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**NGĀTI POROU LEADERSHIP - RĀPATA  
WAHAWAHA AND THE POLITICS OF  
CONFLICT**

**“Kei te ora nei hoki tātou, me tō tātou whenua.”**

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## Abstract

The primary focus of this thesis is to explore the reasons for Ngāti Porou participation in the wars in New Zealand during the 1860s. Early writers surmised that the alliances between tribes like Ngāti Porou, Te Arawa and the lower Whanganui iwi and the settler government were due primarily to a sense of loyalty to the crown. Repetition by later historians has reinforced this notion in New Zealand folklore and historiography. While recent retrospective histories reveal a growing awareness that the motivation behind the alliances was more complex, no analysis of tribal motives worthy of the confidence of Māori has yet been recorded. This thesis initially sets out to determine whether the historical orthodoxy is founded at least for Ngāti Porou. It presents evidence showing that significant aspects of the Ngāti Porou story have been misunderstood and misrepresented by writers who have been unable to source or who have felt it unnecessary to properly canvass Ngāti Porou views and records. To date, tribal historians have on the whole refrained from presenting a tribal perspective, not because the information does not exist, but from a desire to keep such knowledge in the tribal arena where it is most relevant. Continued irritation, however, caused by historical publications that fall short when trying to comprehend the nature of Māori participation, has resulted in a freeing up of information by those who jealously guard their family's manuscripts, and others who retain the oral testimonies within the tribe, so that a re examination is made possible.

This thesis also generally seeks to link Ngāti Porou's involvement in war with leadership patterns that emerged within the tribe during the period 1865 - 1872, though this dimension of Ngāti Porou history is not canvassed exhaustively here. In times of crisis existing leadership patterns were challenged and as often as not new leaders emerged to lead the tribe. Perhaps the finest military leader produced by Ngāti Porou during the Hauhau encounters was Major Rāpata Wahawaha. His role in shaping Ngāti Porou's modern identity is a major theme running throughout this thesis. It is argued that his leadership and philosophy characterised the contribution by Ngāti Porou to theatres of war that followed the 1860s. It is proposed that such a contribution was both strategic and calculated to achieve gains for Ngāti Porou. Moreover, the wider question is raised: why, since the 1860s, has Ngāti Porou been so ready to join the battlefield and to stand alongside the Crown? The thesis contends that far from being motivated solely by loyalty to the Crown, Ngāti Porou entered into an alliance with the Crown in order to protect and to advance tribal interests.

## Preface

### Genesis

This thesis grew out of a personal desire to capture a record of Ngāti Porou participation on the fields of battle. With interests in three periods, namely, the 28 Māori Battalion in World War Two, Māori service in World War One and the campaigns waged between elements of Ngāti Porou in 1865, I set out to ascertain which of the three areas was more significant for Ngāti Porou, in terms of current development and a tribal identity.

I felt a visit to Sir Hēnare Ngata, a key informant and person in possession of primary source material relevant to all three topics, was essential. Sir Hēnare was himself a member of the 28 Māori Battalion, his father Sir Āpirana Ngata had much to do with the formation and recruitment of Māori servicemen in both World Wars, and their forbears are enrolled among those who played the key roles in the development of Ngāti Porou during the nineteenth century. From this initial meeting I became aware that there was still much unpublished material on the topic of the later Hauhau campaigns and the role of men like Major Rāpata Wahawaha in shaping the Ngāti Porou response to those earlier conflicts. More important, I understood this material might be made available if I pursued the Wahawaha/Hauhau discourse.

A number of revisionist histories published in the 1980s and early 1990s about Māori leaders like Te Kooti and Titokowaru have done much to change attitudes, particularly among younger Māori, towards the nature of such men and the changes they sought.<sup>1</sup> They are no longer seen as the 'rebels' portrayed by earlier writers, but are being

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<sup>1</sup> cf. James Belich, 1989, *I Shall Not Die*, Allen & Unwin, Wellington; Judith Binney, 1995, *Redemption Songs*, Auckland University Press, Auckland; James Belich, 1990, "Riwha Titokowaru," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. one, Allen & Unwin, Wellington, pp. 541-545; Ann Parsonson, "Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake Te Waharoa," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. one, Allen & Unwin, Wellington, pp. 499-502; Keith Sinclair, 1957, *Origins of the Maori Wars*, New Zealand University Press, Auckland; Tim Ryan & Bill Parham, 1986, *The Colonial New Zealand Wars*, Grantham House, Auckland.



recognised justifiably for the foresight and vision they displayed.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, this has resulted in a backlash towards those who opposed them, in particular iwi (tribe) or hapū (sub-tribe) who assisted the settler government in attempting their capture. Ngāti Porou and the leaders of the time, men like Wahawaha, have come in for their share of criticism.<sup>3</sup>

Through discussions with kaumātua (elders) and pakeke (adults) I became aware that such vitriol is the result of a superficial understanding of Ngāti Porou political objectives and motivations in war. Accordingly, some of these elders had been conscious of the need to explain Ngāti Porou participation in post-contact conflicts, not for their own sake, but to inform others. In that sense, my inquiries were timely. For this is an exercise that could have been attempted many years earlier by writers certainly more capable than myself whose understanding of the Ngāti Porou political environment over the last one hundred and fifty years and whose versatility in tikanga (aspects of Māori culture) and te reo (Māori language) would have been far superior to mine. But one of the key reasons why such an attempt had not proceeded, aside from the fact that there was no perceived need, was the restricted access or presumed restrictions surrounding Māori manuscripts in private collections without which there would be no story.

Treasure troves of information still exist among a number of families from Ngāti Porou as I am sure they do among other iwi. They are careful as to who has access and are not keen to part with the material even if it will help historians towards a more informed view of history. The late John Rangihau explained that part of the reason for this reservation is linked to the concept of mauri (life principle).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> cf. Thomas W. Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand*, E Wayte, Auckland; Thos. Wayth, Gudgeon, 1887, *Heroes of New Zealand and Māori History of the War*, H. Brett, Auckland; James Cowan, 1922-1923, *The New Zealand Wars*, 2 vols., Government Printer, Wellington; Sir W. Fox, 1866, *The War in New Zealand*, Smith Elder and Co., London; Sir J. E. Alexander, 1863, *Incidents of the Maori War*, Richard Bentley, London. These early writers saw them in relation to their own times. Retrospective views provided by later historians is not necessarily totally accurate.

<sup>3</sup> Two articles appearing in different newspapers, for example, labelled Wahawaha as a traitor to the Māori cause. *The Dominion*, 18 Aug 1984, p. 18; *Te Iwi o Aotearoa*, Jun 1990, no. 33, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> John Rangihau, 1975, "Learning and Tapu," in Michael King, (ed), *Te Aohurhuri: the world moves on*, pp. 10-12.

I often speak of the mauri or life force which Māoris give to many different things. We believe that every time you give of yourself you are starting to lose some of your aura, some of the life force, which you have for yourself .... you can see how difficult it appears for older people to be willing and available to give out information. They believe it is part of them, part of their own life force, and when they start shedding this they are giving away themselves.

Another reason for the hesitation relates to the sensitive nature of the material contained in those manuscripts. In the past there has been concern that in the wrong hands, either Māori or Pākeha, the information might be used inappropriately. The nature of some of the material is explicit in naming those killed and the manner in which they were slain. While such manuscripts were probably never intended for an audience beyond the writer's particular whānau, the difficulty facing the tribal historian using this material is to present the facts without diminishing the value of the material in the eyes of those who so carefully guard it.

A further reason surrounding Māori reluctance relates to Pākeha researchers who have in the past mis-interpreted information given to them by Māori informants. Over the years a disinclination has built up among kaumātua and pakeke towards divulging information on matters of importance to them. This reluctance has been actively fostered among some iwi.<sup>5</sup>

With the lure of new and significant primary sources and after further consultation with representatives of key families I decided to pursue the Hauhau topic at the expense of the others.<sup>6</sup> In fact on reflection, in some ways the subject matter was decided for me, as can be the case when one consults elders over matters of tribal history. Therein lies another dilemma. Within a Māori ethical framework, consultation implies some commitment and ongoing relationship with the informant. The outcome of discussions cannot be easily put

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<sup>5</sup> For example, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou has a policy that individuals seeking their endorsement for a historical publication or research project, should preferably be of Ngāti Porou descent. In addition, a statement of intent is sought so the board of trustees understands the object of the research and there is an expectation that the board members will have an opportunity to read the findings before publication, and if necessary, recommend changes. They have in the past declined requests for endorsement. Pers comm, Amohaere Houkāmau (CEO, Te Runanga o Ngāti Porou), 3 Dec 1999.

<sup>6</sup> During the course of this research I became aware that all three eras are related, that is, Ngāti Porou participation in World Wars One and Two cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of the Ngāti Porou response to the Hauhau and other nineteenth century conflicts.

to one side on the grounds that it was not entirely relevant. Consultation with a kaumātua creates both obligation and expectation and it is wise to be aware of that inevitability before making an approach.

### **Subjectivity**

With approval from iwi or hapū comes the responsibility that accompanies the receipt of knowledge. There is an unwritten expectation, for example, that the researcher when faced with a body of evidence will draw similar conclusions to those held by the tribe. As will be seen in the final analysis of Rāpata Wahawaha, his identity was effectively the group's identity so that underlying his motivation was the desire to give emphasis to the group's standing. Similarly, when researching tribal history, if the writer is a member of the group, there is an exhortation to maximise the mana (standing) of the iwi or hapū. To criticise the group or the actions of one's tīpuna (ancestors) is to run the risk of diminishing the mana of the group. This obligatory responsibility highlights a principle of what has been termed iwi-centric<sup>7</sup>, kaupapa-Māori<sup>8</sup> or Māori-centred research<sup>9</sup> where those being researched are not only located at the centre of the exercise, but are empowered or enhanced by the research.

From the outset then, and conscious of western historical epistemologies, I was aware that to travel down this methodological pathway would mean I could stand accused of presenting a partisan perspective of the Hauhau conflict, as it was seen through the eyes of the conservative Ngāti Porou element. This cannot be ignored since many of my informants, as well as the written accounts, derive from Ngāti Porou. My own connection to Ngāti Porou also leaves one open to charges of inevitable subjectivity. The key informants are related to me by blood, and Wahawaha, on whom this thesis is heavily focused, was at one time the trustee of the mana of Te Aowera and Whānau-ā-Rākairoa,

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<sup>7</sup> Harry Walker, 1997, "Beware the Seeker of Information and Knowledge," an unpublished paper reflecting an indigenous Māori view on research in Aotearoa, Personal Papers, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> L. Mead, 1996, "Ngā Aho o te Kāhahu Mātauranga: the multiple layers of struggle by Māori in Education," PhD Thesis, AU.

<sup>9</sup> M. H. Duric, 1997, "Identity, Access and Māori Advancement," *New Zealand Journal of Educational Administration*, vol. 12, pp. 41-45.

two hapū from which my matrilineal lines descend.<sup>10</sup> I can neither ignore nor deny the bias that may result from belonging to the group. While this open acknowledgement of vested interests may suggest subjectivity, the views expressed in the thesis are nonetheless founded on extensive evidence, consistent with historical method.

The important point here is that I acknowledge the inescapable subjectivity that accompanies the researcher who belongs to the group being researched. Tribal historians are frank about subjectivity as can be seen in the following quote by Māori Marsden,<sup>11</sup>

As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of the Māori, my approach to Māori things is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me: the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality.

and again by Harry Dansey,<sup>12</sup>

My approach is quite subjective. While others can be impersonal I am emotional. While others can observe and record and have no call unless they choose to pass judgment, I am involved and I take part, praise, blame, use and sometimes even endeavour to change the customs of our people. This is part of me and part of my life and I can no more opt out of it than I could have chosen not to have been born into it.

In any event, no historian can claim neutrality in the research process. History exists only as it is interpreted by the historian during a particular historical period and through interpretations shaped by the historian's personal background and experience, backed by evidence that is itself limited and inevitably incomplete. Whereas tribal historians, even though they look for historical truth in past events, are inclined to admit subjectivity,

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<sup>10</sup> I have some appreciation of the view held by those who took the field against the Government; my patrilineal line of descent is from Ngai Te Rangihouhiri, one of the hapu who suffered heavy land confiscation in Ngāti Awa. The psychological effect was such that in the Government elections of 1919 only my great-grandfather, Kere Wano, and his father, Te Wano Kauhoe, were prepared to register their primary hapū as Te Rangihouhiri.

<sup>11</sup> Māori Marsden, 1975, "God, Man and Universe: a Māori view," in Michael King (ed), *Te Aohurihuri*, p. 143.

<sup>12</sup> Harry Dansey, 1975, "A View of Death," in Michael King (ed), *Te Aohurihuri*, p. 129.

historians, generally, although similarly constrained, are not always so ready to admit the effects of cultural background or the wider social and political influences of their peers.<sup>13</sup>

### **Māori-Pākeha Debate**

This raises issues to do with the on-going debate about who should write Māori history. Angela Ballara argues, in her recent publication *Iwi*, that while the “study of individual iwi and hapū is probably best left to those who have access ... the interaction of Māori and Pākeha, and the effects of each culture on the other is a proper field of enquiry for any academic.”<sup>14</sup> I doubt that there is any historian, Māori or Pākeha, who would confidently tackle pre-contact tribal history unless belonging to the tribe in question. The Bests, Smiths, and John White’s would in today’s climate have limited access to tribal material, as younger Māori react to outsiders researching their history. ‘By Māori for Māori’ has become the catch-cry of the nineties arising from the belief that Māori themselves are best equipped to interpret their past.

The contact period, however, as Ballara says, is open slather for academics and professional historians. Pākeha writers have viewed this period in New Zealand as a historian’s utopia, “a laboratory whose isolation, size and recency is an advantage” and have treated it as if “dissecting a fascinating creature.”<sup>15</sup> Although much useful material has been documented and analysed, Māori have rarely been empowered by such histories. Worse still, the occasional Pākeha academic has purported to present a Māori perspective of an event during the contact period without access to Māori informants and with very little recourse to written Māori sources. While Māori history may be attractive academic material, it does not necessarily make for informed histories.

On the question of who ought to write Māori perspectives of post-contact history, I believe the debate is not about race or the literary tradition one has inherited but rather who has access to the heart and soul of the people during the period being researched. It cannot be

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<sup>13</sup> Monty Soutar, 1996, “A Framework for Analysing Written Iwi Histories,” in *He Pukenga Korero*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 43-57.

<sup>14</sup> Angela Ballara, 1998, *Iwi: the dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, p. 12.

assumed that because one is Māori or belongs to the tribe concerned that tribal aspirations will be accurately reflected. Researchers may have good access to sources of information among those hapū to which they belong, particularly if they have had an active association with key members of the hapū. But when the research takes them into the domains of other hapū, complications arise concerning levels of access. In keeping with this line of thinking I would have to say that my account of the Tūranga and Kahungunu engagements, lack the insights I have provided for the Ngāti Porou engagements and are less than researchers who belong to those areas might produce. Similarly, the confidence with which I am able to write about the Hikurangi sub-tribes is far more assured than when describing the political movements within, for example, the Waiapu or Te Araroa regions. Researchers from other hapū will no doubt place emphasis and significance on aspects of the Ngāti Porou story that revolve more around their tūpuna and hapū, as I have done with Rāpata Wahawaha and the sub-tribes of the Hikurangi basin.

While, in the end, the interpretations in this thesis are the personal views of a Ngāti Porou historian, it is hoped that I have grasped something of the Ngāti Porou tradition and have come some way to representing Ngāti Porou views and values during the nineteenth century. And in the process to have told a story that is consistent with the known facts. For many of my own people, what is presented here will not be unfamiliar, but I hope that this thesis will help others towards both a greater appreciation of the motives and social and political objectives of Ngāti Porou in war and the subsequent emergence of Ngāti Porou as a distinctive entity within modern New Zealand.

## Style

Because this is a Māori Studies thesis I have made a conscious attempt to show vowel length on Māori words by the use of macrons. I have not italicised Māori words unless they were written that way in quotations. This is because Māori terms are so much a part of the text and appear constantly that italicising them would give the impression that they

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<sup>15</sup> James Belich, 1996, *Making Peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, p. 7.

were extraordinary. Latinisms, however, follow the standard convention and are italicised, their appearance in the wording being infrequent.

In the text the closest English equivalent is bracketed alongside Māori words the first time the word is used. There is no translation provided with subsequent use of the same word. However, a separate glossary of all Māori words is presented after chapter 9. Where a quote was originally given in the Māori language these are quoted first in Māori followed by an English translation.

Because of the large number of Ngāti Porou identities referred to throughout the thesis, whakapapa (genealogical) charts have been interspersed throughout the text to clarify relationships and so make it easier to follow the narrative. Footnotes are the writer's preference and include substantial subsidiary information. It is recommended that the reader follow these carefully when reading through the main text.

### **Acknowledgments**

*Ko te whakawhetai nui ki te Atua, nāna te mahi nei i manaaki. Korōria ki tōna ingoa.*

This study could not have been written without access to the personal papers of the Ngata family and the cooperation of Sir Hēnare Ngata. The papers comprise Rāpata Wahawaha's own letterbooks and jottings which include a retrospective history of the 1865-72 war involving Ngāti Porou, the journal of Paratene Ngata and Māori transcripts of Land Court hearings.<sup>16</sup> The task of sifting through the minute books was made easier by the fact that Sir Āpirana Ngata had left notes and minute book references to information on both Rāpata Wahawaha and the Ngata family. The bound volumes W1, W1A and W2 summarise key information in the first nineteen minute books of the Waiapu series.<sup>17</sup> It would not have

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<sup>16</sup> A copy of part of Wahawaha's reflective history is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library. It was originally written for George H. Davies, a collector of histories, and it was given to W. L. Williams. Subsequently, a copy was made of it and this is the copy in the ATL. It is listed as A. S. Atkinson-Māori account of the campaign against the Hauhaus on the East Coast 1865-70, MS-Papers-1187-006A.

<sup>17</sup> Sir A. T. Ngata, nd, References to Māori Literature, NFC. It appears from his notes that Sir Āpirana was preparing background information either for a biographical account of Wahawaha or for backgrounding Ngata's own life. Alongside one of the references in this book he wrote 'good introduction to the life of Rāpata.'

been possible to amass the material in this thesis without recourse to these guides. He mihi aroha ki te whānau ā Tā Āpirana, ā, ki a Tā Hēnare.

Ka huri au ki ngā kawai ā Rāpata Wahawaha, ki ngā uri hoki ā ōna tuākana me te tuahine a Ritihia, me te whakamaumahara anō a ngā uri me te hunga kāinga mōna, mō Rāpata. Tēnā koutou me te mihi hoki ki ā Ngāti Porou whānui. Ko te tumanako he pai ēnei kōrero ki a koutou katoa.

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I am also grateful to those who shared information from family records and who were willing to show me pā sites because they believed the research was in the interest of Ngāti Porou.: the late Manu Stainton, Paul Weka, Tautohe Kupenga, William Hēnare, Bob McConnell, Ewen Hovell, Neho Koia, Waldo Houia, Tom Fox, Morehu and Hēni Te



Maro, Anaru Kupenga, Bill and Kiwi Rowlands, Hirini Kaa, Mark Isles, Campbell Dewes, Mākere Hēnare, Rāmari Pēpere, the Ngā Taonga ā Ngā Tama Toa Trust, the C Company Research team including Taina McGregor, Linnae Pōhatu and Pia Pōhatu, the Kāwhia family, Mate (Bubbles) Te Koha, Winston & Rāmari Nēpia, Atareta MacMillan, Parekura Horomia, Amohaere Houkāmau, John Waerehu, Elder Te Reo, Beau & Francie Rangiwai, Edward Blane, Bill Blane, Sonny Harrison, Andrea Clarke, Peter Boyd and Deanna Harrison. Kei runga atu koutou mō te āwhina.

He mihi nui ki ngā kaimahi kei te Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi i te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa, arā i te Whare Wānanga o Manawatū. Tēnā hoki koutou.

Me te mihi hoki ki te whānau katoa. E kore koutou e wareware i au. Ki a Milton rāua ko Brenda — i ngā tau i te noho tōku whānau i Waipiro, i whakawātea mai kōrua tō kōrua whare hei wāhi noho mōku i te Papaioea. Heoi anō, ko te mihi aroha ki tōku ake whānau pekepoho nā rātou nei au i awhi, arā ki tōku hoa rangatira a Tina, me a māua tamariki a Noti, a Te Tuhi, a Eparaima. Kei roto koutou i tōku ake ate i nga wā kātoa.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to the boards which administer the Sir Āpirana Ngata Memorial Scholarship and the Ngārimu VC and 28 Māori Battalion Memorial Fund who both saw fit to make grants towards my study.

Kia tau ngā manaakitanga a te runga rawa ki runga i a koutou katoa.

Kia ora

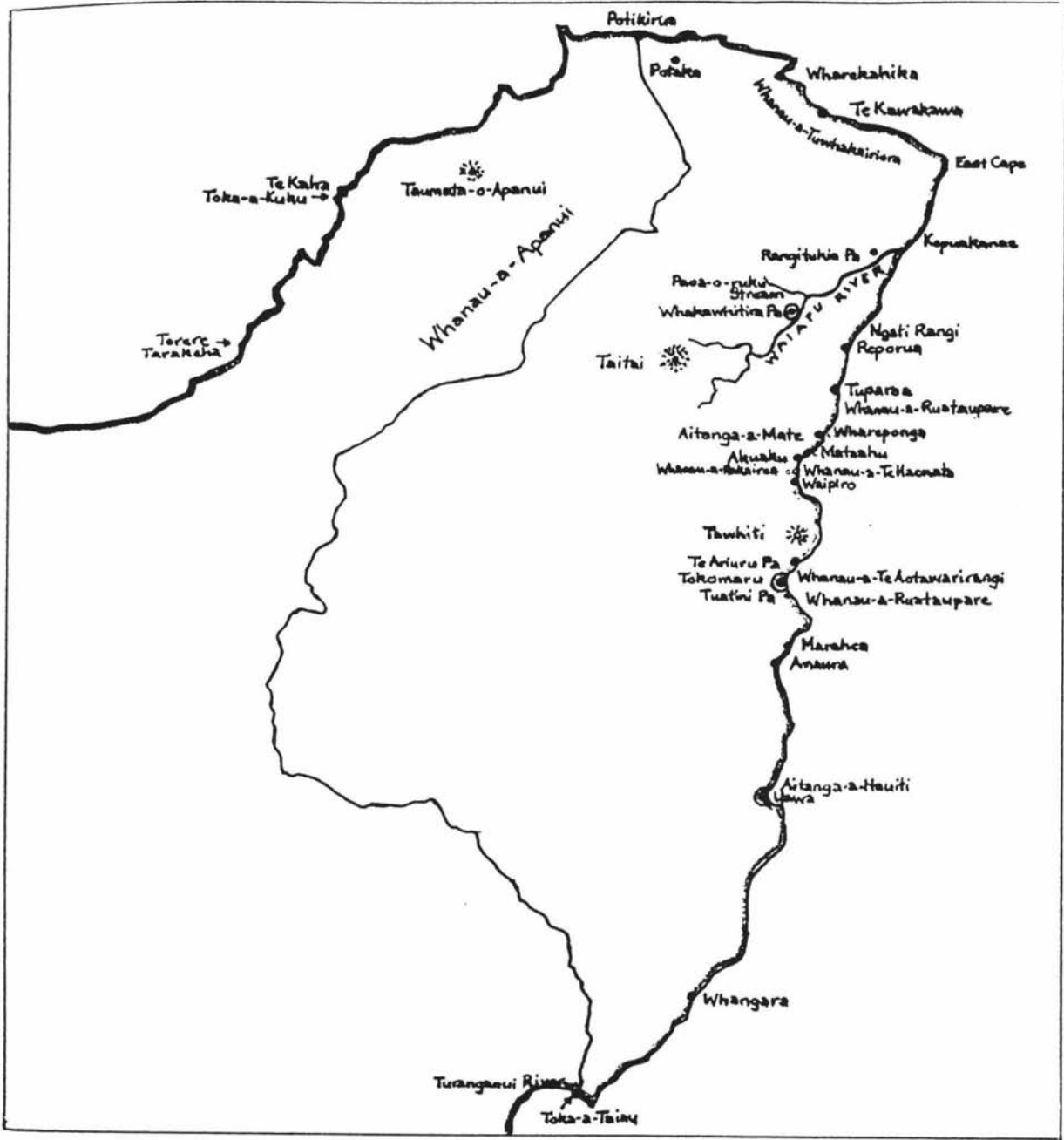
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## MAPS

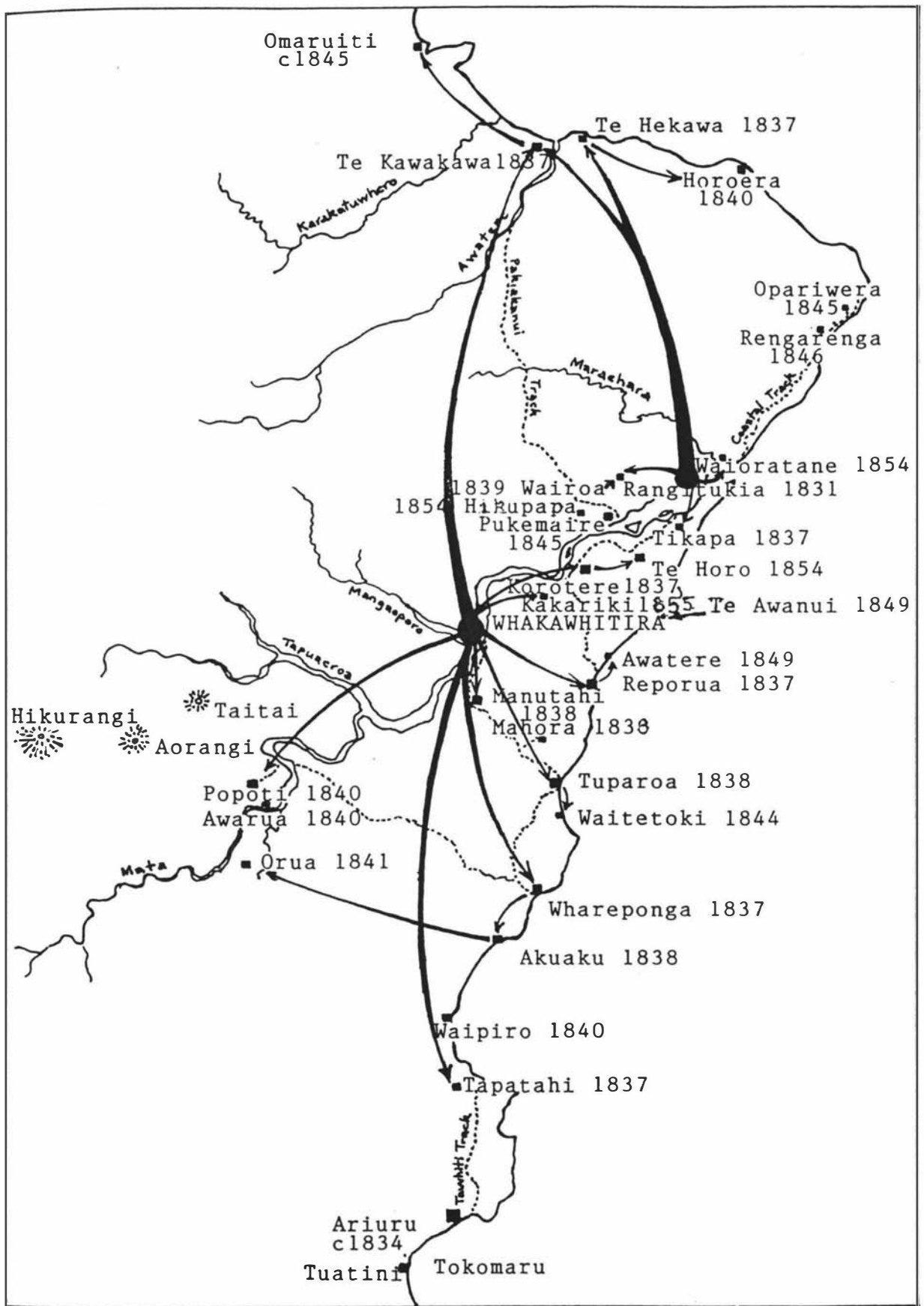
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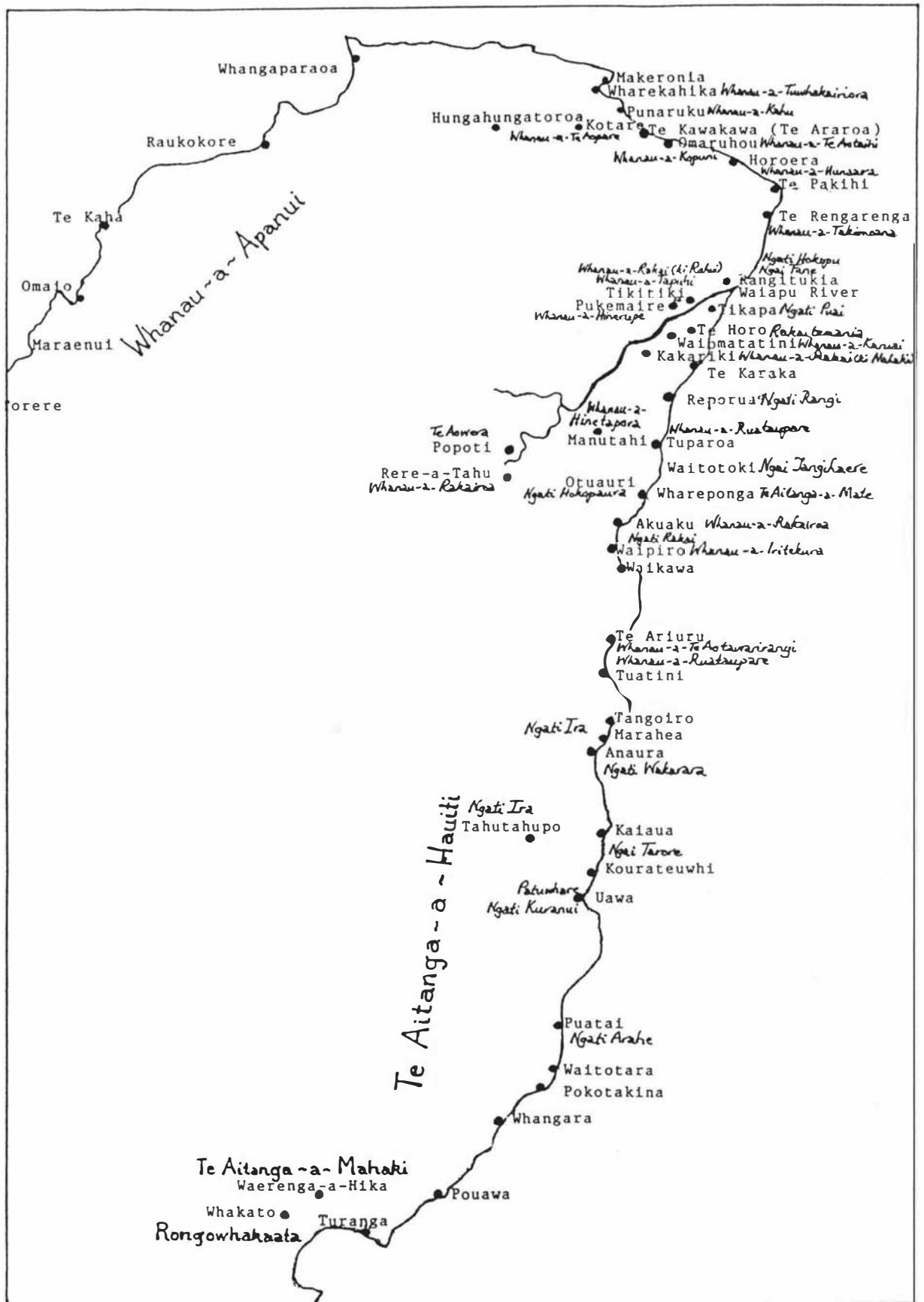
**Map 1: showing Ngāti Porou tribal district**

Ngāti Porou today, according to the tribal authority Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, are those people living within the region bounded by Pōtikiria in the north and Toka-a-Taiau in the south. Pōtikiria is a prominent hill in the vicinity of Pōtake while Toka-a-Taiau was a rock formerly at the mouth of the Tūrangānuī river. While few, if any, have disputed the southern limit, debate has been aroused about the northern boundary. Some tribal scholars have argued that Taumata-o-Apanui, a headland to the west of Pōtikiria, is traditionally recognised as the northern limit. Extending the boundary to this point would mean the inclusion of hapū who more readily classify themselves as members of the Whānau-a-Apanui tribe. During marae repartee between the two tribes Ngāti Porou orators have in the past claimed a further encroachment into Whānau-a-Apanui territory by arguing that “te rohe whānui o Ngāti Porou” had Toka-a-Kūkū as it’s western boundary based on their contentious victory at Te Kaha in 1836 (see ch. 4, p. 102). Whānau-ā-Apanui claim the victory was theirs. Pine Taiapa gave the boundary as Tarakeha at Tōrere which coincides with the district from which C Company was drawn for the 28 Māori Battalion.

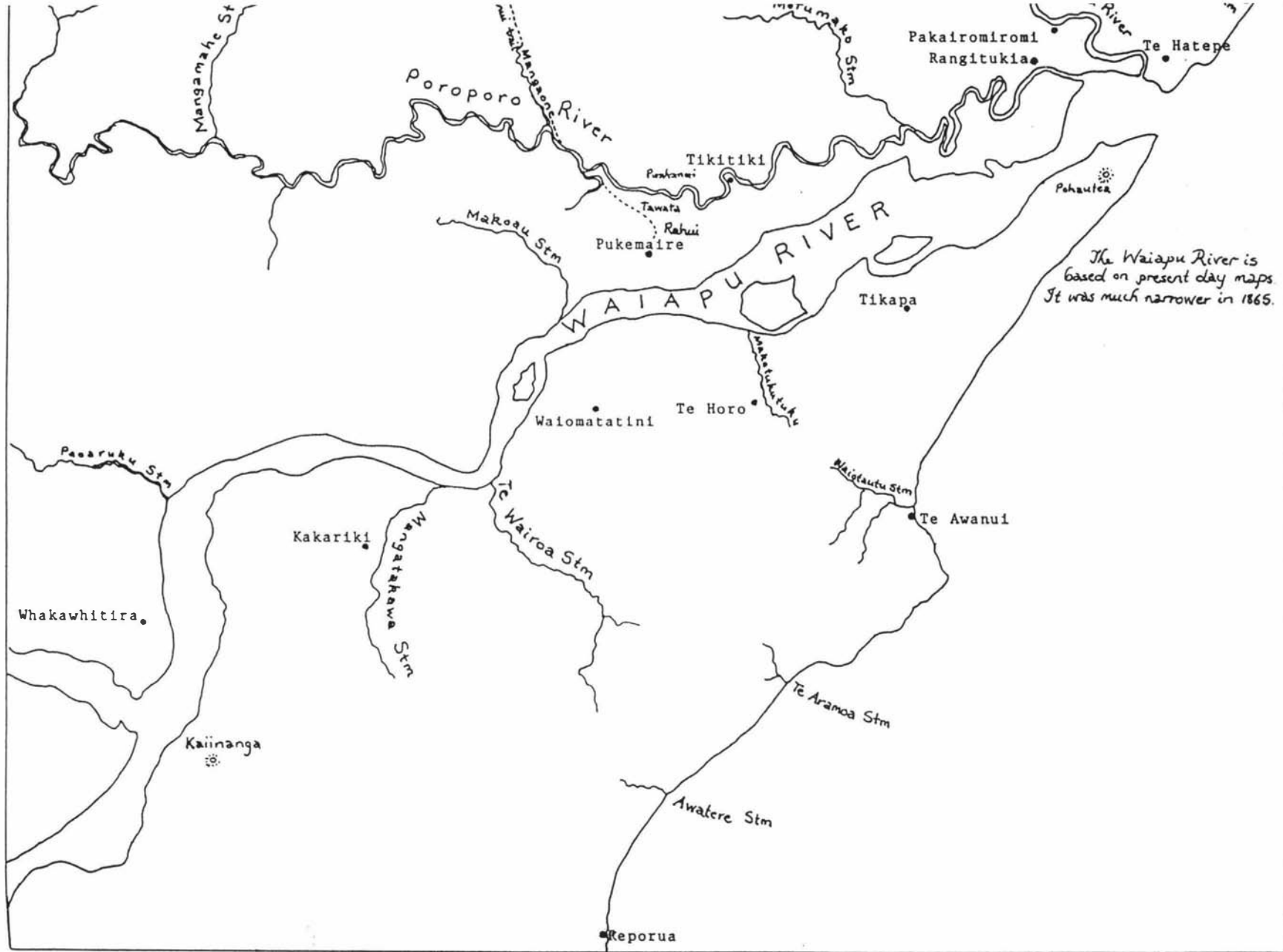
A review of both the oral and written literature suggests that Ngāti Porou’s boundaries exist for its members at both a physical and intellectual level. As Wi Tāhata explained in a statement before the Native Land Court, “The boundary applied to the people, yet the land was held differently.” Therefore, the people living between Pōtikiria and Taumata-o-Apanui might conceive of themselves as conceptually residing within the genealogical boundary of Ngāti Porou but physically on land more readily identified with the Whānau-a-Apanui confederation.



**Map 2: Dispersal of Hapū from Whakawhitirā 1837**  
 Showing approximate dates when pā were reinhabited or established, based on missionary journals and Māori Land Court records.



Map 3: Settlements known to have existed on the East Coast 1865



Map 4: Waiapu Valley 1865

## Abbreviations

AD	Army Department
AIM	Auckland Institute and Museum
<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</i>
APL	Auckland Public Library
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AU	University of Auckland
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CN	Correspondence of the Church Missionary Society, New Zealand
DOSLI	Department of Survey and Land Information
<i>GBPP</i>	<i>Great Britain Parliamentary Papers</i>
GMAC	Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre
HBP	Hawkes Bay Province
Jnl	Journal
<i>JPS</i>	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
Le	Legeslative Department
Micro	Microfilm
MSS	Manuscript
MU	Massey University
NA	National Archives
NFC	Ngata Family Collection
<i>NZG</i>	<i>New Zealand Gazette</i>
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
Pers. comm.	Personal communication
RM	Resident Magistrate
<i>TH</i>	<i>Te Hokioi o Niu Tireni</i>
<i>TKM</i>	<i>Te Karere Māori</i>
<i>TKNT</i>	<i>Te Karere o Niu Tirani</i>
<i>TMT</i>	<i>Te Manuhiri Tuārangī</i>
<i>TPM</i>	<i>Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke</i>
<i>TWMA</i>	<i>Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri</i>
<i>TWMNT</i>	<i>Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani</i>
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington
WAI	Waitangi Tribunal
WNRW	War Narrative of Rāpata Wahawaha



## Introduction

*Ehara taku maunga a Hikurangi i te maunga nekeneke, he maunga tū tonu. Ko tōku  
kīngitanga mai i aku tīpuna i te ihu tō mai i te pō. <sup>1</sup>*

The most recent and popular discourse about the war in New Zealand during the nineteenth century is contained in the revisionist history *The New Zealand Wars*.<sup>2</sup> According to its author, James Belich, an important military factor in the outcome of those wars was Māori support for the British cause in the form of collaborative forces. He recognised that while the degree of commitment by these bolstering forces varied, so did their motives for being involved. Among the tribes who gave their support he listed Ngāti Porou and their “able chief” Rāpata Wahawaha.<sup>3</sup> Belich gave no serious analysis about the Ngāti Porou reasons for involvement, except to say that, as with other iwi, their commitment was never complete. The book however, was a general study of Māori participation and the analysis of a single tribal region was never intended.

But what of Ngāti Porou? What were the motivating factors which led them into the conflict on the side of the British? Was there in fact, as Belich claims, “less commitment to the colonist cause among the majority of the tribe outside Rāpata’s immediate following?” And more important perhaps, how does an awareness of these issues add value to our understanding of Ngāti Porou attitudes and initiatives in the twentieth century?

This thesis argues that the Ngāti Porou stance taken in the wars of the early 1860s was not so much about loyalism as it was about maintaining a greater measure of tribal independence and control in the face of rapid change. Loyalism, seen in this light,

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<sup>1</sup> ‘My mountain Hikurangi does not move. It has remained steadfast, since the shades of creation, conferring on me my absolute sovereignty.’ A statement made by Te kani-a-Takirau when he declined the offer of Māori kingship. From Tāmami Reedy, 1992, *Hikurangi Souvenir Booklet: sacred mountain of Ngāti Porou*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> James Belich, 1986, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland University Press, Auckland.

becomes a calculated alliance with the side which best allows autonomy to be protracted. In reality, neither passive assimilation into Māori nationalism or into the paler mainstream was appealing to Ngāti Porou, but faced with the inevitable choice, their leaders opted for the ally most likely to be subverted to their own cause. Some chose the British, others the Kīngitanga and, subsequently, still others the Pai Marire movement.

A spirit of independence has always been a feature of Ngāti Porou history and characterised relationships between non-kin and kindred groups in the lead up to the wars. Only in the Ngāpuhi musket raids of the 1820s could it be said that Ngāti Porou experienced some diminution of tribal prestige (nā te pū!). But from this they learned and moved on. In any case, the raids themselves did not result in dispossession by territorial conquest or permanent settlement.

Ngāti Porou in their own territory, until the 1880s at least, outweighed settler groups in terms of population, political authority and military strength. In such an environment, group well-being was at the forefront. When the inevitability of colonisation was realised, Ngāti Porou leaders sought vigorously to ensure the advancement of their people as Ngāti Porou and to protect their asset base for future generations. When reflecting on the state of Ngāti Porou at the end of the wars, for example, Major Rāpata Wahawaha pointed to the survival of the tribe and the retention of tribal lands as an immediate consequence of the stance taken.

Kei te ora nei hoki tātou me tō tātou whenua. Ko tēhea wāhi anō hoki o tātou kei te mate? Kua ora nei hoki tātou ngā tāngata me ngā whenua. Ko ngā whenua o waho o tēnei rohe kei te mate.<sup>4</sup>

We are also alive as is our land. Is there a place among us which is threatened (by confiscation)? The people and the land have survived. But the lands outside our district are imperilled (lit. dead). (*my translation*)

Ngāti Porou independence is best exemplified by the famous whakatauki (proverbial saying) quoted by the chief Te Kani-a-Takirau when offered the Māori Kingship in the 1850s. “Ehara taku maunga a Hikurangi i te maunga nekeneke, he maunga tū tonu. Ko

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

tōku kīngitanga mai i aku tīpuna i te ihu tō mai i te pō.” Te Kani’s declining response was to reaffirm understandings to others that he was already a ‘king’ by birth, ancestry, and territorial power expressed in the identity of his legendary mountain Hikurangi. He, like his mountain, would not wander, as other famous mountains had been known to, in pursuit of the wily charms of other female mountains.<sup>5</sup> Like his mountain he would remain steadfast. The whakatauki reflects the underlying philosophical and psychological motives behind Ngāti Porou actions in the nineteenth century. It was a reaffirmation in the context of colonisation, that Ngāti Porou’s autonomy was assured, and the saying has been quoted extensively by Ngāti Porou ever since.<sup>6</sup>

Autonomy has been defined by Love as “self-governing, free from outside manipulation and responding and reacting independently.”<sup>7</sup> Theorists have emphasised independence, self-reliance and self-sufficiency as themes invoked by the use of the word autonomy stating that “the truly autonomous will never fear to cooperate with others knowing there is something to fall back upon in case the tie turns out to be so vertical a decolonising has to take place.”<sup>8</sup> In the context of this thesis autonomy is this and more. It is the ability of a people to control their own destinies and resources and to decide for themselves their own identity. Underlying the term, at least as it refers to the nineteenth century, is a denial of any notion of an assimilated future either with the Crown or within a tribeless Māori nation.

My hypothesis is that Ngāti Porou’s actions throughout the past century and a half have been singularly directed to the protection of identity and autonomy. While some members of the tribe recognised the effectiveness of a collective Māori identity and pressed their views in the war of 1865, the traditionalists felt that the maintenance of their way of life and the retention of a cultural identity that was distinctly Ngāti Porou was to be better achieved through an alliance with the Crown. With this drive for distinctness in mind, one can begin to understand the determination and the actions of Ngāti Porou in such

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<sup>4</sup> *TWMNT*, 1872, vol. 8, no. 17, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Te Kani was making reference to the well-known story of the mountains Tongariro and Taranaki who vied for the attentions of Pihanga.

<sup>6</sup> Pers. comm., Tāmati Reedy, 1999.

<sup>7</sup> Ralph N. Love, 1977, “Policies of Frustration: the growth of Māori politics: the Ratana/Labour era,” PhD Thesis, VUW, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Johan Galtung, 1976, “The Politics of Self Reliance.” Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo, paper no. 44, p. 2.

figures of history as Mōkena Kohere, Rāpata Wahawaha, Sir Āpirana Ngata, Second Lieutenant Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Ngārimu, Colonel Peta Awatere and the many who sacrificed themselves in the global wars of the past century.<sup>9</sup> Ngata himself, writing in 1947, said of Ngāti Porou,

It has sought for more than a century to keep pace with the march of events and to order its acculturation so that its material welfare, its weapons, might be the best the schools provide. while its inspiration should remain that which its ancestors bequeathed and breathed into them. It has never lacked self-sacrificing leaders as far back as its history goes.<sup>10</sup>

For the most part, this thesis provides an historical overview of Ngāti Porou development in the early nineteenth century. It presents the tribe's adjustment to colonisation against the biographical backdrop of one of its most able leaders Major Rāpata Wahawaha. Wahawaha's own life story, taken captive as a child and later redeemed from slavery and then rising to recognition and prosperity, in a sense encapsulated the changes Ngāti Porou went through in the nineteenth century. This thesis extends from a time of prosperity to a period of repudiation, then into civil war, and the imprisonment of some and the threat of land confiscation. These would only be later redeemed after service to the Crown.<sup>11</sup> Within this journey, Wahawaha's influence and leadership is an incisive part of the Ngāti Porou story.

Leadership in Ngāti Porou, to some extent, has always been shaped by the threat of war, and a further purpose of this work is to emphasise the role of warfare in shaping the character of Ngāti Porou.

## **The Thesis**

The opening chapter reviews Ngāti Porou's involvement in World War II. Using a combination of army embarkation records and census data for the 1939-45 war period, the percentage of the tribe's population who served in the war is shown to be inordinately high. These statistics raise the question – what motivated Ngāti Porou to contribute in

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<sup>9</sup> Pers. comm., Tāmami Reedy, 4 Jan 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Eric Ramsden, 1948, *Sir Āpirana Ngata and Māori Culture*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, p. 53.

this way? The chapter goes on to discuss the recruitment drive conducted by Sir Āpirana Ngata and suggests he continued a policy implemented by kaumatua set down in the 19th century to cope with change / integration, which was carried out by his great-uncle (by marriage) Rāpata Wahawaha. What at first appears to be a seemingly unrelated military contribution is shown to be complexly connected to the leadership patterns and philosophical values which grew out of the nineteenth-century war experience.

The next three chapters describe the life of Rāpata Wahawaha up until 1840 and the significant determinants which shaped his leadership role. Three important events surrounding his early life are reviewed: the Ngāpuhi Raids, the internecine warfare between hapū and iwi resulting in his incarceration, and the advent of Christianity. These events were of fundamental importance to Ngāti Porou and took place during the first twenty years of Wahawaha's life. Not only could the significance of each not have been avoided by Wahawaha as a young man, but they were also to shape the later Ngāti Porou response to the Hauhau intrusion in 1865.

There is a significant literature relating to Māori responses to Missionaries after 1814. Not all of this literature relates to the situation that developed on the East Coast. However, generally speaking, the issues which have interested historians relate to the circumstances surrounding Māori conversion, especially since Harrison Wright suggested that Māori had converted wholesale due to "mental and cultural disruption" resulting from the impact of European technology and society.<sup>12</sup> Judith Binney later argued that Missionary economic independence had as much to do with Māori conversions. She believed a similar pattern for the acceptance of Christian ideas could be found in the history of other nineteenth century missions in the South Pacific.<sup>13</sup> By way of contrast, John Owens contested the view that an indigenous society must experience social dislocation before it is ready for conversion. He preferred to credit the spread of literacy and the Missionaries themselves, particularly Henry Williams, for Māori conversion.<sup>14</sup> K. R. Howe supported the theory of the improved effectiveness of the Church Missionary

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<sup>11</sup> This parallelism of Ngāti Porou development with Wahawaha's life was given by Cannon John Tamahori. Pers. comm., Cannon John Tamahori, 3 Oct 1999.

<sup>12</sup> Harrison M. Wright, 1959, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: early years of western contact*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts.

<sup>13</sup> Judith Binney, 1969, "Christianity and the Māoris to 1840: a comment," *NZJH* . vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 143-165.

Society (C.M.S.). He highlighted the Thames-Waikato region as one where the response to Christian ideas and techniques was positive “because these were novel and intellectually exciting” for Māori.<sup>15</sup>

This was all useful argument but really much of the debate was centred around the experience in the north, with only Howe locating his research outside of the Bay of Islands. In some respects the situation in Ngāti Porou differed from the northern experience. Conversion, in Māori terms, came almost entirely by way of the agency of influential members of the tribe returning from the Bay of Islands region where they had been imprisoned. For a period of six years from 1834, Christian ideas were accepted from these evangelists with virtually little or no missionary contact. A loss of confidence in the indigenous culture or a desire to master the secrets of the imported culture, as proposed by Wright and Binney, do not appear to have been factors behind Ngāti Porou acceptance of Christianity. Such proposals suggest Ngāti Porou were passive agents during the early colonisation period. Of course they were not, nor indeed, were Māori as a whole. The chapter on Christianity acknowledges the very real and sincere transformation some Ngāti Porou experienced and proposes that it was under the influence of these dominant Christian leaders that the tribe would eventually collide with the Hauhau movement.

Chapter five, while continuing with a biographical sketch of Wahawaha, traces race relations from 1840 to 1860. During this relatively peaceful quarter of a century the emphasis is on change and the adaptation to change, and sets the scene for the entrance of the Kingitanga and subsequently the Pai Marire / Hauhau movement in 1865. The factionalism which became so marked in the 1860s had its seeds in the preceding decade and was the result of varying responses to the colonial enterprise. Ngāti Porou perceptions of the British monarchy are an essential component of this chapter.

This chapter also includes some discussion which relates to the various kinship groups that existed within Ngati Porou up to the mid-1860s, and even beyond. The distinct Māori terms used to describe the various kinship entities — iwi, hapū, and whānau

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<sup>14</sup> John Owens, 1968, “Christianity and the Maoris”, *NZJH*, vol. 2, pp. 18-40.

especially — do have particular meanings. Within Maori-centered research, such gradations of 'tribal identity' do tend to be used 'indiscriminately' given that their meaning and configurations are very obvious to those Māori being written about, namely, Ngati Porou communities during the nineteenth century. Also, such terms as used, and as appear in primary sources, were used by those Māori at that time — and their meanings were for the main perfectly clear to those Māori of the nineteenth century.

However, in more recent times, such terms as 'iwi', 'hapū' and 'whānau' (and others) have become the focus of some scholarly debate. For example, Angela Ballara has argued that 'iwi' was largely a late-nineteenth construct that developed out of the slow growth of small kinship clusters. Ballara was especially describing the process of evolving Ngati Kahungunu identity and largely based her research upon Native Land Court records. Her findings were recently published in *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation*.<sup>16</sup>

For most scholars of nineteenth century hapū and iwi dynamics, Ballara's research was interesting. In her book, she commented on many of the views of anthropologists like Marshall Sahlins and Roger Keesing, and more recently Eric Schwimmer and Joan Metge. All have been at the theoretical forefront of the discussions as to the nature and modes of tribal organisation. Tribal groups are variously described by such writers as evolutionary social systems that are either internally static and self-maintaining; or are inherently dynamic and changing. For Māori, these descriptions contain a certain resonance but the point should be made that such debates do need to be historically and iwi specific — otherwise, it is difficult for Māori generally to relate similar discussions to their own preferred descriptions of their iwi dynamics.

Whilst debates of this kind are interesting, such terms as are used in this thesis are used within a Maori-centered research basis — that is, they are predicated upon a distinct Ngati Porou understanding of the nature of these kinship groups — and that this understanding is firmly based upon a very clear set of historical circumstances.

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<sup>15</sup> K. R. Howe, 1973, "The Māori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area 1833-1840", *NZJH*, vol. 7, p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Angela Ballara, 1998, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.

Chapter six concentrates on the Kīngitanga movement and its influence on Ngāti Porou. It contemplates events which took place mainly between 1860 and 1865 and it describes the divisions among Ngāti Porou during that period while proffering an explanation for the factions. Paralleling this discussion is an examination of the rise to power of Rāpata Wahawaha.

Chapter seven and eight deal mainly with the Hauhau conflict in 1865. The actual engagements themselves took place over a period of several months in the year 1865, from June to October, and well over two hundred lives, mainly Ngāti Porou, were lost. Almost all commentators to date have focused on depreciating race-relations as being a key aspect in igniting the conflict on the East Coast. But, as will be seen, this was more a war between Māori for Māori reasons and, to be more accurate, a war among Ngāti Porou. Historians have presented the period from the point of view of the Government and its involvement, whereas this account attempts to present the contest from the perception of the Māori parties involved. Warfare is a critical test of leadership, and another important theme of this chapter revolves around how Wahawaha and other key figures capitalised on warfare to accelerate and consolidate an emerging Ngāti Porou identity. The significance of their leadership as a public good is also analysed.

The concluding chapter deals with the important question of the gains made by Ngāti Porou in exchange for their participation in virtually every theatre of war since the 1860s. It will be shown that service with the Crown was designed to bring about measured gains for Ngāti Porou. In the battles championed by Wahawaha, the benefits of war are more obvious: retaining land control, survival of tribal leadership – and the retention of autonomy. However, in the two World Wars, any advantages gained are less apparent, or perhaps there has been less time for the benefits to be felt. In any case, there is room for some discussion about Ngata's contention in *The Price of Citizenship* that it would all be worthwhile.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1943, *The Price of Citizenship*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Wellington.



## Methodology

The material drawn on for this work derives from public and private repositories. The majority of the private sources may be more accurately described as resources of tribal scholarship, the access to and interpretation of which raises a number of issues for the historian endeavouring to remain independent in the research. In order to substantiate the arguments made in this thesis I was heavily dependent on such resources, specifically the oral histories, the guardians of which are the kaumatua, and the jealously guarded letters and manuscripts held by almost every family within the tribe. I appreciated that right of entry to these resources was never guaranteed and once acquired could be recalled at any time throughout the research.

The tentative and temporary nature of access is due to a number of factors not always understood by the researcher. The concepts of koha and reciprocity, for example, are two basic principles of Māori understandings which regulate access.<sup>18</sup> There is an expectation, whether implied overtly or not, that strings are attached to the giving of information. Respect for the givers and their kin is anticipated. Researchers are not granted exemptions and if they fail to reciprocate, the supply of information can be cut off.<sup>19</sup>

The level of access to tribal resources depends largely on who the researcher is and for what purpose the material is required. If the researcher is a member of the tribe there are any number of personal attributes which kaumatua look for before they agree to full cooperation. While whakapapa determines who is privy to historical records, a direct genealogical link with one's informants, while preferred, is not essential. More important is background knowledge of how the researcher has been nurtured or groomed for the task. Those who are chosen are the type kaumatua are confident can be guided in the prudent use of the information.

I had the advantage, when commencing this work, of simultaneously being involved in an oral history project concerning C Company of the 28 Māori Battalion. C Company is a military label used to identify the tribal war effort from the Gisborne/East Coast/Eastern

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<sup>18</sup> Harry Walker, 1997, "Beware of the Seeker of Information and Knowledge: research involving Māori", an unpublished essay reflecting an Māori view on research in Aotearoa. Personal Papers, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

Bay of Plenty region during World War Two. Involvement in that project meant working as a member of a team of researchers with kaumatua in recording people's recollections of the war years. Some elders were the tribal authorities on historical matters pertaining to their hapū and iwi and as a considerable degree of trust developed through the group's working relationship I was able, quite apart from the C Company research, to make inquiries of them as to their views on hapū participation in the development of Ngāti Porou. In turn, they had the opportunity to observe my commitment to research for the betterment of the group and to make their own judgment as to the level of my integrity.

As a result, various anecdotes were forthcoming. They were imparted with the view, however, that some should not be published and that they were only given to help me towards a more informed appreciation of the facts. In some cases, it was clear the informant's views were not open to questioning. Some researchers, Pākehā and Māori alike, have a superficial understanding of the pragmatics of contemporary Māori society or feel that cultural sensitivities should take a back seat in the face of scientific advancement. Hence, when they have found themselves in a similar situation, they have refused to be held to the task of presenting their informant's view as the most important view or of leaving out material of a sensitive nature at the request of their informants. Such attitudes have resulted in minimal or nil recourse to tribal repositories.

The notion of seeking knowledge from one's elders, as expressed in the whakatauki 'whakarongo ki te kupu a tōu matua,'<sup>20</sup> is inherent in the Māori oral tradition. Advice on the way one can best obtain this knowledge is recorded in Māori oral literature. The qualities of the good researcher are best exemplified by the tupuna Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga:

In his encounters with his ancestors when seeking knowledge from them, Maui dramatised the ambivalent relationship of tension and indulgence between young and old ... Maui's kuia had primeval forces at their command which could destroy him should he try their patience. Therefore, he had to tread carefully and use all his guile to get the information he wanted. Above all, he had to be patient and persistent to achieve his aims.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Pay heed to the words of your parents.

<sup>21</sup> Ranginui Walker, 1990, *Ka Whawhai Tonu matou: struggle without end*, Penguin Books, Auckland, p. 17.

Patience and persistence are certainly two appropriate adjectives to describe the process necessary to gain support and access to resources of tribal scholarship. In addition to the paper record there were many interviews conducted with a number of key informants within Ngāti Porou in order to represent a tribal view fairly. Thus, wide consultation has characterised the development of this thesis. While extensive counseling with tribal members can jeopardise research deadlines it is essential if the work is to enjoy tribal support.

A controlling factor that ensures consultation, particularly for the researcher who is a member of the tribe, is the knowledge that after publication, the researcher's relationship with either their informants or the people on whom the research has been centered does not end. Non-tribal researchers, if they so choose, can divorce themselves from the group, once the work is published; the tribal researcher cannot. Whereas academics use conferences and journals to publicise their criticisms of a piece of research, Māori society is more direct. On any social occasion, from family gathering to tangihanga, a speaker may publicly challenge the researcher to defend a statement or section of the publication. The response is expected to be delivered orally and often immediately. Such a confrontation, however, is unlikely to occur if the work has broad support.

Researchers who belong to the tribe know, or soon find out, the sorts of requirements engendered in recording tribal history, and are often at pains to find a balance between meeting these demands and remaining faithful to a western historical tradition.

### **A Māori Oral History Framework**

Within Māori society, oral history remains the preferred historical approach, but an explicit methodology is not always apparent. As part of this research, a number of interviews were carried out with pakeke and kaumātua to create a framework so that a consistent approach could be taken. A seven-point framework was developed, trialed and then refined during the interviews with C Company. The framework took into account Māori values and societal norms as well as the need for appropriate ethical standards and robust methodologies. It can be applied to Māori history generally and is an important output of the thesis. The framework comprises seven process-focused points:

Seven-point Māori Oral History Framework	
Language	The interviews were conducted in Māori or English or sometimes a combination of both languages. The use of both English and Māori needed to be considered, and the situation in which each might be used, evaluated in advance.
Individual Group Continuum	Distinctions between insights offered by individuals and those offered in a group context were obvious. There was value in interviewing informants in both settings. Some histories, as told by Māori, also took form and meaning when elaborated at hui. Others were meaningful at an individual level.
Location	Decisions needed to be made about the most appropriate location for researchers to interview informants. Options tried within Māori communities included homes, marae and whānau centers.
Community Ownership	The empowerment of communities as a result of oral history research programmes can only be achieved if there is a genuine sense of ownership by the community. Moreover, a framework for the management of intellectual property rights is more likely to emerge if there is the capacity for community participation and agreement. The interview process was shaped by community input and with the knowledge that both the recordings and any publication would become the property of the informants.
Cultural Safety	The researchers need to recognise and respond to the cultural realities of their subjects in a way that is accepted by the informants, their families and their communities.
Interview techniques	We experimented with a number of interview styles and found that Māori-appropriate interview techniques should take into account preferences for whānau participation, visual and oral prompts, and peer interviewing.
Research Impacts	Oral history taking in Māori society can impact both positively and negatively on informants and the wider community. Empowerment is one option; a sense of betrayal is another. Then there are practical economic considerations. In this research, continued consultation has characterised the collecting and utilising of interview data.

### Corroborating oral evidence

Māori historians regard oral history and oral tradition as an exciting source of evidence central to historical enquiry and research. For many of these historians, oral traditions retain their validity because such traditions are continually rehearsed within the tribal context through such medium as mōteatea, waiata tangi, and whaikōrero.

Such accounts are mediated from vast storehouses of tribal knowledge through the oral process by kaumātua who are in command of tribal processes of historical construction.<sup>22</sup>

The traditional reproof of unreliability and inaccuracy leveled by the critics is debated less these days than perhaps twenty years ago. Still, the validity of oral history and oral tradition as a historical source sometimes crops up as the focus for debate, not only among oral historians, but also for mainstream historians particularly where Māori oral evidence is concerned. The Waitangi Tribunal, for example, so as not to “privilege” evidence given by kaumātua has tried to find appropriate ways of critically assessing the evidence. Some years ago the Tribunal’s research staff developed a set of principles by which they made their appraisals.<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, in this thesis oral evidence has been scrutinized where possible. Oral tradition and history has been an important source of information in capturing Ngāti Porou understandings of their past and the oral sources (nearly all of whom are Ngāti Porou) were examined along with other testimonies for corroboration and verification. Some consideration for who the informant was and the integrity of their own sources of information was taken into account in the assessment of the evidence. Many Ngāti Porou themselves, will recognise the oral sources as appropriate and reliable informants on matters of Ngāti Porou history.

### **Documentary evidence**

The documentary evidence drawn on in this thesis comprises official, semi-official, archival and public documents or literature. While they include the direct observations of Europeans, where possible preference has been given to Ngāti Porou sources because they were more likely to encapsulate tribal perspectives and articulate tribal views. These encompass the letters in Māori of clergymen such as Mohi Tūrei, Rāniera Kāwhia and Hāre Te Whā who wrote regularly to William Williams and his son Leonard Williams, and also those who corresponded with Donald McLean, like Mōkena Kohere, Hēnare Pōtae and Hōtene Porourangi.

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<sup>22</sup> Danny Keenan, 1994, “By Word of Mouth ...: the past from the paepae”, in *Historical News*, no. 69, p. 4.

Māori-language newspapers are an important source of information in following political developments among Māori, and have been invaluable particularly in giving context to the decade surrounding the 1860s. A glance at today's newspapers, however, would certainly suggest that journalistic reporting does not necessarily equate to historical truth. It must be expected that 19th century Māori language newspapers were limited in the same way.

A crucial reservoir of information are the records of the Māori Land Court (formerly known as the Native Land Court). No tribal history today should be written without some recourse to these records. Their value as documents of the past have been emphasised numerous times throughout the last one hundred years by various historians. Sir Āpirana Ngata, who made a thorough study of the records held in the Tairāwhiti regional office, was of the opinion that the Court minute books particularly, would "provide the research student with the richest sources of information" relating to Māori history and culture.<sup>24</sup> They have been vital in piecing together the inter-/intra-tribal warfare of the 1820s and 1830s.

Until very recently, these records could only be accessed by a member of the public after the payment of a costly viewing fee. Today, they are accessible by electronic means. Court minutes, however, do create problems for the uninitiated. Illegibility in some minute books is often enough to deter one and in most cases only the English transcript, sometimes incomplete, is available to the researcher. There are also the problems associated with interpretation when using the minute as source material. Specific evidence, for example, may have been manipulated or fabricated to advance a party's claim. Overall, however, court minutes are useful in capturing events from the past which otherwise might be lost to the historical record.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Alan Ward, 1990, *History and Historians before the Waitangi Tribunal: some reflections on the Ngai Tahu claim*, *NZJH*, vol. 24, p. 152.

<sup>24</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1928, *The Genealogical Method as Applied to the Early History of New Zealand*, an address delivered to the Wellington branch of the Historical Society, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> For a useful review of the value of Māori Land Court minute books see Angela Ballara, 1998, *Iwi: the dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, pp. 43-51.

## Literature Review

Essentially this thesis concentrates on the body of primary source material available on Rāpata Wahawaha and on Ngāti Porou over the nineteenth-century period. As far as Wahawaha is concerned, his name frequently features in the literature from 1865 onwards. Before 1865, however, the records regarding his early life are scant. To date, all the publications which deal, however sparsely, with Rāpata's early years have drawn their information from either McKay's *Historic Poverty Bay* or Porter's reflective account of *The Life and Times of Rāpata Wahawaha*.<sup>26</sup> Access to some of Rāpata's personal books in the Ngata family collection, while extremely useful for a post-1865 biographical study, provided little information about his life before that date.

In the end, the information gathered on Rāpata's early life has, with the exception of Porter's account, come almost entirely from the Māori Land Court minute books, particularly the Gisborne and Waiapu series. More important, key information has been drawn, not from the English record of those court cases, but from the minutes recorded in Māori, which unlike the translated record, are not available publicly. These books are the treasured possession of families whose forbears scribed those minutes.<sup>27</sup> Fortunately, it was Paratene Ngata, Rāpata Wahawaha's wife's nephew and whāngai (adopted child), who recorded a number of the cases in which Rāpata gave evidence and those books were made available by his family for this study.

Regarding Ngāti Porou, this thesis follows earlier publications by attempting to give explanations as to how Māori thought in relation to such critical issues as the advent of Christianity, the Kīngitanga Movement and the Hauhau religion. In general, most of the earlier analyses were the work of western-trained historians who, through rational explanations, tried to produce a logical account of the past, albeit constrained by the limitations of the Eurocentric tradition. It was plain to see in the earlier works that many of those who made comments and generalisations about Māori reactions to the colonisation process, however scholarly and consistent the method, based their findings almost entirely on sources supplied by other Europeans. Moreover, the analysis depended to a large extent on the perspective and orientation of the researcher.

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<sup>26</sup> T. W. Porter, 1897, *Major Rāpata Wahawaha: the story of his life and times*, Poverty Bay Herald Gisborne.

I felt to attempt yet another speculative analysis from the same records was redundant as it would most likely lead to similar conclusions. For this reason it was imperative to access Māori source material in private, as well as, public collections and the equally important oral traditions relating to the period, which survive to some degree within those families most affected by the wars and their aftermath. Coupled with a Māori-centric view I believed that this approach would lead to an inquiry which was quite different from the earlier Eurocentric analyses.

Where the present work also differs from earlier commentaries is that it concentrates only on one tribe, Ngāti Porou, and considers the period in the light of the inter-hapū relationships existing at the time. Past writers have tended to view the conflict as it affected all the tribal groupings in the Tairāwhiti region and in so doing have ignored regional diversity and only touched the surface of intra-tribal politics. It might be argued that this microcosmic approach is too narrow a focus and cannot substantiate generalisations over other areas. But can such generalisations be made, given the separate, traditions, whakapapa and character of each region? From a Māori viewpoint, selecting a microcosm is in line with a tradition of respecting the rights of other iwi and only attempting to see the conflict from the perspective of one's own tribe, leaving the view of other tribes to those most competent and most suited to the task. Ngāti Porou involvement in other regions, therefore, is only discussed in order to show why Ngāti Porou were present and what they expected to achieve through their involvement.

Not until Bill Oliver and Jane Thomson wrote *Challenge and Response* in 1971 did anyone attempt to see the East Coast conflict from a view other than the accepted version popularised by James Cowan and later MacKay.<sup>28</sup> This approach did not impress Oliver's benefactors, the East Coast Development Research Association, who had commissioned the work. In an interim report, the Association advised Oliver

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<sup>27</sup> The scribe was usually the court assessor.

<sup>28</sup> W. H. Oliver, and Jane M. Thomson, 1971, *Challenge and Response: a study of the development of the Gisborne East Coast region*, The East Coast Development Research Association, Gisborne; James Cowan, 1922-23, *The New Zealand Wars: a history of the Māori campaigns and the pioneering period*, 2 vols., Government Printer, Wellington; J. A. McKay, 1949, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast. North Island, New Zealand*, J. G. MacKay, Gisborne.



... the book bears no resemblance to the type of history which the association had expected, or that in many respects its main themes are decidedly controversial, or that the author's interpretations (if accepted) would force the local reader to conclude both that his district had little in its past to justify parochial pride, and little in its future to justify his continued residence in it.<sup>29</sup>

While Oliver did a useful job placing the experience of the East Coast region in the context of New Zealand's history, by its very nature the publication suggested that there were two histories of the region: that of the settlers, about which the Association was reasonably informed, and that of the Māori population with which they were much less familiar or wanted ignored. Unfortunately, because of time pressures and the conditions of publication, the text was not supported by references, which made the ready verification of statements difficult.

Following Oliver's lead, Karen Neal wrote her historical thesis on the East Coast Wars in 1976.<sup>30</sup> She set out to review the conflict from the viewpoint of those Māori who were involved. Neal admitted, however, that she was neither Māori nor had access to Māori source material other than the translations of letters from Māori correspondents of the day. Still the thesis is interesting for her summation of how the sides were constituted and why she believed Ngāti Porou became divided in the 1860s.<sup>31</sup>

In 1980 K. M. Sanderson followed with a comprehensive investigation of the development of Christianity in Tūranga and on the East Coast based around the diaries of William Williams. Many of her comments throughout the thesis are most perceptive, particularly surrounding progress of the mission in and about Tūranga. Like Neal, however, her speculative conclusions about Ngāti Porou show a certain distance, and a peripheral engagement with the subjects.

Rarawa Kohere, a descendant of the Rangitukia rangatira, Mōkena Kohere, who was undoubtedly a key figure in the period under review, has contributed a chapter in his

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<sup>29</sup> Interim report to directors of the East Coast Development Research Association of sub-committee appointed to consider and comment upon draft manuscript of Professor Oliver's East Coast History, Oliver & Thomson papers, box 1-8, GMAC.

<sup>30</sup> Karen S. Neal, 1976, "Māori Participation in the East Coast Wars," MA Thesis, AU.

<sup>31</sup> K. M. Sanderson, 1980, "These Neglected Tribes/ A Study of the East Coast Māori and their Missionary, William Williams, 1834-1870, MA Thesis, AU.

thesis on his ancestor's role in repressing the Hauhau factions within Ngāti Porou during the 1860s.<sup>32</sup> Kohere not only writes by right according to Māori convention, but also reflects the informed tribal historian, confident in addressing the past from within the tribal knowledge. I believe more will follow as Māori in general begin to write their perspectives of the contact period in New Zealand.

### **Rāpata or Rōpata?**

Confusion regarding Wahawaha's Christian name may be clarified here. Throughout the text frequent reference is made to him as both Rāpata and Rōpata. According to his long time companion, Thomas Porter, he preferred Rōpata and he signed himself as Rōpata in his letters to non-Ngāti Porou acquaintances. Among Ngāti Porou, however, he was always known as Rāpata and his communication with Ngāti Porou correspondents carried the latter spelling. After consultation with some elders, closely related to Wahawaha, an effort has been made to use the spelling 'Rāpata' throughout the thesis. Naturally, where direct quotes are given which include the name Rōpata there has been no change to the spelling.

### **Terms used in the thesis**

In order to avoid confusion it is important to define the terms used in the text to delineate the various factions who took part in the 1865-66 war. Terms used at the time of the crisis as well as those which became popular in the late 1860s and the succeeding peace are discussed below so that the basis for their use or non-use in later chapters can be better understood.

Immediately following the wars of the 1860s, non-Māori writers and commentators dominated the historical record, reconstructing the wars between Māori and European to explain, justify and assist colonial expansion. Many early writers surmised that the Ngāti Porou contribution in the campaigns of the 1860s was due to a sense of patriotism towards the Crown. Terms such as pro-Government, loyalist, friendly and Queenite were frequently used to describe Ngāti Porou who fought to bring down the Pai Marire movement in the Tairāwhiti region. In contrast, rebel, Hauhau, and Kingite are terms used to refer to the opposition. Repetition of the notion of loyalty by some later writers

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<sup>32</sup> Rarawa D. Kohere, 1992, "He Koha Kei Roto: He Utu Kei Waho," MEd Thesis, AU.

has led to the recurring impression that those who took the side of the Government were traitors to a Māori cause. In the view of many Ngāti Porou, this rather negative connotation has remained even though recent historians have presented widely varied reasons for the Ngāti Porou stance.

Even in modern times, some Māori commentators use the inappropriate term *kūpapa* rather loosely to reflect the conventional view that the disposition of the major section of Ngāti Porou was due to some notion of blind loyalty to the Crown. As a consequence, some Ngāti Porou youth use the term themselves to refer to their tipuna in a somewhat disparaging way. Some recent literature has begun to present a different interpretation, however, but before considering this, we should examine the literal meaning of the word *kūpapa*.

### **Kūpapa**

The etymology of the term is given here to highlight the development of its meaning and to clarify why *kūpapa* as it is commonly understood is not only an inappropriate label, but is also offensive to Ngāti Porou.

The earliest definition of the term is provided by William Williams in the first edition of *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* published in 1844. There the entry reads:

*Kūpapa, v.t.* stoop. I *kūpapa* mai te tāhae, koia hoki te kitea ai; The thief stooped, which is the reason he was not seen.<sup>33</sup>

In the second edition published in 1852, which contained new information, the same singular meaning is given.<sup>34</sup> However, in the 1871 edition, which was quite considerably added to by Archdeacon WL Williams, three definitions are given for the word *kūpapa*:

*Kūpapa, v.t.* 1. stoop. I *kūpapa* mai te tahae, koia hoki te kitea ai. 2. go stealthily. 3. be neutral in a quarrel.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> William Williams, 1844, *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language, and a Concise Grammar: to which are added a selection of colloquial sentences*, Church Missionary Society, Paihia. *TKNT*, 2 June 1845, vol. 6, p. 22 uses the word in similar fashion to describe Hone Heke's war party creeping up to Te Ahuahu Pa which was held by Tāmāti Waka Nene's force near Ohaeawai, north of Auckland.

<sup>34</sup> William Williams, (1852), *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language and a Concise Grammar, to Which are Added a Selection of Colloquial Sentences*, Church Missionary Society, London.

The fourth edition in 1892 added that “the term was applied to the friendly Māoris in the war of the sixties.”<sup>36</sup>

Archdeacon Leonard Williams, himself, used the term *kūpapa* in his journal to describe those who were impartial during the rise of the Pai Marire movement in Tūranga in 1865. He wrote of there being three persuasions, Hauhau, Kāwanatanga and Kūpapa.<sup>37</sup>

As early as 1863, the term was in use at Manutūke in Poverty Bay, and it meant those who were not aligned to either the Kingitanga movement or the Government. Following the consecration of the Whakatō church at Manutūke, a great hui was held where support for the Māori King as a focus of unity was proposed by the Waikato visitors. The local response offered little relief to the visitors. At that time, besides the minority adherents of kingitanga, there was a larger number who were divided between Kāwanatanga (those not averse to the positive measures which Government offered) and the *kūpapa* (ranging from the undecided to the deliberately neutral).<sup>38</sup> At the meeting, Ānaru Matete of Rongowhakaata, expressed the general consensus of wishing to stand aloof of the Waikato war when he publicly announced,

E toru o tātou tikanga e noho nei. Te tuatahi, he kīngi; tuarua, he kāwana; tuatoru, he *kūpapa*. Ko ahau e noho nei, ko Tūranga kāore ōku kingi, kāwana rānei; engari ko tōku tū he *kūpapa*.<sup>39</sup>

We are of three persuasions here. First, some talk of king; second, some of governor; third, some are neutral. I who reside here in Tūranga am neither King nor Government, but my position is neutral.

In a *Te Karere Māori* newspaper article of January 1862, the word *kūpapa* appeared in a report of a hui of Ngāpuhi leaders with Governor Grey and its meaning in that context was interpreted as neutral natives. Tawatawa, a Ngāpuhi spokesman, had said,

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<sup>35</sup> W. L. Williams, 1871, *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language, and a Concise Grammar; to Which are Added a Selection of Colloquial Sentences*. Church Missionary Society, Paihia

<sup>36</sup> W. L. Williams, (1892), *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*.

<sup>37</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 4 May, 12 May, 24 June 1865.

<sup>38</sup> William Williams to Governor Grey, 16 May 1863.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p.12.

Māu te whakaaro kia akona mātau. Māu te whakaaro ki ētahi ture mō mātau, māu te whakaaro ki te kūpapa, ā e pai ana.

It will be for you to consider about instructing us, and giving us law: You consider the neutral natives and it will be good.<sup>40</sup>

From the evidence, it seems that kūpapa, with its meaning of neutrality, came into common usage somewhere in the early sixties. In a report of a meeting held at Kōhanga in December 1861, Wiremu te Wheoro used the term kūpapa, and the official translation was “friendly or neutral.”<sup>41</sup> The use of the word friendly is significant and suggests that the colonial perception was that neutrals were friendlies.

The most convincing explanation as to the genesis of the altered meaning is that provided by Te Kapunga Dewes who, before the Waitangi Tribunal in 1998, explained that the term was derived from an engagement during the opening stage of the war in Waikato.<sup>42</sup> Governor Grey’s troops were firing projectiles across a valley at Kīngitanga resistance fighters while a particular hapū were caught in the middle ground. This hapū wished to take no part in the confrontation and continually ducked or stooped to avoid being hit. From this action, kūpapa took on the new meaning of neutrality. However, because of the slight on the particular hapū concerned, in that they did not assist their fellow countrymen in resisting Grey’s onslaught, the notion of ‘traitor’ is associated with the term. Because of this, few know the story and the names of the parties involved.<sup>43</sup>

By the time of the campaigns against Tītokowaru in 1868, the definition of the term kūpapa had changed again and acquired the meaning of Māori supporters of the Government. How that occurred is not absolutely clear, but the change of meaning most likely resulted from the elimination of neutrality in 1865 where in line with the adage, “If you are not for us, then you are agin’ us”, anyone who was not Pai Marire was seen as supporting the other side.

<sup>40</sup> *TKM*. 15 Jan 1862, no. 2, p .11.

<sup>41</sup> *AJHR*. 1862, E-8, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Te Kapunga Dewes, evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 262, 11 Aug 1998.

<sup>43</sup> Pers. comm., Te Kapunga Dewes, 14 Aug 1998.

Contemporary correspondence by European militants and officials shows that when they first used the term *kūpapa* to identify the “friendly Māori” it was in reference to the Wanganui Native Contingent drawn generally from the Pūtiki, Ngāti Hau and Ngāti Apa districts.<sup>44</sup> This unit appears to have been created under the Colonial Defence Force Act of 1862 and was under the command of European officers in General Cameron’s West Coast offensive which began in January 1865.

When, in 1869, Sir George Whitmore contemplated the pursuit of Titokowaru into Waikato country, Rāpata Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi refused to commit their men, defending the unit’s autonomy. Whitmore wrote,

Then came Ngātiporo[u] [sic]. They said they were not constabulary like the rest, [they] were only engaged for one year, had Māori officers and were enrolled for Pātea only. I found this latter was correct ...<sup>45</sup>

Taken with this later meaning, the term was again misused by the revisionist military historians in the latter part of this century. They found it both useful and convenient. It appears, for example, in Alan Ward’s *A Show of Justice* 1974, although he refers to *kūpapa* as “neutral”, he also uses the term to describe pro-Government Māori.<sup>46</sup> Sorrenson in the *Oxford History of New Zealand*, 1981, simply indexed *kūpapa* as “friendly Māoris.”<sup>47</sup>

As stated previously, the term has recently earned a negative connotation, that of being a “traitor” to collective Māori advancement. This idea, of course, rests primarily on the superficial supposition held by some that there existed among the tribal groupings a pan-Māori collective and subsequently, that the different tribal groupings ought to have been sympathetic in the face of what was perceived to be a common enemy. During the mid-

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<sup>44</sup> *AJHR*, 1866, A-14, p. 4. The Contingent was under the command of Capt. (later Col.) McDonnell. Capt. (later Major) Keepa Te Rangihwinui was appointed officer within the contingent. After Cameron’s expedition, they were sent to garrison Pipiriki, and those who wished were granted their discharge; they were again enrolled in increased numbers for service at Pātea. They were also on active service at Opotiki and on the West Coast. *see also* *AJHR*, 1868, D-21, pp. 16-27.

<sup>45</sup> Whitmore to Haultain, 8 Apr 1869.

<sup>46</sup> Alan Ward, 1974, *A Show of Justice: racial ‘amalgamation’ in nineteenth century New Zealand*. Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, p. 168.

<sup>47</sup> W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams, (eds.), 1981, *Oxford History of New Zealand*. Oxford University Press, Wellington.

nineteenth century, no such identity as pan-Māori existed. Many historians, it seems, are not cognisant of this fact. Yet Māori, who are born and raised around a strong sense of tribalism, are acutely aware of the paradox, so lucidly described in the following statement by Sir Hēnare Ngata:

The term 'kūpapa' has been revived by latter day historians who are quite unable to comprehend why in a crisis like the Land Wars of the last century, other tribes did not flock to join those under siege .... Suffice to say that in those days tribalism was a major sociological force binding those within kin groups into a closely-knit unit, but with no sense of association or community or common purpose or shared heritage with other tribes. Uppermost was the notion of tribe. Race as a concept seemed to have no place in the scheme of things.<sup>48</sup>

In recent years, the media has helped promote this negative aspect, invariably sensationalising the historical account. *The Dominion*, 18 August 1984 posted pictures of Major Te Rangihwinui Kemp and Major Rāpata Wahawaha under the heading 'Butchers for the Queen.'<sup>49</sup> A Māori publication, *Te Iwi o Aotearoa*, June 1990, printed Wahawaha's caricature and encouraged readers to send in other pictures of kūpapa.<sup>50</sup> The paper's definition of kūpapa was plainly stated:

... in the 1860's wars it was the word used for Māori traitors or collaborators, ie Māori people who joined up with British troops to fight their own.

In so far as Ngāti Porou are concerned, the first historian to describe them as kūpapa was Michael King in 1981. King casually interpreted the word to mean 'friendly Māoris' and incorrectly deduced that kūpapa, therefore, fought Māori from as early as 1845.<sup>51</sup> It was, however, James Belich (1986) in *The New Zealand Wars* who made free use of the term to describe Ngāti Porou participation. Belich defined the term *kūpapa* as "pro-Government Māori" and referred to the "kūpapa Ngāti Porou." Of Rāpata Wahawaha, he described him as "the colonists favourite kūpapa."<sup>52</sup> But Belich did attempt to explain kūpapa motivation,<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> H. K. Ngata, 1988, *Treaty of Waitangi*, a public address at the invitation of Te Rūnanga o Tūrangānui-a-Kiwa, p.8.

<sup>49</sup> *The Dominion*, 18 Aug 1984, p. 18.

<sup>50</sup> *Te Iwi o Aotearoa*, Jun 1990, no. 33, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Michael King, 1981, *New Zealanders at War*, Auckland, pp. 29,47.

<sup>52</sup> James Belich, 1986, *The New Zealand Wars*, p. 212.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

The motives of kūpapa groups varied enormously, as did their degree of commitment to the British cause. The one common factor was that this commitment was never complete. The kūpapa did not share British aims; they had their own, which seemed to them to be honorable and in their best interests.

More recently, in the television series *The New Zealand Wars* Belich modified his view contextualising the word kūpapa.<sup>54</sup>

Kūpapa had their own reasons for fighting with Pākeha against their fellow Māori. It was partly that they did not see other Māori as being their own people. Each tribe was a people unto themselves. Kūpapa resisted notions of pan-tribalism which were at the core of the Pai-Marire movement.

While Belich's explanation reflects some understanding of Ngāti Porou participation, the fact remains that using the word kūpapa to describe Ngāti Porou in the wars of the 1860s is historically inaccurate, partly because of its implied meaning, but also because it was never used by any party, either Māori or Pākeha, in relation to Ngāti Porou participation.

In all of the correspondence which still exists for this period, Ngāti Porou never referred to themselves as kūpapa. The little correspondence from Ngāti Porou Hauhau which has survived, does not refer to them in this vein either. More than this, the demeaning use of the word detracts from the aim of autonomy which Ngāti Porou sought, using whatever strategy, or whichever allies, could be subverted to their cause. The word kūpapa is therefore not used in this thesis because the implied meaning leads to shallow understanding and misunderstanding about the nature of Ngāti Porou political objectives.

