a hapu of Ngati Kahu. Some say that Mokokohi went from Oruru to Whangaroa and settled at

[11] Erimana Taniora, Ngatiuru Hapu Profile, July 2010.
[12] NMB 2, pp.263-6 and NMB 3, pp.1-4; note by Matarae Tauroa, cited in Lane Tauroa manuscript.
[13] Various informants, Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[14] NMB 3, p.2; NMB 2, p.264
[15] It has been suggested that when Kahungunu blew his trumpet, it was from a hill in Whangaroa, possibly Maungaemiemi (Erimana Taniora, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010).
[16] Evidence of Mita Hape given to Papatupu Block Committee, Taupo PBCMB, pp.196-7. Hape adds that by the time of Hika's fighting, Tupe and the people of Ngati Kahuiti and Ngati Kawau had returned to Te Touwai (Matangirau), and Whiro to Te Karaka.

Hopekako;[17] others say that Mokokohi settled all of the lands south of the Whangaroa Heads. Their association with Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai is through Kaitangata, who are sometimes described as a hapu of Ngati Mokokohi. Some say that when Hone Tua and his people later came to Te Pupuke, they came as Ngati Mokokohi.[18]

- *Ngati Pakahi* is a resident hapu affiliated to Te Patunga Marae,[19] however many consider them to be more closely associated with Mangaiti Marae, as explained below.
- *Ngati Pou* is acknowledged as a hapu that pre-dates Ngapuhi's presence in Whangaroa. Ngati Pou is counted, along with Ngati Rangi, as one of the original tribes of Te Pupuke.[20] They came into Whangaroa from Taiamai and lived peaceably in a number of localities.[21] Much has been written about Hongi Hika ejecting Ngati Pou from Whangaroa in retaliation for a transgression of tapu. However Ngati Pou is recognised as being resident today at Waihapa and Otangaroa.
- *Ngati Rahurahu* is said to be a local version of Matarahurahu, and their association with Kaingapipiwai is through Tukariri, who had a whare at Umukiwi.[22]
- *Ngati Rangimatamoemoe* is a section of Ngati Rangi who is in turn a hapu of Ngati Pou, some say Ngati Awa. Ngati Rangi was identified as an original hapu of Te Pupuke, however Ngati Rangimatamoemoe was ejected by Tapuiti and went to Paoranui and other places.[23]
- *Ngati Tara* is probably named for its eponymous ancestor, Taramaraea.[24] Ngati Tara and Ngati Rangimatamoemoe are closely related. Ngati Tara has a kainga and urupa just west of the Marapiu stream.[25]
- *Ngaitawhia* was the hapu of Te Uinga, mother of Ngahuruhuru. It was also the hapu of Te Pikinga who married Ngaropuku, son of Te Puta and Korokoroangi. Te Pikinga then lived at Te Whakapipi Puremu, Pukerau and Kaingapipiwai.[26] The location of Te Whakapipi Puremu is unclear, but one source gives it as an area of bush near the Kaeo River.[27]
- *Ngati Uru* previously lived at Paroa in the Bay of Islands. They moved on to Whangaroa after the death of Marion du Fresne in 1772, and the subsequent French

[17] NMB.1, p.80.
[18] Various informants, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[19] Te Patunga Marae Charter (Draft) 2006, p.8.
[20] NMB 10, p.305.
[21] NMB 3, p.93.
[22] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 March 2010.
[23] NMB1, pp.89-90.
[24] Erimana Taniora, Ngatiuru Hapu profile, July 2010, p.2.
[25] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 March 2010.
[26] NMB 10 pp.299-300.
[27] Erimana Taniora, Ngatiuru Hapu profile, July 2010, p.10.

retaliation which left many tangata whenua deaths in its wake.[28] Initially Ngati Uru settled at Pohue pa, under Te Ara. Around the time that Pakeha began to settle at Kaeo Ngati Uru left Pohue, and moved on to Kaingapipiwai.

- *Tahawai* has variously been identified as Te Tahawai and Ngati Tahawai and is the hapu most closely associated with Tahawai Marae.[29] Tahawai is a tangata whenua hapu that descends from Tahapango, and is said to have assisted Hongi to expel Ngati Pou.
- *Te Patoa* is a hapu whose whenua was at Taumatapuriri, which is in a valley that runs down to Ohoutai. A grove of large puriri trees marks the kainga of Te Patoa.[30]
- *Te Paatu* was associated with Whangaroa at some time, but was apparently driven out by Hongi, either prior to or along with Ngati Pou.[31]
- *Te Uri Taniwha* is a hapu that descends from Te Taniwha who belonged to Ngati Awa and was among those that Ngapuhi attacked at Otawhiri.[32] Te Taniwha was spared and married one of Te Kaka's people[33] thus his descendants identify as Ngapuhi.
- *Te Whanau Pani* is also identified as one of the tangata whenua hapu of Whangaroa and was previously living at Matangirau. Over time, a distinction seems to have been developed between Te Whanau Pani who moved to Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai and those who remained at Matangirau.[34] It is agreed that these hapu share common ancestors and their descendants currently reside in both the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai and Matangirau areas.
- *Te Uri Putete* and *Teketanumia* are also known hapu of the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area.
- *Ngati Hoia* was apparently so named because its people used to travel with their children and packs carried on their backs, which made the women look like warriors. The name Ngati Hoia fell out of use some time in living memory when people began to mistakenly think it was a term applied to Maori returned servicemen.[35]

At **Matangirau**, specifically the marae Karangahape, the main hapu are Ngati Kawau, Te Whanau Pani and Kaitangata. As already mentioned, Te Aeto is represented at Matangirau

[28] According to some, Ngati Uru were expelled by Ngapuhi due to the fear of disruption the death of du Fresne would have on the developing trade with visiting ships, Erimana Taniora, Karangahape Marae, 23 July 2010.
[29] According to Nuki Aldridge, previous authors have incorrectly recorded the history of Tahawai by confusing different tupuna and hapu with the same name, July 2008.
[30] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 March 2010.
[31] Te Paatu now reside at Peria and there is a korero that says the Te Paatu people left a kete full of dirt for Hongi rather than kumara, a message to tell him to go away (Aldridge, July 2010).
[32] NMB 1 pp.90-2.
[33] NMB 3 p.92.
[34] Karanga Pourewa states that Hemi Tupe changed the hapu names to Whanau Pani Tuatahi and Whanau Pani Tuarua to distinguish between the two sections, Karangahape Marae, April 2010.
[35] Turo Tepania, interviewed by Te Uru Heta and Pita Pangari, 8 August 1995.

also, as are Ngati Kahuiti and Te Uri Putete. Ngati Uru and Ngai Tupango are well represented at Matangirau through marriage, specifically into Te Whanau Pani in the case of Ngati Uru.

- *Ngati Kawau* were 'tuatuawhenua' and predated Ngai Tamatea.[36] It is said that they incorporate the Ngati Awa who came to the area under Puhi, and that their main lines of descent are through the union of Tahuhunuiarangi and Moengaroa, and Haitititokotoko. In ancient times Ngati Kawau took in a much larger area, running from Mahinepua through Takou to Paihia and Kawakawa, then north to Mangamuka through Mangamuka, Pamapuria and Awanui to Te Kao and back to Mahinepua.
- *Te Whanau Pani* is an ancient hapu whose name is derived from their 'awhi i nga hapu katoa'. Among their tupuna are Arapata and Tupe.
- *Kaitangata* formally affiliated to Karangahape Marae in the 1920s, although they were also well established in Matangirau through marriage by then. The two Kaitangata who survived Ururoa's attack on Okahumoko were Hone Tua and his mother Toetoe-a-rangi. There are some discrepancies and tensions around the story of how Kaitangata came to be at Matangirau. Some say Hone Tua was saved by the tohunga Patara who was living at Ohauroro in the 1820s. Hone Tua was a child at the time. Patara held him up and said he was a girl, and so his life was spared.[37] Te Pona Mauahara Taniwha then took Hone Tua and Toetoe-a-rangi to Matangirau to live.

At **Mangaiti** is *Ngati Pakahi.* Ko Patara te tupuna, no Ngati Kahu ia. Patara married Tahawai of Ngati Uru, and so there is a strong affiliation to Ngati Uru through this union. Tahawai's sister, Ngaarai, married Te Pahi and affiliated to Ngatokaturoa. Patara and Tahawai had Te Koruhu, the cheiftainess of Mangaiti and Ngati Pakahi through her father, and also the first wife of Wilhelm Rudolph. Te Kohuru and Wilhelm's daughter was Peeti Rudolph, widely known as Nanny Peeti. It is believed she lived to about 117 years old, and according to some was a child when Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed.[38] After Te Koruhu died, Wilhelm married her younger sister, Miriam, and they had three boys: Tom, Bill and John. The descendants of Te Koruhu (and Wilhelm) and Miriama continue to live at Tahawai and Te Huia. Ngati Pakahi connects to Te Patunga through the marraige of one of Te Korohu's brother's into those families. Also, Pera, a sister to Nanny Peeti married into the Heta line. Similarly, Peeti's half-brothers married into families from Te Huia and Tahawai.

[36] Ruiha Collier, interviewed by Aroha Harris, 14 January 2010. It has been difficult to ascertain a translation for tuatuawhenua, but considered in context it seems to have been used to mean protectors of the land, particularly the inland areas that the kawau frequent.
[37] Pari Rush, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft', November 2010.
[38] Mona Beckett, Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.

The thumbnail sketches of these hapu are brief, and there are also numerous others throughout the rohe yet to be included. Even so, the sketches so far clearly restate the element of complexity and layering that characterises their inter-relationships. Note, for example, the movement of several of the hapu between localities around the harbour – Te Aeto at Matangirau and Kaeo, for instance; similarly Te Whanau Pani, Ngati Uru and Kaitangata variously settled at different places throughout the district. The sketches also reflect the intense interconnectedness of these hapu both within themselves and with other hapu in the greater Whangaroa area, bearing out the complex patterns of relationship to which the archaeological evidence already discussed points. They ought to also be read advisedly, accounting for the relativity of different kinds of rights – rights of access and usage (such as mahinga) as mixed with and weighed against ahi ka, for example.

Nga Marae

There are four marae currently operating in the **Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai** area - Te Patunga, Tahawai, Te Huia and Te Tangata. These marae are all connected to each other through generations of inter-marriage and shared hapu life-ways culturally, environmentally, physically and meta-physically sustained by the river waters. Before discussing these four marae, there are two former marae – or, more accurately, whare used as marae – worth noting. The first is a whare that was in the bamboo by Tom Rudolph's place along Pupuke Road, and a kauta stood where a shed now stands. The second is Kainganui, effectively a 'big house that stood near the Tahawai urupa until about 1945'.[39] Until Tahawai Marae was established, tupapaku would be taken to Kainganui because it was the biggest house in Pupuke. On the burial day, the tupapaku would be taken from 'the big house' to the totara tree outside the urupa. There, beneath the tree, they would rest until the women were ready to call them into the urupa, now also known as Kainganui.

Te Patunga is arguably the tuakana marae along the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai valley, in the sense that it has been operating for the longest. Some people today acknowledge Te Patunga as the place where the kaumatua and the people always gathered with memories shared of a variety of hui, social and sombre.[40] Te Patunga is the valley where the marae stands, the name stemming from a major battle there. The victors were washing blood from their bodies in the creek below the marae, and thereafter the battle, stream and valley became known as Te Patunga. The details of the battle are unclear, but nonetheless most sources agree that Te Patunga was a major battlefield, while others suggest the name refers to a fight between two

[39] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[40] Pers. comms., Victor Heke, Pupuke, March 2010, and Arena Heta, Te Patunga, 27 August 2010.

brothers (over a woman).[41] Whatever the details, the association with events surrounding battles and killing is clear, and several people still living have picked up human remains in the area, especially after flooding. Former names for Te Patunga were 'Te Rua o Kaingapipiwai' and 'Te Tapuke o nga Tangata' – tapuke being the mounds of earth covering the burial chambers.[42]

In 1920 the NLC determined Te Patunga to be a 'Maori reservation to be used as a cemetery'.[43] Prior to this time, the only two communal buildings were a small raupo whare, used as a church, and a whare kauta. The church was by the totara tree near the gate – 'there was a ford from the road to this little building and whanau would bring their horses up to the strip [of land] across the river'.[44] From there, a small bridge could be crossed to Ki Koopu, the whare kauta and now the oldest building standing at Te Patunga.[45]

Some years after the NLC determination, Eru Heta gifted additional land to build a new (Methodist) church, which subsequently opened in 1930.[46] A community hall was built next, but was reportedly 'blown down by a gale in 1961'. A 'new Marae Hall' was soon built, blessed and named Te Watea as a way of freeing the place from the influence and repercussions of the battles and other events associated with the history of the area. Another korero is that there were so many hapu and people associated with the marae, the whare could not sustain a tupuna name: 'E watea ana ki nga uri ahakoa ko wai nei te tangata kahore he korerotanga', meaning in effect that all those associated with Te Patunga, through the various hapu, were welcome to bury their dead here.[47]

The other buildings at Te Patunga are the old kohanga now used as a whare kuia, and Te Whakatupuranga, the new wharekai opened in 2006. The Methodist church has since been demolished and replaced by the old Whangaroa Court House, gifted to the marae by the Kerikeri Union Parish Church in 2009.

[41] Various informants, Te Aeto wananga, 5-7 April 2009 and 3-5 April 2010.
[42] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[43] NLC hearing, 11 March 1920, Kaingapipiwai 2 Nth B16 (1.214 hectares), cited in Patunga Marae Charter (Draft) 2006, p.4.
[44] Susan Rakena, Te Patunga, 21 February 2009.
[45] Salmond Reed Architects 'Feasibility Study of Patunga Marae', March 2008, estimates construction between late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century.
[46] The church was vested in the Methodist Home Mission Church Extension Investment Funds Board and construction co-ordinated by Strand (Home Missionary), Eru Heta (the donor), and Piko Hikuroa (builder). After the official opening on 3 February 1930, the Home Missionary people then attended a memorial ceremony at the cairn near Te Horu in Kaeo. At the time, the Te Patunga church was the only one in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area, and was built at a time that many people in the Whangaroa area had changed, or were changing, to the Ratana faith.
[47] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia*, 1989.

Tahawai is on the northern banks of the river below Tikikiore. Established on land gifted for the Pupuke Native School, the area was previously covered with large cultivations.[48] The main building at Tahawai houses both the wharehui and wharekai and is named Te Awaroa. One source remembers everyone going to Tahawai and building the whare 'in three days - Mita Hape, Hone Rapi, John Hemi, Wattie Tauroa, Wattie Rudolph, Wire Taniora and others. There were no consents. They just did it'.[49] Tahawai Ohanga Reo also now stands within the marae grounds.[50]

Te Huia is on the opposite side of the river from Tahawai on the north-facing foothills of Maungaemiemi. The Toetoe-Rewharewha whanau previously held the whenua there.[51] The gateway to the marae is named Te Pupuke; the wharehui, Te Huia; and the adjoining wharekai, Rangatahi. A purpose-built Whare Raranga was later erected within the marae grounds. Uta, the urupa, is just below the marae looking out towards the harbour.

Te Tangata is the most recently established marae along the river. It was built by kaumatua Hakopa Adams and his whanau and is now the marae nearest the harbour. The whare tupuna there was previously the whanau homestead. However, it was blessed and named Taitimu, after Hakopa's grandfather, in 1994.[52]

Karangahape is the current operational marae at **Matangirau**. Kaumatua Karanga Pourewa explained the name Karangahape thus:

> ko te wahapu o Whangaroa e karanga ana ki te awa o Te Touwai, tena te hapehape ana o te totowai, ka puta atu ki Te Moana nui a Kiwa; tena te hapehape o te awa puta atu ki te wahapu o Whangaroa, ki te Moananui a Kiwa. [Hapehape is the twisting and turning of the river into the Whangaroa Harbour and into the Pacific Ocean].[53]

It is a name that befits the marae which has shifted from one site to another several times: 'Haere hapehape ana te marae nei, te whare nei'. When the whare was first built, it stood where the kaumatua flats in Matangirau are now located. It shifted from there to the other side of the creek near the school (up School Road), and it later shifted back down School Road. From there it was towed to the site on which it stands now. The shifts began because it was initially on private land belonging to Morehu, who said that it should 'come back to

[48] There is some debate over the gifting of the land; some saying it was an exchange between the Toetoe and Taniwha whanau. Further information on this exchange and gifting are outlined in Mary Gillingham and Suzanne Woodley, 'Northland: Gifting of Lands', a report commissioned for CFRT, May 1997, pp.456-60.
[49] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[50] Tahawai Ohanga Reo reportedly started in the kauta of Te Awaroa and is now the only Ohanga Reo in the valley; Waitaruke, Matangirau and Matauri being the others still operating in Whangaroa.
[51] Pers. com., Evelyn McQuire, 1 October 2010.
[52] Pers. com., Hokimate Adams, 30 September 2010.
[53] Karanga Pourewa, WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-24 April 2010.

Whanau Pani'. Nau and Hemi Tupe eventually gave the land that the whare stands on today. The Matangirau Valley is prone to flooding, and the whare has been flooded several times, but still stands firm. In living memory, the marae has been used for a variety of meetings, Maori Land Court hearings and social get-togethers, including dances with 'Pom Urlich on steel guitar and Clem Urlich on his fiddle, and later on, of course, the Daniel Brothers'.[54]

At **Mangaiti** the marae takes the name of the whenua, *Mangaiti*. The wharehui is *Tau Te Rangimarie*, erected in 1928. Nanny Peti Rudolph set the land aside for the marae in 1937, and a 1963 gazette notice determined the marae was for "all Maori people living in the vicinity of Mangaiti". The wharehui and marae follows the Ratana faith. Before the current wharekai there was an old kauta that had a mud-floor, walls and a roof – the decorations were crepe paper and it was as if they were never changed or updated. There is a totara tree by the current whare-kai which is where beasts would be hung in preparation for the kitchen. As in the oral history interviews, whanau currently affiliated with Mangaiti recall that children were never allowed to go into the wharehui during a tangi – tangi were for the old people only. The current legal access lane to the marae was put through in 1972, prior to that access was through the creek.[55]

Other marae in the wider Whangaroa area that are featured elsewhere in the research but have yet to complete their individual hapu histories templates include: Te Tapui at Matauri Bay, Ngaitupango at Te Ngaere, Ngatiruamahue, Whakaari, Takou, Otangaroa, Waitaruke and Waihapa. It is anticipated that should WPH continue to gather korero tuku iho, these marae will be able to further contribute material relevant to all the subheadings for this section of the report.

Pa

There are numerous pa sites throughout Whangaroa – so many that kaumatua Nuki Aldridge was recently prompted to remark that identifying which hilltops in the area are *not* pa would be easier than identifying those that are. Several pa will be mentioned here, but the list is by no means exhaustive.

In the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area there are several associated pa at the harbour shore. Taupaki is a small pa at the Kaeo River mouth on the Waikukupa headland. Te Rangitekakaha and Ngaropuku lived there,[56] and a nearby tauranga waka is still visible.[57] In

[54] Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft', 12 November 2010.
[55] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[56] NMB 10, p.309, 22 June 1891.
[57] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.

more recent decades, hapu such as Te Aeto have used the Waikukupa headland as a nohoanga, principally as a camp and base from which to gather kaimoana.[58] Taita, or Waingarara, is a terraced hilltop pa west of the saddle of State Highway 10 at what is known colloquially as Roke's Hill. At the foot of Taita is a herenga waka, which at one time marked where the Komutu River met the harbour. A large square-shaped mound marking the herenga waka can still be seen in the paddock beside the highway.[59]

Whare-ra is a large pa on the eastern slopes of Maungaemiemi, overlooking the mouth of Te Awaroa-Pupuke River and surrounding wetlands. Renowned for being the pa of Hongi Hika, it had been his mother's, and he developed it when he came to live in Whangaroa.

Further along the harbour shores are a number of pa surrounding the Waitaruke settlement. Motuhanga is the small pa on the first headland, while Hototo is on the upper side of the cutting.[60] Hototo is part of a larger pa called Papakanui and, as one informant explained, is so-named as the larger pa in the middle with two smaller pa on either side resemble the shape of a large crab, making Hototo one of the pincers. Toirere, with a puna at its foot, is the largest pa at Waitaruke. Toirere is said to have been a pa of Ngati Awa, which Ngati Pou inhabited after Ngati Awa left the area. At least one of the other pa mentioned here is said to have been Ngati Kahungunu, and the marae at Waitaruke affiliates to Ngati Kahu. Below Toirere is Huruata, formerly a harbour-side settlement of Ururoa, who also lived with his people at Te Pupuke after Ngati Pou were driven off.

There are several pa at the start of the Pupuke river valley as well. Being at the entrance to the valley within the heavily populated harbour, these pa were sometimes regarded as 'cannon fodder': 'ko nga hapu e kume ana i nga anga' [the hapu pulled to the (burial) caves].[61]

Moving up the river, Pupuke is a pa on the foothills of Maungaemiemi. Te Tahapango lived at Pupuke after he had laid down a boundary between Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pou lands. After this he 'continually' lived at Pukekahikatoa and Pupuke, until his marriage to Taingariu, sometimes staying at Taumatapukepuke also, where he had cultivations.[62] The name Pupuke is said to derive from 'pupuke-mahara', or 'my memory swells up in me'.[63]

[58] Various informants, Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[59] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010; and Williams, Appendix 5, p.2.
[60] Hototo is known by some as Plum Pudding as its shape bears a resemblance.
[61] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[62] NMB 10, p.317.
[63] Nuki Aldridge, Mana Wahine hui, Te Patunga Marae, 22 May 2010.

Pukekahikatoa is possibly the most inland of the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai pa on the slopes of Maungaemiemi. Tahapango and a number of descendants lived there at different times. They included Whiro, Te Putahi, Ngaropuku and Te Pikinga.[64]

On the northern side of the river, Tikikiore stands above Tahawai marae. Tikikiore is where the rats were said to gather, making it a place where they were 'easy to catch'. One korero tells of a young boy who loved to eat this delicacy and slapped away the hand of his matua to prevent him and their dinner guests from eating the rats. As a punishment, the boy was made to eat all the kiore.[65] Another korero from Tikikiore is of a kaumatua who died in his home there, and in the period between his death and when he was found, rats had begun to eat at his body.[66]

Pa inland along the banks of Pupuke-Te Awaroa include Taumatapukepuke,[67] Taumatatonutonu formerly known as Taumataiwi,[68] and Takapuwahia whose full name was Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna. [69]

Other pa associated with the hapu of Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai include Kaheka Point and Matanehunehu. Kaheka is the headland opposite the Matangirau pa across Waitapu Bay. Tuhikura, the daughter of Tahapango and mother of Hongi Hika, lived there. Matanehunehu, near Taupo Bay, is said to be the birthplace of Tahapango.[70] Matanehunehu was also the kainga of Te Puta, the father of Tahapango.[71]

Pa in the Mangaiti district include Ngatokaturua, the large pa below the hospital and west of the wharehui, believed to have been a principal Ngati Uru pa; and Te Pohue, the Ngati Uru pa of Te Ara, was inhabited until the 1830s.[72] It is a prominent landmark in Kaeo valley, and is regarded by some as a 'lookout pa' whereas the main pa was Ngatokaturoa. Tarawa-Kahawai is a pa above Mangaiti, possibly the principal pa of Patara, so named 'because the bodies of the slain enemy hung on teatree racks looked so much like kahawai drying'.[73] Parapara is a hilltop pa on the road overlooking the Waikoura domain.[74] Pariki is above the

[64] NMB.10, p.298.
[65] Pers. com., Terry Tauroa, 29 September 2010.
[66] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010.
[67] NMB. 10, p.305.
[68] Terry Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, Te Patunga Marae, 3-5 April 2010.
[69] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010.
[70] NMB 10, p.316.
[71] NMB 10, p.305.
[72] Sale, p.6.
[73] Williams, Appendix 5, pp.8-9.
[74] Williams, Appendix 5, p.1.

junction of State Highway 10 and Waiare Road. Without the pines that are now planted on it, Pariki is at least as prominent as Te Pohue, if not more so.
Poronui is an ancient Ngati Awa pa near Karangahape Marae.[75] Ruakipiha is a pa near Matangirau looking out to the harbour. It formerly belonged to Te Pona, who is buried on the Matangirau block. Other known pa in the Matangirau district include Whakarewaatara, Retahi, Ngapuketara (or Ngapuke Turu) and Hine-a-Mohi.[76]

Lastly, Okahumoko is a Kaitangata Pa and the place where Ururoa slaughtered the Kaitangata. There are many koiwi there. Hongi's grandmother and great-grandmother are also said to have come from Okahumoko.[77] The Okahu was a huge eagle at the time of Hima or Hema. However the name Okahumoko has been attributed to the formation of the land. In the evenings when the sun sets, the shape of the area from Takahi (the Haystack) to the naval base including Kaiaraara (the Duke's Nose) resembles a pregnant woman, hence 'O Kahu to moko'.[78]



Okahumoko Bay, 1888. The distinctive forms of Takahi and Kaiaraara can be seen in the rocks overlooking the inlet.[79]

Kainga

The network of pa outlined here also supported, and was supported, by an equally impressive network of kainga and nohoanga. The oral record suggests that some kainga predated the pa. There were numerous kainga all along Te Awaroa-Pupuke River, each with their individual whanau and hapu associations. Kainga were often, though not always,

[75] Papa Hapu research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.
[76] Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[77] Pari Rush, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[78] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.
[79] Albert Aldis, *Okahumoko Bay, Whangaroa,* 1888, 1889/4, Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland.

located close to the tributary streams of the river, some of which marked boundaries for their respective hapu.

Some of the known kainga were located on the slopes of Maungaemiemi, such as Te Rurunga which was known as a place where many large hui were held, possibly church services or other hui karakia, although it has also been said that church gatherings were usually held at Mita Hape's kainga, Wharepoki.[80] This understanding of Maungaemiemi is supported by the people of Mangaiti who view it as a gathering place and playground for children. After church on Sundays the Catholic and Ratana families would often meet there and, indeed, emiemi can refer to a place of assembly.[81]

Waitetoki, which takes its name from the soda springs there, is a nohoanga which Te Aeto hapu used during times that they were gum-digging. Ohautai is another kainga along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa River. It marks the highest point that the tide ever reached, hence its name. It was also a tauranga waka, known as Te Mahangatoa-o-Houtai, the place where Hongi landed his war party's waka en route to Hokianga.



Kohatupapa showing the distinctive rock form (now known as Mushroom Rock) photographed in 1915.[82]

On the western arm of the harbour is Kohatupapa, which takes Ranfurly Bay as its colonised name, just north of Matakaraka. There used to be a big settlement there, with a shearing shed and the old gardens of Pahi.

Kaingapokeno is a kainga accessed from up the Mangaiti Stream, although a road has since been put through; and Pahuhu is an area across the river from Mangaiti. It was used during the season for preparing dried fish for winter supply.[83] At one point a church stood there.[84]

Nga Mahinga me Nga Kai

[80] NMB 10, p.316.
[81] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, Mangaiti Marae, 21 November 2010.
[82] F. G. Radcliffe, Mushroom Rock, Whangaroa, 1915, F. G. R. 6221, Auckland City Libraries, Auckland..
[83] Nuki Aldridge. Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010
[84] Williams, Appendix 5, p.9.

There are many, many korero about mahinga kai that could be retold here. The working of the land and the kai and other resources it produces was and still is a dominant feature of tangata whenua interactions with the land. Indeed, there was a clear consensus among contributors to this research that they were taught that everything in the ngahere had a purpose, it was all rongoa in some way or another: 'he rongoa ehara ke he medicine, he rongoa ke tena mea he kai'. Old people used to say, 'if you see some kai and you feel like it, you should stop and pick it because that is your tinana telling you when you need it – whakarongo ki tou tinana'.[85] Such an approach implies an intimate knowledge of the land and its produce, widely appreciated throughout the tangata whenua population. Furthermore, it was the duty of tangata whenua to protect and maintain these 'pataka kai kei roto o Tane Mahuta, ano kei roto o Tangaroa '.[86] As has already been established, in meeting the challenges and demands of that duty, the tangata whenua relied heavily on the waters that flowed over and through Papatuanuku and, overall, the practices of mahinga kai and mahinga whenua enabled the numerous hapu to sustain themselves and their manuhiri and, through the practice of koha, many other hapu with whom they visited.

This section now turns to individual mahinga. As with the previous sections on pa and kainga, the mahinga discussed here represent a mere fraction of all those that were regularly visited, cultivated, harvested and fished from generation to generation.

Nga Tamariki a Tane Mahuta

In the early to mid-twentieth century, children growing up in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area, would spend their days gathering the fruits of Tane including tawhara, totara, kahikatea, karaka, taraire, and tutu berries. As a child growing up in Rataroa Nuki Aldridge was instructed to 'haere here atu nga tawhara'. He would find the tawhara trees in the ngahere and tie the fronds of the plant up around the tawhara berries to protect them, because as the berries flowered and opened, they released a sweet fragrance that attracted the rats, which fed on them.[87] The heart of the tawhara flower becomes a patangatanga, a fruit that looks like a pineapple, remembered for their sweetness as they were often preserved in jars or gourds with wild honey for about a week before being eaten.[88]

Tane Mahuta offered many other foods. Most creatures could be eaten, although those deemed to be kaitiaki were not as it would effectively amount to 'eating your tupuna'. Bird life was said to be so abundant that you had to shout to be heard above the birdsong at

[85] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010
[86] Te Uru Heta, in Turo Tepania interview.
[87] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[88] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010.

certain times of the day. Oral sources told of kukupa being harvested in season, prior to its prohibition, using traps. Kukupa and kiore were usually cooked in clay, baked in hot ashes. When cooked, the clay would break off and the kai left inside could be eaten. Sometimes the innards were removed prior to baking, sometimes not. Another way of cooking kiore was to poke a miro branch up through its rear, before steaming it in the fire.[89]

Titi (inland mutton bird) was a delicacy found in selected areas. Maungahorehore, in Kaingapipiwai, was a known significant nesting place: 'Kei kona te titi e noho ana I te wa kahore te kukupa e tika ana kua kakehia e ratou nga paripari kia whiwhi ai ratou ki te titi. Na, ko te kaitiaki o nga titi ko tenei o nga maunga'.[90] [Mutton birds were there when there were no pigeons. It is true that people climbed the ridges to catch the mutton birds. Maungahorehore is the guardian of the mutton birds.]

Although the birdlife is not as abundant now as it was in previous times, residents of Owharepapa have mentioned that the 'komako [shining cuckoo] is the last bird to go to sleep and the first one to wake you up – the koukou [owl] sings his last song, and the komako starts up'.[91]

Wild honey was collected by capturing swarming bees and placing them with their queen in hollow trees. Momimomi or 'sweet water' was sucked from korari when in flower. Huhu were often eaten, sometimes 'straight from rotten taraire'.[92]

Mangaiti whanau would collect nga kai o te ngahere , including tawhara, patakataka (also known as patangatanga), nikau, taraire, karaka and titi. This kind of kai was collected from the back of Kaingapokeno, and never from Maungaemiemi where gathering food was restricted.

Nga Tamariki a Rongomatane me Haumia-tiketike

In living memory, practically everyone along Te Awaroa-Pupuke River had gardens, mostly quite large ones such as Kainganui near Tahawai, and Patunga and Owharepapa in Kaingapipiwai. The flats below Pakewakewa were covered with large cultivations, with some hillsides on both sides of the river terraced for gardens. According to one informant, Oteko

[89] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010.
[90] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia*, 1989.
[91] Pers. com., Joy Heta, 27 August 2010.
[92] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, Te Patunga Marae, 25 July 2010.

and Wairaupo, which are areas towards Matangirau, were large cultivations belonging to Whanau Pani.[93]

These tangata whenua gardeners variously grew Maori potatoes, kumara, riwai, peruperu, kamokamo, corn, and sugar cane – with the tamariki enjoying being able to suck on the sugar stalks. Kaingapipiwai is mentioned as 'a great place' for growing uwhi, a winter potato.[94] Renown taro plantations were cultivated in the foothills below Taita,[95] and at Mangataro stream. Another cultivated crop food was aruhe, which 'didn't do very well in the ngahere in this area'.[96] Aruhe grew to a large bulb in rich soil. Tangata whenua still pounded and ate it during the 'depression years' when food was scarce and some local whanau were still eating aruhe in the 1960s. [97]

Mangaiti valley is another of the Whangaroa locations that was once full of gardens, and there are many memories of having to weed and water large family gardens by hand. Some Mangaiti whanau also recall their tupuna selling vegetables to army personnel during the war. (There was an army unit below Mangaiti, before Kaeo township). Stories dating to an earlier period speak of tupuna 'trading' rather than selling their produce.[98]

Nga Tamariki a Tangaroa

Some of the most intensive and sustained mahinga kai interactions occurred on or near water. It is difficult therefore to over-emphasise how integral the waters of Whangaroa are to to that activity. The Te Awaroa-Pupuke River provides useful examples. The river is said to have flowed at one time at a depth of up to ten metres in places.[99] Today the average depth is one metre, a remarkable difference that illustrates the phenomenal environmental change that has occurred in and along the river throughout history. It is difficult then for current generations to imagine the abundance of fish and other marine life that could be collected some sixty feet above the current high-water mark in the river below Whatiwhati.[100]

Specific places along the river were known for different fish. Tuna were prolific along the full length of Te Awaroa-Pupuke River, although they were known to be biggest at Ohautai. The

[93] Erimana Taniora, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[94] NMB.3, p.94.
[95] Nuki Alridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[96] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[97] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[98] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[99] Hemara , p.11.
[100] Owen Kingi, Mapping Hui, Kaeo, 19 September 2009.

variety of tuna caught at the Mangaiti-Waihuka Stream was the 'stunted' silver belly. They were huge at that spot because the butcher used to throw animal entrails into the river.[101]

Tuna were usually smoked or dried, one elder explaining that the drying process was conducted with at least two people working in tandem. After one person cut the tuna lengthways, another would rub a certain type of leaf that had been crushed in their hands over its flesh. This would preserve the tuna which would then be hung out in the sun to dry.[102] It was expected that the flies would be all over the tuna for the first three days, but then they would go away. All the fat would fall to the bottom or tail of the tuna and could be licked off the meat later. The sun would then dry and 'cook' the tuna for storage and later consumption.[103]

Ohautai was also known to be where kanae (mullet) would spawn, while kokopu (bully-heads or cock-a-bullies) were caught in the spring waters coming down from Maungaemiemi, and also near Mangapa in the waters coming off Tangitu. Some say that they weren't eaten, as they were only about three to four inches long and children just caught them for fun. However kokopu larger than this are still seen in some areas of the river, such as the swimming hole opposite Coppermine Road.

One particularly good place for karawaka is at the old swing bridge by the Rudolph homestead; another place where they were caught in large numbers was a large pool behind a home on Pupuke Road opposite Te Patunga Marae. The fishermen there would hang them on a ti-tree and smoke them over a fire. Although they were quite skinny, once they were opened up, there was quite a bit of flesh on them and they were eaten by all.[104]

The local name for fresh water crayfish is mohi and these were caught with fern all along the river.[105] One informant recalled a time not long ago when there had been a bush fire up past Mangapa. The water from a nearby stream had been pumped out to use on the fire and the stream bed was left dry – but for the 'heaps of mohi wriggling around'. He recalled two of the men jumping into the stream, filling up their tins, cooking them almost immediately on the fire, and everyone having a feed.[106]

[101] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[102] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[103] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[104] Eliza Gillete, Te Aeto wananga, 5-7 April 2009; and Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[105] Anumatao Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[106] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.

Inanga (whitebait) were caught when kawau (shag) were seen in the valley, their resting place indicating the location of the inanga. Kawau also indicated that the kanae were spawning, Ohoutai being a favoured spot for this.[107]

Within living memory, the people from Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai undertook communal trips to the harbour to fish and gather shellfish. This aspect of mahinga kai is more fully discussed later in the report in the section that discusses the oral history interviews. For now, just a few types of kaimoana that they harvested are mentioned. Pipi are among the most commonly collected kaimoana in Whangaroa, and Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai people recall harvesting pipi collectively and seasonally from Hokapepa, Waitapu and Te Karaka. One of the kaumatua remembers riding horses right out across the harbour to Te Karaka – the footing was good for the horses, and the horses could carry the kaimoana.[108]

Kokota is the name of the flat pipi found in the harbour, while huai is the round pipi. Both kokota and huai would be dried by threading flax through them and hanging them in the sun. Another way of preserving pipi was by storing them in the creek next to the house. A small area would be cleared and surrounded by 'a ring of rocks'. The salt-water pipi would be placed inside the ring and would last in the fresh water for about a week.[109]

Kaeo, or fresh-water pipi, were found at various places along Te Awaroa – generally wherever there was a sandy area on the river bank, although informants agreed that the Kaeo River was the preferred place from which to collect these shell-fish. There was a huge pipi-bed in the Kaeo River just opposite where the quarry is; it used to take just a little while to fill a bucket with pipi. When the quarrying began, the pipi shifted or died from then on.[110] Kaeo could also be collected from the Mangaiti-Whawha creek below the marae. One area of Te Awaroa where kaeo are still found is at the bend below Te Patunga.

Otawhiri (known locally as Cape Horn) is particularly abundant with kaimoana. There is a reef and channel there from which people can go out fishing. The people of Otangaroa would gather pipi and flounder from the area. Other kai in the same grounds include: kokota, huawai, pupu and karahu, with tuna available nearby.[111]

Wairaupo is the name for Milford or Jones Island and also the name for the pipi bed in the bay on the harbour-side of the island. Some say the name for the island is Tarahurunui,

[107] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[108] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[109] Patricia Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[110] Lou King, Mangaiti Hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[111] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.

whereas Wairaupo is the name for the bay. Kaiaraara is the fishing ground at the rock of the same name, where trevally (araara) can be taken, as well as porae and tarakihi. Tarakihi is a fishing ground a little further out from there.[112]



Tarahurunui (or Wairaupo), view of the harbour with Ohauroro, Takahi and Kaiaraara in the distance.[113]

Different types of fish were caught at different seasons within the harbour, for instance tarakihi and porae were fished in winter but tamure was not, while warehenga (or kingfish) and kahawai were caught all year round. The range of fish included terakihi, maomao, koheru, swordfish, piper, hapuka and many, many others. Different fish could be filleted, salted and dried, then stored by hanging them in the chimney or in a food safe outside.[114] Karati is the name for the baby snapper; ahuriri is the name for the larger (ocean-going) kahawai, known as 'the grandfathers' or 'grand-daddies' in other parts of the Far North. In Whangaroa, ahuriri were known to come right up to the mouth of the Te Awaroa-Pupuke River. Shark was also caught in the harbour and normally dried, as was takeke or piper, although the latter were only dried and stored in certain seasons. Parore were plentiful in the mangroves and were often dried, although they were also later made into 'melting moments' by frying small pieces in batter.[115] According to one kaumatua, parore numbers have declined, particularly in the rivers, because the oysters that are now farmed in the harbour eat the grasses that the parore used to eat.[116] Favourite floundering spots include 'The Landing' near the Kaeo river mouth, Motuhanga and Waikukupa.[117] When floundering at night, one person would be assigned the job of keeping a fire going as a safety measure for

[112] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.
[113] Richard Taylor, *A View of Whangaroa Harbour*, pencil and watercolour sketch, 13 November 1841, E-296-9-021-2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (ATL).
[114] Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[115] Hariata Heke, interviewed by Hinekaa Mako, 13 July 2006.
[116] Karanga Pourewa, WPH research hui, 17 July 2010.
[117] Patricia Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010.

the fishers, as once the tide started coming in, whichever way you walked, it had the appearance of coming towards you.[118]

'The Island' is another place near the Kaeo river mouth where horses could be swum across at high tide. (At low tide it was too boggy). Mangaiti whanau would stay there overnight and fish. Oriwa Heke remembered a kuia who used to call out every morning from 'The Island' to those at Pupuke telling them what she wanted – 'peruperu and kumara or whatever' – and then the children would take them over to exchange for fish.[119]

Fish could also be caught on 'the bend' on the Mangaiti-Whawha Stream very close to Mangaiti marae. There was a tauranga waka there where people could leave their waka, before travelling on foot further up the road. Heading down the Whangaroa Harbour, on the corner before the camping grounds where there is now a cutting, is a place the Kareko family would stay for 'a couple of months' in the 'off-farming' season, fishing for flounder in the morning and snapper in the evening (the availability of specific species often dependent on the tides). Most of the fishing was netting, not line fishing, including 'netted traps' made out of flax and supple-jack.

Wahi Tapu

Maori have long presented wahi tapu as evidence of occupation and mana whenua, whether before tribal runanga, the Native Land Court, the Environmental Court or, indeed, the Waitangi Tribunal. Wahi tapu include the burial places, such as caves, that were more commonly used prior to the introduction of cemeteries with organised plots. People also remember wahi tapu as the places that, as children, adults sternly warned, 'don't go there'.

Owharepapa is a wahi tapu in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area: 'Ko Wharepapa tetahi o nga marae tawhito o roto Kaingapipiwai" [Wharepapa was an old marae at Kaingapipiwai].[120] Owharepapa is an area past Mangapa, near where the road enters the Otangaroa State Forest. It is also the site where a group of Whanau Pani, on behalf of nga hapu o Kaingapipiwai, staged an occupation in 2009 to protest of the illegal native timber-milling that was being carried out by the forestry contractors.

[118] Anumatao Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[119] Oriwa Heke, Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[120] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia*, 1989.

There is a large urupa on farm land now owned by the Tauroa whanau that is called Parawaipuke.[121] This urupa was used by all of the hapu of Te Patunga, as well as others from a wider area of Kaingapipiwai, right up to Umukiwi.[122] Whiro and Te Kowhata are among the tupuna buried there.[123] Sadly, like many old wahi tapu, there are no markings on any of the graves.[124]

Tawhirimatea is the urupa known to some as 'the Pihema urupa'. It is on the hill next to the driveway leading to Te Patunga and is said to have been placed there so the old people could look across to Pakewhakewha, further towards the harbour. Tawhirimatea was disturbed last century when the council decided to quarry the rock-face below to obtain gravel for use on the road. Elders of today recall their elders saying 'te he a te mahi o te Pakeha', as there had been no inquiry prior to the quarrying and bones of those buried above started falling down onto the quarrying below. These bones were collected and buried together in the nearby Te Patunga cemetery and there is only one person known to still be interred there. The desolate, scratched cliff-face was then abandoned and remains a reminder of that 'he'.[125]

Opango is an old urupa on the northern side of Te Awaroa east of the Patunga bridge where some Tukariri tupuna are said to be buried. It is marked by a grove of Kahikatea trees and was known as a wahi tapu of Ngati Rangimatamoemoe.

Kaikinikini is one of the four urupa still being used at Pupuke – it is on the hill above the corner of Pupuke-Mangapa and Coppermine Roads. Te Patunga, Kainganui and Uta are the other three urupa, Kaikinikini being primarily for Whanau Pani.

Pakewakewa (or Pakewhakewha to some) is a wahi tapu on the northern side of the river, roughly opposite Kaikinikini. Pakewakewa is known as Whanau Pani who were so-named from the practice of scraping the bones of the deceased – 'e pania mai nei nga koiwi' – in preparation for their placement in the torere (burial caves).[126] There are a number of burial caves on its northern slopes, some say three, while others say there are more than five.

An old urupa known to have been used by Ngati Tara is on the hill on the western side of the cutting by Marapiu Stream. Another old urupa was at the top of the Pupuke straight, directly

[121] Te Aeto wananga, 3-5 April 2010; Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010. This has also been spelt Parawaipuku, NMB 10, p.297.
[122] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 March 2010.
[123] NMB.10, p.297.
[124] Patricia Tauroa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft', November 2010.
[125] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, July 2010.
[126] Arena Heta, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.

opposite the gate to Michael Hayes' home, where a cowshed once stood. It was known to be used by the Flavell whanau, the koiwi being taken away, possibly to Kainganui.

There are further old urupa mentioned in NLC hearings on Te Pupuke and Kaingapipiwai, Uruwhau being one.[127] There are also urupa in the wider Whangaroa area that are associated with various hapu of Te Awaroa including Pahuhu near the Kaeo River bridge; Whakapipi along the Kaeo river; Towai at Matangirau; and Tauaki in the hills below Upokorau.

At the foot of Whare-ra is a wahi tapu called Mahoe, so-named in recognition of Ngati Mahoe, as it was on their whenua that Hongi was shot and fatally wounded.[128] Mahoe was where Hongi asked that a small whare be built so that he could be moved there to die, thus preventing Whare-ra from becoming tapu. The wahi tapu is marked by a fenced off area behind the homestead on the Hayes property. [129]

An area of Te Patunga stream below the marae is a wahi tapu where the bones of the deceased were prepared for lying in state, however the name is unknown at this stage.[130] Another wahi tapu is Te Rauponga, an area of the wetlands within sight of Te Patunga marae, where koiwi were often picked up.[131]

At **Matangirau**, the urupa across the road from Karangahape is Te Touwai, so named because of the puna just behind the church. Whakaki is buried at another wahi tapu nearby, Raukura. Other known wahi tapu in the Matangirau district are: Motutapu, Paeroa, Otamawharo, Te Kopuru, Waiparahe, Waiparaheka-Taramainuku, Te Huia and Tutu.

Wahi tapu continue to feature on the **Mangaiti** landscape also. Tarawa-Kahawai is a wahi tapu rather than an urupa, although several people are buried there. Pahuhu is a beautiful urupa where several families bury their dead. Some of the headstones at Pahuhu identify several tupuna there as Ngati Rua.[132] Whauwhau is a burial site located on a small hill at Mangaiti. According to Williams, in 1910 bones from other urupa were exhumed and reinterred at Whauwhau. [133] The name for the wahi tapu on the small hill above the sewage ponds (Mangaiti 4D block) is not known. Patara is buried there. Another wahi tapu, for

[127] NMB 10, p.297.
[128] Nuki Aldridge, Research Hui, Kaeo, 17 July 2010.
[129] It is said that Tahawai elders gave Hayes a 'Tahawai' sign that was put on his gate on the understanding that he would look after that waahi tapu. However the elders showed some concern when Hayes later printed Tahawai on his cattle-tags, Nuki Aldridge, 25 July 2010.
[130] Te Aeto wananga, 5-7 April 2009.
[131] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 March 2010.
[132] Robyn Tauroa, site visit, October 2010.
[133] C. S. Williams, Appendix 5, p.9.

which the name is not known, marks the place that Te Korohu received her kauwae in the traditional manner, that is chiselled, near the current bridge. There is a stone there, and Te Korohu is said to have bled onto that stone, hence the special significance of that place.[134] Torere feature throughout Whangaroa and the evidence suggests that Whangaroa people continued to use torere into the early twentieth century to bury personal property. Torere in and around Whangaroa are typically natural crevices in the rocks, preferably narrow at the top and widening at the base, and sometimes as deep as 100 feet. The surface opening might be barely large enough to allow a man to pass, and sometimes the koiwi of hundreds of people might occupy one torere.[135] Among the largest known torere were Piakoa, or Opiakoa, located on the coast towards Takou Bay, and Totomaringiringi near Waiaua. The koiwi of Hongi Hika were said to be laid to rest in Piakoa, although they may have been moved at some later time. Oral accounts suggest that several torere were emptied during the early to mid-twentieth century, and the koiwi reinterred in urupa.[136] This was the case with Piakoa – in the 1910s kaumatua of the time removed all the koiwi from Piakoa and reinterred them, probably at a local urupa.[137]

Nga Maunga me nga Awa

Whanau and hapu throughout Whangaroa can easily lay claim to iconic landmarks such as maunga, awa, and the harbour itself, drawing spiritual nourishment from the natural features that dominate both the landscape and Whangaroa appreciations of their place within it. The histories and traditions of some of the key icons, such as Tangitu and Taratara, have already been identified and discussed. However, it is clear that local variations in these korero add to the subtleties of them. For instance, for some of the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai whanau, the Whangaroa Harbour was once a lake. The harbour was formed several thousands of years ago when an eruption caused a split that formed the current headlands. Also, there are many korero that testify to waterlines having been significantly higher than they are now. As a young man, Nuki Aldridge worked in the hills surrounding the harbour, putting up telephone poles. He would often find shells high above the harbour, which elders said were among the things left by those who had lived on the shores of the former lake.[138]

Maungaemiemi, or Maungamimi as some know it, is the maunga where the waters of Te Awaroa-Pupuke spill into the harbour. Maungaemiemi has been introduced earlier in this chapter in relation to the battle that raged between Maungataniwha and Taratara. There are some local variations on the naming and understanding of Maungaemiemi, however. For

[134] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[135] 'Korero Wikiri', newsletter of Whakarara Native School, 18 August 1938, Iwa Alker private collection.
[136] Various sources, WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.
[137] 'Korero Wikiri', 18 August 1938.
[138] Patricia Tauroa and Nuki Aldridge, WPH research hui, 17 July 2010.

instance, some say that Maungaemiemi originates from a time when the local line of defence was so anxious to get a glimpse of an approaching war party, that they exposed themselves above the skyline, bobbing up and down in their efforts to look over the fern tops. Others say the name derives from the fact it was the best place to assemble with the advantage of full outlook over the inner harbour and surrounding areas. Indeed, from some vantage points on the maunga views that extend right down the harbour to Ririwha are available. At Mangaiti, there is a feeling that the proper name is Maungamimi, which is the name all 'the old ones' used: When a group from Mangaiti was chased by an ope, the chief climbed the highest tree and urinated onto the pursuers. This was a great insult and the name Maungamimi signifies the event.[139] It may be that all these understandings of Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi are correct, and whatever the case, Maungaemiemi is the highest point in the upper harbour surrounds of Te Pupuke. It is also the maunga most often acknowledged in pepeha of marae in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area.

The maunga Tangitu has similarly been introduced already. Its name has gained some prominence in nga pepeha o Whangaroa, particularly to promote the whanaungatanga between Whangaroa and neighbouring hapu of Hokianga, Pewhairangi and Mangonui. Tangitu is certainly recognised by many of the hapu from the surrounding areas. As an example, the Te Hikutu hapu at Whirinaki in the Hokianga, acknowledge Tuwhatero, their waterfall, and Tangitu as a couple, 'Tuwhatero ki te tai tama tane, ka titiro ki Tangitu Whangaroa te tai tama wahine'.[140] [Tuwhatero is the young male who looks over to Tangitu, the young woman in Whangaroa]. Importantly, korero tuku iho about Tangitu refer to her as a woman. To some, as with Te Hikutu, she is a young woman - 'Rarangi atu nga maunga tama-tane e awhi ana hei whakapiri atu ki te maunga o Tangitu'.[141] [Lines of male mountain ridges embrace Tangitu.] In other korero, Tangitu is said to be a kuia who was so distraught at the seemingly endless fighting between the people of Whangaroa and Hokianga, she cried out to farewell her whanaunga – 'ka tu te kuia nei, ka tangi, e rere nei nga wai'.[142] [As the kuia stood and cried, her tears flowed (as the rivers)]. Her cry is said to become more audible when there has been a death among her people, a signal those working in the ngahere in the 1950s recognised.[143]

In yet another korero, Tangitu is a kaitiaki for those making their final journey to Te Rerenga Wairua, those travelling from Hokianga meeting with those already on their pathway at a

[139] Maungaroa Toetoe, Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[140] Amended Brief of Evidence of Anania Wikaira, Wai 1040, 30 July 2010.
[141] Te Uru Heta with Sid Kira, Paraire Eruera and Nuki Aldridge, interviewed by Tony Tuoro, Auckland, 12 June 1995.
[142] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia*, 1989.
[143] Te Uru Heta with others, 12 June 1995 .

place called Kohumaru.[144] This relationship with Hokianga is also acknowledged in that Te Awaroa a Mahuru is the name that some hapu give to the river that flows from Tangitu to the Hokianga Harbour, and that others from the Hokianga could 'smell the tide' of Whangaroa because of the titi.[145] Whakatereterehia connects to Hokianga too, being the 'first' river that flows towards the west coast and the Hokianga.[146] There is a clearing at the bridge on Mangapa Road where travellers would rest before crossing Whakatereterehia.

Hokianga is also implicated in a korero that says the *Mataatua* waka was brought from Hokianga down the Te Awaroa-Pupuke River to the harbour and taken around to Takou Bay. According to those at Whangaroa, the journey along this river would have been quicker than travelling via Taiamai, as Waihou on the Hokianga side was tidal making the distance that the waka needed to be carried overland much shorter.[147] In any case it is agreed that *Mataatua* moved around a lot, and many of the names around Whangaroa were given by *Mataatua* people.[148] There is agreement that a historical relationship exists between the people of Whangaroa and the other descendants of *Mataatua*, and this is freely and often acknowledged through waka and other traditions, such as whaikorero.

Te Ranga is said to be named after an event when a kuia sent Omateroa down to a battle in Whangaroa. [149] The kuia waited at Te Ranga for Omateroa to return, the name acknowledging the sun as she sat on the hill waiting. The story goes that he had gotten wounded, disorientated and crawled back to another mountain. The people found him some weeks later by the smell of his body, thus that mountain became known as Te Haunga.[150]

Te Ratorutoru is a maunga that stands north of Kaingapipiwai, as does Takakuri, which looks back towards Pakewhakewha. The rivers that flow past Te Ratorutoru and Takakuri begin at Tangitu, joining at Mangawhero, before continuing on to flow into the Mangonui harbour.

Te Wai o Te Kaka is a valley nestled between Te Ranga, Te Ratorutoru, Mangatakakuri and Kaingapipiwai. In the hills above Te Wai o Te Kaka was a settlement – declining fruit trees marking what would have been a bustling kainga. According to Arena Heta, this land was

[144] Te Uru Heta with others, 12 June 1995 .
[145] Ben Tau, Te Aeto wananga, 5-7 April 2009, and Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[146] This river is also known as Te Awaroa a Mahuru.
[147] Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[148] One example is the korero provided by Hemara regarding the Puketi forest (2006:29), however there are other korero tuku iho, one revolving around tiiti, another the Puketea.
[149] Te Ranga is currently identifiable by two lone pine trees that stand near its point.
[150] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 March 2010.

'taken' as 'abandoned lands' and supposedly 'sold' to local farming families who were also councillors at that time.[151]

It has already been mentioned that the Pupuke River is known to some as Te Awaroa. It is understood by some that the name Awaroa was given by Hongi who thought it was a long way to paddle, however Te Awaroa may have been so-named prior to Hongi's time. There are many streams that contribute to the river as it flows down towards the harbour, some more known than others. Ohautai is the first, it joins the river from the north where the adjacent [Pupuke-Mangapa] road starts climbing towards Kaingapipiwai. The next stream is Mangataro and this joins the river from the south.[152] Mangakauri then joins the river from the north flowing under the road past the Te Patunga bridge. Mangakauri was so named because from there eastwards towards the harbour there was no kauri. However, heading westwards kauri were in abundance. Mangakauri is next after Mangamutu which enters the river near the Opango urupa. Marapiu then joins from the south, followed by Awaiti, and then an underground stream that flows into the swimming hole at the 'Coppermine', swimmers being able to feel the cooler flow of the waters at the spot where the stream enters. The next stream is Mangapiki or Mangawhakapiki which flows down past the old school house. It is also known as Matapuna and, as the name suggests, starts as a fresh-water spring and provides water to a number of neighbouring properties. Owhero is at the one lane bridge as the road starts to wind around the feet of Maungaemiemi. Across the valley is Pakewakewa, these two being the gateway to Kaingapipiwai and Te Pupuke ki Runga beyond.

The remaining three streams between Owhero and the harbour – Komutu, Rataroa and Whare-ra – have been irredeemably affected by reclamation, all of them redirected to flood gates. As a child growing up in Rataroa, Nuku Aldridge would collect kaimoana from the tidal mudflats within ten metres of his homestead. This has not been possible since the reclamation, which has now pushed the tide and mudflats 500 metres or more away.[153] Komutu is the traditional name for Rataroa and is the last stream to flow from Maungaemiemi to the Harbour, the streams on her southern slopes flowing to the Kaeo River. Rataroa is also the road name recently reinstated to replace the former Connelly Road.

Like Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi, there are competing versions of the names for the awa flowing on either side of **Mangaiti** Marae. Some say the stream to the south of the marae is Mangaiti River, and the stream to the north is Whawha. Others say Mangaiti is the correct

[151] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae wananga, 6-7 2010. The timing of the transfer of this land from Maori to general title is unclear, though it seems to have been post-World War Two.
[152] An earlier name given for Mangataro was Te Awa Taua, Terry Tauroa, feedback from Te Aeto hapu histories template, May 2010.
[153] Nuki Aldridge, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.

name for the stream to the north, and Waihuka the stream to the south, which has only recently become known as Mangaiti. There is also some difference of opinion about whether or not the streams once 'joined up' before flowing into the Kaeo River. It is possible that, as with many other rivers in Whangaroa, the natural flow of the streams was changed during the logging era, or later for road construction. Alternatively, such a change may have been a natural result of flooding and realigning as has also happened in other areas. Regardless of the actuality, multiple understandings of the same natural features are not uncommon in Whangaroa, whereby informants of the same generation and from the same general area, learned different histories for aspects of the same landscape. Whether Mangaiti or Waihuka, the river south of the marae is tidal. Mangaiti is the 'official' council-given name, whereas Waihuka is a reference to the fact the river floods so often. It flows from the back of Matawherohia. The river north of the marae – Mangaiti-Whawha is also tidal. It starts at Kaingapokeno and is the river where people can whakanoa themselves after being at a tangi or wahi tapu. Meanwhile, Kaeo River used to come around just below where the cairn is in front of the houses on Turner St, it was definitely far deeper and wider than it is today. It was once used for logging and for boats delivering goods to shop owners in Kaeo.[154]

Awa in the **Matangirau** area include: Te Waiwhakapirau, Te Taraire, Te Ana O Touhuruhuru, Mangamutu, Tauranga, and Touwai.[155]

Nga Ingoa

One of the useful by-products of an exercise that works through the significant places of Whangaroa – nga maunga, awa, kainga, mahinga and pa – is that it re-establishes ingoa tuturu throughout the rohe. In doing so it further appreciates the intimacy of naming and knowing every detail of the landscape. For example, Okura is the rock and bay below Hopekako, where there is a never-ending fresh-water spring. Early Pakeha negotiated and traded with the people of Whangaroa to replenish their water supplies there. And there is a point at Wairaupo (Milford of Jones Island) named Amihi or Aumihi after a Ngati Porou woman who was buried there.[156] She had been brought into Whangaroa by Hongi when he returned from his mission to Ngati Porou. This naming and knowing is inescapable: Motuwai is the ingoa tuturu for Red Island, just off the Totara wharf; Oheia is Kingfish Point; Takahi is 'the Haystack'; Tarahurunui another name for Milford/Jones Island. And it is not simply the tangata whenua names for these places that are restored here; the names, their places and stories all support and reinforce each other. And the whole is framed by what are colloquially known as 'the seven saints of Whangaroa' – Maungataniwha,

[154] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[155] Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[156] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.

Maungataratara, Maungaemiemi, Ohakiri, Hopekako (also known as Ohopekako), Ohauroro and Okahumoko; all these places can be seen from the harbour. Furthermore, when lined up with other 'pou' of Whangaroa, such as Tauke and Oioi, they become a kind of grid map to help locate fishing grounds and other sites.[157] This discussion of names and places could probably continue almost without end. However, rather than do that here, a fuller list of 'wahi whakahirahira' is given in appendix one attached to this report.

Parekura

As has already been established, numerous battles impacted the Whangaroa land and people. Several are well known, and some groups in particular are implicated, such as Ngati Pou, Ngati Uru, Nga Puhi and Ngati Awa. It may be the case that history and historians have oversimplified these groupings, but the korero for the battles that feature in Whangaroa traditions have generally settled around these groups nonetheless. This section briefly adds historical anecdotes rather than traversing the battles *per se*, which are covered elsewhere in the report.

Ngati Awa were early inhabitants of Whangaroa and korero tuku iho from that era places the tupuna Puhi at Takou Bay, Otoroa and Puketi[ti]. Ngati Awa are also acknowledged as the original owners of several pa, for example Toirere at Waitaruke and Te Poronui at Matangirau. Though Ngapuhi is said to have driven Ngati Awa out of the north, the evidence is clear that some Ngati Awa continued to live among the Whangaroa people well into the time of Hongi Hika. Some generations later, Hongi Hika and supporters conquered Ngati Pou. According to one korero when Ngati Pou came into Whangaroa and started claiming Tahapango land, Te Putahi went to Ngati Whatua to fight for the bones of his father. He was unsuccessful in his mission and came back and asked Hongi to help him. There were several tangata whenua hapu who assisted Hongi in the fighting that followed – Te Awaraupo, Ngati Kahuiti, Te Aeto, Toihau, Te Uruputete, Ngatikawau and Ngatiparuru.[158] Tahawai, Ngaitupango and Ngati Kuta are also mentioned as allies of Hongi.[159] Following the wounding of Hongi and killing of Te Hau, the hapu gathered at Pinea. Being under the protection of Tareha, they were able to avoid the wrath of Ururoa, who instead sought vengeance by attacking Kaintangata at Okahumoko.

One of the main parekura referred to at **Mangaiti** is the *Boyd* incident. The Ngati Pakahi interpretation of events – which differs considerably from more popular versions such as that given in chapter four – is that the *Boyd* crew had took two boys from Matauri, one of

[157] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.
[158] NMB 2, p.251.
[159] NMB 2, p.253.

whom fell ill and died. Some of the crewmen cooked some of the deceased boy's body and gave it to the other boy to eat. Knowing it was his mate the surviving boy jumped overboard, swam into Whangaroa and told the people. Some of those who died in the *Boyd* affair were buried at a place above the junction of State Highway 10 and Omaunu (or 'Hospital') Road.

Kaitiaki

A variety of kaitiaki known throughout the Whangaroa rohe – including birds, fish and maunga – were instituted for a variety of reasons. A very small number are mentioned here, and they further exemplify the interconnectedness of the people and the land.

Koukou are said to be the kaitiaki for the urupa at Tahawai and the moko or rihi (lizard) are regarded, by some, as kaitiaki for the urupa at Patunga. The koukou is also the kaitiaki tuturu for Mangaiti. The bird's various calls meant different things, and kuia often talked to each other about 'what the koukou was calling'. Some regard pukeko as another of the kaitiaki at Mangaiti, and a large white dog the kaitiaki for Ngati Tara. The kaitiaki for Whangaroa Harbour is said to be papahu which are a certain breed of dolphin. The papahu come into the harbour quite frequently, and are said to indicate that a big storm is coming – 'tae mai te papahu, ko te awha a waho'.[160]

The karoro are said to sing particular tunes at particular times, the old people being able to distinguish the different tunes. One informant recalls hearing the old people say "oh, the tides coming in" or "yeah, the tides going out", which they could determine by listening to the karoro. The kawau is a well-known and significant kaitiaki for Ngati Kawau specifically, and Whangaroa more generally. When the kawau is inland, the mullet are running.[161]

This chapter has contributed to a written rendition of nga korero tuku iho o Whangaroa. Still it is useful to be reminded that it is but a written rendition. The korero presented have been removed, in effect, from the oral domain in which they usually reside – the discussion, debate and wananga of the marae. Furthermore, there is plenty more korero tuku iho that circulates among Whangaroa whanau and hapu from which this report has been unable to benefit.[162] As already suggested, this chapter lends itself to being extended as more hapu and marae hui and complete their own hapu histories template. Time and other resource constraints mean that such additional material cannot be included here. But ought to be

[160] Karanga Pourewa, Pupuke-Kaingapipiwa hapu histories hui, 25 July 2010.
[161] Whangaroa Papa Hapu research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010.
[162] This point was made particularly clear by several participants at the WPH research hui at Karangahape Marae on 2 December 2010.

noted that this chapter represents an effective first step towards what could become a fuller representation of the hapu histories and korero tuku iho of Whangaroa.

CHAPTER TWO

ETAHI KORERO WHANAU O WHANGAROA

This chapter undertakes the job of thematically analysing the korero whanau or oral histories gathered for the project to show the ways in which the whanau and hapu of Whangaroa have continued the customary use of their lands, seas and waterways. It could not have been written without the generous support of the numerous people who have, since the mid-1990s at least, variously contributed oral history interviews to a series of claims-related projects in which the people of Whangaroa have been involved. The specifics of the three main oral history projects are discussed in the introduction and will not be revisited here although, once again, each and every person who has contributed to the korero on which this chapter relies is acknowledged for their time and their important participation.

The korero whanau presented here build on the korero tuku iho of chapter one, demonstrating that customary Whangaroa life-ways that have continued – albeit constrained and made difficult by the forces of colonisation and its attendant legislation and regulation – in living memory and into the present. Therefore this chapter sits alongside the preceding one to show the ongoing spiritual, political, economic, social, physical and metaphysical connections that the people of Whangaroa have with their tribal territories. It details the intimate, practical knowledge and tikanga that support customary practices such as the mutton-birding, fishing, gardening and rongoa discussed in the sections that follow, while also drawing on interviewees' discussions of traditional concepts – such as whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga. It considers work, education, health and housing and other aspects of 'family life'. Overall, the chapter illustrates not only the communal nature of traditional living, when 'everything was shared around',[1] but also how whanau and hapu have tried to ensure that these life-ways continued through the twentieth century, and into the twenty-first. The customary practices of Whangaroa people have faced many challenges over time, and several interview contributors believe the abandonment of some formerly routine practices can be explained by the impacts of urbanisation – the absence of whanau from their homelands, and their subsequent inability to implement, and therefore transmit, the traditional knowledge required to keep these practices alive. The chapter therefore, moves through the key themes of the interviews considering both relevant customary practices and contemporary issues.

[1] Mae Hona, interviewed by Aroha Harris, 20 January 2010.

Mutton Birding

Mutton birding is a customary activity about which many of the interview contributors spoke, recalling childhood memories of gathering, preparing, cooking and learning the seasons and cycles for titi or oi. These activities are deeply ingrained with the ideals of whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga, and the birds themselves are remembered in the names that mark the land, for example, Pukehinu:

> Yes [Ririwha is also known as] Mahinepua but it's also known as Pukehinu. Pukehinu is at the mutton bird time. Different names at different times.[2]

The mutton birds referred to here are known as oi, named after their distinctive call – the 'o-hi' call.[3]. They are scientifically described as *pterodroma macroptera* or the northern mutton-bird.[4] The oi is a grey-faced petrel, and it remains in New Zealand waters, foraging widely over the east and west of New Zealand, and breeding during the winter months on the islands off the east coast of the North Island.[5] Oi are found on most of the islands off the Whangaroa coastline, including Ririwha (or Pukehinu), Motukawanui, Panaki, Piraunui Orokaraka, and Kahangaro. The birds are also known to nest as far north as Manawanui, and south to the Hauraki Gulf and Bay of Plenty.[6]

The more commonly known New Zealand mutton-bird are the titi or sooty shearwater, and these are found in much larger populations in the southern areas of the South Island, the Chathams, Auckland Islands and other islands of the southern coasts.[7] More recently, the titi have also been found in the Ruahine Ranges in Manawatu.[8] The titi migrates each year to the northern hemisphere, returning to the southern coasts of New Zealand in spring to prepare their nests for breeding.[9] Though the distinction between the titi and oi is clearly acknowledged, the korero gathered for this project focussed primarily on harvesting the oi from their unique habitat. Moreover, in Whangaroa, the tangata whenua have their own ways of classifying the birds. The customary understanding is that the oi are the coastal

[2] Ruiha Collier, interviewed by Aroha Harris, 19 Jan 2010. Located ten kilometres east of the Whangaroa Harbour entrance, Ririwha was also known as Tikipunga prior to Hongi Hika's time, and up to the time that Te Auha was killed there (Terrence Tauroa, Te Aeto Wananga, 3-5 April 2010).
[3] Murdoch Riley, *Maori Bird Lore: an introduction*, Paraparaumu, 2001, p.19.
[4] Department of Internal Affairs, Grey-faced Petrel (Northern Muttonbird) Notice 1979 (SR1979/237), 16 October 2009, http://www.legislation.govt.nz/regulation/public/1979/0237/latest/DLM67088.html, viewed 31 March 2010; and Foundation for Research Science and Technology, 'Research on Decline of Petrels', 30 April 2009, www.frst.govt.nz/results/success-stories/research-on-decline-of-petrels, viewed 31 March 2010.
[5] Elaine Power, *Seabirds of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1979, p.16.
[6] Riley, 2001, p.19.
[7] A. H. McLintock, ed., 'Mutton bird', in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966, at www.teara.govt.nz, viewed 31 Mar 2010.
[8] Aorangi Experiences, 'Return of the titi bird', 29 March 2008, www.hikoitreks.co.nz/titi-bird-walk.html, viewed 30 March 2010.
[9] Riley, 2001, p.19.

mutton bird, while the titi is their inland relative. Maungahorehore was one of the main places for titi, as kaumatua Te Uru Heta explained in a 1988:

> Maungahorehore i ki ai aku maatua, kei konei te titi e noho ana. I te wa kahore te kukupa e tika ana, kua kakehia e ratou nga paripari kia whiwhi ai ratou ki te titi. Na ko te kaitiaki o nga titi, ko tenei o nga maunga nei, ko kia nei ko Rotomanoao. Rotomanoao ta ratou korero mohio nei tatou. Tenei mea te roto, he roto wai, he roto tuna. Ko tenei, he roto Titi. Te maha o te Titi, i takahia nei te ao e tenei manu te titi. E mohiotia nei e etahi o tatou he oi. Tuku iho ki te ra nei, aa kei kona te titi e noho ana. I ki ai tenei kainga e oku maatua, tenei kainga ko Puketi. Aa me to ratou mohio ake e hia ke nga whakataunga mo Puketi. Heoi ano e whakapuaki ake ana ki te taha i mohio ahau. Ko enei nga korero i korerotia e aaku nei maatua[10]
>
> [My parents said to me that at Maungahorehore is where the titi stay. When it was not the season for pigeon they would climb the ridges [of Maungahorehore] to gather mutton bird. Now the caretaker of the mutton bird is this other mountain that is called Rotomanoao. Rotomanoao as their teachings have told us. These areas that we call lakes, there are lakes of water, or lakes of eels. This one is a lake of mutton birds, there were so many mutton bird there. They were so bountiful they covered the area. Some of us know this bird as oi. To this day, yes the mutton bird is still there. My parents said that this home is Puketi, yes and they knew how many areas there were in Puketi. However, this is the area that I know of. These are the things that my parents told to me.] (Note that Puketi is also known locally as Puketiti, the name being derived from the titi).

Like most coastal activities, mutton-birding is seasonal, occurring in late spring on the cusp of summer:

> Early November late October. Not long after Labour Weekend. Depends if its fine, but I think mid-November you've missed. They've flown.[11]
>
> My father and all my uncles went out….at the time that you're supposed to go out. You don't go out any time. No.[12]

Whanau would gather at the beach on a prearranged morning during the month-long harvest season. Interview contributors identified Tauranga, Te Ngaere, Putataua and Matauri among the beaches at which the mutton-birders and their whanau would gather. Each whanau would go to a particular island or group of rocky islets. Most of the harvesters made the same journey every year from childhood. They learned from hands-on experience the location of their particular whanau harvesting areas among the thousands of burrows along the cliffs and rocky shorelines of the coastal islands. They also learned to harvest in a way that was in tune with the life cycle of the oi, taking them when they are young and fat, or 'sweet and plentiful':

[10] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia – Whangaroa*, Television New Zealand, 1988.
[11] Mere Apiata, interviewed by Aroha Harris, 19 January 2010.
[12] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.

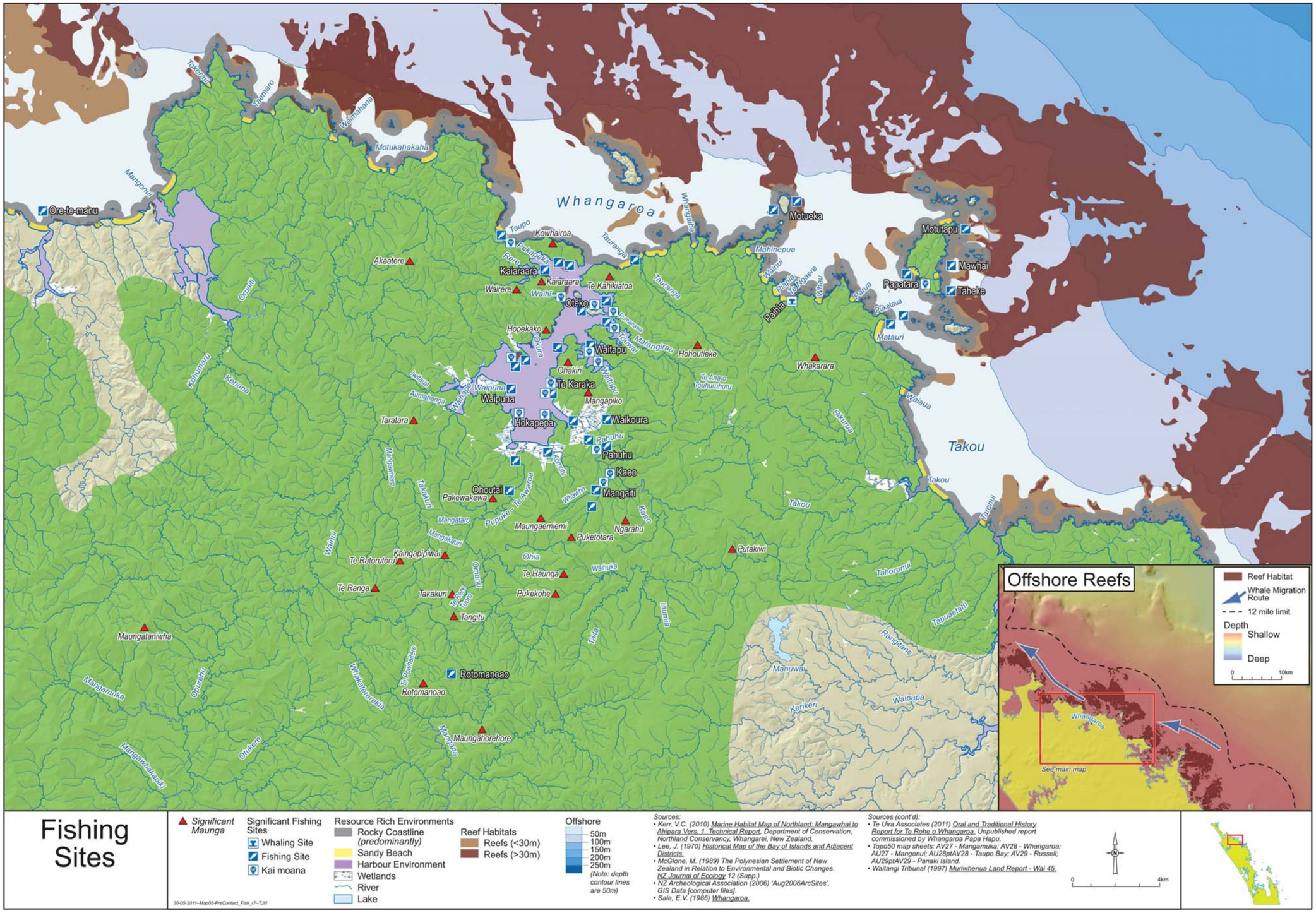
> It's good to know that the actual cycle.....so if we take them out in their peak form that cycle will remain.....Dad would say, leave the big ones, because they're not good to eat anyway, they're too tough, but they will....keep producing and the little ones will get through.[13]

The idea of leaving the adult birds is one that resonates with other marine life. Mutton-birders and fishers often learn from a young age that larger fish, birds and shellfish are typically the 'producers'. They should not be taken and eaten, but left to provide 'a future' for the children and mokopuna. This practice is a basic method of sustainable management.[14] Other species it applies to are paua and tamure, for example. Yet it is contrary to legislated fisheries regulations which emphasise a minimum size, whereas Whangaroa Maori might sometimes prefer a maximum one.

Harvesting the oi is fairly straightforward, and takes place when the young birds have hatched and are growing in their burrows, not yet able to leave their nests and fly. As the burrows are generally on cliff-faces or steep banks, one had to climb up to the burrow, put their hands in the holes and 'hug the side of the bank, feeling..ugh' for a warm bundle of feathers, being aware that another creature could be inhabiting the burrow.[15] Sometimes you have to reach in as far as your shoulder, or these days some people use supple-jack to wriggle the birds out, and once extracted, they are then killed quickly by wringing their necks.[16] Activities like mutton-birding are often gendered, and for some people it is something only men do. Several informants spoke predominantly of their 'uncles' and brothers harvesting oi. However, two women spoke about their experiences as young girls,[17] whilst two other women joined in mutton-birding expeditions as adults.[18]

Like fishers, Whangaroa mutton-birders need to keep an eye on the weather; understanding the local weather patterns and being able to forecast storms and bad weather demonstrates an aspect of traditional knowledge related to these coastal activities. Some cues about weather conditions can be taken from the local environment. For example, 'If you can't see Maungataniwha, then you don't leave the island', is a routine guideline for leaving Ririwha.[19] If the peak of Maungataniwha is visible from the Ririwha, then the weather would hold long enough to reach the mainland. This was an essential safety indicator as traditional waka transport meant that the trip from Te Ngaere to the Ririwha could take over two-and-a-half

[13] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[14] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[15] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[16] Personal Communication, Iwa Alker, 24 May 2010.
[17] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010; Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[18] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 3 June 2008; Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[19] Ruiha Collier interview, 13 January 2010.


Whangaroa
Takou
Ore-te-manu
Motueka
Motutapu
Mawhai
Papatara
Taheke
Matauri
Whakarara
Hohoutieke
Waitapu
Ohakiri
Te Karaka
Waipuna
Mangapiko
Waikoura
Hokapepa
Pahuhu
Kaeo
Mangaiti
Ohoutai
Pakewakewa
Maungaemiemi
Puketotara
Ngarahu
Putakiwi
Te Ratorutoru
Kaingapipiwai
Te Haunga
Pukekohe
Takakuri
Tangitu
Te Ranga
Maungataniwha
Rotomanoao
Maungahorehore
Hopekako
Oteko
Te Kahikiatoa
Kaiaraara
Kaiaraara
Wairere
Akaatere
Taupo
Kowhairoa
Pakapaka
Rere
Tauranga
Mahinepua
Waimuli
Papiha
Te Ngaere
Whau
Panua
Puketaua
Matangirau
Te Ana o Touhuruhuru
Waiaua
Hikurutu
Takou
Takou
Tahoranui
Tapuaetahi
Rangitane
Manuwai
Kerikeri
Waipapa
Inumia
Taita
Whakateterekita
Te Pouahiere
Ohuriahi
Mangamuka
Mangamaka
Oturehe
Mangawhakapiki
Kohumaru
Konana
Oruaiti
Mangonui
Motukahakaha
Waimahana
Taemaro
Tokerau
Waihaha
Waipuna
Iwitaua
Aumahanga
Taratara
Mangakahia
Takakuri
Mangakauri
Mangataro
Pupuke - Te Awaroa
Whawha
Kaeo
Waihuka
Ohia
Omanu
Te Rere
Tiaro
Mangahina
Oturehe
Waihaha
Waihi
Tauranga
Whangaroa
Pahuhu
Kaihihi
Offshore Reefs
Reef Habitat
Whale Migration Route
12 mile limit
Depth
Shallow
Deep
0
10km
See main map
Fishing Sites
Significant Maunga
Significant Fishing Sites
Whaling Site
Fishing Site
Kai moana
Resource Rich Environments
Rocky Coastline (predominantly)
Sandy Beach
Harbour Environment
Wetlands
River
Lake
Reef Habitats
Reefs (<30m)
Reefs (>30m)
Offshore
50m
100m
150m
200m
250m
(Note: depth contour lines are 50m)
Sources:
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Sources (cont'd):
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• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
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30-05-2011--Map05-PreContact_Fish_r7--TJN

hours.[1] With the availability of motorboats today, the annual harvest may only take one day, however before this, tupuna 'sometimes took ten days to get to the mutton birds, sometimes go for six, sometimes two, and then come home by heavy row boat'.

On their return to the beach, the boats and harvesters gathered together. At Te Ngaere, there was a puriri tree at which the 'putts' or boats landed.[2] The men showed off their catches, and a friendly rivalry was enjoyed as whanau from each boat boasted about the number of birds taken. They also prepared the catches: '...they would come back with all these birds – ooh, and they put them in mud and then put it in the fire'.[3] '...and that was another ritual, when you get back you pluck them, pluck them on the beach and you make a fire and you singe them. Yeah singe them and when you get home you gut them and, what else can you do, but put them in the oven'.[4] It is understood that some oi would be preserved for later use.

Although harvesting of the oi is a coastal activity, even inland hapu of Whangaroa were generally involved to some degree in the mutton-birding season. Whanaungatanga operated to ensure that inland or 'inner' hapu settlements could access various fishing grounds via their coastal relatives. Such 'agreements' that were mentioned in interviews included Ngati Kawau from Matangirau having access through Tauranga,[5] and Ngai Te Wake through Matauri.[6] These alliances between coastal and inner hapu meant that everyone shared an awareness of relevant kaitiaki management practices, and some interview contributors remember 'calling in to the house at the beach' every time they went, and prior to going mutton-birding, fishing or collecting kaimoana. The house was generally the home of a kaumatua, often the head of the whanau who was regarded as kaitiaki of that beach. The visit was as much to pay their respects as it was to discuss conditions, hazards, whanau or hapu areas, and other matters relevant to kaitiaki practices. Through visits such as these, each group of harvesters, gatherers or fishers maintained their respective alliances and their knowledge of the places and areas where they (and perhaps others) were expected to go to gather their kai.

Some interview contributors pointed out the interconnections between the oi and various other creatures of the sea. Although the oi does not migrate to the northern hemisphere, Ruiha Collier described the oral tradition of the oi carrying roimata north to Manawatahi, beyond Cape Reinga. The oi then returns, and the roimata are taken on from Manawatahi by the kuaka, a migrating bird, whose flight corresponds with the migration of the orca whale towards Hawaiki.[7] Other informants described a local relationship between the oi and the tuatara. Iwa Alker, a kuia from Te Ngaere, was told that tuatara were from Te Ao Turoa – 'they were tupuna of her tupuna'. One morning when Iwa was a child sitting on the beach waiting for the karakia that usually preceded a trip to Ririwha, she saw a stone move. It started raining and she was told to go to the flax but refused because she had been told that was where the tuatara lived – she had seen the stone move and believed that the tuatara were there.[8] Some interview contributors acknowledged the system of burrow-sharing that exists between the oi and tuatara.[9] One informant said that the burrows were also sometimes shared with penguins and on one occasion that she knew of, a first-time gatherer mistakenly collected penguins instead of oi.[10]

In recent decades, tangata whenua have become increasingly concerned with a marked decline in oi populations, a trend that was confirmed by an individual whanau member who conducted an oi population survey on Ririwha some years ago.[11] Interview contributors offered a number of reasons for this decline; one of the most harmful, in terms of the invasion of customary rights by the Crown, has been the Department of Conservation's introduction of the Pycroft's Petrel into the nesting burrows on Ririwha in the 1980s.[12] According to Power, the Pycroft's Petrel nests under boulders on well-forested islands from October onwards, and are barely distinguishable from Cook's Petrels which are also referred to as titi.[13] At least three interview contributors expressed their disapproval of this so-called 'conservation' project, which allegedly went ahead with insufficient consultation with the tangata whenua.[14]

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[1] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 3 June 2008.
[2] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 3 June 2008.
[3] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[4] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[5] Ani Taniwha, interviewed by Aroha Harris, 7 January 2010.
[6] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[7] Ruiha Collier interview, 13 January 2010.
[8] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 3 June 2008.
[9] Ani Taniwha interview, 7 January 2010.
[10] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 3 June 2008.
[11] Ani Taniwha interview, 7 January 2010
[12] Ani Taniwha interview, 7 January 2010; Terry Tauroa, pers. com,, 5 April 2010.
[13] Power, 1979, p.17.
[14] Ani Taniwha interview, 7 January 2010; Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010; and Pers. Comm., Terry Tauroa, 5 April 2010.

Another activity that has impacted on the oi population has been the alleged transgression of boundaries, harvesting off-season and going out more than once during the season. One informant noticed relatives who have returned to live in Whangaroa in recent times had unknowingly harvested oi from the wrong islands, or the appropriate island but the wrong group of burrows – they 'just don't ask'.[15] Neglecting to seek information and advice on these customary practices from long-term resident whanau is arguably a consequence of urbanisation and the disconnection of whanau and hapu from their traditional knowledge base. Similarly, this customary knowledge has been interrupted when it has not been handed down the generations. For example, though the custom of teaching children to mutton-bird has continued to the present day, at least one person interviewed felt it is a far more isolated occurrence rather than the regular event it used to be. In living memory, childhood exposure and experience was fundamental to the transmission of knowledge: 'it's a great experience and it is all part and parcel of giving someone a memory'.[16] Arguably the decline in these experiences has led to the loss of some of the aspects of this knowledge, the impact being the degradation of traditional methods of environmental management, and subsequently a decline in oi population. At the beginning of this millennium, the Ngati Kura hapu of Matauri were so concerned about the situation that they implemented a rahui on oi harvesting.[17] It is unclear from the information gathered how long this rahui was in place for, but the prohibition prevented whanau from leaving from the Matauri area, and therefore protected the oi nesting burrows on the Motukawa group of islands.

Nga Kaimoana

> At four years old, I was taken to sea and introduced to Tangaroa. At four in the morning, I was woken up. Next thing I know I was on this boat and there was my uncle's father rowing and unbeknown to me, they were teaching me I guess about the facts of life. I was that sick, I'll never forget. I wanted to die. I slept all day, got back that evening. I got ashore, they sent me home and I was straight into my bed with the thought - never again will they take me. Unbeknown to me, the same hour the following morning, they put me back into the boat again and from that point I started liking it, and I've never stopped liking the sea ever since.[18]

Practically all the oral sources consulted for this project talked about gathering kaimoana from Whangaroa's harbour and coasts. Learning about the sea and environs was often integrated with daily activity and characterised childhood experiences. Indeed, children were students from their earliest years, as indicated by the kaumatua quoted above. Involving children in sea-based activities such as fishing and gathering kaimoana, is important to maintaining regular interaction with Tangaroa and to eat from his food baskets. Most of the people interviewed spoke in some way of developing their experiences and understandings of the sea from a young age, as was the case with Mae Hona:

> Yeah well they always go every day, so as soon as someone, one of my Aunties was going, I'd show myself out so she can wave me on, so she wave me down and I go "oh I'm going to the beach with so-and-so" and I'm off.[19]

Interview contributors like Mae, who grew up in one of the many coastal settlements around Whangaroa, talked about daily trips to the beach. For these whanau and hapu, the kai gathered would vary with the tide – either fish from the sea; kina, paua, bubu or ngaki from the rocks; or pipi from the sandy beaches – 'you could just step out there and could feel under your feet…you know and they were big'.[20]

As with mutton-birding, fishing was a communal activity including for those who lived in the inner and upper harbour areas, as a kaumatua from an inner hapu at Kaingapipiwai recollects:

> …all up the valley, whanau would pick pipi or whatever by the moon – Maramataka Maori – everyone know when the tides were right and everyone went in one big group….got horses and started from the top, pick up people on way down the valley…heaps of people who spent the whole day there, got seafood, pipi. Those that didn't or couldn't go would wait at the gates for their share in the evening when the group returned home…no one would go again until the tides were right again, the following month…it was the natural way to look after the beds, Maori way of conservation.[21]

Such fishing trips were regulated by the moon and tides, and 'when the time was right, off we went'. The seasons of the year determined the appropriate times for fishing different species of fish as Mere Apiata explained:

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[15] Mere Apiata, 19 January 2010.
[16] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[17] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[18] Hone Ututaonga, interviewed by Mike Smith, 6 December 2006.
[19] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[20] Louie Katene, interviewed by Mike Smith, 5 January 2007.
[21] Anumatao Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, 5-7 April 2009.

> ...from [when] the mutton-birding finishes in mid-November, there's a lull in the sea for about two weeks, and that's when the whanau start moving to the beach. The takeke, mullet and kahawai are fished over these months.... followed in late-February, mid-March by the maomao...they used to spread into winter sometimes and that's when we'd come home, after that. From July-August, the snapper and other deep[-water] fish start to get fat....and between August and November, the big ones come in - hapuka, karati and tamure - the big ones. These are not taken; they are the producers.[22]

Mere also commented on the ability of her father to go fishing for a particular fish and without fail, return with only that type of fish.[23] It was an ability that enabled fishermen to prepare with the appropriate hooks, bait and other tools, to ensure they caught the fish that was plentiful at that time. The examples of bait given by informants included crayfish tails to catch terakihi, [24] pipi for maomao and paua pe for snapper.[25] From the wahapu o Whangaroa, the kahawai and mullet were caught as they headed up and down the many rivers that empty into the harbour. Flounder and parore also thrived in the large tidal inlets or mudflats of the inner and upper harbour areas. This kind of knowledge of Whangaroa fisheries also influenced the annual migration of whanau to their sea-side lands. Whanau from Matauri talked about shifting their lodgings to the beach near Mangawhai where they would stay for the summer months. This is an old practice, and tangata whenua communities throughout the motu are known to have relocated to their seaside residences during the summer, making the most of the available kai: 'it's not to get a tan, it's because the kai in the summer are ready and it's the only kai we used to eat in the summer'.[26]

As with mutton-birding, it was understood that the smaller fish should be taken, the babies, or the 'undersize' ones according to today's fishing regulations. This was and still is a conservation practice, the understanding being that the 'big ones' will continue producing and ensure that the cycle continues. It is also commonly known that the bigger ones were old, tough and hard to eat, informants laughing at the thought of trying to eat a packhorse crayfish, or a large, old paua for instance – 'you have to tart it up with thousand island dressing, you can't eat it without it, it's tough and it's strong. But you eat a nice baby crayfish - oh it's sweet! They've got it so wrong'.[27]

The methods of fishing mentioned by informants included nets and lines. Hone Ututaonga, who fished commercially for forty years, talked about fishing with hand-lines:

> Hooks, two lines, two short lines each, fish all night and then row all night from Mahinepua to Matauri to unload, row back.....I guess the best nights fishing I had was 1800 pounds from 6 o'clock in the evening to midnight and that's with two fulla's fishing. That's what we unloaded the following day.[28]

One kuia from Te Ngaere noted the use of taruke - crayfish pots that were made from flax and supple-jack.[29] This skill was renowned in Waitaruke and is mentioned as being the origin of that name.[30] Contributors could not think of anyone living who can make traditional taruke, and commercially purchased cray-fish pots are used today. Traditionally, many fishing related activities took place in close proximity to the fishing grounds, or more specifically the tauranga waka used by the fishing boats. One such place is Pahuhu, near the mouth of the Kaeo River, a well-known tauranga waka for the numerous pa surrounding it. Pahuhu was well known as an area used for drying fish for winter supply, as was Pinea in the upper harbour area, and Tauranga and Taupo on the coast.

[22] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[23] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[24] Mae Hona interview, 19 January 2010.
[25] Pers. Comm., Hinemoa Pourewa. 23 May 2010.
[26] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[27] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[28] Hone Ututaonga interview, 6 December 2006.
[29] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[30] Wake Tua, Research Hui, 23-24 April 2010.



Drying Tamure. A whanau group, probably at Taupo Bay.[31]

As with other hapu agreements regarding access and location, specific areas were regarded as the fishing grounds of particular hapu, and were thus regarded as being under their jurisdiction. Fishing grounds were described by using coastal landmarks, such as Whakarara, a prominent peak above Te Ngaere. Other landmarks used were islands, river mouths and prominent rock formations. Many of these locations were remembered through whakatauki, and each fishing ground, as with the rocks, bays and other features of the sea-scape, had a name and whakapapa associated with it. As an example, Kaiaraara, the fishing ground known for its abundance of trevally, has the Kaitangata hapu as its kaitiaki.[32] Other tangata whenua names in the area similarly point to the depth of those relationships between Whangaroa people, their land and their sea. For example, Kahikatoa – which is the name for both a block of land on the eastern side of the harbour entrance and the name of the peak on that block:

> It's not really Kahikatoa. They called it 'Ka-ika-katoa' – the fish of everyone – and you see the outline of [the ridge] as you look over there. See - you can see the outline of the top of the ika. That's where Kingfish Lodge is.[33]

The naming, whakapapa and kaitiakitanga relationships that attend these places provide a specific knowledge not readily available to non-locals, a knowledge that holds its own against modern technologies such as the global positioning system (GPS).

The custom of sharing was and is routine and interview contributors unanimously agreed that when 'one net's empty, the full net you share'.[34] As one informant explained: 'If anybody goes out fishing, he comes back and yells, "Wanna fish?"' On the main [road], by the old house, might be up there, he leaves a fish there and then carries on to the next one'.[35] This practice continues today, though arguably to a lesser degree. Whanau who live in Whangaroa commonly provide fish and kaimoana to their urban-based relations when a celebration or other gathering occurs. As well, whanau that return for holidays and other short visits, will often take some of the 'fruits of Tangaroa' back with them, and to the homes of their whanaunga. The gifting of kaimoana to kaumatua, or perhaps whanau less able to go fishing themselves, is almost a daily occurrence in among nga tangata whenua o Whangaroa. Kaumatua often mention finding kai left on their doorstep or at their gates by whanaunga – perhaps a bag of pipi, a bucket of oysters, a crayfish, flounder, mullet or whatever kai is in season. There is no concern by those providing the kai to identify themselves - they are merely sharing and looking after their elders, who would have done the same in their younger days.

Whaling has long been outlawed in New Zealand, but in the Whangaroa area there are many remnants of whaling activities, which seem to have continued into fairly recent time. There is a long-held expectation that tohora will be shared with other hapu, as was the case when one was beached at Te Ngaere many years ago. One of the Te Ngaere kaumatua remembers hapu arriving from neighbouring Wainui, Piapia and Matauri to

[31] Henry Winkelmann, *Fishing Group, Whangaroa*, 1902, Ref: 2159, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland.
[32] Wake Tua, Research Hui, 23-24 April 2010.
[33] Ruiha Collier interview, 13 January 2010.
[34] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[35] Toka Williams, interviewed by Aroha Harris, 20 January 2010.

extract their share of the huge carcass.[36] There are historical precedents too, such as in the case of Hongi's sister demanding a share of a whale in the possession of Whiro, discussed in chapter five. In a much earlier time, Kupe had named the northern-most island out from Motukawanui Toharanui.[37] So, like many other living things to which people connect to tohora through whakapapa and kaupapa.

The practice of sharing whales distributed not only food, but also materials for pendants, tools, weapons, clothing, oil and other resources. Nothing was wasted, everything was used. A number of contributors from different parts of Whangaroa shared childhood memories of playing around on large whale bones as they were being dried in the sun for later use.[38] In Te Ngaere each whanau also possessed very unique milking chairs:

> I tera wa nga whanau, kaue ke nga wheketere, nga mihini miraka kau penei au e kite nei inaianei na, tumai te kau kona, kua hama te waewae na kua mirakangia. Ngari nga turu i mirakangia nga kau i taua wa ko nga wheua o te weera. Ratou katoa, nga whanau katoa o konei, koia a ratou turu. [The families in those days, there were no factories, no milking machines like you see these days, no, the cow stood over there, you smack their legs and milk them. But the chairs for milking the cows in those times were the back bones of the whale. All of them, all the families from here, that was our chairs (for milking)].[39]

Interview contributors from Te Ngaere also spoke of watching the oil being melted down in their whale pot – which still sits outside Ngaitupango marae – a clear reminder of the days when whaling boats consistently visited the Whangaroa coastline. Many were involved in this industry, and they recall the whale oil stored in wooden kegs: 'there was still alot of oil there in my time…they used it for ploughs and things…and the fat part that was left over…we used to eat it with kumara'. Mention was also made of a whaling ship owned and operated by the Ngati Ruamahue hapu of Wainui,[40] and the gifting of their whale pot to the people of Waitangi in the 1940s.[41] Informants agreed that the coastal settlements of Whangaroa – Matangirau, Wainui, Te Ngaere and Matauri – were major participants in the whaling industry and a number of tupuna were named as being renowned for their harpooning skills, such as Te Wirihananui[42] and Maaka Te Tahua.[43]

Overall, whaling practices have long been discontinued and, indeed, outlawed. Such discontinuance disrupts an ancient connection, one that reflects broader connections to land and sea, and which is encouraged to flourish when customary practices associated with the tohora are allowed to continue uninhibited by law. Hone Ututaonga described his understanding of these connections as beginning with mauri:

> That is where it starts, the mauri…it starts on your inside because the mauri is the connection to all those things and when you're disconnected from your fishing, it affects you participating; what you're brought up with, what you've lived with, it's intrinsic with our well being. It happens to all people in all walks of life - when you're taken away from something that you've always done. You lose….the wairua, the spirit of it'.[44]

Besides making an intrinsic connection to customary fishing and fisheries, this quote also comments on the loss of fishing practices, fishing rights and traditional fishing resources that followed in the wake of the Quota Management System introduced in 1986. In particular, the livelihoods of many Whangaroa whanau, who could not compete with commercial fishers, have been affected. Informants from Matauri recalled how local fishmongers would travel from Kaeo and Kaikohe to trade with the fishermen, - 'they'd come out every week and pick up the fish off the fisherman….so they had the buyer coming out and it was everyone and anyone I guess who could supply the fishmonger with the fish'.[45] This scenario has not been maintained into the twenty-first century, and contemporary concerns regarding customary fishing and fisheries emerged very clearly as a theme across all the oral sources that have contributed to this paper.

All contributors agreed that the availability of fish and other kaimoana has decreased, both in size and numbers. They gave a variety of reasons – some blame the negative impact of pollution from coastal and land developments; others the progressive technology of the fishing industry. All of the older informants perceived the lack of knowledge and understanding of the creatures of Tangaroa – their growth, development and reproduction – as being one of the major reasons for depletion of the fisheries:

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[36] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[37] Tahua Murray, Research Wananga, Matangirau, 2 May 2009
[38] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 29 September 2009; Mae Hona and Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[39] Iwa Alker, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 3 May 2010.
[40] Mae Hona and Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[41] Tahua Murray, Research Wananga, 3 June 2008.
[42] Ruiha Collier, Research hui, 24 April 2010.
[43] Patricia Tauroa, Te Aeto wananga, 5-7 April 2009.
[44] Hone Ututaonga interview, 6 December 2006
[45] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.

> The quota system and limits on customary fishing are portrayed as necessary to conserve fish stocks. In reality, as fishing has become a major capitalist export industry over the past decade, the needs of the major companies are put ahead of preservation of the resource.[46]

This understanding was the rationale for two Whangaroa fishermen who refused to accept the introduction of the fishing regulations and the Quota Management System, asserting that the regulations being imposed by the government did not uphold customary fishing rights. As reported in the *Militant* in 1998, John Hikuwai did not sell his catch to one of the larger fish suppliers as required by the government's directive. Instead, he distributed his catch in exchange for koha, to whanau and marae in the greater Auckland area. At the same time, Hone Ututaonga (or Paddy Paki as he is known locally) acted similarly by taking his catch to the Kaeo township and providing fish to local whanau in exchange for donations of cash or other resources:

> We are not going to stop… It is survival time. Everything in the sea is being killed. It is the commercial sector that is raping and killing. We only take for our needs. We want to feed our own people.[47]

Both of these fishermen were asserting the customary fishing rights that He Wakaputanga o Nga Rangatira o Nu Tireni guaranteed. They, along with others, had registered their fishing boats under He Wakaputanga or the Confederation of Chiefs of the United Tribes of New Zealand and put to sea under the flag of He Wakaputanga. The two men concerned were arrested and charged. They had in essence, been forcibly stopped from continuing their traditional practice in what had become a commercial industry. Their charges were later dropped as the Ministry of Fisheries did not have enough information or rules on customary fishing.[48] It remains as a reminder that a degree of tangata whenua dissatisfaction with current fisheries laws and regulations continues into the present. In particular, there is a view that the decline in fishing stocks not only continues but also seems to be acknowledged by a reduction in allowable catches in the commercial sector. Yet little notice is taken of the basic concerns of customary Maori fishers.[49]

Gardening

> I can remember the rows and rows of [kumara], you know somebody would be putting the plants down, someone digging a hole, someone putting the plants in, someone else coming up and….you know so that just went down the line.[50]

> During the planting, all the whanaus [sic] came together to help each other. And when it was time to harvest, the same thing applied.[51]

Like mutton-birding and fishing, gardening has occupied generations of the whanau and hapu of Whangaroa. Archaeological evidence suggests that traditional Maori gardening was generally confined to New Zealand's coastal areas 'where the severity and number of frosts are limited', and the incidence of gardening increased progressively the further north it occurred.[52] In Whangaroa, at least two large archaeological studies have each confirmed that gardening was prevalent around the coastal areas of the region, as well as in the large bays of the harbour.[53] Certainly several interview contributors remember large-scale gardening in the many sheltered valleys, not only along the coast, but also further inland. Coastal residents remember the entire valleys of Wainui, Mahinepua, Te Ngaere and Matauri being cultivated.[54] Other informants spoke about large cultivations at Te Kainganui[55] and Mangapiko;[56] large communal gardens at Kaikinikini that covered the river flats and surrounding terraces,[57] and further up the valley at Te Patunga; [58] to the north at Waitaruke,[59] Waihapa,[60] and at Mangawhero where 'huge fields of sugarcane' were grown.[61] Even the Motukawa islands continued to be planted with 'great crops' well into living memory, and local Maori grazed cattle and sheep on Motukawaiti even though it has no fresh water supply.[62]

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[46] Hone Ututaonga, quoted in Janet Roth, 'New Zealand Government Tries to Limit Maori Fishing Rights', *Militant*, 62, 6, 16 February 1998.
[47] Roth.
[48] Roth.
[49] Patricia Tauroa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[50] Amelia Oppenheim, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 19 March 2010.
[51] Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[52] L, Furey, *Maori Gardening: An Archaeological Perspective*, Wellington, 2006, p.21.
[53] J. Stretton and R. Cassels, 'Whangaroa Harbour, Northland Area: From Te Ngaire to Tauranga Bay', New Zealan Historic Places Trust, Auckland, 1976; R. Brassey, 'Archaeological Sites in Compartments 30-33 Otangaroa State Forest 115', Auckland Conservancy, 1986.
[54] Toka Williams and Mae Hona, 20 January 2010; Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010; Hone Ututaonga interview, 6 December 2006.
[55] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[56] Nuki Aldridge, Research Hui, 19 September 2009.
[57] Anumatao Tauroa, Te Aeto Wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[58] Pers. Comm., Victor Heke, March 2010.
[59] Bill Wilson, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 26 March 2010.

Large-scale gardening has been practiced for generations in the Whangaroa district. For example, Mangataro – the stream at Kaingapipiwai that marks the boundary of nga hapu Te Patunga and Te Aeto – takes its name from the sweetness of the taro that were grown there.[63] Kupe is said to have gardened at Motuekaiti and Motuekanui. And in his time, Te Pahi is said to have traded the garden produce of those islands.[64] One informant was told that the entire islands of Motueka, Motuekaiti and Mahinepuaiti were once cultivated: 'When Kupe came here this place was in a major eruption and our people fled there (the islands), and to the Poor Knights in Whangarei…they couldn't return (to the mainland) until the greenery or whatever it might be, showed that the place was habitable again'.[65] Large cultivations on Motukawanui are known to have existed in more recent times, as one kaumatua recalled: 'I can remember my tupuna saying they used to live there on it…. There were two long kumara gardens there'.[66]

Interview contributors confirm that kumara was a principal food crop, and that the garden areas cultivated were generally large and productive. Other crops mentioned by informants included peruperu, kamokamo, kanga, riwai, squash, watermelon, cabbage and pumpkin. Some sources also mentioned that they grew tohuka and peanuts, and shared their seeds with others.[67] Informants also generally spoke about plentiful harvests of apples, oranges, plums, lemons, grapefruit, pears and peaches from the orchards commonly found around the region. As with other food resources, the fruits were shared around the whanau – 'everybody came when the plums were ready because there was so much of it'.[68]

Besides gardening, kai was also harvested from Te Waonui a Tane. Interview contributors talked about kai such as nikau, rito, harori, poroporo and ruruhau, as well as taro, puha and watercress. One informant described how taro was picked and replanted immediately, - 'we get the taro and we cut the top leaf off and then when you cut the top part of the taro you then transplant it again back into the bank for it to grow again for the next time round. Then the leaf at the top of the taro you can use for cabbage or salad, like watercress'.[69] Interview contributors also mentioned the berries of the taraire, tawhara and karaka trees – children often picked and ate the first two while playing or walking to and from school, the beach or the river.[70] The karaka berries, on the other hand, were gathered and then stringently processed to avoid poisoning as they were toxic if eaten raw. They would be put in a copper and covered with water. The fire would be lit and the karaka berries would be left to simmer slowly for three or four days until softened, staying covered with water the whole time. Nowadays karaka can be simmered on a stove, and it only takes one or two days. After that they are put in a sugar bag or onion bag and placed in a fresh water creek, along with a stone or brick to make sure they don't float away and stay under the water. After one or two weeks they can be eaten. Some whanau still regard the karaka berries or 'Maori peanuts' as a delicacy.[71]

Gardens were close to settlements, as much to make ongoing maintenance easier as to provide protection from predators, such as weka and pukeko. The rua, or storage pits, were also nearby, enabling easy access and transportation of produce, as well as protection from other whanau and hapu who might 'inevitably' raid the gardens or storage pits at any time.[72] As well as rua kumara dug into the ground, natural features of the Whangaroa landscape – such as caves at Matauri Bay, Te Ngaere and Matangirau – were also used to store kumara and potato.[73] At Matangirau, some gardeners used sheds for storage, still covering their produce over with dry dirt. Others dug pits in the ground. They put fern and dry grass on the bottom, 'put all the kumara in' and put grass and fern over the top, and then covered the whole arrangement over with dirt.[74] Anumatao Tauroa, a kaumatua from Ohoutai at Kaingapipiwai spoke about his hapu using four rua annually. Each rua was about two-and-a-half feet wide, and he recalls having to lay fern on the bottom, then kumara, followed by alternating layers of fern and kumara until the pit was full.[75] Bill Wilson recalled this same method being used for storing potato in the pits, with wheki from the punga fern being the material used for layering.[76] He also recalled a more 'modern' method of storing kumara - by drying the silt and sand from the river and putting the kumara in boxes in the dry sand.[77]

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[60] Louie Katene interview, 5 January 2007.
[61] Patricia Tauroa, Research Hui, 19 September 2009.
[62] 'Korero Wikiri', 4 March 1938.
[63] Arena Heta, Te Patunga wananga, 6-7 March 2010; and Terry Tauroa, Te Aeto Wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[64] Research Hui, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.
[65] Ruiha Collier interview, 13 January 2010.
[66] Toka Williams, Research wananga, 3 June 2008.
[67] Turo Tepania, interviewed by Te Uru Heta and Pita Pangari, 14 August 1995; and Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[68] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010.
[69] Rosie Renata, interviewed by Hinekaa Mako, 7 December 2006.
[70] Bill Wilson interview, 16 March 2010; Mae Hona and Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[71] Pers. Comm., Iwa Alker, 23 May 2010.
[72] Lane Tauroa manuscript.
[73] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010; Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010; and Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[74] Karanga Pourewa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[75] Anumatao Tauroa, Te Aeto Wananga, 3-5 April 2010.
[76] Bill Wilson interview, 16 March 2010.

All interview contributors mentioned that the larger whanau or hapu groups cooperated in their gardening activities – communal participation being critical to the productivity of such large gardens. There was a degree of reciprocity involved: 'each whanau goes and helped the other one – round and round they go'.[78] Tasks that were shared in this manner included ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting.

> If one family can't make a garden around their place, well you know, they come over to your place and we say "That is your side" and you know, we all weed it, the whole lot. They'd come with their food and we take food down to the garden and we all share it.[79]

Community cooperation was not just in terms of the tasks involved, but also the agreed use of land for cultivation.[80] These agreements were mutually beneficial as whanau would be allocated areas and tasks – 'all individual but communally worked where one whanau had a big garden and the rest of the whanau went and helped plant'.[81]

Maintaining the gardens was a major activity, and Captain Cook's records testify to the 'neatness and weed-free state' of Maori cultivations.[82] In more recent times, a number of informants recall grandparents weeding 'all day'. As with fishing, the knowledge and practices associated with gardening was transmitted inter-generationally, and included important roles for children who worked alongside their parents and elders. One informant recalled being taught by his grandfather, how to plant, weed and hoe.[83] Children's tasks varied depending on the time or season. Some had to round up the horses for ploughing, and then take care of them afterwards; others had to weed and hoe the garden after coming home from school. At harvest time, children cleared out the pits in preparation for storage, sorted out the different sized kumara, and helped with the layering and storing of the harvested crops.[84] Children were shown how to plant and grow crops and this continues to this day, many adults makin 'sure they see this for their survival'.[85] Some early informants suggested 'the gardens became the responsibility of women and girls' when the men were away involved in logging.[86] This scenario supports the ideals of everyone pulling their weight and contributing to the labour force that ensured the ongoing productivity of the gardens.

Some whanau and hapu in Whangaroa continue to garden in a communal manner, and there has been an upsurge of it in recent decades. One such attempt, by the Ngati Kura hapu at Matauri, progressed well in the 1990s. Not only did the hapu produce crops for their own whanau needs, but they also produced enough to trade for equipment, tools and other resources. This continued for some time – men, women and children all working together, living and learning the traditional knowledge of gardening, and the customary practice of trade: 'this was the lifestyle we wanted to bring back.....this is to do with our traditions...we just wanted to pick it up and put the land in a better state than what it was'.[87] Mere Apiata, one of the women involved with this Ngati Kura project invoked a special moment she had had when gardening with her children. Pointing to a photo of the period she said:

> It was about here, in one of these rows about there, I was left to myself and it just happened at the right time you know, there was some horse flies buzzing around, and you could smell...the smell...man it took me back in time and I could actually, literally remember myself going like this, and I was on my father's stomach as a baby in the same spot....[88]

Soon after that moment, Mere was arrested and charged with 'injuring the land'. Her justification for her actions was that the land being gardened was traditionally Ngati Kura, and under multiple-ownership. Many years earlier, the block had been placed under an incorporation established by some of the owners. When the trustees became aware of the cultivations they directed that the whanau who were gardening should pay a lease. The whanau refused as in their opinion the land belonged to them. Their offer of kumara to the trustees, which could be on-sold to recover the desired lease fee, did not satisfy the trustees. Thus Mere was arrested, charged, and later imprisoned, a ruling that apparently even disappointed the judge at the time.[89] In more recent years, a wider group of hapu, including Ngati Kura, Ngati Miro and Ngati Miru, have

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[77] Bill Wilson interview, 16 March 2010.
[78] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[79] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[80] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[81] Hone Ututaonga interview, 6 December 2006.
[82] Furey, p.11.
[83] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010
[84] Mere Apiata interview 19 January 2010; Toka Williams and Mae Hona interview 20 January 2010.
[85] Harata Toms, Research Hui, 3 June 2008.
[86] Lane Tauroa manuscript.
[87] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[88] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[89] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.

established communal gardens near the coastal road at Mahinepua. These communal gardens have been prepared, planted and cultivated in the traditional manner as the hapu continue to see the importance of teaching and utilising the methods and practices of their tupuna, to enable the continuation of such customary and sustainable management practices.[90]

Such practices determined that an area established for the purpose of passing on and developing skill, technology and knowledge, known as the nohoanga, was nearby. At Mahinepua the nohoanga was near the beach, with the gardens and rua about a mile upstream at Whai Repo. The nohoanga was also the place where equipment was stored, repaired and manufactured; produce from the garden and sea was bartered and, perhaps more importantly, the world view was discussed, taught and reaffirmed. This view is based around the whanaungatanga of Papatuanuku and Tangaroa, the maramataka Maori which uses the moon and stars to guide the daily, monthly and seasonal cycle of gardening and fishing tasks, and the rahui system to maintain balance and harmony in the ecosystem. As Hone Ututaonga put it: 'the kumara was one of the basic diets, the ika was the kinaki'.[91]
This connectedness was taught as it was practiced – children and other students were expected to start in the gardens, with tasks such as storing the kumara in a certain manner in the rua to ensure that air could still circulate between the layers of fern and tubers; or learning to plant the rows in the same direction that the stream is flowing to ensure the energies of Papatuanuku and Tangaroa are flowing as one. After becoming adept in the gardens of Rongomatane, students graduated to learning about Tangaroa and his related activities.

Consistent with these practices, was and is the tohatoha, a measure of reciprocity and resource distribution based on effort put into managing the resource.[92] In recent years tohatoha has been applied in parts of Whangaroa to divide crops into three equal parts - the first is distributed equally among all whanau and hapu of the area; the second is divided according to those who contributed to and participated in the gardening; and the third is used for seed or for trade at a hapu-level, ensuring enough seed is kept for the next crop, allowing the system to continue.[93] These nohoanga could therefore be regarded as a commercial arm of the hapu system, where the objectives are to generate produce for both sustenance and economic activities, or in other words, for trade. Importantly, it is also an approach that attempts to regenerate traditional practices associated with Whangaroa and its environs and resources.

Rongoa

Ngaitupango are the kaitiaki of Wairere, a waterfall at Te Ngaere, known for its' healing properties and used by nga hapu o Whangaroa for spiritual, emotional and physical cleansing.[94]

Rongoa is often used to describe the medicines that are produced from native plants in New Zealand; from their flowers, leaves, barks, roots, seeds, nectar and resin. Rongoa not only prevented many illnesses, but also remedied them.[95] Whangaroa informants take a broader view, and consider that the term rongoa encompasses all treatments that are aimed at preventing or remedying an illness or injury and activities such as waiata, mirimiri, washing (particularly in fresh water) and karakia.[96] For example, a visit to Wairere for bathing and karakia is customary for many whanau and hapu that are leaving Whangaroa for an extended time or journey, and on their return, Wairere is habitually their first destination.[97]

Tales of warning often promote the effectiveness of rongoa, such as an incident in which someone apparently did not go to the creek to wash after leaving the urupa at Towai, in Matangirau, following a burial. Washing in fresh water was, and still is, the accepted practice there (and in many other areas) as a means of spiritual and emotional cleansing following tangihanga. After partaking in the customary hakari, this whanaunga paid his compliments and began preparing for his departure. Within half an hour, he was frothing at the mouth and in incredible pain. A kuia took him straight to the creek with some bread, immersed him completely, and also rubbed bread all over him, performing karakia throughout. It is difficult to say why or how, but this action 'cleansed' the person involved who recovered shortly afterwards.[98]

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[90] As explained by Hone Ututaonga Paki to Thomas Hawtin, 2007-9. Pers. Comm., Thomas Hawtin, 16 April 2010.
[91] Hone Ututaonga interview, 6 December 2006.
[92] Henare et al, p.136.
[93] Pers. Comm., Thomas Hawtin, 16 April 2010.
[94] Pers. Comm., Iwa Alker, 24 May 2010.
[95] Matauranga Kura Taio Project, 'What is Rongoa Maori?' www.aoteamoana.co.nz/native/native.html, viewed 18 May 2010.
[96] Huhana Tawhai, Mana Wahine Hui, 24 May 2010.
[97] Pers. Com., Hazel Hape, September 2009; Pers. Com., Magoo Renata, April 2009.
[98] Karanga Pourewa, Mana Wahine Wananga, 22 May 2010.

Native plants are still regularly gathered for rongoa in Whangaroa, although their availability is constantly compromised by forestry, farming and development. Sustainability is paramount to ensure ongoing supply, particularly as some of the plants used for rongoa have other uses, such as food, weaving and carving.[99] Several older interview contributors commented that they no longer gather plants for rongoa as 'it's too far to go up to the bush' to find the right one.[100] Among the rongoa known to have been used at Mangaiti were: fronds of the punga fern as a poultice for boils (which could also be treated with dock leaves boiled up with oil[101]); flax-juice – after boiling, for abortions, post-natal care, and for fixing stomach aches (as it has a laxative affect); and tupakahi for bruising, soothing and healing hands roughened by hard outdoor work, and drawing out prickles and splinters.[102]

Most of those interviewed retold incidents where they either received rongoa themselves, or observed other whanau, particularly the elderly or children, being treated. Kuia Hariata Heke recalled that her grandmother and the other 'old people' regularly used kawakawa and kumarahou, korari and putaki, adding that the latter two were sour and bitter – but it worked.[103] She also spoke about dock being a common plant used, giving the names of two different types - runa and parerarera. Parerarera has fairly small leaves 'and you cut the veins, the juice comes out and then you put it on your cut'.[104] Hariata also recalled a sickness that affected a number of other children when she was younger. It may have been asthma, tuberculosis or the flu, she is not sure. But she does recall that the treatment for the sick children was to bathe them 'continuously', to 'boil up the kohiko', and to karakia. [105]

Rosie Renata recalled having to drink kawakawa, bathe in it, and sometimes inhale the steam from a boiling hot kawakawa brew, all treatments that assisted to 'puta o kino'.[106] A whanau member recalled being treated for an ear-ache by her grandmother:

> Crying all night. Screaming with sore ears. And she got out, boiled the kettle on the stove outside. Tipped some water, boiling water in a mug and put a handkerchief over the top. Put it up against the ears. Lie on it like that and it drew all the sand out. All of it come out. Oh it was painful but I'll never forget it sucked all the sand out of my ears.[107]

Other treatments recalled included tataramoa to treat coughs, or boiled for use in treating boils.[108] And the use of cobwebs to treat cuts is well-known as Mae Hona explained:

> I know when I had a cut over here…. I was picking the wheat and my mother was getting the wheat out and she got me here on her spade. So we went up to the house and got some cobwebs from outside. Put it on. No cleaning no, she just put it on there and wrapped it around. Two days – nothing. That's what I know for cuts like that.[109]

Whanau and Family Life

The themes discussed so far – mutton-birding, kaimoana, gardening and rongoa – featured prominently across all the interviews included in this chapter. These activities facilitate customary knowledge and practices that operate in whanau, hapu, community and marae settings. This section of the chapter offers an insight into and appreciation of the whanau and 'family life' in the Whangaroa rohe that typically underpinned the activities discussed so far. It works primarily with the living memories of interview contributors born and raised in Whangaroa from the 1920s to the 1950s to demonstrate their lived experiences of domesticity and family. The section considers some of the principles that maintained, sustained and challenged whanau lifeways and livelihoods in various Whangaroa settlements. It will show how families continued to draw on the 'traditional' knowledge and practices passed down to them, while also becoming full participants (and dependants) in an economic system that did not exist in the lives and times of their tupuna. It covers such topics as child-birth and child-rearing, education, te reo Maori, the movement of whanau away from Whangaroa and the subsequent return and re-settlement of whanau back to Whangaroa. Importantly, the section includes some discussion of housing and employment, the socio-economic matters that came through particularly strongly in the interviews. The intention here is to at least indicate the kinds of socio-economic impacts that Whangaroa families faced. In fact, as discussed in the introduction, socio-economic impacts are outside the project brief on which basis the WPH commissioned this research. However, it is useful for this

[99] What is Rongoa Maori? www.aoteamoana.co.nz/native/native.html, viewed 18 May 2010.
[100] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[101] Bill Wilson interview, 16 March 2010.
[102] Mangaiti hapu histories hui, 21 November 2010.
[103] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[104] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[105] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[106] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[107] Huia Williams, during an interview by Aroha Harris of Mae Hona and Toka Williams, 20 January 2010.
[108] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[109] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.

report to identify and include any relevant socio-economic issues that arose during the korero whanau interviews, even if simply to propose what issues could be further researched in the near future. To that end, this section ought to be read as indicative of what else might be achieved should the WPH undertake a fuller programme of oral history research.

Whanau and Whanaungatanga

Before proceeding, it is worth briefly exploring a Whangaroa concept of family or whanau, and their place in the world. As prominent kaumatua Pereme Porter points out, 'Maori culture is a culture of relationships':

> Our existence is based on our relationships with everyone, and with everything and everyone in Te Ao Marama as creatures that whakapapa to the source of that creation, the creed of the cosmos.[110]

Furthermore, it is important to understand that relationships begin with a name – everything and everyone has one:

> Nobody is without a name and everything in creation, as far as Maori people are concerned, has a name and as a consequence of having a name, there is a relationship and that relationship is about preservation (one) and (two) to make sure that it keeps on preserving.[111]

Several of those interviewed, explained how their names preserved the knowledge of their relationship with tupuna and also, therefore, their relationships within the whanau. As an example, the kuia Ameila Oppenheim, who was born in the wharenui at Waitaruke in 1931, explained her name this way:

> My mother was the 8th of 11 children. I mention this because the youngest sister, her name was Daisy Tita and she fell ill and came back to home to die. And when she died I was the first one to come after, so they named me after her. But the Catholic Church didn't really, you know, you had to have a Christian name. They couldn't have Tita or Daisy so my parents called me Amelia. Now the reason for that was that apparently she was so ill, and my mother was heavily pregnant at the time; very, very sick. And she always used to say "miria mai ahau, miria mai ahau" and so they got the nearest which was Amelia. When my mother told me, afterwards I was very pleased to have been given that name. Tita was my family name. Daisy was what my uncles and the people of the village called me – there's nobody now that can call me Daisy.[112]

Louie Elizabeth June Katene (nee Riwhi), a kuia from Waihapa was given three names, each enabling the preservation of a certain relationship to another person. Her first name was chosen in honour of the kindness shown to her mother by a woman who could not conceive; her second name was an English translation of one of her tupuna whaea; and her third was in recognition of being born in the same month that her paternal grandfather died.[113]

Returning to Pereme Porter's korero, he shows how names and relationships often originate from a time before pregnancy and childbirth:

> A Maori infant in a mother's womb, which is referred to by my grandmothers and great grandmothers as ta uma atua, the divine womb, also known as te ahurewa, the sanctuary of harmony – I sometimes question the harmony - is imbued with manifold mana, authority drawn from various sources, the first of these being mana tangata – human authority; the second, mana toto - authority from blood kin; the third mana tatai – authority from geneology; the fourth, mana tupuna – ancestral sovereignty; the fifth, mana whenua – ecosystemic sovereignty, and then number six – mana atua – divinity.[114]

In a 1995 interview, Turo Tepania offered a practical explanation of childbirth, thus:

> I nga wa o mua te whanau tikina nga pepi nei na. Horekau ke ratou ka haere nga tane ki te mahi e mohio ana ia ki te ra e whanau ai i tana wahine. I te haora e whanau ai. Era mea katoa. Ka mutu e kore ke te pepi raka e oho noa mai e ohooho nui te take kororerorero ana nei raua ki a raua. E penei, e penei, na wai mea ka tika koe to wai, to aha, to aha ranei. Na, mea te taima ko tae mai au, kia tika ano au kia tika. Ah, i aianei na ahatia te takiwa kei i aianei na kua taka mai tena pepi. Kei roto kei te aero-plane, kei roto I nga motoka, i era mea katoa.....Ka mutu, heoi ano na nga matauranga o tenei wa, ko hea ki roto i te aha rano. [In earlier times, the family gathered around when a birth was eminent. Men didn't go to work when he knew his wife was about to give birth. She knew the hour it was due. All of those things were

[110] Wai 1040, #4.1.2, Pereme Porter, Draft Transcript of Evidence, Week 2 Day 4 Session 3, Waitangi Tribunal, 17 June 2010.
[111] Pereme Porter evidence, 17 June 2010.
[112] Amelia Oppenheim interview, 19 March 2010.
[113] Louie Katene interview, 5 January 2007.
[114] Pereme Porter evidence, 17 June 2010.

known. The baby didn't just suddenly appear. The man and woman talked to each other about what was happening with the state of the birth, the waters, the actual time of birth so that they were ready for it. Nowadays, babies are popping out anywhere, in aero-planes, in motorcars. In the end, there is no understanding today about the birth process.] [115]

Along with several other interviewees, Turo described pregnancy and the birthing process as a natural and significant part of life. Knowledge of these processes was transmitted and maintained through observation, communication and participation. He also talked about male 'midwives', in some cases the husbands or fathers; in other cases a male relative who had been trained in midwifery practices. Pereme Porter similarly explained 'the midwives were male in my lot - in Matangirau, Wainui and what have you'; and Mae Hona said that as the eldest child she was fully aware of her mother giving birth to her siblings:

> We had an Uncle from Te Ngaere. Hamuhamu they called him – SamSam. Sam Maaka. He used to be the doctor for that sort of thing. Well for my mother anyway. And when she's ready, he comes out. One of us will go and get him. And then he'd send us all outside the house, just my Dad and him. And he'll get my mother to lean over like this on the floor, knees on the floor and hands on the floor and he's sit at the back with his legs wide open and her bump here and he'll rub, and rub her and rub her. And oh – it was neat, we used to have a look at what he was doing to our mother, rubbing it, and she's leaning over on the pillow and groaning and carrying on, and then we – shoo us away – next minute we hear a scream and baby is born. Straight away they do their own baby and they're [the mother's] walking around not long after that.[116]

At least three interviewees were born at Matauri in the 1930s under 'birthing trees'. These trees were still being used in the 1940s. It is not clear when the practice ceased, although traditional male midwives were still practicing up until the 1950s, as Pereme Porter notes:

> It was the best training I have had. We had two or three birthing trees and the young women who travelled to the trees to give birth there – I would carry the whiskey jar. I was a little boy who was taken along for training.[117]

Notably, Pereme 'never saw one pigeon landing on those trees'. His discussion of his midwifery experience continues:

> The first baby I delivered was when I was 14 and the mother was about 16 or 18. I knew her as had grown up together…..I had to support the mother in a semi squat, hold baby up to the five winds or five tides and do the incantations there. Then I would hand the baby to the matriarch and she would take the baby.[118]

> Every village had one, two, three, four – some had ten [midwives]. And they were the bosses, whai ngaa whaea – they were the bosses. Ko raatou kee ngaa kaitonotono nee, tonotono i ngaa tane me ngaa taitamariki nee, ko ngaa whaea nei, naa te aha te take, naa te mea kei roto i a raatou e mea ana ngaa mana kei roto i te uma nee. Mana taatai, mana toto, mana taatai eena mana katoa kei roto i te uma o te wahine, na reira i whakatunga ai kei a ia te korero mutunga. [They would order the men and the children to do things. Why? Because within them they have the mana all within their bosoms and that is why they have the last word][119]

Sometimes customary understandings of pregnancy and childbirth could be uneasily juxtaposed against the western birthing practices with which New Zealanders are now thoroughly familiar, as seen in an example raised in an interview with Turo Tepania in 1995: As recently as the 1980s an elderly couple determined that their daughter-in-law was pregnant with their grandchild, before the mother-to-be herself realised. The grandmother-to-be had identified the pregnancy by observing the changes in her daughter-in-law's physical and emotional behaviours. When the young mother-to-be had her pregnancy confirmed, and followed through with 'standard' ante-natal appointments at Whangaroa Hospital, she was told to expect a girl on or about a certain delivery date. The grandmother-to-be however, informed her that the baby was a boy and would arrive earlier; and it was the grandmother who was later proved correct.[120]

Grandparents were (and are) also implicated in the practices surrounding whangai or tamaiti atawhai as they are generally known, where babies are placed – usually but not exclusively – with grandparents, grand-aunts and grand-uncles. One kaumatua said he was given to his fathers' parents, while his twin brother was given to his mother's parents. This seemed to have been a common practice, with at least two other informants sharing a similar story of siblings being given to different grandparents. This type of 'adoption' may have been to ease the burden of child-rearing on the whanau. In at least one interview, the reason for

[115] Turo Tepania, interviewed by Te Uru Heta and Pita Pangari, 8 August 1995.
[116] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[117] Pereme Porter evidence, 17 June 2010
[118] Pereme Porter evidence, 17 June 2010,
[119] Pereme Porter evidence, 17 June 2010.
[120] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.

whangai was due to the recipient parents, who were elderly by this time, not having children or grandchildren of their own. In other cases, interviewees say that they were raised by their grandparents or granduncles and aunties until they were old enough to start school, after which they returned to be with their parents and other siblings. Regardless of the reason, each whangai was aware of their relationship with adoptive paraents and their natural birth whanau, parents and siblings.

Whanau predominantly lived in kainga, usually comprising groups of whare in specific settlements, surrounded by and interspersed with communally-worked cultivations, and within reasonable proximity to the 'pataka' of the forests, seas and waterways. Some kainga were inhabited on a seasonal basis, such as Mangawhai at the southern end of Matauri where Ngati Kura would 'camp' from the end of November till the beginning of March,[121] or Pahuhu near the Kaeo River, where whanau would stay while the fish or eels were running.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Whangaroa tangata whenua population was concentrated around settlements such as Waihapa, Waitaruke, Pupuke, Mangaiti, Matangirau, Wainui and Te Ngaere.[122] These settlements were isolated and insulated from the main Pakeha settlements at Waiare, Kaeo, Whangaroa and Totara North.[123] By that time, whanau living in Whangaroa had long been 'placed', more or less, in specific areas as an outcome of the NLC hearings process. The lands had been surveyed, boundaries established, and 'owners' registered for each block. Resident whanau worked allotted areas within these multiply-owned blocks, typically living on farmlets (sometimes whether they were 'owners' in law or not), keeping animals and gardens. Meat eaten included rabbit, beef and pork which was often shared with others. Those near the coast could catch fish and gather seafood, and interviewees told stories of whanau taking their blankets and sleeping in the caves or under stars, just fishing all night 'you call it camping now'. This practice continues today with many of the whanau 'using whatever for tents' and heading for their fishing spots when the mood and the tides were right. Whanau who lived inland caught eels and fresh-water fish from the rivers, and hunted birds and pigs from the forests. This need not preclude them from enjoying kaimoana as visitors from the coast would always take something with them to share, and vice versa.

Whanau continued to assist each other in larger family gardens, particularly kumara gardens, well into the twentieth century. Communal cultivations of kumara, which was practically a staple food, were in some ways a salvation for many whanau who faced periods of economic hardship. In every settlement the customary practice whereby everyone came together at planting time and harvesting time continued, and in some areas of Whangaroa this still happens today. Each whanau had somewhere to store their portion of the kumara harvest – caves, sheds, pits or boxes. Then, 'when there's a hui, some come from Wainui, they bring some kai. And then Matauri, they bring kai on the horse. Kumara mainly. Kumara and other things'.[124] Despite the pressures of modernity (or perhaps because of them) this communal approach to provisioning whanau and living off the land and sea, which so often relied on the toils of women and children, continued at least up until the 1950s if not beyond.

Employment

Several interview contributors spoke about employment. Historically, it has been difficult to sustain long-term employment in the Whangaroa area and generation after generation tangata whenua in particular have had to weigh the pressure to earn a regular income against the obligations that come with having to maintain interests in Maori land. The earliest mention of 'employment' by any of the informants was of a grandfather working for the NLC, as someone who identified whanau and whenua and as a scribe for hearings.[125]

By the early twentieth century it had become increasingly common for Whangaroa whanau to participate in a subsistence economy, supplementing living off the land with incomes from gum-digging, road construction, farm work and other enterprises.[126] Gum-digging often led to families living far from home as they moved further and further afield in search of gum. It was so integral to the economic activities of some whanau that children were born on the gum-fields. Turo Tepania, whose whanau was initially from Waihapa, is one:

> I era wa, i era ra, horekau he oranga atu i tu atu te 'keria kapia', i te mahi hokeke[127], koia wera ko nga, ko te oranga o ratou i era ra [In those times, in those days they had no means of sustaining themselves other than gum digging and gathering fungus (hokeke). Those were their two means of earning or living.][128]

[121] Mere Apiata interview, 19 January 2010.
[122] T. J. Hearn, 'Social and Economic Change in Northland c.1900 to c.1945: the role of the Crown and the place of Maori', June 2006, p.49. (Table 1.5 shows that in 1926 there were eleven settlements were the Maori population numbered more than 25, the average number in each being 73).
[123] Hearn, 2006, p.50.
[124] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[125] Tarzan Hori, interviewed by Mike Smith, 21 January 2007.
[126] Initially gum-digging was primarily a seasonal activity. But from the 1870s it became more and more a year-round activity as European demand for gum (for the manufacture of linoleum) led to a spike in prices. Initially it was mostly Maori who dug gum as digging on their own land meant they did not require any licensing fee. (David Alexander, 'Land Based Resources, Waterways and Environmental Impacts', 2006, p.130).
[127] Hokeke is described as Jew's Ear Fungus or *auricularia auriculajudea*: H. A. Williams, *A Dictionary of Maori Language*, Wellington, 1975, p.56.

> So I was born, must be on the gum-field. The only thing I can say over there is that you don't stay in the same area for too long. You pick a certain area up to work about, it depends on how big your gang is or how many of you. If it's a lot of you, you soon run out and you just have to move. But every so often, they meet up on the same gum-field and they talk to one another, telling them to find out where's the best place to work so that they can get more gum and then after they meet up, they say, oh well that group over there is not half as good as that one over there, better get them to come up here so they can get where you get more stuff for themselves. Now that's how they survived while they working, waiting for this ship to come down and buy their gum.[129]

Born in 1922, Turo recalls digging with his whanau at Mangapa and 'the whole place over there - i Takakuri'. They then went to Te Hapua and the lands of his Te Aupouri father, before returning to Whangaroa at the age of twelve. The gum-fields therefore, were his 'schooling' although he says – 'no such thing as schools in those days'. At least two other kaumatua interviewed were also born on the gum-fields, one as recently as 1938.[130]

Less is known about the collection and harvesting of hokeke, which as suggested already, could be as economically important as gum-digging:

> Na ka haere ratou, e mohio ana ratou ki te taenga mo te hokeke. Na e mohio ana ratou he aha nga rakau. Na ka tikina e ratou, ka whatiwhati ia mai etahi rakau e hakamaroke-ngia, ka taiapangia ratou ka take-ngia. Na ka tae ki te wa e mohio ana ratou kua whai hua ke ki runga o nga rakau raka. Engari e haere ana ano i runga i te mara. Na kua tae ki taua maramataka kua mohio ratou e tika ana kia whai hokeke nga mai, nga waahi meinga raka o ratou ma. Na i era wa, e mahi ana ratou he roopu ana. Tena roopu e mohio ana ratou na mea ko, no mea ko, no mea ko, no mea ko, e kore ke a tetahi tangata atu e ahei te haere ki te mahi pokonoa nga mea mohio ana koe na to hoa ke. [They knew where to get the fungi; they knew which trees it grew on. They gathered together the branches of trees on which the fungi grew, dried them, and set them into "paddocks" where they were marked and left until such time when they knew that the fungus had grown on those branches. But they determined this by their maramataka. When the time arrived when they knew there was fungus where they had set their branches / twigs, they worked in groups and they knew which patch belongs to whom. No one tried to take over someone else's patch by cheating them out of it.][131]

This korero reveals how whanau were accustomed to respecting and protecting each other's 'patch', thus remaining mutually responsible to an extent for the survival each other's whanau. It also shows how the knowledge of the forests and fauna, and their relationships to each other and the seasons were being used by whanau as a way of providing an income. This knowledge, or as one source explains, these principles, were inherent to the survival of whanau within the landscape:

> Maori Principles? Very much following nature. There's a time to plant, a time to fish. That's following nature, working with the moon. It doesn't matter how effective these corporate ideas are. In the end it isn't going to work out because its' a global change, climate change, environmental change and all those things affect every individual. It affects the money system so the way out is quite clear to me for the people. Besides all this political talk about the Declarations and the Treaty, at the end of the day it's about feeding ourselves. They can keep talking but still got to go for lunch.[132]

Whanau continued to collect hokeke for export for some time after the gum-digging had ended.[133] As a child Iwa Alker gathered hokeke from the bush surrounding Te Ngaere. It was then crushed by hand and hung up to dry, waiting to be sold for money to buy clothes:

> Na koia tera, haere matou tamariki i nga ngahere hokeke, and aa, ko march nei he oranga mo matou ka haere mai te tangata a Mackintosh no Totara, a Totara North. Haere mai ia, te tari nga hokeke kia maroke, hei mahi farex, kai mo nga pepi. Ka tonato nga hokeke nei. Whai moni ano nga whanau hei hoko kakahu mo matou. [That's right, us kids would go into the forest for hokeke, in March this was our form of income. The man Mackintosh from Totara North would come. He came and took the hokeke to dry and make farex, that is baby food. The hokeke was squeezed. This was how the families got money to buy clothes for ourselves].[134]

During this same era, many Whangaroa men worked in the local native timber-milling industry. Turo Tepania's father had a job hauling logs from where they fell to the skids:

> My old man owns the team of bullocks. You know in those days over there was no fence, no nothing, no clearance. The animals live on leaves, tree leaves. But the old man had a dog and this dog knows where the cows are and each cow gotta have a bell on and those cows know the voice of their master. When anyone wanna put a yolk on two cows, you all sing out to them to come. They all come up in a big bunch, you sing out to them and they'll come up over there and stand, wait for their turn to put their yolk on. Now when the job is finished, say if it's like Mangapa over there, there's no such thing as a stock truck so

[128] Turo Tepania interview, 14 August 1995.
[129] Turo Tepania interview, 14 August 1995.
[130] Pers. Comms., Iwa Alker, 24 May 2010.
[131] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.
[132] Brief of Evidence of Hone Samuel Ututaonga Paki, Wai 1040/Wai 1400, Te Paparahi o te Raki Inquiry, 8 October 2010.
[133] Patricia Tauroa's father, Bill Wilson (Snr), worked at Saies' Store, and was involved in exporting hokeke up until the time of his passing (Patricia Tauroa, Pers. Com., 4 November 2010).
[134] Iwa Alker interview, 3 May 2010.

> the job is finished and all the gears up there that belongs to the team of bullocks and then that dog and those cows got to come back from Mangapa through all the bush all the way to over here. Might take them a week. Well in those days over there Takakuri is full of wild animals. No fence, no nothing. But my old man he'll go around over there and tell certain people, 'about 4 o'clock tomorrow bullocks will come down over here and the dog, to feed the dog'. And that dog he'll bring the bullocks all the way up the other side of Mangapa through the bush till he gets here.[135]

Although this explanation is primarily about forestry work, it also provides an insight into the circumstances of many whanau at the time. The respect Turo showed as a child for the work of his father, and the respect shown his fathers' animals, and how they were all relied on to complete the work, is apparent. It sheds light on the type of relationship his father must have had with other whanau in the area, as he seemingly relied on them to look out for his animals, and feed his dog as it herded the valuable bullocks back to Waihapa.



Rangi Tukariri sharpening a saw while employed in forestry work, c.1910.[136]

As the 'mahi ngahere' in Whangaroa diminished, some of the men began travelling further afield for forestry work, some men going away as a group to work in the forests on the East Coast. Some of these men were to marry women from the Coast, while others died from sickness or accidents and never returned. For example, Rangi Tukariri (pictured) from Waihapa went to Te Tairawhiti with two adult sons, Nganihinihi and Raniera, sometime before 1920. Raniera died and is buried there. On a later trip, another son, Manu met and married a woman from Hicks Bay.[137]

After years of working alongside his parents, siblings and other whanau, on the gumfields life for Turo Tepania changed. The whanau returned to live at Waihapa and his father was away working in the forest, away so often that 'we hardly ever see our old man'. When asked if he was able to go and help his father in his new work, the explanation given again suggests the respect he had for work that was simply too hard for a boy his age:

> Well I mean to say you got to go in that bush over there and carry that timber jack and then your axe and then your block and tackle for the wire rope and to get the things out and they never used to growl.[138]

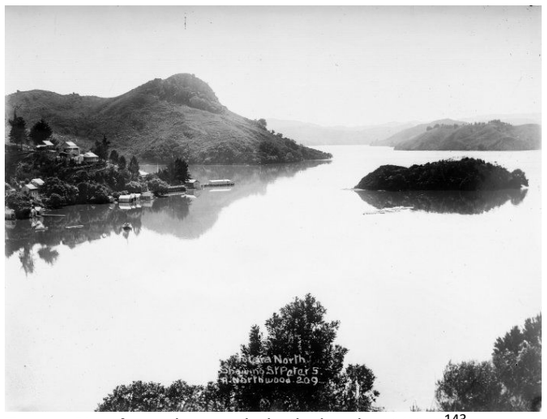
The change in his father's employment led to Turo being sent to school:

[135] Turo Tepania interview, 14 August 1995.
[136] Photographer unknown, Horace Chellew private collection.
[137] See Robyn Tauroa, 'Te Whiti Whakaahua me te Rangahau, Maori Oral History', Massey University Research Essay, 1998, p.40.
[138] Turo Tepania interview, 14 August 1995.

> When this kind of job started, then the children start to get proper education but for myself I got very, very little education because I was too old and then I didn't know one word of English. But then when I got a hiding for speaking Maori on the school grounds, well I must have been half twelve in those days, so I gave the teacher a jolly good hiding and then I took off.[139]

Although no explanation is given of the outcome of this incident, it perhaps suggests that his earlier years on the gum-field had, among other things, given him the confidence and ability to stick up for himself, and 'taking off' also suggests that he was aware that there were likely to be consequences for his actions.

Whangaroa-born interviewees also recall that their fathers, uncles, brothers, and sometimes grandfathers worked in the timber milling industry at Totara North, Te Ngaere, Mangapa and many other places where dams were built in the rivers to float the kauri and other native timber logs down.[140] Te Ngaere informants also talk about seeing railway irons from a track built to transport logs down to the seaside from the inland forests.[141] Rosie Renata remembers her father, after having worked in the forestry for many years, becoming ill with a hernia. He continued to work there however, but when it became too painful, 'he used to come back from work…crawl all the way down the hill and we know that he's got it and we get the horse and sledge and take it down the other side of the hill and wait for him'.[142]



Totara North, with Hopekako behind, c.1910.[143]

Records on the native timber industry show that the last trees were taken from the bush behind Totara North around 1930.[144] As the native forests disappeared from the Whangaroa area so too did the forestry and mill work. Whanau remained reliant on regular income and often sought employment elsewhere. Some managed to get jobs at Tipene Tablelands; others managed to find work on local Pakeha farms.[145] Rosie Renata's father had worked in the forestry tree-felling, the timber mill at Te Puna, a variety of farms and eventually for the county council while her mother milked cows for Pakeha farmers and also looked after their own whanau property.[146] The majority of whanau however, found that, particularly after World War Two, they had to look elsewhere for work - 'there were no jobs around here – the forest had stopped and the mill stopped and fishing was no good because they had to go on licensed boats because fishing was for the Pakeha and not for themselves'.[147]

For whanau that stayed in Whangaroa, local farmers provided some employment and other opportunities were limited to local services, such as the Whangaroa Hospital and schools where the jobs generally involved cleaning or food services. For the men, and perhaps those that could travel further afield, there was seasonal work in the gardens and orchards at Kerikeri, fishing with licensed fishermen in Mangonui and the planting of pine tree forests – this latter job becoming a major employment activity in the area in the 1960s and 70s. Through the 1930s, Whangaroa people fished commercially when the opportunities were available,

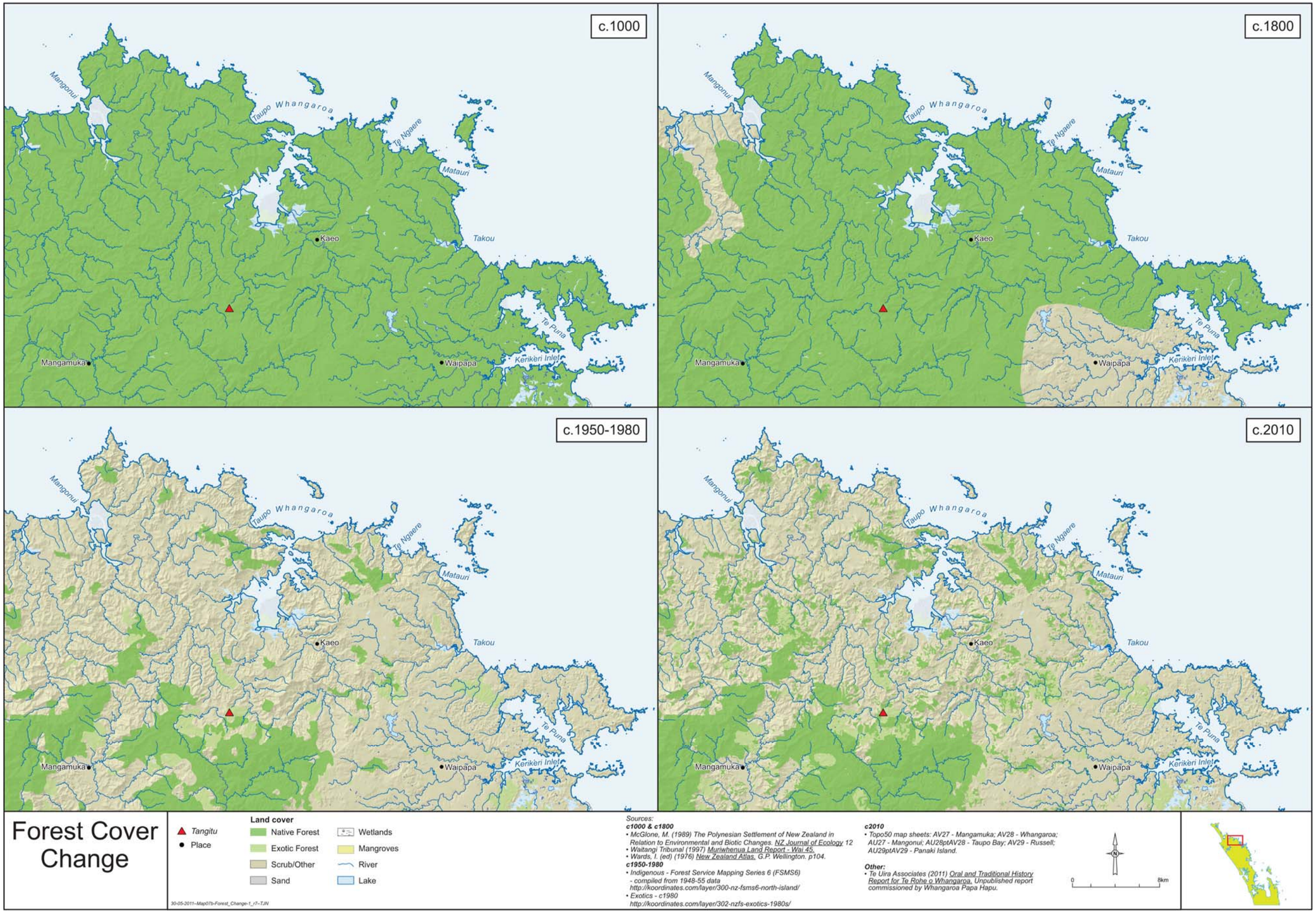
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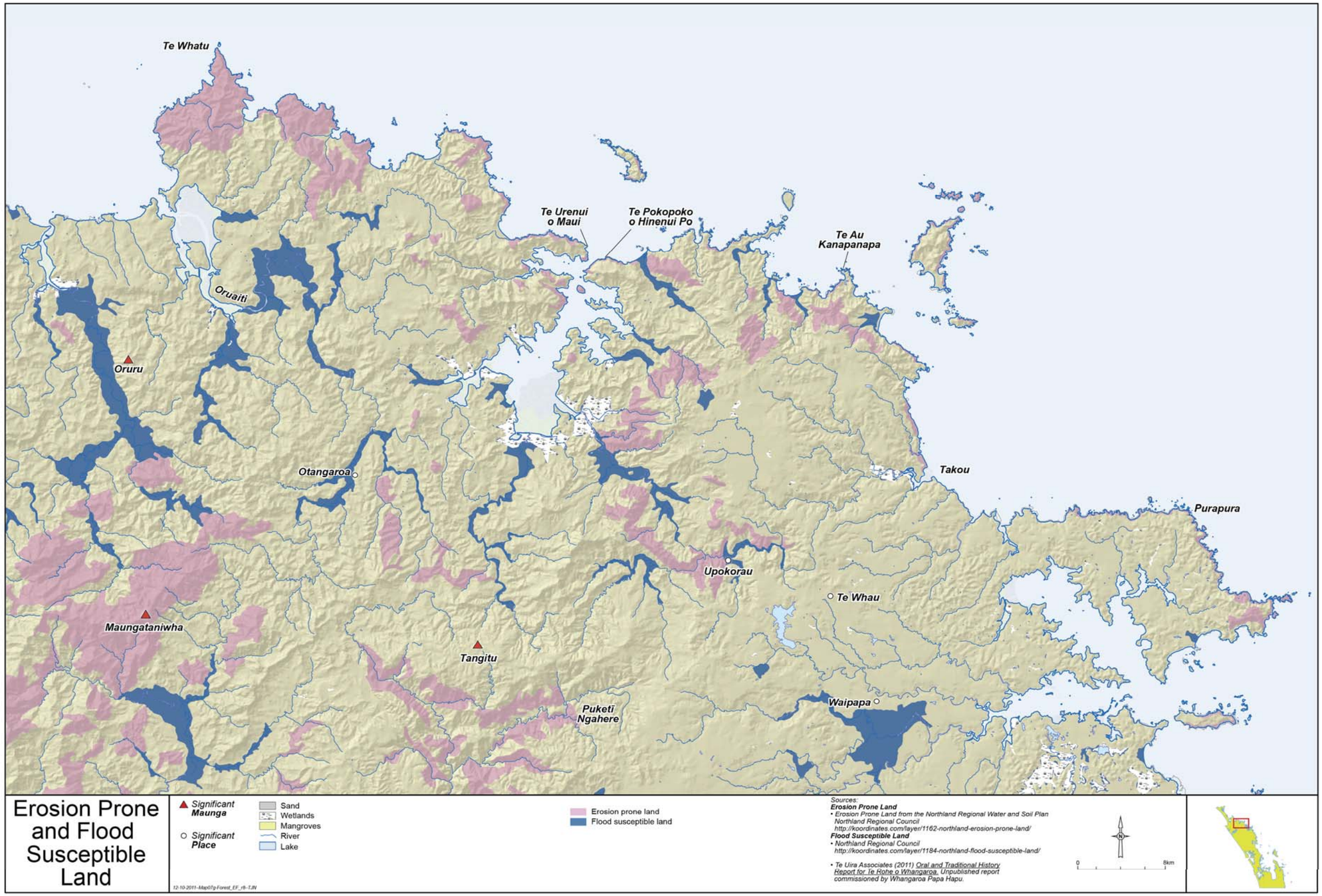
[139] Turo Tepania interview, 14 August 1995.
[140] Toka Williams and Mae Hona interview, 20 January 10; Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[141] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, 3 June 2008; Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[142] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[143] Arthur Northwood, *A scenic view of Totara North, showing St Peters,* Northwood brothers, Photographs of Northland, PA-Group-00027, 1/2-032363-G, ATL.
[144] Cliff Campbell, interviewed by Peter Mathews, 13 April 1979, OH Int 0105/48, Oral History Centre, National Library, Wellington.
[145] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[146] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[147] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.

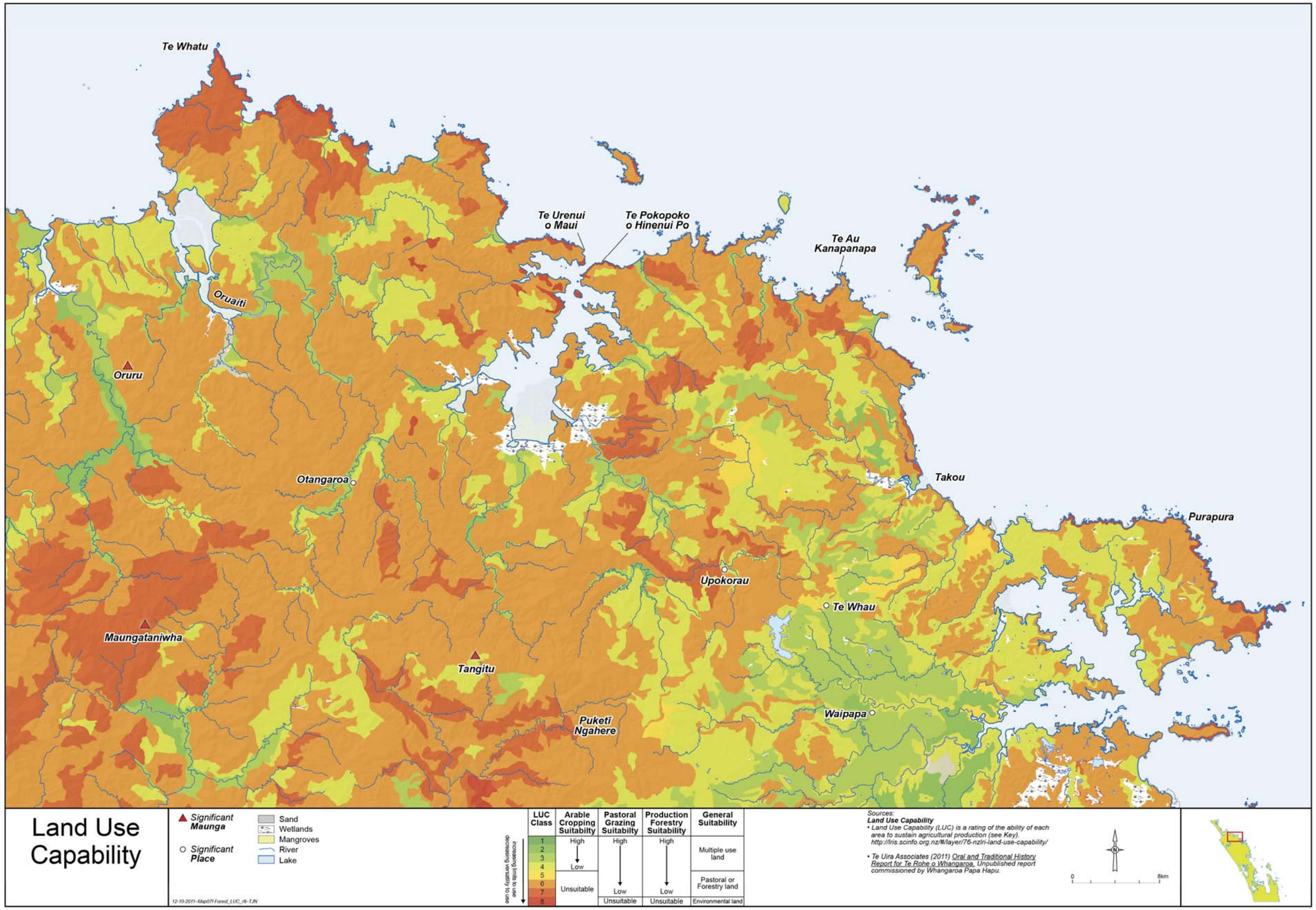
and motor boats made the hapuka and other fishing grounds easier to reach. It is interesting to note that even back then local Maori were concerned about the larger commercial fishers, particularly the trawlers, and the 'incalculable damage' they did to the Whangaroa fishing grounds.[148]

As with the rest of the nation at mid-century, many young men and women left their homelands to seek employment. Toka Williams, who left Wainui School in 1940, worked initially for a 'Dally farmer' in Kerikeri.[149] By the time he was fifteen he had moved away to work on another 'Dally farm' in Waipu. After two years there, he moved to Auckland and worked in the freezing works, moving from there to Hardie Brothers, after which he returned to milking on a farm near Clevedon. On marrying a woman from Otangaroa, he then returned to Whangaroa to work on her whanau farm there, and spent some years travelling between Otangaroa and Matauri helping on the two whanau properties. When the clay works opened in the 1950s, he got a job there where he remained until his retirement.[150] Dahlia McGeachie, who left school at the age of twelve in the 1930s, recalled leaving home at fifteen with the ambition of going to the island 'lepper hospital' to work as it seemed like the only

[148] 'Korero Wikiri', 17 November 1938. See also issues for 18 August and 29 September 1938, and 20 April 1939.
[149] Dally is a colloquialism for Dalmation or Tarara.
[150] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.


c.1000
c.1800
c.1950-1980
c.2010
Mangonui
Taupo Whangaroa
Te Ngaere
Matauri
Takou
Kaeo
Te Puna
Mangamuka
Waipapa
Kerikeri Inlet
Forest Cover Change
Tangitu
Place
Land cover
Native Forest
Exotic Forest
Scrub/Other
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
30-05-2011--Map07b-Forest_Change-1_r7--TJN
Sources:
c1000 & c1800
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
• Wards, I. (ed) (1976) New Zealand Atlas. G.P. Wellington. p104.
c1950-1980
• Indigenous - Forest Service Mapping Series 6 (FSMS6) - compiled from 1948-55 data http://koordinates.com/layer/300-nz-fsms6-north-island/
• Exotics - c1980 http://koordinates.com/layer/302-nzfs-exotics-1980s/
c2010
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
Other:
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
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Te Whatu
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Au Kanapanapa
Oruaiti
Oruru
Otangaroa
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Purapura
Upokorau
Te Whau
Maungataniwha
Tangitu
Puketi Ngahere
Waipapa
Erosion Prone and Flood Susceptible Land
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
Erosion prone land
Flood susceptible land
Sources:
Erosion Prone Land
• Erosion Prone Land from the Northland Regional Water and Soil Plan Northland Regional Council http://koordinates.com/layer/1162-northland-erosion-prone-land/
Flood Susceptible Land
• Northland Regional Council http://koordinates.com/layer/1184-northland-flood-susceptible-land/
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
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Te Whatu
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Au Kanapanapa
Oruaiti
Oruru
Otangaroa
Takou
Purapura
Upokorau
Te Whau
Maungataniwha
Tangitu
Puketi Ngahere
Waipapa
Land Use Capability
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
LUC Class
Arable Cropping Suitability
Pastoral Grazing Suitability
Production Forestry Suitability
General Suitability
increasing limitations to use
decreasing versatility to use
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
High
Low
Unsuitable
Multiple use land
Pastoral or Forestry land
Environmental land
Sources:
Land Use Capability
• Land Use Capability (LUC) is a rating of the ability of each area to sustain agricultural production (see Key). http://lris.scinfo.org.nz/#/layer/76-nzlri-land-use-capability/
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
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place she could go to get out of Kaeo. She eventually left Kaeo for Whangarei to cut flax for some time, and then worked in Albany cutting bean stakes, before starting a career in catering, when she became involved in a labour hire organisation based in Avondale.[1] Sometimes men left Whangaroa on their own to pursue employment opportunities – such as at the freezing works in Moerewa or the railways in Whangarei. The pressure to participate in New Zealand's modern economy, while also maintaining the customary obligations associated with Maori land and community, added to the stresses of some whanau.

Whanau Dynamics

The oral record suggests that through the years of war and depression mothers often raised children while fathers went away to work, fight or support the war effort in some other way. Mothers, then, also often played the role of fathers: 'our old lady used to do the ploughing, make a garden, make everything'.[2] For Turo, he felt his mother was often away as well as his father who worked in the bush. His mother had 'the power of a healer' and 'everyone [was] calling out for her'. With both parents often absent, Turo's two older sisters were 'Mums' right hand girls':

> So they understand each other and get on well too. Where the old lady was good is how to set the plough up and how deep that plough needs to go down and once she gets all the gears working right then my sister used to do the ploughing. It was actually no work, long as you got the horses and the plough and the scurry.[3]

A freedom for whanau to move about played an important role in supporting families whose fathers and husbands were absent for certain periods. For example, some whanau moved 'down the valley' while their husbands and fathers were away, to maintain important social contact and economic support among kin. Although the long-term consequences for some meant that their lands were deemed 'abandoned', there seemed to be no other options available to them at the time to ensure the survival of themselves and their children. Importantly, whanau continued to live as much as possible from the surrounding environment, and they did so in a way that provided support for each other as was the customary practice. When Ameila Oppenheim's father returned from World War One, the whanau 'moved around' the shores of the harbour catching and selling fish for a living until the early 1930s. Tita's father became very ill after having been gassed in France, and was taken to a veterans' hospital in Auckland. The children were left in the care of whanau at Waitaruke until his death in 1936. Tita's mother returned to Whangaroa and they were 'given' one of the two new houses built in Otangaroa under a rural Maori housing scheme.

[1] Dahlia McGeachie, interviewed by Mike Smith, 5 December 2006.
[2] Turo Tepania interview, 14 August 1995.
[3] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.

With World War Two looming, and their eldest brother signalling his intention to fight as his father had done, their mother soon took her children and moved to 'a better life' in Auckland.[4]

The physical landscape also continued to change alongside the social, and the 'removal of the forests' opened up 'new opportunities in agricultural settlement'.[5] According to several interview contributors, 'everyone had a farm and everyone had cows' and those years were generally satisfactory - 'we had everything we needed', 'best of life, had everything. There was no need for money' and 'it was all right there'. As a young man, Hone Paki who had been born and raised in the coastal settlements of Matauri and Mahinepua, fished every day to provide food for his whanau. One day he realised that what his childhood had taught him was to provide a living in a different sense:

> My first experience of commercial [fishing] was with the ancestor Ruru Hohaia. He taught me, he showed me. Mum chose a direction for me and Matua Ruru consolidated it for me. Commercial - how to catch fish and sell it. Dinghies. Fished all night. Next morning, sold it. The next morning I had 4 pounds 10 shillings. My first pay….I gave it to mum, my first pay. She said "it's yours". I said no, I don't need it. I thought I gone fishing just for fishing, fun. "It your money", Mum say. "No Mum, I don't need it, I got a job".[6]

To a generation of children and young people who were yet to have an opportunity to travel further than their local environs, this may have been perceived as being 'plenty'. Throughout this era, travel was normally by foot, horse or boat, and for children, if it was too far to walk to a destination, they simply stayed put as the other modes of transport were essentially for the adults. Children living in Mangaiti for instance considered it a 'big trip' to go to Totara North, while those in Matangirau felt the same when going to Whangaroa.

Most of the memories of family life gathered for this project are of happy and contented lives. Yet at some level there was a recognition that many Maori lives were economically trying. In a letter to the 1907 Native Land Commission, Hone Heke Ngapua, Minister for Northern Maori, commented that NLC processes had rendered many hundreds of Maori landless, and dependent on the goodwill and generosity of their relations. He wrote:

> I truly believe that the balance of agricultural and pastoral lands owned by the Maori in the said electorate is just barely sufficient for the proper support and maintenance of the owners and their descendants.[7]

[4] Amelia Oppenheim, interviewed by Robyn Tauroa, 25 May 1998; interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 19 March 2010.
[5] Armstrong and Subasic, p.204.
[6] Hone Samuel Ututaonga Paki, Brief of Evidence, 8 October 2010.
[7] Hearn, 2005, p. 194.

Whatever the whanau situation, it was necessary for children to be involved in the work and activities that contributed to their 'survival'. Depending on age, gender, and their position among siblings, children were required to do all manner of chores. Although there may have seemed to be constant work 'we look forward to it, is something got to be done'.[8]
As discussed elsewhere, children of all ages worked beside their grandparents, parents and siblings in the gardens – digging, planting, weeding, harvesting and sorting. As they worked, 'the old people talked'. Stories were passed on; knowledge was shared. This was an acknowledged method of transmitting knowledge, although it is often the case that people only realise much later in life how important those moments and that knowledge can become. Recollections of fishing, and gathering kaimoana and muttonbirds with larger whanau groupings are examined elsewhere in this report. It is useful to note here, however, that elders – aunties, uncles, parents, grandparents – used every opportunity to teach the younger generation. More particularly, children were involved in each activity so that they were constantly learning from practical experience, and in the view of one informant, 'na te tino mangere matou e hia kai ana. Kei konei ki te taha moana nga kai o te moana. Tenei papa katoa i Wainui he mara kai. [Hunger only came from extreme laziness here beside the sea with plentiful foods and here in Wainui the land was completely covered with gardens].[9]

Teaching and learning occurred in other ways too, such as the grandmother who 'when she had heaps of us kids around her, she'd be telling stories but she wouldn't just talk it, she'd tell us as a chant and we would just sit there mesmerized' and the Uncle that had been training away from Otangaroa, who told stories of the places and people he had seen, as well as those that he looked forward to seeing as he prepared to go away to the war.[10]

Care within the whanau could be intergenerational. Tarihau Heta, for example, cared for her elderly parents, as she explained in response to the question'he aha te mahi morikarika ki a koe?' [What was one of the pleasant tasks for you?]:

> E mauiui aku matua, me mate kohi ne. Ko taku mahi, na te mea ko au to potiki, te tonotono a ratou katoa. I mau i te po mimi o taku mama na ko tera te mahi, me a raua tini mare na te mea mate-kohi taku papa, raua tahi. Ina ka mare raua i nga po, ka mare i te tini mare, na ko taku mahi ia ata ia ata i te ngaro atu ngaro atu ko era. [My parents were sickly with 'mate kohi'. My job as the youngest was to be a 'tonotono' for them all. I would take the chamber pot for my mother at night, it was something that had to be done. They were both quite phlegmy, especially my father. During the night they would cough up their phlegm and spit into a tin (tini mare) and my job every morning was to dispose of these things.][11]

[8] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.
[9] Tarihau Heta, interviewed by Mike Smith, 2006.
[10] Hiki Gates, interviewed by Robyn Tauroa, 14 July 1998.
[11] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006.

Tarihau seems to have attached some importance to this job – being directly responsible for the care of her matua and in ensuring the proper and thorough disposal of their bodily excretions. As an adult however, she no longer considered this task to be unpleasant, saying 'kaore i te morikarika i tenei wa'.

Other chores or tasks that informants found enjoyable included helping to collect fruit from the orchards, peeling and preparing fruit for jams and preserves, gathering flax (and sometimes getting a growling for ruining the best flax bushes), collecting raupo heads just before they were ready to fly away in order to make new mattresses, catching mullet in your skirt, and tending to the animals – cows, chickens, pigs and horses. Most of the interviewees talked about learning how to make kete as a necessity that they appreciated, not so much as a chore:

> I was only about 12 when I started weaving. We had a lot of flax just below our place. My brother and I used to go and see my mother making kits for kumara. When kumara was coming up she'd make all those kits so we'd go there and started learning and playing around with flax and then next thing, we got it. We didn't use bags or baskets – had to make flax kits. Special kits for riwai; special kits for kumara. And on church days, my mother would make a kit and fill it with kai and take it to wherever church is being held that day.[12]

Childhood and Schooling

Native Schools had a significant role in the lives of Whangaroa children, beginning in 1876 when the first school opened at Te Ngaere, followed shortly after by Te Moari, Inumia, Te Pupuke, Taraire and Whakarara.[13] Between 1900 and 1940, eight more Native Schools were established in Whangaroa, as well as the Catholic convent and school at Waitaruke.[14] Parents gifted lands, built buildings, provided furniture and subsidized teachers' salaries in order for their children to 'get a proper education'. During this time, te reo Maori remained the primary language of communication in most homes and communities. Even though Whangaroa children learned English more and more, they did maintain a functional understanding of te reo. Many informants commented on how their grandparents 'only ever spoke Maori' to the children and vice-versa, one kuia even saying that 'once grandmother died, we didn't have to speak Maori again'.[15]

[12] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[13] Te Moari 1882; Inumia 1893; Te Pupuke 1894; Taraire 1895; Whakarara 1898. Kaeo Schools Jubilee Committee, *And So We Grew: 125 Years of Kaeo Schools*, 1985, p.6.
[14] Te Touwai opened 1900; Otoroa 1902; Takou Bay 1904; Taupo Bay 1913; Otangaroa 1915; Waiare 1918; Omaunu 1923; Waitaruke 1928; Wainui Bay 1940. *Kaeo Schools*, p.6.
[15] Hiki Gates interview, 14 July 1998.

In regard to the Native Schools, the use of te reo Maori in Whangaroa seems to have been entirely dependent on the teacher, particularly towards the end of the Native School regime in the 1960s. In Wainui for instance, for the first few years of schooling one girl recalls - 'me korero Maori, ka wipua' [you speak Maori, you get whipped]. However when she was eleven, the teacher had changed and so had the practice, the new teacher in fact instigating 'Maori only Fridays', during which English would be the banned language.[16] Some who had attended Pupuke Native School also commented on how much Maori they had learnt at school, adding that 'the kapa haka was very competitive and they used to go over to Horeke and compete'.[17] Sports with neighbouring schools were similarly competitive:

> We used to walk from Pupuke to Waitaruke. We walked down and we walked back. And they used to say to us 'oh we're going to beat you fullas, you ones are tired'. You know and we said 'Nah this has made us tough, you cannot beat us' and they never did. So then we'd walk back home. Same thing. Go and do your chores. Go and get some firewood.[18]

Some enjoyed going to school because you could 'get away sort of' from the much heavier workload that existed at home.[19] All informants who shared memories of school talked about sports or discipline or both. Patricia Tauroa spoke about the concern felt by her and her peers as, although they were somewhat accustomed to being 'physically reprimanded' by the teacher, they were not comfortable with the more severe punishment that their teacher dealt to her own children at Otangaroa Native School:

> She would regularly bellow at us, you Maori tena koe and so we thought how come you can use Maori and we can't? Anyway she did physically reprimand her own children more than any of the rest of us. She would absolutely pick up anything and then whack. To the point where I can recall the older children, including my brothers, felt they needed to do something about it. And I know there was a meeting at the school of the parents after she had quite seriously hurt, you know, walloped her own daughter. And that kind of activity stopped, or it seemed to stop after that.[20]

This seems to have been the first time that Patricia had experienced any physical abuse of children of this kind. Within her own whanau, adults did not hit or smack the children – the usual form of discipline was 'well you know, you get told off and then you gotta go and do some more work, some extra work – scrub the floor, get some water, do some work'.

Visits from the school nurse could also be disconcerting:

[16] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006.
[17] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[18] Peggy White, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 29 April 2010.
[19] Myrna Rika, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 29 April 2010.
[20] Patricia Tauroa, interviewed by Mike Smith, 7 December 2006.

> You know it was horrible because no kid like to be injected and we always knew it was nurse day, you'd look around and especially from the little ones up they were all crying because they know what's coming up, it was awful. I remember when I came to my turn to get injected 'cause you stood there just in your bloomers and your singlet standing there for the nurse and she's got this huge needle and already you're crying alright.[21]

Other medicines that were administered to the children were olive oil, cod liver oil and malt, and castor oil. Although you were meant to swallow it, you 'spit it out when you get outside'.[22] During the late 1930s, the Whakarara Native School supplied its students with malted milk. The government supplied the milk, and parents had to chip in by getting the firewood to 'boil the water to make the nutritious, healthy milk' and ensuring their children had a cup or mug, preferably enamel. Whakarara School also asked parents for 3d per child so that every student could have at least three handkerchiefs.[23] Clean handkerchiefs were regarded as an important contriution to the wellbeing of the children, the health of whom was 'becoming a serious matter', with the 'terrible TB and other diseases' causing 'much anxiety'.[24] Measles was another disease to draw the attention of schools particularly when, in a six-week period alone in 1938, measles caused at least thirteen deaths in Whangaroa.[25]

The kind of schooling Patricia Tauroa received can be contrasted against Pereme Porter's brief explanation of formal traditional schooling:

> When I was a boy, the topics taught in the whare wananga were always whakapapa, the Tiriti, karakia and mihimihi and so forth. They would run for a day a night and a day just on whakapapa. This was so important because it was important to be able to establish who your tupuna were and that was always taken as the measure for your potential and ability.[26]

Like most childhood memories, interview contributors recalled getting up to plenty of 'mischief'. Some of the more mischievous activities mentioned included throwing the family dog into the long drop,[27] hiding the girls bloomers by burying them in the sand while they swam at the beach,[28] hiding under the kumara plants to avoid doing the household chores and falling asleep while hiding there,[29] feeding old fermented yeast to the chickens and watching them stagger around drunk,[30] and aiming your shanghai at the telephone cups on

[21] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006.
[22] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006
[23] 'Korero Wikiri', 25 May 1939.
[24] 'Korero Wikiri', 6 April 1939.
[25] 'Korero Wikiri', 22 April 1938.
[26] Pereme Porter, Brief of Evidence Wai 1040/Wai 966, 28 May 2010, p.3.
[27] Pereni Urlich, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 30 April 2010.
[28] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006.
[29] Peggy White interview, 29 April 2010.
[30] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010.

the power poles.[31] Whangaroa children variously played knuckle bones, 'rounders', marbles, racing tops, and 'rugby for the boys, basketball for the girls'. Hand games were popular too, such as whakaropiropi, and kumate, a hand game that could be played one-on-one, or in groups. You kept playing until there was only one person left 'alive'; he or she was the winner.

> Tetahi kemu pai ki a matou ko toku whanau ake, ko te kumate – ka ku, ka mate, ka mate ra. And its pai hoki ki te whakakoi i a koe. Oku tungane, ae ko ratou tera pai, ko matou hoki nga tuahine i whakataetae. Kore ko matou noaiho, tena whanau me tena whanau, ka tutaki matou i nga hui, nga huihuinga o te kainga nei, koia te mahi i reira [One game that we liked in my own whanau was kumate – ka ku, ka mate, ka mate ra. And it's really good for improving your deftness. My brothers, yes they were good, and my sisters too would compete [against them]. Not just us though, this whanau would play that whanau when we met at meetings and gatherings at the settlement, that was what we did there too.][32]

Although a child growing up in Whangaroa enjoyed the relative freedom of the countryside, they were also aware of certain places where they should not go – places that had a special tapu history and should be avoided. For one boy growing up below Taratara, the foothills that concealed traditional burial caves were one such place. On one occasion, a young boy and his brother were hunting for goats and had gone 'up there a bit'. He remembers tripping, his gun going off and his brother hearing the bullet go past his head – they immediately read the event as a sign that they needed to clear off.[33] A later incident which was retold in many Maori homes was about one of the local Pakeha boys who had gone 'up there and tahae'd some greenstone'. This had occurred before local kaumatua had gathered up all the bones and taonga and shifted them to Waihapa. The local children had always been told 'don't go up [there]. If you touch those things you go porangi'. Sure enough, he 'walked out in the sea and he drowned' –a cautionary tale to remind everyone to respect these wahi tapu.[34]

Tangi were and are regarded as tapu as well. According to Turo Tepania:

> Ki ahau, ka nui te tapu o tenei mea o te whanau pepi… me te tangata mate. Ki te pai a tatou korero, kua pai ki hea e takoto na….. Engari ki te he a koutou korero, kua hiahia tenei tangata ki te haere. Ka mutu ki te hiahia ake te iwi ra ki te haere tahi kaka ra, penei me te paru nei. Heoi ano ma ratou ano e korero. [To me there is much tapu in giving birth to a baby and in preparing a person who has died. That a tupapaku will lie wherever so long as the people are 'having good korero' but when the korero is wrong, the tupapaku will say when it wants to leave. The people will begin to smell an odour like mud. They (the tupapaku) speak for themselves.][35]

[31] Tarzan Hori interview, 21 January 2007.
[32] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006
[33] Pereni Urlich interview, 30 April 2010
[34] Pereni Urlich interview, 30 April 2010.
[35] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.

The importance of maintaining this tapu was identified by Amelia Oppenheim, who spoke about another woman her age who was not able to grow vegetables, collect seafood or do any other mahi of that kind. She was specifically responsible for preparing bodies and laying them out for mourning and remained with the tupapaku until the time of the burial.[36]

All of the informants acknowledged the tapu of the tangi, and most of them in fact said that as children, they were not allowed inside the whare during a tangi. Although not normally explained at the time, this practice was later recognized by some as a cautionary measure, in case they, as children, broke the tapu that surrounded the rituals being performed. This 'prohibition' also extended to the tangi of one's own parents, and three interview contributors spoke about losing a parent while they were still young children and not being able to attend their tangi. In hindsight, some of these interviewees have accepted the situation as merely the practice of the times. But at least one person still struggles to come to terms with being unable to properly attend his father's tangi.

Returning to the more enjoyable activities of childhood, there was plenty of less-mischievous and arguably less-hazardous play that the children enjoyed when they got the opportunity – sliding or sledging down hills and banks or swinging off trees into swimming holes, flying kites, coaxing the bulls so you could run across the paddocks, making toys out of just about anything – tins, bottles, sticks, stones, old tyres, or just simply 'playing on the shell pathway beside grandma's little house',[37] or just playing in the creek. Tarzan Hori remembers:

> …having a great time with the other boys in Matangirau and we lived in a creek. And that was the most wonderful experience for me of all. Where we could live in the creek all day, down the end, down at the waterfront where the tide touched on the tidal flats down at the bottom end of Matangirau and we'd spend hours and hours in the mud pools you know. And we'd come out these black dirty little Maori kid so um that was the sort of level of freedom that we had as children and I wouldn't have mothers going around with neurosis wondering where the child was because it was out of sight.[38]

Unfortunately for Tarzan, the 'wonderful times' changed when his Maori father died. As a child of a mixed marriage, he believes his mother felt 'ostracized' by her Pakeha family for having married a Maori. His father had been working with the railways in Taumarunui, after doing road work in the south. He owned a team of horses and after marrying, his father brought his mother, the team of horses, and their two eldest children back to Matangirau on horseback:

[36] Amelia Oppenheim, Pers. Com., 27 June 2010.
[37] Amelia Oppenheim interview, 19 March 2010.
[38] Tarzan Hori interview, 21 January 2007.

> It's quite a story actually. It's a long way to come from Taumarunui with a team of horses and the necessary equipment that goes with it. I wish I had more understanding of the precise nature of that journey and where they stopped and how they organized the food and all sorts of things.[39]

On 'returning' to Matangirau, they lived on their allotment of land and his father presumably got work with his horses. As a competent dressmaker, his mother seems to have helped all the ladies in the area with their dressmaking and needlework. Although he has early memories of his grandfather Paora Hori, he said that as a Court scribe 'he had no time to spend with a child'. The number of children in his whanau grew to six, and at some point, the two youngest children were killed in a house fire, leaving him the youngest surviving child. Not long after that, his father contracted tuberculosis and died soon after. To Tarzan, it seemed as though his mother, as a Pakeha woman living in Matangirau at the time, accepted her situation as 'the price to pay' under the circumstances. In any case, the mother and her two youngest (surviving) children returned to her family in Wanganui.[40] It is from here that his childhood memories are not so fond:

> We had never been involved in a Pakeha whanau before, albeit I was brought up with a Pakeha mother. We were suddenly confined to a quarter acre section with walls all around it. I found the trauma of the change when we had to go to Durie Hill School. That is a major change to go into a Pakeha school as opposed to a Maori school. The amount of education I would've got in the first year was absolutely nil. But as I say, the child became very adaptable.[41]

His new home life seems to have been equally traumatic:

> I have to talk about racism within my own whanau, my own family and that needs to be recorded. What we found was that the grandmother was extremely hostile towards us kids. She was very very hostile and the kind of lady who had the capacity to sink hostility to such an extent that I can use the term freely that I was scrubbed and scrubbed and scrubbed and I couldn't get white and that would be an absolute truth. To such an extent that when a visitor came to the house it was necessary for us kids to be locked in the bedroom and we weren't allowed to come out of the bedroom. Until in due course we got sick of this and we found that the window opens -hello freedom at last. Once we found the bedroom window open we also found that the road gate opens too and so nothing, nothing held us back.[42]

His grandmother 'ruled' the new family – 'she made all the decisions, a very strong English lady' and ultimately, she also 'made arrangements' for the two children to be placed in 'Salvation Homes', he in Eltham and his sister in Wellington. Although he talked about being

[39] Tarzan Hori interview, 21 January 2007.
[40] Although they are not mentioned, it is likely the two oldest siblings were left with extended whanau in Matangirau.
[41] Tarzan Hori interview, 21 January 2007.
[42] Tarzan Hori interview, 21 January 2007.

separated from his mother as 'the most awful experience in my entire life', in hindsight he is able to appreciate the organized and tangible program of the Home and the adaptability of children – 'it was easy to follow because everybody had to obey the system'. Within a few months he felt as though he'd 'never been away from it'. His mother would travel down from Wanganui to Wellington to visit them each year and after about four or five years, she 'broke away' from her parents, collected the two children and went to Hikurangi where their eldest sibling had set up a fish and chip shop. By then he was a teenager and was 'polished' and 'geared up to upset the whole community' which he apparently did when smashing the telephone system with his shanghai.

Bill Wilson and his family suffered similar hardships after the premature death of their Maori mother. The family of seven children was left in the care of the oldest daughter, aged only twelve at the time of their mother's death; the youngest child was fifteen months. This was during World War Two and the whanau remained in this situation for almost eighteen months. Their European father was working at the Saies' shop in Totara North during the week, returning to Otangaroa with food and supplies every weekend. When the welfare people found out, they came to take the children away to an orphanage. Instead, however, their mother's siblings took the children in; the oldest four to one family, the youngest three to another. One of the boys recalls that 'our father had a job so they were poorer than we were but they were very good and they shared everything they had with us'.[43]

Care for siblings often fell to eldest daughters. Several women interviewed talked about having to stay home from school to look after babies when there was an important hui happening, or whoever in the whanau was sick at any point in time. Rosie Renata gives one such example:

> I had to stay back and look after my father because mum was busy in the garden while he's [sick] … took him about three or four days to get well while he had hernia. When he used to come back from work he used to crawl all the way down the hill yeah. When we know that he's got it we get the horse and sledge and take it down the other side of the hill and wait for him.[44]

While showing how a child might care for other family members, this story also indicates a degree of pressure on a father who continued at his job despite his obvious and extreme pain and suffering. It was not only eldest daughters who cared for family members, in some whanau that was responsibility given to youngest daughters. In many of the larger whanau, the younger children would be raised alongside the next generation of whanau – their nieces

[43] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010.
[44] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.

and nephews - and were often charged with caring for them. This was the case for Patricia Tauroa who biked to church from Totara North to Mangawhero to get out of looking after tamariki.[45]

Church

Church was an integral part of whanau and interviewees variously spoke about having church services in the 'biggest whare in the village'. Whangaroa by this time had been 'blessed' with missions, Catholic bishops, Sisters of Mercy and a convent school, Methodist and Anglican ministers (some of them Maori), and more recently the Ratana faith. Each settlement generally followed the same denomination, but this was not without exception, and Rosie Renata explained how visiting different homes, churches and their attendant denominations facilitated church-based social activities:

> Haere matou ki nga whare mo te karakia engari ehara i te haahi o Ratana engari haere matou ki te Church of England, [we would go to the houses for church but not for the Ratana service, for the Church of England].... And then we have huis for Ratana for christenings, weddings and that. Then we all have houses, our house was the last one, we go every Sunday, we moved around... preparing the food and we take it to the house where it's going to have church and all the other houses baskets for on the table.[46]

Food was an important aspect of whanau going to someone else's house for a service. Church also provided a means of maintaining whanau and hapu relationships with other settlements, with examples of whole families from Mangaiti travelling on horseback to Pupuke for Sunday service:

> We all integrated for church and the people from Mangaiti used to come over once a month to have whakamoemiti over there at Kainganui marae. They would come the Kareko whanau, the King whanau, the Smiths' whanau, and the Porowini whanau. They all came over the hill by horse.[47]

As indicated, some whanau chose to follow more than one denomination. Lou King told of going to Catholic service at Waitaruke on a Sunday morning, then returning to Mangaiti marae straight afterwards for the Ratana service.[48] A family from Mangawhero, whose parents were of different denominations, were alternately baptized into different churches. The first and third children (and so forth) were Anglican and followed the faith of their father, who was also considered a prestigious tohunga. The second and fourth children (and

[45] Patricia Tauroa interview, 7 December 2006.
[46] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[47] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[48] Lou King, Mangaiti Marae hapu histories hui, Mangaiti Marae, 22 November 2010.

so on) were Catholic, and accompanied their mother to mass, eventually shifting to Waitaruke with her.[49]

Almost all of the Maori settlements around Whangaroa had churches built either before or during the mid-twentieth century. The churches were a focal point for the community as well as the whanau, particularly on a Sunday. Most interviewees talked about their involvement in Sunday School, the feast that would inevitably take place afterwards, playing with all the other children and their enjoyment of singing their church hymns: 'I a Ratapu ko te mahi o nga tamariki kia kaha te waiata, kia rongo ai te Atua'. [Each Sunday the children's job was to sing loud so that they will be heard by the Lord].[50]

Dahlia McGeachie said that she couldn't remember much about school – she wasn't there long enough. On the other hand she felt that Sunday school stimulated her brain.[51] It is possible Sunday School instruction was in Maori, the language Dahlia understood best. As a child she only spoke Maori, not learning English until later. By the time she married she was bilingual, but in her more mature years, she found it difficult to speak 'fully Maori'.[52] Certainly some churches have continued to recognise and use te reo Maori in their services, even into the twenty-first century.

Housing

Being so tied to childhood memories, several interview contributors talked about housing. Though a range of 'old' and 'modern' homes were cited, there were also some shared experiences – of nikau houses and dirt floors, for example. Rosie Renata remembered several houses from her childhood at Pupuke:

> 'we never had a proper home our home was like built it was raupo and nikau and was dirt floor and um then we had this…the creek was for bath then…we had one good house but it was my aunty down the bottom and she had a nikau house and dirt floor and she had some of this tamata, she makes them and put that on the floor, and you are not to drop a thing on the floor, and she had a fire outside burning for cooking her kai and all that.'[53]

Other interview contributors lived in similar homes.[54] But 'modern' homes were not unknown. Bill Wilson, for example, said he was raised in 'a fairly modern house, a wooden one… only a couple of years old, but when my mother died we moved to a very old house…

[49] Amelia Oppenheim interview, 25 May 1998.
[50] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006.
[51] Dahlia McGeachie interview, 5 December 2006.
[52] Dahlia McGeachie interview, 5 December 2006.
[53] Rosie Renata interview, 7 December 2006.
[54] Nuki Aldridge, interviewed by Mike Smith, 10 December 2006; Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.

with no linings, no windows - just wooden shutters; no ceilings – just cedar and tin roof'.[55] The 'fairly modern house' was funded by the government's rural housing scheme and had just been vacated by a whanau that had moved to be closer to their father who was being cared for in Auckland following injuries suffered during World War One service. The 'very old house' on the other hand had no running water or toilet. It had walls of newspaper and holes in the roof that 'you could see the stars through' at night.[56]

Recollections of the housing at Waitaruke in the 1940s were similar to that of Pupuke – there were many houses and people compared to today, and numerous little shacks throughout the settlement.[57] They were all 'pretty shacky', the people just built them themselves and they were always nice and clean with nice gardens and shell pathways.[58] As one informant mentioned, the houses were either 'all collected together as a papakainga',[59] or spread out over the farms, and it was still relatively common for some whanau to be living in tents up until the 1950s, with at least one informant spending a number of her childhood years living in a tent on whanau property.[60] As already mentioned, many whanau on the coastal areas moved closer to the beach in the summer months, and one informant talked about whanau from Matauri moving down from the forests to live in boat sheds at Putataua while others stayed in caravans, tents and shacks near Mangawhai.

The government housing policy for rural Maori reached Whangaroa and a number of one-bedroom houses with 'stupid little water-tanks' were built. Nor was the irony of having no electricity connected to their new house, while large pylons crossed their lands, lost on the whanau so affected.[61] Others mentioned living in new Maori Affairs houses but having no road to get to them and the friction that became evident from surrounding landowners as whanau attempted to build roads to get to their houses.[62] In Te Ngaere, these same 'landowners' had acquired land on the beachfront and and local whanau advised them not to build houses there on the sand.[63]

Born in the mid-1930s, Pereme Porter lived during a time that many whanau moved from raupo and nikau whare to timber ones. Toka Williams lived through a similar change. He

[55] Bill Wilson, interviewed by Patricia Tauroa, 26 March 2010.
[56] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010.
[57] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010.
[58] Bill Wilson interview, 26 March 2010.
[59] Hariata Heke interview, 13 July 2006.
[60] Patricia Tauroa interview, 7 December 2006.
[61] Ruiha Collier, Research Hui, Matauri Bay, 22 March 2009.
[62] Iwa Alker, Research Hui, Matauri Bay, 22 March 2009.
[63] Iwa Alker, Mapping Hui, Kaeo, 19 September 2009.

was raised in a whare nikau by his grandparents. One day after a big flood, some of the logs that had been dammed up behind the waterfall were 'brought down':

> They were quite big logs. And that's one of the things I remember because me and the grandfather cut the timber up for another house instead of a nikau house. And that's the house Uncle Kira was staying in. That's the house that's still there now.[64]
> We didn't have enough timber and he [the grandfather] went to Whangaroa. He rowed all the way from Te Ngaere to Whangaroa to get some timber from Lanes Mill and rowed it all the way back again. On a dinghy. He rowed. What amazed me you know is they weren't to do anything in those days. I don't know why, not like today.....You know as old as he was.....we went out, rowed all the way around. Got to the mill, ordered his timber, they got his timber ready for him, put it on the water and he rowed it, towed it, behind the boat. ....He said for me that he'll wait for the low tide; you know what for when the low tide goes out. Makes it easier for him – he knew that. And I remember him, and then we got out, not quite out to the heads. One little beach there and we stayed the night, till the morning. Then the tide goes out again and away we went again. Yeah we came right around though, right around Wainui, right around Flat Island and back to Te Ngaere. And the dinghy was only a little dinghy you know a flat dinghy.[65]

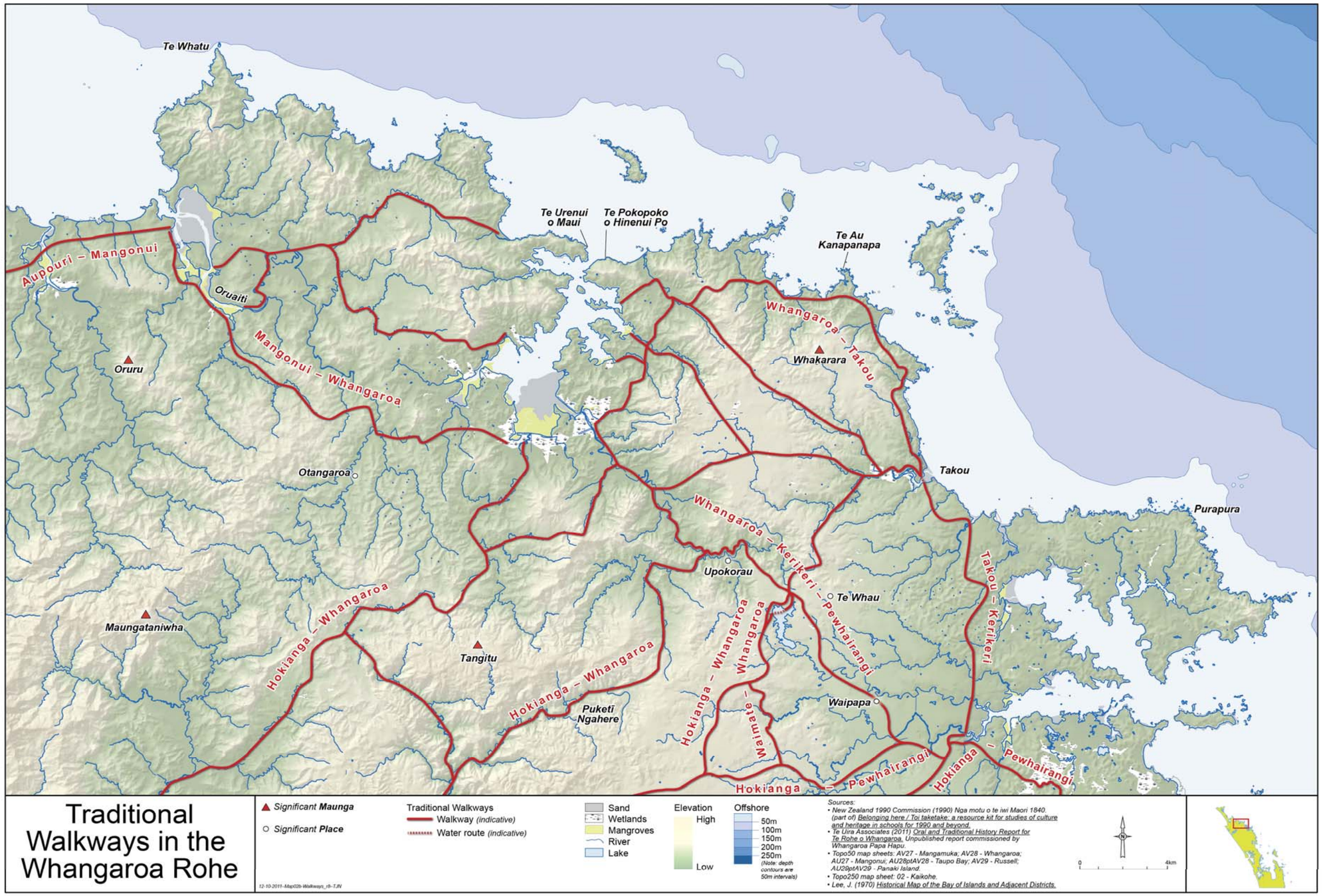
Farming

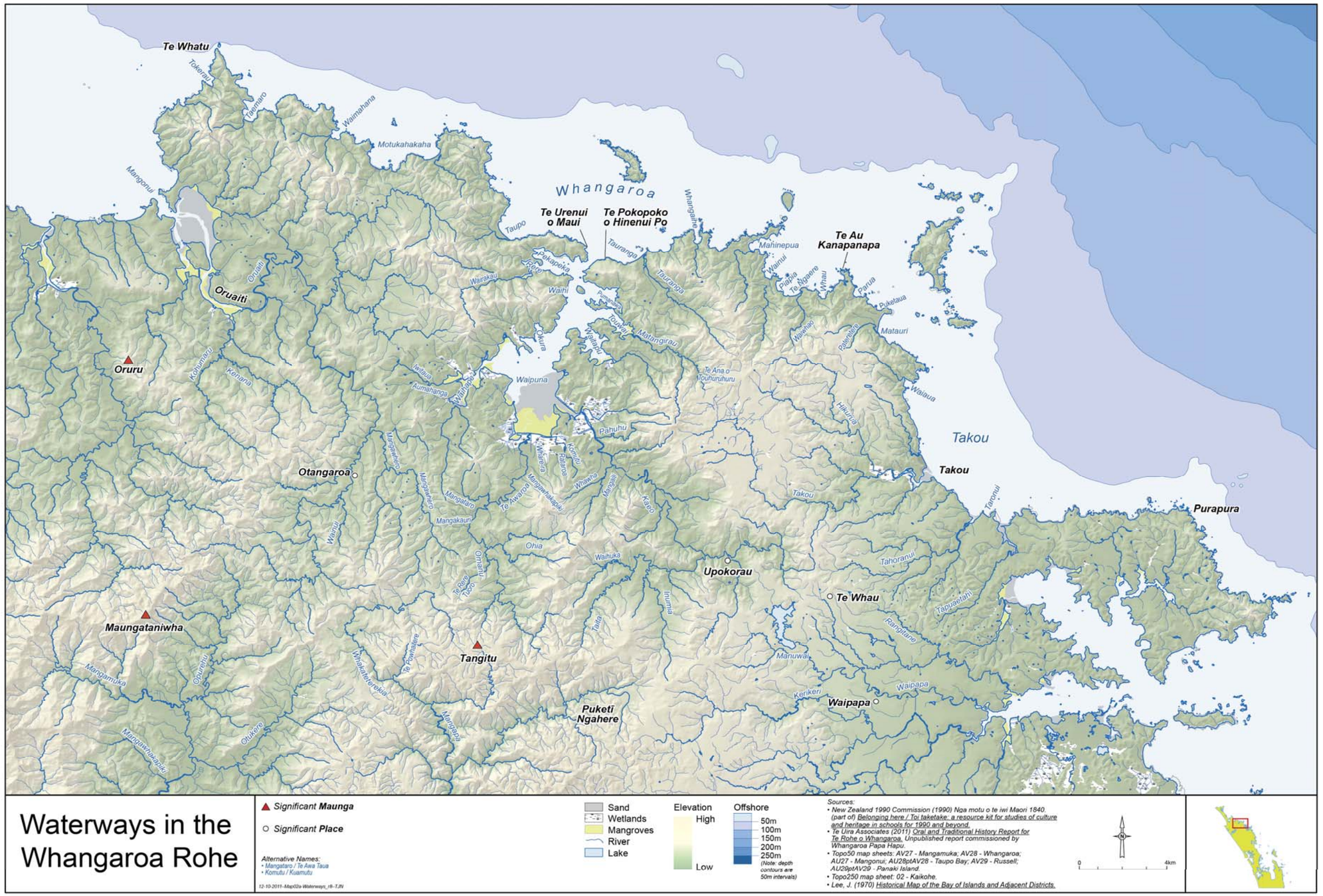
After struggling for at least a generation on small farms and with growing families, Maori in Whangaroa and around the country were regarded as 'economically disadvantaged ... lacking natural resources of a sufficient quantity and quality to allow the development of fully commercial farming'. While Pakeha farmers were able to access modern farm machinery and employ farm-hands, interviewees remember a time of hard manual toil:

> Yeah. My grandfather he used to make hay but all by hand – manpower. Chop the hay, put it in, he's got a little bag like an apron sack. He made it into an apron, chopped the grass and put it in there. Chop the grass, put it in. And then heave it up. Oh – and yet they didn't think it was any different because everybody was doing it. And that's how they got their own grass seeds aye? After cutting the hay. They got those seeds, shake all the seeds from out of the grass.[66]

> He was just living on, on land and our little penihana. I remember we used to get £24 a month for the nine, for the eight kids. Oh that was big money – get us flour, tea, sugar. But the rest all come from the sea. And we had pigs too as well. Everybody I think had pigs. And cows.[67]

[64] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[65] Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[66] Mae Hona and Toka Williams interview, 20 January 2010.
[67] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.


Te Whatu
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Au Kanapanapa
Aupouri – Mangonui
Oruaiti
Oruru
Mangonui – Whangaroa
Whangaroa – Takou
Whakarara
Takou
Purapura
Otangaroa
Whangaroa – Kerikeri – Pewhairangi
Upokorau
Te Whau
Takou – Kerikeri
Maungataniwha
Hokianga – Whangaroa
Tangitu
Hokianga – Whangaroa
Puketi Ngahere
Hokianga – Whangaroa
Whangaroa – Waimate
Waipapa
Hokianga – Pewhairangi
Hokianga – Pewhairangi
Hokianga – Pewhairangi
Traditional Walkways in the Whangaroa Rohe
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Traditional Walkways
Walkway (indicative)
Water route (indicative)
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
Elevation
High
Low
Offshore
50m
100m
150m
200m
250m
(Note: depth contours are 50m intervals)
Sources:
• New Zealand 1990 Commission (1990) Nga motu o te iwi Maori 1840. (part of) Belonging here / Toi taketake: a resource kit for studies of culture and heritage in schools for 1990 and beyond.
• Te Ura Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Topo250 map sheet: 02 - Kaikohe.
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
N
0
4km
12-10-2011-Map02b-Walkways_r9--TJN


Te Whatu
Tokerau
Taemaro
Waimahana
Motukahakaha
Mangonui
Whangaroa
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Whangaihe
Taupo
Pokapeka
Rere
Tauranga
Mahinepua
Te Au Kanapanapa
Waimui
Piapia
Te Ngaere
Whau
Parua
Puketaua
Matauri
Oruaiti
Oruaiti
Wairakau
Waihi
Oakura
Tauwhara
Waiwiri
Matangirau
Waiehaa
Paiarahara
Oruru
Kohumaru
Kenana
Iwitaua
Aumahanga
Waipuna
Te Ana o Touhuruhuru
Waiaua
Hikurua
Pahuhu
Takou
Takou
Takou
Tapuaetahi
Purapura
Otangaroa
Mangahahuru
Mangataro
Te Awaroa
Mangawhakapiki
Whawha
Mangaeli
Kaeo
Mangakaun
Wairiu
Ohia
Waihuka
Upokorau
Te Whau
Tahoranui
Taptaetahi
Rangitane
Maungataniwha
Mangamuka
Oturehu
Tangitu
Te Poinikaere
Whakatererekiri
Inumia
Taita
Manuwai
Kerikeri
Waipapa
Waipapa
Puketi Ngahere
Mangapapa
Otukere
Mangawhakapiki
Waiehaa
Waiaua
Hikurua
Rangitane
Tapuaetahi
Purapura
Takou
Waipapa
Upokorau
Te Whau
Maungataniwha
Tangitu
Puketi Ngahere
Waipapa
Waterways in the Whangaroa Rohe
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Alternative Names:
• Mangataro / Te Awa Taua
• Komutu / Kuamutu
12-10-2011-Map02a-Waterways_rB-TJN
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
Elevation
High
Low
Offshore
50m
100m
150m
200m
250m
(Note: depth contours are 50m intervals)
Sources:
• New Zealand 1990 Commission (1990) Nga motu o te iwi Maori 1840. (part of) Belonging here / Toi taketake: a resource kit for studies of culture and heritage in schools for 1990 and beyond.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Topo250 map sheet: 02 - Kaikohe.
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
N
0
4km


Te Whatu
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Au Kanapanapa
Oruaiti
Oruru
Otangaroa
Takou
Purapura
Upokorau
Te Whau
Maungataniwha
Tangitu
Puketi Ngahere
Waipapa
10
1
Modern Roads in the Whangaroa Rohe
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Modern Roads
State Highway
Road (sealed)
Road (gravel)
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
Elevation
High
Low
Offshore
50m
100m
150m
200m
250m
(Note: depth contours are 50m intervals)
Sources:
• New Zealand 1990 Commission (1990) Nga motu o te iwi Maori 1840. (part of) Belonging here / Toi taketake: a resource kit for studies of culture and heritage in schools for 1990 and beyond.
• Te Ura Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Topo250 map sheet: 02 - Kaikohe.
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
N
0
4km
12-10-2011-Map02c-Roads_r8-TJN

Turo Tepania recalled how he had spent nearly three years establishing his farm in the 1950s. As a returned soldier he was young and fit, and his 'family were fit too, just the right age'. They had sown grass and prepared hay paddocks, built fences, a piggery and farm sheds – 'fixed up everything'. They were getting ready to take full ownership of the farm and become 'independent of the Maori Affairs'. Then tragedy struck:

> So one night there was a big cloud-burst just above our farm there's a big forest and a big gully and it only rained for about four hours at the most I would say, maybe only three hours. But it rained that hard that this, the forest itself, one side caved in, into this gully and the other side came down on the other side and met up in the middle. And then the flood started to pile up behind and when it come down he took my shed, he took my piggery, he took cows, whatever's in the way, all went with it.[1]

The farm was deemed 'too much of a mess' and would have been expensive to clean up and start again and in any case, 'once you've got your grant, you've got it, they won't assist you again'. Although the scheme normally disallowed further assistance, because of his good record, he was provided another opportunity at Waihou Valley in Okaihau – 'they called it an "Overscale Unit" – too big for one and too small for two'. By then, however, his children had begun leaving home, working as carpenters, accountants and in other occupations. Soon enough, Turo and his wife were left on the farm alone, so they decided to ask them to come back on the farm:

> They said, "Oh Dad we seen you killing yourself on the farm work. What you do over there just milking night and morning, without cutting hay and getting hay and all this". They said "chuck that farm away and come and work for us." None of them will come back so I sold it and I went to Auckland.[2]

Social Lives and Relationships

Many informants talked about the dances that were held where everyone came together and local musicians, who were whanau members, would entertain the adults as they danced and sang into the night. Older children were included and recollections of the relationships that were formed brought back laughter for some:

> Katakata matou na te mea i kite matou i tetahi tangata haere tonu ia ki tetahi wahine, ooo, he arine kei te haere. [We laughed and laughed because we would see someone keep going back to a woman, and ooo, a 'liaison' was going to occur]. Most times it was right. Oh yes, they were lovely kanikani.[3]

[1] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.
[2] Turo Tepania interview, 8 August 1995.
[3] Tarihau Heta interview, 2006.

So, intimate relationships and marriage were as much a part of family life as birth and death. In another interview, a kuia from Otangaroa retold how, at the age of five, she had attended the wedding of a relative at her Uncle's house. They had a celebration afterwards and she recalls the amusement of the whanau as the newly-weds had to consummate their nuptials in public. At the time she had no idea what this meant, but later in life she realized that seeing their feet together in the same tent that night had constituted that consummation.[4]

There were other social and sometimes socio-political activities that added to the vibrancy of Whangaroa community life. Queen Carnivals, and their associated dances, were both fundraising and social occasions.[5] During World War Two people kept up an interest in enlistment in the 28th (Maori) Battalion.[6] The 1938 elections drew considerable community attention. It was the first time that Maori would vote by secret ballot, and the Ratana candidate Paraire Paikea beat sitting Taitokerau MP Tau Henare at the polls. 'Crowds of people' turned out when Paikea visited Whangaroa in 1939, presenting their concerns about 'pensions, land and men out of constant work'.[7] Whangaroa was also represented among the volunteers who worked on *Ngatokimatawhaorua*, one of the waka built for the 1940 centennial celebrations of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. A sixty-foot kauri log, six feet in diameter, partly hollowed and shaped had to be removed from the Kauri Reserve at the top of Waiare hill near Kaeo, using bullock teams and block and tackle. [8] There were also numerous ancillary tasks associated with building the waka. For example, Wi Parangi, a carpenter from Matauri, helped build dwellings for the carvers and other workers.[9] The Whangaroa relationship with waka and Waitangi has continued into the present, with numerous Whangaroa women, girls, men and boys joining various waka crews at the annual Waitangi Day commemorations.

As already suggested, interviewees 'growing up' in Whangaroa (or elsewhere as was the case for some) during the mid-twentieth century often witnessed a decrease in the use of te reo in their lifetimes. A number of women interviewed acknowledged that although Maori was often and sometimes only used during their childhood, they were not motivated to recover and revitalize their own te reo competency until they themselves had children and became involved in Kohanga Reo with their babies. On the other hand, Louie Katene's whanau moved to Mamaku when their father found work there, and the children grew up speaking only English among Pakeha families and friends. The eldest of fourteen siblings, Louie

[4] Patricia Tauroa interview, 7 December 2006.
[5] 'Korero Wikiri', 25 May and 7 September 1939.
[6] 'Korero Wikiri', 19 October 1939.
[7] 'Korero Wikiri', 17 March 1939. See also the issue for 12 October 1938.
[8] 'Korero Wikiri', 24 February 1938.
[9] 'Korero Wikiri', 17 November 1938.

recalled her parents speaking te reo to each other occasionally and also at times to aunties and uncles when they visited. Throughout her schooling she says that her mother discouraged her from learning te reo, saying 'what you don't know won't hurt you'. The whanau maintained whanau customs, such as karakia every night, and church every Sunday followed by large whanau gatherings. Despite being unable to understand what was being said, she clearly recalls the beauty of the karakia – 'you just can't explain it, you have to hear it and be part of that to know what it was like then for them'. On becoming a mother herself, Louie began questioning her parents about their heritage and as the whanau grew and grew, her parents both rekindled their reo, and began teaching their children and mokopuna, to the point that, for the last ten or so years of their time in Rotorua, her mother established a Kohanga Reo there. There is no resentment in Louie's experiences with te reo – that was how it was, they lived that life and as her father always said, 'it's not about me and it's not about you, it's about my grandchildren'.[10]

As already mentioned whanau starts with the birth of a child. As such, procreation (usually inside marriage) was considered to be one of the purposes of life. Iwa Alker shared a compelling story of two brothers in that respect. One brother married but when he realised he could not get his wife pregnant he 'gave' her to his brother, in order for the line of descent of their whanau to continue.[11] A number of whanau within Whangaroa have spoken of similar circumstances, the most common being that when one brother dies, another brother will marry the widow and therefore look after his brother's wife and children. These situations are recognized as being founded on commitment to whanau, particularly the children who will eventually produce offspring and preserve the whanau and therefore, their relationships with one another and the cosmos.

In more recent decades, many whanau who had lived away from Whangaroa for one or two generations began to return. For example, one whanau prepared to move to Waihapa from Rotorua by returning regularly for several years from the late 70s to the mid-80s, clearing land and digging drains for services, building their parents a house, fencing, and then gradually all returning to the land.[12] Karanga Pourewa is another who has a story of leaving and then returning to Whangaroa. Born in Matangirau, his family 'moved over' to Totara North after he finished at Kaeo District High School. They moved from there to Auckland because 'the Maori Affairs would not build the house they had promised' his parents at Matangirau. Karanga joined the army in 1961, serving in Malaya, Borneo and Vietnam. He

[10] Louie Katene interview, 5 January 2007.
[11] Iwa Alker interview, 3 May 2010.
[12] Louie Katene interview, 5 January 2007.

returned to Matangirau in 1968, eventually building his own home and subsequently involving himself in a range of Taitokerau organisations, most recently WPH.

Contemporary Claims-Related Issues

The current generation of kuia and kaumatua are among those who have variously lived in and away from Whangaroa, balancing the imperatives of living in a capitalist society with whanau and broader community obligations. It is with them that a plethora of historical and contemporary claims now rest. This section very briefly outlines contemporary land issues that have arisen at the hui which have contributed to the research for this chapter. They are introduced to indicate the nature and degree of contemporary local concerns and, where possible, their historical foundations. These concerns have not been the subject to further research, primarily because they sit outside the project as it was commissioned. Nor should they be viewed as either representative or exhaustive. To assist, an appendix at the end of this report summarises the Whangaroa claims known to the research team as at early December 2010.

Waikukupa, near the Kaeo River mouth, is still Maori-owned land, however over-land access to it has long been denied due to it being land-locked and it has been many years since the adjoining land owners have allowed access. Access was initially denied when oyster farmers prevented Maori from going there, saying that they had the licence and therefore the right to stop access. These days the oyster farms are blamed for over-running native varieties of kaimoana, including the native tio.

Some current day negative attitudes towards the Crown and its agencies are historically grounded. A degree of indifference towards the Department of Maori Affairs has been apparent over time, and Matarae Tauroa for one is remembered as refusing to have anything to do with the Department's farming or other loans. Government policy is also viewed as responsible for the Europeanisation of Maori land, and policies of consolidation and title reform specifically seen as a means of separating whanau from their rightful inheritances. Manufactured indebtedness is similarly viewed as a means of wresting people from their lands. A more recent frustration with 'the system' concerns the Te Ohu Kaimoana criteria that hapu had to descend from a tupuna. Whangaroa argued that hapu sometimes go back to events, not tupuna. This debate is yet to be resolved.

A major issue which has been presented to some extent already is the land reclamation and road development below the shore-lines of Te Pupuke. Informants trace the evolution of this issue starting with the 'Old Coach Road' that used to go through Rataroa, Waihapa, Otangaroa, Tipatipa and Kenana. It is believed that the road followed an established foot-track. The next road that was built came along Dip Road and the next (or current) road was the major construction which involved trucking in earth from all over Whangaroa, including quarries at Waitaruke and Kaeo. These roading developments not only cut-off several streams but also covered established shellfish and fishing grounds, and permanently impacted the shoreline, and the connection between Te Awaroa-Pupuke and Whangaroa.

Among the several contemporary issues that vex Mangaiti people are unwarranted name changes. For example, Kaingapokeno Road (at the top of Omaunu) was changed to Mangananihi. There is a feeling that such name changes have the effect of disconnecting the people from their land, especially as the derivation of the name Mangananihi is unclear.

There are also pieces of Mangaiti lands that have somehow been removed from Maori ownership, though the locals are unclear as to how it all happened, and there is a view that some whanau returned from war only to find their land 'suddenly' owned by someone else. Some consolation can be found in more recent attitudes, for example, a memorandum of understanding between Mangaiti and the Whangaroa Health Services provides that if at any time the health services are discontinued, the land will be offered back to the people.

Other issues at Mangaiti include flooding, which is so bad Mangaiti is known as a mud-bath. Also a lack of employment for young people has led to a situation where only a few people remain 'at home' to care for the kainga. The hau kainga responsibilities are significant, and exacerbated because 'very few kaumatua tuturu' are available to support the marae. Whoever lives at home 'constantly' provides manaakitanga for tangi, hura kohatu, reunions and other hui on the marae. It is a situation that drains the people and resources. Yet, at the same time there seems to have been a growing interest in whakapapa and other aspects of hapu history among those living away. All Whangaroa marae are dealing with such issues, and it is concerning: '… the saddest thing is that there are no people on the marae. … The tikanga of our marae and our people are not being maintained'. It is somewhat poignant to note that such matters of customary practice, which characterise so many of the interviews undertaken for this project, are also the matters that challenge the future viability of Whangaroa whanau, hapu and marae.



An ink drawing replica of James Barry's 1820 portrait of Hongi Hika after Robley, Horatio Gordon, 1840-1930: Hongi Hika, 1923.

Description: Head and shoulders portrait of Ngapuhi chief Hongi Hika. Not drawn from life, since Hongi died in 1828 and Robley was in New Zealand nearly 40 years later. ID: PUBL-0067-154, Alexander Turnbull Library (via Timeframes).

CHAPTER THREE
HONGI HIKA

Hongi Hika is a dominant force in any historical appreciation of Whangaroa. To this day his once 300-strong kainga at Whare-ra, though changed markedly by generations of farming, stands tall on the local landscape with sweeping views of land and sea. He similarly impacted the human landscape in the decades leading up to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Hongi was a leader in the development of early trade and political relations with Pakeha, and arguably spurred discussions surrounding the perceived need to develop a whakaminenga. He travelled a lot in his lifetime moving between pa in Kaikohe and Kerikeri; fighting battles as near as Hokianga and as far as Wharekahika (Hick's Bay); visiting dignitaries in Port Jackson and more famously meeting the British King in London. Yet he often returned to Whangaroa, an area to which he was strongly linked through his maternal whakapapa. In later life it was to Whangaroa that he eventually settled, and he ultimately died some time after suffering a gunshot wound while in pursuit of Ngati Pou enemies who had fled towards Hokianga.

Hongi's influence extends beyond the parameters of both the chapters that precede this one, and the chapter immediately following. Yet he is clearly integral to the korero tuku iho of chapter one, and the changing socio-cultural, economic and political landscape of the tangata whenua. He is equally integral to the next chapter which considers the dynamics of early Pakeha interaction and settlement in the period leading up to He Wakaputanga. This chapter therefore pauses to contemplate the impact and life of Hongi Hika. It bridges the korero tuku iho of chapter one and the narrative that builds towards Te Tiriti in chapter four. Hongi's life similarly spans the period of intense change between the Whangaroa o nehera and the Whangaroa that came to know and receive Pakeha – voyagers, traders and commercialists, missionaries and settlers. He was one of the generation that strategically incorporated elements of the Pakeha world while maintaining, even strengthening, their existing tangata whenua world. Though influential, he was not a man alone, and this chapter ought not be misconstrued as somehow displacing other equally important rangatira of Whangaroa, whether they belong to Hongi's generation, or generations before or since.

The spanning and bridging aspect of Hongi's life (and this chapter) is further reflected in the sources available to tell his story. Documentary sources dominate, but Hongi is also well remembered in the oral narratives of his Whangaroa whanaunga and descendants – they told his story before the Native Land Court in the nineteenth century, and have begun to tell

it again before the Waitangi Tribunal. In an effort to present relevant information while also avoiding duplication, particularly of matters already canvassed by the CFRT-commissioned suite of Northland Research Programme technical reports, the chapter draws mainly from secondary sources, published and unpublished. It relies heavily on the work of Dorothy Urlich Cloher, and also Manuka Henare. It makes limited use of Maori Land Court records, especially relevant minutes, which are used more fully in part two of the report, and in its composition it has been influenced by the views and feedback of members of WPH.

This chapter begins by identifying two influences that shaped the goals Hongi pursued during the major events of his life. The first concerns the contrast between his association with Kaikohe and Whangaroa hapu. The second is the major defeat Ngapuhi experienced at Moremonui. Then the focus will turn to Hongi's dealings with the missionaries. His relationship with them helps to understand how and why he was able to travel to England. This trip and his meeting with King George IV, as well as other English dignitaries, will also be the subject of particular examination. Hongi's involvement with Whangaroa land and people will then be explored in terms of whanaungatanga, how this impacted on the battles he fought there and what impact this may have had in later NLC investigations into these areas. Lastly some general comments will be made as to the lasting impact Hongi seems to have had on the political and social landscape leading up to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

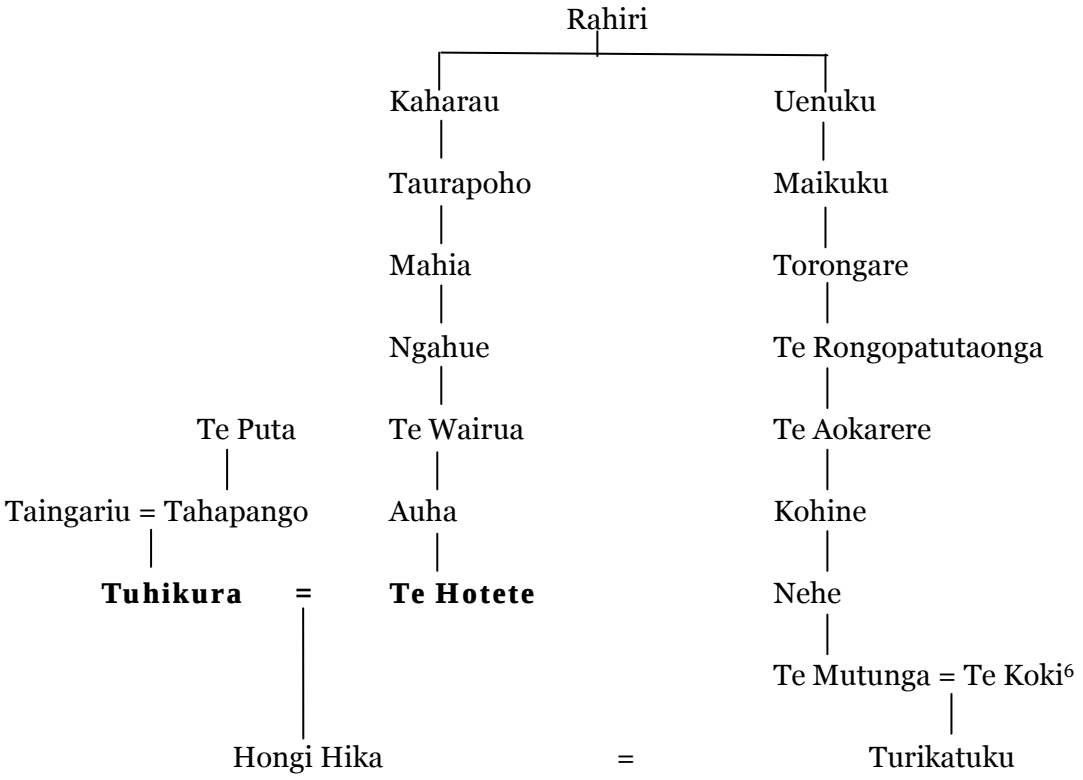
Hongi was born in 1772, during a period when the social, economic and political situation was particularly fluid in Te Taitokerau. Growing up during the ascendency of Ngapuhi in the Bay of Islands, Hongi found himself part of a wave of shifting power relations, the momentum for which had been gathering for at least two generations. In their 2008 'Tribal Landscape Overview' Manuka Henare, Hazel Petrie and Adrienne Puckey note that:

> Before about 1818, the precursors of Ngā Puhi comprised several different groups, living near Kaikohe and Waimate, who had seasonal fishing settlements at Kerikeri and other parts of the Bay of Islands coast. These groups had united with other adjacent hapū to drive Ngāti Pou out of the central inland Bay of Islands.[1]

Hongi's father Te Hotete, and his father Auha, therefore lived during times of increasing political volatility.[2] These rangatira, seeking utu for the death of their kin Whakarongo,[3] provided the leadership that led to the military defeat of Ngati Pou, Ngati Miru, Te Wahineiti

[1] Henare et al, pp.361-2.
[2] Henare et al, p.26.
[3] See Jeffrey Sissons, Wiremu Wi Hongi, Pat Hohepa, *Ngā Pūriri o Taiamai: A Political History of Ngā Puhi in the Inland Bay of Islands*, 2nd edn, Auckland, 2001.

and Ngare Raumati. 'Born of a warrior tradition' Hongi spent much of his early life at Pakinga and Okuratope Pa, absorbing the warrior ethos which would aid his success after inheriting chieftainship of the Kaikohe hapu Te Uri o Hua from his half brother Kaingaroa.[4] Cloher asserts that it 'was no accident that Hongi's fame derived principally from his reputation as a warrior chief'. He belonged to 'the warrior line of Ngā Puhi', descending from Rahiri and his second wife Whakaruru, through 'Kaharau, Taurapoho, Mahia, Ngahue (and Tautahi), Te Wairua, Auha, to Hongi's father Te Hōtete'. These warrior tupuna were Hongi's 'models' and their warrior tradition 'was embedded in his upbringing'.[5]



Hongi's mother, Tuhikura, was Ngapuhi too, as was his principal wife Turikatuku.[7] Like Hongi, Turikatuku descended from Rahiri, but through Uenuku. She was also an iramutu to Tuhikura and therefore whanaunga to Hongi: Turikatuku's father, Te Koki, and Tuhikura were siblings. Their mother Taingariu descended from Mahia, the great grandson of Rahiri and builder of Pakinga Pa. Tuhikura and Te Koki had a substantial link to Whangaroa through their father Tahapango and grandfather Te Puta, both of whom were born at

[4] Dorothy Urlich Cloher, *Hongi Hika Warrior Chief*, Auckland, 2003, pp.23-5, 34. To be clear, Te Uri o Hua is a Kaikohe section of Ngapuhi, not to be confused with Te Uri o Hau from the Kaipara.
[5] Cloher, pp. 25, 26-7. Whakapapa for Hongi is also given in A. T. Ngata, *Nga Moteatea: he maramara rere no nga waka maha*, Part IV, reprint, Wellington, 1990, p.58.
[6] Some sources give Te Mutunga as Turikatuku's father, and Te Koki therefore as her mother. However, in 1875 Paora Ururoa described Te Mutunga as his great-aunt and Te Koki as Te Puta's grandson. NMB 1, p.84.
[7] According to Sale, Tuhikura lived at Puwhainga near Onewhero beach in Whangaroa. Sale, p.20.

Matanehunehu near Taupo Bay.[8] Tahapango is an important ancestor as Ngati Rangi (part of Ngati Awa) gave him land at Te Pupuke after he defended the area against aggressors from Hokianga.[9] At that point an important interplay developed between Ngapuhi's expanding mana and Tahapango, who became involved in fighting between Te Hotete and Ngare Raumati. Although the specific nature of Tahapango's involvement is unclear, Ngare Raumati acknowledged his support of them when he received the head of Ponaharakeke - a kinsman of Taingariu. Relations between Tahapango and his wife soured when he taunted her with the head, using the bones to eat kaimoana. Ngapuhi killed Tahapango at Matauri Bay soon after. Although Cloher identifies Taingariu as responsible for this killing, she admits the possibility that Te Hotete killed him.[10] Indeed, to this day the people at Omaunu say that it was Te Hotete who killed Tahapango.[11] With her father dead Tuhikura was then sent to live with her mother's relatives at Kaikohe where she soon became Te Hotete's third wife.[12] Despite this marriage, Tuhikura deeply mourned her father, and the subsequent desecration of his bones by Ngati Pou. She neither forgave nor forgot Tahapango's fate, a vengeance that shaped the 'warrior course of the late part of Hongi's life' and 'Tuhikura is credited with instilling into her son a sense of responsibility for exacting utu for his grandfather, Tahapango'.[13]

It seems Hongi's maternal and paternal lines converged uneasily. His father was implicated in the death of his mother's father; his Whangaroa side required utu from his Kaikohe side. Nonetheless Tuhikura lived among Te Hotete's people at Kaikohe, where their children Houwawe, Hongi and Waitapu grew up. Further tragedies befell Tuhikura. In 1807 Hongi endured his first experience of war at Moremonui, where Ngapuhi fought against Ngati Whatua, Te Uri o Hau and Te Roroa. Kaikohe hapu participated in support of the Ngapuhi rangatira Pokaia who, like Hongi, descended from Te Wairua.[14] Many factors explain the fighting at Moremonui. The account Cloher offers is that previous to 1807 Pokaia gave military assistance to Taoho, a Roroa rangatira seeking utu through battles with Ngati Whatua after marriage arrangements between the two groups soured. At some point during these battles Te Uri o Hau killed Pokaia's son Te Tao. Te Roroa agreed to exact utu from Te Uri o Hau. But the utu did not eventuate and Pokaia launched attacks on Taoho's people, as well as Te Uri o Hau and Ngati Whatua. The fighting culminated in the battle at Moremonui,

[8] Cloher p.28.
[9] Cloher p.30.
[10] Cloher p.265.
[11] Rawiri Hemi, Whangaroa Papa Hapu research hui, Karangahape Marae, 2 December 2010. Rawiri referred to Maori Land Court minutes concerning Matawherohia or Mangaiti that supported this korero, which unfortunately could not be located for this report.
[12] Cloher p.31.
[13] Cloher pp.31-2.
[14] Cloher pp.52-54.

at which Ngapuhi was decisively defeated. For Hongi and his mother, Moremonui was particularly tragic. Both his brother Houwawe and their sister Waitapu were killed. The death of Waitapu was particularly gruesome. Later in life Hongi named his favourite gun Teke Tanumia as a reminder of the utu required for the brutal killing of Waitapu. It seems that Hongi himself barely survived, hiding by submerging himself in a waterway and using a hollow reed to get air.[15]

As with the events surrounding the death of Tahapango, Hongi's tatai again converged at Moremonui. The ascendency of Ngapuhi after Auha and Te Hotete's campaigns no doubt worked to Hongi's advantage overall; he was born on the right side of those shifts of power. Yet the influence those tupuna extended also provided the great height from which Ngapuhi mana would plummet after their defeat at Moremonui. After his half-brother Kaingaroa died, and after Moremonui, Hongi succeeded him as the chief of Te Uri o Hua. Kaingaroa was Te Hotete's son through his second wife Waitohirangi.[16] In taking up the role of rangatira, Hongi probably also took up the daunting task of recovering, maintaining and extending any perceived loss of mana – including avenging Moremonui. Combined with the responsibility Tuhikura instilled in him to take utu over the killing of her father, his grandfather, (by his own Kaikohe hapu no less, which he was now required to lead), Hongi seemed to face a crisis of mana.

The idea of a crisis of mana helps to explain many of the the decisions Hongi made during his life, and deals with the temptation of relying on a bloodthirsty war-chief archetype as a convenient means of analysis, but without misconstruing the man by understating his militarism. Thus his developing political and economic prowess can be considered alongside his established prowess on the battlefield – the creation of the hitherto largest potato plantations in Aotearoa, an attempted monopolisation of missionary contact and trade, the first meeting of a rangatira with the English King, and a battle like Te Ika-a-Ranganui in 1825, at which Hongi exacted revenge for Moremonui. The relationships Hongi developed to restore and enhance tribal mana can be divided into three categories. First were his ties with the missionaries, secondly the relationship he believed he had established with King George IV, and thirdly his relations with other Maori, including his battles with some of them. Both his battling and his relating comprised strategic attempts to resolve the issues and crisis of mana that he faced. The battles he waged against other hapu and iwi were numerous and widespread, but it is the battles he fought in and relating to Whangaroa on which this chapter will focus.

[15] Cloher, pp.56-7, 36.
[16] Cloher p.22.

Ko te uwira tanuku poto[17]

In addition to the political volatility of Taitokerau iwi, Hongi's life also coincided with a period of increasing Maori contact with Pakeha. Like other rangatira of his time, Hongi understood that working relations with Pakeha could assist in achieving the material and spiritual ambitions of hapu for which he was responsible. Strategic relations with Pakeha could provide access to iron tools, European plants, animals, knowledge and weapons.[18] Among the Pakeha with whom Hongi established successful relationships, were the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries. Ties between Ngapuhi and the CMS already existed by the time of Hongi's chieftainship, largely fostered through the relationship of Hongi's nephew Ruatara with the missionary Samuel Marsden.[19] A great grandson of Whakaaria (Hongi's great-uncle), Ruatara met and befriended Marsden during his many travels abroad.[20] The principal chaplain at New South Wales, Marsden oversaw early efforts to convert Maori to Christianity through CMS stations in Te Taitokerau.[21] Ruatara's relationship with Marsden had been formalised through the building of the Rangihoua mission station in 1814 and the accompanying political arrangements where Ruatara would protect the station, its buildings, inhabitants and evangelising kaupapa.[22] Hongi took on the role of protector after Ruatara died in 1815.[23]

During his time, it seems Ruatara got along well with Marsden. Despite this however, Judith Binney notes that Ruatara was 'unenthusiastic' in his support for the mission station. 'He refused to give the missionaries any active assistance; their presence was merely tolerated.'[24] Under Hongi, the CMS and its assets would be guarded jealously. He was keen to prove his commitment to the Rangihoua mission and understood it might be 'unwise to allow the

[17] The short strike of lightning – a saying relating to Hongi to express that he 'would never agree to save aperson in his battles if he was not as brave as he was.' Department of Maori Affairs, *He Pepeha, He Whakatauki no Taitokerau*, Whangarei, 1987, p.40.
[18] Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*, Auckland, 1997, p.438.
[19] Te Pahi, the chief who Pakeha whalers wrongly identified and killed for the destruction of the *Boyd*, was also well known to Marsden. After Te Pahi was killed Ruatara inherited his lands at Te Puna. Cloher pp. 69-70; and Salmond p.424.
[20] Ruatara first met Marsden at Port Jackson in 1806, then again in England in 1809. They also met in Parramatta shortly after the burning of the *Boyd* in February 1810. Ruatara stayed with Marsden for an eighteen-month period, learning to cultivate cereals and other specialist farming techniques. Salmond, pp. 405-417. Binney notes that Ruatara accepted the idea of a mission station in his rohe potae 'because he had been impressed with the techniques of European agriculture'. Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: a life of Thomas Kendall*, 2nd edn, Wellington, 2005, p.45.
[21] Salmond, p. 405. By this point Marsden was already experienced in setting up mission stations. He was partly responsible for the establishment of the mission house at Parramatta. Cloher p.69.
[22] Judith Binney, Introduction, in Judith Binney, ed., *Te Kerikeri 1770-1850: the meeting pool*, Wellington, pp.12-13; and Salmond p.408.
[23] James Belich, *Making Peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end f the nineteenth century,* Auckland, 1997, p.156.
[24] Binney, *Kendall*, p.50.

missionaries to fall into the hands of a rival faction'.[25] In fact several rangatira had vied to host the first mission station including Te Morenga, with whom Hongi would later clash over where to locate the second CMS mission station.[26] Soon enough though, Hongi exercised a virtual monopoly over the CMS. He understood the benefits that the CMS community could bring as conduits of European trade goods. It worked in his favour, too, that Marsden's approach to his mission was to civilise first, Christianise later. By teaching Maori the 'arts' of civilisation – European methods of farming and horticulture, reading, writing, trades and arts – they would be made more amenable to becoming Christians. Much more could be said about Marsden's mission, his view of Maori as inherently 'improvable' and capable of adopting European ways, and the range of scholarly interpretations of his goals and work variously produced since then.[27] However the focus here is on Hongi.

Marsden and the CMS may have viewed the education and training they offered as important but ancillary to the real task of spreading the Gospel. Hongi, on the other hand, seems to have been among those who were likely indifferent to the new religion of the mihinare, and instead preferred to access and engage with the further shipping and trade goods that the CMS community attracted.[28] Furthermore, the relationships that Hongi cultivated with the mihinare had developed in the wake of (and later alongside) the many battles he fought in other parts of the country. He fought and defeated Ngai Te Rangi at Maunganui Pa in Tauranga, in retaliation for the death of Te Pahi's daughter Waipoua. Waipoua had been left at Tauranga to recover from seasickness while travelling with her husband, an English captain, who was returning Tawaputa, a Ngati Porou rangatira, to his East Coast home. She was apparently killed by her Tauranga hosts. Tawaputa too was blamed for Waipoua's death (no matter how indirectly), and so Hongi also attacked Ngati Porou at Te Whetumatarau Pa.[29] Hongi fought closer to home as well. The situation south of Hokianga remained volatile in the wake of Moremonui as Te Roroa followed up their victory with raids on hapu along the Waimamaku River. In 1808 Hongi fought alongside Ngati Korokoro who clashed with Te Roroa at Waiotemarama. Despite their possession of a small number of muskets, Ngapuhi was again defeated, further reducing the very mana that Hongi sought to enhance.[30] The situation on the Ngapuhi side was complicated; though Hongi fought with Ngati Korokoro, he was also embroiled in an ongoing feud with their chiefs Patuone and Waka Nene.[31] Ngati

[25] Binney, *Kendall*, p.50; and Belich, p.157.
[26] Salmond p.492.
[27] Examples of scholarly interpretations include those of Binney and Salmond already referred to here.
[28] Binney, *Kendall* p.48.
[29] Cloher mentions that these battles against Ngai Te Rangi and Ngati Porou must have been fought before 1810 since that was the year Te Pahi (who was involved in the campaigns) was wrongly killed after the Boyd incident. Cloher, pp.57-8.
[30] R. D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict 1806-45*, Auckland, 1999, p.49.
[31] Crosby, pp.49-50.