### **Friendlylies and loyalists**

The European terms 'friendlylies' and 'loyal natives' often convey equally misleading representations. They give a false impression of the widely varied motives of those who

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<sup>54</sup> "The New Zealand Wars," a five-part TVNZ documentary aired in 1998. Paretutaki Hayward in analysing the motives of Wiremu Te Awataia, referred to as a kūpapa, explained, "There are no general rules of absolute consistencies when analysing kūpapa [sic] *per se* and each case must be treated on its own merit. The diversities within each case arise from both the level of participation and the motives of the individual." Paretutaki Hayward, 1996, "The Motives of Kūpapatanga – Christianity or Fiscal Gain? A Case Study of Wiremu Neera Te Awataia," in *Matters Historical*. Proceedings of 2nd University of Waikato History Graduates Conference, p. 216.



took up arms against the Hauhau threat as does the term 'rebels' for the opposing side. Where the Ngāti Porou campaigns are concerned these terms were used by the contemporary Pākeha soldiers and commentators in their correspondence about Māori.

We had one friendly native killed, five wounded, two severely, and one European severely. The friendly natives estimate the number of killed among the rebels to be upwards of a dozen at least.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast, the terms which the Ngāti Porou participants used to describe themselves to political or religious correspondents were *te ope kuini*, *Māori Kuini*, *te Kāwanatanga o Ngāti Porou*, *te taha Kāwanatanga*, and *te taha kuini*. They used these labels to distinguish themselves from other persuasions within Ngāti Porou. They were labels that indicated what they were not, as opposed to what they were. In reality, they also contradicted the principle of Ngāti Porou autonomy, which this writer argues was the basis for resisting the Pai Marire movement. It is a point worth noting that in describing themselves to each other they used their hapū names.

The appropriate term to describe those who fought against the Hauhau is simply the tribal appellation 'Ngāti Porou', but this belies the fact that a good percentage of Ngāti Porou were on the other side. In this study, therefore, the two groups opposed to each other are referred to as Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Porou Hauhau. Where possible, however, the preference is to identify the parties by hapū.

### **The Colonising of Native Peoples**

Scholarly debate about the particular use of certain words and phrases, as has been discussed here, brings to mind a larger context identified by some scholars — that of the colonising of native peoples. It has been argued by some scholars that native people who experienced colonisation inevitably reflect their 'colonisation' in their writings. Others have suggested that native people do have the means to write in ways that are not so directly influenced. For example, Michel-Rolph Trouillot has argued that whilst history is the product of power-relations, and is therefore the 'fruit of power', history is

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<sup>55</sup> Captain Fraser to Donald MacLean, 20 Jul 1865.

nonetheless a process over which native people can assert some control.<sup>56</sup> The impact of colonisation on history has been much studied and commented on. In *After Colonialism: imperial histories and postcolonial displacements*, Gyan Prakash has assembled twelve scholars who debate this issue from any number of vantage points.<sup>57</sup>

Perhaps of more interest and relevance to this thesis is the work of a range of Native American scholars who have addressed the issue of colonisation and native writings. Donald L. Fixico has recently reviewed the contemporary historiography of Native American history and concluded that "one must in the end use imagination in order to consider the total picture of the history of a single Indian community."<sup>58</sup> The sheer complexity of historical and methodological issues facing Native historians in America is amply demonstrated by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert in their *Reading Beyond Words - Contexts for Native History* which assembles over twenty scholars of Indian history, all commenting on the broad issues of constructing native history in America.<sup>59</sup>

Many of the issues raised by these scholars do relate to Māori writers and historians. This has been acknowledged by Māori writers like Linda Tuhiwai Smith who robustly resists the notion that Māori scholars must always accept a state of 'being colonised' in their writings.<sup>60</sup>

Perhaps the best response to be made in the context of this thesis is to affirm the relevance of Maori-centered research, which seeks to foreground those methods and imperatives that are Māori and which most directly and appropriately enable the representation of the Māori past to be recorded. The empowerment of Māori people because of the research, the integration of holistic Māori views in the research process and Māori control over the

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<sup>56</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, 1995, *Silencing the Past: power and the production of history*. Beacon Press, Boston.

<sup>57</sup> Gyan Prakash, (ed.), 1995, *After Colonialism. Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, USA.

<sup>58</sup> Donald L. Fixico, 1997, "Methodologies in Reconstructing Native American History" in Donald L. Fixico, (ed.), *Rethinking American Indian History*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, p. 117.

<sup>59</sup> Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (eds.), 1996, *Reading Beyond Words: contexts for native history*, Broadview Press, Ontario, Canada.

<sup>60</sup> Linda Smith, 1999, *Decolonising Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin.

research where it involves Māori subjects are three key principles of Māori-centred research proposed by Durie. With these principles in mind, Maori-centered research can be “conceptualised as those research activities which will contribute to gains for Māori, as Māori, and which will advance the aims, goals and processes of positive Māori development.”<sup>61</sup> It is within such a framework that this thesis has been written.

### Use of the Term Ngāti Porou in the Nineteenth Century

(refer to map no.s 1 and 4 for place names and hapū locations mentioned in this section)

In this thesis when the term ‘Ngāti Porou’ is employed, unless otherwise stated, it refers to the collective groups of people from Pōtikirua to Toka-a-Taiau (see map no 1), accepted by Ngāti Porou and neighbouring tribes as the terminals of the modern Ngāti Porou confederacy.<sup>62</sup> However, when the term is quoted from the letters or speeches of participants in the period under study (ie. nineteenth century), it may sometimes refer to a division of the wider group. This is an important point because the designation as it was used in the early nineteenth century is problematic, particularly for those who are only familiar with its more general application.

The following statements, for example, give the impression a number of the hapū who presently affiliate to Ngāti Porou have not always identified themselves as part of the group. The rangatira, Hōhua Tāwhaki, on behalf of the regionally based Te Kawakawa (later Te Araroa) runanga, wrote in 1865,

Kei te mohio tonu Ngātiporou o Waiapu ki te taha o te Kawakawa i te Hauhau. Ko te nuinga o te Kawakawa i te taha kuini anake ...

Ngātiporou of Waiapu are well aware of the portion (of the people) of Te Kawakawa who are Hauhaus and that the greater portion are Queens men ...<sup>63</sup> (*official translation*)

Similarly, in his war narrative in 1871, Rāpata Wahawaha wrote,

Ka karangatia e te Makarini ngā rangatira o Ngātiporou o te Whānau a Ruataupare o te Aitanga a Hauiti ...

<sup>61</sup> M. H. Durie, 1997, “Identity, Access and Māori Advancement,” *New Zealand Journal of Educational Administration*, vol. 12, p. 44.

<sup>62</sup> Pine Taiapa listed the following boundaries for Ngāti Porou: Outer boundary recognised by adjacent tribes Ngāti Kahungunu and Whakatōhea: Paritū to Tarakeha. Boundaries within the outer boundary of Ngāti Porou: Toka-a-Taiau to Toka-a-Kūkū. Tāwhiti to Pātangata (inner boundary). Kopua Kanae to Paoaruku (last and inner boundary). Pine Taiapa to FZA McPhail. 16 Jul 1957.

McLean called together the leaders of Ngāti Porou, **Whānau-a-Ruataupare** and **Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti** ... <sup>64</sup> (*my translation*)

In 1885, Eru Pōtaka, giving evidence before the Native Land Court, in reference to a meeting held at Waipiro in 1868, stated,

The people who assembled there were **Ngāti Rangi** of Reporua, some of the **Whānau-a-Rua** of Tuparoa, **Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti** from Marahea and **Anaura** .... I think Hēnare Ngātai and others of Ngāti Porou were there. The principal number assembled were **Te Whānau-a-Rakairoa**. <sup>65</sup> (*Court translation*)

Wi Pōkiha gave evidence before the Native Land Court in 1895:

Awarau was the scene of a quarrel between Te Kirituheke and Tamatoi over their plantation. While the former was using his karakia before eating and covering his eyes with his hands Tamatoi struck him on the neck with an axe and nearly cut his neck off. Ngāti Porou came to *whakawā* this *kohuru* (try this murder case). Tamatoi was brought to **Akuaku** and shot. The parties were both **Whānau a Te Haemata**. <sup>66</sup>

In 1909, Mohi Tūrei wrote about an event which took place in the 1830's:

Ko ngā iwi o Tūranga, o Whāngārā, o Uawa, o Tokomaru i karangatia e Ngāti Porou katoa ki te riri ki a Apanui ... <sup>67</sup>

The people of Tūranga, **Whāngārā**, **Uawa**, and **Tokomaru** were called by all of Ngāti Porou to join them in fighting **Whānau-a-Apanui** ... (*my translation*)

The descent groups and place names highlighted in bold print all fall within the modern day Ngāti Porou tribal boundary. On the surface, these examples suggest the name Ngāti Porou, in the nineteenth century, referred to a quite specific grouping, whose size and domain of influence was markedly more confined than it is today. In fact it implies that a wider region and group of people than were identified as Ngāti Porou in the nineteenth century has been interpolated into the historical account. The observer, who is unfamiliar with the Māori history of the region, might conclude from these statements that a

<sup>63</sup> Hōhua Tāwhaki to McLean, 4 Sept 1865, MS Papers 32, folder 689J.

<sup>64</sup> WNRW, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Evidence of Eru Pōtaka in investigation of the Waipiro Block, Wp8B/336 of 18 May 1885.

<sup>66</sup> Evidence of Wi Pōkiha in investigation to the Akuaku West Block, Wp18/45 of 27 Jan 1895.

**Whānau-a-Te Haemāta** and **Whānau-a-Rakairoa** were names for the hapū who resided at **Akuaku**. In the 1820s they had retired to Taitai and then **Whakawhitirā**. They were part of the Ngāti Porou ope taua mentioned by the Tokomaru people as having gone to their aid at Tuatini Pā in 1828.

<sup>67</sup> *Te Pipiwharauroa*. 1909, no. 141, p. 8.

structured political unit, similar to the modern day tribal confederacy, did not in fact exist in the nineteenth century.

Māori political and social organisation has always been dynamic and certainly, in the nineteenth century, the assemblage of hapū now known as Ngāti Porou were continuing to evolve and consolidate as they faced new challenges and rapid change. When one looks at the written record of social organisation which existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century there appears to be no sense of a cohesive tribal unit along the East Coast. Rather the region seems to have been inhabited by several disparate hapū, almost one to each valley.<sup>68</sup>

But those who maintain the oral traditions within the tribe are acutely aware that this was not the case. Ngāti Porou was clearly identified by whakapapa well before the nineteenth century. On specific occasions they operated as a collective unit and found their greatest expression as a tribe in times of particular stress. The contest at Te Maniaroa, Tākerewakanui and the clash to avenge the killing of Hinētāpora, for example, are instances, which occurred in the early eighteenth century, where all the hapū on the coastline from Tūranga to Wharekahika stood united against their neighbours, the Whānau-a-Apanui. Further, there are the campaigns of Tūwhakairiora and Pākānui in the sixteenth century which stamped the name Ngāti Porou on their descendants brows. Hence the reason why Sir Āpirana Ngata anchored the whakapapa in his *Rauru-nui-a-Toi* lecture series, (his legacy of Ngāti Porou history), on Porourangi.<sup>69</sup> The key to hapū on the East Coast acting in concert lies in whakapapa.

The name Ngāti Porou is a shortened form of Ngā tini uri ō Porourangi and Porourangi, the progenitor of the tribe had several titles: Porouariki, Te Tuhi Māreikura-o-Rauru and Te Mata-tara-a-whare. It is said all the chiefly lines of descent converged on Porourangi and that all hapū in the region could trace their descent from him. It was based primarily on this kindred descent from Porourangi, reinforced by other tīpuna who emerged further down the Porourangi family tree, that the hapū along the coastline

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<sup>68</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1944, *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*. Lecture 3, p. 18.

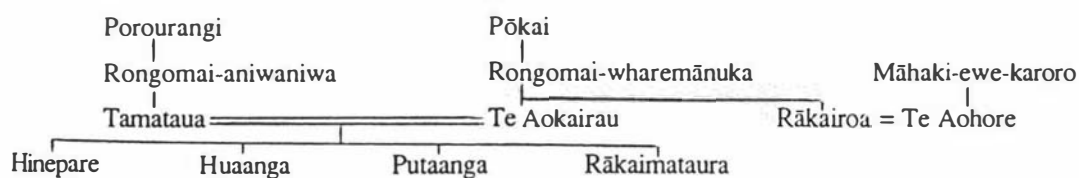
<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

sometimes pooled resources and / or temporarily coalesced at a central pa.<sup>70</sup> Within this tribal unanimity, however, each hapū actively maintained its autonomy.<sup>71</sup>

### Ngāti Porou tūturu

According to tribal scholars, originally, Ngāti Porou had been properly a name applied to those hapū living along both banks of the Waiapu River from Kōpuakanae, at the mouth of the Waiapu, to the Paoa-ō-Ruku Stream some twenty kilometers inland.<sup>72</sup> Over the years, local speakers, during marae discourse, have acknowledged this descent group as Ngāti Porou tūturu.<sup>73</sup> Aitanga-a-Hauiti for example, the southern most group of the Ngāti Porou and who have in the past had a tenuous relationship with their northern neighbours, may refer to visitors from the central and northern East Coast as Ngāti Porou, giving the impression that Ngāti Porou are a distinct entity from themselves. Their immediate northern neighbours, the Whānau-a-Ruataupare, are also heard to refer to those north of them as Ngāti Porou. Again, nearby residents, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, who are at the southern end of the Waiapu valley are inclined to welcome the people closer to the mouth of the Waiapu, “Haere mai Ngāti Porou.”

Hāpuku (Jacob) Karaka, in written evidence prepared for the Waitangi Tribunal explained that Ngāti Porou tūturu derived its distinctness through the marriage of Te Aokairau to Tamataua. These were the respective progeny of Pōkai and Rongomaianiwaniwa.



<sup>70</sup> This genealogical bind is expressed in the proverbial saying, “I whiria e te iwi kei te pō tā rātou taura here i a tātou i ō rātou uri, ehara i te mea ki te harakeke, engari ki te tangata, e kore e taea te wete.” (Our ancestors plaited the rope that ties us together as one, not with flax but with persons, the rope cannot be untied). cited in Affidavit of Waho Tibble concerning Fisheries Allocation before the High Court of New Zealand, 13 Feb 1998.

<sup>71</sup> Even when Captain Cook called at Uawa and Anaura in 1769, he gained a sense of this independence. He formed the opinion that each village was a separate group from the next, having been told at each place he put into, that “those who were a little distant from them were their enemies.” Cook navigated the eastern coast in 1769 calling at Anaura (which he recorded as Tegadoo) and Uawa (Tolaga). He made no mention however, of the name by which the residents in each locality were known.

<sup>72</sup> Pine Taiapa to F. Z. A. McPhail, 16 Jul 1957; Reweti Kohere claimed, “The truest Ngāti Porou are the sub-tribes living in the Waiapu Valley from the mouth of the river to Paoa-o-Ruku stream,” Reweti T. Kohere, 1949, *The Story of a Māori Chief: Mōkena Kohere and his forbears*, AH & AW Reed, Wellington, p. 16.

<sup>73</sup> The term tūturu has often been translated as ‘proper’ and identifies the original group from whom the name was derived.

Te Aokairau inherited the land along the Waiapu river through her father and she divided the land between her children, from whom descend all the hapū in that region and hence their particularly close relationship.

This area is the heart of the Ngāti Porou people, it stretches from the mouth of the Waiapu river up towards Paoaruku, then over the Waiapu towards Kaiinanga and the Rakaihoea people, from there back to the mouth of the river, these are all one people. They used to say in those days, say when the Rakaimataora people would come to a tangi or an occasion on this side of the river, “Haere mai koutou, tēnā pāpāringa ki tēnei pāpāringa” - Welcome, that cheek to this cheek.” What they meant was the people on that side of the river were the same people as the other side of the river, they were like two sides of the face divided only by the nose which was the Waiapu river.<sup>74</sup>

Waho Tibble has explained further that the tuakana (elder sister) of Te Aokairau, who was Rākairoa, also inherited land from her father.

During the Māori Land Court investigations of the ownership of the Tikitiki Block, Te Koroneho Kopuka and Hēni Morete deposed that the son of Pōkai and Pohatu was Rongomaī whare mānuka and that in his time he held domain over the lands on both sides of the Waiapu River. Before he died he gifted his lands to his two daughters. To the tuakana Rākairoa, from Pōhautea to Te Wairoa, from Waiapu to Te Huka o te Tai at Kopuakanae, from the Waiapu River to Te tihi o ngā Maunga. Rākairoa became the wife of Te Aohore, son of Māhaki Ewe Karoro and Hinemākaho, and had a large family, the descendants of whom still occupy the lands from Pōhautea to Te Wairoa from the river to the sea — their marae being at Tikapa, Te Horo, Waiomatatini, and Kākāriki. Te Aokairau became the wife of Tamataua, son of Rongomaianiwaniwa and Tawakika, and their children Hinepare, Huānga, Putaanga and Rākaimataura became the owners of the land from Paoaruku to Kopuakanae and from the river to the hilltops — their descendants still occupy those lands today, their marae being at Te Rahui, at Te Taumata o Tāpuhi, at Rangitukia, and a house named Putaanga, formerly at Puhānui is being built at Tawata.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Affidavit of Hāpuku-niha Karaka, Wai. 272. Waho Tibble gives the expression in full, “Haere mai ki roto o Waiapu ki a Ngāti Porou tuturu. Tētahi pāpāringa ki tētahi pāpāringa, he whānau kotahi, mai i Pōhautea ki te Ahikouka whakawhiti mai i te awa o Waiapu mai i Paoaruku ki te huka o te tai ki Kopua Kanae, ko ia nei a Ngātiporou tūturu.” Quoted in Waho Tibble, 2000, “Te Whānau-a-Maraehara: 100 years operation of Taurawhārona Station by Hōne Ngata and his descendants”, work in progress. Paul Weka, who resides near the Waiapu River, said that Ngāti Porou ‘tūturu’, also derives its distinctiveness through descent from the ancestors of the Horouta canoe. Pers comm, Paora Weka, Tikitiki, 1998.

<sup>75</sup> Waho Tibble, 2000, “Te Whānau-a-Maraehara: 100 years operation of Taurawhārona Station by Hōne Ngata and his descendants”, work in progress.





fighting pa along the Waiapu river and Rangitukia pā was completed near the mouth, and the owners of the land invited those living between Wharekahika and Tāwhiti (who had previously taken refuge at Taitai) to join them in residence, it was Ngāti Porou whāiti who were the occupants of the two pā. But this aggregation of hapū was labelled simply Ngāti Porou by their southern relatives, the Tokomaru and Uawa people.<sup>79</sup>

It was the wholesale acceptance of the Christian message and its associated benefits from 1837 that created a climate for the long-term cooperation of hapū and the strengthening of a tribal consciousness. In the 25-year period of peace which followed, the hapū structure within the tribe was used as a basis for such things as trade, the establishment of schools and churches and even the formulation of parishes.

The influence of the Kīngitanga movement followed by the infiltration of the Pai Marire religion in 1865 brought hapū and whānau into collision with each other fragmenting the tribal structure. The civil war that took place was to be the catalyst for reshaping the iwi profile at the expense of hapū autonomy. As a direct result of the war, a Ngāti Porou whānui tribal identity was fostered and more or less accepted.

Defining Ngāti Porou boundaries and the make-up of its population is a complex matter which is inextricably bound up in the genealogical relationships of whānau and hapū within the region. Even today, as a strong tribal consciousness continues to be fostered and promoted, Ngāti Porou, within their boundary, revert back to the use of hapū names. Outside Ngāti Porou territory they present a unified front taking on the wider and well-known title Ngāti Porou whānui to indicate the historical alliances. They continue to recognise the role and relevance of hapū but ascribe equal validity to a collective tribal identity.

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place he had visited was 'Enamatteora' probably referring to the Uawa district where Hinematiaro lived. This early discourse with Māori who had been or who were from the East Coast, gave the missionaries the impression that the district was inhabited by a related group of people ruled by a monarch.

<sup>79</sup> In recounting the battle fought at Tuatini Pā in 1828 between the Uawa and Tokomaru people Whānau-a-Rua referred to Ngāti Porou (all those living to the north of them) as their allies. In 1833, the term Ngāti Porou was recorded in writing for the first time. A group of involuntary passengers, carried off from the East Coast and landed among Ngāpuhi, had been discovered by Rev. Brown who reported in his journal to the Church Missionary Society that "the name of the[ir] tribe is Ngāti Poro[u] [*sic*] and their residence Waiapu near the East Cape." A. N. Brown to CMS, 31 May 1833 CN/026. The group included Rukuata (later baptised Enoka) and other leading men from the newly constructed Rangitukia pā and indeed they did belong to Ngāti Porou of the Waiapu valley. It was not a reference, however, to all the descent groups along the coastline from East Cape to Tūranga.

## Chapter 1

### Ngāti Porou Participation in World War Two

In 1992, on the front page of *The Evening Post* newspaper a photograph of Mrs Mere Karaka Te Rā Ngārimu showed her farewelling one of her grandsons who was among the servicemen leaving for Bosnia as part of the NZ Armed Forces deployment. Mrs Ngārimu made the comment that she was proud to see her mokopuna continuing the tradition of commitment to the defence of the country. Six of her own children had previously enlisted in the armed services, and her husband had been a member of the 28 Māori Battalion during World War Two. This example of recurring military service over generations is not uncommon among Ngāti Porou families, and to many it is a source of pride.

Ngāti Porou participation in the defence of New Zealand was never more evident than during the Second World War. The war broke out on 3 September 1939. Almost immediately people throughout the Ngāti Porou district began discussing the implications the War would have for their region. Some of the older people, remembering the effects of the First War, had reservations about their young men participating. Hui to decide on the collective response of the tribe were held in each of the districts throughout the East Coast. In the Waiapu, people met at Te Rāhui Marae in Tikitiki. Mrs Te Ao Wiremu recalled,<sup>1</sup>

... the most powerful statement in our house Rongomaianiwaniwa was that no one should agree, or sign up or go to the war - absolutely no one. Some however, were of the opinion that whatever was decided by government, that would settle it, just as it was in World War 1 .... The elders

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<sup>1</sup> Te Ao Wiremu, 1986, "On the Coast During the War Years", in *The Māori Battalion Remembers II*, p. 85. This is a translation, the Māori text being, "Ka hui rātou, ngā tino kōrero i kōrerotia i roto i tō mātou whareniui a Rongomaianiwaniwa kia kua rawa atu tētahi hei whakaae mō te haina, mō te haere - kia kua rawa atu! Ka kī anō ētahi, ahakoa rā pēhea te mea oti mai i te kāwanatanga ka pērā tonu, pērā atu hoki i te Pakanga Tuatahi. Ehara i te mea nā te Māori i noho, ka haere. Nā te ture kua noho te Māori ki raro i te Karauna, he aha te mate e pā ki te Karauna ka awhina te Māori. Kei te noho tonu taua kaupapa .... Ka tangi ngā pakeke tō rātou kore kāre whakaae, kei heipū anō ka taua mai ki runga ki a rātou mokopuna ēnei -

wept because of the lack of consensus and that their grandchildren, now potential soldiers, would be inescapably involved - bearing in mind that their fathers and uncles were killed overseas in World War I. Those who returned home came back as casualties. The elders did not wish a repetition.

Even with evidence in their own communities of the detrimental effects of World War One, the balance of opinion swung in favour of supporting the war effort through allowing the young men to enlist.<sup>2</sup> And enlist they did, mostly with the 28 Māori Battalion.

The Māori Battalion was constructed out of a desire by Māori to represent themselves and to have a degree of autonomy. Two days after the 3 September declaration, a request was placed before Parliament by the Māori Members that a combat unit comprised entirely of Māori and commanded by Māori officers should be permitted to take part overseas. Government's response came a month later when it announced that a Māori rifle battalion would be established. Apart from the senior officers appointed, it was to consist entirely of volunteers and indeed it remained so throughout the war. Māori were not to be conscripted. Even so, the response to the call to arms was swift. Within a month, some 900 volunteers had enlisted. A significant percentage, perhaps twenty per cent, of these were from Ngāti Porou.

The Māori Battalion was organised on tribal lines and consisted of five companies. A Company drew its recruits from the north of Auckland, B Company from south Auckland-Bay of Plenty, C Company from the Gisborne-East Coast region<sup>3</sup> (including Ngāti Porou) and D Company from the lower North Island including the South Island. A headquarters Company was a composite of men from all regions. Māori who had already enrolled in the First Echelon were given the option of remaining in camp with their unit, or transferring to the Māori Battalion.<sup>4</sup> Most chose to move, but some men remained and went overseas with

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arā hoki ngā mātua, te nuinga mate atu ki tua o ngā ngaru, te Pakanga Tuatahi. Ngā mea i hoki mai i te wā kāinga i hoki taotu mai. Kāre rātou i pirangi kia pērā.”

<sup>2</sup> St Marys Church, which stands adjacent to Te Rāhui Marae, was erected in 1926 as a memorial to the men from the district who fought in World War One. The roll of honour which hangs in the church was in itself a constant reminder of the sacrifice by families in the district.

<sup>3</sup> C Company drew its recruits from the tribal groupings between Tōrere and Muriwai and at the time this district was referred to as military area 7.

<sup>4</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1943, *The Price of Citizenship*, p. 19.

their original unit. While numerous volunteers also served with other branches of the services, the focus for Māori participation in World War Two was with 28 Battalion, primarily because the Battalion was so readily identified as Māori and for much of the time was under Māori control and leadership.

Correspondence in the Defence department archives shows a zeal among Ngāti Porou males of all ages, despite the initial reaction of their elders, to serve with this Battalion. In fact, one or two, who themselves could be classed as elders, tried to enlist, even though the requirement was for men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five. Tame Poata of Tokomaru Bay, for example, was among the first to volunteer his services. Tame, a widower and father of eight, was the last of the *tohunga-tāmoko* (experts in traditional skin tattoo) in Ngāti Porou.<sup>5</sup> At the time he was three months short of his 71st birthday and wrote that he was fit, healthy and had all his natural teeth. He had fought in several campaigns in South Africa: Matabele (1893), Chitral (1895), Jamieson Raid (1895), Bechuanaland (1896), and the Boer War (1901). He expressed a sentiment that the younger men would need a *kaumatua* to look after them once they had come out of the battle front. His offer was declined but it exemplified the warrior ethos inherent in the men who formed the main body of the Battalion.<sup>6</sup>

The Battalion went into camp at Palmerston North on 26 January 1940. With the arrival of the recruits from Ngāti Porou, men who would form the greater part of C Company of the Battalion, it was found that there were almost twice the number expected, enlisted men having been accompanied by brothers and cousins.<sup>7</sup> The extra volunteers, at least those who passed the examination, were posted to Headquarters Company.

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<sup>5</sup> From 1928 until his death in 1942, Tame Poata practised needle tattooing throughout the central North Island. He was the son of Lt-Col Thomas Porter, who fought in the wars on the East Coast from 1866 to 1872 and later commanded the New Zealand troops during the Boer War. His mother was Herewaka, the daughter of the Tokomaru chief Tama-i-whakanehua-ite-rangi.

<sup>6</sup> Tāmāti Poata to Lt-Col A. E. Conway (Director of Mobilisation), AD1, 300/1/2 vol. 1, NA.

<sup>7</sup> Pers. comm., Sir H. K. Ngata, 1995.

The main body of the Māori Battalion left on overseas duty on 2 May 1940. Over the next five years, twelve drafts of reinforcements were sent to bolster the fledgling ranks of the Battalion. A quarter of these men were recruited from the Ngāti Porou region.

**NUMBERS OF MEN WHO EMBARKED WITH 28 MĀORI BATTALION**  
**showing percentages from military area 7**

Draft	No of men from military area 7	Total no of men who embarked	% of draft who were from military area 7
Main Body	168	690	24.35%
4th Reinforcements	78	281	27.76%
5th Reinforcements	78	293	26.62%
6th Reinforcements	91	346	26.30%
7th Reinforcements	84	286	29.37%
8th Reinforcements	15	55	27.27%
9th Reinforcements	86	253	34.00%
10th Reinforcements	120	364	32.97%
11th Reinforcements	70	290	24.14%
12th Reinforcements	99	415	23.86%
13th Reinforcements	1	2	50.00%
14th Reinforcements	39	151	25.83%
15th Reinforcements	26	152	17.11%
<b>Total</b>	<b>955</b>	<b>3578</b>	<b>26.70%</b>

NB: Military area 7 extended from Tōrere (Eastern Bay of Plenty) to Muriwai (Gisborne) and included Ngai Tai, Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Rongowhakaata and Ngai Tamanuhiri. The vast majority however, were from Ngāti Porou. Recruits drawn from area 7 were posted to C Company of the Battalion. Often there were more men than was required to fill the company and the overflow were allocated to Headquarters Company, D Company or sometimes B Company. Other Māori who left with other units and joined the 28 Māori Battalion overseas are not represented in this table.

Throughout the war, 3578 men embarked for service with the 28 Māori Battalion. Some 800 of these, that is, over twenty percent were from Ngāti Porou.<sup>8</sup> Young Ngāti Porou men also gained entry to the Royal New Zealand Navy and the Royal New Zealand Air Force — some because their qualifications were better suited for a particular service, others out of interest, but the vast majority because they were under-age and found they were more likely to be recruited. Enlistments for the army, particularly in areas of dense Māori population, were conducted by Māori registration officers who often knew the approximate age of the volunteer or could at least verify it with the man's family, lessening the chances of under-age youths being enlisted.<sup>9</sup>

### Sir Āpirana Ngata

On the home front the individual most readily associated with C Company, and indeed the Battalion, was the Ngāti Porou leader, Āpirana Ngata, the Member for Eastern Māori and fondly remembered by the troops as "the father of the Māori Battalion." In the months before war was declared, Ngata, in anticipation of the outbreak, had pressed the Labour Government for a Māori combat unit. He was representing the views of a team of tribal leaders who were to play an integral part in organising the Māori war effort.

In World War One Māori leadership had seen the war as an opportunity to raise the profile of Māori and sought the formation of a body of frontline troops. While the Native Contingent did serve for a short while as infantry, for the greater part of the war they were utilised as labourers. The Second World War presented another chance for full participation. At a hui at Rotorua, held shortly after the outbreak, and attended by representatives of Māori leadership, Ngata was again urged to put their request for the establishment of a Māori unit, under the command of Māori officers.<sup>10</sup> They believed that

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<sup>8</sup> These estimates are taken from the database compiled as part of the C Company Oral History Project.

<sup>9</sup> Recruiting officers for the Ngāti Porou district included men like George Stainton and Jim Ferris who had wide networks throughout the district. Jim Ferris had been an officer with the Native Contingent during the First World War and later became an interpreter with the Native Land Court. So while he did not necessarily know those enlisting, he often recognised family names and could check ages relatively easily.

<sup>10</sup> Rotorua was then the centre of the Eastern Māori Electorate.

an all Māori fighting unit could prove that in war Māori were the equal of their Pākehā comrades and that they could meet whatever obligations accompanied New Zealand citizenship and the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi. Moreover, they were only too well aware that in 1939 the full benefits and privileges of New Zealand citizenship were marginal for most Māori.

To this end, Ngata as the helmsman, was among the leading proponents against conscription. He voiced the opinion of the group that there was no need for compulsion where Māori were concerned as Māori leadership was sure, given the opportunity, they would volunteer. In line with the requests of the Rotorua hui he insisted that the officers be tribal leaders and made recommendations for C Company's officers based on education, previous military experience and genealogical ties to warrior ancestors. In nearly all cases his assessments were justified.<sup>11</sup>

With a network of correspondents, including the senior officers of the Battalion, Ngata was kept informed of developments both at home and abroad concerning the war effort. Where the welfare of the Battalion was concerned, he dealt directly with the Minister of Defence and often the Prime Minister.<sup>12</sup>

Ngata kept abreast of the Battalion's progress, ensuring the necessary reinforcements were always available to the unit. This he did by encouraging his own people in the C Company region to enlist as an example to other tribes. The recruitment drive he led was intensive, particularly among his Ngāti Porou relatives. He worked in conjunction with the tribal committees and women's institutes that were the real driving force behind the Māori war effort. Ngata's own family was represented by two of his sons who had enlisted with the main body, and later a grandson joined the reinforcements.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Pers. comm., Nēpia Mahuika, 22 Mar 1999.

<sup>12</sup> Sir Āpirana Ngata was on the Opposition side in Parliament when war broke out and lost his seat in 1943, so that whatever influence he may have had during the war, he was always dependent on the goodwill of those in power for support. The Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, and the Minister of Māori Affairs, Paraire Paikea, were two who valued the elder statesman's advice. Ngata's efforts, with no parliamentary power, reflect his influence during the war period.

<sup>13</sup> These sons were Wiremu (Bill) and Hēnare (Henry) now Sir Hēnare Ngata. His grandson was Hori (George) Mahue Ngata.

s more reinforcements were required, Ngata used his influence to assist men into the forces. These were men who would not normally have been accepted either because they did not meet the age requirements, had too many dependents, or were considered essential manpower for the running of the country. There is a host of correspondence in the Ngata family collection, where men sought his help in their endeavours to gain entry into the forces. Serving as an illustration are the letters of George Nēpia, the famous All Black of the 1920s, who wrote on several occasions informing Ngata of his attempts to get away to the war. Writing from Rangitukia, Nēpia urged him not to prevent his going; he imagined the old man had within his sphere of influence the power to authorise all enlistments.<sup>14</sup> The main obstacle for George, however, lay in the fact that he was 39 years of age at the time, was married with four children, and had a farm to maintain. All reasons why the authorities found it difficult to accept his offer of service.<sup>15</sup>

As the war progressed, the high casualty rate placed a continuous demand on the Māori population to provide more and more volunteers. In turn, the recruits for the Battalion were getting younger. In the C Company area, the district was being drained of its youth. There is a saying "i purumatia atu ō rātau toa" which conjures up imagery of the entire able-bodied youth of the East Coast being swept away to war. Bruce Poananga, who was working at the Ngāti Porou Dairy Company in 1942, said that he was one of only six or seven remaining men who were eligible for war service. The rest were already serving. When these decided to register, and not long after he was posted to Blenheim for pilot training.<sup>16</sup> At Tikitiki and Rangitukia, like other villages, there was not a single household that had not provided at least one of their sons to the war. At Whangaparaoa (Cape

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George Nēpia to Āpirana Ngata, 21 Jan 1944. file no. 139, NFC. In fact, according to George's daughter, Kiwi, the person who may have been responsible for any opposition was her mother, Te Huinga. Āpirana had encouraged Te Huinga's father to go as an officer with the Ngāti Porou reinforcements to France during World War One. Lt Kōhere was killed; Te Huinga was about 8 yrs at the time. Later in life there were times when Āpirana would ask Te Huinga to let George go overseas with the national touring rugby teams explaining that it would bring recognition to the Māori race. She considered herself a widow; when the war began she was not about to be a war widow. She refused to agree to George's request to join up and asked Āpirana not to allow him to go. Pers. comm., Kiwi Rowlands, March 1999.

Regulations at the time restricted recruits to below the age of 35 yrs.

Pers. comm., Bruce Poananga, 1998. Poananga was later accepted to Duntroon Military College and was the first Māori to graduate. Years later he was to discover Ngata also had a hand in that.



Runaway), six Waenga brothers enlisted, while six Poutu brothers signed up from Wharekahika (Hicks Bay). There were five Thomson brothers from Uawa (Tolaga Bay) who served with the Māori Battalion, while a sixth joined the Air Force. Three Mackey brothers from Waioamatatini were in the Māori Battalion and a fourth served overseas in the Navy. The peer pressure throughout the district was such that George Nēpia said, "If I didn't go and do my bit, one could hardly wish to be here when those fellows come home."<sup>17</sup>

This commitment to the war effort was not without its associated problems. For example, the arrival of the 14th reinforcements in Egypt during 1944 brought repercussions from the officers of the Battalion. One of the Ngāti Porou officers wrote to Ngata annoyed that he had discovered 30 of the new recruits were under age, and expected there were more among the draft. He implored Ngata not to send any more minors.<sup>18</sup>

### **Why such high casualties?**

By the end of the war twenty per cent of the men who saw action from the C Company region had been killed overseas, while seventy per cent of all those who returned home received wounds. Over the years there has been much conjecture as to why the casualties were inordinately high in the Māori Battalion. The speculation among observers ranges from suggestions that Māori as infantrymen were often overzealous in the front line, to the explanation that their ability as a unit to get the job done saw them placed in key roles often in the thickest fighting. This latter explanation needs to be viewed in light of the fact that the Māori officers would sometimes volunteer for the difficult tasks.

According to some C Company veterans, part of the explanation for the exceptional number of casualties lay in the way the Battalion was organised. C Company for example, consisted of three platoons that each drew men from separate regions.

13 Platoon: Tōrere to Te Araroa

<sup>17</sup> George Nēpia to Āpirana Ngata, 17 Jun 1944, file no. 141, NFC.

<sup>18</sup> Major S. Jackson to Āpirana Ngata, 6 Apr 1944, file no. 141, NFC.

14 Platoon: Waiapu to Waipiro

15 Platoon: Tokomaru to Muriwai

While there were always one or two men in the platoons from neighbouring districts in general this structure resulted in kinsmen with a common whakapapa fighting alongside each other. Being relatives they were not about to let each other down if one of them was in trouble.<sup>19</sup> Combine this with racial pride, a warrior tradition to live up to, and the desire to fulfil the expectations of their people at home, and the result is a situation like the attack on Point 209 where 2Lt Ngārimu's 14 platoon were prepared to fight to the death. After that 12-hour close-quarter battle with the Germans only three of the 30-man platoon were able to walk off the hill unaided.

### The Home Front

The Māori Battalion acquitted themselves with distinction overseas and while the culmination of their efforts was indeed their performance in the front line, that performance can only be fully appreciated when placed in the context of the overall Māori war effort. In the Ngāti Porou district it was a people's effort and involved everyone from the old and infirm to the young. It was necessary for the women to assume new roles and take on the responsibilities of their absent menfolk. Often they helped run the farms, managed the family business, and generally kept the family together. Some of the younger women served with the Womens Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), the Womens Airforce Auxiliary Forces (WAAF) or went to work in the munitions factories in the cities. Children with their mothers helped gather the seafood and knit the stockings that were sent to the men. Sisters were assigned the task of writing to their brothers overseas to keep them informed of developments in the community. And young ones imitated their uncles and tipuna who formed the Home Guard armed with broomsticks.

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<sup>19</sup> There are several examples in East Coast oral traditions of hapu and whanau loyalty in war. The Te Aowera fighting unit on reaching the forward trench below the perimeter of Ngatapa Pā in 1866 were cut off from their support and were in fact left for dead. The few who came to their aid were relatives answering the hapu call to rally.

There is a well-known whakatauki "Ka tika a muri, ka tika a mua", which freely translated means, when things are working well behind the scenes, the activities at the front go well or, better still, when the infrastructure is in place, great things can happen. No one would deny that the Māori Battalion owed something of its success to those who supported them on the home front. In essence, their performance overseas was an extension of their people's effort back home.

### **Why did so many volunteer?**

The voluntary service by men from Ngāti Porou during World War Two appears to have drawn around 80 per cent of its eligible manpower. According to the 1996 national census, Ngāti Porou represent ten per cent of the Māori population.<sup>20</sup> If the percentage was the same during World War Two, then it could be said Ngāti Porou, which made up twenty per cent of the Battalion, gave twice as many men as might have been expected. Many of their remaining able-bodied men also volunteered only to be excluded for health or other reasons.

How does one explain the large numbers of volunteers from Ngāti Porou? On the face of it, the enlistment from this region suggests a sense of duty and even enthusiasm to make a contribution. Sir Hēnare Ngata, himself among the first to join the Māori Battalion, when reflecting on this question, hinted at this very point. He said

In times of crisis and emergency, men often take up the challenge inspired no doubt by the necessity to meet and overcome that challenge. More so in times of war. War, such as World War Two, is the greatest crisis a country and its people could face .... I am sure that many of our men would have gone to war even if 28 Māori Battalion had not been formed.<sup>21</sup>

The argument is a valid one. Even in World War One, Māori were enlisting in Pākehā units before the establishment of the Native Contingent in 1914. While "duty" as a motivating factor cannot be denied, and may well be the primary reason for the overwhelming response by individuals to the call for volunteers, "duty" alone cannot

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<sup>20</sup> Statistics of New Zealand, 1997, *1996 Census of Population and Dwellings: Iwi*, vol. 1, p. 18.

explain the disproportionate representation in the Battalion by the different tribes. Te Arawa, for example, provided inordinately large numbers of reinforcements, while Waikato as a matter of principle, contributed few of their men to the Battalion. Understandably, the Waikato tribes, felt they owed nothing to the Crown, which had confiscated much of their land in the land wars of the nineteenth century.

It is more likely the motivation for enlistment was complex, and multi-faceted. There must have been a regional or tribal response, as witnessed in the reluctance of tribes like Waikato, as surely there was a collective response among those tribes which had fought on the side of the Crown. On an individual level, it could be said many of the men joined with a sense of adventure, wanting to see the world and to get away from what may have seemed a mundane existence. Some were inspired by the gentle persuasion of their elders. Others enlisted through peer pressure or a desire to join relatives, while others again, joined to uphold family pride and tradition. The battle front and the risk of being killed were furthest from their minds.

Many of the volunteers also appear to have joined with a sense of responsibility to their people. On the eve of departure in March 1940, for example, Māori Battalion men from the Poverty Bay-East Coast region paraded in Gisborne at the end of "final leave." There they were farewelled by an elder, Hēnare Ruru, who charged their imaginations with these parting remarks, "Go forward and meet the enemy and never turn your backs on them. If you do, the ghosts of your warrior forefathers will forever haunt you."<sup>22</sup> This obligation to uphold the honour of the Māori people was reinforced by the senior officers within the Battalion throughout the war. It was not only a war against the 3rd Reich, but also an opportunity to satisfy Tumatauenga.

### **A martial heritage**

The contribution made to World War Two by Ngāti Porou made sense in light of a martial tradition obvious in World War One, the Boer War and the earlier land wars. Each of the

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<sup>21</sup> Pers. comm., Sir H. K. Ngata, 6 Apr 1999.

<sup>22</sup> Pers. comm., Tautini Glover, 8 Mar 1999.

Ngāti Porou men who enlisted with the Māori Battalion, for example, could lay claim to a relative who served in the First World War, and many had grown up looking to these men as role models.<sup>23</sup> Close to 500 men from the Ngāti Porou district volunteered to serve overseas during the First War, and again Ngata was instrumental in their recruitment. He even allowed his under-aged son, who had enlisted at 15, to go abroad as a reinforcement.<sup>24</sup>

A generation earlier, Tuta Nihoniho of Ngāti Porou offered himself and 500 Native troops as comrades-in-arms for the British soldiers in the war with the Boers. The offer was politely declined but some of the men who had Pākeha ancestry were allowed to go and did participate.

The key to understanding the Ngāti Porou contribution to World War Two lies in the philosophy set down a century earlier. In fact, the clue to understanding the level of support of many iwi lies in their relationship with the Crown during the nineteenth century.

In the preamble to the Treaty, if one accepts the words at face value, a motivating force that moved Queen Victoria to annex the country was her concern for the protection of Māori, their rights and property. While it was recognised that the British had two voices: the State (as in the Colonial Office) and the Crown (as in the monarch), it was to the monarch that the Ngāti Porou leaders, and in fact all Māori chiefs, paid heed. The might of the Crown was personified in the person of the Queen, in much the same way as the power and authority of tribes was personalised to the chiefs, acting on behalf of their people. Regardless of the passage of time, many Māori people retain a sense of loyalty and trust towards the monarch, despite the behavior of the settler government when it was established and to which the British Parliament transferred authority. Conversely, there has always been suspicion of the Crown in New Zealand, that is, the New Zealand Government. Trust in the person of the monarch, which it would be fair to say is dissipating among the younger generations of Ngāti Porou, nonetheless remains strong

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<sup>23</sup> Korean War veterans in the Ngāti Porou district say the same thing: that their decision to sign up was heavily influenced by the images they held of their elder brothers, fathers and uncles who went away in the Māori Battalion.

<sup>24</sup> Pers. comm., Riria Keelan, Mar 1999.

among their elders and perhaps among some other iwi; but it is no longer universally shared by Māori. Yet there remains within the tribe an expectation that the monarch will deliver a fair deal.<sup>25</sup> Some believe that the Crown will see it as a matter of honour (mana). This trust, and a sense of loyalty, is not irrelevant to understanding Ngāti Porou in times of conflict and particularly their response in World War Two.<sup>26</sup>

In the wars of the 1860s members of the Ngāti Porou tribe were split down the middle and fought both with and against the Crown. For the most part, however, Government forces were primarily seen as secondary to the issues that inflamed the hostilities. In 1865, fighting between factions within the Ngāti Porou district broke out, ostensibly because of the arrival of the Hauhau movement. In essence, despite the different tactics, the Māori parties were equally committed to land retention, and both sought Māori control of Māori resources. They differed only in the means by which they sought to achieve these goals.

History has shown that the side which aligned with the Crown may have achieved at least some of their objectives. These Ngāti Porou probably made a strategically astute decision, at least in terms of land retention, to fight alongside, not against the Crown. From that battlefield new leaders were to emerge. Major Rāpata Wahawaha stands out with some distinction; he was to take up arms with the Crown, but to pursue his, and his people's, own agenda. The Crown had, so to speak, become a convenient ally.

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<sup>25</sup> Sir Hēnare Ngata reiterated this point when he said, "If Māori had not had faith in Queen Victoria and her heirs and successors they would have abandoned the Treaty long ago. As it was, in spite of the deceit and double dealing of settler governments they held fast to the Treaty, and this and future generations will reap the rewards." Pers. comm., Sir H. K. Ngata, 12 Nov 1999.

<sup>26</sup> In the 1970s, recognition of the spirit in which the Treaty was signed appeared in the Appeal Court judgement given by Justice Cooke in the case between the NZ Māori Council and the Crown where he said, "The differences between the texts and the shades of meaning do not matter for the purposes of this case. What matters is the spirit. This approach accords with the character of Maori tradition and culture .... The Treaty signified a partnership between two races." — this being the first judicial use of the word 'partnership' to describe the relationship of the two parties that signed. More recently, the Prime Minister has reminded the country of the Government's obligations under the Treaty. In her address at the opening of Parliament on 21 Dec 1999, she explained that solutions for closing the gaps between Māori and Pākehā ought to be "in a way consistent with Treaty obligations." In her New Year's Day address (2000) at Te Poho-o-Rāwiri she was more to the point stating, "Article Three of the Treaty presents our country with great challenges. It guarantees Maori equal rights of citizenship. Yet great gaps have developed between Maori and other New Zealanders. Closing those gaps is essential if this nation is to be at peace with itself."

Those who had opposed Wahawaha and others were not necessarily convinced of the long-term benefits of which these leaders spoke. The land confiscations elsewhere in the country, however, changed their views. While Ngāti Porou had been divided during the wars, on no account would their leaders, men like Wahawaha and Mōkena Kohere, allow confiscations of the Ngāti Porou tribal estates. They felt that they themselves had put down the resistance and the Crown was now obligated. Government acceded to their requests and in so doing confirmed for Ngāti Porou, at least, that the Crown could be used to further tribal objectives, at a price, but for long term advantage.

Since that period this notion of reciprocity has been imbued in generations of descendants. There remains a sense of expectation that support in internal and external conflicts will be translated into legal and factual equality within New Zealand. "Equality with Pākehā, as it remains today, has been a principle all Māori have held since the Treaty."<sup>27</sup> Some in turn have come to appreciate that if one is to enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship, they should also expect to contribute to the country's defence. Hence Tuta Nihoniho's offer of service. Using the field of battle, Āpirana Ngata actualised this philosophy on a much grander scale during World War Two, in the hope that all Māori would benefit by the Crown's reciprocation.

The degree to which the martial tradition impacted on the individual's decision to enlist in World War Two is a question addressed in this thesis, as is the matter of whether the Ngāti Porou contribution to both World Wars can be attributed to the stance taken by men like Major Rāpata Wahawaha in the wars of the 1860s. Āpirana Ngata, who played a key role in Ngāti Porou recruitment was a great-nephew of Hārata Te Ihi, the wife of Major Wahawaha. His father, Paratene Ngata, had been a member of Rāpata Wahawaha's household. In turn, Āpirana came under the Major's influence throughout his childhood.<sup>28</sup> Wahawaha was one of the first to discern Āpirana's "intellectual promise and is credited with having influenced his subsequent educational career."<sup>29</sup> Many of the values of Wahawaha's generation were passed on to Āpirana by Wahawaha and his wife, Hārata Te

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<sup>27</sup> Pers. comm., Sir H. K. Ngata, 6 Apr 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Āpirana was one day short of his 23rd birthday when Wahawaha died.

Ihi, and reinforced by his parents, Paratene and Katerina. It was through them that his attitudes to the monarch, the Government and also the Anglican church were shaped. When one looks carefully at the changes brought about by Pākeha contact in the nineteenth century, and these were changes that Wahawaha's generation had to cope with, it is evident that Ngata's efforts throughout his political career were grounded in the philosophies and values laid down in the preceding two or three generations.

The chapters that follow review the life of Major Rāpata Wahawaha, with particular reference to the wars on the East Coast 1865–72. They are not themselves so much a biography of Wahawaha as they are a study of the leadership style he displayed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. To appreciate the man in his middle to later years it is necessary to understand the period in which he grew up and the experiences and beliefs of the people among whom he was nurtured throughout those years. Through a study of Major Rāpata Wahawaha and the period in which he and other Ngāti Porou leaders held sway, the connection between that period and World War Two will be explored.

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<sup>1</sup>Eric Ramsden, 1948, *Sir Āpirana Ngata and Māori Culture*, p. 102.



## Chapter 2

### Invasion and Challenge 1818-1823

What follows in the next three chapters is an attempt to describe the life of Rāpata Wahawaha up until 1840. With only minimal anecdotal records available, the emphasis has been placed on the major political events of the period and the socialisation process which shaped the young man. The purpose of these chapters is threefold. The first and more obvious, is to bring together the various anecdotes which exist for this period and synthesise them into a chronological record for posterity's sake and for Ngāti Porou readers. There is a need for this as no single clear account has been published on the early life of Rāpata Wahawaha.

Second, the chapters endeavour to describe the significant events which shaped Wahawaha's leadership role. While the outbreak of war with the Hauhau may have accelerated him into prominence, it appears that he was already a person of some influence before 1865. To this end, three important events surrounding his early life are reviewed: the invasion by Ngāpuhi (1818-1823) chapter 2, the internecine warfare between hapū and iwi which resulted in his captivity (1823-1836) chapter 3, and the advent of Christianity (1834-1840) chapter 4. These events were of fundamental importance to Ngāti Porou and took place during the first 20 years of Wahawaha's life. Each would have affected Wahawaha as a young man.

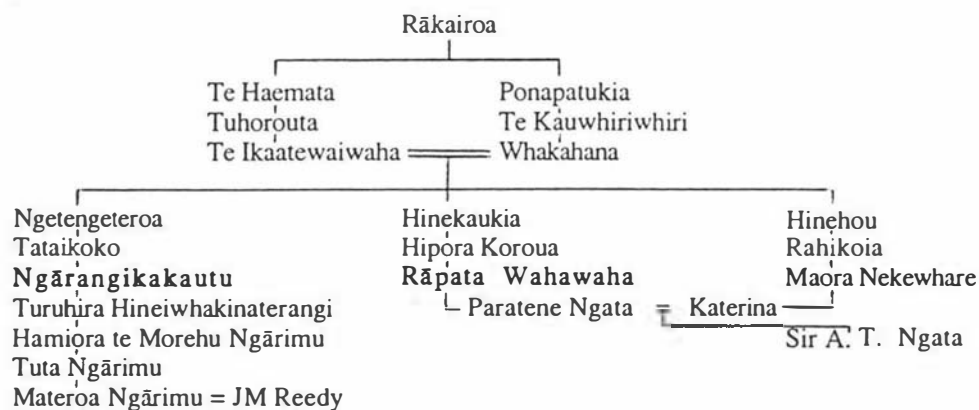
The third and more difficult objective requires some explanation. As part of the research for these chapters a visit was made to Ngātapa Pā where Rāpata Wahawaha is said to have been responsible in part for the shooting of some 120 prisoners.<sup>1</sup> Standing on the spot where those shootings took place, I found it difficult to vindicate what seemed to be an inhuman and unnecessary action. On posing my dilemma to elders their response was that one ought not to judge such actions through the sanitised eyes of the 1990s but rather find meaning in the period in which men like Wahawaha had lived. I have since come to

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<sup>1</sup> James Cowan, 1923, *The New Zealand Wars: a history of the Māori campaigns and the pioneering period*, vol. 2, p. 281.

### Origins of his name

For a number of years inquiries had been made into the correct interpretation of Rāpata Wahawaha's surname. The Christian name Wahawaha came as a result of his incarceration in 1828 and is discussed later in this chapter. The logical explanation seemed to be that found in the writings of Sir Āpirana Ngata who gave the name as Nga-Rangi-Wahawaha-aruhe-mā-Ngārangikakautu (The one who for many days carried on his back fernroot for Ngārangikakautu).<sup>4</sup> Ngārangikakautu was a rangatira of Whānau-a-Rākairoa, the hapū who once resided at Akuaku and Mataahu at the northern end of Waipiro Bay.<sup>5</sup> He was Wahawaha's elder cousin being descended of the senior line from their tīpuna Te Ika-a-te-Waiwaha and Whakahana.



Ngata explained the name was reference to the service provided by the younger branch of the family towards the “hereditary chief” and to the duty of Wahawaha himself to provide faithfully for the physical well-being of his people. Wahawaha's own evidence before the Native Land Court went some way to support this interpretation. In the investigation into the Akuaku Block he made plain his position, explaining that Ngārangikakautu's grandfather Ngetengeteroa was tapu and grew no food. “I and my ancestors grew the food for them ... We had no rights as we were cooks for Ngetengeteroa.”<sup>6</sup>

However, Wahawaha's recital of his name before the Native Land Court on two occasions was a much longer one, of which even a rough translation suggests there is more to the name.<sup>7</sup> In 1998 there came into the writer's possession the minutes recorded

<sup>4</sup> Sir A. T. Ngata, 1950, “Biographical Notes,” p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> The central place of activity for Whānau-a-Rākairoa is now at Te Kiekie, near Waipiro Bay.

<sup>6</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in investigation of title to the Akuaku Block Wp18/248 of 1893.

<sup>7</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in investigation of title to the Orua Block Wp1/255 and in Waipiro re-investigation

in Māori of one of the cases where Wahawaha had recited his name. The public transcript is in English and it is a translation of what was supposedly said in court. This English version only records the name without expanding further.<sup>8</sup> But the Māori script includes a further two paragraphs where Wahawaha gave a lucid explanation of how and why he was named and so ended any further speculation.

Ko Ngārangikakautu hei tuakana kia au. Nōna taku ingoa a Rangi Wahawaha aruhe ki Te Puia ki Te Reinga a Tamateahiwera o Ngārangikakautu mā te poaka. Kei Waipiro a Te Puia. Kei kōnā hoki ngā maunga aruhe. No te Whānau a Rākairoa a Ngārangikakautu. He rangatira nō Te Whānau a Rākairoa .... Ko Te Reinga a Tamateahiwera he ingoa anō nō Ngārangikakautu. Kei te taha o Te Puia ngā maunga aruhe i mahi ai ia. Nō taku whānautanga ki te Aramoā i te Awanui ka hoea mai au ki Akuaku. E ngaro ana a te Whānau a Rākairoa mā ki Te Puia ki te kari aruhe. Ka puta mai a Ngārangikakautu me te kawenga aruhe mā te poaka.<sup>9</sup>

Ngārangikakautu is an elder cousin of mine. My name is taken from his. Rangi wahawaha aruhe ki Te Puia ki te Reinga a Tamateahiwera o Ngārangikakautu mā te poaka. Te Puia is at Waipiro. Fern plantations are also there. Ngārangikakautu belongs to Whānau-a-Rākairoa .... Te Reinga a Tamateahiwera is another of Ngārangikakautu's names. The fern plantations where he worked are near Te Puia. After I was born at Aramoā at Awanui I was brought by canoe to Akuaku. The people of Whānau-a-Rākairoa were not there. They had gone to Te Puia to dig fernroot. Ngārangikakautu came (from Te Puia) with a load of fernroot (as feed) for the pigs.  
(my translation)

Akuaku is along the coastline about nine kilometres from Te Puia and there are long stretches of beach running from Akuaku to Pōkurukuru the point on the beach at which the climb begins to Te Puia.<sup>10</sup> Ngārangikakautu would have been seen coming from some distance to the relatively deserted community and his appearance on this occasion was significant enough to warrant the naming of the child after him.

From this it might be interpreted that Rāpata Wahawaha's arrival was an event which contained little significance, an anomaly in terms of the impact he was to make on Māori society. Sir Āpirana Ngata wrote, that in rank Wahawaha was not born a chief and by Wahawaha's own admission, he was one of the "tūmau" for his great uncle

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of 14 May 1890 in Waipiro Poraka Book no3/106, NFC.

<sup>8</sup> See Rāpata Wahawaha in re-investigation of title to the Waipiro Block, Gis16/282 of 14 May 1890.

<sup>9</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in Waipiro re-investigation of 14 May 1890 in Waipiro Poraka Book 3/106, NFC.

<sup>10</sup> Pōkurukuru is the point immediately above the boat sheds at Waikawa.

Ngetengeteroa and his family, supposing that this would be the word he used in Māori for “cooks”.<sup>11</sup>

However, the inculcation of character into the personality of the individual in any society is begun in childhood. The parents, while they are the main agents of society for this task, are at most times hardly aware of their role and are simply doing what needs to be done. In this case, the naming of Wahawaha after his cousin Ngārangikakautu is in a sense the beginning of conditioning by his parents and by the hapū, perhaps deliberately, to have him understand his position in the hierarchical structure of Whānau-a-Rākairoa. The respect due from Wahawaha towards his cousin gives a clue to Wahawaha’s position within the hapū and helps to explain his role within the wider context of Ngāti Porou. It is the key, wrote Sir Āpirana Ngata, to his “character as the servant of his tribe, and as the custodian of its prestige.”<sup>12</sup>

### Wahawaha’s birth date

Rāpata Wahawaha was born *circa* 1820 at Te Aramoā.<sup>13</sup> Te Aramoā was the name of a stream four kilometers south of Te Awanui (Port Awanui), and today’s generation would recognise Te Karaka as the general name for the locality. While Wahawaha’s mother was of Whānau-a-Rākairoa, his father was of Whānau-a-Karuai and Whānau-a-Mahaki of Waiomatatini, and it is probable the circumstances of his birth at Te Aramoā relate to the fact that his father was from that area.<sup>14</sup> However, most of his early life was associated

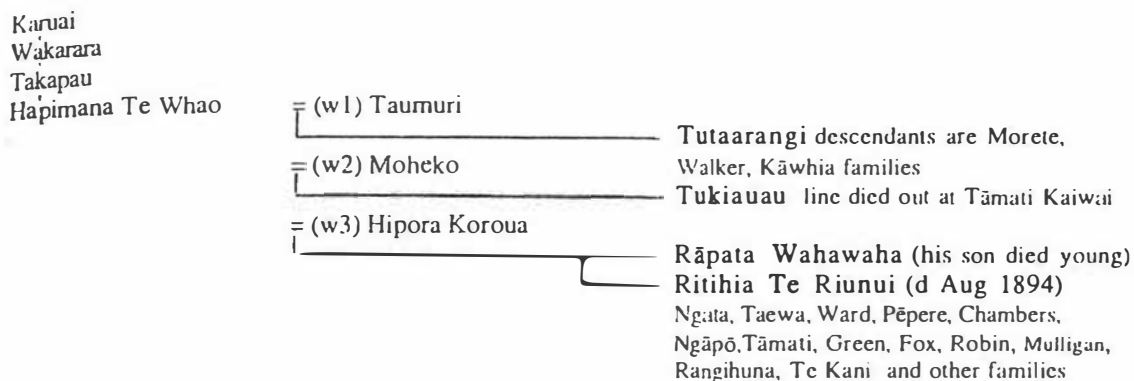
<sup>11</sup> In an early draft of this chapter I used the word ‘ringawera’ to describe ‘cooks’. Professor Tāmari Reedy pointed out that ‘tūmau’ was an older term extant in his childhood. Sir Hēnare Ngata, when he read the draft, gave the following advice which I believe is worthy of preserving. “Translation of ‘ringawera’. Rather than a literal English translation which I think could be misleading, the term I think is intended to convey the fact that Rāpata and his whānau were of a ‘junior line’ and not of the ‘ruling class’, as it were. A literal translation of Māori terms into the English language does not always convey accurately what the Māori term intends. The culture gap has to be negotiated. Chiefly rank does not rate a great deal now. On the other hand personal qualities were always highly regarded, whatever the person’s rank or birth status might be.” Pers. comm., Sir H. K. Ngata, 17 Jul 1999. Keesing, in his review of Māori development on the East Coast, stated that Wahawaha, while not a first-class chief, was of high rank. It is possible that he was referring to his patrilineal line of descent. Felix M. Keesing, 1929, “Māori Progress on the East Coast,” in *Te Wānanga*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 97.

<sup>12</sup> Sir A. T. Ngata, 1950, “Biographical Notes,” p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> By his own testimony, he was born at Te Aramoā. See Rāpata Wahawaha in Waipiro re-investigation of 14 May 1890 in Waipiro Poraka Book 3/106, NFC. In contrast, J. A. McKay, 1949, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast*, p. 297, states that he was born at Te Puia. According to Tāwhai Tamepo, the elders of Whānau-a-Rākairoa said Rāpata was born at Akuaku. Transcript of a recording made by Mr Tāwhai Riri Tamepo at his residence Opiki, Te Puia Springs, 6 Aug 1976.

<sup>14</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in Waipiro Re-investigation, Gis 16/268 of 13 May 1890. He also said that his father was buried at Waiomatatini Gis 16/289 of 15 May 1890. During the Waipiro Investigation Rāpata said his father did not belong to the Waiapu alone. He also belonged to Akuaku. Wp 9B/289 of 6 Jun

with his mother's people at Akuaku. Wahawaha and his younger sister Ritihia Te Riunui grew up among their Whānau-a-Rākairoa relatives. Two elder half-brothers, Tutaarangi and Tukiauau, were raised among their father's relatives at Waiomatatini.<sup>15</sup>



In past years, there has been some confusion as to the date of Rāpata Wahawaha's birth. The quandary came about due to a passage in the semi-biographical account of Wahawaha by his friend and fellow officer Lt-Col Thomas Porter. In Porter's estimation, Wahawaha was born about 1807. This date was arrived at since Wahawaha had said that he was a full grown boy at the time of the introduction of the Gospel to New Zealand. Porter assumed that Wahawaha's reference was to 1814, the accepted date for the advent of Christianity in the Northland, and "allowing him to be seven years of age at the time" arrived at the 1807 birth date.<sup>16</sup>

In fact Wahawaha's statement is a reference to the introduction of Christianity to the East Coast, that date generally being acknowledged as 1834.<sup>17</sup> Wahawaha himself stated before the Native Land Court that he was born at the time of the second Ngāpuhi invasion of the East Coast.<sup>18</sup> J. A. MacKay, who carried out extensive research into the several raids by Ngāpuhi on the people living in the Bay of Plenty and on the East Coast, gave 1820 as the date of the second invasion and MacKay himself, having come across

1885.

<sup>15</sup> Pers. comm., Henrietta Kāwhia, 1 Aug 1998.

<sup>16</sup> T. W. Porter, 1897, *Major Ropata Wahawaha; the story of his life and times*, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> December 1834 was the date at which the first missionaries made their appearance in the Ngāti Porou district. These were Rev. William Williams and Rev. William Yate who returned a number of captives resident in the Bay of Islands among their Ngāti Porou kin (see ch. 4, p. 100). In his opening address to the synodsmen gathered at Waerenga-a-hika in 1861, Williams, speaking loosely, stated it had been 25 years since the advent of the Gospel in the district. *Waiapu Synod*, 3 Dec 1861, vol. 1, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Evidence in investigation of title to the Hauanu Block, Wp 7B/121.

Wahawaha's statement in the Native Land Court minute books, concluded that this was about the year of Wahawaha's birth.<sup>19</sup>

### Ngāpuhi Raids

The mood of unfulfilled vengeance which followed the Ngāpuhi raids, would have exposed the young Wahawaha to an atmosphere of caution and inveterate bitterness. The coastal residence of Akuaku is bounded on either side by historical pā sites including Kōkai (north) and Tapatahi (south). Both were laid siege to by Ngāpuhi and are not only within view but would have been passed and even visited by Wahawaha and his relatives on numerous occasions throughout his youth.<sup>20</sup> They provided a constant reminder of the humiliating and unavenged defeat his people had suffered at the hands of the northern invaders.

To gain an appreciation of the catastrophic effect the Ngāpuhi raids had on Whānau-a-Karuai and Whānau-a-Rākairoa, the immediate clans into which Wahawaha was born, and indeed on Ngāti Porou, some background on the incursion follows. Certainly, an examination of the impact of the raids is critical not only for forming an appreciation of Rāpata Wahawaha, but also for an understanding of how the northern tribes influenced the development of Ngāti Porou up to 1840.

The prediction of Te Rangitauātia, a *matakite* (seer) belonging to Whānau-a-Hinerupe, who many years before forecast the presence on the East Coast of both Ngāpuhi and Europeans, was well known among the several hapū of Ngāti Porou. Te Rangitauātia prophesied, “E kore te pakiaka hinahina e toro i runga i au, e rongo ake au, ‘E mara ana, e kīhi ana.’ (Before the roots of the hinahina stretch over me I will hear the language ‘E mara’ and the ‘hissing language’).<sup>21</sup> ‘E mara’ is a form of address employed by the Ngāpuhi and the hissing refers to their dialect with its many sibilants.<sup>22</sup> What visitation caused Te Rangitauātia to make the prediction is unknown, however, his own children

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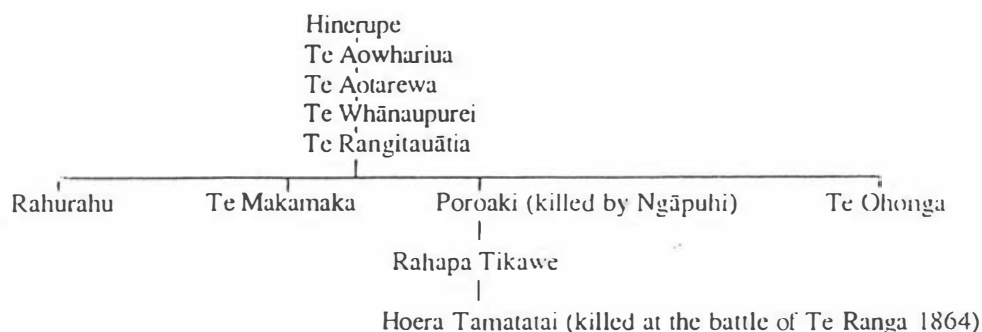
<sup>19</sup> McKay, pp. 76, 297.

<sup>20</sup> Today youth continue to hunt goats and wild pigs in this region and sometimes the chase takes them up onto these sites.

<sup>21</sup> Tuta Nihoniho, 1913, *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast*, pp. 24,53. *TWMNT*, 1874; Bob McConnell, 1993, *Te Araroa: an East Coast community history*. McConnell, Te Araroa

<sup>22</sup> Pers. comm., Tāmami Reedy, 9 Jan 2000. Some interpreters believe that the hissing language may refer to the English language.

were to bear testimony to the accuracy of it, Poroaki being killed during the Ngāpuhi siege of Whetūmatarau.<sup>23</sup>



Ref: *Olive Branches*, pp21-23. Wp18/267

Ngāpuhi and the Pākehā, about whom he prophesied, were to have the most prevailing effect on Ngāti Porou society in the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Both groups were in a sense intrusions from Europe, although Ngāpuhi, being the bearer of the musket were indirectly so.

The first foray from the north occurred in 1818 and was led by the indomitable Ngāpuhi commander Hongi Hika.<sup>25</sup> Leaving Hokianga on 7 February, Hongi first went to Thames, where he was joined by Te Haupa of Ngāti Paoa.<sup>26</sup> Their combined force numbered some eight hundred men including the Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Paoa and Ngai te Rangī tribes. Together they advanced along the coast of Bay of Plenty, attacking and destroying the several pā in that vicinity. “Those who could escaped into the interior, abandoning their homes. Great numbers were killed for the inhabitants of the Bay of Plenty in those days were very numerous. They did not yet possess firearms, and had little chance against Hongi’s warriors with their muskets.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Evidence in Investigation to the Title of Tututohora Block, Wp1 1/345 of 21 Jul 1886.

<sup>24</sup> Poroaki, Te Rangitauātia’s son, was killed by Ngāpuhi at the siege of Whetūmatarau where the expression was heard, “E mara! E mara! I aua hohoro; ka toua koe.” (O friend! O friend! Hasten or you will be fired upon). The expression was heard again at Hautupakoke when it fell to the invaders. Hautupakoke was a pā at Tikitiki which had been the home of Te Rangitauātia. Te Rangitauātia was long since dead. The late George (Hori Te Rangitauātia) Haig carried the name of this ancestor. Pers comm, Tāmami Reedy 7 Jun 1999.

<sup>25</sup> For discussions of the causes why Hongi Hika came south raiding and sacking pā see J. R. Elder, (ed), 1932, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838*, p. 173; McKay, pp. 72-9; W. L. Williams, nd, *East Coast Historical Records*, pp. 3-5; Smith, S Percy, (1910), *Māori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 89-93; Rev. Lawrence M Rogers, 1959, “Ngāpuhi Invasions of the Bay of Plenty in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 96-97a,

<sup>26</sup> Elder, p. 173.

<sup>27</sup> Rogers, p. 97a.

Continuing through Whānau-a-Apanui, they attacked and overwhelmed Maraenui.<sup>28</sup> While the initial raids were primarily in retaliation for the earlier alleged murders of some of Hongi and Te Haupa's relatives, it is believed the purpose of venturing further east was solely to obtain slaves and food.<sup>29</sup> It is probable that the ope taua (war party) also sought moko mokai (tattooed heads) as a means of purchasing more arms and ammunition.

On reaching Ngāti Porou territory, the unstoppable force penetrated as far as Waipiro sweeping all before them.<sup>30</sup> With little knowledge of the musket, ancient and previously impregnable pā fell one after another and survivors of different hapū surrendered or fled into the hinterlands.<sup>31</sup> Innocent victims unaware of the arrival of invaders and too far from the fortified pā were taken by surprise while going about their daily tasks. "Large numbers were mercilessly slaughtered, and many, according to the custom of the time, were eaten by the victors."<sup>32</sup> Te Otutu and Paranihi Pōpō, for example, were digging potatoes when Torotahi and others of the Ngāpuhi party came upon them. Popo, a female, was fortunate to be taken captive but Te Otutu was eaten at Pakiakanui.<sup>33</sup> Whānau-a-Rākairoa had congregated with their neighbours in the Aitanga-a-Mate coastal stronghold Kōkai Pā at Whareponga, two kilometres north of Akuaku.<sup>34</sup>

### Fall of Kōkai Pā (c1818)

Oral traditions hold that the several hapū who awaited the attack at Kōkai were confident of withstanding an assault by the invaders and prepared, among other traditional weapons, pu patete to meet the Ngāpuhi muskets.<sup>35</sup> Kōkai is a high hilltop bounded by steep

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 97a.

<sup>29</sup> McKay, p. 75.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 75 states that according to Bishop Herbert Williams, the southern limit of the raid was five miles north of Tokomaru Bay. This would place them at Waikawa below Tawhiti hill. Oral traditions of attacks by Ngāpuhi in that vicinity still survive.

<sup>31</sup> Among the ancient strongholds which fell was Ōkauwharetoa, the bodies of victims damming the Ōtāwhao stream below it. Wīrepa, p. 89. Hongi Hika later told Samuel Marsden that in total on the expedition they had burnt five hundred pā and 2000 men, women and children were taken prisoner. The settlers said about seventy heads had arrived at Rangihoua from the excursion, Elder, p. 173.

<sup>32</sup> Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Pōpō later escaped. Wp 13/377 Evidence of Amiria Huatahi in Whakaumu Case. Pakiakanui is a ridge between Tikitiki and Te Araroa. The inland trail between the two centres was referred to by that name. The present road (SH35) roughly follows the old trail.

<sup>34</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha said that, "When there was an assemblage at Whareponga Whānau-a-Rākairoa lived there with them." Waipiro Investigation, Wp9B/114 of 9 Jun 1885. According to Kā Pātaka in the Mangahārei Investigation of Title, Wp18/155, 175 of 14 Feb 1893, her uncle Te Rongotahuri was killed at Kōkai and he was of Ngāti Hinekehu and Ngāti Uepohatu, the people living to the north of Kōkai, which suggests some or all of them were at Kōkai as well.

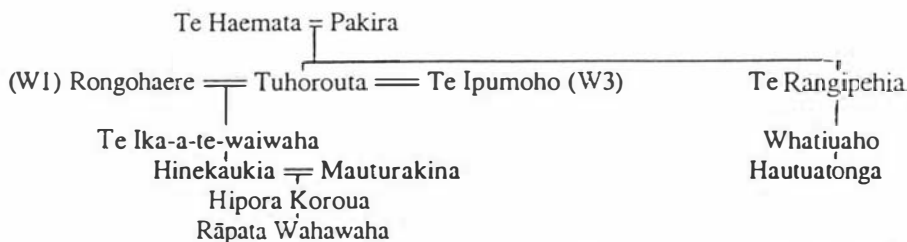
<sup>35</sup> Pū patete was the name for a pop gun which fired a potato. The inhabitants of the pā thought



inclines and in some places cliff faces which are almost perpendicular to the summit. An assault involving Māori weapons was made more difficult by its solidly palisaded defences. In anticipation of the siege the defenders hauled their waka (canoes) up the slopes of the pā and once inside, filled them with water.<sup>36</sup> When the Ngāpuhi force, lead by Rangatira, reached Kōkai a verbal discourse ensued between the parties.

“Ā koutou pū ki ā mātou pū!” (Your guns against our guns) taunted the defenders, indicating that they had no real appreciation of the firepower which the invaders brandished. A number of those within the pā who stood on pourewa (elevated stages) behind the papatū (parapets) were invited by the Ngāpuhi taua to act in the following way.<sup>37</sup> “E mara! E mara! Whakarewa tō papatū kia wātea he rerenga mō tō kōkiri.” (O mara! Raise your parapet-planks so as to have a space for your spear).<sup>38</sup>

Tradition among the Aitanga-a-Mate people (the hapū residing at Whareponga) holds that some of the defenders responded by turning up their garments and exhibited their posteriors before the enemy, the traditional whakapohane (expose the buttocks in an insulting manner). Ngāpuhi answered the insult with musket shot. One account has it that Hautuatonga was the first man on the pourewa who was shot by Rangatira. In genealogical terms he was both an uncle and great-uncle to Rāpata Wahawaha.<sup>39</sup>



(Ref: Ngata pp. 161, 168, 192, Harris p. 100)

mistakenly that this type of pū was used by the invaders.

<sup>36</sup> “Hongi’s raid in 1823 and other MSS in Māori”, W. L. Williams Papers, MS-2456, p. 5, ATL. Tuta Nihoniho (b1850) in his youth said he saw the deep grooves in the bark of the rata trees which had been made by the ropes. Elsdon Best, 1927, *The Pā Māori*, p. 118.

<sup>37</sup> *Pourewa* was also known as *pūhara*, *kōtaretare* and *kōhekoheko*. For a detailed description of its construction and use the reader is referred to Best, 1927, *The Pā Māori*, pp. 80-87.

<sup>38</sup> Nihoniho, p. 53. W. L. Williams recorded the following notes, “Ka tikina mai a Rangatira i Waikaha hei karu. Ka tae atu a Rangatira ki Kōkai, e hangaa ana te kahekoheko. Ka ki a Rangatira ki te tangata i te kahekoheko, ‘Hikitu ake to papatu, kia atea ai he rerenga mai mo to kokiri.’ Katahi ka puhia taua tangata, ka horo hoki a Kōkai. Ka oma nga morehu ki ro ngahere.” See “Hongi’s raid in 1823 and other MSS in Māori,” W. L. Williams Papers MS-2456, ATL.

<sup>39</sup> Hautuatonga given by Williams in “Hongi’s raid ....” W. L. Williams Papers MS-2456, ATL.

The defenders of Kōkai soon capitulated and like other pā further north, in their whānau groups they fled into the inland bush. The route out of Kōkai became known as Te Reretāpapa (flight in crouched positions).<sup>40</sup> Today, some families retain the accounts concerning survival during these flights even so far as to placing the names of *tīpuna* involved on descendants. Whaimutu of Whānau-a-Rākairoa is legendary for the rearguard action he fought as his relatives fled inland.<sup>41</sup> Te Kairākau is another who sacrificed himself to save his clan at Tau-ki-Hikurangi.<sup>42</sup> Kahumai, trying to protect his grandchildren, was pursued to Ōtūporo, captured and along with his mokopuna, killed at Tamataua, a ridge on the Rangikohua Block.<sup>43</sup> As an indication of how far Ngāpuhi were willing to pursue their victims Tamataua is approximately 20 kilometres from Kōkai Pa. Some of the families took refuge in hiding places closer to the coastline. Kopua-a-Hinetewiniwini near Kōpuaroa is the name of a pool wherein many hid.<sup>44</sup> Many of the victims were eaten. No doubt the heads of some were subjected after death to the preservation methods which Hongi's people had perfected.<sup>45</sup> The gravity of the situation was further demonstrated by the fact that, in hiding, some parents were forced to kill their own children in order to save the rest of the group. Mohi Tūrei related one example of how in concealment at Tōtaramaihihi on the Mangaotawhito Block, two little children had to be sacrificed because it was feared that their crying might attract the invaders. An elder cousin was spared because she did not cry.<sup>46</sup> This also illustrates the point of group survival prevalent in the society at that time.

In addition to Hautuatonga, other close relatives of Rāpata Wahawaha who were killed at Kōkai were Kōparehuia and Te Waipahapo.<sup>47</sup> Several prisoners were taken from

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<sup>40</sup> Pers comm, Professor Tāmati Reedy, 7 Jun 1999. Tāmati was shown Te Reretāpapa, on the southern side of Kōkai, by his uncle H. T. (Arnold) Reedy c1961.

<sup>41</sup> "Kotia Whaimutu! Kotia Whaimutu!" is a saying that has come down in the Dewes Family who are descendants of Whaimutu. Whenever Ngāpuhi were closing on the women and children they would call these words to Whaimutu. Whaimutu Dewes carries the name in this generation as does Whaimutu Reedy (nā Wī Pewhairangi Reedy). Pers comm, Campbell Dewes, Jan 1999; Tāmati Reedy, 7 Jun 1999.

<sup>42</sup> Nihoniho, pp. 16, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Evidence in the Investigation of Title to the Rangikōhua Block, Wp4/92 of 2 Apr 1877.

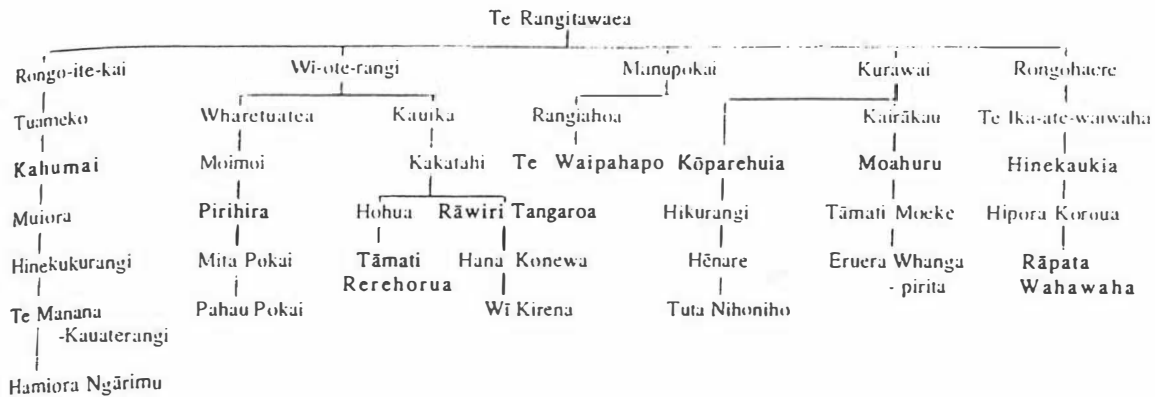
<sup>44</sup> Edward Omeara surveyed the Waipiro Block in 1882. He was assisted by local guides. He noted in his fieldbook on passing Kopua-a-Hinetewiniwini that there was deep water there where the "Coast Natives hid from Ngāpuhi in time of war." Waipiro Survey in Fieldbook 120, p. 41. DOSLI.

<sup>45</sup> Hongi's flotilla returned to the north with at least one canoe laden with preserved heads, although it is not known from which of the pā he raided the heads came.

<sup>46</sup> Evidence of Mohi Tūrei during investigation of title to Mangaotawhito Block, Wp 5/85 of 12 Apr 1880. Mohi was not himself involved, being born about 1829.

<sup>47</sup> Evidence of Meri Whāriki in Kōkai Investigation of Title, Wp 84/335 of 18 Apr 1922. Evidence of

Whareponga, among them more relatives: Moahuru and his son, as well as Pirihiira and Rāwiri Tangaroa, to name a few.<sup>48</sup>



Here we might digress for a moment to give an explanation of why it was that Kōkai and other fortresses fell so readily to the invaders. The following account of an assault by Ngāpuhi, although within another district, highlights the effect of firearms.<sup>49</sup>

We had with us four guns. When we arrived before a pa, our marksmen went in front of the party, and as soon as the enemy saw us, they would recognise us as a hostile party, and their warriors would ascend to the *puwhara* (fighting stages) so that they might be the better able to throw down stones at us. Those braves did not know of the gun, nor of its deadly effects.

When they got up to the platforms, they would grimace and put out their tongues at us, and dare us to come attack them. They thought that some of us would be killed by their stones. Whilst they grimaced away, we used to fire at them. It was just like a pigeon falling out of a tree.

When the others heard the noise, saw the smoke and the flash, and the death of their braves, they thought it must be the god Maru that accompanied us, and that it was by his power that their men were slain by the thunder of that god Maru. Then the whole pā would feel dispirited, and stand without sense, so that we had only to assault the pā, without any defence from the people. The people of the pā would have all the lamenting and we all the cheers. Those that we killed, we ate; those saved we made slaves of.

Hōne Hehe in Taitai Investigation of Title, Wp 3/372 of 30 Mar 1878. Te Waipahapo was Hōne Hehe's grandmother.

<sup>48</sup> Years later Pirihiira and Rāwiri were brought back to Whareponga by Makoare and Tāmami Rerehorua. Rāwiri was the grandfather of Wi Kirena (Keelan) and Pirihiira was the grandmother of Pahau Pokai, Evidence of Meri Whariki and Rōra Rangi in Kōkai Investigation of Title, Wp 84/335, Wp85/16 of 18 Apr 1922. Rāwiri Tangaroa was living at Wharekahika in 1865 when war broke out with the Hauhau. He had married a woman from Ngāpuhi, Evidence of Hēni Hongara in Kōkai Investigation of Title, Wp85/77 of 11 May 1922. The story of how Rāwiri and Pirihiira were eventually brought back to their people many years later is well documented by their descendants. Te Māhia-a-te-rūrū was another of those captured and taken north. Years later a descendant Raiha, (of the Leef family), was married to Wiremu Moeke to rekindle the connections with the district from which Māhia had been taken. These were Tilly Reedy's grandparents. Pers comm Tāmami and Tilly Reedy, 7 Jun 1999.

<sup>49</sup> This account of an expedition to Taranaki and Wellington was related by one of the party and translated by Percy Smith in Best, 1927, *The Pā Māori*, p. 21.

After this devastating saunter through the East Coast, Hongi Hika and his army returned to the north at the beginning of 1819, taking with them numerous prisoners. The expedition was said to have taken from the Bay of Plenty-East Coast a total of two thousand men, women, and children prisoners as well as at least seventy preserved heads.<sup>50</sup>

### Pōmare and Te Wera (1820)

Hongi's raid in 1818-1819 was the first occasion in which firearms were used extensively against the hapū along the East Coast and so had caught many by surprise. So shattering was the experience for the hapū in the central Ngāti Porou region, and there being no assurance that another raid would not follow, many retreated to the inland mountain redoubt Taitai and remained in that vicinity for a number of years.<sup>51</sup> When a second expedition set out from the Bay of Islands in 1820, Ngāti Porou were at least better prepared to survive a major siege from fortresses like Whetūmatarau and Pukeāmaru in the north and Taitai in the central hinterlands.<sup>52</sup> The leaders of what is generally termed the "second Ngāpuhi invasion" were Pōmare and Te Wera Hauraki, who were bent on outstripping Hongi's successes.<sup>53</sup>

The most detailed account on record of this expedition concerns Pōmare's siege of Whetūmatarau at Te Araroa.<sup>54</sup> Whetūmatarau was an ancient stronghold near Ōkauwharetoa, the pā which had fallen to Hongi Hika's marauding party a year or two earlier. The hapū between Horoera and Wharekahika took refuge there. These included Whānau-a-Hīnerupe, Whānau-a-Te-Aotaihi, Whānau-a-Tūterangiwhiu, Whānau-a-Kahu, Whānau-a-Te-Aopare, Whānau-a-Hunaara, Whānau-a-Te-Rangitekehua and Te Aitanga-

<sup>50</sup> Elder, p. 173.