Korokoro and their close relatives Ngati Pou were both in Hongi's firing line, and he attacked them both in 1813 – Ngati Pou because they had participated in the eating of the vanquished at Moremonui, and Ngati Korokoro because of a series of raids into Hongi's rohe potae.[32] In the same year, Hongi and Te Roroa, led by Te Hukeumu, fought again, this time at Whiria Pa. While Hongi laid siege to Whiria Pa, Ngati Pou, led by Tuohu, attacked.[33] Hongi could not break Te Roroa's hold of Whiria, so instead he attacked the Ngati Pou pa Mataraua, held by Te Tihi on the Lower Waihou Valley. This attack was more successful and was followed up by the taking of Hunoke Pa where Tuohu was killed for his attack on Pakinga.[34]

As Cloher points out, this series of attacks and skirmishes often involved hapu that had either 'assisted or were in some way related to Ngāti Whātua'. In fact many years would pass before Hongi would attack 'Ngāti Whātua proper'. He would not finally avenge the battle of Moremonui until 1825, and 'only after meticulous preparation', the perfection of new strategies and technologies, and sufficient 'practise on other tribes in the south first, using his innovations'.[35] Whether they knew it or not, the missionaries would be part of Hongi's meticulous preparation and his relationship with them would be oriented towards achieving the utu that Cloher identifies. Though Hongi was not always successful, his battling earned him the warrior reputation that the missionaries would find so curious a contrast to his apparently mild and thoughtful manner.[36] Hongi also fought at and against Whangaroa people. In the summer of 1813, his toa repelled attacks from Whangaroa against Okuratope pa.[37] Four years later, his next military campaign would be against hapu in Whangaroa. By that time, he had firmly cemented his ties with the mihinare and their leader Marsden.[38]

In June 1814 Ruatara introduced Hongi to the missionary Thomas Kendall who, with William Hall, had just reconnoitred the Bay of Islands for a suitable site to build the mission station.[39] Kendall would soon become a close and important friend to Hongi. Hongi was himself a tohunga (of Maori religion) and understood the importance of ceremony and ritual, attending most of the public religious ceremonies Kendall held, which no doubt aided the development of their friendship. Then in July, Hongi and his eldest son Ripiro boarded the

[32] Crosby, p.50.
[33] Tuohu had eaten the remains of Ngapuhi dead after the Moremonui battle. Cloher, p. 59. Crosby states that 'this pa was of course largely defenceless because most of the fighting toa were with Hongi, and thus Tuohu succeeded in taking the pa, killing most of the women and children.' Crosby, p.50.
[34] Cloher, pp.58-60.
[35] Cloher p.60.
[36] Binney, *Kendall,* pp.41-42.
[37] Salmond p.478.
[38] Prior to 1817 Hongi fought Te Aupouri in support of Te Rarawa who had been fighting with Te Houtaewa. Cloher pp.61-62.
[39] The timing of this meeting was partly in response to Kendall and Hall's meeting with Tara, the rangatira of Kororareka who was also invited to Port Jackson. For Hongi, Tara represented the 'Southern Alliance', a cluster of hapu based mostly around Kawakawa and Opua; and who were apparently 'inveterate enemies' to the Northern Alliance of which Hongi was a part. Salmond p. 437. Also Henare, Tribal Landscape, p.368.

Active with the chiefs Ruatara and Korokoro and set sail for Port Jackson.[40] (Korokoro was a Ngare Raumati rangatira. Hongi would attack his Kahuwera hapu (of Paroa in the Bay of Islands) and scatter the people in 1826 after both Korokoro and Tuai had passed away).[41] The men stayed at Parramatta for three months, visiting the shops of blacksmiths and carpenters, observing houses being built, learning to read and write as well as meeting with and receiving gifts from the New South Wales Governor Lachlan Macquarie.[42]

It was on this trip that Macquarie announced Kendall's appointment as 'Justice of the Peace in the Bay of Islands and throughout New Zealand', and vested constabulary powers in the chiefs Ruatara, Hongi and Korokoro.[43] Macquarie also published a proclamation 'intended to protect the "just rights and privileges" of the New Zealanders, forbidding captains of visiting ships to recruit sailors in the Bay of Islands' without Kendall's written permission and the agreement of the three chiefs.[44] Macquarie's appointments were probably illegal. In fact the House of Lords would later hear that the 'proclamation had been "laughed at a good deal" as an assumption of authority'.[45] The appointments may have been significant nonetheless, especially as in Hongi's case it came as a direct result of his relationship with the missionaries. Though arguably not the 'serious political commitment' that Salmond noted, the appointments may have been aimed at placating 'the missionaries and their influential friends at home'. Still, to recognise their 'new status', Macquarie gave each chief an officer's uniform, and a cow.[46] These gifts would have bolstered the view that the rangatira of New South Wales had recognised Hongi's mana. Though Hongi had to share this recognition with his rival Korokoro, Cloher notes that the appointment was still advantageous, given his position in Kerikeri where Kendall would soon live.[47]

On 19 November 1814 the *Active* arrived back in Aotearoa loaded with missionaries including Marsden, who had come to visit the Bay of Islands, the rangatira including Ripiro now renamed Poihakena, and the cows (plus one bull) that these rangatira had received as salary for their new roles as constables.[48] Soon after their return, Ruatara and Hongi went to Matauri Bay, and became aware that Te Ara, Te Puhi and a group of toa were camped

[40] Cloher p.74. Marsden had earlier sent a request to Ruatara that as a gesture of goodwill a small number of carefully chosen rangatira be sent to Port Jackson aboard the *Active*. The CMS had purchased the *Active* because ships captains were reluctant to transport missionaries in the wake of the 1809 *Boyd* incident (Cloher pp. 57, 70).
[41] Henare et al, p.143; also Cloher p.66.
[42] Salmond, p.443.
[43] Binney, *Kendall,* pp.44-5.
[44] Salmond, pp.446-7.
[45] Binney, *Kendall,* pp.44-5.
[46] Salmond, pp.446-7.
[47] Cloher, p. 77.
[48] Cloher, p. 73.

nearby. Hongi had been battling these Ngati Uru rangatira (and Ngati Pou), 'locked in a cycle of mutual retaliation', since the burning of the *Boyd*.[49] But on this occasssion, instead of fighting, the parties negotiated. The *Boyd* was a ship that anchored in Whangaroa Harbour in 1809, hoping to pick up a load of kauri spars. Ngati Uru killed its crew in retaliation for the flogging of Te Ara who was a passenger on his way home.[50] Discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the incident undermined previously postive views of Maori as news of it travelled to Sydney, London and Paris. [51] Immediately after the *Boyd* affair, the number of ships visiting Aotearoa plummeted; only five were known to visit in 1810, and in following years those ships that did visit tended to avoid the northern harbours.[52] Indeed, even Marsden had delayed his mihinare ambitions for five years. He understood that the ongoing tensions between Hongi and Ngati Uru threatened the security of the mission, and was keen to see their differences resolved. He therefore joined in the hui at which peace negotiations were conducted between the two factions.[53] It was a 'momentous encounter':

> When [their] greetings were over, Ruatara, Hongi, Te Ara and Te Puhi each fired their pistols into the air, and Nicholas fired his fowling-piece in a gesture of reconciliation. Six or seven warriors now discharged their muskets and, grabbing their spears or firearms, all the warriors jumped to their feet and performed a resounding haka.[54]

Overall, Hongi's interactions with the mihinare were squarely on his terms, the price they paid for his protection. Yet, with the exception of the blacksmith and the school that Kendall set up for Maori children (which quickly failed anyway), it seems that the missionaries had little to offer that Hongi could not get through trade with European shipping. Further, Hongi was a successful and astute business leader in his own right. He had potato fields in Kerikeri and Te Puna, and at Okuratope pa he had a 40-acre mixed crop of potatoes, turnips and wheat; this at a time when potatoes were a major currency, particularly in trade with whalers. [55] Archaeologist Angela Middleton notes that the white potato 'through the expertise of enterprising chiefly individuals such as Te Pahi, Ruatara and Hongi Hika', was plentiful enough that Hongi could afford the 150 baskets it cost to purchase a single musket.[56]

The mission station arguably represented a 'middle ground', a culturally neutral space where the missionaries representing European world views met and exchanged ideas with tangata

[49] Salmond, p. 457.
[50] Sissons et al, p.18.
[51] Salmond, pp.388, 417.
[52] Salmond, p.419.
[53] Sale p. 46.
[54] Salmond, p. 457.
[55] Angela Middleton, 'Potatoes and Muskets: Maori Gardening 1770-1840', in Binney, *Te Kerikeri,* p.35. Also John Hutton and Vincent O'Malley, 'The Nature and Extent of Contact and Adaption in Northland 1796-1840', 2007 p.149.
[56] By 1820 the price was as high as 200 baskets per musket (Middleton, pp.33-5).

Maori.[57] But the mihinare community did exist 'in the Maori world on Maori terms'.[58] Though the 'pious carpenters' and 'devout smiths' were no doubt useful to Hongi, these 'artisan missionaries' were still completely dependent on Maori trade.[59] Hongi possibly valued, and therefore protected, his mihinare because they could access the musket trade. But Hongi attained far more muskets from whalers than he did from missionaries.[60] Still, it does seem clear that the missionaries were 'soon forced to realize that the gun was the coin of this realm'.[61] Futhermore, 'Kendall recognised that the blacksmith was the only guarantee of their [the missionaries'] survival because he manufactured axes, chisels, hoes, all fine weapons of war, at Maori demand.'[62] Missionaries like Kendall 'acted as a go-between for Maori and the ships', for instance negotiating an exchange of pigs for muskets in 1820 with the whaling vessel the *Echo*.[63] Much more importantly though, the wellbeing of the missionaries acted as a kind of informal measure by which European sailors would gauge the relative safety of any given area in Aotearoa; and therein lies both the value that Hongi placed on his relationship with the mihinare and an explanation for why the *Boyd* incident remained influential. When Ngati Uru killed the crew of the *Boyd*, trade with European shipping virtually evaporated. The combination of keeping Ngati Uru in check, and ensuring mihinare wellbeing, ought to then have the effect of restoring the reputation of the northern harbours and ports as safe havens for resting ships and their crews, trade and even a degree of settlement.

With his mihinare and trade relations taken care of and his quarrel with Ngati Uru set aside, Hongi could turn his attention to the outstanding matter of utu, or in Cloher's words, 'utu in its negative sense, delivered to the enemies of his tribe'.[64] To achieve that, he needed to be better armed than those from whom he would seek revenge. And he needed missionaries, not because they could arm him necessarily, but because they attracted the European ships that brought the arms he sought. In protecting his missionaries, he also aimed to keep them 'beyond the reach of other tribes.[65] That the second mission station, in 1819, was established at Kerikeri helped – drawing the mihinare further still into Hongi's sphere of influence.[66] Hongi could have shared contact with the mihinare with other Maori, but a monopoly would bolster his advantages in trade and in his goal of avenging the devastation of Moremonui, the

[57] Grant Phillipson, 'Religion and Land: the Church Missionary Society at Kerikeri, 1819-1950', in Binney, *Te Kerikeri*, p.51.
[58] Binney, *Kendall*, p.51.
[59] Binney, *Kendall*, p.49.
[60] Binney, *Kendall,* p.93.
[61] The CMS eventually dismissed Kendall, who was the most heavily involved, for gun-running and other transgressions. Binney, *Kendall*, pp.54, 95.
[62] Binney, *Kendall*, p.51.
[63] Binney, *Kendall*, p.60.
[64] Cloher, p.94.
[65] Cloher, p.94.
[66] Binney, *Kendall*, p.51.

slaying of his sister Waitapu, and the killing of his maternal grandfather Tahapango. Also relations with those to whom he might allow more comprehensive missionary contact were delicate: Te Morenga had for years been opposed to Hongi's 'Northern Alliance'.[67] Hongi had in recent years repelled the attacks of his Hokianga whanaunga, and he saw Ngati Uru and Ngati Pou of Whangaroa as responsible for halting the European trade that he sought to rebuild because it was they who had attacked the *Boyd*. Besides, his monopoly of the mihinare, and possession of a resource that his adversaries could not attain, was in itself a statement of his authority and prowess.

Predictably, the establishment of the Kerikeri mission station further entrenched Hongi's already advantageous position and antagonised his rivals. Rangatira from the 'Southern Alliance' , which included the hapu at Taiamai, Kororareka, Paihia, Kawakawa and Waikare,were particularly angered, and Marsden visited them at Okura.[68] The Southern Alliance chiefs told Marsden that their main grievance was that Hongi monopolised trade with the Europeans, and his acquisition of the second mission station only reinforced that position.[69] Even if Hongi allowed them to trade with the missionaries, they would have to 'lower their dignity' to do so because the missionaries were in 'Hongi's jurisdiction'.[70] The Southern Alliance rangatira, including Waitara, Iwi, Kaitara, Te Kopiri and Hauraki, would not accept 'Hongi's domination.'[71] Neither would Te Morenga who also received a placatory visit from Marsden, as did the Ngare Raumati people at Paroa.[72]

Nana te hou taewa, huna kautia Waikato ki te mate.[73]

Two weeks after Marsden left Aotearoa Te Morenga's men pillaged Hongi's belongings and the two factions fought a series of battles which continued into the mid-1820s. Meanwhile though, the value that the missionaries had as conduits for trade gradually decreased as the volume of ships visiting the Bay of Islands increased. There seemed to be a natural limit to the utility of the missionaries to Hongi's ambitions; though he could monopolise the mission stations he could not always control the trading decisions Pakeha made as they began to arrive in greater numbers. At some point then, other rangatira were able to trade with the

[67] Henare et al describe four major groupings in the north: the people of Hokianga, Ngare Raumati, the Southern Alliance and the Northern Alliance (of which Hongi was the pre-eminent rangatira). Henare also emphasises the whanaungatanga linking the four groups (Henare et al, pp.361-368), and Sissons discusses the rivalry between these hapu (Sissons et al, p.36).
[68] Sissons et al, p.36.
[69] Henare describes the Southern Alliance as comprising Ngati Rangi, Ngati Hineira and Ngare Hauata as the major hapu groupings, with Te Morenga, Pomare, Kaitara and Whareumu being the prominent rangatira. Henare et al, Tribal Landscape, p. 368.
[70] Cloher, p.111.
[71] Cloher p.114.
[72] Sissons et al, p.36.
[73] Another saying about Hongi: There is Hongi Hika who has the new scourge [muskets], making a destruction of Waikato – a reference to his fighting strength due to his acquisition of muskets. Department of Maori Affairs, *He Whakatauki*, p.73.

sailors almost as much as Hongi's people could.[74] There was, however, one more benefit Hongi could derive from his relationship with the mihinare – his 1820 trip to England with his missionary friend Thomas Kendall, and fellow-chief Waikato.[75]

Several objectives steered the trip. Kendall wanted to return to England to 'obtain ordination in order to perform full divine service among Maori', largely because he had great difficulties and strained relationships with other missionaries. He wanted more independence, particularly from Reverend John Butler who had been appointed superintendant of the Kerikeri mission in 1819.[76] However, the CMS were quite opposed to the way Kendall went about his trip, which they viewed as unauthorised because although they had invited Hongi and Waikato, they had not invited Kendall who went anyway.[77] The CMS initially denied Kendall's request for ordination, but reversed their decision after receiving a letter of recommendation from Professor Sameul Lee, distinguished linguist at Cambridge University, and former protégé of the CMS.[78] Lee was integral to another related motivation for Kendall's for the trip. Kendall would introduce Lee to Hongi Hika, and together they would advance Kendall's ongoing interests in understanding and publishing te reo.[79] Like other missionaries of the time, Kendall appreciated the deeply important role that te reo – spoken, heard, written and read – played in the mihinare project; it was the main instrument for both spreading the Gospel and understanding the Maori convert. With Lee's expertise and Hongi's co-operation, Kendall could – and did – complete a 230-page Maori grammar and dictionary.[80]

For many authors Hongi's motives for the trip are as clear as Kendall's were. The history books are agreed that when Hongi returned from England (stopping at New South Wales on the way) he arrived with a very large number of muskets (exactly how many is unclear). Within eight weeks of his return he would initiate war on a scale unprecedented in te ao Maori. Despite the clarity of this outcome, some difference of interpretation does exist. For example, both Cloher and Binney take the view that Hongi's fundamental motivation was muskets and powder, particularly to reverse the defeats of Ngapuhi at Puketona in about 1793 (at the hands of the Hauraki tribes), and at Moremonui.[81] For Cloher, Hongi needed

[74] Cloher pp.116-7.
[75] Waikato was a younger rangatira of the Mawhatu people from Kaihiki in the Mangonui Inlet (Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.163). He will not be further discussed in this report, Hongi will remain the focus.
[76] A great deal of Binney's work on Kendall deals with the difficulties he had with the other missionaries. See, for example, Binney, *Kendall*, pp.47, 69.
[77] Cloher, p.120.
[78] Binney, *Kendall*, p.69.
[79] Binney, *Kendall*, p.65.
[80]Cloher p.134.
[81] Binney, *Kendall* p.69. This battle at Puketona was Te Waiwhariki, where Ngati Maru inflicted many casualties on Ngati Rangi before being chased off by Ngati Rahiri arriving from Pouerua (Cloher p.150). It was effectively a battle of Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu versus Hauraki (Nuki Aldridge, WPH research hui, 16 October 2010).

muskets and powder in unprecedented quantities, sufficient to to give him a decisive edge over his rivals:

> The trickle of firearms derived from visiting ships was inadequate to accomplish the more ambitious strategies he had in mind for the large-scale wars he was planning against the southern tribes. Being an enterprising person, it was inevitable that he would seek access to the objects of his desire in their place of origin. A visit to England was essential to the satisfaction of his ambitions.[82]

In contrast, Manuka Henare considers guns and utu alone as too simplistic an explanation of Hongi's reason to travel to England.[83] Instead Henare attributes nationalist motives to Hongi, arguing that he returned home as a 'proto-nationalist', keen to transcend hapu politics and raise the conception of identity to new heights of Maori national pride.[84] Nuki Aldridge takes a view that incorporates Henare, Cloher and Binney's. He agrees that there was an element of utu about Hongi's goals and deeds, but the fighting was not simply an act of utu for its own sake. It also encompassed a means of both clearing and maintaining Hongi's 'profitable patch' and resettling people by sending them back to their homelands. People of Whangaroa view Hongi as a visionary and diplomat, cognisant of the change that Pakeha settlement in the Pacific would bring, and strategic in his handling of that great change. The 1820 trip to England served to deepen his steadily developing knowledge of the new world in which he was engaged and advance his economic and political goals.[85] He returned from England with new understandings of power and the 'British world'. He had with him not only a large cache of muskets, but also a sense of having established a critical relationship with the rangatira of England, King George IV.[86]

Hongi, Waikato and Kendall departed for England aboard the *New Zealander* on 2 March 1820.[87] After several months voyage and having received more lessons in written and spoken English, Hongi landed in England on 8 August. No record exists of Hongi's landing or his initial accommodation, although it is clear that while in England his expenses would have been footed by his hosts the CMS.[88] Within a few days of arriving in London (population one million) Hongi and company took the six-hour trip to Cambridge, travelling by stagecoach, the fastest means of human transport on earth at the time.[89] After meeting their Cambridge host Professor Lee, Hongi's party lodged in a small house near Lee's own. They were soon

[82] Cloher p.117.
[83] Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.167.
[84] Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.171.
[85] Nuki Aldridge, WPH research hui, 16 October 2010.
[86] Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.164.
[87] Cloher, p.120.
[88] It is likely the budget was tight as Kendall's notes to the CMS 'seem unusually sensitive to expenses incurred'. Cloher, p.125.
[89] Cloher, p.126.

given greatcoats for warmth; the English mid-summer would have been colder than a Bay of Islands winter.[90] While at Cambridge, Hongi met several distinguished members of the university staff. Among them was Baron de Thierry, whose wealth Hongi would tap into to purchase the muskets with which he so famously returned home. De Thierry was a French nobleman who had fled revolutionary France. Apparently an idealist, de Thierry responded strongly when Kendall urged him to buy land in New Zealand and establish a colony there, 'expressing an ardent desire' to benefit Maori.[91]

Hongi revisited London from Cambridge on a trip for which Reverend Samuel Leigh of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee (WMC) paid. What facilitated the trip was Hongi's connection to Whangaroa, and Leigh had convinced the WMC of Hongi's 'critical importance' if the WMC wanted its intended mission station at Whangaroa to remain safe.[92] Among the gifts the WMC gave Hongi and Waikato were a box of carpenters' tools and, at Hongi's specific request, a dress for his wife.[93] When Hongi returned to Cambridge, invitations for him to visit prominent families were flowing in. The Mortlock family, who had held the mayoralty for almost forty years by the time of Hongi's arrival, hosted Hongi and Waikato in September 1820. It seems likely that Hongi and Waikato were among the 300 guests that attended the Mortlock banquet to announce their most recent mayoralty campaign. Meanwhile Kendall and Lee completed their Maori grammar and dictionary, which went to print before Kendall left England.[94]

Five weeks after visiting the WMC Hongi and Waikato returned again to London. Their host this time was another Mortlock – veteran commander of the Napoleonic Wars, lawyer, banker, politician and honorary Governor of the CMS, Sir John Cheetham Mortlock. Hongi and Waikato stayed at 29 Montagu Square, an apparently elegant address.[95] Soon, Sir John introduced Hongi and Waikato to the House of Lords and for the next while a 'stream of social engagements' kept Hongi and Waikato busy. They met many more of London's prominent personalities including: the Duke of York and Clarence, the Earls of Yarmouth, Winchelsea and Harcourt, Lords Dudley, Gambier and Ward, the Bishops of Norwich, Ely, Durham, St. Asaph and Gloucester, the Lord Mayor of London, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Alexander Johnston and his son Sir Henry Halford, Reverend Basil Wood, Dr Lardner, Mrs Mortlock Senior, Simon Mortlock Esq., Charles Wood Esq, Reverend William Marsh, Reverend Dr Waugh, Henry Farrer Esq., Reverend Samuel Leigh (again), Dr John

[90] Also note that 'Hongi's health during the whole of the visit was a cause for justifiable concern. Cloher, pp.127-8.
[91] Cloher, p.129.
[92] Cloher, p.132.
[93] Hongi had several wives, but it seems reasonable that the dress was intended for Turikatuku. Cloher, p.132.
[94] Cloher, p.134.
[95] Cloher, pp.136-7.

Mason Goode, James Barry Esq., Robert Marsden, J. L. Nicholas Esq., and more.[96] These engagements likely enhanced public perceptions of Hongi, and his people, but it is unlikely they matched his visit to the palace of Carlton House where he finally met the King of England. Dressed in European clothes Hongi and party entered the palace where Sir John introduced them to King George IV. As per the tikanga of the court, Hongi and Waikato bowed, and famously greeted the King with, 'How do you do Mr King George?' Soon King George spoke of the difficultly he was having in divorcing his wife Princess Caroline, which promted Hongi to ask how such a powerful man could not manage one wife when Hongi managed five without problems. The discussion turned to warfare and Hongi was given a small number of muskets as well as the armour and helmet that he would often wear in battle after returning to New Zealand.[97] Henare argues that this meeting signified the beginning of a relationship not only between Hongi and King George, but between King George and Hongi's people (even Maori generally):

> Hongi returned from England with an understanding that he reached an agreement with King George IV. From Hongi's point of view and in terms of Māori ethics and values the relationship was based on the pleasantries exchanged, namely tikanga manaaki; tikanga mana; and culminated with the shaking of hands and gift exchange, tikanga hau o tō taonga. In Hongi Hika's and later Ngā Puhi thinking, it was understood that a special bond was established in 1820.[98]

Soon after meeting the King, Hongi wished to return home. The CMS was also partial to him leaving, partly due to their resentment of the ordination they had so hesitantly granted Kendall, and also because they were frustrated by 'the constant stream of expenses the CMS had to meet'. In fact the CMS did benefit significantly from Hongi's visit and his well-received chiefly demeanour. He was a 'promoter's dream'. According to Cloher, 'from a publicity point of view, Hongi's impact exceeded all possible expectations', and in November 1820 the Cambridge branch of the CMS transferred £800 to the parent society. [99] Yet, when Hongi and Waikato departed England, the CMS – who paid for the return voyage – failed to provide them with gifts of an appropriate value and quantity befitting their status and acknowledging their venture. It was an oversight that marred an otherwise successful journey. Realising the impact this could have on the Kerikeri and Rangihoua mission stations, Kendall had the gifts upgraded to include an extra two dozen axes, a dozen adzes and spades, a whaling knife each, a watch and a suit of clothes each.[100] WPH understand that Hongi was also gifted a flag while in England, though details of it are unclear.[101]

[96] Cloher, p.139.
[97] Cloher, p.141.
[98] Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.164.
[99] Cloher, p.142.
[100] Cloher, p.143.
[101] Patricia Tauroa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.

The passage from London to Port Jackson, aboard the *Speke*, took 158 days and little is known of how Hongi passed his time. What is known is that on arrival in Port Jackson, Hongi and Kendall busied themselves organising shipment for the guns that were awaiting them in storage. Cloher describes the popular view that Hongi traded the gifts King George gave him to raise the money to buy the guns as 'questionable', because the guns were already prepared. Hongi and Kendall were unaware the guns were not paid for, however, and de Thierry was happy to keep it that way. As it turns out, the gunsmiths that filled the order for the muskets never received payment at all. Baron de Thierry was later jailed in the 'notorious' Fleet Street prison in London in 1824, partly because of this bad debt.[102]

In mid July 1821, having spent seventeen months abroad Hongi returned home to the Bay of Islands.[103] There would be little chance for rest, and within eight weeks he took to the battlefield with his newly acquired muskets. Hongi's long-awaited opportunity to address the crisis of mana he faced was at hand, and he was 'keenly aware of what was expected of him in resurrecting the mana of Ngā Puhi'.[104] Before embarking on his war expeditions south, Hongi named his guns according to the historic defeats Ngapuhi had suffered – Te Waiwhariki, Te Kai-a-te-karoro, Mahurangi, Te Waikohu, Te Ringahuruhuru and others.[105] Hongi was so busy preparing for war that he abruptly stopped his habit of regularly attending the missionaries' prayer meetings. His preparations meant, among other things, that the missionaries' blacksmith made Hongi's cartridges, prepared his powder and ball, and ensured the firing mechanisms of his guns worked.[106] When Hongi finally departed for his 'first full-scale musket war' he had gathered 2000 warriors with 1000 muskets between them. Hapu and rangatira that had previously opposed and rivalled Hongi now joined with him to attack Ngati Paoa of Tamaki, his first target. Those who joined him then included: Tuai and Te Toru from Paroa and Waikare; Te Morenga and Taki from Taiamai, and Patuone and Muriwai from Hokianga.[107] Citing a list of recent grievances that combined with Ngapuhi's historic losses to Ngati Paoa, particular rangatira were marked for death as Hongi's forces gathered in Whangarei. In particular, they aimed to kill Te Hinaki of Mauinaina Pa and Rauroha of Mokoia (both in the modern-day Panmure Basin) and take their pa. As is typical with accounts of war, sources disagree about the details of these

[102] Cloher p. 147
[103] Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.160.
[104] Cloher p.149.
[105] Te Kai-a-te-karoro refers to vast numbers of dead at the battle of Moremonui, who were left to the seagulls because they could not all be eaten by the victors. Mahurangi marked another Ngati Whatua defeat of Ngapuhi. Te Hinaki and Te Horeta, rangatira from these areas were actually present in Australia with Hongi when he named these muskets. Te Waikohu and Te Ringahurhuru were defeats that Ngapuhi suffered in the Hauraki. Te Waikohu was on the east side of the Waihou River (which flows into the Firth of Thames). Ringahuruhuru was fought at Te Whanake in Tamaki, where the Hauraki tribes united to defeat Ngapuhi. Cloher, pp.150-3.
[106] Cloher, p.155.
[107] It is useful to note that supporting Hongi did not necessarily mean being subordinate to him. Cloher, p.156.

attacks. But Hongi's forces did take both pa, and the few who survived the attack fled to Waikato.[108] Before the year was out, Hongi also sacked Te Totara, the Ngati Maru pa above the mouth of the Waihou River (Firth of Thames). By December 1821 the waka taua of Hongi and his allies began its return home. Two of Hongi's sons-in-law had been killed in the fighting, and an estimated 2000 prisoners were taken north for distribution among the participating hapu. The musket wars 'denuded' whole districts of their people.[109]

Hongi next targeted Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto, and this time Te Rarawa rangatira Poroa joined the fight. By early March 1822 another assemblage of Ngapuhi again left the north seeking utu for previous attacks on Tawatawhiti (Poor Knights Islands) and the Ngapuhi pa Rahongaua, keen to inflict their particular brand of utu on the Maniapoto chief Te Kanawa.[110] The taua travelled south, crossed over the Waiuku isthmus, and moved up the Awaroa River. After clearing trees that had been laid across the Awaroa, Hongi finally reached Matakitaki, a large stronghold consisting of three pa strategically positioned with steep sides down to the Waipa and Mangapiko Rivers.[111] Fighting occured in and around Matakitaki and the Waikato-Maniapoto people were routed. Missionary Francis Hall reported that Hongi and the other northern taua killed 1500 people during these attacks. Some, including Te Wherowhero and Te Kanawa, fled to Mangauika pa, which Ngapuhi soon took also.[112] According to Cloher, Hongi's men took Te Kanawa's sister Parekohu and his mother Te Rahuruake during the Matakitaki battles. Hongi spared the two women and treated them well, mindful to keep the options for post-battle peacemaking open. And, indeed, Poroa would soon inform Pomare, who had previously fought with Hongi in Tamaki and Hauraki, that peace with Waikato had been secured through the usual gift exchanges.

The next major campaign took place in Rotorua. Alongside Hongi, the Ngapuhi rangatira who led the expedition included Pomare, Tareha, Ururoa, Koikoi, Moka, Rewa, Te Wera Hauraki, Te Koki, Tawaewae, Muriwai, Patuone, Tarapatiki, Te Mangi, Mangonui, Korokoro and many others.[113] Several perceived offences – historical and recent – worked to unite these Ngaphui chiefs against the people of Rotorua, including the death of Paeoterangi, a young rangatira who had accompanied Pomare south to fight against the Waikato. Paeoterangai was killed in 1822 at Motutawa Island (Rotokakahi Lake), in retaliation for the death of Wheturoa (a relative of Te Rauparaha) during Ngapuhi's assault on Te Totara pa. Ngapuhi was joined in their expedition to Rotorua by tribes 'not of the Ngā Puhi fold and

[108] Cloher, pp.160-3.
[109] Cloher, p.167.
[110] Cloher, p.168.
[111] Cloher, p.168.
[112] Cloher, p.170.
[113] Tareha was of Ngati Rehia, the same tribe as Hongi's mother. Cloher, p.257.

usually in opposition to them'. Ngati Whatua joined, led by Murupaenga, Marama and Te Ahumua. Some Waikato even joined, under Te Ao-o-te-rangi, despite the recent battles at Matakitaki.[114]

More than 1200 toa left the north to attack Rotorua, probably under the overall strategic command of Hongi, even though it was likely that the individual rangatira directed their respective taua.[115] The combined force attacked Te Arawa, Ngati Wehiwehi, Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Uenukukopako who had gathered on Mokoia Island.[116] Using their only musket, one of the Arawa chiefs, Te Awaawa, fired at Hongi, hitting the helmet King George had given him but leaving Hongi unhurt. The waka taua cut into the Te Arawa ranks with musket fire. After two days of fighting, the battle was won and Paeoterangi's death avenged. Ngapuhi would later make peace with the people of Rotorua, despite reluctance on Hongi's part.[117] Hongi had been similarly reluctant when Te Aokapurangi (wife of Hongi's ally Te Wera Hauraki, after he had taken her prisoner from Maketu, probably in 1818) had negotiated to save her people. Hongi begrudgingly agreed to spare any of her people who would pass through her legs. Te Aokapurangi famously climbed the ridge pole of a large whare on Tamatekapua Island and called to her people to enter and be saved; more than 300 did.

Ka kore te puru a Taumarere.

Hongi achieved utu on a grand scale at Tamaki, Hauraki, Waikato and Rotorua, but he still had scores closer to home to settle, particularly for Moremonui and the deaths of Houwawe and Waitapu. Hongi 'typically hung his intention on another more recent peg' and so used the 1820 killing of Koriwhai as such a peg.[118] Koriwhai was of Ngati Wai, and a relative of the Kororareka rangatira Te Whareumu. Some Ngati Whatua had killed Koriwhai after he had desecrated some graves at Mahurangi. With the assistance of hapu from the Hokianga, Hongi and 500 men set off to attack Ngati Whatua, travelling through the Mangakahia Valley to Kaihu in mid-February 1825. Initially a peace was achieved through gifts being given to Hongi but the arrangement was only temporary. Soon the 'tribal heavyweights' of Ngapuhi – including Te Whareumu, Te Morenga, Te Puhi, Te Ahu, Taiwhanga, Te Kemara, Moka, Te Tirarau, Te Ihi, Patuone, Waka Nene, Moetara and Poutu – gathered to attack Kaipara.[119] Ngati Whatua expected Ngapuhi and so had gathered their hapu, with the

[114] Cloher, p.173.
[115] Cloher notes the northerners attacked Te Arawa using a 'cuneus' formation, a wedge-shaped attack that Hongi favoured, a demonstration that Hongi 'was indeed the commander-in-chief of the expedition.' Cloher, p.176.
[116] Among the many important Te Arawa rangatira on Mokoia Island were Hikairo, Te Kahawai, Pukuahia, Unuahu, Tumakoha, Tuhotu, Riki, Te Kohuru, Te Rakau, Te Korekore, Te Awaawa, Haerehuka, Te Auru, Te Hotoke, Te Kuriro te Marama, Mokonuia, Rangi and Te Hihiko. Cloher, pp.175-6.
[117] Hongi's reluctance seems have been due to Te Wera Hauraki's prominent role in the peace-making. Cloher, pp.177-8.
[118] Cloher, p 180.
[119] Cloher, p.180.

exception of Kaipara ki te Tonga and Te Taou of Tamaki who heard about the battle too late to join in. When Ngapuhi neared the Kaiwaka, Murupaenga launched a night attack, killing many and burning the waka Ngapuhi would have otherwise used to attack Ngati Whatua further down the Kaiwaka inlet. Within a few days Ngati Whatua attacked and might have succeeded in routing the forces that Whareumu led had Turikatuku not warned Hongi with the call 'E Hongi e! Ka kore te puru a Taumarere'.[120] Hongi and his toa repelled Ngati Whatua with concentrated musket attacks. Ngati Whatua's losses mounted in the wake of several failed counter attacks. Their resistance eventually broke, and they suffered up to 1000 casualties, but not before they had mortally wounded Hongi Hika's son Hare Hongi. Hare was shot in the breast and, demonstrating some impressive skills, Hongi successfully extracted the shot, although only to have Hare die three days later. He would have been about 21 years old.[121]

In the aftermath of the battle now known as Te Ika a Ranganui, Hongi spent three months mopping up in the Kaipara area. When he returned home, it was with many slaves. Still the homecoming was a sad occasion for Hongi who invited the missionaries to attend the tangi of his son. To make matters worse, in the meantime a small Ngati Whatua taua had returned quite unexpectedly to Otamatea (Kaipara area), killing seventy people of Te Parawhau who had earlier fought with Hongi. Combined with the death of Hare, this incident prompted Hongi and his Ngapuhi allies to make another foray into Waikato where most of the Ngati Whatua survivors had fled.[122] Te Rewharewha, the Ngati Whatua rangatira who led the attack on Te Parawhau, withdrew into Nohoawatea, a pa belonging to Te Rauroha of Ngati Paoa. Te Rauroha was himself a refugee of Hongi's earlier campaigns. In early December 1825 Hongi once again attacked Waikato, storming Nohoawatea and killing Te Rewharewha as well as two other prominent Ngati Whatua rangatira. Most of the men in the pa perished and some of the women and children were taken as prisoners. However, the chief Toko, who Hongi held responsible for Hare's death, could not be found.[123]

In July 1826 several waka carrying Ngati Whatua refugees from Waikato arrived in Kerikeri, and though it was suggested that they be put to death, Hongi decided instead that they should go to Hokianga where they would most likely be hosted by Te Roroa.[124] Despite being unable to find and kill Toko the departure of the small band of Ngati Whatua for Hokianga

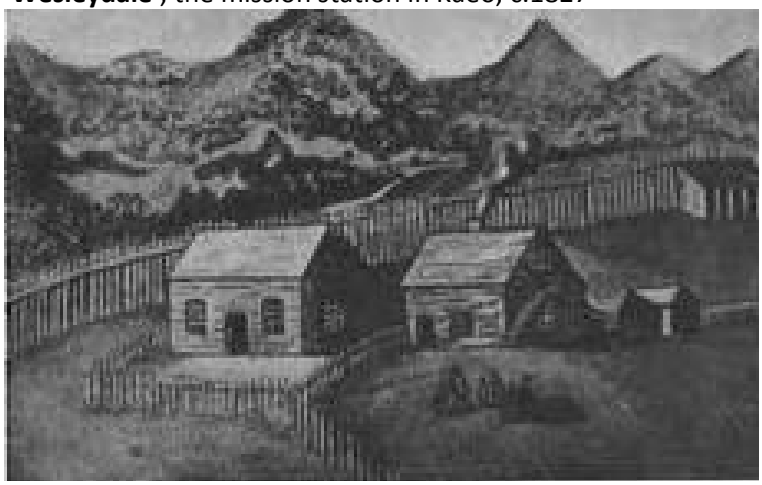
[120] Cloher, p.188. Also Department of Maori Affairs, He Whakatauki, pp.7, 29-30.
[121] Hongi was apparently quite the physician, and the missionaries spoke admirably of his 'medical skills.' Hongi had removed a ball from his cousin Moka's thigh when he had been shot in the thigh and it was Hongi who removed the ball and set the broken bones. Hongi also dressed the wounds of the Rangihoua chief Wharepoaka. Cloher, p.189.
[122] Cloher, p.190.
[123] Cloher, pp.190-1.
[124] Cloher, pp. 191-2.

really marked the close of Hongi's war proper with them. In many ways Hongi had resolved much of the crisis of mana that he faced during the course of his life. In some ways he had not. Te Ika a Ranginui had been 'climactic' for Hongi, and delivered the utu required for the death of his brother and sister at Moremonui all those years ago. But he also suffered great personal loss – the lives of his eldest son and two sons-in-law, Tete and Apu, the grief over which had driven one of Hongi's daughters to attempt suicide. Though Hongi's mop-up operations in the Kaipara and subsequent raids into Waikato had for the most part settled the utu for Hare's death, the person responsible, Toko, had not been apprehended.[125] And, still outstanding was the matter of Whangaroa, his mother's homeland to which he had returned intermittently over the years. Soon after the musket wars to the south, Hongi left the Bay of Islands to live in Whangaroa, physically and emotionally spent in Cloher's view.[126] He had yet to fulfil the obligation of utu for his grandfather's death, which his mother Tuhikura had instilled in him, so a return to Whangaroa at some point was likely. Earlier Turikatuku, who had fought loyally alongside her husband, had reason for utu too: the 1819 desecration of her father's koiwi and the killing of her brother Waimiro. Hongi had travelled to Whangaroa at the time to address the matter, firing on Ngati Pou's pa, killing five or six people, and following up with a peace-making.[127]

Ngati Pou and Ngati Uru had long concerned Hongi, and tensions came to head in the mid-1820s. In 1823 the WMS missionary Leigh, who had hosted Hongi with distinction in England, established a mission station in Whangaroa in 1823 against Hongi's advice. Hongi's preference was that he reciprocated Leigh's hospitality by having the mission station built at Oruru, where his sister lived.[128] Hongi and Tareha visited the Wesleyans before they moved into their newly built mission station to let them and Ngati Uru know that they had an interest in the well being of Leigh's missionaries. Hongi's mistrust of Ngati Uru in this respect seemed well-founded because shortly after he returned to the Bay of Islands the Wesleyans had valuable tools stolen from them, and the Ngati Uru chief Te Puhi stripped them of the contents of their temporary shelter.[129] Hongi returned to Whangaroa again in July 1825 in response to ongoing interference with European shipping. In 1824 the schooner *Endeavour* was robbed, the brig *Macquarie* was taken while Hongi was fighting in Kaipara, and the *Mercury* had been sacked and stripped.[130]

[125] Cloher pp.193-203.
[126] Cloher, p.193.
[127] Cloher, p. 253
[128] It is unclear who this sister was. Cloher, p. 256
[129] Cloher, p.257.
[130] Sale, pp.19, 75; Cloher, p.189.

'Wesleydale', the mission station in Kaeo, c.1827[131]



By then Te Puhi was 'deeply aware of Hongi Hika's displeasure about anything likely to discourage shipping because of the loss of trade advantages to Ngā Puhi' and after meeting with Te Puhi, Hongi found that Ngati Pou were responsible for sacking the *Mercury*.[132] In this instance no battles were fought, but Hongi's patience was clearly coming quickly to an end. The long-standing tensions between Ngapuhi and Ngati Pou were about to come to a head. Ngapuhi's expansion had already driven Ngati Pou out of the Bay of Islands and into Whangaroa. Their settlements and pa included Ohauroro, a prime position from which they could continue to harass European ships. According to Cloher, the best way for Hongi to solve the problem Ngati Pou presented was to see them off and for Hongi to secure and occupy Whangaroa himself. It was a move that 'seemed right' for Hongi for other reasons as well:

> … he had some personal scores to settle. Many of those whom the Ngati Pou had displaced in moving into Whangaroa had been Hongi's mother's people. He needed, by one account, to avenge the desecration of the bones of one of them at Taratara; and by another account decided to take utu for the killing many years before of his grandfather Tahapango at the instigation of Tahapango's own wife.[133]

Coincidental with Hongi's final departure from the Bay of Islands was the deterioration of his familial relations with Ngapuhi and the political fallout that ensued. In 1824 Hongi was nearly hit by a tree that was being felled and this was considered a bad omen.[134] In 1826 he was trading with Europeans at Kororareka when he experienced a violent pain in his knee.

[131] From a sketch made in 1827, New Zealand Railways Magazine, 10, 12, 2 March 1936.
[132] Despite apparently having an alliance with Hokianga, Ngati Pou was attacked at Pupuke in Whangaroa by a Hokianga taua of 30 waka and it was in response to this that Ngati Pou sacked the *Mercury*. Sale, p.76.
[133] Sale pp. 74-75. Note that here Ngati Pou rather than Te Hotete's Ngapuhi hapu are blamed for killing Tahapango, a view shared by Wiremu Wi Hongi (p.149).
[134] Hutton and O'Malley, p.236.

Added to this was the death of one of Hongi's daughters who had contracted consumption.[135] Many felt that Hongi had been cursed, and this interpretation was ratified soon after when it was discovered that his wife Tangiwhare (sister to Turikatuku and half sister to the Whangaroa chief Ururoa) had committed adultery with his son-in-law Matuku. Though Hongi was crushed by the news, he did not want Tangiwhare to be killed over it. However Tangiwhare and Matuku both committed suicide when they learned they had been discovered. Enraged, Hongi sought to punish whoever had advised Tangiwhare to hang herself. When he returned for Tangiwhare's remains, Hongi 'summoned' the person who had advised the suicide, and 'struck at her with a long club'. The blow was intercepted by Ururoa. Ngapuhi were angered, and the incident is often given as the reason the Ngapuhi chiefs ordered Hongi to 'return to his own place, Whangaroa'. In other versions of events, Matuku's hapu, Mahurehure, is said to have exerted 'moral pressure' to force Hongi's departure from Te Tuhuna in Kaikohe.[136]

For her part, Turikatuku was keen to leave the Bay of Islands. She herself was suffering from the last stages of consumption, and to make matters worse for Hongi, a week after Tangiwhare's death a taua muru descended on Kerikeri taking animals, stripping the pa and taking CMS property. Hongi was now seen as a broken man and his property was deemed public property, 'subject to other people's ownership.'[137] Disgraced and having fallen out with the people of Waimate, Hongi finally took his leave, informing the missionaries who he had protected with such zeal that he was now unable to guard their stations.[138] In late December 1826 Hongi arrived at his mother's land in Pupuke. His move to Whangaroa can be viewed as a return, and not necessarily a forcible occupation nor a seeking of refuge. It was, in Cloher's words, 'a deliberate turning of his back on Ngā Puhi and the Bay of Islands':

> Hongi was said to utter the following words: 'To the people of Ngā Puhi area, I am going back to my Whangaroa side. When I get there, I will come back to fight Ngā Puhi to find utu for the death of Tahapango.' His friend Te Koikoi replied: 'Hongi, you are urinating in your own house. You will not survive.'[139]

And indeed Hongi would not survive. The attacks that Hongi presumably planned to make on Ngapuhi were not to happen. Instead he would have to deal to Ngati Pou who, Hongi discovered on arrival in Pupuke, had disturbed the ancestral burial ground of the Kanga-ahi hapu.[140] Hongi's campaign against Ngati Pou began within days of his arrival in Whangaroa. He mustered 400 men comprised of hapu related to his mother and his wives as well as hapu

[135] Cloher doesn't name this daughter. Cloher, p.228.
[136] Cloher, p.229.
[137] Cloher, p.229.
[138] Cloher, pp. 229-231.
[139] Cloher, p.264.
[140] Cloher, p.265.

from around Kaeo. These included Ngati Rehia of Te Tii, Ngaitupango of Te Ngaere, Te Tahawai from Pupuke as well as Te Awaraupo, Ngati Kahuiti, Ngati Kuta, Te Aeto, Toihau, Te Uruputete, Ngati Kawau, Ngati Miru, Whanaupani and Ngati Paruru.[141] They gathered at Pinea and decided to attack the Ngati Pou pa at Taratara. On 7 January 1827 Hongi, with his principal lieutenants Ururoa and Tareha (both brothers-in-law), laid siege to Ngati Pou. Their defences failed and on 8 January they escaped, fleeing through Otangaroa towards Mangamuka and into Hunuhunua.[142] Hongi and sixty men pursued. Meanwhile the mother of the Ngati Pou chief Te Pere remained in the pa and was killed.[143] Two days after Hongi began his pursuit Te Hau, Ururoa's brother, was killed and Hongi, who was not wearing his coat of mail, was shot below his right breast. The main body of Ngati Pou fled to Waimamaku where they lived with Te Roroa. Meanwhile Ururoa took a wounded Hongi to his pa Whare-ra in Pupuke – he hokinga mate, he hokinga kainga, he hokinga oneone.[144]

Significantly, neither Ngati Uru nor Kaitangata joined Hongi against Ngati Pou. The history books tend to claim Te Puhi and his men abandoned the Wesleyan missionaries as well as their wives and children and fled to the Hokianga. They did not want to stay and await Hongi's response to their non-participation in the war with Ngati Pou. There are several explanations for this, not all in agreement. One explanation is that Te Puhi had earlier refused a request from Hongi to fight at Kaipara. Te Puhi had declined on the grounds he was ill, but it is more likely that he was anxious about the political volatility of Whangaroa, and the prospect that Ngati Pou might displace Ngati Uru if they had to be absent from Whangaroa for any length of time.[145] In contrast, Henare asserts both Te Tahawai and Ngati Uru joined Hongi's 1827 attack on Ngati Pou. It makes sense that Te Tahawai would aid Hongi (his son Hare Hongi Hika would become the principal chief of Te Tahawai after Hongi's death). However the claim that Ngati Uru assisted also is at odds with what Cloher says about the matter.[146] A local view of Ngati Uru's absence from the fighting is that they did not flee at all, and the fact they left their wives and children behind indicated they would return. Arguably they had gone to call upon their Hokianga allies for support. Patuone had even sent Te Kowhiti and Panui ahead to Whangaroa to fetch Taniora of Ngati Uru. Patuone's main goal was to protect his family, Te Whanaupani. It is also commonly known that Patuone escorted Ngati Uru back to Toropapa, a place he would stay when he visited

[141] Cloher, p.266; and Sale p.77.
[142] Sale, pp.6-7.
[143] Cloher, pp.266-7. This is likely the kuia that Whiro said he killed, his only contribution to the fighting.
[144] A return of suffering, a return to home, a return to the soil – an ancient saying Hongi apparently quoted as an indication he wished to return home to die. Department of Maori Affairs, *He Whakatauki*, p.18.
[145] Sale, p.76.
[146] Henare et al, p.187.

Kaeo. In addition, Patuone would eventually assist Ngati Uru and Te Whanaupani to be reinstated in Kaeo.[147]

Whatever the facts, there would have been some benefit in being absent from Whangaroa during those early months of 1827. Although Hongi had evicted Ngati Pou – for the most part – from the area, trouble still brewed. At roughly the same time that Hongi returned to Whangaroa a fresh battle had opened in which the Kaitangata pa Okahumoko was attacked. The attack on Okahumoko was likely orchestrated by the wounded Hongi on his way back from Hunuhunua. Hongi deputised Ururoa, who was living at Huruata near Waitaruke, to destroy Kaitangata, for their failure to support his fight with Ngati Pou. Ururoa's attack was particularly brutal and the Kaitangata people were almost entirely annihilated. Only a few survived – some sources say two, some say four – Hone Tua was definitely one of them, and he and his mother at least took refuge in the first instance at Ohauroro.[148]

Hongi was related to Kaitangata on both his Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu sides. Hongi's great-grandfather Te Puta was the brother of Motupua, who was an important ancestor for Kaitangata. In addition Hongi's grandfather Te Auha was married to Pehirangi whose sister Moanaroa married Tainui, an important Kaitangata chief. Cloher believes that Kaitangata did not offer assistance because of war weariness. In any case it was not Hongi himself who carried out the attack but Ururoa who went on his behalf.[149] Attacks of this kind for non-participation in war were common enough. Indeed, Cloher notes that when Hongi went after Ngati Pou, 'there was a traditional expectation that those tribes related or allied to him would support him in that war; they were punished if they did not.'[150] However, the level of punishment in this case seemed uncommon. That Ururoa carried out the attack could account for this. He had lost his brother Te Hau; his long time ally and brother-in-law Hongi had been badly wounded; and his half sister and Hongi's wife, Turikatuku, had died – all during the battles with Ngati Pou.[151] Yet even the destruction of Kaitangata did not end the troubles in Whangaroa. Evidently not all of Ngati Uru had left the area during the battles with Ngati Pou. While Taratara was being attacked a party of Ngati Uru had stripped the Wesleyan mission station. Hongi learned of this when he arrived back with Ururoa and saw canoes stacked with Wesleyan property. Those in the canoes were chased away, leaving

[147] Erimana Taniora, pers. com., 22 July 2010.
[148] Sale, pp.14-5. Sale says it was Hone Tua and his sister who survived, but most oral traditions – including those of Kaitangata themselves – seem to agree it was Hone Tua and his mother, Toetoe-a-rangi.
[149] Cloher, pp.269-270.
[150] Cloher, p.269.
[151] Cloher, pp.270-1.

Hongi to believe that it was Te Puhi's wife who had organised the raid on the mission station at the behest of Te Puhi himself.[152]

In early May Hongi arrived in Kerikeri with 300 people and a number of canoes. By then he had lost the use of one arm and had to be carried to get around. Hongi and his party were on their way to Waimate to remove the bones of his wife and children. Hongi's relations with the people of Waimate were as bad as ever, as Cloher explains:

> When Hongi arrived, the people in Waimate acted as though they were apprehensive that their food would be plundered. One of the Waimate chiefs said disrespectful things about him which led to a fierce argument between them. Rewa too was caught up in a dispute concerning Hongi, arising from a fear that Hongi would remove the Kerikeri missionaries and take them with him to Whangaroa. Rewa and some other Ngā Puhi chiefs took their canoes out of Hongi's reach as they feared he might take them to Whangaroa. Hongi's removal to Whangaroa and his embracing of the Ngāti Kahu side of his mother's family put him at odds with Ngā Puhi, his father Te Hōtete's people, in whose name he had fought most of his former battles.[153]

While in the area the CMS missionaries asked Hongi about rumours that he intended to remove them to Whangaroa. He assured them that although he was returning to Whangaroa permanently they could stay where they were.[154] There was an exchange of gifts confirming the friendship between the two parties and Hongi left for Whangaroa. By early 1828 Hongi bequeathed his gunpowder, muskets, mere and 'most precious of all the coat of mail that he had received from King George IV' to his sons.[155] In March 1828, a little over a year after receiving his wound, Hongi finally passed away.[156] Reports vary as to where he was buried. According to Paora Ururoa (Ururoa's son) his remains were placed at Opiakoa (or Piakoa) a burial cave at Waiaua above Matauri, and this is substantiated by a waiata tangi composed to mark Hongi's passing.[157] Hami Maioha agreed, saying Hongi Hika died at Pupuke and his bones were conveyed to Piakoa. They were eventually removed and taken to Wharepaepae, a wahi tapu near Kaikohe, on the road to Mangakahia.[158] The local korero is that Hongi's remains lay at several places consecutively. He was likely taken first to Pinea. Te Ngaere, Matauri, Waimate and Pakinga are other places he is said to have lain.[159]

[152] Cloher, p.274.
[153] Cloher p.280.
[154] Cloher, p.281.
[155] Cloher, pp.287-9.
[156] Sale, p.77.
[157] Cloher, p.289. A version of the waiata is given in L. G. Kelly, 'Fragmentary matter concerning Hongi-hika', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 49, 196, 1940, pp.601-3.
[158] Kelly, 'Fragmentary matter', p.601.
[159] Lane Tauroa manuscript.

That Hongi's influence in Whangaroa continued long after his death can be seen in the NLC's deliberations on Whangaroa lands, and the complex political and social history of Whangaroa is demonstrated in several investigations of title beginning in the 1860s. Some of these investigations are briefly covered here in relation to the presentation of evidence concerning Hongi, whereas wider coverage of individual cases is left for chapter five. In the comprehensive hearing for Otangaroa in 1875, kaikorero invoked a range of hapu to assert their rights to the land, variously tying their claims to historical take tupuna, take raupatu, mahinga kai, and wahi tapu, as well as recent and contemporaneous occupation and use of the land. They discussed how Ngati Awa, Ngati Pou and Ngapuhi interacted with the land and each other in ways that drew a complicated picture of the human landscape there. In the end, though, what decided the case was whose people had 'assisted Hongi when he took possession of Whangaroa and had exercised rights of ownership over the land'.[160] The 1876 hearing for Okura produced a similar outcome. In that case Pumipi of Ngati Haiti spoke against those who invoked Hongi as a basis for their claims. Instead he claimed through Urumahoe, an ancestor pre-dating Hongi. He conceded that he may not have claimed the land if Hongi was still alive, but the establishment of the Court and the fact of Hongi's passing meant the land could now be returned. The idea of rights (and hapu) that existed prior to both Ngati Pou's arrival at and Hongi's return to Whangaroa was not peculiar to Okura. Nor was the Court's ruling in favour of those claimants who had invoked Hongi's interests in the land.[161]

The Court seemed to use Hongi's arrival into Whangaroa and his battles to eject Ngati Pou as both a tool to simplify an otherwise complicated situation on the ground and a measuring stick with which to gauge the strength of claims made to land blocks in Whangaroa. This may not be as Whangaroa would have it necessarily. It is not universally accepted that Hongi gained Whangaroa by conquest. After all, he returned to his mother's land and did not invade or occupy land to which he had no rights. His allies and fighting men were his Whangaroa whanaunga. And Ngati Pou were not tangata whenua driven from their homelands, they were refugees from the Bay of Islands who had taken up residence in Whangaroa. The idea of 'conquering' Whangaroa was redundant in Hongi's case.[162] It may be that the idea of 'conquest' has taken hold over time because after Hongi's death, the lands of Whangaroa were divided between Hare Hongi Hika, Ururoa, Tareha and Tupe.[163] Whatever the case, the difficulty for Whangaroa – probably then as much as now – is that they lived and live daily with the outcomes of cases such as those for Okura and Otangaroa. The people

[160] NMB 1 pp.79-88.
[161] NMB 2, pp.248-255.
[162] Various sources, WPH research hui, 2 December 2010; Patricia Tauroa, feedback on 'Penultimate Draft'.
[163] Henare et al, for example, notes that the lands were divided after Hongi's death, with Tareha inheriting Okura (Henare et al, p.187). More is said about this division in the next chapter.

are, it seems, descended from all the waves of settlement that characterise Whangaroa's past – pre- and post-Hongi, pre- and post-Ngati Pou, and even pre and post-Ngati Awa. Sometimes the Court did make rulings that reflected complex relative rights in Whangaroa lands, rather than the simpler model of ruling in favour in one party (often Hongi's) or another. The hearings for Kaingapipiwai in 1876 and Te Totara in 1878 offer examples. In both these cases Taniora Arapata claimed rights through ancestry in opposition to others whose claims relied on Hongi's reign in Whangaroa. Early in the 1876 hearing Wiremu Pirihongo responded to Taniora's assertion of take tupuna with the view that Hongi's 'conquest' of Whangaroa 'swept away' all previous ancestral claims. Pirihongo said that Taniora's interests could have been 'well arranged' had Taniora spoken to Hongi about it. He explained how Ururoa (and Tareha) had ensured that other hapu, in similar positions as Taniora, were re-settled on the land:

> '…Ururoa placed Te Pekatahi and Te Horu on Mangaiti… He placed the Te Aeto hapu on Mangatoa…. Ururoa never disturbed these people after he had placed them on the land…[164]

However Pirihongo was clear that 'the mana of the land remained with Hongi Hika and Ururoa'. There was no intention among Taniora's opponents to 'eject' him and 'his friends'. Indeed they admitted Taniora had some interests, and was living on and cultivating the land, but the mana of the land now rested with Hare Hongi Hika and Paora Ururoa.[165]

When questioned by the Court Pirihongo referred to Tareha's role at Whangaroa:[166]

> It was Tareha who saved the lives of the Tangata whenua of Whangaroa. Had he not collected them together under his protection at Pinea, Ururoa would certainly have killed them all in payment for the death of Te Hau and the wounding of Hongi. It was Turikatuku who proposed to save them and keep them as tangata (serfs).[167]

However Heremaia Te Ara made the case that the land in question belonged to Taniora because although Hongi had certainly fought off the Ngati Pou, Taniora's ancestors still held the land.[168] Contrary to Pirihongo's view, Hongi's battles had not swept away all previous ancestral claims. Hongi fought only with Ngati Pou. Te Ara and Taniora's ancestors did not side with Ngati Pou or Hongi, they 'remained neutral'. Also, Ngati Pou never possessed Whangaroa; they were 'merely fugitives'. Hongi did not conquer the land; he only 'drove out

[164] NMB 2 pp.263-4.
[165] NMB 2 pp.263-4.
[166] Cloher pp.173, 260.
[167] NMB 2 p.265.
[168] Taniora's ancestors had 'sheltered' Ngati Pou after they had been driven from Taiamai to Whangaroa by Ngapuhi (possibly Te Hotete).

the Ngati Pou who were not the owners'. Te Ara admitted that 'Hongi had great mana', but the Whangaroa rangatira 'had their own mana over their own lands'.[169] In the Te Totara hearing two years later Taniora and Hohepa Te Taha successfully asserted rights through their ancestor Mokokohi. Still, both men invoked Hongi in making their case, the difference being that under examination Taniora said that Hongi's claim on the land (at least primarily) was through ancestry, whereas Hohepa claimed that Hongi's rights were from 'conquest'.[170]

In the Kaingapipiwai case the Court ruled that the two opposing parties were equally entitled, much to Taniora's dissatisfaction.[171] Likewise, the Court ruled the claimants and opponents in the Te Totara case were equally entitled because they 'descended from the same ancestry' and had both 'exercised rights of ownership'.[172] A similar ruling was made in regard to Omaunu in 1878, in which the Court ruled that Taniora (again) had equal rights with his opponents, Paora Ururoa and others (again also).[173] The case for Te Pupuke in 1891 is another that resulted in the Court finding the competing parties each had rightful interests. Once more the pattern of debate saw Taniora claim primarily through take tupuna – this time through Te Puta, an ancestor he shared with Hongi.[174] Meanwhile his opponents, Mita Hape and Paora Ururoa, made a case that included Te Hau, Ururoa and Hongi's 'conquest of the land'. Once again, they admitted Taniora may have had some rights to residency, but 'he lived on the "mana" of Hongi Hika'.[175] Neither party seemed happy with the Court allowing the other into the land title that ensued.[176] Despite the tensions inherent in them, these rulings seem somewhat more willing to account for notions of shared, relative and contested rights than the black-and-white rulings of the Otangaroa and Okura cases. Whether or not the Court was ever fully cognisant of the complexities of the socio-political underpinnings of Whangaroa land tenure, in Whangaroa terms, will long be a subject for debate. Nonetheless, one thing the Court's minutes can be read for is the continuing influence of Hongi in the shaping of Whangaroa

From a young age Hongi Hika faced a crisis of mana on several fronts, which he seems to have been largely successful in meeting and sometimes exceeding. His importance – during his lifetime and after it – is clear, demonstrated in his deeds and the subsequent citation of them before the NLC. In life, Hongi demonstrated great dynamism in his ability to negotiate

[169] NMB 2 p. 266, NMB 3, pp.1-2.
[170] NMB 3 pp.325-7.
[171] NMB 3, p.5. The Kaingapipiwai case is discussed more fully in the chapter five.
[172] NMB 3, pp.327-8.
[173] NMB 3, pp.21, 328-31, 341-4.
[174]NMB 10 pp. 295-296.
[175] NMB 10 p.309.
[176] NMB 10, pp.337, 341-3.

tradition and modernity simultaneously. Steeped in the obligations of whakapapa and tikanga, his crisis of mana can be understood squarely in traditional terms. Yet he confronted it in innovative ways. The curiosity that flavoured his overseas travel allowed him to use modern means to answer traditional questions – he was one of the first to plant and harvest wheat, and he amassed muskets in greater numbers than any other chief. With reason Hongi is probably most remembered for the devastating wars that he fought. His musket wars in Tamaki and beyond caused colossal shifts in populations and altered the tribal landscape in much of the top half of the North Island. Yet war was but one of the vehicles he used to enhance the mana of his people. His success in modernising Maori agriculture was matched with success in ensuring the endurance of Maori religious practises. He took his role as 'priest and protector of the Maori religion' as seriously as his temporal responsibilities. Parallel to the interests he vested in the missionaries was a genuine interest in the English language, while sharing Kendall's interest in writing and publishing te reo rangatira. There was a diligence in the way he applied himself to written and spoken English during the lengthy voyages to Australia and England; and at the very least he illustrates the enthusiasm with which many Maori engaged with language in the written form.[177] Beyond this, Hongi's protection of the mihinare (personally and institutionally) and his co-operation with Kendall and Lee encouraged the missionaries learning of te reo, which aided the effectiveness of their preaching. Hongi might also be understood as taking deliberate steps within a process that led to He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Certainly Henare has argued that the relationship Hongi believed he established with King George IV during his 1820 trip England was an act of conscious nation-building in which an on-going relationship with the English Crown and Maori rangatira was pivotal.[178] Indeed, some missionaries had once entertained the idea of Hongi being made a Maori King.[179] Hongi rejected this idea outright, knowing that mana lay with the various rangatira and hapu for which they were responsible. These then are some of the ways which Hongi's life provided at least some of the context that contributed to the ever changing landscape of Whangaroa's politics, economy and society. His influence did not die with him, and will continue to feature in upcoming chapters of this report, always with a focus on Whangaroa.

[177] Cloher p.75.
[178] Henare, Tribes to Nation, p.171.
[179] Angela Ballara, 'Hongi Hika 1772 – 1828', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/, viewed 10 July 2010. Note that this entry for Hongi has since been moved and updated: Angela Ballara, 'Hongi Hika - Biography', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography in *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h32/1, viewed 24 December 2010.

PART TWO

WHANGAROA, PAKEHA AND THE STATE

This part turns the attention of the report to Whangaroa encounters and engagements with Pakeha and the state, and the related factors that interrupted, disrupted and irrevocably changed the pre-existing life-ways of Whangaroa's tangata whenua. In doing so it makes a shift from the heavy reliance on the korero tuku iho and korero whanau of chapters one and two, to a more substantial use of documentary sources such as NLC minutes and the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHRs). This part tries to maintain a Whangaroa perspective, which is enormously difficult given the dominance of the state in generating the records on which it relies. Nonetheless, it does offer some insights into the Whangaroa experience of the state, particularly when read against part one. It also provides a useful base on which future research, and Whangaroa claims, might build. The part begins in chapter four by reviewing the period covered by the discussion of Hongi Hika in chapter three, although focussing this time on tracking the arrival of Pakeha in Whangaroa, and some of the economic and political developments that followed in their wake, including – importantly – He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, marking the establishment of the New Zealand state. Following on from the events of 1840, chapter five introduces the broad theme of Whangaroa engagement with the state by outlining key investigations of title that the NLC conducted from the 1860s to the early 1900s. The state remains in the frame for the concluding chapter, which attempts a general and brief survey of the ways that the lives of Whangaroa Maori intersected with goals and activities of the machinery of state.

CHAPTER FOUR

ENCOUNTERING THE PAKEHA, SIGNING TE TIRITI

The tangata whenua dynamic established in part one of this report was interrupted and forever changed as interaction with Pakeha in the Whangaroa rohe grew and intensified from about the 1770s. The new dynamic that arrived with the Pakeha, and the specific inter-relationships and engagements it generated, laid some important foundations in terms of Maori-Pakeha relations in the period leading up to He Wakaputanga Rangatiratanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This chapter narrates a sequence of early contacts running through to the signing of Te Tiriti. It considers that the period from the 1770s through to the end of the 1830s constituted several decades of political and economic change for Whangaroa hapu, largely as a result of engagement with Pakeha. Inter and intra-hapu relationships continued alongside, and were often impacted by, the establishment of alliances and relations with Pakeha traders and missionaries. Part one of the report has largely introduced these broad themes, especially in the chapter three discussion of Hongi Hika. Similarly, the focus on He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti later in this chapter means ground already covered by the CFRT's Northland Research Programme will be reiterated here. Some overlap is unavoidable, and can help to make chronological and analytical sense: Just as telling the story of Hongi requires some reference to trade, missionaries and British modes of government, so too the story of Whangaroa's encounters with Pakeha and the Treaty of Waitangi requires some consideration of Hongi. Therefore this chapter shares some concerns with chapter three, as well as the already familiar works of Merata Kawharu and Manuka Henare, for example.[1]

Te Taenga mai a te Pakeha

Whangaroa hapu were among the first Maori to encounter Pakeha. During his first voyage to Aotearoa, while anchored off the Whangaroa coast in November 1769, Captain James Cook renamed the Motukawa group of islands the Cavalli Islands. It has been suggested that the name 'Cavalli' refers to the fish (probably trevally) with which local Whangaroa Maori supplied Cook's crew.[2] Drawing on information collected from an informant described only as a member of the Ngapuhi tribe, John White retold an exchange between Tapua and Cook. Tapua was the father of the celebrated Taitokerau chiefs Patuone and Nene and had Whangaroa connections.[3]

[1] Refer Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', Henare et al, and Henare 'Tribes to Nation'.
[2] Claudia Orange, 'Northland places - Whangaroa and district', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (*Te Ara*), updated 2-Mar-09, URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/northland-places/4, viewed 11 September 2009.
[3] See Angela Ballara, 'Patuone, Eruera Maihi ? - 1872', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (*DNZB*), updated 22 June 2007 and Angela Ballara, 'Nene, Tamati Waka ? - 1871', *DNZB*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/, viewed 11 September 2009.

> I noho te whanau a Tapua i Tokerau, no te mea no reira a Tapua. A, kiano i mau patu noa a Patuone raua ko Nene, ka hoe te iwi o Tapua ki te hao ika i te takutai o te moana i Matauri. A, kua nui he ika ki nga waka, ka puta te kaipuke i waho o Motu-kokako, a, ka mahue nga kupenga a Tapua ma, ka hoe o ratou waka ...kia kite i taua kaipuke. .... Te mea i hoe atu ai ki taua pahi, he mea tauhou taua tu waka ki taua moana... [Translation in the original:] One day, before Patuone and Nene were old enough to bear weapons, Tapua and his people were out netting fish at the sea coast at Matauri. They had caught many fish, when the ship appeared beyond Motu-kokako. Then Tapua and his people left their nets and went in their canoes ... to look at that ship... They went to see the vessel because such a ship had never before visited that place.[4]

In 1772 the French navigator, Marion Du Fresne visited the region. He and a number of his men were later killed at the Bay of Islands as a result of transgressing a tapu. In his account of the event, John White's Ngapuhi informant highlighted the involvement of Ngati Pou:

> A, ka tae ki aua ra ka hoe aua maitai ki te hao ika i te one i Manawaora, a, ka riria e te Maori. He mea hoki kua tapu taua one ra i te tupapaku o te iwi o Te Kauri, te iwi i noho i Whangamumu, a, no ratou nga tangata i paremo ki te moana o Tokerau, a, paea ai ki taua one. Ahakoa riria e aua Maori o Ngati Pou kei huakina ratou e te iwi o Te Kauri hei utu mo ta ratou tapu i takahia, kihai aua maitai ra i rongo, tohe tonu ano ki te hao i a ratou kupenga ki taua one. A, ka pouri a Ngati Pou.... Ka tae ki tetahi ra, ka hoe nga maitai ki uta ki te hao ano i ta ratou kupenga, a, kua mohio a Ngati Pou na Mariao... ka tae aua kehua ra ka utaina te kupenga ki te poti, ka huakina ratou e te Maori, a, ka patua aua maitai kia mate, a, mate katoa; kahore te mea kotahi i rere. A, ka maua nga tupapaku, ka taona, a, na Te Kauri raua ko Tohitapu ... i kai a Mariao, a, i a Te Kauri te kahu o Mariao... Ao ake, ka u nga poti o nga kaipuke ra, a, ka tauria nga pa e rua i Motu-arohia...
>
> [Translation in the original:] But there came a day when the foreigners rowed ashore in order to net fish on the beach at Manawaora. The Maoris scolded them for this, for the beach was tapu to some of Te Kauri's people (the people who lived at Whangamumu). Some men from there had been drowned in the Bay of Islands, and had been cast ashore on this beach. Although the people of Ngati Pou told them angrily not to do this (for they were afraid that Te Kauri's people would attack them in order to obtain recompense for the violation of their tapu), the foreigners took no notice, and persisted in drawing in their net on the beach. Then Ngati Pou became very sad... One day soon after this, the foreigners rowed ashore to net fish again, and Ngati Pou learnt that it was Marion .... When the foreigners were putting the net into the boat, the Maoris attacked them and clubbed them to death. All of them were killed; not one escaped. They took the bodies and cooked them, and Te Kauri and Tohitapu ... ate Marion, and Te Kauri took Marion's clothes.... Next day the boats of the ships came on shore, and they attacked two pas at Motuarohia, firing their big guns.[5]

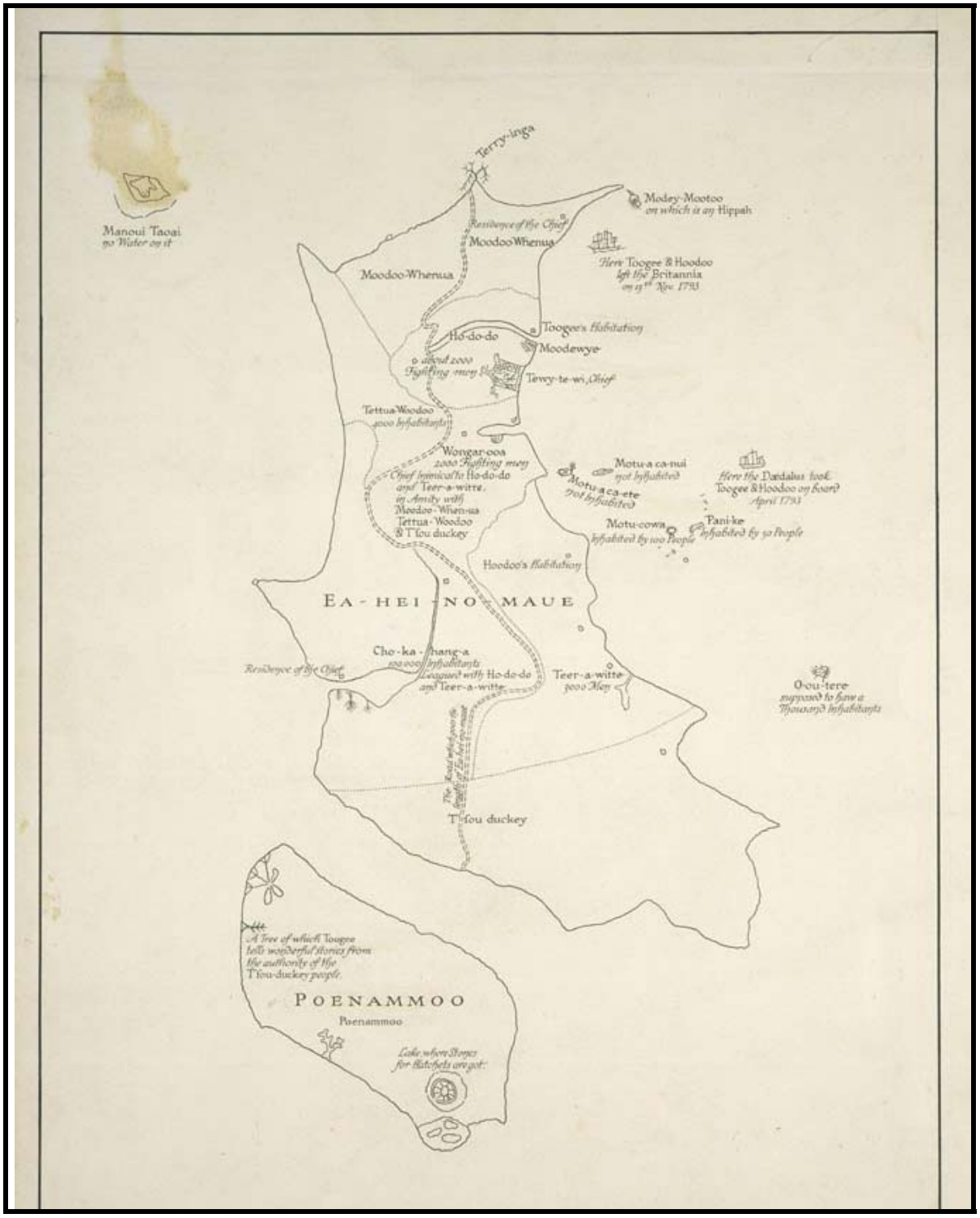
Anne Salmond has described the decision of Marion's men to haul their nets on a beach that was intensely tapu as setting in place a tragic sequence of events that resulted in the deaths not only of Marion and many of his men but also many local Maori. This was especially the

[4] 'The First Pakehas to Visit The Bay of Islands', in *Te Ao Hou*, 51, June 1965, p.15.
[5] 'The First Pakehas', *Te Ao Hou*, 51, June 1965, p.16.

case for Ngati Pou who, with Ngati Uru, were driven out of the Bay of Islands and into exile at Whangaroa.[6] The timing of this episode is in keeping with Henare et al's placement of Ngati Pou and Ngati Uru in the Whangaroa district before c.1800, as already mentioned in chapter one.[7] Also, the event seems to flow into the political tensions that underpin inter-tribal relations both in the Bay of Islands and in Whangaroa. Certainly for Whangaroa, Ngati Pou and Ngati Uru did not leave the Bay for unoccupied and freely available territory. And their presence in Whangaroa, though peaceful for many years, would eventually contribute to later hostilities in the area as well as vehement contestation for land in the era of the NLC. In addition to the lasting impacts at a very local level, the events surrounding du Fresne's death also introduce the underlying racial ideologies inherent in Pakeha interactions with Maori, and the kinds of misunderstandings that strained them to breaking point.

The first Maori recorded as travelling with Europeans to another country were Tuki and Ngahuruhuru. Ngahuruhuru was of Ngati Uru, Whangaroa.[8] In 1793 the crew of the *Daedalus* kidnapped Tuki and Ngahuruhuru from Motukawanui. The two men were taken to Norfolk Island to teach the colony's prisoners how to produce rope from flax. While there, and amid questions about their country and the ways of the Maori, Tuki drew a map. It affirms – through a medium that was 'modern at the time' – the depth and breadth of the knowledge that Whangaroa Maori possessed about the areas around and beyond their immediate domain, in practical and not just mythical terms. Specifically, the map provides an insight into how Tuki understood the world: the places that were important and well known to him; his tribe, its enemies and friends; and some aspects of traditional histories and beliefs, as seen in his depiction of Te Ara Wairua and Te Reinga. Salmond says the map is unique because it includes social, mythical and political information written at Tuki's dictation.[9] The map includes Whangaroa ('Wongar-ooa'), capable of mobilising two thousand fighting men. Tukarawa, ('Tu-ko-rawa', the brother of Hauraki) is identified as the chief, an adversary to Oruru ('Hododo') and Te Rawhiti ('Teer-a-witte'), but in league with Hauraki ('T'sou-duckey'), Muriwhenua ('Moodoo Whenua') and Tettua Woodoo [Te Tai Hauauru?]. The kainga of Huru ('Woo-doo'), that is Ngahuruhuru, is marked in a district which Salmond suggests may be Matauri Bay and supposed to contain two thousand men.[10]

[6] Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Auckland, 1991, p.381.
[7] Henare et al, p.187.
[8] Salmond, *Between Worlds*, pp.208-210.
[9] Salmond, *Between Worlds,* p.226.
[10] See Judith Binney, 'Tuki's Universe', *New Zealand Journal of History* (*NZJH*), 38, 2, 2004, pp.215-232.



Tuki's Map[11]

By the 1800s many more Maori were taking opportunities to travel, venturing overseas aboard trading ships or European and American whaling vessels, and returning with stories of other worlds. Te Pahi, the prominent Whangaroa chief and a close relative of Hongi Hika,

[11] New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs Publications Branch, Tuki's Map, copy, c.1940, MapColl-CHA-2/1/9-Acc.36440, ATL, available online, http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/, viewed 3 November 2009.

visited Norfolk Island and Sydney in 1805-6 where he was feted by the Governor of New South Wales. Te Pahi saw advantages in regular interaction with Pakeha and while in Sydney took the opportunity to learn as much as possible of Pakeha technologies. Angela Ballara claims that as a result of lengthy discussions with Te Pahi, the missionary Samuel Marsden set his sights on extending his missionary activities to New Zealand.[12] Te Pahi proposed to send a number of his kinsmen to New South Wales to train as shepherds. He returned home with a small prefabricated house, fruit trees, pigs, fowls, and other goods.[13]

The first sailing ship to anchor in Whangaroa Harbour was the *Star* in 1806. The *Star* was a sealing vessel, under the command of Captain Wilkinson, who Pakeha tend to credit with 'discovering' the harbour.[14] In fact, it was local Whangaroa Maori who informed Wilkinson of the harbour's entrance, which can be difficult for the uninitiated to find. Williamson had anchored the *Star* near Ririwha during a storm and was surprised when several waka approached from what he thought was an unbroken line of cliffs. Indeed, the narrow entrance to the harbour is less than half a kilometre wide and the rocky headlands lie in such a way as to give the appearance of a continuous coastline. As already mentioned, the distinct features of the entrance are explained by their descriptive ingoa tuturu: Te Pokopoko o Hinenuiitepo and Te Urenui-a-Maui. The harbour itself is spacious, deep and sheltered. Once inside the harbour, Wilkinson took the opportunity to explore the district. In the process, he effectively presented a new world to the local population, including a source of novelty and potentially rewarding trade. A young Ngati Uru chief, Te Ara, brother-in-law to Te Pahi and popularly known as George by the Europeans, boarded the *Star* and left with its crew, visiting the Antipode Islands before returning to Whangaroa.[15]

In 1809 Whangaroa hapu were struck by an epidemic, possibly influenza or measles.[16] Lacking in natural immunities at this early stage of exposure to Pakeha disease, many died, including Kaitoke, a leading Ngati Uru chief. Whangaroa Maori attributed the epidemic to an evil spirit that Captain Ceroni, commander of the *Commerce*, left among them not long before the epidemic hit. While on a visit to Whangaroa, Ceroni dropped his watch in the harbour. The locals had viewed the watch as an atua and were aghast to see it lost overboard. They later attributed the epidemic to Ceroni's perceived act of negligence. That he inflicted

[12] Ballara, Angela. 'Te Pahi ? - 1810', *DNZB*, updated 22 June 2007, URL: http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/, viewed 9 September 2009.
[13] Crew of the vessel *General Wellesley* kidnapped Te Pahi's daughter and son-in-law while on a fishing expedition to Whangaroa. Te Pahi travelled to Sydney in search of them. The couple eventually made it to Sydney in 1808 after being reunited in Bengal and were waiting for their passage home when Te Pahi's daughter died, leaving an infant who was to be returned to Whangaroa. Te Pahi never learned the fate of his daughter.
[14] See, for example, Robert McNab, *From Tasman To Marsden: A History of Northern New Zealand from 1642 to 1818*, Dunedin, 1914, p.114.
[15] Sale, p.41.
[16] McNab, 1914, p.118.

irreparable damage on his Whangaroa hosts seemed to be confirmed by the fact that, for reasons unknown, he left the harbour during the night without the requisite farewells.[17] Lydia Wevers remarks that the event seemed of little consequence to Ceroni but had far-reaching personal and symbolic significance to the culture into which the watch had so carelessly sunk.[18] It is perhaps the symbolism that is important here: an unknown 'atua' had been lost in an area that provided food and which would have been subject to the usual relevant tikanga. Like the death of du Fresne, it was, perhaps, a sign of things to come; the introduction of new and unknown things and ideas – often beyond the control of local Maori – into the pristine Whangaroa environment.

The following year in October 1809 the *Boyd*, a 395-ton brigantine convict ship, sailed from Port Jackson to Whangaroa to pick up kauri spars. Among its crew was the young Te Ara, homeward bound. Te Ara attempted to leave the vessel with a carpenter's axe under his cloak. But the Captain caught him, tied him to the capstan for several hours, and threatened to flog him. Later, Te Ara recounted his mistreatment to his kinsfolk. Determined to take revenge, his Ngati Uru people invited the crew of the ship to inspect kauri at the head of the Whangaroa harbour. The Captain dispatched a party, all of whom Te Ara's people subsequently killed. Disguising themselves in the clothes of those killed, Ngati Uru boarded the ship and killed the remaining occupants except for a woman, a girl and two boys. The vessel subsequently caught fire and burned. The survivors were rescued by avenging Pakeha whalers, led by Alexander Berry, Captain of the *City of Edinburgh*, who attacked and razed Te Pahi's pa at Te Puna in the Bay of Islands.[19] Te Pahi was wounded while escaping the attack and did not survive long. However, Berry and his men had confused Te Pahi with Te Puhi, of Whangaroa, as having perpetrated the attack on the *Boyd*. Te Puhi was a brother to Te Ara. Te Puhi, Te Ara and the aforementioned Ngahuruhuru were the sons of Te Uinga of Ngati Uru and Patungahere of Ngapuhi. Te Uinga was the daughter of Te Hiwi, chief of Ngati Uru.

Wevers asserts that in its telling and complicated, dramatic retellings – all from a British point of view – the *Boyd* incident took its place among the newsworthy horrors of the world and whole chapters were dedicated to it in nineteenth and early twentieth-century histories

[17] For a detailed account see Alexander Berry, *Reminiscences Of Alexander Berry*, Sydney, 1912. See also Marsden, Samuel, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838, senior chaplain in the colony of New South Wales and Superintendant of the Mission of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand*, edited by J. R. Elder, Dunedin, 1932.
[18] L. Wevers, 'Captain Ceroni's Watch', online at: http://www.unsw.adfa.edu.au/ASEC/HOBA98_Papers/wevers.html, viewed 9 September 2009.
[19] Again, for a detailed account see Berry, 1912. See also Salmond, 1997, Chapter 16, 'The Burning of the Boyd'.

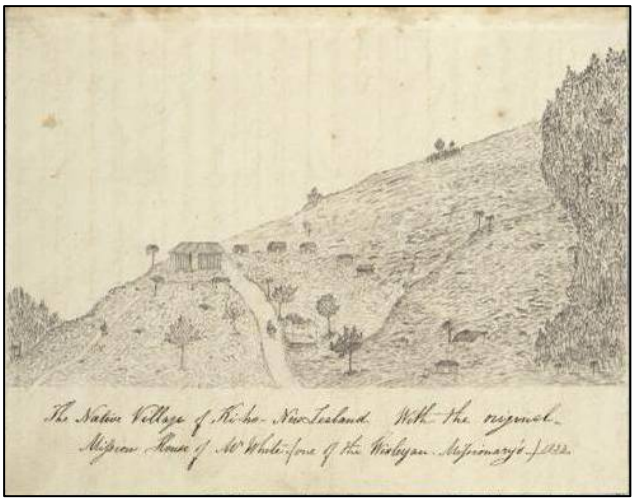
of New Zealand.[20] Wevers comments on the significance of the *Boyd* in marking New Zealand on the European map of the world. After the incident, New Zealand was no longer a way station between fixed points on a map but instead became a location characterised by what allegedly happened to the *Boyd*.[21] It was certainly enough to stall the colonial ambition of establishing a settlement in New Zealand, an idea already circulating in Port Jackson. Pakeha traders were discouraged from visiting New Zealand for some years, and intending visitors struggled to find ships willing to carry them.[22] Governor Macquarie at Port Jackson, in correspondence to London and Calcutta, requested that all South Sea whalers and East India Company vessels be warned 'to be vigilant and guarded in their intercourse with the New Zealanders… who are in general a very treacherous race of People, and not to be trusted.'[23] It was a reputation that would be hard to shake, and some five years would pass before Whangaroa hapu (and Maori more generally) resumed significant contact with Pakeha.

In 1814 Whangaroa was introduced to a new kind of Pakeha – the mihinare. As already described in chapter three, Ruatara and Hongi accompanied Marsden, who had an express intention of establishing a mission, to New Zealand.[24] Marsden had for a long time contemplated sending missionaries to New Zealand, particularly after his encounter with Te Pahi. However he had doubts following the *Boyd* affair, and postponed his plans. Then on Monday 19 December 1814, Marsden and his party anchored near Motukawanui, and the next day nearer Matauri Bay which was generally controlled by Hongi's brother Kaingaroa.[25] Marsden and his entourage went ashore at Matauri on 20 December, making the bay the place where the first missionary set foot on the mainland of New Zealand.[26] The Matauri Bay community has since marked this occasion with a memorial set on the spot where Marsden is said to have landed. Back in 1814, a number of Whangaroa Maori were there to welcome him, including the 'infamous' Ngati Uru chiefs Te Ara and Te Puhi, who Marsden was anxious to meet. He wanted to get a first hand account of the *Boyd* incident, and took the opportunity to promote reconciliation between Whangaroa and Te Puna Maori who had been locked in conflict since the event, which he saw as a threat to the security of his mission.[27]

[20] Wevers, 'Ceroni's Watch'.
[21] Wevers, 'Ceroni's Watch'.
[22] Salmond, 1997, p.394.
[23] Governor Macquires to Viscount Castlereagh, 12 March 1810, in CO201/52: 33-40. Also Macqurie to Lord Minto, 7 April 1810, in NLS Ms 1131: 59-60, quoted in Salmond, 1997, p.394.
[24] Samuel Marsden, 'Observations on the Introduction of the Gospel into the South Sea Islands: Being My First Visit to New Zealand in December 1814', in Robert McNab, ed., *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1908, vol.1, p.351; and Marsden, p.128.
[25] Salmond, 1997, p.457.
[26] Salmond, 1997, p.457.
[27] Salmond, 1997, p.457.

Even after the arrival of the missionaries, it would be some time before trading and other ships called at Whangaroa. The first record of a vessel visiting Whangaroa Harbour after the *Boyd* was the *Dromedary* in 1820. Sale comments that the visit marked both the restoration of relations between Whangaroa Maori and Pakeha and the export of the first major cargo of kauri from the north, which was principally from Whangaroa. It was a great advertisement for the area's economic potential.[28] The successful visit set the scene for increased Pakeha settlement at Whangaroa, and in 1823 the Reverend Samuel Leigh established his Wesleyan station at Kaeo (Wesleydale).[29] He and his fellow missionaries established several schools and preached the Gospel with limited Maori language skills in a society that was still very much regulated by nga ritenga Maori.

The Wesleyan Mission at Kaeo, 1833[30]

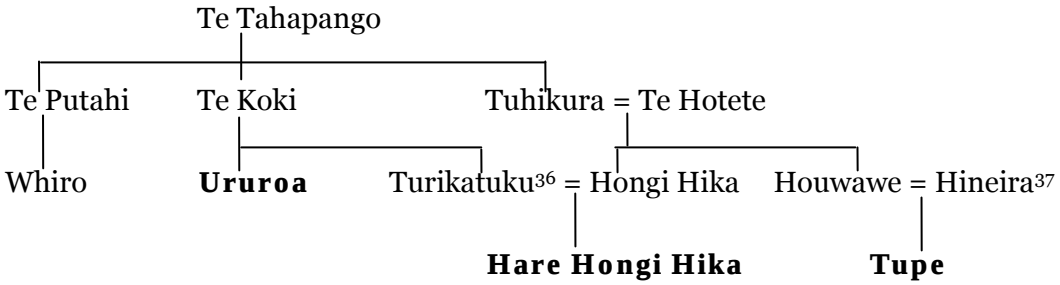


Around 1825, Te Ara, Leigh's principal local contact, became ill and died.[31] This occurred around the same time that Hongi had begun to frequent Whangaroa, as described in chapter three. Simultaneously, tensions among Maori within the wider region were growing. The mission station had not long been established when Hongi and a force came to Whangaroa in 1827 to battle and evict Ngati Pou.[32] As already discussed, amid the conflict, a party of Ngati Uru sacked the Kaeo mission station. Also, Hongi himself was seriously wounded, and would die the following year as a result. Hongi's importance in life seems to have reiterated an ongoing importance in death. Though he was not alive to participate in He Wakaputanga in 1835 or Te Tiriti in 1840, his local residence, strategic development of his commercial interests, and movement in Pakeha society remained influential factors in the events that led to both documents. Hongi's death signalled a period of transition as new leaders emerged among Whangaroa Maori. According to Wi Pirihongo after Hongi's death the 'land was divided':

[28] Sale, p.56.
[29] Sale, p.58.
[30] Thomas Laslett, *Paetu, Whangaroa*, pencil drawing from his journal, *HMS Buffalo*, 1833, MS-Papers-8349-1-17, ATL.
[31] Sale, p.69.
[32] Sale, p.75.

> Hongi (Hare Hongi) and Ururoa took the land at Puketi. Tareha took the land beyond Okura. Tupe got Karangahape… After a time Tareha went to Tapuwaetau [sic] and left his share in the land to Ururoa.[33]

It appears these four rangatira – Hare Hongi, Ururoa, Tareha and Tupe – were treated as the principal Whangaroa leaders during the 1830s through to the time of te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, their leadership and that of Hongi's may not have gone uncontested. For example, as already mentioned, in his claim to Okura in 1876 Pumipi agreed the land had been in Hongi's hands, and added that he would not have attempted his claim if Hongi was alive. However, he argued the land could now be returned as the Court was established and Hongi was dead.[34] Pumipi's case was unsuccessful, and Hare Hongi, Ururoa, Tareha and Tupe regularly feature in several Court investigations. It ought to be noted, however, that some korero tuku iho attests that the land granted to Tupe at Matangirau 'was a tuku', and that Hongi had installed Tupe there to establish the church.[35]



The four rangatira – Hare Hongi, Ururoa, Tareha and Tupe – were confidantes, allies and relations of Hongi. Hare Hongi was, of course, Hongi and Turikatuku's son; brother of Hariata (Hone Heke's widow), and also of Hare Hongi I who had died after being wounded at the battle of Te Ika a Ranganui.[38] Ururoa descended from Te Puta, whose son was Tahapango; Tahapango's children were Te Koki, who was Ururoa's father, and Tuhikura has already been introduced as Hongi's mother. Hongi and Ururoa, also known as Rewharewha, were therefore cousins. Tareha, reportedly gigantic in size, was a prominent chief of the Ngati Rehia of Takou Bay and Kerikeri. Besides accompanying Hongi on a number of expeditions, it is said Tareha conveyed Hongi by his war canoe to his resting place at Piakoa. Being tapu, the canoe was later burned.[39] Lastly, Tupe: his mother, Hineira, was a

[33] NMB 2 , p. 254.
[34] NMB 2, pp.248-55.
[35] Ruiha Collier, WPH wananga, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.
[36] As already noted, Turikatuku and Ururoa were half-sister and brother. Their father was Te Koki; their mothers Te Mutunga and Nehe resepectively, who were themselves sisters.
[37] Hineira was a relative of Te Hotete, descendant of his parents Auha and Peehirangi.
[38] John White cites Hongi's whakapapa in: *The Ancient History Of The Maori, His Mythology And Traditions*, vol X, (Nga-Puhi, Upoko XVI — Ko Hongi Me Ana Mahi (Nga-Ti-Tau-Tahi, Nga-Puhi)), Wellington, 1887, p.217.
[39] Kelly, 1940, p. 601.

descendent of Auha and Peehirangi, the parents of Te Hotete, father of Hongi Hika. Hineira married Houwawe, brother to Hongi Hika, and begat Tupe. Tupe, of Te Whanaupani, claimed rangatiratanga around Touwai and Tauranga Bay.[40]

The death of Hongi Hika not only marked new political leadership among Whangaroa hapu but also provided impetus for renewed opportunities to trade and develop material wealth. The timber trade in particular had proven lucrative by 1833, and provided employment for Whangaroa Maori for many years afterwards. For example, in 1834 the master of *HMS Buffalo* agreed to pay Whangaroa Maori two blankets, two muskets, a bayonet, a scabbard, a cartouche box, 20 pounds of powder, eighteen musket balls, along with some fish hooks, pipes and four pounds worth of tobacco for each spar supplied.[41] The economic capacity of Whangaroa meant inter-tribal competition for access to commercial opportunities continued. Ngati Rehia's Titore Takiri, who had moved to Kororareka during the 1830s, sought to control Whangaroa. Henare et al suggest that Titore might have deliberately tried to hinder trade at Whangaroa by limiting the number of vessels trading there, which would have maintained the Bay of Islands as the superior trading site.[42] Meanwhile, Whangaroa Maori were keen to secure more Pakeha believing their presence would attract more shipping. Hongi Hika himself had earlier tried to encourage the missionaries James Kemp and George Clarke to come to Whangaroa for this very reason. Furthermore, in 1835 Ururoa, Hare Hongi, Tuauru, and Hemi Kepa Tupe, wrote letters to James Kemp desirous of a Pakeha for Whangaroa and asked Kemp to remain with them. 'E tohe ano ahau ki tetahi Pakeha mo Wangaroa', (I will strive for a European for Whangaroa), Ururoa wrote.[43] Whangaroa Maori, like so many other Maori, were keen on learning how to read and write and people like Kemp presented the opportunity for such teachings.

Economic activity extended beyond the timber spars to trade and exchange between local Maori and the crews of visiting vessels. For example at Whangaroa, 'a miniature village' appeared virtually overnight as local Maori erected temporary huts near the shore party of the *Buffalo* visiting in 1834.[44] The shore party purchased pigs and potatoes from their close neighbours and employed several locals to assist them to make their domestic arrangements more comfortable. Te Paora Hoori, appearing before the Kahikatoa Papatupu Block Committee, described the growing of produce and preparation of firewood for trade: 'He mahi kai kanga he whakato pititi, panana. He whakahau hoki i nga tangata kia mahi wahie

[40] Kahikatoa PBCMB, No. 34, p.39: draft typescript PBC 34(i), p.20, WPH, August 2009.
[41] Richard Hodgskin, *A Narrative of Eight Months' Sojourn in New Zealand*, Coleraine, 1841, p.33.
[42] Henare et al, p.661.
[43] Webster, K. A., MS-Papers-1009, ATL, Document AT16 in Jane McRae, (compiler), 'Catalogue of Maori-language Documents', 2005.
[44] Vincent O'Malley and John Hutton, 'The Nature and Extent of Contact and Adaptation in Northland, c.1769-1840', a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, April 2007, p.154.

ma te pakeha.'[45] [Corn was grown, peach and banana trees were planted and the people were instructed to prepare firewood for the Pakeha].

Dealings with missionaries and early trading relationships, the circumstances and upheavals of war and the real threat of further conflict all provided impetus for seeking new arrangements to protect and enhance the welfare of hapu and to promote stability and security. It is no surprise, therefore, that by the 1830s, Whangaroa hapu were part of a broader northern interest prepared to explore the possibilities of developing alliances with the British monarchy, pretty much as Hongi had envisaged.

He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni

Hongi Hika's 1820 trip to England, and specifically his meeting with King George IV, is a moment that arguably marked the beginning of a formal relationship between Te Taitokerau Maori and the British Empire. In 1831, thirteen northern Maori chiefs followed up on that moment, invoking the relationship in a petition they sent to King William IV. The chiefs sought the King's protection and recognition of their special trade and missionary contacts with Britain. They asked the King to be the 'friend and guardian of these Islands' to protect Maori from unscrupulous Europeans and from the French – the so-called 'tribe of Marion'. The petitioners had not forgotten the French retaliation for the deaths of Marion du Fresne and his crew in 1772, and this memory was reflected in the petition.[46]

The British responded to the petition by appointing James Busby as the official British Resident in 1833. Busby's main duties, outlined in instructions from Governor Richard Bourke of New South Wales, were to protect 'well disposed settlers and traders', to prevent outrages by Europeans against Maori and to apprehend escaped convicts.[47] However, apart from the occasional naval visit, Busby was provided with no means of enforcing his authority. The British government refused to station a warship in New Zealand and, as a civilian, Busby was not entitled to troops. His appointment to an independent territory precluded his holding magisterial office; he had no powers of arrest and was unable to take sworn testimony. In practice, his role was limited to mediating matters affecting British subjects alone, and in relationships between Maori and Pakeha. He had no say in matters that affected Maori only. Claudia Orange remarks that Busby developed connections with a

[45] Kahikatoa PBCMB No. 34, p.34: draft typescript PBC 34(ii), p.13, WPH, August 2009.
[46] Rogers, Lawrence M., ed., *The Early Journals of Henry Williams, Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society, 1826-1840*, Christchurch, 1961.
[47] Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland, 1987, p.14.

number of northern chiefs including Hemi Kepa Tupe, who largely appealed to Busby to settle disputes with Pakeha.[48]

It was Busby that urged Taitokerau chiefs to adopt a flag to secure an international legal status for Maori shipping. According to British navigation laws every ship was required to carry an official certificate detailing construction, ownership and the nationality of the ship. The lack of a flag to represent New Zealand-built ships meant trading ships and their valuable cargoes were subject to seizure. This was the case with the *Sir George Murray*. It was detained in Neutral Bay while two principal Maori chiefs, believed to be Patuone and Taonui, were on board.[49] The Rev. Henry Williams was enlisted to design a flag. He produced three flag designs from which Maori were to choose. At a hui at Waitangi on 20 March 1834, twelve of twenty-five rangatira from the Far North selected the design of a flag already used by the CMS (ten chose another and three the third flag). Their choice was made following a speech from Busby and before a number of missionaries, settlers and several commanders of British and American ships.[50]

According to one account some 750 Maori attended the hui, highlighting the significance of the occasion.[51] The new flag was eventually approved by King William IV and recognised by the British Admiralty. The flag was important for several reasons, not least of which was the British recognition of New Zealand as an independent nation with its own flag and the authority of the Maori chiefs. It further signalled, to both Maori and non-Maori, the ability of a Maori collective to form an alliance and act in concert while still maintaining tribal independence.[52] Henare maintains that the flag became a symbol of Maori independence throughout the nineteenth century. By way of oral history and tradition, the flag has remained important to successive generations of Whangaroa and other Te Taitokerau hapu and iwi today.

The chosen flag came to be known as the Flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand in recognition of the title used by the same chiefs when they met again in 1835 at Waitangi at a meeting Busby convened to discuss a proposed confederation. Busby's proposal quickly followed a letter from Baron de Thierry – then living in Tahiti as the self-proclaimed 'King of Nukuheva and Sovereign Chief of New Zealand' – that he and his followers would shortly

[48] Orange, *Treaty*, p.16.
[49] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', pp.42-5.
[50] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', pp.42-5.
[51] Von Hugel in Henare, 'Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Maori Society', p. 180. Unfortunately the sources are silent on how representation worked at the hui – for example, did the twenty-five chiefs represent the 750 in attendance?
[52] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', pp.43-4.

arrive in New Zealand to take possession of land around the Hokianga that he had purportedly bought. As part of his move, de Thierry also proposed to set up a government.[53]

Whangaroa Maori, like other Maori, were wary of unwelcome foreign intrusions. But they were interested in acting in a new form of collective leadership that was complementary to hapu leadership. As Kawharu states, 'hapu authority was not seen to be compromised by any new model.' [54] Indeed, the new union of tribes would implement rather than displace hapu leadership. Nor was the notion of hapu forming a confederation for political and economic purposes foreign to Whangaroa and other northern Maori. There was historical precedent for collective endeavours and alliances in times of conflict, for ceremonial occasions or for economic undertakings, albeit usually on a regional basis. For example, Nuki Aldridge of Whangaroa notes that rangatira from throughout the Bay of Islands and Whangaroa rohe met as a group on several occasions during the early 1800s to discuss the political, economic and social issues of the time.[55] Urlich notes one such meeting with missionaries in 1825, but gives no further detail.[56] Whangaroa informants can point to such hui at: Pinea (c.1821-22), Waipuna, Waitangi (in Whangaroa, not the Bay of Islands), and Mangaiti-Omaunu.[57] No doubt Hongi would have been party to these hui whakaminenga.

On 26 and 27 October 1835 rangatira arrived at Waitangi in response to Busby's invitation to gather to discuss a Wakaputanga Rangatiratanga or Declaration of Independence. Those in attendance included the leading Whangaroa chiefs Hare Hongi, Hemi Kepa Tupe, Ururoa and Tareha. To comprehensively understand Busby's proposal, those present would have relied heavily on Busby's explanations and their implicit trust in him. At the same time, as already mentioned, Tupe in particular had established a close relationship with Busby and the two men may well have looked to each other for guidance. The Wakaputanga was prepared in Maori and English and read aloud. Busby conveyed his explanations in Maori and discussion among the rangatira was in their native tongue. Henare has emphasised the oral aspect of the Wakaputanga asserting that the signing of the document would have been understood as a way of concluding agreements which were in effect reached orally and in te reo Maori.[58] Arguably the Maori text, rather than the English version, best captures the thinking and understandings of those Whangaroa rangatira and other signatories to the Wakaputanga Rangatiratanga.

[53] Henare, 'Tribes to Nation', p.186.
[54] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.209.
[55] Report prepared by Nuki Aldridge concerning wananga at Te Patunga and Te Ngaere, 12th July 2009.
[56] Cloher, p.43.
[57] WPH research hui, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.
[58] Henare, 'Tribes to Nation', pp.179-194.

The rangatira involved were invited to add their moko or crosses as signatures, alongside their hand written names. The three prominent Whangaroa signatories – Ururoa, Hare Hongi and Hemi Kepa Tupe – were the third, fourth and fifth to sign. Tareha of Ngati Rehia ki Takou signed later in the year. In addition, Whangaroa claimants have identified the following rangatira who signed the Declaration, in 1835 or in subsequent years, as having either resided at Whangaroa at some time or possessing some whakapapa connection to the area: Te Kemara of Ngati Kawa, Awa, Marupo, Kawiti, Hoani Wiremu Heke, Mahia Te Aupouri, Heremaia, Huhu, Kiwikiwi, Pomare, Moetara and the brothers, Patuone and Nene.[59] Through their father Tapua, a rangatira and tohunga, Patuone and Nene were connected to many whanau of Whangaroa and neighbouring districts.

For Whangaroa and other northern Maori leaders, 'ko te w[h]akaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tireni' reaffirmed that the independence of the land resided with the rangatira. This reaffirmation was articulated through the wording: 'te rangatiratanga to matou w[h]enua', 'he w[h]enua rangatira', 'te Kingitanga', and 'ko te mana i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tirene, ka meatia nei kei nga tino Rangatira…' Importantly, Busby understood that rangatiratanga resided with each hapu as evidenced by his use of, 'te w[h]akaminenga o nga Hapu'.

The agreement to form a Whakaminenga o Nga Hapu represented a commitment by Whangaroa and other northern hapu to act in a collective manner. Despite the intentions, the new confederation did not function as a regulatory body that, as prescribed in the document, would meet at Waitangi in autumn annually to discuss laws for peace and order and trade. Instead Whangaroa hapu continued to exercise mana tangata and mana whenua over their respective affairs and immediate rohe. The Whakaeminenga was in effect a continuation of a broad leadership group of rangatira throughout the period, both at the Bay of Islands and in Whangaroa, which considered issues as required and deemed appropriate amid existing forms of authority and control. Kawharu observes that collective leadership was no doubt important between 1835 and 1840, but possibly no more or no less than before 1835.[60]

For Whangaroa rangatira the Wakaputanga declared to the few local Pakeha and to the international community that Maori were free from any intended political and economic domination. Importantly, the Wakaputanga also recognised the autonomy of hapu and marked the mana of those Whangaroa rangatira who participated in the context of their

[59] From a list originally prepared by Te Uru Heta and subsequently researched and refined.
[60] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', 2008, p. 58.

wider relations with northern Maori. That mana, however, was under increasing threat during the 1830s, particularly due to the acquisition of Maori land in the north. The first recorded land transaction in the Whangaroa area was in 1833 with William Parrott and William Spickman claiming to have purchased around 100 acres near Kaeo. Spickman later became a considerable land-holder in the district. The two men gave Ururoa a double-barrelled shotgun for their 100 acres.[61] Three other purchases were recorded for that year.[62]

Throughout the 1830s, Maori increasingly voiced their concerns about land that Pakeha had obtained. According to Sale, by 1840, Pakeha laid claim to at least one hundred and fifteen blocks of land in the Whangaroa district. Another thirty claims were lodged during 1840.[63] Many of these old land claims or pre-treaty transactions were made by people who were absent from Whangaroa, and they have been the subject of numerous Maori complaints and petitions throughout history. One example of Whangaroa concern is a letter Hemi Kepa Tupe wrote to Busby in 1839. Tupe said he wanted to prevent his district – from Matauri to Whangaroa – from falling into Pakeha hands.[64] Yet in November that year, Tupe entered into a transaction with the missionary James Shepherd over the Pohue and Waipaipai blocks.[65] It is important to understand what might otherwise read as a contradiction here. In their land dealings, Whangaroa Maori arguably made a distinction between Pakeha who settled among them and became part of the tangata whenua social order, as missionaries often did, and Pakeha who merely speculated and claimed vast amounts of land from a vast distance. Such a view is in keeping with the central arguments of the Waitangi Tribunal's findings in the *Muriwhenua Land Report* which regard pre-treaty transactions as conveying 'rights of resource use' as integral to arrangements that created 'personal bonds'.[66] Those arrangements were 'conditional upon acceptance of the norms and authority of the local Maori community as represented in the rangatira'. Moreover, 'the transactions imposed obligations on the settlers' – such as Shepherd, in this example – 'of which the settlers ought reasonably to have been aware'.[67]

The British government, too, was worried about land transactions and the potential for confrontation to result, particularly with new immigrants bound for New Zealand in 1839 as part of the New Zealand Company's proposed scheme to colonise and settle New Zealand.

[61] H. H. Turton, *Maori Deeds of Old Private Land Purchases in New Zealand, From the Year 1815 to 1840, with Pre-Emptive and Other Claims*, Wellington, 1882, available online at http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-TurOldP-t1-g1-g1-g1-g2-t1.html, viewed 20 December 2010.
[62] Sale, p.79.
[63] Sale, p.79.
[64] Letter [in Maori], Hemi Kepa Tupe to Busby, 26 [?] 1839, British Resident series 1/2, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. The original letter is missing, and a description of it in the series index has been relied upon here.
[65] H. H. Turton, *Maori Deeds*.
[66] Waitangi Tribunal, *Muriwhenua Land Report (Wai 45)*, Wellington, 1997, p.106.
[67] *Muriwhenua Land Report*, p.392. For the Tribunal's full discussion of pre-treaty transactions see chapter three, pp.53-108.

Key officials in the Colonial Office in London, under the influence of humanitarian ideals, also expressed concern about the impact of colonisation schemes on Maori. Yet, as part of broader British imperial policy to limit military and financial costs, the British government supported trade with New Zealand but not its settlement. However the departure of the New Zealand Company ships provided impetus for the British government to instruct Hobson, now consul to New Zealand, to secure the whole of New Zealand if he deemed appropriate. This was to be achieved preferably by a Treaty that ceded sovereignty to the British Crown. Whangaroa Maori would now be expected to relinquish the independence that they had so jealously guarded, and sign a treaty of cession of sovereignty.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The general events related to the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi are well documented.[68] They are therefore only briefly summarised here: In early February 1840 some 500 northern Maori gathered at Waitangi to discuss and debate a new document – Hobson's proposed Treaty of Waitangi – which to the British mind provided for a Treaty of cession to Britain while guaranteeing to Maori the undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties, and the rights and privileges of British subjects. The Treaty was hastily prepared, with the assistance of, among others, Busby. The missionary Henry Williams and his son Edward translated the English draft into Maori overnight on 4 February. After merely a day and a night of debate, the Treaty was signed on 6 February. WPH members raise the noteworthy point that it was Pakeha who furnished the Maori version of the Treaty, even though literate and fluent Maori scholars would have been available for the task (at least to Busby and the missionaries, if not Hobson).

The conflict between the two versions of te Tiriti is also well documented.[69] Significant among the several differences is the translation of 'sovereignty' in article one of the English version as kawanatanga or 'governance' in the Maori version. Kawanatanga did not sufficiently explain the concept of ceding absolute sovereignty, the latter being arguably more akin to that which was reserved to Maori in article two, that is, tino rangatiratanga or utmost chieftainship (over their whenua, kainga and taonga katoa). For the rangatira, whose literary world circled around Maori translations of the Bible, kawana (governor) was

[68] W. Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi New Zealand, February 5 and 6, 1840*, Wellington, 1890; T. Lindsay Buick, *Waitangi Ninety Four Years After*, New Plymouth, 1934; T. Lindsay Buick *The Treaty of Waitangi, or How New Zealand Became a British Colony*, Auckland, 1936; J. Rutherford, *The Treaty of Waitangi and the Acquisition of British Sovereignty in New Zealand, 1840*, AUC Bulletin No. 36, History Series¸ Auckland, 1949. Claudia Orange, 1987; F. M. Brookfield, *Waitangi and Indigenous Rights: Revolutions, Law and Legitimation*, Auckland, 1999; Paul Moon, *The Path to the Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland, 2002; Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', 2008.
[69] For example R. M. Ross, 'Te Tiriti O Waitangi: Texts and Translations', *NZJH*, 6, 2, 1972, pp.129-57; and Bruce Biggs, 'Humpty-Dumpty and the Treaty of Waitangi', in Kawharu, I. H., ed., *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi,* Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1989, pp.300-312.

associated with the Roman governor Pontius Pilot. Pontius Pilot was not the sovereign. Further, the phrase tino rangatiratanga was used to translate the word 'sovereignty' in the Wakaputanga.

Whangaroa and other rangatira would have relied on their understandings of the Maori text particularly as conveyed to them by the missionaries in whom they so trusted.[70] Although many Whangaroa and northern Maori could read Maori by 1840, as with the Wakaputanga deliberations, the oral debate was still the preferred means of exchange. William Colenso recorded several statements made by rangatira at the time, including those who WPH notes as affiliating with the Whangaroa rohe.[71] Nonetheless the speeches – some supportive, others in opposition – highlight Maori concerns about land transactions, the relative mana of the proposed Governor and the existing chiefs, and the unfavourable behaviour of Pakeha settlers to date. They provide an important insight into the thinking of 'Whangaroa Maori' at the time about what the Treaty of Waitangi did and did not represent.

Te Kemara of Ngati Kawa was concerned about protecting his own authority as a rangatira and seeking the return of his ancestral lands from the missionaries:

> I am not pleased towards you. I do not wish for you. I will not consent to your remaining here… No, no, no, I shall never agree to your staying. Were all to be on an equality, then perhaps Kamera [sic.] would say yes, but for the governor to be up and Kamera [sic] down, Governor high, up, up, up, and Kamera [sic] down, low, small, a worm, a crawler! No, no, no! My land is gone, gone, all gone, the inheritances of my ancestors, fathers, relatives, all gone, stolen, gone, with the missionaries. Yes they have it, all, all, all …[72]

Kawiti, concerned with the maintenance of Maori freedom and independence, is reported as telling the Governor, 'No, go back! We are free and do not want to be tied up'.[73] Wharerahi, on the other hand, welcomed peace and stability that the Governor supposedly offered: 'Yes, stay, what else? Is it not good to be at peace? We will have this Governor. What turn him away? No, no.'[74]

Tareha was also concerned about the impact of any new authority on his own chiefly status: '…no governor for me, we are chiefs! We won't be ruled. What, you up, and I down, you high, and I Tareha, the great chief, low?'[75] Tareha did not sign the Treaty but his son Mene may

[70] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.23.
[71] Colenso, 1890.
[72] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.105.
[73] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.107.
[74] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.108.
[75] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.108.

have signed on his behalf. Someone wrote next to Mene's name: 'te tamaiti o Tareha, mo tona matua' [the son of Tareha, for his father].

Tamati Waka Nene, Patuone and Hone Heke all signed the Wakaputanga, and were in support of the Treaty. According to Kawharu, Heke's support was given on the basis that the Treaty would enable his authority to be maintained, if not further enhanced.[76] Heke was concerned about unwelcome foreign interest in New Zealand, particularly from the French, and unscrupulous and lawless Europeans. He stated:

> To raise up or to bring down? To raise up or to bring down? Which? Which? Sit Governor. If you return we are gone, ruined, what shall we do? Who are we? We don't know. Remain, a father for us. This is a good thing. Even as the word of God. You go, no, no, then the French, or the rum sellers, will have us. Remain, remain. But we are children; it's not for us, but for you, Fathers, Missionaries, for you to say, to choose, we are children. We don't know do you choose for us, you our Fathers, Missionaries.[77]

Nene's support illustrated the view that Europeans were here to stay, questioning what Maori would do if the Governor went back:

> Is not the land gone? Is it not covered all covered with men, with strangers, over whom we have no power, we are down, they are up: what! Do you say? The Governor to go back! I am sick with you! Had you said so in old time, when the traders, and grog-sellers came, had you turned them back, then you could say to the Governor go back, and it would have been correct. And I would also have said go back, but now? No, no, o Governor. Sit, I say sit, don't you go away, remain, for us, a father, a judge, a peacemaker, Yes, it is good, straight, remain, don't go away. Heed not what Nga Puhi say, you stay, our friend and father o Governor.[78]

According to Kawharu, Nene emphasised that Maori would benefit from the prosperity that would follow British settlement, and that a Governor would suppress warfare and cannibalism. She notes that Nene drew back to the 1831 petition and 1835 Declaration in being pro-British, anti-French and concerned that the Governor ensure Maori never be enslaved, that their lands and customs be protected and that he be a father to them.[79] Patuone also expressed disquiet about the French: 'What shall I say? This to thee, o Governor, sit, stay, you and the Missionaries, and the Word of God, remain, that the French have us not, that Pikopo [Pompallier, 'Church of Rome'], that bad man, have us not. Remain, Governor, sit, stay.'[80]

[76] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p. 109.
[77] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.109.
[78] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p.111.
[79] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p. 111.
[80] Colenso Papers, MS 1611, ATL, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p. 111.