<sup>51</sup> Maraki Tautuhi in Taitai Investigation of Title, Wp3/96 of 26 Mar 1877. Watene Te Ao in Taitai Investigation of Title, Wp3/102 of 26 Mar 1877 said, "When Ngāti Porou were defeated by Ngāpuhi they dispersed and fled all over the country. The owners of Taitai invited them to come and live there and they went." Ruka Aratapu in Taitai Investigation of Title, Wp3/98 of 26 Mar 1877, "A cultivation called Arawaere was given to Ngāti Porou when they sought refuge there."

<sup>52</sup> McKay, pp. 75. Piriniha Te Rito in the Pukeamaru investigation said that Pukeamaru was a large pā built as a place of refuge from Ngāpuhi, Wp6/217 of 15 Feb 1884. Herewini Tamahori in the same case explained that the pā on the block were not built until Ngāpuhi came, when they were built for refuge. The track Kakahoroa came into existence at the same time. Wp6/236.

<sup>53</sup> According to Smith, only Te Wera's party proceeded south of Te Araroa. Smith, p. 276. W. L. Williams recorded that Māhia was the most southern point reached by the expedition, Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> For a detailed account of the siege of Whetūmatarau the reader is referred to Tutere Wirepa, 1967, "Te Whetūmatarau," pp. 87-98.

a-Tiki.<sup>55</sup> Finding the pā well supplied and virtually immune to a direct attack Pōmare attempted to starve its defenders into submission.<sup>56</sup> So long did Ngāpuhi invest the pā that in order to ensure the several hapū survived the seige, the families beleaguered within Whetūmatarau were compelled to trade their children among themselves to be eaten.

In the end it was by clever strategy that Pōmare lured the defenders from the fortress to the flat lands below. One morning he and his fleet put out to sea as if returning to his own country. The cautious defenders, suspicious of his intent, remained within the pā. As night fell Pōmare had not returned so the starving pā broke out to forage for food, going in all directions. But Pōmare returned under the cover of darkness and the unguarded pā was overthrown. The consequences for the defenders were disastrous, with many being eaten or made slaves. A number of the family names extant in the Te Araroa community commemorate the defenders of Whetūmatarau. In 1967 Tutere Wirepa recorded some of these.<sup>57</sup>

I hokohoko ngā wāhine i a rātau tamariki ki a rātau anō hei kai. Nō reira te ingoa o tētahi wāhine, a 'Rīpeka Kaihoko', kōkā o Hamahona Puha .... Wi Huihui .... Te roanga atu o tōna ingoa ko Te Umu-huihui-o-Te-Whetūmatarau .... Ko Muru-whariki, kōkā o Horī Mahue o Te Araroa, tōna ingoa nō ngā rau rākau i whārikitia ai ngā umu tāngata a Te Whetūmatarau.

The women traded their children amongst themselves to be eaten. Thus did Hamahona Puha's mother receive her name Rīpeka Kaihoko, Rīpeka Trader .... Wi Huihui .... his full name was Te Umu-huihui-o-Te-Whetūmatarau, the oven of the assemblage of Whetūmatarau .... Muruwhariki was the mother of Horī Mahue of Te Araroa. Her name commemorates the leaves used to cover the ovens of the people of Whetūmatarau.<sup>58</sup>

It has been estimated that Pōmare had invested Whetūmatarau over a period of six months or more.<sup>59</sup> Other pā along the East Coast were attacked as well, grave destruction being committed in the Waiapu Valley.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Wirepa, p. 89.

<sup>56</sup> Bob McConnell in his history of the Te Araroa community translated Wirepa's essay. The description of Whetūmatarau follows. "Whetūmatarau .... is a lofty cliff accessible only by two routes, one in the east and one in the west. These paths are steep and narrow. No war party could charge those narrow paths. The face of the cliff is a sheer cliff two hundred feet in height. (McConnell: Actually the face is much nearer to six hundred feet in height) Muskets of those days could not fire bullets such a distance. The pā itself is a beautiful flat forty acres more or less in extent." Bob McConnell, p. 102.

<sup>57</sup> Wirepa, pp. 90-1.

<sup>58</sup> McConnell, pp. 103-4.

<sup>59</sup> Wirepa, p. 90.

## Tapatahi

Little opportunity had presented itself, in the interval between Hongi and Pōmare's raids, for the East Coast people to procure firearms. One or two old-type flintlock muskets existed at some places, the local residents having traded for them with passing ships. These however, were relatively scarce. When Tapatahi Pā was attacked by Ngāpuhi the defenders had a single outdated musket and only one individual knew how to operate it.

Tapatahi, where some members of the hapū Whānau-a-Iritekura were held up, is remembered by their descendants as a pā that the Ngāpuhi force was unsuccessful in taking as they decimated the residents along the coastline. Whānau-a-Iritekura were the neighbors of Whānau-a-Rākairoa at the southern end of Waipiro Bay. Their pā stood above the Waikawa Stream. While the majority of Whānau-a-Iri had gone inland to the mountain redoubt Taitai, a number of the elderly, looked after by a handful of the young men and women, remained. Waipaina Awarau, a relative of Hori Karaka Te Awarau<sup>61</sup>, one of the men who defended it against the Ngāpuhi attack, described the pā and the consequent defence of it.<sup>62</sup>

The Tapatahi Pā stood at the end of the ridge running out from Maungaroa Hill. Where the ridge ended was sheer cliff about a thousand feet from the Waikawa Stream below and almost perpendicular. The other sides were also very steep - the only way of reaching the Pā was along the ridge. But just before reaching the Pā the ridge became so narrow that barely two men abreast could pass along it. A slight detour or bend hid the solitary defender behind a rock and out of sight of assailants. Here with his back against a rock an experienced warrior could hold up a host.

During the Ngāpuhi raid ... the greatest Pa's of the Ngāti Porou were taken - Te Whetūmatarau, Kōkai and others - Tapatahi alone remained intact defended personally by Hori Karaka the fighting chief of the Te Whānau-a-Iritekura and assisted by another tribesman Kereopa Ngāhuahua.

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<sup>60</sup> According to W. L. Williams's notes Hautupakoke at Tikitiki and Motukokouri near Tikapa-a-Hinekōpeka were two which Ngāpuhi took after gaining admission under false pretense. Moka was one of the leading men involved. see "Hongi's raid ...," W. L. Williams Papers MS-2456, ATL. The year 1823 for Hongi's raid is incorrect and Williams gave the correct year 1818 in *East Coast Historical Records*.

<sup>61</sup> Hori Karaka was a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi. He signed under the name Awarau.

<sup>62</sup> Waipaina Awarau graduated with a MA and LLB and was admitted to the bar as a lawyer. He followed in his family's warrior tradition and like his father, who had served with the Māori Contingent during the First World War, Waipaina served with the 28 Māori Battalion in North Africa and Italy.

... At the attack on Tapatahi there was only one firearm - some old model muzzle loaded - and Kereopa was the only man who could manipulate it. It was said that during one stage of the attack Kereopa, finding Hori hard put to it defending the Pa, in his haste fired the gun with the ramrod in it. This had the effect of temporarily checking the attack and of giving Hori breathing space. For over a week did the Ngāpuhi warriors invest Tapatahi Pā but to no purpose. At last they set sail for their own district North Auckland leaving so costly a proposition alone.<sup>63</sup>

Iritekura Tapaka	
Upoko Tahauwera Tangaroatunurangi Te Rakakau Kereopa Ngāhuahua	Hinemano Waiotu Te Aravhanuiatane Hinerapuki Hori Karaka te Awarau

Ref: Evidence of Eru Potaka. Gis 16/145 of 22 Apr 1890

When William Williams met about one hundred and fifty inhabitants of Tapatahi pā in January 1838 he was told that during the attack Ngāpuhi were indeed “unable to dislodge the people who were sheltered behind the mound.”<sup>64</sup> But they did succeed in “throwing fire within the fence during the night and igniting the houses.” According to Williams, this allowed them entrance into the pā and several of the defenders were killed. From what he learnt Williams found, “it does not appear that the Ngāpuhi had any pretext for fighting against this people, except that of procuring slaves.”

### Taitai

As a result of the raids and continuing threat of further attack, many hapū found that they were without adequate protection and needed to relocate themselves closer to Taitai. Whānau-a-Hinerupe, for example, a hapū which belongs to the Waiapu region, fled Pōmare’s party. Under the leadership of Te Mimiopawa (a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi) they travelled from Matarau near Te Kawakawa, crossed the Waiapu river at Te Kumi, and joined their neighbors at Taitai. The different hapū were then apportioned separate areas on the flat lands about Taitai on which to cultivate, Whānau-a-Hinerupe receiving an area in the Ngāmoe Block.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Waipaina Awarau, 1927, *Tuwhakairiora*, MATHesis, University of Canterbury, pp. 60-61.

<sup>64</sup> Jnl of William Williams, 22 Jan 1838.

<sup>65</sup> Wp 11/81 Evidence of Eruera Kāwhia in the Investigation of Title to the Ngāmoe Block and Wp1/397 Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Investigation of Title to the Aorangiwai Block. Ruka Aratapu in Taitai Investigation of Title, Wp3/98 of 26 Mar 1877 said, “A cultivation called Arawaere was given to Ngāti Porou when they sought refuge there.” Tuta Nihoniho asserted in the Wairanga investigation that

Other hapū known to have relocated to Taitai included Whānau-a-Rakai, Whānau-a-Karuai (to whom Wahawaha's father belonged), Whānau-a-Rua, Whānau-a-Rangi<sup>66</sup> and the local clans Te Aowera, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Whānau-a-Rākairoa and Whānau-a-Iritekura.<sup>67</sup> Te Rangimatemoana was the principal man among the descendants of Whaitā, to whom the mountain belonged, and it was he who extended the invitation to them.<sup>68</sup> It was said that his elder relative, Taopirau had a dream that induced several hapū to go there.<sup>69</sup> The pā on the summit was called Pakuteranga and Puatai, a large carved house stood there.<sup>70</sup> There is a basin of several acres of land on Taitai and it was from there that Te Ahimataara, a fire, was kept constantly aglow to keep the hapū in the vicinity on the alert for the impending arrival of the Ngāpuhi.<sup>71</sup> Taitai commands a majestic view of the Waiapu valley and southern Hikurangi region so that the warning fire would have been clearly seen from several miles away. Oral traditions hold that when the northern warriors made their approach, over two thousand people belonging to the region mustered together to perform the tutu ngarahu (a haka in preparation for battle) to frighten their foe, and it could be heard as far away as Puketiti south-east of Te Puia, approximately twenty-three kilometres as the crow flies.<sup>72</sup>

Taitai itself was never laid siege to, the pā being spared at the direction of Hērua, the Ngāti Paoa chief.<sup>73</sup> For what reason it was not attacked has not been recorded but it was said that Te Rangimatemoana himself came down from the pā after Hērua called to him to discuss terms of peace and they became friends.<sup>74</sup>

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his ancestors were assembled in their pā Orongoiri, Pitohau and Kauaenui which are below Taitai in the Makarika valley, Wp5/148 of 26 Apr 1880.

<sup>66</sup> These people were from Tikapa and later they took the name Ngāti Puai, Wp13/186, 364.

<sup>67</sup> Hāmiora Tamanuiterā in Taitai Rehearing, Gis4/390 of Aug 1879.

<sup>68</sup> A saying extant at the time was, "Taitai, Taitai! Te Rangimatemoana, Te Rangimatemoana!" Te Rangimatemoana's son, Rāwiri Rangikātia, signed the Treaty of Waitangi, and his son Hāmiora Tamanuiterā, was among the leading men at Tūparoa during the engagements with the Hauhau in 1865. Tamanuiterā, who was a boy when Taitai was occupied, had a carved house at Kaharau and then Rauru at Taumata-o-Mihi, Te Raana Morete in Mangahārei Case, Wp18/165 of 14 Feb 1893.

<sup>69</sup> Hāmiora Tamanuiterā in Taitai Rehearing, Gis4/390 of Aug 1879.

<sup>70</sup> Hēni Hoehoe in Taitai Rehearing, Gis4/366-7 of Aug 1879. Hēni was born at Taitai during this occupation.

<sup>71</sup> Watene Te Ao in Taitai Rehearing, Gis4/372 of Aug 1879.

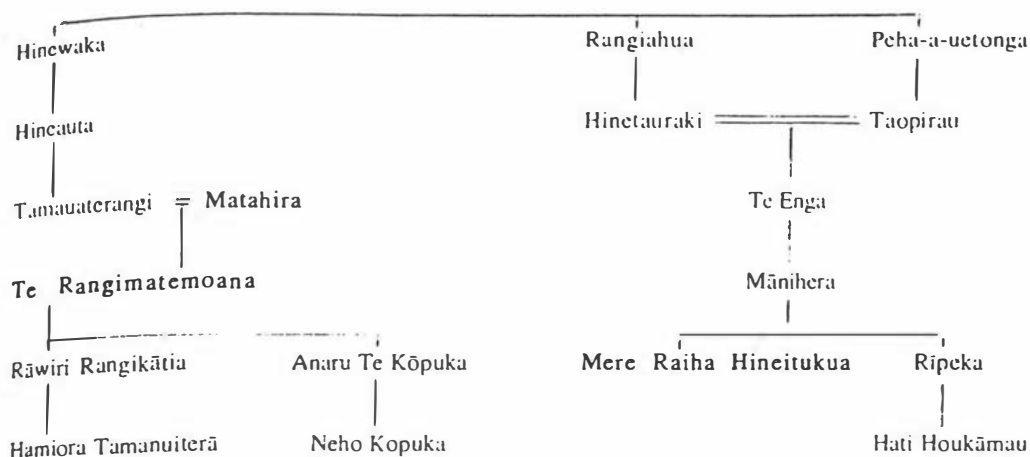
<sup>72</sup> Tuta Tāmāti, a veteran of the 28 Māori Battalion, said that he could quite believe this statement as well over 500 hundred men at Lake Trasimeno in Italy, while practising the haka, literally shook the trees and caused the water to quiver. Pers. comm., Tuta Tāmāti, 1985.

<sup>73</sup> Wī Tahata in Tapuwaeroa No1 Investigation of Title, Wp10B/228 of 9 Apr 1877.

<sup>74</sup> Hāmiora Tamanuiterā in Taitai Rehearing, Gis4/390 of Aug 1879.



## Whaitā = Manupōkai



Ref: Gis 4/365

The northern party ventured further south “murdering and plundering all the way to Tolaga Bay.” There is some doubt as to whether Pōmare proceeded with them or whether it was Te Wera alone.<sup>75</sup> Te Wera did go south to Māhia attacking Nukutaurua before returning.

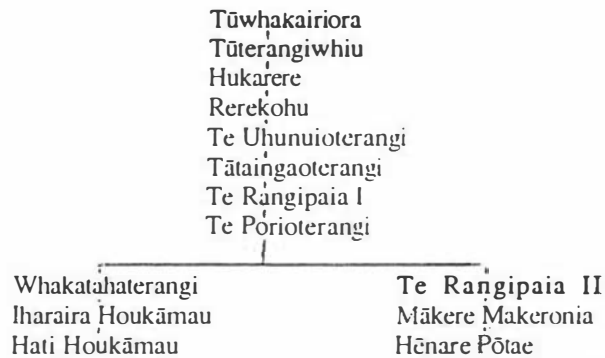
## TE PAI A PŌMARE

## Pōmare’s Peace 1823

Among the several men and women of rank captured at Whetūmatarau was Te Rangipaia II who was taken to wife by Pōmare. In 1823, while on another expedition to the Bay of Plenty and East Coast, Pōmare returned to Whetūmatarau to allow Te Rangipaia to visit with her people as he also wished to end hostilities with them. Along with Te Wera Hauraki, he intended to make peace with some of those they had decimated two years earlier. These included the residents in the localities of Te Kawakawa (Te Araroa) and Māhia. At some stage during the interlude between Pōmare’s 1820 raid and subsequent peace mission, Ngāti Wai of Whāngārei had also made their presence felt on the East Coast. They had not been so fortunate and were repulsed at Tauhinu near Horoera, and again at Te Kikihi near Reporua.<sup>76</sup> Because of these mild successes, when the Ngāpuhi fleet reached Te Araroa it

<sup>75</sup> See McKay, p. 76; Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> W. L. Williams’ notes suggest they may have come as part of Pōmare’s expedition. He also names Hopewai and Riwaru as two other pā where Ngāti Wai were repulsed. “Hongi’s raid ...” W. L. Williams Papers MS-2456, ATL. Mohi Tūrei wrote that Hokia and Kahika were two of the Ngāti Wai leaders who fell at Tauhinu. *Pipīwhararua*, no143, Mar 1910, pp. 2-3.



Ref: Wirepa, p95

was with some confidence that the people awaited them in their great pa's Ōkauwharetoa, Taitai and the more recently established Whakawhitirā, along the north bank of the Waiapu River.<sup>77</sup> After coming ashore, Pōmare had his party advance up the Awatere River with Te Rangipaia at the head to signal to her relatives the peaceful nature of the group. Still smarting from their recent success over Ngāti Wai and seeing that only a small number of the group had landed, the Ngāti Porou party launched an attack. This was met with musket fire from the party. A battle ensued with Pōmare again coming off the victor. It was in this melee' along the Awatere river that Whetūkamokamo was killed. He had come with members of his hapū from Tuparoa, seeking revenge for the earlier defeats.<sup>78</sup>

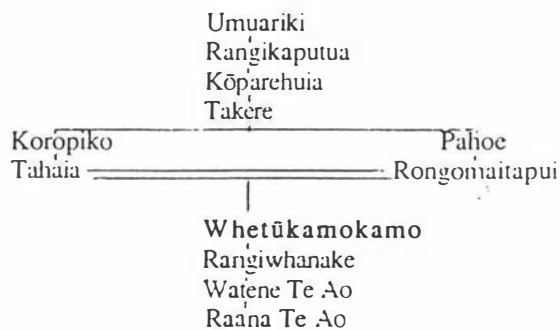
Bob Maru, in an oral account, explained that Whetūkamokamo went from Mangahānea with a party of Whānau-a-Umuariki / Whānau-a-Hinetāpora and along the way met others returning from the fighting at Whetūmatarau. They warned Whetūkamokamo of the danger ahead, but he continued on with his party.<sup>79</sup> When they reached the Awatere river they managed to draw Pōmare and his men into a bush area along the waterside. The story is told that Whetūkamokamo challenged Pōmare to a duel with Māori weapons. Pōmare pretended to reach down to scratch his leg and instead tossed sand in the eyes of

<sup>77</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha stated, "Taitai was occupied before Whakawhitirā." Evidence given at investigation to Taikatiki Block Wp7B/88.

<sup>78</sup> Kakewhati, of Ngāti Porou, had warned them not to be so confident, that Ngāpuhi might be armed, "Ngāti Porou haramai e noho, kia āta nēnene ka tata a Ngāpuhi te whai ringaringa." *Pipīwharauoa*, no. 143, Mar 1910, pp. 2-3.

<sup>79</sup> Bob Maru likened the conversation between Whetūkamokamo and the retiring party to his own experience during World War Two. When the NZ Division were recalled to Syria during the desert campaign, the 28 Māori Battalion met the retreating British forces between El Alamein and Bagush. When they asked the Māori soldiers where they were heading the reply came, "To stop the enemy." The

the warrior chief Whetūkamokamo. Thus, he met his death. Bob Maru also believed this engagement took place on Pōmare's previous visit to Whetūmatarau.



Ref: Wp10B/116

After this unsuccessful attempt to make peace, Pōmare and Te Wera went south. Pōmare to Tokomaru to allow Rangipaia to visit her relatives, and Te Wera destined for Māhia, intent on returning the chief Te Whareumu who had been captured on their last expedition. Te Wera parted company with Pōmare off Tokomaru, leaving him to attempt peaceful negotiations again at Te Araroa.

When Pōmare returned to Te Araroa this time he sent a single warrior named Taotaoriri to Whakawhitirā, the pā to which Te Rangipaia's relatives had fled after the earlier defeat. Whakawhitirā was the largest of all the pā in the Waiapu Valley. In adapting to the continued threat by external aggressors bearing firearms, many of the people had moved down from the hills to the flat land, abandoning their hill forts and constructing Whakawhitirā on level ground. Most of the northern hapū, who were not at Taitai, were encamped at Whakawhitirā. The pā itself encompassed a massive area and was strategically sighted alongside the Waiapu River and its tributaries, thus reducing difficulties with water supply. Pā situated on level land afforded less cover for the enemy than those on hills, thus giving the garrison some advantage over its assailants.<sup>80</sup>

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British soldiers replied, "You're bloody mad chum, they're coming by the thousands." Pers. comm., 13 Oct 1999.

<sup>80</sup> Best, 1927, *The Pā Māori*. p. 272

To give some idea of the size of the pā in 1834, ten years later, William Williams estimated 1000 people were in attendance at Whakawhitirā.<sup>81</sup> William Colenso, who was with Williams on a later visit in 1838, wrote,

From Rangitukia we went further up the Waiapu Valley to Whakawhitirā, a very large pa, the largest by far that I had ever seen. Its fence was also threefold, the massey and combined outer one being twenty-five to thirty feet high; its main posts consisting of entire and straight trees denuded of their bark, with large carved full length human figures painted red on their tops; of these figures there were above a hundred. During our stay there we measured, by stepping, one of the sides of this pa, and found it to be more than a mile in length, and the huge carved figures we ascertained to be more than six feet high, with their heads fully and deeply tattooed; this we proved from one that had been broken off and fallen, and placed upright below its big post. I took a sketch of this pa, which I still have.<sup>82</sup>

Undoubtedly Whakawhitirā had increased in size by 1838 swelled by the growing number of people flocking there for safety, but even in 1823 it must have been a formidable fortress. It speaks highly of the bravery of Taotaoriri who was facing certain death by going there, should the occupants not favour peace.<sup>83</sup>

Armed with a musket and two pouches of ammunition he took the inland route via Pakiakanui coming out at Hautupakoke, passing the very places Ngāpuhi had sacked on the previous expeditions.<sup>84</sup> Turning inland he reached Whakawhitirā, having now ventured thirty kilometres into enemy territory. Tutere Wīrepa described what happened when he entered the pa.<sup>85</sup>

Te taenga atu hui ana ngā mātua a Ngāti Porou. Ka matakita e ia ngā mātua a Ngāti Porou. Ko ngā mōrehu kaumātua kei te mohio ki te aronga o tēnei tira. E kiia ana e ngā kaikorero, ka rawe taua tangata. Rere mai ana te wehi, me te ihiihi o te toa. Kātahi ngā tutu waewae o te toa nei, ka rua, ka toru, ka karanga ngā rau o Ngāti Porou ki te whai i tōna tangata. Maranga ana a Ngāti Porou, tuu ana a Uenuku i waenganui o te iwi, me Taotaoriri. Ka arāia te whakaaro kino

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<sup>81</sup> Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 7.

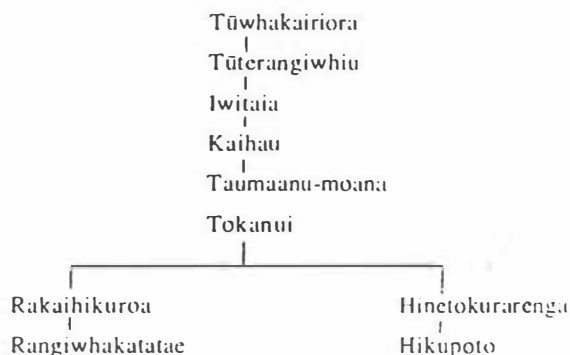
<sup>82</sup> Best, 1927, *The Pā Māori*, p. 21.

<sup>83</sup> He may have had guides and bearers of provisions but no mention of them has been recorded. Wīrepa, pp. 99-100.

<sup>84</sup> Hautupakoke was a formidable stronghold which stood atop Pukemaire hill where the present St Mary's church now stands at Tikitiki. It was deserted after it was taken by Ngāpuhi. Pukemaire itself became the name of the pā in the same vicinity in the 1840s and it was from there the Pai Marire religion was preached in 1865.

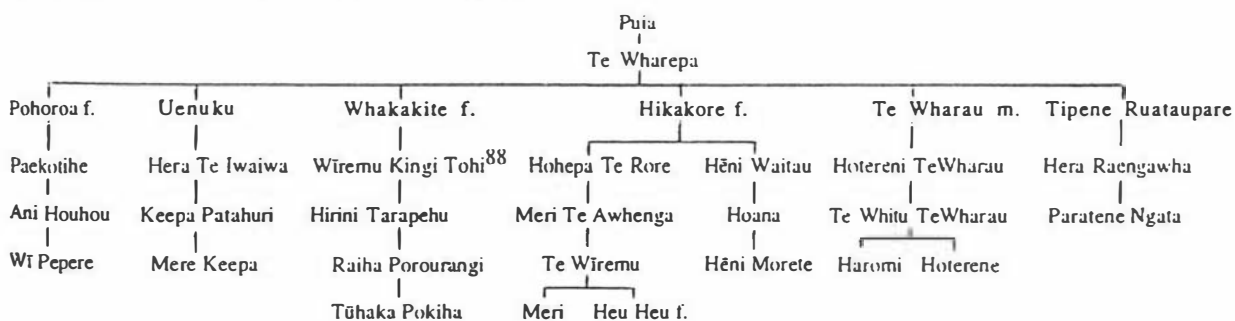
<sup>85</sup> Wīrepa, pp. 99-100.

o te iwi, ka whaikorerotia a Taotaoriri. Ka mutu te whaikorero a Uenuku, ka ngawari te iwi. Kātahi ka whakatika a Rangiwahakataetae, ka tukua tōna wahine, a Te Hikapoto hei wahine mā Taotaoriri.



On his arrival the Ngāti Porou regiments were forming. He surveyed the divisions of warriors of Ngāti Porou. The elders knew of this traveler and his mission. It is said by speakers that the man was remarkable. The awe and authority of the warrior flowed from him. The warrior performed once, twice and a third time then the multitudes of Ngāti Porou rose up to pursue their man. When Ngāti Porou arose so did Uenuku, between the people and Taotaoriri. The warlike intentions of the people were frustrated and Taotaoriri was addressed; and by the time Uenuku had finished his speech the people had calmed down. Then Rangiwahakataetae got up and gave his wife, Te Hikapoto, as a wife for Taotaoriri.<sup>86</sup>

Uenuku was the principal rangatira at Whakawhitirā while Rangiwahakataetae (later baptised Paratene) was one of the younger chiefs.<sup>87</sup>



Ref: Jnl of P. Ngata, p. 10

<sup>86</sup> Adapted from translation of Wirepa's account by McConnell, pp109-110. Paratene Ngata recorded that it was Uenuku who presented Hikapoto to Taotaoriri, Jnl of P. Ngata, p. 11.

<sup>87</sup> Williams Journal, 25 May 1840. Paratene Ngata, born in 1849, was named after Rangiwahakataetae who died soon after Paratene's birth. Rangiwahakataetae went to Port Jackson, Sydney aboard a trading vessel. On return he described to his people all that he had seen while in Australia. The images he described are still to be seen in the carved *maihi* on the *whareniui* Rongomaianiwaniwa at Tikitiki. A relative and progenitor of the Poi family of Tikitiki, Hirini Poihakena (Sydney Port Jackson), was named in memory of Rangiwahakataetae's overseas visit.

<sup>88</sup> Wiremu Kingi Tohi was one of the rangatira who, along with Rukuata and others, returned with Rev. William Williams aboard the *Fortitude* in 1834. According to the Harris Genealogies (in HB Williams Library, Gisborne), Uenuku's daughter Hēra Te Iwaiwa, married Te Matorohanga. Hōhepa Te Rore became one of the first Māori catechists and his daughter Meri married Rev. Mohi Tūrei. Another daughter Maraia married the chief Hōtene Porourangi.

So it was that the hapū at Whakawhitirā accepted the peaceful intentions of the northern party. Pōmare remained for awhile at Te Kawakawa before returning north with Te Rangipaia, Taotaoriri, Te Hikupoto and the rest of his party. Uenuku himself, and a contingent of Ngāti Porou accompanied them to Taumarere in the Bay of Islands. A number of the Ngāti Porou returned but the majority remained in the Bay of Islands for some time.<sup>89</sup>

Eventually Pōmare and his people made another visit to the East Coast, this time at the invitation of Uenuku and the others of Ngāti Porou who were still residing with them.<sup>90</sup> This further visit would have been in 1824 which is also about the time Te Wera and his section settled at Māhia. Te Wera had been solicited as a permanent ally by the Māhia chief, Te Whareumu, whom he had returned on the previous expedition. This inter-hapū discourse between the two groups occurred a number of times in the decade preceding the advent of Christianity. Pōmare's connection with Ngāti Porou ended in May 1826 when he was killed at Te Rore on the Waipa River by members of the Waikato tribes.<sup>91</sup>

#### KO NGĀPUHI RĀUA KO NGĀTI POROU KUA MAU NOA ATU TE RONGO KIA RĀUA

#### **Ngāpuhi - Ngāti Porou Relationship Since 1823**

Although the outward signs of peace had been demonstrated by Pōmare (they had not by Hongi Hika) the emotional wounds took more than a century to heal. Over this period many Ngāti Porou continued to harbor ill-will towards the northern tribes, particularly Ngāpuhi. This resentment was even displayed as recently as the 1960s when the residents at Te Araroa vehemently objected to the placement of a new postmaster because he bore the surname Pōmare and came from the Taitokerau.

There are similar anecdotes which have been shared in the past. For example, when the various hapū along the coast were sufficiently armed with muskets, proposals were made that Te Kani-a-Takirau should organise and command an expedition of revenge against the northern tribes. His reply was, "Yes. It might be done; but for him who is looking over my shoulder." He meant the Pākehā with his law and religion.<sup>92</sup> When Amiria

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<sup>89</sup> Jnl of P. Ngata, p. 11.

<sup>90</sup> WNRW, p. 90.

<sup>91</sup> Smith, p. 378; McKay, p. 78.

<sup>92</sup> Āpirana T. Ngata & I. L. G. Sutherland, 1940, "Religious Influences," in I. L. G. Sutherland (ed.), *The Māori People Today*, p. 345.

Stirling recounted her family's history to Anne Salmond she told how her "Nga Puhī grandfather, Wīremu Parata, was almost killed by the Ngāti Porou when he was shipwrecked in their territory."<sup>93</sup>

Towards the end of World War One, Ngāpuhi bushmen were brought into the Hicks Bay/Te Araroa region to fell the forests and teach the locals tree-felling techniques, and as might be expected, there was trouble when they met the locals. A school teacher in the area recorded some reflective accounts many years later,

As one Hicks Bay elder told me, "At dances very little excuse was needed to start fights between the Ngāpuhi bushmen and the locals. Ngāpuhi was a hated tribe because of what Hongi, Te Wera and Pōmare had inflicted on the Ngāti Porou one hundred years earlier." Another stated that the sound of the Ngāpuhi dialect being spoken was sufficient at times to bring fists into action.<sup>94</sup>

When the 28 Māori Battalion went into training camp in 1940 there existed friendly rivalries between the tribes. Not so amiable was the relationship between A and C Companies, the majority of whom were Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Porou respectively. Their animosity towards each other was never more obvious than in the continual fistfights and wet canteen brawls. It was not until they reached the battlefield that they realised the others were not the enemy.<sup>95</sup>

In spite of this, over the years there have been many initiatives taken to improve the relationship between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Porou. In 1838 six Christian teachers were placed along the East Coast. Hōne Timo was one who settled at Te Kawakawa as a gesture of goodwill for Ngāti Maru's part in the earlier raids.<sup>96</sup> Others who had been taken north as prisoners returned with spouses so that through intermarriage the two groups were brought closer together. Others again remained in the north and their progeny live there today.<sup>97</sup> When a minister was sought for the Waiapu Parish in 1887,

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<sup>93</sup> Anne Salmond, 1976, *Amiria: the life story of a Māori woman*, p. 169.

<sup>94</sup> L. Lawson, 1987, *Wharekahika: a history of Hicks Bay*, p. 65.

<sup>95</sup> Pers comm, Bob Maru, 1998.

<sup>96</sup> H. Williams Report to Half Yearly Northern District Meeting 29 January 1839, CN/04. ATL.

<sup>97</sup> The Whiu family of which there are many members still domiciled in the north are one example of the many families who connect to Ngāti Porou. Their ancestor Tūterangiwhiu (a well known Ngāti Porou name) was among the prisoners taken north, later freed and married to a woman in the region. (Bill) Te Pirihi Hamana Whiu, whose obituary was published in *Mana*, no. 25, Dec 1998, p. 7.

Rev. Āreka Whareumu came from Whāngārei and took up the position residing at Te Horo. He was the son of Taotaoriri and Te Hikupoto. In 1919 when the Ngāpuhi bushfelling gangs were employed at Wharekahika, the resulting social interaction eventually broke down the barriers which initially existed between them, and some of the men settled in the area marrying local women. This goodwill was repaid in the early thirties when a group of Ngāti Porou were sent to the Northland to instruct Ngāpuhi in farming techniques. Hēnare Te Owai and his wife, Kurumate Mākarini, were sent to teach haka and waiata in preparation for the 1840-1940 centennial celebrations.

Materoa Reedy (nee Ngārimu) spoke on behalf of Ngāti Porou at the Waitangi Hui in 1934. It was a very large gathering, the occasion being the celebration of the gift by the Governor General of the Waitangi property. It must have been a major concession on the part of Ngāpuhi to have allowed a woman, even one of such elevated status as Materoa, to speak on their marae.

Over the years there have also been a number of marriages between descendants of the two iwi that have contributed towards healing the rift. The marriage of George Hēnare to Kuratau Ngatai Mahue was encouraged for this reason. George, the son of Tau Hēnare MP for northern Māori, was an agriculture cadet, who in 1924, through his father's relationship with Sir Āpirana Ngata, was sent to Ngāti Porou for work experience. The two members of Parliament also saw the young man's placement as a way to heal old wounds. For no other reason than his tribal heritage, George was not popular when he arrived.<sup>98</sup>

### **Impact of the Ngāpuhi invasion**

The successive raids by the northern tribes along the East Coast were devastating, causing immutable cultural change among all iwi groups residing in the vicinity.<sup>99</sup> The Ngāti Porou reaction to Ngāpuhi was to respond in the same way they would any other invader,

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<sup>98</sup> Pers. comm., Mākere Hēnare, Jan 1999. Interestingly enough while among his relatives in North Auckland he was often referred to as "Ngāti Porou George" but in Te Araroa, until the day he died, he was dubbed "the North." The author has an uncle who has resided in the Ruatoria district for more than thirty years having married a Ngāti Porou. After such a long period of residence among Ngāti Porou, in which time he became the chief cook at his wife's marae, he is still sometimes referred to by his wife's relatives as "the Ngāpuhi."

<sup>99</sup> The Waiapu valley, for example, was dotted with hilltop pā along its northern banks. These were discarded for the larger, safer pā Whakawhitirā and Rangitukia and were not returned to.



that is, to defend themselves and resist capitulation at all costs. This resistance, however, given that one party was armed with the musket and the other with hand-to-hand close quarter weapons, resulted in dreadful numbers of casualties that had not been experienced in warfare before in the region. The population was reduced severely, some estimates putting it as high as one half of the residents.

The consecutive attacks by Hongi and then Pōmare were a turning point in the history of Ngāti Porou. As if invasion from the northern tribes were not enough, the period marked the beginning of colonisation on the East Coast. Certainly warfare was forever changed. Previously a person might have stood a hundred feet away from a besieged pā in safety.<sup>100</sup> But now, even the bravest toa (warrior) had no answer for the magical power unleashed by the pū (musket). Muskets made many of the hill forts untenable, and defenders began to construct pā at more practicable sites in the broad river valleys. “New means of defence demanded new means of attack: towers to permit firing down into pās, and so on.”<sup>101</sup> More important, Ngāti Porou now knew the musket would be crucial, even decisive, in future encounters with other outsiders. Ngāpuhi had shown how other tribes now had the power to alter the social and economic environment of the region. It can be expected with peace having been established that Taotaoriri and others of Pōmare’s party would have educated Te Rangipaia’s relatives in the handling of the musket. From then on the acquisition of the weapon was foremost in the minds of her people and essential to maintaining the stability of the region.

Yet despite the adversity, Ngāpuhi also indirectly brought about the demonstration by hapū that, under threat, unity could be achieved. Throughout Ngāti Porou history hapū alliances were a matter of course, but the scale on which previously disparate hapū united in Taitai and Whakawhitirā was something new. In fact, some hapū would have had to merge with former enemies in order to enter the same stronghold. To this day, Ngāti Porou alliances may depend less on the friendship of an ally, than on the longer term objective to which the alliance subscribes.<sup>102</sup> Bearing this in mind, one might comprehend why clans, united at Taitai and dependent on each other for their very lives, could within a few years take up arms against each other. The possibility of invasion by other Māori on

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<sup>100</sup> Best, 1927, *The Pā Māori*, p. 272.

<sup>101</sup> Elder, pp. 261, 272, 295.

a large scale was something they had not experienced before, so that small hapū were now at risk.

It must also be said that the Ngāpuhi experience was a contributory factor to the way in which the missionaries and their Christian doctrine were received in the 1830s. This point is discussed in chapter 4.

### **Influence of Ngāpuhi Invasion on Rāpata Wahawaha**

What influence this period of turmoil would have had on the very young Rāpata Wahawaha remains speculative. He was born into a period where hapū were often dislocated from their territory, cultivating foreign soil at the goodwill of neighboring rangatira. The period was still heavily characterised by the traditional practices of kaitangata (cannibalism), utu (revenge) and mākutu (witchcraft), incidents of which can be seen in this account of the Ngāpuhi invasion. It is more than likely that Wahawaha as a babe was at Taitai and later Whakawhitirā in times of danger, but with his people at Akuaku and other seasonal kainga when it was safe to procure food. In these, the earliest years of his life, his environment had not been subject to any significant Pākeha influence (other than the musket). His parents and their relatives were in survival mode in the years based around Taitai and Whakawhitirā. Taitai was occupied up until the advent of Christianity in the region.<sup>103</sup> During this period, although in a state of constant preparedness for war, life continued with a semblance of stability.

At Taitai, marriages took place and ceremonies of note were kept up. Mere Raiha Hine-itukua-te-rangi was tattooed while living there and, as the occasion warranted, Ngāti Kaniwha, one of the hapū residing in a subservient role at Taitai, not only provided birds for the feast but also one of their own, a man named Wharekiri, to be cooked and eaten. To celebrate the completion of the process a woman was served up in the same manner.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Pers. comm., Kate Walker, Sept 1999.

<sup>103</sup> Maraki Tautuhi explained during the Taitai Investigation of Title, "When the whakapono was brought to Whakawhitirā the people of Taitai came to hear the gospel preached and returned on to the land." Wp3/98 of 26 Mar 1877.

<sup>104</sup> Evidence of Pine Tuhaka at Investigation to Waiaranga Block Wp5/129 of 26 Apr 1880 and Mere Tutaepa at the same investigation Wp5/134.

This was still the era of *kaitangata* where the victor might not only kill the enemy unmercifully but also devour them after death. The Ngāpuhi forces had certainly eaten several of their victims while on the East Coast. Ngāti Porou children were bred on the dreadful tales of suffering that their relatives occasioned at the hands of the northerners. No doubt because the catastrophe was so fresh in the minds of his parents, Wahawaha, like the other children, was constantly reminded of the fate of relatives at the hands of Ngāpuhi and the responsibility to seek restitution. One European commentator, after some years of observing Māori life during the 1830s (and some of his experiences were from the East Coast) wrote:

They are continually seeking opportunities for revenge: each tribe being observant of the politics of the surrounding villages. Children, who care nothing for their parents when living, after their death, watch for years, when they pounce, in an unguarded moment, on the enemy, who may have injured the parent. This *jus sanguinis* is never lost sight of.<sup>105</sup>

This propensity for retribution was imbued in Wahawaha and if local accounts are correct, as late as 1871, when the pursuit of Te Kooti was officially brought to an end, he contemplated an *utu* excursion against Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Paoa. Wahawaha had the force available to him, several hundred Ngāti Porou veteran bush fighters of many years experience, most of whom were sympathetic to such a cause. More important, these men were now armed with the latest small arms issued by the Government during the East Coast / Bay of Plenty campaigns. No venture ever took place, but Wahawaha did go to Thames to meet Te Hira Te Tui and Te Moananui and squash rumors that Ngāti Porou were going to attack the northern tribes.<sup>106</sup>

Later in life Wahawaha became a recognised authority on the history and songs of his people. Some of these he would have learnt from an early age. The *oriori* (lullaby) and *waiata tangi* (song of lament) relating to the raids would have been sung over and over to him and other children. The *oriori*, among other functions, recalled the names of ancestors killed by treachery or murder and reminded the child of his legacy to avenge those deaths. Likewise, the *tangi* (lament) also bemoaned murdered relatives and

<sup>105</sup> J. S. Polack, 1838, *New Zealand: being a narrative of travel and adventures*, p. 47.

<sup>106</sup> *TWMNT*, 7 April 1874, vol. 10, pp. 86-90. Evidently the rumors had surfaced among Te Arawa, Whakatōhea and Ngai Te Rangi and not Ngāti Porou. Wahawaha told the people of Hauraki that these were false reports and that the people who gave them cherished ill-feeling towards him.

specified those who had committed the treachery and through repetitive singing etched these names in the memory of the child.<sup>107</sup>

Wahawaha also grew up a master of the single combat weapons of his tīpuna as he exhibited in the opening engagement with the Hauhau at the Mangaone Stream in 1865. The threat of external aggressors heightened by the Ngāpuhi raids would have compelled his relatives to ensure that he and other young boys of the hapū were skilled in martial warfare. So they were trained “with meticulous care from the time they could walk to know the stylised patterns of fighting and the uses of the different weapons.”<sup>108</sup> Kirikiritangi, one of the three military schools in the Ngāti Porou district for young men training in the defensive and offensive use of combat weapons was below Kōkai Pā at Whareponga, a stone’s throw from Wahawaha’s own kainga. While there is no evidence of his having trained at this particular school he would have received formal training in his youth. His battle appreciation and tactics, which were so telling in the campaigns with the Hauhau and later Te Kooti, may well have stemmed from this period as well.

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<sup>107</sup> Only a handful survive from the period. *He tangi mō Te Whetūkamokamo* and *He tangi mō Te Hāmaiwaho* are two examples. See Sir A. T. Ngata, 1961, *Ngā Mōteatea Pt. I.* pp. 74, 102.

<sup>108</sup> Harrison M. Wright, 1959, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: early years of western contact*, p. 79.

## Chapter 3

### Autonomy and Retribution 1823-1837

The resilience of the hapū along the East Coast is reflected in their ability to recover so quickly from the raids by Hongi and Pōmare and resume, very soon after, the inter-hapū fighting aimed at settling old scores. The 1820s and early '30s was marked by intense inter-tribal and inter-hapū armed conflict that was to wane only with the introduction of Christianity. No hapū on the East Coast was exempt from the battles fought during this period. This intensification of warfare resulted in unparalleled numbers of defeated being "taken into slavery, the women forcibly appropriated and the men dealt with as though they were a reserve of relishes for feasts. At this time cannibalism, slavery and the pursuit of *utu* or revenge were at their very worst."<sup>1</sup>

Individuals were extremely sensitive to insult so that a slight of the tongue could lead to war. The maintenance of mana meant that these insults often required the injured party to spill the blood of the offender or their relative as retribution. Indeed, as one witness explained before the Native Land Court, "It was the custom of those days to kill someone in revenge for the death of a relative, and provided that someone was killed it did not matter whether the person who committed the crime or others suffered for it."<sup>2</sup>

Murder of a member of one tribe by another tribe, an act of adultery, a boast of superiority, a posture of contempt - these actions and countless others provided sufficient cause for not one, but for a series of wars .... A tribe not powerful enough to win its own battles would usually try to secure the assistance of a related tribe or else attack a weaker ally of the enemy. The inconsiderate procedure immediately extended the area of conflict by involving new groups of tribes. In the labyrinthine intertribal relations of alliance and opposition which grew up during the centuries there was unceasing agitation for revenge, one round of wars breeding the next, with allies and enemies changing relations in inextricable confusion.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of Wiki Te Piri in investigation of Pāraeroa Block, Waipiro Wp7B/272 of 19 Mar 1885.

<sup>3</sup> Wright, p. 82.

The rule of *utu* (revenge) was like a statement of profit and loss, kept accurately down through the generations, its guardians always looking for opportunities to balance off an earlier defeat.<sup>4</sup> It seems that in the frenzy to repay grudges many hapū lost all sense of proportion. Coalitions were formed frequently and where one hapū may have fought on the same side as another, a couple of years later, they could be aligned with a former enemy and fighting previous allies. It was in these turbulent times that Wahawaha grew up, taking part in hapū hostilities from a very young age.

With the advent of the musket the casualty rate for these engagements was much higher than in previous battles and as a result of firearms a significant number of the population met an untimely death during this period. Oliver and Thomson's claim that for this period there is no evidence to suggest that muskets were greatly used is not accurate.<sup>5</sup> The battles which follow show that the musket came into regular use in war as early as the late 1820s and by 1836 they were carried by most troops, as will be seen in the account of the siege of Toka-a-kūkū. The battles are also quoted to give some indication of the volatile nature of the fighting in the East Coast region and how they impacted on the young Wahawaha.

### 1823 The Siege of Pourewa

The death of Hinematiaro, grandmother of Te Kani-a-Takirau, in 1823, was "part of a cycle of revenge in which many were to lose their lives" and which indirectly led to the capture of Rāpata Wahawaha and his relatives.<sup>6</sup> It came as a result of an attack on the island fortress Pourewa at Uawa, one of the pā of the several hapū which form the modern day Aitanga-a-Hauti confederation. The attacking party were a composite of Whānau-a-Ruataupare at Tokomaru and those hapū to the north of them which had Whakawhitirā as their central base, and were referred to collectively at that time as Ngāti Porou.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, p. 339.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver and Thomson, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Victor Walker, 1996, *Te Kani-a-Takirau*, MA Thesis, MU, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> This was Ngāti Porou whāiti. According to Reweti Kōhere, the reason for the fighting was due to insulting remarks made previously by Hinematiaro towards some of the attacking party. R. T. Kōhere, 1949, *The Story of a Māori Chief*, p. 68. McKay claimed that the battle was a result of a quarrel between Wakarara and Pākira. McKay, p. 462. But McKay's statement is contradicted by Walker. See

The material available on this period was recorded a half a century after the events had occurred and is often confusing and contradictory. In his thesis, Victor Walker of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, gave the background to the build up to the Pourewa battle. In his opinion, it came as a result of several earlier encounters between Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, who sometimes had as allies Ngāriki and Rongowhakaata, against Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki who were on occasions allied with hapū in northern Ngāti Porou. He explained:

Whatever the cause, the (Pourewa) fight was more a consequence of incidents concerning Te Amaru, an uncle of Te Kani-a-Takirau, than anything else. The earliest reference to Hinematiaro being involved in a dispute is when as a young girl she was visiting Mapouriki pā at Kaiteratahi when it was attacked by Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki and Rongowhakaata under the command of the chief Te Whiwhi. Hinematiaro, however, was recognised and taken back to Whangara. The animosity between these people continued, and in due course a combined force of Ngāpuhi, Ngāriki and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti quarreled with the Ngai Tamatea of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki at Waingaromea and Te Whiwhi was killed. Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, allied with hapu of the northern Ngāti Porou, attacked sections of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and killed the wives of Te Amaru.

Te Amaru's revenge was swift. His armies met Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare at Tataraiā. Converging from inland and by sea, Te Amaru was victorious. Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare attacked Pohatu-a-Tiki pā on the Kaiāua Block, which was the principal residence of Te Amaru. While Te Rangiatāhua and Ngatao (Ngāukiore) were killed, Te Amaru was not in the pā at the time. It seems that he was at Te Pourewa with his allies Ngai Tarore. Subsequently, Te Amaru regained Pohatu-a-Tiki and avenged the death of Te Rangiatāhua.<sup>8</sup>

The next occasion which brought the parties together in conflict was the siege at Pourewa where Ngāti Porou and Whānau-a-Ruataupare sought to even the score with Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti.

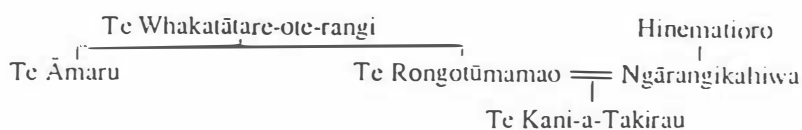
During the siege Te Kani-a-Takirau was in Tūranga. While there he befriended Te Wera Hauraki, the Ngāpuhi chief who was making his way to Māhia on his peace mission.<sup>9</sup> Although he and a contingent of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti had fought Pōmare's party at Waipaoa in 1821, Te Kani was willing to put that aside in order to solicit the services of

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Victor Walker, pp. 66-67. See also Mark Iles, 1981, *A Māori History of Tokomaru Bay*, MA Thesis, AU, pp. 164-165.

<sup>8</sup> Victor Walker, pp. 67-68.

Ngāpuhi. Their meeting led to a major and enduring alliance, Te Wera promising to assist Te Kani after he had completed his peace mission to Māhia.<sup>10</sup> Te Kani, fearing for the lives of his father Te Rongotūmamao, his grandmother Hinematiaro and other relatives on



Pourewa Island, felt that with a powerful ally like Te Wera, it might influence Ngāti Porou to cease hostilities. Pourewa capitulated before Te Wera was able to return, and both Hinematiaro and Te Rongotūmamao died as a result.<sup>11</sup> Left to brood this loss, over the next five years Te Kani strengthened his alliances south of Uawa.

During this interval inter-hapū feuds continued unabated. Under the leadership of Te Āmaru elements of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, throughout the period, overran several pā including Tuatini, Ahititī and Kāhuitara defeating Whānau-a-Rua and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti's close neighbors Ngāti Ira who on these occasions were opposed to them.<sup>12</sup>

## Muskets

In these battles muskets began to make an appearance, for to be without them was to court almost certain defeat.<sup>13</sup> Although they were few in number they were an important factor in the outcome of the engagements.<sup>14</sup> Undoubtedly the Ngāpuhi connection led to the acquisition of some firearms. Pōmare was known to have made at least one gift of a

<sup>9</sup> Te Wera was en route to Māhia on a peace mission to return Te Whareumu to his people.

<sup>10</sup> It is presumed that it was Te Kani who d'Urville described as 'Shaki' in his journal when the *Astrolabe* called at Uawa in 1827. Te Kani told D'Urville that "he had been the companion in arms of Pōmare." Dumont d'Urville, 1950, *New Zealand 1826-1827*, p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> Kingi Hori, in the Kourateuhi No.1 Case, asserted that Te Rongotūmamao, his grandfather, was killed at Pourewa. Hōne Ngātoto, however, said Te Rongotūmamao was taken captive at a later battle, Te Pukehore circa 1832, and killed at Te Karaka. Hōne Ngātoto, 1923, "Te Horonga o Tuatini Pā", in A. T. Ngata, nd, "Wp 1A: miscellaneous notes on Ngāti Porou", p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Evidence of Hori Kingi in Kourateuhi No.1 Case Wp6/41 of 15 Jul 1881. Te Āmaru's party went as far as Mataahu the home base of Whānau-a-Rākairoa killing Tāwhaki and Korotūngaio who had gone there to fish, Wp18/247 Paratene Ngata in Akuaku East No.1 Case. The battle fought at Tuatini occurred before 1828 which is the year the siege referred to as Tuatini tuarua took place.

<sup>13</sup> Wright, p. 84.

<sup>14</sup> In 1818 thirty-five muskets, which the Ngāpuhi chief Te Morenga, distributed among a force of six hundred warriors, were sufficient to rout a tribe from Tauranga. J. R. Elder, (ed), 1932, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838*, pp. 265-266.



musket to the relatives of Te Rangipaia.<sup>15</sup> Initially however, firearms were acquired through infrequent trading with passing whaling ships wishing to procure pork, potatoes and the like.<sup>16</sup> Large areas of potatoes were planted in order to barter for the muskets.<sup>17</sup> So prized were these early purchases (they were purchased at exorbitant prices) that they were given names. Katarangi was a musket acquired at Tokomaru. The chief Tama-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi took the name of the ship's captain, Tāmāti Wāka, in memory of the purchase. Te Keepa Tamitere dubbed the musket appropriated by his hapū, Takerewahine.<sup>18</sup>

The growing demand for dressed flax soon increased the visits by vessels, particularly out of Sydney, Australia. Neighboring hapū combined to supply the demand, seeking payment primarily in firearms and ammunition.<sup>19</sup> In fact, they would take nothing else if they could get muskets and powder. "These early muskets were actually as poor as the traders thought they could dispose of."<sup>20</sup> They were usually flintlocks, similar to the type used at Tapatahi pā against Ngāpuhi, where a flint in the hammer strikes a spark, when the trigger is pulled, to ignite the charge. Flintlocks soon lost favour and hapū would trade only for double-barreled (tūpara) percussion fowling pieces.

### Tuatini Tuarua 1828

The state of affairs on the East Coast became such that by 1828 most hapū could rely on at least a small number of firearms and ammunition in the event of an attack. This was the situation when Rongowhakaata, Ngai Tahupō, northern Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Wera Hauraki, joined Te Kani-a-Takirau for a major attack against Ngāti Porou and Whānau-a-Ruataupare. The battle was to be fought at Tuatini Pā, Tokomaru where the allies were congregating and Rāpata Wahawaha was inadvertently to become a victim.

<sup>15</sup> McKay, p. 83. During his friendly visit in 1823 he gave one in return for potatoes grown on the Rangikohua Block.

<sup>16</sup> Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 5.

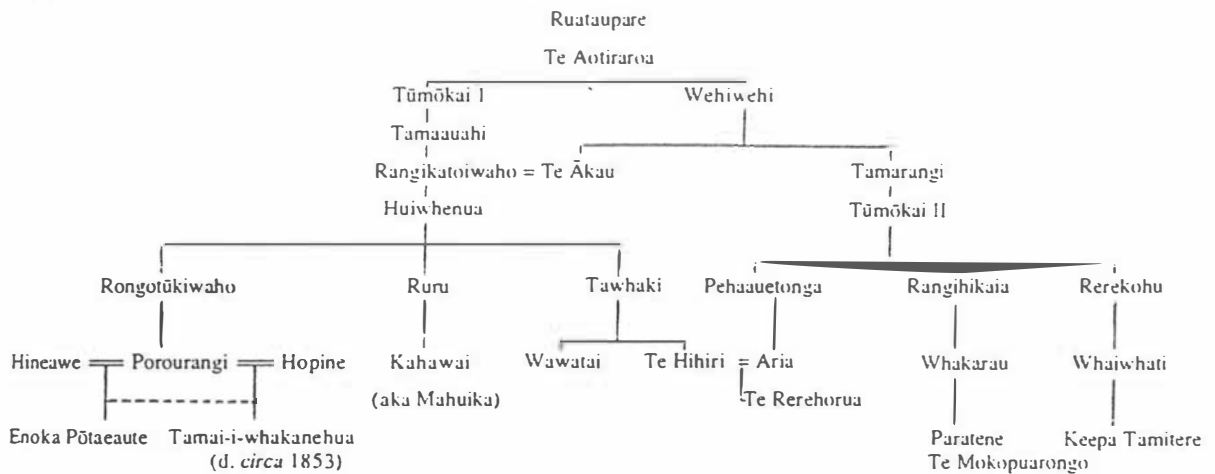
<sup>17</sup> Himiona Te Kani in Wp6/432.

<sup>18</sup> Potatoes were planted by Whānau-a-Te-Kaipakihi at Kaupeka-a-Haumia (between Tokomaru and Te Puia). They were carried off the land to a vessel offshore. The wife of Te Keepa, her name being Roka Tarora, wanted the musket purchased and so it was called Takerewahine. Evidence of Hāre Parahako in Investigation to Waipiro Block Wp8B/270 of 12 May 1885. McKay recorded that the vessel from which Tama-i-whakanehua purchased his musket was Amokete or Hamukete captained by J. R. Kent probably in 1827-28. McKay, p. 83.

<sup>19</sup> Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Wright, p. 84.

In 1828 the *ope taua* cast out to sea and made for Uawa where Te Kani received them. From there Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngāti Ira joined the fleet, but Te Kani himself remained at Uawa to ensure food supplies were prepared by his people for the party when they returned.<sup>21</sup> Te Kani had recently married Hine-i-tieri-i-te-rangi, the sister of the Ngāti Ira rangatira Rangiuia in order to strengthen the alliance with his former enemy.<sup>22</sup> Te Wera took charge of the combined force while the Hauiti section was lead by Pahurākai.<sup>23</sup> Te Rerehorua was the commander of the besieged party. He was said to be “the last of the principal chiefs and a man of great passionate nature who would kill a man anywhere.”<sup>24</sup> In fact, so many had he killed that several members of the attacking force had joined to see him destroyed. Other leading rangatira in the pā were Kahawai, Wawatai, Tamai-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi, Pōtaeaute (later baptised Enoka), Te Mokopuarongo (later baptised Paratene) and Tamitere (later baptised Te Keepa).<sup>25</sup>



In preparation for the contest, the carvings from the whare whakairo within the pā were dismantled and buried in the Mangahauini Stream.<sup>26</sup> The southern party arrived at Tokomaru, drew their fleet of waka onto the foreshore and set about probing Tuatini pā in order to determine how best to take it.

<sup>21</sup> Hēnare Potae in the investigation to the Tauwhareparae Block Wp4/238 contended the *ope taua* was a combination of Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāpuhi, Rongowhakaata, Hauiti and Ngāti Ira. Sir A. T. Ngata gave the date as 1828. Matiaha Pahewa gave it as December 1829.

<sup>22</sup> Victor Walker, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. Karauria Pahura, who joined his father in the attack on Tuatini, was to play a prominent role in the events surrounding Uawa during the 1860s.

<sup>24</sup> Evidence of Hēnare Pōtae in Gis2/131.

<sup>25</sup> Christian names were generally taken after baptism, from about 1840 on. Tama-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi, Pōtaeaute, Te Mokopuarongo and Tamitere would later sign the Treaty of Waitangi.

<sup>26</sup> Later the river mouth altered and the carvings were never found.

Tuatini was a palisaded pā near the shore and among the hapū within it were Whānau-a-Ruataupare, Whānau-a-Te-Aotawarirangi of Tokomaru and Ngāti Porou. There were said to be great numbers of people in the pā. The attacking party spent several days reconnoitering Tuatini before they settled on a plan to breach the outer defence. A handful of the bravest men were selected to carry up ropes and secure them to part of the stockade, undoubtedly a high risk operation. It was hoped that part of the palisades could then be pulled down allowing entry into the pa.<sup>27</sup>

Before the attack Paekaokao (later baptised Wikiriwhi), a tohunga of Whānau-a-Te-Ao, claimed to have seen Te Ākau, their kaitiaki (guiding spirit) which appeared before him in the form of a dog. The purpose of the visitation, Paekaokao told his people, was to warn them of the impending defeat ahead for the inhabitants of the pa. Heeding this advice, on the night of the attack, Whānau-a-Te Ao slipped quietly out of Tuatini and, by way of an unguarded track, returned to their land at the northern end of Tokomaru Bay. There they hid in a cave along the Mangarua stream to await the outcome of the battle.<sup>28</sup>

Later in the night the assault commenced. After fastening the ropes to the tops of the palisades the invading party successfully managed to haul down a part of the stockade allowing their side to enter the pā immediately. So overcome were the defenders, that those who were able to, abandoned the stronghold and fled under the cover of darkness.<sup>29</sup> Those who escaped disappeared in different directions. Te Mokopuarongo and one section managed to avoid capture. Others fled inland and the pursuers followed them to the back country to Waitahaia south-west of Mount Hikurangi and Wharekia, north east of the mountain.<sup>30</sup> A stand was made at Waitahaia but again the fleeing party were overcome. It was said sixty of the Whānau-a-Ruataupare party were killed in the Waitahaia battle alone, including the chiefs Te Rerehorua and Mahuika.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Best, p. 120.

<sup>28</sup> Hōne Ngātoto, p. 15. Ngātoto explained that Te Ākau showed Wikiriwhi, "Ko ngā toetoe o ngā whare o te pā e aia ana ki waho. He tohu aitia tērā. Nā, ka whakaatu a te Wikiriwhi ki Te Whānau-a-Te Ao. Ka ui a Ihaka Huhu, 'He aha tēnā tohu?' Ka kii mai tērā, 'E puta ki waho,' a ka whakaatu ia i te ara mā tua mai o te Hamiti, ko te Waha-o-Irawaru te ingoa."

<sup>29</sup> Taranui Tarakawa, 1900, "The Doings of Te Wera on the East Coast", *JPS*, vol. 10, p. 60.

<sup>30</sup> Wi Tahata, in the Tapuwaeroa No.1 Case, stated that like Taitai, Wharekia pā was a place of refuge for people in case of attack. "It was there that the people saved themselves from the attack by Rongowhakaata, who killed Te Rerehorua at Ngāwehenga. The attacking party came on this land and crossed the Tapuwaeroa river. Many were killed." Wp10B/220 of 9 Apr 1886.

<sup>31</sup> A. T. Ngata & P Te Hurunui, 1961, *Ngā Moteatea*, vol. 2, pp. 134-5. Wheke killed Te Rerehorua. He was of Ngāti Ira.

## E NOHO HEREHERE ANA

**The capture of Rāpata Wahawaha (1828)**

Among the force who pursued the fleeing party to Waitahaia were a contingent of Rongowhakaata. They were eager to avenge the death of one of their relatives whom Te Rerehorua had eaten at Tuatini some years earlier.<sup>32</sup> It was this party who took among its captives a young lad named Wahawaha. He was caught either in the chase inland or in the actual battle fought at Waitahaia. He escaped death, but his Rongowhakaata captors chose to keep him as a slave instead.

At Ngāwehenga, however, many of his relatives were killed and cooked in large umu. A separate umu was reserved for the corpses of Te Rerehorua and Mahuika. When they were cooked, parts of the roasted flesh were hurried off, by a special party of food-bearers, to Te Upoko-o-te-Ika at Uawa where Te Kani-a-Takirau was waiting. On sampling the human morsels Te Kani remarked, "Te tupuhi tangata koe e Te Rerehorua, te momona noa i ngā kai o tōna iwi a Ngai Tāwera" (How lean you are Te Rerehorua. He has not been fattened by his people of Ngai Tāwera).<sup>33</sup> One of the leaders of Whānau-a-Ruataupare, Pōtaeaute, Te Rerehorua's cousin, had been captured earlier and was with Te Kani when the cooked flesh arrived. He was most perturbed when compelled to witness the act of Te Kani devouring his relative's cooked remains.<sup>34</sup>

Nearly all of the early commentaries referring to the practice of kaitangata are by European observers and tend to distort the deeper significance behind the act. The general perception gleaned from these commentaries is that the custom of cooking and eating the enemy was often carried out as retribution against an offending party, or to engender fear into their descendants who no doubt would demand reprisals. At another level human flesh supplemented the need for iron in the diet while some simply had acquired a taste for cooked human meat. In 1975 Māori Marsden, himself of Ngāpuhi descent, gave a Māori

<sup>32</sup> This was Ngaukiore who had been killed when Pohatu-a-Tiki, the pā of Āmaru, was assaulted by Whānau-a-Ruataupare and Ngāti Porou. His body was cooked and returned to Tuatini where Te Rerehorua ate of it. This happened before 1828.

<sup>33</sup> Hōne Ngātoto, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> The head of Te Rerehorua was preserved and sold to purchase gunpowder. Tama-i-whakanehua changed the hapū name of his relatives to Ngāti Hokopaura as a reminder of the act.

perspective concerning kaitangata. It deserves to be quoted here in full lest the impression be formed that there was no deeper significance to the ritual.

When a warrior fell in battle, especially if he was of aristocratic lineage, he was regarded as a person who, because of his rank and the tohi rites he had been subjected to, was a person of great mana, as well as of ihi. So the conquerors cooked him and ate certain selected portions of his body where they believed his mana resided. By eating his flesh they consumed his mana and ihi, and thereby replenished their own. Eating the enemy's mana not only depleted the mana of the opposing tribe, it also brought the gods of those tribes under the subjection of the conquering tribe. In one sense it seems as if the fickle gods deserted the weak and sided with the strong. The eating of the enemy thus degraded the conquered tribe who were now treated with contempt by their conquerors. Degradation of the conquered tribe was termed "kaitoa". It signified that the toa (courage, strength) of the conquered had been eaten. Kaitoa means literally "to eat the strength and courage of another."<sup>35</sup>

The young Wahawaha was taken back to Tūranga and remained with his captors for a number of years. In later life, while giving evidence before the Native Land Court at Gisborne, Wahawaha spoke briefly of his incarceration.

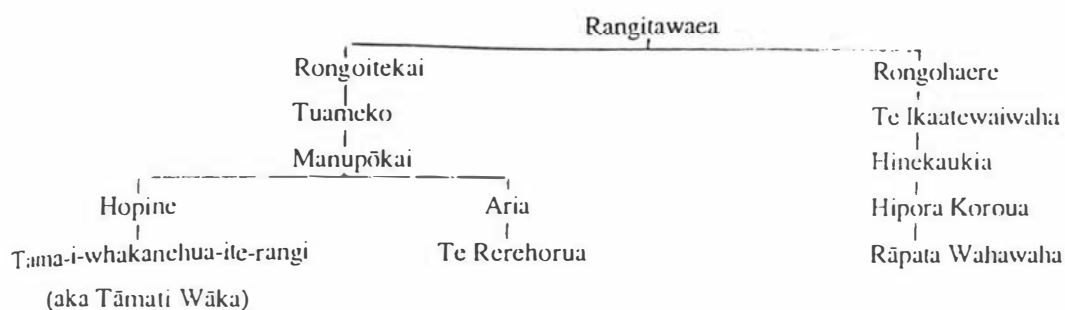
Ko taku pakeketanga i kōnei au e noho herehere ana, ka hinga i te Pukenui. Nukutaurua i te ope a Waikato a Ngāti Tamaterā. Ko te riri ki Mātakitaki o mua. I kōnei au e noho ana ko te riri ki Wharekahika te ngaki mate mō te Ngarara. Ko au i kai rawa au i te tangata i a au e noho ana i kōnei i te herehere. I riro mai au i Hikurangi. Mauria mai au ki kōnei hei pononga ā he mea hoko, ka hoki au.<sup>36</sup>

When I was grown, I lived here (Gisborne) as a prisoner and Pukenui pā at Nukutaurua was overthrown by Ngāti Tamaterā. The fight at Mātakitaki happened prior. While I was here the fight at Wharekahika took place in order to avenge the death of Te Ngarara. I ate human flesh while I remained here in captivity. I was brought from Hikurangi. I was brought here as a slave, was ransomed and I returned.

The battles at Nukutaurua and Wharekahika took place in about 1829 indicating that Wahawaha was in captivity for at least a year. He would have been about eight years of age at the time of capture.

<sup>35</sup> Māori Marsden, 1975, "God, Man and Universe: a Māori view." in Michael King, (ed), *Te Aohurihuri*, p. 154.

<sup>36</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in Waipiro re-investigation in Waipiro Poraka Book no.3/106 of 14.5.1890, NFC.



## TE NOHO PONONGA

### Slavery

There can be little question that imprisonment and the subsequent degradation of slavery had enormous and lasting effects on Wahawaha as an eight year old. So much so that Porter claimed he only completed his revenge on his captors at the cessation of hostilities in 1872, fifty years after his release.<sup>37</sup>

In enslavement pononga (slaves) lost whatever mana they had once possessed and had no security of life. Captors treated slaves exactly as they desired and could kill on whim. Slaves could be forced to exhaustion in work or just as easily killed and eaten. Some were traditionally killed on the death of a chief or for the occasion of celebration as was seen in the case of the tattooing of Hineitukua at Taitai. If not freed, slaves were doomed.

In Wahawaha's favour was the fact that women and children were generally less likely to be killed as slaves.<sup>38</sup> While in captivity he would have been compelled to carry out such menial tasks as carrying firewood on his shoulders, heating the ovens and cooking his captors provisions.<sup>39</sup> So far from home with at least a hundred kilometres of enemy territory between Tūranga and Akuaku there could be no attempt at escape, the law of that period being that, whoever apprehended a runaway slave, could claim him as their property.<sup>40</sup>

It could be argued that the experience of servitude may have developed within Wahawaha an attitude of ambivalence — one where he consciously entertained thoughts of revenge but also the desire to please people. This notion of servant, implicit in his name, comes

<sup>37</sup> Porter, 1897, p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Elder, p. 409.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 458.

through strongly in his later life. It seems the rangatira of the people among whom Wahawaha resided was fond of him and his admiration may well have stemmed from the lad's desire to please. Porter wrote, that he became "the prize" of the chief Rāpata Whakapuhia, from whom he obtained his Christian name.<sup>41</sup> The name was a constant reminder of his past. Later he became widely known as Rōpata particularly by European, initially after Sir Donald McLean's public rendering of it, but also by Wahawaha's preference.

... hence his name of Rāpata Wahawaha. The name, perpetuating the remembrance of his days in captivity, was always distasteful to the old man, and it was a relief to him when, through the peculiar Highland accent of Sir Donald McLean, the latter changed his name from *Rāpata* to *Rōpata*, and by the latter title he became generally known.

To his confidants he was often referred to as Nehe Rāpata, "nehe" being a Ngāti Porou term of endearment, sometimes used to describe a person who has the capacity to rise above the circumstances which might befall them.

After he had been ransomed it is unlikely that Wahawaha would have been able to stave off the ignominy of having been a slave. Even chiefs who had tasted of slavery were often looked down on by fellow tribesmen for having lost mana (prestige).<sup>42</sup> However, sometimes traumatic experiences that set the average person back, can have the opposite effect in others, and Wahawaha may have drawn from this experience sufficient motivation to seize whatever opportunities which came his way to recover his and his relatives dignity.

#### HE MEA HOKO

#### Wahawaha Ransomed

Tama-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi, who had escaped Tuatini Pā when Whānau-a-Te Ao slipped out at night, was the chief who eventually bought Wahawaha out of captivity.<sup>43</sup> Payment was made to his Rongowhakaata captors and Wahawaha and other relatives who had been in captivity were led home along the coast. At the village of Whāngārā he was

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 478.

<sup>41</sup> Porter, 1897, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> J. S. Polack, 1838, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol 2, p. 55.

shown the hands of his relative Te Rerehorua. These were “nailed to a cross-bar, upon which kits of food were suspended.”<sup>44</sup> Indignant at the way in which his kinsman had been derided, when Wahawaha reached Tokomaru he described to Tama-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi what he had seen at Whangara. The chief was outraged, he being a first cousin to Te Rerehorua, and immediately an ope taua was organised with the young Wahawaha joining.

In this instance, the seeds of the character of Rāpata Wahawaha can be seen. It is not only the humiliation of a chief and relative to which Wahawaha responds, but also to the fact that the mana of the group has been diminished by such an act. This is a key to understanding his motives and actions in later life. The mana of the group must be kept in tack, and any violation of it must not go unpunished.

While he was in captivity, a major offensive had already been carried out against Te Wera Hauraki and his allies as reprisal for the assault of Tuatini Pā. This was the siege of Pukenui at Nukutaurua in 1829, which involved most of the lower North Island tribal groups.<sup>45</sup>

Again, the hapū north of Tokomaru were called to assist as part of the marauding party. Uenuku and Te Kōtiri came with Ngāti Porou from the Waiapu, as did the neighbouring Whānau-a-Rākairoa. Whakatōhea and Whānau-a-Apanui sent contingents as well.<sup>46</sup> Together they marched on Pukehore Pā near Puatai and Maia-a-te-Ahu, a pā along the Mangaheia - Waimatā Road, to which Ngāti Ira had retired.<sup>47</sup> Both pā fell and a number

<sup>43</sup> According to Porter, Rapata remained under the protection of Tama-i-whakanehua until the chief died. Porter, 1897, p. 6. Tama-i-whakanehua died *circa* 1853.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. There are other examples of such treatment after death, not least of all that which was carried out by the Whānau-a-Apanui leader Taniwha when he also had the hands of his opponents severed for the purpose of hangin food.

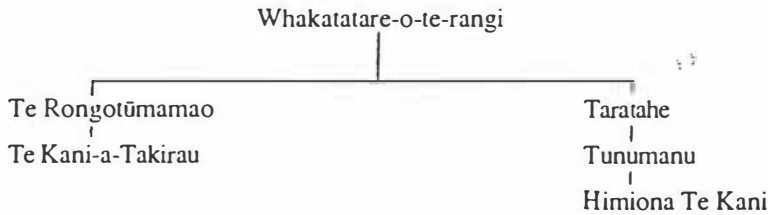
<sup>45</sup> The siege of Pukenui Pā or Pukekaroro (as it was properly known) was instigated by Pōtaeautē who had been present when Te Kani-a-Takirau partook of the cooked flesh of Te Rerehorua. He recruited through Tarapipi a Waikato contingent, Te Heuheu and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Whatanui and Ngāti Raukawa, while leading his own Ngāti Porou company. The attack was directed at Te Wera for his part in the Tuatini siege. In the pā, Te Wera was allied with Ngāti Kahungunu and Rongowhākata. Te Kani and a contingent of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti attempted unsuccessfully to reinforce Te Wera during the siege. The siege lasted so long that the starving inhabitants of the pā were reduced to eating the edible clay in the area, hence the place being sometimes referred to as Kaiuku. McKay, p. 83.

<sup>46</sup> Apiata te Hame, during the investigation to the title of the Huiarua Block, related that Whakatōhea were with Whānau-a-Rua at the attack on Maia-a-te-ahu. Wp5/302 of 15 Jun 1881.

<sup>47</sup> Evidence of Wī Mahuika in the investigation to the title of the Tauwhareparae Block, Wp4/211. Pukehore was one of the Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti strongholds. Hēnare Rūrū stated, “Pukehore was the pā for all the people in times of trouble”, Tuawhatu No.4 Case, Wp5/375 of 29 Jun 1881. Eru Pōtaka in the



of prisoners were taken. Some accounts state that the fighting men were away from Pukehore at the time of the attack and that it was mostly women and elderly men who defended it.<sup>48</sup> At Maia-a-te-Ahu, Tawhana, a son of the tōhunga Houtaketake, was slain.<sup>49</sup> At Pukehore, Tunumanu, a first cousin of Te Kani-a-Takirau, was among the prisoners captured.<sup>50</sup>



Other notable individuals among the captives included some connected with the killing of Te Rerehorua. Porter wrote,<sup>51</sup>

The chief who killed Te Rerehorua was taken prisoner in this fight, and was being marched by the war party along the coast for immolation among the relatives of Rerehorua, but before reaching these, the chief Tama i whakanehua said he could no longer endure with patience the presence of the murderer of his relative, and there and then dashed his brains out with his *mere*.

While Porter does not name the fight, it is probable this incident occurred after the fall of Pukehore Pā circa 1831. Pukehore lies about twenty kilometres north of Whangara and slightly north of Puatai beach. It is the only recorded incident for this period that relates to avenging the death of Te Rerehorua. While he gave no detail, Porter wrote that Wahawaha distinguished himself in this engagement and that this was the first installment of his revenge.<sup>52</sup> If the date for the engagement is correct, Wahawaha would have been no more than 12 years of age at the time.

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Waipiro Investigation said, “Ngāti Porou went to avenge the killing of Whanaua-a-Rua at Waitahaia. Pukehore and Maia-a-te-ahu pā were taken and Te Putataua and te Arakino occupied in consequence”, Wp8B/345-6 of 19 May 1885.

<sup>48</sup> Evidence of Hēnare Rūrū in Tuawhatu No.4 Case, Wp5/375 of 29 Jun 1881.

<sup>49</sup> Evidence of Apiata Te Hame at the investigation to the title of the Huiarua Block, Wp5/302 of 15 Jun 1881.

<sup>50</sup> Wp8A/172 Heremia Taurewa in Mangatuna Case. Heremia said that Tunumanu was taken from Maia-a-te-ahu back to Whānau-a-Apanui where she was married to Te Poho. She never returned and died in captivity. Her son was Himiona Te Kani.

<sup>51</sup> Porter, 1897, p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6. Porter was not a witness to these events.

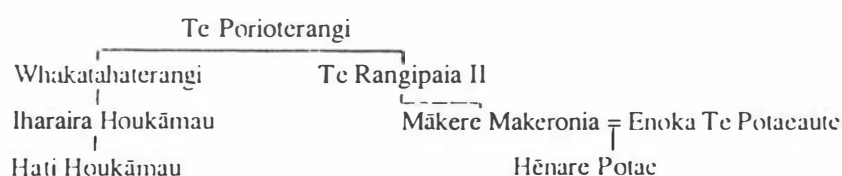
CHRONOLOGY		
Date	Event	Comment
1823	Tuarua Pā - marua	Ngāti Porou & Whānau-a-Rua against Hauiti. Te Wera Kahungunu Rongowhakaata. Rapata Wahawaha captured.
1829	2 March	Te Ngarara of Ngāti Awa plundered brig <i>Hawes</i>
1829	Te Ngarara killed	Ngāti Porou blamed for killing.
1829	Pukenui or Kaiuku or Okurarenga	Involved Waikato, Tūwharetoa, Raukawa, Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata
1829	Omaru at Wharekahika	Revenge for death of Ngarara. Wapanui and WEhutu. Nawa defeat NPorou at Te Rahui pa. Teira (killed) and George were Pā keha sailors involved.
1829	Wharekura at Te Kaha	Pakura of Ngāti Hokopu & Te Pori-ote-rangi of Wharekahika killed. Ngāti Porou with Whakatōhea allies defeated.
1831	Māea-a-te-Ahu, Pūkehōre	Hauiti, defeated by WaRua & NPorou. Wahawaha's first battle?
1832	Kekeparaoa	Nga Potiki & Whakatōhea attacked by Rongowhakaata & Te Wera
1832-5	Flax trade at Uawa	Whānau-a-Rua preparing flax at Uawa. Houtakeake attacks Owotea.
1833	Rangitukia	Kākātarau and Ngāti Porou fire upon Whānau-a-Apanui at Rangitukia pa. Reweti Kōhere says this happened in 1834.
1834	W. Williams. W. Yale return	9 Jan Williams visits Rangitukia and Whakawhitira. Remains captives. Enoke Rukuata and others. Christianity introduced.
1834	Inter-hapū skirmishes	Whānau-a-Rua and Aitanga-a-Hauiti land at Te Ariuru, come onto Tapatahi, than Te Puia where they meet Te Mutu & others who they kill
1836	Toka-a-Kuku	Wharekura
1837	Whakawhitira	Dispersion begins
1838	Williams 2nd visit	Stack, Colenso with him

### Inter-tribal migration

The remnants of the two pā fled south, the political situation, particularly between Whānau-a-Ruataupare and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, having deteriorated to such an extent that reprisals were likely to be taken by either side at any time. Neither was safe from the other and both groups withdrew from the general locality. Whānau-a-Ruataupare went north to Wharekahika, while Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti migrated south to their Tūranga

relatives. Ngāti Ira also withdrew among their southern neighbours, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki.<sup>53</sup> This left the whole district from Tokomaru to Uawa uninhabited.

There were strong connections between the Tokomaru and Wharekahika people, the ancestor Ruataupare having originated from Wharekahika. One of the principal chiefs of Whānau-a-Ruataupare, Pōtaeaute, had married the grand-daughter of Te Pori-o-te-rangi who was the principal rangatira at Wharekahika.<sup>54</sup> His grandson, Te Houkāmau (later baptised Iharaira), held sway at the time of their arrival.



Whānau-a-Ruataupare remained there for sometime until they were mistreated by their benefactors. Tama-i-whakanehua decided that they should find another place of refuge. Taking three waka he led a party west to Te Kaha. There he met with the chief Te Uaterangi and the two discussed the situation.

- Te Uaterangi: Inā rawa tō tira?" *What is the purpose of your party?*
- Tama-i-whakanehua: He haramai au ki te mea kainga mō ngā mōrehu o Te Whānau-a-Rua. *I come in search of a home for the remnants of Whānau-a-Rua.*
- Te Uaterangi: Mai hia o taua mōrehu? *How many survivors are there?*
- Tama-i-whakanehua: Ono rau. *Six hundred.*
- Te Uaterangi: A ta! tā! Ākuanei tahuri mai ai ki ngā mōrehu o te kainga. *Sir! Soon you must return to your home. Taku kupu ki a koe haere hohoungia te rongo ki a Te Kani-a-Takirau. My word to you is that you go and make peace with Te Kani-a-Takirau. Kauga e tōia i runga i te kai maoa, kei pare taku tuara ki a koc. (The meaning of this sentence is not clear). Haere mai haere, e tae ki Waiapu, ki a Uenuku, ki a Ngāripa, ki a Maungaroa, ki te Whare-o-te-riri. Come and go to Waiapu, to Uenuku, to Ngāripa, to Maungaroa, to Te Whare-o-te-riri.*

<sup>53</sup> Evidence of Wī Mahuika in the investigation to the title of the Tauwhareparae Block, Wp4/211 of 1879. In the same case Wī Pere claimed that it was when Te Rerehorua was killed that Ngāti Ira migrated to Tūranga, Wp4/224 of 1879.

<sup>54</sup> Te Pori-o-te-rangi was killed at Te Kaha c1829.

Whānau-a-Ruataupare then returned to the Waiapu, where at Whakawhitirā Uenuku agreed with the advice of Te Uaterangi. Two men were chosen to lead a delegation south to Te Kani-a-Takirau at Tūranga and seek a peace to end hostilities. At that time, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti were residing with Ngāti Maru at Te Umukapua. The Waiapu party, which included Rangimatike and Riro, the two selected to negotiate the peace terms, were received by Te Kani and the rangatira of Rongowhakaata. Probably after much debate, the two parties were reconciled and agreed to return to their lands. Whānau-a-Rua moved back to Tokomaru and there established themselves in a new pā at Te Ariuru. The various hapū of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, including Ngāti Ira, reclaimed their residences in the Uawa district. This occurred in about 1832.

While fighting between Whānau-a-Ruataupare and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti had ended, their mutual peace in no way curbed the fighting with other hapū. The Ngāti Ira tohunga, Houtaketake, who had lost his son at the fall of Maia-a-te-Ahu before the region was abandoned, sought Whānau-a-Ruataupare and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti as allies, and launched an attack into the northern territory of their enemies.<sup>55</sup> In return Te Aitanga-a-Mate attacked some of the Whānau-a-Rua at Tāwhiti and Kuroamokoia was killed.<sup>56</sup>

### Flax Trade 1832

As a gesture of goodwill towards Whānau-a-Ruataupare, Te Kani invited them to Uawa [in or about 1832] to join with Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti in preparing dressed flax for the profitable flax trade. Their purpose was to procure “guns, powder and shot.”<sup>57</sup> With the situation at Te Ariuru heating up again, this time with the neighbouring Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Whānau-a-Rua were not averse to moving.<sup>58</sup> Paratenohonoa pā was resurrected on the north bank of the Uawa River, and there Whānau-a-Rua resided for two to four

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<sup>55</sup> At Ōwetea, inland of Waitahaia, they came upon a party of about thirty of the Te Aitanga-a-Mate hapū. They were planting potatoes when the taua of Houtaketake attacked them. Some escaped. Others were slain and eaten in payment for the death of Tawhana, the son of Houtaketake. According to Apiata Te Hame during the Huiarua Case Wp5/302, Ariaterangi was one who was killed. In his war narrative, Tuta Nihoniho said that his grandfather, Hikurangi, was among those who escaped, killing four of his pursuers. Tuta explained that after the Ōwetea skirmish, revenge was in turn taken on Ngāti Ira and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. “... ka mau a Tautoru, te rangatira o aua hapū i a Hikurangi, a i kainga oratia hei whakao-maramatanga mō taua matenga ki Wetea.” Tuta Nihoniho, 1913, *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast*, p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> Evidence of Hāre Parahako in the investigation to the title of the Waipiro Block, Wp8B/263 of 11 May 1885.

<sup>57</sup> Evidence of Matiaha Pahewa, Wp27/193.