The Treaty, in general, has been widely researched. However, this part of the report has suffered from a lack of detail about the specific Whangaroa rangatira who signed the Treaty, and Te Uira Associates has been reliant on the Papa Hapu to shed light on the fragments of information gathered. To that end, Whangaroa Papa Hapu has identified the signatories in the following table as being affiliated with Whangaroa in some way. It is hoped that even after this research project is closed that the Papa Hapu will continue to add and amend the specific (and elusive) details as to the affiliations of those Whangaroa rangatira who spoke at the Tiriti signing, who actually signed, and who participated in some other way.

Table 1: Te Tiriti o Waitangi Signatories with Affiliations to Whangaroa[81]

Signed As	Probable Name	Iwi	Hapu
Signed on 6 February 1840, at Waitangi			
Hone Heke	Hone [Wiremu] Heke [Pokai]	Nga Puhi	Te Matarahurahu, Ngati Rahiri, Ngai Tawake, Ngati Tautahi
Marupo	Marupo	Nga Puhi	Te Whanau Rara, Te Whanau Rongo, Matarahurahu, Ngati Rahiri, Ngati Pou
Tamati Waka Nene	Tamati Waka Nene	Nga Puhi	Ngati Hao (Ngati Miru), Ngati Pou, Te Roroa
Te Kemara	Te Kemara [Kaitieke]	Nga Puhi	Ngati Kawa, Ngare Hauata
Patuone	[Eruera Maihi] Patuone	Nga Puhi Te Roroa	Ngati Hao, Ngati Pou
Signed on 12 February 1840, at Hokianga			
Marupo	Marupo	Nga Puhi	Ngati Hau
Te Naihi	Te Naihi/Te Maihi? [Rotohiko? Te]	Nga Puhi	Ngati Uru? Te Popoto
Arama Hongi	Arama Hongi	Nga Puhi	Ngati Uru
Heremaia?[82]	Heremaia Te Kuri?	Nga Puhi?	Ngati Tu?
Maunga Rongo	Maunga Rongo	Nga Puhi?	Ngati Uru?
Signed on 17 February 1840, probably at Paihia or Waitangi			
Pomare	Pomare	Pomare	Ngati Manu
Signed on 13 (?) May 1840, at the Bay of Islands			
Kawiti	Kawiti	Nga Puhi	Ngati Hine
Signed on 5 August 1840, at Russell			
Kanawa	Te Kanawa	Nga Puhi?	Te Urikapana, Ngati Hauata

Whangaroa claimants also regard Hemi Tupe, Hare Hongi Hika and Paora Ururoa as party to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. No documentary evidence has come to light to confirm that these significant Whangaroa rangatira actually signed. However, they were at Waitangi as members of the whakaminenga, and several reasons can be offered as to why they may not have signed. One view is that they had no need to sign; they were rangatira after all, and

[81] Compiled from: a list prepared by Te Runanga o Whaingaroa, 2009; various feedback from WPH; and Miria Simpson, *Nga Tohu o te Tiriti: making a mark,* National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, 1990.
[82] Erimana Taniora has noted that: 'Several claimant sources assert that Heremaia te Ara signed the Treaty, and though there is a signature that looks like Heremaia, no documentary evidence has come to light to confirm that this is the signature of Heremaia te Ara (Erimana Taniora, unpublished paper concerning the origins of Ngati Uru, c.2005).

Queen Victoria did not sign even though she was a party to the Treaty. Instead, she sent her representative, Hobson, to sign. Tupe, Hika and Ururoa may well have felt similarly.[83] In addition, at one point there had been talk of having a signing at Whangaroa – not inconceivable given the signings at other northern locations such as Kaitaia and Mangungu. Oral sources within the Papa Hapu have confirmed that a Whangaroa signing was discussed at the time, but Ururoa persuaded Whangaroa to move the signing to Waitangi, or at least attend the signing there. Arguably, the Whangaroa chiefs could have looked forward to a Whangaroa signing. Whatever the explanations, the tangata whenua of Whangaroa regard themselves as party to Te Tiriti and regard Tupe, Hika and Ururoa as chiefs of that time. They and their predecessors had a history of engaging with Pakeha traders, settlers, missionaries and Crown officials, and from a significant power base – a position that Te Tiriti was supposed to support.

Furthermore, Whangaroa Maori aired their concerns about the implications of the Treaty soon after it was signed. Some were concerned the government was going to take possession of their lands, which prompted some in Whangaroa to plant lands already 'sold' as a way of demonstrating their on-going interests in the land.[84] According to the Reverend Shepherd, who himself acquired extensive lands within Whangaroa, local Maori were worried for a time that the Governor would make slaves of them to work on the roads, and wanted him to return to England.[85] In 1842 during a tour of the north which included some Whangaroa settlements, George Clarke the Aboriginal Protector, acknowledged these concerns by reiterating the guarantees of the Treaty in the Governor's newspaper: 'E hoa ma, kua wareware pea koutou ki te pukapuka i tuhituhia ki Waitangi, i roto i taua pukapuka ka waiho nga kauri katoa, nga awa, nga aha katoa, ma te tangata Maori hei aha noa atu ki a ia.'[86] [Friends, perhaps you have forgotten that document written at Waitangi. In that document all the kauri, the rivers, everything is left for the Maori to do with as they wish].

Besides the oral evidence, there is also documentary evidence that Whangaroa Maori strongly associated with the Treaty and looked to it to support their claims, in particular for rangatiratanga. For example, Kingi (Hori) Kira – of Ngaitupango – Hemi Tupe and Hare Hongi Hika were among those in 1893 who argued for the right 'kia whai mana ai ratou ki te whakahaere i o ratou whenua me o ratou mea katoa e pa mai ana kia ratou.'[87] [So that they

[83] Nuki Aldridge, WPH wananga, Mangaiti Marae, 3 October 2009.
[84] J. Shepherd to Lay Secretary, 5 August 1844, Reel 79-320, CMS, London Records, p.37, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p. 177.
[85] J. Shepherd to Lay Secretary, 5 August 1844, in Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p. 177.
[86] *Ko Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, 1 July 1842, Vol. 1, p.28.
[87] *Huia Tangata Kotahi*, 1, 23, 11 November 1893, p.7. Note that Kingi Hori Kira is written as 'Kingi Harikira' in the original document, which has been amended to Kingi Hori Kira after discussion with WPH members.

have the authority to administer their own lands and all their things that they have an interest in]. They based their claim, in part, on the Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti:

> … i raro ano i te mana o te pukapuka e huaina ana ko te whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nui Tireni o te 28th o nga ra o Oketopa 1835, me te Tiriti o Waitangi o te 6 onga ra o Pepuere 1840, me te mana hoki kua homai i raro i te tekihana 71, o te ture i whakaputaina nei e te Paremata o Ingarangi, i te 30th o nga ra o Hune 1852, i huaina hei ture hei tuku atu i te mana whakahaere ki nga Maori o Nui Tireni… [88] [Under the authority of the document known as the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand, 28 October 1835, the Treaty of Waitangi, 6 February 1840, and also under the authority of section 71 of the law enacted by the English Parliament, 30 June 1852, which was a law which gave to Maori of the New Zealand self-administration].

Whangaroa Maori were also associated with a proposal in the 1870s to erect a house at Waitangi, to be called *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, where the laws that suppressed Maori could be discussed.[89] The house was proposed at a meeting at Pupuke in 1878 and reportedly attended by all the chiefs of Ngapuhi. Much later, Paora Hoori explained that Hemi Tupe and Te Pona had been instrumental in erecting a whare hui, *Hihiotewai*, located within the Te Touwai block:

> Ko te take o tenei whare i hanga ai hei mihi i nga mahi o Te Tiriti o Waitangi. [The reason for this house was to acknowledge the work of the Treaty of Waitangi].[90]

Paora Hoori noted that by 1902 the house was in ruins. Hemi Tupe claimed he was solely responsible for erecting the house; Te Pona merely assisted in organising the timber.[91]

Hihiotewai was not the only whare to carry Te Tiriti as its kaupapa. In 1880, Hare Hongi fundraised for several months in order to erect a building at Waitangi that would commemorate the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. When it was finished it was to be given the name 'Treaty of Waitangi'. Hare Hongi gathered over £700 and issued and accepted tenders for the work on the house, which was predicted to be completed by March 1881, at which point a large gathering of people from all over the country was expected. According to the Resident Magistrate E. M. Williams, the chief Mangonui had suggested naming a large house 'Treaty of Waitangi' as early as 1875. Mangonui made the proposition during a celebration at Waitangi for the marriage of Ihaka Te Tai's son (from Rawhiti) to Hira Te Awa's (of Kaikohe) niece. Nearly 600 people attended the event which took place in a large building (seventy feet long and twenty feet wide) erected especially for the occasion. Celebrations lasted several days, and near their end a discussion took place concerning the

[88] *Huia Tangata Kotahi*, 1, 23, 11 November 1893, p. 7.
[89] *Te Wananga*, 5, 29, 20 July 1878, p. 366.
[90] Ririwha and Te Touwai PBCMB, No. 33, p.58.
[91] Ririwha and Te Touwai PBCMB, No. 33, p.62.

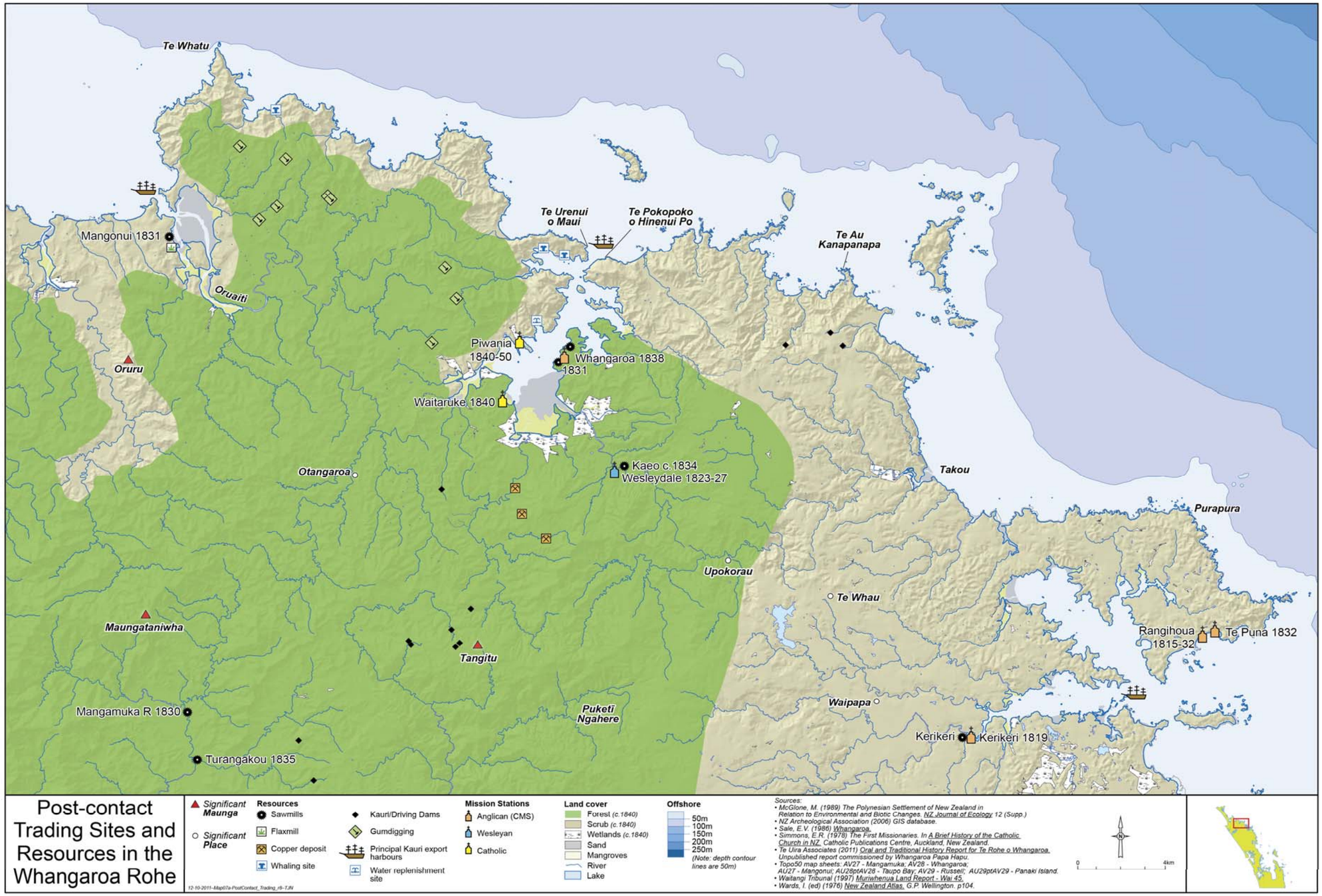
Treaty of Waitangi as well as other local concerns, in which the chiefs Mangonui and Hare Hongi participated.[92]

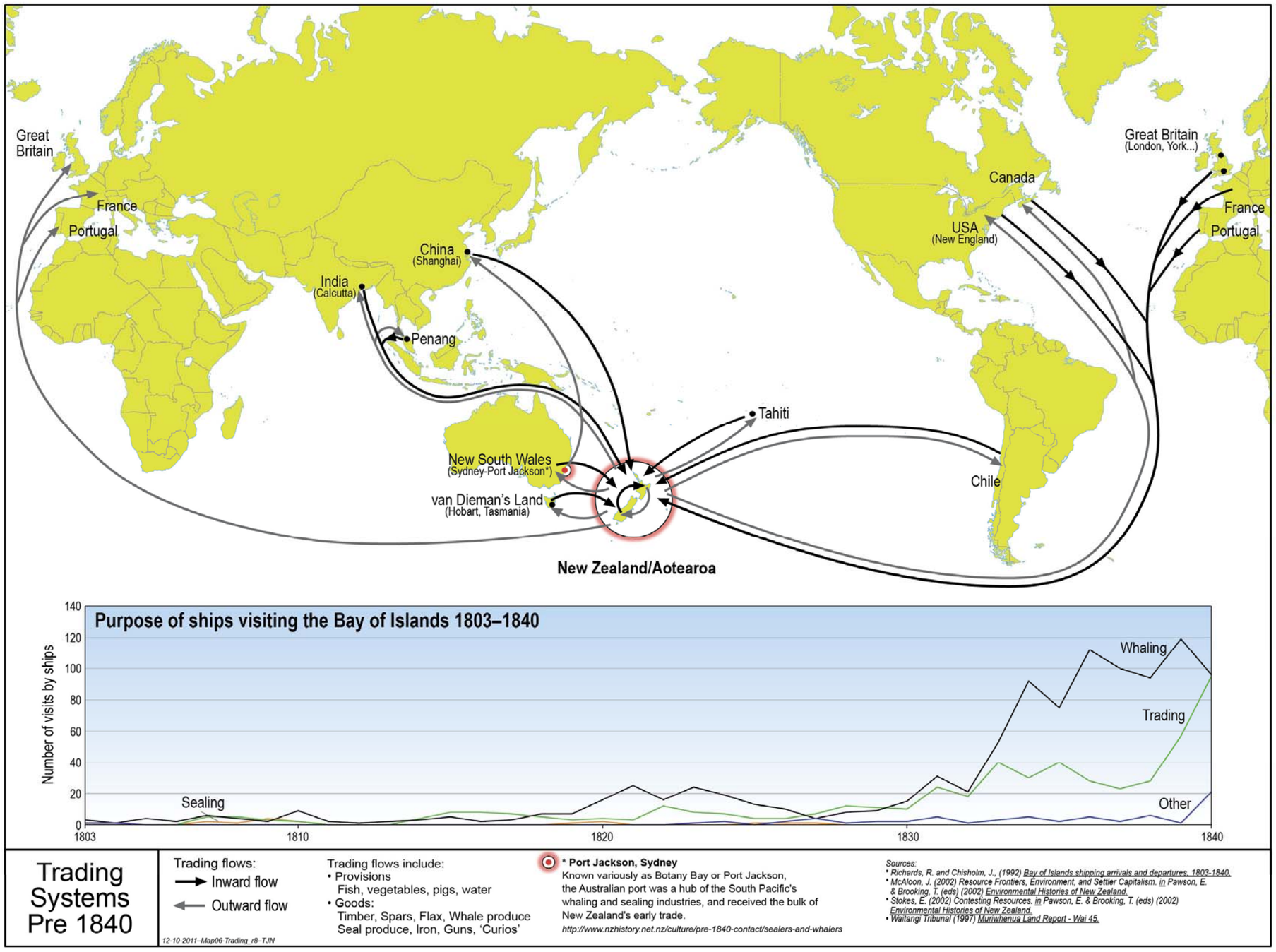
Maori discussions about Te Tiriti o Waitangi continued into the 1880s. In 1882 Paora Ururoa, Hare Hongi and Taniora Arapata requested that their cases for Pupuke and Kaingapipiwai 2 – which the NLC was about to hear – be taken before 'the Committee of the Treaty of Waitangi' instead.[93] It is unclear from the records how this request panned out and exactly the details of the committee to which the men referred. Then in 1884 the Treaty of Waitangi again became the subject for a large meeting that was held at the Bay of Islands.[94] The Resident Magistrate H. W. Bishop reported that in connection to the Treaty of Waitangi, a committee had been appointed 'by general consent', which apparently had large judicial powers. Its members had travelled the north adjudicating all manner of cases (although he described none of them). This committee was entirely confined to Ngapuhi.[95] Maori from Mangonui and other districts attended the Bay of Islands meeting, and although many issues were discussed, no detail was given as to what those were, or if the meeting was in the commemorative house built just a few years previously. Nonetheless the construction of the Treaty of Waitangi house(s) and the well attended meetings indicate that in the 1880s the Treaty of Waitangi remained as an issue of concern for Taitokerau Maori.

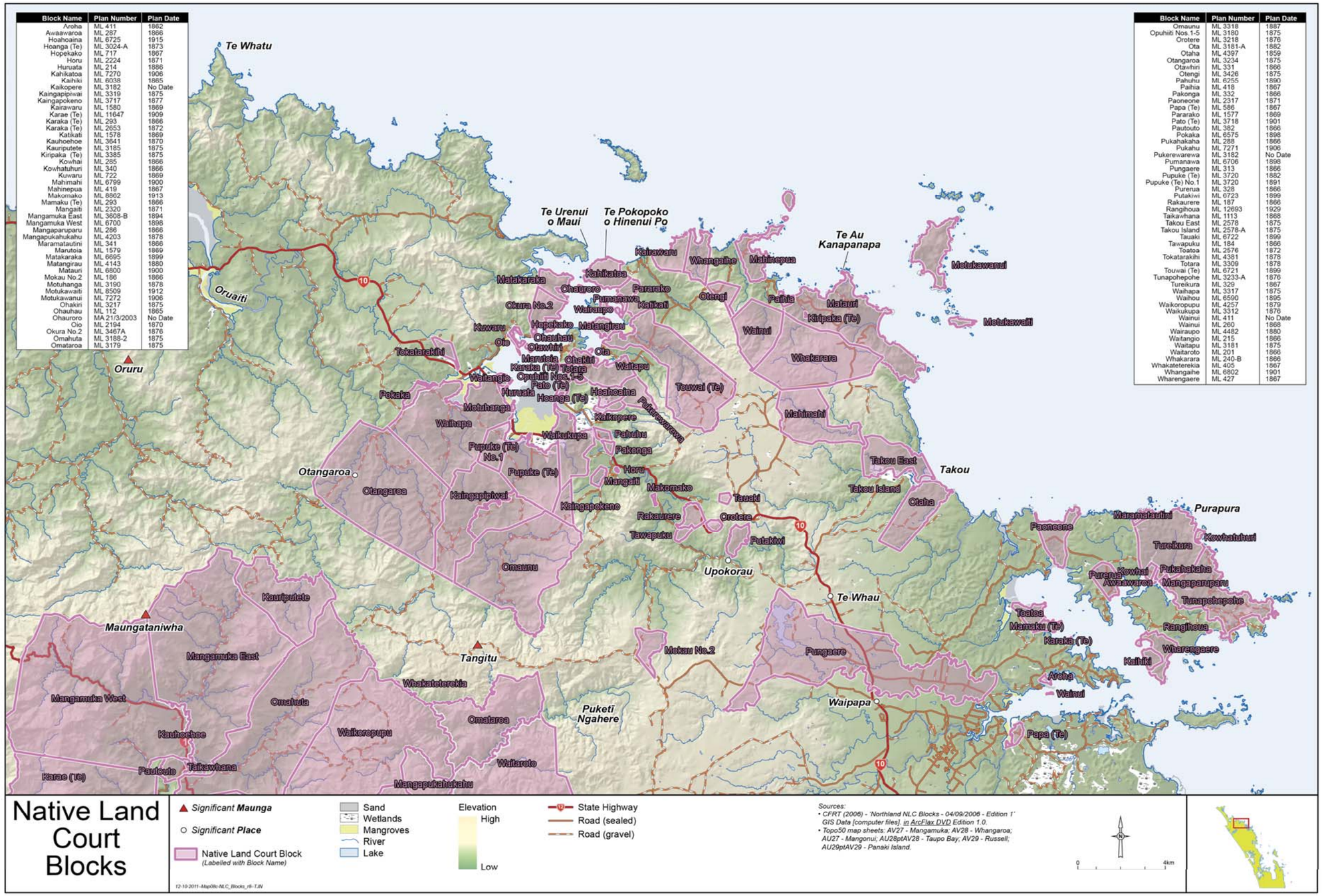
While the Treaty faded from Pakeha settler memory soon after it was signed, and lost its potency in Maori-Pakeha relations, it continued to exemplify and embody the rangatiratanga of Whangaroa and other Maori.[96] Whangaroa and other Taitokerau Maori, who continue to be influenced by their long and complex histories, were arguably at the forefront of engagement with Pakeha. Those histories and engagements provided the impetus for rangatira to seek new arrangements and alliances to protect the rangatiratanga and land holdings of hapu, to secure peace and order and to advance opportunities for economic development. He Wakaputanga Rangatiratanga in 1835 was a manifestation of those goals. Some rangatira supported the Treaty of Waitangi; others expressed opposition primarily due to concern for the loss of mana and chiefly authority. That concern was to be well founded as the expectations of Whangaroa and other tupuna, hopeful of a beneficial political and economic relationship, quickly diminished. All of the Whangaroa people involved were

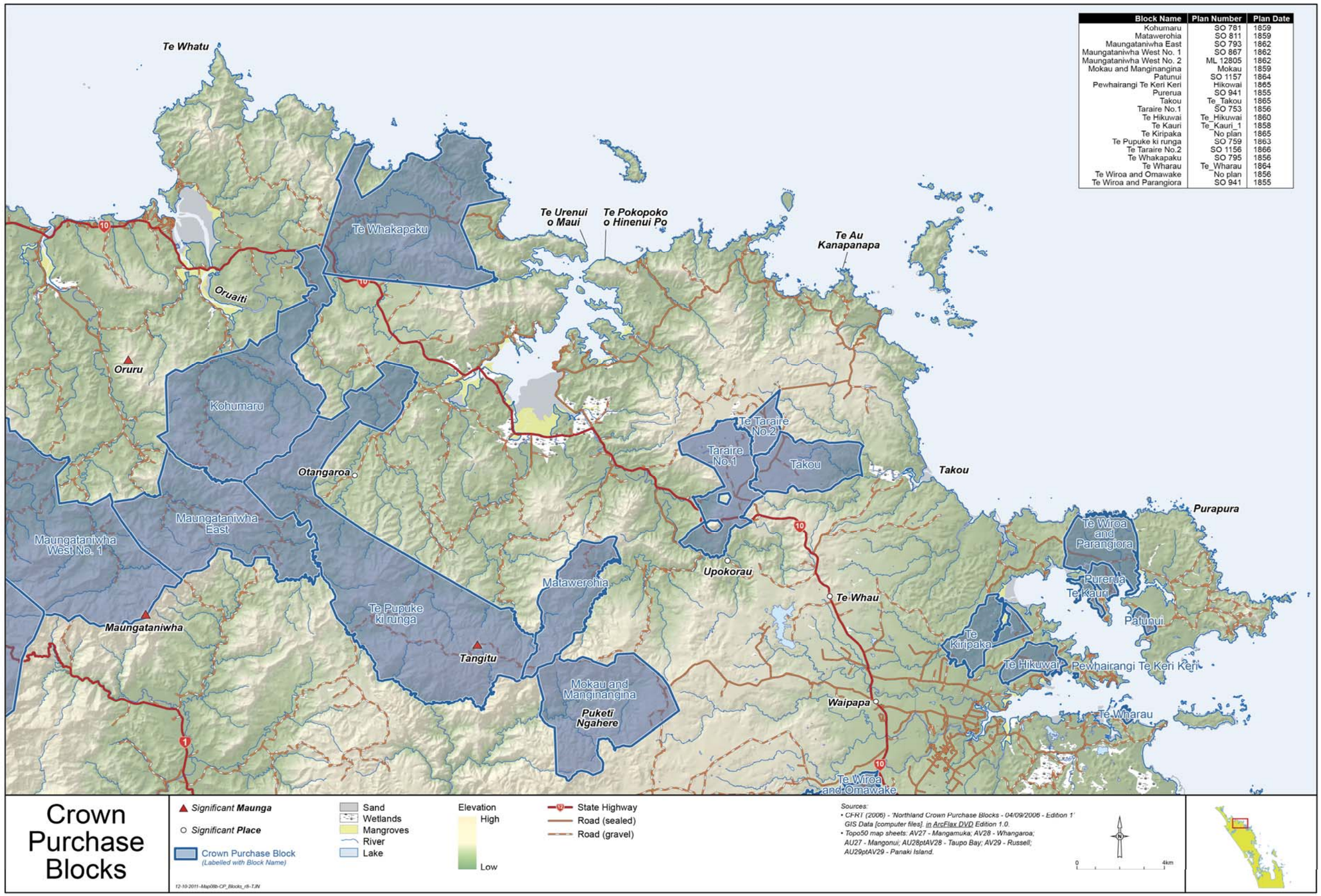
[92] Resident Magistrate (RM) E. M. Williams to the Under Secretary Native Department (ND), Reports From Officers in Native Districts 1880, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) 1880 G-4, p.3, Papa Hapu Library and Archive, Document Bank No. 121. (Hereafter the abbreviation 'Doc Bank' followed by a number will indentify any sources contained in the compiled set of AJHRs that the WPH holds.
[93] NMB 6, pp.39-42.
[94] AJHR 1884 G-4, pp.2- 3.
[95] AJHR 1884 G-4, pp.2-3.
[96] Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', p. 347.

intelligent strategists seeking to assert their own rangatiratanga, while also learning about and coming to understand the Britain with which they had become entangled. Despite the contention and tension – back then and in the present – both the Wakaputanga Rangatiratanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi remain the key instruments by which Whangaroa Papa Hapu invoke matters of rangatiratanga.

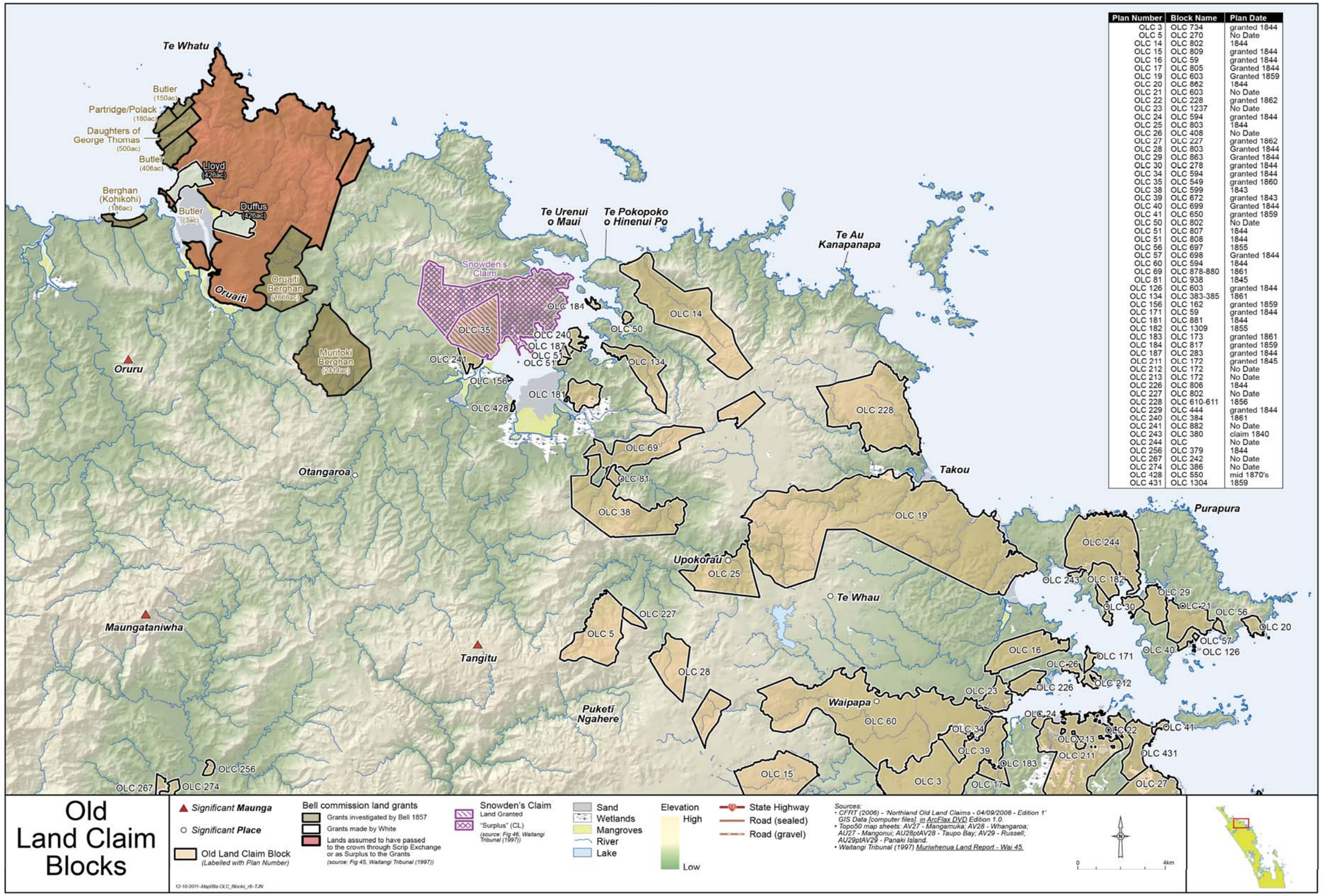

Te Whatu
Mangonui 1831
Oruaiti
Oruru
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Au Kanapanapa
Piwania 1840-50
Whangaroa 1838
1831
Waitaruke 1840
Kaeo c.1834
Wesleydale 1823-27
Otangaroa
Takou
Purapura
Upokorau
Te Whau
Rangihoua 1815-32
Te Puna 1832
Maungataniwha
Tangitu
Waipapa
Kerikeri
Kerikeri 1819
Mangamuka R 1830
Turangakou 1835
Puketi Ngahere
Post-contact Trading Sites and Resources in the Whangaroa Rohe
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Resources
Sawmills
Flaxmill
Copper deposit
Whaling site
Kauri/Driving Dams
Gumdigging
Principal Kauri export harbours
Water replenishment site
Mission Stations
Anglican (CMS)
Wesleyan
Catholic
Land cover
Forest (c.1840)
Scrub (c.1840)
Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake
Offshore
50m
100m
150m
200m
250m
(Note: depth contour lines are 50m)
Sources:
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
• NZ Archeological Association (2006) GIS database.
• Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
• Simmons, E.R. (1978) The First Missionaries. In A Brief History of the Catholic Church in NZ. Catholic Publications Centre, Auckland, New Zealand.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU26ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
• Wards, I. (ed) (1976) New Zealand Atlas. G.P. Wellington. p104.
N
0
4km
12-10-2011-Map07a-PostContact_Trading_r9-TJN


Great Britain
France
Portugal
China (Shanghai)
India (Calcutta)
Penang
New South Wales (Sydney-Port Jackson*)
van Dieman's Land (Hobart, Tasmania)
Tahiti
Chile
Canada
USA (New England)
Great Britain (London, York...)
France
Portugal
New Zealand/Aotearoa
Purpose of ships visiting the Bay of Islands 1803–1840
Number of visits by ships
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
1803
1810
1820
1830
1840
Whaling
Trading
Other
Sealing
Trading Systems Pre 1840
Trading flows:
Inward flow
Outward flow
12-10-2011–Map06-Trading_rB–TJN
Trading flows include:
• Provisions
Fish, vegetables, pigs, water
• Goods:
Timber, Spars, Flax, Whale produce
Seal produce, Iron, Guns, 'Curios'
* Port Jackson, Sydney
Known variously as Botany Bay or Port Jackson, the Australian port was a hub of the South Pacific's whaling and sealing industries, and received the bulk of New Zealand's early trade.
http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/pre-1840-contact/sealers-and-whalers
Sources:
• Richards, R. and Chisholm, J., (1992) Bay of Islands shipping arrivals and departures. 1803-1840.
• McAloon, J. (2002) Resource Frontiers, Environment, and Settler Capitalism. in Pawson, E. & Brooking, T. (eds) (2002) Environmental Histories of New Zealand.
• Stokes, E. (2002) Contesting Resources. in Pawson, E. & Brooking, T. (eds) (2002) Environmental Histories of New Zealand.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.


Block Name | Plan Number | Plan Date
Aroha | ML 411 | 1862
Awaawaroa | ML 287 | 1866
Hoahoaina | ML 6725 | 1915
Hoanga (Te) | ML 3024-A | 1873
Hopekako | ML 717 | 1867
Horu | ML 2224 | 1871
Huruata | ML 214 | 1886
Kahikatoa | ML 7270 | 1906
Kaihiki | ML 6038 | 1865
Kaikopere | ML 3182 | No Date
Kaingapipiwai | ML 3319 | 1875
Kaingapokeno | ML 3717 | 1877
Kairawaru | ML 1580 | 1869
Karae (Te) | ML 11647 | 1909
Karaka (Te) | ML 293 | 1866
Karaka (Te) | ML 2653 | 1872
Katikati | ML 1578 | 1869
Kauhoehoe | ML 3641 | 1870
Kauriputete | ML 3185 | 1875
Kiripaka (Te) | ML 3385 | 1875
Kowhai | ML 285 | 1866
Kowhatuhuri | ML 340 | 1866
Kuwaru | ML 722 | 1869
Mahimahi | ML 6799 | 1900
Mahinepua | ML 419 | 1867
Makomako | ML 8862 | 1913
Mamaku (Te) | ML 293 | 1866
Mangaiti | ML 2320 | 1871
Mangamuka East | ML 3608-B | 1894
Mangamuka West | ML 6700 | 1898
Mangaparuparu | ML 286 | 1866
Mangapukahukahu | ML 4203 | 1878
Maramatautini | ML 341 | 1866
Marutoia | ML 1579 | 1869
Matakaraka | ML 6695 | 1899
Matangirau | ML 4143 | 1880
Matauri | ML 6800 | 1900
Mokau No.2 | ML 186 | 1866
Motuhanga | ML 3190 | 1878
Motukawaiti | ML 8509 | 1912
Motukawanui | ML 7272 | 1906
Ohakiri | ML 3217 | 1875
Ohauhau | ML 112 | 1865
Ohauroro | MA 21/3/2003 | No Date
Oio | ML 2194 | 1870
Okura No.2 | ML 3467A | 1876
Omahuta | ML 3188-2 | 1875
Omataroa | ML 3179 | 1875
Block Name | Plan Number | Plan Date
Omaunu | ML 3318 | 1887
Opuhiiti Nos.1-5 | ML 3180 | 1875
Orotere | ML 3218 | 1876
Ota | ML 3181-A | 1882
Otaha | ML 4397 | 1859
Otangaroa | ML 3234 | 1875
Otawhiri | ML 331 | 1866
Otengi | ML 3426 | 1875
Pahuhu | ML 6255 | 1890
Paihia | ML 418 | 1867
Pakonga | ML 332 | 1866
Paoneone | ML 2317 | 1871
Papa (Te) | ML 586 | 1867
Pararako | ML 1577 | 1869
Pato (Te) | ML 3718 | 1901
Pautouto | ML 382 | 1866
Pokaka | ML 6575 | 1898
Pukahakaha | ML 288 | 1866
Pukahu | ML 7271 | 1906
Pukerewarewa | ML 3182 | No Date
Pumanawa | ML 6706 | 1898
Pungaere | ML 313 | 1866
Pupuke (Te) | ML 3720 | 1882
Pupuke (Te) No.1 | ML 3720 | 1891
Purerua | ML 328 | 1866
Putakiwi | ML 6723 | 1899
Rakaurere | ML 187 | 1866
Rangihoua | ML 12693 | 1929
Taikawhana | ML 1113 | 1868
Takou East | ML 2578 | 1875
Takou Island | ML 2578-A | 1875
Tauaki | ML 6722 | 1899
Tawapuku | ML 184 | 1866
Toatoa | ML 2576 | 1872
Tokatarakihi | ML 4381 | 1878
Totara | ML 3309 | 1878
Touwai (Te) | ML 6721 | 1899
Tunapohepohe | ML 3233-A | 1876
Turekura | ML 329 | 1867
Waihapa | ML 3317 | 1875
Waihou | ML 6590 | 1895
Waikoropupu | ML 4257 | 1879
Waikukupa | ML 3312 | 1876
Wainui | ML 411 | No Date
Wainui | ML 260 | 1868
Wairaupo | ML 4482 | 1880
Waitangio | ML 215 | 1866
Waitapu | ML 3181 | 1875
Waitaroto | ML 201 | 1866
Whakarara | ML 240-B | 1866
Whakateterekia | ML 405 | 1867
Whangaihe | ML 6802 | 1901
Wharengaere | ML 427 | 1867
Te Whatu
Oruaiti
Oruru
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Te Au Kanapanapa
Motukawanui
Motukawaiti
Takou
Purapura
Otangaroa
Maungataniwha
Tangitu
Puketi Ngahere
Upokorau
Te Whau
Waipapa
Native Land Court Blocks
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Native Land Court Block
(Labelled with Block Name)
Sand
Wetlands
Mangroves
River
Lake
Elevation
High
Low
State Highway
Road (sealed)
Road (gravel)
Sources:
• CFRT (2006) - 'Northland NLC Blocks - 04/09/2006 - Edition 1' GIS Data [computer files]. in ArcFlax DVD Edition 1.0.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
0
4km
12-10-2011-Map08c-NLC_Blocks_r8-TJN



Block Name	Plan Number	Plan Date
Kohumaru	SO 781	1859
Matawerohia	SO 811	1859
Maungataniwha East	SO 793	1862
Maungataniwha West No. 1	SO 867	1862
Maungataniwha West No. 2	ML 12805	1862
Mokau and Manginangina	Mokau	1859
Patunui	SO 1157	1864
Pewhairangi Te Keri Keri	Hikowai	1865
Purerua	SO 941	1855
Takou	Te_Takou	1865
Taraire No.1	SO 753	1856
Te Hikuwai	Te_Hikuwai	1860
Te Kauri	Te_Kauri_1	1858
Te Kiripaka	No plan	1865
Te Pupuke ki runga	SO 759	1863
Te Taraire No.2	SO 1156	1866
Te Whakapaku	SO 795	1856
Te Wharau	Te_Wharau	1864
Te Wiroa and Omawake	No plan	1856
Te Wiroa and Parangiora	SO 941	1855



Plan Number	Block Name	Plan Date
OLC 3	OLC 734	granted 1844
OLC 5	OLC 270	No Date
OLC 14	OLC 802	1844
OLC 15	OLC 809	granted 1844
OLC 16	OLC 59	granted 1844
OLC 17	OLC 805	Granted 1844
OLC 19	OLC 603	Granted 1859
OLC 20	OLC 862	1844
OLC 21	OLC 603	No Date
OLC 22	OLC 228	granted 1862
OLC 23	OLC 1237	No Date
OLC 24	OLC 594	granted 1844
OLC 25	OLC 803	1844
OLC 26	OLC 408	No Date
OLC 27	OLC 227	granted 1862
OLC 28	OLC 803	Granted 1844
OLC 29	OLC 863	Granted 1844
OLC 30	OLC 278	granted 1844
OLC 34	OLC 594	granted 1844
OLC 35	OLC 549	granted 1860
OLC 38	OLC 599	1843
OLC 39	OLC 672	granted 1843
OLC 40	OLC 699	Granted 1844
OLC 41	OLC 650	granted 1859
OLC 50	OLC 802	No Date
OLC 51	OLC 807	1844
OLC 51	OLC 808	1844
OLC 56	OLC 697	1855
OLC 57	OLC 698	Granted 1844
OLC 60	OLC 594	1844
OLC 69	OLC 878-880	1861
OLC 81	OLC 938	1845
OLC 126	OLC 603	granted 1844
OLC 134	OLC 383-385	1861
OLC 156	OLC 162	granted 1859
OLC 171	OLC 59	granted 1844
OLC 181	OLC 881	1844
OLC 182	OLC 1309	1855
OLC 183	OLC 173	granted 1861
OLC 184	OLC 817	granted 1859
OLC 187	OLC 283	granted 1844
OLC 211	OLC 172	granted 1845
OLC 212	OLC 172	No Date
OLC 213	OLC 172	No Date
OLC 226	OLC 806	1844
OLC 227	OLC 802	No Date
OLC 228	OLC 610-611	1856
OLC 229	OLC 444	granted 1844
OLC 240	OLC 384	1861
OLC 241	OLC 882	No Date
OLC 243	OLC 380	claim 1840
OLC 244	OLC	No Date
OLC 256	OLC 379	1844
OLC 267	OLC 242	No Date
OLC 274	OLC 386	No Date
OLC 428	OLC 550	mid 1870's
OLC 431	OLC 1304	1859

CHAPTER FIVE

WHANGAROA AND THE NATIVE LAND COURT

In the decades following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Pakeha settler population grew exponentially. For Maori, one of the most significant challenges of that growth was the establishment of the machinery of state on the ground. Large and imposing, this burgeoning state could raise arms to enforce its rule, which it demonstrated with varying results in the north and other parts of the country during the 1840s, and again throughout the central North Island from the 1860s to the 1880s. This state could be violent, coercive, benevolent and patronising, and Maori had to live with it more and more as it increasingly permeated their lives, mediating Maori-Pakeha relations, regulating Maori activity, and setting the goals for any future Maori might have in the new New Zealand society. From the 1860s, the NLC was foremost among the state's official institutions, and this chapter is dedicated entirely to its work in the Whangaroa rohe. It shares the broad theme of Maori and the State with the next chapter, which takes as its focus official governmental reporting on Whangaroa's social and economic activities. It also builds on previous chapters by teasing out some of the ways that Whangaroa hapu lived with and related to each other and their specific lands. The chapter considers the lay of the land in terms of how the NLC investigated and determined title to individual blocks of land throughout the Whangaroa rohe. It provides an overview and some discussion of principal Whangaroa land blocks as gleaned from the Court's minutes. In doing so, the chapter shows the decisions the Court made in respect of individual blocks of land, providing a sense of which lands were awarded to which people or groups of people. Several of the cases outlined show certain tensions and debates that existed (both historically and contemporaneously) among those who claimed the land, and affirm some of the customary usages that occurred on the land.

In its operations the NLC – which Maori very quickly dubbed 'Te Kooti Tango Whenua' – gradually drew Maori and Maori land into the machinery of state. As noted elsewhere, the Court was 'part of an administration that has historically been detrimental' to patterns of Maori land tenure, nonetheless, the court's investigations of title can offer 'useful evidence about hapu settlement in specific locations'.[1] So, the Court's minutes are both useful and problematic. Like most minutes they are hardly likely to be verbatim, and much of the Court's proceedings would have been conducted in Maori although the minutes are in English. Furthermore, though the minutes may be combed for details of specific cases concerning specific blocks of land, those cases all occurred inside a broader frame – one concerned, in the first instance, with converting customary Maori land tenure to a system of

[1] Te Uira Associates, 'Te Rarawa Historical Overview', volume one, unpublished report commissioned by Te Runanga o Te Rarawa, August 2004, p.20.

title more recognisable to British law. Lawyers, academics and the process of Treaty of Waitangi claims have done much to understand and articulate the broader concerns and larger agenda at work during NLC hearings, and this chapter will not canvass those issues.[2]

In Whangaroa, the court had a direct on-the-ground presence, hearing its cases at Waipuna until about 1878, when it appears to have relocated to a court house at Whangaroa.[3] The Court also sat at Kaeo in some cases, and it is interesting to note that on at least two occasions (in 1875 and 1899) claimants expressed some frustration with having to travel to the Court, or at least the Court not being convened closer to their homes.[4] It is important, too, to note that the Maori land legislation and Crown purchasing policy that was in effect at any given time would have impacted the nature of the court's investigation. This situation gives rise to an uneven approach to title investigation where some blocks have thorough minutes, and others minimal. It also helps to explain the relative size of some blocks compared to others. For example, larger blocks seem to have been brought before the Court in the 1870s coincidental with the Crown's land purchasing activities of that period. Whereas in the 1860s, smaller blocks came before the Court, often simply to have earlier transactions with private individuals – including the Catholic mission – tidied up. The policies and legislation that played out in the background to the Court's operations can also be seen in the Court's application of the ten-owner rule, which is apparent in several of the cases, even as late as 1875, several years after the rule had supposedly been discontinued. It appears that in such cases claimants agrees who should be named on the titles before the cases were heard.

As already identified, several cases appear to support the former hold or authority of Hongi Hika and his allies (and their descendants), although not without contestation from some quarters. Many kaikorero emphasised Hongi's arrival in Whangaroa as they laid out their claims often treating Hongi's attack on Ngati Pou as a kind of year zero, giving definition to the periods before and after the fall of Ngati Pou in Whangaroa. Some kaikorero also seemed to legitimize their claims by demonstrating proximity of whakapapa to Hongi and those of their tupuna who assisted Hongi to defeat Ngati Pou. It is difficult to know the extent to which such evidence was staged to suit a NLC process that seemed to give weight to take

[2] For example, in the comprehensive set of technical reports the CFRT commissioned for the Northland Research Programme (Wai 1040).
[3] This has been deduced from the minutes. The court is recorded as shifting mid-hearing from Waipuna to Whangaroa on 5 May 1882, and hearings were held at Whangaroa from then on. NMB 6, p.40.
[4] In May 1875, claimants in the Otangaroa case asked for an adjournment to Whangaroa because they 'had already been put to expense attending courts at Mangonui'. (NMB 1, p.100). Then, on 1 November 1899, More Tukariri requested that the Court adjourn to Kaeo. He said 'Our kaingas are there. We have homes and paddocks there and there is a good hotel there. It is 10 miles from my kainga to this place'. However, another claimant countered saying 'We want our case heard here in Whangaroa. It is most convenient for us as we can come both by water and land and there are convenient houses here'. After some discussion, the Court decided to adjourn to Kaeo, noting that only one claimant wanted his case taken to Whangaroa. (NMB 18, pp.173-4).

raupatu or rights derived from conquest. Hongi would have lived in Whangaroa within living memory of many of the cases, and his lasting and compelling reputation could well have rendered him recognisable to the Court's judges. Though Hongi is a dominant force, evidence offered to the Court also discussed a range of tupuna, hapu groupings, alliances, antagonisms between groups and the customary ways that these tribes used the land. The land itself was a stage on which to live and fight, cultivate food, bury the deceased and even build churches.

The mix of evidence highlights two important points; one is the long shadow that Hongi casts across Whangaroa history, the other is the complex and multi-layered past of the hapu who now call Whangaroa home, particularly the waves of tribes and descent lines that settled throughout and moved in, out and around the area as a result of the shift in alliances and shifts between periods of tension and periods of peaceful co-existence. As is often the case strategic intermarriages both cemented and complicated the subsequent evolving web of relationships. These are useful points to make, but they are not the focus of this chapter, and are dealt with elsewhere in the report. Rather, this chapter aims to simply survey title to blocks of land investigated by the NLC, to give a sense of the layout and location of those blocks and the people and hapu who claimed them. Nor does this section do the critical job of examining the many, many alienations of Whangaroa lands that followed in the wake of the Court. Furthermore, it is important to remain mindful throughout that the NLC's determinations on Whangaroa lands were overlaid onto the rich, complex and contested histories of the people and the place, presented in previous chapters. One of the lasting effects of the Court's operations is that the titles it issued essentially froze Whangaroa Maori on the ground, disrupting and undermining not only the seasonal and tikanga-led hapu movements of the kind identified in chapters one and two, but also the fluidity in hapu relations with each other and their lands that would once have been the norm.

This chapter is organised chronologically, beginning with cases heard in the 1860s and moving through to the last case covered in the 1900s. The focus is on Native Land Court investigations of title, which are the cases that tend towards thorough examination of often competing evidence. Therefore minutes for partitions and successions have not been consulted, except on occasion when partitions were undertaken as a part of the title investigations. Three cases are dealt with in greater detail than the others – Otangaroa, Kaingapipiwai and Te Pupuke – partly because the detail is there to be dealt with (the cases were long and thorough) and also because they provide an opportunity to pause on some of the larger cases to consider significant tupuna and hapu, their migrations and their interactions with other tupuna and hapu. The coverage of blocks might be regarded as

comprehensive, but it is not complete. Minutes have not been located for some blocks – Horu, Te Karaka, Katikati, Marutoia, Oio and Pararako, for example, which were all investigated between 1870 and 1873; and Motukawaiti and Motukawanui which were investigated in 1909 and 1912 respectively. Whakarara and Makomako blocks, investigated in 1866 and 1914 respectively, were inadvertently left out due to the timeframe imposed on the research for this chapter, and minutes were not found for Huatau and Pateko blocks.[5] Given that some WPH members have referred to cases that the research team has not (and in at least one case could not) locate, there may well be other blocks inadvertently omitted. The chapter itself was compiled from photocopies of the handwritten Native Land Court minutes (supplemented by typescripts of some of those). Where relevant, Berghan's 'Northland Block Research Narratives' report is also referenced. Still, given the nature of the Court's records, there may be some gaps in the information, referencing may be inconsistent in parts, and some spelling mistakes or inconsistent spelling – especially of names of tupuna, whenua and hapu – may be apparent. To assist, square-bracketed question marks – [?] – are used to indicate words and spellings that have proved especially difficult to decipher. It is expected that local knowledge will assist with correcting any errors or areas of confusion. Indeed, understanding the complex relationships that shape the discussions and debates about land is another area which could benefit greatly from a closer tangata whenua analysis.

Investigations of Title in the 1860s

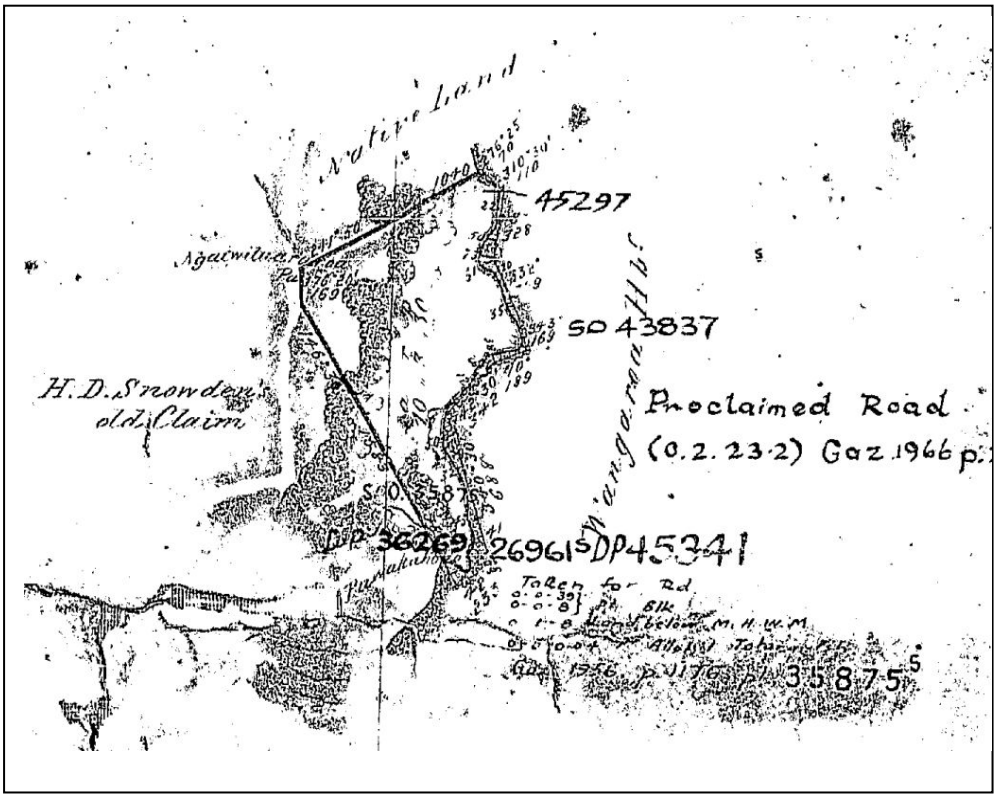
The earliest NLC minutes for Whangaroa lands date to 1866. The blocks heard during the 1860s were mostly small in comparison to the larger blocks brought before the Court in the 1870s. Many were less than 100 acres; the largest was the Wainui block of 1418 acres which the Court investigated in 1869. The minutes for the individual cases are straightforward and also relatively short. Some give the appearance of being the result of agreements made prior to the Court's judgement; others seem to tidy up earlier transactions.

Though it is not included here (mainly because it was inadvertently omitted from the research) a certificate of title also issued for the Whakarara block during the 1860s. The block contained 3,485 acres and title issued to four people. At some point five acres were conveyed to the Crown for a school site, and the balance of the block eventually passed into the ownership of a timber company, in circa 1939.[6]

[5] Nor did Berghan locate minutes for Pateko, and a NLC minute notes that Huatau was heard as an Old Land Claim under another name (NMB 11, p.170).
[6] Berghan, pp.253-5. The four people to whom the title issued are unnamed.

Ohauhau (10:3:30)[7]

The Court investigated title to Ohauhau block at Whangaroa on 10 January 1866. Wiremu Naihi claimed the block belonged to him, Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Ruinga Tapu, Honi Haki and Heremaia Te Ara.[8] Naihi's statement was supported by all the other men except for Heremaia Te Ara who was not there but whose 'absence made no difference'. There being no opposition, Judge W. B. White ordered that a certificate of title for Ohauhau issue to the six named men, including Heremaia.[9]



Map 15: Ohauhau
This survey plan shows Ohauhau, the site of the current Totara North jetty and adjacent buildings, and Snowden's Old Land Claim. The south-western boundary starts at Panakaho on the point, heads inland to Ngaiwituaroaroa Pa, before turning back towards the harbour on the northern boundary. *Source: CFRT Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML112), 2007.*

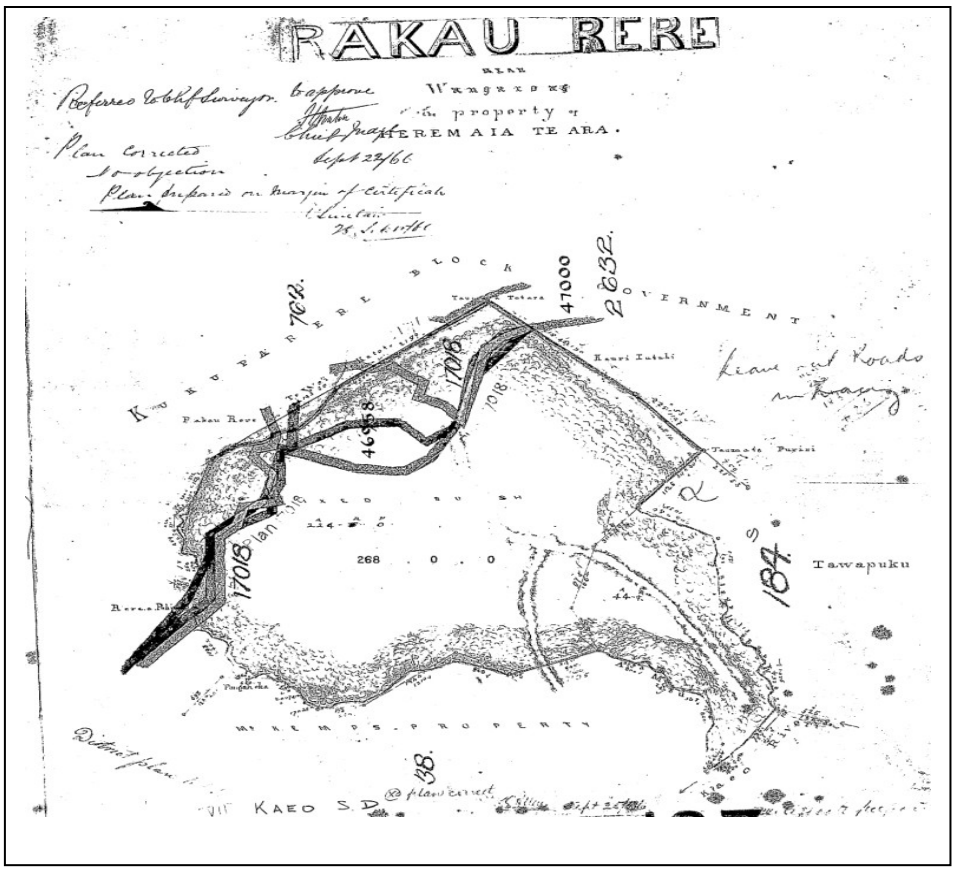
Okura (18:2:00 acres)

The NLC heard the case for Okura in January 1866.[10] Wiremu Naihi claimed the block, stating that it belonged to him, Paora Ururoa, Heremaia Te Ara, Hongi Hika, Ruinga Tapu, and Hoani Haki. He wanted a Crown grant to issue to them all: 'They are the principals. It has been agreed amongst them. No one will interfere'. The others all supported Wiremu Naihi's claim and the court issued a certificate of ownership accordingly. (Note the Court heard the case for a second Okura block, of 544 acres, ten years later in 1876. See below).

[7] The formatting used for area here denotes acres: roods: perches. (There are four roods in an acre; forty perches in a rood).
[8] Heremaia is spelled throughout the records as both Heremaia and Heremia. This report has favoured Heremaia.
[9] NMB 1, p.9.
[10] NMB 1, pp.9-10.

Te Rakaurere (270:3:00)

The Court heard the case for Te Rakaurere at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 1 May 1866, with Judge White presiding.[11] Richard Fairburn had surveyed the block under the Native Land Act 1866 for Heremaia Te Ara of Ngati Uru. Heremaia said Te Rakaurere belonged to him, and had 'always belonged to the tribe'. He had initially decided to sell a portion of the block, but at the court hearing said he would sell the whole. Pumipi Te Ruki[?], also of Ngati Uru, said he consented to Heremaia being awarded the Crown grant for the block, which the court issued accordingly.[12]

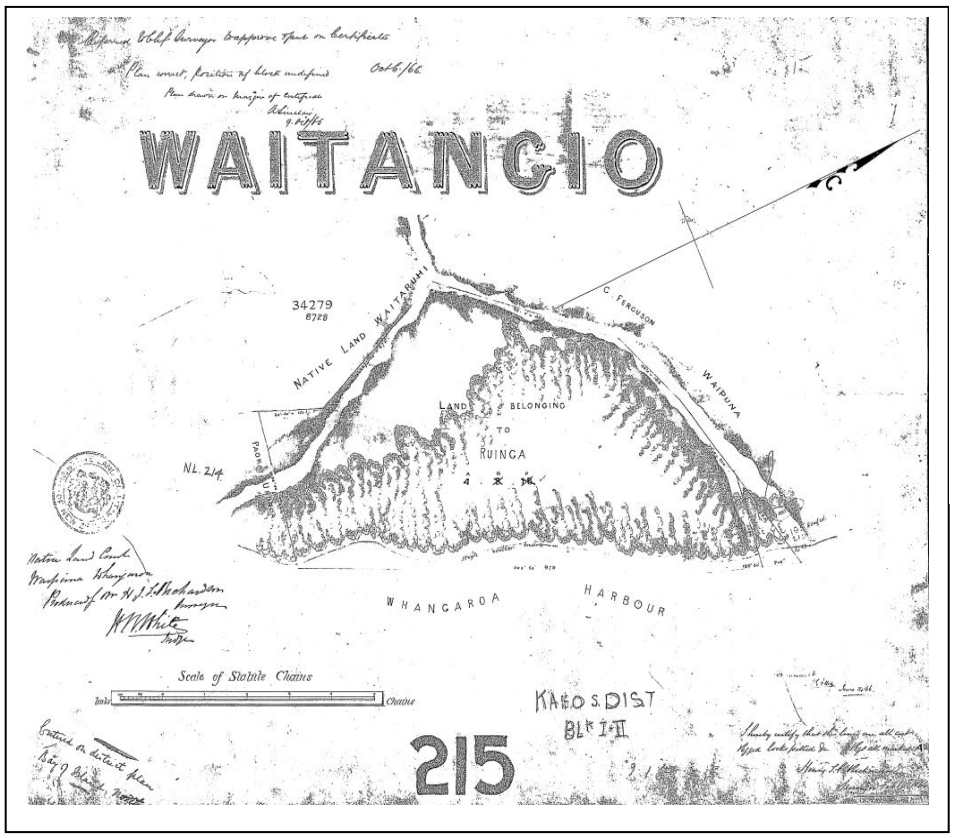


Map 16: Te Rakaurere
This survey of Rakaurere shows Te Wai o te Katoto as the boundary between Rakaurere and Kukuparere, to the northeast. Along the southern Tawapuku boundary, Taumata Totara, Kauri Iutahi[?] and Taumata Puriri are noted; it is unclear whether these indicate places or stands of trees.
Source: CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML187), 2007.

Waitangio (4 acres)

The Court inquired into the four-acre Waitangio block in 1866. The surveyor Henry J. H. Richardson also appeared in court and vouched for his survey. The land was claimed by Ruinga Tapu of Ngati Rangi through take tupuna. He said 'it is a small piece of land therefore the tribe do not object to my having a grant in my own name'. There was no opposition and the court awarded the land to Ruinga Tapu.[13]

[11]NMB 1, p.1.
[12] NMB 1, p.1.
[13] NMB 1, p.17. See also Berghan, p.141.



Map 17: Waitangio
Waitangio is known today as Fergusson's Point. Adjoining land owners shown on the plan include C. Ferguson to the north, and Paora Ururoa to the south-east.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML215), 2007.

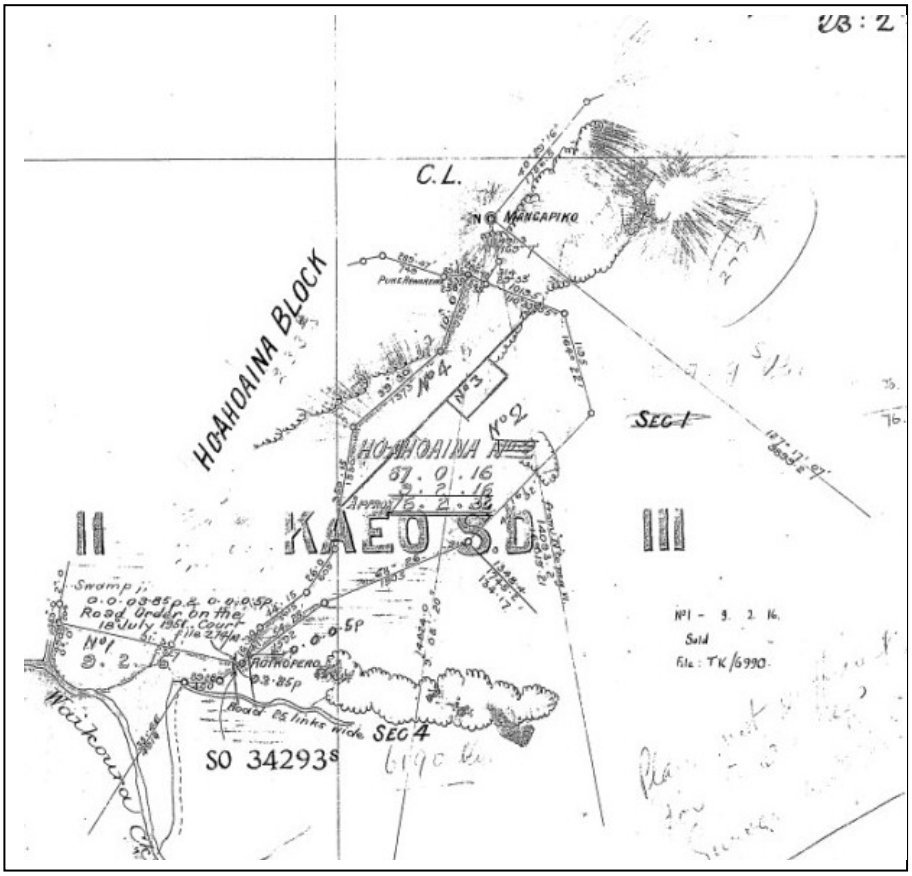
Huruata (10 acres)

The ten-acre Huruata block went before the NLC in 1866. The land was claimed by Paora Ururoa of Ngapuhi through take tupuna. The surveyor Richardson also appeared in court and vouched for his survey. According to Paora Ururoa there were some earlier land transactions between his father, Ururoa, and Dr John Stephenson. These transactions do not appear to have affected the outcome of the Courts' decision. There was no opposition and the Court awarded the block to Paora Ururoa.[14]

Hoahoaina (156 acres)

The 156-acre Hoahoaina block went before the Court in 1866. Stating that he represented his younger relations, Wiremu Naihi of Ngati Rua claimed this block through take tupuna. Richardson had a claim for £15 for survey expenses. He vouched for his survey which had yet to be completed. There was no opposition and the Court ruled that on completion of Richardson's plan the block would be awarded to Naihi.[15]

[14] NMB 1, p. 17. See also Berghan, p.12.
[15] NMB 1, pp.17-8. See also Berghan, pp.8-9.



Map 18: Hoahoaina
This survey shows Mangapiko and Pukerewarewa at the northern end of the block and Waikoura Creek in the south-west corner just below an area of swamp. Roikopero is a placename appearing to the east of the swamp and creek. This area is near Waikoura Domain.
Source: CFRT Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML6725), 2007.

Te Tawapuku (105 acres)

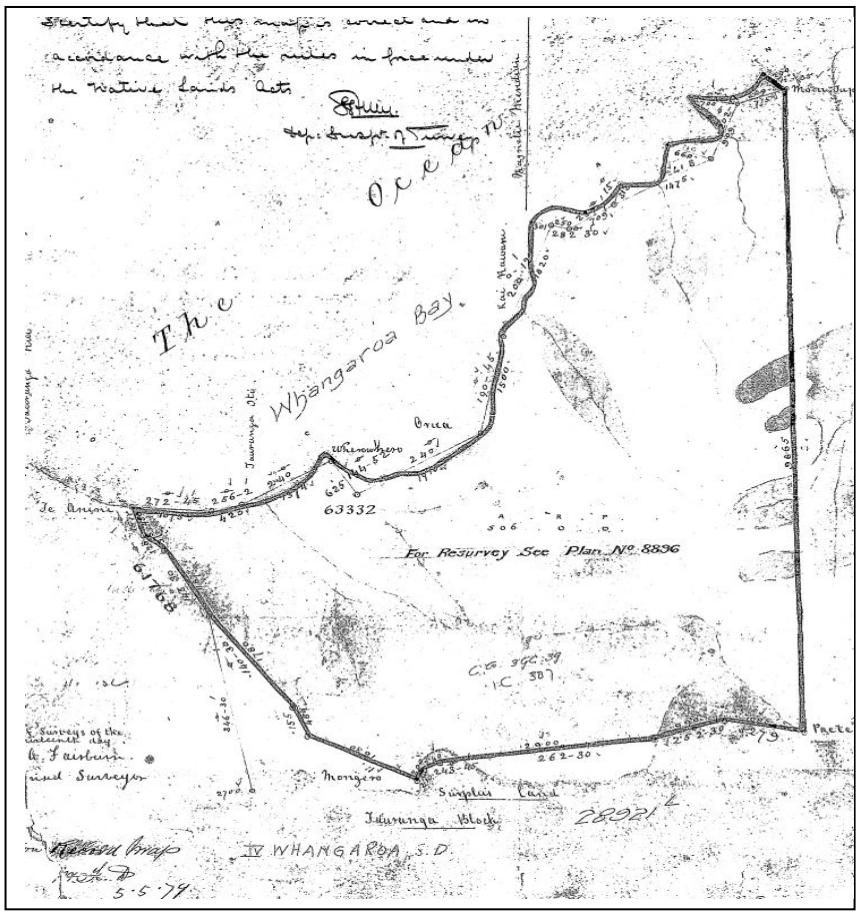
The Court heard the case for Te Tawapuku at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 1 May 1866, with Judge White presiding. Fairburn stated he had surveyed Te Tawapuku and had a claim of £16.10.0 for survey fees. Pumipi Te Ruki [?], of Ngati Uru, acknowledged Te Tawapuku adjoined Rakaurere, and said that 'on the division of the land this piece was made mine. No one is to share in it, I am alone.' He continued that 'all the people agreed to this division' and that Mr Fairburn indeed had a claim for £16.10.0. There being no opposition, the Court ordered a Crown grant issue to Pumipi.[16]

Kairawaru (450 acres)

The NLC began hearing the case for Kairawaru at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 1 May 1866 with Judge White presiding. However, White adjourned the case to the next day after Natanahira Pona advised the court that Mr. Shepherd had the plan of the land. When the hearing resumed on 2 May 1866, Natanahira Pona of Ngati Kawau claimed the land through take tupuna from the chief Tutehe who was Ngatitaiti [Ngatihaiti?]. Te Ana o te Whenua was Pona's grandfather; his daughter was Te Ra, Pona's mother. Hone Ripi and Eruera Puke

[16]NMB 1, p.11.

were Pona's brothers; Henare Ngataura and Hone Ropia were brothers of his mother. Hone Ropia of Ngatiaiti[?] and Henare Ngataura supported Pona's evidence.[17]



Map 19: Kairawaru
'The Ocean' is clearly marked in this plan showing Kairawaru at the end of the sweeping 'Whangaroa Bay'. Points noted along the coastline are Te Anini, Tauranga Iti, Wherowhero, Orua, Kai Rawaru and Motu Tupapaku. Mangero and Paetehe are the inland markers. *Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML1580), 2007*

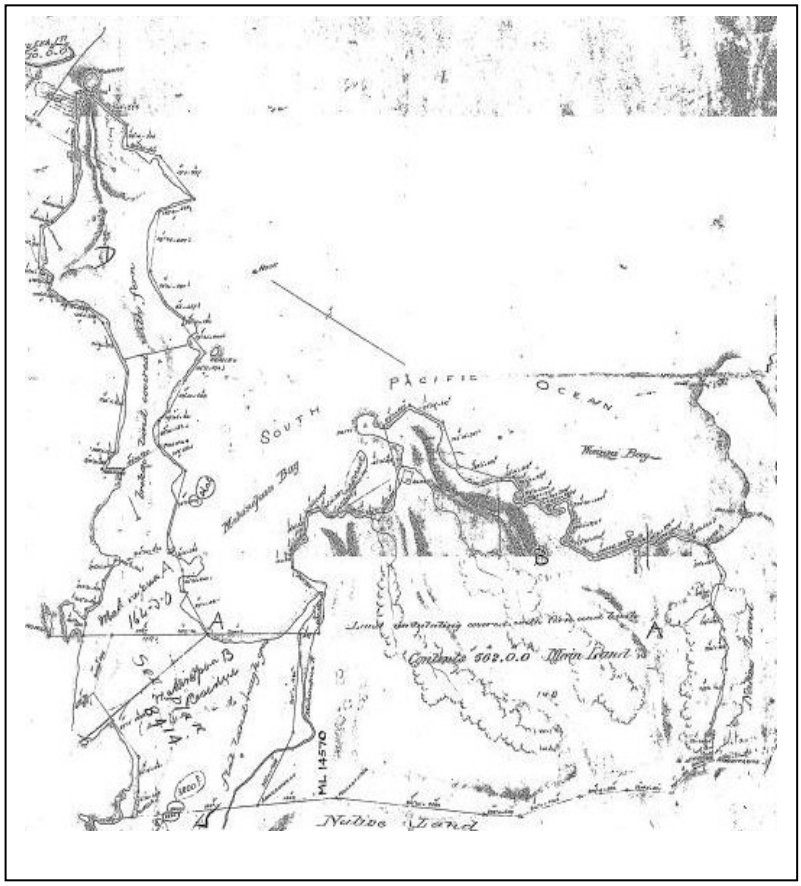
The Court said that the plan produced was not in accordance with the act and had to be returned to the surveyor (Fairburn) for alteration. On receipt of the correct plan, the grant for Kairawaru was to issue to Hone Ropia, Natanahira Pona, Hone Ripi, Henare Ngataura and Eruera Puke.[18] According to Berghan, a certificate of title was issued for the Kairawaru block of 506 acres in March 1870 to one (unnamed) owner.[19]

Mangahoutoa

After a couple of adjournments, the Court heard the case for Mangahoutoa on 14 December 1866, at which the surveyor Richardson produced a plan 'with the Kohumaru boundary corrected'.[20] With no opposition to the claimants, Judge White issued a grant to Pororua Wharekauri, Paora Ururoa and Hohepa Kira.[21]

[17] NMB 1, p.12.
[18] NMB 1, pp.12-13.
[19] Berghan, 2006, pp.43-4.
[20] NMB 1, pp.15, 19. The area of the block is not recorded, and future minutes in respect to Mangaohoutai or Mahangatoaohoutai regard this piece as being part of Kaingapipiwai. See for example, NMB 2, p.263.
[21] NMB 1, p.19.

Mahinepua, Motu-eka and Motueka-iti (642 acres)



Map 20: Mahinepua, Motueka and Motueka-iti
Mahinepua Bay is centrally marked below Mahinepua Peninsula, extending north into the Pacific Ocean. At the western foot is Pairoa, Hororoa a point above it, with Pahuru, the northern point. Homiru and Toanga are in the bay, with Paiti at a point between Mahinepua and Wainui Bays. Inland points are Arakauwhau, Whakatopea and Kokihitawha.
Source: CFRT, Northern Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML419), 2007.

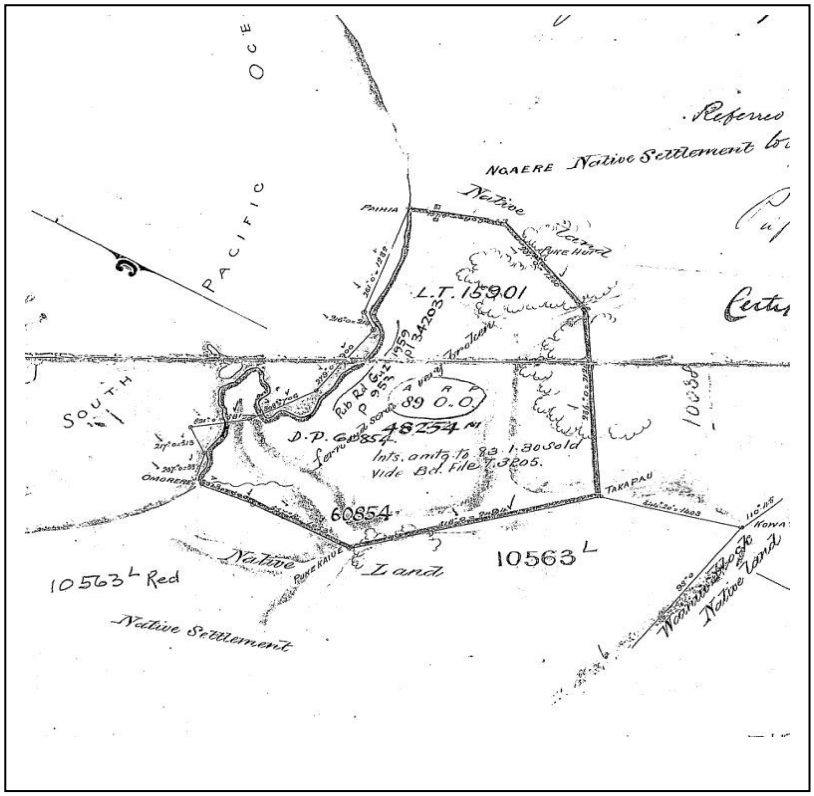
The NLC heard the case for Mahinepua, Motueka and Motueka-iti at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 7 March 1867, with Judge White presiding.[22] Thomas (Tame) Kamehoro of Ngati Rua claimed the land through take tupuna from his ancestor Te Whareraupo[?]. Kamehoro said he was born at Mahinepua, his mother was Te Wai Atua[?], of Ngaitupango, and that Kingi Hori Kira, Pihopa Repa, Tamati Waka Kaiwai, Kingi Hori Whiu and Riwhi Hongi were all related and shared rights to a grant with him.

Kingi Hori Kira agreed with these statements. Wharekauri and Kamehoro stated that there had been an earlier transaction with 'Cook', involving a payment of £4 and a gun, at the time of Pomare's war at the Bay of Islands. However Cook had returned to England and not 'completed his bargain'. Therefore they were not 'willing that he should have the land' and would return his £4. Tamati Waka agreed with Kingi's case and Kamehoro's statements. Richardson vouched for the Mahinepua survey, saying he had not been paid and had a claim of £1/14/6. He added that Maori cultivation had been limited, 'the natives cultivating on the land to the west…which they refuse to sell.' The court ordered a Crown grant issue to Tame

[22] NMB 1, pp.21-22.

Kamehoro, Kingi Hori Kira, Pihopa Repa, Tamati Waka Kaiwai, Kingi Hori Whiu and Riwhi Hongi.[23]

Paihia (89 acres)



Map 21: Paihia
This plan of Paihia is shown as surrounded by Native settlements, including Te Ngaere. Inland boundary markers are Pukehui, Takapau at the southern point, and Pukekaiue and Omorere on the coast.
Source: CFRT Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML418), 2007.

The NLC heard the case for Paihia at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 7 March 1867, with Judge White presiding. Kingi Hori Kira claimed the land belonged to himself and Riwhi Hongi, as representatives of his people, through take tupuna from Taikawa, Te Rotohina, Orurangi and others. Riwhi Hongi agreed with this statement, adding that 'we have all arranged to sell this piece of land to the white man, we have plenty of land left, this is only a small piece, I am related to Hori Kira, he is my first cousin'. Vouching for his survey Richardson said his charge of £9/11/0 had not been paid and he wished to make it a charge on the deed. The Court ordered that a Crown grant be issued to Kingi Hori Kira and Riwhi Hongi.[24]

Four months later Judge White reheard the case for Paihia at Waipuna on 23 July 1867 because the block was initially thought to contain 98 acres, but was later found to contain 89. Richardson, as the licensed surveyor, stated that there was no difficulty with the survey and the problem arose because he had read the quantity upside down, an error he regretted. The Court ordered that, noting the circumstances, the costs will be fixed at £5, the former

[23] NMB 1, p.22.
[24] NMB 1, p.23.

certificate cancelled and another certificate be issued to Kingi Hori Kira and Riwhi Hongi for 89 acres called Paihia.[25]

Patupukapuka (22 acres)

Judge White also heard the case for Patupukapuka at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 7 March 1867. Pororua Wharekauri Te Taipapa claimed the land as his, saying that he had already exchanged this piece with James Berghan (for some land called Raumahunu). Pororua claimed that there was no dispute as notice had been given and there was no-one there. Samuel Campbell (licensed surveyor) appeared and vouched for his survey, having had received instructions to survey from James Berghan. He stated that Berghan did not tell him how the land had come into his hands. Campbell added that 'I don't think it has ever been cultivated, there are no natives living in that neighbourhood'. The Court ordered that a Crown grant be issued to Pororua Whare Kauri Te Taipapa.[26]

Paikotare (8 acres)

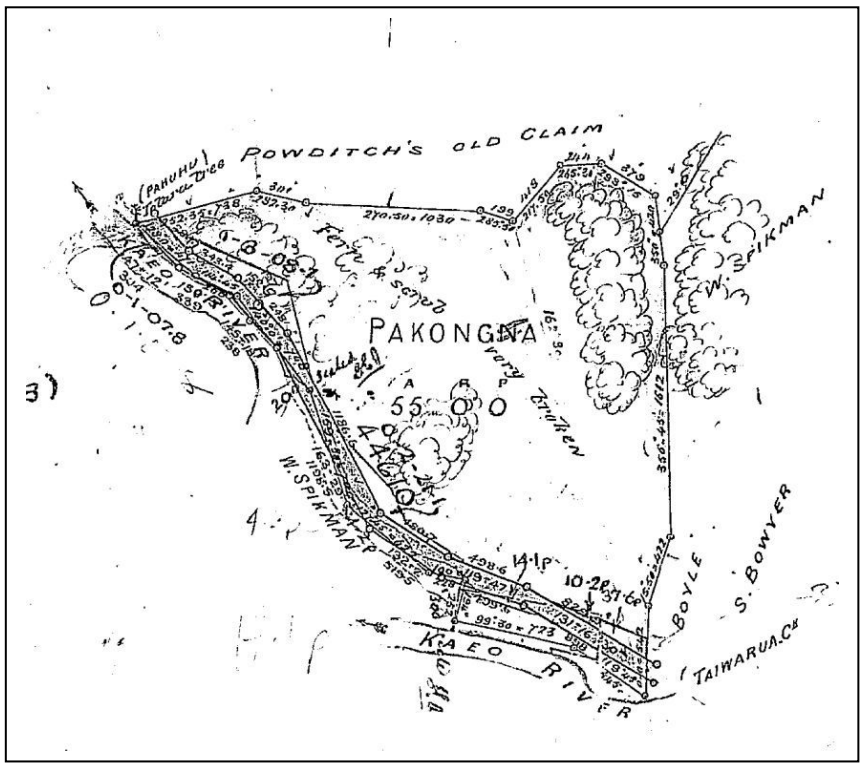
The Court heard the case for Paikotare at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 7 March 1867, with Judge White presiding and Reihana Kiriwi[?] and Maihi Te Huhu (assessors) present. Rihari te Kuri stated that he and his nephew, Wiremu Naihi, claimed this place and had been selected by others to pass it through the Court. Pumipi and his party had divided off a piece. Rihari te Kuri stated that they did not wish to sell this block as there was no land to cultivate and asked for a deed 'so that we cannot sell it'. Wiremu Naihi appeared and agreed with these statements. The surveyor Richardson appeared and vouched for his survey of Paikotare saying he was directed 'by Mr Lane who was to get the land for some debt'. Richardson said it 'was to be valuable to the natives hereafter', asking that the deed be retained until he is paid £6 owing for the survey. The Court ordered that a grant be issued to Rihari te Kuri and Wiremu Naihi and that it be inalienable.[27]

Pakonga (55 acres)

Pakonga is another of the several cases that Judge White heard on 7 March 1867. Wiremu Naihi claimed the block through take tupuna saying he had sole rights. Even as early as 1867 Pakonga was surrounded by European land and Naihi wished to sell it to Burgess[?] Heremaia te Ara agreed with Naihi, saying the land was 'ours but in the division of our lands it was awarded to him [Naihi]'.[28] Richardson vouched for his survey saying 'it is a very rough

[25] NMB 1, p.34.
[26] NMB 1, p.24.
[27] NMB 1, p.25.
[28] NMB 1, p.26.

piece and it is not desirable as a native reserve'. Accordingly the Court ordered a Crown grant issue to Wiremu Naihi.[29]



Map 22: Pakonga
Pakonga is beside the Kaeo River, with Pahuhu the point nearest the harbour. The landowners shown as surrounding this block are Powditch, Spikman, Bowyer and Boyle.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML332), 2007.

Otawhiri (21 acres)

The Court heard the case for Otawhiri at Waipuna, Whangaroa, on 7 March 1867, Judge W. B. White presided. Wiremu Naihi claimed 'this land belongs to me, there is no other native who has a claim upon this land'. Naihi advised he had sold a portion to Dominic Ferris who had then sold to Mr John McKintosh. McKintosh had now purchased the remainder, and he wished a grant to issue to him. He had received £23 from both these transactions. Richardson said that the land was 'not at all well suited for native cultivation, it might carry a few sheep'.[30] A grant issued to Wiremu Naihi accordingly.

Hopekako (79 acres)

The NLC first called the case for Hopekako at Mangonui, on 21 July 1868, with Judge White presiding and Maihi Te Huhu (assessors) present.[31] At that time no one appeared and the court adjourned the case. However, Samuel Campbell registered his 'inconvenience of being obliged to come in' and give evidence in the case, and the Court allowed him to deposit the

[29] NMB 1, p.26.
[30] NMB 1, p.27.
[31] NMB 1, p.41.

plan.[32] Campbell said he had surveyed the land for Mr Hayes, agent for Bishop Pompallier. He had been allowed to complete the survey without interference, and believed it to have been 'sold to the Catholic mission'.[33]

The court reconvened the Hopekako case in October 1869, with Judge White presiding again.[34] Paora Ururoa said the land 'descended' to him from his 'ancestors for many generations'. He agreed that Campbell had surveyed the land, and that it had been sold to the Catholic mission 'years ago'. He wanted the grant so that he could legally convey the land to the mission, stating 'I alone am to convey this land not the chief who represents the former owners of this land'. This is an interesting case, which seems to be an assertion of mana whenua on the part of Paora Ururoa, and the court seems to have participated in that assertion when it ordered that a certificate of ownership issue to Ururoa for Hopekako.

Kuwaru (49 acres)

The case for Kuwaru, heard before Judge White at Mangonui on 21 July 1868, seems to mirror the case for Hopekako.[35] Campbell said he surveyed Kuwaru under the instruction of Mr Hayes acting for Bishop Pompallier. Wiremu Te Pahi, who said he was of Ngati Rua then asserted that the land belonged to him and that he wanted to give it to Pompallier. The court adjourned the case because witnesses were absent. When the case resumed on 27 October 1869, Wiremu Te Pahi asserted take tupuna, saying that the land had descended to him from over thirteen generations. His father had sold the land to the Roman Catholic mission and Wiremu wanted a grant so that he could convey it legally to the church. He made the point that it was not necessary to include anyone else on the grant because he represented the people. No one present objected and the court issued a certificate of ownership to Wiremu Te Pahi without restriction.[36]

Mangataraire (200 acres)

The Court investigated the Mangataraire block in Whangaroa on 19 October 1869 with Judge White presiding. The claimants were Pororua Wharekauri, Hohepa Kira, [Poni te Kanohi?] and Kauria[?] Hohepa.[37] Pororua Wharekauri of Ngapuhi, Te Uri o te Aho hapu, based his claim on take raupatu, through his father's people winning battles at Rangitoto, Haranui and Waimahana. The chief Pokaiwawe was killed at Waimahana and those of his people that returned lived among the different tribes of the neighbourhood. Robert Duffin (surveyor)

[32] NMB 1, p.41.
[33] NMB 1, p.41.
[34] NMB 1, p.52. See also Berghan, p.11.
[35] NMB 1, p.41.
[36] NMB 1, pp.52-3. This block is not noted in Berghan.
[37] NMB 1, pp.47-8.

appeared stating that Pororua had indicated the boundaries for the survey of the block and he was aware it was being sold to Wilkinson as it adjoined his land. Hohepa Kira and Poni te Kanohi both appeared before the court and agreed with Pororua's evidence.[38]

Wainui (1418 acres)

The Court heard the case for the Wainui block in Whangaroa on 27 October 1869. Hone Te Ritotahi of Ngapuhi, Ngati Rua hapu, and co-claimants claimed this block through take tupuna. Hori Puhipi of Ngapuhi and Ngati Porou also spoke indicating his desire to be included as a claimant in this block. Wiremu Wika – of Ngapuhi, Ngati Rua – opposed Hori Puhipi's claim on behalf of all the claimants, and the Court subsequently excluded Puhipi from the ownership list.

Hone Te Ritotahi stated that he lived on the Wainui block. The land descended to him and his co-claimants from 'a long line of ancestors'. He knew of no one who would oppose their claim. He told the court that the boundary on the whole western line was in dispute between himself and James Shepherd. Shepherd argued that he had a Crown grant for his land and that Te Ritotahi's survey had encroached on it. Ultimately the court ordered that the boundary be adjusted according to the Crown grant issued to James Shepherd and a certificate of title without restriction be made out to Hone Ritotahi, Wiremu Wika, Patoronui Tangaroa, Tipene Manu, Te Kingi Kira, Tame Kame Horo, Te Kepa Tupe, Hohepa Whare, Parau Nohorai, and Tamati Tawere.[39]

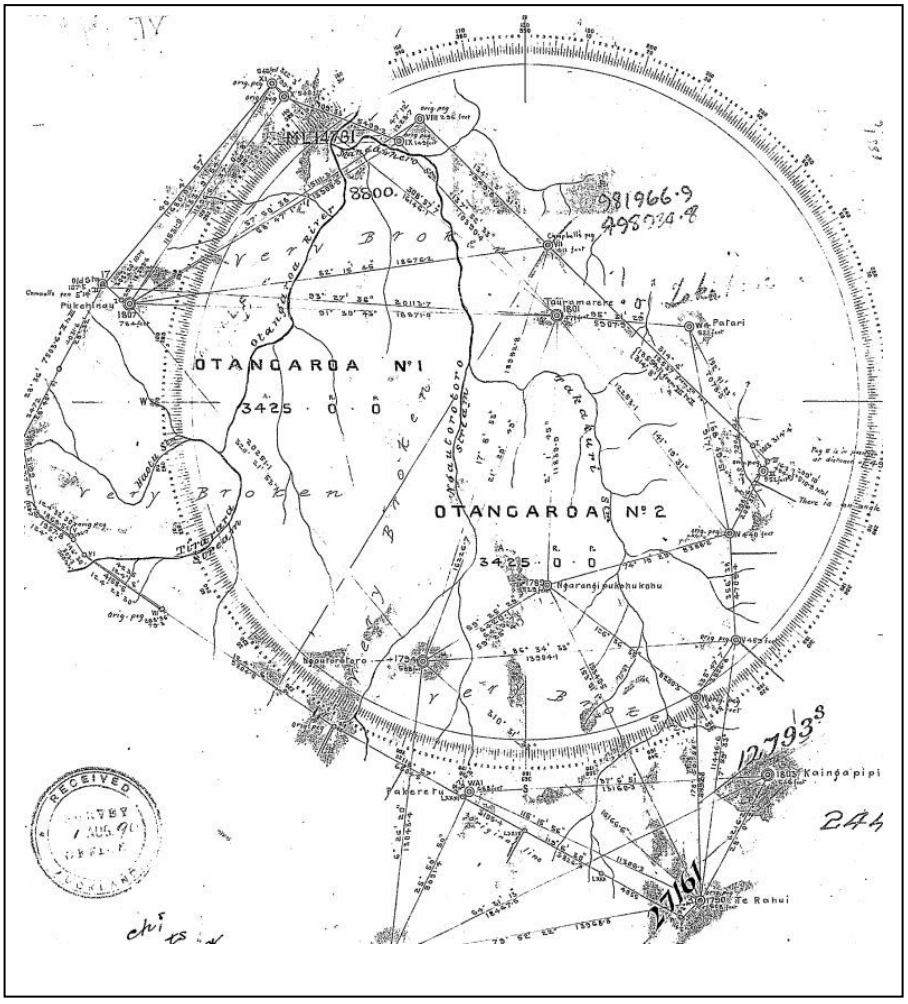
Investigations of Title in the 1870s

There seems to have been something of a hiatus in Court activity in Whangaroa between 1869 and the mid-1870s, although clearly the Court's work was far from finished. From 1875 it investigated titles to at least eighteen 'unheard' blocks of Whangaroa land, several of which were thousands of acres in area. While hearings into discrete blocks similar to those that featured in the 1860s continued, so too did much larger blocks come into the purview of the Court. Two of these – Otangaroa and Kaingapipiwai – are discussed in considerable detail here, before attention is turned to the remaining blocks.

[38] NMB 1, p.48. Unfortunately the Court's determination has not been discerned as the relevant section of the minute was ripped from the copy of the minute book made available to the research for this report.
[39] NMB 1, pp.53-5. See also Berghan, pp.237-242.

Otangaroa (6879 acres)

The NLC heard the case for the 6879-acre Otangaroa block at Mangonui throughout May 1875, with Judge Munro presiding.[40] The case was long and complex, with many factors and contexts about which to deliberate. It featured a dispute between Wiremu Naihi and Paora Ururoa. Paora was supported by Hema Ururoa, Ruinga and Pororua Te Taepa, who were all of Ngapuhi. Both Wiremu Naihi and Paora Ururoa made their claims predominantly on the basis of take tupuna and take raupatu although occupation, mahinga kai, wahi tapu, and mahinga rakau were also mentioned. Naihi's case was based on his Ngapuhi tupuna Te Kaka and the Ngapuhi conquest of and subsequent inter-marriage with the earlier Ngati Awa people. Ururoa's case was based on his tupuna Tomuri, who was also part of the Ngapuhi conquest of Ngati Awa. Alongside this dispute were the claims of Pumipi, Taniora Arapata and Wiremu Pikahu. Pumipi appeared to support Wiremu Naihi's claim, and Taniora Arapata (of Te Whanau Pani) came forward of his own accord to say that both Wiremu Naihi and Paora Ururoa had good claims to this land as he had also.



Map 23: Otangaroa
On this plan of Otangaroa Blocks 1 and 2, Tauramarere is shown as the central high point, Ngarangipukohukohu a southern highpoint. Otangaroa stream, joined by Taratara and Haotu, flows through Otangaroa 1, while the Mangawhero stream, joined by Ngautorotoro and Takakuri, passes through Otangaroa 2.
Source: CFRT Northland Arcflax No.1, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3234), 2007.

[40] NMB 1, pp.79-86, 87-100, 101-3.

Wiremu Pikahu spoke on his own behalf, and Judge Munro ultimately ruled that he failed to prove his claim to Otangaroa. Pikahu was the only claimant that focused on Ngati Mokokohi. The others were much more concerned with the movements and actions of Ngapuhi, Ngati Awa and Ngati Pou. Paora Ururoa was the only other claimant who mentioned Mokokohi, and very briefly. Pikahu's claim, then, really stood alone, uncomplicated by rebuttal or cross examination. For this reason Pikahu and Ngati Mokokohi are dealt with first before discussing the central dispute between Naihi and Paora's people.

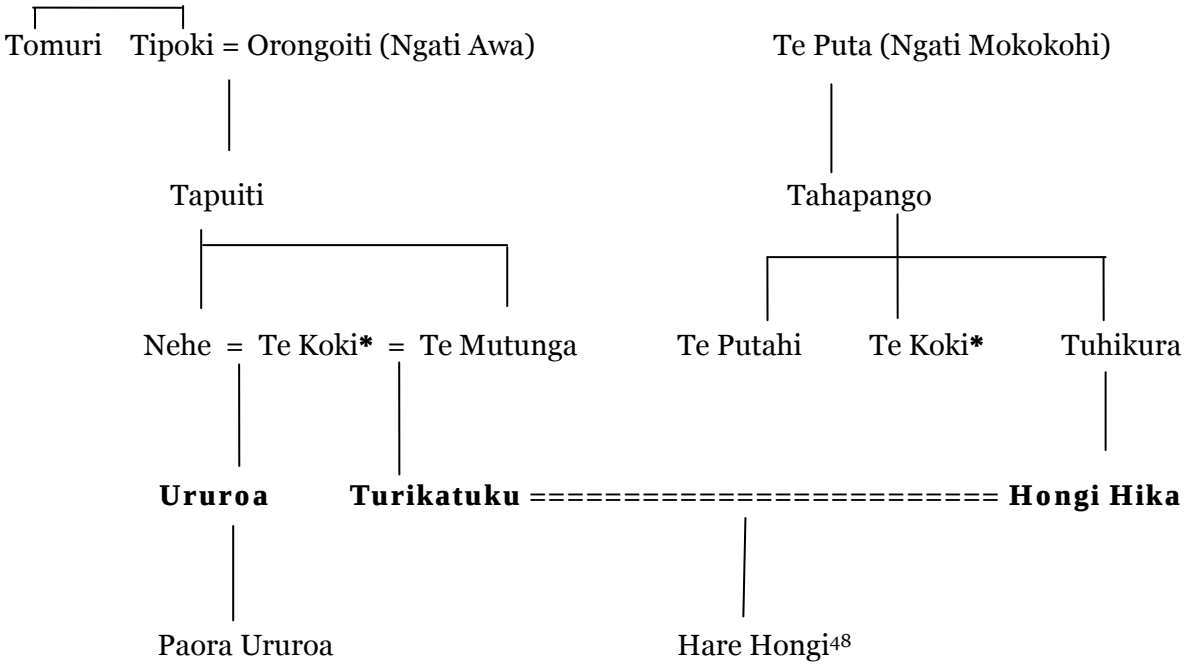
Pikahu was living at Oruru at the time of the hearing. He affiliated with Ngati Kahu, who he considered a hapu of Te Rarawa, noting that Ngati Kahu at one time lived among Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa. Pikahu's ancestor Mokokohi originated from Oruru, and Pikahu claimed Otangaroa through his descent from Mokokohi, who had migrated with his people from Oruru to Whangaroa, at a time when – according to Pikahu – 'there were no people' there.[41] They settled at Hopekako but were soon attacked by Tomuri who had come from the Hokianga. Associated with Tomuri was Te Kaka, although Pikahu insisted that his engagements were concentrated much further south than Otangaroa. Tomuri defeated Mokokohi and his people at Taupo. Mokokohi's people were defeated again during a second incursion by Te Hiwi, a chief from Taiamai.[42] In both instances though the 'conquerors and conquered lived together on both sides of Whangaroa'.[43] Furthermore, Pikahu insisted that the battles that took place were not fought for the purpose of taking land. Instead a series of marriages took place between Tomuri's people and those of Mokokohi. There was no mention of similar intermarriages between Te Hiwi and Mokokohi's people although a lasting accommodation between all concerned had been achieved.

Ngati Mokokohi continued to occupy their lands after Te Hiwi's campaign against them. Pikahu described Ngati Pou being driven into Whangaroa from Taiamai by Ngapuhi, and Hongi's intention to pursue them further. Ngati Kahu did not oppose Ngati Pou's migration, although Pikahu said that Ngati Kahu fled Whangaroa when Hongi arrived, except for those Ngati Kahu who were living at Kaeo.[44] Hongi also sought to make war with the descendants of Tomuri and Te Kaka, though the reasons for that are unclear. Nor did Pikahu explicitly say that fighting between Hongi and Tomuri and Te Kaka's descendants eventuated. What did

[41] NMB 1 p. 80.
[42] Te Hiwi's tribal affiliation was not given, but the WPH notes that Te Hiwi was a Roroa chief who married Kahutaha, direct descendant of Kurairarohea. They both lived at Rawhiti among their whanau, Ngare Raumati, Ngati Pou and remnants of Ngati Awa who carry the name Ngati Kahu.
[43] NMB 1 p.80.
[44] By Ngati Kahu, Pikahu could potentially be referring to Ngati Uru who, led by Te Puhi, were known to have fled Whangaroa (or at least Te Puhi and his fighting men) for the Hokianga when Hongi arrived on the scene. Another possibility is that he was referring to Kaitangata. If not then it remains unclear as to why relations between Hongi Hika and Ngati Kahu in Whangaroa (with the curious exception of those who resided at Kaeo) were such that they apparently fled in the wake of Hongi's arrival.

eventuate was the expulsion of Ngati Pou, the wounding of Hongi as he pursued them into Mangamuka and the decimation of Kaitangata upon Hongi's return to Whangaroa.[45] Pikahu had never lived at Whangaroa, although his grandfather on his maternal side had. It was through his maternal line that he descended from Mokokohi. His father too had lived at Te Totara in Whangaroa and had supplied food to Hongi when he arrived in Whangaroa. Since then the people at Whangaroa had had disputes among themselves. To this end Pikahu had visited Whangaroa prior to the Otangaroa hearing to 'demand back our land Nga Puhi', later adding that 'the Ngati Kahu among Nga Puhi would have no right on my portion of land.'[46] As a result of his protests he was given houses in Whangaroa. Overall then, Pikahu's evidence showed that despite Ngati Mokokohi's lack of success in three wars fought over several generations, they still lived in parts of Whangaroa down to the time of the Otangaroa hearing. The intermarriages between Ngati Mokokohi and conquering groups coming into the area allowed them to achieve this ongoing occupation. Therefore the deeds of Tomuri, Te Kaka and Hongi were significant but were played out in the context of a much older occupation by Mokokohi and his descendants.

Paora Ururoa was the only other kaikorero to cite Mokokohi in his evidence. He descended from Ngati Mokokohi through his grandfather Te Koki, son of Tahapango.[47]


[48]

[45] According to Pikahu, Kaitangata was 'a hapu of the Ngati Mokokohi, the latter being a hapu of Ngati Kahu'. NMB 1 p. 81.
[46] NMB 1 pp. 81, 82.
[47] NMB 1 p. 84.
[48] Paora Ururoa gave two sets of whakapapa which have been combined here to show his links to Ngati Mokokohi, Ngati Awa, Tomuri, Turikatuku and Hongi Hika. NMB 1 p. 84.

Although he could demonstrate his link to Ngati Mokokohi the main affiliation that Paora invoked for the hearing was to Ngapuhi. In his opening remarks he acknowledged Ngati Mokokohi as the original owners of the land. Though a significant concession, Paora qualified it by noting that 'Ngati Mokokohi owned part of Whangaroa but not Otangaroa'.[49] Instead, Ngati Mokokohi were located at Te Pupuke.

Paora claimed Otangaroa through his descent from Tomuri 'who took it from the Ngati Awa the former owners.'[50] Like Pikahu, Paora also referred to the battle between Tomuri and Ngati Mokokohi at Taupo. For Paora though it was Te Kaka rather than Tomuri who was responsible for the fighting there. This is notable given that Pikahu had said that Te Kaka's efforts were concentrated south of Otangaroa whereas Paora placed Te Kaka at Taupo, north of Otangaroa. In addition Paora claimed that it was Ngati Awa that Te Kaka fought at Taupo, rather than Ngati Mokokohi (and it is not clear whether Mokokohi and Ngati Awa could be considered the same people). It is notable though that after Tomuri successfully defeated Ngati Awa at Otangaroa and other areas, one of the surviving Ngati Awa women married Tomuri's brother Tipoki. Her name was Orongoiti and it was through this marriage that Otangaroa passed to him.[51] Other surviving Ngati Awa remained at Otangaroa although Ngati Mokokohi later killed many of them, an act that suggests that Ngati Mokokohi still had associations with that area. However, Paora asserted that Ngati Mokokohi fell out with Ngapuhi and fled Whangaroa:

> They were afraid of Nga Puhi and went for protection to Ngati Pou at Taiamai. They had not been there a year when the Ngati Pou fell out with Te Hotete who beat the Ngati Pou and they fled to Whangaroa. On arrival the Ngati Mokokohi made over all their land in Whangaroa to the Ngati Pou. The Ngati Pou accepted it and remained on the land until Hongi came who drove away the Ngati Pou and took the land and here we are now in possession.[52]

This was the last mention of Ngati Mokokohi during the hearing, barring the reference to them in Judge Munro's ruling, where 'the Court considered that the Rarawa ([Ngati] Kahu and Ngati Mokokohi) had entirely failed to prove their claims.'[53] In regard to the relationship between Hongi Hika, Ngati Mokokohi and the people of Whangaroa generally, there are interesting differences and similarities between what Wiremu Pikahu and Paora Ururoa had to say. Both accepted that relations between Ngapuhi and Ngati Mokokohi were not good. For Pikahu this was confined to the destruction of one specific part of Ngati Mokokohi, the

[49] NMB 1 p.82.
[50] NMB 1 p.82.
[51] Paroa added that 'I don't know whether under the circumstances she had any right over it and or any power to give it.' NMB 1 p.83.
[52] NMB 1 pp.84-5.
[53] NMB 1 p.101.

Kaitangata. Paora's evidence implied that the animosity between Hongi and Ngati Mokokohi was much more general. It also implies that a strong relationship existed between Ngati Mokokohi and Ngati Pou, and that any mana Ngati Mokokohi may have had there was displaced when they gave their land to Ngati Pou.

Wiremu Pikahu was the only claimant who did not acknowledge Ngati Awa, whereas Paora and Naihi's disputing parties focused their evidence on how Te Kaka and Tomuri had fought and defeated Ngati Awa. Neither Naihi nor Paora disputed that Ngati Awa were the original inhabitants of Whangaroa. Instead, Te Kaka and Tomuri represented the dichotomy along which Naihi and Paora were split in their respective understandings of their rights to land at Otangaroa. It is noteworthy that their dispute was a product of events much more recent than the defeat of Ngati Awa.[54] Naihi said he had 'no quarrel' with Paora about either Unuhia or Otangaroa blocks until 'Paora Ururoa sold the trees on it':

> He [Paora] kept all the money and gave me none. My brother Huperio first sold trees from the land. I don't know whether he gave Paora any of the money. Had we not had this quarrel I should not have disputed Paora's claim. We should have both been on the land and should not have tried to claim from different ancestors. We could show if we liked that we both claim from a common ancestor. We have not given any false ancestor.[55]

Both Paora and Naihi acknowledged that they could claim from a common ancestor if they wanted. To some extent this acknowledgement deflates many of the differences between the historical accounts the two parties gave, and is reflected in the Court's final ruling that Paora and Naihi were 'equally entitled to claim.'[56] The basis of the Court's ruling rested on two points. The first was that Paora and Naihi were close relatives who descended from 'the chiefs of Nga Puhi who had conquered the country' from the original inhabitants.[57] The second was the assistance their people had given Hongi when 'he took entire possession of Whangaroa.'[58] Yet, at least in Court, it was on these two issues that Paora and Naihi disagreed. Paora claimed through Tomuri whereas Naihi claimed through Te Kaka. Both agreed that Te Kaka and Tomuri generally co-operated to defeat Ngati Awa, but that they commanded their own warriors to do this. Finally, both agreed that Te Kaka and Tomuri divided the lands at Whangaroa between them at the conclusion of the fighting. What they disagreed about was how all of this played out in Otangaroa specifically. Paora considered that fighting against Ngati Awa had taken place in Otangaroa but Te Kaka was not involved

[54] In a brief discussion of the Otangaroa case, Jeffrey Sissons posited that Tomuri and Te Kaka's defeat of Ngati Awa may have taken place during Rahiri's time. Sissons et al, p.61.
[55] NMB 1, p.94.
[56] NMB 1, p.101.
[57] NMB 1, p.101.
[58] NMB 1, p.101.

there. Te Kaka had engaged Ngati Awa further north but he 'never fought at Otangaroa.'[59] Paora added that he was not aware that any of Te Kaka's descendants lived at Otangaroa, nor whether they had any dead buried there. He denied that Naihi had cultivations at Otangaroa at the time of the hearing. He conceded 'Naihi's ancestors had a rat run on the land' but that these ancestors were killed by his people as it was considered that Naihi's people were stealing the rats.[60] Paora ended his claim by pointing out that Wiremu Naihi was living at Taupo at the time of the hearing while he resided at Te Pupuke near Otangaroa: 'Naihi is on the land which his ancestor Te Kaka took and we are on the land which Tomuri took.'[61]

In his evidence, Wiremu Naihi stated his affiliation to Ngati Rua and Ngapuhi. He gave a similar account of Ngati Awa's defeat at the hands of Te Kaka and Tomuri. Not surprisingly though, he emphasised the deeds of Te Kaka, asserting that Te Kaka 'patu'd over all this land this side [of] Whangaroa including Otangaroa.'[62] Ngati Awa was finally destroyed at Otawhiri. A series of intermarriages between the surviving Ngati Awa and Naihi's ancestors followed, giving him a 'double claim' to Otangaroa, one from conquest and the other from intermarriage.[63] Te Kaka's descendants then occupied the land, building houses and burying their dead there.

Naihi cited Taiti and Te Ohonui as ancestors who occupied the land, as identified in the whakapapa he gave (shown below). They descended from Te Taniwha who was one of the surviving Ngati Awa that married one of Te Kaka's people. Naihi was a ninth-generation descendant from Te Taniwha. In his version of events Naihi cast Tomuri as involved in the defeat of Ngati Awa, but as a supporting figure to Te Kaka: 'Tomuri assisted Te Kaka in the conquest. There are descendants of Tomuri now living. They have no claims on this block as their descendants and our fathers divided the land'.[64]

[59] NMB 1 p.83. As stated above Wiremu Pikahu also said Te Kaka had not fought at Otangaroa. He claimed Te Kaka had fought battles south of Otangaroa. Paora claimed that Te Kaka fought further north of Otangaroa. NMB 1, p.80.
[60] NMB 1, p.85.
[61] NMB 1, p.85.
[62] NMB 1, pp.92-3.
[63] NMB 1, p.85.
[64] NMB 1, p.85.

Te Taniwha (Ngati Awa)
|
Huramangotini
|
Taiti
|
Te Ohonui
|
Paiamanu
|
Te Whakatarariki
|
Turi = Te Arumanga (Ngapuhi)
|
Whararau
|
Te Pahi
|
Wiremu Naihi[65]

Drawing on more recent history Naihi described the fighting during which Ngapuhi drove Ngati Pou from Taiamai. Naihi noted that 'all the people at Whangaroa went to join in'. His own relatives joined with Ngati Miru who he considered to be distinct from Ngati Pou. Therefore Ngapuhi did not attack Ngati Miru during the fighting. Parallel to this, Naihi's father Te Pahi fought with Ngapuhi. Naihi added that Ngati Awa did not give Whangaroa to Ngati Pou. Rather, 'when Ngati Pou came for refuge to Whangaroa they came as slaves.' Ngati Awa did not oppose Ngati Pou's arrival in Whangaroa, but nor did they defend them when Hongi subsequently attacked them. At least some, however, must have joined the fighting at Taratara because after the pa fell to Hongi, 'those of Ngati Awa who had joined [Ngati Pou] fled with them.'[66] Naihi was clear that his relatives, who were living at Kaeo at the time, went to Taratara in support of Hongi. In fact it was his relatives who had called on Hongi to attack Ngati Pou in the first place. Tere and Whare were among Naihi's relatives who established cultivations at Otangaroa after Ngati Pou fled Whangaroa. Since then Naihi had himself cultivated uwhi at Otangaroa. Naihi ended his evidence by describing how he

[65] NMB 1, p.92.
[66] NMB 1, p.93.

had made several attempts to have the land at Otangaroa surveyed, which Paora had prevented.[67]

All of the claimants to Otangaroa incorporated Hongi Hika's entry into Whangaroa into their evidence. Because of this the Court also dealt with the related issue of Ngati Pou. There are several possible reasons for this approach. The claimants used Hongi's attack on Ngati Pou in a way that tied their claims to the idea that Hongi possessed Whangaroa once the fall of Ngati Pou was complete. The attack was fairly recent, potentially within living memory even by 1875. This recency, coupled with Hongi's reputation, may have made references to him easy for Court officials to comprehend. This is especially true given that the Court often gave claims based on 'conquest' particular credence. A related possibility is that Hongi had established his mana so strongly and widely in Whangaroa that claims to land there could be legitimized simply by demonstrating a close whakapapa connection to Hongi or to tupuna who had assisted Hongi to defeat Ngati Pou.

It is not clear what to make of the evidence given by Pumipi who spoke after Naihi. According to the minutes Naihi did not call Pumipi as a witness, and Pumipi gave evidence on his own behalf. To some extent Pumipi's evidence did support Naihi's, but there were important differences. Pumipi traced his descent back to Te Kaka. He did not give any tribal affiliation although he identified Te Puhi as his father, indicating that he was of Ngati Uru. Pumipi's tupuna Moewao lived at Otangaroa as did Te Puhi. At some point Moewao and his brother Hikihiki vacated the area leaving their grandson Ruinga and his brother 'in charge of the land' while 'the others went to Kaeo'. Hikihiki had married 'one of the original [Ngati Awa] owners'. Ruinga was still in occupation of Otangaroa when Ngati Pou arrived in Whangaroa. They 'lived on the land with Ruinga and his relatives' until Hongi arrived.' Te Puhi had welcomed Ngati Pou 'as friends'.[68] Pumipi's grandfather and grand uncle had both married Ngati Pou women. Despite these ties though, Ruinga was not disturbed during Hongi and Ururoa's battles with Ngati Pou, although nor did he assist them against Hongi. Instead Te Puhi fled to the Hokianga. Pumipi returned to Whangaroa during Hone Heke's time when he took up residence at Kaeo. By then Ururoa's people were living at Te Pupuke.

There are at least two important aspects of Pumipi's evidence that are not complimentary to Naihi's claim. First was his focus on Ruinga. He asserted that 'Ruinga is one of our party, a descendant of Te Kaka and Moewao',[69] and yet the Ruinga that he referred to gave evidence in support of Paora Ururoa. Both his and Ruinga's whakapapa showed Ruinga descended

[67] NMB 1, p.94.
[68] NMB 1 p.95.
[69] NMB 1 p.95.

from Piti. Finally Pumipi stated that 'At that time I considered that this land belonged to Ruinga. After Hongi's conquest it belonged to Paora.'[70] Ruinga himself openly corroborated Paora Ururoa's evidence. He had cultivations as well as horses running at Otangaroa. He worked the land with Huperio whose wife was one of Ururoa and Ruinga's people. His claim was based on the defeat of Ngati Awa by his great grandfather Towhiti, brother of Tapuiti and son of Tomuri's brother Tipoki. These battles marked a second round of fighting with Ngati Awa, the first involving Tomuri. The apparent difference with the second campaign was that it focused on a specific section of Ngati Awa - Ngati Rangimatamomoe. Their defeat and subsequent withdrawal to Otawhiri was followed by another attack where they 'were nearly all destroyed by Nga Puhi under Hongi.' Ruinga asserted that Naihi descended from one of the few who survived Hongi's attack. He conceded that 'some of Naihi's people may have been with Hongi – but Hongi's was the great name and it was said that Hongi alone had conquered this land or Hongi and Ururoa.' Naihi asked Ruinga during cross examination whether Hongi had killed any of his people. Ruinga answered that Naihi's ancestor had fled Whangaroa and Hongi later killed him at Hunuhunua.[71] The cross examination ended with the following exchange:

Did you join in killing Ngati Pou?	I did.
Were you not among the Ngati Pou who fled?	My tuakanas were – not me.
How came your tuakanas there?	He aroha ki te iwi.[72]

It is not clear what to make of this exchange. It seems Ruinga implied that he or his people did not necessarily side with Hongi. To hear that Ruinga's 'tuakanas' had fled with the Ngati Pou, coupled with Pumipi's assertion that 'the Ngati Pou lived on the land with Ruinga and his relatives until Hongi came',[73] suggests a more complex story than Ruinga's evidence indicates.

Hema Ururoa was part of Paora Ururoa's party and as such his evidence was very similar to Paora's. He described Tomuri's defeat of Ngati Awa and his brother Tipoki's marriage to Te Orongoiti.[74] Tipoki's son Tapuiti also found himself at odds with Ngati Awa. Hema said 'when Tapuiti went on to this land he was sent away by the Ngati Awa.'[75] Tapuiti conceived of a plan for how he would deal with Ngati Awa. Determined to 'make war upon them' he set up a 'rahui', which Ngati Awa knocked down:

[70]NMB 1 p.95.
[71] NMB 1, p.90.
[72] NMB 1, p.91.
[73] NMB 1 p.95.
[74] Hema said that 'several generations after the conquest Tapuiti and his relatives' went to live on Otangaroa. This seems at odds with the evidence as Tapuiti was the son of Tipoki, and therefore just a single generation away from the 'conquest', not several. NMB 1 p.87.
[75] NMB 1 p.87.

> Tapuiti then dug a pit and went into the forest to get mangemange then he and 60 of his men wrapped the mangemange round themselves and all went into the pit. The pit is still to be seen. The idea was to cause the Ngati Awa to suppose that they were rahuis. They would then come to knock them down and would fall into a trap and be killed. The Ngati Awa were not trapped but they became afraid and abandoned the land. Afterwards the Nga Puhi attacked Ngati Awa at Hopekako, a pa, and there they were destroyed.[76]

During cross examination Wiremu Naihi asked Hema what part of Ngati Awa was ejected from Otangaroa and where they went afterwards. They were the Ngati Rangimatamomoe, the tribe referred to by Pumipi. They were driven out and fled to Paraoanui 'and other places'.[77] The few surviving Ngati Awa fled to Taiamai seeking – and receiving – refuge from the Ngati Pou who lived there at the time. Then when Ngapuhi attacked Ngati Pou, both Ngati Awa and Ngati Pou retreated back into Whangaroa. This time Ngati Awa played host to Ngati Pou. By Hema's account though, Ngati Awa were more than just hospitable: 'the Ngati Awa then gave Whangaroa to the Ngati Pou for having given them shelter.'[78] Te Hauarari was named as the chief who gave Hopekako, Otangaroa 'and all their lands' to Ngati Pou who soon took up residence there.[79] Hema confirmed that Tapuiti and his descendant's occupied Otangaroa subsequent to Ngati Awa's withdrawal from the area. When he was asked how it was that Te Hauarari could give Otangaroa to Ngati Pou if his ancestor held the land, Hema replied that 'they had been allowed to remain on the land'. Naihi asked where the descendants of Tapuiti were at that time, if not at Otangaroa. Hema then confirmed that while 'the Ngati Pou and the remnants of Ngati Awa' occupied Otangaroa, the descendants of Tapuiti were at Taiamai.[80] Somehow Ngati Awa and the descendants of Tapuiti had switched places. First Ngapuhi attacked Ngati Awa in Whangaroa and so they fled to Taiamai seeking shelter with Ngati Pou. Ngati Awa then fled back into Whangaroa to escape the Ngapuhi attacks on Ngati Pou. Somewhere in the mix Tapuiti's descendants left Whangaroa for Taiamai.[81] It is possible that Tapuiti's descendants were at Taiamai to assist in Ngapuhi's attacks, but this is not clear from the minutes. Either way Hema noted that Hongi, Ururoa and others drove Ngati Awa away and took their land.[82] This was the extent to which Hema discussed Hongi Hika. It seems that Hema wanted his evidence to demonstrate that his tupuna had inflicted several defeats upon the Ngati Awa; and that these take raupatu were solidified through intermarriage as well as occupation.

Pororua Te Taepa was the last of Paora's supporters. His father was a cousin to Hongi Hika and fought with him when he entered Whangaroa. Also, Pororua helped to fight off Nopera

[76] NMB 1 pp.87-8.
[77] NMB 1 p.89.
[78] NMB 1 p.88.
[79] NMB 1 pp.88-9. Te Hauarari is also recorded as Te Hanarei in Hema Ururoa's evidence.
[80] NMB 1 p.89.
[81] NMB 1 p.89.
[82] NMB 1 p.88.

Panakareao and Te Rarawa. Subsequent to Te Rarawa's defeat Pororua's 'Nga Puhi friends urged me to go and live at Whangaroa.' Pororua did so, living there intermittently for about 30 years.[83] Pororua noted that nobody was living at Otangaroa when he went to occupy it after the defeat of Te Rarawa, and he lived there with Paora Ururoa. They established cultivations there which continued into the time of the hearing. Pororua was aware that Naihi disputed Paora's claim but offered no comment on this. He did comment on the connection between Ngati Awa and Ngati Pou however, and like claimants before him he acknowledged the sequence of events that saw Ngati Awa flee to Taiamai to shelter with Ngati Pou, then return to Whangaroa when Ngati Pou were themselves driven from Taiamai, after which Te Hauarari gave Ngati Pou lands that included Otangaroa and Te Pupuke, but not Kaeo. Pororua asserted that 'but for Hongi the Ngati Pou would be in possession of Whangaroa now.'[84]

Taniora Arapata is the last of the claimants to be discussed here. He identified as Te Whanau Pani and claimed the land through Orongoiti. He asserted that after Te Kaka and Tomuri defeated Ngati Awa, they then lived in peace with them since they had 'not come to seize land but kill and eat men.'[85] He added that whatever fighting did take place did not happen at Otangaroa. Touhuti and Tanga were Taniora's ancestors who lived at Otangaroa, although his grandfather Tahura abandoned the land to live at Te Pupuke. Taniora's father Te Hiko was one of the owners of Otangaroa and had been living at Te Pupuke when Ngati Pou arrived at Whangaroa, whereupon they 'all lived together as friends.'[86] He described how Ngati Pou 'were comrades with us' but did not have any claim to the land. He acknowledged that fighting had taken place between Ngati Awa and Ngati Pou but added that 'when the fighting ended it ended for good, the Ngati Pou had land allotted them to live on, namely Te Pupuke, Pinea and Waihapa.'[87] In this way then, Ngati Awa did not give Whangaroa to Ngati Pou. By his account Ngati Pou were accommodated within Whangaroa, not given it. Had Hongi not driven Ngati Pou out of Whangaroa 'they and Ngati Awa would have lived together until now.'[88]

Taniora's people maintained their occupation of Otangaroa during Hongi's battles with Ngati Pou. During this time – even when Ururoa personally killed sixty Kaitangata after he

[83] NMB 1, p.91.
[84] NMB 1, p.92. Pororua concluded his evidence by stating that 'I am descended from Tomuri but I don't claim from him.'[84] Nonetheless Tomuri is implicated in the body of Pororua's evidence. He discussed the departure of Ngati Awa who then found shelter with Ngati Pou at Taiamai. This departure is attributable to the aggressive moves made by Tomuri's nephews Tapuiti and Towhiti against Ngati Awa.
[85] NMB 1, p.96.
[86] NMB 1, p.97.
[87] NMB 1, p.98.
[88] NMB 1 p.98.

captured their pa at Okahumoko – Hongi did not attack Taniora's people who maintained their occupation. Taniora had dug for gum at Otangaroa but had never lived there. He considered that both Naihi and Ururoa had good claims. He acknowledged that Naihi's ancestors worked the land at Otangaroa, as had Hongi's relatives. He acknowledged that Ruinga had lived there as had the 'matuas' of Naihi. Finally he acknowledged that Pororua had cultivations there, though not at the time of the hearing.[89] Taniora's people seemed to have been on good terms (or good enough) to live with Ngati Pou but not be attacked by Hongi. They had occupied the lands at Otangaroa before, during and after Hongi settled at Whangaroa towards the end of his life.[90]

Overall, the evidence given in the Otangaroa case illustrates that Whangaroa was in an ongoing state of flux in terms of who was on the land and what type of claims they had at different points in time. This feature is seen in the evidence with the claimants variously identifying Ngati Mokokohi, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pou, Ngapuhi, and Ngati Awa as either having (or not having) a presence in the area at different points in time. The apparent state of flux means that at times the evidence in this case became very complex and the speakers contradicted each other in points of detail. However, within their korero are some agreed key events. For instance, Hongi and Ururoa's fighting in the area – including the eventual fatal wounding of Hongi – represented a turning point in Whangaroa history. Also, the kaikorero generally agreed that Ngati Awa originally possessed Otangaroa and that they were later subjugated by Ngapuhi ancestors, though there was some disagreement over the form of that subjugation, for example whether it was by conquest or inter-marriage. There were also some differences of opinion over the individual tupuna who were responsible for wresting Whangaroa from Ngati Awa: Te Kaka as the key leader assisted by Tomuri; Tomuri as the main leader; Te Kaka and Tomuri as co-equals; and Tomuri and Tipoki. Threaded through the complex and often contradictory details of the Otangaroa case were important demonstrations of the claimants' current and recent activities on and occupation of the land including rat runs, pigeon trapping and uwhi crops. In the 1870s the land was leased to some Pakeha for a cattle run and Ruinga grazed horses there. By then Paora Ururoa and Pororua Te Taepa also had cultivations there.

In his decision, Judge Munro ruled that Wiremu Naihi and Paora Ururoa were equally entitled to claim the Otangaroa block, thus:

> Paora Ururoa and Wi Naihi were closely related – were both descended from the chiefs of Ngapuhi who had conquered the country – and also from the original

[89] NMB 1 p.98.
[90] NMB 1, p.97.

> inhabitants – and had with their people assisted Hongi when he took entire possession of Whangaroa and had exercised rights of ownership over the land.[91]

The court ordered the two parties (of Ururoa and Naihi) to arrange among themselves as to the proper persons to be in the certificate of title. Paora Ururoa submitted fifteen names and Wiremu Naihi submitted seventeen. The first five from each of these aforementioned lists were selected to be entered on the certificate of title and all thirty-two were registered in the court as owners. The ten people who the Court ordered to appear on the certificate of title were: Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Pororua Wharekauri, Haki Reweti, Ruinga Tapu, Wiremu Naihi, Taniora Arapata, Hohepa Taha, Huperio Te Karapepe, and Huirama Tukariri.

Kaingapipiwai (1716 acres)

Taniora was the first to give evidence during the Kaingapipiwai hearing, which was held a year after the Otangaroa case in 1876. For the Otangaroa hearing he had emphasised his descent from Orongoiti. As in the Otangaroa hearing he claimed Kaingapipiwai under Te Whanau Pani but this time he traced his descent back through his mother's line to the union of Te Pikinga and Naropuku. In the Otangaroa case Taniora argued that his people had lived and carried out their customary land usage there despite the incursions of other tribes into the area. He made a similar case for Kaingapipiwai:

> My fathers lived on this land for generations. I have lived on it. I have cultivated all over it on the clear places. I am in occupation now. We were never ejected or interfered with. Hongi never drove us away from the land.[92]

Taniora's claim was supported by Heremaia Te Ara. Opposing them were Wiremu Pirihongo and Natanahira Te Pona who spoke on behalf of Hare Hongi Hika and Paora Ururoa. Pirihongo referred the issue back to Hongi's taking of Whangaroa. For Pirihongo the mana of Hongi was clearly and strongly established, and 'swept away' any pre-existing ancestral claims.[93] He conceded that Taniora could have had a legitimate claim to Kaingapipiwai if he had arranged his rights through Hongi. But Taniora had not taken the right course of action, and so his claim should be opposed.

One of the outcomes of the ousting of Ngati Pou was that the Whangaroa lands were redistributed. As part of that, Taniora's great uncles Te Pekatahi and Te Horu, who were among those Tareha had saved from the wrath of Ururoa, were placed at Mangaiti, at the centre of Kaingapipiwai. But even though they were able to live there, Pirihongo insisted that

[91] NMB 1, p.101.
[92] NMB 2, p.263.
[93] NMB 2, p.263.

'the mana of the land remained with Hongi Hika and Ururoa.'[94] He cited Taniora's grandmother as another example. Her name was Te Kauwhata and she married Ngahuruhuru of Ngati Uru. When Hongi entered Whangaroa Ngahuruhuru and Te Kauwhata fled to Hokianga. When things settled down Ngahuruhuru and Te Kauwhata returned to Whangaroa under the protection of Ururoa. Pirihongo acknowledged that Taniora lived at Kaingapipiwai and had cultivations there. He noted that Hare Hongi Hika had no desire to evict Taniora and his people from the land, but that 'the mana of the land is with him and Paora.'[95] Taniora intimated that Hongi had not attacked his people because they held the mana for that area. For Pirihongo the opposite was the case. He implied that it was because those people *did not* hold the mana to that area that they were not attacked. For Pirihongo, the only reason that Taniora and his people were alive was because of the intervention of Tareha. Added to this was the fact Taniora's grandmother fled Whangaroa during Hongi's invasion. Taniora's people were at Kaingapipiwai because Hongi and Paora allowed them to be. Taniora disagreed, saying that this could not be the case since it was Ngati Pou that Hongi fought, and not the tangata whenua of Whangaroa.

Heremaia's support for Taniora's evidence reiterated the assertion that Hongi fought Ngati Pou but not the tangata whenua of Whangaroa.[96] Heremaia insisted that the 'men' of Whangaroa remained neutral, and that Hongi's claim of conquest was incorrect because Ngati Pou were 'merely fugitives' from Taiamai and did not own any Whangaroa lands.[97] For Heremaia mana over Whangaroa was very much retained within the tangata whenua group and did not change as a result of Hongi's war with Ngati Pou. Hongi was related to the Whangaroa people and it was they who allowed Hongi into Whangaroa in the first place.[98] Heremaia even doubted that Hongi and party in fact divided the lands among themselves, noting that they merely lived in Whangaroa among their relatives.

Pirihongo refuted Heremaia's case, insisting that Ngati Pou and the tangata whenua were targeted since it was Hongi's intention to conquer all of Whangaroa. By that point Ngati Pou were not mere fugitives, but had become 'the masters of Whangaroa land and people.'[99] As such all the inhabitants of Whangaroa lived under Ngati Pou, including Taniora's ancestors. Pirihongo conceded that Taniora's ancestors were chiefs but he did not think they were equal to Hongi and Ururoa. And this was not historic. He considered that even at the time of the

[94] NMB 2, p.264. NB: During cross-examination Pirihongo asked Taniora if his relatives had come under the mana of Ururoa, which Taniora seemed to concede that was true. NMB 3, p.4.
[95] NMB 2, p.264.
[96] NMB 2, p.266.
[97] NMB 3, pp.1-2.
[98] NMB 3, pp.1-2.
[99] NMB 2, pp.264-5.

hearing Hare Hongi and Paora Ururoa remained as kaitiaki for Te Aeto and Ngati Kawau.[100] He named Nganihinihi and Hohepa as being among those of Hongi and Ururoa's people who lived at Kaingapipiwai at the time of the hearing.[101]

The deeds of Hongi Hika featured even more prominently in the Kaingapipiwai hearing than for Otangaroa. Excepting Taniora, who focused on his people's unbroken customary usage and occupation of the land, much of the rest of the evidence revolved around Hongi's relationship to the people of Whangaroa, particularly with regard to the question of who were Hongi's intended targets. Much of what Pirihongo said was supported by Natanahira Te Pona of Ngati Kawau. He too declared that Kaingapipiwai belonged to Hare Hongi and Paora Ururoa. His father was among those 'living on the land under the mana of Hongi and Ururoa.'[102] Natanahira acknowledged the legitimacy of Taniora's claim but he opposed Taniora's intention 'to get it [Kaingapipiwai] all to himself and eject us.'[103]

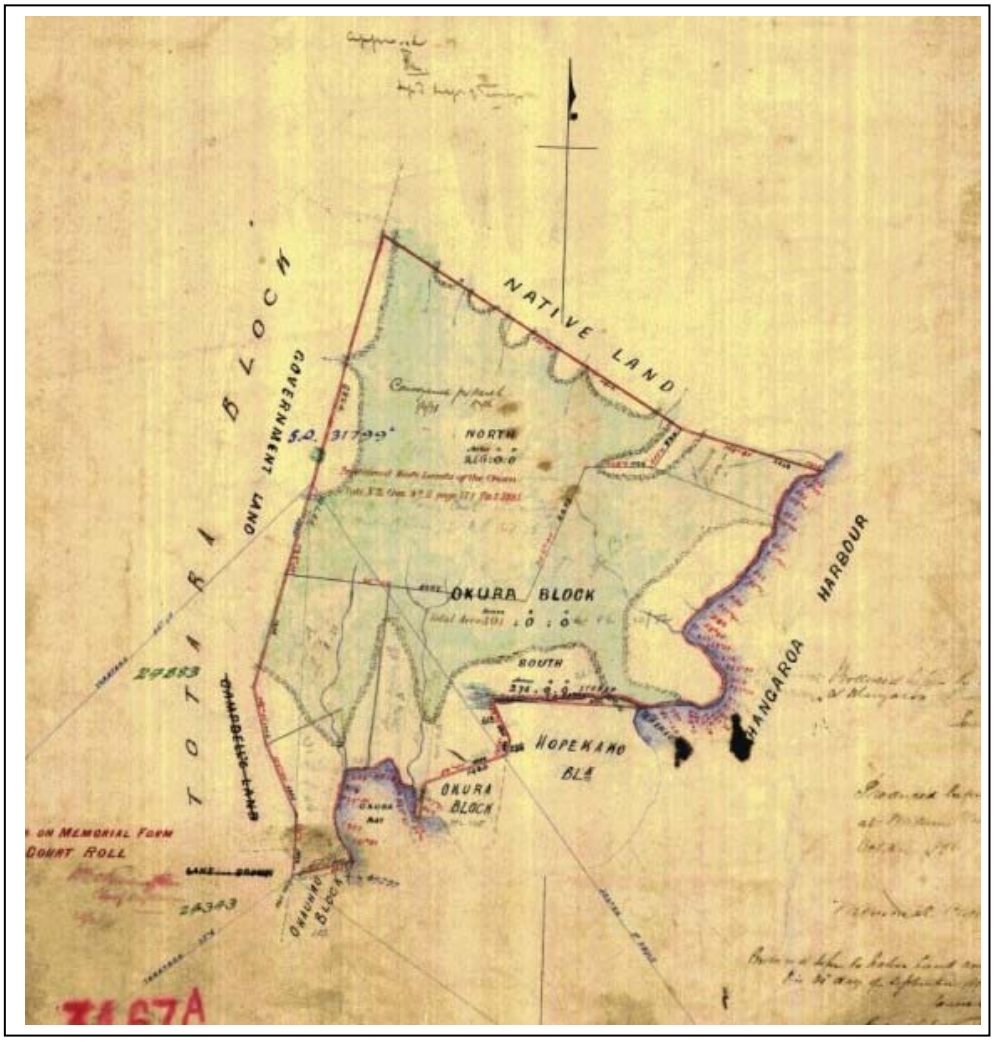
Like the Otangaroa case, the contention over Kaingapipiwai had more recent origins. When the Court cross-examined him, Taniora explained that Hare, Ururoa and himself had been co-operating to fell and sell trees from Ohoutai and Te Pitokuri. He agreed that Ururoa and 'my matuas' all felled trees together and acknowledged that Ururoa was kind to all the people of Whangaroa; everyone lived together. At some point trees were sold to a group of Pakeha and the money (£130) was shared between Taniora and Hare. Paora was angry that he did not receive any of the money and demanded £100 from the Pakeha who had bought the trees. He refused and so Paora barred them from felling trees there for a year, prompting the investigation of title. Taniora mentioned that he was comfortable with Hare and Paora having interests in the trees but he considered the land to be his.[104] Finally, the Kaingapipiwai hearing was also similar to Otangaroa in that Judge Munro ruled that both parties were equally entitled. The block was to be equally divided with the Pupuke Stream as the boundary. Hare's people were to have the north-western part, while Taniora's people had the south-eastern portion.[105] At the conclusion of the Otangaroa hearing a year earlier, the opposing parties nominated the names that would be entered on the certificate of title. But for Kaingapipiwai Taniora refused to provide the Court with a list of names, indicating that

[100] NMB 2, p.265.
[101] Pirihongo was asked by Arapata whether Nganihinihi was related to Arapata or not. Unfortunately the minutes record no answer. However so many of the questions asked during cross examinations seem rhetorical. Here then, despite the form of a question, Arapata was basically stating that Nganihinihi was his relative and so could not be used as evidence against him. NMB 2, p.265.
[102] NMB 2, p.266.
[103] NMB 2, p.266.
[104] NMB 3, pp.4-5. It is perhaps noteworthy that Paora is again implicated in serious disagreements about the sale of trees.
[105] NMB 3, p.5.

he was not happy with the Court's ruling.[106] Fifteen years later, in 1891, Taniora would be even more dissatisfied with the Court's ruling for the rehearing of Te Pupuke, where Taniora again opposed Paora Ururoa and also Mita Hape, as outlined below.

Okura No. 2 (544 acres)

The NLC investigated the 544-acre Okura (No. 2) block in 1876.[107] The case may be reduced to two competing parties – one party attesting to Hongi Hika's claim on the land, and the other claiming interests that pre-dated Hongi's time. The claims were based on take tupuna and take raupatu; occupation and mahinga kai were also mentioned.



Map 24: Okura 2
This plan shows Okura Bay to the south of Okura block, between the current Totara North jetty and Hopekako. The harbour is the eastern boundary with 'Government Land' to the west and 'Native Land' to the north-east.
Source: CFRT Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3467A), 2007.

Most of the speakers gave evidence about Hongi's interests in the land. Wiremu Pirihongo of Ngapuhi (originally of Te Arawa) spoke for Hongi, and Maka Taratikitiki of Ngati Paruru wanted to add his claim to that of Hongi's, as did Toetoe. Wiremu Naihi had nothing to say other than that if Hare Hongi admitted him it was good and well and if not, then that would

[106] NMB 3, p.6.
[107] NMB 2, pp.248-55.

be the end of it. Ruinga Tapu of the Kangaahi people argued that Okura belonged to him and Hongi.[108] Karena Kiwa of Ngapuhi also spoke and corroborated Wi Pirihongo's evidence that the land belonged to Hongi Hika.

Pumipi of Ngati Haiti opposed those who spoke for Hongi. Instead, Pumipi, stated that his take tupuna claim was based on his ancestor Urumahoe who possessed and occupied Okura before Hongi. Pumipi did not dispute that Hongi had possession of this land in his lifetime and added that he would not have attempted to claim the land while Hongi was alive. Pumipi said he wished to claim his land back as the Court was established and Hongi was dead.

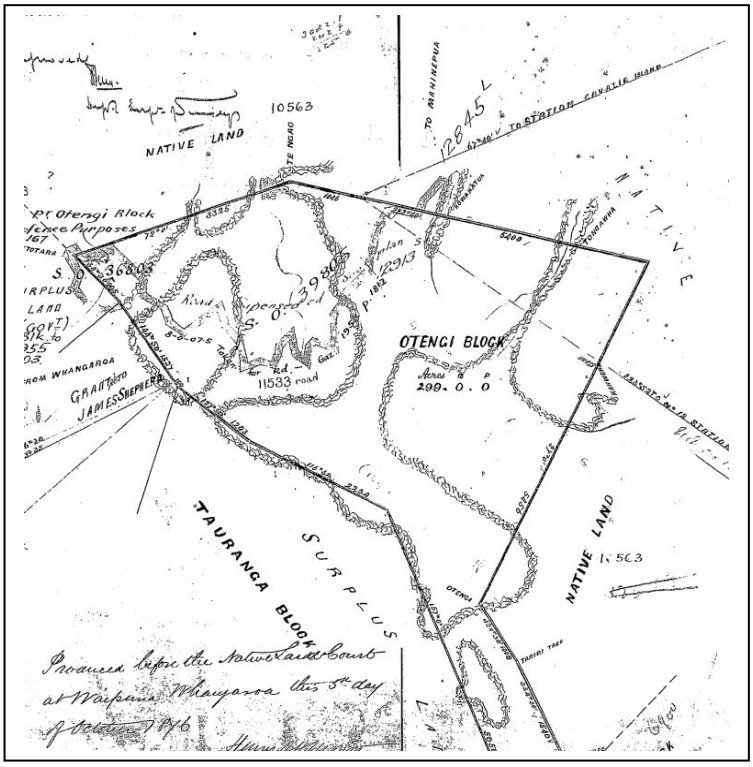
According to the evidence, at some previous time Hopekako pa belonged to the tribe of Hongi's ancestors, the Kangaahi. Ngati Haiti, Ngati Rangi, and Ngati Mokokohi may also have been living there at the time. After a time Ngati Pou stormed and took Hopekako, and Hongi subsequently retook it in his time. All the claimants generally agreed that Hongi had possession of Okura and indeed the whole of Whangaroa in his lifetime and that after Hongi and by the time of the Treaty of Waitangi, the mana of the land had passed to Ururoa.

Judge Munro ruled against Pumipi and declared the owners to be Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Kingi Hori Kira, Hare Te Heihei, Henare Kepa Tupe, Mita Hape, Toetoe, Paora Putete, Kepa Puru, Hamiora Tuauru, Karena Kiwa, Ruinga Tapu, and Wiremu Naihi. On the recommendation of the Court it was decided to admit Maka Taratikitiki. The Court ordered that a memorial of ownership be made out to Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Kingi Hori Kira, Hare Te Heihei, Henare Kepa Tupe, Toetoe, Paora Putete, Kepa Puru, Hamiora Tuauru, Karena Kiwa, Ruinga Tapu, Wiremu Naihi, and Maka Tarapatiki.

Otengi (299 acres)

The 299-acre Otengi block went before the NLC in 1876.[109] Kamehoro of Ngapuhi, Ngatitupango hapu, asserted his claim based on take tupuna and occupation. Kamehoro stated that this block belonged to himself and Hone Te Ritotahi. There was no opposition and the Court ordered that a memorial of ownership be made out to the two men. A week later, Samuel Elemezer Shepherd purchased the block from the newly appointed 'owners'.[110]

[108] The evidence in suggests that 'Kaangaahi' were 'Hongi's people'. In the 1875 Otangaroa case, Ruinga Tapu declared himself a Ngapuhi.
[109] NMB 2, p.256.
[110] NMB 3, p.23; Berghan, p.166.



Map 25 Otengi
This land-locked block is surrounded by the Mahinepua, Wainui and Tauranga blocks. Te Ngao is at the northern tip, Tongawha to the east and Puketotara to the west. Land near Puketotara has been 'Taken for Defence Purposes' while Surplus Land is marked near the Tauranga boundary.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3426), 2007.

Orotere (77 acres)

The 77-acre piece of land named Orotere went before the NLC in 1876.[111] Heremaia Te Ara of Ngati Uru claimed Orotere as a wahi tapu reserve he had set aside from the sale of the Taraire Block to the government. Heremaia said that as he alone reserved this land he considered himself to be the sole owner. There was no opposition and the Court ordered that a memorial of ownership be made out to him.

Te Kiripaka (4:2:29)

The NLC investigated title to the Te Kiripaka block in 1876.[112] Kingi Hori Kira of Ngatitupango claimed this land for himself and Riwhi Hongi based on take tupuna and undisturbed occupation. There was no opposition and the Court ordered that a memorial of ownership be made out to Kingi Hori Kira and Riwhi Hongi.

Unuhia (4395 acres)

The case for Unuhia was taken before the NLC in April 1875.[113] Wiremu Naihi claimed the land on behalf of himself and others, including Paora Ururoa and Hare Hongi. The claim was based on descent from his tupuna Te Aho. Naihi noted the land's location between Mangonui and Whangaroa. He said his ancestors used to live on the block; that the food on it was fern

[111] NMB 2, p.257.
[112] NMB 2, p.258.
[113] NMB 1, pp.57-8.

root, and that rats were caught on it. He also said he had sold some of the surrounding lands 'to the pakeha'. Indeed, Mr W. B. White and Mr Webster, District Officer, said Unuhia was an old land claim and had transferred to McLeod and Powditch. That original grant had been cancelled, so under law the land was therefore Crown land. However, White was unable to define the particular piece of land, and the NLC adjourned the case.

In 1876, the NLC reconvened the case for Unuhia.[114] At this hearing the District Officer pointed out the particular piece of land claimed by the government, to which Naihi and claimants conceded, and said the government land should be excluded from their block. Finally, the NLC ordered that a memorial of ownership be made out to Wiremu Te Pahi, Huperio, Rameka, Hare Te Heihei, Hemi Rua, Huirama, Hone Pororua, and Ruinga Tapu.

The following week, with all of these owners present, the block was sold at the rate of 1/6 per acre for £295, from which a deposit or 'former payment' of £40 was deducted.[115] The details of transactions such as this call into question the dubious influence of deposits (sometimes known in other parts of Aotearoa as takoha or tamana) on the Court's proceedings.[116]

Omataroa (3320 acres)

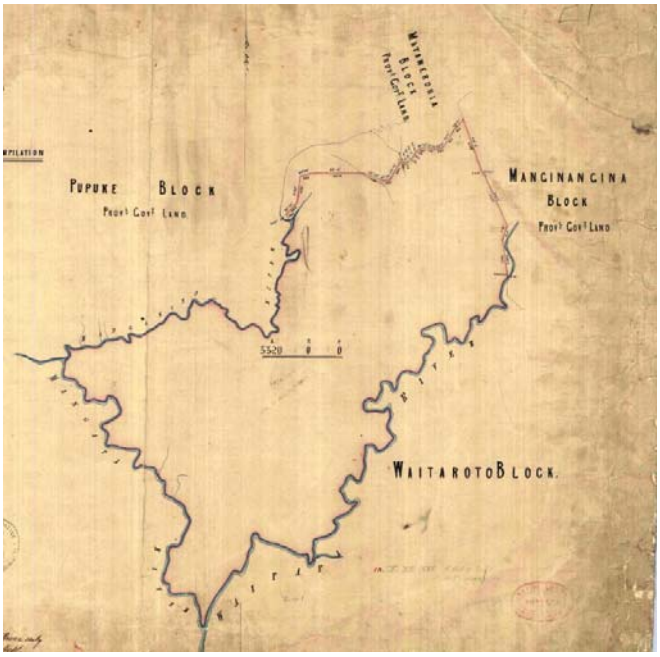
The Omataroa block of 3320 acres went before the NLC at Ohaeawai in 1875 with Judge Henry Monro presiding, Wiremu Hikairo (Assessor) and W. Webster (District Officer) present.[117] Tupari Raniera, of Te Popoto hapu (Hokianga) claimed the block through take tupuna and occupation. He advised the Court that he had agreed to withdraw his claim in favor of Hamiora Hau, a 'descendant from the same ancestor'. Pereene Taonui corroborated this. Mere Mapihi also appeared before the Court. The minutes read:

> Mere Mapihi (Marshall) half-caste said she had a claim on the land but did not wish to press it as she had agreed with Tupari and Pereene to withdraw in favour of Hamiora Hau. They have sold the land to the government.[118]

As there were no objections, ownership of Omataroa was awarded to Hamiora Hau. The block was purchased from him on 24 April 1875. According to Berghan, correspondence between Wiremu and Hamiora Hau regarding the sale of this block to the Crown had commenced in 1871. A deposit had also been paid in August 1874, and a further payment in

[114] NMB 2, p.260.
[115] NMB 3, p.22.
[116] See, for example, Waitangi Tribunal, *The Te Roroa Report (Wai 38)*, Wellington, 1992, and *The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi (Wai 143)*, Wellington, 1996.
[117] NMB 2, p.61.
[118] NMB 2, p.61.

October.[119] This seems to be another example (like Unuhia) of the government's land acquisition programme influencing NLC court investigations.



Map 26: Omataroa
The Omataroa survey shows three of the boundary lines following along the Waipapa, Mangapa and Mangakino rivers. At the northern end, Omataroa adjoins the Pupuke, Matawerohia and Manginangina Blocks which, at the time of this survey were marked as 'Provincial Govt. Land'.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML2179), 2007.

Ohakiri (43 acres)

The 43-acre Ohakiri block went before the NLC in 1876.[120] Speaking for Paora Ururoa, Wiremu Pirihongo claimed Ohakiri for Paora Ururoa and Hare Hongi only. The claim was made on the basis of take raupatu with mahinga kai also being mentioned. There was no opposition and the NLC vested ownership in Hare Hongi Hika and Paora Ururoa.

Three days later a deed of transfer was produced and the block sold for 15/per acre. This amounted to £32.5 of which a 'former payment' of £21 was noted, leaving a sum of £11.5 to be paid for the sale.[121] The same question about the payment of 'deposits' raised in respect of the transaction of Unuhia and Omataroa blocks, above, ought to be considered here also.

Opuhiiti No.1 (186 acres); and Opuhiiti No. 2

The NLC investigated title to the 186-acre Opuhiiti No.1 block in 1876.[122] Hohepa Te Taha of the Ngati Mokokohi claimed the land on behalf of himself, Hongi, Ururoa, and Tuoro. The claim was made on the basis of take tupuna from Mokokohi and occupation. Mahinga kai were also mentioned. Te Warena Tuoro claimed the land too, but withdrew his claim leaving

[119] Berghan, pp.129-31.
[120] NMB 2, pp.261-262.
[121] NMB 3, p.21.
[122] NMB 2, pp.258-9.

no opposition to Hohepa Te Taha. The NLC ordered that a memorial of ownership be made out to Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, and Hohepa Te Taha. Hohepa Te Taha further asserted that the owners of the small reserve Opuhiiti No.2 were Te Warena Tuoro and Makereta Iwikatuku. There was no opposition, and a Memorial of Ownership was made out to those two.

Opuhiiti No. 1 was alienated soon after title issued, in conjunction with an 1876 deed of transfer for Otangaroa No. 1 block. The Crown purchased it at a rate of 2/6 per acre, a total of £23.5.0 for the block.[123]

Opuhiiti No.3, No.4, and No.5

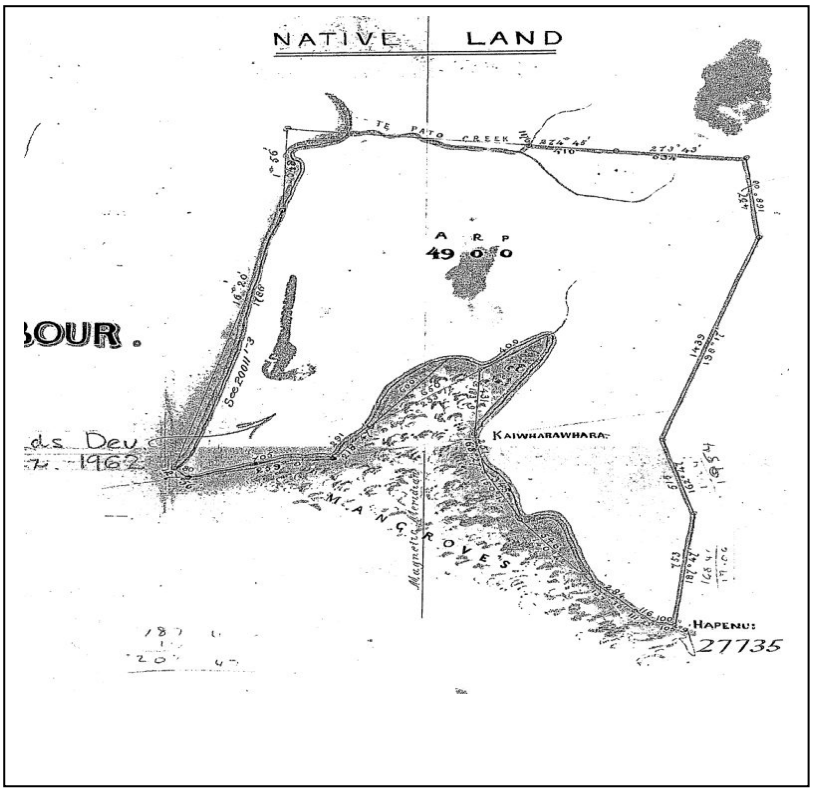
These three sections of land went before the NLC in 1876.[124] Paora Ururoa asserted that the owner of all three pieces of land was Hongi. There was no opposition and a memorial of ownership for each section of land was made out to Hare Hongi Hika.

Te Hoanga (49 acres)

Judge Munro presided over the case for Te Hoanga at Mangonui on 30 April 1875, with Wiremu Hikairo (assessor) and W. Webster (District Officer) also present. Fairburn produced the plan and Webster advised the court that this land was part of Powditch's Scrip Land but he had no evidence to prove it. Pumipi Te Puhi of Ngati Uru claimed the land through take tupuna saying he had lived and cultivated on this land and that Mere Mapihi and Kaimanu should also be included in the grant. Taniora Arapata said that Pumipi had sold him a small piece of this land and that he should be included. Pumipi agreed to this. Judgement was deferred.

On the 2 March 1877 at Mangonui, before Judge Munro, Pumipi Whaitua[?] of Ngati Rua re-affirmed his claim on the same basis of take tupuna and occupation. Pumipi claimed he and his sister were the only owners. With his sister now dead, her daughter Mere Mapihi ought to succeed. The Court ordered that a memorial of ownership issue to Pumipi Whaitua, Mere Mapihi and Rapi Taniora.[125]

[123] NMB 3, p.22. Berghan, p.151.
[124] NMB 2, pp.262-3.
[125] NMB 1, p.111.



Map 27: Te Hoanga
Te Hoanga is a harbour-side block near the mouth of the Kaeo River. This plan shows the mangroves of the tidal inlet. Kaiwharawhara and Hapenui are both marked, while Te Pato Creek forms the northern boundary line.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML 3024A), 2007.

Waikukupa (1114 acres)

The Court investigated Waikukupa in 1876.[126] Arama Te Puhi of Ngati Pakahi claimed the land for himself and nineteen others. He had procured a survey of the block which was sub-divided into five, and said the owners wanted one order for all five pieces. Te Puhi said the land belonged to his ancestors and, further: 'When Hongi and Ururoa conquered Whangaroa they got the mana of all the land. I asked Ururoa for this piece and he gave it to me and my relatives'.[127]

Paora Ururoa corroborated Te Puhi's evidence and there was no opposition. The Court ordered that a memorial of the ownership be given to Arama Te Puhi, William Spickman, Patara Whakarorowai, Mohi Te Rahiri, Rihari Te Kuri, Taniora Rihari, Hemi Rihari, Riwhi Paru, Mohi Nohinohi, Kaimanu Whaitua, Hohepa Taha, Arthur Spickman, Hetaraka Arama, George Rudolph, Poni Rewharewha, Hone Pihama More, Tanatoro, Whaitua, Hana Tari and Raiha Taniora.

[126] NMB 3, pp.7-8.
[127] NMB 3, p.7.

Waihapa (4723 acres)

The Waihapa Block went before NLC at Waipuna, Whangaroa in 1876.[128] Rameka Te Tirarau, of Ngatimatamomoe [Ngati Rangimatamoemoe], claimed the land on behalf of himself, Ruinga Tapu, Huperio, Te Arama, Henare Hemi, Whetu and Aporo Te Meawai. His claim was based on ancestry (from Te Ahonui), conquest, and current occupation. He said that Ruinga procured the survey.

Huperio said that Rameka had omitted others with interests in the block, namely: Wiremu Naihi, Mere Karapepe, Hone Te Takarangi, Puke Tapu, Hariata Ruinga and Maka Te Wharenui. Wi Pirihongo named the owners on Hongi's 'side' as Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Katerina Te Takupu, Patu Hihira, Erena Ururoa, Ngarongoro Kahira and Hongi Hika.

Taniora Arapata, who said he was Ngati Mokokohi and Ngati Haiti, challenged Rameka Te Tirarau's claim and counter-claimed through ancestry to Touhuti. He could not, however, point out the position of their pa on the map or provide the name of it, saying that he himself had never lived on the land. Taniora Arapata said that his father Te Hiko had lived outside the block but had cultivations inside at Okaha. Touhuti was a common ancestor of Taniora Arapata and Ruinga Tapu, of Ngati Rangi. Taniora Arapata knew Ruinga Tapu to be a principal owner of Waihapa and stated that Ruinga had never interfered with either him or his father, his right was only disputed when he had gone to Waihapa to dig gum.

Wi Pirihongo confirmed Ruinga Tapu as the owner through ancestry and conquest, saying that Ruinga's matua assisted Hongi and Ururoa to conquer this district. Wi Pirihongo stated that when Ngati Pou occupied Waihapa, Ruinga and others of the tangata whenua lived there with them. When Hongi drove Ngati Pou off, Ruinga fled with them. He returned when 'peace was made', occupying the land again with Ururoa's permission. Furthermore:

> The arrangement made by Ururoa with Ruinga was this – when any land was sold Ruinga was to sell it and to bring the price to Ururoa for Ururoa to divide as he liked. This was to show that Ururoa had the 'mana' of the land.[129]

Wi Pirihongo also disputed Taniora's evidence, saying that he was living at Karangahape and when he had come to dig gum he was ordered not to do so. When Taniora persisted in

[128] NMB 3, pp.9-18. The Court seems to have been uncertain about the correct name for this block, and both Waihapa and Waipapa are givien. However the ensuing paragraphs state that Te Tirarau is 'living on it now', suggesting it to be Waihapa.
[129] NMB 3, p.13.

digging, Hare Hongi did not wish to cause a disturbance or they would have forcibly driven him off. He also asserted that Hare Hongi and Paora Ururoa could claim from conquest.
In his evidence, Ruinga Tapu confirmed Touhuti and Tapui as former owners of the land, but stated that there had been a division following the killing of Touhuti at Hopekako and the abduction of Touhuti's daughter Tanga, the tupuna of Taniora. Tanga had been taken to Hokianga; her children had been born away and never come back, hence the division. Ruinga stated that Hare Hongi and he had sold several pieces on this block. Te Hiko knew about these sales but did not object or demand any share of payments. Hone Raukaura corroborated the evidence regarding the capture and taking of Tanga.

The Court ruled that Taniora Arapata had no claim due to his ancestress being taken away several generations ago and judged in favour of Rameka Te Tirarau. The Court ordered a memorial of ownership for: Rameka Te Tirarau, Ruinga Tapu, Huperio, Te Orama, Henare Hemi, Whitu, Aporo Te Meawai, Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Katerina Te Takupu, Patu Hihira, Erana Ururoa, Ngarongo Kahuru Hongi, Hamiora Kuauau, Hori Kerei, Te Hie, Kini Maka, Rewharewha Huri, Kino Ururoa, Mita Hape, Paora Heke, Toetoe, Hamiora Te Tuauru, Hera Hapu Kiriha, Hera Hongi, Mereana Hongi, Mata Ururoa, Tura Hongi and Henare Kingi.

Te Totara (5:2:3)

The Court heard the case for Te Totara at Waipuna, Whangaroa in 1878, after it had initially been adjourned at the request of claimants in 1876.[130] Taniora Arapata of Ngati Rangimatakaka claimed sole ownership through occupation and ancestry from Mokokohi, stating that he was a boy of twelve when he went with his father to live there.

Hohepa Te Taha, of Ngapuhi and Ngati Mokokohi, opposed Taniora and claimed ownership himself through Mokokohi. According to Hohepa Te Taha there were two ancestors named Mokokohi, each living at different periods of time. The first Mokokohi was 'the ancestor of all of us, but there was a division of land afterwards'. Te Taha's ancestors got Te Totara and Opuhiiti, which they occupied and had wahi tapu there.[131] Te Kepa Tupe had sold a piece of the block some time earlier to M. Shepherd; Taniora had received money from the payment and had not objected. Te Taha asserted that he and Taniora were related, and that they had lived on this land together, as had others, each knowing the 'boundaries' of their lands. Te Taha described the boundary of his ancestors thus:

[130] NMB 3, p.21; and NMB 3, pp.322-8.
[131] Te Taha stated that Taniora Arapata was at the Opuhiiti hearing and did not oppose the claim. Opuhiiti was awarded to Hophea Te Taha, Hare Hongi Hika and Paora Ururoa in an 1876 hearing. See NMB 2, pp.258-259.

> [commencing] where the school house now stands, it ascends to Ohakiri, thence to Kiripaka, Maungapiko, Arerokama, Putataua, Owhare, Kioreiti, Whaititiri, Te Wai Whakapirau. Here it turns and runs to Te Huia to Kaeo stream and crosses it to Kohepara, runs to Otare, Waikukupa, Puketawa, Waingaere, Te [Wakapuketua?], Te Tarauraha, turns here and descends to Te Pupuke stream, runs down the stream to Te Whanau o te puna and along the sand flat to the point of commencement.

Further, Te Taha said the land belonged to the brothers Te Puni and Te Umukau:

> The older brother had land on the other side of Whangaroa. The descendants of Te Puni do not now make any claim. They never appear in Whangaroa - I and my fathers have cultivated on this land in the good parts of it. Taniora warded with us for one year. We Maori used to cultivate on each other's lands. I have worked on his land at Te Pupuke. I had a claim on it. We all lived together there for mutual protection. There was much fighting at the time but it was usual for Maoris to cultivate at times on each others land on places where they had a claim.[132]

Taniora Arapata argued that 'all our relatives' had a claim to that land within the boundary given. There seems to have been a number of whare on this block and, following Hongi's fight with Ngati Pou, it appears that Ururoa designated certain areas to certain groups, taking into consideration the ancestral claims of Ngati Mokokohi. Taniora Arapata said that there had been disagreements between the claimants – Paora Ururoa, Hare Hongi, Hohepa Te Taha and himself – regarding the different areas within the block, and that some, such as Hohepa Te Taha, had felt that any lease payments received for specific areas within the block, should be shared among all the 'owners'.[133]

The court considered that both parties were equally entitled as 'they were both descended from the same ancestry, had both exercised rights of ownership – one by cultivating, the other by burying his dead upon it'. Accordingly, the court ordered a memorial of the ownership of Taniora Arapata, of Ngaitawhiu, and Hohepa Te Taha of Ngapuhi and Ngatimokokohi.[134]

Omaunu (5266 acres)

The Omaunu block first came before the Court at Waipuna on 1 May 1866. At that stage the block had not been surveyed and the Court declined to entertain the case.[135] Ten years later, the case again came before the Court and was adjourned at the request of the claimants.[136] The investigation of title finally took place at Waipuna, Whangaroa, in 1878.[137] A map was

[132] NMB 3, p.323.
[133] NMB 3, p.327.
[134] Despite Taniora Arapata stating Ngatirangimatakaka as his hapu at the start of the investigation, in the recording of the judgement, the Court has stated his hapu to be Ngaitawhiu.
[135] NMB 1, p.12.
[136] NMB 3, p.21.
[137] NMB 3, pp.328-31, 341-4.

produced and Taniora Arapata (Ngaitawhiu) claimed ownership derived from his ancestor Te Pikinga, as well as current occupation. Paora Ururoa and others opposed Taniora's claim, with Wi Pirihongo arguing the counter-claim. Pirihongo said he had lived on the land since childhood subsequent to Hongi and Ururoa's fight with Ngati Pou. According to Pirihongo, the mana of the land passed to Ururoa after Hongi's death, and Ururoa had sold kauri trees on the land. Ururoa had also allowed Taniora and his people to return from the Hokianga and reoccupy the block. Ururoa stayed at Te Pupuke and allowed the others to 'go further upstream to live'. The minutes read:

> Te Horu and Te Pekatahi were the names of the men who stayed with Ururoa, they were tupunas of Taniora. At the time of the fighting it was proposed to kill these people but Tareha brought them under his protection and saved them.... It was the standing trees on this land which Ururoa sold. The pakeha's who brought them wanted them sawed up on the land. Ururoa used to receive the whole of the money. Taniora has of later years turned against those who saved his tupuna's lives and allowed them to come back and live on this land.[138]

In cross-examination, Wi Pirihongo stated that Ururoa lived at Mangaiti. The Court ruled that, as in the claim for Kaingapipiwai, the land was to be divided between the claimants and opponents in two equal portions to be called Omaunu No. 1 (2633 acres) and No.2.[139]

Hare Hongi Hika provided the following names as the Ngapuhi owners of Omaunu No.1 – Hare Hongi Hika, Paora Ururoa, Mita Hape, Hira Hongi, Toetoe Hongi, Paora Heke, Waikere Heke, Whata Paraoa, Wiremu Perereka, Whata Paraoa, Wiremu Kowhai, Poni Rewharewha, Mereana Hongi, Paora Kira, Hera Hapukeniha, Rati Hongi, Hamiora Tuauru, Tira Hongi, Wini Hongi, Maraea Hongi, Mate Ngahuru, Peti Te Karehu[?] Ngapeka, Meti Toetoe, Hina Miriama, Mita Hare, Moki Hongi, Puru Rewharewha, Hare Kowhai, Hohepa Taha, Wiremu Warena and Wiremu Tangata.[140] Wiremu Naihi, Komene Ripiro and Himiona Maka also had their names added.[141]

Taniora Arapata noted that there was disagreement over the admittance of Arama Patara and others, who appeared to claim rights to both No.1 and No.2 blocks. The court advised that, as most of the principal persons involved in the investigation had gone home, the dispute would have to be adjourned to a future sitting of the court. Four years later in May 1882, Taniora Arapata told the Court that his people wished to take their claim to Omaunu to

[138] NMB 3, pp.329-30.
[139] NMB 3, p.331.
[140] NMB 3, pp.341-4.
[141] The reasons for the additional names were that Wi Naihi had been admitted in Kaingapipiwai; Komene would be successor to Ritete Make, deceased, who was also admitted in Kaingapipiwai; and Himiona was closely related to Hongi, NMB 3, p.342.

the 'Committee of the Treaty of Waitangi'. The Court minutes simply state that the case was 'Adjourned for Names', and it is unclear how the matter was resolved, although Berghan notes that certificates of title issued pursuant to the Court's order.[142]

Tokatarakihi (164 acres)

The Court investigated title to Tokatarakihi at Waipuna, Whangaroa, in 1878 where Wiremu Naihi claimed ownership on behalf of himself, Paora Ururoa and Hare Hongi on the basis of take tupuna. [143] He stated that this piece was part of the Unuhia block, which he had already sold to the government. There being no opposition, a memorial of ownership was ordered for Wiremu Naihi, Paora Ururoa and Hare Hongi Hika, all identified as Ngati Uru.

Mokau No. 2 (441 acres)

The Court heard the case for the Mokau block at Waipuna in 1878.[144] Heremaia Te Ara, of Ngati Uru and Ngaitewhiu, claimed ownership, deriving his right through take tupuna (from Kurairarohea and Rongomaitekawa). Heremaia stated that he procured the survey with which no one had interfered. He also said that although he had never lived on the land, his ancestors had and had also cultivated it. Since childhood he had hunted kiwi, rats and birds on the block and had continued to consider the whenua as a mahinga kai, although more now in regard to hunting pigs and working plantations.

Hamiora Hau, of Ngati Miru, opposed, saying that he himself derived ownership through take tupuna from Tu, and also through occupation. Hamiora Hau disputed that Kurairarohea and Rongomaitekawa were the original owners, and also considered that the Court had erroneously awarded Mokau Block No.1 to Heremaia. Hamiora said that he had lived at Waitukutawatawa, to the south of Mokau, since 1830.

Paora Whataparaoa said that Mokau was a mahinga kai for kiwi and rats. He accused Heremaia Te Ara and Wiremu Hau of theft for selling Mokau No.1 to the government because they were not the true owners. Wiremu Hau, claiming through take tupuna from Tu, said that Tu had both pa and tapu on the land. Wiremu Hau did however state that he alone had sold Mokau No.1 and that Heremaia Te Ara had no part in the sale.

On presenting his evidence, Heremaia Te Ara said that Mokau was formerly occupied by Ngati Miru and that all the claimants in the case descended from the same ancestors and from the *Mataatua*. However, he would not concede 'that Tu ever owned Mokau'. He said

[142] NMB 6, p.42. Berghan, p.133.
[143] NMB 3, pp.331-2.
[144] NMB 3, pp.332-40.

'Miru came in the bow of *Mataatua* and Tu (or Tumoana) came in the stern'.[145] He and Wi Hau both descended from Miru, who claimed all the land about Whangaroa and as far as Mangonui. Tumoana, the ancestor of Te Rarawa, never got any land in Whangaroa.[146]

Wiremu Naihi supported the evidence of Heremia Te Ara, saying that in former times Mokau belonged to Kurairarohea and her husband. Naihi added that there was a woman, possibly named Meinga, who lived on Mokau specifically to gather karaka berries. She was killed there, supposedly by people from Hokianga who were related to Heremaia Te Ara, when they had come to take kukupa.

In delivering its judgement, the Court considered that neither group 'had been very successful in proving a good title'. Yet it ruled that the two parties had equal rights. There being no further opposition, the claimant and opposition groups consulted and provided a list of owners, who were named on the memorial of ownership. They were: Heremia Te Ara, Hamiora Hau, Wiremu Naihi, Huperio Te Karapepe, Hone Heremia, Herewini Ngawati, Te Honihana, Hohepa Taha, Taniora Kowhiti, Rirohi Paru, Mita Hape, Te Tana Toro, Pai Hoka, Mihaka Karuhorongia, Aperahama Parangi, Henare Hemi, Pira Hakena, Rihari Te Kuri, Paora Whataparaoa, Wiremu Hau, Hemi Kuti, Wiremu Paikemanahi and Henare Ruhe.

Investigations of Title from the 1880s to the 1900s

Having worked its way through investigations of title to several large blocks of land during the 1870s, by the 1880s there remained many blocks to which the Court still had to attend. From the 1880s and into the 1900s, the Court investigated title to several 'smaller' blocks (of less than 150 acres), as well as some larger blocks. By 1905, however, there were still a number of large blocks that had yet to be brought before the Court and which eventually became the subject of Papatupu Block Committee deliberations, including: Matauri, Te Touwai and Ririwha, Kahikatoa, Mahimahi and Motukawanui, and Taupo. These papatupu blocks are not detailed here, but material from them is variously used in other parts of the report.

Ota (10.2.32)

Judge J. J. Symonds presided over the investigation of title for the Ota block in May 1882.[147] A map of the land was produced and Taniora Arapata, of Whanau Pani, claimed the block

[145] This is possibly a metaphor for the relative status of Miru and Tu.
[146] NMB 3, p.337.
[147] NMB 6, p.41. Also present were: Pirini Mataiawhia, the assessor; the clerk, H. Austin; and W. Swanson Jnr, the interpretor.

previously belonged to Miru. It had been given to Roera Makere as she was living on it. Taniora Arapata asked the Court to award the block to her. There were no objections and the Court determined Roera Makere was the sole owner.

Waipuna (36 acres)

The Court heard the case for the Waipuna block at Mangonui in 1885; Judge E. W. Puckey presided.[148] Wi Hakitara, of Ngatitera[?] claimed ownership through ancestry and occupation. Hakitara lived at Peria and, with the others named, wished to be granted ownership and have the block divided. As there were no counter-claimants or objections, the block was divided into two: Waipuna A (32:1:7) and Waipuna B (3:2:32). Waipuna A was vested in Wi Hakitara and Hohaia Powhara; and Waipuna B in Karipa Hakakai, Nopera Puru and Te Wiremu Pikahu.

Te Pupuke (2396 acres)

In the Court's rehearing of the 2396-acre Te Pupuke block in 1891, Taniora opposed the claims of Mita Hape and Paora Ururoa. These three claimants gave very detailed evidence, the core of which was very similar to that given during the 1876 Kaingapipiwai hearing. The issues that were debated focused around different interpretations of Hongi's battles in Whangaroa and what effect they had on the tangata whenua there. As with the Kaingapipiwai hearing, Taniora relied very heavily on the case he made for continuous customary usage and occupation of land at Te Pupuke. And like the Kaingapipiwai hearing Taniora's opponents more or less acknowledged his residence, but insisted that the situation changed when Hongi came to Whangaroa.

The Te Pupuke case was controversial from the outset. The rehearing almost ended before it began, as before the hearing Mita Hape had sent letters asking the Court not to convene 'as none of the natives would attend'. In Court Mita Hape said that after several meetings the people had decided not to bring the case, but Taniora said he did not want the case withdrawn. After a lengthy discussion, the Court adjourned the case till the next day, 'so as to give Mita Hape time to consult with his people'.[149]

When the Court reconvened the next day, having agreed to proceed with the hearing, Mita 'gave a resume at considerable length why they have asked for a rehearing.'[150] Unfortunately the minutes do not record this 'resume', and the rationale and thinking of Mita and his

[148] NMB 6, pp.336-7. Also present were: Renata Ngakaua, the assessor; a clerk, whose name is indecipherable; and C.J. Puckey the interpretor.
[149] Mita Hape addressing the Court, Te Pupuke Rehearing 1891, NMB 10, p.293.
[150] NMB 10, p.293.

supporters cannot be deduced. However, his earlier statement that 'none of the natives would attend' may be read as an indication of opposition to the case or the Court or both. What the minutes do indicate is the perception of presiding judges Burton and Von Sturmer. As they saw it Mita and his people preferred the battlefield to the courtroom and had refused to engage with the NLC. This left Taniora to lay claim to lands without opposition. (This is a telling comment on the Court's part as it seems to acknowledge that some people with genuine interests in land may lose them if they remain aloof from the Court and fail to contest others who claim). Mita's initial application for a rehearing was a reaction to that very situation, and the judges scolded Mita for his apparent belligerence, going so far as to threaten loss of rights:

> Settlement by a court and not by war is the proper mode of settlement and that any person who refuses to show his die of the case to a court ought to suffer for his misconduct. If any person attempts settlement by War, he ought to be punished by the Government of the country, and if during his war he takes other people's lives he ought to be found guilty of murder. All Maori and Europeans must understand that war in this country between those who have disputes as to their rights is at an end and that those who refuse settlement by a court of justice shall lose their rights if they have any.[151]

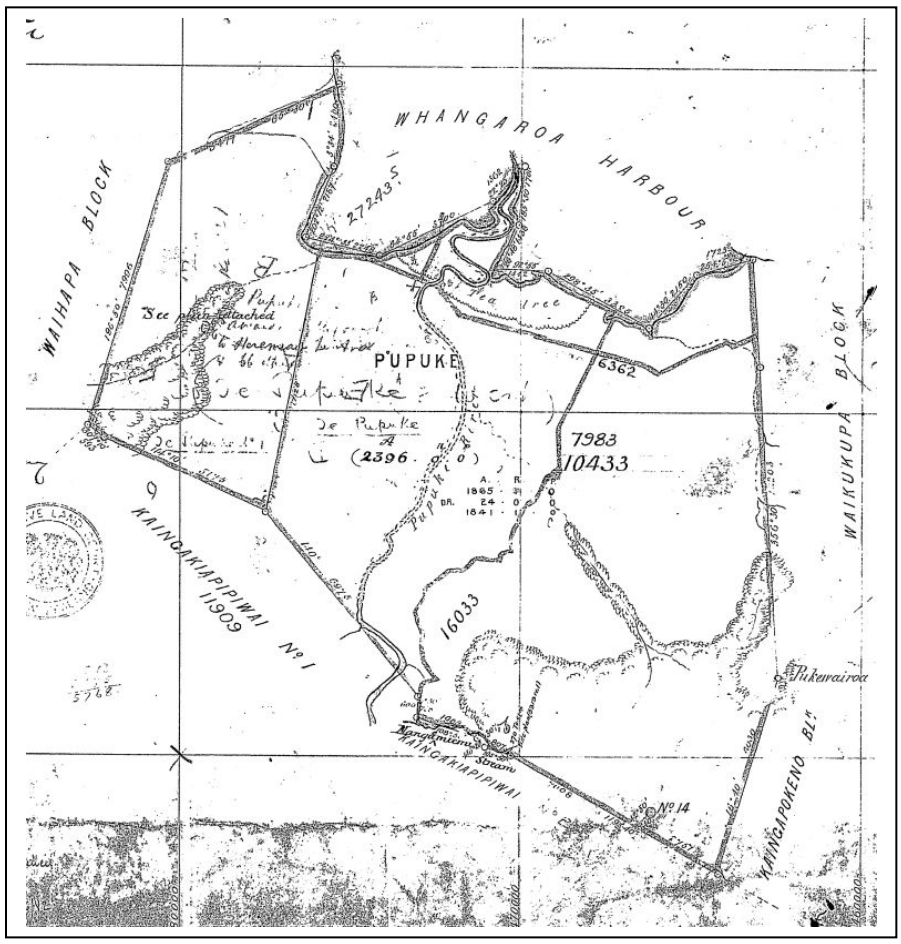
In fact the Court did 'punish' Mita, recommending the security money he had lodged for the rehearing be used to defray expenses:

> Mita Hape has informed us that a sum of money has been lodged by him with the Registrar of the Native land Court as security in this case. If this be the fact, we shall not recommend the return of that money to Mita Hape, but shall recommend that it be placed to the credit of the public account towards defraying the expenses of this rehearing. We do this to mark our disapproval of the conduct of Mita Hape in refusing to appear before Judge Puckey and make his claim in that court. This whole trouble has been caused by the misconduct of Mita Hape and his advisers and we regret that we are unable to punish him still more severely.[152]

As the hearing proceeded, Taniora and Mita debated the nature of Ngati Pou's occupation of Te Pupuke. For Taniora, his people remained at Te Pupuke and maintained their rangatiratanga there regardless of what Ngati Pou were doing. Again Taniora argued that his people were not the target of Hongi's attack. Mita considered that Taniora's people, all the people of Te Pupuke and, indeed, all the people of Whangaroa were inevitably swept up by the currents of war and change when Hongi entered the area. The Court considered that Taniora himself held this view during the Kaingapipiwai hearing but was changing the story for the sake of the Pupuke hearing. For the most part this seems inaccurate. Taniora and Heremaia Te Ara gave a consistent account of how their people held mana over the land before, during and after Hongi's time in Whangaroa. The Court's assertion that Taniora had

[151] NMB 10, p.338.
[152] NMB 10, p.341.

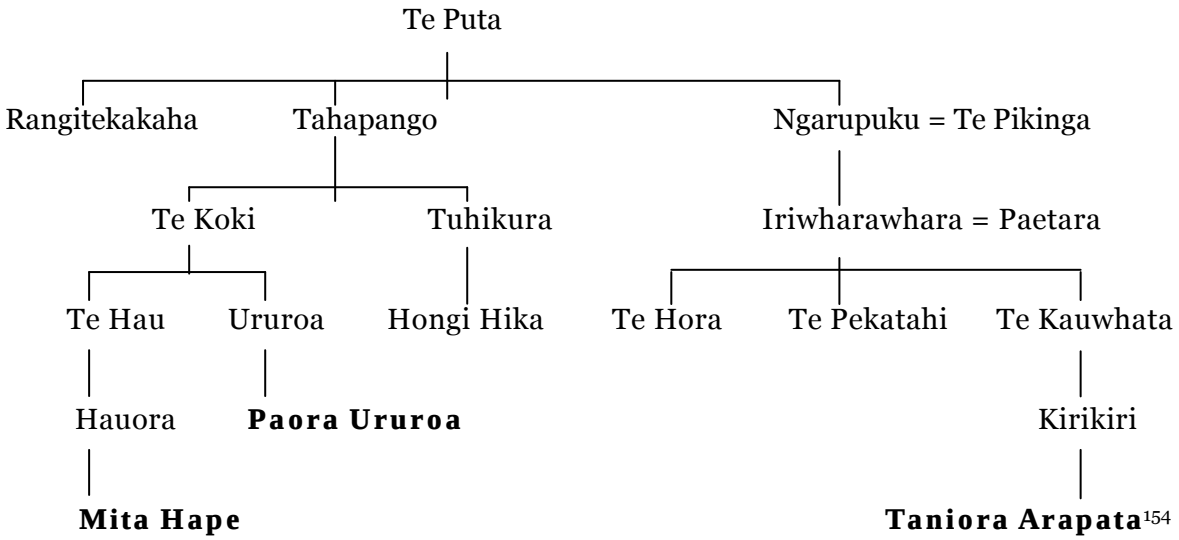
changed his story was based on a single sentence answer that Taniora gave while being cross examined by Wiremu Pirihongo, who asked whether or not Te Pekatahi and other of Taniora's relatives were under the mana of Ururoa after Hongi's war against Ngati Pou. Taniora replied 'yes I have heard so.'[153] It is possible that by conceding this point, Taniora had virtually (though unintentionally) conceded that Mita's claim was the stronger case. The Court ruled in favour of Mita and against Taniora.



Map 28: Pupuke
This plan shows the Pupuke River flowing through the Pupuke Block into the Whangaroa Harbour. The surrounding blocks are Waihapa, Kaingapipiwai, Kaingapokeno and Waikukupa.
Source: CFRT Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3720), 2007.

Mostly, the claimants focused their korero on the time period of their parents and grandparents. As with previous hearings, Hongi's assault on Ngati Pou and the events leading up to it were issues around which the evidence gravitated. The ruling the Court handed down focussed almost entirely on Hongi and the effect of his battles with Ngati Pou on the tribal landscape of Whangaroa. Taniora pinned his claim on older tupuna and their continuous occupation of Pupuke down to the time of the rehearing; but even he discussed Hongi at some length. He began by describing the rights that his ancestor Te Puta and his children had over all of Whangaroa.

[153] NMB 3, p.4.


[154]

As the whakapapa above shows, Taniora traced his continuous occupation of Pupuke from Te Puta, to Ngarupuku, to Iriwharawhara, to Te Kauwhata, then to his mother Kirikiri.[155] These ancestors had cultivations and kainga in Pupuke which were still in use at the time of the rehearing. Taniora named Whakapipi as such an area. Iriwharawhara had established cultivations there as well as at Pukekahikatoa, and Ngarupuku had built a pa after his marriage with Te Pikinga. Pureru was another area Taniora had lived and had cultivations. Pukaka was a cultivation that Taniora's parents had established, but it had been abandoned more recently.

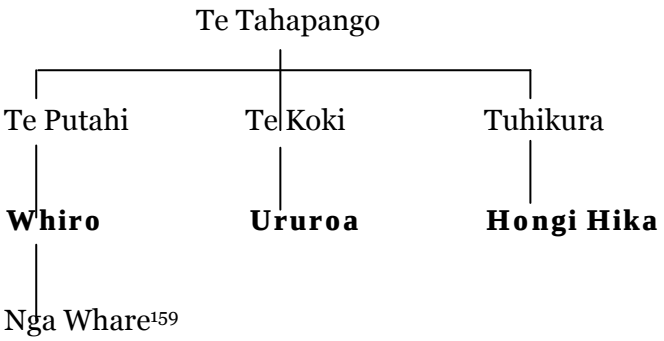
Taniora also named wahi tapu. Uruwhau was a burial ground, so was Parawaipuke where Taniora's grandfather Te Kauwhata and Whiro were interred. Te Pikinga was buried on the bank of a river in Whakapipi. This was also the site of cultivations and an area that Te Putahi and Whiro (shown in the whakapapa below) lived. Hongi Hika and Ururoa also had cultivations at Whakapipi, although they did not live there. To this end Taniora noted that:

> Te Tahapango down to Ururoa and others had mana over the land with the exception of occupying it. My right over the entire block is through Te Puta. Our ancestors were his descendants and had entire mana over the block and it extended to us from them.[156]

Another burial ground dated from the arrival of the missionaries and was located near Pukekahikatoa. According to Taniora this wahi tapu had no name, although he had buried a

[154] NMB 10, p.296.
[155] Various spellings were given for these names. The spelling given in the whakapapa has been used throughout to prevent any further confusion.
[156] NMB 10, p.298.

child of his there.[157] There were also cultivations around Pukekahikatoa that Rangitekakaha, an offspring of Te Puta, had estalished.[158]



Paora and Mita also cited the various customary usages that they and their ancestors had carried out in and around Te Pupuke. Paora mentioned how Hongi took over the corn and kumara cultivations left behind at Pupuke after he had forced Ngati Pou off the land.[160] Paora essentially confirmed all the burial sites that Taniora identified, but predictably he asserted they were all under the mana of Hongi.[161] Tied to this were cultivations at Pukekahikatoa that were jointly maintained by Whiro and Ururoa. Mita described how these cultivations had existed since his grandparent's time and had been maintained down to the time of the hearing. [162] He said Taniora's ancestors Te Hora, Te Pekatahi and Te Kauwhata cultivated at Pupuke but brought their produce to Ururoa.[163] Paora discussed a church he had built on the west side of the Pupuke stream where he had buried several relatives. According to Paora, Taniora had earlier accused him of building the church on his (Taniora's) land. Paora described Taniora's assertion as an 'entire falsehood', adding that 'I [built] my church where I chose and buried my dead where I liked.'[164] Paora identified another church which his grandparents had built at a place called Hionga.[165] He named Hone Maika as the builder of this church, but added that he was a servant of Ururoa's and was not a relative of Taniora.[166]

In this way the claimants attempted to establish their case for Pupuke by citing the various customary usages they and their ancestors had enacted there. They then turned their attention to the significant events in the lives of their tupuna. Whiro, the son of Te Putahi

[157] NMB 10, p.297.
[158] NMB 10, p.303.
[159] NMB 10, p.295.
[160] NMB 10, p.307.
[161] NMB 10, p.311.
[162] NMB 10, p.321.
[163] NMB 10, p.323.
[164] NMB 10, p.308.
[165] It is not clear whether this is inside Te Pupuke.
[166] NMB 10, pp.310-11.

and – like Hongi – grandson of Te Tahapango, became a focus of the evidence, and the events that took place between him and Hongi a measurement that the claimants used to demonstrate their mana over Pupuke. In giving evidence about Whiro, a wider discussion about Ngati Pou, Hongi Hika and how Taniora's ancestors fitted (or not) into his campaigns was had. For instance Taniora conceded that Ngati Pou lived at Te Pupuke, but rejected that any relationship existed between Ngati Pou and Te Hora, Te Pekatahi and Te Kauwhata. He also conceded that his parents went to Hokianga upon Hongi's arrival in Whangaroa, but added that his grandfather Te Kauwhata and other relations remained on the land.[167] Taniora added that the battles fought against Ngati Pou did not take place at Pupuke. This seemed to have some significance for Taniora, perhaps because it showed that the mana of his people over Pupuke was not disrupted by the battles against Ngati Pou. Parallel to this though, Taniora acknowledged the mana of Hongi over at least the eastern portion of Te Pupuke. He added that 'Te Hora and his ancestors had no claim' to this portion.[168] Yet Te Hora's ancestors were Taniora's ancestors, the very ancestors on which he based his claim to Te Pupuke.

Contrary to Taniora, Paora Ururoa viewed Te Pupuke as under the mana of Hongi and Ururoa, as a consequence of their ejecting Ngati Pou from Whangaroa paired with Taniora's relatives evacuating Te Pupuke at the time. Paora described how after the fighting with Ngati Pou, Whiro fell out with Ururoa who wanted him killed. According to Taniora, Whiro, who had been at odds with Ngati Pou, lived at Puketarata with Taniora's ancestors. At some point a tupuna named Te Waimiro had been killed by Ngati Pou and as a result Whiro and Taniora's ancestors fought them.[169] Paora acknowledged the desire Whiro and his people had to fight Ngati Pou but said they never did. Instead they became afraid of Ngati Pou and so 'they fled to Ririwha outside the mouth of Whangaroa harbour.'[170] While there Whiro and the others with him ate a whale which had washed ashore. At the time Hongi's sister was living at Kaeo and she wanted some of the whale; Whiro would not agree. Angered at Whiro's refusal she sought out her brother and insisted that Whiro be killed. Hongi landed at Ririwha, supported by Ururoa who travelled inland to Whiro's pa. Paora described how once the war parties of Hongi and Ururoa reached Whiro, talks were held and peace was made whereupon Ururoa brought Whiro and his people into Kaeo.[171] Further into the hearing Paora gave another reason for the animosity between Whiro and Hongi (and Ururoa). Here Ngati Pou moved into Te Pupuke, displacing Whiro's people, who then lived at

[167] NMB 10, p.301.
[168] NMB 10, p.301.
[169] NMB 10, p.301.
[170] NMB 10, p.305.
[171] NMB 10, p.306.

Pukekahikatoa where Ngati Pou would not disturb them.[172] In more recent times Whiro was again threatened with death, this time by Ururoa. This occurred subsequent to Hongi's victory at Taratara. Before leaving to pursue Ngati Pou into the Hokianga, Hongi summoned Whiro and his people:

> Hongi left Whiro at Pinea. Ngati Pou were overtaken at Haowhenua and fought there, they were defeated and Hongi was wounded and Te Hau his cousin was killed, then he returned to Pinea where 200 of Nga Puhi were assembled including Whiro. Ururoa proposed that Whiro should be killed and Tareha of Nga Puhi succeeded in preventing them from being killed.

Apparently Ururoa wanted Whiro killed because he had refused to assist in the fighting against Ngati Pou, as had the Kaitangata who later suffered mercilessly at Ururoa's hand.[173] Whiro (and by extension his people) would have been killed were it not for the intervention of Tareha. Taniora had his own spin on why Whiro was not killed. He attributed it to the whanaungatanga between Hongi and Whiro as grandsons of Te Tahapango.[174] Either way Hongi seemed to have been content not to kill Whiro despite his sister's request and, later, Ururoa's wrath. Paora seemed to be using the Whiro episode to demonstrate the mana that Ururoa and Hongi had in Te Pupuke and the relatively low level of influence that Taniora's ancestors had at the time. To emphasise this Paora added that Te Hora and Te Pekatahi were with Whiro during the whole affair. Still, Paora was clear that Taniora and his people were by no means considered enemies by his father or Hongi. He even quoted Hongi's dying words which commanded Paora to 'be kind and generous' to Taniora's people. Paora asserted that everything at Te Pupuke was going well until Taniora and his people returned from the Hokianga.

> When our parents died Hare Hongi and myself held their 'mana' or rights. We never drove away people who came to stay with us. Hongi Hika told us to be generous to people. The people who fled with Te Puhi came back to Kaingapipiwai and Taniora returned with them, and commenced to dispute with us about the land, saying this is my land and that it belonged to his ancestors Ngarupuku and Te Pikinga.[175]

Paora added that Taniora had established cultivations without gaining his permission, emphasising the issue of mana. The argument was that political arrangements in Whangaroa had changed considerably while Taniora's people were in the Hokianga. For Taniora, though, they were merely picking up from where they had left off.

[172] NMB 10, p.315.
[173] NMB 10, p.316.
[174] NMB 10, p.303.
[175] NMB 10, p.308.

Mita Hape spoke about Whiro at some length, and overlapped considerably with Paora's korero. He described how Whiro lived at Pukekahikatoa during the time that Ngapuhi drove Ngati Pou from Taiamai to Whangaroa.[176] He described the killing of Te Waimiro by Ngati Pou and Whiro's failed attempt to take utu for his death.[177] Mita's evidence suggests that the death of Te Waimiro marked the ascendency of Ngati Pou at Te Pupuke. For Whiro this meant being sent to Kaeo (by Hongi and Ururoa it seems) to be placed under Te Puhi's protection.[178] As it turned out this relocation did not go so well as Ngati Pou attacked Te Puhi's people. A series of battles between Ngati Uru and Ngati Pou ensued. Ngati Pou seemed to gain the upper hand, capturing Ngati Uru pa and maintaining their occupation of Whangaroa lands. Mita noted that 'Ngati Pou therefore claimed Te Pupuke and all surrounding lands. The river of Kaeo is the only place they did not obtain possession of.'[179] It was during this time that Whiro fled to Ririwha where the tension over the whale arose.

When Te Puhi fled to Hokianga upon Hongi's arrival in Whangaroa, he tried to persuade Whiro and his people to go with him but they declined. Instead they stayed behind with Taniora's great-uncle Te Hora. According to Mita, the reason Whiro and Te Hora stayed was because they 'had been recognised by Hongi' who had asked that they join him at Pinea and assist his attack on Taratara pa.[180] And so Whiro stayed. But as with the account given by Paora, Mita described how when it came to it, Whiro did not join the fighting against Ngati Pou; the one exception was that Whiro had killed an old kuia he found at Taratara after the rest of Ngati Pou had fled.[181] The minutes do not explain Whiro's non-participation. He had good reason to fight Ngati Pou, and he had the opportunity to do that successfully alongside Hongi and the others. Instead, he earned the wrath of Ururoa by remaining neutral.

Earlier in his evidence, Mita described how Te Hora had stayed in Whangaroa during the fighting. But further into the rehearing he gave a varying account and said Iriwharawhara's descendants fled to Hokianga with Te Puhi. While there Taniora had apparently misbehaved so badly toward some women living there, that his life had been threatened. What happened exactly is difficult to discern from the minutes, but it seems that Taniora and his parents fled the Hokianga and returned to Whangaroa. They settled at Kaingapipiwai which was where Whiro was living at the time. By that point though, Hongi and Ururoa had twice threatened Whiro with death.[182] In other words Whiro, and by extension Taniora and his relatives, were

[176] NMB 10, p.317.
[177] During cross examination Mita said that Te Waimiro was a member of Whiro's tribe and a descendant of Te Tahapango. This was the best explanation available for who Te Waimiro was. NMB 10, p.326.
[178] NMB 10, p.330.
[179] NMB 10, p.317.
[180] NMB 10, p.320.
[181] NMB 10, p.329.
[182] NMB 10, p.322.

without mana in the area. By the time Taniora and his relatives returned, the political organisation of Whangaroa had changed. According to Mita, whatever mana Whiro may have had was lost due to his inability to prevent or avenge the death of Te Waimiro at the hands of Ngati Pou.[183] The two instances where Hongi and Ururoa had nearly killed Whiro compounded this. Taniora and his relatives had also lost mana at Pupuke when they fled to Hokianga with Te Puhi, as evidenced by the fact that they had to flee from Hokianga only to live under Whiro at Kaingapipiwai. While being cross examined by Rape Arapata (on Taniora's behalf) Mita commented that 'Whiro remained as servants – if Taniora's ancestors had not fled they would have been killed.'[184] Since then Mita had seen Taniora and his people cultivating food in Whangaroa even though they had no right to do so.[185] These sentiments were echoed in the ruling of the Court who accepted Mita and Paora's evidence, and rejected Taniora's claim to Pupuke:

> … Whiro and Horu, Te Pekatahi and Te Kauwhata[?] took no part in conquering Ngati Pou and that that conquest was made entirely by Hongi, Ururoa and Te Hau without the assistance of any of their relatives, chiefs of Whangaroa. If these statements be true then Hongi, Ururoa and Te Hau scored that land, and they and their followers were alone entitled to its possessions.[186]

The Court went on to say that the eastern portion of Pupuke would be awarded to Mita Hape and Paora Ururoa. Notably, the western portion was awarded to Ngawhare 'and the persons who she represents.'[187] Ngawhare was Whiro's daughter and for reasons that are not clear Mita and Paora did not have any problem with her having rights to at least a portion of Te Pupuke. Again, it is difficult to extract a definite appraisal from the minutes, but it seems that Hare Hongi had arranged that Ngawhare be recognised in the original Pupuke hearing and during a Native Committee hearing – neither of which are available for review.[188] Apparently, though, the Native Committee sat for two days at Papakanui during 1884. It comprised ten men from various Ngapuhi hapu, including the chair, Wiremu Katene. Katene had questioned Hare Hongi about his rights to land at Whangaroa. Paora was annoyed with the questioning because the Native Committee had evidently decided that Taniora had rights to at least some of the land at Te Pupuke.[189] Mita had been present at the Native Committee meeting too, but neither he nor Paora would agree to Taniora having any part of Pupuke.[190]

[183] Mita also stated that Ngati Pou had killed the descendants of Te Kauwhata, though clearly Taniora had not been killed. NMB 10, p.326.
[184] NMB 10, p.327.
[185] NMB 10, p.328.
[186] NMB 10, pp.338-9.
[187] NMB 10, p.339.
[188] Paora Hori and Mere Hape requested that they be admitted into Ngawhare's list since they descended from Whiro. Ngawhare stated that 'she will not admit anyone and even her children or grandchildren during her lifetime.' NMB 10, p.342.
[189] NMB 10, pp.308, 312.
[190] NMB 10, p.308.

Taniora himself knew that Mita and Paora would not comply with the Native Committee's judgement.[191]

Given that the 1884 committee had supported Taniora having at least a share in Pupuke, he must have felt all the more burnt by the Court's judgement. Taniora asserted that he would take the matter to the Supreme Court or to Parliament. The Court replied sharply, saying that they thought that 'he ought never to get it' and that if he had a good claim to make but had held it back then he deserved to lose his case.[192] Taniora then turned his anger on the assessor, P. Tamati, who Taniora said was related to Mita. Taniora declared that he would 'never again permit a chairperson to sit when he is so related.'[193] Tamati replied to Taniora's accusations by pointing out that Mita's ancestor had killed and eaten many of Tamati's people, sparing only one who was taken as a slave. Therefore he 'should if anything, go against Mita Hape for that. Hongi was my enemy not my friend.'[194] With this the Court ordered that Mita Hape and Ngawhare hand over lists of names to go down for Te Pupuke.[195] Altogether 41 names were listed, with many more minors identified. These names were as follows: Paora Ururoa, Mita Hape, Rongokahira Hape, Putete Heke, Rika Heke, Keri Heke, Hera Mio, Mio Tuauru, Merana Paora, Rati Pouni, Wini Tuta, Mate Ngahuru, Wiremu Tangata, Pouni Rewharewha, Arihia, Heti Toetoe, Moki Toetoe, Ngaro Mio, Mita Mio, Anaru Putete, Putete Hape, Wiremu Kowhai, Mereana Harris, Erana Raupane, Kino Ururoa Tamemate, Hareata Tarahau, Pera Flavell, Moki Te Tuauru, Matire Putete, Iri Rika, Hareata Paora, Wiremu Paora, Tiwia Wiremu, Henare Kingi, Huia Tame, Moki Henare, Maki Putete, Erana Kuku and Henare Flavell.[196] The reading of these and other names ended the rehearing for Te Pupuke.

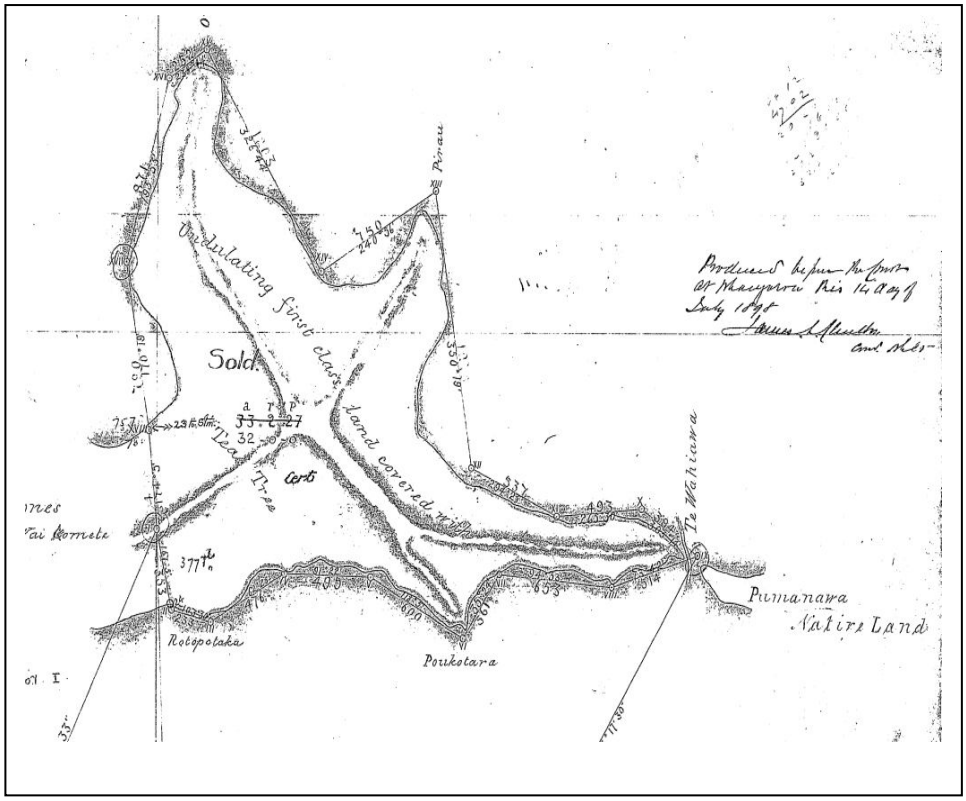
Te Pato (26 acres)

This 26-acre block went before the NLC on 25 October 1894, Wi Waruia Tuoro[?] claimed through ancestry from Te Umukau and also "through occupation having felled kauri trees there lately". His elder brother Hohepa Te Taha gave this land to his niece Hana Riwhi. As there were no objections, ownership was awarded to Hana Riwhi. [197]

[191] NMB 10, p.301.
[192] NMB 10, p.342.
[193] NMB 10, p.343.
[194] NMB 10, p.343.
[195] NMB 10, p. 341 NB: After the Court's ruling Henry Flavell made an appearance, requesting that he be admitted to the list of owners. Mita Hape opposed this request, but the Court ruled that Flavell be admitted since he was a grandson of Ururoa.
[196] NMB 10, p. 347.
[197] NMB 13, pp.226-227.

Wairaupo (32 acres)

This 32-acre block went before the NLC in 1898 at Whangaroa with Samuel Clendon presiding and Hone Puru, the assessor, present.[198] Hemi Tupe claimed this block through take tupuna from Te Puta. There were no challenges to his claim, and the Court issued the title accordingly. At Hemi Tupe's request his son was entered on the title with him.



Map 29: Wairaupo
This plan of Wairaupo describes it as 'undulating first class land covered with tea tree'. The named points on Wairaupo (clockwise from the north) are Omaiki, Pirau, Te Wahiawa, Poukotara and Rotopotaka.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML4482), 2007.

Pokaka (138:2:0 acres)

The NLC investigated the 138½-acre Pokaka block in 1898 at Whangaroa with Judge Clendon presiding and Hone Puru assessing.[199] Mita Hape claimed ownership, on behalf of himself and others, through ancestry and conquest; Karena Kiwa counter-claimed on the basis of conquest.

In Mita Hape's evidence, his right through ancestry was from Kaiangaanga, from whom he was a fifth generation descendant. In later evidence he also claimed descent from Te Hau, Ururoa's brother, killed in battle with Ngati Pou. Kaiangaanga's pa at Tahuhutupua was named Mihau[?]; the principal Ngati Rangi pa was Taratara. According to Hape, Kaiangaanga's descendants lived from 'Okura all up Whangaroa'.[200] At the time Tere was the chief of Ngati Rangimatamoemoe and Hauarari the chief of Ngati Rangimatakaka. Te

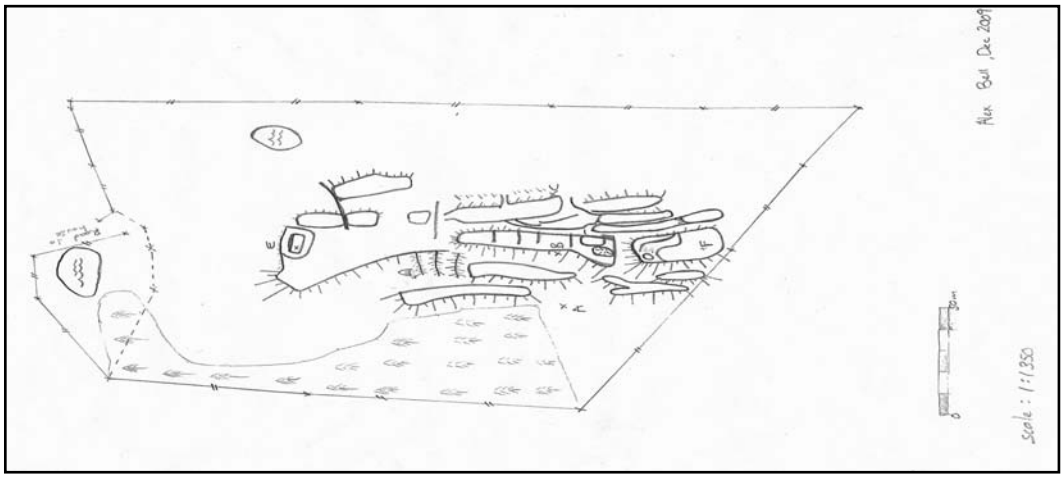
[198] NMB 18, p.15.
[199] NMB 18, p.42.
[200] NMB 18, p.49.

Hauarari gave land to Ngati Pou and Tere and his people continued to live there with them, Tere living at his pa named Tohirere. It was during this time however that Ngati Pou 'trespassed' the wahi tapu at Taratara, scattering the bones of those interred there. Tere quarrelled with them and eventually went to Hongi for assistance to revenge this insult. This was one of the primary reasons for Hongi, Ururoa and others coming to drive off Ngati Pou. Mita Hape detailed the arrival of Hongi's party at Tauranga from where some of Ngati Pou fled before him; the 'camping' of Hongi's party at Te Kauri while Tere's party gathered at Pinea; their combined assault on Taratara that was initially repulsed; the second assault the following day, and the subsequent chase after Ngati Pou to Mangamuka, after which 'Hongi took possession of Pinea and stayed there a while, then came to Pupuke'.[201]





Map 30: Wharera *Left & below*: Pencil sketch of Wharera site showing location of several middens (A,B & C), defence works (D), a living terrace with building remains (E) and the tihi (top) of the pa with a fire pit remains (F) [A. Bell, NZHPT, 2010]; Photograph looking towards the tihi showing several living terraces with Maungaemiemi in background [S.Park, NZHPT, 2010]; Photograph looking towards Whangaroa harbour and coast showing various earth works including dam (far right) [S.Park, NZHPT, 2010].



Karena Kiwa denied Mita Hapes' claim of ancestry as 'all this land was taken by conquest'. Karena stated that Hotete (Hongi's father) drove Ngati Pou out of Taiamai. Ngati Pou fled to Whangaroa, which was not acceptable to Hongi. Karena agreed with much of Mita's evidence

[201] NMB 18, p.53. The pa was probably Hongi's mother's, Wharera, probably rebuilt rather than built *per se*.

including: Hauarari's gifting of land to Ngati Pou; Tere and the reason for his request to Hongi; and Hongi's arrival, assault and chase. Karena Kiwa added that Koroputa of Te Uri o Te Aho sent men to help defeat Ngati Pou. Ngapuhi invited Pororua and Hohepa Kiwa to live at Whangaroa, which they did, initially occupying Whakapiki (opposite Pupuke), then Waihapa and Otangaroa. Kiwa claimed that Mita Hape did not stay for long; he did not cultivate the land; and nor were his people paid any royalties from land sold by Paora Ururoa, Hongi or Pororua.[202] Putete Heke corroborated Karena Kiwa's evidence.

The Court decided the land be shared by the descendants of Hongi Hika and Ururoa, as well as the families and descendants of Mita Hape and called for a list of names accordingly.[203] The final distribution of the block was arranged into three similar portions. Mita Hape's people, who received an area of 49:0:26, were: Mita Hape, Patete Hape, Koiurutana, Wi Parata, Rapana, Hemi Riwhi, Hone Takarangi, Heta Mio, Matengahura, Maru Taniora, Hone Pepe, More Horomona–Tukariri, Tuta Riwha, Patua Werahiko, Miraka Metio and Kori Maaka. Rongokahia Hape's people, who were the side of Hongi Hika, received 44:2:27 acres and the owners were: Poni Rewharewha, Roti Poni, Mereana Paora, Mooki[?] Huiare, Tura Wiremu, Meti Toetoe, Wairua Toetoe, Hau Toetoe, Ritete Toetoe, Mooki Tua, Moki Tuauru, Pera Hiwi, Huia Tame, Arihiha Heemi, Hemo Eruera, Mita Mio, Wini Tuta, Hariata Hongi (Mrs Davis) and Raiha Reireti (Mrs Brownes). Paora Putete Heke's list of owners, who received 49:0:26 acres were: Paora Patite Heke, Te Waikeri Heke, Rika Heke, Anaru Heke, Hone Pororua, Pokai Kiwa, Meke Putete, Rapata Reweti, Pera Hughes, Wiremu Tangaiwhare, Manu Keri, Patu Keri, Ria Rika, and Hone Rika.

Pumanawa (85:1:18)

The NLC investigated the Pumanawa block in 1898.[204] Judge Clendon presided and assessor Hone Puru was present. Pumanawa was part of the larger Pararako Block which the Court had previously investigated in 1875, and later partitioned into two. Pumanawa was, effectively, Pararako No.2 (Pumanawa being the original name). Hemi Tupe claimed Pumanawa through ancestry from Te Puta, raupatu and occupation. Roera Te Pona refuted part of Tupe's claim, and said that his and Tupe's ancestors occupied Pumanawa to the same extent. Te Pona said his tupuna, Te Waitaheke, were the original occupiers of Whangaroa, including Pumanawa and Pararako. He detailed a battle that occurred at Pumanawa between his tupuna and the Houhou[?] hapu on account of a pig. Battling continued, over what appears to be at least two generations, ending when the European vessels came to

[202] NMB 18, p.46.
[203] Note that the Court's decision is partly illegible.
[204] NMB 18, pp.64-76.

Whangaroa. At that time, Hareti[?] went to Pararako to sell water to the ships and from then on, his ancestors and Tupe's occupied the land to the same extent as each other.

Hemi Tupe initially claimed rights of ancestry from Te Rongopatai who lived and died on the land. Others of his ancestors were buried there also. He said that Hongi and Ururoa saved these people by taking them to Matauri – he gave the hapu names Ngati Kawau, Ngati Kahuiti and Te Uriputete. Hemi Tupe then claimed rights of ancestry from Te Puta, saying that Te Puta lived at Matanehunehu and had 'the real mana' over Pararako and all of the land. He denied Roera Te Pona's claim from Waitaheke saying that he had never heard that his ancestors had given any mana to Roera's ancestors before.

Hemi Tupe also spoke about the period after Ngati Pou killed Waimiro, when Whiro and his people fled to Ririwha. After refusing Hongi's sister a portion of whale, Hongi and his party came to attack them at Ririwha, Hongi coming by sea and Ururoa and Te Pahi over land. Ururoa and Te Pahi then brought Ngati Kawau and Ngati Kahuiti with Whiro to Kaeo. At that time, Hongi went to stay at Te Touwai for a while, then Hongi and Tupe went to Pinea and from there the attack on Ngati Pou at Taratara occurred. Following 'the conquest', Tupe had the mana at Touwai and Maaka Te Tahua was the chief of the hapu at Te Karaka. A later witness (whose name is indecipherable) said he considered 'Tupe held mana from both Rongopatai and Te Puta perhaps equally'.[205]

The Court ruled that the two claimants were both entitled, but that the 'conquering party' should be awarded a greater share than the party of those who were conquered. The minutes read:

> The Court finds that although the evidence is very complicating in many aspects, still Hemi Tupe's claim from both ancestry and conquest has been clearly established as well as protection of the other party from evil consequences during Hongi Hika's wars against Ngatipou. Still there seems to be a right for those people being protected, from their affinity to the conquering hapu. Therefore the Court considers they have also a claim upon this land through Roera Te Pona, and those of this family coming under him. The Court therefore awards Hemi Tupe three-fourths of the block and Roera Te Pona one-fourth of the Block".[206]

The owners included with Hemi Tupe were: Hemi Tupe himself, Mita Keepa, Maru Kuira[?] Tupe, Heta Eru, Paapu Wi Tupe and Hawoka[?] Pita. The list of owners awarded a quarter of the block with Roera Te Pona were: Roera Te Pona, Mauahara Te Pona, Taniwha Mauahara,

[205] NMB 18, p.71.
[206] NMB 18, pp.72-3.

Ritete Puke, Nako te Wianga, Poureira Puke, Mangu Mauahara, Ruri Paapu, Tame Te Ara Horo, Hapape[?] Wirihana, Paora Hoori and Rangi Horomona Tukariri.

Kaingapokeno (340 acres)

On 2 November 1899 at Kaeo, with Judge Edgar presiding, the Kaingapokeno case was called but a plan was not produced so the case was dismissed.[207] Later that day More Tukariri appeared and advised the Court 'we have agreed in respect to this claim. We will divide the block into 4 pieces. The 60 acres for Taniora Arapata, the rest to be divided into 3 equal pieces – one for Taniora Rihari, one for Kata te Pahi, the other for Horianga Motio'. Tukariri advised that each party would hand in his list of names, which was done on the following day. The lists were read and there were no objections.

Matakaraka (396 acres)[208]

The case for Matakaraka is minuted as a 'New Claim (reinstated)' on 29 November 1899 at Whangaroa, with Judge Edgar presiding. As in the case for Kaingapokeno, Hemi Erueti was the assessor, and A. F. Puckey the clerk and interpreter.[209] Hemi Riwhi and Mita Hape jointly applied to have the case heard. Hemi Rua was one of those who spoke on their behalf claiming ownership through ancestry, conquest and occupation. Their ancestral claim was from Te Taniwha, a descendant of Ngati Awa, and Te Kaka, who conquered Ngati Awa. Te Kaka and his people subsequently married the surviving women of Ngati Awa, Te Kaka himself marrying Hinewai. 'That was the first conquest in the Whangaroa district'.[210]

Counter claimants in this investigation included Hone Hapa, a descendant of Hone Tua, whose spokesperson was Motukiwi Honetua. Motukiwi identified Te Kaitangata as his hapu, formerly called Ngati Mokokohi. He claimed the block belonged exclusively to Hone Tua and his children through ancestry from Horangataua, who first occupied the land. He gave whakapapa from Horangataua, to Te Uri, to Ruahoro, to Tainui, to Motukiwi, to Honetua, to Motukiwi Honetua (himself).

Matakaraka, Whihi[?], Te Arero, Te Onenui, Te Pua, Te Rotopotaka and Kaingahoa were the kainga at which Horangataua and his descendants lived. Hone Tua's children were still living at Mata[?] and Te Pua. Motukiwi said that Horangataua first lived at Te Karanga, a pa close to the coast at Taupo, prior to coming to Matakaraka. Horangataua's people caught hapuka at Whareaitua; maomao at Maramatapa[?]; and tarakihi at Otauonga[?]. Motukiwi also

[207] NMB 18, p.174. Hemi Erueti was the assessor, and A. F. Puckey the clerk and interpreter.
[208] Note that the minutes start out by recording the name of this block as Mangakaraka (NMB 11, pp.74-7), but in his evidence Paora Hori corrects that to Matakaraka, which is how the spelling remains thereafter (p.78).
[209] NMB 11, p.75.
[210] NMB 11, p.76.

identified cultivations and said that Tainui was the first to live at Okahumoko pa, followed by Motukiwi. Motukiwi was 'murdered' at Okahumoko by Te Koikoi of Ngati Tautahi.[211] At that time, Motukiwi Honetua said that Hone Tua was with his mother Toetoearangi visiting relatives at Tauranga. She ultimately went to live at Karangahape and Hone Tua did not return to Matakaraka until adulthood, then cultivating the land extensively and planting numerous fruit trees. Motukiwi named two wahi tapu – Te Waiporitaka and Otaia – and said that Hone Tua also sold pohutukawa and puriri off the block. Hone Tua and others later leased land to Browne and no one had interfered with or objected to either the selling of timber or the lease. Browne had since fenced the land and Hone Tua was then living at Taupo, although going to Matakaraka often.

Timoti Hohaia, a son-in-law of Hone Tua's, said that he had been living at Matakaraka for sixteen years prior to the Court's investigation and confirmed the evidence of Motukiwi Honetua. He also described three different occasions that other parties (namely Ururoa and Hemi Riwhi) had either tried to survey the land, or interfere with the selling of timber. On all occasions Hone Tua had stopped these actions, the latter two incidents being stopped with the assistance of the magistrate and the Native Committee respectively.

Paora Hori of Ngaitamatea also claimed through ancestry from Tokahaupapa, stating that the block was within the boundary of the Ngaitamatea lands, which were from Matanehunehu to Taupo. He said that his parents and elders lived at the kainga of Te Pua, Waihi and Matakaraka. Paora Hori also claimed through Te Puta's conquest over Ngati Awa at Kohatupapa, the pa there was Raukawanui. After giving a brief amount of evidence, and following an adjournment, Paora Hori withdrew his claim to support Mita Hape's case.

Mita Hape said his right was through ancestry from Tokahaupapa, and through Hongi's conquest of Ngati Pou. He added, however, that Ngati Pou lived on the lands east and west of the harbour and south of the Matakaraka block. Mita said that Tokahaupapa lived at Matakaraka, Waihi, Te Pua, Rotopotaka, Kaingahoa and Pekapeka and added that Te Koki and Haora also lived at those places, enabling him to claim through occupation as well as conquest. Mita provided further information about several events that had already been presented in this and other hearings. Briefly, these included:

- the events leading to the killing of Te Tahapango;

[211] NMB 11, pp. 81-6. Motukiwi Honetua consistently stated that Motukiwi was murdered. A further witness, Timoti Hohaia, said that Te Koikoi and Kotaranui met at Ohauroro, and that Te Koikoi sent Kotaranui to tell Motukiwi and his people that they would not be killed. They therefore came down from Okahumoko pa and went to their various kainga, Motukiwi going to Ohauroro, where he was then 'murdered'. Timoti Hohaia claimed that this therefore, was not a conquest by Hongi, Ururoa or any of his party.

- the view that rather than 'conquer' Whangaroa Ngati Pou merely took possession through overwhelming numbers at a time that Whiro and Ururoa were away;
- that Ngati Rangi had invited Ngati Pou to come to Whangaroa, which they did, settling at Te Pupuke with Whiro, Taitonga and others;
- that when Hongi came to attack Whiro at Ririwha (over the whale incident), he first stopped at Kaeo, where he 'proposed' to Te Puhi, and Ururoa and Te Puhi both went to Ririwha and 'saved' Whiro by being with him when Hongi arrived to attack;
- that when Whiro and Taitonga went to Kaeo by Ngati Uru, Ngati Pou occupied the land at Pupuke; Whiro, Taitonga and Te Puhi attacked Ngati Pou at Toirere; Ngati Uru (Te Puhi) retreated to Kaeo with Ngati Pou in pursuit, but then turned and defeated Ngati Pou – all of which led to Ngati Pou desecrating the Ngati Rangi urupa at Taratara; and
- when Hongi, Ururoa and Te Hau came to attack Ngati Pou, they stayed at the mouth of Te Touwai stream for three days, where they debated whether to attack Okahumoko or not; Turikatuku persuaded them not to.

In his evidence, Mita Hape explained the defeat of Kaitangata at Okahumoko. He said an initial battle took place, but the pa was not taken. While Ururoa retreated to Ohauroro that evening, Kotaranui of Ngati Kawau went and persuaded some of Motukiwi's people – including Te Matapo, Te Puamahue and others – to go with him. The next day Ururoa again attacked the pa, this time it was taken and all the occupants, including Motukiwi, were killed. That night at Ohauroro, Ururoa heard of those who Kotaranui had 'saved', and he killed them also. Mita Hape stated that Honetua and his mother were not killed at this time, as they were saved by Te Tahuhu.[212]

All the witnesses in the Matakaraka case talked about Native Committee meetings at Taupo, then Te Touwai, then Te Ngaere – each time the land at Matakaraka was discussed and supposedly awarded to either Hone Tua exclusively, or Hone Tua and others (the details change with the the witnesses). The meetings at Te Touwai and Te Ngaere had been called because certain parties were dissatisfied with the Committee's earlier decisions. Complicating this, is the fact that the Taupo and Okura blocks adjoin the land at Matakaraka, and Matakaraka was sometimes included in one or other of these blocks. Ultimately, this investigation was held due to the ongoing dissatisfaction of all parties and their continued activities and 'interference' with the timber-selling on the block, and attempts to survey it.

[212] Note that other sources credit the tohunga Patara with saving Hone Tua and his mother Toetoearangi.

Hemi Rua, as already introduced, spoke of the rights of Te Taniwha and Ngati Awa, and Te Kaka's conquest of them. According to Hemi Rua Ngati Rangi were the exclusive occupiers of the land at the time of the conquest, and they were a section of Ngati Awa. He said that the chiefs were Te Taniwha and Huramangotini: 'They still retained their mana because they were not killed. I cannot explain this but I am descended from both the conquerors and the conquered.'[213] Hemi Rua also stated that Hongi placed Ngati Kuri at Taupo, Matakaraka, Wairakau, Waihi, Te Pua, Tekomanga, Te Hungarere, Opokeka and other places such as Huruata, Te Totara, Kopuaparere, Te Kuharu, Tuhangahanga, and Okura.[214] Matakaraka was set apart for the people who sold Okura. Maaka Taratikitiki took part in the sale of Okura, and it was he who 'had Matakaraka cut off.'[215] Finally, Hemi Rua noted that the people who owned Taupo also had rights at Kaeo, Te Pupuke, Waihapa and other places. In his view, there was 'really no distinction in the rights as to these various places, though in recent years distinctions have been drawn'.[216]

John Shepherd gave evidence that supported Honetua's party. Shepherd said he had visited Matakaraka since 1858 and had only seen Hone Tua's people living there and in the surrounding area, except for short periods of three to four years when Paora Ururoa and Hare Hongi lived there but then went elsewhere.

Like so many of the cases presented in this chapter, the one for Matakaraka was complicated and conflicted. One striking difference between this and earlier cases, however, is that the Court neither found in favour of any 'conquering party' nor decided that all claimants (conquered and conquerors) had shared or even relative interests. In bringing down its decision, it dismissed the three relevant conquests given in evidence – of Ngati Awa, Ngati Pou and Kaitangata – as a basis on which to then claim lands throughout Whangaroa. Ultimately, what the Court sought was evidence of occupation, preferably permanent:

> We shall not give a lengthy decision as to the conquest over Ngati Awa as there seems to be no doubt that Ngati Awa were the only owners of Whangaroa. But it was many generations since they were conquered and that conquest alone would give no right to the descendants of the conquerors in considering absence of occupation. That defeat of Ngati Awa probably extended to the whole of Whangaroa and much or all of the present inhabitants could probably then descend from the conquerors. In the mind of the Court, that conquest has no bearing upon the question of the ownership of the present block.
>
> As to the conquest and driving out of Ngati Pou, no doubt it was Hongi Hika and the people associated with him who so drove them out. But to set that up as giving a right

[213] NMB 18, p.140.
[214] NMB 18, p.142.
[215] NMB 18, p.142.
[216] NMB 18, pp.143-4.

> to the descendants of Hongi Hika over the whole of the Whangarora lands is not reasonable. As regards this particular block, there is nothing to show that Ngati Pou had in any way taken possession of it or occupied it. So the driving out of Ngati Pou could not confer any right upon those who so drove them out.
>
> The taking of the Okahumoko pa, and the slaying of te Kaitangata hapu, by Te Koikoi, Ururoa, Hongi Hika and others, was in our opinion, but one of the [many?] incidents so common in the days of Hongi Hika and cannot form a base of title to this block. More especially as the persons who now claim under that take cannot show any permanent occupation of the block, subsequently to the taking of that pa.
>
> The various ancestors set up are all more or less connected and we cannot distinguish anyone of them as having an exclusive base of right or title.
>
> We come then to occupation and here the evidence is clear and emphatic viz that the permanent occupier of the land has been Hone Tua and his family and connections. He was a child at the time of the taking of the Okahumoko pa, but escaped the slaughter through having been taken away by his mother to visit her relatives shortly prior to the attack. He returned to the land about 1858 and lived constantly on the block, up to the time of his death. He it was who chiefly sold the timber and leased the land to Europeans. It appears also that, at the Towai meeting in 1889, called to discuss the title to this land and the Taupo lands, Hone Tua's right to this block was definitely recognised. It is therefore now awarded to the descendants of Hone Tua.[217]

Immediately following the Court's decision, Mita Hape and Hemi Riwhi both advised the Court of their intention to appeal.[218]

Tauaki (65 acres)

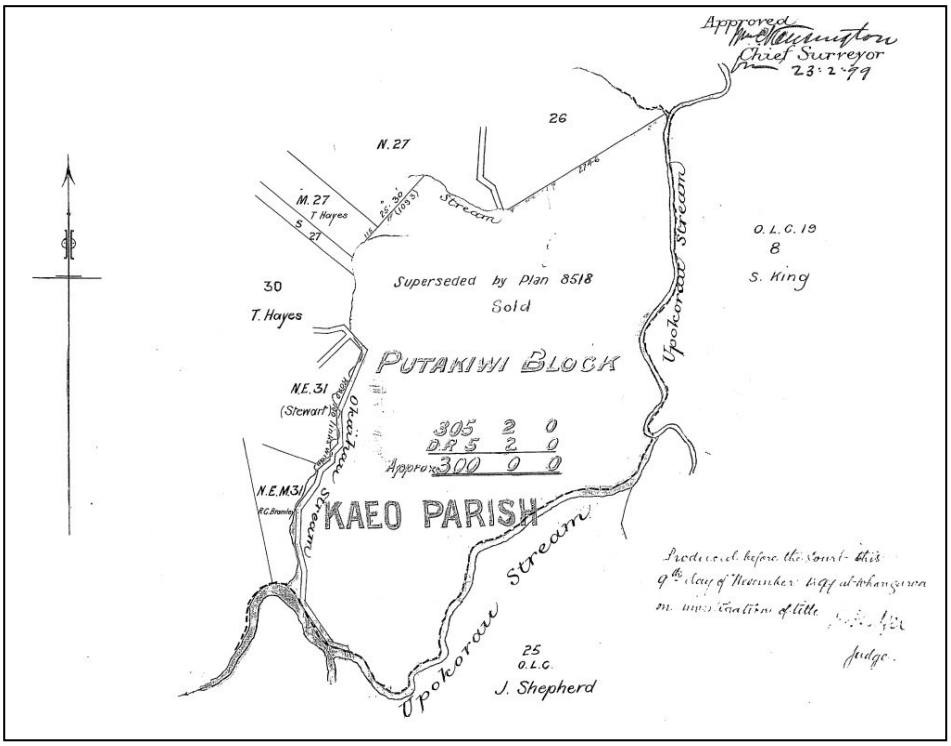
The NLC investigated ownership of the Tauaki block in 1899.[219] The case was brought by More Tukariri and others, with Taniora Rihari as their spokesperson. Their claim to ownership was based on take tupuna from Te Take and Taihurihia. Te Take and Taihurihia were brother and sister, and according to Taniora Rihari all of their descendants had a rightful claim, barring those who had not continued occupation. Although Timoti Hohaia voiced a challenge, he later withdrew it and there were no further objections. A list of owners was prepared and, when read out, two others claimed a right to be added: Heta Eru was admitted, Makereta Taka was not. With no further objections the list was passed and an ownership order made accordingly. The twenty owners were: Pari Taikato, Matarae Arano, Rangi H. Tukariri, Tauke Tame, Hera Rophia, Maata Toms, Meri Kotene, Heta Eru, Horiana Patara, Kata te Pahi, Mere Hepehi, Harata Rapi, Hana Tei, Hone Arama, Hemi Riwhi, Peti Kingi, Riwhi Moihi, Tame Ru, Anaru Heke, Timoti Hohaia, Hemi Rihari, Matire Putete, Hoana Mane, Ihiri[?] Taniora, Eruera Karena and Mere Riwhi.

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[217] NMB 18, pp.158-60.
[218] The research did not follow up on this matter, as it is outside the parameters of the research commission. It would, no doubt, be a useful topic of further research.
[219] NMB 18, pp. 213-4, 221-2.

Putakiwi (305:2:00)

According to Berghan, Hare te Heihei claimed this block on 7 November 1880.[220] However Taniora Rihari and others appealed that case, and Judge Munro presided over the rehearing in 1905.[221]



Map 31: Putakiwi
This first plan of Putakiwi was approved in 1899, and later superseded by the plan below. This 300 acre block is upriver from Kaeo. Surrounding land owners identified are: Bramley, Stewart, Hayes, King and Shepherd.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML6723), 2007.

In making his ruling, Munro said he left 'out of consideration the alleged sale to W. Shepherd'. Further:

> We have no evidence before us that it was a valid transaction or that it was confirmed by Crown Grant. If the alleged sale to Mr. Shepherd was inoperative, the surrender by him to certain Natives was equally ineffectual. The land therefore remained Native Land, and the title must be determined in the same way as the title to other Native lands i.e. upon the grounds of ancestry and occupation.

Munro was satisfied that the descendants of Te Take and Taihurihia 'who have occupied' were the owners 'according to Native Custom'. He ruled that if the parties could agree on who was entitled, the Court would accept their agreement. If not, there would be a Court inquiry.[222] In response, Taniora Rihari explained that his party had appealed because several of those previously granted ownership had not lived on the block, nor had their ancestors. Hemi Riwhi, Hone Hape, Rapata Henare and Taniora Rihari, who were all present, objected to twenty-four of the names on the original list. Taniora Rihari also appealed on the basis of

[220] Berghan, p.189.
[221] NMB 39, pp.150, 152-154, 157-166.
[222] NMB 39, p.157.

take tupuna, stating that a number of people had lived at Putakiwi. Hone Kapa corroborated his evidence.



Map 32: Putakiwi
This later survey defines the creek boundaries, with Okaihau Creek to the west of the block. Putakiwi Creek to the north flows into Te Whau Creek on the east, which then flows into Upokorau Creek on the south. The road is also clearly marked and the landblocks to the west shown as 1860s crown grants, and on the east as OLCs.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML8518), 2007
2

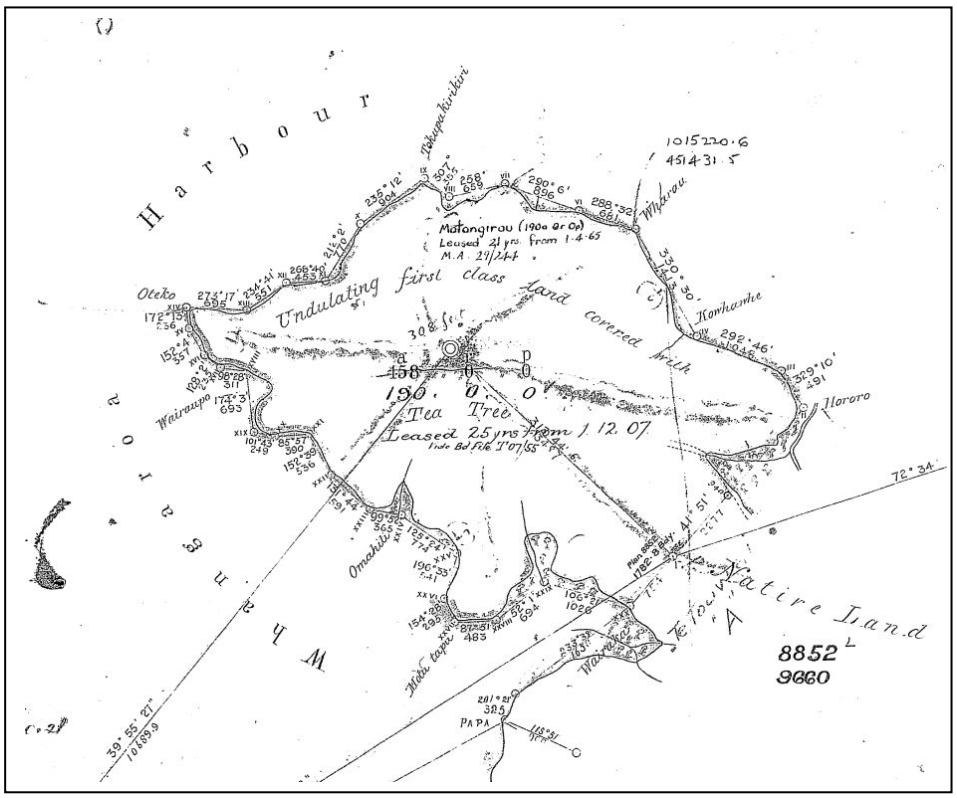
The next day More Tukariri advised the Court that the claimant owners had arranged for there to be three sections: 100 acres for Taniora Rihari and his people; 100 acres for Maraea[?] Panapa and his list; and 100 acres for Hare Te Heihei's original list with more names to be added.[223] After some debate over unspecified names, the Court ordered that the 1880 decision be varied to align ownership with the lists of names submitted.[224]

Matangirau (190 acres)

The 190-acre Matangirau block of land was investigated at Whangaroa in 1905[225], with Judge Browne presiding. The initial claimant in the investigation was Paora Hoori, and there were three parties of counter-claimants – Paapu Tupe and others; Mita Hape, Hemi Tupe and others; and Punipi Pene and others.[226] Paora Hoori claimed ownership through descent from Whakaki; Paapu Tupe, of Te Whanau Pani, claimed through Ngapuke and Te Puta; while

[223] NMB 39, p.164.
[224] NMB 39, p.166.
[225] NMB 39, pp.176-186, pp.212-213, 217.
[226] NMB 39, p.170.

Mita Hape, of Ngati Rangi, and Pumipi Pene both claimed through Te Puta. Each party claimed to have occupied the land since the time of their respective tupuna.



Map 33: Matangirau
This survey shows Matangirau as 'undulating first class land', surrounded almost entirely by water, except at Te Touwai in the south-east. Placenames given (clockwise from north) are Tokupakirikiri, Wharau, Kowhawhe, Hororo, Te Touwai, Wairaka, Motutapu, Omahiti, Wairaupo and Oteko.
Source: CFRT, Northland Arcflax Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML4143), 2007.