<sup>58</sup> Hāre Parahako in the investigation to the title of the Waipiro Block, inferred that Whānau-a-Rua went to Tolaga through fear of reprisals, Wp8B/263 of 11 May 1885.

years.<sup>59</sup> To heal old wounds, Te Kani also took to wife Amotawa, a sister of Te Rerehorua.<sup>60</sup>

During this time Whānau-a-Rua returned with Aitanga-a-Hauiti, landing at Te Ariuru. They climbed the mountain track over Tawhiti and came down to Tapatahi. “A spirit came to Whakapokihau and directed him to Te Puia.”<sup>61</sup> On arrival at Te Puia they intercepted Te Mutu and a small band of Te Aitanga-a-Mate who themselves were heading to Tokomaru to get even on account of a relative, Hinetukirangi, who had been killed by Whānau-a-Rua in the earlier skirmishes. Te Mutu, Te Paengakai, Te Mapara and Te Auahipouri, all of whom could be said to be related to Whānau-a-Rua, were killed. After the taua returned to Uawa Te Aitanga-a-Mate struck back, descending on some of the Whānau-a-Rua who had returned to Tokomaru. Taria was killed. This ended the fighting between the two hapū as the relatives of Taria visited Te Aitanga-a-Mate and made peace.<sup>62</sup>

While at Uawa, the predictable quarrels between two groups of people living in close proximity of each other occurred. To prevent trouble, Aitanga-a-Hauiti removed to the southern side of the Uawa River, and Te Kani placed a European shore trader with each of the groups.<sup>63</sup> Throughout the East Coast, the numerous hapū followed the trend of neighboring tribes towards developing innovative trade ventures. While they had long since adapted to the trading protocol of offshore vessels, the arrival of shore traders

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<sup>59</sup> Iiēnare Potae stated that it was two years. When Joel Polack brought his cutter up the Uawa river in June 1835 he met Te Kani-a-Takirau and also found Whānau-a-Ruataupare there preparing flax. In his account, Polack writes of the foresight of Te Kani and his willingness to look at peaceful alternatives, “... his absence at Tūranga, (Poverty Bay) was occasioned by some quarrels that had broken out among some of the minor chiefs of that place, and those under his chieftainship; that detesting war himself, he had undertaken the journey with a few friendly warriors, to obtain a league of friendship with the opposite party, and had been fortunate enough to succeed in his endeavors to allay the animosity that had then existed for some time. That he had seen no benefit arise from the continual wars that had been carried on among his relatives and friends from his childhood, in which he himself had singly suffered, both in person and property. He had determined on an opposite conduct, and as I must perceive, had invited his relations from Tokomaru, where korari (flax) was not to be found, to aid both themselves and his tribe, in furnishing the mooka (dressed flax) which abounded around him, to the European.” J. S. Polack, 1838, *New Zealand: being a narrative of travel and adventures during a residence in that country between the years 1831 and 1837*, pp. 126-7.

<sup>60</sup> In about 1829 to reconcile Ngāti Ira he had undertaken a similar act by marrying Hine-i-tieri-i-te-rangi, sister to Te Rangiuia.

<sup>61</sup> Evidence of Hāre Parahako in the investigation to the title of the Waipiro Block, Wp8B/263-4 of 11 May 1885.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Espie was the trader with the Tokomaru people, he having married Ani Kato of Whānau-a-Te Aotawarirangi. Mark Iles, p. 182. Charles Ferris was his business rival on the southern bank. McKay, p. 130.

anxious to buy dressed flax for the burgeoning flax market in Sydney, resulted in rangatira aligning for the mutual benefit of their hapū. Their motives were not entirely altruistic, for in many cases they requested payment primarily in muskets and powder. By no means did these increased trade opportunities end hapū fighting. Rather they served only to interrupt it. The flax trade peaked in 1831 when 1062 tons were exported from New Zealand to Sydney.<sup>64</sup> Flax was continually sought as an important export, however, until the end of the decade.

It appears that after gaining his freedom, Wahawaha returned among his people residing at Whakawhitirā. It should be remembered that the raids by Ngāpuhi created a confederacy among hapū north of Tokomaru that was not as pronounced in former times. Large pā such as Rangitukia, Whakawhitirā and Taitai often became the central residence for several hapū. Seasonal availability of food resources meant that they would often move about their traditional kainga many miles from the central pa, maintaining something of a migratory existence during these times.

The introduction of the musket had only escalated the long-standing feuds between neighbouring hapū. The more even distribution of muskets did not halt hostilities but simply made the outcome of fighting less of a forgone conclusion. The Whānau-a-Rua and Aitanga-a-Hauiti inter-hapū feuding, covering a 10 year period (1823-1833) as described above, is by no means exceptional. North and south of their region was no different. It was into this environment of warfare that the catalyst for change came – Christianity.

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<sup>64</sup> Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 5.

## Chapter 4

### Peace and the New Mission 1834-1840

#### “Te Hurihanga o Ngāti Porou ki te Whakapono”

##### TAENGA MAI O TE WHAKAPONO KI WAIAPU

##### Christianity 1834

Many writers have attempted to explain the Christian conversion of Māori, sighting literacy, war weariness, disease and death as reasons for the change.<sup>1</sup> In the past Ngāti Porou described the acceptance of the new religion as “te hurihanga o Ngāti Porou ki te Whakapono” (the turning of Ngāti Porou towards Christianity) which does not in itself imply conversion.<sup>2</sup> While it is not in the ambit of this thesis to analyse what conversion meant to Māori, it is necessary to provide some comment on why the swing to Christianity by Ngāti Porou was so enthusiastic initially and yet lost much of its influence when the Hauhau movement of the 1860s tested it. Such comment is necessary because Christianity, or at least the Anglican form of it, was a significant component both of the Ngāti Porou psyche and the character of Rāpata Wahawaha as their leader. Second, it is also the key to understanding Ngāti Porou perceptions of the monarchy which lead to factionalism during the 1860s.

Previous historical analyses of the Māori response to Christianity either have tended to concentrate on the Māori as a race or have perceived the Ngāti Porou response as part of a wider rejoinder including the district as far south as Wairoa. A falling away from Christianity in Wairoa, for example, is extrapolated to infer that similar attitudes existed in Ngāti Porou. The Ngāti Porou response to Christianity needs to be reviewed separately, as the process for its acceptance was quite distinctly influenced by the society and norms that

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<sup>1</sup> cf. Francis Porter, (ed.), 1974, *The Tūranga Journals 1840-1850*, pp. 46-53; K. M. Sanderson, 1980, “These Neglected Tribes: a study of the East Coast Māori and their Missionary, William Williams, 1834-1870,” MA Thesis, AU.

existed during the 1830s, particularly in the Waiapu region. As will be seen, the Christian message was introduced by influential members of the tribe — captives though they may have been — then planted in their own soil, so to speak, and adapted to the framework of their own spirituality. From the outset, a sense of ownership and custodianship was developed that is still reflected in the Anglican Church today. A significant number of ordained clergy come from Ngāti Porou and many of these are connected to Rangitukia, the birthplace of Christianity on the East Coast.<sup>3</sup> The progress of Christianity and the complexity of motives which led to its acceptance among Ngāti Porou may be illustrated by reviewing the important role of the Christian evangelist Piripi Taumata-a-kura, of the Whānau-a-Uruahi hapu, who laid the foundation for the earnest and pronounced acceptance of Christian teaching among his people.<sup>4</sup>

With Pōmare's peace having been accepted in 1823, many hapū were able to venture onto the flat lands closer to the food sources without the threat of attack, at least by Ngāpuhi. Still, the redoubts like Taitai were maintained. The big pā in the Waiapu were Whakawhitirā, which was the largest, and later Rangitukia (established c1832). Here the local population congregated for many years, eventually dispersing from 1837 on. Sometimes the residential population was swelled by hapū withdrawing from the Wharekahika - Te Araroa area under threat of attack from their western neighbours, or similarly by an exodus by Tokomaru residents in fear of reprisals from their southern foe.

From the early contact with Ngāpuhi in the 1820s, a form of Christianity was experienced by individuals from the Tairāwhiti region. These same individuals were instrumental in spreading the Christian message among their relatives along the East Coast, albeit with a

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<sup>2</sup> Pers. comm., Cannon John Tamahori, 3 Oct 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Pers. comm., Rev. Brent Swann, 31 May 1999. Swann, after discussions with other clergymen, was able to share with the author the following facts: The list of Ngāti Porou ordained clergy inside the chapel, Piripi Taumata-a-kura, is an indication of the Waiapu valleys considerable contribution to the work of the Church. At present the Kaa family of Rangitukia have nine members who are all currently in ordained ministry throughout Aotearoa. Of the fourteen clergy of the Waiapu Diocese during World War Two, nine were from Rangitukia. Within the present Minita-a-Iwi system Ngāti Porou clergy are serving throughout Aotearoa, Australia and the Pacific Islands. Many of these people are in key leadership positions.

<sup>4</sup> All the literature which exists concerning the early transformation of religious beliefs among Ngāti Porou, credit the work of Taumata-a-kura and other returned slaves for the rapidity and extensive nature of the spread.



rather distinct Māori character. 1834 is generally acknowledged as the year in which Christianity was introduced to Ngāti Porou, this being the year of the first social call by missionaries to the region. With them came Piripi Taumata-a-kura, the man Ngāti Porou consider most responsible for the initial spread of the Gospel along the East Coast. But even the missionaries during that visit recognised that a semblance of Christian practice may have been in place. On 12 January 1834, William Williams recorded what he believed was the first observance of the Sabbath in the Waiapu region. He formed the opinion that the local residents already perceived it as a day of rest. In his journal he wrote, “they seemed to know that they were not to work and that their food ought to be prepared beforehand.”<sup>5</sup>

It appears that, in the period between the peace pact made with Pōmare (1823) and the missionaries visit, Christian ideas had been distributed through the agency of Māori coming into contact with Ngāpuhi. At least some of those Ngāti Porou prisoners, who had been released and returned to the East Coast prior to 1834, had experienced Christian teaching while in the Bay of Islands. Some of Uenuku’s party may have gained instruction while guests of Pōmare. Others had visited the mission station at Paihia on their own initiative, while some again were introduced to the Christian message when they came into friendly collision with Pōmare and his people during his sojourn on the East Coast.<sup>6</sup> When d’Urville met Te Kani-a-Takirau at Tolaga Bay in 1827, he remarked that the chief could recite portions of the Pihe.<sup>7</sup>

Here the Pihe<sup>8</sup> begins to be known, although Shaki could only say a few verses to me, which he repeated without the slightest variation, twenty to thirty times over. But Rau-Tangui, a very lively girl twelve or thirteen years old ... recited the whole thing, just as it appears in the

<sup>5</sup> Jnl of William Williams, 12 Jan 1834.

<sup>6</sup> While many slaves were returned by the missionaries from 1834 on, some had been given their freedom by Ngāpuhi many years before. Williams met one old chief during his 1834 visit who had been released a number of years earlier. William Williams, 1867, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti informants believe Shaki and Te Kani to have been one and the same person, largely because there is no other person fitting the description in that period, pers. comm., Victor Walker, 30 Jul 1999. Perhaps Shaki is taken from Takirau. In any event, he told d’Urville that he had been a “companion in arms with Pōmare.” d’Urville, Dumont, 1950, *New Zealand 1826-1827*, p. 118.

Missionaries' Grammar. Both agreed in confirming my belief that it was the prayer addressed to the great Atoua in heaven when the sacred food was offered him on the battlefield.

While clearly some knowledge of Christian practice existed in the region no profound adherence to Christian principles had yet occurred. It was with the return of Taumata-a-kura and others during William Williams' inaugural visit that the seed of the Christian message was to germinate among Ngāti Porou. Their visit came about through circumstances that occurred a year earlier.

In April 1833, an English whaling ship, the *Elizabeth*, lay off the East Cape. The local inhabitants, eager to trade went alongside.<sup>9</sup> While the canoe was ferrying goods ashore a party of twelve remained on board. A dispute arose on shore between the captain and the local residents. He returned to the ship and made for the Bay of Islands taking with him the Waiapu party.<sup>10</sup> The seven men and five women, including the chiefs Rukuata, Rangikātia, Rangiwihakamatama and Whakamara, although they protested, were landed at Rangihoua in the Northland.<sup>11</sup> There they were made slaves by the Ngāpuhi chiefs, joining their relatives who had suffered a similar fate many years earlier. When the missionaries heard of their misfortune they intervened on their behalf and the Ngāpuhi captors agreed to give them up on the condition that the mission schooner should be used to take them home.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The pihe is a northern term similar to waiata tangi or dirge of grief. Pers comm. Bishop Muru Walters, 10 Sep 99. In this case, it appears the term had been appropriated and applied to a particular Christian prayer.

<sup>9</sup> At the time Ngāti Porou were preparing for war, a showdown with Whānau-a-Apanui which was to become known as the siege of Toka-a-kūkū in 1836. They traded pork and vegetables primarily for muskets and ammunition. *Te Pipiwharauoa*, Mar 1910, no. 143, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Accounts differ as to whether the party was carried away accidentally or deliberately. Captain Black's own account was that a gale sprang up and he was forced to run for the Bay of Islands. AN Brown to CMS 31 May 1833, CN/026. Both William Williams (*Christianity* ..... p.162) and Mohi Tūrei (*Te Pipiwharauoa*, no143) recorded this version. Barnet Burns claimed the captain kidnapped the natives because the local people were harboring three of his crew. Burns gave an account of how the deserters were rescued in his narrative. Barnet Burns, 1844, *A Brief Narrative of a New Zealand Chief*.

<sup>11</sup> Leonard Williams recorded in his notes that among the "native chiefs carried off from Waiapu by a whaler to the Bay of Islands in 1833 were Enoke Rukuata, Rāwiri Rangikatia, Makaea Te Hokiro, and Te Wiremu Tamatama." Hongi's raid in 1823 and other MSS in Māori, WL Williams Papers MS-2456, ATL. Of course, these men had not acquired Christian names at that time. Mohi Tūrei gave their names as they appear in the text. *Pipiwharauoa*, Mar 1910, no. 143, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Mohi Tūrei wrote that they were recognised by their relatives and they all wept together. "Ka tangihia nga kupu nei e nga herehere, 'Hikurangi maunga tu noa, Waiapu wai rere noa, ko nga taniwha katoa enei o toto.'" *Te Pipiwharauoa*, Mar 1910, no. 143, p2. William Williams recorded in his journal that the

On 30 April 1833 Rev. William Williams and Rev. James Hamlin attempted to return the captives among Ngāti Porou but were forced to abandon their voyage when a heavy gale turned them back near Wharekahika.<sup>13</sup> It was decided that the party should remain at Paihia until the following summer to await a more favorable opportunity. During the next eight months they resided at the mission settlement and received regular instruction.<sup>14</sup>

On 19 December 1834 the Ngāti Porou party set sail again aboard the *Fortitude* with William Williams, this time accompanied by Rev. William Yate. Taumata-a-kura, a man of rank, had been captured during Hongi's raids more than a decade earlier and made a slave.<sup>15</sup> When it was learned that his relatives were returning to Ngāti Porou, he like others, were given liberty by his master, to join them.

The *Fortitude* stood off Te Araroa on 8 January 1834. The party were received with great emotion and the fact that they had returned from what everyone considered was certain death, at once gave their relatives high opinions of the missionaries.<sup>16</sup> The seemingly resurrected captives gave a narration of their experiences in the Bay of Islands and Taumata-a-kura's account of all he had heard of the Christian teachings was of immense interest to his relatives and fellow tribesmen. Apparently in the Waiapu Valley he was a

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captain handed them over to Warepoaka who kept ten as slaves, the other two were to remain with Rewa and Tareha at Kororareka. See Jnl of William Williams 14, 16-17 April 1833.

<sup>13</sup> According to Williams, when they set sail, one of the captives remained "up the country" while two returned in another vessel." They were 20 miles from the entrance into Hicks Bay when they turned back. see Jnl of William Williams 30 April-8 May 1833.

<sup>14</sup> Williams, *Christianity...*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 255-257. Williams wrote that Taumata-a-kura "was formerly a slave and had attended school at Waimate, but he had never given any reason to suppose that he took an interest in Christian instruction. He was not even a candidate for baptism but he had learnt to read." Prenter noted that Wahiniti Huriwai had told him in 1971 that Taumata-a-kura "was sent by the tribe for education at the mission school at Waimate." Wahiniti was from Panguru in the north and married Brownie Huriwai of Tikitiki. Isla I Prenter, 1972, "The Development of Christianity in the Waiapu Diocese Until 1914," MA Thesis, MU, p8. But it seems more likely that Taumata-a-kura was taken prisoner. The evidence of his relative Himiona Rirerire (alias te Moana) in the Poroporo case claimed that, "Pehi Tarekomako, Piripi Taumata-a-kura and Wi Te Arakirangi were taken away by Ngāpuhi. Takarua set up a rahui to prevent anyone using the land till prisoners were released by Ngāpuhi. The prisoners returned from Ngāpuhi and that occasioned a great gathering at Whakawhitirā - Piripi built a large house." Wp65/26. The great gathering referred to was most likely the 1834 return with Williams.

<sup>16</sup> William Yate in his evidence before the 1836 Parliamentary Select Committee, related that Ngāti Porou, accepting that their relatives had been murdered, had "gone through the whole of their funeral ceremony, and had buried images in representation of what they considered to be their murdered friends." *GBPP*, 1836, no. 538, p. 197.

well-connected man.<sup>17</sup> That his companions too were men of high birth was a key factor for their audience and must have added to the credibility of their testimony.<sup>18</sup> And they were not young men either. Rangikātia (baptised Rāwiri and later a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi) as an illustration, was about 50 yrs of age, a rangatira of considerable influence and the son of the great chief Te Rangimatemoana who controlled Taitai pā at the time of Pōmare's raids.<sup>19</sup>

These men arranged for services to be held at both Rangitukia and Whakawhitirā. Rukuata, who was from Rangitukia, took charge of proceedings and explained the proper behavior for the service.<sup>20</sup> Rangitukia, was described by Williams as large and well fortified and according to what the residents had told him, mustered 560 fighting men. Whakawhitirā, he learnt, contained 2600 fighting men.<sup>21</sup> On the occasion of his visit however, he estimated there were over 500 men, women and children at Rangitukia during night prayers and between 800 and 1000, including at least 400 children, at the Whakawhitirā service.<sup>22</sup> Rukuata, Taumata-a-kura and the other chiefs in their party did much to esteem Williams and Yate to the people who gathered to hear them. It was, however, their release from captivity through the missionaries' influence that impressed upon their relatives the outstanding features of the new teaching as they saw it, namely, the suppression of the practice of kaitangata, the release of prisoners from captivity and their protection from vengeful enemies.<sup>23</sup> With their task accomplished, the missionaries departed having spent a week in the region.

Still, the total embracement of the new faith by all was not accomplished during this inaugural visit. That was to occur a few years later. For now the seed was planted. While

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<sup>17</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 339.

<sup>18</sup> Taumata-a-kura and Rangiwahakatamatama (later baptised Wiremu), who was one of the twelve taken north by the *Elizabeth*, were first cousins.

<sup>19</sup> This is based on Rev. Charles Bakers estimation that when Rangikatea married again on 4 May 1857 he was approximately 70 yrs.

<sup>20</sup> Enoka Rukuata died at Waioratane on 30 May 1854. Jnl of Charles Baker, 3 Aug 1844 to 18 Feb 1845.

<sup>21</sup> Jnl of William Williams, 9-10 Jan 1834.

<sup>22</sup> Williams, *Christianity...*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>23</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 340. Mohi Tūrei also wrote that Taumata-a-kura was a chief, "Ka haramai ko Piripi Taumata-a-kura hei kaiwhakaako. Ko tenei tangata he rangatira no Ngāti Porou i roiro herehere i a Hongi." *Te Pipīwharauoa*, Mar 1910, no. 143, pp. 2-3.

he was impressed by the potential for a mission station in the Waiapu valley, it would be four years before Williams returned and in that time Christian practice on the East Coast would be shaped quite independent of the missionaries. Williams would return to find Christianity generally accepted and distinctly Māori in character.<sup>24</sup> Taumata-a-kura would be regarded as the champion of the Christian Church on the East Coast during these years. Ngāti Porou's acceptance of the new faith was largely due to his display of faith at the siege of Toka-a-kūkū in 1836.

#### TE PAKANGA O TOKA-A-KŪKŪ

##### Siege of Toka-a-kūkū 1836

Toka-a-kūkū was the last great battle between Ngāti Porou and their neighbours, Whānau-a-Apanui. It was fought at Te Kaha in 1836 and was the result of a number of earlier incidents.<sup>25</sup>

On 2 March 1829, the brig *Haweis* was anchored at Whakatane trading with a party of Ngāti Awa lead by Te Ngarara Toihau. It was attacked, plundered and some of the crew were killed by Ngāti Awa.<sup>26</sup> Among them was a Ngāpuhi crewman who had been taken on board in the Bay of Islands.<sup>27</sup>

At this time a party of Ngāpuhi had long been residing as guests of Uenuku at Waiapu. As it turned out, one of them was closely related to the man killed at Whakatane. In time, Uenuku instructed some of his people to accompany their northern visitors home and they sought passage aboard the schooner *New Zealander*. *En route* the vessel put in at Whakatane and soon the local Ngāti Awa came alongside. Te Ngarara boarded the schooner only to be shot and killed by the Ngāpuhi relative. Ngāti Awa recognised the Ngāti Porou aboard and placed the blame in their quarter.

<sup>24</sup> John Tamahori, 1990, Essay on Mohi Tūrei, in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, p. 557. Time has not dimmed the Māori character of the Anglican faith among Ngāti Porou.

<sup>25</sup> Some commentators give 1834 as the year of the battle. It was, however, 1836.

<sup>26</sup> Robert McNab (ed), 1908, *Historical Records of New Zealand*, vol. 1, pp. 687-98.

<sup>27</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha wrote that there were two men from Ngāpuhi in the employ of the brig. WNRW, p. 91.

Reprisals were taken at Wharekahika later that year. With Whānau-a-Apanui and Whānau-a-Te Ehutū as allies, Ngāti Awa attacked Omaruiti and were victorious. Among those killed at Omaruiti was Tūtohiarangi, the son of Uenuku.<sup>28</sup> In the same year, when it was learned that some of Whānau-a-Apanui were at Whangaparaoa dressing flax, Ngāti Porou with the assistance of some Whakatohea went to attack them. Forewarned, the Apanui party returned to Te Kaha and prepared defences at Wharekura Pā. When Ngāti Porou launched their attack they were beaten off, losing many including the chiefs Te Pori-o-te-rangi of Wharekahika and Pakura of Waiapu.<sup>29</sup> After these defeats the residents of Wharekahika and Te Araroa retired to the Waiapu and the safety of the newly erected Rangitukia Pā.

Spurred on by their successes, Whānau-a-Apanui next entered Ngāti Porou territory and approached the Rangitukia stronghold. They deliberately avoided planning an offensive against the fortified village at Whakawhitirā, it being so large and the population extensive. Many days, however, were spent reconnoitering Rangitukia Pā before they realised that they would not be able to overcome it by direct assault. It was decided to employ a strategy of deception. Being informed that foul play was about to take place, Kākātarau, elder brother of Mōkena Kohere and chief within the pa, ordered his men to fire upon the Apanui party who, as a result, lost several men. They retreated, were allowed to recover their dead and returned to their own district. This affair took place in 1833.<sup>30</sup> After this the Wharekahika - Kawakawa region was inhabited again as it was felt safe for people to return

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<sup>28</sup> A sailor who had deserted was also killed and eaten. He was known as Tēra (Taylor). Another, known only as Hori, escaped. The two had been living among the Whānau-a-Tuwahakairiora at Wharekahika, and Tēra was betrothed to Ripeka Hinewekuweku. She married Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia and later Tāmati Tuhiwai. L. Lawson, 1987, *Wharekahika: a history of Hicks Bay*, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Mohi Tūrei gave their names as Te Porinui-a-te-Whakahara and Pakura-a-Hoia. Mohi Tūrei to Kanara Poata (Col Porter) 23 Sep 1911, p. 7, NA. Te Pori-o-te-rangi was the grandfather of Iharaira Houkamau and Pakura was the father of Kākātarau and Mōkena Kohere. According to Reweti Kohere, before the battle fought at Wharekura pā Ngāti Porou also suffered a defeat at the hands of Whānau-a-Apanui at Te Piki-a-Te-Atawhiua, inland of Whangaparaoa. Reweti T. Kohere, 1949, *The Story of a Māori Chief*, p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> The Whānau-a-Apanui party was led by Tangitahi, Te Aopururangi and others. Mohi Tūrei, 1910, "He Merikana ki Porourangi," in *Pipīwharauoa*, Mar 1910, no. 143, p. 2. Reweti Kohere gave 1833 as the date for this engagement. Kohere, *The Story of ...*, p. 24. The fight must have occurred before Williams' first visit to the Waiapu region. Mohi Tūrei wrote that when Williams' called at Te Araroa (8 Jan 1834), the locality was occupied by, among others, Whānau-a-Te Aotaihi. They had recently returned to the area after the defeat of Whānau-a-Apanui at Rangitukia. They had been encamped with relatives in the Rangitukia Pā. *Te Pipīwharauoa*, Mar 1910, no. 143, pp. 2-3. Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 175.

to their kainga. They had not long been back when Williams and his party landed in the region.

In the same year it was decided that a reckoning between Ngāti Porou and Whānau-a-Apanui should take place. Among others, Kākātarau was bent on avenging his father's death, Uenuku desired revenge for the loss of his son, and there were many others. The call was sent to other iwi and hapū throughout the Tairāwhiti district by way of party of emmissaries whose express purpose was to recruit military support.<sup>31</sup> The party visited Tokomaru, Uawa, Tūranga, Nukutaurua, Nuhaka, Wairoa, Ahuriri (Napier), Heretaunga and the Wairarapa. At Māhia they sought Te Wera Hauraki, the Ngāpuhi chief, as an ally. Te Wera, keen to avenge the earlier deaths of relatives Ngaure and Wharetomokia at the hands of Whānau-a-Apanui, encouraged the rangatira in the Heretaunga district to support the Ngāti Porou cause.<sup>32</sup> From as far south as the Wairarapa ope taua (war parties) prepared for the engagement.<sup>33</sup> The make-up of the ope included former foes. Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Whānau-a-Ruataupare had fought those who had sent out the call for a war party only a few years earlier, while Whānau-a-Rua had sought safety with Whānau-a-Apanui a year or two earlier.

The alliances forged on this occasion surpassed those formed at Taitai and Whakawhitirā during the Ngāpuhi raids. The rationale for assembling, in this instance, was utu. To the Māori mind it was quite acceptable to join an ally in war on one occasion and then oppose

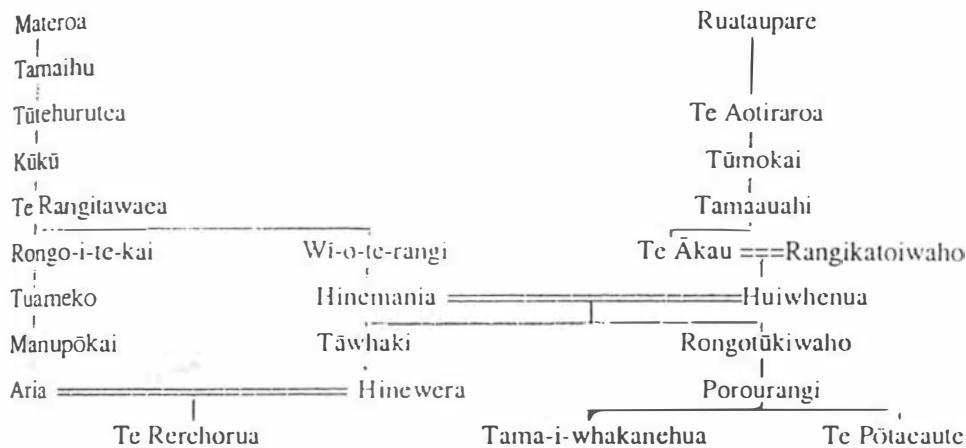
<sup>31</sup> They may have been lead by Kākātarau, Uenuku and other rangatira. A lengthy debate ranged in the Māori newspapers in 1929-30 as to the detail of events and those involved at Toka-a-kūkū. cf. P. H. Tomoana, 1929, "Te Manu Kairākau e Patua i Wāhi Kē", in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Dec 1929, pp. 1941-1942; Reweti Kohere, 1930, "Ngā Kōrero o Toka-a-kūkū: he whakatikatika," in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Apr 1930, pp. 2042-2044; Reweti Kohere, 1930, "Toka-a-kūkū," in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Sept 1930, pp. 2141-2142; Angiangi te Hau, 1930, "Toka-a-kūkū," in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Oct 1930, pp. 2161-2163; Koopu Erueti, 1931, "He Whakatikatika mō te kōrero a Wī Repa mo te riri i te Muhunga", in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Aug 1931, no.2, pp. 20-21; Reweti Kohere, 1931, "Toka-a-kūkū," in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Sept 1931, pp. 31-32.

<sup>32</sup> Mohi Tūrei to Kanara Poata (Col Porter) 23 Sep 1911, p. 9, NA. The leading Ngāpuhi men among Te Wera's ope taua were Marino, Pukahu, Te Toa and Tarapatiki. McKay claimed it was for revenge for the death in 1823 of his nephew, Marino, that Te Wera joined the expedition. J. A. McKay, 1949, *Historic Poverty Bay*, p. 91. Marino, however, was a participant at Toka-a-kūkū, he being killed there. See also Mohi Tūrei, 1910, "He Kōrero Tawhito," in *Te Pipiwharauoa*, May 1910, no145, pp. 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> William Williams wrote that on his first visit to Te Araroa (8 Jan 1834) warriors were assembled "only awaiting the arrival of chiefs further south to go and attack their enemies living to the westward." Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 175.

them at the next, if the two parties disagreed over the issue confronting them.<sup>34</sup> There are few better examples in Ngāti Porou records which highlight this point than the account relating to the death of Tāwhaki which probably occurred during the 1820s.<sup>35</sup>

Tāwhaki, of Whānau-a-Ruataupare, was killed along the beach at Tokomaru in a battle with their northern Ngāti Porou neighbours, his body being carried away to be eaten. Tāwhaki was closely related to Aitanga-a-Mate who were among the northern alliance. Part of his body was eaten at Tapatahi, the pā of another northern ally Whānau-a-Iritekura. A section



of Aitanga-a-Mate living at Pāpoto Pā came and killed Kaingamarama of Iritekura at Ōngore and carried his body to Tokomaru as retribution for Iritekura's part in eating Tāwhaki. They hoped that their action would prevent further bloodshed. Their relatives, the Aitanga-a-Mate section of Whānau-a-Rua, while in agreement that the payment was sufficient, were in a minority, and the rest of Whānau-a-Rua decided to continue with their plan to attack northern Ngāti Porou. The party who had come from Pāpoto then rebuked them stating, "We have now done with you. Having brought you payment we northern Aitanga-a-Mate now go and join the Ngāti Porou side." Aitanga-a-Mate went back to Pāpoto and later repelled a Whānau-a-Rua / Aitanga-a-Hauiti combined force at Pūrēhua, Waipiro.

<sup>34</sup> Pers. comm., Keita Walker, 5 Jun 1999.

<sup>35</sup> Evidence of Tuta Nihoniho in Waipiro Rehcaring, Gis15/152-154 of 30 Jan 1890.



To return to our story, in the Waiapu valley the greater part of 1834 and 1835 was spent preparing food for the expected army. At the beginning of January 1836 the allies arrived and were entertained by Ngāti Porou at Whakawhitirā. As an illustration of how many had come, the following leaders were listed from the Ngāti Kahungunu contingent.<sup>36</sup>

Wairoa:	Raihania	Wairarapa:	Tūtepakihirangi
	Hāmāna Tiakiwai		Kawekairangi
	Te Waru		Kaiatekōkopu
	Hēnare Apatari	Heretaunga:	Pareihe
Māhia:	Te Kauru ote rangi		Te Hāpuku
	Tangihaere		Tiakitai
	Hōne Maru	Mohaka:	Paora Rerepu
	Te Whareumu		Te Wainohu
	Aperahama	Nuhaka:	Ihaka Whaanga
	Te Wera Hauraki		Toroaiwhiti
	Tarapihi		
	Peketahi		
	Mangungu		

The month of February found the contingents ready to sail.<sup>37</sup> Taumata-a-kura had been asked to join the expedition as by now he had considerable influence in the district through what he had been teaching. In fact, his exhibition of extraordinary knowledge had so impressed his people, that they looked upon him as a tohunga and many considered he might occasion favorable odds in the forthcoming encounter. Aside from his Christian beliefs, he knew how to read and write and had been instructing others in this art. Still he was powerless to stay the tribal vendetta but was “determined to prevent its most evil excesses.”<sup>38</sup> He resolved to take part only on the condition that the fighting would be conducted “in accordance with the principles adopted by Christian nations.”<sup>39</sup> To this end,

<sup>36</sup> *Te Toa Takitini*, Oct 1930, no. 109, p. 2161. The list was provided by Angiangi Te Hau of Nukutaurua from information given him by his elders.

<sup>37</sup> While most commentators give 1834 as the year of the siege. Percy Smith, Mohi Tūrei and Reweti Kohere recorded it as 1836. See McKay, p. 91, Kohere, p. 25 and *Te Pipīwharuroa*, May 1910, no. 145, p. 8, S. Percy Smith, (1910), *Māori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 469.

<sup>38</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 340.

<sup>39</sup> McKay, p. 92. This quote from McKay ought not to leave the impression that chivalry did not exist in pre-Christian Māori warfare. There are many examples of clemency in Ngāti Porou tradition. Among the most well-known are the stories surrounding Paikea and Tūhorouta both of whom were at one time spared

he asked for control of the battle and Uenuku, Kākātarau, and the other leading chiefs agreed to this request.

Since their return, by way of the *Fortitude* two years earlier, Taumata-a-Kura and the others had continued to preach the Gospel. While some of his younger relatives had received his instruction with great eagerness and remarkable facility, most still only paid lip service to his teachings. As Rāpata Wahawaha, put it, “the form of religion was kept up but its principles were not observed at all at this time.”<sup>40</sup> Ngāti Porou were yet to be convinced of the protective influence of the Christian God. The old tohunga, who had lost little of their influence since Taumata-a-kura’s return, adhered to their traditional beliefs and practices making it all the more difficult for the Christian teachers to make a break through. Rev. Mohi Tūrei, writing in 1910, explained,

Ahakoia kauwhau noa a Taumata-a-kura, kei te ‘kuhu’ tonu ngā ihu o ngā tōhunga i ōna atua i ana “kite”, arā “matekite” i ōna iho tana tangata rā hoki kua mātotorutia ki ana mahi, kua ururuatia, kua patiotia.<sup>41</sup>

Although Taumata-a-kura preached, the tohunga still clung to their Māori atua and acted as seers, that is, used second sight. They were still so deeply involved in their own practices that it would be difficult to convince them otherwise. (*my translation*)

What was needed was a visible demonstration of the power of the new deity. As one recent commentator put it “the Māori is an observant race and compares practice with precept.”<sup>42</sup> Such a physical display was to come in the heat of battle and Taumata-a-kura was the vessel through which it was provided. The description of the siege of Toka-a-kūkū, which lasted some six months, has been detailed in an account by Mohi Tūrei in a 1910 issue of the newspaper *Te Pipiwharauoa*.<sup>43</sup>

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their lives. Such accounts are disregarded (or are not known) and the chivalrous conduct at Gate Pā in 1864 is treated as something deriving only from a Christian background.

Wahike

<sup>40</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in Investigation to Waipiro Block Wp9B/96 of 6.6.1885.

<sup>41</sup> Mohi Tūrei, 1910, “He Korero Tawhito,” in *Te Pipiwharauoa*, May 1910, no. 145, pp. 8-9.

<sup>42</sup> A. W. Reed, 1955, *The Impact of Christianity on the Māori People*, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> Mohi Tūrei, 1910, “He Korero Tawhito,” in *Te Pipiwharauoa*, May 1910, no. 145, pp. 8-9. Tūrei was about six years at the time and so it is unlikely that he was present, but probably remained at Rangitukia.

According to Tūrei, the turning point for acceptance of the gospel came during the siege. Taumata-a-kura, speaking to the numerous forces at his disposal, declared “the Whānau-a-Apanui have broken the laws of Jehovah” and then instructed them thus,

Whakarerea, whakarerea rawatia atu nga atua Māori, kia kotahi te Atua mō tāua. Āpōpō koe timata ki te mahi i haeretia mai ai e koe. E hinga te tangata i tō kōkiri, i tō parekura rānei, kaua rawa e taona e kainga, kaua rawa e tangohia e koe tētahi mea a tō tūpāpaku, ahakoa he pū, he hamanu, he kākahu, he patu, me ētahi mea a te tūpāpaku o te parekura rānei: kaua rawa e tangohia waiho atu māna e tiki mai ōna tūpāpaku, he mea kanga nā te Atua. Ki te rite i a koe e te ope nei ēnei tohutohu tērā pea ka pai te Atua. Ko tēnei whawhaitanga hei tohu mō te maungarongo o tēnei pakanga o mua iho o ngā tīpuna mai rā anō. Ki te takahia e koe tētahi o ēnei ture ko koe anō e te tangata e takahi ana i a te Atua i kanga ai, ka kanga anō hoki koe e te Atua.

Cast aside, indeed leave off the Māori gods, that we may have the one God for us. Tomorrow you begin the task for which you have come. If a man is killed as a result of your fire or your attack, neither cook nor eat him. Take nothing from the corpse, whether it be a gun, a cartridge belt, clothing, a patu or anything else belonging to the dead person or from the battlefield: take nothing away but let them recover their dead, lest you be cursed by God. Should you all conduct yourselves in this way perhaps the Lord God will be pleased. This fight will be remembered as having begun the peace to end this long running war which began with our ancestors in times long past. Should you ignore any of these rules you will be going against God who curses and you shall be cursed by God. (*my translation*)

Hence, Taumata-a-kura set the new rules of war. There was to be no cannibalism, no fighting on Sundays, prayers morning and night, care for the wounded and no wanton destruction.<sup>44</sup> He realised that in order to have the protection of heaven in battle they should conduct themselves in a manner becoming of Christians, or at least what he understood to be Christians.

In the past, those wounded in battle were not always spared. As has been stated, Māori held it a sacred duty to avenge a wrong; an eye for an eye, and so death was often meted

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His account of the siege would have been gleaned from his relatives who were participants. See also Reweti Kohere, 1930, “Toka-a-kūkū,” in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 Sep 1930, pp. 2141-2142.

<sup>44</sup> John Tamahori, 1990, Essay on Mohi Tūrei, in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol 1, p. 557.

out to the wounded. But the precept of Taumata-a-kura's teaching was forgiveness, an enigma for his people in practice, and hence their example was not always of the best. Some chiefs disregarded his instructions and it was believed they paid for their disobedience with their lives. The circumstances surrounding the separate deaths of Te Parata (Kākātarau's brother), Tamakihikurangi and Marino (Te Wera's nephew) certainly convinced many of the efficacy of Taumata-a-kura's testimony.<sup>45</sup> Each had broken at least one of the rules laid down by Taumata-a-kura. When a volley was fired, they were among different groups of men caught in the line of fire. But they were the only ones who received fatal wounds. Musket ball had pierced the clothing worn by those alongside them yet their skin was unmarked. This virtually frightened the religion into them.<sup>46</sup> It is said Taumata-a-kura also went into the heaviest fighting carrying his musket in one hand and his Bible in the other and although the musket balls flew thickly around him, he returned unscathed. Eyewitnesses handed down the story that so great was the mana of his God that Taumata-a-Kura could even "ward off bullets by holding up printed texts from the bible."<sup>47</sup>

Thus his influence was very much increased and his display of faith had a tremendous bearing on the acceptance of Christianity by iwi and hapū as far south as Wairarapa. Up until this point many had heard the gospel, but now they had actually seen the outward display of its shielding and protective influence. As it is today, many Ngāti Porou, though not averse to exploring new direction, will reserve support or commitment to a cause until they are fully satisfied of its validity or its power has been demonstrated. Many of those who had taken part at Toka-a-kūkū were certainly gratified with what they had seen. They now had a new Deity who, as Taumata-a-kura had predicted, found favour with them. It was a new God against the old which made them feel right about their actions. They were now earnestly desirous, even enthusiastic, of further instruction.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> For a detailed account of the deaths of these three chiefs see Mohi Tūrei, 1910, "He Korero Tawhito," in *Te Pīpīwharauoa*, May 1910, no. 145, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> Paora Haenga said in the Pukemanuhiri Case, "At the Toka-a-kūkū fight with Whānau-a-Apanui the dead were not eaten for fear of the new religion," Wp15/2.

<sup>47</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 340.

<sup>48</sup> Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 256.

At the same time, after Toka-a-kūkū, Ngāti Porou entered a period where they “were apprehensive and constantly on the alert against reprisals from Whānau-a-Apanui.”<sup>49</sup> Whānau-a-Apanui had suffered heavy casualties during the siege and it was to their great relief that the Ngāti Porou-led war party withdrew without further attempting to rout the pā completely.<sup>50</sup>

#### TE HOHOU RONGO A TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI

#### Whānau-a-Apanui seek peace 1837

As a result of the Toka-a-kūkū confrontation, and after a decade or so of some of the very worst armed raids between tribes, the Whānau-a-Apanui leaders resolved to end their enmity with their Ngāti Porou neighbours. “Both for the protection against possible attacks and for the greater convenience in receiving at first hand the teachings of the new religion and hearing of all the new things that were going forward, Ngāti Porou were congregated in two of their largest pa, Rangitukia and Whakawhitirā.”<sup>51</sup>

Anxious to make peace rather than to prosecute further fighting, Tamatuna-a-rangi, Te Wharau, Te Aopururangi and other leading chiefs of Whānau-a-Apanui instructed Kuhukuhu and Rangihaere, women of high birth, to take a message of conciliation to Whakawhitirā.<sup>52</sup> Matiu Te Rumaki was one of the attendants who went with them. The peace emissaries were directed,

Kauaka e tika ki Rangitukia he pā tamariki. Engari me tika tonu te haere ki Whakawhitirā ki te pā kaumātua.<sup>53</sup>

Do not go to Rangitukia for that is yet a young pa. But go directly to Whakawhitirā the mature pa. (*my translation*)

<sup>49</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 341.

<sup>50</sup> To this day both parties claim the victory at Toka-a-kūkū.

<sup>51</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 341.

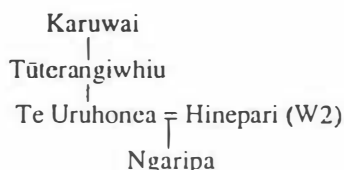
<sup>52</sup> Both Te Wharau and Te Aopururangi signed the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Aopururangi was among the Whānau-a-Apanui party which accompanied the Taranaki emissaries of the Pai Marire religion to Pukemaire pa, Tikitiki in 1865. His grandson was captured in the opening engagement at Mangaone.

<sup>53</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 12. Even today the people of Rangitukia would debate the issue of age between the two neighbourhoods.

The directive was in reference to the attack by Kākātaraū on Whānau-a-Apanui when they approached Rangitukia in 1833. The statement suggests that the patriarchal chiefs of Whakawhitirā were more likely to bring about a peaceful end to the fighting. Some Ngāti Porou were averse to the purpose of their visit and on the way Wī Te Nanea attempted unsuccessfully to kill Matiu.<sup>54</sup> Te Houkamau (later baptised Iharaira), whose grandfather, Te Pori-o-te-rangi, had been killed by Whānau-a-Apanui, armed himself with a musket and set out after the women even though they were his own cousins. Writing in 1940, Ngata analysed the situation thus,

Te Houkamau's attitude signified that perhaps the scores were not as yet properly evened up and that the *tatau pounamu*, or greenstone door of peace, should not yet be closed against one of the mightiest motives in the ancient Māori regime.<sup>55</sup>

When the principal chiefs Uenuku and Ngaripa discovered that the women were coming to Whakawhitirā, they put their mantle over the peace mission, by directing the chief Rangiwahakatatae to send men to ensure their safe arrival.<sup>56</sup>



They reached Whakawhitirā unharmed and gathered in the courtyard before Uenuku's whare. Uenuku climbed onto the roof of the house for all to see and hear. First he addressed their visitors in long oration. Then turning to his people he said, "Ka whakaetia te maungarongo ki a te Whānau-a-Apanui, kaore i takahia e te tangata."<sup>57</sup> (We shall accept the offer of peace by Whānau-a-Apanui. Let no one break it.) With that statement, did the fighting between the two iwi end. Uenuku's words were upheld and, like the earlier

<sup>54</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 341.

<sup>56</sup> "Ka ki atu a Uenuku ki a Ngaripa, "E hika ko wai ra te atua o te rangi hai ua i a taua?" Ka ki mai a Ngaripa, "Kāore noa iho." ... E mārama tonu ana. Kāore he tangata i runga ake i a rāua hei whakahē i ta rāua whakaaro. Ka utua mai e Ngaripa, kaore noa iho." Jnl of Paratene Ngata, pp. 11-12.

<sup>57</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p11.

Hauti/Whānau-a-Ruataupare reconciliation, demonstrates again that groups were willing to explore peaceful alternatives. With no further threat of war from either their western or southern neighbours Ngāti Porou entered a period of peaceful prosperity which was to last for almost thirty years from 1837 until 1865.

#### KATAHI KA TINO KAHA TE WHAKAPONO

#### **Christianity becomes a mass movement 1837**

During the first decade of this peace the several hapū along the coast turned their interest to the genuine acquisition of Christian knowledge. This move towards one God, one religion was to mark a crucial breakpoint in the history of Ngāti Porou. Not only were traditional enmities laid aside for the first time after almost a generation of non-stop warfare, but paralleling this was the gradual dispersal of hapū from the inland pā Whakawhitirā back to their coastal residencies, the long term effect of which was increased agricultural production and, in turn, a dramatically improved economy.

Taumata-a-kura, and even those who had spent but a short time with the missionaries, found they were now able to evangelise their own people with a degree of success not experienced before Toka-a-kūkū. The rapidity and intensity with which the Christian message was spread was restricted only by the number of informed individuals able to give instruction. Still the number of followers spiraled. Taumata-a-kura and probably a handful of others had work enough at Whakawhitirā and Rangitukia. Representatives of other East Coast hapū converged on these pā to learn and receive instruction and then returned to teach their own. Some over-enthusiastic teaching was carried out as in the case of people being taught to keep Saturdays holy as well as the Sabbath.<sup>58</sup> With no one to advise them otherwise, the teaching and ritual of Christianity was adjusted to the forms and customs of the already existing Māori religious system.<sup>59</sup> An obvious example of this was the practice of naming ridge poles in the early churches after ancestors.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> William Colenso, Memoranda of Journeys, 28 January 1838, p. 31.

<sup>59</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," pp. 341-342.

<sup>60</sup> Evidence of Tuta Nihoniho during the Waipiro Rehearing, Gis 15/165 of 31 Jan 1890.

The general enthusiasm for the new faith was helped by the fact that many of the chiefs upheld Christian observance after Toka-a-kūkū, and the tohunga, who had once resisted the new religion, were now prepared to see it for what it could offer. The tohunga had been students in the whare wananga and constituted the “aristocracy of intellect” of the tribe.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, the ancient wananga Tapere-nui-a-Whātonga stood at Rangitukia. When Williams made his earliest visits he found himself entertaining such men in “prolonged theological discussions” on matters such as the genesis of man and the creation of the world.<sup>62</sup> Ngata, in an essay on religious influences, explained that while the tohunga

were experts in all that pertained to belief, ritual and tapu in their most developed forms .... they saw in the fundamental doctrines of the new religion nothing that differed violently from the teaching of the higher forms of their own beliefs. <sup>63</sup>

Their acceptance of Christianity and their subsequent public baptism when the missionaries returned, must have done much to influence their followers, and indeed those chiefs who were bothered by considerations of status. As an illustration, Te Kani-a-Takirau never became a Christian nor desired to attend public worship, although he could be considered among the missionaries’ benefactors. But eventually, even he resigned himself to attending Sunday service because he was losing influence among his people.<sup>64</sup>

In general, it was the men of rank who were to become the leading protagonists of the faith message, or as the missionaries describe them, the native teachers and monitors. Hāre Te Whā<sup>65</sup> and Mohi Tūrei, for example, were both trained in the whare wananga, while Wiremu Hēkopa (a cousin of Te Kani-a-Takirau), Hōhepa Te Rore and Rāniera Kāwhia were chiefs in their own right. All were among the early Christian teachers, while some went on to become ordained ministers. Even the feisty rangatira Te Houkāmau, who earlier

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<sup>61</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 336.

<sup>62</sup> Oliver and Thompson, p. 30.

<sup>63</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 336.

<sup>64</sup> Charles Baker, the missionary based at Uawa wrote, “He said that his people took advantage of his being disconnected with the Christian party to treat him with neglect and scorn. There does not appear any worthy motive in his decision.” *Jnl of Charles Baker*, 27 Dec 1848.

<sup>65</sup> His name is sometimes recorded as Hare Tawhaa. His great nephew Tāmati Kupenga Snr gave the spelling used in this thesis.



could not forgive the Whānau-a-Apanui peace emissaries for the death of his grandfather, was later to implore the local minister to appoint him bell ringer and church sweeper.<sup>66</sup>

Doubtless, men like these accomplished a real change of heart. They valued the new religion and saw it had a mana much like their own chieftainship. To the younger brother they would say, “Haria tō mana ki te Hāhi” (Take your mana to the church), implying that matters concerning the physical well-being of the hapū were already taken care of by the tuakana (elder brother) but that the younger should utilise his own mana through involvement with the church.<sup>67</sup> The die was cast for their own people by the conviction with which such men took up their work. Inevitably, the multitudes soon followed.<sup>68</sup>

At Whakawhitirā, Taumata-a-kura supervised the construction of a large raupo chapel 60 x 28 feet, with kowhaiwhai rafters and a pulpit. The missionaries were much impressed with it when they returned. To construct such an abode in the absence of missionary influence speaks volumes for the zeal with which the people followed their new found faith. That they understood the notion of respect for the house of God was implicit in the structure of the building. George Clarke Jnr, who accompanied William Williams to Whakawhitirā in 1840, described the chapel thus:

It was a very fine specimen of Māori architecture, capable of holding more than a thousand people, unseated, and with few props or pillars to break the whole view of the interior. All the beams and rafters, which divided roof and sides into so many panels, were painted with Kokowai (red ochre) and pricked out with a pattern of white, the run of the lines being after the fashion of the tattoo on a Māori's face. A kind of framed pathway extended from the door to the opposite end, and space on one side being given up to the men, and on the other to the women and children. At the extreme end was the pulpit, or reading desk, resting upon a sort of dais, some two feet above the general ground floor. The pulpit was in fact the remains of a large oil barrel, the front left entire, but the back part sawn half away, the seat resting on the lower half. Like all other wood in the place, it was plastered with red Kokowai relieved by the white moko pattern. The spaces of the

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<sup>66</sup> McKay, p. 174.

<sup>67</sup> Pers. comm., Cannon John Tamahori, 3 Oct 1999.

<sup>68</sup> Raniera Kāwhia, while attending a feast at Whareponga held on Sunday, rebuked those responsible for having gathered the pāua on the Sabbath. The pāua, still moving on the dining table, was a sure sign that it had been procured that morning. Pers comm, Mate Te Huatahi Kaiwai, 11 May 1999.

panels through the whole building were beautifully filled up with reeds, that looked like thousands of long, white cedar pencils.<sup>69</sup>

## Literacy

Contiguous to the Christian message and equally appealing was the spread of literacy which some writers have argued became fashionable because of the desire to master the secrets of the Pākeha world, believed to be encompassed in the ritual words. On the East Coast, it may well have been inspired by the competitive nature of the several hapū to acquire something new before their neighbours. This was partly the reason they later sought resident traders and missionaries for their communities.

Within the new church, services were held. At the same time Taumata-a-kura had writing tablets constructed from flat pieces of wood, greased and dusted with ashes so that they could be written on with a sharply pointed stick.<sup>70</sup> First he taught select students and these in turn, taught members of their whānau and hapū. Ngata noted, that once writing had been introduced to Ngāti Porou, they acquired almost a passion for the art. “They wrote everywhere, on all occasions and on all substances: on slates, on paper, on leaves of flax, on any broad leaf.”<sup>71</sup> Today it is difficult to appreciate the degree of enthusiasm with which each hapū set out to learn to read and write, but the commitment was exceptional.

They being of an era where the mind was conditioned to learn by sound, much was committed to memory. At the early services while holding leaves as imitation prayer books the people responded in chorus, the prayers having been committed to memory.<sup>72</sup> The gift of mimicry, the fascination with strange rites, the interest in group participation, and the

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<sup>69</sup> Clarke was nineteen years old at the time. George Clarke, 1903, *Notes on Early Life in New Zealand*, p. 31.

<sup>70</sup> Frederic Wanklyn Williams, 1939, *Through Ninety Years 1826-1916*, p. 32.

<sup>71</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 343.

<sup>72</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha during the Paraeroa Investigation said, “When the dispersion from Whakawhitirā took place leaves of trees were used for prayer books.” Wp7B/297. During the Investigation of Title to the Waipiro Block Tuta Nihoniho claimed that Mohi Tūrei used leaves when he preached at Tapatahi Pā near Waipiro. This was possibly an earlier teacher, since Mohi was not baptised until 1848 and was only a child when leaves were used, he being born c 1829. Tuta himself was born in 1850. Wp 8B/59 of 15 Apr 1885.

love of singing must have brought many to the church who would otherwise have not been there.<sup>73</sup>

#### KA TAE MAI A TE WIREMU PARATA ME TE WIREMU TUAKANA

#### Visits by Henry & William Williams 1838-1840

The circumstance which led to the missionaries' second visit to the East Coast occurred in 1837. A Ngāpuhi chief returning from the East Coast who had taken part in the Toka-a-kūkū campaign visited William Williams at Waimate and, after relating the details of the siege, outlined the work of Taumata-a-kura. Williams had no particular intention of using Taumata-a-kura as an itinerant preacher nor had he trained him for the work. Nevertheless, it seems he had become an enthusiastic exponent of the missionary cause. The chief inquired how it was that no missionary resided in the East Cape district. He was of the opinion that the people there "would pay much more attention to instruction than Ngāpuhi did."<sup>74</sup> Concerning the people at Waiapu, he reported, "they refrained from work on Sunday and assembled regularly for Christian worship."<sup>75</sup>

In January 1838, Williams set out again for the East Coast, this time accompanied by three other missionaries: James Stack, William Colenso and Joseph Mathews. They were astounded to find that they were not preaching to the "wholly unconverted", but to those who already possessed rudimentary Christian knowledge and followed Christian practices. This was conspicuous all along the missionaries' route from Te Kawakawa to Tūranga.<sup>76</sup>

Apparent also was the dispersal of hapū from the central pā Whakawhitirā. Williams noted the population was more scattered than on his previous visit. In addition to Rangitukia and Whakawhitirā, he now found communities at Te Hēkawa, Korotere, Reporua (they met about 100 people), Ariawai (probably Tuparoa) (150), Mawera (probably Māhora) (70), Whareponga (100), and Tapatahi.<sup>77</sup> The people inhabiting these new pā he recognised as

<sup>73</sup> Harrison M. Wright, 1959, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: early years of western contact*, p. 153.

<sup>74</sup> William Williams, 1867, *Christianity ...*, p. 255. See also Jnl of William Williams, 31 Mar 1837.

<sup>75</sup> William Williams, 1867, *Christianity ...*, p. 255

<sup>76</sup> Jnl of William Williams, 16-25 Jan 1838.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-25 Jan 1838.

previous residents of Whakawhitirā. Whānau-a-Rākairoa, Wahawaha's hapū on his maternal side, were residing with Aitanga-a-Mate at Whareponga, while Whānau-a-Māhaki, his father's people, were still at Whakawhitirā.

The missionaries were received enthusiastically during their fortnight visit, various hapū inviting them to come and live among them permanently. With them they also brought two chiefs, ambassadors of peace, from Tauranga, whose intent was to confirm peace with the Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Tūranga tribes, with whom, many years earlier, they had been at war (ie. battle at Pukenui or Kaiuku, see chapter three, p. 89, footnote 45). One of them Ngākūkū (later baptised Edward Marsh) remained for over a year with Aitanga-a-Hauiti as a Christian teacher.<sup>78</sup>

Uenuku himself, accompanied Stack and Mathews from Whakawhitirā to the coast in order to press his claim for a missionary in the Waiapu. Williams described him as "the principal chief" at Whakawhitirā and the "patriarch of the tribe."<sup>79</sup> Uenuku agreed to the missionaries' request to take three children back to the Waimate station in the north for instruction. He would expect them back in twelve months.<sup>80</sup> In the several villages they addressed groups varying in number from 100 to 600. In the north they had long been labouring to catch the interest of Ngāpuhi, and now at last they had finally found willing listeners. Williams wrote:

A great work has been accomplished in which the hand of the Lord has been signally manifest. It has not been through the labour of your missionaries; for the word has only been preached by Native Teachers. We had literally stood still to see the salvation of God.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 23 Jan 1838, 14 April 1839, 30 Jan 1840. Ngākūkū of Tauranga died before 1840.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 18 Jan 1838. Francis Porter (ed), 1974, *The Tūranga Journals 1840-1850*, p. 60. William Williams journal entry for 25 May 1840 reads, "... The old chief of this Pā, Oenuku, the patriarch of the tribe, died about a fortnight ago. He was a man in whose favour I was much prepossessed when I first saw him, and to the last he shewed himself a decided friend to our cause .... He died expressing his trust in Christ, and desired his people to remain steadfast in worshipping God, and not return again to their former habits."

<sup>80</sup> Jnl of W. Williams, 19-21 Jan 1838.

<sup>81</sup> William Williams, 1867, *Christianity ...*, p. 290.

It was obvious to the missionaries on this visit that through Taumata-a-kura and others the ground had indeed been prepared for missionary activity. More importantly, the embryonic church had chiefly protection. Uenuku died in May 1840 and in his *ohaki* (last words) to his people he instructed them, “I muri nei kia mau ki te whakapono” (After I am gone holdfast to Christianity).<sup>82</sup>

Excited by the prospects, Henry Williams returned later in the year (October 1838) to carry out the Church Missionary Society’s plan for the expansion to the East Coast. With him he brought six Māori catechists and their wives, five of whom belonged to the Tairāwhiti district, who were to live, teach and evangelise among the people in the regions to which they were appointed. The teachers appear to have been Hōne Timo, a ranked man of Ngāti Maru who was placed at Te Kawakawa, Hēmi Kiko at Rangitukia, and Wiremu Hēkopa at Whakawhitirā. Assigned to Tūranga were Edward Wānanga, Richard Taki and Mātenga (Marsden) Tūkareaha.<sup>83</sup> Henry Williams distributed 500 slates, a few early lessons and catechisms. With this equipment it was intended that the teachers would be able to begin schools as well as services.

These teachers and those of Ngāti Porou who followed, almost in their wake, were to become critical agents in the process of change. They afforded channels of communication between the missionaries and the people, and induced the participation of many who would not otherwise have come to the missionaries for instruction.<sup>84</sup> “The people seemed to be so much more inclined to listen to them than to us,” wrote William Williams. This notion of trust persists. As it is today, Ngāti Porou are more likely to lend an ear to the advice and instruction of one of their own than from someone outside the tribe.

In 1839, William Williams, accompanied by Richard Taylor, paid his third visit. Over the duration of one month they traveled from Te Araroa to Tūranga and back again, choosing

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<sup>82</sup> Taken from Te Hāmana Mahuika’s explanation of the meaning of the haka *Tihei Tāruke* in T. Kapunga Dewes, (ed), 1972, *Māori Literature: he haka taparahi ceremonial dance-poetry*, p. 5.

<sup>83</sup> Francis Porter, (ed), 1974, *The Tūranga Journals 1840-1850*, p. 66.

<sup>84</sup> H. C. Fancourt, 1939, *The Advance of the Missionaries: being the advance of the CMS Mission south of the Bay of Islands, 1833-1840*, p. 72.

the site for a mission station at Kaupapa near Manutuke.<sup>85</sup> More communities had sprung up: Wairoa near Rangitukia, Manutahi, Akuaku, Waipiro, and a whaling station at Motukaroro. On this visit books were in great demand everywhere, and whare karakia Māori had been built in many of the new pa. Williams made no reference in his previous visit to the desire for books or of any obvious eagerness by people to read and write. But the desire for Christian instruction was now paralleled by the Māori enthusiasm for education. W. L. Williams, in retrospect, wrote:

The eagerness of the people throughout the district for instruction was most remarkable presenting a strong contrast to the great indifference with which the teaching of the missionaries at the Bay of Islands was treated for so many years. The great majority of the adult population were candidates for baptism and it was felt necessary to exercise great care in admitting them to that Sacrament lest it should come to be regarded as a mere outward form. The classes of catechumens were numerous and regularly attended, those of the various hapus being taken on different days. In the case of the younger catechumens a knowledge of reading was demanded whilst large numbers of those who were advanced in years did not shrink from the labour of acquiring it.<sup>86</sup>

This growing enthusiasm for religion and literacy can most likely be accounted for by an increase in the number of workers available in the field due to the teachers left the previous year.

In January 1840, Williams and his family came to Tūranga and settled permanently at the Kaupapa station (Manutuke), Williams then becoming the first resident missionary in the whole of the district from Wharekahika to Wairarapa. With such an immense region to cover and also duties in Auckland, Williams' journeys among Ngāti Porou were infrequent; he making only brief trips north of Tūranga between 1840 and 1842. In spite of the intermittent visits by missionaries during this period, Christianity was to continue to grow rapidly, sweeping over almost the entire population, altering the total society and embedding itself in Ngāti Porou thinking. The speed at which whole communities were brought to the Lord left the missionaries bewildered.

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<sup>85</sup> Jnl of William Williams 5 Apr-7 May 1839.

<sup>86</sup> W. L. Williams, October 1885, 'A Retrospect in New Zealand', in *The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record*, Sep 1887.

### Treaty of Waitangi 1840

One of the objectives in Williams journey to the Waiapu was to furnish a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi to the chiefs for signing. The fact that it was Williams presenting the Treaty, and that he did so while simultaneously administering the rites of baptism and marriage, gave the Ngāti Porou leaders the advanced impression that the Crown and the Church were one and the same.

Early notions of how the Monarchy was perceived in the Waiapu District are important for understanding the various Ngāti Porou positions taken in the wars of the 1860s. As has been said, from the outset the missionaries and the monarchy were discerned by Ngāti Porou to be harmonious elements of the Christian church, and consequently the local people found it difficult to dissociate the one power from the other. On their inaugural visit in 1834, for example, as a parting gift Williams and Yate left the Queen's flag to be raised in the pā each Sunday to indicate the Sabbath.<sup>87</sup> Ngāti Porou also came to understand that Queen Victoria was the head of the Church of England and assumed the missionaries were sent by her. Statements by Ngāti Porou leaders support this idea. The Tokomaru chief, Hēnare Pōtae, for example, in a public speech in 1872, stated

Ehara i te mea he tuatahi mai nō tōu aroha ki tēnei iwi ki te māori, ko te tuamaha tēnei ōu taenga mai. Ko ngā Mihinare kino ana i au.<sup>88</sup>

It is not the first time you have shown your love to this people, the Māoris. First you sent us missionaries; but we did not appreciate that kind of gift - we ill-treated them. Then you sent the laws ... (*official translation*)

The clergy throughout the country were actively engaged in procuring signatures to the Treaty at the request of Governor Hobson. At that time, the missionaries had significant local knowledge and, perhaps more importantly, the most influence among Māori. Williams, himself, was highly respected among Ngāti Porou, not least of all, because he

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<sup>87</sup> *Te Pipīwharauoa*, Apr 1910, no. 144, p. 7.

had freed Rukuata and the others from bondage. The signatures he gathered from rangatira along the East Coast were

Rangiuia	Uawa	Rangiuia the Great (aka Nopera Rangiuia)
Te Mimiopaoa	Waiapu	Whānau a Hinerupe
Rangiwai	Waiapu	
Kākātarau	Waiapu	Elder brother of Mōkena Kohere
Awarau	Waiapu	Hori Karaka te Awarau of Waipiro
Tamitere	Tokomaru	Te Keepa Tamitere
Parekahika	Uawa	
Rangiwhakatatae	Waiapu	Paratene Rangiwhakatatae (Paratene Ngata's namesake)
Takatua	Waiapu	
David Rangikātia	Waiapu	Rāwiri Rangikātia (son of Te Rangimatemoana)
Tamaiwhakanehua	Tokomaru	Tāmāti Waka
Te Mokopuorongo	Tokomaru	Paratene Te Moko
Tūtaepa	Waiapu	
Te Kauruoterangi	Waiapu	
Koiauruterangi	Waiapu	Koia family tipuna
Te Pōtae	Tokomaru	Enoka Te Pōtae-aute (father of Hēnare Pōtae)

Williams' journal entries for the month of May help piece together his process for acquiring signatures. The Treaty had been signed by the northern chiefs at Waitangi on 6 February. On 8 April, Henry Williams visited his brother William at Tūranga and brought with him a copy of the Treaty, asking him to seek the approval and signatures of the Chiefs between the East Cape and Ahuriri (Napier). In order to appeal to their material interests and as had been done at Waitangi, he also passed to his brother a bale of blankets for distribution among the chiefs.<sup>89</sup> At Te Wherowhero on 5 May, he procured the signatures of Poverty Bay chiefs. According to Williams, these signatories approved "of the tenor of it."<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *TWMNT*, 11 Sep 1872, vol. 8, no. 17, p. 112. Translation in *AJHR*, 1873, A-1A, pp. 1-7. The line in the official translation, "then you sent the laws...", does not appear in the Māori text.

<sup>89</sup> Williams despatched the blankets at the rate of one per chief and requested "at least sixty more to complete the bounty throughout." William Williams to Willoughby Shortland, Governor to Secretary of State, CO209/7, NA. For the whole of the region in which he procured signatures the total number of chiefs who signed was no more than 41.

<sup>90</sup> Jnl of William Williams, 5 May 1840.



His trek along the East Coast took him through several pā, the figures in brackets indicating the number of people Williams estimated turned out to meet him.<sup>91</sup> These figures cannot be supposed to be the population at the time but must be close to the number of people at each locality: Pouawa (30), Pakarae (50), Puatai, Uawa (250), Waiokahu, Anaura, Motukaroro, Tuatini, Ariuru (197), Waipiro (200), Whareponga (100), Whakawhitirā (900), Rangitukia (431), Horoera (50), Hekawa (106), and Kawakawa. He also met an inland party of 20 near Waihau, and felt compelled to spend the night with another group near Waihirere. Only twice does Williams mention talking to the people about the Treaty. Once at Whakawhitirā, where several signed, and again at Rangitukia, at which place, he claimed, the three principal chiefs signed. It was presented at Uawa and Tokomaru, as signatures were collected in both places. Williams mentions spending time with Pahurākai, the principal chief at Waiokahu but his signature was not on the Treaty.<sup>92</sup> Tirapueru was the chief at the small pā of Horoera, but he did not sign. Nor did Te Houkāmau, the chief at Hekawa. Te Houkāmau was not favorably disposed to the Christian message at that time and spent some time debating issues with Williams. Perhaps Williams thought it not wise to discuss the Treaty, given the chief's attitude towards him. Another notable omission from the list is Te Kani-a-Takirau of Uawa who declined to sign, but did not deter others from doing so. Durie has explained why some chiefs harboured reservation:

It appears that by not signing themselves they believed they were protecting the tribe, while in encouraging others to sign they were not denying the tribe the opportunities that might flow from an alliance with Great Britain.<sup>93</sup>

European history is littered with what conventional historians would no doubt describe as examples of inspired statecraft and Ngāti Porou leaders were certainly not unique in resorting to practices aimed at advancing the cause of their people.

It must be remembered that William Williams was still relatively unacquainted with the social and political organisation of the hapū along the East Coast, he having never spent

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 May to 10 Jun 1840.

<sup>92</sup> The Waiokahu pā was at Kaiaua, pers comm, Victor Walker, 25 May 1999. Williams was the guest of the chief Pahurakai for the night. Pahura had lead the Hauiti section in the attack on Tuatini in 1828.

more than a total of seven weeks on the East Coast in his three visits before 1840.<sup>94</sup> That he could, in such a brief period, have familiarised himself with all the chiefly persons at each pā, is highly improbable, and it is more likely that he had to rely on the chiefs themselves to provide this information. Again, Durie had this to say about the process of collecting signatures:

... the British ... were more interested in collecting signatures without attempting to ascertain the full significance of tribal organisation or the hierarchy of Māori leadership. While they were able to comprehend the authority of the monarch and ministers of the Crown and the limitations of the powers that subalterns possessed, they could not ascribe parallel motivations to Māori.<sup>95</sup>

If Williams' journal entries for 1840 are an accurate record of what transpired, two things are apparent. First, the Treaty was not presented at every pā he visited. Second, it appears that collecting signatures was supplementary to his circuitous visiting of parishioners. Williams' entries seem to suggest that he was inclined to produce the Treaty for discussion at the big pa, particularly Whakawhitirā and Rangitukia. At Rangitukia it was read to the chiefs after breakfast and then signed. Williams leaves no indication as to whether any debate was entered into. Books were of most interest to the local people on this particularly visit. The relevance of a Treaty with a monarchy whose influence they had only seen in the form of the missionaries, was probably not yet so important. Certainly Pākehā traders were not infrequent on the coast, and some had settled among Ngāti Porou. But, for the most part, these men relied on the goodwill of the chiefs both for their safety and their trade. There was yet no comprehension of the need for the Queen to protect them from anyone other than their long-time feuding neighbours.

With the Treaty being presented by a missionary at a time when there was great excitement about the new religion there would have been little reason to distrust the motives of either

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<sup>93</sup> Mason Durie, 1998, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: the politics of Māori self-determination*, p. 177.

<sup>94</sup> In 1834 he was there a little under a week visiting Te Araroa, Rangitukia and Whakawhitirā. In 1838 he spent less than a fortnight, in which time he traveled from Te Araroa to Tūranga. In 1839 he traversed the Coast again over a period of one month travelling from Te Araroa to Tūranga and back again.

<sup>95</sup> Durie, p. 178.

the message contained therein or of Williams who up until that time had only been the bearer of good news. His son, Leonard Williams, writing some years later had this to say:

The Treaty of Waitangi had been made known to the people and Mr Williams, as other missionaries had done, had used such influence as he could command to induce the principal chiefs on the East Coast to sign it, his name appearing as witness to a number of the signatures.<sup>96</sup>

What the Treaty meant to those who signed it remains speculative, although it has been stated by Māori that they considered the Treaty to be a sacred covenant between themselves and Queen Victoria.<sup>97</sup> The written evidence of what was said or thought among Ngāti Porou's leaders at that time does not exist. The absence of written statements about the Treaty before 1860 suggests that Ngāti Porou chiefs, like many others who signed, did not much discuss the Treaty at all, until the events of the 1860's brought it strongly into people's consciousness. An article which appeared in an 1860 issue of *Te Karere Māori*, a newspaper with a wide Māori readership, certainly reinforced, for Ngāti Porou and indeed all Māori, the Treaty as a covenant:

Nā, ka tuhituhia i reira ngā ingoa ki te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ko te kawenata tērā o te Kuini rātou ko tōna iwi Māori, ko te Kawenata rā i riro ai ngā Māori o Niu Tirani hei tāngata mo te Kuini — i waiho ai hoki te Kuini hei maru mō te iwi Māori.<sup>98</sup>

Then was signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the covenant between the Queen and her Māori people, by which the Natives of New Zealand became subjects of the Queen, and the Queen became the protector of the Maori race. (*official translation*)

The sentiments expressed by Ngāti Porou chiefs at the Kohimarama Conference in 1860 also make it clear that they were in no doubt as to the role of the Queen as their protector. In addressing Governor Grey, Irimana Houturangi of Wharekahika, greeted him:

<sup>96</sup> W. L. Williams, nd, *Historical Records*, p. 16.

<sup>97</sup> "The Treaty then was not just a political and legal covenant but a spiritual one." Affidavit of Sir James Clendon Hēnare, 1 May 1987 in *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General* (1987) 6 NZAR cited in Jane Kelsey, 1990, *A Question of Honour? labour and the Treaty 1984 - 1989*, p. 9.

<sup>98</sup> *TKM*, 30 Jun 1860, vol. 3, no. 11 & 12, p. 9.

Tēnā koe! I tonoa mai nā koe e te wahine, e te Kuini, hei tiaki i ēnei iwi e rua e noho nei i tēnei whenua, i Niu Tireni, kei tūkinotia e tētahi iwi kē.<sup>99</sup>

Salutations to you, sent hither by that lady the Queen, to protect the two races dwelling in this country of New Zealand from aggression by foreign nations. (*official translation*)

Because of this notion of the Treaty as a sacred pact by which they were bound, many of the chiefs and their people sought to honour the Treaty as a matter of integrity. A minority broke with the covenant they had signed and fought against the Crown in the wars of the 1860s. This was in fact because they felt the Crown itself had breached the terms of the pact when it unfairly purchased land in Taranaki, sparking the war.

### **Early view of the Monarchy**

The early notion that the Crown and the Church were innately linked was to persist, as was the idea that British law and religion were one in the same. Ngata has explained adequately why Māori freely associated the law with the Gospel:

To the Māori, Christianity and the law not only came together with the same white people but were for other reasons identified in the Māori mind. It should be recalled that the ancient Māori was used to thinking of religion and civil law as one. The functions of his religion took the place of what pākeha calls civil law as the restraining and controlling force in the Māori commune. Western civilization, when it reached New Zealand, presented a combination of Christianity and British law. The Māoris saw Governor Grey and Bishop Selwyn often together and their association personified law and religion and led further to their identification. Some of the prohibitions of the pakeha like those on murder, marrying more than one wife, and stealing had the sanctions of both institutions, and in the Māori mind religious laws like the Ten Commandments and civil law were all part of the one new system, the ritenga of the pakeha.<sup>100</sup>

The missionaries' journals for the 1840s suggest that their role among Ngāti Porou included both temporal advisor and court judge. Charles Baker, the first missionary at Rangitukia, found himself being asked to pass judgement on offending parties and to suggest adequate punishment for the offenders. Almost twenty years later, when his son

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<sup>99</sup> *TKM*, 8 Nov 1860, supplement, p. 47.

was appointed as the inaugural resident magistrate based also at Rangitukia, Ngāti Porou perceived that “in his person law and religion were merged.”<sup>101</sup> But as will be seen, the war in 1865 was a complex combination of perceptions of the law, religion the settler Government and the monarchy.

### **What Christianity meant to Ngāti Porou**

The extent to which a genuine conviction was responsible for individuals within Ngāti Porou becoming Christians cannot be determined. Of more certainty is that there were a variety of motives for the change, ranging from sincere personal belief to a following after fashion. Certainly, after the increased warfare between groups along the East Coast, culminating in the siege of Toka-a-Kuku, the district was ready for change. Ngata claimed that the peace which came after the intertribal wars was largely “a peace of exhaustion.”<sup>102</sup> So the conditions were right. Even in the north, years of missionary presence had proved fruitless until the Ngāpuhi desire for war had been satiated or ran itself out because success was no longer predictable.

War on the East Coast had taken a backseat when Christianity made its initial impact, allowing people time to study its tenets. They were “quickly attracted by much that they found in the Old Testament,” wrote Ngata, “for in it there was recorded a mode of tribal life in some respects similar to their own.”<sup>103</sup> Much, he felt however, was taken all too literally. W. H. Oliver, taking this a step further, conjectured that readers of the word saw, in the story of Israel and its freedom from the bondage of Egypt, Ngāti Porou in the figure of Israel and Ngāpuhi as Egypt. “The new religion,” he wrote, “appears to be an acceptance of a miraculous way out of a hostile universe. Israel is seeing its escape route from Egypt.”<sup>104</sup>

While there is no substantial evidence from Māori sources to support Oliver’s contention, his thesis has potential. The first sermon preached by Taumata-a-Kura was that of the

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<sup>100</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” pp. 344-345.

<sup>101</sup> Oliver and Thompson, p. 60.

<sup>102</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 339.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>104</sup> Oliver and Thompson, p. 31.

release of the captives from Egypt, while the carved ridgepole in the first wooden church erected at Rangitukia mirrored the story of Moses bearing up the serpent. Given that the theme in the church, portrayed in the paintings on the walls, focused around the arrival of Christianity in the Waiapu, one imagines the story of Moses must have had a significant place in the acceptance of the Christian message.<sup>105</sup> K. M. Sanderson, who in her masters thesis, examined the conditions which prevailed to allow the Christian message to become so appealing, contended that “it was Christianity itself (or at least their own adulteration of it) and access to the Christian atua that the East Coast Māoris valued.”<sup>106</sup>

As mentioned earlier, an important inducement sighted by Ngāti Porou elders and not often given due emphasis, was Christianity’s ability to bring to an end the practice of eating human flesh resulting from inter-tribal hostilities. It is difficult to appreciate what impact this sudden termination had on a society which for generations earlier could not themselves, conceive of any course to halt the practice, and had accepted the custom as an inevitable way of life. As one elder put it, many years later, when explaining why Ngāti Porou were averse to new religious orders in their territory,

Ko te take, koia nei te Hāhi (te Hahi Ingarangi) nāna i tango te kiko tangata ki waho i o rātau niho.<sup>107</sup>

The reason being, it was this Church (of England) which which took the flesh of man from their (Ngāti Porou) teeth. (*my translation*)

### **Influence of Christianity on Wahawaha**

Rāpata Wahawaha was certainly influenced by the new religion, as is to be seen in his writing and actions in later life. Using an analogy, he described the new religion as a tree whose fruit all tribes desired. “Kua makona te iti, te rahi, te ware, te pani, te pouaru, te rawakore, me te rangatira i nga hua o taua rakau.” (The meek, the great, the lowly, the

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<sup>105</sup> Mohi Tūrei, 1910, “Te Haki a Te Kuini,” in *Te Pipiwharauoa*. April 1910, no. 44, p. 7. R. T. Kohere, 1924, “Taenga Tuatahi o te Whakapono ki Waiapu,” in *Te Toa Takitini*, 1 June 1924.

<sup>106</sup> Sanderson, p. 8.

<sup>107</sup> Te Hāmana Mahuika’s notes on haka taparahi in T. Kapunga Dewes, (ed), 1972, *Māori Literature: he haka taparahi ceremonial dance-poetry*, p. 38.

orphan, the widow, the lost and the chiefly were all filled by eating the fruit of that tree).<sup>108</sup> At Mataahu in 1872 when he addressed a huge audience of representatives from Ngāti Porou, the Tūranga tribes, Whakatōhea, Tuhoe and Whānau-a-Apanui, his speech to mark the end of the war was full with Christian metaphor, and might in parts be mistaken for a minister's sermon,

Ko te kupu a Te Karaiti kia whakakahoretia e tātou tā tātou ake, kia amohia e tātou o tātou rīpeka ka aru ai i a ia. Kātahi ka tikangatia tātou hei tamariki māna, hei noho hoki ki tōna rangatiratanga. Taua rīpeka ko te inoi i ngā wā katoa o te mate o te ora.<sup>109</sup>

The command of Christ to deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow him. We shall then be his children indeed and co-heirs with him in his kingdom. Taking up the cross we should pray always both in prosperity and adversity. (*official translation*)

Wahawaha was about thirteen when Taumata-a-kura returned, and close to sixteen at the time of Toka-a-kūkū. Whether he participated in the siege is unknown, although details about the seige which he recounted to Percy Smith many years later suggest he did. Nor is the date at which he was released by Rongowhakaata certain. But, by his own testimony, he was married according to Māori custom at Whakawhitirā to his first wife (name unknown) before 1840.<sup>110</sup> Undoubtedly, Wahawaha would have come into contact with Taumata-a-kura's teaching while at Whakawhitirā and it was probably during this early phase that he learned to read and write. His own letters and journals clearly indicate that he was more than capable with the pen, although he always wrote in Māori. Wherever there was a chapel, there was a place for schooling too. Wahawaha probably had some schooling in these early education centres. Instruction was in Māori, and it seems he did not acquire a strong command of English.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> WNRW, p. 20.

<sup>109</sup> *TWMNT*, 11 Sep 1872, vol. 8, no. 17, p. 110. Translation in *AJHR*, 1873, A-1A, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> No tradition of the name of Wahawaha's first wife or her fate has survived, perhaps because she died not long after the marriage. Hori Taunga-o-te-rā had married them. Wahawaha, like many others, was married again by William Williams in 1840. Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Investigation to Ahikouka No. 2 Block, Wp1/565 of 15 May 1876.

<sup>111</sup> When writing to the newspaper *Te Waka Māori* in 1874, while on a visit to Australia, Rāpata wrote of his inability to converse adequately in English. "... hei tiro kau atu ki ngā ngutu o te Pākehā a tametame

He was quite capable of combining the new Christian tenets with the traditional Māori practices to which he had been conditioned. The central message of forgiveness, for example, contradicted the obligation of *utu* yet he applied both throughout his life. An illustration of this occurred at Wairoa in 1866 where he advised Kahungunu chiefs that prisoners from other tribes ought to be executed, while at the same time encouraging the *rangatira* to show clemency to their own.<sup>112</sup>

It is hard to be certain of what motivated Wahawaha to accept the Christian message, but he appears to have made a deliberate choice between the old Māori religion and the new Christianity. In New Zealand as elsewhere, Christianity has always been a very attractive religion to the underdog, and it is tempting to suggest one of the things Wahawaha saw in it was a miraculous way in which the ignominy of slavery might be forgotten.<sup>113</sup> Yet Wahawaha must also have achieved some deeper conversion, since throughout his life he remained fiercely constant to his Anglican allegiance. So much so, that when the first standing committee of the diocese of Waiapu was formed, the several *hapū* of the Whareponga parish selected him to represent their interests.<sup>114</sup> It seems there was a real conviction of spirit, albeit filtered through and transformed by Māori thought patterns.

### Summary

In this chapter, as well as the preceding two, it is suggested that in the first twenty years of Wahawaha's life there were three key events (the Ngāpuhi invasion, inter-*hapū*/*iwi* warfare, and the advent of Christianity), each of sufficient consequence to have shaped his attitude and behaviour throughout his life. While the proposal is purely conjecture, neither Wahawaha nor any of his ilk would have been able to avoid these episodes, and it would be miraculous for them not to have been influenced by them.

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ana, he pēhea rānei ngā kupu." (... and I can only look at the moving lips of the Pākehas and conjecture what they are talking about), *TWMNT*, 14 Apr 1874, vol. 10, no. 9, p. 115.

<sup>112</sup> WNRW, p. 24.

<sup>113</sup> Wright, p. 155.

<sup>114</sup> W. L. Williams, nd, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 28.



The two decades before 1840 have also been explored to give the context in which Ngāti Porou existed during the early contact period. As a tribal grouping, they existed only as a composite of independent hapū related by genealogy, sharing an isolated region and facing similar external threats. The molding into a permanent and cohesive tribal grouping had not yet occurred.

The increased warfare which arose out of the introduction of muskets forced hapū to adapt to the changed situation in order to control its impact. While each hapū valued its autonomy they sometimes sought to retain it by emphasising alliances. The period thus demonstrates a potential for unity among hapū and a willingness to explore peaceful alternatives. What becomes clear is that hapū took sides depending on the issue of the day. This is important when trying to understand the Hauhau conflict of the '60s where Ngāti Porou were divided, although by that stage hapū control in the hands of the rangatira had weakened, allowing groups or individuals to oppose the majority view.

As a collective society, they received Christianity on their own terms and for their own purposes. The speed with which the faith spread, almost completely without missionary presence, was perhaps unequalled anywhere else in the country. The generalisations with which writers have discussed the growth of Christianity among Māori cannot always properly be applied to the Ngāti Porou context. Many times it has been inferred, for example, that Māori valued not so much the Christian message but the messengers. Some writers have argued that the practical skills, such as carpentry, which the returned slaves and missionaries possessed, as well as the missionaries' potential as traders of material goods, are what appealed to Māori. None of the contemporary accounts for the period provide evidence that this was in fact the case among Ngāti Porou. While there was a falling away from attendance at religious services during the '40s, up to 1840 at least, the commitment was unfeigned.

Since the Anglicans were responsible for the drive to promote Christianity on the East Coast and they had done so unimpeded by other persuasions, it was to their doctrine which

Ngāti Porou remained faithful. They remained so as long as they believed it was in harmony with tribal aspirations.

Certainly Ngāti Porou had varied expectations of the new religion, and consequently responded in several ways, comprehending the Christian message on many different levels. But many of those who had a real change of heart, and doubtless they were numerous, held fast to their convictions throughout the decades of change which followed, and eventually provided the core element which resisted the Hauhau influence in 1865. Enrolled among these was Rāpata Wahawaha.

Another important fact which contributed to Ngāti Porou attitudes to outside influences, particularly in the Waiapu, was the ohaki (parting instructions before death) of the elderly chief of Whakawhitirā, Uenuku, when he encouraged the rangatira of Ngāti Porou on his deathbed to ensure thereafter two things were carried out:

I muri nei, e rere te toetoe o roto o Waiapu, kia kaha ngā rangatira ki te tatami. Kia āta mau ki aku manuhiri paerangi Māori Pākehā.<sup>115</sup>

In future, should the toetoe fly about the Waiapu, you the rangatira must be forthright to stamp it out. Be civil in your treatment to all visitors — Māori or Pākehā. (*my translation*)

By this he meant that should trouble arise in the Waiapu, the chiefs were to bring it under control. Visitors were to be treated kindly, they should be offered food and allowed to continue freely on their way. From that time on, if a stranger was traveling through the Waiapu district they were referred to as “ngā manuhiri a Uenuku” (the guests of Uenuku). This geniality towards visitors was to characterise Ngāti Porou up until the outbreak of war in 1865. As can be seen by the peace pacts established with Pōmare and Whānau-a-Apanui the word of the chiefs carried much weight in this period. The time was coming however, when their influence would wane. With the migration back to hapū settlements the leadership structure would begin to fragment, as Ngāti Porou responded to the challenges which accompanied acceptance of Christianity and British rule.

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<sup>115</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 12.

Wahawaha was on the verge of manhood and with his kinsmen ready to take advantage of the opportunities Christianity provided. What becomes apparent is that his early experiences, with the exception perhaps of his enslavement, were the shared experiences of his hapu. His conditioning resulting from those experiences are the group's conditioning. His identity is the group's identity. Therefore, his interest is in the maximisation of the standing of his hapū. This helps to explain why he rejected ideas of Māori nationalism later in life.

The first twenty years of his life is characterised by experiences of militancy and Christianity. This ambiguous co-existence would characterise both Ngāti Porou leadership during the 1860s and Wahawaha himself, so that he would lead his men in the name of Christianity, while reverting to traditional practices in conducting the warfare. Wahawaha, like others, saw no incompatibility between the old and the new, and applied the new to his changing world. Killing was not a contradiction, as he was waging war in the name of Christianity.

In the next two chapters, Wahawaha's life is followed up until the outbreak of hostilities with the Hauhau in the Waiapu Valley in 1865. During the period he was to achieve a degree of success in business ventures on behalf of his hapū which enabled him to increase his position of influence within the hapu. Ngāti Porou and their attempt to keep pace with the march of events is also followed, to explicate the conditions under which Wahawaha came to power.

## Chapter 5

### Seeds of Factionalism: 1840 to 1860

#### **Ngāti Porou in the 1840s**

The quarter century following the end of the inter hapū wars is important, not only in tracking Wahawaha's rise from virtual obscurity to commander-in-chief of Ngāti Porou's military forces, but also to contextualise the tensions within Ngāti Porou as the tribe struggled to evaluate the Kīngitanga and Pai Marire movements of the 1860s. There were at least two opposing views about the new movements and they are better understood against the background of a quarter century of contact with Pākehā. In fact, the potential for factionalism among Ngāti Porou was evident well before the new movements made their appearance.

#### **Whalers & Traders**

As a result of the isolation of the East Coast from approach overland, practically all early contact with Europeans was by sea. Ngāti Porou territory was, therefore, largely protected from the ill-effects of too sudden and complete contact with colonisation, especially north of Ūawa. From the early nineteenth century intermittent contact had been made with Pākehā whalers who were invariably ready to befriend the local people and trade for fresh food supplies and water. The first Europeans to reside within Ngāti Porou territory were generally the whalers who operated stations from the late 1830s. They were rugged men accustomed to isolation. Some married local women and remained in the district under the patronage of the leading chiefs.

While the missionaries' records reported the detrimental influence of the whaling fraternity on the local people, the whaling enterprise gave Ngāti Porou their early experiences with Pākehā in trade, barter and the value of their labour. Undoubtedly, they learnt from these

early transactions and exploitation. The experience was to stand them well in future trade negotiations.

The flax industry also brought to the Coast a handful of long term residents in such men as Charles Ferris, Robert Espie, Thomas Atkins, and Barnett Burns. In fact Atkins was residing at Ōmāewa when Rangitukia was attacked by Whānau-a-Apanui in 1833. He was then trading muskets with Ngāti Porou for the maize they were growing.<sup>1</sup> When the Tokomaru people were at Ūawa preparing flax in the early 1830s Charles Ferris and Robert Espie were living on either side of the river.

During the 1840s trading outlets were established where the European proprietor could secure the support of the rangatira. Rent was paid through a barter system and the traders were dependent on the chief for the protection of their goods. With Auckland as the market for all produce, each hapū, through the agency of the traders, was regularly able to acquire articles of clothing, together with implements and utensils of various kinds in order to embrace new systems of horticulture.

These traders, along with some of the earlier whalers who had become permanent residents and who also turned their hand to trading, were known among the local Māori communities as Pākehā Māori “to indicate that they were of the class to which the locals had been accustomed in the past, and to distinguish them from the missionaries and others whose occupations and habits were of a different character.”<sup>2</sup> Ngāti Porou families still bare the family names of these early Pākehā progenitors: Bill Ward (Tokomaru), George Taylor (Whareponga), David Bristow (Te Araroa), Nathaniel Gilman (Ūawa), John Hayes (Waiapu), James Peachey (Te Araroa), William Collier (Te Araroa), Manuel Jose (Waiapu), George Goldsmith (Waiapu). Still, in all, these traders only amounted to a

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. McKay, 1949, *Historic Poverty Bay*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> W. L. Williams, nd, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 15. The term is still in use today and refers to those Pākehā who have a sympathetic understanding of Māori tikanga and aspirations, while at the same time posing no threat to either. By 1843 the term was commonplace. William Colenso, during one of his journeys through the East Coast, recorded: 27 Oct 1843 “...reached Te Ariuru (the large pā at Tokomaru) which I passed through without being recognised, (the people almost everywhere, taking me, from my odd dress and scanty baggage, for a ‘Pākehā Māori’ — ie. a common European resident.”

handful of European residents throughout the Coast. Added to this, no Government presence was felt in the district. For a few years, at least, Ngāti Porou had no reason to concern themselves with the settler encroachment occurring in areas such as Wellington, Nelson and Auckland.

### **Wahawaha at Pūtiki**

With the gradual dispersal from Whakawhitirā, each hapū resettled their traditional residences, most living communally around central pā near the coastline or along the banks of the Waiapu river. They invested much time and energy in agricultural pursuits, each whānau working the old cultivations of their ancestors.<sup>3</sup> By 1840 the demand for dressed flax was in decline, and pork, potatoes and maize had become the main items for trade.

Rāpata Wahawaha, who would have been about 20 yrs, was married and with his brothers, Tūtārangi and Tukiauau, worked a family plot at Pūtiki, near Waiomatatini. They had gone there in 1839. Although Wahawaha went among his relatives at Akuaku at times, for the most part, he remained at Pūtiki until the end of the decade, investing his time and energy mainly in agricultural pursuits for an ever-increasing Auckland market. The communal pā for Whānau-a-Māhaki, at that time, was Korotere which had been constructed at Pūtiki near the Waiapu river.<sup>4</sup> The hereditary chiefs maintained authority and control over the hapū, the close proximity of people to the central pā enabling them to do so without difficulty.

In 1840 William Williams, who had settled permanently in Tūranga, made a significant visit to the Waiapu in the month of May.<sup>5</sup> During his stopover at Whakawhitirā he performed the first Christian baptisms and marriage ceremonies among Ngāti Porou. Wahawaha recounted the occasion:

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<sup>3</sup> Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Investigation to the Pūtiki Block, Wp16/217 of 1 Dec 1891.

<sup>4</sup> Korotere was later submerged by a flood and consequently the chapel was moved in 1854 to higher ground at a newly constructed pā at Te Horo. Wahawaha's relatives removed to Waiomatatini. It appears his father was also residing at Korotere. Nothing is known of his mother but his father was still resident at Pūtiki after the flood of 1854. Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Investigation to the Pūtiki Block, Wp16/219 of 1 Dec 1891 and Jnl of Charles Baker, 10 Jul 1854.

<sup>5</sup> He was joined by his nephew Henry Williams Jnr and George Clarke Jnr, both 17yrs at the time.

Christianity was introduced in 1840 and people were married according to its rites. I was previously married according to native custom. At Whakawhitirā Hori Taungaotera married us.<sup>6</sup>

Who or what became of his first wife is not known. Perhaps she fell victim to the high mortality rate in the 1840s. Recurring outbreaks of influenza, bouts of whooping cough and typhoid were often fatal during this period.

### **Changing reaction to missionary enterprise**

From 1840 missionary influence peaked, leveled and then waned, but made something of a recovery after 1846. Up until late 1842 Williams reported the continued enthusiasm among Ngāti Porou for Christian instruction. Whare karakia Māori (rush chapels) were erected in every settlement similar in style to the one at Whakawhitirā. These were clearly eye-catching structures within the pā. Paratene Ngata, who saw these in his youth, described them in his journal:

He whare Māori te nuinga o aua whare. He pai anō te mahinga. He whakairo tuhituhi ngā pou me ngā heke, a he mea tukutuku rawa etahi. He kākaho katoa o roto. He toetoe a waho, he wiwi. He wini anō o aua whare, e uru ana te mano tangata ki roto, a neke atu. He takitahi nga wharekarakia papa katoa engari he whakairo tuhituhi ngā heke me ngā pou pou. He mea whakatutu ngā pactara, arā i mahia i runga anō i ngā tikanga o te hanga whare Māori. He mea kari katoa ki te whenua ngā pou tāhu me nga pou pactara. He papa whakatu a waenganui. ā ko ētahi he kākaho anō.<sup>7</sup>

Most of those abodes were built like Māori houses. The construction was admirable. The wall panels and rafters were carved and painted, while some were decorated with tukutuku. Kakaho reeds were all throughout while raupo and wiwi covered the outside. Those abodes also had windows. Crowds of people would be able to fit inside. The floors of all the churches were dirt, but the walls and rafters were carved and painted. The walls were erected and built according to the custom for constructing Māori houses. The main pillars and the walls were dug into the earth. There was a supporting wall in the centre and the other walls were covered in kakaho. (*my translation*)

Each hapū sought for itself someone to advance Christian teaching among them. These teachers were drawn from neighbouring hapū in line with the biblical adage which

<sup>6</sup> Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in Ahikouka No. 2 Case, Wp1/565-7.

<sup>7</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 1.

discounts prophets in their own home lands. Wiremu Kīngi Toiteururangi filled the role among Whānau-a-Rākairoa.<sup>8</sup> Hēmi Mete was placed at Korotere. Hōne Timo was at Te Kawakawa.<sup>9</sup> Eruera Wānanga, who had previously been based at Tūranga, began at Ūawa in 1840.<sup>10</sup> Hēmi Kiko had sole charge at Rangitukia and in 1840 started a school at Rangitukia.<sup>11</sup> Wiremu Hekopa was at Whakawhitirā until 1841 and then went to Ūawa.<sup>12</sup> In December 1842, when Bishop Selwyn visited the East Coast, Hekopa had built a whare karakia and was engaged in erecting a residence before the arrival of the first European minister for the Ūawa district.<sup>13</sup> In the mid-forties Hekopa was based at Te Ariuru.<sup>14</sup> There were many others in the field during these early years, most whose names have not been recorded.<sup>15</sup>

The first missionary to reside permanently among Ngāti Porou was the catechist James Stack who established the Rangitukia mission station in 1842 giving rise to its claim as the birthplace of Christianity on the East Coast. The peak of missionary enterprise had been reached by 1843 when Stack was joined by both Kissling at Te Kawakawa and Baker who established the Ūawa mission station.<sup>16</sup> From about 1844 we learn from these missionaries of the diminution of their influence among Ngāti Porou. By the end of 1846 both Stack and Kissling had resigned their posts due to ill-health, leaving Baker at Ūawa and Williams at Manutuke to cover the whole district.

<sup>8</sup> Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Investigation to the Waipiro Block, Wp9B/115 of 9 Jun 1885.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Porter, (ed), 1974, *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850*, pp. 67, 107, 169, 309.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 106, 108.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168. The name was also recorded by the missionaries as William Hakopa or Hekapo. Wiremu married Mariana and died in 1853. See John Laurie, 1991, *Tolaga Bay: a history of the Uawa District* p. 71. This is possibly also William Ikautapu who Williams referred to as the teacher at Whakawhitirā in 1840, Porter, p. 105.

<sup>13</sup> Rev. Charles Baker arrived in 1843.

<sup>14</sup> In Nov 1843 Charles Baker recorded that Hekopa had fallen out with the Tokomaru people. Jnl of Charles Baker, 14 Nov 1843.

<sup>15</sup> Baker noted Solomon was the lay reader at Puatai. Jnl of Charles Baker, 24 Oct 1843.

While Kemp was a sub-teacher at Anauroa. Jnl of Charles Baker 6 Jun 1845.

<sup>16</sup> Rev. George Adam Kissling, of German descent, had joined the CMS in England and had experience in the West Africa missions. He was indirectly responsible for the change of name from Te Kawakawa to Te Araroa. Te Araroa (the long path) referred to the lengthy "box-edged" path from his gate to his front door. Charles Baker, a lay catechist, served the Ūawa - Tokomaru district until 1852 when ill-health caused his temporary retirement from the East Coast. Ordained deacon in 1853, he returned to Rangitukia where he remained until 1857 when ill-health again forced his transfer to Auckland. Information from Watson Rosevear, 1960, *Waipapu: the story of a diocese*, p. 37.



This abating missionary influence may be explained partly by the absence of clergy and partly by the diversion of hapū interest towards a profit-driven economy. The price of wheat, for example, increased dramatically, bringing new profits and encouraging even some of the lay teachers to turn their hand to growing grain.<sup>17</sup> The time required to tend the cultivations increased in proportion to the amount of produce. With so many threshing wheat, the numbers fell away from religious attendance. In many cases, the earlier classes which had enabled their parents to learn to read and write were discontinued.

While Christian attendance dwindled, the hapū did not abandon Christianity itself. They simply no longer felt the need to devote themselves completely. In fact, their Christianity was flexible enough to accommodate the Protestant work ethic, in turn, allowing them access to the wealth of the wider world without threatening the overall integrity of the religion.

As the missionaries' ability to treat new diseases had earlier drawn some to the Church, so in turn sicknesses with which they struggled to cope averted others away from Christianity. Māori associated religion with sickness and when major epidemics touched the Coast, the missionaries were sometimes blamed for the deaths among Māori. Once the Ūawa chief, Rangiuiua (baptised Nopera), claimed the medicine administered by Rev. Baker to be the cause of his daughter's death.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the early contact period, where neither Christian prayer nor European medicines could cure an illness, some reverted to the traditional spirit mediums or faith-healing carried out by the tohunga.<sup>19</sup> One of the attractions for many to the religious movements which followed, including Pai Marire, was the promise of miracle cures. Ngata and Sutherland explained that Māori faith-healing had its origins in the pre-contact period:

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<sup>17</sup> Hōhepa Te Rore, the lay teacher at Tūpāroa, returned to the fertile plains about Rangitukia to grow wheat and encouraged his parishioners to do likewise.

<sup>18</sup> The following entry was found in Rev. Charles Baker's journal for 3 October 1843, "Today Nopera a chief ... sent for me. He has within seven months lost 2 children from which he feels most keenly. I had supplied him with medicine and food from time to time, but he stated abroad that the last medicine I sent had killed his daughter." Consequently Archdeacon Williams drank the medicine as proof of the absurdity of his claim.

The featuring of cure or attempted cure of illness by means other than the administering or application of physical remedies has in the case of the Māoris come down the generations. Culturally it may be associated with the practice of makutu or witchcraft and communication with atua or supernatural beings through the medium of the priestly class known as tohunga. It is probable that the beliefs and superstitions that centre in what is now known as Māori 'tohungaism' survive from the period in pre-Pākehā days when the Māori world was peopled with gods and personified spiritual forces whose names identified them with the various departments of everyday life. There is no doubt that the healing by laying on of hands referred to in the scriptures gave signal confirmation to Māori beliefs in these matters.<sup>20</sup>

It is also likely that in the early forties the desire for religious instruction was so enthusiastic that the missionaries were predictably received with respect and even venerated. In order to receive baptism, for example, many of the parishioners were willing to submit completely to the missionaries. After the initial enthusiasm had worn off, such reverence was not always offered as a matter of course. What also appeared to the missionaries to be a falling away from Christian ritual, was in reality the different hāpu in Ngāti Porou taking stock of their progress and sifting through the new to see what was relevant and what might be kept as part of their developing culture — in short, a time of adjustment and consolidation.

Certainly, the missionaries records make it clear that traditional practices emerged again in this period. In reality they had never been completely cast aside, only submerged. Many Māori customs, not in accordance with biblical principles, (e.g. Deutoronomy 18: 10), continued quietly in quarters where Māori were both baptised Christians and where they had not embraced the faith.<sup>21</sup> When tāmoko (the art of tattooing) made its revival at one pā

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<sup>19</sup> cf. Jnl of Charles Baker, 22 May 1854.

<sup>20</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, 1940, "Religious Influence," p. 360.

<sup>21</sup> The incident referred to as Te Aomate showed how Māori could mix both Christian and traditional practices. In 1846, the Rongowhakaata chief, Paratene Turangi, accused a woman at Reporua of the practise of *mākutu*. In December of that year, an ope taua was raised from the Tūranga tribes and they set out aboard several *waka*, one of which was named Te Aomate. Baker met them when they pulled in at Cooks Cove. He counted "16 large canoes" and about three hundred in the party. The next day he conducted a service with them and they continued on their way. Thus, as in their traditions the ope taua on the war path received its blessing from the tohunga before battle. They called at Waipiro where a fortified pā had been erected by Whānau-a-Iritekura in fear that they would be implicated along with Ngāti Rangi of Reporua. As it turned out, while heated words were shared at each pā the parties resolved their

in 1842, those who became involved were now less concerned about public exposure because others also were reacting adversely to Christian beliefs. Previously they had been controlled by peer pressure. Their actions however, were not necessarily accompanied by a loss of respect for the missionaries, particularly Williams. When he discovered the party, they had their bibles laid out ready to pray before starting the tattooing process.

If there was a lack of respect by some Ngāti Porou for missionaries, it was more often intended for an individual missionary and not the mission society as a whole. Sometimes individuals felt slighted by the moral reprimands of the missionaries. Resenting such insults, they found that by openly practising traditional Māori customs such as tāmoko, they could offend the missionary and by so doing exact some satisfaction for the slight.

From the early forties, some Ngāti Porou began to question the soundness of missionary teaching when they witnessed Pākehā behavior that was not in line with the Christian precepts being taught. Biblical knowledge was at a high level among Māori; indeed the Bible was virtually the only literature available. Some began interpreting scripture for themselves. Even the Bible-reared missionaries could not but admire their appetite for scripture. On one occasion a man was heard to quote, for example, “Physician, heal thyself,” indicating to the missionary that they should first instruct their own people (as in the traders and whalers) in acceptable Christian conduct before chastising their Māori parishioners.

### **Early threats of land alienation**

While doubts were raised about European motives, the government’s war with Hōne Heke in the north in 1845 helped to exacerbate the concerns, especially as some Ngāti Porou were related to those involved. Remembering the long standing relationship between the two tribes, instigated by Pōmare and Uenuku in the 1820s and continued through the agency of the Christian teachers and the intermarriage of members of the two groups, it is not difficult to understand how information from the north filtered through to those living

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differences and no fighting occurred. Christian practice and traditional beliefs were mingled together. In fact, even today many Māori continue to balance the two.

in Ngāti Porou territory. The missionaries also received correspondence from their peers in the north and circulated the papers around the district.<sup>22</sup> These reports were not taken lightly.

In 1839, for example, some Ngāpuhi, visiting their relatives on the East Coast, passed information which temporarily turned some away from the Protestant influence.<sup>23</sup> Again in 1844, Stack reported from Rangitukia, that Rangimatuanuku had poisoned the minds of the people against the missionaries and their religion. Rangimatuanuku told them that the missionaries' only object was to get land for their own children.<sup>24</sup> Baker's diary entries report the constant visit by messengers bringing news:

Another arrival from the northward. My messenger returned tonight from Tūranga. An overland messenger arrived yesterday from Ōpōtiki bringing news from Paihia down to April 4th & from Rotorua April 21. All is excitement at the northward —wars and rumours of wars.<sup>25</sup>

There was adverse opinion voiced as to how the Government was handling the situation regarding Hōne Heke. It appears that Ngāti Porou sympathy with northern Māori was strongest north of the Waiapu, where Ngāpuhi connections were close. At Tūranga, Williams learned that the residents were anxious to hear the news from the Bay of Islands but felt no sympathy whatsoever towards the Ngāpuhi who they said were "rightly served for their ill conduct to the settlers."<sup>26</sup> At Ūawa, Baker reported that there was no likelihood of a disturbance in the district. But, he wrote, "the natives are a little excited not knowing to what length the present war, between the British and the Northern Natives will grow,"<sup>27</sup> Kissling, however, writing from the Kawakawa Station was more uncertain:

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<sup>22</sup> A letter detailing Heke's attack on Kororareka addressed to William Williams was sent on to Charles Baker at Ūawa who then passed it on to the Waiapu mission station. *Journal of Charles Baker*, 15 May 1845.

<sup>23</sup> A group in the Waiapu ceased attending religious instruction following the advice of a party which had recently arrived from the Bay of Islands. In early 1840, another northerner persuaded those at Wherowhero to declare themselves Papists. *Jnl of William Williams to CMS*, III, p. 541.

<sup>24</sup> J. W. Stack to J. A. Wilson, 5 Aug 1844. Rangimatuanuku appears to have been a man of rank from another district.

<sup>25</sup> *Jnl of Charles Baker*, 24 May 1846.

<sup>26</sup> *Jnl of William Williams*, III, 18 July 1845.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Baker to CMS, 23 June 1845, CN/020.

Many of the natives residing in the vicinity of the East Cape are intimately connected with those in the Bay of Islands, and some of them are even related to Hōne Heke, the great disturber of the public peace. Our position, therefore, has been one of painful suspense and anxiety; and though personally unmolested, and remote from the scene of commotion and bloodshed its direct influence has [been] baneful to our Missionary exertions .... most injudicious, if not malicious misstatements have been put in circulation among our natives by some unknown individuals exaggerating the success of native arms and souring the people's mind by assertions that the British Government intended to take their lands for the Crown and that the innocent should suffer with the guilty. No wonder that our natives have been traveling from place to place in search of further information and that they have held their secret consultations with the neighbouring tribes as to the line of policy which is to be adopted and that their attendance on the means of grace and instruction has been thus rendered fluctuating and indifferent.<sup>28</sup>

What the conflict in the north did reveal was the unease developing in Pākehā-Māori relations on the East Coast, particularly over land.<sup>29</sup> From 1840 Williams had advised Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Kahungunu and Aitanga-a-Māhaki not to sell their land. One supposes he must also have cautioned Ngāti Porou. In his diary entries for 1840, Williams is silent on the issue of land in respect of Ngāti Porou, but at Tūranga he raised doubts in the minds of Māori as to the motives of other Europeans. He told the principal chiefs that the intention of Europeans in coming to New Zealand was to buy the whole country out of their hands.<sup>30</sup> The evidence, he said, was already plain to see “in the Cook’s Straits and in various places along the coast.” He warned them that the barque *Eleanor*, which had just put in to the bay, was there “with the special object of buying the whole of this district.” At Nuhaka, before an audience of 250, he warned them to take steps to secure their land.

I explained the object of our countrymen in buying up the island. I told them that Europeans being the strongest would give them the head of the pig and the feet and take all the flesh and the fat to themselves.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Rev. George Kissling, Report for half-year ending to CMS, 1 July 1845, CN/056.

<sup>29</sup> Sanderson, p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> Jnl of William Williams to CMS, 10-11 Feb 1840. Williams went on to suggest that Tūranga should be sold to him and he would keep it as a reserve for them and future generations. A deed was signed to that effect on 11 February 1840. He intended doing the same at Wairoa.

<sup>31</sup> Jnl of William Williams to CMS, 24 Feb 1840.

Later, when Rev. Grace substituted for Williams, Grace gave similar advice. The extreme agitation created among Māori about the ulterior motives of Europeans in time grew to include the Government because from 1840 to 1865 they were the only agency which could purchase Māori land. The missionaries too were not excluded and their earlier cautioning would later rebound on them. They were recognised as part of the colonial enterprise, and resistance to European encroachment was sometimes displayed in a rejection of Christian influences. This is probably another reason why missionary influence ebbed in the early forties. In 1843 the unease showed itself when there was a clear resistance to Stack having a deed to land for the mission station at Rangitukia. Stack, who subsequently returned the deed, wrote, "I only had the document in my possession a few days when a report was raised that asking the natives for this deed was a subtle scheme to get Waiapu generally into the hands of the British Government."<sup>32</sup> At the time the Wairau dispute in the south seemed to vindicate Māori hesitancy.<sup>33</sup>

Given the extent to which Māori were worried about their land, it is understandable that hostilities in the north should be of so much interest on the East Coast. Being so far from the seat of war, however, no physical disruption in the area occurred, only agitation and a confirmation for some that the Government had a hidden agenda to acquire land by means fair or foul. Inherent in these Māori pockets of disquiet about the colonisation process were the seeds of factionalism which would emerge, if not flower, in the 1860s. But for the meantime their suspicions were laid when the act of clemency was shown to Heke by the Governor. Similarly, when the Governor deemed the settlers to be at fault in the Wairau affair, the impression was made that this was indeed "the act of a people imbued with whakapono, the new faith."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> J. W. Stack to the CMS, 2 Dec 1843, CN/078.

<sup>33</sup> The conflict which arose over the Wairau block broke out when Ngāti Toa refused to recognise a fraudulent deed to their land in the possession of Captain Arthur Wakefield for the New Zealand Company. When Wakefield and Nelson settlers attempted to force Ngāti Toa off the land, fighting broke out. 22 Europeans were killed together with a half a dozen Māori. Governor Fitzroy later ruled that the greater blame for the conflict lay with the Nelson colonists.

<sup>34</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, 1940, "Religious Influences," p. 347.

It might also be added that a feature of the isolated coast communities was their appetite for information, whether accurate or not. Missionaries and sometimes Māori themselves, were having to correct misinformation. “The innocent Kissling trying to make a count of the Waiapu Māoris in 1845, managed to start the story that he was sending the information to the Queen so that she would know what strength she needed in order to take away their lands. And a year later, when illness sent him to Auckland, it was freely rumored that he had really gone to get soldiers.”<sup>35</sup> In 1855 it was alleged William Williams was in league with the Queen and her soldiers and that they were planning to drive Māori off their land.<sup>36</sup>

### Rangitukia te Pāriha

With the scattering of the population from Whakawhitirā, Rangitukia soon became a very important gospel centre. The first home-grown evangelists were trained and educated at the mission station under Stack’s tutelage. Tihei Tāruke, a well-known Ngāti Porou haka composition, celebrates some of the early graduates of the school who were sent into the field in March 1846.

Ko Rangitukia te pāriha i tukua atu ai ngā kai-whakaako tokowhā: Ruka ki Reporua, Hōhepa ki Paripari, Kāwhia ki Whangakareao, Apakura ki Whangapirita e.

Rangitukia was the hub whence four teachers were sent out:

Ruka to Reporua, Hōhepa to the coast, Kāwhia to Whangakareao, Apakura to Whangapirita.<sup>37</sup>

Ruka Te Noho Nītai<sup>38</sup> was the teacher at Reporua until 1849, while Hōhepa Te Rore served the Tūpāroa community until he moved to Rangitukia. Raniera Kāwhia was at Whareponga and was later ordained a minister. Eruera Apakura taught at Waipiro until 1856.<sup>39</sup> Another, Pita Whakangaua, took up a position at Rangitukia and was there until his death in

<sup>35</sup> Oliver and Thomson, pp. 77-78.

<sup>36</sup> William Williams to E. G. Marsh, 22 Dec 1855.

<sup>37</sup> The haka was composed by Rev. Mohi Tūrei another Anglican minister.

<sup>38</sup> This is the spelling given by Baker. Ruka died in early March 1850. “He was formerly teacher of the Infant School at Rangitukia. Afterwards he removed to Reporua in the character of teacher.” Journal of Charles Baker, 7 Mar 1850.

<sup>39</sup> Apakura was recalled by Rev. Baker on 2 Jun 1856. He was killed during the war in 1865.

1855.<sup>40</sup> The lay teachers quickly recovered those parishioners who had become torpid, due in part to the inactivity of some of their predecessors. To some degree, the renewed religious interest among hapū towards the end of the decade can be attributed to the enthusiasm of these new teachers.

The year 1847 witnessed the beginning of another population dispersal from the central pā. After Te Aomate (see footnote 21), people realised that Christianity had really taken hold among their former enemies and the need to live in or around a fortified village was unnecessary. Many began to take up plots at quite a distance from the pā and these gained a degree of independence within the hapū not previously experienced. This drift away from communal accommodation, however, was to lead to the gradual demise of the traditional control held by the hereditary chiefs. Other factors such as alcohol and the influence of a cash economy can be sighted, but initially it was this dispersal from the sphere of influence of the rangatira that allowed for the unmanaged penetration of these by-products of colonisation.

### Trade

During this period Māori were growing different types of produce including vegetables such as melons, turnips, pumpkins and cabbage as well as their own tobacco. As has already been stated, wheat growing was taken up in the early forties with most hapū turning their hands to the task. While initially wheat was unskillfully grown, by 1846 most hapū were having measurable success and by the early 1850s production on the East Coast reached its peak. The wheat fields, although owned by different whānau, were worked by the hapū. When it was time to harvest a whānau field, for example, the hapū would combine to reap the paddock, moving on together to the next whānau field.<sup>41</sup> In 1849 Williams saw four vessels docked at Whareponga taking on board wheat and maize.<sup>42</sup> The

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<sup>40</sup> He died 30 May 1855 aged about 40 years, Jnl of Charles Baker, 30 May 1855. An obituary written by Rev. Baker appeared in *TKM*, Nov 1855, vol. 1, no 8, pp. 2-5.

<sup>41</sup> Kohere, *The Story of a Māori Chief*, p. 28.

<sup>42</sup> Jnl of W Williams, IV, 24 Jul 1849.

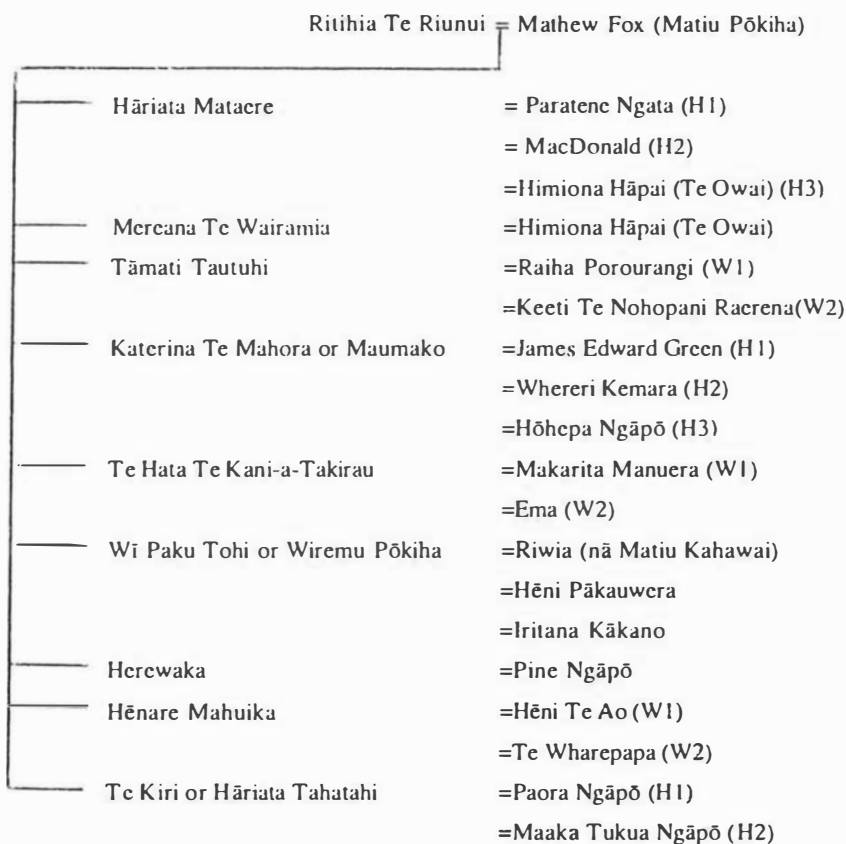


Kaimoho hills above Whareponga had been transformed into fields of fertile soil, as had the neighbouring lands about Akuaku.<sup>43</sup> Paratene Ngata wrote,

He mahi paamu witi. Ngaro ana ngā whenua katoa, whenua raorao, whenua maunga, paripari i mahia katoatia ana ki te witi.<sup>44</sup>

We took to wheat farming. All the land was covered with wheat; inland, the hills and the coastline. (*my translation*)

It was during this period that Wahawaha’s sister, Ritihia Te Riunui, married a trader, Mathew Fox. Fox was an Irishman, and together he and Ritihia had ten children. Of them Sir Āpirana Ngata wrote, “she bore to him a large family of sons and daughters, sturdy, handsome, forceful men and women who took a leading part in shaping the fortunes of their mother’s tribe along modern, progressive lines.”<sup>45</sup>



<sup>43</sup> The most convenient places were cultivated. Waiorongomai, Akuaku and Paritūtata were areas just south of Whareponga which were used to grow wheat. Evidence of Maraki Tautuhi in Investigation to the Waiorongomai Block, Wp18/27 of Jan 1893.

<sup>44</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1950, “Biographical Notes,” p. 7. Whakapapa of Pōkiha family provided by Waho Tibble.

The eldest boy, Tāmati Tautuhi or Thomas Fox was born in 1849. From Mathew Fox, Wahawaha probably picked up insights associated with trade. When Fox was arrested at Puatai on a murder charge in 1859 it was to Wahawaha that he left his goods and the care of his family.<sup>46</sup> It is not too improbable to expect that from their relationship Wahawaha also gained some firsthand insight into Pākehā beliefs and attitudes.

Two other significant births in the close family of Rāpata Wahawaha also occurred at this time. Wahawaha, had recently married Hārata Te Ihi under Christian rites at Tūranga, and their only son Āpirana Nohopari was born.<sup>47</sup> As well, Hārata's younger sister gave birth to Paratene Ngata who was to play a close role in the inner circle of Wahawaha's confidants. Āpirana Nohopari died in 1868. Sir Āpirana Ngata recorded this note about his namesake:

Very little has been handed down about this Āpirana. My father and Hōne Ngatoto, the carver, told of their being brought up together and companionship as lads of the Waiomatatini community, of a bright, intelligent and active lad verging on early manhood when he died.<sup>48</sup>

In 1849 Wahawaha moved to Akuaku. The reason for the move is not clear. He had been involved in the wheat production at Korotere and his move to Akuaku could have been in relation to the wheat trade. At about that time the vessel *Riki Maitai* was purchased, and he and his brother-in-law, Hoera Tamatātai, operated it between the East Coast and Auckland.

It might be well, at this point, to mention that while Wahawaha elected not to give support to the pan-Māori political and socio-religious movements of the 1860, many of his relatives living in the Waipū did. While Wahawaha continued to spend time at both Waiomatatini and Akuaku, during the years when the Kīngitanga and Pai Marire movements were

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<sup>46</sup> Journal of Herbert Wardell, 1 Nov 1858, ATL. Ritihia later married Tāmati Tarapehu of Akuaku. Their children were Erana Horowai and Hotene Huhu.

<sup>47</sup> Wahawaha said he went to Tūranga to marry. Probably they went to Williams at Whakatō. Their son died in December 1868. Paratene was born in September 1849 and was close in age to his cousin, Āpirana. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1950, "Biographical Notes," p. 8.

making major inroads in the Waiapu he was residing among his Whānau-a-Rākairoa relatives. And they were decidedly opposed to both these outside influences.

### **Korotere**

Korotere, the pā at Waiomatatini, was at one time home to clansmen who would later feature prominently in the development of Kīngitanga support in the Waiapu. The hapū residing at Korotere were Whānau-a-Māhaki, Whānau-a-Tūterangiwhiu and Whānau-a-Iwirākau. Because it was situated on the bank of the Waiapu River, the pā was subject to severe floods. In 1854 the church was moved to higher ground and, together with the pa, resited at Te Horo.

Among those who were one time residents at Korotere, was the chief Porourangi (baptised Ihairaira) who, in 1865, was killed with other Hauhau supporters defending Pākairomiromi Pā. The rangatira Popata Te Kauru-o-te-rangi, who became a staunch proponent of the Kīngitanga in the Waiapu, flew the king's flag at Waiomatatini in 1862.<sup>49</sup> Wiremu Karaka (or Wī Tito) of Ngāti Rangi, who married Hera Raengawhā of Korotere, was arrested as a leading member of the Hauhau movement in 1865.<sup>50</sup> His brother-in-law Hoera Tamatātai of Whānau-a-Hinerupe, later led a troop of Ngāti Porou to fight in the Waikato and met his death at the battle of Te Ranga in 1864.<sup>51</sup> Piripi Taumata-a-kura also resided there in the early 1850s.

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<sup>49</sup> A number of the leading chiefs in the Waiapu valley were connected to the great rangatira Te Rangimatemoana who died about 1834. Te Rangimatemoana was in command at Taitai when Ngāpuhi invaded Ngāti Porou territory. Nearing his death he allocated land to each of the younger chiefs. Ihairaira Porourangi and Pōpata Te Kauru received land about Waiomatatini. His son, Rāwiri Rangikātia, was given Wairoa (near Rangitukia), while Pakapaka was left to the younger son, Ānaru Te Kōpuka. Tunuiarangi and Mateatawhiti were given Poroporo, and Arapeta Te Haenga received Awanui. Tama-i-hikitia-te-rangi took up Maraehara, and Te Rangimatemoana's daughters, both of whom married Kākātarau, were placed at Maraehara. Evidence of Hēmi Tapeka in Maraehara Case, Wp 14/63 of 1891 and Tuta Oreore in Te Herenga Case, Wp16/111, 115 of 1891.

<sup>50</sup> Hera was a sister to Hārata, Rāpata Wahawaha's wife.

<sup>51</sup> Whānau-a-Rākairoa first moved with their neighbours to Whareponga, after the hapū dispersed from Whakawhitirā and eventually to their own residence at Akuaku. Wahawaha said the two hapū lived together at Mamangi pa, which is below the ancient stronghold Kōkai, but because of disputes between them, they left and returned to Akuaku. Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Investigation to the Waipiro Block, Wp9B/115 of 9 Jun 1885.

## 1850s

The 1850s signaled significant changes in the attitudes of the Māori population on the East Coast. Demographically, numbers fell dramatically as childbearing rates did not keep pace with mortality. Epidemics, some severe, struck throughout the decade, and some estimates put population decline at more than one half.<sup>52</sup> In 1859, an article which ran in *The Māori Messenger* read,

Kua whakarongo atu mātou ki tā tēnei wahine Māori ki tā tērā wahine Māori ka tatau i runga i ngā matikara o tōna ringaringa, ko ngā tamariki i whānau i a ia, engari, ko te mutunga tonu tēnei, Kua matemate. Inā te whakaaro! Kei ētahi ka tokowhitu pea i whānau ora mai, tokowhā tokorima kua mate.

Again and again we have heard Māori women number up on their fingers the children they have had. But it ends with the same sad words always, they are dead. Perhaps out of six or seven children alive five are dead, or four.<sup>53</sup> (*official translation*)

In spite of this, the people prospered rather than languished during the first half of the decade. Ngāti Porou contact with the rest of the country escalated in the early 1850s and to an extent the influence of the Anglican missionaries as the major arbitrators of western culture was checked and began to subside. This situation was largely due to increased trade opportunities for Ngāti Porou and the subsequent intercourse with external traders and settlers which derived from those opportunities. 1851 heralded the start of the gold rush in Australia, and many New Zealanders as well as some Ngāti Porou ventured across the Tasman to try their fortunes.<sup>54</sup> With the influx of prospectors to Australia, Auckland became a key supplier, its market and demand for produce increasing dramatically.

### **Influence of Rev. Grace**

At the same time, Rev. Thomas Grace, who substituted for Archdeacon William Williams, took charge of the Tūranga Mission Station while the archdeacon visited England. Grace was to have a significant influence on developments while Williams was away. Grace

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<sup>52</sup> Williams estimated that the population from Tūranga north was 1315 in 1845. During the 11 years following there were 445 deaths, but only 198 live births. Williams Family, MS Papers 190, folder 21.

<sup>53</sup> *TKM*, 15 Aug 1859, vol. 6, no. 17, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> W. L. Williams, *East Coast ...*, p. 19.

reached Tūranga in October 1850 and soon after his arrival he upset the settlers in that vicinity by paying twice the usual price for potatoes and by advising the various hapū to charge five shillings a head a year for grazing rights (in place of the usual calf as annual rental). Threats, and petitions to the Bishop, had no effect upon this missionary with a social conscience. He was concerned that local Māori would be exploited by shrewder and more experienced settlers, and so set about educating them in arithmetic, the use of money and commercial skills.

An increased awareness of a European economy was apparent within Ngāti Porou territory, as well as in other districts, and as a result of Grace's influence, there was more recognition of the commercial value of economic resources and their ownership. Land rentals increased and prices were put on resources which had previously been free. In an extreme case, one person asked Rev. Baker for payment after carrying him cross the Awatere River. In disgust, Baker told him that he, the minister, "was the payment" and, if it were right that the man should be paid, a minister "should be paid much more for coming so many miles to see him and his people."<sup>55</sup>

Throughout the fifties much concern centered on the control of resources. W. H. Oliver believed that Grace could not have been responsible for implanting this "precocious sense of commercial value" since it was observed in districts outside his sphere of influence.<sup>56</sup> This must have been the case in Ngāti Porou territory at least, since Grace took charge of the Tūranga Mission Station on 24 October 1850 and Baker reported price fixing in the Waiapu at the beginning of November. His diary entry for the 4 November 1850 reads:

Nov 4: Mataahu- found 2 Europeans in a state of fright from the circumstances of a native having been this morning with a firestick in one hand and a knife in the other. He had declared his intention of burning the house of one of them who is a Frenchman for the simple sole reason of his having bought some corn contrary to some arbitrary law some of the natives have made among themselves. It appears that some of the natives of Waiapu have made a confederation not to sell their produce under fixed prices and that at too high a price for the English to purchase.

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<sup>55</sup> Jnl of Charles Baker, 5 Oct 1855.

<sup>56</sup> Oliver, p. 70.

Other natives had not entered the confederation maintaining their right to sell at their own discretion. The burning of the house was intended to reassert this right and to occasion mischief out of vexation.

Nov 6: Korotere - had a long conference with Porourangi and others in the evening on the subject of barter with the English. He had been a great originator of dissatisfaction on the part of the natives at the price given by Europeans. I told him that the demand must regulate the prices here as elsewhere.<sup>57</sup>

The uncompromising attitude of the 'confederation' was probably due to the growing realisation among Māori that European had been profiting unduly at their expense. While Grace himself could not have influenced the shaping of this confederation, his modernising social gospel was readily accepted along the East Coast.

### Hapū autonomy in the Waiapu

From Baker's observations there is a hint of the disparate nature of hapū, particularly in the Waiapu basin. Each hapū retained their right to make independent decisions over issues as they arose. The lack of unanimity in the Waiapu foreshadowed the stances made by Ngāti Porou in relation to the Kīngitanga and Pai Marire movements a decade later. In fact, as might be expected, Ihairaira Porourangi continued to resist Pākehā domination maintaining an increasing aggressiveness in the pursuit of traditional Māori goals. As has been stated, he gave his support to the Kīngitanga, and was killed defending the Hauhau stronghold Pākairomiromi in 1865.

As the iwi groups in the East Coast region gained business acumen, they soon learnt that if they dealt directly with Auckland for trade they could increase profit. As early as 1848 some hapū had considered purchasing their own schooners to ship produce to Auckland themselves. While the missionaries encouraged them not to, in order to keep them from associating with Europeans and in so doing picking up bad habits, by 1852 at least eight

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<sup>57</sup> Jnl of Charles Baker, 4,6 Nov 1850.

vessels had been purchased and these were manned by Māori crews.<sup>58</sup> Hāpū combined to both purchase and utilise the vessels. Some of the names were *Waiapu*, *Ihikēpa* (East Cape), *Māwhai*, *Pūrere*, *Mereana*, *Te Anatina*, *Tamariki* (Children), *Peti Pīria*, *Kīngi Paerata* and *Riki Maitai*.<sup>59</sup> It sometimes took two to three years for a hapū to pay off a schooner.

I puta mai i roto i ngā hua o te mahi witi ngā kaupuke katoa. I whiwhi ai tnei takiwa i o ratou kaupuke hei kawē i ngā witi i ngā poaka ki Akarana. He Māori anō ngā kāpene me ngā heramana katoa.<sup>60</sup>

Out of the profits from the wheat sales all of the schooners were purchased. Each district had its own schooner to transport both wheat and pigs to Auckland. The skipper and sailors were all Māori. (*my translation*)

The newspaper, *Te Karere Māori*, regularly published shipping arrivals in Auckland stating the amount of produce aboard. In April 1852 the 18 ton *Ihikēpa*, for example, carried 500 bushels of wheat while the 20 ton *Mereana* was loaded with 100 pounds of tobacco and 10 packages of merchandise as well as sundries.<sup>61</sup>

Better prices were gained for wheat, stimulating more agriculture, and soon hapū were reaping significant profits. European clothing became a common sight and wealth was flaunted on public occasions. The focus turned from growing produce for sustenance to

<sup>58</sup> In October 1851 Rev. Ralph Barker wrote, "The natives of this district are all paying for vessels. 5 vessels will in less than a year be owned by my natives along a coast of 45 miles. There will be new trials for us." Rev. Ralph Barker, Report to the CMS, 1 October 1851, CN/022, ATL.

<sup>59</sup> Kohere wrote, "During the slack season they were all moored in the estuary of the Awatere River to a pohutukawa tree on the right bank of the river ... Huripuku, who was known as the 'Awatere pilot', looked after the fleet during the cessation of trade. He owned *Pūrere*. The *Kīngi Paerata* belonged to the subtribe at Tūpāroa." Kohere, *The Story of a Māori Chief*, p. 29. Eruera Kāwhia said during the Investigation of the Ngamoe Block that from the wheat grown two vessels were purchased: *Te Anatina* and *Waiapu*, Wp11/77 of Jun 1886. Maraki Tautuhi in the Waiorongomai Case spoke of the schooners *Kīngi Paerata* and *Tamariki*. "Wheat was grown on Whareponga to buy the schooner *Tamariki*," Wp18/25-26 of Jan 1893. On p. 27 he stated, "My father (Hānara Matekitepō) brought a vessel 'Pīria' from the produce of these maras [gardens]." Hirini Whakakino in the Ohinekai Case said that about the time he married he began to grow wheat to buy vessels. "It was only after some years that we were able to get enough wheat to buy a schooner. Off Tūpāroa the schooner *Kīngi Paerata* was upset and the wheat and my father were lost. Te Kehetuaranga was the rock that destroyed the vessel." His father was Hoera Te Rapu. Wp18/61, 73 of Jan 1893.

<sup>60</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 1.

utilising the land for growing those items which could realise a market value. In one instance, the fields were planted only in wheat, with the expectation that all other foodstuffs could be purchased with the profits from wheat sales.

While missionaries, books and bibles were sought previously, now ploughs, wheat grinders, cattle and horses were the order of the day. So rare were the early livestock that the chiefs who owned them gave them the names of tīpuna.<sup>62</sup> For a period Pākehā traders temporarily became less obvious on the coast: they simply could not compete with the Ngāti Porou entrepreneurs, nor were their vessels needed to ply goods to and from Auckland.<sup>63</sup> The average wage also increased as Māori demanded more payment for their labour.<sup>64</sup>

### **Influence of Alcohol**

Although increased wealth now characterised the region, the negative aspects that the visits to Auckland brought were also creeping into the East Coast communities. Archdeacon William Williams, annual report to the CMS for 1855 read:

They believed that by buying vessels for themselves and by taking their own grain to Auckland they would realise a much greater gain. About 12 of these vessels averaging between 20 and 30 tons have been purchased by the natives between East Cape and Tauranga but 9 have been wrecked partly for want of skill, partly there are no proper harbours to shelter them along the coast. But this is the least evil. Those natives who have thus been led to hold intercourse with the English towns have always been injured in their morality. They copy from our own country men an indifference to religion and pick up all the vices that are so common in English community. There is now unhappily a disposition to indulge in drinking which is fostered by the English traders who notwithstanding the heavy penalties enforced by the law upon all persons who supply the natives with spirits nevertheless distribute great quantities among them.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *TKM*, 22 Apr 1852, vol. 4, no. 81.

<sup>62</sup> *Jnl of Charles Baker*, 30 October 1854.

<sup>63</sup> Ralph Barker, Annual Report for Kawakawa and Rangitukia Stations to CMS, 1852, CN/022. ATL.

<sup>64</sup> James Hamlin to the CMS, 30 Jul 1851.

<sup>65</sup> William Williams, Annual Report to CMS, Oct 1855, p. 238.



While the missionaries were often silent on the benefits which such progress brought to Ngāti Porou, they were not slow to voice concern about the effects of alcoholism. The consumption of alcohol added a new dimension to Māori lifestyles and affected both personal and societal practices.

During this period licentious spirits first made their appearance at hui and tangihanga, while reports of insobriety became general along the East Coast. In many cases, drunkenness was associated with the whaling stations, the whalers supplying the alcohol to the young men working among them. But even chiefs of the highest rank were not exempt. Returning from Te Kawakawa to Ūawa in April 1855, Te Kani-a-Takirau called on Baker at the Rangitukia mission station “in a state of intoxication.”<sup>66</sup> Te Kani later “fell victim to intemperance.”<sup>67</sup> The traders, who had initially objected to Grace’s antics, were also guilty of encouraging and supplying Māori, as were Māori themselves. Te Kani had obtained his liquor from a European “round the Cape.” In October 1854, Baker reported at Te Horo and Reporua that locals “had purchased spirits from the traders in wholesale quantities and had been retailing them to the worst Europeans at one pound per bottle.”<sup>68</sup> As well as selling liquor, the traders helped to enlarge the attitude of contempt towards the missionaries.

Mataira, in his thesis on alcohol use on the East Coast, found that when the rangatira could not prevent the taking of alcohol by their people, they began to use it as a political resource to ensure an assemblance of authority was maintained. In so doing, they portrayed a leniency which became incorporated into their leadership.<sup>69</sup> This leniency was often mistaken as a complete loss of power. In September 1852, Grace wrote, “... the power of the chiefs is all but gone.”<sup>70</sup> Certainly the authority exercised by chiefs like Uenuku in the 1820s was a thing of the past, but rangatira still had influence over their immediate hapū. And while alcohol may have been a contributing factor, it was the relentless colonising spirit, which brought with it waves of new values, alternate life-styles and new alliances,

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<sup>66</sup> Jnl of Charles Baker, 21 Apr 1855.

<sup>67</sup> *TKM*, August 1856, vol 2, no 8, p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Jnl of Charles Baker, 30 Oct 1854.

<sup>69</sup> Peter J. Mataira, 1987, “A Study of Alcohol Consumption on Marae and of Contemporary Drinking Patterns in Ruatoria,” MA Thesis, MU.

which really diminished chiefly mana.<sup>71</sup> In fact, there is some evidence that when rangatira had control over the purchase and distribution of alcohol, they were able to promote a level of moderation which was not evident when control passed to other (non-Māori) licensing authorities.<sup>72</sup> Loss of control over the regulation of alcohol was just one function which rangatira lost. The diminution of chiefly authority was further evidenced during the 1860s, when many hapū and whānau members sided with the Pai Marire envoys against the wishes of their leaders and, in some cases, their parents.

### Wahawaha the Seafarer

Rāpata Wahawaha's capacity for keeping pace with developments saw him involved in shipping local produce to Auckland. It is perhaps at this time that he too began drinking. Alcohol and Christianity were to remain contradictory parts of his existence. The 1850s also saw him rise in profile among his Whānau-a-Rākairoa relatives. When in 1858 a dispute was brought by Whānau-a-Iritekura about rights to land in the Akuaku vicinity, it was to Wahawaha that the matter was referred on behalf of the Whānau-a-Rākairoa. Perhaps his role in the economic and political spheres of the hapū endeared him to his people, for by the end of the decade he was placed in important leadership positions to represent not only Whānau-a-Rākairoa but also neighbouring hapū.

### Ngāti Porou ki Hārataunga

As a result of trading in Auckland, a significant incident occurred which resulted in the relocation of some Ngāti Porou to the Coromandel. Some of the vessels *en route* to Auckland would shelter at Hārataunga (Kennedy's Bay) in the Coromandel. In 1852, the Whareponga chief, Te Rakahurumai, asked Paora Te Putu of Ngāti Paoa, the chief who owned the land, for an area they could use as a permanent stop-over site. He agreed.<sup>73</sup> The

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<sup>70</sup> T. S. Grace to H. Sraith, 14 September 1852, MS583, AIM.

<sup>71</sup> Jnl of William Williams, IX, p. 1077.

<sup>72</sup> Marten Hutt, 1998, *Te Iwi Māori me te Inu Waipiro: he tuhituhinga hitori. Māori and Alcohol: a history*, pp. 82-87.

<sup>73</sup> Later Paora Te Putu named his daughter Ngawaka after the vessels which Ngāti Porou provided him with. Ngawaka married Aporo Hikitapua of Ngāti Porou and the descendants, among others, are the Harrisons who still reside at Hārataunga. Pers Comm, Bob Maru 15 Oct 1999. Te Rakahurumai and others were later drowned at sea (see p. 159). Kohere stated that a westerly gale drove them out to sea and they were never seen again. Kohere, *The Story of a Māori Chief*, p. 29.

first Ngāti Porou people settled there in 1854. During the 1860s many people in the Hauraki region supported the Kīngitanga and subsequently the Pai Marire movement. Those Ngāti Porou who took up residence there, followed suit.

### **Rev. Rota Waitoa**

In 1853, Rota Waitoa of Ngāti Raukawa was the first Māori ordained in the Anglican church. His first appointment was to Te Kawakawa, and there he ministered until his death in 1866.<sup>74</sup> After some early reticence from the local residents, largely because he was from another tribe, Waitoa was able to minister more easily among his parishioners.

### **Wooden Churches**

From 1856, each hapū began to replace their raupo chapels with timber churches. They were motivated in part by the fact that St John's (Hoani Tapu) at Rangitukia was completed that year, work having begun on it in December 1853. Te Kawakawa, Te Horo and Kākāriki made a start, while Horoera, Tūpāroa, Whareponga and Waipiro were collecting materials. These buildings became the most admirable in each pā. St John's at Rangitukia was a lined timber building, 77 x 31 feet, painted, weather board and shingle outside with glass windows, a belfry, porch and vestry. The man most responsible for its completion was Mōkena Kohere who had succeeded his elder brother Kākātarau as the chief in the Rangitukia district. The labour was completed by local workmen under the supervision of Rev. Baker and the teacher, Pīta Whakangaua.<sup>75</sup>

The focus on church building suggests a renewed zeal for religion. But one wonders if the erection of these structures was motivated as much by the competitive nature of hapū and by the prestige of having such a building before neighbouring hapū. A party from Horoera, for example, took tobacco and pipes to coax a number of young men working on St John's to assist in the erection of their church. They claimed the Rev. Waitoa had encouraged it.<sup>76</sup> The fifties was characterised by bursts of religious enthusiasm followed

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<sup>74</sup> Watson Rosevear, 1960, *Waiapu: the story of a diocese*, p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> *TKM*, September 1856, vol. 2, no. 9, pp. 9-10.

<sup>76</sup> *Jnl of Charles Baker*, 7 Oct 1856.

by periods of passivity. These were interpreted by religious observers as a falling away or a return to Christianity. What seems more likely is that a core group carried Māori Christianity through the decade, and it was these who encouraged the rebuilding of the churches. Certainly, land court evidence suggests services that began and ended hui never ceased and continued most often without missionary presence. But then, traditional practices such as spiritualism and recourse to the tohunga did not stop either — even among practising Christians. “Maori Christianity had room for a number of atua, for spiritualism to be a fairly common practice.”<sup>77</sup> Whenever the missionaries discovered these they imagined that they had only recently been revived.

### **Waiapu Diocese**

Towards the end of 1857, Baker, who had held the post of itinerant missionary at Rangitukia for nearly four years, was forced to leave his station because of poor health. With the unlikelihood of Pākehā missionaries being available to replace these outposts, Williams, now Bishop of the Waiapu diocese, divided the district into pastorates with the intention of raising a Māori clergy to take future charge of them. The pastorates on the East Coast were Te Kawakawa, Rangitukia, Te Horo, Tūpāroa, Whareponga, Tokomaru, Ūawa and Tūranganui.<sup>78</sup> In the embryonic period of the Whareponga pastorate, Rāpata Wahawaha was earnestly involved, along with his contemporary, the chief Rāniera Kāwhia.<sup>79</sup> Kāwhia had been trained at both Waerenga-a-hika and St Stephen’s in Auckland. He was the first Māori ordained by Williams in February 1860, and with Wahawaha committed himself to working for the well-being of the people.

### **Waerenga-a-Hika Mission School**

At the beginning of 1857 Williams had the Tūranga Mission Station moved to Waerenga-a-hika to land gifted by the Whānau-a-Taupara of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki. There a school was established for the whole of the East Coast district which intended to give men industrial and religious training in the English language in the hope that eventually some would be

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<sup>77</sup> Sanderson, p. 172.

<sup>78</sup> William Williams, 1864, *Ngā Mahi a te Hinota Tuatahi o te Pihopatanga o Waiapu*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>79</sup> The Whareponga pastorate extended from Waikawa to Whareponga and inland to Popoti.

admitted to holy orders.<sup>80</sup> The students' expenses were defrayed by the Government.<sup>81</sup> Many men, old and young, sometimes fathers and sons, attended the school until its forced closure under threat of war in 1865. A number of students from Ngāti Porou had been selected and sent to the school.

Since the advent of mission schools in the 1850s, the quest for a better education for their children had always been a feature of the Ngāti Porou adult philosophy. As an example, in February 1862, of the 115 boarders listed on the Waerenga-a-Hika School register, more than half were from the Ngāti Porou district.<sup>82</sup> According to WB Baker, the magistrate at that time, English was "most anxiously desired" by parents for their children, and would have been part of the reason for sending them to the mission school.<sup>83</sup> It appears, however, that much of the instruction was in Māori and the student's command of the English language was limited. When the war of 1865 closed the school and mission, the ex-pupils were caught up in the fighting on both sides.

### **The Emergence of Wahawaha as a Leader Among his Hapū**

It is not clear whether Rāpata Wahawaha attended the mission school, but his own education and the value he placed on learning suggests he may have. In the late 1850s, Wahawaha emerged from mediocrity within his hapū. Little background information is available to explain why he was so ambitious. A common reaction, to cast off the shadow of slavery, may have been his initial motive. Some people who experience a catastrophe in their formative days, spend a lifetime determined to excel in order to downplay the shame of the catastrophe. Second, a fishing mishap in 1852 resulted in the deaths of Te

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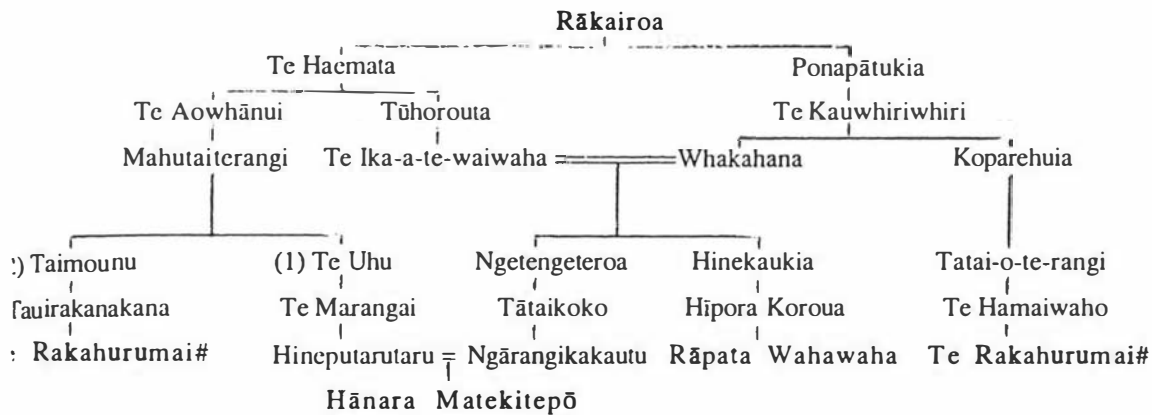
<sup>80</sup> WL Williams, *East Coast* ..., pp. 21-22.

<sup>81</sup> Williams, *Christianity* ..., p. 347.

<sup>82</sup> Ngāti Porou 58, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti 13, Ngāti Kahungunu 27, Rongowhakaata 12, Ngāti Tapu, 1, half-castes, 4. Report from WB Baker on the Waerenga-a-Hika School in *AJHR*, 1862, E-4, p. 29. The report also stated, "The scholars live in Māori huts; the married couples each occupying a separate *whare*; the young men, several together, the boys in portions of the men's huts partitioned off for their use. In all the *whares* that were visited the occupants slept upon flax mats laid upon the ground in the customary Māori style." The student's ages ranged from twenty years and upwards, male and female (the latter being the wives of the senior scholars), 50; fifteen to twenty years, 3; ten to fifteen years, 16; the remainder were under ten years.

<sup>83</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-4, p. 29.

akahurumai and Hānara Matekitepō — leading chiefs of Whānau-a-Rākairoa. They were among a group of relatives drowned off the coast at Akuaku.



Ref: Wp 18/8-9,20,21 of 24-25 Jan 1893;

same person

Dewes Family Whakapapa Book, pp. 117, 126, 128.

Rakahurumai was the elder chief not only of Whānau-a-Rākairoa, but also of Te Atanga-a-Mate at Whareponga. His only son, Renata Te Mauhamanu, was also among the victims.<sup>84</sup> Wahawaha left Akuaku after the calamity and resided again at Waiomatatini. He returned again to settle at Akuaku in 1857 or 1858.<sup>85</sup> By this time a number of families had drifted north to Harataunga to reside.

Evidence suggests that he was seen as a key decision-maker for Whānau-a-Rākairoa when he returned, and may have been asked to come back to fill the vacuum of leadership caused by the tragedy and the migration of other leading identities. Wahawaha had been away for five years and was about thirty-eight years of age when he returned. Perhaps the intervening years, when he continued to cultivate and courier trade items to Auckland, had allowed him to develop the qualities of leadership which he displayed in later years.

Song nos. 26 and 92 in the Nga Moteatea series give the details of the tragedy and put the date at 1852. See AT Ngata, 1928, *Nga Moteatea*, Pt. 1, pp. 96-97, and Ngata & Te Hurunui, *Nga Moteatea*, Pt. 2, pp. 5.

Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in Waipiro Rehearing, Wp 9B/69 of 4 June 1885.

Among Whānau-a-Rākairoa, he was certainly counted among their leaders, for not long after his return to Akuaku he was confronted by a young man, Hirini Kahotea of Whānau-a-Iritekura, the neighbouring hapū at Waipiro. Kahotea and a companion arrived at Akuaku to serve notice on Whānau-a-Rākairoa that they should remove themselves from the land, intimating that Akuaku belonged to Whānau-a-Iritekura. While the notice was intended for the whole of Whānau-a-Rākairoa it was directed through Rāpata Wahawaha.<sup>86</sup>

Wahawaha's riposte gives an indication of his self-assurdness. He did not know if Kahotea had consulted Whānau-a-Iritekura over the matter, but asked Kahotea what right Whānau-a-Iritekura had to the land. Kahotea replied that they derived their right from Te Wahine-iti. Wahawaha's response was quick and calculated, "Do you mean the Wahine-iti whose jaws were smashed?" Wahawaha then agreed with Kahotea, "Yes, you are right. But still, I will have something to say in the matter. Kei a koe te papa." — meaning he had the advantage of Kahotea in the matter. Kahotea left and Wahawaha did not concern himself with the entreaty. "I wondered then," said Wahawaha, "if the elders had anything to do with his coming or not, and took no notice of it as I thought he was only a youngster."<sup>87</sup> The confrontation came to nothing and within three short years Wahawaha was representing the whole district of Whānau-a-Iritekura, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Whānau-a-Rākairoa and Te Aowera on committees relating to political and religious matters.

Wahawaha's boldness and ability to reason is evinced in another altercation which occurred a while after the dispute with Kahotea. On this occasion, Wahawaha was tried for trespass by Whānau-a-Iritekura. Along with members of his hapū he had gone to the bush and ventured onto Whānau-a-Iri hunting grounds. They had done this because there was a scarcity of birds on their own land. The Rākairoa party was discovered and a meeting was held by Whānau-a-Iri and their allies to determine a suitable punishment for the offence. The decision arrived at was that Whānau-a-Rākairoa should be attacked for trespassing.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

When the party returned from the hunt they were told about the proposed attack. Undeterred, Wahawaha made the comment, “If they had come, they would have been killed and cooked and eaten.”<sup>88</sup> Summoned to a trial, however, Wahawaha admitted the fault. While they were determining the appropriate punishment, cheering was heard outside and it was found that boats were chasing a whale offshore. Wahawaha, seeing his opportunity, said, “You have tried us for trespassing. How far will those boats go as there are also boundaries in the sea?” The whaleboats belonged to Whānau-a-Iri. The dispute ended there with no punishment meted out.

In 1860 Wahawaha moved to Ōrua near Mākarika where he took ploughs to till the land. Many Whānau-a-Rākairoa were there with him and they settled at a pā alongside the Mākarika stream which was called Rere-a-Tahu. They were there when war broke out in 1865.

### **Growing dissension in late 1850s**

There was some difficulty securing title to the property for the mission and school site at Waerenga-a-Hika. In fact, it was because of the unlikelihood of obtaining a land title at Manutuke that Williams had initially wanted to move to Waerenga-a-Hika. Reservations about Pākehā motives were what was behind Māori deferral of land transactions at Tūranga at this time. During the 1850s, the threat of Pākehā encroachment was felt more sharply at Tūranga than further north. Not only did settler numbers gradually increase, but the Tūranga tribes experienced occasional contact with government representatives.

Donald McLean, for example, in his capacity as a land purchase agent for the Crown, had visited Tūranga in 1851 on a prospecting visit — adding weight to earlier reports that the government intended buying up the country. Herbert Wardell had taken up a post as Resident Magistrate at Tūranga in 1855 and this too had been perceived with suspicion. Rumours spread that in placing a magistrate in their district, the government was planning

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.



to seize their land by force.<sup>89</sup> Wardell's stay of authority in Tūranga achieved little, as he was more often than not unable to enforce the judicial decisions he made. The Tūranga tribes, like Ngāti Porou, were adamant that they should remain autonomous of government authority, and stated it plainly to Wardell. He gave the following as part of his report of a meeting he attended in 1858:

Paratene Pototi said: "We are not the remnant of a people left by the Pākehā; we have not been conquered: the Queen has her island, we have ours; the same language is not spoken in both" .... Kahutia said: "Let the Magistrate be under the Queen if he likes; we will not consent to Her authority; we will exercise our own authority in our own country" .... I have given these speeches because I believe the real feeling of the Natives to be represented by them.<sup>90</sup>

Both Paratene (also known as Paratene Tūrangi) and Kahutia were chiefs and, along with Raharuhi Rukupō who had supplied food for the meeting, were Wardell's assessors (or kaiwhakawā) for the Tūranga district.<sup>91</sup> Ineffective, Wardell was withdrawn from his Tūranga post by the end of the decade. About the same time, the pro-Government newspaper, *The Māori Messenger*, read widely by Māori, felt compelled to dispel the rumours of intended dispossession by Pākehā of Māori land, blaming the "mischievous and disaffected" for spreading the rumours.<sup>92</sup>

Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti were often present at Tūranga-based hui, and through them, as well as through transients and messengers, reports of dissension at Tūranga filtered back to Ngāti Porou. As one observer noted, "the temper of the natives" in Tūranga "materially affects the disposition of those residing at Ūawa and its neighbourhood."<sup>93</sup> Similar reports at Whakatāne and Ōpōtiki found their way to Wharekahika and Te Kawakawa. Certainly, some Ngāti Porou were unsettled by the developments in the neighbouring districts, and the earlier disquietude about land loss was renewed. Yet a formal request by some Ngāti Porou

<sup>89</sup> William Williams to Donald McLean, 12 Jan 1857.

<sup>90</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-7, p31. The hui took place on 21 May 1858. Wardell wrote that this was the most influential and numerously attended meeting which occurred during his placement at Tūranga.

<sup>91</sup> They had been appointed under the Native Reserves Act, 1856 and were supposed to assist the magistrate in both hearing cases and enforcing the law. Further north Mōkena Kohere, Hāmiora Tamanuiterā and Pōpata Te Kauru were assessors.

<sup>92</sup> *The Māori Messenger: Te Karere Māori*, 31 August, 1859, vol. 6, no. 18, p. 1.

<sup>93</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-9, sec. V, p. 5.

in the Waiapu valley for a magistrate of their own was forwarded to the authorities.<sup>94</sup> These same people had also pressed Bishop Williams to have the mission school removed from Waerenga-a-Hika to Rangitukia.<sup>95</sup> And in 1856 they also gave the school forty or fifty acres of land near the mission station.<sup>96</sup>

### Depression

Another factor behind the rising dissension was the fall in prices for market produce, which in turn decreased the income in cash and trade goods on the East Coast. During one season, in an attempt to sell goods only at a high fixed price, much of Ngāti Porou crops went to waste as traders stayed away. In 1857, a drought was so severe that in many plantations the potato crop was not worth gathering.<sup>97</sup> In 1858, Auckland wholesalers refused to buy wheat from the district as the type was “a very bad kind” and not saleable to the Auckland market.<sup>98</sup> Soon the realisation set in among hapū that the good times were over, and group focus shifted again to growing produce for sustenance. European clothing was not as frequently visible and the prodigality of the early fifties disappeared from the East Coast lifestyle. Some thought that they had been hoodwinked by price decreases, and arguments with Pākehā traders were frequent. Eventually a degree of depression set in and doubts about government initiatives increased.

### Rūnanga

The Native District Circuit Courts Act, 1858, attempted to introduce an English legal institution into regions considered to be “Native Districts”, that is, areas where Māori title to the land had not been extinguished.<sup>99</sup> Such districts included the East Coast. At that time, several rūnanga were operating among Māori as a means of social control. They involved the meeting of councils of leaders and were based on the traditional rūnanga

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<sup>94</sup> Jnl of William Williams to CMS, IX, p. 1131.

<sup>95</sup> Francis Porter, (ed), 1974, *The Tūranga Journals 1840-1850*, p. 587.

<sup>96</sup> Jnl of Charles Baker, 30 Jul 1856. C/N 020.

<sup>97</sup> *TKM*, 15 Jun 1857, vol. 3, no 6, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> *TKM*, 10 Aug 1858, vol. 5, no 13, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> “The technical meaning of ‘Native Districts’ under the 1858 Act was not quite coincident with areas where Māori title to land had not been extinguished. This was usually the case, but the areas had to be defined and gazetted and, in the far north at least, included areas where customary title had been extinguished.” Pers. comm., Alan Ward, 20 Mar 2000.

where the hereditary rangatira, the heads of each whānau and interested parties would come together to discuss matters of group importance and to settle disputes. The rūnanga took on a more formal structure in the fifties, following the example of the kōmiti of the missionary congregations which were held monthly. The rūnanga adjudicated upon such breaches of the law as adultery, drunkenness, theft and stock trespass. They discussed matters political and economic, sometimes setting uniform prices for the sale of goods. The Government failed to endorse the rūnanga as autonomous bodies in law, choosing instead to appropriate the initiative by placing all rūnanga under English supervision in the form of magistrates and by imposing conditions of power.

From the Māori point of view, autonomy had been compromised. In essence, the tribal rūnanga in the fifties was a response to government initiatives which seemed to Māori to threaten their control and to subordinate them “to the political and economic power of the settlers.”<sup>100</sup> Turton who, in 1862, presented a treatise on the development of the Māori Rūnanga, detected this. He wrote in reference to the Provincial assemblies and particularly the General Assembly:

It is quite true that the Māoris generally look with suspicion at the introduction of our representative form of Government, being especially fearful that their interest would not be consulted so much as if left entirely to the Crown. I have heard chiefs express this objection, over and over again; but I must add, that I always thought the suspicion to have been implanted by people of our own race .... Perhaps their establishment of the Rūnanga at the time was partly in consequence of ours; and partly, because they desired to do that for themselves which they did not wish us to do for them.<sup>101</sup>

Perhaps what was not so clearly recognised by the Government was that the rūnanga as a sign of Māori initiative reflected the growing mood of the day. The rūnanga was a subtle statement that Māori wished to maintain control of their own destinies; the war that followed was a clear assertion of that aim.

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<sup>100</sup> Alan Ward, 1974, *A Show of Justice*, p. 98.

<sup>101</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-5A. The General Assembly set up under the 1852 Constitution Act formally took over Native Affairs from the Governor in late 1861

## Colonial Impingement

During this period, the balance of power between Māori and European in other regions was beginning to shift. In areas like Wellington and Nelson, towns had grown up around the Māori inhabitants of the region, meshing Māori into the Pākehā economy and marginalising them through sheer weight of numbers.<sup>102</sup> Key rangatira still carried some weight as allies, and Māori communities in and near the town retained elements of independence, but the curve in their relative independence was clearly downward, and there was increasingly little doubt about who was the senior partner.<sup>103</sup>

In isolated areas like Ngāti Porou, where Europeans were in a distinct minority, the power base was still firmly in the hands of the hapū. Ngāti Porou considered themselves very much the landlords in their own homeland. They had experienced few of the disturbances faced by other tribes whose arable land was sought by settlers. The few Pākehā who had settled there had managed to do so either by invitation and/or by marriage and remained almost by sufferance. Ngāti Porou still enjoyed control of their own resources and the exercise of local self governance.

However, the region was not so isolated that tribes were not aware of the growing tension between Pākehā and other iwi. Newspaper reports (both in English and Māori) brought news of developments, as did visitors from other iwi and Ngāti Porou themselves while reading in Auckland.<sup>104</sup> At about this time the notion of a collective Māori nation unified under a king was floated among the different iwi, including Ngāti Porou. The idea of a Māori confederation under the banner of a single head was to create a high level of interest among Ngāti Porou and, eventually, the emergence of opposing loyalties. As Māori nationally began the debate about the merits of a unifying king, Ngāti Porou was about to face its own test — the dissension between hapū in the East Coast region.

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<sup>102</sup> James Belich, 1996, *Making Peoples*, p. 212.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>104</sup> *The Māori Messenger: Te Karere Māori* was the newspaper most widely read along the East Coast.

## Chapter 6

### Kīngitanga 1860 - 1864

*“E kore hoki e āhei te hoiho te kau rānei ki te pea kotahi. Ka tuki tētahi, ka whana tētahi.”*

*It is not possible to pair the horse with the bullock. One will butt with its horns, while the other will kick.<sup>1</sup>*

#### Genesis

The idea of a Māori king grew out of the necessity among Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and their southern neighbours, to secure political solidarity in order to resist further land sales and settler encroachment.<sup>2</sup> Support for the movement gathered momentum among other iwi throughout the country in the latter part of the 1850s and reached its zenith, in terms of support from other tribes, in 1863-4, during the campaigns waged by Government against the Kīngitanga in the Waikato and at Tauranga. Several hui were held during the 1850s to select a Māori king, and a number of leading men from highly respectable lineages, including Te Kani-a-Takirau at Ūawa, were recommended and sought out for the position. For varying reasons each declined the offer. In November 1856, an important meeting was conducted at Pukawa, Lake Taupo, where Iwikau Te Heuheu Tūkino III of Tuwharetoa gave his support to the veteran Waikato toa (warrior) and rangatira, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero of Ngāti Mahuta. Meetings followed in Waikato during 1857 and 1858 which were attended by the representatives of numerous tribal groups throughout the country. After much debate and after the persistence of Te Heuheu, Pōtatau consented and was installed as King at Ngaruawahia on 2 May 1859.

#### Ngāti Porou involvement

During the late 1850s, Waikato envoys made several visits to the East Coast and Tūranga among other places, to try to enlist support for the Kīngitanga. Initially, they met with little

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<sup>1</sup> An expression by Hoera Tamatātai when he compared the Māori king and the British monarch. Stated before a hui at Pēria, Waikato in 1862. Quoted in *TH*, 8 Dec 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Volume One 1769-1869*, pp. 516-517.

favour, although some Ngāti Porou saw benefits in united resistance. Among the first Ngāti Porou to cooperate were perhaps those who had been more vociferous in resisting pākehā encroachment over the years, including those who harboured strong suspicions of ulterior government motives. Frustration had finally led these Ngāti Porou to take some action, or at least, an opportunity had arisen where their claims could be given some weight.

### **Pōpata Te Kauru**

Pōpata Te Kauru-o-te-rangi, was among the first who was willing to consider the King's cause. On 2 January 1859, he wrote to the Waikato rangatira, Wīremu Te Waharoa.

E hoa tēnā koe, i roto i te mahi tohu a te Atua. Ka mea atu nei ahau ki a koe, kia mau ki te whenua, me i mau rānei i a koe a ki te mau tēnei ōku whenua ki a koc ko Tokomaru, ko Waiapu, ko Wharekahika. Nā ki te tahaetia e te tangata tikina atu a ki te maunu ki te moana kauhoetia whakahokia mai ki uta. Nā e hoa ko tō tāua whakakotahitanga tēnei ki te pupuru i tō tāua whenua kia mau kei mawehe.<sup>3</sup>

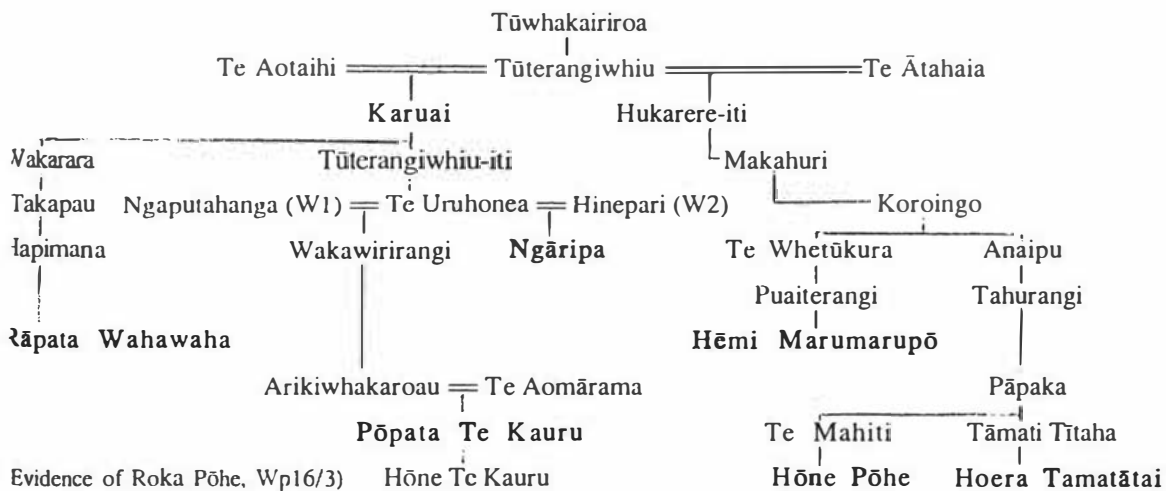
Friend, I salute you in the mercy of God. Now I say unto you. Hold fast the lands, will you be able to retain them. If so here are my lands for you to hold. Tokomaru, Waiapu and Wharekahika. If they are secretly sold (lit. stolen) by any person fetch back, if they are launched into the sea swim after them and bring them back to land. Now O friend in this consists our unity of purpose in holding back our land that it may be retained and not allowed to pass away, because there are two systems in our Island. The stars of heaven are united in one glory while the men of New Zealand have two glories. The end of that. Friend we number one thousand or rather five thousand.<sup>4</sup> (*official translation*)

The letter is evidence that, for Pōpata at least, land retention was at the heart of the matter. One of the lures of the Kīngitanga was the opportunity to secure all land holdings under a solitary rūnanga for the benefit of future generations. Once committed to the scheme the group or hapū pledged their land to the Kīngitanga. The king's flag was later presented to them to be hoisted as a signal that their land was under the protection of the king.

<sup>3</sup> *TH*, 15 Jun 1862, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Translations of *TH*, Le1 1865/129, NA. Note: the last three lines in the English translation do not appear in the Māori text.

Pōpata Te Kauru certainly was not unimportant, nor an “outlaw from society” as some of the contemporary critics of the Kīngitanga levelled at the earlier converts in Ngāti Porou.<sup>5</sup> He was the leading chief of Whānau-a-Karuai based at Waiomatatini, and was very influential among the Waiapu sub-tribes. He belonged to the circle of those closely associated with Uenuku, the patriarchal rangatira of Whakawhitirā in the 1830s and he may be the Kauru-o-te-rangi who signed the Treaty of Waitangi.<sup>6</sup> In 1857, Pōpata had been appointed assessor because of his influence. His family were among the senior line of descendants of Karuai. His great-uncle, Ngāripa, was one of the leading rangatira at Whakawhitirā in the early 1830s. His nephews, Hoera Tamatātai and Hōne Pohe, like Pōpata, were to become key adherents to the Kīngitanga cause, giving military aid to the Waikato tribes at Rangiriri and then to Ngai Te Rangi at Tauranga. A cousin, Hēmi Marumarupō, also became a strong advocate of the Māori King and was later captured with the Hauhau at Hungahungatoroa. Pōpata was also related to Rāpata Wahawaha, but throughout this period Wahawaha was residing with his Whānau-a-Rākairoa relatives and out of the sphere of influence of the Kīngitanga adherents.



The magistrate, William Baker, said only “a few worthless scapegraces, outlaws from society and Church membership, rallied around” the king’s flag when it was first raised at Waiomatatini.” Oliver, p. 83.

Grounds for thinking he may have signed relate to the fact that Uenuku died two weeks before a copy of the Treaty reached Whakawhitirā and Pōpata may well have been one of his successors. Pōpata was his baptismal name, he being known as Te Kauru-o-te-rangi at the time. He was an elderly chief in 1862 which suggests he was old enough to have signed. Also he was well-respected as some hapū wished to set him up as a King in the Waiapu. There is another chief by the name Kauru-o-te-rangi who is also thought to be the one who signed the Treaty. He was the grandfather of Te Manana Kauaterangi. Te Manana fought in the battle at Tokā-a-kūkū in 1837, which shows that it is quite possible his grandfather was alive at the time.

Support for the Kīngitanga by other Ngāti Porou key individuals demonstrates that those who pledged loyalty were not simply dissidents or unimportant members of the tribe. Some were respected chiefs, while others had been educated by the missionaries and held positions of responsibility in the Church. For example, the chief, Iharaira Porourangi, like Pōpata, had inherited land and positions of status from the great rangatira, Te Rangimatemoana.<sup>7</sup> Paratene Te Moko-puarongo was among the chiefs who had signed the Treaty of Waitangi on behalf of the Tokomaru people. Hōtene Tunanui and Wī Wānoa were lay teachers who at one time administered marriage rites to their people. Aperahama Kurī was an intellectual who later taught the laws of the King among those sympathetic Ngāti Porou, while Hōne Te Aruhe, Te Hira Kauhō and Hākopa Tūreia had been Christian teachers for their congregations. Another, Karanama Ngerengere, attended Waerenga-a-Hika mission school, and on his return to the Waiapu joined the growing supporters of the Kīngitanga “expounding the scriptures” to them. The Horoera chief, Hākopa Te Ari, was another “principal agitator” of the movement.<sup>8</sup>

### Reaction to official visits to Tūranga

At the time that Pōpata wrote his letter to Te Waharoa, feelings on the East Coast towards the Crown were still mixed. At Tūranga, however, the sentiment was decidedly against the Crown. Land Commissioner Dillon Bell, in December 1859, and Governor Gore Browne, in January 1860, were appalled at the response they received from the Tūranga tribes. Dillon Bell reported, “I never heard anywhere such language used about the Queen’s authority, Law, Government, Magistrates, and the like.”<sup>9</sup> Gore Browne at a large hui, which most likely included hapū representatives from north and south of Tūranga recounted:

They were much wanting in courtesy to myself, stating that previous Governors had been afraid to visit them, and wishing to know why I did so. They objected to the Union Jack hoisted at the magistrate’s residence during my stay; said they should not recognize the Queen, and that unless I visited them for the purpose of restoring their lands which the Europeans had cheated them out

<sup>7</sup> The aged chief Rāwiri Rangikātia, the son of Te Rangimatemoana, maintained support for the Crown.

<sup>8</sup> Statement by Mohi Tūrei and chiefs of Waiapu regarding prisoners taken to Napier, HBP 3, 1865/228, Army General Inwards Correspondence July 1863-December 1872, AD1, NA.