Excluding the papatupu blocks, Matangirau was one of the last 'sizeable' land blocks in Whangaroa to go before the NLC. By then it seems the claimants had a good understanding of the investigation process. Indeed, four days into the hearing the parties attempted to make their own out-of-court arrangement, although it was abandoned when one party (it is unclear which) disagreed with some of the particulars. During the final session of the hearing, Paora Hoori and his opponents put up a spokesperson each to 'sum up' of all the evidence.[227] As a result, the Court's minutes record a lot of detail about the locations of births, deaths and marriages, kainga, wahi tapu, pa and cultivations of many of the tupuna mentioned in this and other Whangaroa investigations. As well, the Court clerk frequently read evidence recorded in earlier investigations when it was deemed relevant. Claimants and witnesses also seem to have had a good understanding of the different blocks various hapu had been awarded, or were laying claim to, and had a preference to 'not disturb the settlement' that Court had already passed.[228]

An over-riding complication in this investigation seems to be the consensus by all claimant parties that the land in question was previously understood as part of a larger area that

[227] Kipa Roera and Hone Hape, see NMB 39, pp.212-213,
[228] NMB 39, p.191.

encompassed Te Touwai and Kahikatoa.[229] Paapu Tupe pointed this out in his evidence, saying that 'they are [only now] separated through some of the pieces having been sold'.[230] The main debates, as in many investigations of Whangaroa lands, surrounded the questions of who occupied the area first, and whether or not their occupation had continued to the present day. The history of occupation at Matangirau was shaped by the 'arrival' of at least three hapu in the aftermath of Hongi's defeat of Ngati Pou. Each of the recently arrived hapu considered their ancestral right was at least as strong as that of those who were already in occupation, especially when accounting for the view that the block was part of a much larger district.

Paora Hoori gave evidence of occupation from his tupuna Whakaki, who derived the mana to the land from his mother, after which he divided it between himself and his two brothers.[231] Whakaki, his children and grandchildren would journey around the various kainga of his people throughout the larger Kahikatoa-Touwai-Matangirau lands, as well as to Ririwha. According to Hoori, there were at least two attempts to conquer Whakaki's people – one by Ngai Tamatea which resulted in a battle at Tauranga, and the other involving an attempted invasion of Ririwha.[232] He told the Court that Paengaru, Hapimana, Kotaranui and others who were fifth-generation descendants of Whakaki, built the Matangirau Pa, and that Whakaki's descendants generally still had cultivations and wahi tapu within and around the area.[233] Paora Hoori claimed that up until the time of Te Pona, Whakaki's descendants were the only people living at Matangirau.[234]

Paapu Tupe, countering Paora Hoori and supported by Hone Hapa and Mita Hape, said that both Ngapuke and Te Puta descended from Mokokohi and they both lived at Matangirau-Te Touwai-Kahikatoa. Hone Hapa said Ngapuke was born at Kahikatoa and Paapu Tupe gave evidence of at least four generations of Ngapuke's descendants who lived and worked there. Mita Hape claimed that Ngati Pou came and conquered Whangaroa during the time of Arapata, a fourth-generation descendant of Ngapuke.[235] He told the Court that Te Hauarari of Ngati Rangi gifted land to Ngati Pou, and they lived peaceably alongside one another.[236] Tuhikura, Te Puta's grand-daughter and Hongi's mother, lived at Matangirau before she wed

[229] NMB 39, pp.180, 189, 202.
[230] NMB 39, p.180.
[231] NMB 39, p.203.
[232] NMB 39, pp.197-8.
[233] NMB 39, p.199.
[234] NMB 39, p.201.
[235] NMB 39, p.190.
[236] NMB 39, p.193.

Hotete, and Te Hau and Ururoa both lived at Matangirau and Wairaupo for a time when they were younger, moving inland when they were old enough to join fighting expeditions.[237]

Mita Hape denied that Whakaki's people were at Matangirau during the time that Hongi came to Whangaroa, saying they were instead at Whangaihe, only coming to Te Touwai after the Ngati Pou defeat, a claim that Paapu Tupe also supported. Sometime afterwards, Hemi Tupe brought Ngati Kawau, Ngati Kahuiti and Te Aeto to the area.[238] According to Paora Hoori, this was when Maukihau gave Tupe, his brother-in-law, a portion of Matangirau. When Tupe left Matangirau and went to Te Touwai, he was also given land there.

By the close of the eighteenth century, through inter-marriage and occupation, the descendants of Whakaki, Ngapuke and Te Puta were living at and around Matangirau; the 'four principal people on the land' being recognised as Hemi Tupe, Te Keepa Tupe, Te Pona and Hone Ripi.[239] The evidence suggests this arrangement was amicable enough. For instance, when Te Pona entered into a lease agreement with George Shepherd, Hemi Tupe was responsible for collecting and distributing the annual payments.[240] Other evidence noted the selling of timber from the land and the distribution of the payments to the same four principals. By 1900, however, as Kipa Roera explained, a 'serious dispute' transpired between the principals which revolved around people fencing the land.[241]

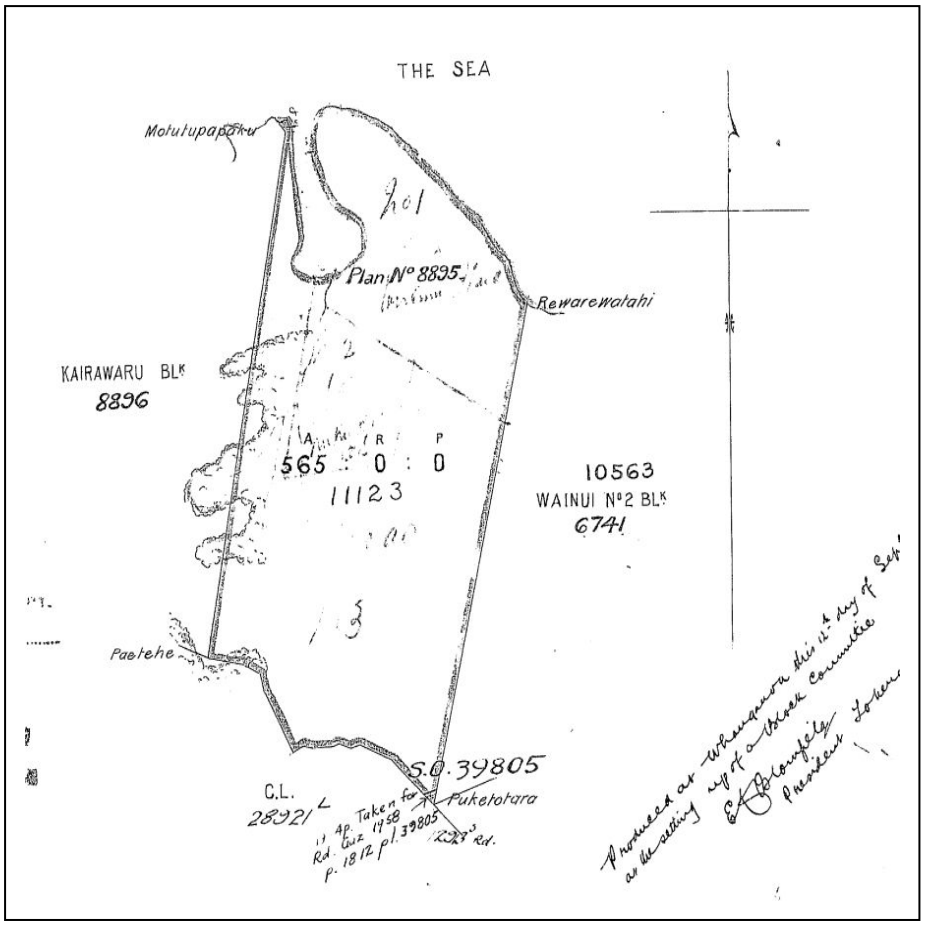
In delivering its judgement on Matangirau, the Court said that it had not been proved that 'Ngapuke had any right to the land'. The Court therefore decided that the owners were 'the descendants of Puta as represented by Hemi Tupe, and the descendants of Whakaki, as represented by Paora Hoori'. It decided to 'award Hemi Tupe and his party 50 acres which is the area he informed the Court he was willing to take in full satisfaction of his claim and to Paora Hoori and his party, the balance of the land, 140 acres'.[242] Both parties submitted lists of owners to which there were no objections.

Whangaihe (565 acres)

Judge Browne heard the case for the Whangaihe block in 1905.[243] Three individuals claimed ownership through ancestry, each of them saying that they occupied the land from the time

[237] NMB 39, p.188.
[238] As mentioned in several other texts, these hapu went to Matangirau under the protection of Tareha.
[239] NMB 39, p.208.
[240] Wiremu Ihaia gave an account of the collection and delivery of the lease payment, including the purchase and delivery of liquor to the named owners. See NMB 39, p.208.
[241] Hone Hapa, p.184; Paora Hoori, p.199.
[242] NMB 39, p.217.
[243] NMB 39, pp.172 -5.

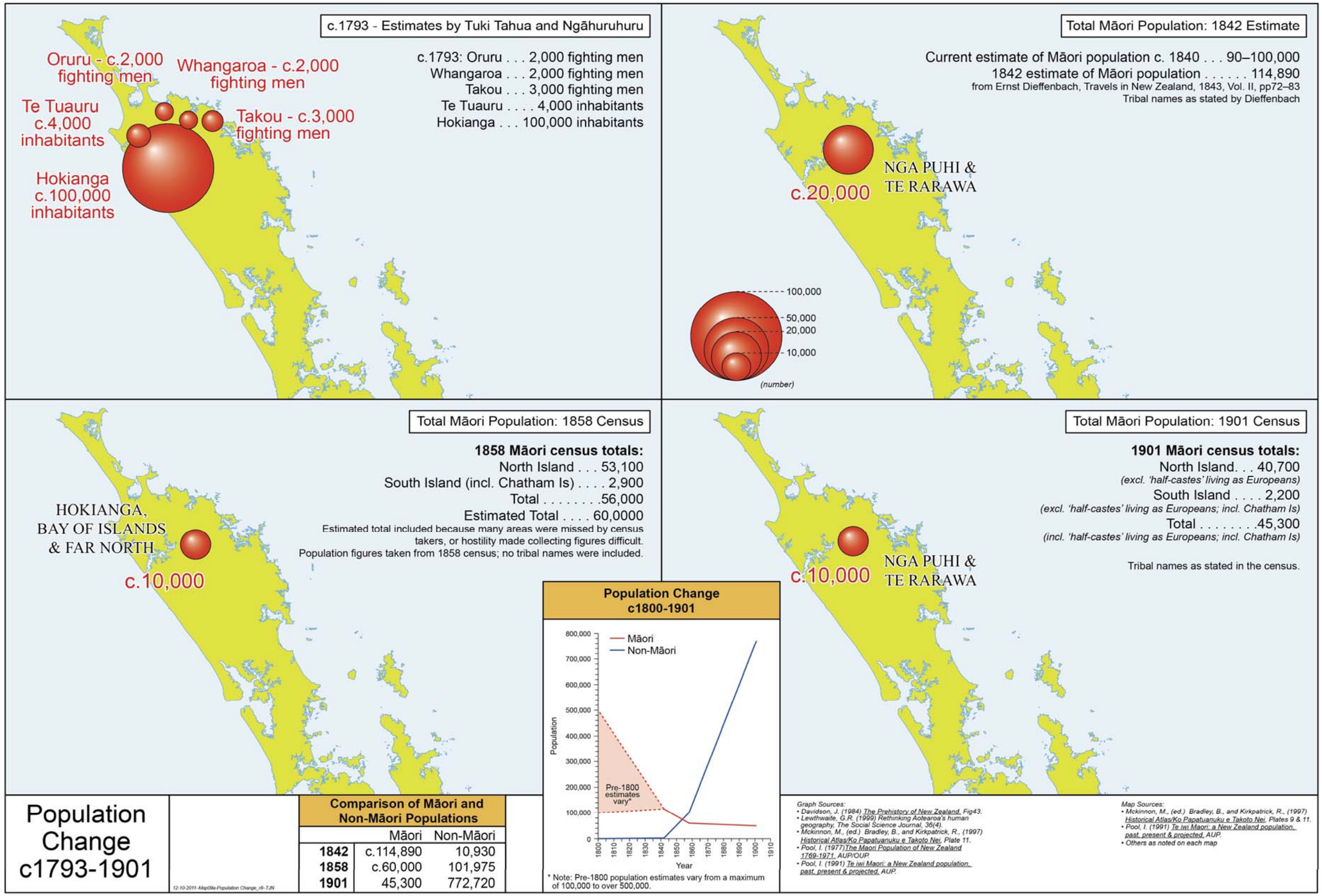
of their ancestors till the present. Wiremu Ihaia claimed through Tutehe; Ruku Reihana through Kauihi; and Taniwha Mauahara through Tutehe.



Map 34: Whangaihe
This plan was 'produced in 1907 as the setting up map of a Block Committee' indicating the formation of Papatupu Block Committees by this time. A coastal block, 'the sea' is to the north, with the coastal boundary points being Motutupapaku and Rewarewatahi, and the inland boundaries at Paetaha and Puketotara.
Source: CFRT, Arcflax Northland Edition 1.0, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML6802), 2007.

There were no further claimants and Wiremu Ihaia advised the Court that the three parties had come to an agreement as to ownership and partitioning. The agreement was that Whangaihe No.1 (150 acres) at the northern end of Whangaihe be for Wiremu Ihaia and his party; Whangaihe No.2 (65 acres) to the south of No.1 be for Nuku Reihana and his party; and Whangaihe No.3 (350 acres) be for Taniwha Mauahara and his party. After some negotiation of the specifics of the lists, the Court endorsed the agreement.[244]

[244] NMB 39, p.173. The minutes do not record the lists of owners. However Berghan (p.258) states that Whangaihe No.1 and No.2 each had six registered owners.


c.1793 - Estimates by Tuki Tahua and Ngāhuruhuru
Oruru - c.2,000 fighting men
Whangaroa - c.2,000 fighting men
Te Tuauru c.4,000 inhabitants
Takou - c.3,000 fighting men
Hokianga c.100,000 inhabitants
c.1793: Oruru . . . 2,000 fighting men
Whangaroa . . . 2,000 fighting men
Takou . . . 3,000 fighting men
Te Tuauru . . . . 4,000 inhabitants
Hokianga . . . 100,000 inhabitants
Total Māori Population: 1842 Estimate
Current estimate of Māori population c. 1840 . . . 90–100,000
1842 estimate of Māori population 114,890
from Ernst Dieffenbach, Travels in New Zealand, 1843, Vol. II, pp72–83
Tribal names as stated by Dieffenbach
NGA PUHI & TE RARAWA
c.20,000
100,000
50,000
20,000
10,000
(number)
Total Māori Population: 1858 Census
1858 Māori census totals:
North Island . . . 53,100
South Island (incl. Chatham Is) 2,900
Total 56,000
Estimated Total 60,0000
Estimated total included because many areas were missed by census takers, or hostility made collecting figures difficult.
Population figures taken from 1858 census; no tribal names were included.
HOKIANGA, BAY OF ISLANDS & FAR NORTH
c.10,000
Total Māori Population: 1901 Census
1901 Māori census totals:
North Island. . . 40,700
(excl. 'half-castes' living as Europeans)
South Island 2,200
(excl. 'half-castes' living as Europeans; incl. Chatham Is)
Total 45,300
(incl. 'half-castes' living as Europeans; incl. Chatham Is)
Tribal names as stated in the census.
c.10,000
NGA PUHI & TE RARAWA
Population Change c1800-1901
Māori
Non-Māori
Population
Year
Pre-1800 estimates vary*
* Note: Pre-1800 population estimates vary from a maximum of 100,000 to over 500,000.
Population Change c1793-1901
Comparison of Māori and Non-Māori Populations
1842 c.114,890 10,930
1858 c.60,000 101,975
1901 45,300 772,720
Graph Sources:
• Davidson, J. (1984) The Prehistory of New Zealand, Fig43.
• Lewthwaite, G.R. (1999) Rethinking Aotearoa's human geography, The Social Science Journal, 36(4).
• Mckinnon, M., (ed.) Bradley, B., and Kirkpatrick, R., (1997) Historical Atlas/Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei, Plate 11.
• Pool, I. (1977)The Maori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971, AUP/OUP.
• Pool, I. (1991) Te iwi Maori: a New Zealand population, past, present & projected, AUP.
Map Sources:
• Mckinnon, M., (ed.) Bradley, B., and Kirkpatrick, R., (1997) Historical Atlas/Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei, Plates 9 & 11.
• Pool, I. (1991) Te iwi Maori: a New Zealand population, past, present & projected, AUP.
• Others as noted on each map

Besides giving a sense of who was where on the land, this brief overview of investigations of title in the Whangaroa rohe has also shed some light on inter- and intra-tribal tensions in particular locations, the changing nature of the Court's processes, and some of the broader political contexts at play in tangata whenua engagements with the Court, particularly resulting from the complex histories of movement, displacement, relocation and resettlement often in the wake of war. Hongi's 'reign' in Whangaroa, defined by his ousting of Ngati Pou in 1827, framed many of the debates the NLC process induced and facilitated sometimes fierce competition between the claims of the so-called 'conquerors' and 'conquered'. In some of the earlier cases, such as Okura and Otangaroa, the Court seemed to rule in favour of the 'conquerors' – those who could prove their claims through take raupatu. In other cases the Court exhibited an understanding that the claims were far more complex and that the various ancestors through which people tended to be so connected made it almost impossible to distinguish any exclusive basis of 'right or title'.[1] In such cases, Kaingapipiwai and Te Totara providing examples, the Court would find competing parties had shared interests – sometimes relative, sometimes equal. Yet, in the later Matakaraka case, the Court decided that conquest did not necessarily bestow any rights on the victors, and ruled in favour of the party that made the best case for long-term occupation. And, in the Whangaihe case, claimants essentially decided their own arrangement, which the Court then endorsed. The cases overall, then, suggest a mix of changing attitudes in the Court and a gradually developing understanding of the Court's processes among Maori.

The WPH comment that this report is a 'good start' that 'sows seeds' for a subsequent round of research resonates with this chapter. The basic lineal and narrative approach taken at least allows some consideration of the patterns and characteristics of the Court's operations in Whangaroa. However so much more could be done if further research is undertaken. For example, the Court's minutes could be more thoroughly sifted for the details of pa, wahi tapu, cultivations and kainga to flesh out and support existing oral knowledge. They could similarly be assessed against the the established histories of Hongi Hika, and again used to flesh out existing knowledge. As mentioned earlier, neither this chapter nor this report deals with the important matter of land alienation that occurred subsequent to (and sometimes alongside) the various hearings. However, there are a couple of obvious hints that the government's land purchasing activities in Whangaroa, particularly through the 1870s, could have been influential such as in the Unuhia and Omataroa cases. This is definitely a matter deserving of further research attention, one that can provide greater specificity and

[1] NMB 18, pp.158-60.

substantiation for Whangaroa claimants. Likewise, the Te Pupuke rehearing hints at some local animosity, or at least indifference, towards the Court on the part of Mita Hape. It also shows that the Court could be threatening. Local attitudes to the Court are further displayed in attempts to appeal cases, or have them ajudicated by the Native Committee (not that the committee always delivered desirable judgements, necessarily). More research could tease out Whangaroa attitudes to the Court, and the Court's attitude to Whangaroa Maori. Lastly, being drafted so late in the research process, this chapter has not had the benefit of the attentive tangata whenua input applied to other chapters. Such input would provide an important contribution to deepening understandings of the whakapapa connections at play before the Court as well as informed commentary on living with the legacy of a Crown institution that so profoundly disrupted the former fluidity of hapu interactions on the Whangaroa landscape.

CHAPTER SIX
WHANGAROA AND THE STATE

Though hugely influential, the NLC was not alone in its role of regulating the land and lives of Whangaroa Maori and drawing them into a British system of law. Several other state institutions – notably the Maori Land Purchase and Native Affairs Departments, and the system of Native Schools – were tasked with similar responsibilities. They were also active in Whangaroa contemporaneously with the Court (although with differing life spans). The advent of these state mechanisms in Whangaroa, and the context of violence and coercion in which they arrived, impacted on every aspect of life, from the revolution that altered customary land tenure to something more akin to the English land-title system, illustrated in the previous chapter, to the daily domestic lives that are the subject of this chapter. The state – its policies, institutions and officials – so impacted Maori daily lives that by the end of the nineteenth century even something as apparently mundane as dog ownership became an issue for which Maori in the north were fined and jailed. By 1900 all the basic foundations for the colonial project were laid; the general frameworks for education, taxation, land reform, law and order, public infrastructure, and economic development either established or in progress. The ongoing establishment of state power and pursuit of colonial ambitions provides the main contextual factor for this chapter, which aims to get a sense, however limited, of Whangaroa lives during this period. It accepts the maturing view of historiography in Aotearoa that Maori were not passive in the process of nineteenth-century societal change, nor did they reactively reference their every action as a response to state policy. Rather, they more likely lived their lives in ways that were meaningful to them, and it is to these lives that this chapter turns its attention.

The material in this chapter has been mined from relevant reports and other documents published in the AJHRs. The research focussed on historical information relevant to the various hapu of the Whangaroa area, especially reports on Native Affairs and Native Schools. The chapter takes a particular interest in the social and economic activities in which Whangaroa Maori engaged, as well as the tribal and cultural views they held. This approach is problematic for many reasons, not least of which is the limitations of the AJHRs themselves. But the approach was decided upon as a means of meeting the goal of researching the historical narratives of hapu and whanau experiences and engagements with the Crown, including the issues and themes already identified by the suite of CFRT-commissioned research reports completed for the Northland Research Programme, but without necessarily repeating any of the content of those reports. Yet the multitude of

documents contained in the AJHRs were written primarily by government officials, most often writing to other government officials, such as the annual reports that the Resident Magistrates would submit to the Native Office.[2] Official commitment to policies of assimilation and their attendant racial ideologies about the superiority of European culture, which was openly stated and actively pursued, pervades the reports and the usual historical cautions therefore apply. Though the AJHRs are an important and rich historical source, for the purposes of this project they lack hapu and Whangaroa specific detail. Commentary was generalised and usually framed by how successful the colonial project was going at the time. Annual returns make brief mention that an area – Waimate or Mangonui, for example – was 'reasonable' or 'good'. The magistrates often discussed their districts as homogenous entities, making broad comments about the health, education and employment of an entire district.

Most problematic for this chapter is the way that Whangaroa itself was treated in the official documents. Often the magistrates for both Waimate and Mangonui would submit their annual reports without any mention of Whangaroa. Yet, Whangaroa was also discussed on its own terms. It seems that Whangaroa was treated as being part of both Mangonui and Waimate Districts, and neither of them. In any case Whangaroa was not its own district, but constituted the peripheries of the Waimate and Mangonui Districts. Records from both districts therefore feature throughout the chapter. Though the correspondence and views of officials clearly dominate, the fact of Maori correspondence and registration of opinion ought not be overlooked. There are some limits to Maori-generated correspondence – not the least of which is the location of power in the construction of the archives themselves. Furthermore, individual Maori are often treated homogenously or anonymously, and when individuals are named it is often without reference to their hapu or iwi identities. Nonetheless, letters and speeches by Maori do occur and this chapter does use them where available.

At best then, the view that the AJHRs provide of Whangaroa Maori is blurry, but it is sufficient to discern the kinds of issues that they felt were important to them, the domestic activities in which they engaged and other topics of interest. Specifically, the earliest AJHR to feature in this chapter is dated 1858. The latest is the statement given by the Native Minister Sir Apirana Ngata on the state of the Native Land Development Schemes in 1932. The bulk of the discussion, however, falls around the 1870s to the 1890s. The discussion that

[2] The Resident Magistrates (RMs) were introduced soon after Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed in 1840, although their effectiveness in their respective districts varied throughout the country. An 1846 Court Ordinance introduced the RMs to mediate the 'regular machinery of local administration and justice among the Maori'. They became the most important state mechanism for dispensing European law and administration to Maori. Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland, 1973, p.74.

follows begins with a consideration of Whangaroa's demography, and continues with commentary on war in the central North Island, prisons and imprisonment, Native Schools, disease, employment and land. It concludes with a brief mention of two reports on Maori land in which Apirana Ngata was involved, the 1908 Ngata-Stout report on Maori land tenure and Ngata's 1932 report on Maori land development. Therefore, the coverage of this chapter reaches toward and into the early twentieth century, thus meeting – chronologically speaking – the lived experiences canvassed in chapter two.

Counting Maori

The first task is to assess the demographic information about the Whangaroa district, by drawing from the available census data. Census-taking is one of the hallmarks of statist systems, and in 1868 Edward Williams attempted one that failed. Edward was the son of the missionary Henry Williams and, for many years, the Resident Magistrate for Waimate. The best his 1868 census could offer was an estimate of 4000 people for the Waimate and Hokianga area. Williams (Edward) added that he was certain the Maori population was decreasing overall, that hapu that once numbered in the hundreds now numbered in the tens. Even if his estimate and commentary were accurate they cover too wide an area to be of much utility for Whangaroa. Furthermore, census data is inherently problematic anyway. The collection process would have relied heavily on enumerators counting people on the ground, and it is unclear the extent to which they could or would account for temporary absences and people's movements in and out of settlements. Nor is it certain how well the complex relationships between the settlements enumerated were understood. There are occasional exceptions, such as an 1886 report on Mangonui that briefly describes the dispersal of local Maori because so many of them were engaged in gum-digging.[3] For the most part though, officials do not discuss the limitations of the censuses or their methods.

Other censuses were more successful than Williams' 1868 attempt, and at least five dealt specifically with Whangaroa. The most detailed of these, reported in 1870, gave the iwi, location, hapu, population and leading chief of each grouping.[4] In the Mangonui District was Te Uri o te Aho. Located at Kohumaru, with a population of 200, 'Hongi Hika' was identified as the leading chief of that area. Ngati Rehia was located at Taemaro, with a population of 130 and led by Paora Ururoa (although Paora's principle hapu was recorded as Tahawai).[5] Ngati Rua was recorded as being located at Waimahana with a population of 250, and

[3] RM H. W. Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1886 G-12, p. 2, Doc Bank 84.
[4] In some instances the chief named for an area was recorded as having stronger links to other hapu. These principal hapu will be named where appropriate. Return Giving the Names of Tribes of the North Island 1870, AJHR 1870 A-11, p.3, Doc Bank 121.
[5] There is also an entry for Ngati Rehia based in Te Tii. The population of this hapu was 100. The principal chief was Te Kowhai. AJHR 1870 A-11, p.3.

Pororua Wharekauri as its head (his principle hapu was listed as Te Uri o te Aho). Tahawai was recorded as located at Motukahakaha with a population of 400. Hohepa Kiwa was the principal chief there, although Te Uri o te Aho was his principal hapu. Other Whangaroa hapu were recorded under the Bay of Islands and Hokianga districts. Ngati Torehina was based in Takou with a population of 50, under the principal chief Te Tatari. Ngai Tupango was at Matauri, with a population of 125. Kingi Hori Kira was the principal chief there. Te Whanau Pani was at Te Ngaere with a population of 125. Henare Tupe was the chief there. Te Tahawai was located at Te Wainui with a population of 150. The principal chief there was Hare Hongi Hika. Ngati Uru was based at Te Touwai with a population of 150. Their chief was Patara Whakarorowai. The hapu recorded for Te Pupuke was Ngati Hine with a population of 150, the chief being Maihi Paraone Kawiti. Similarly at Kaeo; the hapu was recorded as Ngati Manu; the population was 50 and Wiremu Te Poro the chief.[6] (These last two details may seem curious, but they do support oral evidence that chiefs such as Kawiti, Pomare and Kiwikiwi at some time resided in the Whangaroa rohe or had whakapapa connections there). These figures have quite clearly been rounded to the nearest 25, but they still remain the most detailed of the census figures for Whangaroa hapu.

At a more general level, the population figures for the Mangonui district did fluctuate over time, decreasing from 2071 to 1745 in the five years from 1874 to '79, and increasing again to 2071 in 1886.[7] In 1891, the Resident Magistrate H. W. Bishop estimated the Whangaroa population at 656 – 340 males, 299 females, and seventeen 'half castes' (eight males and nine females).[8] Bishop's census also reported on Maori land use for the year. It described a relatively large acreage of land being used to grow potatoes and maize (36.25 and 44.5 acres respectively) as well as a much smaller acreage used to grow wheat (one acre) and sown for grass (seven acres). On the land were 157 sheep, 713 cattle and 1006 pigs. Lastly there was a category of land used 'in common cultivation' which listed acreages for land used to grow potatoes and other crops. The next census of Whangaroa was taken in 1896 and gave a total Maori population of 643, a small decrease from 1891.[9] Going against the popular belief at the time that Maori comprised a 'dying race', the Native Land Commissioners Robert Stout and Apirana Ngata, in 1908, estimated that Whangaroa Maori numbered 743, compared with 801 Europeans in the same area.[10]

[6] AJHR 1870 A-11, p.3.
[7] AJHR 1886 G-12, p.2.
[8] Census of Maori Population, AJHR 1891 G-2, p.10, Doc Bank 89. Half-castes were regarded as people with a Pakeha parent living as members of Maori tribes.
[9] Census of Maori Population, AJHR 1896 H-13B, p. 13, Doc Bank 71.
[10] AJHR 1908 G-1J, Interim Report of Native Land Commission, on Native Lands in the Counties of Whangarei, Hokianga, Bay of Islands, Whangaroa and Mangonui; Native Lands and Native Land Tenure 1908, p. 5, Doc Bank

Overall then, the population of Maori in Whangaroa from the late 1800s to early 1900s might be cautiously estimated at having fluctuated between six and eight hundred. In cultivating their land, Whangaroa Maori mostly grew potatoes and maize.[11] By 1896 at least 106 acres were sown, possibly reflecting an increasing number of sheep. (The number of sheep Whangaroa Maori owned more than doubled from 157 in 1891 to 385 in 1896, while for the same years cattle numbers decreased significantly from 713 to 121).[12] Unsurprisingly, the records are silent on the many other ways the tangata whenua of Whangaroa used their lands – such as for rongoa, harvesting kai, and community facilities like marae and urupa – all those things that interview contributors discussed so easily in the korero tuku iho and korero whanau of chapters one and two. Although none of the relevant reports make the point explicitly, it is likely that the interest in land use was to understand the extent to which Maori were using land in a European fashion, which was itself a measure of successful 'assimilation'.

Setting aside the facts and figures of the various censuses, that they were conducted at all was something of an issue for Taitokerau Maori, whose co-operation over them could not be guaranteed. Williams' failed 1868 attempt to conduct a census was reportedly due to 'a manifest reluctance on the part of the Natives to give the required information'. He said that this reluctance was the result of Waikato Maori telling Taitokerau Maori that when the war in the central North Island was over, the government would turn its guns on Ngapuhi (again). Ngapuhi consequently viewed the census as a government attempt to ascertain the 'the number of fighting men' at their disposal.[13] Bishop similarly found it difficult to gain Maori co-operation for his 1886 census of the Mangonui district.[14] In that situation the influential rangatira at Taipa, Te Wiremu Pikahu, refused the census, because he understood it as a potential aid for the government to tax the people it counted. According to Bishop, Pikahu 'refused in the most insolent terms' and even sent some of his men to warn surrounding settlements to 'beware of the "taniwha"'.[15] Whereas Ngapuhi opposed Williams' 1868 census with sufficient strength to cause its failure, to counter the opposition of his 1886 census Bishop sought the co-operation of (unnamed) Maori clergymen who kept complete records of all the inhabitants of their areas. So Maori engagement with and acceptance of cenus-taking in their areas was, at best, mixed. And these examples show that their effectiveness relied on the co-operation of tangata whenua on the ground, which they could withdraw if they wanted. That no one was reprimanded for refusing their co-operation

[11] Significantly though, in 1891 and 1896 nearly 30 acres grew 'other crops', a particularly unhelpful category, which possibly included kumara. AJHR 1896 H-13B, p.13; and AJHR 1908 G-1J, p.5.
[12] AJHR 1896 H-13B, p.13.
[13] Williams to Sir G. F. Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.37, Doc Bank 118.
[14] AJHR 1886 G-12, p.2.
[15] AJHR 1886 G-12, p.2.

emphasises this point. These examples also suggest that Maori engaged and disengaged strategically with the state; co-operation was not a given but largely dependent on local views of the issues of the day.

War in the Waikato

In the 1860s, one of the large issues of the day was the war being fought in the Waikato and other parts of the central North Island, where the government had already displayed its willingness to raise arms against those who refused its authority.[16] Indeed, as already shown, war in the Waikato provided the political background against which Williams' 1868 census failed. Waikato Maori were clearly in contact with Maori throughout the north, and Maori in the Mangonui and Waimate districts were at least interested to hear what Waikato had to say. According to Williams, besides warning Ngapuhi that the government would soon turn their arms on them, Waikato Maori also tried to 'persuade Nga Puhi to join in a general rise'. W. B. White, the Resident Magistrate at Mangonui in the 1860s, also noted that 'agents of the rebels' had come from Waikato into the Mangonui District proclaiming that they were 'uniformly successful' in their fight against the Crown. This contact with 'rebels', and apparent consideration of joining the fighting, contrasts starkly against the assurances that the Resident Magistrates annually gave their seniors about the unbounded love and loyalty northern Maori apparently had for the government.

It seems Ngapuhi took the Waikato reports of success in their fight with the Crown quite seriously and, indeed, the history books now tell us that the decisive victory the government sought remained elusive.[17] Attitudes towards the war must have concerned the resident magistrates. Early in the war White described hauhauism as 'the mere declaration of opposition to the white man', and took some satisfaction in reporting that it was a phenonmenon entirely absent from the Mangonui district. When the war first began, local Maori 'were clearly of [the] opinion that it had been forced on the Government by the Natives, and their sympathies were with the Government.'[18] However as the war progressed and news spread that Waikato was enjoying some success, Maori in the Mangonui district become anxious at the prospect of a defeated government. There was a concern that a defeated government could potentially allow a powerful and united Waikato to invade Taitokerau in retaliation for the wars fought between the two decades earlier.[19] White dealt with the changing mood about the war by orgainsing a trip on which local chiefs (unnamed)

[16] The numerous details of the Waikato (and New Zealand) wars will not be discussed here, and there is a substantial body of literature on the topic for those who would like to read more, including James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict*, Auckland, 1998; and Danny Keenan, *Wars Without End*, Auckland, 2009.
[17] See, for example, James Belich's comprehensive analysis in *New Zealand Wars*.
[18] RM W. B. White to Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.37, Doc Bank 118.
[19] AJHR 1868 A-4, p. 37.

would travel with White to the Waikato, ostensibly for a first-hand look at the war. They travelled as far as Te Awamutu and, significantly, witnessed some of the fighting at Orakau. Orakau was the last in a series of battles which saw the government troops push into the Waikato, displacing people and sending many of them into exile in Maniapoto territory. When White and his party returned home, the chiefs relayed what they had seen at a series of meetings. White said 'all were fully satisfied that loyalty [to the Government] was the best policy.'[20] He claimed Maori he spoke with commonly expressed the view that with a 'strong hand' the Government 'ought to call out the whole population to put down the King party,' and that until this happened removing troops from the central North Island would be premature.[21]

It is difficult to interpret White's reporting. He focussed on relating the outcomes of meetings, so it is unclear how the discussions and debates played out prior to any agreed views being reached, including the extent to which not maintaining 'loyalty' may have been considered. As with many of the reports, White also generalised the hui participants, treating them as a homogenous group, often devoid of named individuals. On one hand White suggested Mangonui chiefs were anxious about the potential for Waikato to mount a retaliatory attack on Ngapuhi. On the other, it was already known that a customary peacemaking between Ngapuhi and Waikato had taken place.[22] Further, the Kingitanga had sent messengers to both the Mangonui and Waimate districts (and elsewhere probably) to proclaim their military successes and warn about the potential for the government to attack. But White was not alone in reporting Ngapuhi's loyalty. Williams too, reported that Ngapuhi 'maintained their loyal feeling towards the Government' and that Ngapuhi support for Waikato was generally not forthcoming.[23] When considering Ngapuhi attitudes to government, war and the Waikato, it is useful to remain mindful of Ngapuhi's earlier participation at the 1860 Kohimarama Conference. There, besides lengthy discussions of the Treaty of Waitangi, attention was also turned to war in both Waikato and Taranaki and the government sought assurances from other iwi that they would distance themselves from it. For its part, Ngapuhi sent clear messages of respect for the Crown and, importantly, an expectation that they would have a share in the development of the colony, joining in the administration of law and governmental decision-making bodies.[24] Therefore, expressions of loyalty to the Crown (coupled with a spurning of Maori participation in the war) might be

[20] AJHR 1868 A-4, p. 37.
[21] AJHR 1868 A-4, p.37.
[22] RM R. C. Barstow to G. F. Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.7.
[23] The exception is the Bay of Islands where the descendants of prisoners of war brought to the North from Waikato supported the King Movement, as well as Ngai Tawake who were linked to Waikato through the marriage of Kati and Matire. AJHR 1868 A-4, p.7.
[24] The Kohimarama Conference is discussed in chapter six of Kawharu, 'Te Tiriti', and will not be further discussed or explained here.

read as an acknowledgement of those earlier gestures toward some kind of shared authority. Yet Waikato was not impotent in the face of any perceived government promise of shared authority. In making overtures to northern Maori to join them in the war, Waikato had reportedly promised to offer a kingship to 'Hongi', in the event of their success in war.[25]

The issue of the war in the Waikato was again taken up by kaikorero who addressed Governor G. F. Bowen when he visited Waimate, Hokianga, Mangonui and Whangaroa in 1870, by which time the war in the Waikato was largely over and the fertile Waikato plains confiscated. Despite the late notice given for his arrival, Governor Bowen was well received in the north. At Waimate, fifty Maori on horseback formed a guard of honour to greet him while several hundred other Maori gathered to cheer, wave and sing. The general mood of goodwill was reinforced by well-meaning mihi to the British Queen and the government that represented her, such as in the speeches by Mihaka Pehiriri and Hare Te Wera. During the formal discussions Wi Hau wanted to be sure that what the Governor had come to discuss was the peace arrangements to be made with Waikato, stating that 'if this be not your object, and that you merely come to see the poverty of the land, the Nga Puhi will not have much to say.'[26] Despite Wi Hau's reference to unfavourable local conditions, the topic of peace with the Waikato did remain a strong theme of the discussions with Bowen. Nor was it a new topic; Wi Hau alluded to a letter previously sent to the government on the issue of peace arrangements. Speakers such as the Native Assessor Tango Hikuwai as well as Riwhi Hongi, Kingi Hori Kira and Matenga Waiwhanga among others all put their views on how they thought a peace could be negotiated, making it clear that they thought Ngapuhi ought to be involved. Tango Hikuwai summed up their suggestion that if the government gave them some Waikato land, then they would be well positioned to broker a peace with Waikato by exchanging the land for their giving up the Kingitanga. Hikuwai said that Ngapuhi needed to 'have something wherewith to appear before the Waikatos to request them to give up their Kingship, and be like us. If we have nothing in our hands we cannot present ourselves before them.'[27]

Bowen confirmed that peace was being negotiated but he also said that Ngapuhi could have no land with which to negotiate (and therefore no role) because it was to be either distributed to those elements in Waikato who had remained loyal or sold to Europeans. Donald McLean, Native Minister, who was also present with Bowen supported him, noting that Waikato themselves had requested that Ngapuhi not be party to any peace arrangements. Wi Pirihonga conceded saying 'it is not for us to take the initiative. It is for the

[25] AJHR 1868 A-4, p.21.
[26] Wi Hau to G. F. Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p.5, Doc Bank 120
[27] Tango Hikuwai to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p. 5.

Waikatos, who are, as it were, in prison, to appeal to us to release them.'[28] But it appears that northern Maori still wanted some role in the aftermath of war, as Hamiora Hau argued that Ngapuhi and the Crown should co-operate in dealing with how Waikato's lands should be dealt with and urged that Te Rarawa and Kaipara participate in the peace process.[29] In Hamiora's view, Waikato had instigated the war and if Matutaera (Tawhiao) was to break the peace Ngapuhi would join with the Government and fight with Waikato. Other speakers agreed that Waikato was responsible for the outbreak of war there, and similar sentiments were expressed among the 250 Maori who gathered to greet Bowen when he visited Whangaroa (probably at or near Waitangio, as the hui took place in front of the residence of George Fergusson).[30] Viewing Waikato this way did not necessarily mean that northern Maori regarded their position as subordinate to the government however. Hare Hongi Te Kohai, for example, welcomed Bowen enthusiastically. He seems to have acknowledged an overarching authority of the Queen, but without giving up his right to act independently:

> Welcome, O Governor and Mr McLean! Come and see your people, the Nga Puhi....We are sitting under the shadow of the Queen; but I am my own servant and my own soldier. The reason why I say so is this: If any of the Hauhaus come here and interfere with any of us, then I will get up and fight. That is right.[31]

Though Bowen and McLean ruled out the possibility of any Ngapuhi involvement in making peace with Waikato, a year later in 1871 H. T. Kemp reported to the Native Minister about a Kingitanga decision to send a deputation to meet with Ngapuhi. The deputation consisted of five people from Tokangamutu with Te Retimana Waihau (of Ngati Mahuta) as their leader. Kemp described the importance of the planned meeting to be held, where the last wish of Potatau – that Ngapuhi, Waikato and Europeans live in peace – could be fulfilled. After the deputation was to meet with Nga Puhi, Hare Hongi and Mangonui were invited back to Auckland with them. They were both 'men of distinction' with connections to Waikato via the marriages that had established peace in the wake of Hongi's campaigns decades earlier. Reading between the lines, some of the ideas surrounding peace in the Waikato seem to have contained remnant tensions arising from the historical animosities between Waikato and Ngapuhi, and could benefit from further research or any analytical light that WPH members might be able to shed.

Colonial Justice

The topic of prisons also featured at various hui between Whangaroa Maori and government officials. Again, views were mixed and, again, it seems that effective implementation of law

[28] Wi Pirihonga to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p. 6.
[29] AJHR 1870 A-7, p.7.
[30] AJHR 1870 A-7, p.14.
[31] Hare Hongi Te Kowhai to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p.15.

and order in Maori communities was often dependent on Maori co-operation, which could be withheld. Also, Maori innovated Pakeha law to suit and drew on Maori approaches to justice. During Bowen's 1870 visit, the chief Kohumaru pressed for a 'lock-up' to be established at Waimate to signal Ngapuhi's acceptance and loyalty to the law. At Whangaroa Kingi Hori Kira also expressed his eagerness to have a gaol built so that both Maori and Europeans 'that do evil' could be imprisoned, adding that 'it is for the want of a gaol that we go and drink, and then we commence to quarrel.'[32] Ruinga te Hoenga also spoke of his desire for a prison to be established in Whangaroa. Pleased with the display of allegiance, Bowen responded by invoking the memory of Hongi Hika and (perhaps inadvertently) the meaningfulness of his 1820 meeting with King George:

> The Queen will be highly pleased to hear of the loyal sentiments of Hongi Hika's people. It is a proof that Hongi Hika was sincere in his desire to have Europeans here; for you remember that it was Hongi Hika and Waikato who first went to England to ask King George the Fourth to extend his protection, and send Europeans to this country.[33]

It appears that Hongi Hika (Junior) was not impressed. After the governor's address he announced:

> Welcome Governor! With all my heart, I object to a gaol being put up here. I differ from the other chiefs on this point.[34]

In fact, the issue of imprisonment had been alive for a number of years by 1870. As early as 1862 White had described an incident where three Maori and a number of Europeans had deserted their posts aboard the *Prince Edward*. Three Europeans were 'condemned to six months, the other four to four months'. The Maori deserters had fled to Kohumaru where White decided that a fine under the 'Merchant Seamen's Act' would have to do since imprisonment would cause too much trouble.[35] In 1863 Williams recorded a meeting where the assessors Kingi Hori Kira and Riwhi Hongi met with local people about an attempted sexual assault against a European woman. The meeting was held at a court in Matauri and went all day and into the night. Following this Williams entered into two days of discussion with the (unnamed) tribe at Matauri. The result of both hui was that the local people would not allow the accused, a local, to be imprisoned. They felt the offense did not constitute a prison sentence, especially since European men made similar attacks on Maori women and were not imprisoned. Williams consulted with the Resident Magistrate of Russell and they decided not to push the issue of imprisonment. Instead a fine of £50 was levied. According to

[32] Kingi Hori Kira to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p. 16.
[33] AJHR 1870 A-7, p. 15.
[34] Hongi Hika to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p. 16.
[35] White to Attorney General, AJHR 1863 D-13, Doc Bank 109.

Williams, the assessors who worked with him on the case 'conducted themselves exceedingly well.'[36] Kingi Hori Kira had worked particularly hard to convince the community that the accused should be given over for imprisonment. The assessors and wardens had even offered to take the accused to the Supreme Court by force if necessary. According to Justice of the Peace Thomas Kidd, the accused had boasted that the law was too weak to arrest him without trouble, which Williams' account seems to confirm.

A similar episode occurred in 1868, when Williams reported that Hare Poti had shot Te Ripi dead after the two had fallen out. The Hokianga chief Arama Karaka persuaded those who met about the incident to hand Hare over for imprisonment. But Hare was a chief and his people made it clear that they would not allow that to happen. They felt that what had happened was not murder since Hare had warned Te Ripi not to return to Kaikohe, and also that the shooting had taken place in the open. Hongi's view was that Te Ripi's family should make peace with Hare and his relatives rather than risk war. On the 7 January 1867 then, a large hui was held at Kaikohe where it was agreed that all animosity against Hare should cease.[37] Williams reported that Maori opposition towards imprisonment was that shame was brought not only on the prisoner, but also on the tribe to which he or she belonged. This made imprisonment a far greater punishment to Maori than it did to Europeans, and fines were seen as a more acceptable method. These examples not only illustrate tangata whenua attitudes to prison being worked out, they also exemplify the on-the-ground tensions between the rangatitatanga of iwi, and the authority of the Crown, which Maori continued to contest and negotiate.

In 1874 Williams recorded that on 26 March 1873 Papu of Ngati Uru had killed a man named Timoti. (The circumstances of the killing were not given). Both men were well connected in Whangaroa and there was potential for the matter to escalate into further violence.[38] In mid-April a hui at Waimate decided that the chiefs and assessors should use their influence to ensure the offender was given up for justice. The next day Mohi Tawhai went to Whangaroa to attempt this. He apparently succeeded, though Ngati Uru found the decision a difficult one to make. They did not want to be seen to be opposing the government by refusing to hand Papu over, and instead arranged for a meeting at Waihou where Wiremu Katene and Mohi Tawhai could finalise his transfer. That way at least the case would not be handled by strangers to the tribe.[39] In January of 1875 Williams, Wiremu Katene, the chief Mangonui and a large party of armed Maori went to Whangaroa to remove Timoti's remains. The other

[36] Williams to Civil Commissioner, Waimate, AJHR 1863 D-9, p.5, Doc Bank 108.
[37] Williams to Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.22.
[38] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.3 Doc Bank 129.
[39] AJHR 1874 G-2, p.3.

motive was to make peace with Ngati Uru, since many were dissatisfied at what they felt was a lenient sentence given to Papu. On arrival both parties performed haka before conciliatory speeches were given. To conclude the affair there was an exchange of arms, where Mangonui offered a greenstone mere and a whalebone paraoa. For his part Heremaia Te Ara offered a double-barrelled fowling-piece and a carved long-handled hatchet.[40]

Over time, it seems the opposition to imprisonment softened. In 1876 White reported that there had been very little crime in the Mangonui district that year. But Maori constables had arrested three Maori who were sent to Mt Eden goal for sentences of six to twelve months; these arrests had taken place without opposition.[41] In 1877 – reporting on courts held regularly at Whangaroa, Waimate, Russell and Kawakawa – Williams said that seven Maori had been imprisoned: four for theft; two for stealing horses and house-breaking; and one for house-breaking. In all these cases the arrests and imprisonment occurred without opposition. Two of the offenders were the sons of chiefs and Williams remarked that 'a few years back' they would 'have offered strenuous opposition, and tendered any sum of money rather than they should be sent to gaol.'[42] Predictably he attributed this to Maori acceptance of 'the justice of our laws.' [43] Williams made similar comments in 1878 where he again mentioned the regular court sessions being held at Whangaroa and Waimate. Here the cases were mostly civil rather than criminal cases. However two people had been imprisoned. Both of these offenders were well connected and Williams again expressed his surprise that their imprisonment had not been widely opposed. But civil and criminal cases are just one way of assessing Maori acceptance of Pakeha law, and though there was some strong support for prisons, there was an equally strong and practical push for Maori to handle their law and order issues themselves.

Paying Taxes (or not)

Taxes also attracted their share of attention in Maori-government engagement, and the fact that Mangonui Maori suspected the government would use the 1886 census as an aid to taxing the people it counted has already been introduced.[44] But it was dog taxes that attracted prolonged negative attention from Maori, not just in the north but also throughout the country. In 1880 four Maori of the Mangonui district were charged for breaching the Dog Nuisance Act. This was an offence for which they could be imprisoned (as at least fourteen

[40] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1875 G-2, p.5.
[41] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-1, p.18, Doc Bank 137.
[42] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.3.
[43] AJHR 1877 G-1, p.3.
[44] AJHR 1886 G-12, p.2.

Maori would find out first-hand in 1896).[45] Particularly angry, the four defendants tore up the summons documents they received. They did appear in Court eventually, and were duly fined five shillings.[46] An 1883 report said that from a Maori standpoint, the dog tax was 'a great hardship', which took the authorities an enormous effort to collect. The majority had escaped paying the tax, so much so that Bishop recommended that the 1880 act 'should be allowed to remain a dead-letter.'[47] In 1884, the Dog Registration Act was still 'a sore point' with Maori, and Bishop said that in the Mangonui district 'they resist it by every means in their power'.[48] He described an incident in which six Maori had resisted the police who attempted to enforce the tax. The matter ended in court where the six were heavily fined. Bishop again noted that enforcing the dog taxes was more trouble than it was worth.

In 1895 the Premier of New Zealand Richard Seddon toured the North Island's 'Native Districts'. Addressing Seddon at Waimate, Hare Matenga said the dog-tax was one of their 'greatest grievances':

> It is not that they wished to evade the tax in anyway. They had all agreed there to pay that tax; in fact they did not wish to evade any laws at all. All their prayer was that the price should be reduced from 5s to 2s 6d per year.[49]

Hare explained that they had petitioned the County Council a month earlier describing their willingness to pay the taxes on dogs at a reduced rate. He said that people had to travel to Kawakawa or Russell in order to get dog collars. More recently they were able to get them from the telegraph office.[50] The petition claimed that if the police delivered the collars to the individual households then they would pay the 5s per annum, otherwise they should only have to pay half that. Hare's comments were supported by Pene Taui. Seddon began his response by complimenting the speakers on their 'courteous language and respectful' demeanour. He then explained the amount of tax being paid could indeed be lowered, and Maori could achieve that by owning fewer dogs.

> If you only keep half the dogs that you have you would only have to pay one-half of what you do at present in the way of taxes. I would rather see more pickaninnies about the Maori pas than dogs. There is no tax to pay the County Council for pickaninnies.[51]

[45]His report is silent on the details, except to say that fourteen Maori were so imprisoned. Stipendiary Magistrate J. C. Clendon to the Department of Justice, AJHR 1896 H-13B, Doc Bank 71.
[46] G. Kelly to the Native Minister, AJHR 1880 G-4, p.1.
[47] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1883 G-1A, p.2.
[48] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1884 G-1, p.3.
[49] Hare Matenga to Seddon, AJHR 1895 G-1, A Narrative of the Premier's Trip Through the Native Districts of the North Island, p. 21, Doc Bank 79.
[50] The location of the telegraphoffice is not given, nor whether there were more than one. AJHR 1895 G-1, p. 21.
[51] A pickaninny is a slang term for a dark-skinned child**.** Seddon to Hare Matenga**,** AJHR 1895 G-1, p.22.

Seddon had three more arguments to make regarding the dog-tax situation. One was that taxes were a matter for the County Council rather than the government. Secondly he knew of places where Europeans and Maori had to pay ten shillings per annum. His last point was that it was no problem for their forefathers to have dogs because they needed them to procure food, but in the present time people had them for the pleasure of having dogs around. On the specific issue of the distance people travelled to get collars, he recommended that they deal with the County Council about that. Seddon next met with Taitokerau Maori in Waima, where opposition to the dog-tax would famously build to the so-called 'dog-tax war' in 1898.[52] In respose to the specific concerns of Wiremu Komene, who said his 'brothers and uncles' were in prison 'through being misled'. Seddon said Maori ought to seek clemency by petitioning the Minister of Justice.[53]

Negotiating Maori-state relationships

In his meetings with Maori, Seddon often proposed that petitioning or appealing in some other way to government or local authorities was the best means of resolving their various grievances. Dealing with socio-political problems by appealing to the Crown's bureaucratic and often distant – culturally as well as geographically – institutions typified the kinds of changes that occurred as the state established itself in Maori communities and lives as the most powerful force for societal change in the country.[54] For Maori to address grievances one option was to appeal to the custodians of the state; another was to become custodians themselves. Official records like the AJHRs demonstrate that Maori were interested in both. Many Maori appeals to the state were positive in the sense of Maori requests that the state introduce some institute of the state into their communities; jails and schools, for example. Other appeals asked that state custodians remove or reduce something, such as Hare Matenga's (failed) petition to have the rate of taxation on dog ownership reduced, and Hare Tewera's appeal to Governor Bowen to remove the charge of murder against Poti.[55] In Whangaroa specifically Kingi Hori Kira and Honi Karahini called on Bowen in 1870 to establish a township in Whangaroa.[56] Kingi explained that because Whangaroa had no town he had to take his (unspecified) goods to Russell and Auckland to sell and trade which was too long a journey. He referred to Hongi Hika's 1820 visit to England to emphasise his point:

> Our great chief Hongi Hika went to England and asked for Europeans, and they came. Now we ask for a town. The progeny of Hongi Hika are all over the country, but the

[52] The dog-tax war is thoroughly covered in Armstrong and Subasic.
[53] Wiremu Komene to Premier Seddon, AJHR 1895 G-1, p.31.
[54] Maori were very perceptive of this change. Ward notes that Ngapuhi in particular was 'quick to grasp where the realities of power lay', that is the General Assembly in Wellington. Ward p.270.
[55]Hare Tewera to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p.7.
[56] Honi Karahini and Kingi Hori Kira to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, pp.15-16.

> heads of the family are here. What I have to say is, let us be as one under the law. This is my real word to you. Give us a town here.[57]

Northern Maori also sought meaningful roles as part of the state apparatus themselves. Though an indication of co-operation with government, it was difficult for Maori to obtain seats at the growing colony's decision-making tables, especially as representation was so weighted against them. Conveniently, the government did not see any hurdles that might inhibit Maori participation. For example, when (unnamed) speakers at Waimate told Seddon that they should have representatives on the County Councils since it was their taxes that financed its existence, Seddon merely replied that any rate-payer could become a member of the County Council provided they got enough votes.[58]

Both Williams' and White's 1868 reports described the dissatisfaction Maori in the Waimate and Mangonui districts expressed about the systems of representation that operated at the time. Williams noted that Maori were 'certainly not satisfied' with the 1867 legislation that introduced Maori representation to parliament and had 'manifested the greatest indifference to it.'[59] The main reason for the indifference was that it did not make sense that a person from one tribe could effectively represent people from other tribes. White reported that Maori in the Mangonui district said each tribe should have a representative and that there should also be 'a chamber separate from the whites' since Europeans did not understand te reo Maori.[60] Maori were also concerned that they would not have as many people representing them as Pakeha. They said they would engage far more enthusiastically with representative processes if they could have as many representatives as the Pakeha, but as it stood having only four people to represent all Maori was unworkable. Wiremu Katene said as much during Governor Bowen's 1870 visit to Waimate. He said the 'only way' to accomplish the Queen's goal of the two races of New Zealand becoming one was to ensure that both races 'enjoy equal legislative rights.'[61] He observed that the most powerful force in New Zealand society was the government in Wellington; that it was good that Maori were becoming members of parliament, but having only one person representing all the northern tribes was ineffective.[62] During the discussion that followed the view was expressed that Maori had felt neglected in previous years, with no representatives of the Queen or government visiting the area. Maori were keen to be represented in parliament and 30 new applicants (all holding Crown Grants) had submitted their names for registration on the electoral roll.[63] The chiefs

[57] Kingi Hori Kira to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p.16.
[58] R. J. Seddon, AJHR 1895 G-1, p.22.
[59] Williams to Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.24.
[60] White to Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.37.
[61] Wiremu Katene to Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p.7.
[62] AJHR 1870 A-7, p. 7.
[63] Unnamed speakers to G.F Bowen, AJHR 1870 A-7, p.7.

of the Waimate district were disappointed that they were not able to return Aperahama Taonui to represent the north.[64] In a conversation with Williams, Taonui had earlier pointed out the impracticality of having four Maori as part of the government given the language barrier that existed between Pakeha and Maori politicians. He even suggested that Maori would be more enthusiastic if they were able to vote in a Pakeha who they trusted would represent them well, but even this was not an option Maori were able to exercise.[65] Things changed somewhat over time, and in 1876 Williams reported that the northern Maori elections that year had drawn more attention than any previous year, noting that the 'intelligent half-caste' Hori Karaka Tawiti of Hokianga had won.[66] Overall though, the challenges of gaining adequate political representation for Ngapuhi suggest the government had effectively raised the drawbridge with regard to Maori access to the higher levels of state power, while Maori continued to negotiate and contest the rangatiratanga of iwi Maori in relation to the kawanatanga of the Crown.

Maori could become part of the state apparatus via access points at a local level. Chiefs and prominent tribal members were often employed as assessors and wardens, for example, although these positions were usually subordinate to the various resident magistrates and civil commissioners. In their role, assessors could effectively address and resolve a variety of social difficulties. Clearly the assessors were also useful to the state because their positions helped to legitimise the authority of the resident magistrates, but the magistrates also had to treat the assessor and Maori of their districts well if they were to garner effective co-operation. By tying the magistrates to the assessors, the magistrates and their courts could be seen as being part of the local community and in this way state power, at least on the ground in districts, could operate below the cultural radar to a degree.[67]

In 1861 White suggested to the Native Secretary that resident magistrates should be accompanied by assessors as they travelled through their districts. This way the magistrates would be able to utilise the local knowledge of the assessors which would otherwise have to be acquired through 'much labour and difficulty'. Though it is not clear what the response to White's suggestion was, his request demonstrates the kind of middle-man role the assessors were seen to play with regard to the state and Maori at the local level. In his report White also listed Whangaroa chiefs that had been employed as assessors during 1860, the pay they received and brief descriptions of their character. Hare Hongi Hika was the first listed. He

[64] AJHR 1868 A-4, pp.24-5.
[65] Aperahama Taonui toWilliams, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.31.
[66] Williams to Under-Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-1, p. 20, Doc Bank 137.
[67] Ward p. 77.

was due to be paid £5 and was described as the head Ngapuhi chief.[68] Heke Ururoa was listed but was not due any payment and White described him as 'a very influential chief' but who had 'kept aloof from the business of the [Native Land] Court.'[69] White hoped to overcome his (unspecified) objections about the Court in the year to come. Paora Ururoa, a 'very sensible, promising chief' had £8 owing to him.[70] The last two chiefs were described together as 'very clever men, and by far the most zealous and active Assessors, but Chiefs of Ngatiura [Ngati Uru], a beaten tribe. The influence they have acquired has been principally by the wisdom and firmness of their acts.' Each was due £10.[71]

In 1862 White again wrote to the Native Secretary, noting that verbal approval had been given for proposed payments to the assessors for 1861, yet the money had not come in. He urged that the funding be made available, especially since the assessors 'are put to considerable expense' in carrying out their employment and White felt embarrassed meeting with unpaid chiefs.[72] Repeated requests that the overdue fees be paid were not primarily due to White's feeling of embarrassment: in 1862 he was busy with the other resident magistrates of the north trying to establish the district runanga system, and wanted the assessors' support. The government had introduced the runanga system as a means of involving tribal authorities in the determination of land titles, and to enforce government laws and runanga by-laws by attaching Maori wardens and constables to them.[73] They were partly a government response to settler pressure to individualise title to Maori land and bring it within easier access for negotiating purchases. The government was half-hearted; it wanted to amalgamate Maori under British law, and individualisation of land title was part of that, but it did not want to press Maori too hard, especially given the context of war in the central North Island at the time. The government hoped the introduction of the runanga, essentially councils of chiefs, would reassure Maori of its intentions towards them, while simultaneously allowing settlers to get at Maori land (though not as quickly as they would have preferred).[74] Like many government initiatives of the period, the success or otherwise of the runanga was limited and varied between districts.[75]

[68] White to Native Secretary, AJHR E-3I 1861, Doc Bank 20.
[69] AJHR E-3I 1861.
[70] AJHR E-3I 1861.
[71] White to Native Secretary, AJHR E-3I 1861. Included in the list of payments due for the chiefs services in 1860, were corresponding entries for the proposed payments for 1861: £10 each for Hare Hongi Hika, Heke Ururoa, and Paora Ururoa, and £15 Heremaia Te Ara and Naihi Kotohike.
[72] White also mentioned that one of the assessors had been 'struck off' since he had completed no work. Though not named, it is likely the assessor referred to was Heke Ururoa. Already identified as someone who remained 'aloof' from the NLC, Heke Ururoa may well have been aloof from the runanga system more generally. White to Native Secretary, AJHR 1862 E-9, p. 5, Doc Bank 67.
[73] Ward, p. 125.
[74] Ward, pp. 125-6.
[75] Much more could be said about the runanga, and Ward provides a thourough description of their history.

White was concerned that if the assessors were left unpaid, it would 'induce them to look coldly upon the new arrangements' for the district runanga.[76] This was a reasonable concern given that the assessors were almost always men of influence. According to Alan Ward, White was attuned to the way tribal politics worked in his district. The runanga was not supposed to have assessors as members but White seated the assessors and other important men as non-voting members. A position on the runanga was seen as a mark of rank and chiefs who were not seated tended to ignore or disparage their proceedings. In addition White opted not to appoint the runanga chiefs. Rather he preferred that Maori elected for themselves who they wanted to head the runanga, and requested £11 to fund the large gatherings of Maori at Mangonui, Kaitaia and Ahipara for the 'elections'. White felt that Maori support for the district runanga would be more forthcoming that way. He also requested that runanga chiefs, wardens and karere be paid quarterly rather than annually as in the case of the assessors. The chiefs of the runanga were Paraone, Puhipi Te Repi, Hohepa Poutama, Karaka Te Karau, Tipene Te Taha, Pororua Wharekauri and Paora Putete Ururoa. The wardens were Waka Rangaaunu and Heremaia Te Ara. Finally the karere were Raharuhi, Makarini, Hohaia, Hataere, Ihaia, Tamehana, Ruteni, Reihana Te Huhu, Timoti Popata, Mohi and Hemi Rihari.[77]

In summary then, Maori in the Whangaroa and neighbouring districts engaged in different ways with the mechanisms of state to confront their changing and challenging political situation. They demonstrated an awareness of where political power lay and how it operated, while facing the reality that access to the higher levels of government was extremely limited. The situation at a local level offered some hope. Through employment as assessors, runanga chiefs, wardens and karere, Whangaroa Maori involved themselves with decisions about the alienation of land as well as local disputes, such as the attempted assault and the other cases discussed above. Yet the government's employment of these early Maori civil servants steered their energies toward implementing rather than authoring state laws, and it was from that unequal position that Maori, Whangaroa Maori among them, negotiated their relations with the state.

Kura

The system of Native Schools also offered an access through which the state could thoroughly establish itself in Maori communities. The ideals of education were not foreign to Maori who had long traditions of educating the young. European education – with paid teachers, slates, chalk, and written and spoken English language – began with the missionaries, and steadily

[76] Ward, pp. 137-8.
[77] White to Native Secretary, AJHR 1862 E-9, p.6.

became the prerogative of the state as it pursued its goal of amalgamating the tangata whenua into the new New Zealand society under British law.[78] Among the early instances of organised education in the north was a boarding school for Maori girls, established as early as 1844. Williams had been in charge of the school before taking up the post of resident magistrate. Initially the school went well. When Williams began at the school it had five 'scholars' (teachers) and twenty-five students with more and more enrolling as the months went by.[79] This changed very quickly when the war between Hone Heke and government forces began. When the township of Kororareka was sacked in 1845 it 'threw the whole district into terror and confusion'.[80] Shortly afterwards, Heke entered the Waimate district with 800 men, causing the students' parents to quickly remove them. Forty girls were removed in a single day and after three days the roll had dropped from eighty-six to twelve. An attempt was made to shift the school to Paihia and Williams had obtained parental consent for eight girls to go with him. But the party had barely travelled a mile when 'a party of young men, rendered wicked and reckless by the war, sprang out of the fern, seized the girls, and forcibly carried them off.' These unidentified men expressed their anger that Williams persisted in schooling the girls while all the men were engaged in war. After some months Williams successfully re-established the school at Waimate where over twenty scholars taught.

Several years passed without incident but in 1850 men from Wi Hau's pa entered the school armed with bayonets. They had arrived to carry off a twelve year old 'half-caste girl' as a wife for one of the (unnamed) men. A struggle broke out between Wi Hau's men, the school staff and Maori from within the district while the girl in question hid in a bedroom. The local Maori drove the men back and later on the party 'acknowledged their error and offered restitution.'[81] By chance the relatives of some of the girls were visiting the school at the time and having seen the scuffle insisted that their girls return home with them, reducing the school role by nine. In the same month another party of men entered the school and tried to take away a fourteen-year-old girl, again for the purpose of marriage. Soon after a third incident of the same nature occurred and by that point parents had been so put off that in 1854 the school closed because so many of the students had been removed by their concerned relatives. While reflecting on the ten years he had put into the school at Waimate Williams noted that over 300 girls had attended. This early account of Maori schooling

[78] Again, there is much more that could be said about Native Schools, the history of which is covered in a significant body of literature including Judith A. Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds, with Fiona Cram, *A Civilising Mission?: perceptions and representations of the Native Schools system*, Auckland, 2001; and J. M. Barrington and T. H. Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society: an historical review*, Wellington, 1974.
[79] Williams to Secretary ND, AJHR 1858 E-1, p.78, Doc Bank 6.
[80] AJHR 1858 E-1, p.78.
[81] AJHR 1858 E-1, pp.78-79.

shows that education in the area had a shaky start, but also demonstrates how willing some parents were to educate young women (some had come from as far as Kaitaia to attend).[82]

Schooling for Maori children could be bleak at times. In 1861 J. E. Gorst described a Native School that opened in Waimate that year as 'totally unprovided with the materials necessary for teaching.'[83] The school was accommodated in an old mission house, had a roll of 24 children, and its resources consisted of ten bibles that had been translated into Maori, a few lesson sheets hanging on the wall, a few broken slates and a broken black board (with no chalk). The children were fed rice, flour and milk and the conditions were very crowded. The parents of the children though, had provided mats, blankets and clothing.[84]

The first mention of Native Schools in Whangaroa was a report authored by the Inspector of Schools, A. H. Russell, in 1872. He described an arrangement that Williams had made with Kaeo Maori who agreed to contribute £30 annually towards a schoolmaster's salary.[85] They also agreed to convert a then disused 'Native church' for the use of a school, provided that the government refund them £25 for the cost of the building. In addition they offered the acre of land on which the building was located. Russell did not think they should receive a refund for a building that was already disused and instead authorised Williams to spend no more than £20 to improve its habitability and purchase furniture. Russell reported that the assessors Kingi Hori Kira and Rewi Hongi (described as the chiefs of Te Ngaere) had requested that a small courthouse in Te Ngaere also be converted into a school. Again, local Maori expressed a willingness to contribute £30 a year to a headmaster's salary. Russell withheld judgement on the request, preferring to wait and see how well the school in Kaeo fared.[86]

The land, buildings and money Maori contributed arguably demonstrates an enthusiasm for schooling at the time, one that seems to have progressed through the late nineteenth century. In 1874 White reported that there were six 'well attended and very popular' Native Schools in

[82] To a lesser extent this early account may also demonstrate tribal views on how marriage worked or could have worked. Having said this it is noteworthy that local Maori resisted the arrival of small bands of men. The reasons they resisted are not clear however. AJHR 1858 E-1, p.79.
[83] J. E. Gorst to Native Minister, AJHR 1862 E-4, p.10.
[84] AJHR 1862 E-4, p.10.
[85] Inspector of Schools A. H. Russell to the Native Minister, AJHR 1872 F-5, p.15.
[86] AJHR 1872 F-5, pp.15-16. Russell was also involved in discussions at the Waimate courthouse with Wiremu Katene (the Member of Parliament for Taitokerau) and all the leading men of the district to establish a school in that area. He noted that there was much difficulty selecting a site 'because of their excessive internal jealousy as to land'. Therefore instead of offering land it was decided to purchase an acre from one of the European residents at Waimate and utilise an unused building located there. Local Maori agreed to pay one shilling a month for forty children. In turn the government would make small alterations to the building and purchase school furniture, the cost of which was not to exceed £15.

the Mangonui district.[87] Three years later the schools were still doing well and the parents were taking more and more interest in them each year.[88] At Waimate in 1874, Williams reported that interest in the Native School was increasing and that Maori of Whangaroa (and Matauri in particular) were anxious to have schools established there.[89] Then, in 1876 a Native School was established at Te Ngaere.[90] For the first nine months attendance was 'fair' but it fell away afterwards which almost led to the school's closure. When the locals were made aware of the possible closure attendance close to the original number was restored. When it was inspected in 1877 the roll was twenty-five (nineteen boys and six girls). The children had been taught to read a little but their comprehension was limited. They were taught arithmetic and geography and they also practised singing and needlework.[91] In 1878 Williams again noted the increasing interest Maori had in Native Schools, with nine village schools operating in the Waimate district which 270 children attended.[92] In 1879 Williams reported that Te Ngaere School was not doing well. In contrast to earlier enthusiasm the parents of the children had 'manifested great apathy.'[93] Attendance averaged six or seven and Williams attributed this to the deaths of six of the teachers leaving the parents disheartened. The situation was compounded by flooding in two consecutive seasons, which swept away seasonal crops and led to many moving to more distant villages. Furthermore, the profitability of work on the gum fields was also a factor for parents removing their children from school, to the extent that attendance in 1880 was nil, 'the natives being away digging gum…partly to provide food and clothing for the winter and partly for a great tangi'.[94] In the same year the Inspector of Schools Ponsonby Peacocke visited Te Ngaere School and noted that there was 'virtually no attendance', that of the original twenty-nine pupils on the roll, eleven had either died or left the district.[95] Only six pupils lived at Te Ngaere itself; the rest lived from two-and-a-half to ten miles away. The roads were in bad condition and there were several creeks that needed to be crossed to get to the school.[96] Severe seas for those travelling from Matauri, Wainui or Mahinepua, the impact of illnesses on whanau, and children's involvement in seasonal gardening and whaling activities could also hinder attendance.[97] Circumstance rather than decreased interest in school seems to explain the declining roll at Te Ngaere.

[87] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.1.
[88] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-4, p.1.
[89] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.2.
[90] AHJR 1877 G-4, p.8.
[91] A table shows that the teacher for Te Ngaere School was E.C Cornes; that it cost £125 to erect/repair the school buildings and £11 for furniture and equipment. AHJR 1877 G-4A, p.4.
[92] Of these nine schools only Te Ngaere was squarely within the Whangaroa area. Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.3, Doc Bank 146.
[93] Williams to Under Secretary Native Office, AJHR 1879 G-2, pp.4-5.
[94] AJHR 1879 G-2, p.5.
[95] Inspector of Schools Ponsonby Peacocke to Board of Education, AJHR 1879 G-2, p.7.
[96] Peacocke to Board of Education, AJHR 1879 G-2, p.7, and *Kaeo Schools*, p.19. The 'great tangi' was apparently a reference to a tombstone that was to be erected.
[97] *Kaeo Schools*, p.19.

In 1883 the Organizing Inspector wrote to the Inspector-General of Schools noting that a petition had been sent from Kaikinikini near the Whangaroa Harbour to have a school established there.[98] Similar petitions had also been submitted from areas in the Mangonui District (including Kenana, Takahue and Parapara).[99] The schools already operating in Mangonui were doing very well and the school at Peria particularly so. Maori there were reported to have been very interested in their children's education. Regarding Whangaroa, the Inspector wrote that Kaeo School enjoyed a large roll and was doing very well. Heremaia, described as the leading Maori of the place, said he would do all in his power to ensure that the school outperformed all others. An 1884 report again emphasised the success of Te Moari Kaeo School, despite the challenge of a brief existence. More than 40 students attended and had achieved high marks in the examinations.[100] Te Ngaere School did not fare so well. The children had made 'very fair progress', but an 1884 report declared the closure of that school, stating that 'the Natives there were altogether too apathetic to make it worthwhile to keep the school going.'[101] This was regretful given the 'very large Native population in the district' but no useful detail was given to explain either the closure or parents' responses.[102] Meanwhile, an 1885 report discussed the probability that the Kaeo School would become a European school since the European population in that area was 'very rapidly increasing.'[103] Heremaia Te Ara had been working hard to maintain student attendance at Kaeo which, if better supported by other Maori of the area, might 'indefinitely' postpone that 'evil day'. In other words, if Kaeo School became a European one it would then be run by a committee 'hostile to the Natives, and perhaps doing their best, by indirect means, to exclude Native children from the school altogether.' The report acknowledged Heremaia's enthusiasm to have a school established at a time when other Maori were not so keen, and recommended that if the school were to become a European school, the government should pay Kaeo Maori for the land and the school buildings as compensation.[104]

The closure of Te Ngaere seems to have been short-lived, if indeed it had closed at all in 1884. An 1887 report discussed the school's buildings. It also mentioned that some suggestion had been made that a new school be built to accommodate the increasing Maori population living to the south of Whangaroa. In the meantime Te Ngaere School absorbed

[98] Organising Inspector to Inspector-General of Schools, AJHR 1883 E-2, p.2.
[99] An 1884 report recommended that none of these petitions should be approved, although no reasons were given. Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1884 E-2, p.2.
[100] AJHR 1884 E-2, p.4.
[101] AJHR 1883 E-2, p.2; and AJHR 1884 E-2, p.2.
[102] AJHR 1884 E-2, p.2.
[103] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1885 E-2, p.3.
[104] AJHR 1885 E-2, p.3.

the growing numbers of children.[105] The same report briefly discussed the Kaeo School. The description is an unfortunate contrast to earlier reports, stating that 'the attendance of Maori children is so small that this has now quite the aspect of a European school.' This situation prompted a suggestion that a Native School be established at Te Pupuke.[106]

An 1888 report by the Inspector of Native Schools stated that a last ditch effort was being made to keep the school at Te Ngaere open; that the school site was not well located but the Maori population in and around the area was significant.[107] The same report also declared that the school at Kaeo had indeed been turned over to the Auckland Education Board and would become a European school.[108] The Minister of Education finally declared the closure of Te Ngaere School in 1891, stating that the school owed 'their failure' to 'tribal misunderstandings and jealousies more than to any other cause.'[109] The Inspector of Schools said Te Ngaere had always been a weak school, but not weak enough to warrant a closure. The attendance had at times been large, but was so irregular overall that good learning was not possible. This combined with an apparent apathy on the part of parents in the area forced the closure. Yet, in the same year, a Native School at Kenana opened, partly as a result of several requests from Maori there to have a school, but also due to a reduced population in Peria where fatal epidemics had taken their toll. In the meantime, more consideration had been given to requests to establish a school in Te Pupuke.[110] An 1892 report stated that the Pupuke community should be able to maintain a large school, but a school site had yet to be secured.[111] By 1893 the prospect of a school opening in Te Pupuke had advanced: a site was surveyed, and building plans prepared for after the land title was obtained.[112]

In the meantime, although Te Ngaere School had closed, there had been an application to have the school buildings removed to a better site and reopened.[113] However the matter stalled due to (unspecified) land title issues and did not progress again until 1897.[114] In that year the Public Works Department was tasked with removing the school buildings to a better site.[115] Though the site is not specified, it was apparently going to be somewhere that would allow Maori children from Matauri to attend.[116] In 1899 a new school opened at Whakarara,

[105] Bishop, AJHR 1887 E-2, p.4.
[106] AJHR 1887 E-2, p.5.
[107] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1888 E-2, p.3.
[108] AJHR 1888 E-2, p.3.
[109] Minister of Education, AJHR 1891 E-2, p.1.
[110] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1891 E-2, p.4.
[111]Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1892 E-2, p.6.
[112] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1893 E-2, p.3.
[113] AJHR 1892 E-2, p.6.
[114] Minister of Education, AJHR 1893 E-2, p.1.
[115] Minister of Education, AJHR 1897 E-2, p.1.
[116] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1897 E-2, p.3.

most likely the new site for the former Te Ngaere school buildings.[117] Within a year Whakarara School was reportedly operating successfully.

In 1894 a school was finally opened at Te Pupuke.[118] It did reasonably well; in 1897 its exam results were neither outstanding nor disappointing.[119] By the turn of the century, both Te Pupuke and Whakarara schools began to receive more favourable reports. Both enjoyed support and enthusiasm from parents and the community generally.[120] There was one blemish against an otherwise good record in a 1902 report that described a 'languid' parental attitude to the school at Te Pupuke.[121] In 1904, with the price for gum at a high, Te Pupuke School temporarily closed as many of the families removed their children so that the adults (and possibly the children too) could work the gum fields. In response, it was suggested that the school move to Rangiawhia.[122] In the same year applications were made to establish schools in Kaingapipiwai, Te Patunga and Takou.[123] 1906 saw the return of the families who had left Te Pupuke for the gum-fields and the school was reopened with a 'very satisfactory increase in the attendance.' The return of these families was coincidental with a decrease in the price of gum and the discovery of copper at Pupuke.[124] A 1908 report described the children and parents of Te Pupuke School as enthusiastic although the manners of the children 'left much to be desired.'[125]

Though several reports published in the AJHRs deal with Native schools in and around Whangaroa, it is difficult even to imply tangata whenua views of them. Heremaia Te Ara certainly seemed enthusiastic and hopeful that the children in his area would do well at school. The contributions of land and money, as well as the applications for schools, also indicate that the various communities were willing to have schools in their midst. Parents were sometimes described as supportive of state education, at other times apathetic. But beyond these very general statements little can be said about more specific attitudes. It is difficult to assess what apathy may have meant in practice, especially when school closures seemed to be tied to attendance, and attendance seemed to be tied to whanau meeting their very real economic needs. Even the financial and material contributions that Whangaroa Maori made to their schools seem to refute the charges of apathy and indifference, and it may be that the contributions signalled a desire to have a practical say over the provision of education services in the rohe. Finally, as will be discussed in the next section, it is clear from

[117] Minister of Education, AJHR 1899 E-2, p.1.
[118] Minister of Education, AJHR 1894 E-2, p.1.
[119] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1897 E-2, p.4.
[120] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1900 E-2, p.5; and Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1902 E-2, p.5.
[121] AJHR E-2 1902 p.5.
[122] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1904 E-2, pp.3, 6.
[123] AJHR 1904 E-2, p.4.
[124] Inspector to Inspector General , AJHR 1906 E-2, p.4.
[125] Inspector to Inspector General , AJHR 1908 E-2, p.3.

reports that introduced disease, which continued to devastate Maori communities into the twentieth century, were an ongoing source of disruption to school attendance.

Disease

In 1883 over three hundred Maori in the Mangonui district received vaccinations and the health of Maori there was described as 'extraordinarily good.' Alongside this modern approach to illness, Maori continued with some of their customary health practices. For example, Bishop described an (unnamed) Ahipara-based female tohunga from whom Maori from all over the country would seek aid. Bishop estimated that around 200 Maori from the south of Auckland alone, had travelled by steamer or sailing vessel to visit her.[126] Yet the very next year, that glowing picture had changed to the extent that Maori health in the same district had 'been almost unprecedentedly bad'.[127] An epidemic had struck and barely a settlement in the district was unaffected. Although not conclusive, Bishop felt that the symptoms indicated that the virus was typhoid, highly infectious to Maori children and teenagers. The epidemic had an obvious affect on a reduced school attendance, although the schools themselves were often involved in treating their pupils. The Native Office liberally distributed medication to Native School teachers, yet still many children died. Bishop gave a stark account for what he believed was the cause of the epidemic: 'the choice of low-lying, unhealthy, and damp situations as the sites for kaingas, and an utter and persistent disregard of the most ordinary sanitary precautions.'[128] Bishop described how a deceased child would be surrounded by mourning relatives who in their grief would embrace the body, virtually guaranteeing that more people became infected. He griped that Maori were insulated from attempts to persuade them of better sanitary practices and said that nothing short of legislation would affect positive change.[129] (It is difficult to know if Bishop's concern here was for the health of the Maori or for the extent to which they could keep change at bay or both).

A year later Bishop reported that the situation in the Mangonui district had improved. The Native Office had continued to provide medicine to schools (including at the Kaeo School), but some settlements continued to suffer from problems with 'the fever'.[130] In 1885 the Inspector of Native Schools discussed the effect the fever epidemic had in Whangaroa and Mangonui, where at least twenty-seven children from these areas had died.[131] The student population at Peria School, which had done very well for many years, was so ravaged by

[126] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1883 G-1A, pp.1-2.
[127] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1884 G-1, p.1.
[128] AJHR 1884 G-1, p.1.
[129] AJHR 1884 G-1, p.2.
[130] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1885 G-2, p.2.
[131] The report does not specify which schools suffered which casualties. Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1885 E-2, p.2.

infection and disease that it was forced to close. In the wake of Peria School's diminishment, a school at Kenana, which Maori had been anxious to establish for some years, was finally opened in 1891.[132]

In an episode much earlier than this, the girls' school at Waimate saw the entire school population struck down with severe dysentery and whooping cough in 1846.[133] Six children died including Williams' own infant.[134] In 1862 whooping cough reduced attendance at Waimate School which at that point had only been open for four months.[135] Also, 1875 saw the end of a 'mild' epidemic of measles that had affected Waimate Maori in previous years.[136] Williams reported in 1876 that scrofula (a form of tuberculosis) had also 'almost entirely disappeared from amongst them'.[137] In contrast to this, Williams' next report in 1877 stated that many had contracted typhoid and dropsy, several dying as a result. Like Bishop, Williams lamented the way Maori gathered and slept around the body of a deceased person who had died of an infection, stating the popularly held (and since disproven) view that there was 'but little doubt that as a race they are fast dwindling away'.[138] The situation at Waimate was not much better the following year, and Williams reported that sickness continued to be prevalent. Several people had died of infection, including Hohaia Waikato (the chief who had accompanied Hongi Hika to England), and his cousin Hori Te Pakiri.[139] In 1872 Williams noted that several Maori had died from low gastric fever. Others had suffered from influenza. Williams attributed these sicknesses to 'their constant exposure to wet and cold on the gum diggings, the miserable shelter they provide and the low diet to which they subject themselves.'[140] In 1896 Clendon made virtually the same remark, adding that in several instances Maori gum-diggers had contracted consumption and catarrh due to the conditions in which they worked.[141]

Mahi

Reports from Native districts frequently cited gum-digging as one of the important income-earning activities in which Maori throughout the north engaged, with resident magistrates for both Mangonui and Waimate reporting on gum-digging in 1874.[142] The number of people involved in gum-digging fluctuated with the changing sale prices of gum. Williams observed

[132] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1891, p.4, Doc Bank 88.
[133] Williams and his wife had themselves suffered from typhus fever the previous year. Williams to ND, AJHR 1858 E-1, p.78, Doc Bank 6.
[134] Williams to Secretary ND, AJHR 1858 E-1, p.78.
[135] Gorst to Minister for Native Affairs, AJHR 1862 E-4, 1861, p.9.
[136] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1875 G-1, Reports From Officers in Native Districts, p.6.
[137] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-1, p.20, Doc Bank 137.
[138] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.3.
[139] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.3, Doc Bank 146.
[140] Williams to Assistant Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1872 F-3, pp.5-6, Doc Bank 111.
[141] Clendon to Under Secretary Department of Justice, AJHR 1896 H-13B, p.2, Doc Bank 71.
[142] Williams and White to ND, AJHR 1874 G-2, pp.1-2.

that in Whangaroa both men and women worked the gum fields. He also reported that Maori disputed who had rights to extract gum from which areas.[143] Mohi Tawhai became involved in one such dispute at a gum-field named Rakau Wahi. He organised for an armed party to confront the gum diggers there, who were themselves armed and ready to face Mohi's men.[144] Initially both parties fortified themselves on the ground, but they engaged in a lengthy debate and decided to have the matter arbitrated, with each party selecting a number of arbiters to argue the case. The arbiters, though not named, were a mix of the older Pakeha settlers and chiefs. At the investigation held at Waimate the issue was discussed and debated for two days. The result was not reported, though apparently the verdict did satisfy all involved. In fact the proceedings had gone so well that when Paroa Ururoa and others got into their own disagreement over land (and trees) at Otangaroa they decided to use the Rakau Wahi model of arbitration in their own dispute.[145]

As gum-digging continued, White noted that it became more difficult for Maori to obtain gum because so much of the land had 'passed out of the hands of the Natives.'[146] Nonetheless gum digging continued and in 1880 the prices for gum were particularly good. In that year it was reported that Maori employment was almost exclusively concerned with obtaining and selling gum. Kelly noted that in the Mangonui district Maori subsisted 'almost entirely upon their gum earnings.'[147] Similarly Williams reported that 'their principal occupation has been that of kauri gum digging, in the collection of which both sexes are engaged, the high prices lately given for this article keeping them well supplied with money.'[148]

Gum-digging became such an important element of Maori employment that children were often absent from school because they were away with their families at the gum-fields.[149] In 1883 Bishop recorded that gum prices continued to be high, and though this was good he lamented the level of drunkenness apparent among the Whangaroa gum-diggers who were a poor contrast to the sobriety of Maori elsewhere in the district. He also noted that gum-digging had become so intense that Maori were re-working fields that were presumed to have been exhausted years earlier.[150] For a second year running a school inspector reported that gum-digging adversely affected school attendance.[151] Apart from being a year that typhoid struck, 1884 was also a year that gum prices commanded lower and lower prices. This

[143] Williams to ND, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.2.
[144] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1875 G-1, p.4.
[145] As it turned out they instead had the lands passed through the NLC. Williams to the Native Minister, AJHR 1875 G-1, pp.4-5.
[146] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.1.
[147] Officer in Charge of District G. Kelly to Native Minister, AJHR 1880 G-4, p.1, Doc Bank 81.
[148] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1880 G-1, p.3, Doc Bank 81.
[149] Inspector to the Inspector General, AJHR 1882 E-2, Doc Bank 82.
[150]Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1883 G 1A-1, p.1.
[151] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1883 E 2-1, p.2.

situation was compounded by the fact that gum had become harder to find and the diggers had to travel further and further to procure it.[152] Nonetheless in 1885 Maori still dug large quantities of gum and members of almost every family were still employed for a significant portion of the year in gum digging.[153] This trend continued into 1886, a year that Bishop carried out a census of the Mangonui district, a task made difficult because so many Maori were scattered 'in every direction' across the north in pursuit of gum.[154] Bishop reported in 1889 that the gum industry had 'been unprecedentedly stagnant' and that there was 'very little inducement to work.'[155] It was likely the stagnation was the result of a temporary slump in prices rather than a shortage of gum supplies because in 1890 Bishop recorded that the Maori in his district were able to neglect their cultivations because of the 'ease with which they can earn money by gum-digging.'[156]

In 1896, Clendon again emphasised gum-digging as a 'principal occupation' for Maori.[157] Gum prices were still high as late as 1904. In that year a school inspector noted that in Pupuke a virtual exodus had taken place as families left to dig gum in other areas.[158] These families soon returned when gum prices slumped again and around the same time that copper was discovered in Pupuke itself, as reported in 1906.[159] But gum-digging did continue, and in 1907 it was reported that the people at Waihapa were still 'migratory in their habits, being mostly engaged in gum-digging.'[160] Finally, a 1908 report of the Ngata-Stout Commission of Inquiry into Native Lands and Native Land Tenure noted that the gum fields were gradually being depleted and that other sources of employment (of which copper mining was a suggested possibility) would need to be found for Whangaroa Maori.[161]

In addition to gum digging Maori found employment with the state. Besides the roles of assessors and wardens already discussed, there were also opportunities to labour for the Public Works Department, particularly in road construction. This was the case for Maori of the Waimate District where Williams reported that some worked under contract and others as day labourers.[162] Whangaroa Maori, too, were among those engaged in road works.[163] During the 1870s, in support of its programme for public works which was in full swing, the government acquired large tracts of land through the Hokianga, Victoria Valley, Whangaroa

[152] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1884 G-1, p.2.
[153] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1885 G-2, p.3.
[154] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1886 G-12, p.2, Doc Bank 84.
[155] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1889 G-3, p.1, Doc Bank 86.
[156] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1890 G-2, p.1.
[157] Clendon to Under Secretary Department of Justice, AJHR 1896 H-13B p.2, Doc Bank 71.
[158] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1904 E-2, p.6.
[159] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1906 E-2, p.4.
[160] Inspector to Inspector General, AJHR 1907 E-2, p.3.
[161] AJHR 1908 G-1J, p. 5, Doc Bank 78.
[162] Williams to Assistant Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1872 F-3, p.6, Doc Bank 111.
[163] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.2, Doc Bank 129.

and other areas. While some of the individual land transactions would later feature among Maori land grievances, they also opened up employment opportunities for road workers. At some point though the government abandoned the road that was supposed to link Victoria Valley and the Hokianga, and White urged that the work resume so that more Maori could be employed, especially since their work on the roads had to date been very good.[164] This work was juxtaposed against continuing Maori concern for the lands through which the roads were often built. For example, in 1884 Maori disputed a road survey, and turned the surveyor off the land. The 'chief obstructionist' was summoned to Court and fined £10.[165]

In 1876 White reported that Maori were not only very good at road building but also 'competing eagerly with the Europeans' to gain the jobs offered by the Road Boards.[166] Despite this competitiveness, White reported in 1877 that what precious little work was available through the Road Boards 'as a rule' did not include 'much Native labour.'[167] The next year this seemed to have changed somewhat as Kelly reported that the road from Kaitaia to Victoria had been constructed, including bridges and culverts, and Mangonui Maori were as involved in this as they were with gum-digging.[168] As well as road works Maori also found work clearing land for the telegraph lines that were being laid through the Waimate District in 1875.[169]

Maori also hired themselves out as farm labourers. In some cases Maori owned their own sheep, cattle and drays. In 1868 Williams noted that Maori had become knowledgeable in farming practices and were selling their labour as sheep-shearers and haymakers.[170] In 1874 and 1876 White made brief comments on employment, stating that Maori were 'quietly pursuing the ordinary avocations of farming'.[171] Forestry was also a common source of employment, and Whangaroa Maori could enjoy 'excellent wages' working the timber trade.[172] The good wages available for cutting kauri for timber was compared to relatively poorer conditions in the north of the Bay of Islands.[173] The timber trade in Whangaroa continued over the years although some disputes about cutting rights in particular areas occurred among some Maori.[174] In addition, some Maori owned bullock-teams and could

[164] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.1, Doc Bank 129.
[165] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1884 G-1, p.3.
[166] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-2, p.1, Doc Bank 137.
[167] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.1.
[168] G. Kelly to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.1, Doc Bank 146.
[169] Williams to the Native Minister, AJHR 1875 G-1, p.5.
[170] Williams to Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p.22, Doc Bank 118.
[171] White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1874 G-2, p.1, Doc Bank 129, and White to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-1, p.18, Doc Bank 137..
[172] Williams to Assistant Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1872 F-3, p.6, Doc Bank 111.
[173] Russell to Native Minister, AJHR 1872 F-5, p.12, Doc Bank 113.
[174] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1874 G-2, pp. 2-3, Doc Bank 129; also Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-1, p.20.

command even better wages for hauling timber out of the forests.[175] In the mid-1880s the timber industry continued 'very large, and there is a constant never-ceasing demand for labour.'[176] Maori still earned high wages for kauri-forest work through 1884 and 1885 although Bishop noted that 'Maoris are not suited for constant labour; they are fond of change and novelty, and cannot be induced to remain long at any settled employment.'[177] By 1908, like gum, the supply of timber available for extraction was almost exhausted.[178]

Whangaroa Maori could also earn incomes whaling, and memories of the industry are still alive in the area. Williams discussed whaling in 1875, noting that three boat-loads of Maori had travelled quite a distance from the coast and succeeded in killing a whale. It was late afternoon before they began towing the whale back to shore. However night fell and a cold and strong wind forced them to abandon the whale and make for land. At this point the three boats became separated and Kingi Hori Kira and other Maori of Te Ngaere launched a rescue effort. Two boats were rescued (included one captained by the chief Mangonui), although a crew member lay dead in one of them. The third boat which had been commanded by the Rawhiti chief Rewiri Tarapata was never found.[179] Despite this grim event, Maori efforts in whaling continued. In 1877 Williams reported that Maori living on the coast had ten well equipped boats and had made hundreds of pounds from the whale oil they sold.[180] In 1878 the resident magistrates for both Mangonui and Waimate briefly described Maori efforts to further establish themselves in the whaling business.[181] Williams noted that Maori had 'expended large sums of money' fitting out their boats, and managed to establish themselves on the coast. Three different whaling parties using fifteen boats between them had already had some success and Williams anticipated further success and employment. He also noted that two (unnamed) Maori from Whangaroa had built three or four of the boats being used, and that their quality was such that orders for several more had been made.[182] In 1883 Bishop reported that 'the interest taken in whaling is general throughout the [Mangonui] district'; but although the whaling parties were well equipped, their success was described as 'very indifferent'.[183] Despite 'the great spirit' with which Maori whaled, the results for 1884 were again indifferent. That year eight fully equipped boats trawled the coast, but only one whale was caught during the whole season.[184] 1885 was not much better as whales off the

[175] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.3; also Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.2, Doc Bank 146.
[176] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1883 G-1A, p.1.
[177] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1884 G-1, p.2; also Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1885 G-2, p.3.
[178] AJHR 1908 G-1J, p.5.
[179] Williams to Native Minister, AJHR 1875 G-1, p.5.
[180] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.3.
[181] Kelly to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.1, Doc Bank 146.
[182] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.1, Doc Bank 146.
[183] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1883 G-1A, p.1.
[184] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1884 G-1, p.2.

coast became more scarce.[185] In 1889 also, though the efforts of shore whalers were extensive, they met with little success or profit.[186] Despite heavy capital investment and determined effort, it seems as though the whaling business was not so successful for Maori in the long-term.

Home Life

The reports on Native Affairs are very quiet on the domestic activities in which Maori of Whangaroa engaged, providing little more than vague references to activities like tending to cultivations. One noteworthy exception was an 1876 report which noted that flooding had swept over some of the plantations, and Williams expected a difficult winter ahead for those whose crops had been affected.[187] There were also some reports that mentioned changes in the domestic environment. For example, Williams twice mentioned the gradual shift from raupo huts to wooden cottages, partly linked to an increased tendency for Maori to fence off their land. As already established in chapter two, this shift continued well into the twentieth century. Back in the 1870s, Williams was quite pleased with the change which he saw as evidence that Maori were 'making progress in civilisation'.[188] Brief comments were also made on Maori religion. In 1868 it was reported that the Papahurihia religion had become prominent in Mangonui.[189] In the same year Williams commented that in Waimate the majority of Maori were 'observers of the Sabbath', and in most villages Maori held their own services without any European assistance.[190] Maori also funded and built their own churches.

The tangi (and associated rituals) of prominent Maori were also well attended by the people of the Waimate and Mangonui Districts. In 1870 an enormous hui was held at Waima to celebrate the removal of Arama Karaka Pi's bones. Nearly 1000 men performed in a single haka after the removal, whereas approximately 2500 Maori attended the event overall. 4500 kits of potatoes were made available for the occasion.[191] Not surprisingly, funerals of a more ordinary scale were common place and Williams lamented the 'wasteful abuse of time and means' that Maori invested in hahunga and tangi, where they spent money they had saved on holding, hosting and contributing to these occasions.[192]

[185] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1885 G-2, p.3.
[186] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1889 G-3, p. 1, Doc Bank 86.
[187] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1876 G-1, p.20, Doc Bank 137.
[188] Williams to Bowen, AJHR 1868 G-1, p.22; also Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1872 F-3, p.5, Doc Bank 111.
[189] Barstow to Bowen, AJHR 1868 G-1, p.6.
[190] Williams to Bowen, AJHR 1868 G-1, p.23.
[191] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1870 A-16, p.31.
[192] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1877 G-1, p.3.

Twentieth-Century Maori Land and Land Development

In addition to the various reports on Native Affairs that have informed this chapter so far, it is useful to consider two twentieth-century reports concerned with Maori land. Though comprehensive, they are dealt with very briefly here for the sake of well-roundedness. Furthermore, their concerns are covered in other CFRT-commissioned reports.[193] The first of the two reports was the 1908 Ngata-Stout report on Native land tenure in the north, much of which described the legal status of Maori land, how it was used at the time, and its future economic potential.[194] In respect of Whangaroa, the report argued that generally Maori land use had done well to a point, but an economic reorientation was required to stave off an unemployment crisis that loomed over the Maori living there. It noted that in Whangaroa there were 34,958 acres of Native Land, of which 5688 acres was papatupu (customary) land which the Native Land Court had yet to investigate. One of the problems was that much of the papatupu land was in manuka scrub, and could not constitute first class farming land. This meant that though farming was a possibility, there was either not enough land, or not enough suitable land, to ensure it would be sustainable. Fruit growing was thought to be viable, but Whangaroa Maori lacked the accumulated capital needed to get started.[195]

The second land-focussed report issued in 1932, and was specifically concerned with Maori land development and the associated consolidation schemes in operation at the time.[196] By then the potential unemployment discussed in the 1908 report had become actual unemployment, contextualised by the depression that had hit New Zealand. The Native Minister, Apirana Ngata, hoped that the land development and consolidation schemes – which introduced state assistance for Maori farming in the 1930s – would ease the economic strain on Maori and part of his response to the depression was that funds made available through the Unemployment Board could be channelled into 'the labour content of the cost of Native-land development schemes, and so remove a number of unemployed Maoris for periods from other relief schemes'.[197] After World War Two some Maori returned servicemen qualified for farms under the rehabilitation scheme. Maori experiences of these farming schemes were mixed. Mae Hona's view is that they encouraged indebtedness:

> And we had a farm – it was under the Maori Affairs for the Returned Servicemen. The thing was… every time the mortgage is nearly paid for, they get you to buy some more stuff. Manure and posts and all that – to get you up again. And of course he

[193] Bassett and Kay discuss the land development schemes in detail in their research report on the topic, and so they will not be further discussed here. Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, 'Taitokerau Maori Land Development Schemes, 1930-1990', unpublished research report, 2006.See Hearn also.
[194] Ngata and Stout to the Governor, AJHR 1908 G-1J, p.4.
[195] Ngata and Stout to the Governor, AJHR 1908 G-1J, p.4.
[196] Native Land Development Statement, AJHR 1932 G-10, p.2, Doc Bank 100.
[197] AJHR 1932 G-10, p.2.

> uses all that and then the mortgage goes down and you get the plane to sell the manure – oh they're cunning the government.[198]

Ngata's 1932 report tabulated the amounts of land that had been affected by consolidation schemes as well as the number of titles and owners. For instance Mangonui (which included Whangaroa) was recorded as having 131, 442 acres affected by consolidation, comprising 1082 titles and 19,760 owners.[199] In fact several tables dealing with Whangaroa land provided a range of data including rating information, the value of land in the consolidation schemes, acreages suitable for development and so forth.[200] Generally speaking the legal and political treatment of Maori land hindered it from realising its economic value. It would be more beneficial for Maori to consolidate their various and disparate land holdings, and then develop them for economic gain. Ngata reported that one of the difficulties in achieving this goal was the cumbersome process of individualising title to Maori land.

By 1932, problems with the legal status of Maori land were by no means new. Official reports as early as 1867 demonstrate the problems that northern Maori experienced with Native land legislation. A report on the workings of the 1865 Native Lands Act pointed out the confusion that could arise from 'the intermingled claims of the settler, the Government, and the Natives.'[201] The same report described how often Maori who wanted to retain land were unable to because of the financial cost of a Crown Grant. In these cases they would sometimes try to win land in court, either by 'bringing unfounded claims' or by opposing the more 'legitimate' claims of others; all in the hope of winning land, selling it and then using the money raised to attain a Crown Grant for the land they had originally sought to retain.[202] In 1868 Williams described how the changes to Native land legislation had caused much confusion, such that 'the natives say they cannot understand what the Government is about'.[203] Maori understood the general aims of such legislation but these aims were obscured by the detail of the laws. Concerns about the cost of individualisation arose again in 1883 and Bishop described the great expense that Maori faced in surveying fees and the costs of subdivision. Bishop recommended that the government establish a process to get land sub-divided 'without the attendant expenses eating up more than half its value.'[204] In his opinion the costs of subdivision were too high.[205] Though sketchy, these few comments offer important insights not only into the difficulties that Maori faced in their attempts to hold

[198] Mae Hona interview, 20 January 2010.
[199] AJHR 1932 G-10, p.3.
[200] AJHR 1932 G-10, pp.4-6.
[201] Manning to Fenton, AJHR 1867 A-10, Working of Native Lands Act 1865, p.7, Doc Bank 115.
[202] AJHR 1867 A-10, pp. 7-8.
[203] Williams to Bowen, AJHR 1868 A-4, p. 24.
[204] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1883 G-1A, p.2.
[205] Bishop to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1885 G-2, p.3.

tight to their lands, but also into the fact that government officials similarly expressed concerns about those difficulties.

Following the detail available in reports published in the AJHRs, this chapter has considered the ways that Maori and the state interacted on a variety of issues including schools, law and order and land. Despite inconsistent levels of detail and a paucity of information on specific aspects, the reports used do illuminate a Maori society in Whangaroa, Mangonui and Waimate, that changed as it moved into the twentieth century. They have also been treated here in a way that reassembles their dense details to draw out what can be known about Whangaroa. Therefore, this chapter can be read against other relevant research reports, including those commissioned by CFRT, as well as part one of this report, particularly where content and coverage overlaps between the korero of WPH and the reports of government officials.

As with much to do with Maori history the elements of change this chapter considers were paralleled by elements of retention and continuing tradition. The resident magistrates, on whom so many of the reports relied, were interested in how Maori society was changing, and the extent to which that change stepped towards colonial goals. Land legislation was often viewed as the sharpest legal tool available to amalgamate Maori into the new European state system. The magistrates were quick to report enthusiasm on the part of Maori to have their land subdivided but they would just as often express frustration at the durability of the cultural elements of Maori society. At one point Bishop remarked that the removal or reduction of the financial barriers to subdivision of Maori land represented the best method available to stop the hui, tangi and hakari (which he felt were so wasteful) that characterised life in the Mangonui district.[206] Williams put the point more eloquently stating that 'the greater number appear content to live on as formerly, indifferent to the comforts of civilization, being too far inured to their old habits of life to be induced to abandon them entirely.'[207] As has been made clear in the first part of this report, particularly chapter two, many imperatives of Whangaroa culture and society have lived on despite the official view presented here that Maori might be better off without them. Those imperatives may have faltered along the way, and Whangaroa people themselves readily acknowledge the challenges of keeping marae, and their associated tikanga and environments, vibrant and viable in the twenty-first century; but they have lived on into the present nonetheless. The

[206] AJHR 1885 G-2, p.3.
[207] Williams to Under Secretary ND, AJHR 1878 G-1, p.2.

concerns of the past – employment, health, education, government regulation – have also continued to visit the living memories of those in the present.

Overall the AJHR reports provide a complicated picture of Whangaroa Maori, and that picture is made all the more complicated because the historical antecedents of the colonial project in the nineteenth-century continue to imprint and impact Whangaroa Maori. This chapter has shown that they apparently numbered in the hundreds and held several thousand acres of land. They engaged in a variety of income-earning activities though the capacity to do that became more challenging in the twentieth century. Meanwhile the state integrated itself into Maori society in Whangaroa and in many ways assumed responsibity for educating Maori children in English and arithmetic. All the mechanisms of law and order were in place. The political situation was difficult since Maori were subject to state laws (many of which they did not like) but the opportunity to change or author new laws was remote. At the local level, the political situation was somewhat more open but there were limits even on this. It was under these conditions then that Whangaroa Maori confronted change at the dawn of the twentieth century, and it is both the history and the legacy of these conditions with which the tangata whenua of Whangaroa continue to live in the twenty-first century.

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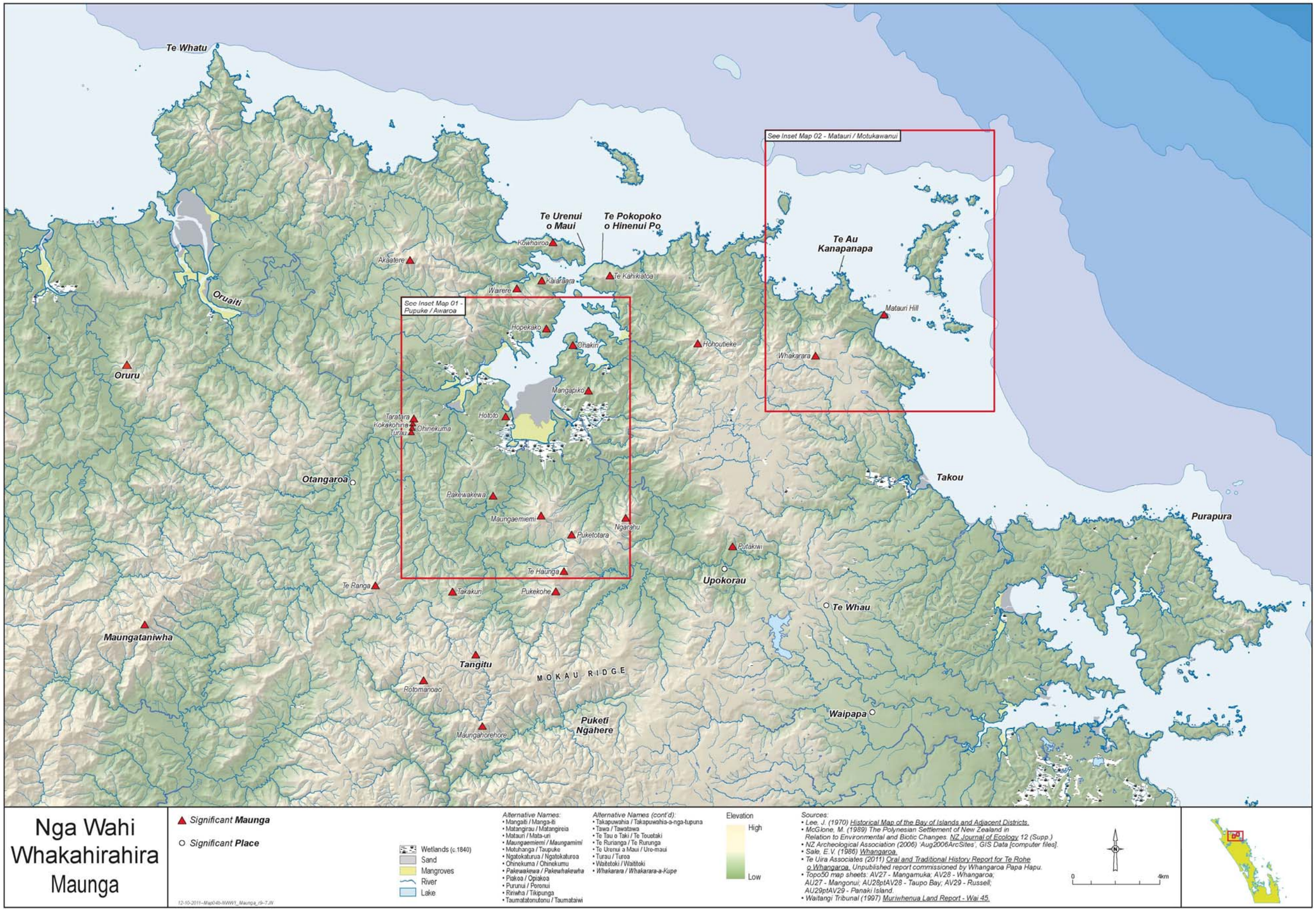
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Nga Wahi Whakahirahira Maunga

▲ *Significant* ***Maunga***

○ *Significant* ***Place***

Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake

Alternative Names:
- Mangaiti / Manga-iti
- Matangirau / Matangireia
- Matauri / Mata-uri
- *Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi*
- Motuhanga / Taupuke
- Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
- Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
- *Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha*
- Piakoa / Opiakoa
- Pururui / Peronui
- Rirriwha / Tikipunga
- Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi

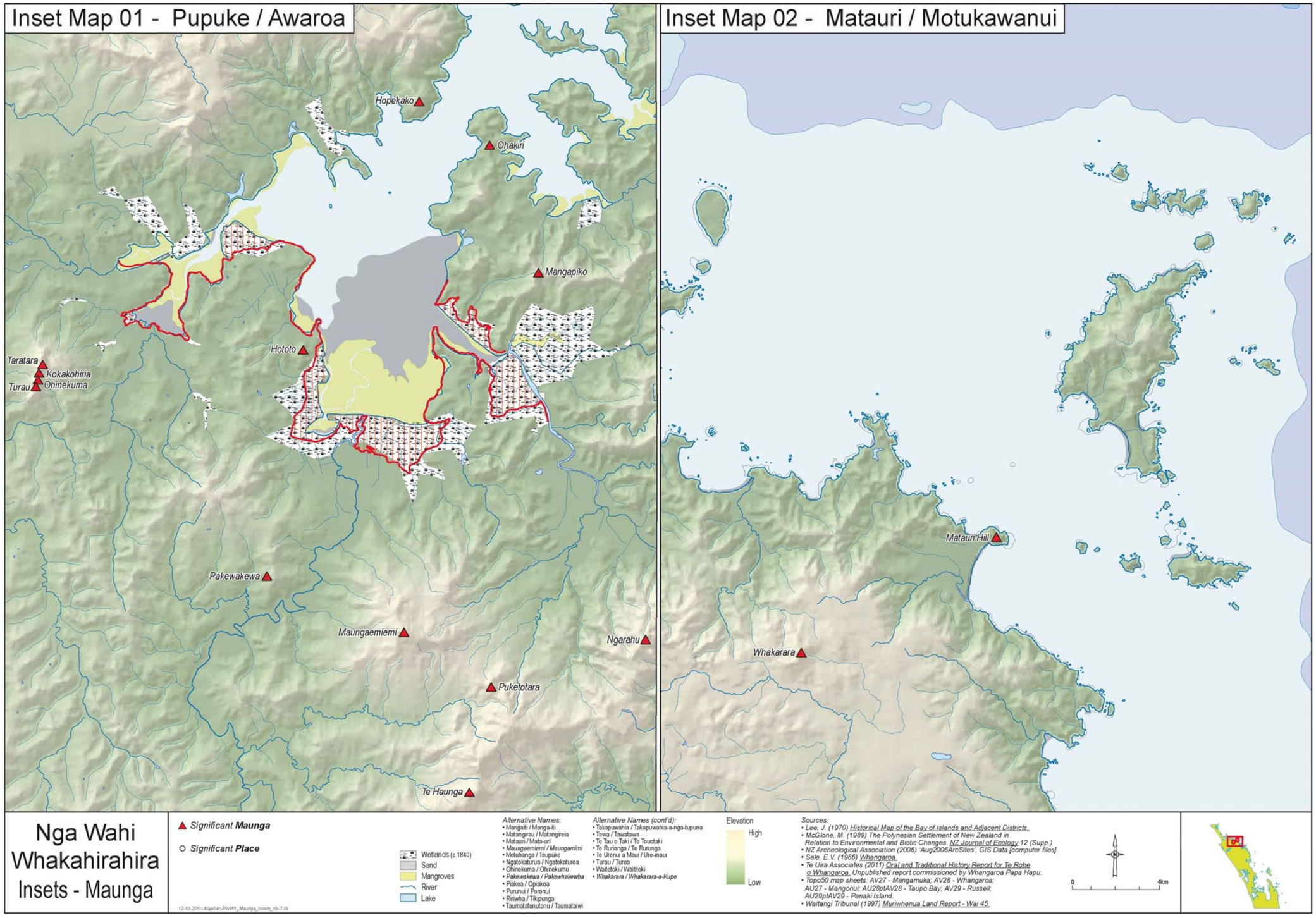
Alternative Names (cont'd):
- Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
- Tawa / Tawatawa
- Te Tau o Taki / Te Touotaki
- Te Ruriranga / Te Rurunga
- Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maui
- Turau / Turoa
- Waititoki / Waititoki
- *Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe*

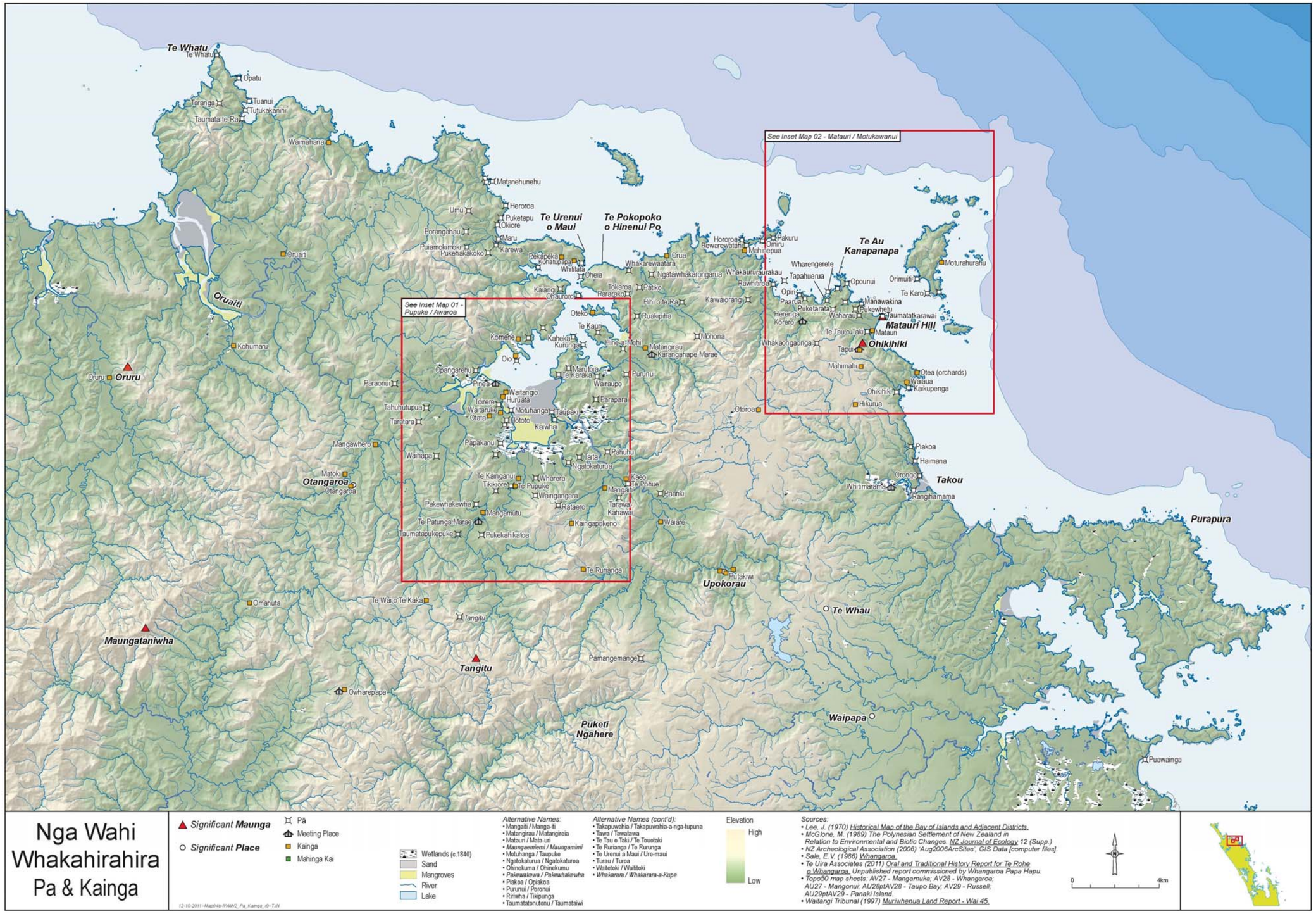
Elevation: High – Low

Sources:
- Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
- McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
- NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites'; GIS Data [computer files].
- Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
- Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
- Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.