<sup>9</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-1, p. 6.



of, they did not wish to see me; that I might return from whence I came, and take my English Magistrate with me.<sup>10</sup>

The Governor had his own views of the cause of such disrespect, and placed the blame squarely in the quarter of Rev. Grace whose views on the “rights of Maories,” he believed, were “peculiar.” Since Grace’s time, he added, “the Maories in this district have openly and distinctly objected to the prayer for the Queen used in the Church of England Service.”<sup>11</sup>

The Tūranga response, which was not dissimilar to what Pōpata Te Kauru and others in the Waiapu were proposing, appears to be a public statement to the Governor of Māori intention to remain autonomous of central Government, at a time when they believed they still had the power to do so. As far as they were concerned, the Queen’s sovereignty extended only to those districts where the Crown had purchased property. Seen in this light, land purchase and Government become synonymous. Hence, the so-called repudiation movement in Tūranga during the late fifties, which was an attempt to stay the tide of land sales and in so doing suspend the intrusion of British authority.<sup>12</sup> This negativity towards the Crown by the Tūranga tribes did not, however, result in an acceptance of Kingitanga. The Tūranga tribes maintained a position of neutrality.

### War at Taranaki

The war in Taranaki gradually evoked more sympathy for Māori from the communities on the East Coast, although not at first. When the early reports of the outbreak at Waitara (March 1860) reached the district, there seemed to be little compassion, the major response continuing to be one of indifference. In Tūranga, the animosity which met the Government officials two months earlier appeared to subside. Perhaps the show of force by Government in Taranaki caused this change of heart. The Tūranga tribes declined to provide relief to Wiremu Kīngi’s petition for help “insisting that it was necessary for them

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> The movement in Tūranga was influenced by Ngāti Kahungunu further south, particularly those at Ahuriri.

to remain at home and take care of their own land.”<sup>13</sup> Further north, the mood was much the same. Most were content to wait and see the outcome of the war in Taranaki. Rev. Charles Baker on a visit to the district in April 1860 wrote

On my way we touched at Tunapahore and at the Awanui [Eastern Bay of Plenty]. The Taranaki news had reached these places, but the natives were not at all excited by the reports nor appeared to sympathise with the Taranaki Natives. At Tūranga I received the agreeable information that all are quiet and show no sympathy with the Taranaki insurrection. The settlers assure me that a change for the better had taken place among the natives, and their behavior towards the Europeans had greatly improved.<sup>14</sup>

### **Kohimārama Conference**

In July 1860 a national hui was called and sponsored by the Governor. At the Kohimārama Conference, Governor Gore Brown and Donald McLean, now Secretary of Native Affairs, intended to justify the war in Taranaki and to isolate the Kīngitanga. To this end, they invited representatives from all tribes. But the hui was by invitation only and some rangatira felt slighted when they were not invited. Some of those who were asked elected not to attend as “they were afraid there might be some lurking danger which they thought it best to avoid.”<sup>15</sup> Among the absentees were a number of leading Waikato and Taranaki chiefs.

The hui was attended by three of the foremost men from the Wharekāhika - Te Kawakawa district —Wikiriwhi Matehē-noa (or Te Mātāuru), Te Irimana Ngāmare (or Houtūrangi or Tirohia) and Wīremu Pāhuru. A number of chiefs from Tūranga were also present, including Tāmihana Ruatapu and Te Wāka Perohuka.<sup>16</sup> Others of Ngāti Porou chose not to attend as they felt the conference would be unable to effect any good. In a similar vein to Te Kani-a-Takirau who, when offered the kingship, replied that his mountain did not move,

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<sup>13</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-7, p. 31.

<sup>14</sup> Letter Charles Baker to Donald McLean, 27 Apr 1860.

<sup>15</sup> William Williams to Colonial Secretary, 7 Aug, 1861. Williams was of the opinion the tribes should have nominated representatives to attend.

<sup>16</sup> *AJHR*, 1860, E-9, p. 3.

they suggested to the Governor that instead, both he and McLean come to the East Coast to discuss how to reach a suitable outcome for both races.<sup>17</sup>

Among the several resolutions adopted by the conference were two which took advantage of the absence of Taranaki and Waikato representatives:

That this Conference is of the opinion that the project of setting up a Māori king in New Zealand is a cause of strife and division, and is fraught with trouble to the country .... That this Conference having heard explained the circumstances which led to the War at Taranaki, is of the opinion that the Governor was justified in the course taken by him; that Wiremu Kīngi himself provoked the quarrel; and that the proceedings of the latter are wholly indefensible.<sup>18</sup>

The stamp of approval which Gore Brown sought from the rangatira was attained, since most of the chiefs appended their signatures to the resolutions. These were subsequently published in the newspaper *The Māori Messenger: Te Karere Māori* for all to read. But in truth the response by the rangatira was one of indifference. Rev. Robert Burrows, who was present, later wrote that some of the chiefs “were not at all prepared to throw the whole onus of that war upon the shoulders of Wiremu Kīngi” and had actually pleaded “for a cessation of hostilities” in Taranaki.<sup>19</sup> Burrows also questioned whether those who signed the third resolution, regarding Wiremu Kīngi, echoed the sentiments of the majority of people who they professed to represent.<sup>20</sup> And a further complication was created by the two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, with no attempt to resolve the differences. In effect, Māori participants drew on the Māori version, while the Crown relied entirely on the English text. If there were points of agreement, they reflected two parallel streams of thought which only occasionally intersected.

The Tūranga and East Coast contingent did not sign the resolutions. Te Irimana Ngāmare was very clear as to why he would not yet “enter on the Queen’s side.”<sup>21</sup> In his address, he

<sup>17</sup> *TMT*, 2 Sep 1861, vol. 1 No. 12, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> *AJHR*, 1860, E-9, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> A letter to the editor of the *Southern Cross* from Rev R Burrows in *GBPP*, vol. 12, p. 131:

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 130-1:

<sup>21</sup> *TKM*, (supplement) 3 August, 1860, vol. 7, no. 15, p. 6.

insinuated that the Governor had provoked the situation at Taranaki. Speaking directly to Gore Browne, he asked, “Perhaps, there has been some deceitful dealing on your part, judging from the serious nature of the difficulties which have arisen in connection with land.” He reminded Gore Browne that the Governor was supposed to be the guardian of the Māori against foreign invaders, but that it was not the foreigners that Māori now feared for the Governor himself was destroying them. “What is the good of your talking,” said Irimana, “while it is seen that you are quarreling both with the people and about the land.”<sup>22</sup>

The comments made by Irimana are especially significant because he was neither a supporter of the King nor of the fighting in Taranaki. They reflect a very real view within Ngāti Porou – on the one hand wishing to remain supportive of the Queen so as to live in peace, yet frustrated by the actions of her Governor. Intrepid, Te Irimana offered the Governor a word of advice:

E hoa, e te Kāwana, – kia tika te tiaki i tāu taha, e mea ana hoki te karaipiture, “Ko ia e tiaki ana kia tupato kei hinga ia.” Ko to hē, he hohoro ki te riri, he whakahauhau i te iwi mohio kia whakamatea te iwi kūare .... Kia tika tō tiaki i ngā iwi e rua, me tāu whakahaere tikanga ki ngā tāngata.

O friend, the Governor, – Let your side be guarded properly, for the Scriptures say, “He that watcheth, let him take heed lest he fall.” Your error is your haste to be angry, and your inciting the wise race to destroy the ignorant race .... Let your duty of taking care of and governing the two races be properly discharged, and let your land purchasing transactions be properly conducted that you may be blameless.<sup>23</sup> (*official translation*)

Tāmihana Ruatapu, on behalf of all the Tairāwhiti settlements, also withheld his decision, as he believed that a majority of the chiefs who had remained at home needed to be consulted on the subjects raised at the conference.<sup>24</sup>

What these rangatira took from the hui was a renewed assurance of their entitlement under the Treaty of Waitangi. Certainly, reference to the Treaty and its tenets had been published

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

a number of times in the *The Māori Messenger*.<sup>25</sup> But it was from this time that the Treaty, as a source of rights for Māori, grew in importance, especially as dispossession brought more pressure to bear on Māori culture and its resources.

KEY EVENTS	
Date	Activity
1852	Tāmihana Kuta & Matene te Whiwhi begin crusade to establish King
1854	Matene Te Whiwhi among 1000 who attend hui at Manawapou where south Taranaki iwi agree not to sell more land
1856	Nov/Dec Meeting held at Pukawa, Lake Taupo. Waikato attend
1857	Apr-May Waikato tribes hold large hui to select king at Paetai on Waikato River. 2000 present. Hui at Haurua called by Ngāti Maniapoto. Referred to by Pei Jones as "Te Puna o te Roimata"
1858	21 May Large rūnanga held at Tūranga. Kīngitanga discussed
1858	2 Jun Ngaruawahia hui attended by Te Moananui of Ahuriri but not distant tribes. About 2000 present. Two factions decide on Pōtatau
1859	April Hui at Pāwhakairo, Hawkes Bay. Kīngitanga discussed
1859	2 May NGARUAWAHIA. POTATAU installed as KING
1859	17 June Rangiaohia meeting. Pōtatau endorsed
1860	14 Mar Hui at Waiuku attended by Waikato and Manukau tribes. Pōtatau's proclamation of peace
1860	Mar War in Taranaki begins
1860	10 Apr Hui at Waikato. Taranaki deputation attend
1860	18-28 May Hui at Waikato to discuss Taranaki situation
1860	Jun Battle of Puketakauere. Kohimārama Conference
1860	Jul MATUTAERA appointed King
1861	Aug Hui at Tūranga. Hauraki tribes request assistance
1861	Nov Govenor Grey institutes Rūnanga System
1861	Dec First Synod meets at Waerenga-a-Hika
1862	Sep King's flag hoisted at Waiapu
1862	21 Oct Hui at Pēria. Eparaima Te Rerenoa and Tamatātai spoke to support Great South Road not being put through. They claimed to represent 5000 supporters.
1862	Hoera and party return with two King flags via Bay of Plenty
1863	Apr Opening of church at Manutuke. Waikato visitors attend with King's Flag

<sup>25</sup> cf. *TKM*, 31 August, 1859, vol. 6, no.18, p. 2, and *TKM*, 31 June, 1860, vol. 7, no.s 11 & 12, p. 9.

1863	4 May	War in Taranaki begins again
1863	17 Jul	Waikato war begins with Koheroa
1863	Aug	Hoera Tamatātai and 45 Ngāti Porou go to war in Waikato
1863	22 Nov	Battle of Rangiriri. Ngāti Porou present
1864	Jan	Waikato come to Waiapu to enlist support. 70 men follow recruited from Ūawa and Te Kawakawa districts
1864	Feb	Request to pass through Te Arawa, refused. 31 Mar-2 Apr Te Arawa repel Tairāwhiti expedition to Waikato at Rotoiti
1864	7-9 Mar	Tairāwhiti expedition retiring to Matatā, & march on Maketū
1864	21-26 Apr	Battle of Orakau. Ngāti Porou present.
1864	28 Apr	Battle of Kaokaoroa involving Pākehā troops and Te Arawa against Te Ope Hunuhunu.
1864	29 April	Gate Pā, Tauranga
1864	21 Jun	Battle of Te Ranga. 80 Ngāti Porou present. 30 of them killed, including Hoera Tamatātai.

### Queen or King?

When the war in Taranaki reached a stalemate (March 1861), with the Governor acceding to a ceasefire, national attention turned to Waikato participation in the war. Both government and tribal views were publicised in the media, particularly *The Māori Messenger* and later *Te Hōkioi o Niu Tirenī*.<sup>26</sup> While support for the principle behind the Kīngitanga increased among pockets of Ngāti Porou, attitudes among the conservative leaders hardened against the Kīngitanga. A letter from the Rūnanga at Te Kawakawa, dated 9 July 1861, reported the individual views of no less than twenty-six of its members, all of whom wished the Governor to know that they were adamantly opposed to the King:

Kei runga ko Paora Pokaia: E hoa e te kāwana: tēnā rā ko koe .... Kāore aku pai ki te kīngi Māori, ki te whawhai hoki. Kei runga ko Hōhua Tumuru: E hoa e te Kāwana; tēnā koe, me ō kōrero pai. E hoa, kāore au e pai ki te whawhai; e hoa, tāku e pai ai ko te kupu a te Atua, ko te Kuini ... Kei runga ko Riwai Koia: E hoa e te Kāwana .... Kāore aku pai ki te Kīngi Māori, ko tona hinu whakawahi hoki he toto tangata .... Ka tū ko Hōri Ngangaro: E kara e te Kāwana Paraone .... Kāore mātou katoa e pai ki te Kīngi, ko tā mātou e pai ai, ko ngā ture e rua, ko te whakapono rāua ko te maru o te Kuini, a mate noa ki runga ki ēnei ture e rua. Ka huri tēnei ka tū

<sup>26</sup> *The Māori Messenger* expressed pro-Government views while *Te Hōkioi* was the King's publication. Later *Te Pihohoi Mokemoke* was set up by the Kīngitanga in opposition to *Te Hōkioi*.

a Wremu Wānoa .... kāore au e pai ki te riri me te Kīngi Māori hoki: erangi tāku e pai ai, ko te whakapono me te kotahitanga hoki.

Paora Pokaia rose and said: Governor, salutations. I am sighing towards you .... I have no desire for a Māori King, or for war. Hohua Tumuru said: Friend, Governor, I salute you and your good words (letter 5th March 1861). Friend, I do not approve of the Māori King, or of fighting. I like the word of God and the word of the Queen ... Riwai Koia: Govenor .... I am not pleased with (the election of ) the Māori King. His anointing oil is the blood of man .... Hōri Ngangaro: Sir, Governor Browne .... We do not approve of the Māori King. We wish for the two laws - Christianity, and the protection of the Queen, and to adhere to them even unto death. Wīremu Wānoa .... I do not want war, I do not want the Māori King. What I do want is Christianity and the union (of the two races).<sup>27</sup> (*official translation*)

However, these strong expressions were based on the belief that the Kīngitanga was responsible for encouraging the war in Taranaki.<sup>28</sup> When it was discovered that the Governor's actions towards Wīremu Kīngi may have indeed been unjust, as was alluded to at Kohimārama, views among Ngāti Porou were less unanimous.<sup>29</sup> Certainly it would not be long before some members of the Rūnanga would switch their loyalty to the King. Wī Wānoa was one. A Christian teacher, Wānoa also went on to join the Pai Marire faith – the religious movement which swept through the East Coast district in 1865.<sup>30</sup> Another, Paora Pokaia, was to join the war on the side of the Kīngitanga and would witness the loss of fifteen of his relatives at the battle of Te Ranga in 1864.

Concern over the war was voiced by all – some who were undecided, some who had a leaning towards the Kīngitanga and others who saw the Crown as the more convenient ally. Writing to Her Majesty the Queen on the 23 July 1861, more than a year after Irimana had

<sup>27</sup> *TMT*, 2 Sep 1861, vol. I, no. 12, pp. 20-22.

<sup>28</sup> Among those Tainui who went to the aid of their Taranaki neighbours were Ngāti Maniapoto. But they went as individuals and not with the authority of the Kīngitanga council. They inflicted “a severe defeat on a British force in an engagement near Waitara at the end of June, 1860.” Pei TeHurunui Jones, 1959, *King Pōtatau: an account of the life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the first Māori King*, p. 229.

<sup>29</sup> The popular newspaper, *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi*, ran an article which featured the Waitara dispute. WL Williams explained that the article was an attempt to justify the treatment afforded to Wīremu Kīngi by the Governor, but instead, had the effect of showing the injustice of it. WL Williams, 1871, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Wānoa had his office of marriage celebrant terminated when he joined the Kīngitanga. See Statement by Mohi Tūrei and chiefs of Waiapu regarding prisoners taken to Napier, HBP 3, 1865/228, Army General Inwards Correspondence, July 1863-December 1872, AD1. NA.

made his insinuations, Hirini Te Kani and other rangatira belonging to Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Kahungunu inquired again as to who was at fault in the Waitara confrontation. Some of these rangatira were known to be partial to the Kīngitanga, while others were in the opposite camp or still unsure.<sup>31</sup> . Among the Ngāti Porou rangatira who endorsed the letter were Pōpata Te Kauru and Iharaira Houkāmau. There was the subtle implication in the letter that the Queen should rein in her Governor.

Nāu anake ngā pai i tupu ai ki tēnei moutere: Tuatahi, ngā Minita a te Atua. 2. Te Kāwanatanga hei tiaki mō ngā iwi e rua, noho ana mātou i runga i enei tikanga pai e rua, hari ana, koa ana mātau ki ēnā tikanga pai atawhai, nā ko ēnei tikanga pai kua kino katoa. Ki tā mātou whakaaro nāwai rānei, nā te Māori rānei nā te Kāwana rānei tēnei hē. Ki te mea nā te Māori, ka pau te Māori; ki te mea nā te Kāwanatanga, ka pau te Kāwanatanga .... Ki te mea nā Kāwana me whakahoki atu a Kāwana ki Ingarani kia noho pai ai ngā iwi e rua.

It was you alone who caused good things to grow in this island. First, the ministers of God, secondly, the Government, which was for the protection of the two races. We lived under these two good regulations, and we are glad and delighted with those good and kind systems. Now these regulations are all spoiled (made bad); we do not know by whom, whether this fault is the Maories, or the Government. If it is the fault of the Maories, the Maories will be consumed; if it is the fault of the Government, the Government will be consumed .... If it is the Governor's, let the Governor be returned to England, that the two races may live in peace.<sup>32</sup> (*official translation*)

The geographic isolation of Ngāti Porou had probably contributed to the maintenance of relative autonomy and so it is understandable that many were not dissatisfied — nor for that matter up until that time — affected by the actions of the Government. In their view, the Governor had looked after affairs pertaining to his people, the rangatira, their own. But the threatening encroachment, magnified by the war in Taranaki, seemed to project the Governor in a new and overbearing role and the rangatira were reacting to the likely loss of independence as much as they were to the threat of land dispossession. By writing directly to Queen Victoria, they understood that the Governor was only the operating agent of the Crown, and that the real power lay with the Monarch whom they believed was trustworthy.

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<sup>31</sup> In an article published in the Kīngitanga newspaper *Te Hōkioi o Niu Tīreni*, Hirini Te Kani was listed along with Pōpata Te Kauru, Te Pohokura and Iharaira Porourangi as supporters of the Māori King from the Tūranga district. *TH*, 15 June 1862, p. 2.



E tai e Kuini māu e kōrero ki ōu tāngata kia whakamutua te riri ki ngā Māori, ko koe hoki te pane o ngā wairua tāngata katoa, e rongu hoki ngā mea katoa ki a koe. Ko tā mātou whakaaro tēnei e kaha rawa ko te whawhai kua e whakahekea te toto ki te whenua. Engari kuhua tōu hoari ki tōna takotoranga.

Mother the Queen, tell your people to cease fighting with the Maories, you are the head of all man-spirits, all things will obey you. Our strongest thought is this, let the war be ended, ended entirely, made to cease; let blood not be shed upon the land; but sheath your sword in its scabbard.<sup>33</sup>

In August 1861, further hui involving tribal representatives from Wairarapa to Waiapu were held at Tūranga and Ahuriri. The purpose of the meetings was to decide on a response to a letter from the Hauraki tribes who were now “anticipating a collision with the Government and inviting sympathy.” The response yet again was one of neutrality with the proposal “to send a deputation immediately to the Governor to proceed afterwards to Waikato with the object of promoting peace.”<sup>34</sup>

### **Inaugural meeting of Synodsmen**

At the beginning of December the first Synod of the newly constituted Waiapu Diocese was called at Waerenga-a-Hika, and among the synodsmen were men who at that time were quietly sympathetic to the Kīngitanga cause, some who were undecided, and others who were against the cause. Most, however, were from the latter group. The group of clergy and laymen included Rev. Rota Waitoa, Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia, Mohi Tūrei, Hoani Ngātai, Rihara Paipa, Kēmara Te Hape, Rāpata Wahawaha, Hirini Te Kani, Wīremu Pere, Anaru Matete and Hēnare Pōtae.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly enough, some of these men would face off against each other in the Hauhau hostilities in 1865. But until the end of 1861 the parties, their differences of opinion aside, were still residing and communicating effectively with each other.

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<sup>32</sup> *TMT*, 1 May 1862, vol II, no. 9, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>34</sup> William Williams to Colonial Secretary, 7 Aug, 1861.

<sup>35</sup> William Williams, 1862, *Ngā Mahi a te Hinota Tuatahi o te Pihopatanga o Waiapu i Whakaminea ki Waerengaahika, Tūranga i Tihema 1861*.

### Reasons for Ngāti Porou being for or against Māori King

Despite the growing anxiety throughout the district, most of the rangatira held fast to their old views — the majority firmly maintained that they would respect the Treaty covenant signed by their fathers (and in some cases themselves). As yet they saw no good reason for inviting a fight with the Pākehā because of what was happening in other districts. As far as they were concerned there could be only one king for them and that was Christ who had united them two decades earlier. Irimana Houturangi expressed it this way to Governor Gore-Browne:

Ki te papaki pokanoa koe ki ahau, me pēhea rā he kupu māku ki a koe? Ko taku kupu tēnei ki a koe, ka nui tō hē ki te papaki noa i ahau. Kāhore nei hoki ōku hiahia ki te whawhai, pērā me ērā atu iwi e whawhai ana ki te Pākehā, kāhore ōku hiahia ki te whakatū Kīngi Māori, pērā me tētahi iwi tinihanga. Kotahi anō taku Kīngi, kei te Rangi, ko te Karaiti, ko ia hoki te Kīngi o ngā Kīngi, te rangatira o ngā tāngata katoa.<sup>36</sup>

Should you punish me wrongfully, what can I say to you? I would say this, “You are very unjust to me, for I have no desire to fight like other tribes who are fighting with the Pākehā.” I have no desire to set up a Māori King like some other deceitful tribe. I have only one King, who is in heaven, even Christ, who is King of kings and the Head of all men. (official translation)

But some members of the tribe were no longer entirely swayed by the views of their traditional leaders. Thomas Buddle, a missionary in the Waikato, observed that it was the educated younger chiefs of the different tribes who became the most zealous supporters of the Kīngitanga. In his 1860 publication on the King movement he wrote:

They [the Kīngitanga recruiters] laboured assiduously, travelling, agitating, diffusing information, and gradually winning over to their views the young chiefs of various tribes who were just rising into life. Amongst this class of Māori society the movement found many prepared to sympathise with its objects and to enter into its plans, heart and soul. The young men obviously look with great jealousy and dissatisfaction on the changes that are taking place in Māori society. They see the old chiefs passing away, and with them the status, power, and influence, or what they call the mana of chieftainship. They must see that there is no probability that they shall succeed their fathers in their mana, or occupy the position of power and influence in their tribes that was

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<sup>36</sup> *TKM*, 8 Nov 1860, supplement, p. 49.

occupied by their ancestors. They wish to retain it if they can, and do not intend to pass away without a struggle; they therefore readily entered into the new movement, and have become the chief promoters and most zealous and earnest advocates of a scheme which now numbers among its supporters the intelligent, active, energetic young men of many tribes.<sup>37</sup>

Certainly, there were among those who championed the King's cause in Ngāti Porou, a number who fitted Buddle's classification — for example, men in their late thirties to early forties who, with the passing of their parents' generation, were destined to become the leaders of their hapū. A significant section of adherents seemed also to come from the youth. Of these Baker wrote:

... the voice of the rūnanga is used to checkmate any movement that may not at first sight be popular with or suit the rising generation, youths of from fifteen or twenty years of age, whose arrogance is a source of great annoyance to the older and more sensible portion of the community. These pert young fellows plume themselves upon being the representatives of the present age, "the young Māori of the Native race," and comport themselves accordingly.<sup>38</sup>

These young men were the generation born after the advent of Christianity and had not endured the contrasting lifestyle of the 1830s. There were also advocates among some of the older statesmen within particular hapū. Paratene Te Moko, Hōri Kuini, Ihairaira Porourangi and Pōpata Te Kauru, for example, could be counted among the most active, and were grandparents at the time. Paratene Te Moko, who had signed the Treaty, encouraged his people to be proactive.<sup>39</sup> The early converts were members of their whānau (extended families) or hapū. To the older and perhaps wiser generation, it seemed the Waitara dispute was a blatant disregard for Māori rights secured and guaranteed by the Treaty, and they feared further breaches. For this reason they upheld the Kīngitanga, or at least the principle they believed the King stood for – the maintenance of mana through land retention and Māori control over Māori resources.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Buddle, 1860, *The Māori King Movement*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>38</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-9, Sec. v, p. 11.

<sup>39</sup> Paratene Te Moko died in 1865 just before the outbreak of hostilities with the Hauhau. He had long been stirring up his people to go to fight and had died from the effects of fever caught at Ōpōtiki. Memorandum from William Williams to Governor Grey, April 1865.

Fundamentally, all the Ngāti Porou hapū realised that other tribes were losing their land and that eventually they might share a common fate. One group believed security lay in Māori unity between tribes, the other in tribal unity between hapū. Those who were willing to consider the idea of Māori nationalism journeyed to Waikato to see for themselves what was going on outside their district. In so doing, they became more aware that all tribes would eventually face the same plight and that they ought to unite, if only because they were encountering a common enemy. It is unlikely that they saw support for the Kīngitanga as a compromise of their own autonomy, but more likely accepted the new institution because they believed it allowed for a degree of tribal independence within its operation. In this sense, they were innovators.

Support for Māori nationalism was adjudged by the conservative element of Ngāti Porou, however, as a weakening of tribalism and in turn a forfeiture of tribal autonomy. No doubt there was also resentment towards a perceived Waikato claim to prominence. But essentially, the conservative Ngāti Porou element believed they had more chance of preserving their identity and resources through an alliance with the Crown, than with an alternate pan-Māori authority such as the Kīngitanga. They felt that despite the actions of the Governor at Waitara, they ought not yet to reject the promises and goodwill of Queen Victoria.

### **Governor Grey's 'Rūnanga System'**

In September 1861, Sir George Grey returned to take up his second term as Governor and to try to avert further war. In an endeavor to involve Māori “in the legislative, judicial and administrative authority in their own districts” he implemented policy which came to be known as “the Rūnanga system.”<sup>40</sup> Under Grey’s plan for the government of Native districts, the country was broken up into regions with a Resident Magistrate taking the role of Civil Commissioner to supervise local self-government. Each region was divided again into smaller districts called hundreds.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Alan Ward, 1974, *A Show of Justice*, pp. 125-126.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

Native assessors were selected who in turn were to appoint members to a district rūnanga not dissimilar to the rūnanga which were already in existence. However, the intention was to reduce the size so that all and sundry were not involved and matters of trifling importance were not discussed. The East Coast district came under the jurisdiction of William Bailey Baker the son of Rev. Charles Baker.<sup>42</sup> At the same time R. Parsons was appointed to Rangitukia as the first schoolmaster and the clerk of the court for the district.

William Baker was well known to the local people. He had grown up in the district and had often substituted for his father as an itinerant teacher. Baker's area extended from Te Kaha to Whāngārā, with Rangitukia as his base.<sup>43</sup> He arrived in November 1861 with the following instructions:

Make a preliminary circuit of your district for the purpose of communicating with the Chiefs and Assessors: explaining that the object of the Government in acceding to the request of the Ngātiporou tribe, that a European Magistrate should be sent to reside in their district, is to place within their reach those advantages which attend a regular administration of justice, and to aid them in establishing among themselves a system of local self-government under European supervision adapted to their condition and circumstances.<sup>44</sup>

On his arrival at Waikākā, near Rangitukia, Baker was warmly welcomed, the British flag being hoisted for the occasion. The chief, Mōkena Kohere, whose pā at that time was located at Waikākā, provided the initial hospitality. Moving on to Rangitukia, Baker had his first opportunity to gauge the feeling in the community towards the notion of British law. According to Baker, the young men particularly, were "extremely anxious for instruction and the introduction of justice." This, he believed, was because of the "self-

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<sup>42</sup> Charles Baker, through ill health, resigned his post at the Rangitukia mission station in May 1857. His son, William, was appointed Justice of the Peace and Resident Magistrate on 27 Sept 1861, *NZ Gazette*, 1861, p258. He was also postmaster assigned to Rangitukia on 24 Oct 1861, *NZ Gazette*, 1861, p. 260. William Baker died in Wellington on 7 Sep 1865. *TWMA*, 23 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 60, p. 29. Another son, Charles Pratt Baker, was appointed magistrate at Uawa, but never filled the position. The *PoleStar*, which was the vessel he boarded en route to Uawa, sank at sea and he drowned.

<sup>43</sup> *AJHR*. 1862, E-9, Sec v, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*.

constituted authorities” who had been administering the law in the locality. They had operated a “system of absolute tyranny and extortion.”<sup>45</sup>

The men he was referring to were probably, among others, the assessors appointed in 1857 — Mōkena Kohere, Pōpata Te Kauru and Hamiora Tama-nui-te-ra.<sup>46</sup> Some believed Kohere was too strict, for example, shackling offenders in chains because there was no gaol.<sup>47</sup> According to William Williams, when he visited the Waiapu in 1859, Kohere was far from popular. His diary entries record that Mōkena’s behavior had been “gross”, that he had been “conducting himself in a most overbearing manner” and that if he was “not checked there [would] soon be an outbreak.”<sup>48</sup> Some members of hapū further inland were not altogether cordial to the new magistrate. They resented his presence because in him they saw the embodiment of the mana of the Government. Baker was not deterred by them but initially he was heavily dependant on Kohere in carrying out his own instructions.

Within the district Baker set down two wards. The Waiapu District ran from Te Kaha to Waimahuru near Waipiro while the Tokomaru District extended from Waimahuru to Whāngārā.<sup>49</sup> Baker was also instructed to appoint more assessors who were to be “natives of the greatest authority and best repute.” William Williams criticised Baker’s selections, stating that he “proceeded hastily to make various appointments without taking any of the principal chiefs into his confidence.”<sup>50</sup>

Yet Baker’s records show that the appointments were nominated by the Rūnanga in the different districts and as the magistrate he simply endorsed those nominations. Certainly, the rangatira seem to have been present at those hui.

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<sup>45</sup> Jnl of WB Baker, 26 Nov 1861.

<sup>46</sup> They were appointed under the Native Reserves Act, 1856.

<sup>47</sup> Reweti T Kohere, 1949, *The Story of a Maori Chief*, p38.

<sup>48</sup> Jnl of William Williams, vol. 5, 7 & 14 Sep 1859.

<sup>49</sup> *NZ Gazette*, 20 Jan 1862, pp. 56-57.

<sup>50</sup> Williams, *East Coast ...*, p. 32.

RETURN OF OFFICERS EMPLOYED IN WAIAPU AND TOKOMARU NATIVE DISTRICTS  
*Re AJHR, 1862, E-9, p. 12 and Te Karere Whaka, 20 Aug 1862, vol II, no 13, p. 4*

Resident Magistrate: WB Baker		Clerk & Schoolmaster: R Parsons	
WAIAPU DISTRICT		TOKOMARU DISTRICT	
Kai-whakawa Māori/Assessors			
Mōkena Kohere	50 £	Hēnare Pōtae	50 £
Wikiriwhi Matehē	40 £	Pita Hona	40 £
Hamiora Tamanuiterā	40 £	Karauria Pāhura	40 £
Kaitiaki/Wardens			
Erenara Otahorau	24 £	Pekamu Te Whata	24 £
Timoti Te Mamae	24 £	Patihana Aukoniro	24 £
Maaka Te Ehutū	24 £		
12 Karere/Constables	10 feach	11 Karere	10 feach

Along the East Coast, Baker sub-divided the two districts into six areas called hundreds: Te Kaha, Te Kawakawa, Waiapu, Whareponga, Tokomaru and Ūawa. In addition to the appointment of assessors, he had also to arrange with district rūnanga for the election of representatives to serve as karere (constables) in each of the hundreds. In February 1862 he noted the following appointments:<sup>51</sup>

Hundred of Waiapu	Hundred of Whareponga
Wi Takoko of Tikitiki	Paratene Pāhau, of Reporua
Hamana Tuahine, of Kakariki	Rāpata Wahawaha, of Whareponga
Hōri Te Aunoanoa, of Waiomatatini	Kereama Te Wera, of Orangitaurira
Te Weiha, of Rangitukia	
Rihara Paipa, of Te Horo	
Arapeta Haenga, of Tikapa	
Hundred of Ūawa	Hundred of Tokomaru
Hepeta Miromiro, of Paremata	Epeniha Pāhau, of Tuatini
Tāmāti Paku, of Anaura	Hēmi Kaipere, of Te Ariuru

<sup>51</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-9, sec v, p. 9. Te Kaha and Te Kawakawa had not made their appointments at that time.

Rāpata Wahawaha was elected to officiate as a karere among a number of hapū in his district even though he did not always have a genealogical relationship to them. The Rūnanga officers, like the synodsmen, were leading men in their hapū, which suggests that Wahawaha was now considered to be a significant identity in the district. He worked with the hereditary chiefs of other hapū in matters political and religious and gained much experience from the work these committees undertook. No doubt he also gained an insight into the particular outlook which the sub-tribal leaders at that time had for Ngāti Porou.

All of the officers were supplied with uniform — a cap with gold bands for assessors, and a blue coat and trousers with boots for wardens and constables. In many cases, the officers were required to apply their authority among hapū over whom they had no traditional authority. This aroused resentment and demands for more appointees. It was an age old problem stemming from the natural and internal jealousy which existed between and within hapū. Missionaries, chapels, teachers, sea vessels, the ability to read – were all sought after partly because of the competitive spirit of hapū. Baker recognised this and knew it could lead to difficulties with the system. He responded by requesting that he be allowed to commission more karere in the Ūawa Hundred. Writing to the Secretary of Native Affairs he explained:

I find ... that considerable jealousy exists between the different hapūs of which the large tribes in the two districts are composed, relative to the persons elected to this office. They look upon it as an honour to be represented by one of their own hapū, and evince great dislike to the exercise of the duties of karere within their boundary by a member of a distinct hapū. The only objection they make to the system is that there are not enough Kareres for the requirements of the people.

In this opinion they are supported by the Assessors, and especially by Mōkena Kohere, the principal Assessor, who urges the increase of their number on the ground that “ma te tini o nga pou ka u ai te taiepa” (the stability of the fence depends upon the number of its posts) .... there is need for the appointment of an additional number.

The Hundred of Ūawa is divided into the following hapū:—

Ngātirahe— Whāngārā, Waitōtara, Pokotākina, Puatai, & c

Ngātipatuwhare— Ūawa, Paremata, Mangaheia, & c

Ngātiwhakarara— Ūawa, Te Karaka, Waikirikiri, & c



Ngaitārore– Paerau, Te Kōpuni, Kaiāua, Mārau, & c

Ngāti Ira– Anaura, Rangiahu, Waipare, Ōmānuka, & c

Each of these hapū expect to have at least one karere, and would much prefer two. Of the two already appointed one is a member of Ngātipatuwhare, the other of Ngāti Ira.<sup>52</sup>

The appointment of Hōri Te Aunoanoa as a karere was a political move and deserves some mention. When Baker arrived at the end of 1861, Hōri had tried to sway a meeting of the Rūnanga at Rangitukia towards the Māori King in order “to resist the attempt of the Government” to obtain a “footing among Ngāti Porou.” He implored them to rally around his elder relative, Pōpata Te Kauru. Claiming to have recently returned from Taranaki and the Waikato, he gave “a long and moving tale of the evils attendant upon British rule” which he said he had witnessed. Mōkena Kohere was able to discredit the young Hōri as not having been to either of the places. He assured the Rūnanga “that the fellow is an impostor who is endeavouring to carve out some notoriety for himself by appearing as the champion of the Māori King in a loyal district.”<sup>53</sup>

Two months later, upon the nomination of the Runanga, Baker appointed Te Aunoanoa to the position of karere. There was a long debate about his worthiness for the position. In the end it was thought his energy could be channeled positively to the task and, in any event, to reject him might aggravate the Kīngitanga supporters.<sup>54</sup> In the end the appointment was the wrong one. Hōri worked to discredit the Rūnanga System and was eventually dismissed by Baker. His replacement was Te Kooti Tipoki, the younger brother of Mōkena Kohere.<sup>55</sup> Mohi Te Wharepoto, who was among the first karere appointed, was struck off by Baker and replaced by Arapeta Haenga. Whether it was because of Kīngitanga allegiances is not known. But he would fight against the Hauhau adherents when they made their impact in 1865.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-9, sec v, p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> Jnl of WB Baker, 3 Dec 1861.

<sup>54</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-9, sec v, p. 9.

<sup>55</sup> Record of letter from Resident Magistrate East Cape, 3 Jan 1863, requesting Te Kooti Tipoki be appointed karere in the room of Hōri Te Aunoanoa, 1863/200. Native Affairs Department inwards correspondence, MA Series 1, NA.

<sup>56</sup> Record of letter from Resident Magistrate Rangitukia, 27 Apr 1863, requesting that Arapeta Te Haenga be appointed in place of Mohi Te Wharepoto who had been dismissed, 1863/513. Native Affairs Department inwards correspondence, MA Series 1. NA.

### Salaries or Bribes?

A serious misunderstanding arose when it was ascertained by the people that the officers were to be paid a gratuity for their services. Those Ngāti Porou who were already suspicious of government motives, thought that the payments were a bribe for land, and reacted adversely.<sup>57</sup> Certainly, the Kīngitanga supporters now felt they were justified in their accusations about the intentions of Government. Those who still had not committed themselves to either side were very much influenced by this latest allegation.

The issue of salaries paid to officers under the Rūnanga scheme has often not been given sufficient emphasis by historians reviewing this period. In reflecting on the causes for the divisions among Ngāti Porou leading to war, Rāpata Wahawaha was of no doubt that it was speculation about the salaries which divided Ngāti Porou loyalties.<sup>58</sup>

Te taenga mai o tā te Karaiti Rongo Pai ka whakatakotahitia anō tātou, hore rawa te wehenga i waenganui. Kātahi ka tukua mai ko ngā Ture nui o Ingarangi hei tiaki i a tātou, kei tū kino tētahi ki tētahi, kei whakahāweatia te tangata iti e te tangata nui. Kātahi ka whakatūria ko ngā Kaiwhakawā; ka puta anō hoki te aroha o te Kāwanatanga ki aua Kaiwhakawā i roto i a tātou, ka homai he oranga mō rātou. A, tō tātou kitenga, ka whakapaea e tātou he utu no te whenua. Ka tupu i kōnei he wehewehenga nui; ka wehea te matua i te tamaiti; te tamaiti i te matua; ka noho ētahi i runga i te Whakapono ki te Rongo Pai, me te māramatanga o te Ture.

When the Gospel of Christ came we were reunited, and there was no division amongst us. Then the laws of England were introduced amongst us to protect us, and prevent one from offending against the other, and the great from despising and oppressing the small. Then (Māori) magistrates were appointed, and the Government kindly granted them an allowance of money for their support. When we saw this we unjustly assumed that it was payment for land. And here serious divisions and disunions arose amongst us; the parent was separated from the child, and the child from the parent. Some adhered to Christianity and to the light of the law, and brought the others to abide and walk with them in the ways of light and truth.<sup>59</sup> (*official translation*)

<sup>57</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 162.

<sup>58</sup> *TWMNT*, 11 Sept 1872, vol. 8, no. 17, p. 114.

<sup>59</sup> *AJHR*, 1873, A-1A, pp. 2-3.

The first of the assessors to receive payment was Pōpata Te Kauru (Feb 1862). He had been appointed to the role of kaiwhakawa (assessor) more than four years earlier and Baker paid him for his past services.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the payment was also intended to ensure Baker had his support, as the magistrate knew Pōpata had a “decided leaning” to the Kīngitanga.

There were two clear public reactions to the payment. Opponents of the Kīngitanga felt that Pōpata’s services did not deserve such acknowledgement, while Pōpata’s supporters conjectured “the money was a bait intended to bribe Pōpata to acquiesce in the sale or surrender of their land.”<sup>61</sup> That Pōpata was not deserving of the ten pound payment was probably true as he was more active in inciting his people against Crown initiatives. In December 1861 he had objected both to a Queen’s magistrate being placed in the Waiapu and to land being given for a magistrate’s residence.<sup>62</sup>

Pōpata himself responded by returning the money to Mōkena Kohere, the chief assessor who also represented those opposed to the Kīngitanga. Pōpata also admitted that there was some truth to the allegation that the money was intended as a bribe. Baker alleged, however, that Pōpata was induced by public pressure to support the allegation.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless a haka was composed berating those who were to receive payment:

*E Wi, e Timo, e ia, hoki mai ki Aotearoa. Tēnei te motu ka tiemi, ka tiemi. Nā te mōni a te Kāwana koe tiki mai whaka koikoi tō ngākau. Koia i pakuku kuku atu ai e ha! I tu te Kiingi ki Waikato whakarere nga mahi, tukua te ture Kīngi ki a whakaputa i te mata rae ki Waikato, ki reira ra e moiti moiti moihaere moihaere, ka pea peau noa, ka pea peau noa. Inana arara a haere ki Otihoi hoi, haere ki Otihoi hoi e.*<sup>64</sup>

*O Wi, O Timo, hey you fellers, return to Aotearoa. This is the island which is about to capsize. Tis the money of the Governor which enticed you, and you have lost your capacity for generosity (lit: made your heart brittle). Tis that (the Governor and money) which caused the trouble (capsizing). The King was established in the Waikato, stop preventing it from taking it’s course. (lit: leave aside your work). Let the laws of the kingship come out of Waikato. The laws of the King were dispersed by him at Waikato so*

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 1862, E-9, sec v, p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> Journal of W. B. Baker, 4 Dec 1861.

<sup>63</sup> AJHR, 1862, E-9, sec v, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 16.

*that they may spread around.* The meaning of the last lines has been lost but the essence is that once the Kīngitanga is unveiled to others it will not be contained as many will appreciate its value and join. see footnote<sup>65</sup> (my translation)

The haka was lead by Hōri Kuini of Whānau-a-Rākai and Whānau-a-Rāhui. The reference “hoki mai ki Aotearoa” was a way of expressing that something had been lost and should be returned. The repudiationists spoke of the early land sales in the same vein: “ki te maunu ki te moana, kauhoetia whakahokia mai ki uta” (if the land is set afloat, swim after it and return it to shore).<sup>66</sup> The insinuation in the haka is that the court officers had been bought off by the bribes. Wī Tākoko would eventually join his relatives and support the Kīngitanga and would meet an untimely death at the battle of Te Ranga in 1864.

The near hysteria over land, which had been growing since the 1850s, added to the suspicion that officer’s salaries were somehow linked to land alienation. Even though the chief and minister, Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia, was able to dispel some of their fears, based on his own recent experience in Auckland, the die was cast and for many, if in their minds only, Pākehā encroachment was closer than it had ever been.<sup>67</sup> Baker was later to state that the very mention of the word ‘whenua’ evoked suspicion, “The word whenua is banished from my vocabulary.”<sup>68</sup>

Overall, Baker’s presence, as the administrator of British law, was unspectacular. Early on he was able to call together the assessors at periodic intervals. He would then give them instruction and advice in how British law ought to be carried out. The meetings soon dwindled, however, because of the inconvenience to those assessors living at a distance and the expense for the Rangitukia people in providing for them. In the end, the shared shaping

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<sup>65</sup> Wī was identified by Paratene Ngata as Wī Tākoko, who was in his early forties at the time. Timo is probably Tīmoti Te Mamae who was on salary as a warden. His name was recorded as Timo when he was accidentally killed at Te Hatepe during the war with the Hauhau on 9 July 1865. According to Mate Kaiwai the last lines of this haka are also part of a string game children used to chant in her childhood. The basis of the game was that you used your fingers and string to follow the example of your opponent in an attempt to catch them. The game does not allow one to actually catch an opponent causing frustration and ending in a stalemate. Pers. comm., Mate Kaiwai, 17 Nov 1999.

<sup>66</sup> *TH*, 15 Jun 1862, p. 3. Translations of *TH*, Le1 1865/129, NA.

<sup>67</sup> *AJHR*, 1862, E-9, Sec v, p. 7.

of policy between Māori and Government, intended by Grey's Rūnanga System, was never realised, the role of the rangatira being superfluous, since they were only able to pass resolutions on certain petty subjects already decided by the Colonial Ministers and approved by the Governor.<sup>69</sup>

Although, Baker proved to be a useful alternative to the recognised forms of law and control among Ngāti Porou, it was still the rangatira themselves who controlled the system. Baker was powerless to carry out any form of penalty without their support. Once it was understood that he was not a threat to tribal independence, his presence was tolerated even by the King supporters.

### **Polarisation of hapū**

The Rūnanga System had proved to be the cause of disaffection. From 1862, Ngāti Porou polarised into two groups – those for the Kīngitanga and those who were not. The headquarters for the Kīngitanga supporters in the Waiapu was centered in two places. One was Waiomatatini where the wharenuī, Niu Tīreni, was erected.<sup>70</sup> Many of the Whānau-a-Karuai, who had lived at Korotere and who had shifted to higher ground at Te Horo in 1854, removed themselves to Waiomatatini. Large sections of their neighbours at Kakariki and Reporua were also for the Kīngitanga. A second stronghold was positioned across the Waiapu river at Pukemaire pā among the Whānau-a-Hinerupe and Whānau-a-Rākai. Further north, they were joined by their relatives at Horoera and Kōtare along the Karakatūwhero river. A proportion of the population at Tokomaru and Wharekahika were also in favour of the King. Baker reported, “from Puatai to Anaura the people are said to be rather wavering and inclined to favour the Māori King.”<sup>71</sup> Quite a number were hesitant to commit to the cause and needed more convincing. For now, they were happy to observe developments. Wiremu Karaka (or Wī Tito), a brother-in-law to Rāpata Wahawaha and the father of Paratene Ngata, was among these. Altogether, those who supported the

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<sup>68</sup> W. B. Baker to McLean, 10 Nov 1862.

<sup>69</sup> D. M. Stafford, 1967, “The Tai Rawhiti Expedition”, in *Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 1, p. 75.

<sup>70</sup> This was a much smaller structure than the meeting house, Porourangi, which replaced it. *Journal of Paratene Ngata*, p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> Jnl of W. B. Baker, 13 Dec 1861.

Kīngitanga were still in a minority. But they began to hold separate church services from those who opposed their views, and at Rangitukia they physically separated themselves from Mōkena Kohere and his supporters.

For a time, Pōpata himself was revered by his followers as almost a king, but died later in the year 1862.<sup>72</sup> It was his nephew, Hoera Tamatātai, who took up the reins of the King movement in the Waiapu after his death. In fact, if the Kīngitanga supporters had been able to influence the majority of people along the coast, they would most likely have elected a king within their own district. According to Paratene Ngata, Tamatātai attempted to do just that at Tokomaru:

I tētahi wa, ka hoki mai a Hoera Tamatātai i Waikato me ōna hoa anō i tae pea ki te toru tekau. Ko Hōri Kuini te kaumatua moko e mārama ana i au .... I haere rawa tēnei ope a tae rawa ki Tokomaru. Nā Ngāti Porou o te taha Kiingi Māori i whakanui ki taku mohio i tae pea ki runga atu o te rau .... I rongō au e haere ana ki te whakatū a Hēnare Pōtae hei Kiingi. Kua mate kē a Pōtatau te Kiingi Māori. Ka tukua mā te Tai Rawhiti e whakatū atu he Kiingi i roto i ngā uri a Hinematiaro, a te Kaniatakirau rānei. Nā Hoera i rūpahu i Waikato.<sup>73</sup>

At one time, Hoera Tamatātai and about thirty of his companions returned from Waikato. Hōri Kuini was the elder, who was tattooed, whom I remember .... This party went on to Tokomaru. Ngāti Porou of the Māori King side joined them taking the numbers to over one hundred .... I heard they went to set Hēnare Pōtae up as a king. The Māori king, Pōtatau, had already died. The Tairāwhiti were given an opportunity to elect a king from within the descendants of Hinematiaro or Te Kani-a-Takirau. It was Hoera who brought this false talk back from Waikato.  
(my translation)

The visit to Tokomaru occurred in late 1862 when Tamatātai returned from a hui in Waikato. Baker said that it “was prompted not by any antipathy to the government, but by a resentment of Waikato claims to pre-eminence.”<sup>74</sup> Hēnare Pōtae, who was the chief assessor for his own district, was ranked among the senior rangatira who resisted the

<sup>72</sup> Paratene Ngata described him as “te tinana o te Kīngi Māori” (the representative of the Māori king). Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 13.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>74</sup> Oliver & Thomson, p. 83.

Hauhau in 1865. He declined the offer of a kingship suggested by the visitors. In 1863, he is on record for having said, “He awhekaihe ahau; he kāwana, he kīngi.”<sup>75</sup> (I am a half-caste; a government supporter and a King supporter.) But a year later he tried to prevent his people going to assist the war in Waikato.<sup>76</sup>

The contingent, which Tamatātai led to Tokomaru, were unarmed save for one rifle. On their return to the Waiapu, they were confronted at Pōkurukuru by a party of the Whānau-a-Rua of Tūpāroa. These were opposed to the Kīngitanga.<sup>77</sup> The leading rangatira among the Whānau-a-Rua at this time were Hamiora Tamanuiterā, also an assessor, and the younger chief, Hōtene Porourangi, who was to rank with Rāpata Wahawaha as the leading military strategists for Ngāti Porou during the campaigns of the late sixties. The Whānau-a-Rua numbered about fifty but all were armed. They informed the Kīngitanga supporters that the district between Tūpāroa and Waikawa was closed to them. As long as they were on Kīngitanga business they were barred from travelling through the area. Whānau-a-Rua had the support of Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Te Aowera, Whānau-a-Rākairoa, Ngāti Hokopaura and Whānau-a-Iritekura who were the hapū resident in that district. Tamatātai and his friends accepted the proposal, for they were not in a position to do anything. Only after they agreed were they allowed to return to their homes.<sup>78</sup>

The growing influence of the Kīngitanga in the district did not sit well with those hapū who did not wish to compromise their relationship with the Crown. No record has captured their contempt for a king more than the Māori newspapers of the day.<sup>79</sup> In one paper (May 1862), separate letters were published from the chiefs Mōkena Kohere (of Rangitukia) and

<sup>75</sup> William Williams to Governor Grey, “Ngā Kōrero o te Hui Nui ki Tūranga,” 21-22 Apr 1863, pp. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Jnl of William Williams, vol. 6, 9 April 1864.

<sup>77</sup> Pōkurukuru is a hill on the beach before the ascent begins over the high Tāwhiti hill. Today the point is marked by the Waikawa fishing club and boating sheds. It is a narrow point in the road and one group waiting there would not miss travellers using the walkway.

<sup>78</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 14. Tāwhiao was elected king in July 1860, so the visit to Hēnare Pōtae was thought to have taken place about that time. This seems unlikely, and it is more probable it occurred after Hoera Tamatātai’s return from the Waikato in late 1862. However, Tāwhiao was in place then. Perhaps they were looking to establish a figurehead as Pōpata had been up until his death.

<sup>79</sup> Most of these newspapers were used by Government to promote and legitimise their position in the confrontations in Taranaki and Waikato. The material published also came from hapū leaders who were not supporters of the Kīngitanga.

Karauria Pahura (of Ūawa), who wrote on behalf of their Runanga.<sup>80</sup> Addressed to the Rūnanga of Waikato, the letters made it clear that they had no desire to unite under the Waikato King. The letters were in response to a report in an issue of *The Māori Messenger* that the Waikato Rūnanga had met with the Governor and told him that the king was for all New Zealand (mā Niu Tīreni katoa). In the first letter, Karauria advised them to confine the authority of the King to their own region:

E kī ana tō koutou kupu, kua huri tō koutou kīngi ki runga ki a mātou. Ka rongo ngā rūnanga katoa i tā koutou kupu. Ko ta matou kupu tēnei: mō te aha kia hurihia mai e koutou tō koutou kīngi ki runga ki a mātou? Erangi me waiho ano ki a koe ano te kīngi; ki runga ki tōu whenua anō. Hua iho ana ōna hua ki kōna anō.<sup>81</sup>

You say your King has been received by us, that all the Runangas will heed to your words. This is our word(in reply). Wherefore should your King be placed over us? Rather do you retain your King with yourselves (to have power) upon your own lands. Let the production of its fruit be confined to that spot. (*official translation*)

Mōkena Kohere, in his letter, questioned the notion of a King:

Erangi me i kīngi mai tātou i mua e pai ana; tēnā ko tō tātou ingoa i mua he rangatira, ināianeī ka rongo mātou he kīngi. Nō hea tēnei ingoa te kīngi, me tēnei ingoa me Niu Tīreni? Ko te ingoa o tēnei motu i mua ko Ao-Māori-kai-tangata.<sup>82</sup>

If it had been that there were kings in former days this (assertion) would have been well, but the name used to be *rangatira* (chief), now we hear it is *Kīngi*. Whence comes this name of *Kīngi* and this name of *Niu Tīreni*? The name of this island in olden times was *Te-Ao-Māori-kai-tangata* (the man eating world). (*official translation*)

<sup>80</sup> *Te Karere Māori or Māori Messenger*, 1 May 1862, vol. II, no. 9, pp. 16-17.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. Similar sentiments were expressed at the Rūnanga held at Anaura. see *Ibid.*, 20 Aug 1862, vol II, no13, pp. 14-15. A like view was expressed again many years later in a newspaper report concerning the welcome of King Mahuta to Wellington by Members of Parliament. The report read, "I mea a Wī Pere ki a Mahuta e karanga ana rātou ki a Mahuta, he rangatira ki te rangatira, ēhara i te rangatira ki te kīngi. He kupu tauhou te kīngi ki te taringa Māori, he kupu no tawhiti, ēhara i a tāua i te Māori. Hei tōna whenua pea whakakīngi ai i a ia." *Pipiwaharoa*, Oct 1900, No. 32.



The mention of the name ‘Niu Tīreni’ is most likely a sarcastic reaction to the adoption of foreign names.

For the next few months, the relationship between the two parties remained confrontational — tossing threats at each other. During that time, the Rūnanga in the Tokomaru - Ūawa district met and affirmed that they would adhere to the Queen (August 1862). Their views were pressed home in a report to the Governor, and published in *The Māori Messenger*. One of the several speeches in the report was made by Hirini Ahunuku, who reiterated their desire for a degree of independence from the Crown:

... ko au te kaiwhakahaere tikanga mo tētahi taha, tēnei hoki kua tū i a Peka he kai whakahaere tikanga mō tētahi taha ... I should be entrusted to do my own affairs (i.e. Māori affairs), for you have appointed Mr Baker to your interests.<sup>83</sup> (*official translation*)

The Kīngitanga supporters, powerless to carry out their claims, defiantly hoisted the King’s flag at Waiomatatini as a demonstration of their own independence (September 1862). Mōkena Kohere responded by flying the British flag at Rangitukia.<sup>84</sup> Baker’s report to McLean, on 10 November, about the developments in the district provides a valuable insight as to the feeling in the Waiapu. He felt the situation was stabilising, and that many of the King’s supporters were finding the cause more trouble than it was worth:

Certainly the taha kāwana, as our friends style themselves have not in any way assisted to lessen the breach, They seem to take a mischievous delight in teasing the opposition party, taunting them with the want of means to carry out their plans, and, not least of all, caricaturing the presumption of Matutaera in assuming to reign over “nga mokopuna o Hinematiaro.” Indeed some of our most sedate fellows have gravely proposed that we should have a king of our own: that Te Kani’s teina should be elected to that high office, and reign not so much as a rival of Pōtatau, as the Governor’s Deputy. Much of this mahi takaro, as the old greyheads call it, has dropped thro’ in consequence of their time being taken up in planting.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *TKM*, 20 Aug 1862, vol. II, no.13, pp. 14-15.

<sup>84</sup> William Williams to Governor Grey, 21 Sep 1862. The king’s flag was hoisted throughout the country by those who wished to show their of resistance to land sales. See *TH*, 8 Dec 1862.

<sup>85</sup> W. B. Baker to McLean, 10 Nov 1862.

While Baker may have felt the situation was under control, he was probably being over-optimistic. At that time, Hoera Tamatātai, Eparaima Te Rerenoa, and others were in the Waikato attending a hui at Pēria (October 1862) to discuss the proposed Great South Road being built through land which had been closed off by the King. The hui included chiefs from several of the iwi throughout the North Island.

If the speeches of Te Rerenoa and Tamatātai are anything to go by all was not well, for they could see only difficulty in the relationship with the monarch. Tamatātai made some strong statements, among them the following observation, “E kore hoki e āhei te hoiho te kau rānei ki te pea kotahi. Ka tuki tētahi, ka whana tētahi.” (It is not possible to pair the horse with the bullock. The one will butt with its horns, while the other will kick). This expression was often quoted many years later. Sir Āpirana Ngata said, “It was a succinct statement of the philosophy which underlay the clash between Māori and Pākehā, when the former was still conscious of his power in the land.”<sup>86</sup> In his address, Te Rerenoa purported to represent five thousand people, and Tamatātai stated they were not in favour of the mana of the Queen coming over that of the Māori King. Their party would soon return to the Waiapu with two more King flags and inspire their friends with the latest news of the developments in the middle of the island.<sup>87</sup> In fact, according to Bishop Williams, as they made their return through the Bay of Plenty “he proclaimed that “the recommendation of the Maori king was, that every white man should be sent away from the native districts, and that not even the missionaries should be allowed to remain.”<sup>88</sup>

A characteristic of the period, and still prevalent today, was a claim by individuals to represent the view of the tribe, or at least to have the support of a large group of people when making statements on matters of importance. Often the individuals had no mandate to do so and were overstating their support to drive home a point or sometimes for self-

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<sup>86</sup> TH, 8 Dec 1862 and AT Ngata, 1950, “Biographical Notes,” p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Reweti Kohere claimed that in April 1857 Hoera Tamatātai joined a group which attended the Congress at Rangiriri in the Waikato called by proponents for the establishment of a Māori King. He wrote that it was on their return from that visit that they brought back the Kīngite flag, Rura, and hoisted it at Waiomatatini. He also stated that the chief Pōpata Te Kauru was made king on their return. Kohere, *The Story ...*, pp. 52-53. This is unlikely and it is more probable that the year was 1862.

<sup>88</sup> Williams, *Christianity...*, p. 364.

aggrandisement. Certainly, both the pro-Government and pro-King newspapers were quite ready to validate the authority some of their correspondents claimed to possess when speaking for others, particularly if it helped the cause the paper was intending to promote.

### Hoera Tamatātai

A description of Hoera Tamatātai is useful here. Paratene Ngata wrote at some length about the man who had married his aunt. In fact Ngata said that Rāpata Wahawaha had told him, “Mehemea a Hoera kāore i riro nga mahi kiingi Māori, koia te tino tangata mo Ngātiporou mo roto o Waiapu”<sup>89</sup> (If Hoera had not sided with the Kīngitanga he would have been the leader among Ngāti Porou in the Waiapu.)

Tamatātai held rank within Whānau-a-Hinerupe particularly, and resided at Pukemaire and Te Puni.<sup>90</sup> He was a brother-in-law to Wahawaha, they having married sisters. Hoera married Ruiha and it appears that she died in the early 1860s.<sup>91</sup> A third sister had married Wīremu Karaka or Wī Tito who was the father of Paratene Ngata. Wī sympathised with Kīngitanga but was never fully committed to the movement.<sup>92</sup> However, he did take a major role among the Hauhau and for this was later sent to gaol in Napier.

The link between these prominent individuals through their marriages to three sisters is important in the genealogical tables of Ngāti Porou. In this one family were represented leading men of the three factions that held sway in Ngāti Porou during the 1860s — Kīngitanga, Hauhau, Kāwanatanga — and it is an example of the divisions which existed within whānau over matters of philosophy and allegiance.

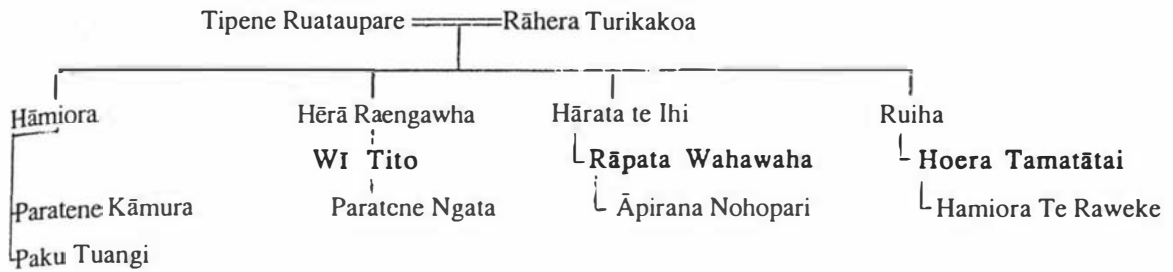
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<sup>89</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 43.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. Hoera may have married again, going by what Paratene wrote, “Ko aku tuakana āna tamariki e mau ana ia i te wā e ora ana tana wahine tuatahi a Ruiha. (My elder cousins lived with him when his first wife Ruiha was alive). Note: Sir Āpirana Ngata gave Hīria as the name of Hoera Tamatātai’s wife. Paratene records Hīria as a sister to Ruiha.

<sup>92</sup> J. Deighton, A translation of a statement by Mohi Tūrei and chiefs of the Waiapu regarding the prisoners brought round from that place and in Napier Gaol, Waiapu, Hawke’s Bay Province 65/228.



As has been stated, Hoera Tamatātai and Rāpata Wahawaha had spent much of their early adult years shipping between Auckland and the East Coast aboard the vessel *Rikimaitai*, and on one occasion, while anchored off Mt Maunganui, Tamatātai had saved Wahawaha's life.<sup>93</sup> In the years before war broke out in the Waikato, their children, nephews and nieces had lived between each other's households.<sup>94</sup>

On the East Coast, child mortality was ever prevalent during the 1850s and 1860s. Tamatātai's only child, Hamiora Te Raweke, died after a long illness.<sup>95</sup> 1860 was a particularly severe year for influenza and typhoid epidemics and it is probable that Hamiora was a victim of one of these.<sup>96</sup> It appears Hoera's wife Ruiha died at about this time also.<sup>97</sup> The impact of these losses on Hoera is not known but it can be expected that they may have gone some way to charting the course of relative independence he took in the sixties.

Tamatātai himself was described as a fine-looking man, intelligent and of a mild nature. He was not arrogant and was gifted with a voice which served him well in both song and oratory.<sup>98</sup> His ability in speechmaking was recounted years after his death. When the

<sup>93</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 17-18 describes Rapata's misfortune and Hoera's subsequent rescue.

<sup>94</sup> Paratene recorded "Ko Paratene Kāmura, ko Mereana, ko Āpirana Nohopari aku tuakana e noho nei mātou kia Hoera." (Paratene Kāmura, Mereana, and Āpirana Nohopari, who were my elder cousins, and I lived with Hoera). Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Āpirana Nohopari was the only son of Rāpata Wahawaha. Wahawaha stated that the boy had died about 1857. Paratene Ngata gives Dec 1868 as the month in which Āpirana Nohopari died. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 27.

<sup>96</sup> W. L. Williams, nd, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 30. Paratene Ngata told of how he returned to Akuaku to be at his cousin's side as his illness worsened. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 13. Paratene left Waerenga-a-Hika Mission School to return to Akuaku to spend time with his ailing elder cousin. He said that he and his elder cousins would stay with Hoera when Ruiha was alive.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13. Heretaunga Pat Baker in the *The Strongest God*, also gave an imaginary description of Hoera Tamatātai. "One of the leaders was Hoera Mataatai, redoubtable warrior of Ngāti Porou. He was a tall, handsome man, tattooed on face, body and arms. He went naked except for several cartouches of

Kīngitanga gained support among his relatives, Hoera was persuaded to become involved by Eparaima Te Rerenoa and other friends.<sup>99</sup>

### 1863 and War

The new year brought with it the winds of war. Tension between Kīngitanga and Government over the Great South Road was building to an inevitable confrontation. The gravity of the situation required a more vigorous recruitment among other tribes, and emissaries were sent out to recruit from sympathetic tribal districts. The opening of the new church at Manutuke in April 1863 provided an opportunity for a Waikato party to speak to a large number of people from Ngāti Porou through to Ngāti Kahungunu. While both those for and against the King would be present, a large number of the undecided would also visit, and this was an opportunity to win them over to the Kīngitanga.

A party of about 70 from Tauranga and Waikato attended; an equal number from Ngāti Kahungunu in the Napier district; 150 from Te Wairoa; and 400 from the Ngāti Porou region. A further 1400 belonged to the Tūranga district. Rāpata Wahawaha was among the Whānau-a-Rākairoa representatives who took tahā manu (calabashes of preserved birds) to the celebration. The Waikato, Tauranga and Te Wairoa parties arrived bearing the King's flag, signalling the purpose of their visit. April 21 was the day set aside for discussions, and selected speakers were organised by each district.

Anaru Matete presided over the meeting. Broaching the subject which all were waiting for, "Te kotahitanga o ngā tāngata Māori" (the unity of the Māori race), he shrewdly began by stating he did not understand the matter and called for the opinion of others.<sup>100</sup> The discussion centered on what should form the basis of unity, and before long a proposal was put, that they might look to the King. But there was no endorsement, and the discussion

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powder and shot slung over his shoulders and tied around the waist. His double-barrelled gun had been a present from his friend Whakatatare." James Cowan also gave the spelling of his name as Hoera te Mataatai. James Cowan, 1923, *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. 2, p. 435

<sup>99</sup> Eparaima Te Rerenoa was one of those who persuaded him. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 18.

<sup>100</sup> William Williams later wrote, "If the question proposed had been should we join the Māori King — there was a party strong enough to raise a clamour in favour of this movement, but Anaru exercised great tact." William Williams to Governor Grey, 28 Apr 1861.

turned to consider whether the symbol of their unity ought to be Christianity, which had brought the tribes together, at least up until that time.<sup>101</sup> The hui continued the next day ending unsuccessfully for the Kīngitanga adherents. A report was prepared and endorsed by some of the chiefs present, for publication in *Te Karere*.<sup>102</sup> In short, it indicated that they were for neither the King nor the Queen, they were neutral — “he kūpapa mātou, ēhara i te Kīngi, ēhara i te Kāwanatanga.” Among the chiefs who approved the report were the Tokomaru leaders, Hēnare Pōtae and Paratene Te Moko. These were the only two from Ngāti Porou whose names were appended to the report. Pōtae had spoken in favour of both the Government and the King, while Paratene Te Moko made a case for resisting Pākehā infiltration.

Within a month of the Manutuke hui, the war in Taranaki resumed. This latest news served only to increase tension in the district. Just how difficult the situation on the East Coast was becoming, particularly for Pākehā, was brought home in an article in the Hawke’s Bay Herald in May:

The schooner *Tāwera*, anchored off Kawakawa on the 12th inst. It was blowing hard from the south and we could not communicate with the shore. Next day a boat came and we asked if we could get any water from the river. Being told that we could we sent a boat ashore with two casks to be filled. After they had been filled and the boat had left, the Natives came to me and demanded one shilling per cask, threatening that if I didn’t pay to take a boat in payment when she next came ashore. This demand I paid.

On the 14th they went to the store of Messrs Peachey and Collier and said that, if the magistrate Mr Baker should come that side of the Cape they would make him pay 100 pounds; if he should come by the inland route the sum would be 200 pounds. They were determined, they said, to drive him away, as he was trying to buy over all the Natives to his side. Their next talk was that I should make it known to the masters of all vessels that if they wanted wood or water anywhere off the coast they should pay for the same or else they would take a boat for

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> The chiefs were Kēmara Manutahi, Raharuhi Rukupō, Paratene Tūrangipupu, Wiremu Kīngi te Apaapa, Tāmami Hapimana te Rangi, Tamihana Ruatapu, Wiremu Kiriahi, Pita Ngungu, Iraia Riki, Ani Waaka te Kairangatira, Hirini Te Kaniatakirau, Hēnare Te Pōtaeaute, Paora Kaiwhata (o Ahuriri), Harawira Te Tatere, Ropiha Te Takou (o Porangahau), Paora Te Apatu (o Te Wairoa), Matenga Tukareaha (o Nuhaka), Karauria

payment. They next informed Messrs Peachey and Collier that they should pay for the grass and water which their horses and cows had used, also for the water drunk by their fowls and ducks. This being refused they intimated their intention there and then taking away four horses the property of Mr Parsons left there to be shipped by the “Sea Breeze” and of coming back for the cows and poultry. The Natives will not allow the Europeans to dig an inch of ground anywhere.<sup>103</sup>

On 9 June, Mōkena Kohere wrote to the Governor asking him to encourage all the Europeans from along the Coast to leave for their own safety. Signalling the rising discontent throughout the district he wrote:

Tēnei ka tae mai ki tēnei kainga te kino, kino ai; tēnā ka haere atu te kohikohi paura ki Waikato. Kia kareretia atu e ahau ki a koc ngā hē o Ngātiporou. Ko Tokomaru, ko Kākāriki, ko Waiomatatini, ko Pukemaire, ko Horoera, ko Kōtare. Ko Porourangi te rangatira.

Evil has come to this place also, displaying itself. Those who are collecting powder are going into Waikato. Let me tell you about the evils of Ngātiporou. Hearken to what I say. There is much evil at Tokomaru, at Kakariki, at Waiomatatini, at Pukemaire, at Horoera, at Kōtare.

Porourangi is the leading chief.<sup>104</sup> (*official translation*)

A number of Pākehā traders, including Peachey and Collier, did leave the East Coast of their own choice until hostilities had settled. From what Kohere wrote, it seems that since the death of Pōpata Te Kauru, Ihairaira Porourangi had become a most influential elder statesman among the King supporters.

In July, British soldiers crossed the Mangatāwhiri river and the long-awaited armed conflict in Waikato began. Though at a distance, the war created further excitement even among those who continued to remain aloof. It also signalled that hapū members were now opting for action well beyond the influence of their own rangatira. Despite the opposition of Kohere and other leading chiefs, those who sympathised with the Kīngitanga were determined to join the war.

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Pāhura (o Uawa), Paratene Te Mokopuorongo (o Tokomaru), Hohua Tāwhaki (o Te Kawakawa). William Williams to Governor Grey, “Ngā Kōrero o te Hui Nui ki Tūranga,” 21-22 Apr 1863, pp. 38, 40.

<sup>103</sup> *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 30 May 1863.

In August 1863, Hoera Tamatātai led a party of 45 to aid the Waikato resistance.<sup>105</sup> They did this against the wishes of the Rūnanga whose aim remained one of avoiding any conflict with the Government. W. L. Williams explained it thus:

That the Government was regarded by the people with disfavour was increasingly evident, but at the same time there seemed to be a decided feeling that anything in the way of collision was by all means to be avoided so long as they and their lands were not directly interfered with. The announcement was frequently made that, whatever course other tribes might decide upon, they had no intention of breaking the peace.<sup>106</sup>

Representatives from all the hapū north of the Waipū river were called together to a rūnanga held at Rangitukia in early October. The chiefs, realising they had been powerless to stop Tamatātai and others leaving for the seat of war and recognising that land confiscation would now become a very real threat, thought it best to distance themselves publicly from the dissidents. They wrote to Donald McLean asking to have a letter published in *Te Karere Māori*, a pro-Government newspaper in its first year of circulation out of Ahuriri (Napier). Signed by Epeniha Whaikaho Akuhata, Tāmāti Hapimana Tuhiwai and Mōkena Kohere on behalf of the hapū between Waipū and Pātangata, the letter sets out their views of the conflict:

E hoa, tēnei te kōrero nui o kōnei; kia rongō mai koe kua riro Ngātiporou kei Waikato – kai te riri ki te Pākehā. Nāna nei (nā te Pākehā) tēnei iwi, a Ngātiporou, i kī ai he tangata. Tēnā ia he hereheretanga ia tēnei iwi nā ngā iwi katoa o te motu nei; nā te Pākehā ka mutu te mau o te pirita i te kakī o te tangata o tēnā Ngāti Porou kua riro kei Waikato. Kati, ko tā mātou whakaaro hoki kia whaia mai hoki te haere a Ngātiporou ki kōnei e te Pākehā. Inā hoki rā, he take tika tā te Pākehā riri ki Waikato? he kohuru tēnā. He aha te Pākehā take ki Ngātiporou i haere ai ki Waikato whai ai i te riri ki te Pākehā?<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> *TKM*, 28 Sep 1863, vol. 3, no. 7, pp. 6-7.

<sup>105</sup> “A letter has arrived from Waipū written since Mr Baker left which states a party of the disaffected there under Hoera Tamatātai are off to Waikato in the face of opposition from the leading chiefs. Their number is said to be about forty, but if they proceed to Waikato they will no doubt meet with a reception they will not approve of.” William Williams to Donald McLean 22 Aug 1863.

<sup>106</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 33.

<sup>107</sup> *TWMA*, 28 Nov 1863, vol. 1, no. 18.



Friend, this is the news from here; you may hear that Ngāti Porou have gone to Waikato — to fight the Pākehā. It is because of the Pākehā that Ngāti Porou can stand up as a people. For without them, they would have been made prisoners by other tribes; it was the Pākehā who prevented the supplejack from clinging to the throat of those Ngāti Porou who have gone to Waikato. Well, we think the Pākehā should follow the proceedings of these Ngāti Porou here. Another thing, do the Pākehā have legitimate grounds for the war in Waikato? It is murder. What have the Pākehā done to Ngāti Porou that [Ngāti Porou] should go to Waikato to support the war against the Pākehā? (*my translation*)

Meanwhile the route of travel taken by Tamatātai and his party was by sea to the Bay of Plenty and then overland to Waikato.<sup>108</sup> They stopped at a number of places on their way, causing excitement and agitation to local communities. Thomas Smith, the Civil Commissioner for the Rotorua district, wrote from Maketū:

... there has been considerable excitement in consequence of a party of Ngāti Porou from the East Cape who passed Maketū on their way to Tauranga en route to Waikato. They went by sea but as they put in at several places on their way it was feared they might come here in which case we should have fighting. On Saturday last the men who could be collected, were mustered with arms and every preparation made for attacking the war party had they made their appearance on land. They put in at Te Awa o te Atua 20 miles south of this and were received as visitors by the people here although a promise had been given that no armed parties from the south should be allowed passage. The war party numbered about 50 men — their means of transit 3 whale boats and 1 canoe. They passed this place at daylight on Monday morning and thus relieved us of present apprehension. It is said they are to be followed by a large body of natives from their district in December and that these will make their way overland and fight their way if necessary.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Throughout 1863 and 1864 a number of ope taua went to the aid of Waikato. 9 Jul 1863 Mōkena Kohere reported a group preparing to leave the East Coast. Tamatātai and his party of forty-five left in August 1863. Seventy men under Iharaira Porourangi departed in January 1864 followed by another party in February. Paratene Ngata wrote that Tamatātai and Te Waharoa returned from Waikato to recruit a party of about eighty Ngāti Porou and that after reaching Waikato they went to Piako in the Hauraki district. Eventually they were forced to leave by the local population. They marched to Tauranga and fought at Te Ranga. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, pp. 14-15.

<sup>109</sup> Thomas Smith to his brother, 10 Sep 1863.

The small contingent did make it to Waikato, joining a number of other tribes who thronged to the seat of war, including a party of Ngāti Porou from Hārataunga. Some were present at the defence of Rangiriri on 22 November.<sup>110</sup>

During this period, Waikato emissaries were active throughout the East Coast, visiting the tribes in further attempts to enlist sympathy. Their reports reflected their own biases and agendas and warned that the Government was hatching all sorts of plans such as recalling firearms from all Māori in preparation for taking their land. In war truth is often the first casualty, so it is not surprising they reported each conflict as a resounding victory for their side. “Those who had no wish to engage in the war were told there would be no share for them in the spoils, unless they were at once to join their comrades.”<sup>111</sup> In an attempt to combat the propaganda, *Te Waka Māori* published condemnatory reports:

Kaua e whakarongo ki te tangata noa atu, ki tā Waikato, ki tā wai atu .... Tēnā anō ngā karere o Waikato te kī mai nei pea ki a koutou ko te pana te Pākehā i a koe, ko te tango i tō kainga, ko te aha, ko te aha. He parau anake.

Don't listen to just anyone, to Waikato, or others .... The emissaries from Waikato may tell you that the Pākehā intend to push you off your land, to take your homes, and to take other things from you. It is only lies.<sup>112</sup>

In October 1863, and before the battle at Rangiriri, Tamatātai had returned to enlist further recruits for Waikato.<sup>113</sup> In the new year, Ihairaira Porourangi responded by personally leading a contingent of 70 more men. It is more than likely that the planting of crops prevented an earlier departure. Many of these new enlistments came from the Ūawa and

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<sup>110</sup> Paratene Onoono and Karanama Ngerengere were two known to have gone with Tamatātai. See statement by Mohi Tūrei and chiefs of Waiapu regarding prisoners taken to Napier, HBP 3, 1865/228, Army General Inwards Correspondence July 1863-December 1872, AD1, NA.

<sup>111</sup> Williams, *Christianity...*, p. 365.

<sup>112</sup> *TWMA*, 5 Sep 1863, vol. 1, n.o 7, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Record of a letter from Civil Commissioner at Maketū, 27 Oct 1863, stating that Hoera of Ngātiporou has returned for reinforcements. Uncertain of their route to Waikato. 1863/1776. Native Affairs Department inwards correspondence, MA Series 1, NA.

Wharekahika districts.<sup>114</sup> This was probably the army alluded to in Civil Commissioner Smith's letter.

### Lake Rotoiti

Bolstered by recruits from Whānau-a-Apanui, the force lead by Porourangi numbered 100 when it reached Ōpōtiki at the beginning of February. A further 250 Whakatōhea, lead by their chief Aporotanga, joined the ope taua, and at Whakatāne a company of Ngāti Awa linked with the contingent. They all assembled at Matatā and announced their intention to march from there to the Waikato by way of Rotorua.

A messenger had been sent from Matatā to Maketū seeking passage through Te Arawa territory to assist Waikato. Permission was denied and they were instructed not to come past the river, Te Awa-o-te-Atua. On receiving this news, 200 of the Whakatōhea section returned to Ōpōtiki. Te Arawa were inadequately armed and realising the force would try to come on, a deputation of chiefs went to Tauranga for a supply of arms and ammunition. The Government responded by sending 200 men of 43rd light infantry under Major Colville from Tauranga to Maketū.

At about the same time (7 March), the composite force arrived and set up Ngāuhu Pā on the eastern edge of Lake Rotoiti with the aid of Ngāti Pikiao. From there an attempt was made to move through Te Arawa territory, but skirmishes around Lake Rotoiti with Ngāti Whakaue of Kōmuhumu Pā and their allies from Taupo, blocked progress.<sup>115</sup> This force had all been supplied arms by William Mair, the resident magistrate at Taupo. The battle at the lake lasted for three days (7-9 April 1864), most of which was skirmishing.<sup>116</sup> While only a single Tuhourangi man was wounded in the defence, the attackers lost five men, including the rangatira, Apanui and Eparaima of Ngāti Porou. A further seven were

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<sup>114</sup> *TWMA*, 6 Feb 1864, vol. 1, no. 17, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> At about the same time the battle of Ōrākau was underway (1 Apr 1864) and some Ngāti Porou were involved. *TWMA*, 16 Apr 1864, vol. 1, no 23, p. 1

<sup>116</sup> An account of the battle was given in some detail by Hohepa Te Whanarere to James Cowan in 1919. See James Cowan, *vol. 1*, p. 419.

wounded, and Rāwiri Te Ngarara was taken prisoner. Most of the casualties were men of Ngāti Porou.<sup>117</sup> The force withdrew to the coast to Ōtamarākau to regroup.

### **Te Ope Hunuhunu**

At this time there had been considerable trafficking of information between the tribes, and Rev. Volkner, based at Ōpōtiki, reported that throughout the month of February, envoys from either the East Coast or Waikato passed through Ōpōtiki almost daily. After a fortnight, the ope taua reassembled with reinforcements — obviously the result of the envoys — from Tūhoe, Ngāti Tama, a section of Ngāti Makino, and a further group from Ngāti Porou. Together they numbered about 800, and they advanced along the coast toward Maketū. Paratene Ngata said that this contingent became known as the Ope Hunuhunu.<sup>118</sup> The word ‘Hunuhunu’ means to be scorched in the heat of battle. Perhaps it refers to the resounding defeat they were to receive at the hands of Te Arawa, supported by Government troops. Don Stafford, in his *History of Te Arawa*, referred to the contingent as the “Tairāwhiti Expedition.”

The deciding contest was fought at Te Kaokaoroa, a running battle along the beaches east from Maketū to Matatā. The contingent came to within a mile of Maketū before they encountered the main Te Arawa force, strengthened by the Forest Rangers and the Colonial Defence Force and artillery. HMS *Falcon* and the gunboat *Sandfly* provided off-shore support. Apart from the artillery fire supplied by the Europeans, the fight was essentially between Te Arawa and the attacking composite force. The additional fire from the gunboats had the effect of dispersing the attacking party and in their panic they were driven back along the beaches towards Matatā. At Ōtamarākau they attempted unsuccessfully to launch their fleet of about 20 waka taua (war canoes). While in the process, they were again attacked by the pursuing Te Arawa force. They abandoned the waka, some of which had been smashed in the surf, and continued down the coast to Matatā. When they reached

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<sup>117</sup> Winiata Pekamu to Thomas Smith, 7 Mar 1864. Le1/1864/200, NA.

<sup>118</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 16.

the large tidal river, Te Awa-o-te-Atua, which required canoes to cross it, they found they were hemmed in — trapped between the sea and the high cliffs.

The Ope Hunuhunu suffered heavily, sustaining at least 50 deaths compared with only two from Te Arawa.<sup>119</sup> Many of the casualties were of the other tribes, but Tutahua was among the Ngāti Porou killed in the retreat.<sup>120</sup> The elderly Whakatōhea chief, Aporotanga, was the only prisoner taken. He was subsequently shot by Ngapi, the distraught widow of Tohiteururangi, a Te Arawa chief who had been killed in the battle.<sup>121</sup> The remnants of the ope Hunuhunu returned to their homes disappointed that the mission to support Waikato had been thwarted by Te Arawa and Government troops.

### March to June 1864

Still, the Kīngitanga supporters in Ngāti Porou remained resolute and would not be moved from their new-found loyalty. With the constant arrival of emissaries and messengers, rumours were rife about developments in the Waikato war. News came of the engagement fought at Rangiaohia, the burning of Māori houses and of women and children, and the surprising intelligence that Bishop Selwyn was acting as chaplain to the British forces. His presence raised doubts in some minds and was to have “far-reaching consequences.”<sup>122</sup> Sir Āpirana Ngata wrote later,

... Māori had been used to the connection between the tohunga and the war party and Bishop Selwyn’s connection with the British Forces here and elsewhere was one of the things that damned Christianity and its representatives among its Māori converts. It turned all Waikato against the missionaries down to this day. This burning had another consequence. It was one factor leading to what has come to be known as perhaps the outstanding example of Māori savagery during the Hauhau fighting, namely, the murder of the missionary Volkner by Kereopa. All that lay behind this is not known to the Pākehā historian. Two of Kereopa’s daughters were burnt to death at Rangiaowhia and he swore vengeance on all missionaries.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>119</sup> D. M. Stafford, 1967, “The Tai Rawhiti Expedition”, in *Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 79-82.

<sup>120</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 16.

<sup>121</sup> Bryan Gilling, 1994, *Te Raupatu o Te Whakatōhea: the confiscation of Whakatohea Land 1865-1866*, a report commissioned by the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit, Dept of Justice.

<sup>122</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 348.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

Other Ngāti Porou rallied under the Kīngitanga banner. Not least was the assessor Wī Tākoko, about forty years old at the time, and Aperahama Kurī, the head of the rūnanga in his district.<sup>124</sup> At Tuatini, the chief, Hēnare Pōtae, was unable to prevent many of his people joining the cause. Bishop Williams, on a visit to Tuatini in April 1864, wrote, “He is very pouri [distressed] about his people. He says that a large number are going [to Waikato] and he has done reasoning with them.”<sup>125</sup>

When he reached Tūpāroa, William Williams described a scene that showed tension even among hapū who were of the same persuasion:

It was not long before the main body came up and now we had a very unseemly display. Nearly all the men at Tūpāroa which was the Queen party and therefore those supposed to be on the quiet side were stripped to their waists and had the haka quite in the old style and instead of making way for the Waiapu party to go up to the house they began the whaikorero while they were still on the road. I remained at some distance feeling disgusted, when at the same time I heard a great outburst and found that Kohere and his people were going off home. I at length made out that all this haka and the violent speech wh[ich] followed were in consequence of something wh[ich] Kohere had done, but to wh[ich] no blame could be attached. It seemed as though the evil spirit was let loose. It was a time when it was especially desirable that union should exist among the government party, but now a breach was made.<sup>126</sup>

Another reinforcement was raised by Tamatātai, chiefly of Whānau-a-Hinerupe (Pukemaire) and Whānau-a-Hunaara (Horoera) and this time it successfully reached Waikato. They next moved to Hauraki where they based themselves at Piako, but when the local population forced them out they shifted to Hōterini (Hōterenui?).<sup>127</sup> From there they marched to Te Ranga to assist Ngai Te Rangi in the expected clash with the British troops.

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<sup>124</sup> Paratene Ngata describe Tākoko thus, “Ko Wī Tākoko he tino rangatira tōna tū, ana mahi, tōna āhua. He hūmarie, he huinga tāngata. He tangata e whakanuia ana, e whakarongohia ana e ōna hapū, ā i tangihia nuitia ia me ētahi atu.” (Wī Tākoko carried himself like a true chief. He was humble and a person whom people followed. He was held in esteem and listened to by his hapū). *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p15. Brief notes on Aperahama Kurī are to be located

<sup>125</sup> *Jnl of William Williams*, vol.. 6, 9 April 1864.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, pp. 14-15.

## Te Ranga

The battle fought at Te Ranga on 21 June 1864 was to be fatal for Hoera Tamatātai and his relatives. They arrived to find Ngai Te Rangi had been reinforced by some Ngāti Rangiwēwehi and sections of Ngāti Pīkiao, which including themselves swelled the numbers of the combined force to around 500. In June, they determined to force another encounter with the British, who were 600 strong and based at Tauranga. Under Rāwiri Puhirake, the force took up a position three miles inland from their recent defence at Gate Pā. They began entrenching themselves on the Pukehinahina ridge, but were spotted by an enemy reconnoitering party before they had completed the fortifications.<sup>128</sup>

On 21 June, Tamatātai and his relatives were among the force working hard at their entrenchments. In the midst of their labour they were attacked by the British force who had come over from Gate Pā. Taken by surprise, they moved to defend their half-finished trenches. For about two hours they exchanged rifle fire, as the British commander, Colonel Greer, waited for infantry reinforcements and an Armstrong gun. As soon as support arrived, the bugleman sounded the “charge” and the 43rd, 68th and 1st Waikato advanced with shouts. With their double-barrel rifles, the defenders fired a volley which was aimed too high and had little effect on the advancing units. Before they were able to reload the British soldiers were upon them, clearing the trenches at the point of the bayonet. “All accounts agree that the Māori fought with desperate determination.”<sup>129</sup> James Cowan gave a description of what must have been a frantic struggle:

The Ngai-te-rangi and their allies fought like old heroes. They stood up to meet the bayonet charge unflinchingly, and as they had no time to reload they used gun-butt and tomahawk with desperate bravery. There were many hand-to-hand encounters. Even after being bayoneted some of the Māoris felled their foemen with their tomahawks .... Scores of warriors went down under the steel, and the survivors broke for the cover of the gullies and swamps in the rear .... The small

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<sup>128</sup> Cowan, *vol 1*, p. 435.

<sup>129</sup> James Belich, 1986, *The New Zealand Wars*, p. 190.

Ngāti-Porou contingent resisted to the death; thirty of the party were killed .... Ngāti Pikiao ... fell almost to a man. Ngāti Rangiwēwehi ... also suffered severely.<sup>130</sup>

A number of the wounded died in hospital at Te Papa, while those killed in the trenches were laid out in long rows – 30 in one row, 33 in another, and 34 in another. These were buried in the trenches which they themselves had dug. Others were buried where they fell when retreating.<sup>131</sup> In all 108 were killed, while 15 prisoners died of their wounds later. Nine who were seriously wounded were taken into hospital at Tauranga. Eight more were treated for wounds and they, along with 11 others, were taken to Auckland. Among them were Paratene Onono and Karanama Ngerengere, who had been wounded. When recovered, both were given special dispensation by the Governor to return as peacemakers among their people in the Waiapu. But both would later join the Hauhau advocates and take up arms again.<sup>132</sup> The total number of casualties for the Māori force was 151.

When the news of the defeat reached the East Coast there was deep sorrow among the relatives of those who had been killed. Paratene Ngata, 15-years-old at the time, recalled:

Ka rangona te tangi me te aue, ki ngā Pā katoa o te taha Kiingi i Waiapu. Ka rangona te reo reka o te kōka o Wi Tākoko rāua ko te Koroneho i runga o Pukemaire e tangi ana. Ko te Awawaka te ingoa o taua kuia e tangi ana mo tōna tama mo Wi Tākoko kua mate ki te Ranga i Tauranga. Ko te Koroneho i noho tonu tēnā i te kainga nei ko Reporua, ko Tūpāroa me Tokomaru ōna kainga noho i tērā wā. Mehemea i te kainga nei ka riro anō i a Hoera te mau pēnei ka mate anō ki Tauranga.<sup>133</sup>

Wailing and weeping could be heard in all the pā of the King supporters at Waiapu. The sweet lamenting voice of the aunt of Wi Tākoko and mother of Koroneho could be heard wailing from upon Pukemaire. Awakaka was the name of that old lady. She was weeping for her nephew, Wi Tākoko, who had been killed at Te Ranga, Tauranga. Koroneho, although he was from here [Waiomatatini], he lived at Reporua, Tūpāroa and Tokomaru during those times. Had he been

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<sup>130</sup> Cowan, *vol 1*, p. 439.

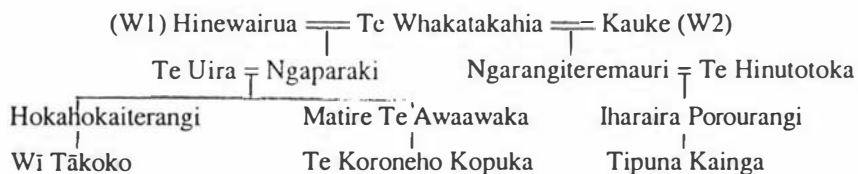
<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>132</sup> Statement by Mohi Tūrei and chiefs of Waiapu regarding prisoners taken to Napier, HBP 3, 1865/228, Army General Inwards Correspondence July 1863-December 1872, AD1, NA.

<sup>133</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 15.



living at this place [Waiomatatini] he would have been recruited by Hoera and most likely killed at Tauranga. (*my translation*)



Ref: Pukapuka whakapapa o nga uri a Porourangi, vol 1, na AT Ngata, p. 69.

Among others who fell alongside Tākoko that day were Pirihi Hamanu, a rising chief, and Hoera Tamatātai.<sup>134</sup> Hence, the key younger leadership within the Kīngitanga in Ngāti Porou were lost in this one battle. Their despondent supporters were unsure as to what course they should now pursue. Mohi Tūrei wrote to Bishop Williams,

When that letter arrived, Ngātiporou saw its contents and what Hōri Ngangaro said, as it was him who personally saw the prisoners of Tauranga. Only then did Ngāti Porou believe that they were now beaten, and because of this, are uncertain whether they should go to battle or remain here ... some have turned to the side of the Government like Hakaraia Te Paruaute and the elders of this pā, Tikitiki and others also.<sup>135</sup>

In July he wrote again, “Ngāti Porou are in two minds at the moment. Most of the Māori King’s supporters have agreed not to go to war but a few are eager for war. I think maybe they won’t but if they do, that’s alright. I am faithful to Te Mōkena’s teachings and I am clear in mind.”<sup>136</sup>

The news was treated with relief by the Ngāti Porou chiefs who had warned the Kīngitanga supporters not to join the war. Their general reaction was, “they got what they deserved for pursuing their cause to other districts.”<sup>137</sup> Taking advantage of the despondency among the King supporters, Mōkena Kohere acted to bring their relatives and neighbours back to the Ngāti Porou fold. There is some suggestion that in July he subdued the main Kīngitanga

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>135</sup> Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 16 Jul 1864, MS Papers 190, folder 18, ATL.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 16 Jul 1864.

<sup>137</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 15.

centers in the Waiapu valley. Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia wrote to Bishop Williams, “Mōkena and his people have arrived at Tikitiki. There were one hundred of them and they conquered the flags of Tikitiki and Pukemaire bringing back all the leaders to this side.”<sup>138</sup>

The correspondence which Williams received from his clergymen enabled him to provide an optimistic report to Governor Grey on the state of affairs among Ngati Porou.

Your Excellency will be glad to here there is a great change of feeling among Ngati Porou: that several villages of king natives have declared their determination to give up further recognition of the maori king, and have hoisted the Queen's flag. There can be no doubt that their loss at Te Ranga has brought about this change. The Government party which a few months ago was threatened by the king party is now in the ascendant, and it is not likely that any further trouble will be given in that quarter.<sup>139</sup>

Probably, Kohere's attack was only verbal, and in any event it is unlikely that those who renounced the Kīngitanga did so permanently. Certainly some had learned the lesson well —“nationalism, taking the form of total resistance to the Pakeha, was unlikely to work.”<sup>140</sup>

But while Te Ranga was a blow to morale and damaged the power of the Kīngitanga in Ngāti Porou, the closest to the men who had been killed by Te Arawa and at Te Ranga certainly were not subdued. They did not give away support for the King and were bent on revenge. These were particularly the Whānau-a-Hinerupe whose leadership hierarchy had been shattered by the losses at Te Ranga. Their resistance hardened. The Kīngitanga for them became more a symbol of contempt and opposition not only towards British rule, but also to those within the tribe who opposed them. The fact that the war in Waikato had ground to a halt after the Kīngitanga losses sustained at Orakau and Te Ranga meant little to them. To abandon their cause now was to relinquish their mana. Even if all others gave up the battle, these would continue while there was still fight left in them.

<sup>138</sup> Rāniera Kāwhia to WL Williams, July 1864, MS Papers 190, folder 18, ATL.

<sup>139</sup> Bishop Williams to Governor Grey, 27 Aug 1864, APL. How wrong Williams was. Within ten months full scale war would break out among Ngati Porou, and Williams himself would flee from the Tūranga district in fear of his life.

<sup>140</sup> Oliver & Thomson, p. 88.

Rumours appeared in the newspaper, *Te Waka Māori*, that they, along with Whakatohea and other allies, were preparing to attack Maketū, and probably to discourage the idea, the editor reported, “Kei Maketū ētahi hoia e noho ana, me te pū repo anō, hei āwhina i a Te Arawa me ka tae mai a Ngātiporou” (Soldiers and a cannon are based at Maketū to aid Te Arawa should Ngāti Porou approach).<sup>141</sup> No attack ever took place but it was still being contemplated when the arrival of Hauhau emissaries diverted their focus the following year.

### **A comment on leadership**

The early 1860s reflects a certain dissension and even confusion among Ngāti Porou as to where they should align themselves — with the Kīngitanga, the Crown or even to absent themselves from both parties and pursue a course of self-determination. Based on the politics surrounding the wars in Taranaki and Waikato they were probably justified in any one of the positions they took. While in the end, Ngāti Porou would commit themselves decisively in favour of an alliance with the Crown the time was not yet. Strong division among the sub-tribes and within some hapū characterised this period and was reflected in the fact that some groupings were prepared to take up arms for the cause they believed in.

Such unrest begs the question — what had happened to the leadership structure so marked in the period surrounding Whakawhitirā where the decision of the rangatira was carried out without question. When Uenuku made peace with Pōmare and later the Whānau-a-Apanui chiefs, those agreements were kept by all. It seemed that by the 1860s the decision-making process among Ngāti Porou had altered markedly and the word of the rangatira was no longer adhered to by all. Groupings within hapū and even individuals appear to have enjoyed a measure of independence, in thought and in action, contrary to the earlier system of decision-making.

Rāpata Wahawaha in an address to a Ngāti Porou audience in 1882, listed a number of factors which he attributed to the demise of traditional leadership in the 25 years following

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<sup>141</sup> *TWMA*. 23 Jul 1864, vol. 2, no. 30, p. 1. At a meeting of the Synod of the Waiapu Diocese Bishop Williams spoke of the Whakatōhea attempt to raise an ope taua against Te Arawa.

the advent of Christianity: the dispersion of the population from central pā often beyond the sphere of influence of the rangatira, the falling away from Christian adherence which had in some ways replaced tapu as a means of social control, the introduction of alcohol, and the priority given by individuals and whānau towards improving their lot in the new cash economy.<sup>142</sup> Undoubtedly, the Kīngitanga found support among a large number of Ngāti Porou, perhaps much more than Ngāti Porou today imagines the numbers to be — witness the contingents which went to assist Waikato. But the potential for factionalism already existed in the tribe — the direct result of these earlier changes. It is probable that if the traditional authority of the rangatira, some obvious examples of which were seen in the 1830s, carried the same influence in the 1860s then support would have been total instead of divided.

In the tentative period of peace that followed the affair at Te Ranga the colonial government proceeded with the confiscation of extensive acreages of land on the east and west coasts. Ngai Te Rangi “made their submission to the Governor” while the Waikato tribes relinquished the lands lost in the war.<sup>143</sup> Still the core Kīngitanga supporters within Ngati Porou maintained their opposition to the Queen’s authority. They continued to harbour resentment both towards the government and those Ngāti Porou who had not supported them. In fact, it was apparent that they were becoming more indignant about their own people for their non-participation. As the year 1864 ended the East Coast was in a state of uncertainty, the King’s flag still flying defiantly in some pā throughout the district. This was the situation in Ngāti Porou territory when the harbingers of the Pai Marire faith made their entry.

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<sup>142</sup> Paratene Ngata, 1882, *He Whakaaturanga i Ngā Kupu o te Hui i Tū ki te Kawa Kawa*, p. 5, NFC.

<sup>143</sup> Williams, *Christianity...*, p. 366.

## Chapter 7

### Ideology and Confrontation

January — June 1865

For Ngāti Porou, the year 1865 was to witness the agitation between what remained of the Kīngitanga section of the tribe and the conservative majority converted into collision. The new year opened with the Kīngitanga supporters reacting inhospitably to the missionaries and their opponents within the tribe who supported the Anglican communion. On 3 January, the Māori deacons and synodsmen of the Waiapu Diocese joined Bishop William Williams, Archdeacon Leonard Williams, Archdeacon AN Brown, Rev. Charles Baker, Rev. E. B. Clarke, Rev. SM Spencer, and Rev. Carl Volkner at Te Kawakawa for their fourth annual conference.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Williams was shocked at the “marked incivility” shown them by the Kīngitanga supporters.<sup>2</sup> And while visiting those pā in the Waiapu valley known to have supported the Kīngitanga he felt most unwelcome. At Pukemaire, the stronghold of the Whānau-a-Hinerupe, Williams learned something of the reason for their resentment towards the Church:

The matter was summed up by one of the speakers in a proverbial saying, “E ngaki atu a mua; e toto mai ana a muri!” i.e. “The party in front is clearing the way; the party behind is dragging along (the newly-shaped canoe).” His meaning, of course, was that the missionaries had come to New Zealand to clear the way for the armed force to follow, and take possession of their lands.<sup>3</sup>

Mention has already been made of how Māori perceived Bishop Selwyn’s role as chaplain to British troops in the Waikato. Ngāti Porou, who had aided the Ngai Te Rangi at Te Ranga, were also aware of the part Archdeacon Brown played as a military chaplain

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<sup>1</sup> Hāre Te Whā and Mohi Tūrei had been ordained on 25 Sep 1864 and Wātene Moeke on 18 Dec 1864. Matiaha Pāhewa was ordained at the end of 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

at Tauranga while his wife became “hostess to the officers of the regiments bivouacked on the property.”<sup>4</sup> Williams wrote:

To the Māori mind the inference seems to have been irresistible that the clergymen so acting were ranging themselves definitely on the side of their enemies. Religious ministrations to the troops would be looked upon as that analogous to the *karakia* or charms which were recited in former times by their *tohungas*, and had for their object the strengthening of their own forces or the weakening of those of the enemy.<sup>5</sup>

These instances, coupled with the fact that the missionaries had, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, encouraged their parishioners “to receive without hesitation ... a union with the English under the common government of the Queen”, gave the Kīngitanga sympathisers the impression that the missionaries were an advance guard of the government.<sup>6</sup>

Many of those who had involved themselves in the fighting in the Waikato and at Maketū had believed such action was the only just way to defend themselves against Pākehā oppression. They looked to heaven to support them, but when they suffered reverses many gave away Christianity “as God had not given them victory.”<sup>7</sup> As had sometimes occurred in the 1840s and '50s, some turned with increasing frequency to spirit mediums and *tohunga* to cope with those situations their Christian faith had previously attended to.

From the lack of courtesy given Williams and his party, it is obvious a fresh defiance was prevalent, particularly among the northern Ngāti Porou hapū. Their renewed enthusiasm may have been due in part to the activity of other tribes who had been frustrated by the recent creeping confiscations carried out by the government in other districts.<sup>8</sup> And

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<sup>4</sup> Watson Rosevear, 1960, *Waipatu: the story of a diocese*, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, 1867, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, p. 364.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 366.

<sup>8</sup> The East Coast had been cited as a “district which supplied combatants to the war” and therefore subject to confiscation under the Native Lands Settlement Act of 1863. Belich argues that confiscation was a key cause of the conflict which broke out in the North Island in 1865. The acreage involved in the confiscation he argued, “was often estimated on the basis of rough sketch maps. The area actually occupied, or even surveyed, was much smaller, and the local Māoris probably believed these initial boundaries to be final. They accepted peace on this basis, reconciling themselves to the loss of a limited acreage. While financial stringencies and other considerations prevented the government from extending confiscations, the local peace remained intact. But as resources became available, and the risk of resistance seemed to diminish, the government would proceed to survey and occupy more land. The

certainly the bitterness left by the defeat at Te Ranga was still a factor. The King's flag was raised again at Te Kawakawa, Tikitiki, Pukemaire, Waiomatatini and Reporua, and while some talked of fighting many were not convinced that they had the means to win a war on their own. The catalyst which would imbue them with the belief that they could prevail in any confrontation was on its way — coming in the form of a religious cult that promised supernatural deliverance for its followers.

### **Pai Marire**

In backgrounding the Pai Marire influence in Ngāti Porou it may be as well to begin with a quote from Ngata and Sutherland, taken from their historical analysis of religious movements among Māori:

In crises like these the Māori tribes throw up either great fighting chiefs, or fanatics with the requisite appeal either of personality or a creed or ritual comfortable to the mental background of the race and the desperate urgency of the times. In the long history of the Polynesians there had always been a priesthood subtly versed in the art of swaying the mind and passions of the people, and belief in supernatural powers displayed in the person of priest or chief was not new in Māori life. It was in this tradition that priestly leaders arose to fire the people to demonstrate actively and physically their continued opposition to the pakeha and their determination to drive him into the sea from whence he came. While some believed in the new cults and were generally carried away, others thought them useful.<sup>9</sup>

Rumours of a new religious movement called Pai Marire had been circulating for almost a year. Although it had its genesis in 1862 it only came to national prominence in April 1864 after an ambush on a British patrol at Ahuahu, Taranaki, by followers of the faith. The heads of the soldiers killed were preserved in traditional manner and later the followers believed they could receive decrees through the heads. The movement had been inspired by a prophet, Horopapera Te Ua (later known as Te Ua Haumene) of Taranaki, said to be acting on divine revelation from the archangel Gabriel.

... the archangel Gabriel announced that the last days described in the revelation of St John were at hand. The vision assured Te Ua that he was chosen by God as his prophet, commanded him to cast off the yoke of the Pakeha and promised the restoration of the birthright of Israel (the Māori

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Māoris viewed this as renewed aggression, and fought back.” James Belich, 1986, *The New Zealand Wars*, p. 204.

<sup>9</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 350.

people) in the land of Canaan (New Zealand). This would come about after a great day of deliverance in which the unrighteous would perish.<sup>10</sup>

There are several accounts of how the movement gained the title, Hauhau, most believing it had come from the expression 'hau' which punctuated the ritual prayers.<sup>11</sup> But according to his biographer, it was Te Ua Haumene, himself, who named the church, since "Te Hau, the spirit of God in the form of the wind, carried the niu (news), or prophecy, to the faithful."<sup>12</sup>

Riki (archangel Michael) and Rura (archangel Gabriel) were the deities invoked in ritual worship that focused around a niu pole or mast.<sup>13</sup> In line with Christ's promise to his disciples that the Holy Spirit would descend upon them, its believers spoke in tongues and prophesied as they circled the niu. The raised hand (a characteristic of the Ringatū religion which came later) was adopted and subsequently used in battle along with the expression "Hapa! Pai marire, hau" (Pass over good and peaceful). It was maintained that if a follower conducted himself in this way, bullets would not hurt him but pass over the head.<sup>14</sup>

From late 1864, the doctrine spread quickly, a significant convert being Matutaera, the Māori King, who was baptised by Te Ua in August and took the name Tāwhiao.<sup>15</sup> When Hauhauism made its appearance in the Ngāti Kahungunu district in the same month the pro-government newspaper *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri* moved quickly to discredit the movement. An article spoke of the deaths of two Pai Marire prophets in a military engagement at Wanganui and ridiculed their false God for not protecting them.<sup>16</sup> (Putā tonu ngā tohunga o taua tikanga ki te whawhai ki Whanganui; tōna tukunga iho, he mate

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<sup>10</sup> Lyndsay Head, "Te Ua Haumene," in W. H. Oliver, (ed.), 1990, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Volume One 1769-1869*, p. 512.

<sup>11</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 351.

<sup>12</sup> Lyndsay Head, p. 512.

<sup>13</sup> The name Riki was a shortened form of Te Ariki Mikaera (Lord Michael), while Rura (Ruler) or Tama-Rura (Ruler-son) referred to Archangel Gabriel. Lyndsay Head, p. 512.

<sup>14</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 352.

<sup>15</sup> Lyndsay Head, p. 513.

<sup>16</sup> This was a reference to Matene Rangitauira who in May 1864 fought a lower Whanganui River contingent on Moutoa Island. Epanaia Kapewhiti, another prophet, was killed in the attack on the British redoubt at Te Morere in May. Haumene attributed the defeat of the prophets "to their misinterpretation of his instructions." Lyndsay Head, p. 512.



—mate iho te tohunga o taua mahi pōrangi. Katahi te atua aroha kore, teka hoki, ko tana atua!)<sup>17</sup> The article went on to warn Ngāti Kahungunu away from the movement.

The militant aspect referred to in the article, although introduced by subordinate prophets in contravention of Te Ua's instructions, overshadowed the basic precepts of the new religion — peace and goodness — and consigned it to a warlike movement. The paper had a significant readership all along the eastern coast, including a number of Ngāti Porou.<sup>18</sup> This early negative media coverage gave these Ngāti Porou a preconceived notion of what the movement was about. The view of the religion held by Bishop Williams, which was conveyed to his parishioners in the opening address at the Te Kawakawa Synod, reinforced the negative aspects of Hauhauism. The information provided in his description may well have been calculated to ensure his own parishioners were not lost to the new religion:

I timata tēnei mahi ki Taranaki .... He moe nā tētahi tangata: haere ana tērā ki tētahi toa Pākehā, ka hikitia katoatia ngā taonga, kāore he tangata hei riri. Te whakamāoritanga o tēnei moe, tērā ngā tangata Māori ka awhinatia e te anahera e Kapariera rāua ko Meri whaea o Te Karaiti. Kātahi rātou ka toa ki te pei i nga Pākehā katoa o te motu nei; nā ko ngā taonga katoa a te Pākehā mā rātou .... ka kiia hoki kia tahuna katoatia ngā Karaipiture me ngā pukapuka karakia. Nā ka kitea tēnei mea nō Hātana anō.<sup>19</sup>

This movement began in Taranaki .... It is the result of one man's dream: [in the dream] he went to a store belonging to a Pakeha, and appropriated all the stock [without paying], yet no one opposed him. The Māori interpretation of the dream holds that the Māori people will be assisted [in their endeavours] by the angel Gabriel and Mary, the mother of Christ. Then shall they drive all Pakeha from this island; and all assets belonging to pakeha will become possessed by Māori .... it is also said that they are instructed to burn all scriptures and prayer books. Now it must be realised, this thing comes again from Satan. (*my translation*)

Despite the negative media, the movement was soon to take hold in the Māori-owned hinterlands — Taranaki, the upper Whanganui district, Tūhoe, Whakatōhea, Whānau-a-Apanui, East Coast, Tūranga and the upper Wairoa region. In common with Māori

<sup>17</sup> *TWMA*, 20 Aug, 1864, vol. 2, no. 32, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Archdeacon Leonard Williams recorded in his *Jnl* that he distributed copies of the paper among people from the East Coast. *Jnl* of W. L. Williams, 11-12 May 1865.

<sup>19</sup> William Williams, 1865, *Ngā Mahi a te Hinota Tuawha o te Pihopatanga o Waiapu*, p. 5.

religious movements that followed, the philosophy of Pai Marire appealed in that it opposed further land alienation and promoted a Māori identity, although at the expense of tribal identity. Unity was to prevail over tribal divisions. Added to this was “its promise of miraculous deliverance for the Māori people.”<sup>20</sup> It is no wonder it found fertile ground each time its vanguard proselytised a new district.

### **Emissaries to the East**

At the end of 1864, a Hauhau party under Kereopa Te Rau of Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Pātara Raukatauri (or Ngonge or Rauhatawa) of Te Āti Awa made its way across the North Island, causing excitement and alarm among both Māori and Pākehā. Their instructions, given them by Te Ua, were explicit. They were to spread the new religion among the eastern tribes with a view to melding them together, taking with them the preserved head of Captain Lloyd (one of the soldiers killed at Ahuahu) as a token to Hirini Te Kani at Tūranga. There they were to converge with another party who would travel by Te Wairoa and Ruatāhuna:<sup>21</sup>

The road extends direct from here [Matakaha, Taranaki] to Waitōtara; there it proceeds in an inland course to Pipiriki; thence direct to Taupo: thence direct to Urewera; thence direct to Ngātiporou it reaches Hirini ... where it ends.<sup>22</sup>

According to Eruera Tātāwhia, a Māori healer accompanying the vanguard, they were to carry out their mission peacefully and “not interfere with the pakehas.”<sup>23</sup> Te Ua, certainly did not want further murder committed.

It seems that after Pipiriki the peaceful aspect of the mission changed to one of aggression levied at the Anglican missionaries. Travelling through Taupo, the party came upon the mission station run by Rev. Grace. Grace was absent but his property was plundered and auctioned. “Pātara said that if he had found Mr Grace there he would have killed

<sup>20</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 351.

<sup>21</sup> Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 370.

<sup>22</sup> Copy of Te Ua’s instructions appended to [William Williams] ‘Jnl of Proceedings relative to the Taranaki fanatics who visited Ōpōtiki,’ C. S. Volkner letters, CMS Microfilm CN/091, ATL.

<sup>23</sup> Deposition of Eruera Tūtāwhia, 9 May 1865, enclosure to McLean to Col. Sec., 13 May 1865, Internal Affairs 1 (Inwards letterbooks), 226, 65/1339, pp. 1-2, NA. Other Taranaki men known to have travelled among the party were Horomona, Te Wiwini, Te Wao and Putotara. See Elsdon Best, 1925, *Tūhoe: the children of the mist*, p. 580.

him.”<sup>24</sup> However, Pātara was perceived as the more peaceful of the two emissaries — he later defended a Roman Catholic priest near Ōpōtiki from Kereopa who sought to kill him.<sup>25</sup>

It was believed by some at the time, that no tribe was better placed to receive Pai Marire than Whakatōhea.<sup>26</sup> A year earlier they had suffered heavily as part of the Ope Hunuhunu in the running battle against Te Arawa, their chief Āporotanga taken prisoner and shot in cold blood. More recently, a typhoid epidemic had struck Ōpōtiki and the population had fallen dramatically.<sup>27</sup> At the end of 1864, 80 out of 500 residents had died in 2 months. By January 1865, 200 out of 600 or 700 had perished from the disease.<sup>28</sup> Added to this, their economy had been severely debilitated by the scarcity of food arising from the need to supply the expedition to the war in Waikato and further by the absence of men at the battlefield leading to the neglect of their cultivations. Compounding the problem still more, the local missionary, Rev. Volkner, was thought to have abandoned them and was suspected of supplying information to the governor to bring about their total servility.

## Ōpōtiki

The vanguard arrived in Ōpōtiki on 25 February, having aroused considerable consternation at Te Awa-o-te-Atua and Whakatāne. Their numbers had swelled to 200, they being joined by residents of the two places mentioned. Pātara had sent a letter in advance telling Whakatōhea to expel any ministers in their location.<sup>29</sup> At the time, however, Volkner was away, having taken his wife, who had succumbed to the fever, to Auckland to recover, and to replenish his medicine supplies to cope with the other typhoid victims in his district. The arrival of the Hauhau party was attended with great excitement and by the next day a mass conversion had occurred among the local people, which included a few residents from Tūranga.

<sup>24</sup> Deposition of Eruera Tūtāwhia, 9 May 1865, enclosure to McLean to Col. Sec., 13 May 1865, Internal Affairs 1 (Inwards letterbooks), 226, 65/1339, pp. 2-3, NA.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Clark, 1975, *Hauhau: the Pai Marire search for Māori identity*, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Sir W Martin to Native Minister, 23 Dec 1865 in *AJHR*. 1866, A-1, p. 68.

<sup>27</sup> Williams, *Christianity ...*, pp. 370-371.

<sup>28</sup> C. S. Volkner's Annual Report for 1864, Volkner letters, CMS Microfilm, CN/091, ATL; C. S. Volkner to Bishop, 22 Jan 1865, McLean Papers, v. 23, p. 160, ATL. 30 Jan 1865 [sic], Church of England Papers, folder 94, AIM.

<sup>29</sup> Samuel A. Levy's version of 24 February - 1 March, published in the *Daily Southern Cross*.

The alacrity with which the Whakatōhea took to the new movement is put down to a number of factors: they had been attempting to raise a taua among their allies to attack Te Arawa and so avenge the death of their rangātira, Āporotanga; the ravages of the fever had not yet subsided and they sought a cure — many had lost faith in the capability of Christianity to prevent the mortality; and considering the despondent mood that had existed in the community since the defeat of the Ope Hunuhunu the assurance of a brighter future must have appealed. The Pai Marire envoys promised all of these. They boasted of their success on the western coast and assured their eager listeners “that if they confided with implicit faith in the directions of the new prophets, they might march without fear to Maketū against the Arawa, and thence to Tauranga and to Auckland, for that no power could withstand them.”<sup>30</sup> These pronouncements were augmented by the mesmerizing ceremonies associated with the religion. Once the community accepted the new faith, Pai Marire services were conducted every evening thereafter.

Volkner’s house was ransacked by the Hauhau party and his possessions put up for auction while Pātara, with a small group, began the recruitment drive further east as far as Whitianga. Into this charged atmosphere (1 March) came the untimely return of the *Eclipse* bearing both Volkner and Grace. On the next day occurred the infamous hanging of Volkner by the Hauhau visitors in the presence of members of his own congregation. He was decapitated, and his eyes plucked out by Kereopa and swallowed. The execution of Volkner and the complex reasons for it are well documented in a recent report to the Waitangi Tribunal.<sup>31</sup> It is not the intention of the thesis to repeat those findings. The execution, meanwhile, introduced a new dimension to the question of Māori unity among Ngāti Porou, and it is of value to the argument in this thesis to compare the reaction Volkner’s death drew from the two major persuasions in Ngāti Porou.

### Ngāti Porou reaction to Volkner’s execution

- anti-King element

While there was already agitation among factions in Ngāti Porou (as seen in the treatment accorded Williams’ party in January), it was the news of Volkner’s execution that charged

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<sup>30</sup> Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 371.

<sup>31</sup> Bryan Gilling, 1994, *Te Raupatu o Te Whakatōhea: the confiscation of Whakatōhea Land 1865-1866*, a report commissioned by the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit, Dept of Justice, pp. 25-49. Pātara was not present when Volkner was hanged. He did not return from Whitianga until 4 March.

the atmosphere. It must be realised that Volkner was relatively well-known among Ngāti Porou residents. Although he had lived at Ōpōtiki for 4 years, during this time he had visited the East Coast on occasion and through his participation at synod meetings of the Waiapu Diocese, he became known to tribal leaders who attended either as synodsmen or ministers. Before his placement at Ōpōtiki, many of the Ngāti Porou young males and adults had been pupils under his tutelage at the missionary school at Waerenga-a-hika (1860-1).<sup>32</sup> Hēnare Nihoniho, for example, a rangatira of the Te Aowera hapū who had trained for the clergy at Waerenga-a-hika, escorted Volkner on a visit to his people at Pōpoti.<sup>33</sup> When Māori clergymen were being sought for the vacant positions left by Rev. Baker and the earlier missionaries, there was no doubt among the Ngāti Porou parishioners at Te Horo that it was Volkner whom they wanted as their minister.<sup>34</sup>

The news of his murder therefore, came as a shock, particularly to those Ngāti Porou whose allegiance to the Anglican faith remained strong. Not only had the Hauhau executed a friend and missionary, but also they had struck a blow at the faith which had nurtured Ngāti Porou for almost three decades. These Ngāti Porou publicly denounced the execution and wrote to Bishop Williams expressing their strong disapproval of the Hauhau actions. Iharaira Houkāmau and Te Irimana Ngāmāre (or Houtūrangi or Tirohia) on behalf of their runanga, for example, wrote from Pātāngata at Wharekāhika disassociating themselves from the Hauhau and reassuring the Bishop of their support.

They also made it plain that they would rescue any prisoners should the Hauhau pass their locality. If the Hauhau resisted they would fight them. (Kia rongō mai koutou, ka rere mai mātou ki waho o tēnei mahi; kei te noho tou mātou i runga i tō tātou mahi .... Mehemea i anga mai ia mā kōnei kua pā taku ringa ki te tango mai i ngā herehere — ki te pā mai hoki tana ki au, ka pā hoki taku ki a ia).<sup>35</sup> However, they were not sufficiently convinced or perhaps unable to raise an adequately armed force to attempt a rescue

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<sup>32</sup> Wp 9B/9 27 May 1885 Tamati Tautuhi said he was at Waerenga-a-Hika for 11 months in 1863. He would have been 13 yrs at the time. Tuta Nihoniho was there in 1860, aged 10 yrs while his father went there in 1861 to train as a minister. Paratene Ngata attended the school in 1857 for 2 years and again in 1860. He was approximately 8 years of age when his father took him there. Jnl of P. Ngata, p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Tuta Nihoniho, giving evidence in the investigation to the Taikatiki Block, claimed his father had brought Rev. Volkner to their district. "If Mr Volkner were alive he could speak of coming with Hēnare Nihoniho on to this land." Wp7B/74 .

<sup>34</sup> Jnl of William Williams, Vol. 5, 10 Feb 1860.

<sup>35</sup> *TWMA*, 1 Apr, 1865, vol. 2, no. 47. A copy of the letter dated 16 Mar 1865 is in the McLean papers, Folder 689B, MS papers 32, ATL.

mission into Whakatōhea territory to free Rev. Grace.<sup>36</sup> At that time Pātāngata, by itself, could muster little more than about 30 fighting men and barely any arms and ammunition. They were probably also of the opinion that as long as the trouble was outside their region it was better left there.

The killing of Volkner confirmed the general attitude among many Ngāti Porou to Pai Marire as a hostile doctrine shaped by the earlier events in Taranaki and Whanganui and the *Te Waka Māori* reports. In fact, the actions of the Hauhau party at Ōpōtiki increased consternation among Ngāti Porou as they believed the new movement would refocus the Kīngitanga element within the tribe. The reverence held for the missionaries and the Church was now all but lost by the Kīngitanga adherents, and the conservatives feared that this dissident element would readily yield to Hauhau overtures to join the new movement. Assurances were given by Ngāti Porou and Rongowhakaata leaders to Williams and his household — which included the only other missionaries in the immediate district (Rev. E. B. Clarke and Archdeacon W. L. Williams) — that they would protect them, and the Hauhau emissaries were warned to stay out of Ngāti Porou territory.

#### • Kīngitanga supporters

The initial reaction of the Kīngitanga supporters to the news of Volkner's demise was one of elation which only served to magnify the existing hostility with their opponents. They regarded the death of the missionary as compensation for their own losses at Te Ranga.<sup>37</sup> Their anti-government stance had already been demonstrated in their anti-missionary behaviour when the synod sat. They saw the Church as an arm of the state — Volkner, a spy acting for the government. So, in the act of killing the missionary, the King supporters could identify with the Hauhau.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the murder went unpunished for some time restored some confidence among the adherents that they might yet be able to thwart the relentless government onslaught.

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<sup>36</sup> The day the letter was written (16 Mar 1865), Grace was rescued by a government party aboard the steamer *Eclipse*. see Bryan Gilling, 1994, *Te Raupatu o Te Whakatōhea*, p. 45.

<sup>37</sup> W. L. Williams to Governor Grey, 8 April 1865, Grey letters, NZ, W 38(8), AIM.

<sup>38</sup> An example of how Māori saw the relationship of the Church to the government is summed up in the statement by the Tūranga rangatira, Raharuhi Rukupo, after the departure of Bishop Williams and family for Napier. “Ehara ahau i pana i a Te Pihopa engari nāna tou, nā rāua ra ko tōna teina ko Kāwana.” (It was not I who sent the Bishop away, but he chose to leave himself, him and his younger brother/relative, the Governor). Jnl of W. L. Williams, 11 April 1865.

In this sense, the Pai Marire religion burst on the East Coast scene at an opportune time. As mentioned, many of the Kīngitanga adherents in Ngāti Porou had given away Christianity after the Te Ranga losses and had been for a time in a spiritual vacuum. They had been anxious for a means by which they might carry on their resistance to British rule in their own region but most were uncertain how to do so. The elderly rangātira Paratene Te Moko at Tokomaru, for example, had long been encouraging his people to take up the fight again, and they would have, but they did not feel themselves strong enough to do so. The new movement caught their interest immediately because they saw in it a more effective means by which all Māori might be united in their victimhood against Pākehā domination. Pai Marire not only offered a means by which they could bring into focus their resistance, it also strengthened their cause by providing a kind of religious justification for fighting back. They planned to go and bring back the Pai Marire emissaries as soon as possible.

### **Tension mounts as Hauhau make their approach**

In the middle of March, the Pai Marire recruitment drive around Ōpōtiki, and which now included Tūhoe, shifted to Tūranga. Kereopa, Pātara and their party were received as guests of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, some of whom had already been won over to the faith at Ōpōtiki. On the 18 March, the other section of the vanguard which had come up from Taranaki through Te Wairoa arrived, but this group was critical of the killing of Volkner, believing Kereopa's actions in Ōpōtiki to be contrary to Te Ua's instructions. The presence of the Wairoa party allowed the original message of peace some airing in Tūranga, but it is unlikely that Ngāti Porou ever realised or believed in the movement's peaceful motives.

By the end of March, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki had joined the movement almost to a man.<sup>39</sup> While at first Rongowhakaata, the other major tribe in the Tūranga district, appeared disinclined to countenance the Hauhau presence and frequently reassured Bishop Williams to this effect, it would only be a matter of weeks before converts among them would abound. At the beginning of April, it was thought wise for Bishop Williams to

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<sup>39</sup> Those men and their families who stayed to look after the school and the mission station at Waerenga-a-Hika after its residents left were from Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki. They were among a small minority from the tribe who remained loyal to their Anglican allegiance.

remove with his family to the safety of Napier — a further blow for the Anglican Ngāti Porou. With Rev. E. B. Clarke and the women and children, he embarked on 3 April aboard the steamer *St Kilda* leaving his son Leonard (i.e. Archdeacon W. L. Williams) to do what he could to carry on the missionary work.<sup>40</sup>

From this point, concern in the Ngāti Porou district intensified. It was only a matter of time before an attempt would be made to take the Pai Marire religion into their territory. Ngāti Porou's leaders knew that any association with Volkner's executioners was likely to bring unfavourable repercussions from the government. Mōkena Kohere had always told his kinsmen that one sure way to forfeit tribal territory was to become embroiled in the war with the government. So when intelligence was received at the beginning of April, that the Kīngitanga adherents in the Waiapu and the Pai Marire party at Tūranga were attempting to make contact with each other, the rangatira were quick to react.<sup>41</sup>

It appears a rendezvous was associated with the tangi (funeral) of the Tokomaru chief, Paratene Te Moko, who had contracted typhoid fever when at Ōpōtiki. The King supporters assembled in the Waiapu and made their way by the coastal highway towards Tokomaru intending to go on to Tūranga after the funeral. Kohere, in the meantime, assembled men from his hapū, as did the rangatira, of neighbouring hapū. A total of some 500 men made camp at Waikawa and prevented the Kīngitanga party from passing through at Waipiro. Shots were fired and violence between the two parties was only prevented by the intervention of Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia who, at some risk, interposed himself between the two parties.<sup>42</sup> This alliance of hapū remained a week at Waikawa in anticipation of the Hauhau vanguard from Tūranga. As it was, the Hauhau party were detained at Tūranga and did not make an appearance.<sup>43</sup> This might have been fortunate, for although armed and eager to clash with the intruders, the Ngāti Porou contingent

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<sup>40</sup> Watson Rosevear, 1960, *Waiapu: the story of a diocese*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>41</sup> At about this time there was some talk among Aitanga-a-Māhaki of building a pā at Patutahi to accommodate the Hauhau in Tūranga and Wairoa as well as the Ngāti Porou king supporters. Jnl of W. L. Williams, 12 April 1865.

<sup>42</sup> W. L. Williams to Governor Grey, 8 April 1865, Grey letters, NZ, W 38(8), AIM.

<sup>43</sup> It was later learned that Rongowhakaata would not allow them passage through to Ngāti Porou. See James Fulloon, Government Interpreter's report, 3 May 1865, *GBPP*, Further Papers Relative to Affairs of NZ', 1866, No. 23, Encl. No.1, p. 102. *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary papers*, p. 418.



lacked ammunition and most of them would only have been able to point their guns, not fire them.<sup>44</sup>

### Wi Tako Ngātata

At about the same time, the Te Ati Awa rangatira Wi Tako Ngātata had led an influential party of anti-Hauhau leaders to Tūranga. The group, numbering 50, was accompanied by Rev. Samuel Williams of Hawke's Bay, and had been sent by Donald McLean to counter the Pai Marire leaders and to dissuade the Tūranga tribes from joining the movement.<sup>45</sup> Wi Tako was a relative of the emissary Pātara and he spoke strongly against the man and the religion Pātara purported to represent.<sup>46</sup> At Te Poho-o-Rawiri (4 April) he met with a visiting party of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti led by their rangātira, Karauria Pahura.<sup>47</sup> The party of 20 had come to "sympathise with the Bishop" but missed his departure.<sup>48</sup> They were still resolute to the Protestant faith and would not entertain the new religion, but were a minority in their own district. The majority of their relatives were King supporters and were meeting at Anaura in relation to Kīngitanga matters at that very time. During his stay, Wi Tako managed to convince Eruera Tūtāwhia, the healer in the Taranaki party, to give himself up. He also confronted Pātara who had been trying to avoid him, and after a dressing down he ordered Pātara out of the district.<sup>49</sup> While Wi Tako did not venture further north, he did temporarily check the effect of the movement in Tūranga.

### Kereopa and Pātara

Kereopa left Tūranga before 13 April and Pātara departed not long after he was confronted by Wi Tako.<sup>50</sup> Since the incident at Ōpōtiki the two had been at odds over the

<sup>44</sup> *GBPP*, 1866, No.23, Encl. No.1, p. 101.

<sup>45</sup> The party arrived on 31 March. Archdeacon Leonard Williams said that they had come "in answer to an invitation from Tūranga chiefs to hold a peace meeting." *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 31 March 1865.

<sup>46</sup> At a meeting with Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki at Te Poho-o-Māhaki he told the people, "Kāore au e pai kia noho mai a Pātara i kōna tinihanga ai i a koutou, nō te mea nōku ēnā tāngata nō Ngātiawa. Me koutou hoki kua hei mau ki ēnā atua — whakarerea atu. Ko au hoki te pūtake o taua atua: he tamaiti nāku a te Ua. He aha te pai kia whakapono koutou? Kaore koutou e mohio nāku anake, nā Ngātiawa, ngā hara o te motu nei i hē ai? Nā, tahuri atu ana koutou ki te mahi i ēnā mahi hē. Ko tēnei whakamutua rawatia. Māu anō e mahi he hē mou kia tika ai — e kore e pai a te Atiawa hei hōmai hē ki a koe." In another address he stated, "Ko Pātara me atiati atu, kua e tukua mai; kei te kimi kau i te tangata hei tangata mo tāna kapa haka. Kua ngaro ngā tāngata i runga tana mahi kino. Nā, he tangata mohio au ki te āta hurihuri mō runga mō ngā mahi pai kia roa ai tātou e noho ana." in *TWMA*, 6 May 1865, vol. 11, no. 50, pp. 10-11.

<sup>47</sup> *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 4 Apr 1865.

<sup>48</sup> *Jnl of Henry Williams Jnr*, 4 Apr 1865.

<sup>49</sup> *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 13 Apr 1865.

<sup>50</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 39.

best course to take and went in different directions after leaving Tūranga.<sup>51</sup> Although he was not present at the actual act of hanging, Kereopa is generally the man felt to be responsible for instigating Volkner's execution. Pātara certainly placed the blame squarely in Kereopa's quarter.<sup>52</sup>

Kereopa, initially baptised Catholic, had been a strong adherent of the King's cause and fought in the war in Waikato. One description of him follows:

He had more than the fire of the fanatic. He had the intellectual qualities necessary to leadership, as well as the fervent passion of the aggrieved patriot. His swallowing of his victim's eyes and the drinking of his blood was a grim master-stroke that recalled to his followers similar deeds in the traditions of their ancestors.<sup>53</sup>

In a summary of a Kīngitanga hui held at Pēria in 1862 there are recorded a few of Kereopa's comments on political matters. In line with the description above, they certainly seem to be the comments of an intelligent person.<sup>54</sup> But by the time he had taken dual charge of the Pai Marire vanguard he was a man bent on confrontation. His assumed hatred of missionaries and officials, some believe, was related to the deaths of family members killed by British troops at Rangiaohia. Clark, in his publication *Hauhau*, has cast some doubt on whether this was a motive for involvement in the Volkner tragedy.<sup>55</sup>

After Tūranga, Kereopa proselytised among Tūhoe and while he attempted unsuccessfully to get across to Waikato and was chased from Ōpōtiki by government troops, he spent most of the next 5 years in the Urewera eluding his pursuers. He never pursued the Hauhau cause to Ngāti Porou as Te Ua had instructed. Perhaps this was because of the animosity between himself and Pātara.

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<sup>51</sup> Rev. Mohi Tūrei realised this as early as 23 March when observing the two men at a hui at Patutahi. see Jnl of Henry Williams Jnr, 23 Mar 1865.

<sup>52</sup> Pātara Rauhatawa to Hamiora Tū, May 1865. *AJHR*, 1867, A-20, p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, "Religious Influences," p. 351.

<sup>54</sup> As an example, when the question of investigating the Waitara dispute came up, Kereopa responded, "Whakarongo rā e tēnei hui, taku hei mua anō te whakaaronga kia whakawākia a Waitara, i nā ia nei e kore e āhei, e rite ana hoki ki te puhera wīti kua pakaru nei ki te whenua, ā mā wai e kohikohi kia rite ai ki te taimaha o mua." *TH*, 10 Nov 1862. [Listen this congregation, here is my response. Before us again we are asked to debate the Waitara situation. Now, we are unable to do so (i.e. it is too late for more talk). (The situation at Waitara) is like an ear of wheat when shed over the land. Who is there that can collect each grain and put it back together?] (*my translation*)

<sup>55</sup> Clark, p. 35.

Whatever the reason, it was Pātara who was left to complete the circuit decreed by Te Ua. Pātara had a rather chequered history. A character assassination by Wi Tako appeared in an April issue of *Te Waka Māori*, in which the chief listed a number of misdeeds from Pātara's past.<sup>56</sup> The article labeled him as a thief, stating that in 1845, he had stolen the cash-takings from a relative's European husband for whom Pātara kept store in Wellington. Then, he stole a horse from Ihaia Porutu which died at Waikanae. At Whanganui, Wi Tako claimed, Pātara married Mākere Te Kopakore through deception, and later married Taraaha in Auckland, promising her brothers two mere pounamu (greenstone mere). The gifts were never given and 2 years later their sister was retrieved. The article concluded with references to the fact that Pātara had also dispossessed Wi Tako and even Rev. Rota Waitoa of some of their goods well before he took up the Pai Marire mission.

Commentators credit Pātara with a much less aggressive nature than Kereopa. At Tūranga this seemed to be the case and "even Williams was prepared to admit that Pātara professed none of the murderous intentions he supposed Kereopa to possess."<sup>57</sup> Still, as Pātara told some storekeepers at Matawhero and Mākaraka, although his quarrel was with the government and the missionaries, if they armed themselves he would be compelled to fight them.<sup>58</sup> One account claimed he had 100 men with him as he roamed the stores, and another that the chiefs Hirini Te Kani, Raharuhi Rukupo and Ānaru Matete escorted him. All were said to be drinking and Matete was drunk.<sup>59</sup> Pātara had a tendency to create unnecessary apprehension among the settlers. He told them another 600 Pai Marire followers could be expected in the district.<sup>60</sup> The Hauhau leader employed the same tactic as the Kīngitanga following had done of bolstering their programme with claims of marvellous support. The Chief Justice at the time, Sir William Martin, could have been describing Pātara when he wrote of the movement, "A common feeling united fanatical believers with cool politicians who believed nothing, but who kept up the fervour of their brethren by false reports of miracles wrought at Taranaki and of great losses sustained by troops."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *TWMA*, 15 Apr 1865, vol. 11, no. 48, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Sanderson, p. 174.

<sup>58</sup> *Jnl of Henry Williams Jnr*, 27-28 Mar 1865. *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 27-29 Mar 1865.

<sup>59</sup> *Jnl of Henry Williams Jnr*, 28 Mar 1865. *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 27 Mar 1865.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> A. J. Harrop, *England and the Māori Wars*, p. 350.

When he left Tūranga, Pātara intimated that he would be back, urging Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki “to plant a quantity of kai at Mangatū” for his army’s return.<sup>62</sup> Pātara travelled to Ōpōtiki and then proceeded east with his followers, canvassing support among Ngai Tai and Whānau-a-Apanui. From the papers researched for this thesis the following names were located as being among the Taranaki group of twenty: Horomona, Te Wiwini, Te Wao, Putōtara, Te Marei, Takuta, Te Ngoungou, Te Kipa, Hoani and Taingahue.<sup>63</sup>

### War in the making

On 24 April, Rev. Mohi Tūrei and other Ngāti Porou who were based at the Waerenga-a-hika school and who had witnessed much of the happenings surrounding the Hauhau movement in Tūranga, returned to their homes in the Waiapu.<sup>64</sup> Tūrei brought with him a letter from Wi Tako. It was hoped the content of the letter would dissuade the Ngāti Porou Kīngitanga from connecting with the Hauhau movement. While the party were able to give their relatives up to date reports on the situation in Tūranga, the King supporters declined to receive the letter and refused to allow the minister among them.<sup>65</sup>

### Captain Luce visits Ngāti Porou

Reports made by Captain Luce and his interpreter James Fulloon of a visit to Ngāti Porou at the end of April, are valuable for the observations they provide of the developing situation.<sup>66</sup> Luce had been sent by Governor Grey to visit the “principal friendly chiefs” between Te Kaha and Tūranga to confirm and reinforce their allegiance and gauge reaction to the Ōpōtiki murder and the likelihood of trouble.<sup>67</sup> The voyage was undertaken aboard the man-of-war HMS *Esk*, and the captain and his party arrived on 28 April.

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<sup>62</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 2 May 1865.

<sup>63</sup> Some of these men married Ngāti Porou women and their progeny still live on the East Coast. Taingahue married Rīpeka Waikuta and Te Ngoungou married Te Paea. The women went to Taranaki with their husbands. A waiata aroha (song of love) was later composed when Te Ngoungou deserted Te Paea. The song is still sung on Ngāti Porou marae. A. T. Ngata & P. Te Hurunui, 1961, *Ngā Mōteatea Pt. 2*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>64</sup> The returning party included the old man, Tamati Tāwhiri, of Whareponga, and his mokopuna — the Kahawai family, Rihara, Wi Paraire, Hāmana, Hori Mataruna and the children in their charge. Jnl of W. L. Williams, 24 April and 12 May 1865.

<sup>65</sup> Speech of Hāre Poai. See James Fulloon, Government Interpreter’s report, 3 May 1865, *GBPP*, 1866, No.23, Encl. No.1, p. 100.

<sup>66</sup> Grey to Cardwell, *GBPP*, May 1866, No.23, Encl. No. 1, p. 96.

<sup>67</sup> Captain JP Luce, report to Grey, *GBPP*, May 1866, No.23, Encl. No. 1, p. 97.

During his visit, Luce warned the Kīngitanga adherents that no act of violence would long go unpunished. He noted increased uncertainty throughout the district, most obviously that a number of Ngāti Porou leaders were anxious about the tribe's immediate future, and less obviously, that even those who had not supported the Kīngitanga were curious as to what the new religion entailed. Remarking on his visit to Iharaira Houkāmau at Wharekāhika he reported, "I observed a great curiosity among his people to see what the religion was like."<sup>68</sup> Houkāmau, who in the previous years had resisted the allure of Kīngitanga, was established in Makeronia Pā (Macedonia), near Pātāngata at the northern end of Wharekāhika. Rev. Rota Waitoa was there as well, having removed himself from Te Kawakawa for reasons of safety.<sup>69</sup>

At Te Kawakawa the captain met the rangatira, Hōhua Tāwhaki, who requested a British flag that he might raise it in his pā. Tāwhaki had assembled 30 or 40 men and several women and children on the beach when HMS *Esk* arrived and had gone on board to have discussions with Captain Luce. West of this location was Kotare pā, made up of Kīngitanga sympathisers, as were the majority of residents at Maruhou and Horoera to the East. Rev. Mohi Tūrei had earlier moved his residence from Horoera to Rangitukia because of increasing uneasiness in the community. Tāwhaki told Luce that in much the same way that the Whānau-a-Ruataupare from Tūparoa had earlier closed their section of the coastal highway to travellers on Kīngitanga business, so the Kīngitanga supporters towards East Cape (Te Pākihi) had issued a similar notice to their opponents. To travel by the coastal route from Te Kawakawa to the Cape, for example, could only be done in large numbers.<sup>70</sup> Even the custom of offering hospitality to travellers had lately been ignored. Luce was told that the Kawakawa pā also contained King supporters and that the King's flag sometimes flew from the flagstaff in the pā.

The next day, Luce, with a large party of escorts, took the coastal route overland to Rangitukia. He learned that the presence of a man-of-war in their waters had restored

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 412.

<sup>69</sup> Waitoa told Luce that the Kawakawa people gave him much trouble and he thought it best to remove himself for a time. Grey to Cardwell, *GBPP*, May 1866, No.23, Encl. No. 1, p. 97. Hākopa Te Ari was said to have driven Waitoa from the church. Statement by Mohi Tūrei and chiefs of Waiapu regarding prisoners taken to Napier, HBP 3, 1865/228, Army General Inwards Correspondence July 1863-December 1872, AD1, NA.

some confidence among the Ngāti Porou leaders and checked the overbearing attitude of both the Kīngitanga adherents and the Pai Marire converts. Fulloon wrote:

Captain Luce, with Hōhua, Te Mōkena [Kohere, who had come from Rangitukia the previous day] and a large party of Natives started early in the morning from Te Kawa Kawa for Te Mōkena's place, Waiapu. On the coast we passed three or four settlements of King Natives, who were very civil to us, and even asked us to stay and have something to eat before we proceeded on our way, which somewhat surprised our party. As they say the King Natives never before invited them to stay and have some refreshment, they attributed it to the fact of the man-of-war coming on the coast. One old chief was particularly civil, named Paora Pokaia, at Trokaka (Te Tapuae o Rongokako). He bid us welcome and see the coast and people. He was very sorry that there was trouble in the country; but he said it was not the Governor's fault. The Governor never sought for it amongst them. They (the Natives) sought it, and they got their reward. He had no pity on them. (This old man had lost 15 men at Tauranga, and was very desirous of joining the Government side).

It is a point worth noting that Pokaia instead, joined and fought on the side of the Hauhau and 12 weeks later was taken prisoner with other relatives at Horoera.<sup>71</sup>

On 1 May, Luce met the Waiapu Runanga at Te Rua-o-pango (later named Te Hatepe), Mōkena Kohere's pā. Not as many as expected turned out, some believing that if they did not attend, the Governor's representative would visit them at their own pā, while others thought the occasion too important to let Kohere receive all the honour.<sup>72</sup>

The chiefs told Luce that the Kīngitanga adherents exacerbated a feeling of unease in the district by travelling with arms and making verbal threats towards them. But both parties were guilty of threats, as they had always been. The only difference now was that the Kīngitanga supporters, inspired by the incautious conduct of the Hauhau, believed themselves capable of carrying out their intimidatory threats. The Waiapu spokesmen pleaded for arms and ammunition through Luce. The law on firearms had tightened up over the previous years and each hapū had but a handful, and little or no ammunition. Those who had supported the war in Waikato were better placed through their network of

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<sup>70</sup> Te Rengarenga was where Wikiriwhi Mātāuru was living. He was opposed to those Ngāti Porou who supported the Kīngitanga. Most of those people who lived between Te Rengarenga and Te Kawakawa were Kīngitanga adherents.

<sup>71</sup> Hāre Te Whā to W. L. Williams, 10 Aug 1865, Williams Family Papers MS Papers190, Folder 18, ATL.

tribal allies. Whakatōhea, for example, were said to have built up large caches of weapons and cartridges through secret trading.

These Ngāti Porou were requesting arms primarily to defend themselves, but perhaps also to carry the offensive and attack their opponents. They felt their backs were now against the wall and an attack on them was imminent.

Epeniha. [sic] — First, the King partly surrounded us; now, the Pai Marires [sic] have stepped in. We are like cattle that are enclosed and cannot get out. Murder will soon take place.<sup>73</sup>

Some even invited soldiers into the district.

Peta. — Therefore we ask for arms and then for soldiers. Not for us to look at or for amusement, but [to] fight the Kings Natives and the Pai Marires.

Hēmi Kepe.— We want a great number of them. There is plenty of land for them to dwell on.

This is Waiapu, and it is yours. I want soldiers here, as I am afraid of the King Natives.<sup>74</sup>

The speeches were full of rhetoric, but show the degree of apprehension in the region.

### **Mōkena Kohere**

Mōkena Kohere, who had become the most resistant leader with whom the Kīngitanga had to contend, spoke with Luce after the runanga meeting. The record of the conversation is important in that it gives an indication of recent attitudes between the factions. Referring to the unanimous call from speakers for another magistrate in the area, probably in the hope that the official's presence might stabilise the district, Kohere told Luce that before his visit the Kīngitanga adherents had constructed a fence to prevent the resident magistrate, Baker, from entering their territory (i.e. Te Kawakawa to Te Pākihi, East Cape region). Baker's replacement, Titus White, was threatened with death and also

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<sup>72</sup> Grey to Cardwell, *GBPP*, May 1866, No.23, Encl. No. 1, p. 98.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, p. 414.

<sup>74</sup> Speech of Hemi Kepe. Grey to Cardwell, *GBPP*, May 1866, No.23, Encl. No. 1, p. 98.

banned by the King supporters from visiting any of their persuasion.<sup>75</sup> The fence was then used to prevent the anti-Kīngitanga section from passing up and down the coast.

Kohere was described as a man “possessed of an indomitable spirit” who led his people “by force of character. He was brave, powerful and yet of an extremely kind and gentle disposition; except when roused, when he was like a firebrand.”<sup>76</sup> He was clearly agitated by the Kīngitanga party’s intimidation and keen to resolve the issue, the last three years having strained his patience and the patience of other hapū leaders set on progressing tribal agendas rather than Māori nationhood. After the missed opportunity at Waikawa, Kohere told Captain Luce that he was quite prepared to commit a force to the capture of the Hauhau party at Ōpōtiki and to go up against the nemesis of tribalism in their area — the Kīngitanga:

It is the desire of my people, of 700 men, they are ready to obey the Governor’s word. If the Governor wants me to go to Ōpōtiki, I am ready. There was talk here that Kingites were going to Maketu. If they attempt it I will accompany [them] to Hick’s Bay, and when I get there I shall ask them to return. If they refuse, I will compel them; fighting shall take place. I have made my mind to do this. You [sic] have heard what we did when we heard that the Hauhau were coming here; I was ready then to fight. I am anxious to settle these Kingites. I was hard pushed by them at one time. I will at them yet.<sup>77</sup>

The fighting men from Kohere’s immediate hapū numbered no more than thirty or so. To rally a force of 700 would require the combined effort of all the supportive hapū between Wharekāhika and Waipiro who were represented by other runanga quite distinct from the Waiapu one. Either Kohere was engaging in rhetoric or he had the assurances of other rangatira that they would support him. The latter is more likely. Kohere had a high profile, being the chief assessor with whom government officials were most acquainted and, through whom Ngāti Porou communicated. In his train he had with him Hōtene Porourangi and Wikiriwhi Matehē (or Mātāuru), two rangatira with considerable support. But one wonders how much of what Mōkena and the other chiefs told Luce was calculated bluff intended to give the impression that Ngāti Porou were not prepared to

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<sup>75</sup> White drowned when a schooner on which he was a passenger foundered off White Island. He was heading to Auckland to procure arms for the supportive hapū in the district. Cowan, vol. 2, p. 494.

<sup>76</sup> This description was given by J. G. Baker, another of the sons of Rev. Charles Baker. He knew Kohere very well. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>77</sup> Grey to Cardwell, *GBPP*, May 1866, No.23, Encl. No. 1, p. 101.



tolerate rebellion when they knew their lack of sufficient arms and ammunition meant there was really little they could do. Or perhaps the offer, if accepted, was intended to see his men armed by the Government? The well-mannered Kīngitanga supporters whom Luce met, like Paora Pokaia, certainly proved later that they had spoken with pretence to the government official. Pokaia's residence, Horoera, would become a key retreat for Hauhau insurgents.

Mōkena Kohere, Hōtene Porourangi and Wikiriwhi Matehē went on to Tūranga with Luce aboard the *Esk* (4 May). There they attended the official's conference with the several rangatira of Rongowhakaata. During discussions, the Ngāti Porou group encouraged their hosts not to join the Hauhau but to support the Governor as they did. Then Hōtene asked for an explanation as to why they had prevented the Hauhau party coming on to Ngāti Porou in April, when Ngāti Porou were preparing to fight them. Interrupting him, a Rongowhakaata speaker reminded Hōtene that Tūranga was a neutral place and that it was in fact Ngāti Porou who needed to look at themselves since they were the people who had gone to war against the Pākehā (referring to the contingents to Waikato and who fought Te Arawa). However, the Rongowhakaata admonition begs the question, — was it a neutral action to prevent the passage of the Hauhau into Ngāti Porou territory?

### Trouble over Flagpole

After the meeting, at Kohere's request, both Hōtene and Wikiriwhi returned with Luce to Auckland to put forward a case for arms while Kohere remained in Tūranga at the invitation of Ngai Te Kete (Ngai Tāwhiri), a hapū of Rongowhakaata. The leading chief and also an assessor, Paratene Pōtoti (or Turangi), had invited his relative Kohere to see if he could remedy their situation in Tūranga.<sup>78</sup> Surprised at the increasing influence of Hauhau in the Tūranga district, Kohere, with his Ngai Te Kete relatives, took an action that was to prove provocative. On the bank of the Waikanae river he erected a moderate-size spar, as he had done at Rangitukia, and upon it hoisted the British ensign.<sup>79</sup> Around

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<sup>78</sup> Hearing that the Bishop was leaving, and fearing trouble, Paratene Tūrangi had sent for Kohere some weeks earlier. Samuel Williams to Donald McLean, 3 Apr 1865, McLean Papers, MS32, folder 639, ATL.

<sup>79</sup> Ngai Te Kete had already prepared a much larger flagpole for the ensign, but did not have the intrepidity to erect it, fearful of the Hauhau response. The spar was not set on Titirangi hill as stated by

it they raised a rough stockade and the Ngai Te Kete manned it. This caused consternation among Rongowhakaata, who it will be remembered, had previously contested the Governor's right to fly a Union Jack in the district.<sup>80</sup> The principal objection came from Hirini Te Kani and seemed to be more concerned with his mana in relation to the land on which the flag stood, he claiming a stake in the land, and lack of consultation.<sup>81</sup> When it was realised that those who had erected the flagstaff had done so on their own land the hostility soon diminished.<sup>82</sup>

Some commentators argue that in raising the flag, Kohere was not simply trying to inspire the local people to remain steadfast, he was provoking the neutral Rongowhakaata to choose a side. This seems to be the case, as after a dinner engagement with Leonard Williams, the Archdeacon recorded in his journal:

Mōkena came to dinner. He had come to speak about a runanga which he wished to be held at Taruheru on Tuesday next, the object of which is to excommunicate all who do not wish to side with the Government and blockade them; if they resist to declare war against them. He is for going rather too fast.<sup>83</sup>

Further entries suggested Kohere was prepared to fight the Hauhau if he could persuade others of Rongowhakaata to assist. But they were opposed to his war-like measures and "told him to go back to his own district and not to stir up any raruraru (trouble) here."<sup>84</sup>

Rarawa Kohere has indicated that in Tūranga Mōkena Kohere was acting in the interests of his Ngai Te Kete kinsmen principally, and argues that through whakapapa he had every

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Binney, but on the opposite side of the Tūranganui river. Judith Binney, 1995, *Redemption Songs: a life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, p. 44.

<sup>80</sup> Previously (1860), Wardell had raised the Union Jack above the magistrates residence. See *AJHR*, 1862, E-1, despatch no. 1, Governor Browne to Duke of Newcastle.

<sup>81</sup> Hirini Te Kani would later only swear allegiance to the Crown after the Union Jack was taken down. *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 5 June 1865.

<sup>82</sup> Karauria Pahura and a Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti party came to support Te Kani, but when they realised the issue was one of mana over land they returned to Uawa.

<sup>83</sup> *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 6 May 1865. Their chief Hirini Te Kani, who had an interest in the land on which the spar was erected, had gone away to Napier with Wi Tako's party to see McLean. When Hirini returned he viewed the move as a slight on his mana and believed it was intended to press home a Ngai Te Kete claim to the contested land. Eventually, Hirini called McLean into arbitrate in the dispute. See *McLean Diary*, 6 June 1865.

<sup>84</sup> *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 7-10 May 1865.

right to follow that course of action.<sup>85</sup> Mōkena Kohere's whakapapa links with the Tūranga district were strong and active.<sup>86</sup> In a letter, he explained to Donald McLean, "Ka whakaarahia e ahau te Kara ki runga i a ratou, hei tiaki mo ratou."<sup>87</sup> (I raised the flag over them [referring to his own relatives] for their protection). Later at a hui at which McLean arbitrated, he said he had made no attempt to influence anyone but his own relatives, and that had the Hauhau not come to Tūranga he would not have interfered nor have been seen in Tūranga.<sup>88</sup>

### **Kohere's attitude to Rongowhakaata inaction**

On the surface, Mōkena Kohere in Tūranga, during May, appears as much the aggressor as the Hauhau emissaries had been earlier. But as Rei Kohere argues:

There is a difference, however, between using aggressive tactics to preserve the *status quo* within a region where one has rights and has been specifically invited, and being an aggressor to foment civil unrest. A government proclamation had already labeled those aligned with the Hauhau as rebels liable to punishment by forfeiture of land. Under such circumstances, raising the flag was the only meaningful statement Kohere could make, short of going to battle<sup>89</sup>

While he was inclined to force the issue, Kohere's motives would most likely have been to reduce the likelihood of loss of land, at least for his immediate relatives, if not the wider group.

He was, however, quite willing to embroil himself in a battle with the Hauhau if it should happen, and claimed to be able to call in the aid of a large body of Ngāti Porou troops at short notice. It is not difficult to see why he was intent on action. Apart from his tribal standing, and because of his role as assessor, he would have regarded it as his responsibility to maintain law and order as he saw it. The Ngāti Porou chiefs were also concerned about the destabilizing influence another sect might bring upon their people, particularly among the Kīngitanga faction. In this sense, they felt it wise to stop the Hauhau influence before it spread to their region and got out of hand. Added to their

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<sup>85</sup> Rarawa D Kohere, 1992, "He Koha Kei Roto: He Utu Kei Waho," MEd Thesis, AU, pp. 143, 171-172.

<sup>86</sup> Pers. comm., Rei Kohere, 17 Jan 2000.

<sup>87</sup> Mōkena Kohere to Donald McLean, McLean Papers, MS32, folder 689E. ATL.

<sup>88</sup> McLean Diary, 6 June 1865.

<sup>89</sup> Pers. comm., Rei Kohere, 17 Jan 2000.

antagonism was the insult the new faith rendered to their Christian values and the Anglican allegiance.

Recent historians, often observing from the rim of Māori political developments, have probably made more of an issue of the flagpole incident than it actually represents.<sup>90</sup> Some have placed too much emphasis on and perhaps wrongly cited traditional tribal animosities in accounting for Kohere's aggression. The clash of rival faiths is closer to the matter, as evinced in the following explanation by Hāmana Mahuika as to why Ngāti Porou eventually became involved in the conflict at Tūranga:

Kaore a Ngāti Porou nui tonu i pirangi kia haramai he Hāhi kē atu i waho atu o te Hāhi Ingarangi. Ko tēnei anake te Hāhi i whakapono rātau. Ko te take, koia nei te Hāhi nāna i tango te kiko tangata ki waho i ō rātau niho. Ko te haerenga tēnei o Ngāti Porou ki roto a Waerenga-a-hika.<sup>91</sup>

Ngāti Porou did not desire the ministrations of other religions save the Church of England. This was the Church which brought them Christianity. It was this denomination which took the flesh of man from their teeth. This was the reason Ngāti Porou went to Waerenga-a-Hika. (*my translation*)

Writing from Tūranga in 1871, Rāpata Wahawaha also alluded to religious differences as the cause of the fighting in Tūranga:

Tetahi rākau pai whaihua i tupu ki Tūranga he rākau e minaminatia ana e ngā iwi o te Tairawhiti me ērā wahi atu o te iti, te rahi, te ware, te pani, te pouaru, te rawakore, me te rangatira, i ngā hua o taua rākau. Taua rākau rā ko te whakapono. Te kaiwhakatupu ko te Pihopa rātou ko tana kura. Ko ngā iwi katoa o te motu nei e rere tonu ana ki te kai i ōna hua ki te hari hoki i ngā mahuri hei whakatō ki tana kari ki tana kari, a ka pērā anō i nāiane i ake tonu atu. Mahara aua o Tūranga nei i tapahi ai i taua rākau e kore e torokiki ake i ōna pakiaka. Nā kua tupu anō kua rākau minita kua nui haere ōna hua. Kua ruia haeretia anō ki ia wahi ki ia wahi o te motu nei.

Kua mate a te Pihopa a ko tāna tama rātou ko tana kura ngā kai mahi i muri i a ia. I tupu taua rākau ki roto o Tūranga i te tau 1839 a tae noa ki te tau 1864 tae mai ki te tau 1865 ka puta mai nei tētahi ngārara kino ko Kereopa te Rau me ngā toto o te Wākana minita o te Hāhi o Ingarangi i tōna waha e mau ana. Te kitenga a ngā tāngata o Tūranga i aua toto kōhuru i te waha o Kereopa te

<sup>90</sup> cf. Binney, *Redemption Songs*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>91</sup> Te Hāmana Mahuika's notes on haka taparahi in T. Kapunga Dewes, (ed.), 1972, *Māori Literature: he haka taparahi ceremonial dance-poetry*, p. 38.

Rau ka momia e ngā iwi o Tūranga a ko te huarahi mai tērā o te mate ki ngā tāngata o tēnei kainga o Tūranga.<sup>92</sup>

There was a healthy tree that produced fruit and grew in Tūranga. It was a tree which satisfied all who ate of it from the tribes of the Tairāwhiti including the meek, the great, the lowly, the orphan, the widow, the lost and the chiefly. That tree was Christianity. The person who planted it was the Bishop [William Williams] and the people of his mission school. Tribes from all over the island flocked to eat of its fruit and to carry some of its seedlings to plant in their own gardens. And so it continues today and shall always be. Those of Tūranga who cut the tree down thought that its roots would not sprout afresh. Well, it has regrown — a tree of ministers and its fruit is plentiful. It (Christianity) has spread again (through the ministers) among the different places throughout the Island.

Gone is the Bishop and his son [Leonard Williams], as is his school and its staff after him. That tree grew in Tūranga from 1839 to 1864. In 1865 a bad insect appeared named Kereopa Te Rau with the blood of Volkner, a minister of the Church of England, in his mouth. When the people of Tūranga saw the blood upon the mouth of Kereopa Te Rau, they joined with him [lit. sucked up the blood] and that course led to the killing of people of this place of Tūranga [referring to the battle at Waerenga-a-Hika]. (*my translation*)

Further evidence of the strong Christian influence is seen in Ngāti Porou's applying biblical names to fighting pā during this period. Makeronia (Macedonia) was a refuge established by Iharaira Houkāmau near Pātāngata. Later Pōkurukuru, an old pā at Waikawa, was re-built by Whānau-a-Iritekura and named Henekiria; Hairinia was the pā built by Whānau-a-Rākairoa at Mataahu, and along with Te Aowera they also resurrected Awarua pā at Mākarika and renamed it Heperona.<sup>93</sup> Kohere's own religious background adds more to the argument. He was a stalwart of the Anglican Church in Ngāti Porou, having been the prime motivator in the building of the first wooden church in the fifties. He was a member of the Waiapu synod and had known Volkner well.

<sup>92</sup> Jnl of Rāpata Wahawaha, pp. 21-22.

<sup>93</sup> These pā were re-established under instruction from Rāpata Wahawaha when Ngāti Porou heard the news that Te Kooti had escaped from the Chatham Islands in 1868. Evidence of Eru Pōtaka in Waipiro investigation Wp8B/ 282. The spelling referred to in the text is that which the clerk recorded in the minute book. The Māori bible has a slightly different spelling. It is possible the clerk wrote the names down incorrectly or as he felt they were spelt. Heperona is the biblical Hebron which was a refuge in the mountain of Judah, Josh 20:7. Henekiria is probably Enekiri (En-gedi), a stronghold where David hid, 1 Sam 23:29, while Hairinia is Cyrene, spelt Hairini in the Māori bible. Cyrene was a Greek colonial city in North Africa, from whence came Simon who helped Christ with the cross on his trek to Calvary. A number of other pā were built or reinforced including Te Haika erected by Wikiriwhi Mātāuru at Te Pākihi (East Cape).

Kohere told Archdeacon Williams that if people used violence and cut down the flagstaff he would have a cause to apply for government assistance.<sup>94</sup> “I want the government to give me a back bone — to give me support.”<sup>95</sup> Mōkena Kohere’s intention seems clear. He and his people, would fight the battle, but government resources would ensure the upper hand. Kohere’s tactics might have been unsubtle but he had the interests of both the Tūranga and Ngāti Porou tribes in mind, and his actions did lead indirectly to Hirini Te Kani and others publicly announcing their support for the government.<sup>96</sup>

### **Pātara enters Ngāti Porou territory**

Back in Ngāti Porou, things were also heating up. On 8 May, a flagstaff was destroyed at Reporua which belonged to the King supporters. On 12 May, Archdeacon Williams was visited by Wī Paraire, just returned from Rangitukia, who told him “that Ngāti Porou were in a state of considerable excitement” and that they might “hear any day now of the two parties having come to blows. They never think of moving anywhere without their arms.”<sup>97</sup>

Communication had been kept up by the Kīngitanga supporters with their Whakatōhea and Whānau-a-Apanui allies (some of whom had turned Hauhau) so that they were aware of the movement of Pātara’s party towards their district. At Raukokore in early June, the decision was made for the Hauhau envoys to come on to Ngāti Porou.

Aware of Iharaira Houkāmau’s ban on using the track from Whangaparaoa, the 20-man Taranaki party, supported by a further 30 converts from Whakatōhea, Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Whānau-a-Apanui and a small party of Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa, managed to avoid the vigilance of Houkāmau’s people.<sup>98</sup> This was probably due to the guides they had with them. It is known that Hōne Pōhe<sup>99</sup> was one of the individuals responsible for bringing

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<sup>94</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 19 May 1865.

<sup>95</sup> McLean Diary, 8 June 1865

<sup>96</sup> Some of the settlers in Tūranga were under the impression that Kohere’s actions would cause the Hauhau element to arm themselves. They even claimed this (the arming of the Hauhau) was the real intention behind Kohere’s moves.

<sup>97</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 12 May 1865. Wī Paraire was the father of Kararaina who married Rota Rangihuna.

<sup>98</sup> WNRW, p. 1. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 43, NFC.

<sup>99</sup> Pōhe was a first cousin to Hoera Tamatātai.

the party to the region and he knew the tracks and movements of the people well, being from the Te Kawakawa - Tikitiki district.

It seems the invitation to Pātara's party came from the chief Iharaira Porourangi<sup>100</sup> but a number of individuals are attributed with having been responsible for taking the emissaries into Ngāti Porou; Hōne Pōhe of Whānau-a-Hinerupe, Pita Tamaturi of Aitanga-a-Māhaki, and the Whānau-a-Apanui which included the important chief Te Aopururangi.<sup>101</sup> In any event, it was Aitanga-a-Māhaki who Ngāti Porou held responsible for the movement penetrating their district.<sup>102</sup> The Hauhau party entered Ngāti Porou knowing that their opponents had warned if Pātara was brought "into their neighbourhood, they would take up arms if necessary to expel him, as they consider him responsible for the murder of Mr Volkner at Ōpōtiki."<sup>103</sup>

The Hauhau insurgents camped first at Te Kawakawa where the Kīngitanga pā in that region turned to the new religion almost overnight. Pukemaire was the next pā to receive some of the visitors. This was a huge fortified pā above the present-day township of Tikitiki of which the residents were all adherents of the Kīngitanga. Following the pattern of the Whakatōhea and Aitanga-a-Māhaki which lead to mass conversions, an invitation was extended to all the Ngāti Porou hapū in the locality to attend a launch of the religion. The leading chiefs, Mōkena Kohere, Wikiriwhi Mātāuru and Hōtene Porourangi, were still out of the district. Paratene Ngata, who went along, stated that many Ngāti Porou took up the invitation to assess the movement themselves. They witnessed the Pai Marire ceremony conducted around the niu pole.<sup>104</sup> Accordingly, he said, those Ngāti Porou

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<sup>100</sup> W. L. Williams Diary entry for 27 June 1865 states, "When Pātara was at Raukokore, Houkāmau sent to tell him to go back and he was under the impression that he had gone back. But Porourangi had also sent to him to come and before Houkāmau was aware of his coming he had passed through. This is how it was that Ngāti Porou were taken by surprise".

<sup>101</sup> Te Aopururangi signed the Treaty of Waitangi. A mokopuna (grandchild) was caught in the opening encounter with Ngāti Porou in June. However, soon after the fighting began the Whānau-a-Apanui escorts may have exited the region returning to Raukokore. They wrote to Iharaira Houkāmau assuring him that they would not take part in the fighting in Ngāti Porou territory. Te Hata, Te Matenga Peraro, Te Aopururangi and others to Iharaira Houkāmau, 22 Jul 1865 published in *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, p. 26. But Te Aopururangi was later captured with other Hauhau at Hungahungatoroa which suggests he never left the territory, or he did in fact leave but later returned.

<sup>102</sup> Rāniera Kāwhia to W. L. Williams, 14 Sep 1865.

<sup>103</sup> W. L. Williams, *East Coast Historical Records*, p. 42.

<sup>104</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 43.

who were still supportive of the Kīngitanga all joined the Hauhau.<sup>105</sup> From this juncture the Kīngitanga sympathisers “were spoken of generally as Hauhau.”<sup>106</sup>

### Ngāti Porou divided

Ngata, in naming those who joined the Hauhau, chose to refer to them by hapū:

Whānau-a-Hinerupe	Ngāti Rangi
Ngai Tāne (Rangitukia)	Whānau-a-Hinetāpora
Whānau-a-Tāpuhi	Whānau-a-Te Ao
Whānau-a-Karuai	Whānau-a-Ruataupare ki roto o Tokomaru
Whānau-a-Rākai kia Rāhui	Whānau-a-Kōpuni
Whānau-a-Rākai kia Māhaki	Whānau-a-Hunaara o Horocra
Whānau-a-Te Aoparc	Whānau-a-Kahu o Punaruku
Whānau-a-Te Aotaihi o Maruhou	

This meant that with the exception of Iharaira Houkāmau’s kinsmen at Pātāngata, Hōhua Tāwhaki and a few followers at Te Kawakawa and Whānau-a-Takimoana with Wikiriwhi Mātāuru, virtually all the East Coast region north of East Cape accepted the new faith. From there south to the Waiapu river nearly all but Mōkena Kohere’s people joined. The southern bank of the Waiapu were won over also, with the exception of Kākāriki, Te Horo and Tikapa which had significant members resist, preventing total hapū support for the new cause.<sup>107</sup> Ngāti Rangi, who had earlier been confronted by their southern neighbours over the raising of a Kīngitanga flagstaff, left their residence at Reporua to join the Pukemaire inhabitants. To the south were:

Whānau-a-Ruataupare (Tūparoa)	Te Aowera (Pōpoti)
Te Aitanga-a-Mate (Whareponga)	Whānau-a-Rākairoa (Akuaku & Te Rere-a-Tahu)
Ngāti Hokopaura (Ōtuauri)	

all of whom had resisted the new faith as they had done the Kīngitanga. Some of Whānau-a-Iritekura at Waipiro joined their relatives at Tokomaru on the Hauhau side, but

<sup>105</sup> “Ko Ngātiporou i huri ki te taha Kiingi Māori i huri katoa ki te Hau Hau.” Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 46. Paratene wrote this on reflection in 1924. There are instances of some former Kīngitanga supporters opposing the Hauhau movement. For example Arapeta Pōtae. See *TWMA*, 1 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 56, p. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 42.



others resisted. At Tokomaru itself, Hēnare Pōtae and his close relatives stood outside the Hauhau circle. Up until now they had all lived together at Tuatini and Te Ariuru, even through the Kīngitanga tension where some of the men had gone to the war. But over the issue of the new religion they were divided. The majority were supportive of the Hauhau. Offended, Pōtae removed himself with his supporters to his home at Te Māwhai and they entrenched themselves in a hill pā. Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, influenced perhaps by the stance of the chiefs Karauria Pahura and Hirini Te Kani, encamped at Anaura but lost many to the enticement of the new faith. Estimates suggested north of Tokomaru some 250 to 300 fighting men joined the Hauhau, while the opposition were about 500 to 600 strong.<sup>108</sup>

### Reasons for Ngāti Porou joining the Hauhau movement

In his assessment, Paratene Ngata believed Whānau-a-Hinerupe and Ngai Tāne were the most ardent supporters of the Pai Marire religion although, Ngai Tāne was said to be divided due to a land dispute, and those among the hapū who resisted solicitations by the Hauhau, did so through the influence of one of their number Rev. Mohi Tūrei.

Certainly whānau and hapū animosities which stem right back, sometimes centuries, was part of what caused the cleavage in some communities, and still do for that matter.<sup>109</sup> Within each hapū, some whanau stood aloof from the majority, siding with the opposition. It was Ngata's opinion that their decision was shaped by the majority view of each whanau:

... ko ngā whanaunga i roto i ētahi hapū e honohono haere ana i ō rātou whakaaro kia kotahi ki te hāpai i te take e hāpainga ana e rātou nō te mea kei te haere tonu ngā kai kauhau i ngā wā katoa.<sup>110</sup>

... relatives in some hapū supported each other in their views in order to advance their cause together, because people were still going about [trying to enlist their support] (*my translation*)

But in some cases whanau loyalty did not account for one's stance. Individual motivation cannot be ignored. In some cases, fathers fought sons, and brothers were divided.

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<sup>107</sup> Pineamine Tūhaka and Rihara Paipa of Te Horo were key men who kept their people from joining the Hauhau cause.

<sup>108</sup> *TWMA*, 1 Jul 1865, vol. III, no. 54.

<sup>109</sup> This appears to have been the case with Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. See Chapter 8, p. 277.

<sup>110</sup> Paratene Ngata, p. 46.

What convinced some hapū, whanau or individuals among Ngāti Porou to join the Hauhau is an important question. Like Christianity in the 1830s, the Pai Marire faith appears to have been accepted on different levels. Some of the Kīngitanga supporters embraced it because it rejected any intrusion by government, promised the removal of all Pākehā including missionaries, and professed to be able to keep the land from alienation. For these Ngāti Porou it offered strengthened unity and, hopefully, greater control over Pākehā domination.

The return to abandoned conventions that were Māori in origin and which bore no resemblance to European customs, also made the new faith attractive as it asserted mana Māori and encouraged a return to a past in which they had control. History showed that there was no long-term commitment to the new faith by Ngāti Porou — most were to drop it as quickly as they had picked it up when it did not fulfill its promises. Many took it up because of the hope it offered, as they realised from the experiences of other tribes that their mana was diminishing as Pākehā domination became more and more a reality.