0 4km

12-10-2011–Map04b-NWWI_Maunga_r9–T-JN


Inset Map 01 - Pupuke / Awaroa
Hopekako
Ohakiri
Mangapiko
Hototo
Taratara
Kokakohiria
Turau
Ohinekuma
Pakewakewa
Maungaemiemi
Ngarahu
Puketotara
Te Haunga
Inset Map 02 - Matauri / Motukawanui
Matauri Hill
Whakarara
Nga Wahi Whakahirahira Insets - Maunga
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake
12-10-2011--Map04c-NWWT_Maunga_Insets_r9--TJW
Alternative Names:
• Mangaili / Manga-ili
• Matangirau / Matangireia
• Matauri / Mata-uri
• Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi
• Motuhanga / Taupuke
• Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
• Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
• Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha
• Piakoa / Opiakoa
• Purunui / Poronui
• Ririwha / Tikipunga
• Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi
Alternative Names (cont'd):
• Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
• Tawa / Tawatawa
• Te Tau o Taki / Te Tauotaki
• Te Rurianga / Te Rurunga
• Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maua
• Turau / Turoa
• Waitetoki / Waititoki
• Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe
Elevation
High
Low
Sources:
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
• NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites'; GIS Data [computer files].
• Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
• Te Ura Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
0
4km



Nga Wahi Whakahirahira Pa & Kainga

▲ *Significant* ***Maunga***
○ *Significant* ***Place***

Pā
Meeting Place
Kainga
Mahinga Kai

Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake

Alternative Names:
- Mangati / Manga-iti
- Matangirau / Matangireia
- Matauri / Mata-uri
- Maungaemieni / *Maungamimi*
- Motuhanga / Taupuke
- Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
- Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
- *Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha*
- Piakoa / Opiakoa
- Pururui / Poronui
- Ririwha / Tikipunga
- Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi

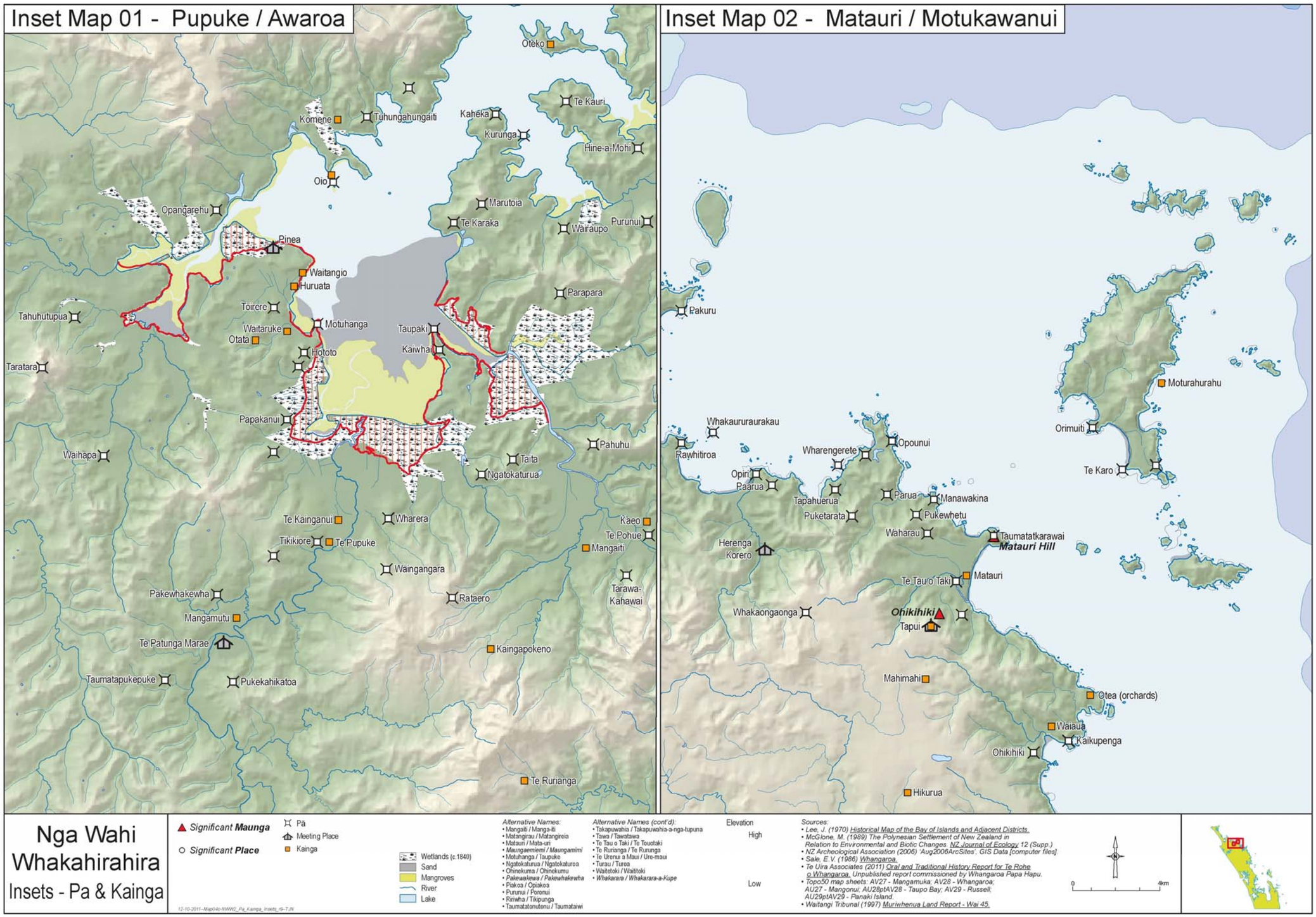
Alternative Names (cont'd):
- Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
- Tawa / Tawatawa
- Te Tau o Taki / Te Touotaki
- Te Runanga / Te Rurunga
- Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maui
- Turau / Turoa
- Waitetoki / Waititoki
- *Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe*

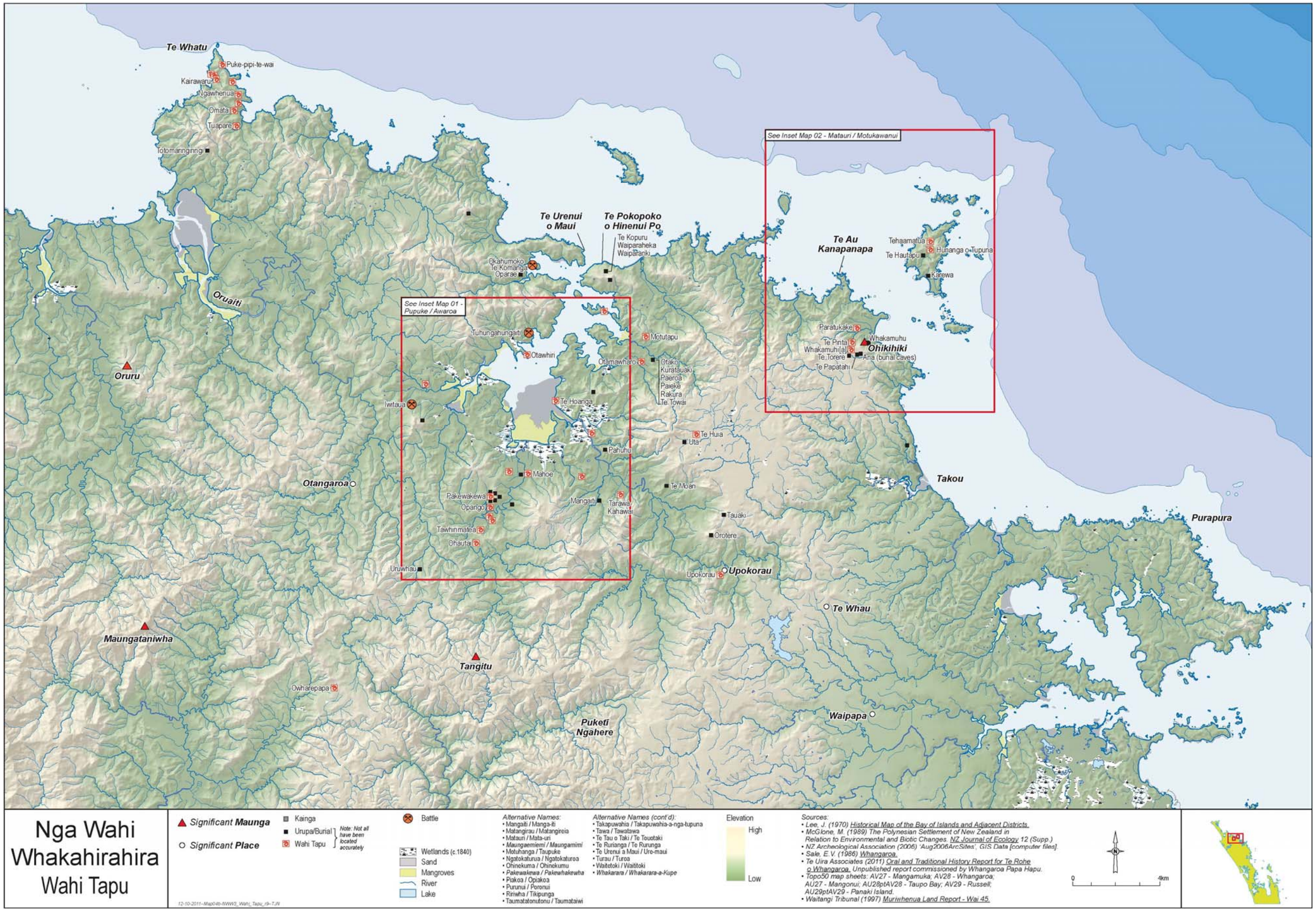
Elevation
High
Low

Sources:
- Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
- McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
- NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites', GIS Data [computer files].
- Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
- Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
- Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.

0 4km

12-10-2011--Map04b-NWW2_Pa_Kainga_rb--TJN


Inset Map 01 - Pupuke / Awaroa
Oteko
Komene
Tuhungahungaiti
Kahēka
Te Kauri
Kurunga
Hine-a-Mohi
Oio
Marutoia
Opangarehu
Te Karaka
Wairaupo
Purunui
Pinea
Waitangio
Huruata
Parapara
Toirere
Tahuhutupua
Motuhanga
Waitaruke
Taupaki
Otata
Kaiwhai
Hototo
Taratara
Papakanui
Pahuhu
Waihapa
Taita
Ngatokaturua
Te Kainganui
Wharera
Kaeo
Te Pohue
Tikikiore
Te Pupuke
Mangaiti
Waingangara
Tarawa-Kahawai
Pakewhakewha
Rataero
Mangamutu
Te Patunga Marae
Kaingapokeno
Taumatapukepuke
Pukekahikatoa
Te Rurianga
Inset Map 02 - Matauri / Motukawanui
Pakuru
Moturahurahu
Whakaururaurakau
Orimuiti
Rawhitiroa
Wharengerete
Opounui
Te Karo
Opiri
Paarua
Tapahuerua
Parua
Manawakina
Puketarata
Pukewhetu
Waharau
Herenga Korero
Taumatatkarawai
Matauri Hill
Te Tau o Taki
Matauri
Whakaongaonga
Ohikihiki
Tapui
Mahimahi
Otea (orchards)
Waiaua
Kaikupenga
Ohikihiki
Hikurua
Nga Wahi Whakahirahira
Insets - Pa & Kainga
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Pā
Meeting Place
Kainga
Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake
Alternative Names:
• Mangaiti / Manga-iti
• Matangirau / Matangireia
• Matauri / Mata-uri
• Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi
• Motuhanga / Taupuke
• Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
• Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
• Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha
• Piakoa / Opiakoa
• Purunui / Poronui
• Ririwha / Tikipunga
• Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi
Alternative Names (cont'd):
• Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
• Tawa / Tawatawa
• Te Tau o Taki / Te Tuootaki
• Te Rurianga / Te Rurunga
• Te Urenui a Mauí / Ure-maui
• Turau / Turoa
• Waitetoki / Waititoki
• Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe
Elevation
High
Low
Sources:
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
• NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites', GIS Data [computer files].
• Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
0
4km
12-10-2011--Map04c-NWW2_Pa_Kainga_Insets_rls-T.IN



Nga Wahi Whakahirahira
Wahi Tapu

▲ *Significant* ***Maunga***
○ *Significant* ***Place***

Kainga
Urupa/Burial
Wahi Tapu
Note: Not all have been located accurately

Battle
Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake

Alternative Names:
- Mangaiti / Manga-iti
- Matangirau / Matangireia
- Matauri / Mata-uri
- *Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi*
- Motuhanga / Taupuke
- Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
- Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
- *Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha*
- Piakoa / Opiakoa
- Pururua / Poronui
- Ririwha / Tikipunga
- Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi

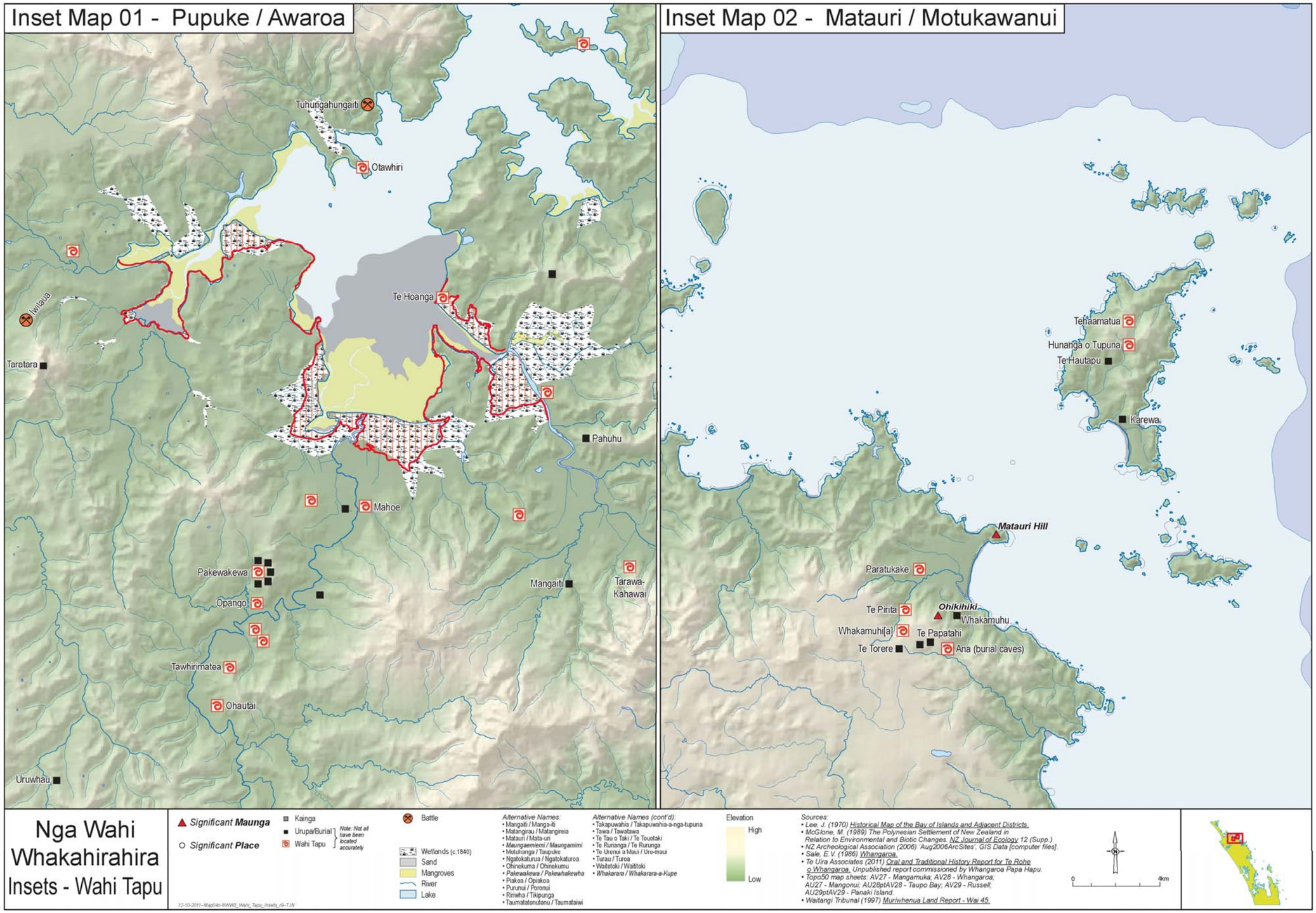
Alternative Names (cont'd):
- Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
- Tawa / Tawatawa
- Te Tau o Taki / Te Touotaki
- Te Rurianga / Te Rurunga
- Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maui
- Turau / Turoa
- Waitetoki / Waititoki
- *Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe*

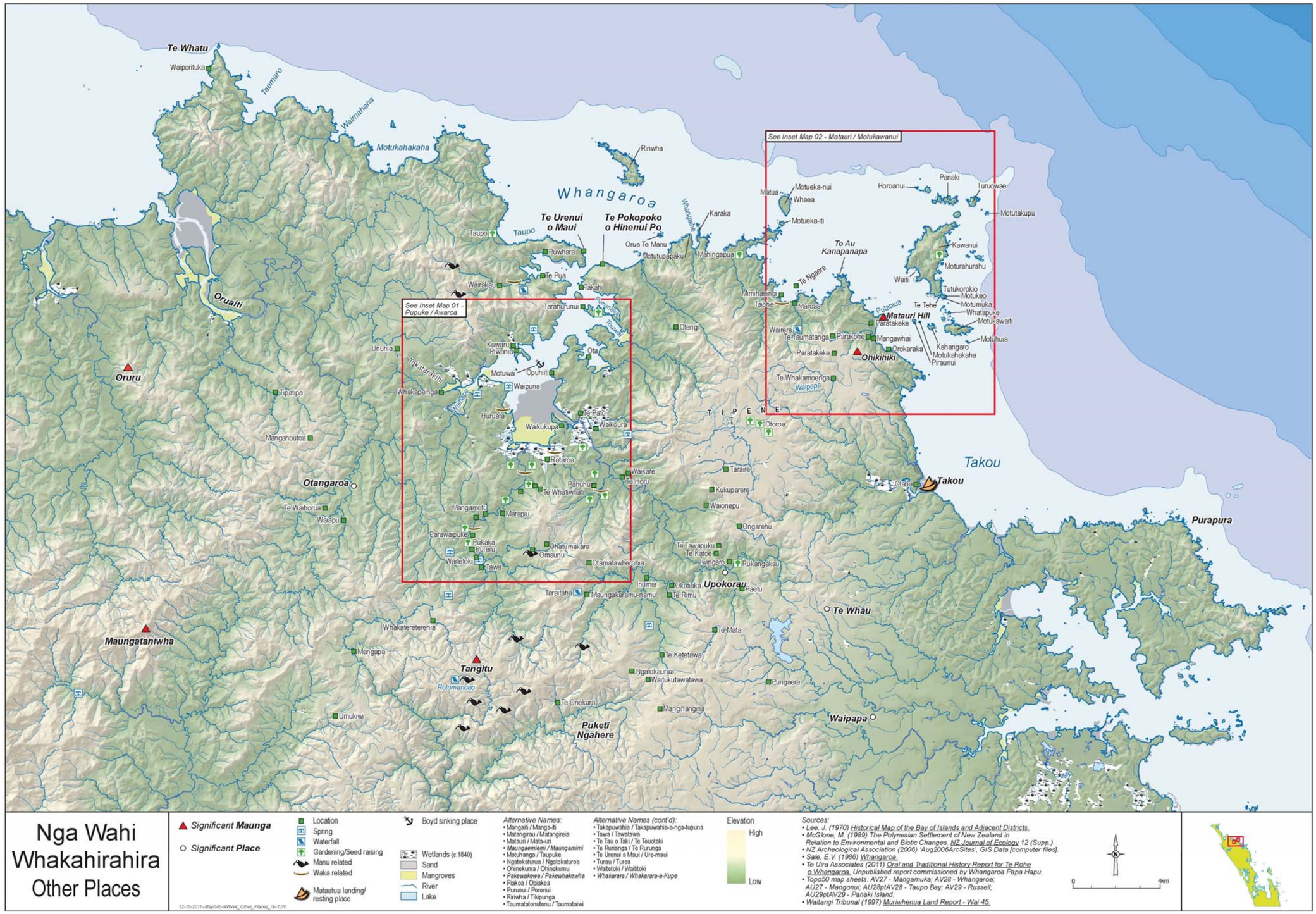
Elevation: High – Low

Sources:
- Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
- McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
- NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites', GIS Data [computer files].
- Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
- Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
- Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.

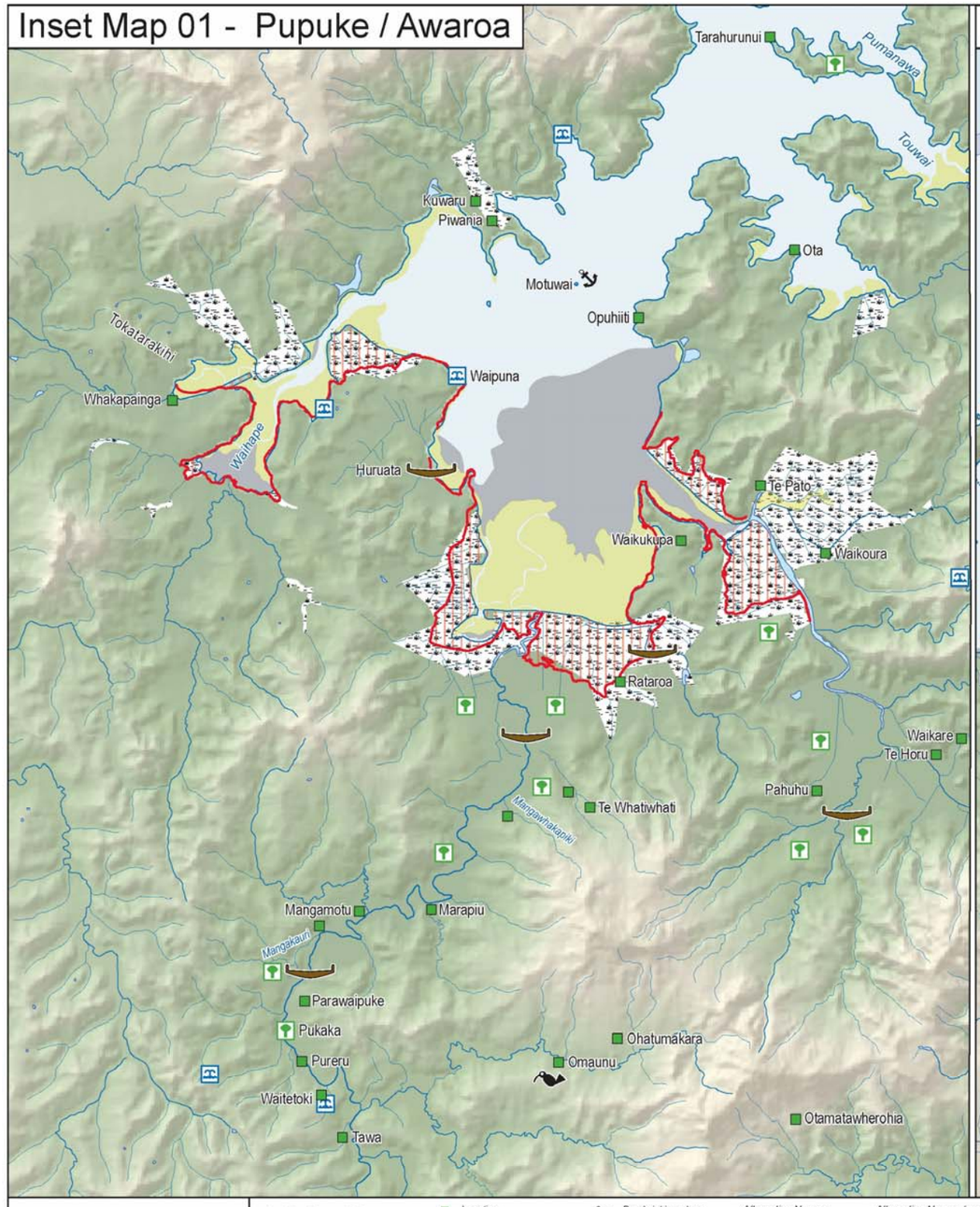
0 4km

12-10-2011--Map04b-NWW3_Wahi_Tapu_r9--TJN


Inset Map 01 - Pupuke / Awaroa
Tuhungahungaiti
Otawhiri
Te Hoanga
Iwitaua
Taratara
Pahuhu
Mahoe
Pakewakewa
Opango
Mangaiti
Tarawa-Kahawai
Tawhirimatea
Ohautai
Uruwhau
Inset Map 02 - Matauri / Motukawanui
Tehaamatua
Hunanga o Tupuna
Te Hautapu
Karewa
Matauri Hill
Paratukake
Te Pirita
Ohikihiki
Whakamuhu
Whakamuhi[a]
Te Papatahi
Te Torere
Ana (burial caves)
Nga Wahi Whakahirahira
Insets - Wahi Tapu
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Kainga
Urupa/Burial
Wahi Tapu
Note: Not all have been located accurately
Battle
Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake
Alternative Names:
• Mangati / Manga-iti
• Matangirau / Matangireia
• Matauri / Mata-uri
• Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi
• Motuhiranga / Taupuke
• Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
• Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
• Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha
• Piakoa / Opiakoa
• Purunui / Poronui
• Ririwha / Tikipunga
• Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi
Alternative Names (cont'd):
• Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
• Tawa / Tawatawa
• Te Tau o Taki / Te Tuotaki
• Te Ruriranga / Te Rurunga
• Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maui
• Turau / Turoa
• Waitotoki / Waititoki
• Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe
Elevation
High
Low
Sources:
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
• NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites'; GIS Data [computer files].
• Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU26ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
0
4km
12-10-2011--Map04c-NWW3_Wahi_Tapu_Insets_r9-T.ITI


Te Whatu
Waiporituka
Taemaro
Waimahana
Motukahakaha
Rinwha
Whangaroa
Te Urenui o Maui
Te Pokopoko o Hinenui Po
Orua Te Manu
Motutupapaku
Whangaiti
Karaka
Mahingapua
Taupo
Taupo
Puwhara
Te Pua
Wairakau
Takahi
Oruaiti
Oruru
See Inset Map 01 - Pupuke / Awaroa
See Inset Map 02 - Matauri / Motukawanui
Tarahurunui
Tauwhara
Toowai
Oteng
Unuhia
Kuwaru
Piwania
Ota
Motuwai
Opuhiiti
Waipuna
Whakapainga
Tokatarakihi
Waiuha
Huruata
Te Pato
Waikukupa
Waikoura
Rataroa
Waikare
Te Hono
Pahuhu
Te Whatiwhati
Mangamotu
Marapiu
Parawapuke
Pukaka
Pureru
Wairetoki
Tawa
Ohatumakara
Omaunu
Otamatawherohia
Tripatipa
Mangahoutoa
Otangaroa
Te Waihorua
Waiapu
Maungataniwha
Mangapa
Tangitu
Rotomanoao
Umukiwi
Whakateretereheia
Taratahi
Maungakaramu-namu
Inuma
Okaitaka
Te Rimu
Upokorau
Paetu
Te Mata
Te Ketetawa
Ngatokaurua
Wairukutawatawa
Te Onekura
Mangihangina
Puketi Ngahere
Pungaere
Te Whau
Waipapa
Takou
Otaia
Purapura
Taraire
Kukuparere
Waionepu
Ongarehu
Te Tawapuku
Te Katoe
Iwingaro
Rukangakau
Motueka-nui
Matua
Whaea
Motueka-iti
Te Au Kanapanapa
Horoanui
Panaki
Turuowae
Motutakupu
Kawanui
Moturahurahu
Waiti
Tutukorokio
Motukeo
Motumuka
Te Tehe
Whatapuke
Motukawati
Motuhua
Matauri Hill
Paratakeke
Mangawhai
Orokaraka
Kahangaro
Motukahakaha
Piraunui
Ohikihiki
Wairere
Te Taumatanga
Parakohe
Paratakeke
Te Whakamoenga
Waipapa
Mimihaanga
Taiohe
Maroua
Te Ngaere
Putataua
T I P E N E
Ototoroa
Nga Wahi Whakahirahira
Other Places
Significant Maunga
Significant Place
Location
Spring
Waterfall
Gardening/Seed raising
Manu related
Waka related
Mataatua landing/ resting place
Boyd sinking place
Wetlands (c.1840)
Sand
Mangroves
River
Lake
Alternative Names:
• Mangaiti / Manga-iti
• Matangirau / Matangireia
• Matauri / Mata-uri
• Maungaemiemi / Maungamimi
• Motuhanga / Taupuke
• Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
• Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
• Pakewakewa / Pakewhakewha
• Piakoa / Opiakoa
• Pururuai / Pororuai
• Ririwha / Tikipunga
• Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi
Alternative Names (cont'd):
• Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
• Tawa / Tawatawa
• Te Tau o Taki / Te Touotaki
• Te Rurianga / Te Rurunga
• Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maui
• Turau / Turoa
• Waitetoki / Waititoki
• Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe
Elevation
High
Low
Sources:
• Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
• McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
• NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites', GIS Data [computer files].
• Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
• Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
• Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.
• Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.
N
0
4km
12-10-2011--Map04b-NWW4_Other_Places_r9--TJW

Inset Map 01 - Pupuke / Awaroa



Inset Map 02 - Matauri / Motukawanui



Nga Wahi Whakahirahira

Insets - Other Places

▲ *Significant* ***Maunga***
○ *Significant* ***Place***

- Location
- Spring
- Waterfall
- Gardening/Seed raising
- Manu related
- Waka related
- Boyd sinking place
- Wetlands (c.1840)
- Sand
- Mangroves
- River
- Lake

Alternative Names:
- Mangatii / Manga-iti
- Matangirau / Matangireia
- Matauri / Mata-uri
- Maungaemiemi / *Maungamimi*
- Motuhanga / Taupuke
- Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa
- Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu
- *Pakewakewa / Pakewhakeatia*
- Piakoa / Opiakoa
- Pururui / Poronui
- Ririwha / Tikipunga
- Taumatatonutonu / Taumataiwi

Alternative Names (cont'd):
- Takapuwahia / Takapuwahia-a-nga-tupuna
- Tawa / Tawatawa
- Te Tau o Taki / Te Touotaki
- Te Ruriranga / Te Rurunga
- Te Urenui a Maui / Ure-maui
- Turau / Turoa
- Waitetoki / Waititoki
- *Whakarara / Whakarara-a-Kupe*

Elevation
High
Low

Sources:
- Lee, J. (1970) Historical Map of the Bay of Islands and Adjacent Districts.
- McGlone, M. (1989) The Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand in Relation to Environmental and Biotic Changes. NZ Journal of Ecology 12 (Supp.)
- NZ Archeological Association (2006) 'Aug2006ArcSites'; GIS Data [computer files].
- Sale, E.V. (1986) Whangaroa.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.
- Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island
- Waitangi Tribunal (1997) Muriwhenua Land Report - Wai 45.

0 4km

12-10-2011–Map04c-NWW4_Other_Places_Insets_rb–TJN

Appendix A: Nga Wahi Whakahirahira

With its plentiful fish and shellfish resources, a mild climate, and the limited but fertile areas of alluvial soils, Whangaroa offers a very favourable environment for settlement. And the oral record, supported by archaeological evidence, attests to the fact that historically Whangaroa is an area of significant tangata whenua settlement. Whangaroa is also rich in legend and history, well claimed and named by a succession of hapu and iwi identities. The Native Land Court Judge, Walter Rawson, commented that: "There is not an inch of land in the Islands which is not claimed, not a hill, nor valley, stream or forest, which has not a name."[1] Whangaroa is no exception, with its numerous clearly defined pa and wahi tapu.[2] The Historical Places Trust has noted that the historical sites they have recorded, numbering more than 300, probably only represent a small proportion of those which actually exist.[3]

This appendix is a compilation of wahi whakahirahira in the Whangaroa rohe. It variously includes pa, maunga, kainga, mahinga, tauranga and other sites. It began as a list of place names to aid the research process, and was not intended for inclusion in this report. However, after discussion with WPH it was decided to further develop the list into an appendix to the report.[4] It remains a working document and will no doubt continue to respond to the kinds of amendments and additional information that the tangata whenua are best positioned to offer. Indeed, the key sources used include Whangaroa's oral record comprising korero contributed at a range of hui and in interviews, some conducted specifically for this project, and others conducted earlier for other reasons (such as for relevant *Waka Huia* programmes). The document also draws on the works of local authors Vernon Sale and C. S. Williams, already introduced in the main body of the report.[5] Some information has also been gleaned from relevant Papatupu Block Committee and Native Land Court minute books, alongside other documentary sources. The descriptions associated with the wahi range from little more than a notation such as 'a pa' to brief explanations of histories and traditions associated with the name and place. Besides reflecting the varying nature of the source information, this feature also emphasises the point that the document remains, essentially, a work in progress subject to change.

Aumahanga	A river near Taratara.[6]
Haimana	One of two main pa at Takou Bay, the other being **Orongo** across the river. In 1820, a contingent of 600 warriors left Haimana to join intertribal affrays at Kororareka.
Herenga Korero	A meeting place at Te Ngaere.[7]
Heroroa	A pa at the northern end of Taupo Bay.

[1] 'Treatise of W. E. Rawson on Native Law and newspaper cuttings, n.d. (c.1920s), MA 16, 1/3, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.
James Robinson, 'Whangaroa Archaeological Survey; An Interim Report on Fieldwork in the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve', Department of Conservation, 1991, p.1.
[3] New Zealand Historic Places Trust, *Historic Places Inventory, Whangaroa County*, Wellington, 1982, records 429 sites, although some are of post-European interest.
[4] WPH research hui, Karangahape Marae, 23-4 April 2010, and Kaeo, 17 July 2010. Other less formal conversations about the document have also taken place during the course of the project.
[5] Sale and C. S. Williams. Sale provides a map of Whangaroa pa sites at pp.38-9.
[6] Heremaia Te Ara, map, November 1850, 'Letters of Objection File', Papa Hapu Library and Archive, Kaeo.
[7] Cheyne Foley, Kaeo, September 2009.

Hihi o te Ra	A pa at Tauranga Bay.
Hine-a-Mohi	A pa associated with Matangirau.[8]
Hoahoaina	A land block (see chapter five).
Hohoutieke	A maunga at Te Touwai.[9]
Hokapepa	A pipi bed near Motuhanga.[10]
Hopekako	Hopekako features in the korero about Rauruiti and the naming of Whangaroa, and the battling between Maungataniwha and Taratara (see chapter one). It is also said that Hopekako was once the home of the Ngati Kahu hapu at Whangaroa.[11] In the early 1800s Hopekako was a populous stronghold under the chief Hohepa Te Taha.
Horora	A pa.[12]
Horu	An area near Kaeo township.
Hunuhunua	Site of a battle between Ngati Pou and Hongi Hika ma.[13]
Hunanga o Tupuna	Wahi tapu on Motukawanui.[14]
Huruata	The principal settlement of Ururoa, on the western inlet of the Whangaroa Harbour.
Inumia	An area at Kaingpipiwai.
Iwingaro	A place at Te Putakiwi.
Iwitaua	A ridge below Taratara stretching above the tidal falts where at least one significant battle took place.[15] There is also a creek there named Iwitaua.[16]
Kaeo	In 1820 Major Cruise described Kaeo as 'a specific example of the pa'. Te Pohue was built at the top of a circular hill, 'steep and difficult of ascent', while a village 'associated with both crop cultivation and fishing activities was at its foot'.[17]
Kahangaro	One of the islands in the Motukawanui group.
Kahikatoa	A coastal block near the south-head of the harbour. Also known to some as Ka-ika-katoa.[18]
Kairawaru	A wahi tapu near Taemaro Rd, Berghan Point.
Kaiangi	A pa at Matakaraka.[19]
Kaiaraara	A fishing ground at the western inlet below the prominent rock face of the same name (colloquially known as 'the Duke's Nose').[20]

[8] Kana Pourewa, Kaeo, November 2010.
[9] Ani Taniwha, Kaeo, January 2010.
[10] Anumatao Tauroa, Te Patunga, April 2009.
[11] C. S. Williams, Appendix 5, p. 3.
[12] Sale, pp.38-9.
[13] NMB 1 p.88.
[14] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi-Motukawanui, p.13.
[15] Pereme Urlich, 30 April 2010.
[16] Tarawaru Hapa, Pokaka investigation, 22 July 1898, NMB 18, p.47.
[17] Richard Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, London, 1824 (Capper Press reprint 1974), p.116.
[18] Ruiha Collier interview, 13 January 2010.
[19] NMB 11, p.92.

Kaikinikini	The cemetery above the junction of Pupuke-Mangapa and Coppermine Roads. Taniora Arapata is buried there.
Kaikiri	The spot where the tupuna Kahutianui is said to have died. Also associated with the chief Hohepa te Taha and his interception of a taua from Matauri which attempted to abduct the beautiful wife of Wiparenga of Omahu, near Taupo. (Wiparenga and Hohepa were relatives and good friends). Hohepa shot one of the members of the taua, Te Whero, who died beneath a pohutukawa tree near Kaikiri.[21]
Kaikupenga	A pa.[22]
Kaingapipiwai	Location of a fresh-water spring, as Hone Maaka Te Pania explained in 1989: 'Te timatangia o te pupu ake o te wai i roto i tetahi o nga korero, te wai e rere nei i te pipi wai Maori. He pipi wai Maori'.[23]
Kaingapokeno	A place near Maungaemiemi.
Kaipapa	A pa.[24]
Kairawaru	A large coastal block south of Tauranga.
Kaiwhai	A pa at the end of the peninsula at the western bank of the mouth of the Kaeo river.
Karangahape	The whenua at Matangirau where Karangahape Marae stands.
Karewa	A burial ground on Motukawanui.[25]
Karewa	A pa at Taupo Bay.
Katikati	A block of land above Touwai Bay investigated in 1870.[26]
Kauriputete	An extensive land block investigated in 1875.[27]
Kauwaiorangi	A pa.[28]
Kohatupapa	A populous settlement occupied up to the beginning of the twentieth century. The people of Taupo Bay would stop here for part of the year during the fishing season and spend the rest of their time at Taupo gardening.
Kohumaru	The former name for Kenana, and land block between Otangaroa and Kenana.[29]
Kokakohiria	One of the three large rocks beside Taratara. As with Taratara, the hapu of Whangaroa have different names and stories about these rocks. The one known as Kokakohiria remains constant as one of Taratara's main attendant.
Komene	The former name for Totara North, and place where the Ngati Awa were at one time attacked by people from the Bay of Islands. The attack was in part facilitated by Te Hiwi, who the people of Komene assumed to be a harmless if

[20] Various informants, Karangahape Marae, April 2010.
[21] Williams, pp. 145-146.
[22] Sale, pp. 38-39.
[23] Hone Maaka Te Pania interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989, video recording.
[24] Sale, pp. 38-9.
[25] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi and Motukawanui, p.55.
[26] Berghan, 2006:46.
[27] NMB 2, pp.70-94
[28] Sale, pp. 38-9.
[29] NMB 3 p.19.

	simple-minded stranger. They gave him shelter when he wandered into their pa and had him help build the palisades for their pa. But the palisades Te Hiwi built were only 'lightly embedded' in the ground, so that when his 'friends' from the Bay of Islands arrived they took the pa with ease. Feeling some remorse of his actions, Te Hiwi sneaked 'quietly away' and turned to stone. He can still be seen 'from the wharf at Totara North, a desolate figure riding on a horse over the brow of the hill'.[30]
Komutu / Kuamutu	A stream that once flowed from Maungaemiemi directly into the Whangaroa Harbour. It is now 'stemmed' by a floodgate.[31]
Kowhawhe	A place where the female kawau flies from within the Whangaroa rohe.[32]
Kukuparere	A place beyond Tauaki, now a DoC reserve.
Kuratauaki	A burial place (an anga) near Karangahape.[33]
Kurunga	A pa at Puwhainga, the home of Tahapango, on the headland of the Waitapu Inlet.
Kuwaru	The headland where the Roman Catholic mission established the Piwania station.[34]
Mahimahi	A large land block inland from Matauri.
Mahinepua	The peninsula directly inland from Motueka and the name of the large bay south-east of the peninsula, before Wainui Bay. (See also Mahingapua).
Mahingapua	Mahingapua is said to have been the former name for Mahinepua, and was a place where seeds were nurtured and seedlings prepared for planting.
Manawakina	A pa.[35]
Mangahoutoa	A place between Taratara and Kenana.
Mangaiti	Also Manga-iti, the large settlement near Kaeo.[36]
Mangakauri	A stream near Te Patunga known as the boundary for the kauri trees as they did not grow past there.
Mangamutu	A place and stream at Pupuke.[37]
Mangapa	Above Pupuke, the Mangapa hills were a regular resting spot for Maori journeying to the Hokianga, before they crossed the Whakateterekia river.
Mangapiko	A hill and burial place beside the Kaeo river.
Mangataro	A stream near Te Patunga Marae named for the abundance of taro there, also known to some as Te Awa Taua.[38]
Mangatotara	A place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa river.

[30] Williams, pp. 143-144. The horse in this story suggests it took place after arrival of the Pakeha.
[31] Nuki Aldridge, Patunga Marae, 24 July 2010.
[32] Louisa Collier, Whangaroa, January 2010.
[33] PBCMB 33, Touwai and Ririwha, p.167.
[34] Berghan, 2006, p.52.
[35] Sale, pp.38-9.
[36] 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Library and Archive.
[37] Arena Heta, Te Patunga Marae, March 2010.
[38] Arena Heta, Te Patunga, March 2010; and Terry Tauroa, Te Patunga, April 2010.

Mangawhai	A rock on the southern beach at Matauri.[39]
Mangawhero	A settlement west of Taratara, now often referred to as Otangaroa, which was previously another settlement along Otangaroa Road.[40] Mangawhero is also the stream that flows past here to the Mangonui Harbour.
Manginangina	A place where eels are abundant during the first rains of March.[41]
Marapiu	A place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa river.[42]
Maroaa	A place of Te Tahapango.[43]
Maru	A pa almost on the beach at Taupo in the middle of the settlement.
Marutoia	A pa above Kent's Bay – the rotting posts of the pallisade were still evident on the terraced hill-top in recent decades.[44]
Matanehunehu	A notable pa along the coast from Taupo Bay, consisting of three fortifications connected at low tide by a rocky bridge. According to Williams, the 'extent of the terracing, and the strategic significance of the defence are outstanding'.[45] Also one of the main points along Tawhaki's track (see chapter one). Other of Tawhaki's footsteps can be seen at Ririwha.[46]
Matahuna	A place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa river. The name refers to the notion that 'we don't see the tupuna anymore, only the descendants are evident'.[47]
Matangirau	A settlement in the Touwai inlet with access to the vast pipi beds, and fish which abound in the tidal inlets along the eastern border of the harbour. Matangirau was formerly known as the headland area of the Touwai inlet (or Bay), and on which Te Kauri pa stands. (See also **Matangireia).**
Matangireia	A former name for the area now known as Matangirau.[48]
Matarau	A pa.[49]
Matauri	Or Mata-uri, the principal pa at Matauri Bay. Hapu that variously occupied at different times include Ngati Miru, Ngati Tara and Ngati Tai. Maru of Ngapuhi, who fought with Hongi, had a whare there named Te Kirikaihau.[50]
Matawherohia	See **Otamatawherohia**.
Matoki	An area in Otangaroa (across the river from where Stan Foley lives), previously a kainga with large orchard.[51]
Matua	One of two islands, Matua and Whaea, near Motueka. The

[39] Mere Apiata, Matauri Bay, January 2010.
[40] Pat Tauroa,Pers. Comms., July 2010.
[41] 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Library and Archive.
[42] 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Library and Archive.
[43] NMB 10, p.5.
[44] Williams, Appendix 5, p.6.
[45] Williams, Appendix 5, p.6.
[46] Williams, Appendix 5, p.6.
[47] 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Library and Archive.
[48] Louise Collier, Draft Transcript from Initial Hearings, Week 2 Day 4 Session 2.
[49] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi-Motukawanui, pp.13-14.
[50] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.31.
[51] Pereme Urlich, 30 April 2010.

	kaitiaki of Matua was Kurirahonui.[52]
Maungaemiemi	One of the maunga frequently referred to in the histories that explain the battling between Maungataniwha and Taratara (see chapter one). Williams adds another story, about the tangata whenua preparing for an attack, but whose enemies 'approached so carefully, that no trace of them could be seen'. The Maungaemiemi people became 'over anxious to get a glimpse of the attackers, and foolishly exposed themselves above the skyline, bobbing up and down, in their efforts to look over the fern tops'.[53]
Maungahorehore	A maunga near Tangitu regarded as the kaitiaki of the inland muttonbird.[54]
Maungakaramu-namu	A place near where Waihuka and Waiotetata rivers meet.[55]
Maungataniwha	The maunga that fought with Taratara (see chapter one).
Mawhai	A fishing ground.
Mimihaeringi	A rock off Te Ngaere Beach.
Mohona	A pa.
Mokau	A ridge between Whangaroa and Hokianga.
Motueka	One of the Motukawanui group of islands. A good place for catching maomao.
Motuhunga	A pa that guarded the entrance to the **Waitaruke** inlet.
Motukawanui	The main island of the Cavalii group of islands, said to have sustained 'fairly large populations'. Much of Motukawanui, which is surrounded by 35 smaller islands, would have been cultivated as well as some of the islands to its north.[56] The furthest islands are Motumuka and Motukeo, adjacent to the southern end of the main Cavalli group. Passing to the southeast are in turn, a rock named Piraunui, then Motukahataha, then in the distance, Whatupuke, the home of the famous chief, Te Huatahi. Lastly are Kahangaro, Motukawaiti, and the smaller island named Motuhuia.
Moturahurahu	An island pa that guarded a popular fishing ground nearby known as **Mawhai**.
Motutapu	A fishing ground.[57]
Motutapu	A wahi tapu in the Matangirau area.[58]
Motuwai	Where the *Boyd* finally sank. Some people refer to Motuwai as being the head of Taratara.[59] It is also known as Red Island.
Ngapuketara / Ngapuketuru	A pa.[60]

[52] Cheyne Foley, Kaeo, September 2009.
[53] C. S. Williams, p. 132.
[54] Te Uru Heta, interviewed by Piringa Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989, video recording.
[55] Heremaia Te Ara, map, November 19 1858, 'Letters of Objection' File, Papa Hapu Library and Archive.
[56] NZHPT, *Historic Places Inventory*, part 1.2.
[57] Ani Taniwha, Kaeo, 7 January 2010
[58] Kana Pourewa, Kaeo, 12 November 2010.
[59] Owen Kingi, Karangahape Marae, Matangirau, 23 April 2010.
[60] Kana Pourewa, Kaeo, 12 November 2010.

Ngarahu	A hill between Putakiwi and Kaeo.[61]
Ngataiwhakarongarua	A pa.[62]
Ngatokohakauri	An area at Mokau.[63]
Ngatokaturua / Ngatokaturoa	A pa above Mangaiti.[64]
Ngawhenua	A wahi tapu at Taemaro Rd, Berghan Point.
Ohakiri	The knee of Rauruiti in the korero about the naming of Whangaroa, and in the korero about Maungataniwha and Taratara's battles, Taratara's head.
Ohatumakara[?]	A place near Kaingapokeno where mats were woven.[65]
Ohauroro	Former bushed stronghold pa of Ngati Pou which guarded the harbour from invaders. It was also the pa of Patara who protected Hone Tua and his mother after they escaped the battle at Okahumoko. Major Cruise of the *Dromedary*, who arrived in 1820, noted some 300 people apparently lived at Ohauroro permanently.[66] The Reverend William White similarly commented on the village at Ohauroro, and even 'more villages, beautiful bays and areas of cultivated land' up harbour.[67]
Ohautaika[?]	A pa at Hihi-o-te-Wai.[68]
Oheia	A pa, known today as Kingfish Point.
Ohinekuma / Ohinekumu	One of the rocks (attendants) beside Taratara.[69]
Ohoutai	The highest place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa River that the tidal waters reach, it is also where the mullet spawn.
Oio	A pa and formerly populous settlement.
Okahumoko	A pa on the the western inlet of the harbour, once held by Ngati Pou under the chief Kaitoke. Also the site of the Battle of Okahumoko where Ururoa decimated the Kaitangata hapu. Hone Tua, one of the survivors of the battle, was the last of the Kaitangata to be buried behind a mighty slab of rock which leans against the cliff at Okahumoko and guards the ancestors.
Okatiaka	A place near Upokorau.[70]
Okihikihi	A pa.[71]
Okiore	A pa, so named when, during a raid, one of the pa's defenders tricked the attackers (under cover of night) into thinking everyone had been killed as the rats were 'enjoying

[61] NMB 18, p.224.
[62] Sale, pp.38-9.
[63] NMB 3 p.333.
[64] Various informants, Mangaiti Marae, November 2010.
[65] NMB 13 p.119.
[66] Cruise, *Ten Months' Residence*, p.116.
[67] William White, Rev. – letter, November 29, 1830.
[68] PBCMB 33, Touwai, Ririwha, 1902 p.167.
[69] Tita Oppenheim, 19 March 2010.
[70] Heremaia Te Ara, 26 August 1861, 'Letters of Objection File', Papa Hapu Archive and Library.
[71] Sale, pp.38-9.

	themselves already'. Thus many of the wounded were saved.[72]
Okura	The bay east of the Totara North wharf below Hopekako, where there is a fresh water spring.
Omahuta	A kainga at Kauriputete.[73]
Omata	A wahi tapu at Taemaro Rd, Berghan Point.
Omaunu	An area between the Kaeo township and Kaingpipiwai, said to have been a place where ducks were caught and eaten.[74]
Omiru	A pa.[75]
Ongarehu	A place on the boundary of Putakiwi and Tauaki.[76]
Opangarehu	A pa above the bridge over the Waihapa river on the main north road.
Oparae	A cave where explorers discovered a human skeleton in 1948.[77]
Opatu	A pa at Berghan Point.
Opiakoa	See Piakoa.
Opiri	A pa.
Oponui	A Matauri Bay pa.
Opounui	A pa.
Opuhiiti	A coastal area near the Whangaroa township.
Ore-te-manu	A fishing ground off the coast near Oruru
Orimuiti	A pa at Motukawanui.[78]
Orokaraka	One of the Motukawanui group of islands.
Orongo Pa	A pa that dominated the Takou River, at the northern side of the river-mouth.
Orotere	A burial ground which, along with another, Tauaki, was specifically excluded from the sale of the Taraire Block in 1856: Ko enei wahi tapu e rua ko nga takotoranga kautanga o nga tupapaku e kapea ki waho ko Orotere ko Tauaki. [These two burial places, that is to say the spots themselves where persons have been interred, are excluded from this sale; their names are Orotere and Tauaki.][79]
Oruru	North of Whangaroa past Kenana.
Ota	The bay below Ohakiri on the shores of Waitapu Bay,

[72] Williams, Appendix 5, p. 8.
[73] NMB 2, p.79.
[74] NMB 13 p.119.
[75] Sale, pp.38-9.
[76] NMB 18, p.230.
[77] Sale, p. 15.
[78] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi-Motukawanui, p.13.
[79] H. H. Turton, *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, Volume One, Wellington, 1877, No. 32, Taraire No. 1 Block.

	known today as Ota Point.
Otaha	An area beside the Takou River near its mouth.
Otako	Otako was identified by Paapu. H. Tupe as a burial place in the Karangahape vicinity.[80]
Otata	A pa situated on a hill near Waitaruke, which C. S. Williams says Ngati Awa occupied.
Otamawharo	Wahi tapu in the Matangirau area.
Otamatawherohia	Meaning eyes murky from crying, this area is now known as Matawherohia.[81]
Otawhiri	At Otawhiri is a large pohutukawa tree that was for many years the temporary resting-place of the bones of numerous Whangaroa ancestors during the ceremonial journey between the hahunga and their final interment at their tribal burial place. Also a gathering place for waka before they set off for, or on their return from, sea voyages. People also gathered at Otawhiri before taking tupapaku to the caves above.
Oteko	A permanent settlement in the Wairaupo inlet where there were large cultivations and wahi tapu.[82] Oteko is also the name of the pipi bed there.
Otengi	An area north-east of Matangirau.[83]
Otoroa	A place where huge gardens were planted on the tablelands approaching Matauri Bay for a hakari Puhi gave in honour of his brother Toroa. The hakari was known as Te Hakari o Toroa, which Puhi and his people gave to acknowledge the peace the brothers made after previous hostilities over the *Mataatua*. The place of the gardens was named *O -Toroa* in honour of the important guest.
Owharepapa	A settlement near Mangapa, a marae tawhito at Kaingapipiwai.[84]
Paariki	A pa above the junction of the main road south from Kaeo and Waiare Road.
Paarua	A pa near Te Ngaere.[85]
Paeroa	A burial place in the vicinity of Karangahape.[86]
Paetu	A place near Upokorau.
Pahuhu	A pa across the river from Mangaiti. The flatlands were used in-season for preparing the dried fish for winter supply.
Paiaka	Burial ground where Tapuiti is buried.[87]
Paieke [Paiaka?]	Paieke [Paiaka?] a burial place near Karangahape.[88]

[80] PBCMB 33, Touwai and Ririwha, 1902, p.167.
[81] 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Archive and Library.
[82] NMB 39, p.177.
[83] Berghan, 2006. p.166.
[84] Uru Heta interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989.
[85] Tarawau Kira interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, July 1989.
[86] PBCMB 33, Touwai and Ririwha, 1902, p.167.
[87] NMB 1, p.86.
[88] PBCMB 33, Touwai and Ririwha, 1902, p.167.

Paihia	A coastal area south of Mahinepua.
Pakewakewa [Pakewhakewha]	A hill with many caves, used as a burial ground in the Kaingapipiwai-Pupuke areas.
Pakurakura	A torere situated not far from Tung Oil cottage. It was still being used to bury remains around 1870.[89]
Pakuru	A pa.[90]
Pamangemange	A pa at Mokau.[91]
Panaki	One of the Motukawanui group of islands.
Papakanui	A pa close to the harbour above Pupuke.
Papatara	A mahinga kai on Motukawanui.[92]
Parakohe	An area at Matauri at the southern end of the beach. There are some anga nearby used for storing kumara.[93]
Paraoanui	A large and significant pa in its time, located on a high hill beyond Taratara
Parapara	A heavily terraced pa, some 500 feet high, overlooking the Waikoura domain, Parapara was very inaccessible. It stood in close proximity to the burial ground at Mangapiko, protecting it from desecration.
Pararakao	A formidable pa many years ago, a knoll far up the Owango inlet.
Pararako	A pa, also the name of the bay just inside the south head of the harbour.[94]
Paratakeke	A place at Matauri.[95]
Paratukake[?]	A wahi tapu at Matauri belonging to Ngati Kura.[96]
Parawaipuke	A place at Pupuke.
Parua Bay	A bay about 1½ miles north-west of Matauri.
Pateretere	A river at Matauri recited in the pepeha: Ko Whakarara te maunga, ko Mata-uri te moana, Te Tapuhi te marae, Tamati Ho te tangata, Pateretere te awa.[97]
Patiko	A pa.[98]
Patua	A pa.[99]
Pekapeka	A settlement and bay in the western inlet of the harbour.
Piakoa (or Opiakoa)	A burial-cave and pa at Waiawa where Auwha was buried.[100] Hongi's koiwi are said to have lain there until they were removed to their final restng place near Kaikohe.[101] All the koiwi were apparently removed from

[89] Korero Wikiri, 2, 20, 18 August 1938.
[90] Sale, pp.38-9.
[91] NMB 3 p.333.
[92] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi-Motukawanui, p.14.
[93] Mere Apiata, Matauri, 19 January 2010.
[94] Sale, pp.38-9.
[95] Mere Apiata, Matauri, 19 January 2010.
[96] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.28.
[97] Mere Apiata, Matauri, 19 January 2010.
[98] Sale, pp.3-9.
[99] Sale, pp.3-9.

Piakoa in 1912, a 'gruesome task' but also 'a sacred duty' performed under the strictest conditions.[102] The following waiata refers to several places including Piakoa:

Toea mai ra te ata i nga rehu	The dawn is breaking
E hingiha ko te tao tenei ka ora mai	through the mists;
Haere koutou e au tamatane	Burns now the sacred oven-
Te tira o te kakahi tena ka riro,	fire with lively flame.
E tangi ngunguru ana, e tangi haere ana.	Farewell, depart in company with thy noble sons,
He puia ka tu i roto o te **Pupuke**;	The company of chiefs now has departed,
He hau raranga noa i runga o whare ra,	Sighing with anguish, sorrowfully weeping.
Timu noa nga tai i roto o **Whangaroa**	Within Pupuke stands a burning mountain
Rikiriki koa ra nga tai o te rae	A gentle breeze wafts softly o'er the house,
I waho o te wahapu, na i-i.	The ebbing tides are far from Whangaroa;
E ka whakarongo koe nga tai o te akau,	Small, indeed, the tides that lap the headland
He tai wahi rua i raro **Waiawa**,	Beyond the harbour mouth.
He hau manowhenua i runga o **Punau**	List to the tides upon the ocean coast,
I ripoa iho ai nga toka whakaura	A tide divided beneath Waiawa
I runga o **Piakoa**, ki te hoa rangatira.	A land wind blew above Punau
	To eddy and whirl about the reddened rocks
	Above **Piakoa**, unto the high-born friend.[103]

Piawe / Tiawe — A place on the harbour that women are said to have dug out to stop an enemy attack.[104]

Pinea — A settlement and where Hongi Hika lay prior to his hahunga ceremony being performed. According to some, Waitui, sister of the Hopekako chief Hohepa Te Taha, was the last person to be buried at Pinea.

Piraunui — One of the Motukawanui group of islands.

Piwania — Site of the first Roman Catholic mission. A monument in the cemetery commemorates the Marist brothers and sisters, past and present.

Pohue (Te Pohue) — The terraced hilltop that was the Ngati Uru pa of Te Ara. Te Pohue is a prominent Kaeo landmark opposite the White Swan Hotel in Kaeo.

Pokaka — A land block towards Kerikeri.

Porangahau — A pa at Taupo Bay.

Puawainga — A pa overlooking Onewhero Bay and the home of

[100] PBCMB 8, Matauri, pp.14-5.
[101] Kelly, 'Fragmentary matter'. pp.601-3.
[102] 'Korero Wikiri', 2, 20, August 18 1938.
[103] Kelly, p.602. A further two verses are included in a version of this waiata published in *Nga Moteatea*.
[104] Ruiha Collier, Matangirau, January 2010.

	Tahapango.
Puiamokimoki	A pa at Taupo. Motupua married Rahoro and settled there.[105]
Pukaka	A cultivation at Kaingapipiwai.
Pukehakakoko	A pa at Taupo Bay, which derives its name from the likeness of its defenders to moreporks as they peeped over the palisades peering down on the attackers.
Pukekahikatoa	One of two 'sister pa' at Kaingapipiwai.
Pukekohe	A hill covered with Kohekohe trees in the Kaingapokeno area:[106] i kii ai nga matua, i te wa te miro e kahore ana, ka rere atu te kukupa ki runga i te kohekohe, i kii ai Pukekohe. [According to the elders, when there were no miro berries the wood pigeons flew to the the tops of the kohekohe trees, thus Pukekohe.][107]
Puke-pipi-te-wai	A wahi tapu at Berghan Point.
Puketapu	A pa at the northern end of Taupo Bay.
Puketarata	A Matauri Bay pa.
Puketi	A forest, its name is often associated with the titi. To some, it relates to the titi found at Maungahorehore and Rotomanao which are within the Puketi Forest. To some, it relates to an event surrounding a bailer and the waka *Mataatua*; to others, it relates to the Puketea trees found there.
Puketotara	A rock near Waiakau.[108] Also a hill covered in totara trees at Kaingpokeno.[109]
Pukewhetu	A Matauri Bay pa that a war party of Te Huatahi and Te Tangare attacked as they sought vengeance from Ngati Miru and Ngati Tara, who had killed Te Tihi, a woman of the hapu Ngati Tautahi.[110]
Pumanawa	A bay on the southern shores of the harbour, east of Wairaupo.
Pungaere	A settlement where, between 1893 and 1904, school lessons were taught to the tamariki three days a week.[111]
Pureru	A place at Kaingapipiwai where Taniora Arapata lived.[112]
Purunui/Poronui	A pa that stands guard above the settlement of Matangirau.
Putakiwi	A hill upriver from Kaeo overlooking several kainga beside the Upokorau stream.[113]
Putataua	The beach north of Matauri.

[105] NMB 11 p.91.
[106] NMB 13 p.119.
[107] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia*,'1989.
[108] NMB 11, p.92
[109] NMB 13 p.119
[110] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.12.
[111] *Kaeo Schools*, p.22.
[112] Te Pupuke investigation, NMB 10, p.3.
[113] NMB 18, p.225.

Puwhara	A settlement at Bannister's Bay high up on the hilltop where Hohepa te Taha made his home after the death of his sister at Okura. Also the burial ground of Hone Tua's people.
Rakura	A burial place in the Karangahape vicinity.[114] Whakakii is buried there.
Rangihamama	A pa.[115]
Rangitoto	A pa in Mangonui said to be the site of a battle between Te Tangare and Huatahi.[116]
Rataaroa	An area on the harbour side of Maungaemiemi near Pupuke.
Rataero	A pa on Maungaemiemi hill.
Ratorutoru	A place down to which Tangitu looks.
Rawhitiroa	A pa.[117]
Retahi	A pa.[118]
Rewarewatahi	A pa.[119]
Ririwha	Ririwha was the former name of Stephensons Island.
Rotomanoao	A lake where both tuna and tiitii can be found.[120]
Ruakipiha	A pa at Waingare[?] on the eastern side of the harbour near Matangirau, said to be the pa of Te Pona.[121]
Rukangakau	A cultivation at Putakiwi.[122]
Taemaro	A large block on the coast north of the Whangaroa Harbour.
Tahuhutupua	A pa near Taratara.[123]
Taiohe	A wharewaka at Te Ngaere.[124]
Taita	A place near Pupuke and Waikukupa renowned for its taro plantations; also the name of the hilltop pa there.
Takahi	The prominent rocky outcrop north of Ohauroro known as 'The Haystack'.
Takakuri	A maunga and the lands surrounding it. There is a fresh water spring there.
Takapuahia	A settlement near Owharepapa known also as a meeting place of chiefs.
Takou	According to tradition, the landing and resting place of the *Mataatua*, and the place that Puhi settled, his descendants later taking the name Ngapuhi.
Tangitu	A pa. Its Ngati Uru chief at the time of the death of Marion

[114] PBCMB 33, Touwai & Ririwha, 1902, p.167.
[115] Sale, pp.38-9.
[116] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.12.
[117] Sale, pp.38-9.
[118] Karanga Pourewa, Kaeo, 12 November 2010.
[119] Sale, pp.38-9.
[120] Te Uru Heta, *Waka Huia*, 1989.
[121] PBCMB 33, Touwai & Ririwha, 1902, p.167.
[122] NMB 39 p.157.
[123] NMB 18 p.49.
[124] Cheyne Foley, Kaeo, September 2009.

	du Fresne in 1772 was Pi. Taniora states that in some whakapapa Pi is the father to Te Puhi, Ngahuruhuru and Te Ara.[125] In another account, Tangitu was a tupuna kuia from Hokianga. She cried when she learned that her Hokianga relations were fighting and her tears formed the streams that now flow from the maunga Tangitu. According to Uru Heta 'Tangitu te tupuna o tenei kainga'.[126] [Tangitu is the ancestor of this place]. (See chapter one).
Tapahuerua	A Matauri Bay pa, occupied at some point by the hapu Te Tarapari, Ngati Miru and Te Takapau.
Tarahurunui	Apparently named after the 'immodest charms' of one of four women presented to a 'celebrated and notorious warrior' in the hope that his 'aggressiveness' and 'martial spirit' could be placated.[127] Tarahurunui is also known as Jones Island, and was once connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. A related story tells of a fishing expedition fromTouwai escaping from attackers at Pumanawa by cutting two trenches across the isthmus – one trench was cut by the men, and the other by the women. The party successfully reached the safety of Touwai.[128]
Taraire	The area where the Woodside Public School, later known as Otoroa School, was esabilished in 1896.[129] Maungataraire and the awa there also carry the same name.
Taraitaha	A waterfall on the Waihuka River visible from Kaeo.
Taranga	A pa at Berghan Point.
Taratara	A pa, once the stronghold of Ngati Pou upon whom Hongi Hika exacted vengeance in 1827 (see chapter three). More recently poet Robyn Hyde noted that the 'Maori people are not too fond of watching whites climb Taratara' because it is a tapu place.[130]
Tarawa-Kahawai	A pa at Mangaiti, so named because the bodies of slain enemies 'hung on teatree racks looked so much like kahawai drying in the sun'.[131]
Tarawa Parore	A place where pigeons were hung up.[132]
Tatehauriri	Recognised in the pepeha of Tahawai: 'Ko taku maunga Tatehauriri, ko Tahawai te marae, ko Awaroa te whare tupuna, ko Pupuke te awa, ko Whangaroa te moana. Ko *Mataatua* te waka. Ko Puhi te tangata'.[133]
Tauaki	Burial grounds in the hills above Moari.
Taumataiwi	Now known as Taumatatonutonu, a place at Kaingapipiwai.

[125] Erimana Taniora, unpublished paper concerning the origins of Ngati Uru, c.2005.
[126] Uru Heta interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989.
[127] Williams, p.159.
[128] Williams, pp.159-60.
[129] *Kaeo Schools*, p.19
[130] Hyde, Robin, 'Ways of the North — Life InThe Cabin Country', *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 12, 5, August 2, 1937, p.17.
[131] Williams, Appendix 5, pp. 8-9.
[132] NMB 13, p.119.
[133] Rosie Renata, interviewed by Hinekaa Mako, 7 December 2006.

Taumatakar[a]wai	A pa at Matauri Bay cited in a land deed, dated 22 December 1839: 'a piece of Land called "Ocoddehee bounded to the Northward and Westward by Matowdy Bay from a rocky point, up Boundaries [380 acres] at which point formerly stood a Native Pah called Taumatakar[a]wai..."[134]
Taumatapukapuka	A pa at Kaingapipiwai.
Taumatapuriri	A kainga in the Te Patoa basin marked by a grove of puriri trees.
Taumata-te Ra	A pa at Taemaro, Berghan Point.
Tauwhare	One of the places that people say Hongi was buried.
Tawa (or Tawatawa)	A place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa river.[135]
Tawhirimatea	A wahi tapu near Te Patunga Marae.
Tehaamatua	A wahi tapu at Motukawanui.[136]
Te Ana o Touhuruhuru	A river near Matangirau.
Te Au Kanapanapa	A point to the east of Whangaroa harbour, where the water is clear and sparkling, and where Kupe is said to have landed.[137]
Te Awaroa	A name for the river that flows from Tangitu to the Whangaroa Harbour.
Te Haunga	A hill in the Kaingapokeno area where bad odours arose (see Te Ranga).[138]
Te Hautapu	A burial ground on Motukawanui.[139]
Te Hoanga	A landblock investigated by the NLC in 1875.
Te Huia	A wahi tapu associated with Matangirau.
Te Ikanui	The pa where Hare Hongi Hika is said to have died.
Te Kainganui	A 'big home' near the entrance to the Pupuke river valley that was used for hui, including tangi. Te Kainganui is also the name of the large cemetery there, used by the people of Pupuke. Ururoa built a church there which was later accidently burnt down, and Hare Hongi Hika is buried there
Te Karaka	A pa overlooking 'the mudflats where the yellow pipis grow' near the Kaeo river mouth. The pipi bed is also named Te Karaka[140]
Te Karo	A pa.[141]
Te Katote	An area in or near Putakiwi.[142]
Te Kauri	A pa on a high peak which can be seen to the southern side

[134]Turton, 1882, deed no. 229.
[135] 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Archive and Library.
[136] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi-Motukawanui, p.13.
[137] John White, *Ancient History of the Maori,* 1887, p.96.
[138] NMB 13, p.119.
[139] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi and Motukawanui, p.55.
[140] NMB 3, p.335.
[141] PBCMB 4, Mahimahi and Motukawanui, p.13, 22 December 1903.
[142] NMB 18 p.231.

	of the Touwai inlet.
Te Kauwhau	A place where water was sold to early vessels.[143]
Te Ketetawa	A place on the boundary of the Mokau block.
Te Kiripaka	An area of land near Otangaroa. Te Kiripaka is also the name given to the area at Te Ngaere where the school once stood. It is now the marae site for Ngaitupango, gazetted in 1977.[144]
Te Komanga	The site of an urupa where Hone Tua is buried, and also the site of a victory feast that took place after the battle of **Okahumoko**.
Te Kopuru	A burial ground at Te Kahikatoa.[145]
Te Mahangatoaohoutai	A place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa river where Hongi Hika is said to have landed his waka.[146]
Te Maire	The river that flows from Te Wai o Te Maire.
Te Mata	A meeting place where the title to Putakiwi was discussed prior to investigation by the NLC.[147]
Te Moari	A burial ground near Paariki Pa.
Te Ngaere	The name of a rock off the bay also named Te Ngaere.[148]
Te Onekura	A place below Tangitu on the slopes of Maungahorehore, where the water is red due to the red pebbles in it. 'There are two ways to describe kura (redness) – the red of the sky and the red of the sun'. About 40 metres below this place there was a waterfall that fell steeply. The catchment of this waterfall is known as Lake Rotomanoao.[149]
Te Papaku	A settlement down river from Takapuahia.
Te Papatahi	A burial site at Matauri, which the people of Ngaitupango, Ngati Kura and Te Tawera (who resided together at Matauri) realised was a wahi tapu when a canoe they were building began to rot. The canoe was named *Moana Kore* because it would never be rowed on any water.[150]
Te Pato	An area east of the Kaeo river mouth.
Te Patoa	An area west of Te Patunga Marae.[151]
Te Patunga	The marae and valley at Kaingapipiwai, named in association with a battle there.
Te Pirita	A wahi tapu at Matauri.[152]
Te Poronui	See Poronui.
Te Powhaitere	A river that flows underground coming down from Rotomanoao:

[143] NMB 18, p.65.
[144] NMB 2 p.258; Berghan, p.51.
[145] PBCMB 34, Kahikatoa, 1902, p.3.
[146] Terry Tauroa, Kaingapipiwai, April 2009.
[147] NMB 18, p.229.
[148] Tarawau Kira, *Waka Huia*, 1989.
[149] Manga Tau, Hokianga, 25 May 1995
[150] PBCMB 8, Matauri, pp. 25-6.
[151] Te Taumata o Tangitu, 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Archive and Library.
[152] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.15.

	Te ingoa o tera mea o te powhaitere he penei i te manu nei. Koia te take i whakaingoatia te powhaitere, te taenga atu o ratou ki taua awa nei, ka kite ratou hiia nga manu nei i runga i nga rakau e kai ana i nga hua o te rakau, I a ratou e kai ana i nga hua o runga i te rakau, ka kite ratou enai e hore au e mohio ana ma pehea i oti ai te ingoa e powhaitere, enai na ratou i hua nga manu ra he powhaitere. A ko nga hoa o nga powhaitere nei he tui, he kukupa, he kaakaa, a kotahi atu manu wareware ake ana i au te ingoa. Na pera te huihuinga o nga manu ra. Ka mutu ki te peke te mea kotahi, peke katoa nga manu nei, rere atu ana ki tetahi atu rakau. Mohio au i meatia e ratou koia tera te taima tika mo te haere atu ki reira kia mou atu e kai ana, a kia rere ka pai mo te pupuhi ra hoki hei ta ratou. Na koia tera ko tera awa'. [The name Powhaitere is like a bird. That is why this place is named Powhaitere. When they arrived at this placed they saw many birds eating fruit of the trees. Why they named the birds powhaitere I don't know but they observed the manner in which the birds behaved. When one jumped, they all jumped. When one flew to another tree, they all flew to that tree. This was said to be a good time to catch these birds, while they were eating. That is that river.] [153]
Te Pua	The home of Hone Tua, also a cave high up on the hillside.
Te Pupuke	Settlement and landblock near Pupuke-Te Awaroa River. Pupuke is often regarded as a much larger area today, and was formerly called Pupuke-Mahara, meaning my memory swells up in me.[154]
Te Ranga	A maunga near Mangapa. It is from here the warrior Omateroa was sent to battle and, after being wounded, returned in a confused state to another place that later became known as Te Haunga.[155]
Te Rere Tuoro	A river that begins at Tangitu that does not fall to one side or the other, but flows along the ridgetop.[156]
Te Rimu	A place near Inumia.[157]
Te Rurianga / Te Rurunga	An old settlement near Matawherohia.[158]
Te Taumatanga	A place on the road going down hill from Matauri to Te Ngaere.[159]
Te Tau o Taki	A pa.[160]
Te Tawapuku	A place pointed out in the Putakiwi investigation.[161]
Te Titoki	A place along the Pupuke-Te Awaroa river.

[153] Manga Tau, Hokianga, 25 May 1995
[154] Nuki Aldridge, Kaeo, July 2009.
[155] Arena Heta, Te Patunga, March 2010.
[156] Manga Tau, Hokianga, 25 May 1995.
[157] Te Taumata o Tangitu, 'Puketi Forest File', Papa Hapu Archive and Library.
[158] Heremaia Te Ara, 'Letters of Objection File', Papa Hapu Archive and Library.
[159] Mere Apiata, Matauri Bay, 19 January 2010.
[160] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.14.
[161] NMB 18, p.231.

Te Touotaki	A pa at Matauri.
Te Totara	A place that was the residence of Wiremu Pikahu's father at the time of Hongi's battle with Ngati Pou.[162]
Te Towai	The urupa at Matangirau so named due to the fresh water spring that flows there.[163] There is some debate over the correct spelling and situation of this place.
Te Touwai	A large area of land that encompasses Matangirau, Te Kauri and other places.
Te Uhunga	'The vale of sorrow' said to be a place where mokomokai rested after their preparation at nearby Puketamoe.
Te Waihorua	A place near Otangaroa.[164]
Te Wai o Te Kaka	A kainga near the eastern boundary of the Kaingapipiwai block.
Te Wai o Te Maire	A waterfall – further on from Te Powhaitere, it is small but the pool of water was large. In one instance the people thought they saw a huge eel lying in the water, so large it made the water look black. Not believing it could be an eel, they stepped on it. The eel jumped and flailed around, so it was killed and eaten.[165]
Te Whakamoenga	A place near Whakarara.[166]
Te Whatiwhati	An area near Pupuke. Also the name of a stream there.
Te Whatu	A pa at Berghan Point.
Te Whau	A block pointed out during the Putakiwi investigation of title.[167]
Tikipunga	A name for Ririwha.
Tipatipa	A key point on the old Coach Road between Whangaroa and Mangonui, the road that travels along Rataaroa - Waihapa – Otangaroa – Tipatipa – Kenana.
Tipene	The large flatlands inland from Matauri.
Tikikiore	A pa that derives its name from the plentiful supply of kiore that greeted its original occupiers.
Tohoranui	An island of the Motukawanui group said to be named by Kupe.[168]
Toirere	A hilltop pa behind Waitaruke.
Tokaroa	A burial ground at Te Kahikatoa.[169]
Tokatarakihi	An area of land north of the harbour near Kahoe.
Totomaringiringi	A large torere near Waiaua.[170]

[162] NMB 1, p.81.
[163] Karanga Pourewa, Karangahape Marae, May 2009.
[164] NMB 1, p.89.
[165] Manga Tau, Hokianga, 25 May 1995.
[166] Tarawau Kira, Waka Huia Program 16, 1989.
[167] NMB 18, p.231.
[168] Tahua Murray, Karangahape Marae, 2 May 2009.
[169] PBCMB 34, Kahikatoa, 1902, p.65.
[170] Korero Wikiri, Vol,.2, Issue 20, 18 August 1938

Touotahi[?]	A wahi tapu at Matauri belonging to Ngati Kura.[171]
Tuanui	Pa site, located at Taemaro, Berghan Point.
Tuhungahungaiti	A pa at Okura, which was attacked in 1828. Waitui, sister of Hohepa Te Taha, and twenty others were killed on the beach at nearby Okura Bay.
Tupare	Wahi tapu at Berghan Point.
Turau / Turoa	One of the rocks (attendants) beside Taratara.[172]
Tutukakanihi	Pa site, located at Taemaro, Berghan Point.
Tutukorokio	A pa at Motukawanui where the tohunga Kaharauta lived. She was one of the key tupuna through whom later descendants claimed rights to Motukawanui.[173] Kaharauta confirmed her mana when she dreamed of a new fishing ground, afterwards named Taheke.
Umu	A pa at Taupo Bay, and burial ground of Whitinui, a prominent Ngapuhi rangatira.
Umukiwi	An area near the source of the Pupuke-Te Awaroa River. The settlement there was Owharepapa. The river then flowed to Waitetoki, Mangatotara, Tawa, Ohoutai, Te Patoa, Te Patunga, Mangamutu, Opango, Marapiu, Kaikinikini, Te Titoki, Te Pupuke to Matahuna.[174]
Unuhia	A place near Otangaroa.[175]
Uruwhau	A burial ground in the Pupuke-Kaingapipiwai area.[176]
Upokorau	An extremely tapu place 'ascribed the status of maternity as its life-giving waters are compared to the milk mothers dispense to their offspring'.[177]
Ure-maui	A large elaborate cave at the Whangaroa heads that traps "Tama-tane" the west wind.
Uta	Cemetery at Te Huia Marae.
Waharau	A pa at Matauri Bay occupied by Auwha. "Te Pa i noho ai a Auwha ko Waharau Pa."[178]
Waiapu	A place near Otangaroa.[179]
Waiare	An old settlement south-east of Kaeo township, Waiare hosted one of the first Native Schools in Whangaroa.
Waihapa	A pa at the Waihapa inlet where Ngati Ruamahe obtained their hapu name. The name is associated with their having prepared a place to bury the bones of their revered toa, Muimui. But when they went to collect Muimui's koiwi, some of them had disappeared (probably because the bank of the stream where they had lain had been disturbed). The spot prepared for Muimui's bones remained empty, hence

[171] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p. 28.
[172] Tita Oppenheim & Pat Tauroa, 19 March 2010.
[173] P BCMB 4, Mahimahi and Motukawanui, pp.37-8.
[174] TToT Puketi Forest File.
[175] NMB 3 pp.21-23.
[176] NMB 3, p.3
[177] Wharehuia Hemara, 'Final Scoping Report', 2006, p.10.
[178] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.13.
[179] NMB 1, p.89.

	Ruamahe.
Waihuka	A river that flows from the Kaingapipiwai area down past Mangaiti to the Kaeo River.
Waikare	The place where the Kaeo township is located. The Waikare Stream flows through the township.
Waikoura	The place where the Kaeo Rugby Football Club now stands (Waikoura Domain).
Waikukupa	An area on the western bank of the Kaeo River, including the headland at the river mouth and back towards Te Pupuke. The headland is now a land-locked reserve
Waimahana	A coastal settlement north of Whangaroa.
Waingarara	A pa on the slopes of Maungamiemie. Maaka H. Otai explained the origins of the name thus: Katahi a Te Tangare ka kapo ki tetahi wai e mau ana ano i te ringa, katahi ka patua tana tahu wai karanga tonu atu kei te Mataika. Patu tonu atu te tangata. Ka hinga te tangata a (Ngangara.) Ka huaaina taua wai ko te wai ngangara tae noa mai ki tenei wahi'.[180]
Waionepu	A place near **Kukuparere**.
Waiparaheka	A burial ground at Te Kahikatoa.[181]
Waipararikì	A burial ground at Te Kahikatoa.[182]
Waiporituka	The cliffs overlooking Waihihi inlet. According to one tradition, this sheltered cove houses one of the anchors of the *Mataatua* waka.
Waipuna	At one time a major 'colonial' settlement on the Whangaroa harbour, and the fresh water spring there was used to replenish the ships. Place where the first NLC hearings in Whangaroa occurred.
Wairakau	A place near Waihapa.
Wairaupo	A pa on the shores of the Waitapu inlet, once the stronghold of Te Kaka, the warrior who allegedly wounded Hongi Hika during the 1827 battles.In earlier years, Hongi returned to Wairaupo from his mission to the East Coast with two women. When one of the women, named Amihi, passed away, a pohutukawa tree was planted on top of her at Wairaupo.[183]
Wairere Hill	A hill in Whangaroa Harbour below which the two sides of a 'mighty' waka once lay. It had been built on the elevated plateau above the bay. While about thirty 'slaves' lowered it down the hillside, a vine broke and the waka plunged headlong into the bay below. The rangatira punished everyone involved with 'instant death'.[184]
Wairere	Name for the stream at Te Ngaere, and also the waterfall

[180] PBCMB 8, Matauri, pp.12-13.
[181] PBCMB 34, Kahikatoa, 1902, p.3.
[182] PBCMB 34, Kahikatoa, 1902, p. 116.
[183] Karanga Pourewa, Karangahape Marae, 23 April 2010.
[184] R. C. Barstow, 'The Maori Canoe', in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, Vol. 11, 1878, p.73.

	there which is known for its healing properties.
Waitangio	A kainga on the western inlet of the Whangaroa Harbour.
Waitapu	A fishing ground.[185] Also the name of a pipi bed near Ota.
Waitaruke	An area below Toirere Pa where a Catholic settlement was established. The name is said to have derived from the taruke or crayfish pots that were made there.[186] Also said to be named in relation to the flashing of paddles as a waka approached the people there.[187]
Waitetoki/Waititoki	A place on the slopes of Maungaemiemi where, when people slept at night, they heard the water washing over the gravel.[188]
Waitukutawatawa	An area near the southern boundary of the Mokau block.[189]
Waiwhakapirau	A place so-named as the water was known to be undrinkable because of high levels of toxic minerals.
Waiwhao	A stream which flows south-east of of Te Ngaere marae and merges with Wairere at Kiripaka.[190]
Whaea	One of two islands near Motueka, the larger named, **Matua** and the smaller, Whaea.
Whakamuhi[a]	A wahi tapu at Matauri, where many are buried, including 'nga uri o Auwha, a Te Korau raua ko Maraeatinia'.[191]
Whakaniwha	An area identified by Heremaia Te Ara in a letter concerning land granted to Shepherd.[192]
Whakaongaonga	A pa at Matauri belonging to Kira: 'Ko Whakaongaonga he Pa noho tena no ratou, ara, no Kira ma'.[193]
Whakapainga	An area beside Otangaroa Road near the end of the tidal flats (Pereme Urlich lives there now).[194]
Whakapiki	An area opposite Pupuke.[195]
Whakarara	A maunga above Matauri, known as Whakarara-a-Kupe. Kupe was said to have used stones rather than poles to show off and support an extravagant hakari he held there. The stones are still located at Tarata-roto-rua.[196]
Whakarewaatara	A pa at Te Kahikatoa.[197]
Whakatereterehia	The first stream that flows towards the Hokianga River from Tangitu. The area here is known as a resting place for those travelling between Hokianga and Whangaroa.
Whakaururaurakau	A pa.

[185] Ani Taniwha, Kaeo, 7 January 2010.
[186] Wake Tua, Karangahape Marae, May 2010.
[187] Cheyne Foley, Kaeo, September 2009.
[188] NMB 13, p.119.
[189] NMB 3, p.335.
[190] Iwa Alker, Te Kiripaka, 3 May 2010
[191] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.43.
[192] Heremaia Te Ara, 7 October 1859, 'Letters of Objection File', Papa Hapu Library and Archive.
[193] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.14.
[194] Pereme Urlich, Whakapainga, 30 April 2010.
[195] NMB 18, p.45.
[196] Hemara, p.8.
[197] PBCMB 34, Kahikatoa, 1902, p. 36.

Whangaroa The harbour, the naming of which is usually credited to the ariki-tapairu, Rauruiti, who – after a long wait for her husband Kaimohi – flung herself off the cliff Tumarangai when she realised Kaimohi had died.

Whangaihe A large bay or inlet on the coast between Tauranga and Mahinepua Bays, the entrance guarded by Motutupapaku and Karaka Island.

Wharengerete The last pa at Matauri before going into the Te Ngaere district:

> Ko Wharengerete te pa mutunga ki konei. Te One ra e tu ana ka mutu nga takiwa o nga pa ki konei.[198]
> [Wharengerete was the final pa here. It stood at Te One, where the pa of the district ended].

Wharepapa An old marae at Kaingapipiwai.[199]

Wharera Hongi's pa at Pupuke. Some say Hongi built it; others say it was his mother Tuhikura's pa, which may suggest that Hongi rebuilt or redeveloped it when he returned to live in Whangaroa in the 1820s.Hongi is said to have died at the foot of Wharera, on a flat slope bedside the Pupuke road at a spot called Mahoe, now a wahi tapu.[200] Some say that Hongi deliberately set Mahoe aside so that Wharera would not be rendered tapu after his death.

Whatiwhati A stream that flows from Maungaemiemi.

Whatunga A place near Pupuke.[201]

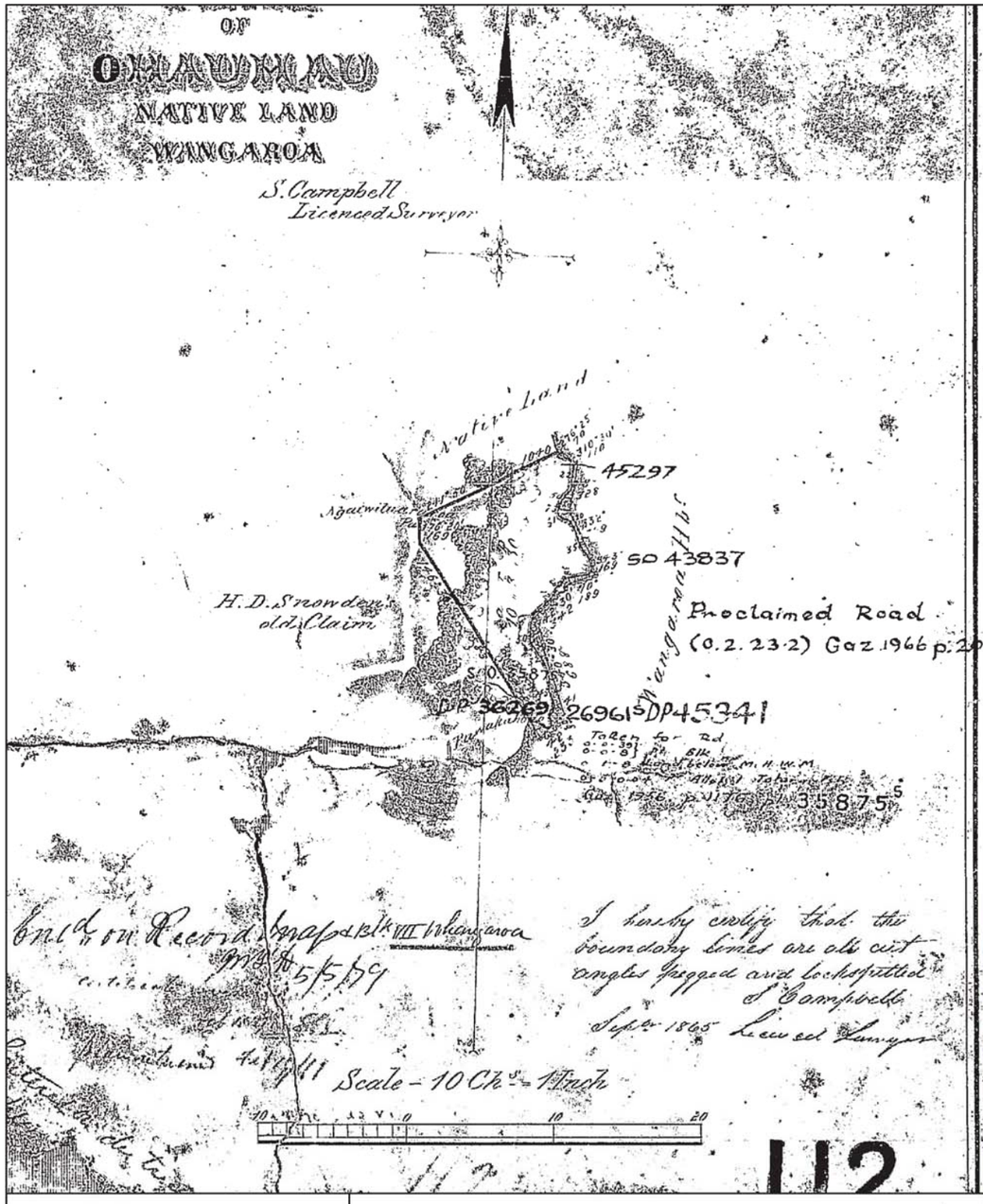
Whawha A stream which flows from Puketara, below Maungaemiemi, into the Mangaiti Stream.

Whauwhau A burial site located on a small hill at Mangaiti. The koiwi that were there are said to have been removed under the guidance of Ihimaera, one of the last tohunga of Wainui. The koiwi were then re-interred in a common grave at Whauwhau.[202]

Whitimarama The name of the old wharehui at Takou, restored by the Takou-Otaha Trust.[203]

Whititata A pa above the western headland of the Whangaroa harbour.

[198] PBCMB 8, Matauri, p.14.
[199] Uru Heta interviewed by Piringi Kaka, *Waka Huia*, 9 July 1989, video recording.
[200] Sale, pp.6-7.
[201] Hariata Heke interviewed by Mike Smith, 13 July 2006.
[202] Williams, Appendix 5, p.9.
[203] Mataatua National Heritage Project Steering Committee, n.d.





Ohauhau

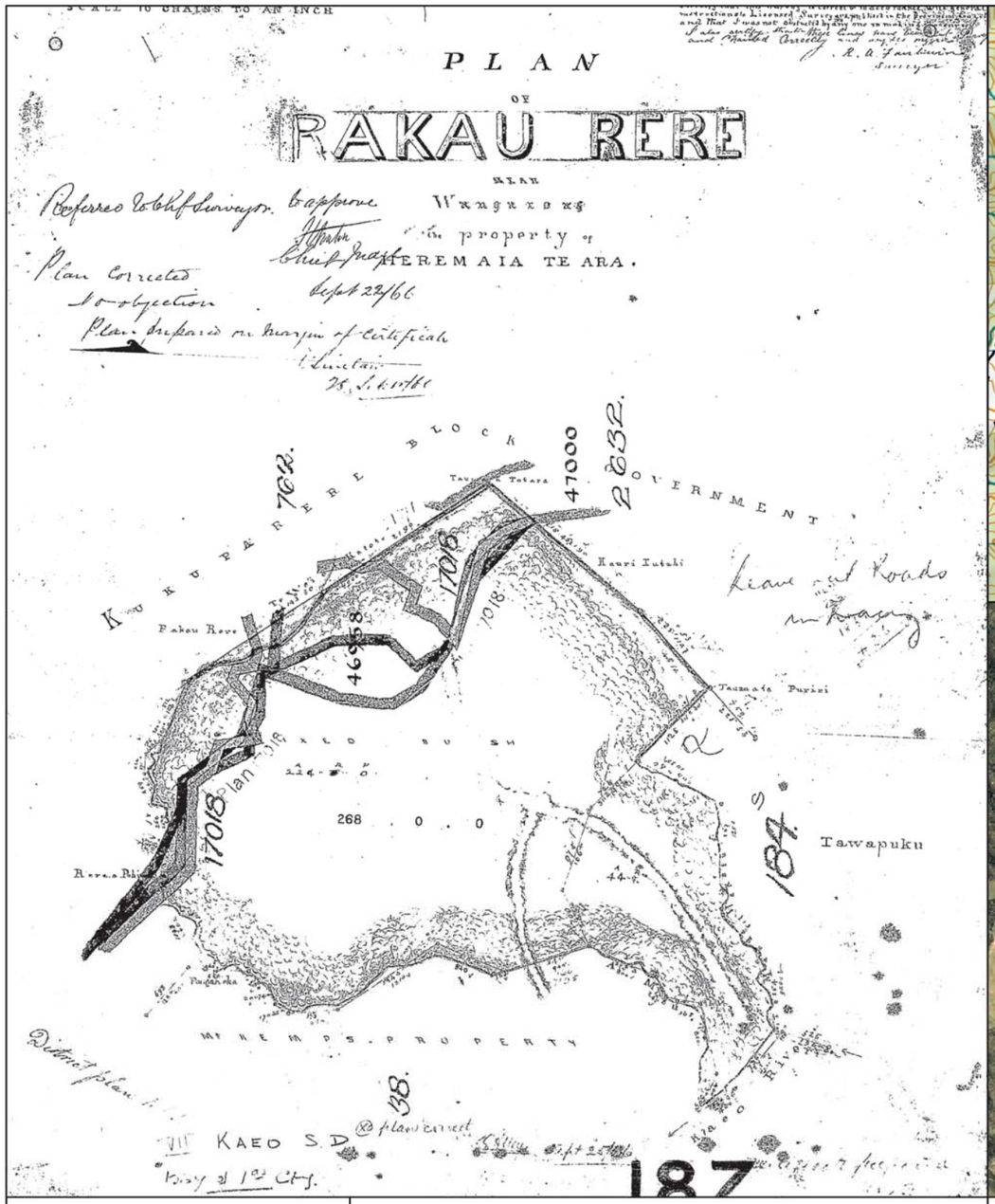
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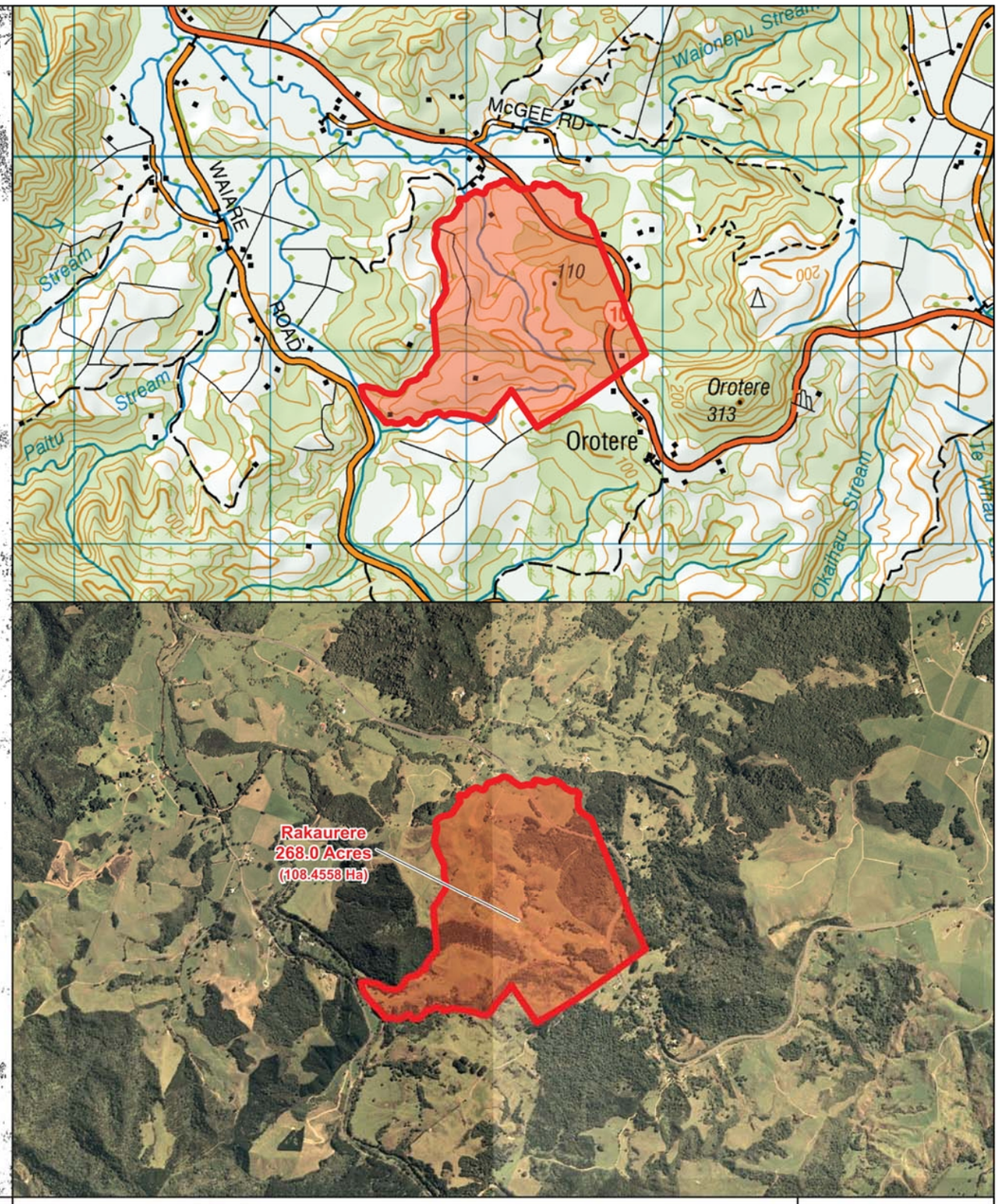
- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML112), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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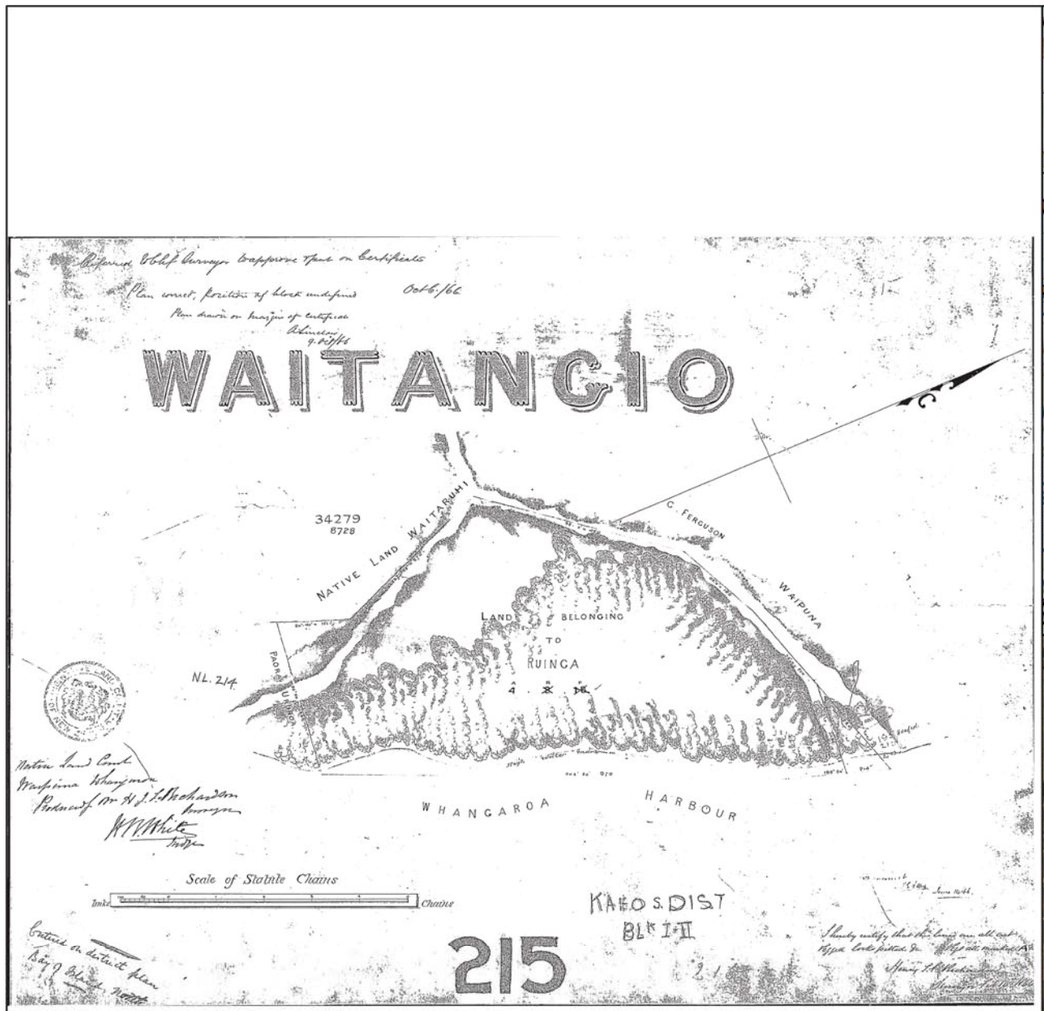
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML187), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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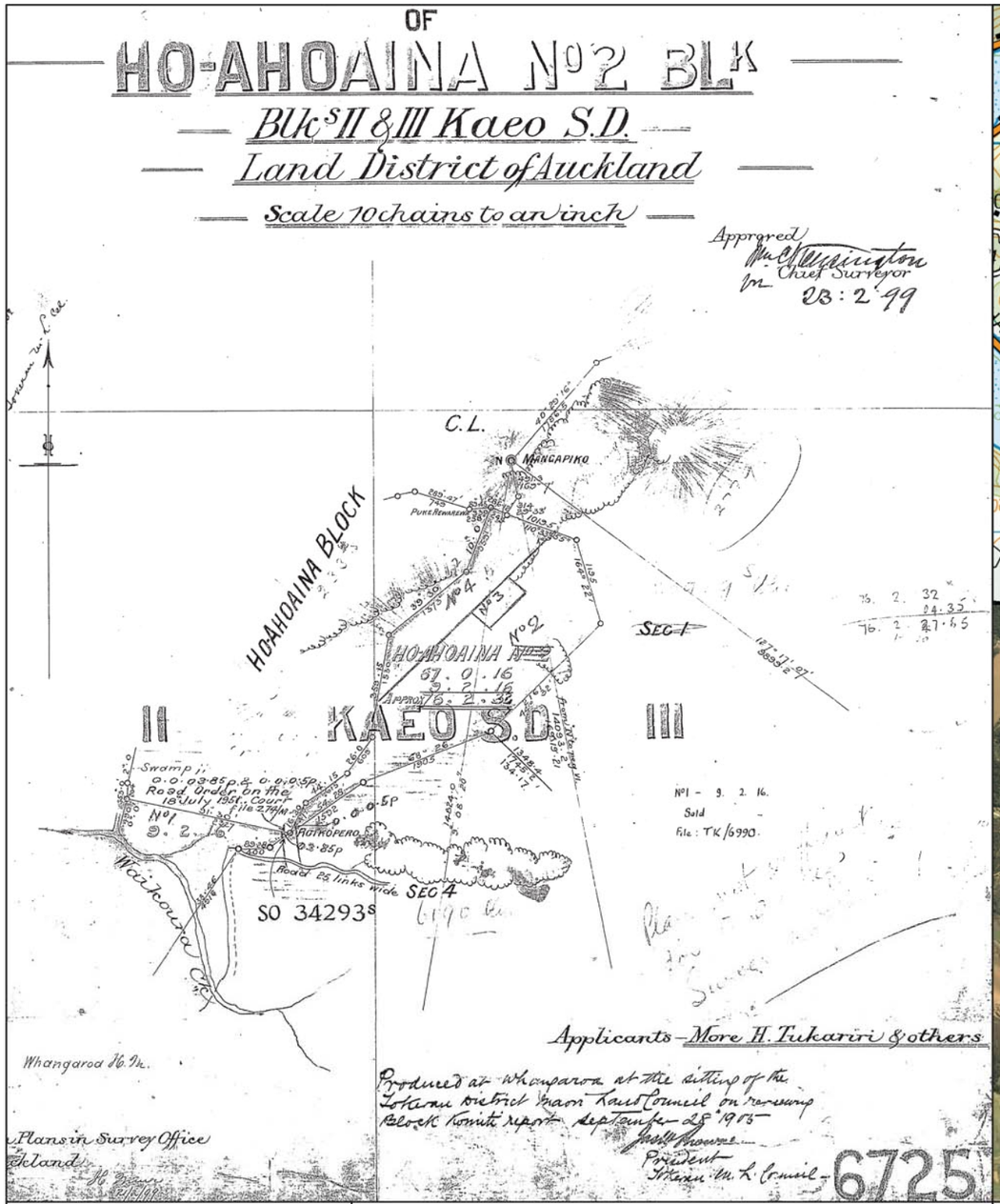
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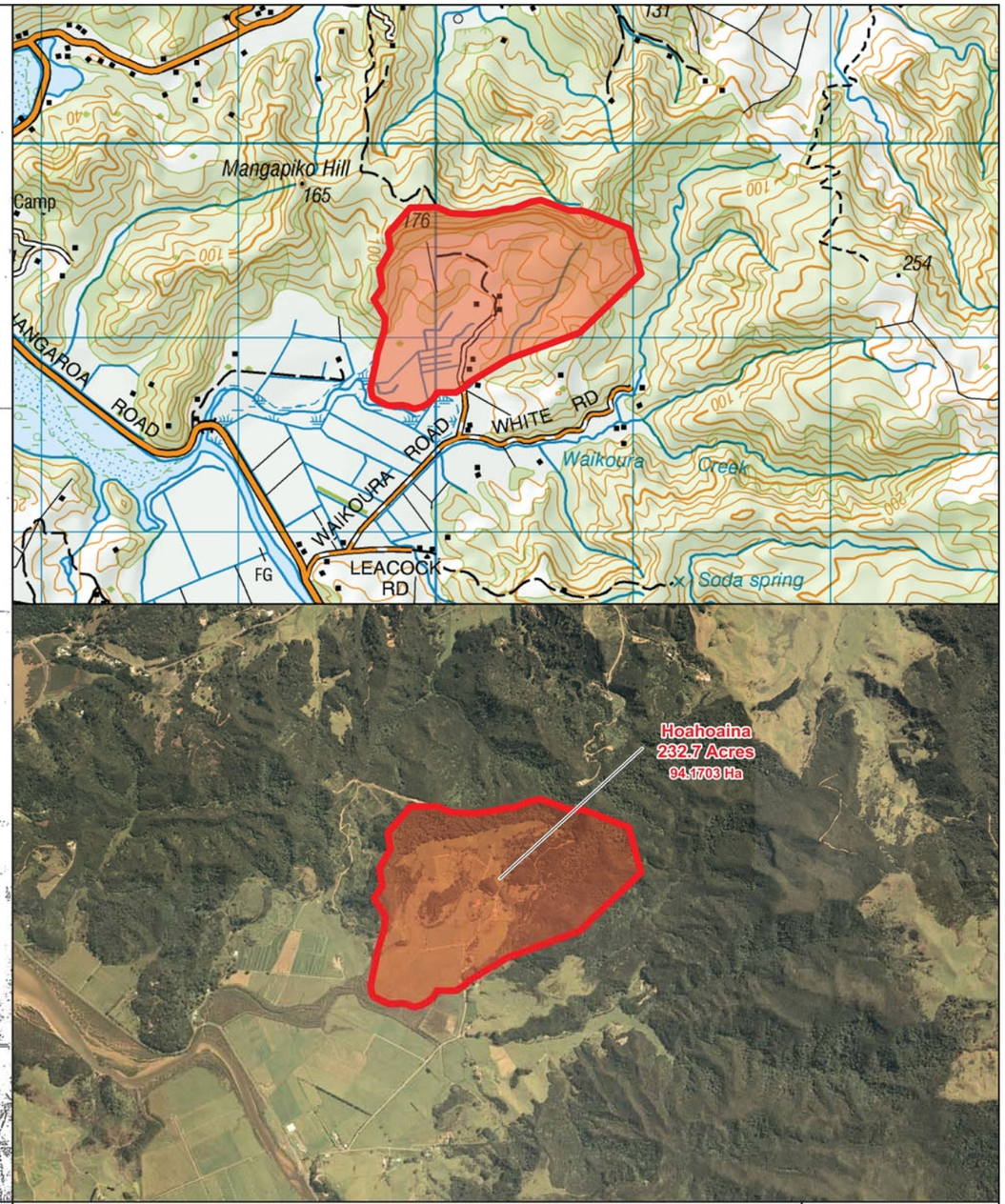
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML215), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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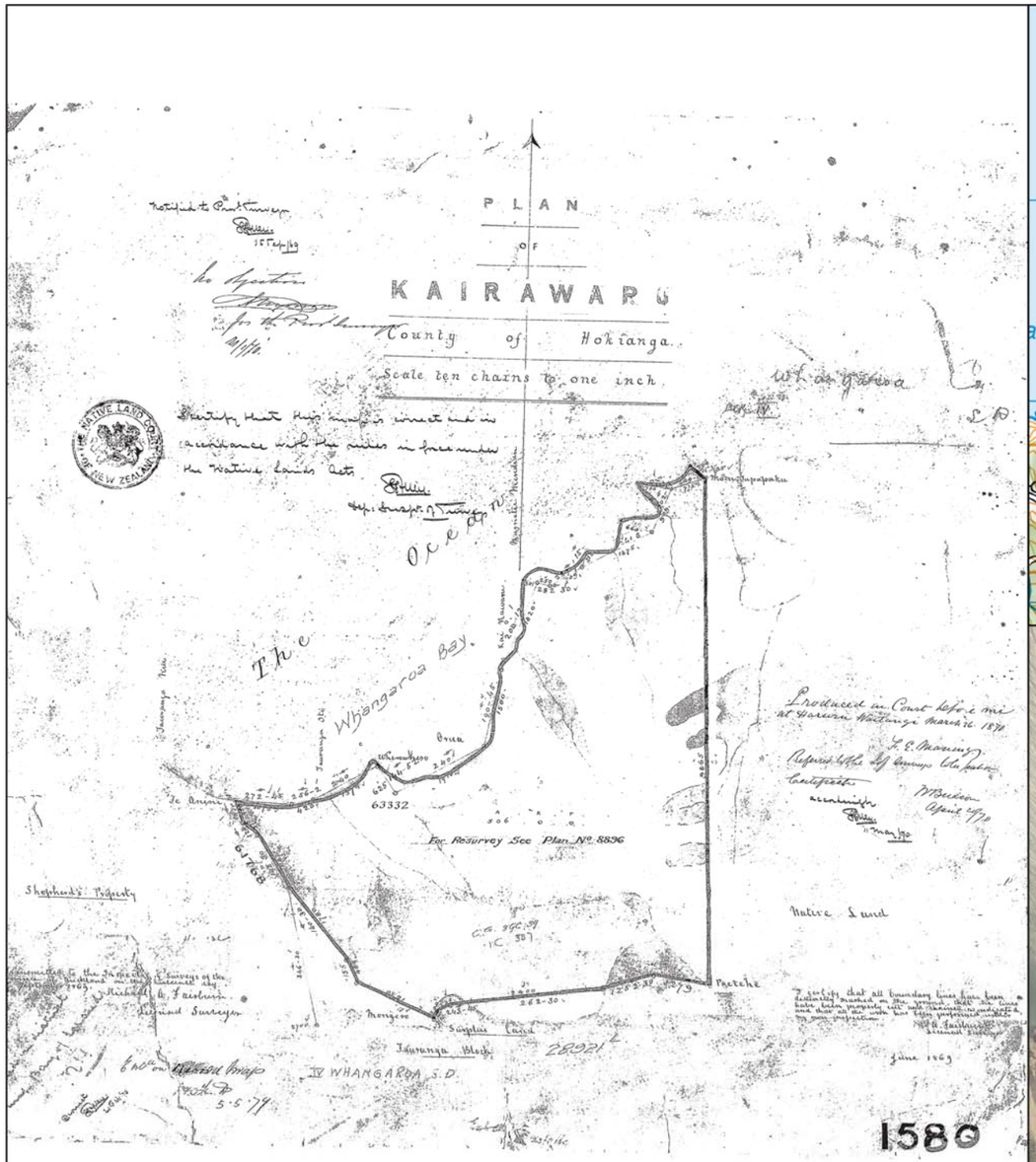
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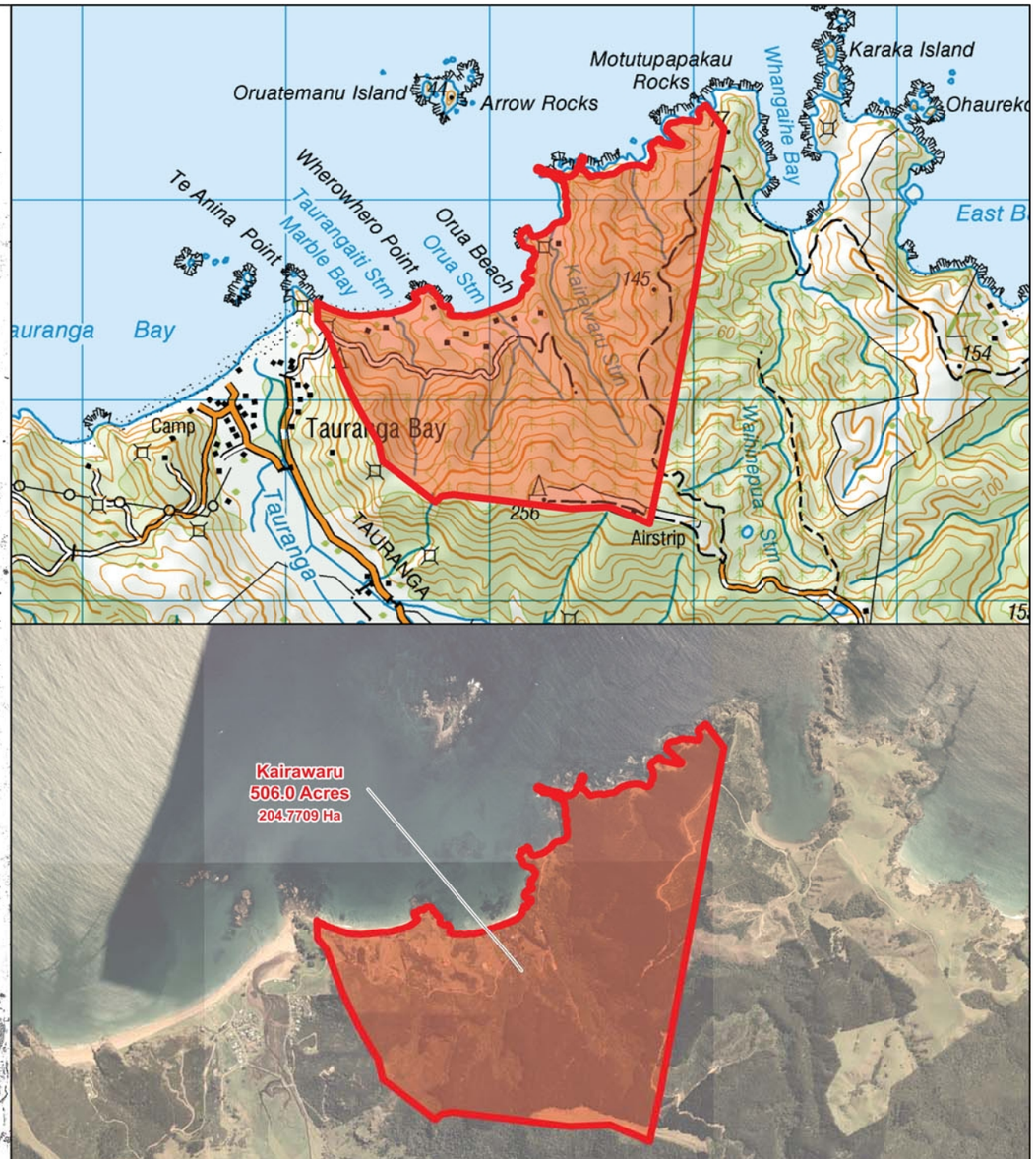
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- CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML6725), 2007.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.

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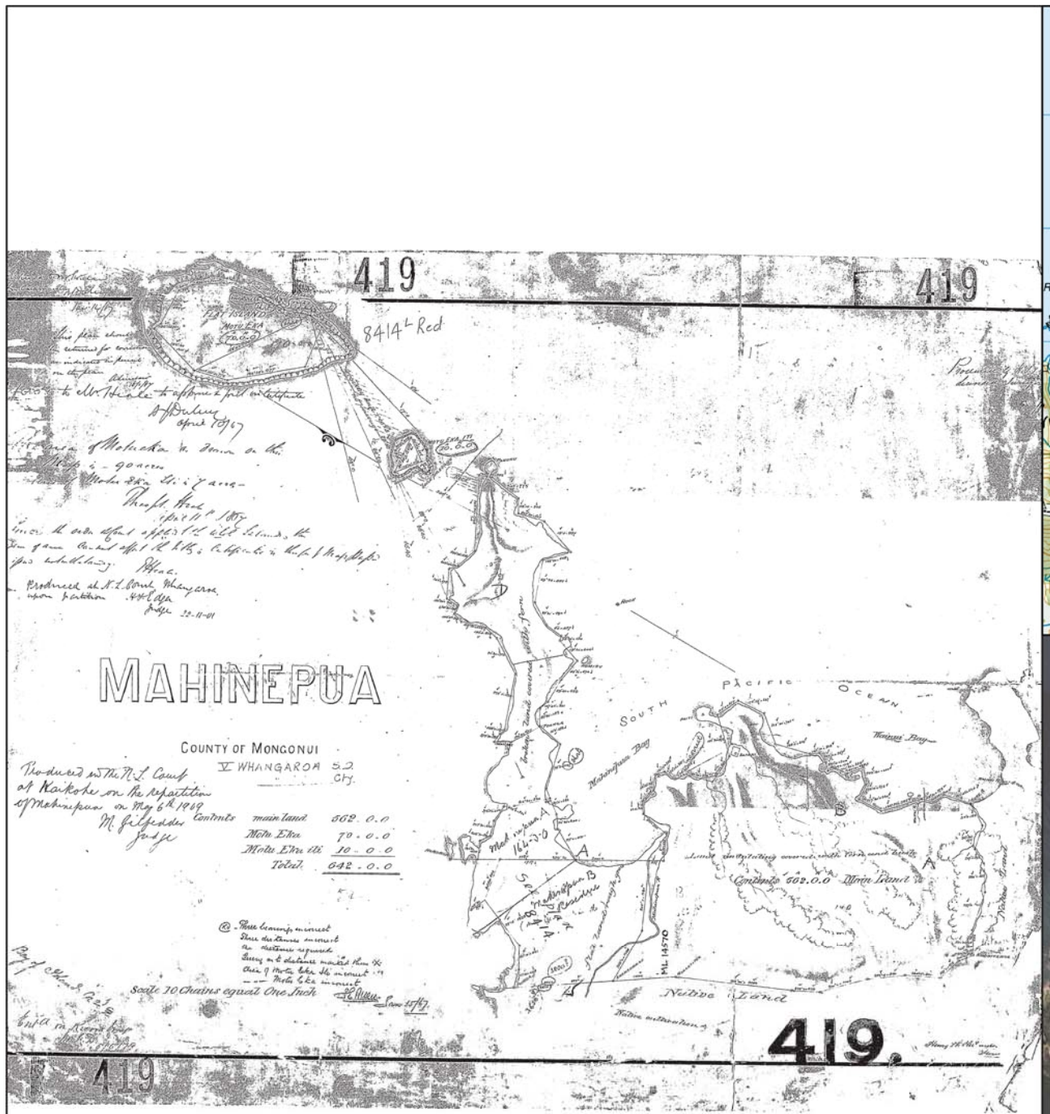
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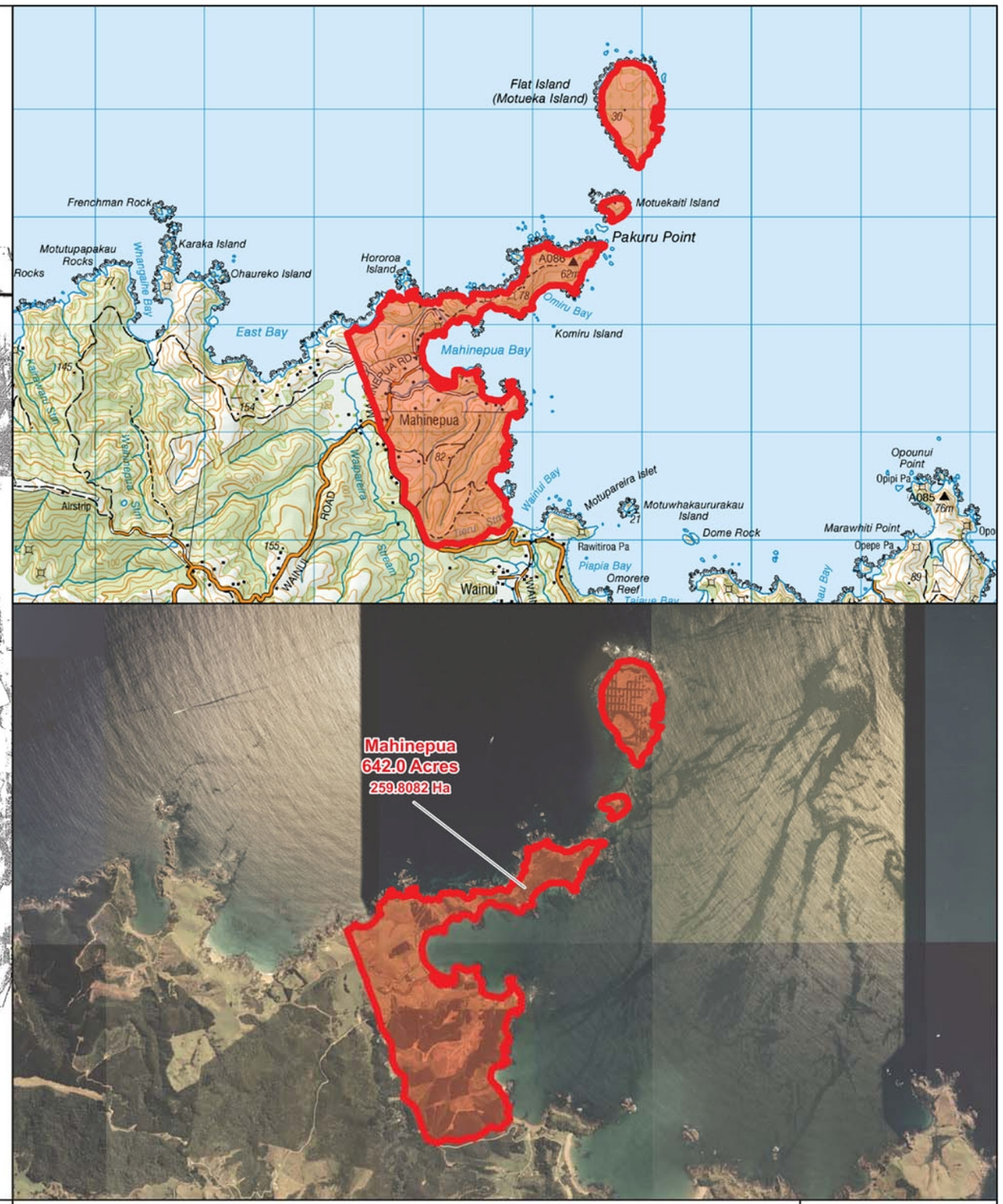
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- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML1580), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Mahinepua, Motueka & Motueka-iti

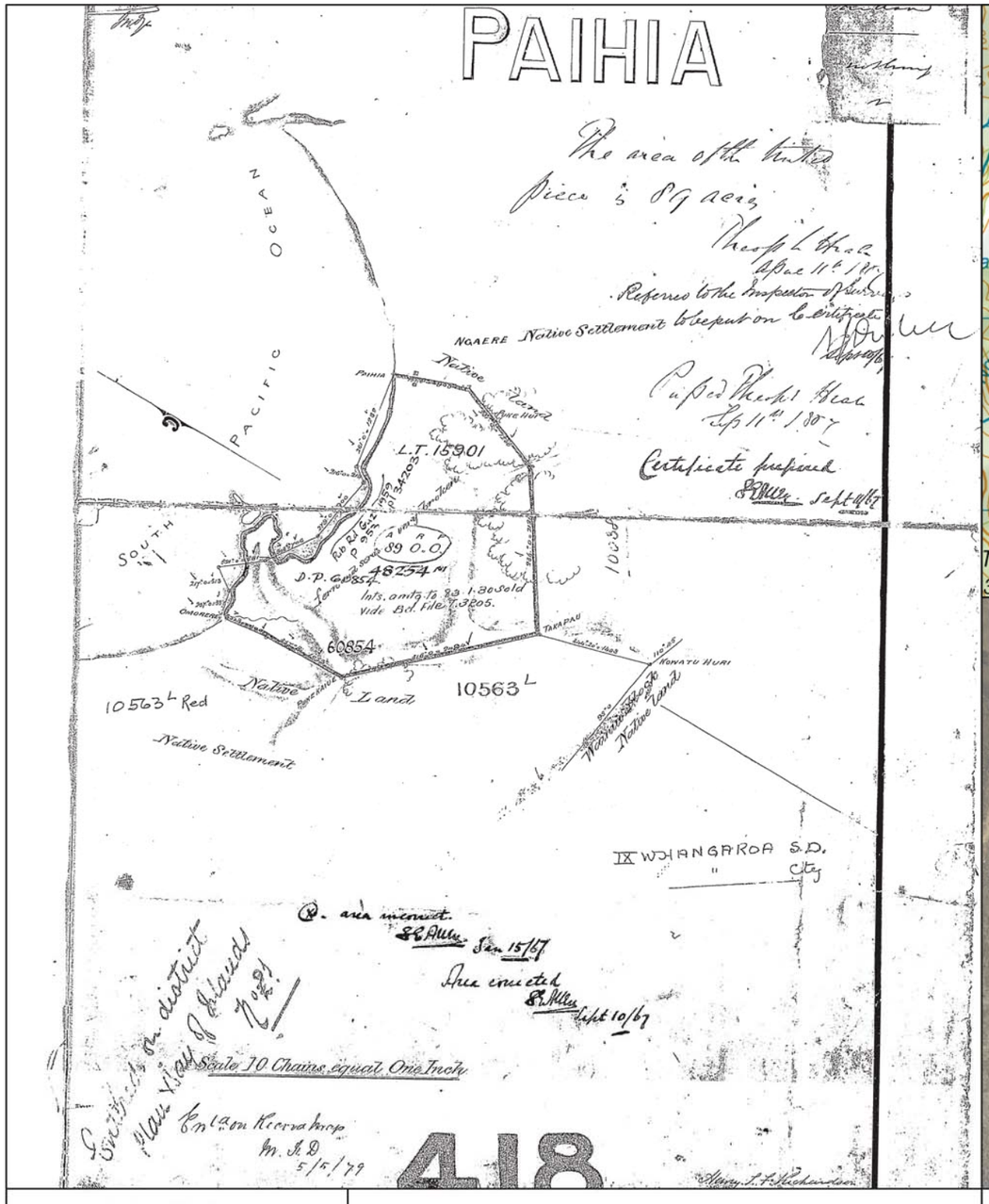
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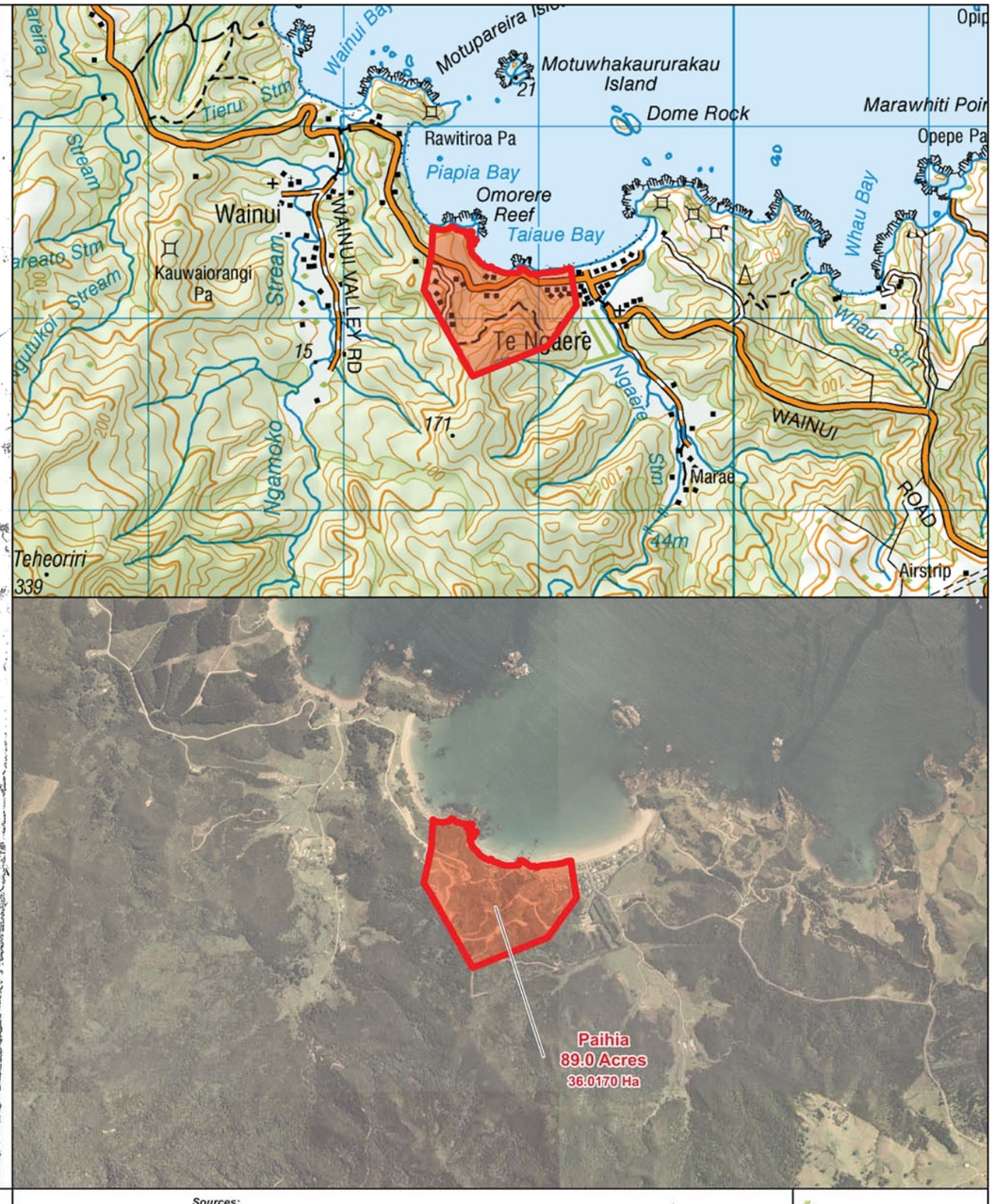
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML419), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Kilometres







Paihia

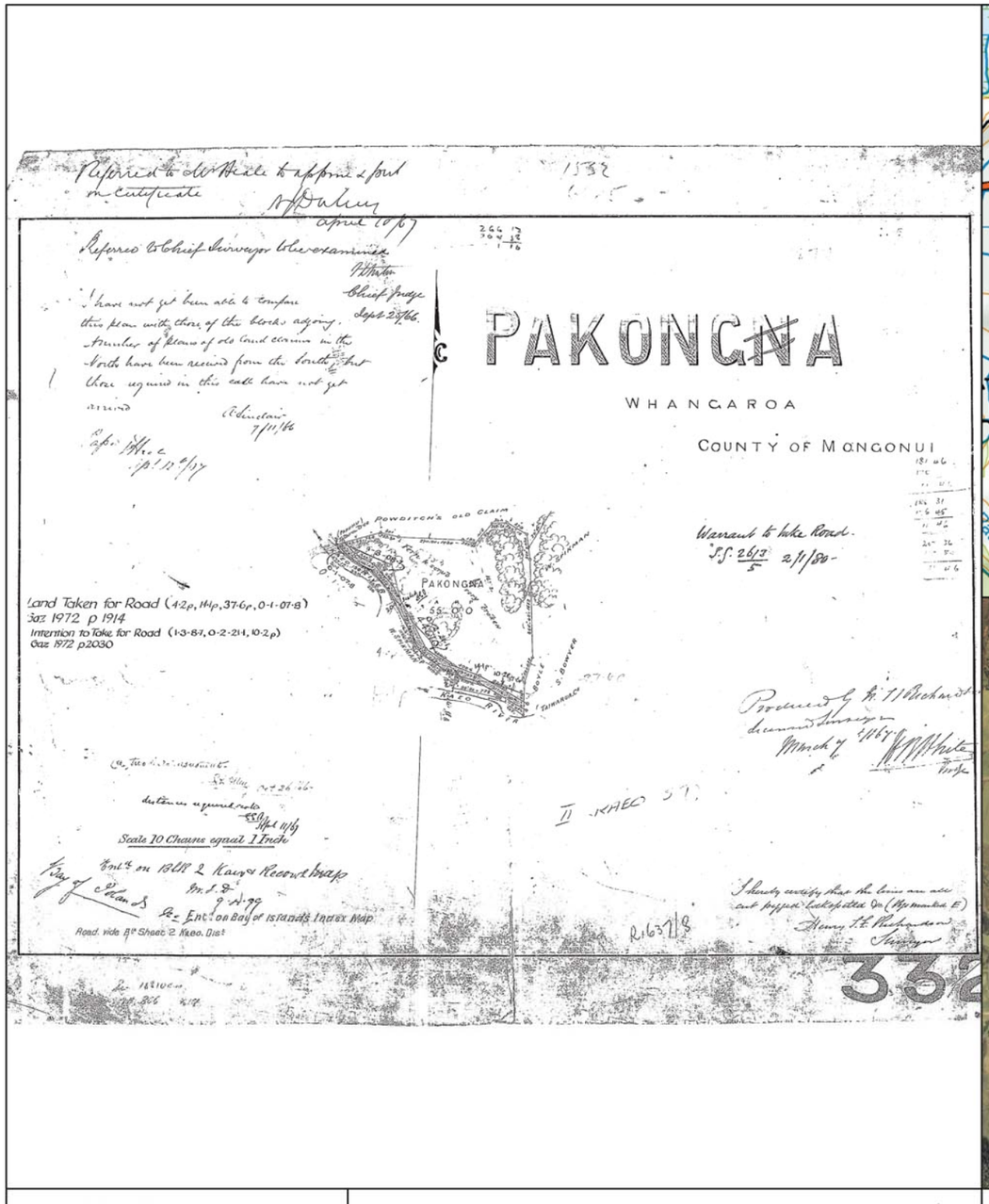
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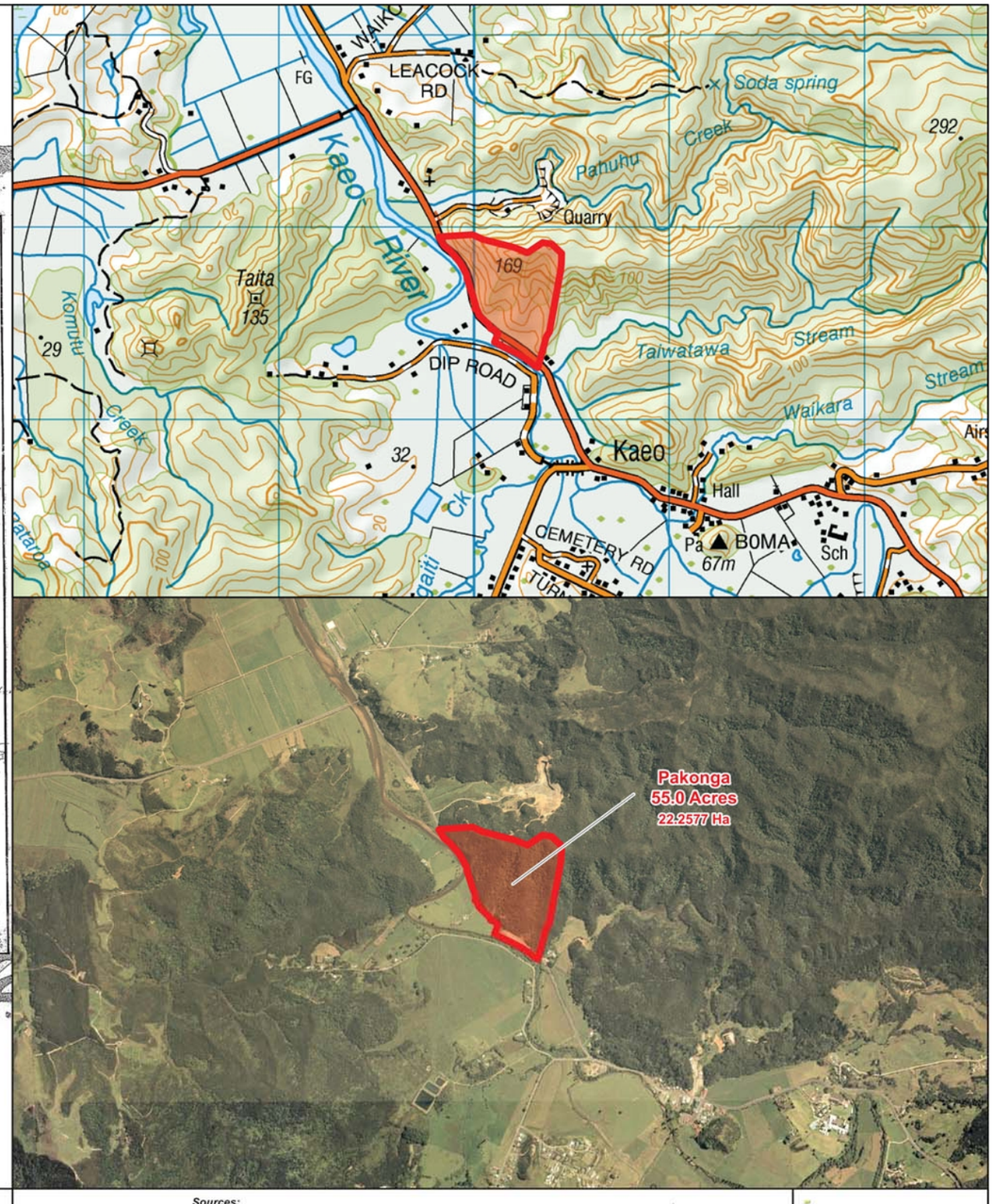
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML418), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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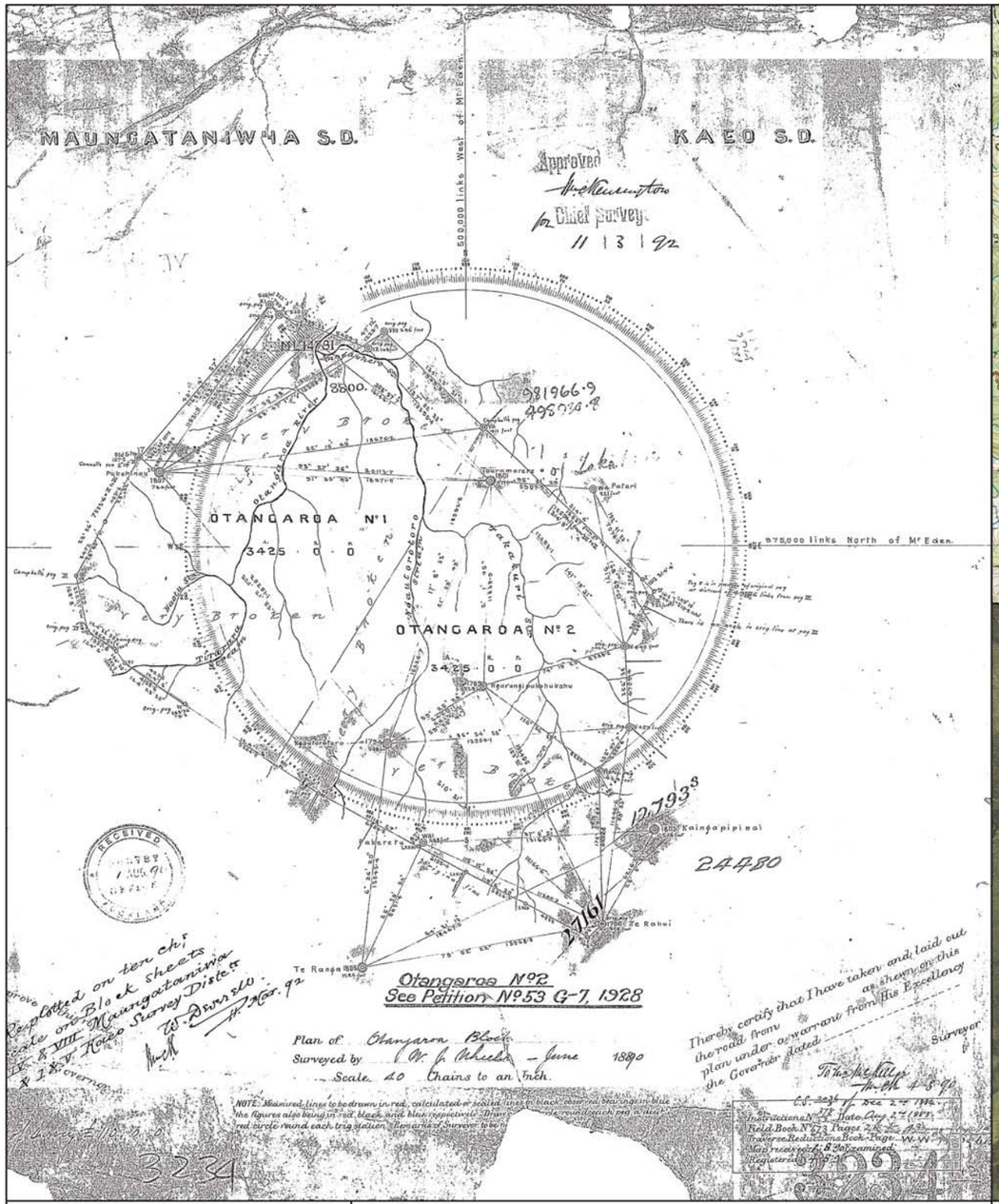


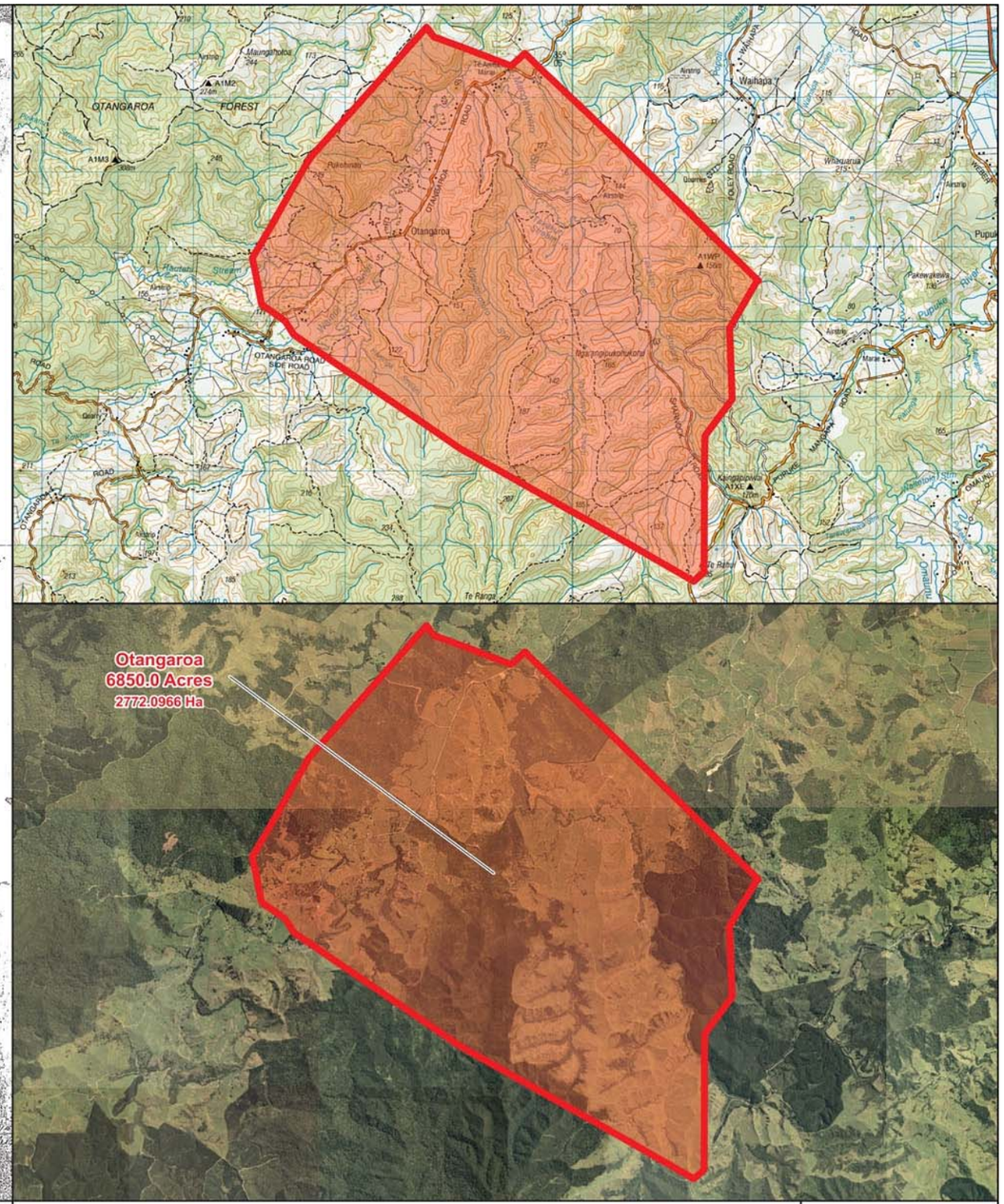


Sources:

- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML332), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Otangaroa

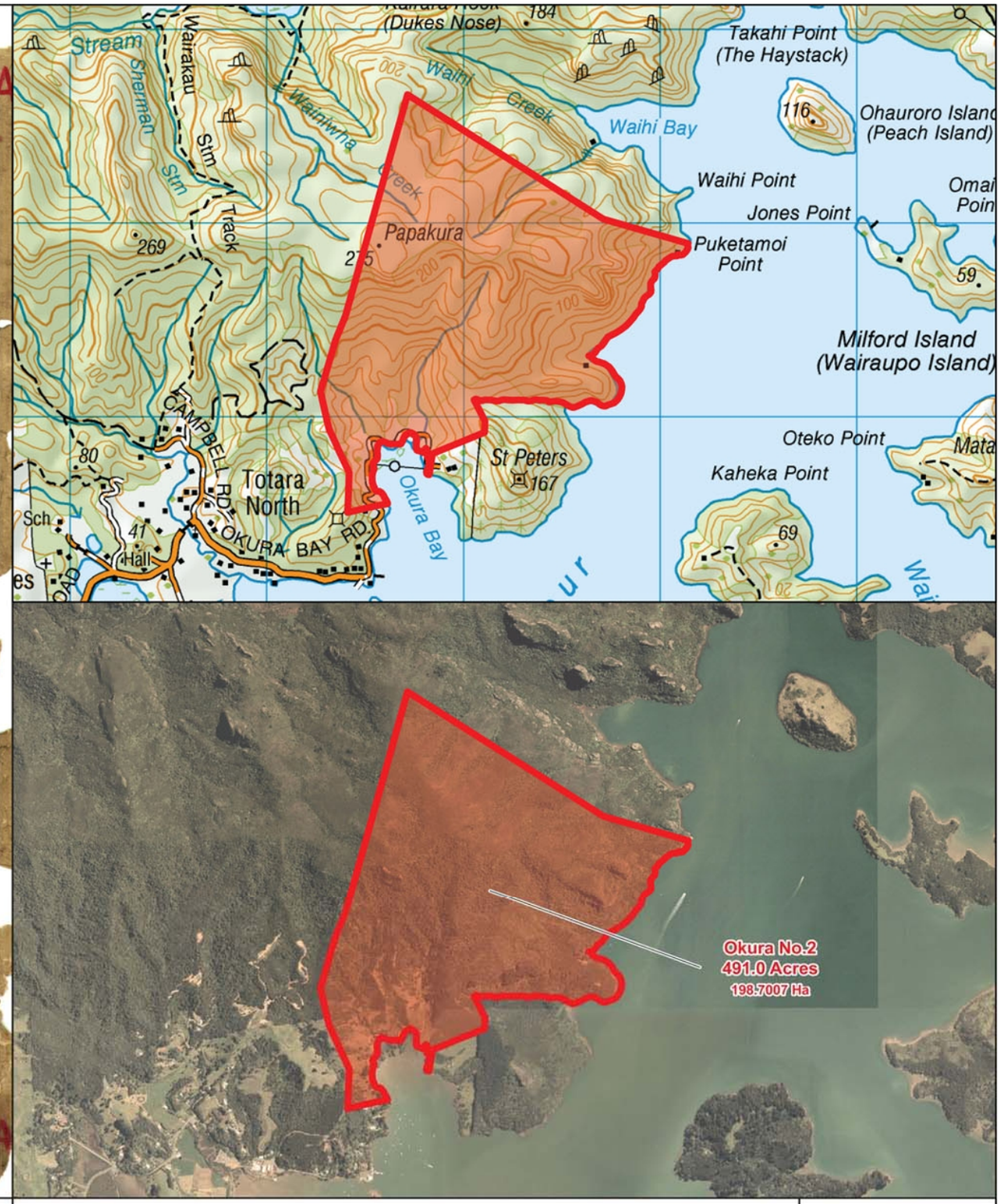
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- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3234), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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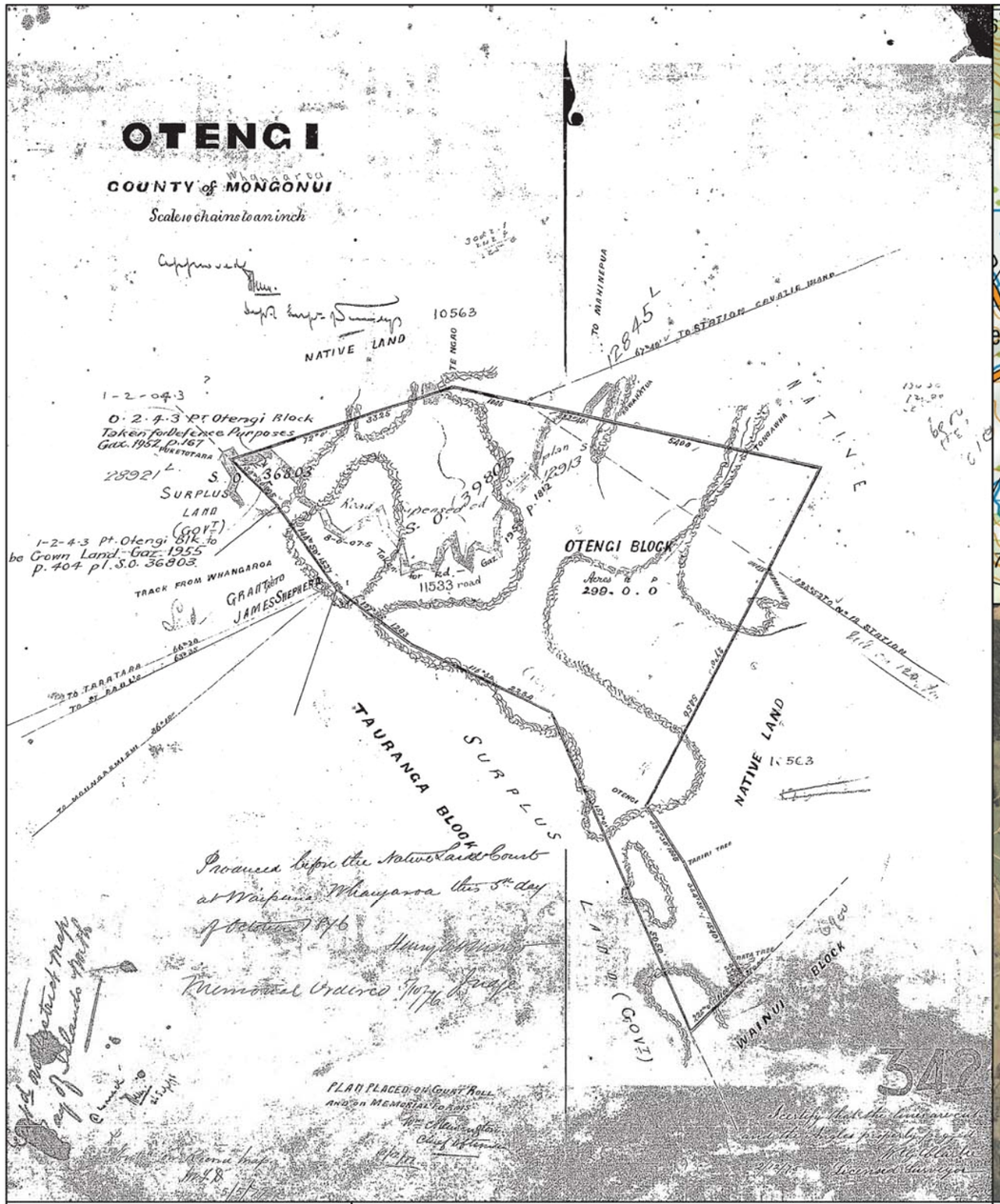
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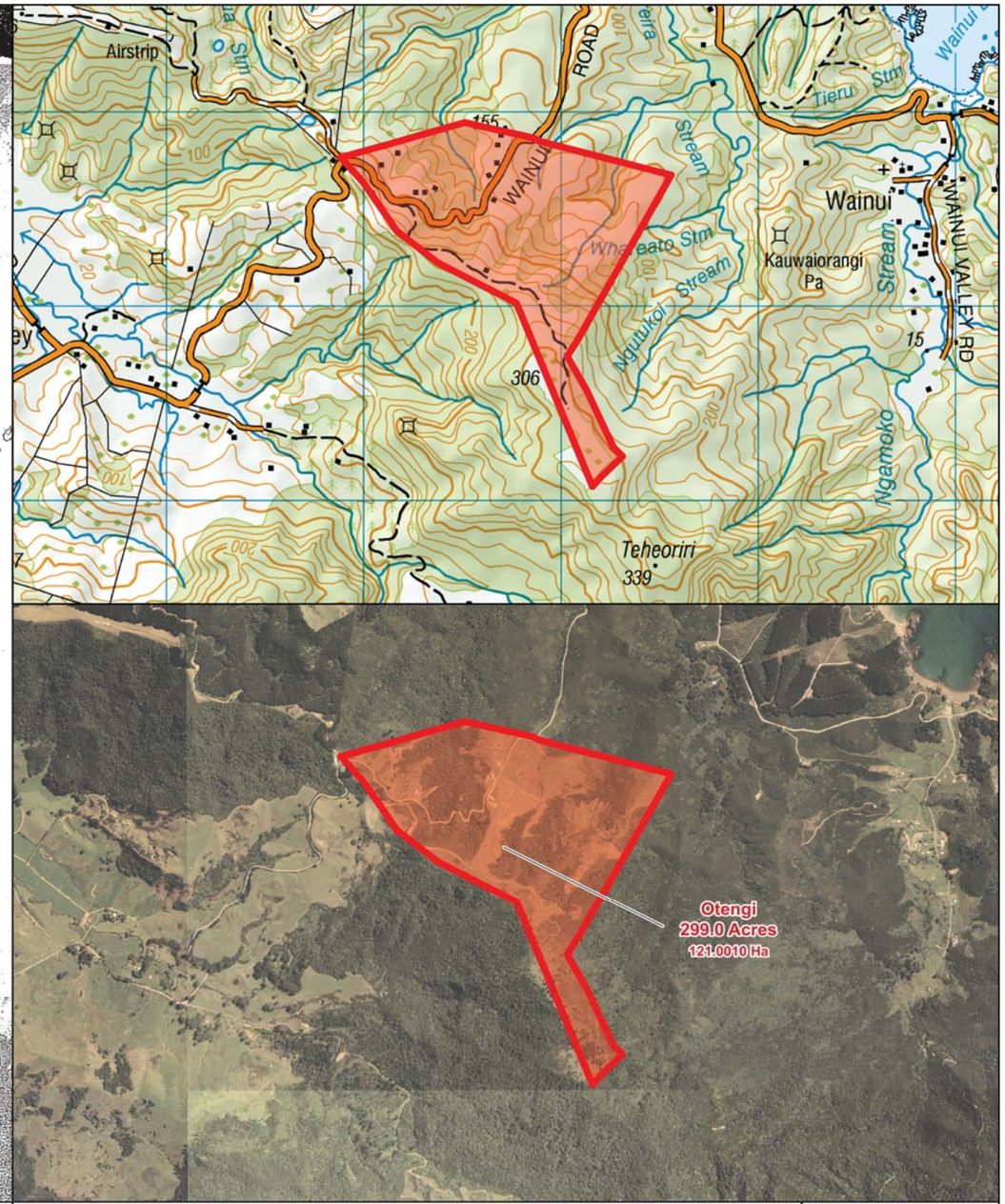
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- CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3467A), 2007.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.

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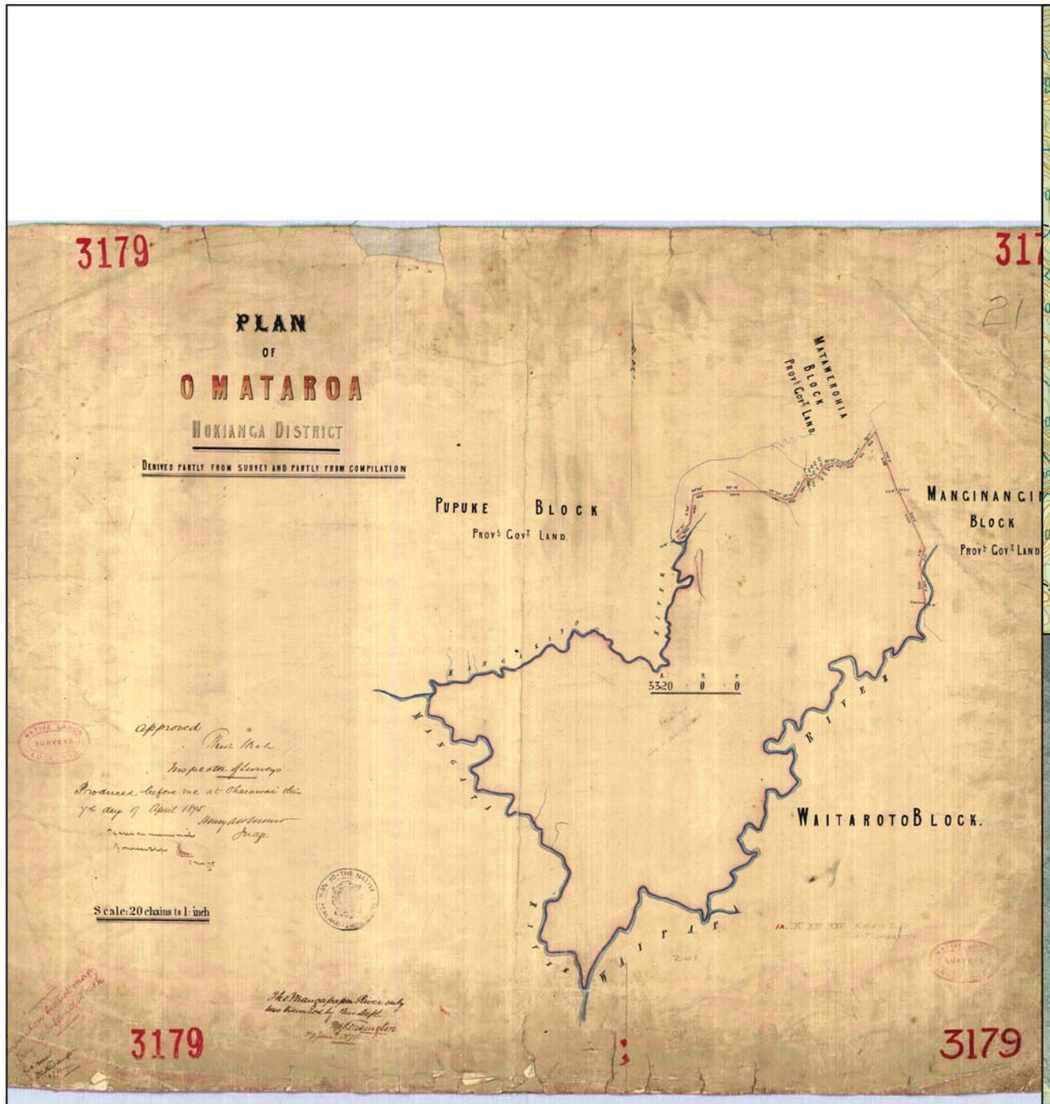
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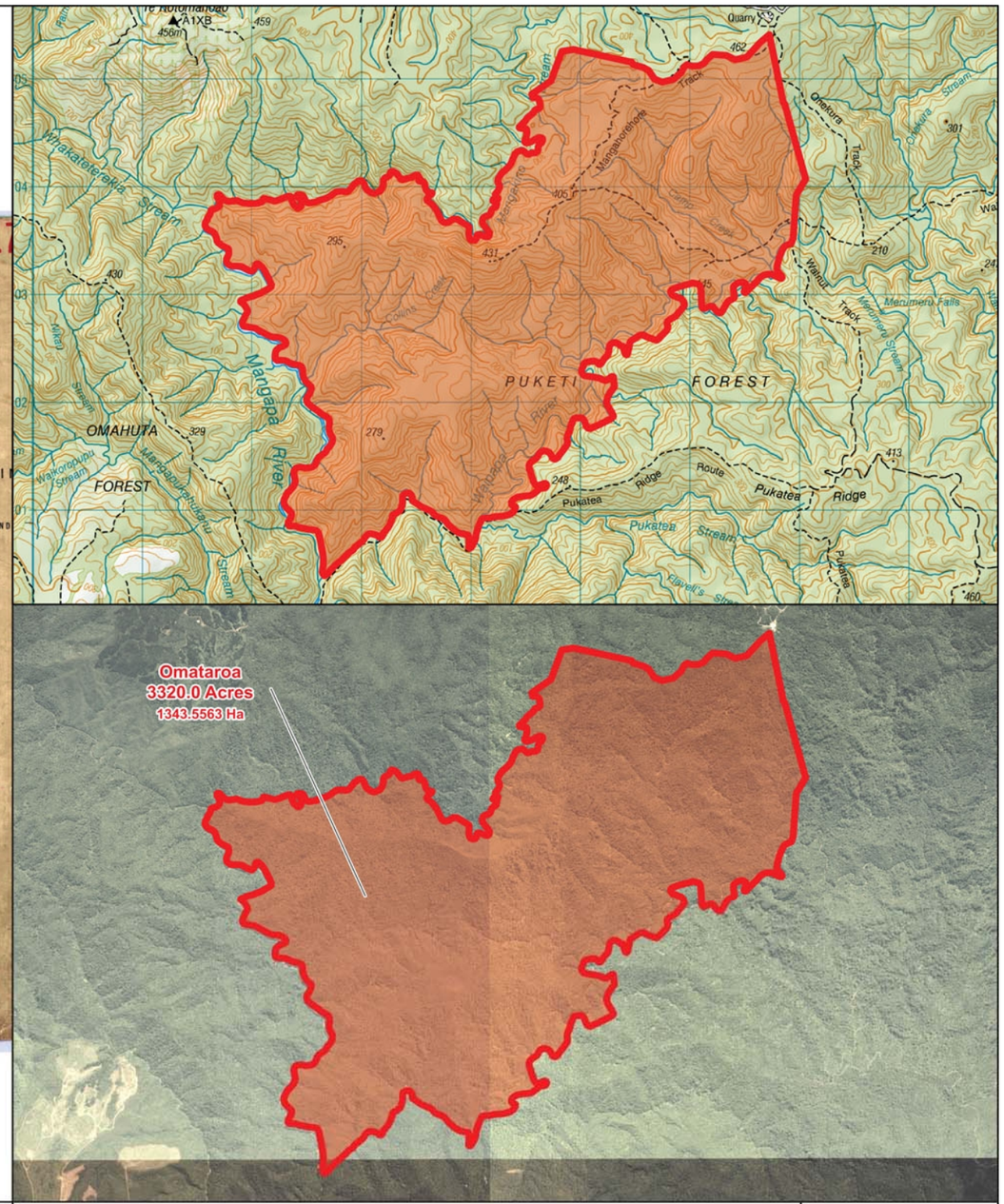
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- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3426), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Mangonui
Kaeo
Kerikeri

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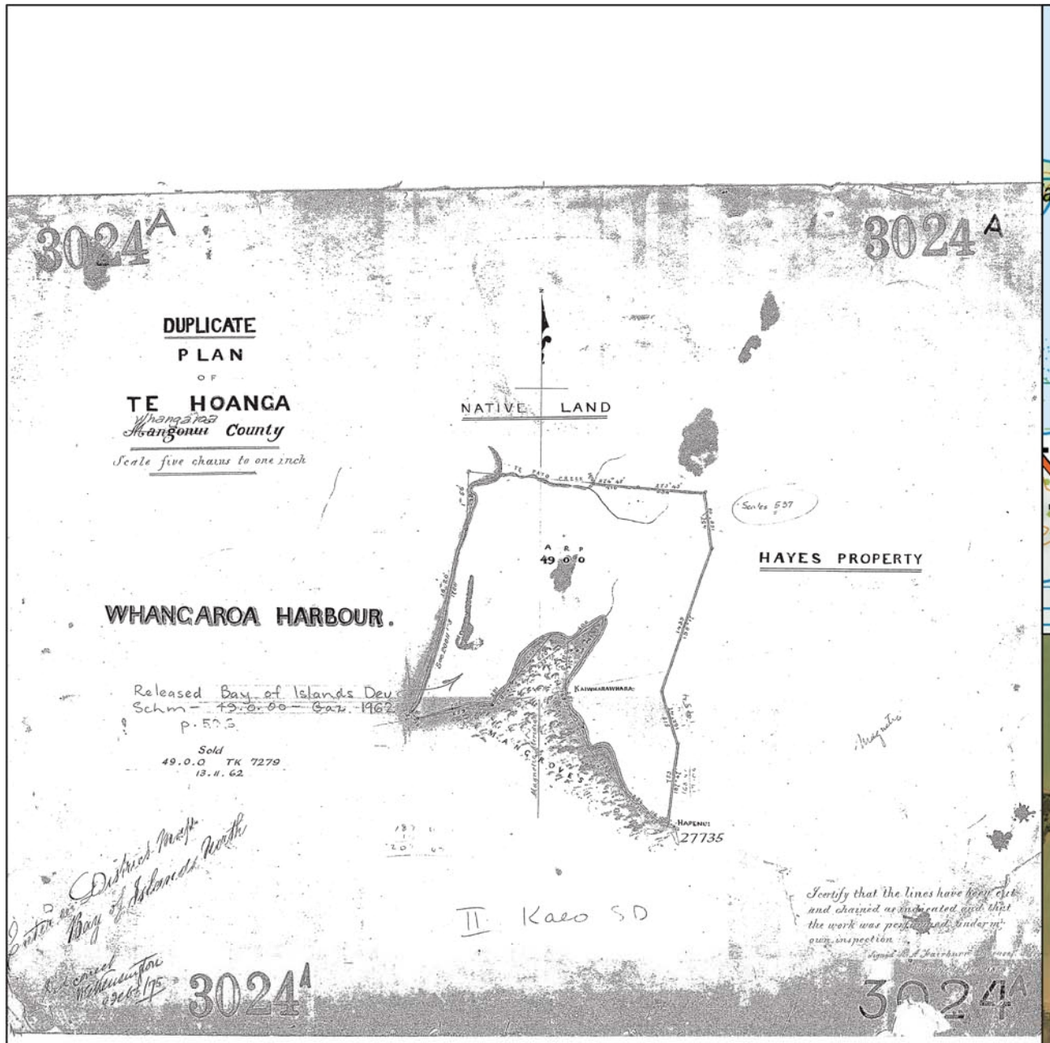
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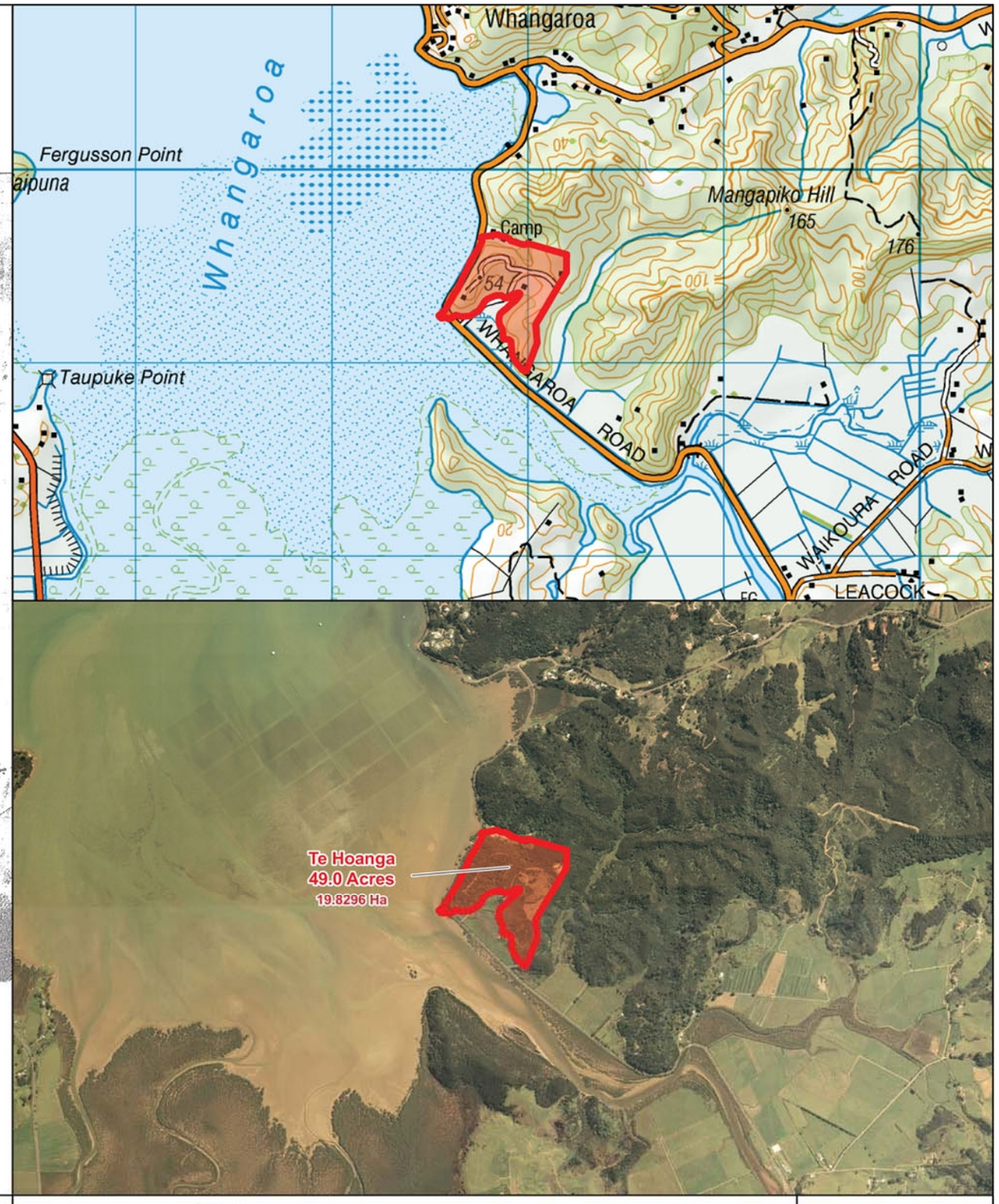
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- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3179), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Kilometres

Mangonui
Kaeo
Kerikeri

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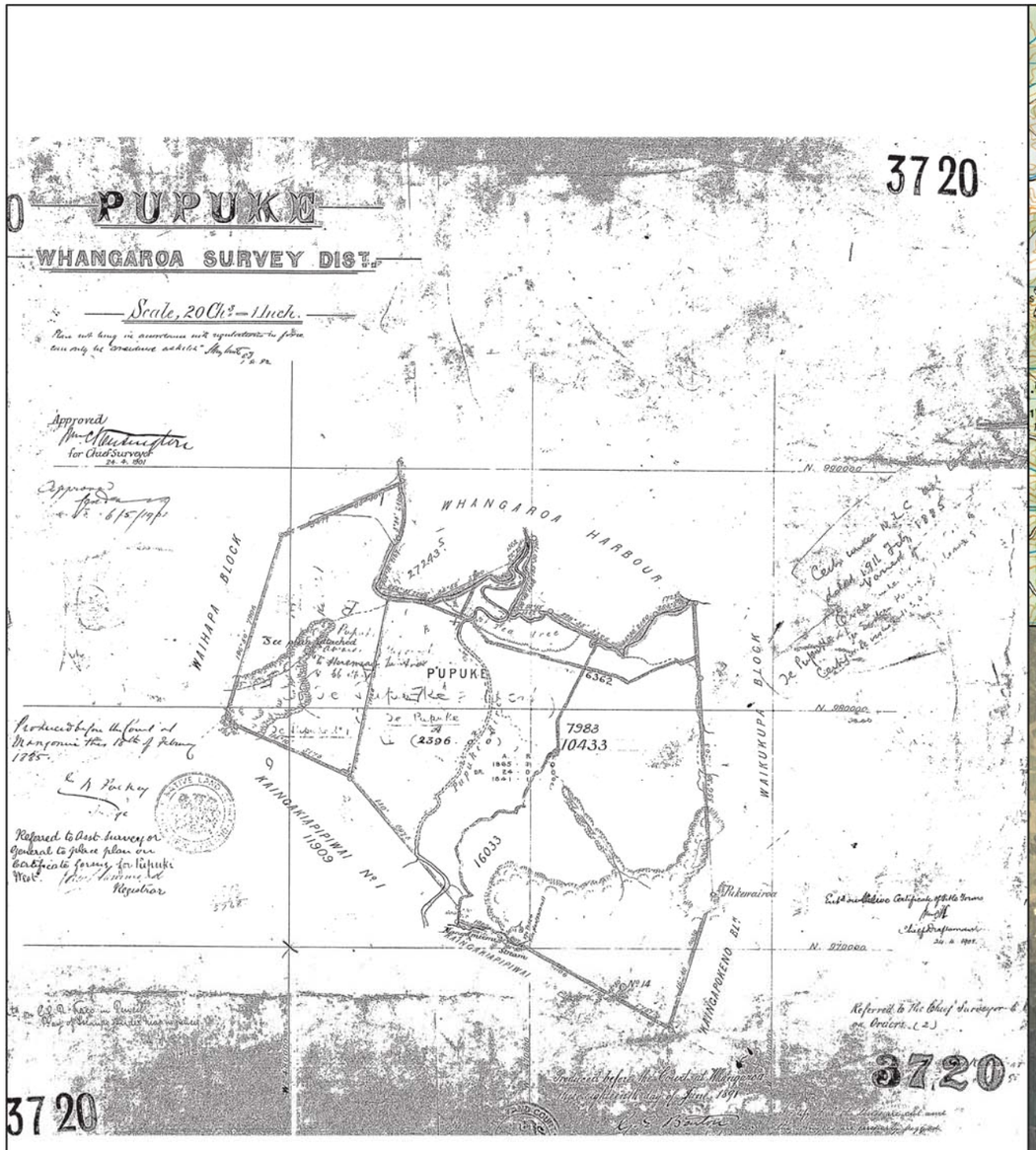
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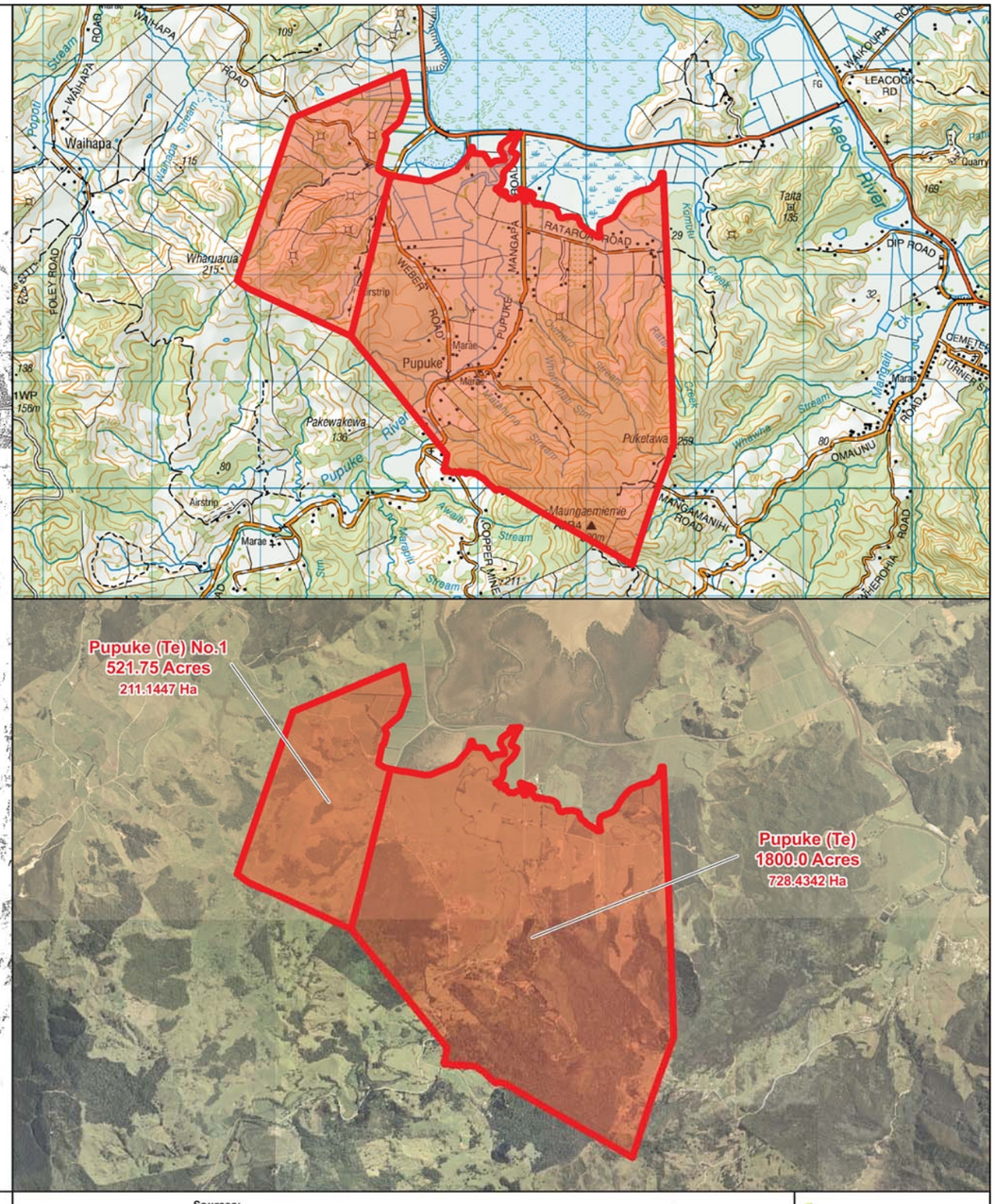
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- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3024A), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Pupuke

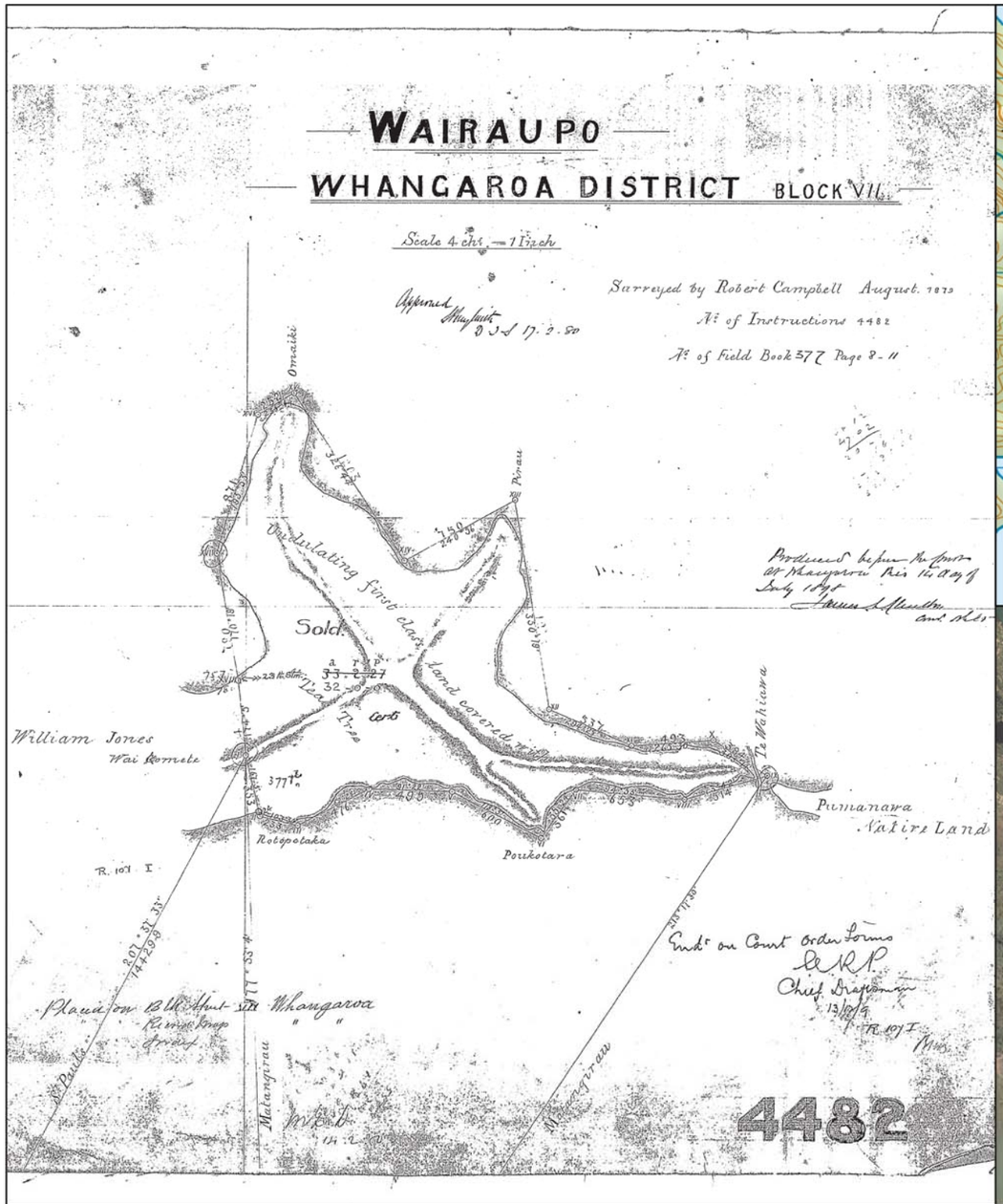
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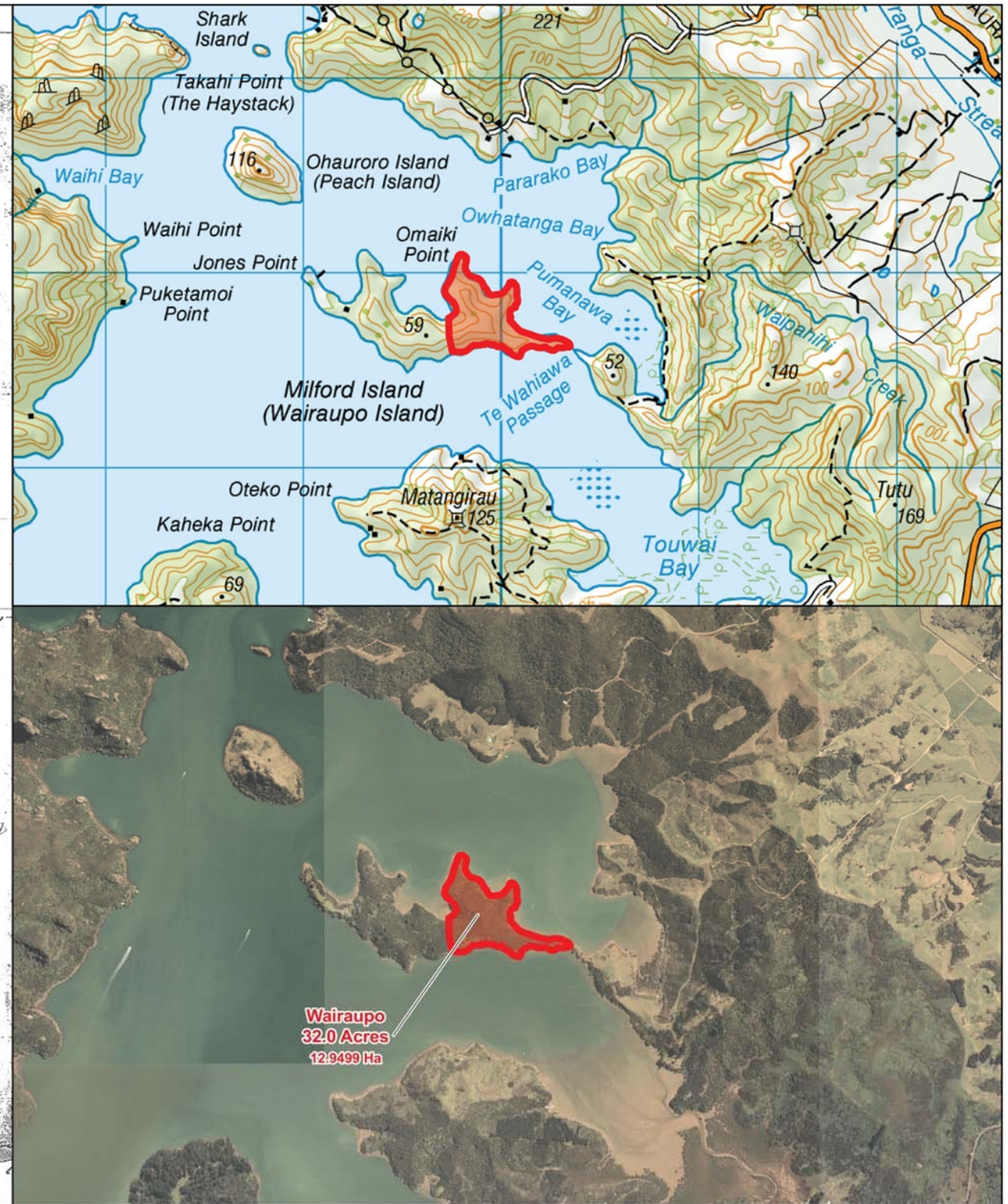
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML3720), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Wairaupo

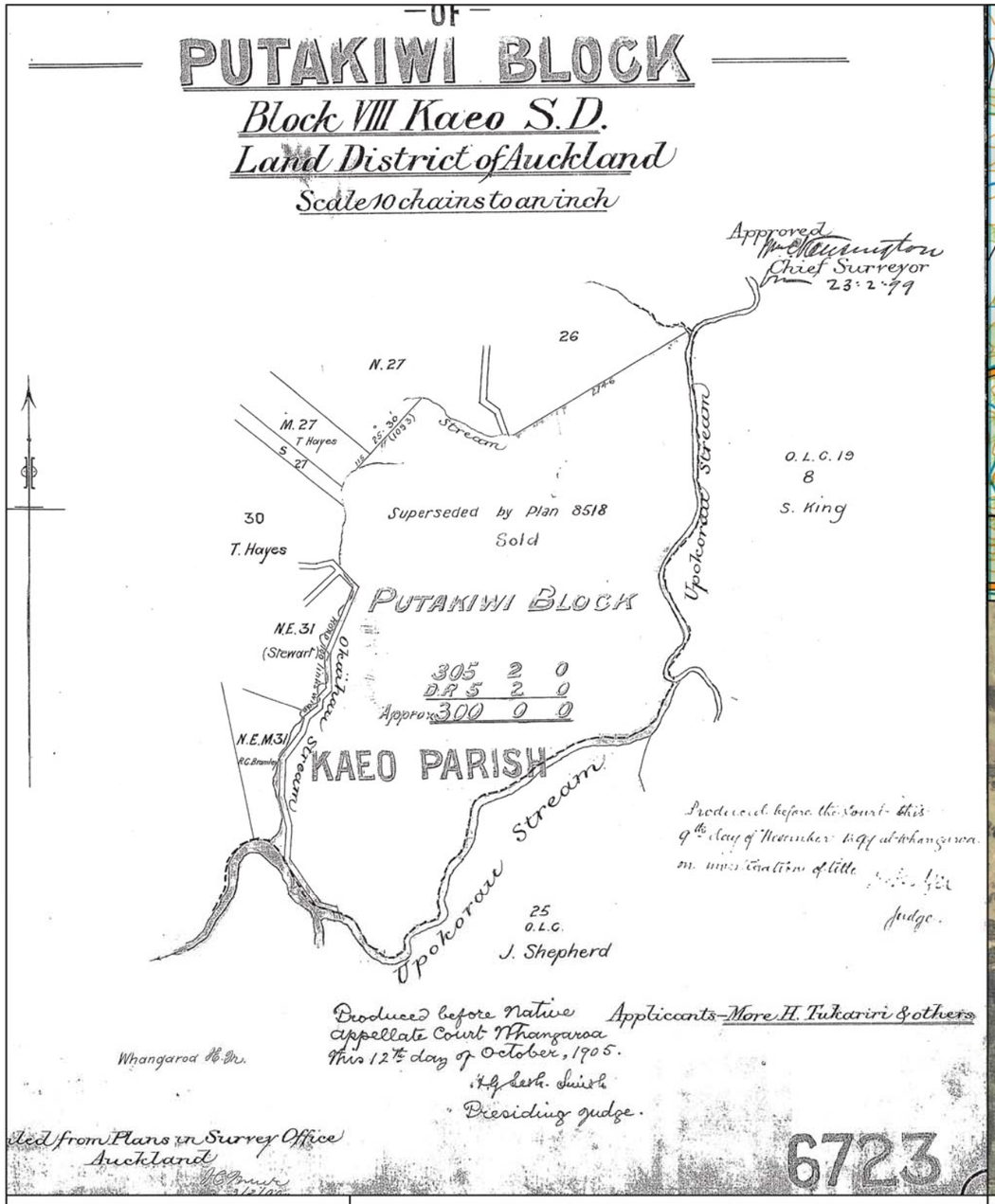
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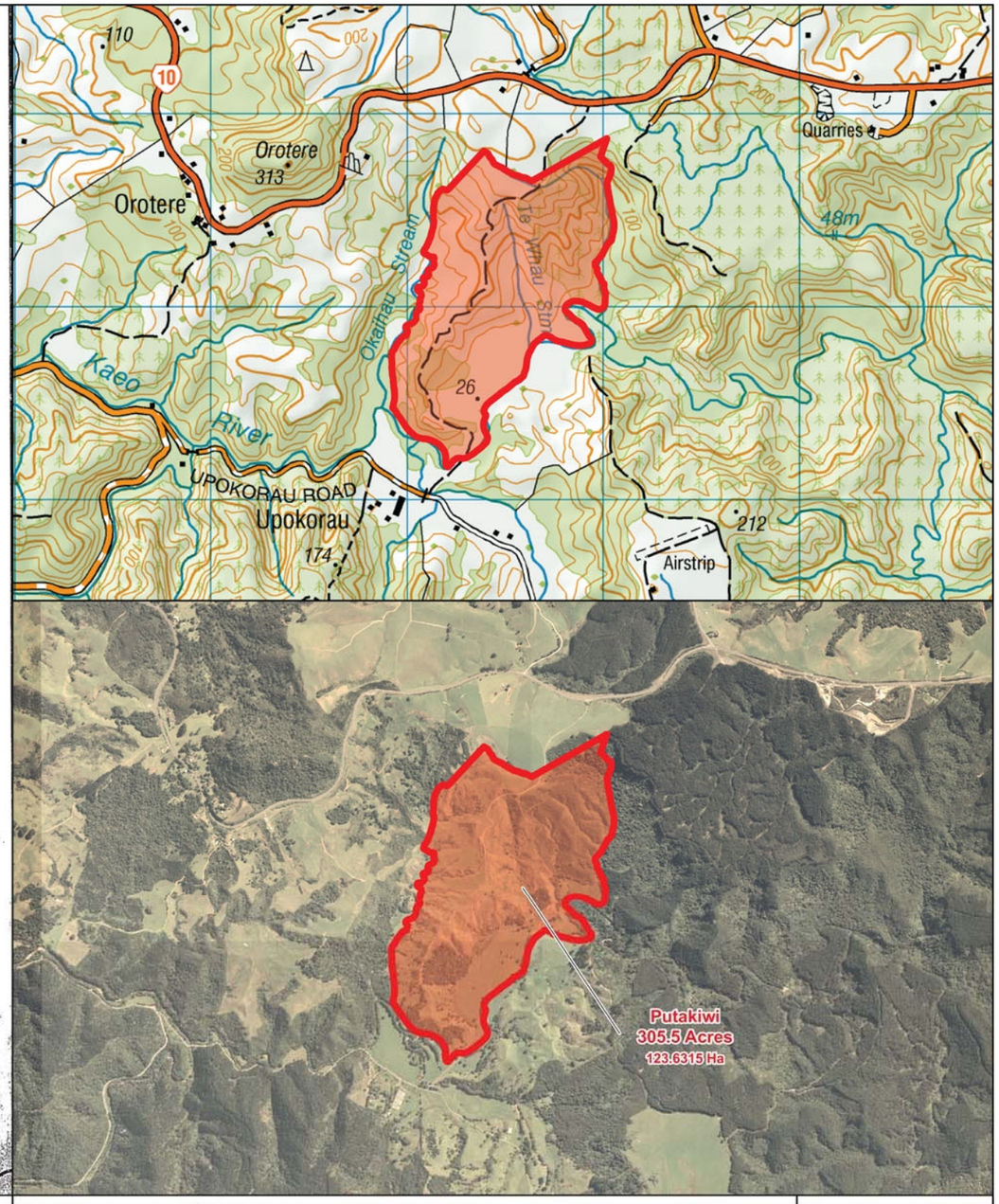
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML4482), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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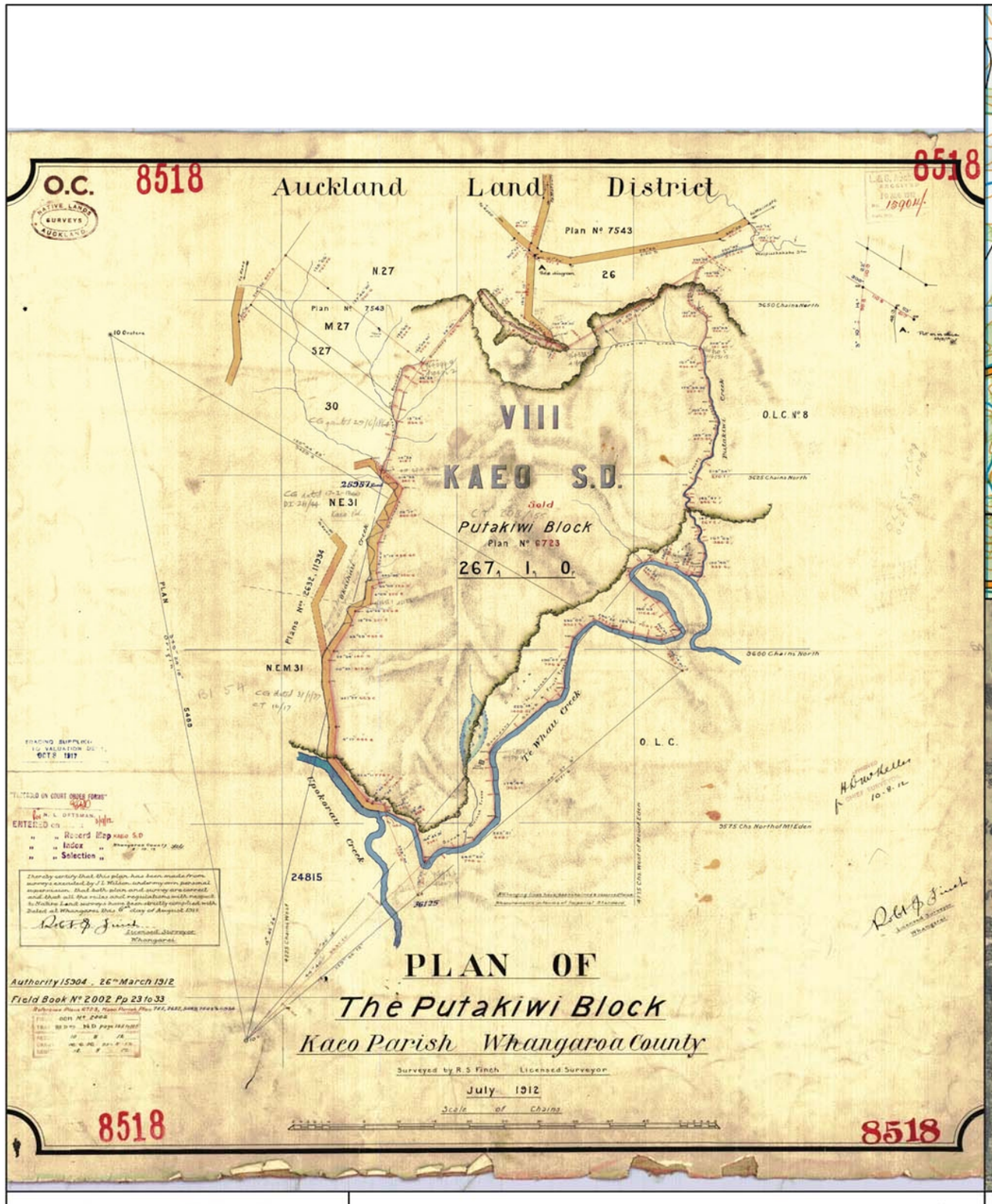
Putakiwi

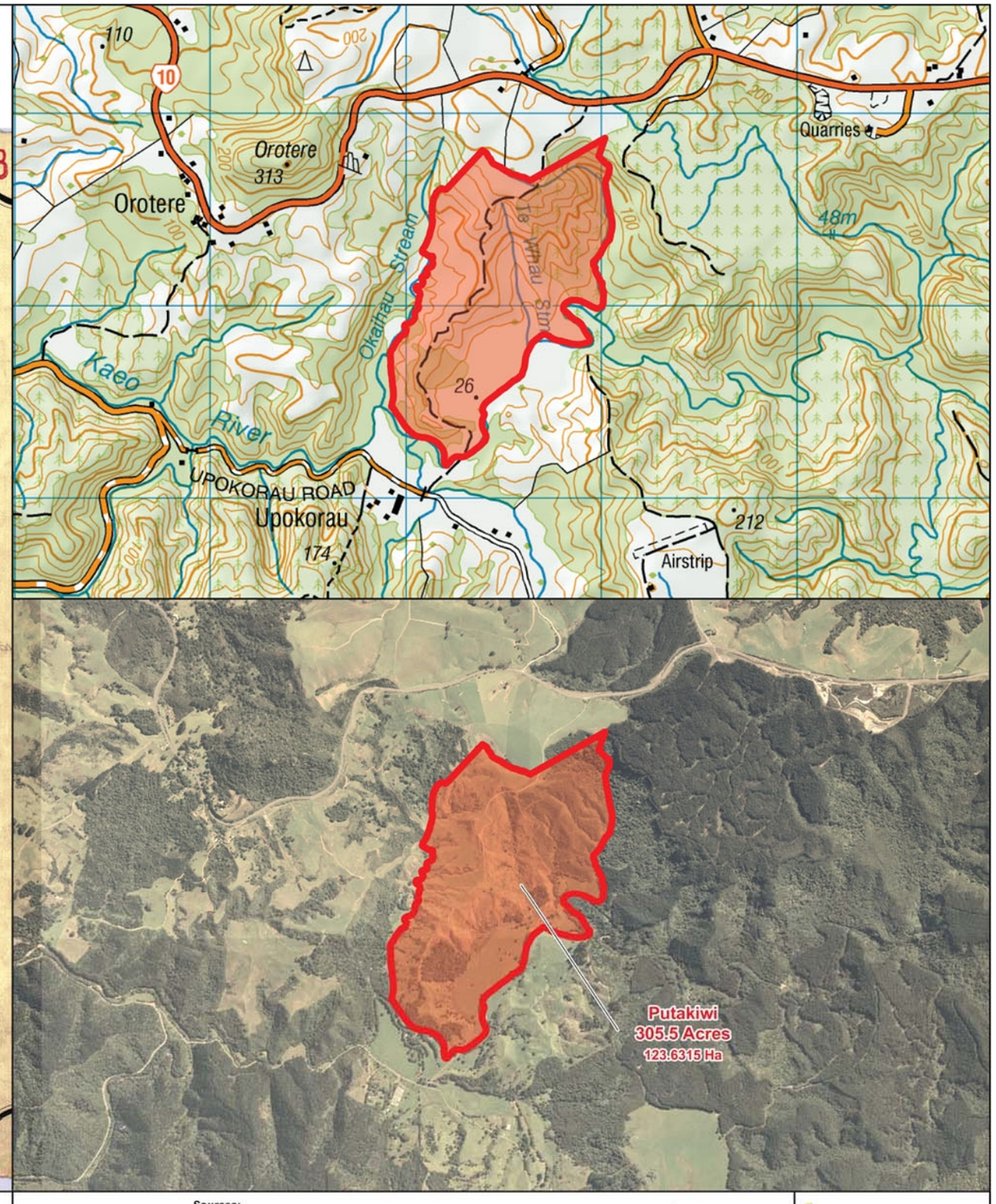
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- CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML6723), 2007.
- Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.

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Putakiwi

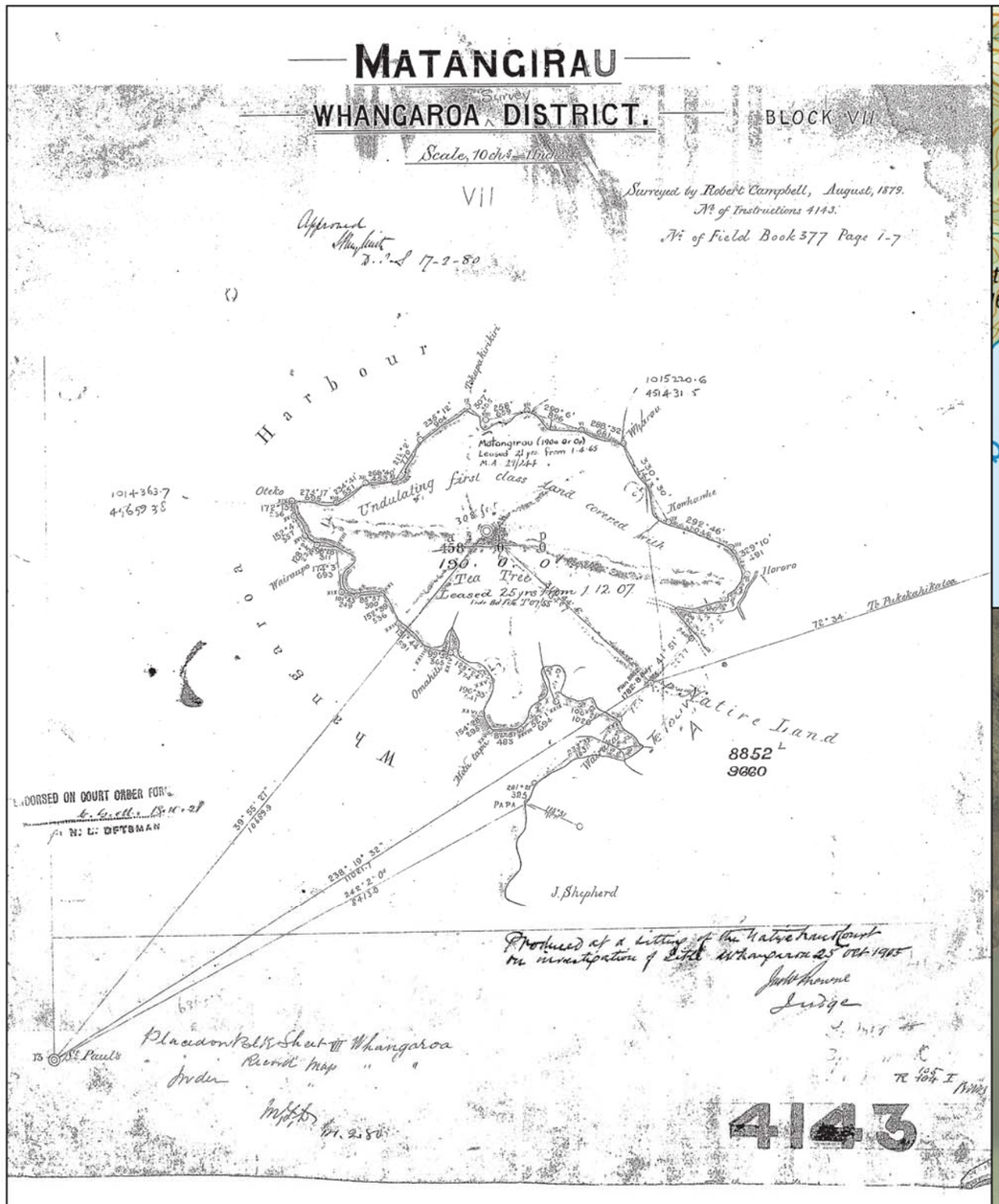
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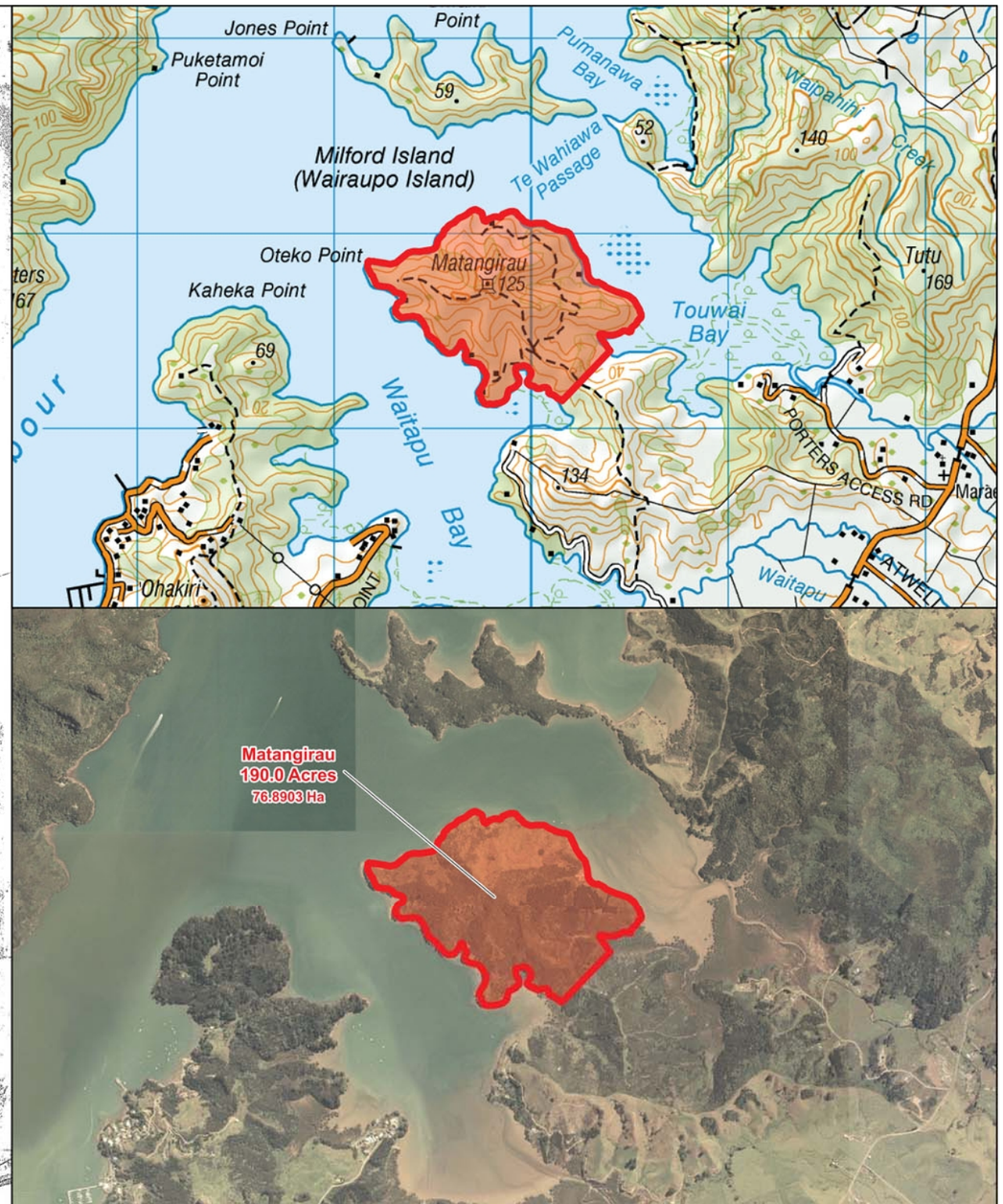
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- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML8518), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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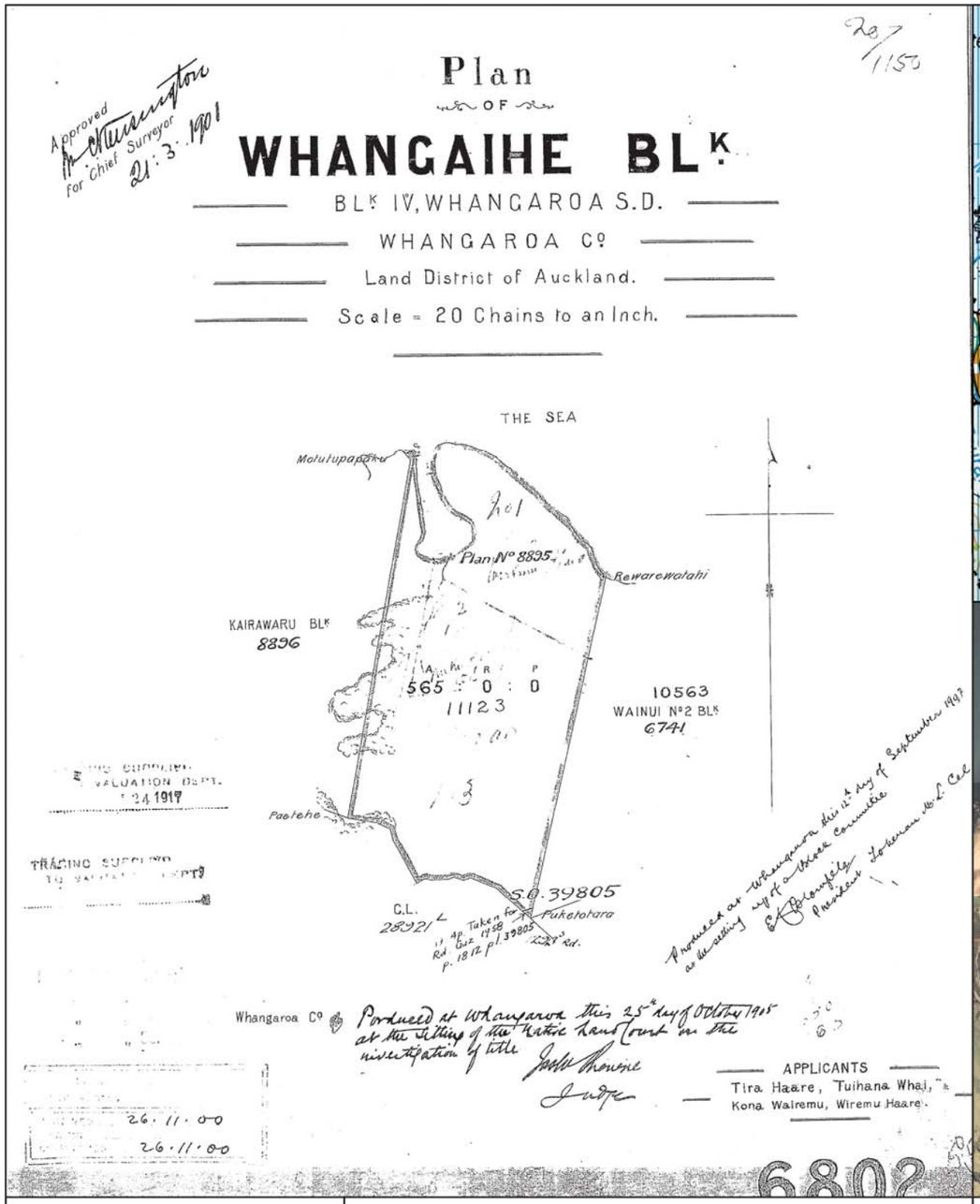
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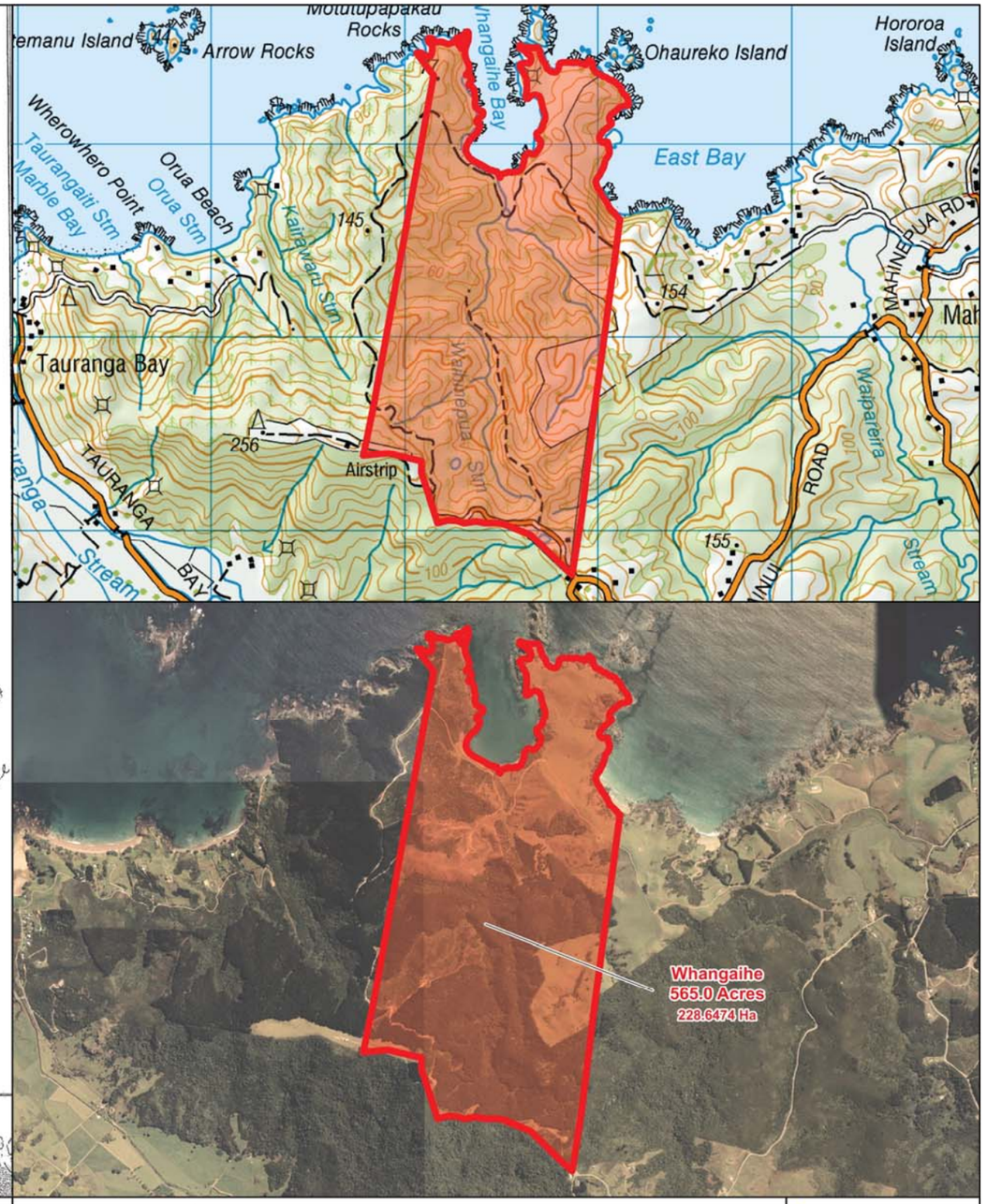
Sources:
- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML4143), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa, Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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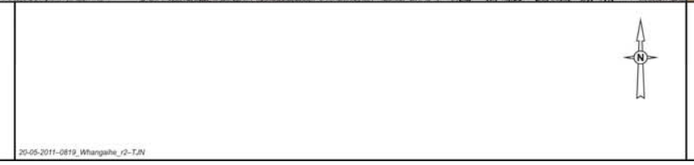


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Whangaihe



20-05-2011-0819_Whangaihe_r2-TJN

Sources:

- *Topo50 map sheets: AV27 - Mangamuka; AV28 - Whangaroa; AU27 - Mangonui; AU28ptAV28 - Taupo Bay; AV29 - Russell; AU29ptAV29 - Panaki Island.*
- *CFRT Arcflax Edition 1.0 Northland, Source ML Plans for Northland (ML6802), 2007.*
- *Te Uira Associates (2011) Oral and Traditional History Report for Te Rohe o Whangaroa. Unpublished report commissioned by Whangaroa Papa Hapu.*

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Appendix C: Summary of Whangaroa Claims

This appendix lists Whangaroa claims, as far as they were known to WPH on 10 December 2010. No differentiation is made between WPH claims and other Whangaroa claims.

WAI No.	Claim Filed By	On Behalf Of	Date Filed	Area of Claim	Issues of Grievance
WAI 58	Terry Smith (now under Hiwi Tauroa)	Nga Iwi o Whangaroa	October 1987	'…encompassed by the Takou river in the south, the Mangonui river in the north following the general area encompassed by the Whangaroa County Council and the Bay of Islands County, together with the traditional fishing grounds...'	General claim for the lands and fisheries of Whangaroa: failure to recognise autonomy and tino rangatiratanga; degradation of coastline and waters; pre-1865 Crown purchases; and Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Amended Statement of Claim (May 1992) includes Otangaroa State Forest Lands
WAI 179	Colin Malcolm Anaru Kira *Amendment to add Anne Davies (daughter of Colin) as co-claimant received Oct 2010*	Whakarara Committee	October 1990	Matangirau	Crown failed to recognise tangata-whenua (Trustees of Matangirau) by issuing a licence to an undertaker to inter Whakaki and exhume the body of Joseph Tahere Malcolm; and Crown failed to recognise Maori autonomy and tikanga as guaranteed by the Treaty.
WAI 230	Dover Samuels	Ngati Kura Hapu, Matauri Bay, Matauri X Incorporation, Ngati Miru, Ngati Rehia, Ngati Ruamahue, Ngai Tupango, Ngati Kaitangata and Ngati Kawau	August 199	"seas, seabeds, islands and foreshore (and off shore islands and fisheries) and hinterland of an area known as Matauri Bay and Putataua Bay"	Crown and its agencies failed to protect iwi mana and control over its seas, seabed, fisheries, foreshore and hinterland; and Crown failed to protect Maori Customary Title over its seas, lands, waters, fisheries, coal and other minerals in the Matauri Bay area.
Wai 234	Hemi-Rua Rapata	Ngati Kura	18 Sep 1991	Motukawanui	Sale and Purchase of Motukawanui by the Crown without consultation

Wai 258	Michael Sheehan Wake Tua Henare Tua Hohepa Poata Witi Ropiha	Kaitangata Ngati Kahu ki Whangaroa	24 July 1989	Matakara B3 Matakara Pt. B3 (defence purposes) Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve Te Anina Point	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown, their agents or their successors.
WAI 295	Tarewa Rota Lucy Te Awa Pokai Tahere Basil Flavell Guy Kaio Karena Malcolm Hone Tahere Simon Snowden	The beneficiaries to the Maungahoutoa Trust.	5 April 1994	Mangahoutoa, Kohumaru & Other Lands	Prejudicially affected by the action of the Crown in deciding to sell the Kohumaru Station, presently owned by Landcorp to the private sector.
Wai 375	Anaru Kira	Whakarara Maori Committee	18 July 1993	Te Rohe o Whakarara	Crown took possession of Whakarara under 'surplus lands' & sold to private owners the Sacred mountain and surrounding lands in 1933
Wai 523	Anaru Kira	Himself, the Whakarara Maori Committee and ngā whānau and hapū of Whakarara	12 Feb 1996	Kapiro block, presently managed by Landcorp Farms which was formerly listed by the Crown as 'surplus lands'	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown, their agents or their successors.
Wai 573	Mere Apiata Kevin Samuels	Ngati Kura	25 January 1996	Lands currently 'owned' by Matauri X Inc.	Proprietors (Matauri X) have been permitted under Maori Affairs Act 1953 & Te Ture Whenua Act 1993 to manage the lands in a way that has subverted the principals, detrimentally affected the taonga and prejudicially alienated the descendants from their ancestral land

WAI 919	Heremoananuiakiwa Kingi, Poihakena Kira, Iwa Alker, Leo Bowman, Ivy Williams, Marie Williams and Tangihaere Kingi	Ngaitupango	January 2001	Whakarara, Te Ngaere, Wainui, Mahinepua, Whangaiehe, Motueka Nui, Motueka Iti, Motukawa Nui, Panaki and 200 nautical miles North East of Whangaiehe to North-South of Lion Rock.	Degradation of coastline & waters; failure of the Crown to recognise autonomy and tino Rangatiratanga; Crown purchases showing a variance between tuku whenua and transactions
Wai 1145	Maurice Watene	Tuaiwa Pere Netana Epiha & descendants all of her descendants	9 Sep 2003	Motukawanui Motukawaiti Riwhi Island Mangonui through to Takou Bay	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown, their agents or their successors
Wai 1253	Dover Samuels	Himself, his whanau & Ngati Kura	31 March 2005	Lands 'owned' by Matauri X	Crown Acts allowing Matauri X to enter into commercial agreements without consent of shareholders & beneficiaries
WAI 1312	K. Pourewa T. Hori	Ngati Kawau	November 2005	Te Rohe Potae o Whakaki	- breach of Treaty obligations including (a) Crown purchases, (b) Private purchases after 1840; (c) Confiscation under 1863 Settlements Act, (d) Aleination and (e) Tohunga Suppression Act
WAI 1333	Erimana Taniora	Ngati Uru, Te Whanau Pani	16 Feb 2006	Mokau 2, Taraire 1, Tuturumatakoutou (smedleys) Upoko-rau (OLC), Kaitaia (OLC), Tauaki (Cave-burial site), Oro-tere, Moasri (Burial site), Pa-ariki, Pohue (Pa-site), Puketi, Inumia, Waiare, Maunga Wetere (Gifted), Te Hora, Matawherohia (Crown Purchase), Omaunu (C/P), Kaingapipiwai (C/P), Taka-kuri (OTS), Tangi-iti, Te Ranga, O-Mahuta, Omakiwi, Ohoutai (C/P), Otangaroa (Easeen Side)	- various legislative measures and Crown acts, omissions, policies and practices that have prejudicially affected affected the claimants

Wai 1380	Rangitinia Rakena Thelma J. Rakena Rosalie J. Sowter Lester Radich	Rakena Whakaari Trust	24 July 2006	Waihapa, Waikukupa, Wainui (C/P), Tauaki (burial site), Whakaari Te Huia (pa site), Takou, Te Touwai, Te Huia Road (Public Works Act), OLC King, in addition all waterways, rivers, Whangaroa Harbour, foreshore and sea bed at Te Touwai	Purchases pre-1840 being investigated and wrongfully validated by the Crown; Private purchases after 1840 thru' waiver of Crowns pre-emptive right, foreshore & seabed policy & legislation; alienation of land post-1865 including individualisation of title
Wai 1384	Elvis Reti Henry Murphy Merepeka Henl	Themselves & the tangata whenua of Whangaruru	16 Feb 2007	Oakura, Ngaiotaonga, Whangaroa-Ngaiotonga, Parematamokau, Kirikiri Pawhaoa, Whangaruru-Whakaturia, Opuawhanga land blocks	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions etc., etc.
Wai 1400	Hone (Paddy) Paki	Ngati Miro Ngati Kura Whakarara Tribal Committee	3 May 2007	Whangaroa rohe as associated with the marae at Takou, Matauri Bay, Te Ngaire, Wainui, Mahingapua & Matangirau	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown, their agents or their successors particularly environment destruction and resource management,
Wai 1487	Florence Bishop Don Bishop	Themselves, their whanau and Ngaitupango, Ngati Ruamahoe, Ngati Kura & Ngati Kahu ki Whangaroa hapu	16 July 2008	All lands associated with the named hapu	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown, their agents or their successors, particularly Recreational Reserves management, lack of allotments to Maori Returned Servicemen, Raings Laws, & Water Quality
Wai 1524	Louisa Collier Hineamaru Lyndon	Louisa Collier Hineamaru Lyndon Pomare Kingi	14 Aug 2008	Mangakahia	Tohunga Suppression Act

Wai 1533	Otaiuru (Queenie) Lawrence	Descendants of Hoori Rarani (also known as George Gerald Lawrence) & Hiria Peneha Maru, and Te Orewai Hapu	1 Sep 2008	'the claim area in this instance concerns the Pipiwai and Kaingapipiwai blocks	Crown Acts that allowed amalgamation, management by Trustees, alienation of blocks
Wai 1536	Maryanne Baker	Maryanne Baker & the desc. Of Te Kemara uri o Maikuku raua ko Hua	31 Aug 2008	Pouerua titiro ki Taiamai ki te Marangai ki Pakaraka ki Oramahoe ki Puketona ki Te Puke ki Tapeka ki Moturoa ki Okahu titiro ki Te Rakaumangamanga ki Rawhiti ki Te Tii Waitangi	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices etc., etc
Wai 1540	Naomi Epiha	Naomi Epiha & nga hapu o Ngapuhi	12 Aug 2008	Wherever Ngapuhi exercised tino rangatiratanga – Tamaki, Mahurangi, Taranaki, Waikato & Tai Tokerau	Wrongful confiscations of land arising from hostilities between colonial forces & British subjects & indigenous peoples
Wai 1582	Eru Lyndon	Economic discrimination Claim on behalf of Ngapuhi-nui-tonu.	18 August 2008	Economic discrimination.	The Crown has prevented that economic expansion of Ngapuhi and accordingly the economic well-being and welfare of Ngapuhi by enacting legislation that activity prevented the same from occurring.
Wai 1613	Eric Hikuwai	Eric Hikuwai Hikuwai Hikuwai Ngati Ruamahoe	14 May 2008	Wainui D Block, seas, seabed & foreshore of Wainui	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices etc., etc.
Wai 1666	Ani Taniwha	Ngati Haiti, Ngati Kawau, Ngati Kawiti and Nga Uri o Te Pona	1 September 2008	Pokatau, Pakionga, Upokorau, Waiwhakapirau, Ruakipiha, Te Kahikatoa, Okahauroro, Hoatoaia, Ririwha, Omaanu, Mahinepua and Wanui.	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts and Crowns land purchasing policies, is in particular the Tohunga Suppression Act, Native Settlers Act, Resource Management Act and the Native Land Court and its systems and thereby other attendant legislation or regulations and also by the various policies, practices, acts and omission adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.

Wai1673	Ani Taniwha and Louisa Collier	Nga Uri o Roera Makere, Rihari, Hapu Ngati Kawau.	7th July 2008	See Whakatauki.	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts and Crown land purchasing policies, in particular
Wai 1681	Popi Tahere	Pukenui Blocks.	4th August 2008	Mangonui	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts and Crown land purchasing policies, in particular.
Wai 1684	William War Puru Emma Torckler Louie Katene	Te Hoia Ngati Rangimatamomoe Ngati Rangimatakaka	27 Aug 2008	Maungataniwha, Kauriputete, Otangaroa, Pukehinau, Kohumaru, Mangahautoa, Kahoe, Waihapa, Iwitaua, Waitangio, Waitaruke, Paakewakewa, Mangapa, Oripo, Takakura, Ratorutoru	Crown through various Acts, Regulations & Ordinances have prejudicially affected or people in the Past, the impact of which remain with us today
Wai 1719	Henry John Murphy	Henry Murphy Whanau of Hone & Erana Murphy	30 Aug 2008	Utakura, Waimate North, Matauri Bay, Whangaruru land blocks amongst others	Interests prejudicially affected including rights of succession, MLC systems & processes, abrogation of interests by various legislation, policy & practice
Wai 1722	Iris Niha	Nga Uri o nga Whanau Hapu o Ururoa, Matenga Haika, Retimana, Whareumu, Pomare, Kawiti, Kerepeti and Tirarau	4th August 2008	Nga Hapu Katoa.	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown, their agents or their successors.
Wai 1816	Lance O'Sullivan (replaced by Taytem Hutton)	Taytem Hutton Lance O'Sullivan	8 Jul 2009	Health Disparities	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, practices and omissions etc.

Wai 1832	Tarewa Kingi	Nga uri me nga hapu o te rohe potae o Whangaroa	19 Dec 2008	Te Rohe Potae o Whangaroa	Prejudicially affected by the various Ordinances, Act, regulations, orders, proclamations, notices and Laws, various policies, etc., etc.,
Wai 1838	William Hikuwai	William Hikuwai Hikuwai Hikuwai Tai Hikuwai Ngati Ruamahoe	14 May 2008	Wainui D Block, seas, seabed & foreshore at Wainui	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts, policies, practices, acts and omission adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.
Wai1843	Terry & Lane Tauroa	Te Aeto Hapu	4th August 2008	Te Rohe Potae o Te Aeto	Prejudicially affected by the Crown, and that those actions have denied us the right to ownership and benefits from the lands and waterways of our hapu, Te Aeto within the rohe of Whangaroa.
Wai 1845	Thelma L. Allen	Thelma & Robert Allen; Te Rau & Mini Mary Pawa; Frances, Tania, Briar & Kevin Travers; Lindin Undin; Ngati Kura ki Whangaroa, Ngaitupango Ngati Ruamahoe Whakarara TC	10 July 2008	Mangonui in the north to Takou in the south and 25 miles off the coast	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts, policies, practices, acts and omission adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.
Wai 1848	Anthony Paki	Anthony Paki Kim Cains	Anthony Paki & whana; Debbie & Steven Hutton;	Land seas seabed & foreshore of an area jnown as Manhinepua Bay bt not limited to a sacred taonga of or hapu	
Wai 1849	Wiremu Samuels	Wiremu Samuels Parents – Joseph & Dawn Samels Ngati Kura Ngati Kahu ki Whangaroa Whakarara TC	30 May 2008	Matauri Bay & surrounding lands & seas	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts, policies, practices, acts and omission adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.

Wai 1850	Hera Epiha	Hera Epiha Parents – Marlin & Huhana Epiha Ngati Kura Ngati Kahu ki Whangaroa Whakarara TC	3 Jun 2008	From Mangonui to Takou rivers	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts, policies, practices, acts and omission adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.
Wai 1851	John Terewi	John Terewi & his whanau Ngati Miro Ngati Kura Whakarara TC	5 Jun 2008	Ngati Miro/Ngati Kura rohe	Economic development & sustainability opportunities as British citizen consistent with Te Tiriti
Wai1917	Nganui Lucy Dargaville and Rihari Dargaville.	Nga Tupuna o Ngatau Tangihia ("Tangiwai") and her descendants	4th August 2008	(Te Tua whenua ki te Takutai Moana) – Matangireia Touwai, Ota Ohakiri, Wairaupo Ohauroro, Waitangi, Pumanawa, Pararako, Kahikatoa, Whangaihe, Mahinepua, Te Wainui, Tikiponga (Ririwha), Te Ngaere, Matauri Putataua, Te Taraired ("the land blocks).	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts, policies, practices, acts and omission adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.
Wai1918	Mataroria Potiki Lyndon me Frederick Collier.	The Whanau, Hapu of Ngapuhi.	4th August 2008	Native Oysters Whangaroa	Prejudicially affected by the various Acts in particular the Native Oyster Reserves Act 1866 and thereby other attendant legislation or regulations and also by the various policies, practices, acts and omissions adopted by, or on behalf of the Crown or its agents.
Wai1943	Audrey Leslie	Self, whanau & descendants of Haki Hona & Akinihi Hapa	April 2009	Putataua, Matauri Bay	Crown Acts & policies which allowed lands to be sold by Trustees, namely D. Samuels