The promise of miraculous cures for health problems has always been used as an inducement to win followers to a faith and is common throughout the world. Within the Hauhau following there is evidence that healing was a motive for conversion. An article in *Te Waka Māori* was designed to render false the Hauhau claims to supernatural healing. “Kī ana māna ngā turi, ngā kopiri, ngā tūpāpaku katoa, e whakaora i te mate”<sup>111</sup> (They said they could heal the deaf, the lame, and they could restore life to all corpses). While the newspaper report gave more than sufficient examples of cases of unsuccessful attempts to heal people or raise the dead, this aspect of the movement did draw some converts as seen in the account of the Aitanga-a-Māhaki rangatira, Hēnare Ruru. After the war, Ruru confessed that “the reason he enlisted under the Hauhau banner was that Kereopa told him that he would be cured of his lameness if he made a nightly bed companion of the murdered pakeha’s preserved head, which had been brought from Taranaki.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> *TWMA*, 10 June 1865, vol. 2, no. 53.

<sup>112</sup> McKay, p. 217.

A broad range of tribal members pursued the Hauhau cause. There were rangatira who signed the Treaty of Waitangi, others who had been members of the runanga, one-time Church members who had held positions of responsibility within the religious hierarchy, and at least one representative from the recent meeting of the Māori synod. Converts included Mātenga Tūkareaho at Te Wairoa, the teacher who had first taken the Christian message to Te Wairoa in the thirties, and Ānaru Matete at Tūranga, who had resisted the overtures of the Kīngitanga and who was a toiler for the missionaries.<sup>113</sup>

The substitution of Hauhau for Kīngitanga among Ngāti Porou virtually occurred overnight and it seems some Ngāti Porou took to it even more rapidly than they had to Christianity 25 years or more earlier. Some of the reasoning for this must be put down to the “religious hysteria and mass emotionalism” which accompanied the Pai Marire service and the formula used by the emissaries. A formula which drew on those methods “approved by long-standing custom as the most potent in rousing and organising the people.”<sup>114</sup> Paratene Ngata recalled how tantalizing the voices of the women who lead the prayer were (Ka reka te waha o te wahine ki te hapai i ona karakia),<sup>115</sup> and Archdeacon Leonard Williams who witnessed the ceremony led by Pātara at Patutahi said that Pātara was shedding tears most copiously as he explained to the uninitiated that their tangi was for the “people stripped naked, and for the island reduced by half.”<sup>116</sup> Henry Williams Jnr, who was also present, described the tangi as “captivating and solemn.”<sup>117</sup> Many of the onlookers were so worked up that “they could not restrain themselves from joining in.”<sup>118</sup> The father of the two young men, Bishop William Williams later wrote,

It was a mourning on account of those who had been slain in the war with the English, and for the land which had been taken from them in Waikato. It was commenced by the Taranaki natives, but the effect was overpowering upon the bystanders, who joined in by degrees until there were very few who did not unite in the chorus. There was a chord touched which vibrated in the native breast. It was the “aroha ki te iwi,” *amor patrice*, and they could not resist it. In their harangues,

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<sup>113</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 22 Apr 1865.

<sup>114</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” pp. 352-353.

<sup>115</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 46.

<sup>116</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 37.

<sup>117</sup> Jnl of Henry Williams Jnr, 22 Apr 1865.

<sup>118</sup> Williams, *East Coast...*, p. 37.

the evils of their condition were magnified to the utmost, and the sympathies of the people were enlisted to such an extreme degree that they seemed to be hurried along as by a mighty torrent.<sup>119</sup>

Many of those enquirers who only went to Pukemaire to observe must have been drawn into the movement by the power and emotion of the ritual. Maria Morete's account of her initiation at Pātutahi sheds further light on the appeal Pai Marire had for the inquisitive. While her father was Irish, her mother was of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki:<sup>120</sup>

I joined the Hauhaus for I had a great desire to get an insight into the new religion. My husband had been brought up by the bishop and I had been educated at the Three Kings in the Wesleyan Institution there & ought to have known better. Pera was very angry with me and said Maria you are mad, "Oh leave me alone," I replied. "I know what I am doing." So I ran round the pole and danced & sang with the others and thought it was fine fun especially where two or three hundred joined hands & walked round the pole singing & when the song was ended we held up our right hands while we repeated a prayer which ended thus "Pai mariri riri riri hau," but I could not understand the meaning of the words. That was the only service I [sic] ever had.<sup>121</sup>

Later Maria left when Paratene Pōtōti (or Tūrangi) came and asked the pā to surrender arms. The leading men in the pā refused and then advised those in the pā who did not believe in the Pai Marire religion "to go away from them." Maria wrote, "I left because I did not really believe in it."<sup>122</sup> There must have been many like Maria with inadequate motives who were drawn in by the mass psychology behind the Pai Marire services.

### On the brink of war

By 5 June, the news of Pātara's presence at Waiapu reached Tūranga by way of a messenger from Hēnare Pōtae to Hirini Te Kani. Donald McLean had arrived with Bishop Williams to arbitrate between Hirini Te Kani and Mōkena Kohere in the matter of the flagstaff at Waikanae, and offered to take a concerned Kohere home.<sup>123</sup> Before they left, Te Kani and his supporters finally made a public acknowledgment that they would support the Government and not the Hauhau. This news was treated with contempt by

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<sup>119</sup> Williams, *Christianity ...*, p. 369.

<sup>120</sup> Maria ran away from her father to her mother's people in Poverty Bay arriving in 1861. Her mother, a woman of rank, had died. In 1863 she was married to Pera Taihuka (who, according to Maria, was later killed in the presence of Te Kooti) and they lived near Ormond.

<sup>121</sup> Reminisces of Tūranga Massacre, MS Papers 2296, Folder Maria Morris, pp. 4-5, ATL.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>123</sup> McLean had arrived on 4 June at the invitation of Hirini Te Kani.

the Hauhau converts on the East Coast. At Horoera, Hākopa Te Ari and Whitu had returned from a hunting expedition having killed a wild pig. When eating it, they equated it to eating the rangatira Iharaira Houkāmau. “Another piece they called Te Kani-a-Takirau (supposedly a reference to Hirini Te Kani) and a third piece was called Jesus Christ.”<sup>124</sup> Hākopa also made a threat that if Mōkena Kohere came near Horoera, blood would be spilt.<sup>125</sup>

Meanwhile, those Ngāti Porou who were not convinced by the Ngāti Porou inauguration of the movement at Pukemaire, warned their tribesmen not to have anything to do with it. Like other tribes they “detected nothing religious in it. They diagnosed its real nature and value as a form of opposition to Pākehā aggression and a demonstration of resentment against injustice, organized in a manner, and with the aid of ritual, invocation and dancing, in many ways characteristic of ancient Māori culture.”<sup>126</sup> Like all religious cults born out of desperate circumstances, there are always influential members ready to manipulate its followers for political ends. In this vein they viewed Pātara. They considered him among those responsible for Rev. Volkner’s death and before Kohere reached the Waiapu his people decided to try and apprehend Pātara.

During this build up, Rāpata Wahawaha had been with Whānau-a-Rākairoa at Te Rere-a-Tahu (opposite the present site of Mākarika School). While this hapū had assisted in preventing the Kīngitanga supporters from passing Waipiro in April, their time was now taken up in preparing for the opening of a new church belonging to the hapū Te Aowera at Pōpoti.<sup>127</sup> History records that, although involved in peaceful pursuits, Wahawaha was only days away from an impactful entrance onto the stage of Ngāti Porou politics. The outbreak of war which loomed near would provide an opportunity for him to demonstrate a fresh and confident leadership style to the tribe. His performance on the battlefield would earn him a key role in shaping the future of Ngāti Porou in peacetime.

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<sup>124</sup> Evidence of Hati Houkāmau, Wp 60/67.

<sup>125</sup> Bob McConnell, 1993, *Te Araroa*, p. 148.

<sup>126</sup> Ngata & Sutherland, “Religious Influences,” p. 353.

<sup>127</sup> Whānau-a-Rākairoa were sorting kumara at Te Rere-a-Tahu in early June. Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in the Paraeroa Investigation. Wp7B/298. Hauhaketū is a name extant in my grandparents’ time for the area where kumara were grown at Te Rere-a-Tahu. It is said that the kumara were so big they were standing upright and protruding at the time of harvesting, hence the name.

But for now, the long awaited confrontation between the two schools of thought within Ngāti Porou was at hand. Although stimulated by the intrusion of other tribes under the banner of Hauhauism, the contest to be played out was over which group's strategies should become that which the tribe followed. To ensure a complete victory one side would have to bring the other into total submission. The irony, however, was that while their strategies were different both had similar long term goals in mind — retention of land, autonomy, resistance of assimilation by the western colonising wave. To that extent, the contest was less about the fundamental beliefs in tribal destinies, than the best method to achieve a level of independence and economic property.

## Chapter 8

### War and Unification

June - October 1865

#### Source material

In the past, some researchers have found the detail of events surrounding the engagements fought between the Hauhau and Ngāti Porou somewhat confusing. One wrote "... in no other N.Z. campaigns are the 'authorities' so much at variance in matters of detail."<sup>1</sup> The confusion comes largely with the chronology of operations surrounding the early skirmishes and fighting in the Waiapu basin particularly in the month of June.<sup>2</sup> The most reliable accounts for the chronological placement of events are to be found in the letters written by leading Māori identities who were witnesses and sometimes participants in the conflict as it unfolded. In the past little or no recourse to these letters has occurred, perhaps because they were written in Māori. The letters were addressed to either Archdeacon Leonard Williams or Donald McLean weeks, sometimes days, after an encounter, and while they carry some bias in terms of how well their own side was doing, the dates are more reliable than the retrospective accounts published many decades later.

Other first hand reports were provided by Government officials or senior military personnel who were present throughout some of the campaigns.<sup>3</sup> These too tend to overstate the success of the Government troops and sometimes emphasise the gallantry of the writer. Still they are useful for describing events as they took place.

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<sup>1</sup> R. J. M. Bennett (Secretary, Atlas Committee) to JA Mackay, 17 Jan 1941, McKay Papers, Box IV, GMAC.

<sup>2</sup> There is significant correspondence in the MacKay papers from both A Bagnall and RJM Bennett of the NZ Atlas Committee, seeking help in unraveling the chronology of events. McKay Papers, Box IV, GMAC.

<sup>3</sup> These include the reports and letters of Donald McLean, Captain James Fraser, and Lieutenant Reginald Biggs.

A further source of information, rarely used, is *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri*.<sup>4</sup> This was a regional newspaper, its readership being mostly resident along the eastern coast as far south as Wellington. It was produced fortnightly, in Māori only, from 1863 to 1871 and provided pro-government views of contemporary issues. The paper was published in Napier and Donald McLean not only utilised it to publicise some of the letters he was receiving from his Māori informants, but also through Government funding, had the operating costs subsidised. These primary sources combined with the reflective accounts of Rāpata Wahawaha (1871), Tuta Nihoniho (1914) and Paratene Ngata (1924) provide the base material for this chapter. The oral tradition and local knowledge provided by a range of Ngāti Porou informants has helped flesh out the narrative.

### **Waiapu under siege**

There was a mood of expectancy when Kohere, McLean and Bishop Williams made landfall at Tūparoa on Thursday 8 June 1865.<sup>5</sup> They found that the greater population in the immediate district were absent at Pōpoti preparing to celebrate the consecration of the church St Michael's (Mikaera Tapu).<sup>6</sup> These were the sub-tribes Whānau-a-Ruataupare of Tūparoa, (not to be confused with Whānau-a-Ruataupare at Tokomaru), Te Aowera, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Whānau-a-Rakairoa, Te Whānau-a-Iritekura, Ngāti Hokopaura, and Hēnare Pōtae with what was left of his Whānau-a-Ruataupare following from Tokomaru.<sup>7</sup>

Keen to gather intelligence about the movements of the Hauhau party, McLean sent a messenger to Pōpoti to ask for some of the chiefs to come over to Tūparoa. This is where Rāpata Wahawaha and his Whānau-a-Rakairoa relatives were based. While Wahawaha was considered one of the leading men among his own hāpu, it would be fair to say he was still in the second tier of leadership of the chiefs gathered at Popoti. It was Hēnare Pōtae, Rev. Mohi Tūrei and Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia who headed off from Pōpoti to meet with McLean, while preparations for the feast continued.

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<sup>4</sup> After 1871 the paper was published in Wellington and altered its name to *Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani*.

<sup>5</sup> They travelled aboard the *St Kilda*.

<sup>6</sup> Much confusion was caused by varying chronologies by different commentators of the events from the 8th to the 11th of June. In actual fact, McLean met with Mohi Tūrei and others on the 8th about 1pm. Te Aowera marched for Te Hatepe on the 10th and they fought a Hauhau party on the 11th.

<sup>7</sup> Riwai Taotu of Ngāti Rākai spoke of having taken pork for the feast of St Michaels. Riwai Taotu cross-examined by Tuta Nihoniho in the Rangikohua Case. Wp Apell 2/349 of 24 Jun 1889. Ngāti Rākai was a small hapū living between Akuaku and Waipiro.



While McLean and the others were waiting, a messenger came from Rangitukia to tell them that Pātara was at Te Kawakawa and that Wikiriwhi Mātāuru and Hōtene Porourangi, who had returned from Auckland aboard the *Lapwing*, were at Rangitukia.<sup>8</sup> Hōtene and Wikiriwhi had gone to Rangitukia with a supporting force to fulfill their pledge that if Pātara entered Ngāti Porou territory they would take up arms against him. Soon the Popoti group arrived and they were later joined by Hōtene Porourangi and Hāmiora Tamanuitera.<sup>9</sup> After discussion, the Tūparoa meeting resolved to do a number of things in an attempt to apprehend Pātara: to send Rev. Tūrei back to Pōpoti to enlist the aid of those hapū, for Pōtae to return with McLean to Napier to secure arms and ammunition, while Kohere would go directly to Rangitukia to organise his own supporters and await the arrival of arms through Pōtae.<sup>10</sup> At the end of the East Coast campaign, reference would be made by Ngāti Porou's leaders to the Tūparoa conference as a reminder to all parties that the fight was a Māori one and that Pākeha participation was by invitation from the chiefs.

Mōkena Kohere arrived at his pā the next day and found his kinsmen much aroused and keen to force a fight with the Hauhau. Knowing that the crucial supply of firearms was some days away, he cautioned the pā to delay “kia āta hanga” until the weapons arrived. The populace, however, were bent on an immediate offensive. They performed the tūtū waewae (haka in preparation for battle) and Kohere could see the people would not be stalled. Intelligence reports indicated that Pātara's ope had made their way to Pukemaire, where parties from Kōtare, Kawakawa and Horoera were also camped.<sup>11</sup> Kohere and the other chiefs planned to first assault Tikitiki Pā. This pā belonged to Kīngitanga supporters who had joined the Hauhau and was on the flat land near Pukemaire.<sup>12</sup> By taking the pā they would be in a better position to reconnoiter the larger Pukemaire pa.

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<sup>8</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 10 Jun 1865. McLean's diary entry for the 8 June read, “... got to Tuparoa, waited for some hours when Hēnare Pōtae, Rāniera and Mohi arrived from an inland pah where they were holding a meeting — a portion of the tribe having gone to apprehend Pātara.” The last part of his entry refers to Hōtene Porourangi and Wikiriwhi Mātāuru. McLean Diary, 8 June 1865

<sup>9</sup> Jnl of W Williams, 8 Jun 1865.

<sup>10</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 10 Jun 1865. McLean reached Napier on 11 June. Pōtae returned on the *St Kilda* arriving at Te Kawakawa with arms and ammunition on 19 June. McLean sent for more arms from Wellington.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 Jun 1865.

<sup>12</sup> Tikitiki Pā lay about 800 metres from Pukemaire.

### Justification for attack

To say, as some commentators have, that rangatira, like Kohere, were bent on breaking the Hauhau movement simply to maintain their own personal influence over their people is a shallow observation of the complexities of Māori political and community dynamics.<sup>13</sup> The acceptance of hapū independence under the leadership of traditional rangatira was desired as much by the whanau as it was by their leaders. In his thesis, Rarawa Kohere provided some sound reasoning why his tipuna launched the assault against the Hauhau. He wrote that Mōkena Kohere's stance "must be viewed as nothing more than the obvious, in that he was simply defending his own territory against the invader who was putting his own and his tribe's mana at risk."<sup>14</sup> It would be fair to say that this was the response of all Ngāti Porou who objected to the Hauhau intrusion, albeit they had been aggravated by the bellicose attitude of the supporters of the King movement in the preceding months, and the murder of Rev. Volkner in March. Overlaying this aspect of course, was the fact that the invasion was viewed as being of a cult nature that seemed to challenge the right of Ngāti Porou to continue as Christians. Hēnare Pōtae's explanation for why he joined the fighting, supports this argument:

Kua pakaru ngā whare karakia i a rātou; kua whiwhi hoki rātou ki te Atua. Kātahi au ka whakaaro kia whawhaitia e au taua Atua kia haere atu ki rō ngahere. E kore hoki au e pai kia waiho tēnā atua kino, kai tangata, kōhuru, i tōku taha noho ai; kei tahuri mai hoki ki au tū kino ai. Koia tēnei ngā kōrero o tēnei riri.<sup>15</sup>

They destroyed churches; they bound themselves to their god. Only then did I think about fighting and chasing that god into the forest. I felt it was not good to allow that evil deity, man-eater, murderer to reside in my neighbourhood [lit. to remain by my side]; lest it turn on me and commit evil. This is what this war is about. (*my translation*)

The Whānau-a-Ruataupare and Whanau-a-Hinetāpora chiefs at Tūparoa were adamant that they were conducting a religious war, scourging their district of the false religion:

Tēnā e hoa mā, tirohia iho te whakatakinga o te take o te whawhai o Waiapu. Kaore i te pākeha, kei a matou anō te take. Ka mohio nei mātou he kai arai tēnei i te Rongo Pai, he kai

<sup>13</sup> cf. Karen S. Neal, 1976, "Māori Participation in the East Coast Wars," MA Thesis, AU, p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> Rarawa D. Kohere, 1992, "He Koha Kei Roto: He Utu Kei Waho," MEd Thesis, AU, p. 160.

<sup>15</sup> *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 25.

whakamate i te tangata, i te karakia ki te Atua nui kia mate tō mātou whakapono; kia kainga ai e rātou ngā whatu o tō mātou whakapono kia pau.<sup>16</sup>

Now then friends, let us look for the reason why fighting has broken out at Waiapu. It has nothing to do with the European, the cause lies with us. We know that this [referring to Hauhauism] is intended to obstruct the Good News, it seeks to destroy people, and prayer to God the almighty, to shatter our faith; in order that they might consume the eyes of our faith until it disappears. (*my translation*)

### **Tikitiki Pā occupied by Kohere's force**

On the following day (10 June), Kohere's party set out for Tikitiki, but on reaching the pā found it completely empty, the occupants having retired to Pukemaire. The ope taua proceeded to occupy the pā and plan their next move.<sup>17</sup> Tikitiki pā was in view of Pukemaire. An uneasy peace covered the Waiapu valley — the calm before the storm. Meanwhile, at Pōpoti further developments were taking place.

### **Te Aowera prepare at Pōpoti**

Obviously with the departure of Hēnare Pōtae and the others for Tūparoa on 8 June there was a growing air of uncertainty at Pōpoti. Hōne Hehe giving evidence during a land court case in 1875 remembered:

... only Rawiri Hikarukutai, Aporo, and other near relatives got birds when church Mikaera was [sic] built at Pōpoti .... when we heard the birds were coming Watene Tuhura and Makoare sent me and Haira to meet them. I met them at Kakapakapaka in Rangikohua [block]. I told them to hurry in order to hasten the feast as trouble was arising on account of the Hauhau.<sup>18</sup>

Tuta Nihoniho recalled that during the hākari (feast) on the 10<sup>th</sup>, Mohi Turei<sup>19</sup> arrived in military dress and proclaimed:

<sup>16</sup> Hāmiora Tamanui, Wi Hēkopa Awatere, Wiremu Kingi Taunaha and Hōtene Te Haro (Hōtene Porourangi) to the editor of *TWMA*, Oct 1865, published in *TWMA*, 4 Nov 1865, vol. 3, no. 63, p. 45.

<sup>17</sup> Tūrei to McLean 19 Jun 1865. *The Hawke's Bay Herald* of 29 June said that there was a pā at Tikitiki which was first occupied by the Hauhau but they retired from it before the arrival of Hēnare Nihoniho and Te Aowera.

<sup>18</sup> Evidence of Hōne Hehe in Pāraeroa Investigation of Title, Wp7B/370 of 6 Apr 1885.

<sup>19</sup> Tūrei's mother was from Whareponga and belonged to Te Aitanga-a-Mate of which Te Aowera hapū were kin.

“Ngāti Porou, e. Ko te Hauhau nāna nei a Te Wākana i kōhuru, kua uru mai kei roto o te rohe o Ngāti Porou, e kukume ana i ngā hapū maha o Ngāti Porou kia anga atu ki o rātou atua, ki a Riki raua ko Rua.”<sup>20</sup>

“O Ngāti Porou! The Hauhau who murdered Volkner have entered the bounds of Ngāti Porou, and are inducing the many sub-tribes (sic) of Ngāti Porou to turn to their Gods Riki and Rura.”  
(translation by James Cowan)<sup>21</sup>

Another report stated that Rev. Tūrei came wearing a bandolier and another that he referred to the Hauhau as Philistines.<sup>22</sup> Nihoniho’s version of what must have been a passionate delivery of a call to arms by Mohi Tūrei is put more plainly in Wahawaha’s account — “Ko te Hauhau tēnei kua tae mai kei Pukemaire.”<sup>23</sup> (‘Tis the Hauhau who have reached Pukemaire). Wahawaha said that they were in such a quandary from the news Rev. Tūrei had brought that they concluded the feast without eating the birds.<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to appreciate the significance of this statement without having known or savoured the taste of the native bird delicacy. Suffice to say that the people would have been unsettled by the news.

Much discussion was entered into by the elders and leading men. A 40-man party was selected to confront the invaders, the leaders of which included Makoare Tuatai, Hēnare Nihoniho, Rawiri Hāpai (or Hikarukutai), Wiremu Kingi Kuhukuhu (or Taunaha), Erueti Torori and Rāpata Wahawaha. Wahawaha was 45 years old at the time, others in the party were much older.<sup>25</sup> The force of 40 represented a number of the hapū who were at Pōpoti for the occasion. From the names known to have travelled in this party, it is clear that there were men from the local hapū of Te Aowera, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, Whānau-a-Rakairoa, Ngāti Hokopaura and Whānau-a-Iritekura. These hapū generally had a history of supporting each other and were part of the same parish.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Tuta Nihoniho, 1913, *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast*, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Reweti Kohere, 1949, *The Story of a Māori Chief*, p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> WNRW, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Rāpata Wahawaha in Pāraeroa Investigation of Title Wp 7B/298 of 6 Apr 1885.

<sup>25</sup> Others in the group included Te Teira Pikiuha, Te Paka Paehakahaka, Reupena Te Ana, Marakai Mawheta, Heperi Kaware, Pirimona Te Honu, Ngāwhetonga, Hāre Nuke, Wirihana Waipapa and Rota.

<sup>26</sup> Their unity was partly the result of common ancestry, but also the result of living in close proximity to each other and having to share resources — the terrain in their region lends itself towards partial isolation from their neighbouring hapū. Eru Potaka in the Investigation to the Waipiro Block stated, “A subscription was started to raise a fund for a minister. Rāniera Kāwhia was the minister. Te Aowera

Tuta Nihoniho in his *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast* gave a reflective account of the readying of the fighting party. He was fourteen at the time, and his father Hēnare was one of the leaders of the force. As was the custom, those selected for the ope taua performed the tutu ngarahu, which in this case included a rendition of the well-known haka taparahi, Ruaumoko.<sup>27</sup> Any mistake in rendering the haka was seen as a signal of bad luck, and on this occasion such an error occurred in the performance.

I hakaia i Pōpoti, ka whati te haka nei, ka tū ngā kaumātua ki te pupuri i a Hēnare rātou ko tōna ope .... I roto tonu au i te rīnanga nui o ngā kaumatua e whakarongo ana ki a rātou pupuri, ki a rātou tangi. Kua mohio noa āke rātou he aitua kei mua; tika tonu tā rātou.<sup>28</sup>

It was [sic] sung at Pōpoti, and incorrectly so; hence the old men rose to prevent Hēnare (Nihoniho) and his party .... I was among the council of old men listening to their detaining speeches and their lamentation. They already knew that misfortune loomed near, and they were right.<sup>29</sup> (translation by James Cowan)

From this point on and up to the end of the first engagement (known as Mangaone) the next morning, matters of detail vary according to the different commentators.<sup>30</sup> However, the thread of the story holds that when the force of 40 men were ready, they were armed only with seven rifles, the rest carried taiaha and meremere.<sup>31</sup> Wahawaha attributed the

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invited the hapū of the parish to assemble at Pōpoti for a feast. The people of Waikawa, Waipiro, Akuaku and Te Aitanga-a-Mate living at Whareponga all assembled at Pōpoti." Wp8B/317 of 15 May 1885.

<sup>27</sup> Ruaumoko is still performed today and remains the most popular haka taparahi for Ngāti Porou particularly among the descendants of those hapū which were gathered at Pōpoti.

<sup>28</sup> Nihoniho, p. 26.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> The earliest primary source material are letters to Archdeacon W. L. Williams on 18 June and 18 July written by Rutene Koroua (or Eke) and Mohi Tūrei respectively and a letter from Tūrei to McLean dated 19 June. Rutene was not at Mangaone and was reporting hearsay from Waitotara near Whāngārā. However, Mohi Tūrei was involved in the lead up to the Mangaone confrontation and from his letter of 19 June it seems he may have been a witness to events that day or at the very least was close by at either Te Hatepe or Tikitiki Pā when the fighting broke out. He certainly was a participant in several of the engagements, probably as a chaplain to the men. Rāpata Wahawaha's account was written after the cessation of hostilities with Te Kooti in 1871. Wahawaha also gave evidence in the Māori Land Court in 1885 relating to the Mangaone event. He was a participant in the engagement and his is the only definite eyewitness account (albeit written 6 years later). James Cowan's account printed in 1922, without doubt, is taken from Wahawaha's narrative which he must have had access to. James Cowan, 1922, *The New Zealand Wars*, vol. 2, pp. 113-118. The other useful commentaries are those of Archdeacon W. L. Williams who based his description on the letters and reports he received in Tūranga, and Tuta Nihoniho's narrative given in 1912. Tuta's account of the fight at Mangaone is also second hand as he and other reinforcements did not arrive at Te Hatepe until 19 June.

<sup>31</sup> WNRW, p. 1. Tuta Nihoniho in his narrative put the number of men at forty-nine while he thought there were five guns, Nihoniho, p. 4. In a letter from Mohi Tūrei to Donald McLean, written on 19 June

lack of muskets to the influence of Christianity saying, “kua mutu hoki te whakaaro ki te patu tangata,” that they had given up thoughts of fighting. Another explanation for such a small number of muskets being taken was given by Tuta Nihoniho when he explained that there were more of the outdated flintlock muskets available but these were not carried as they were expecting Government guns and ammunition to be landed at Port Awanui.

Kotahi hoki te pū *miini raiwhara* a te kāwanatanga i tukua mai ki a Hēnare [Nihoniho] me te *haki kuini*, ko Hikurangi te ingoa .... ko a rātou pū e rima; i hua rātou, tērā kua ū mai nga pū kei Te Awanui, nā reira i kore ai e haria he pū mā rātou, arā ngā pū torori nei.<sup>32</sup>

One minie mini rifle (?) had been sent by the Government to Hēnare, also a flag that was named Hikurangi .... their guns were five. They believed that the guns had arrived at Te Awanui, hence they did not take more with them — that is more flintlocks.<sup>33</sup> (*translation by James Cowan*)

This would be the supply which Hēnare Pōtae was bringing from Napier. Nihoniho added that, given the incorrect rendering of the haka, one of the reasons the elders consented to the party proceeding was to collect the guns.<sup>34</sup>

### Under the banner of Te Aowera

Pineamine Waipapa of Waipiro said that the principal name of all the hapū that went to fight the Hauhau was Te Aowera.<sup>35</sup> It is not clear why the name Te Aowera was chosen as the name for the departing troops, but it was by this title that the troops serving were to win fame on the battlefield throughout the 1860s. Gudgeon, a pakeha officer, was later to write, that from 1865 to the end of the war there was no force more reliable in the field.<sup>36</sup>

Some who went were not descendants of Te Aowera, nor belonged to the hapū which bore the name. Rāpata Wahawaha, for example, did not. The preference for it as a name to cover the force probably stemmed from the fact that the majority of the rangatira of the

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1865, Tūrei said the group carried eight guns, while the majority of men were armed with meremere.

<sup>32</sup> Nihoniho, *ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. The minie rifle was invented by Capt. C. E. Minie, a Frenchman. It fired an elongated bullet which “was expanded by the powder contained in an iron cup inserted in a cavity at its base.” William Little, 1973, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>34</sup> McLean Diary 8 June 1865. Nihoniho’s mention of a flag being sent to his father is quite significant. McLean’s diary jottings for the month of June record a number of requests for the Queen’s flag and his intention to send some.

<sup>35</sup> Evidence of Pineamine Waipapa in Waipiro Investigation of Title, Wp 9B/124 of 10 Jun 1885.

<sup>36</sup> W. E. Gudgeon, 1894, “The Māori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand, Pt II,” in *JPS*, vol. 4, p. 28.

party and the senior members were from the Te Aowera hapū. The occasion to celebrate the church, also being a Te Aowera one, may have added to the choice of name.

### **Te Aowera arrive at Te Hatepe**

When the necessary preparations were complete, the Te Aowera force set out in the dark and followed the track to Te Rua-ō-Pango or Te Hatepe, as the stronghold became known, and slept there.<sup>37</sup> With the Te Aowera force resting at Te Hatepe, Kohere's party holding Tikitiki and the Hauhau at Pukemaire, the scene was set for the opening battle.

It seems the repositioning of Kohere and his supporters at Tikitiki Pā had made Pātara apprehensive of trouble and he had decided to make his departure before dawn, apparently intent on returning to the Bay of Plenty. With Ngāti Porou escorts, Pātara's group numbered 70. They made their way out of the pā and down onto the flat lands in the vicinity of Rahui. They intended moving north on the inland route, Pakiakanui, but to their surprise some of Kohere's men were waiting and fired on them.

### **The campaign opens at Mangaone (11 Jun)**

Meanwhile, back at Te Hatepe the Te Aowera force were abruptly awoken by the volley of shots. It was still quite dark and immediately they set out in the direction of Pukemaire. They were met on the track by a messenger from Tikitiki Pā who bid them make haste. They ran towards the area where the shots were being fired and met Kohere's party returning fire on a well-armed Hauhau party.<sup>38</sup> Mohi Turei described the engagement in a letter to McLean.

Tae atu ki Tikitiki, kua whawhai, kua rangona atu te waha o te pū i roto i te ngahere. Haere tonu atu te 40 - e 40 ngā tāngata, a e 8 tonu ngā pū, e 5 ngā tinana i te pū kotahi; ko te nuinga o a rātou pū, he meremere anake. (Tēnā rā! tau riri māori!) Te taenga atu o te 40 ki te ope Kuini, e whawhai atu ana ki te Hau Hau, kātahi ka haere tonu te 40 mau meremere he haukoti te Hau Hau. Kātahi ka karanga atu te ope Kuini kua whawhai ra:—

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<sup>37</sup> Te Hatepe means to be cut off, which describes precisely the position of the pā. WNRW, p1. Reweti Kohere, p. 54. From the early stages of the confrontation, Mohi Turei refers to the stronghold as Te Hatepe, cf. Turei to McLean, 18 Jul 1865.

<sup>38</sup> This was Sunday 11 June. Wahawaha in his account, conscious of the fact that it was the Sabbath explained, "kihai i taea te whakaaro te rā tapu te mea kua pipiri te Hauhau me te Kāwanatanga o Ngāti Porou" (little thought could be given to the Sabbath day as the two sides were now at close quarters). They would, however, conduct services regularly most Sundays once the campaign began.

“Te Aowera e! E tū kia kōrero tāua. Me pēhea he kōkiri mā tāua.” (He ingoa nō te 40 a te Aowera.) Kātahi ka whakahokia mai e Makoare Tuatai:—

“E riri koe - kua pakū hoki tāu pū.” Kātahi ka takiritia e Makoare te 40 ka tika atu nā roto i te wai, ka haukotia mai i mua o te Hau Hau.<sup>39</sup>

When they reached Tikitiki, the fight was in progress and rifle fire could be heard in the bush. They pressed on — there were 40 men, and 8 rifles, 5 men to each rifle; the majority of their weapons were simply meremere. (Aah, but so what! their adrenalin was flowing).<sup>40</sup> When the 40 came upon the Queen party [Kohere’s men] they found them battling the Hauhau. Then the 40 pressed forward with their mere intending to intercept the Hauhau head on. Seeing this Mōkena’s party called out:— “Te Aowera! Hold your advance that we might plan how we will attack ” To which Makoare Tuatai replied:— “Keep fighting! You have already fired your gun,”[implying that it was too late to start planning now]. Then Makoare led his men towards the [Mangaone Stream] where they lay in wait ready to intercept the Hauhau. (*my translation*)

As the vanguard of the Hauhau contingent came along the stream, some of the party surprised them, catching two by hand.<sup>41</sup> The prisoners turned out to be both youths of leading families. Of one of these captives Wahawaha wrote:

Kātahi ka haerea e te whā tekau ki mua paepae mai ai, e whiti haere ana te Hauhau, a ko tētahi tamariki o te Hauhau ka hopukia e Arapeta Te Haenga, e awhitia ana ki roto o tōna poho; te whakatikanga atu o Rāpata Wahawaha, ka mau ki ngā makawe o te upoko. Kātahi ka karanga ake a Arapeta Te Haenga, “E hika e! Kia ora tā tāua mokopuna,” me te mau tonu te ringaringa o Rāpata ki te poko, me te pātai iho - “Nā wai te tangata nei?” Ka whakahua e Arapeta i te ingoa o te tipuna o Te Aopurangi. Nō te rongonga o Rāpata nā Te Aopururangi [sic], kātahi ka matāra te ringaringa o Rāpata i te mähunga o te tamaiti rā.<sup>42</sup>

Then the forty went and lay in wait. The Hauhau were taken by surprise. One of the children of the Hauhau were captured by Arapeta Te Haenga who held him to his chest. Rāpata Wahawaha came upon him and grabbed the hair of the youth’s head. Then Arapeta Te Haenga called out, “Sir, let our grandchild live!” As he clutched (the child’s) hair Rāpata asked, “Who does this person belong to.” Arapeta spoke the name of the grandparent, Te Aopururangi. At that Rāpata quickly let go of the (child’s) hair. (*my translation*)

<sup>39</sup> Tūrei to McLean, 19 Jun 1865.

<sup>40</sup> “Tēnā rā! tau riri māori!” To appreciate the meaning of this phrase one must be aware that the distance they had covered from Te Hatepe to Tikitiki was about 10 kilometres and given the intensity of the situation they were probably running most, if not all, of the way.

<sup>41</sup> The engagement fought at Mangaone occurred on 11 June 1865 and not 20 June as Tuta Nihoniho’s reminisces state or 10 June as James Cowan recorded. Cowan, vol. 2, p. 114. Subsequent commentators have repeated Tuta Nihoniho’s date (e.g., Neale, Belich).

<sup>42</sup> WNRW, p. 2.



Te Aopururangi was an important rangatira of the Whānau-a-Apanui who had signed the Treaty of Waitangi.<sup>43</sup> He was part of the Whānau-a-Apanui contingent which had accompanied Pātara to Pukemaire.<sup>44</sup> Some of Kohere's men must have caught up with Te Aowera, as Arapeta Te Haenga (rangatira of Ngāti Puai of Tikapa) was one of Kohere's party.<sup>45</sup>

As more of the Hauhau came on the scene a battle ensued, the parties being on either side of the stream. On realising two of their own had been captured, the Hauhau rushed across the Mangaone and were met head on with a charge by some of Te Aowera. Close quarter fighting occurred and then the Hauhau regrouped on their side of the stream and opened fire. Seventy muzzles flashed out a volley of fire as the ill-armed Te Aowera tried to return the fire. Several Te Aowera men fell in rapid succession leaving the prisoners to escape. The firepower of the Hauhau quickly turned the battle in their favour. In the heat of it, however, Wahawaha was outstanding. T. W. Gudgeon wrote:

At Tikitiki, the contending parties were ranged on each side of a ravine, when one of the enemy came forward, on the opposite bank, defying Rōpata and his men. Rōpata saw him and went at him unarmed, and succeeded in dashing out his brains, whilst both parties stood looking on perfectly amazed.<sup>46</sup>

Lt-Col Thomas Porter, although writing from hearsay, described the same action as follows:

...Rōpata decided the battle in a truly Māori fashion. The parties were firing from terraces on either side of a valley, and Rōpata's men were falling rapidly. This enraged him so much that, in defiance of bullets, he rushed midway into the valley, gnashing his teeth, jumping, flourishing his *mere* (axe), being otherwise unarmed, and yelling defiance to the rebels to come on. Moved by his taunts a chief from the enemy rushed out to the front. Rōpata excited and impatient, and impervious to the bullets which were being fired at him, advanced to meet the

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<sup>43</sup> He was one of four who signed at Te Kaha. On the treaty document his name is spelt Haupururangi. Miria Simpson, 1990, *Ngā Tohu o te Tiriti: making a mark*, p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> Te Aopururangi was later captured at Hungahungatoroa, Major Fraser's official report in *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 345.

<sup>45</sup> Arapeta's son Paora joined the Hauhau and was stationed at Pukemaire. Arapeta died in 1870. Wp3/391.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Wayth Gudgeon, 1887, *The Defenders of New Zealand*, p. 407.

*toa* (brave). It was quickly over. After a few frantic rushes and blows, Rōpata succeeded in catching his opponent by the hair and dashing his brains out with his *mere*. This was the stroke of victory, the rebels, panic-stricken by the fall of their chief, retreating with considerable loss.<sup>47</sup>

Wahawaha in his own rather matter-of-fact account does not mention the duel but wrote that when the Hauhau opened fire there were six of his relatives near him who received fatal wounds. However, the bullets missed him. The volley of fire caused the Te Aowera force to run for cover behind clumps of trees, leaving Wahawaha and those who had been killed out in the open. It was most likely at this point that Wahawaha challenged the Hauhau party. Then as his comrades watched he calmly made his way to cover as the Hauhau party fired at him. He wrote, “kaore ona mahara kia tu a ia i te pu, kia kore ranei” (he did not dwell on whether or not he would be hit by the bullets).<sup>48</sup> He reached his companions unscathed.

Te Aowera had suffered heavy casualties and the Hauhau party, also bruised, hastily continued on their course out of the district.<sup>49</sup> Both Te Aowera and Kohere’s men retired to the pā at Tikitiki carrying their dead and wounded after what turned out to be a rather severe defeat with the loss of several of the rangatira.

The Ngāti Porou — Hauhau campaign had begun. Undoubtedly, it was Ngāti Porou themselves who compelled Pātara’s ope to fight. But it was Kohere’s men who fired the opening rounds and not Te Aowera, as some commentators have intimated.

### **Mangaone casualties**

Rev. Mohi Tūrei in a letter to Williams reported that seven of the Hauhau had been killed at Mangaone, including two men from Taranaki, while a prophet was among six who were wounded.<sup>50</sup> No names were recorded. Te Aowera casualties were six killed and

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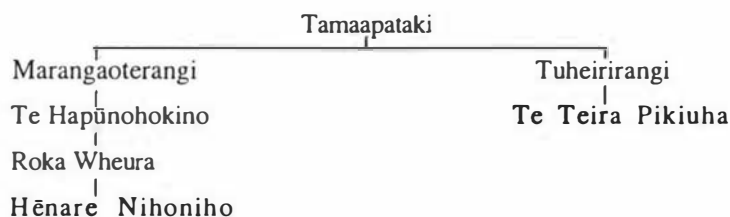
<sup>47</sup> Thomas Porter, 1897, *Major Rōpata Wahawaha; the story of his life and times*, p. 7. Porter states this act by Wahawaha occurred at Tikitiki. It is the author’s belief the reference is to Mangaone as in no other engagement at Tikitiki was Wahawaha in a situation where his party were firing across a valley at each other, the valley being the Mangaone. Porter was not present during the Tikitiki skirmishes but did serve with the Colonial Defence Force in Hawkes bay between 1863 and 1866. He later married a relative of Wahawaha’s and after Wahawaha died, wrote a semi-biographical account of the man.

<sup>48</sup> WNRW, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams 18 Jul 1865, p. 1 MS Papers 69 Folder 77A, ATL.

<sup>50</sup> Tūrei to McLean 14 Aug 1865, pp. 12-13. Rutene Koroua listed the casualties at twelve. Tuta Nihoniho said that there were four killed and nine wounded. Hauhau prisoners caught in later fights said the casualty numbers in the different engagements were often much higher than those which had been reported.

three wounded.<sup>51</sup> Hēnare Nihoniho was the sixth to die that day.<sup>52</sup> He was severely wounded and carried back to Tikitiki where he died.<sup>53</sup> Before he died, he entrusted his rifle to his elder relative, Te Teira Pikiuha, and charged him with the task of ensuring it reached his son, Tuta, as a means by which his death might be avenged. The rifle was given to Tuta Nihoniho when Te Teira took the news of their defeat back to Pōpoti.<sup>54</sup>



### Wahawaha the new leader

The Mangaone fight is important historically as it was the confrontation which “set the whole of Waiapu ablaze” and led to all the subsequent engagements fought between Ngāti Porou and the Hauhau.<sup>55</sup> It is also important to this research since this was the engagement in which Rāpata Wahawaha caught the eye of his kin as a potential military leader. His performance in successive encounters over the following months would see him rise from relative powerlessness outside his hapū to become a major player in the scheme of Ngāti Porou leadership.

<sup>51</sup> Those killed were Makoare Tuatai, Hēnare Nihoniho, Te Paka Paehakahaka, Wirihana Te Waipapa, Marakaia Mawheta, Pirimona Te Honu and Ngāwhetonga. Those wounded were Heperi Kaiware, Hāre Nuke and Reupena Te Ana. Their bodies were eventually taken back to their kainga. Makoare Tuatai was buried at Awarua Pā, Mākarika.

<sup>52</sup> Evidence of Rāpata Wahawaha in Investigation of Pāraeroa Block, WP7B/297 of 26 Mar 1885.

<sup>53</sup> Rutene Koroua to W. L. Williams, 18 Jun 1865.

<sup>54</sup> Both the 14-year-old boy and his mother, Heeni Nohoaka, were to join the Te Aowera force in successive engagements. By late June, youths as young as Tuta Nihoniho were to reinforce their elders in the fighting. Paratene Ngata, who took part, was 15 at the time.

<sup>55</sup> Once it began, the war on the East Coast was monitored and supported, for the Government’s part at least, largely from Napier, although for a period McLean operated along the East Coast aboard the *Eclipse*. Leading men like Mōkena Kohere, Mohi Tūrei, Rāniera Kāwhia, Hēnare Pōtae, Hōtene Porourangi and Iharaira Houkāmau wrote regularly to McLean, as did those officials, and military officers McLean had placed at Waiapu. Initially this was Captain RJ Deighton, the Resident Magistrate at Wairoa, and then Lieutenant Biggs and Major Fraser. McLean, in turn, was able to inform the Secretary of Defence of developments and so engender the necessary military support from central Government. At one stage, McLean followed the campaigns from a gunboat off the coast at Waiapu, supplying arms and providing artillery support from the vessel as it was required. Both McLean and the Māori correspondents also kept their allies in other districts informed of their successes through articles in *Te Waka Māori ō Ahuriri*. To some end, the reports were intended to encourage those whose support might waver. Some of the Māori clergymen wrote regularly to Archdeacon Leonard Williams, and both the Archdeacon and his father, Bishop William Williams, sent information on to Donald McLean and Governor Grey.

Mangaone is significant in the development of Wahawaha's career. It was in fact the turning point. A number of factors occurred, some by default, others by skill, which combined to place him in a position he did not hold before the fight. First, the other principal men of the hapū, particularly Makaore Tuatai and Hēnare Nihoniho, had been killed. Of the several men identified as taking a leading role among the party of 40 Makoare seems to have been in charge, he having answered Kohere's party when they called for Te Aowera to hold their advance. Second, Wahawaha's performance on the battlefield was unquestionably outstanding and it had been witnessed by all present. Third, the fact that bullets did not seem to hit him, a legend that would grow as successive engagements were fought, added a mystical dimension to his already impressive profile.<sup>56</sup> Fourth, the fact that every other soldier to a man — bar Wahawaha — had fled the scene of the encounter scurrying for cover, made it difficult for the other potential leaders to commend themselves or each other as Makoare and Hēnare's successor in future engagements.

One of the characteristics of leadership is having followers. Prominent leadership is reflected by larger numbers of followers. Increased mana of the individual is a by-product of growing numbers of support. Conversely, mana comes as much from the 'will of people' as from any other source. Leadership, at least in Māori eyes, involves a reciprocal relationship where mutual benefits temper any notions of omnipotence or self-aggrandisement. Wahawaha's rise as a result of the Mangaone engagement positioned him as military commander of three or four hapū in the Hikurangi foothills region. His rise to prominence is summed up in his own words:

Ka mohiotia te manawanuitanga o Rāpata i roto o tēnei whawhai, ka riro tonu māna ngā  
whakahaere katoa o ngā whawhai, taea noatia te mutunga.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> In some ways Peta Awatere's fearless style of leadership in World War Two has similarities with Wahawaha. During the C Company interviews, an account was given by a non-Māori member of the 28 Māori Battalion of Peta Awatere in haka mode defiantly facing enemy fire before an advance in the North African desert. He had an entrenching tool in one hand and was swinging it like a mere. The distorted features of his face as he taunted the enemy gave one the impression that he was impervious to the dangerous target he was providing. The narrator was lying with the rest of the men behind Awatere along a shellscape. They were pinned down by the fire coming from the enemy lines, or so they thought. Awatere was standing in front of them in haka crouch in full view of the enemy. He then gave the order to charge forward. The men behind and either side of him tried to file in behind him as they believed they stood less of a chance of being shot as they felt the bullets avoided Awatere. Pers. comm, Herbert Abrahams (aka Hubba Facoorey), 25 April 1995.

<sup>57</sup> WNRW, p. 2.

Through this fight the bravery of Rāpata became known and thus command passed to him for all successive engagements up to the end of hostilities. (*my translation*)

The other notable point which comes from the Mangaone fight is that hapū leaders only had control over their own people. The fact that Te Aowera continued the chase in spite of Kohere's party having asked them to hold their advance is an example of the disparate nature of the force which confronted the Hauhau. The ill-armed Te Aowera rushed into the fray almost appearing to be competing with Kohere's party to defeat the enemy. By the same token, Mangaone showed the fiercely independent nature of hapū who, even under threat by a commonly perceived enemy, did not act in concert.

### **Pā reinforced for fighting**

After Mangaone, Kohere began reinforcing Tikitiki as a fighting pā, as did the Hauhau at Pukemaire. Te Hatepe was also strengthened. Women and children were camped with the men in all these pā. Over several days there was much movement in the Waiapu district as parties chose their sides, flocking to the sanctuary of the established refuges of either the Hauhau or anti-Hauhau element.<sup>58</sup>

All those at Pōpoti congregated with their neighbours at Manutahi pā (in the vicinity of the present-day township of Ruatoria). However, it was felt that in order to have a safe haven for the women and children they should move out to the coast to Tūparoa. Most of the occupants of the Reporua settlement (Ngāti Rangī) had gone over to Pukemaire to join the Hauhau and so those at Manutahi shifted to a position above Reporua where they entrenched in a fighting pā which also became known as Pukemaire.<sup>59</sup> Whānau-a-Ruataupare of Tūparoa led by Hāmiora Tamanui-te-rā also congregated in this pā, as did minorities from the southern side of the Waiapu river which had resisted the overtures of the Hauhau.<sup>60</sup> At Anaura, another pā was fortified by some of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Evidence of Paratene Ngata, Wp2/139. Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 46, Nihoniho, p. 25.

<sup>59</sup> The terraces of this pā are still clearly visible today.

<sup>60</sup> Paratene Ngata in the investigation to the Ngamoe Block said, "In 1865 all the hapūs of the whole district assembled at Tuparoa on account of the Hauhaus - we gathered all the food on this block. I then saw that there were numerous cultivations on it. Neither Ngātihokopaura or Teaitangaamate gave us any food on this land at that time - When the planting season came those people permitted all the hapūs to cultivate on the land. Te Whanauarakairoa worked at 5 [marking on sketch map in the court]. Teaitangaamate worked at 6 - after the fighting was over the hapūs dispersed to their homes and left the land to these people who are the owners of it." Wp11/96.

The other pā which provided sanctuary for those ill-disposed to the Hauhau were Te Māwhai at Tokomaru and Makeronia (Macedonia) at Wharekāhika. In the Waiapu valley it was estimated that 250 to 300 or more Ngāti Porou had converged on Pukemaire and were upholding the Hauhau cause, while around 600 in surrounding pā opposed them.<sup>62</sup> For the time being, the Hauhau seemed to be the better armed.

### **Pātara returns to Pukemaire**

After the Mangaone engagement, the Hauhau contingent had safely reached Kōtare Pā along the Kārakatūwhero river. There, however, they learned that Iharaira Houkāmau at Makeronia Pā would not allow them to pass through his territory. Houkāmau's message indicated that as some Ngāti Porou had been killed, Pātara ought to go back to Pukemaire and take his chances there.<sup>63</sup> With little choice, the Hauhau party returned to Pukemaire.

### **Hēnare Pōtae returns with arms (19 Jun)**

On 19 June, a further 40 reinforcements under the banner of Te Aowera reached Te Hatepe to find the wounded from Mangaone recuperating in the pā.<sup>64</sup> They joined the Whānau-a-Ruataupare contingent under Hōtene Porourangi, which brought the combined groups' numbers in Te Hatepe to 185. A further 30 men belonging to the locality were also encamped at Te Hatepe. Mōkena Kohere and others were holding Tikitiki Pā. According to Tuta Nihoniho, Hōtene Porourangi had overall command of the force at Te Hatepe but lost the respect of the Te Aowera troops after he and the Whānau-a-Rua troops were found drinking alcohol and being noisy while on night sentry.<sup>65</sup> Nihoniho stated it was then that the Te Aowera troop decided to nominate one among them to take command of their unit. In fact it was Nihoniho himself who nominated his elder cousin to the position. His right to do so stemmed from his own hereditary rank from the ancestor Te Aowera. Nihoniho recalled:

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<sup>61</sup> *TWMA*, 1 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 54, p. 1.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Jnl of William Williams*, 27 June 1965.

<sup>64</sup> This is the day on which Tuta Nihoniho stated he arrived at Te Hatepe. Tuta Nihoniho, 1913, *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast*, pp. 5, 30.

<sup>65</sup> It may have been Hōtene's men who Nihoniho was referring to as Hōtene himself was not known to over-indulge in alcohol consumption. In an article in an 1868 issue of *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri Rev.* Mohi Tūrei wrote of Hōtene's character, "He tangata haurangi kore ia; kaore anō kia kitea noatia e mātou e ngā māori e ngā pākehā hoki e haurangi ana ia. Kāore anō hoki kia kite noa ngā kurī māori o mātou kainga nei ki a ia e ruaki ana i te waipiro; me i kite hoki i ngā kurī i tōna ruakitanga kua kainga e ngā kuri, pera me era atu tangata e kainga mai ra o ratou ruaki i te waipiro e te kuri — ko tenei, kore, kore, kore rawa atu." *TWMA*, 18 Aug 1868, vol. 5, no. 7, p. 40.

I tēnei wā ka whiriwhiria e Te Ao-wera he tangata mō rātou, i te mea he tamariki anake a Tuta rātou ko ōna matua, ko ōna tīpuna o Te Ao-wera i reira, e waru tekau mā rima rātou, a ko Rāpata Wahawaha tō rātou kaumatua, engari kaore a Rāpata i roto o tēnei hapū o Te Aowera, engari kei roto rāua ko tōna mokopuna ko Tuta Nihoniho o tētahi hapū ko Rākai-roa te ingoa; nā reira ka tere tonu te karanga a Tuta ki a Te Ao-wera, “Ko taku tīpuna ko Rāpata Wahawaha he tangata mō tātou, ko te pakeke.”<sup>66</sup>

Te-Aowera now bestirred themselves to select an officer, inasmuch as Tuta and his nearly-related elders of Te Aowera were but young folk at the time. In numbers the party amounted to eighty-five, their mature senior being Rāpata Wahawaha, although Rāpata was not of the Ao-wera clan, he and his young relative Tuta Nihoniho being alike members of a certain clan known as Rakai-roa. It was on this account that Tuta lost no time in saying to Te Aowera, “Let my senior, Rāpata Wahawaha, be our officer, he being a matured adult.”<sup>67</sup>

The times called for someone capable of directing hapū affairs in a period of crisis. While the mana of the hereditary chiefs were unquestioned, the business at hand required a competency which Wahawaha exhibited more than any other. The men settled unanimously on him and while, in the next engagements, the senior members regularly held counsel to advise him in battle management, Wahawaha soon proved he had the tactical appreciation to direct the campaigns himself. Although he continued to act in concert with the hereditary leaders, they eventually allowed him full and autonomous leadership and “loyally supported him” in all the fighting that followed.

Shortly after his appointment, Rāpata Wahawaha with Te Aowera and Hōtene Porourangi with Whānau-a-Ruataupare, returned to protect Tūparoa leaving 50 men as allies for their kinsmen at Te Hatepe.<sup>68</sup> On the same day, the *St Kilda* reached Te Awanui<sup>69</sup> from Napier, bringing Hēnare Pōtae and the keenly wanted arms and ammunition. An article in *Te Waka Māori* recorded:

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> From this point on Hōtene and Wahawaha would join forces for most of the campaigns up until the end of the fighting in 1871.

<sup>69</sup> Te Awanui was later purchased by the government and became known as Port Awanui. In 1865 it was the safest place to land goods and passengers between Tūparoa and Te Kawakawa. Certainly, it was the nearest landing place to Te Hatepe.

Tae rawa atu te tima kua hinga te parekura. No te taenga mai a te Mōkena ki runga ka hoatu ngā pū māna kotahi rau, me ngā kaho kariri kotahi tekau mā rua - he mea hoatu nā te Makarini. I a Hēnare Pōtae hoki e 70 ngā pū - hui katoa aua pū kua hoatu hou nei e te Kāwanatanga ka 170.<sup>70</sup>

When the steamer arrived [at Waiapu] an engagement had taken place [referring to Mangaone]. When Mōkena came aboard, 100 arms were given to him as well as 12 casks of powder - these had been sent by McLean. Hēnare Pōtae also received 70 arms - taken together those arms given by the Government amount to 170. (*my translation*)

McLean had also sent Captain Samuel Deighton (Kāpene Taitene), the Resident Magistrate at Wairoa. He was a fluent speaker of Māori and McLean had instructed him to administer the oath of allegiance to Ngāti Porou.<sup>71</sup> Pōtae continued on aboard the *St Kilda* to Te Kawakawa, from where the vessel then returned him to Tokomaru.<sup>72</sup>

### Loss of Tikitiki Pā (22 Jun)

Having accepted that they were now at war, it was the Pukemaire residents that initiated the next skirmish. On 22 June, a party came down with the intention of either reconnoitring or attacking Tikitiki Pā. While they lay observing the pā, six scouts ventured out from the entrance to the pā.<sup>73</sup> As they came into their line of sight, the Hauhau party fired. Hunia Huaki, an uncle to Mōkena Kohere, was wounded in the leg.<sup>74</sup> Immediately the scouts replied with their own fire. There were three casualties among the Hauhau group, one of whom was killed outright. This skirmish appears to have taken place in the vicinity of Te Rāhui which is between where the Tikitiki Pā stood and Pukemaire.<sup>75</sup> These early casualties must have jolted some of the Hauhau believers, but their injuries were explained away by their lack of faith at the crucial moment.

<sup>70</sup> *TWMA*, 1 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 54, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> W. L. Williams Diary 28 June 1865. The oath read, "E oati pono ana ahau kia tū tonu hei tangata tūturu mō te Kuini o Ingarangi, kia rongo i ana ture ake tonu atu." *TWMA*, 29 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 56, p. 10. Another version of the oath can be found in a letter from Donald McLean to Sir George Grey, 5 May 1865. McLean papers, MS copy micro 535, reel 005, folder 18, ATL.

<sup>72</sup> W. L. Williams Diary 27 June 1865. *TWMA*, 1 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Reweti Kohere stated that Mōkena Kohere was among this group and that they were a reconnaissance party. Reweti Kohere, p. 54.

<sup>74</sup> Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 18 Jul 1865 MS Papers 69 Folder 77A, ATL. There is also a copy of this letter in Wiremu & Te Ohore Kaa, (eds.), 1996, *Mohi Tūrei: āna tuhinga i roto i te reo Māori*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>75</sup> Mohi Tūrei to McLean, 14 Aug 1865, p. 10, states that 3 Hauhau were killed at Rāhui after the fight at Mangaone.



On 27 June, the Hauhau went to reconnoitre Tikitiki Pā again. This time Kohere's men came out of the pā leaving the women, children and a few old men inside protected by a rearguard party. However, the rearguard on hearing the firing of shots could not contain themselves and came out to assist Kohere and the others leaving the women and children unprotected. When the Hauhau assailants realised all the fighting men were outside the pā, they fought to keep them from retiring. While the fight continued, a larger body of Hauhau then arrived by another track and entered the pā by a side entrance. They began to attack the old people and the pā fell. Hunia Huaki who had been wounded in the previous exchange, was shot dead in a whare where he was convalescing. As Huaki was a close relative of Mōkena Kohere, his body was cut into pieces. The women and children were taken prisoners and four kegs of ammunition were taken.<sup>76</sup>

Kohere's men broke and those who were able escaped to Te Hatepe. Among those killed were the old minister, Eruera Maha Apakura, who had served the Waipiro community in the late 1840s.<sup>77</sup>

#### **Pātara's terms of peace (29 Jun — 1 Jul)**

Having regained Tikitiki Pā, Pātara tried unsuccessfully to pacify the Te Hatepe resistance. On 29 June, he had two of the women captured at Tikitiki take a letter to Te Hatepe offering the residents of the pā terms of peace:

E hoa mā a ngā rangatira o te ope Kuini. E te Mōkena, e te Wikiriwhi, e Hāmiora Tamanui, e te Paraone. Whakamutua tēnei mahi huna tangata. Engari ka tatari atu au ki te moana ki te Pākehā ki taku hoa riri. Ki te kore koutou e rongō, ka tahuna tō koutou pā ki te ahi, mā riki e tahu.<sup>78</sup>

Friends, the leaders of the Queen's party. Mōkena, Wikiriwhi, Hāmiora Tamanui, Paraone. Come out of hiding (lit. Leave off this work of hiding people). But I shall wait at the coast for the Pākehā, my enemy. If you do not listen, your pā shall be burnt to the ground. Riki shall burn it. (*my translation*)

<sup>76</sup> Jnl of W. L. Williams, 30 June 1865.

<sup>77</sup> Others were Piripi Te Kawe, Hāre Mātenga, Te Murara, Kōrero, Hira Pohutu, Renata Whakaatea and Hunia Huaki. According to Hauhau sources, 28 of their force were killed, but Kohere's party could only account for a possible 15. The wounded among Kohere's party included Paraone Hamune, Wiremu Mangapouri and Rihara Paipa. Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 18 Jul 1865, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Mohi Tūrei to McLean, 14 Aug 1865, p. 10,

Ngāti Porou were not impressed and certainly Mōkena Kohere would not agree. Their response was to ask for the women and children to be released. The next day (30 June), the letter was taken again to Te Hatepe but Pātara received the same response. On 1 July, Pātara went himself, accompanied by a group of supporters. A message was taken into the pā asking Wikiriwhi Mātāuru to meet with him and discuss terms of peace. Pātara threatened that if Wikiriwhi would not consent, they would destroy the pā through their atua, Riki. Wikiriwhi refused, and the following day (1 July) Pātara said he would release the women if their meeting took place. This time a written response came from Te Hatepe in the handwriting of Rev. Mohi Turei on behalf of the pā indicating that they would never make peace with Pātara. “Send no more messengers,” the letter read, “but let Riki destroy our pā. Come in large numbers to fight our pā tomorrow.” (Whakamutua te Pahi te haere mai. Engari tukua mai a riki ki te tahu i tō mātou pā. Haere nui mai rānei āpōpō ki te whawhai ki tō mātau pā).<sup>79</sup> No more letters came after this ultimatum. Nor was the pā attacked the next day. But the Hauhau supporters moved closer establishing a stronghold called Pākairomiromi (on the eastern side of the present settlement of Rangitukia). Their intentions were obvious. An attack on Te Hatepe was imminent and the pā was on full alert.

### Arrival of Biggs, Fraser and reinforcements (7 Jul)

On 7 July, Lieutenant Reginald Biggs (Te Piki), with 30 volunteers of the Napier militia in his charge, arrived by sea to reinforce Te Hatepe.<sup>80</sup> They also brought with them “fifty stands of arms, with the necessary ammunition, for Mōkena and his men.”<sup>81</sup> After sizing

<sup>79</sup> Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 18 Jul 1865, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Biggs had been despatched by McLean.

<sup>81</sup> Thomas Lambert, 1925, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast District, North Island, New Zealand*, p. 490. On Biggs' second night in Te Hatepe some of the Hauhau party were spotted moving about outside and were fired at by the Pākeha sentries. The next morning a rule was established that no person should venture out of the pā at night. All agreed that if anyone was seen it was to be assumed they were Hauhau and would be shot at. Because those in Te Hatepe were closely related to many of the Hauhau sympathisers it was a useful measure, as some residents were suspected of passing information to the other party. During the night Hauhau were seen outside the pā. The Pākeha soldiers fired at them. When they stopped, Epeniha Whaikaho and Timo Te Mamae went to look at the area where the Pākeha soldiers had fired. No one knew they were out there. Timo was shot and killed, while Epeniha managed to take cover in a kumara rua. When the firing ended, Epeniha called out, “E, ko maua ko Timo. Kua ōtinga taku hoa.” (Hey, 'tis Timo and I. My friend has been hit). Rev. Mohi Tūrei said the fault was theirs as they broke their own rules by venturing out of the pā at night. Both men were leading identities and were members of the runanga. Timo had been a warden under Grey's Runanga scheme in 1862. Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams 18 Jul 1865, p5-6. An example, of the divided loyalties in the different camps was the case of the Josef family. Deighton wrote to McLean informing him that he had detained Manuel Josef's son on suspicion of spying. “... the first opportunity I have I intend doing the same with his father for giving false information to Capt Deck with the view of inducing him to land the supplies at the Awanui knowing that the Hau Haus were about the place in all directions. I suppose if it can be

up the situation and the opposition, Biggs felt that further assistance was required and he sent a request through to McLean at Napier. McLean went to the military settlers camp at Clive and sought out 50 volunteers under the command of Major James Fraser (Hēmi Pereiha).<sup>82</sup> They boarded the gunboat *Eclipse* and on 11 July, with Captain Freemantle at the helm and Donald McLean himself aboard, set sail for Waiapu.<sup>83</sup> The troops were landed at Te Awanui and made their way to Te Hatepe in the night. McLean remained aboard the *Eclipse* and monitored the war from the gunboat for several days.<sup>84</sup>

The presence of the Pākeha reinforcements attracted the attention of the Hauhau who attacked Te Hatepe the next morning on the front and right flank of the pā. Gascoyne wrote that the Hauhau were out of range and unable to effect any serious damage other than wounding one of the Māori and killing a horse tied outside the pallisade. The defenders turned out of the pā to counter their opponents at which the Hauhau immediately withdrew and the troops were recalled into the pā.<sup>85</sup>

### Arms landed at Wharekāhika and Tūparoa (17 Jul)

Meanwhile, McLean went on to Wharekāhika to ascertain whether he had the continued support of Iharaira Houkāmau and his followers. On 17 July, 89 men and youths took the oath (probably at Makeronia). Pleased with Houkāmau's assurances, McLean

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clearly proved that he is a spy and has been siding with the Rebels, there will be no harm in shooting him." Deighton to McLean, 20 Jul 1865, McLean Papers 32: 18.

<sup>82</sup> Lambert wrote, "These men could not have been compelled to serve out of Hawke's Bay, for they had enrolled for service in that province only." Nevertheless, when the position of Lieut Biggs was explained to them, 50 volunteers marched out in heavy order for Napier. According to Lambert these volunteers gained the title "the fighting fifty" and arrived at Te Hatepe in record time, 36 hours after the call had been first put out. Lambert, p. 491.

<sup>83</sup> The reinforcements under Captain Fraser reached Te Awanui on 13 July and not the 5 July as Gascoyne recorded. F. J. W. Gascoyne, 1916, *Soldiering in New Zealand: being reminiscences of a veteran*, p. 11. Gascoyne was writing 50 years after the event, while Rev. Mohi Tūrei gave the date as 13 July in a letter written from Te Hatepe on 18 July. Tūrei to McLean, 18 July 1865, p. 7. McLean confirmed this in his diary entry for 13 July.

<sup>84</sup> While the *Eclipse* stood off, Mōkena Kohere and a crew went out in the rough seas and after boarding informed McLean of the latest developments in the campaign. He reported that the women captured at Tikitiki had been released while Kohere himself had freed some female and male prisoners. The male prisoners were boys from whom Kohere had taken their arms. McLean wrote that he then "served out rifles" to each of Kohere's men, a total of seven stands, and a cask of ammunition. Because of the sea conditions Kohere felt it unsafe to land more at this time. This procuring of arms was probably the purpose of Kohere's going out to the boat in such rough weather. McLean also noted with some concern that the Pākeha troops were landed with only 60 rounds each. Donald McLean Diary, 13, 14 July 1865.

<sup>85</sup> Gascoyne, p. 11. A passage in Lambert's *Old Wairoa* at pp. 492-3 gives an insight into the type of Pākeha soldier within Te Hatepe. "Most of the men were of a very wild devil-may-care type and earned for themselves the name among the Māoris 'Ngā kurī pōrangī,' or 'The Mad Dogs.' Yet these men, associated together for some time as they were, exhibited a good deal of *esprit de corps*, and were prepared to follow Fraser anywhere."

ordered a supply of arms and ammunition to be taken ashore.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, on 20 July he visited Hōtene Porourangi and Rāpata Wahawaha at Tūparoa supplying them with 15 kegs of ammunition and 44 cases of rifles. Although he was acting for the Crown, McLean's actions in arming the different pā, endeared him to Ngāti Porou and he was to retain a close relationship with the rangatira throughout the campaigns that followed.<sup>87</sup> With the increased arms, Wahawaha and Porourangi were capable of giving Kohere more assistance.<sup>88</sup> They determined to return to Waiapu.

McLean would have been introduced to Wahawaha as one of the hapū commanders. How well they knew each other before that is unclear, but certainly McLean would not have been familiar with him in the military position he now held. While McLean's correspondence during the early engagements does not identify Wahawaha as anyone of particular significance, as the months passed and Wahawaha's exploits became known, McLean's letters began to describe him as an important leader and one with whom he needed to consult. The two men were to become friends and both Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi would accompany McLean on one of his visits to Australia.<sup>89</sup>

### Hauhau attack Te Hatepe (18 - 19 Jul)

On the 18 July, a Hauhau party was seen at Wairahui herding Mōkena Kohere's sheep towards Pakairomiromi. Some of Kohere's men with 40 of the Pākeha soldiers set out and engaged them at Kaiaparua. Seven of the Hauhau party were killed outright, while two Pākeha soldiers were wounded.<sup>90</sup> Up until now, the Hauhau followers had believed that if they were exposed when attacking they would not be hit by rifle-fire as Riki would stop the bullets. Their offensives had been carried out in the open, but after the affray at Kaiaparua they were not so bold and used the natural cover of the ground when they next beset Te Hatepe. On 19 July, the Hauhau forces from both Pukemaire and Pākairomiromi

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<sup>86</sup> They landed 73 stands of rifles, 10 kegs of ammunition, 46 cartons, boxes and belts.

<sup>87</sup> Iharaira Houkāmau, Rev. Rota Waitoa and others went aboard the *Eclipse* to thank McLean personally. On the 19 July arms and ammunition were transferred to the *St Kilda* from the *Eclipse* and both vessels set out for Waiapu. They were given an arousing cheer by Houkāmau's people, and Capt Freemantle had the guns fired in return.

<sup>88</sup> McLean Diary, 20 Jul 1865.

<sup>89</sup> The visit to Australia occurred in 1874. See Wahawaha's letter in *TWMNT*, 2 June 1874, vol. 10, no. 11, p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> Nihoniho, pp. 6, 30. Lambert, at p. 493 of *Old Wairoa*, wrote that the attack commenced about "eight o'clock in the morning and continued until two or three in the afternoon."

invested Te Hatepe for at least six hours. The assaulting party were estimated at 300 or more.<sup>91</sup> The attack, however, was relatively unsuccessful.

There was some difficulty in determining which side some people were on. The close relationships between relatives in both camps meant that allegiance was not always total. Deighton reported that two days after the attack on Te Hatepe “a Native woman made her appearance from the Rebel Camp, pretending to have escaped.” But he was convinced she was a spy and had her arrested. From her he gleaned that “two large houses were filled with wounded” in the Hauhau camp.<sup>92</sup> But even with the casualties as they were the Ngāti Porou Hauhau remained defiant.

### Shelling from Eclipse (21 Jul)

Skirmishes continued about Te Hatepe. The *Eclipse* returned to the mouth of the Waiapu (21 July) and in an attempt to utilise the gun boat against the encroaching Hauhau force, Captain Freemantle organised with Major Fraser to fire shells from the gunboat “at the nearest of the enemy’s huts, and at any parties firing on Te Hatepe.”<sup>93</sup> Te Hatepe was in the line of fire so Ensign Gascoyne was given the task of signalling directions and elevation to the ship:

I climbed into a high look-out platform inside our lines and signalled from there, as I could easily see where the shells burst; but two of the shells exploded just beyond us, and so alarmed our natives that we had to signal “cease fire” to the ship.<sup>94</sup>

Undoubtedly, for many of the Māori in Te Hatepe this would have been their first experience of shell fire from a man-of-war and their reaction was not unusual under the circumstances.<sup>95</sup> McLean also feared for their safety and the shelling.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> A total of 12 of the Hauhau force were killed and the bodies were borne away by their relatives that night. Several others were wounded including Te Wao of Taranaki. In Te Hatepe, Hoera Paruparu, was killed, while Wi Patene Te Rangi, Hirini Patio, Heremaia Waikawa and Laurie, one of the Pākehā soldiers, were wounded. All four recovered to fight again. Laurie, a Scotsman, later drowned in the nearby Waiapu river. Deighton in a letter to McLean claimed to have “again had the pleasure of dropping one in the middle of the river at the commencement of the fight. I never saw Natives come on so boldly or so close as they did yesterday. Pātara was very conspicuous in front of his men. Some of our people think he was shot by Captain Fraser but of course we shall not be able to hear the truth of the case yet. Deighton to McLean, 20 Jul 1865. Thomas Lambert, p. 493.

<sup>92</sup> Deighton to McLean, 24 Jul 1865.

<sup>93</sup> Gascoyne, p. 12.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

### Hoani Tapu burns

From Pākairomiromi, the Hauhau moved to unsettle their opponents by setting fire to the Magistrate's residence, which had been built for Baker, and the church St Johns (Hoani Tapu) at Rangitukia which Mōkena Kohere had been most responsible for — symbols of what the Hauhau leaders now vehemently opposed. Sheep and cattle belonging to the Te Hatepe residents were slaughtered, their empty homes burnt. The fortified pā were now the only safe havens in the Waiapu region. Groups of men from both Pākairomiromi and Pukemaire were continuously skirting the area on both sides of the Waiapu river.<sup>97</sup>

### Te Horo and Tikapa (30 Jul)

To try and confine the movements of the Hauhau force, Rāpata Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi decided to move their troops from Reporua inland to the Waiapu basin (30 July).<sup>98</sup> Still concerned about an attack on their own people, some of the men were left to guard the women and children. The force on reaching Te Horo split up. A group of 50 Whānau-a-Rua under Hōtene Porourangi went to Te Awanui to establish a camp, while the other 70 from Te Aowera remained to keep watch over Te Horo and Waiomatatini the pā whose residents had deserted to join the Hauhau.<sup>99</sup> Basing himself on the high-ground at Te Horo, Wahawaha dispatched scouts to the pā at Waiomatatini where, from the rewa (elevated stage used as a lookout), the scouts observed two Hauhau contingents each of 24 men, crossing the Waiapu River — one in the vicinity of Motukokouri bound for Tikapa, another crossing at Makoau. The latter was heading in the direction of Te Horo. This group had come from Pukemaire while the other had set out from Pākairomiromi. Fortunately the Tikapa people — Arapeta Te Haenga and a party of 20 Ngāti Puai men

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<sup>95</sup> In 1890 a man-of-war fired shells into the hills at Waipiro to quell a potential riot over land issues. The reaction by several armed warriors was to lay down their arms: one, Haumararo Karaka, said that the explosions were so frightening they believed the fight was lost. Pers. comm., Tom Fox, 1998. Tom had lived with his tipuna, Haumararo Karaka (Clarke), as a child, at which time the old man related the event.

<sup>96</sup> Mohi Tūrei to McLean, 18 July 1865, p8. McLean Diary 21 Jul 1865.

<sup>97</sup> The Spanish trader, Manuel Josef, although suspected of spying by Deighton, had his store at Te Awanui looted by a party of Hauhau lead by Te Wiwini. A Hauhau party also tried unsuccessfully to rob Poley's cutter. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 29 Jul 1865. On 29 July, while a party of eight of Kohere's men were out reconnoitring, the group shot and killed Wī Pohuruhuru and Hori Hotoi, two Hauhau roaming the area. Mohi Tūrei to McLean 14 Aug 1865. Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 7 Aug 1865.

<sup>98</sup> WNRW, p. 4. The combined force had not been willing previously as they were poorly armed. They slept at Awatere and in the morning at Mangatakawa they spotted a Hauhau party shooting pigs and so fired a volley at them, but there were no casualties. They continued on to Te Horo and spent the night.

<sup>99</sup> Key men associated with Te Horo Pā had joined Mōkena Kohere, including Pineamine Tūhaka and Rihara Paipa.

and women — had left the pā that morning and were heading to Te Hatepe. But once they realised that their pā had been taken over by the Hauhau, they returned to try and reoccupy it.<sup>100</sup>

Wahawaha's ability as a military tactician was seen in the strategy he employed to outmanoeuvre the Hauhau. After sending a runner to Hōtene Porourangi advising him to go to the aid of Ngāti Puai, he had his men fire shots to attract the attention of the other Hauhau party to ensure they did in fact come on to Te Horo and not divert to Tīkapa.<sup>101</sup> He decided to withdraw his force from Te Horo Pā itself, but had his men leave a trail of equipment strewn out behind them to give the impression they had taken flight. Wahawaha led his men down to the Makotukutuku stream, an affluent of the Te Horo stream. When the Hauhau force finally reached the pā they were duped by the scene and followed the trail to the creek where Wahawaha and his men were waiting carefully concealed. As the Hauhau approached they were met with a volley of fire and the shouts from the Te Aowera party. The small Hauhau contingent retreated immediately leaving one dead and another wounded.<sup>102</sup> The fact that Wahawaha's men were able to shoot and cause injury among the enemy did much for their morale. Paratene Ngata, an eye-witness, later wrote:

He mea pupuhi taua taotū kia mutu te mamae i a ia. Mehemea he taotū e ora, ka whakaorangia anō .... Ko ngā tūpāpaku tuatahi tēnei i kitea e mātau te matenga, arā, te kōrero kaore rātau e tu i te matā, he tino kōrero i ōna rā. Nō te kitenga nei e takoto ana, ka mutu te whakapono ki tēnā kōrero teka. <sup>103</sup>

The wounded man was shot (killed) because of the pain he was in. If the wound was not fatal, they would have let him live .... These were the first corpses we had seen that were really dead, that is, the belief that they could not be hit by bullets, was legendary and people really believed it at that time. When (we) saw them laid out we ceased to believe that propaganda. (*my translation*)

<sup>100</sup> Some of Ngāti Puai had joined the Hauhau, including Arapeta's son Paora Haenga.

<sup>101</sup> Mohi Tūrei lists Hēmi Mete as the other senior man with Hōtene's force. Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 7 Aug 1865, p. 3.

<sup>102</sup> The dead person was Rangi Te Whata of Whānau-a-Hinerupe. Renata Haua (or Waikapakapa) of Whānau-a-Karuai was badly wounded and in severe pain. The Hauhau party managed to recover the body of a third man who had been killed. Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 7 Aug 1865, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 48.

The Te Aowera force followed hard on the Hauhau party, exchanging shots outside the church at Te Horo. The remnants of the Hauhau retreated by the Makirikiri stream towards the Waiapu river.

At the same time, the pā at Tikapa had been taken by the other Hauhau contingent and Arapeta Te Haenga, joined by Hōtene's men, were still trying to retake the pā as night fell.<sup>104</sup> Wahawaha marched with the Te Aowera force in the night to aid the assault on Tikapa.<sup>105</sup> Just before dawn they joined their allies in an attack on the pā but discovered it had been abandoned sometime in the night, the Hauhau leaving only three of their dead behind.<sup>106</sup> After recapturing Tikapa Pā, Te Aowera and Whānau-a-Rua fortified themselves in front of the Kīngitanga whareniui, Niu Tirenī at Waiomatatini.<sup>107</sup> Wahawaha's relative success at Te Horo earned him more respect from the other leaders (i.e. Hōtene Porourangi and Arapeta Te Haenga) and the continued allegiance of his men.

### **Pākairomiromi**

The tide seemed to be turning against the Hauhau, and as they were coming to realise they were not in fact invulnerable, they were attacked again at Pākairomiromi that same day. Lieutenant Biggs, taking advantage of the Hauhau defeats across the Waiapu, led the assault. While they were making good progress in the attack on Pākairomiromi, to their surprise the bugle sounded the retreat. On reaching Te Hatepe it was realised that a Hauhau bugler had put out the call and not Te Hatepe. Biggs, however, had tested the strength of the pā and found it wanting.<sup>108</sup>

A more carefully planned assault was worked out and, on 2 August, two columns marched from Te Hatepe by different routes to make a surprise attack on the pā, timing the

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<sup>104</sup> Nihoniho, pp. 6, 30. Mohi Tūrei said that a group of 20 was also dispatched from Te Hatepe to give relief to Ngāti Puai. Mohi Tūrei to McLean, 14 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 17.

<sup>105</sup> Nihoniho, pp. 6, 31.

<sup>106</sup> The dead men were Hōne Heke (a nephew of Iharaira Houkāmau), Tihore and Hohepa Pukumahue. Six others were said to have been killed but their bodies were carried away. Some of those who had fled were wounded. Among the Hauhau, 7 women and 8 children were taken prisoners. Of the attacking party eight were wounded, some dangerously. The details of the defence of Tikapa and Te Horo were taken primarily from the *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, pp. 46-47; a letter from Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 7 Aug 1865, p. 3; and a letter from Ranirera Kāwhia to McLean, 15 August 1865 published in *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 26.

<sup>107</sup> *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p. 48.

<sup>108</sup> Mohi Tūrei to McLean, 14 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 19.



assault for daylight. That there was only one Maori among the assaulting parties, as stated by Lambert in *The Story of Old Wairoa*, is not accurate.<sup>109</sup> They were guided to their positions under the cover of darkness by Mōkena Kohere and some of his men. Lieutenant Biggs was in charge of the attacking column which was to advance from where St John's church had recently stood. Arapeta Te Haenga with a small group accompanied Biggs. Major Fraser and Kohere lead a combined force to Te Nuku, a low ridge across the Maraehara river and overlooking the rear of Pākairomiromi. Kohere's men remained with Fraser. Te Nuku had been used as a lookout by the Hauhau and they had lately been burying their dead there.<sup>110</sup> Just as day was breaking, Fraser and Kohere reached their position. Only a shallow stream and about 100 metres of open flat on the farther bank separated them from the enemy.<sup>111</sup>

A woman coming to fetch water from the stream took out two posts in the palisaded fence, and they then knew the way into the pā. Before Biggs had readied himself on the right side of the pā, Fraser signaled to attack. Most of the occupants of the pā were caught still sleeping in the rifle pits. Fraser's men fought their way in, and suddenly Biggs was through on their right. Within a matter of minutes the Hauhau broke and those who could, fled. Several were killed in the withdrawal. Nineteen bodies were counted about the perimeter of the pā, including the elderly and leading chief, Iharaira Porourangi. Porourangi was regarded by the rangatira at Te Hatepe as the most influential chief to have sided with the Hauhau.<sup>112</sup> It was believed a further five died in the bush during the retreat.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Lambert claimed that the attack was planned in secrecy since several of the women in Te Hatepe were relatives of the men in Pakairomiromi and might have slipped away to warn them. He also states that Hēmi Tāpeka was the only Māori present he having offered to guide the assaulting party in the dark.. Lambert, Thomas, 1925, *The Story of Old Wairoa*, p. 494.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Gascoyne, pp. 14-16. Gascoyne recorded the numbers in the pā at 200, while 60 men were with Biggs and 70 with Fraser and Kohere.

<sup>112</sup> A number of letters were published in *TWMA* to this effect. cf. letters by Wikiriwhi Matehē, Pineamine Tuhaka, Wiremu Pahuru, Rev. Rāniera Kāwhia and Rev. Rota Waitoa in *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, pp. 23-27.

<sup>113</sup> Some of the others were Irimana Kaika, Enoka Pihau, Rihara Hāwai, Hakiha Mohaka, Rutene Pao, Heta Wawatai, Wi Tamaho, Hetariki Uwawe, Kātene Te Mamae, Mohi Hāwai, Wi Poho, Hori Rangipouri, Pirika Kahumunu, Hori Kapa, Tamepō, Karanama Hoitahi, Hoani (from Taranaki). Another, burnt in one of the houses, was unrecognisable. Many of those who escaped into the bush were wounded. Seven women and eight children were among those captured. On 3 August, Koti Pakura and some of the young Te Aowera troops went up the Maraehara River in search of remnants of the Pakairomiromi affray who were thought to be hiding. They caught sixteen people, mostly women and children. Under Paraone another group of Te Aowera brought in two kuia and a child from Maraehara. *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 20.

The whare were set fire to, including the main house called Te Ūranga-ō-te-rā. The force returned to Te Hatepe where they attended a church service and then ate, afterwards returning to bury the dead.<sup>114</sup> The oral tradition records that the bodies were buried together and the burial place was given the name Ōkaroro because the seagulls were picking at the corpses lying about the battle site.<sup>115</sup>

### **The campaign spreads beyond the Waiapu**

Pukemaire was the only Hauhau pā now left in the Waiapu valley and the Ngāti Porou forces had secured those pā situated on the southern side of the river. Te Hatepe was the central base from which operations were planned with both the leading rangatira of the different composite forces and the Pākeha officers sharing in the planning. Just as the force at Te Hatepe seemed to have the situation in hand, the war escalated. August was to see military operations spread to contain two other regions - Te Kawakawa and Tokomaru. Fresh reports also claimed that Pātara had managed to get out of the region and was at Raukokore.<sup>116</sup>

### **Makeronia, Horoera, Kōtare and Pukeāmaru**

The Te Kawakawa region was still relatively unguarded and the Hauhau were using it as a retreat. In August, Houkamau's people were attacked by a Hauhau contingent at Makeronia Pā. The Hauhau force were repelled and it was claimed that Te Wao, one of the leading Taranaki men was killed during the assault.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> The record of this engagement is taken from a letter from Mohi Tūrei to W. L. Williams, 7 Aug 1865, p. 3 and a letter from Mohi Tūrei to McLean, 14 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, pp. 19-20.

<sup>115</sup> Pers. comm., Apirana Mahuika, 14 Jan 2000.

<sup>116</sup> Rota Waitoa to McLean, 6 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, p. 25. An earlier article stated that Pātara, his wife and four others had escaped to Raukokore or Ōpōtiki. *TWMA*, 29 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 5, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> The remains of the pā's earthworks are still to be seen directly above the wharf at Wharekāhika. Approximately 300 metres away and slightly north-east, was another defence called Manawahikitia where the bulk of the women and children were sheltered. In 1987, Lloyd Lawson a local teacher described the two pā as follows, "Both of these two pā sites are well preserved and display interesting details. Makeronia is obviously an older pā modified for musket fighting. Manawahikitia is built more along the lines of a redoubt with a single wall which although now only 1 to 1.5 metres high, was formerly 2 - 3 metres high. The site is on a sloping flat expanse, ending abruptly in sheer cliffs above the sea and with shallow gullies on either side. Rifle pits along the northern perimeter covered all sides requiring defence. These pits have partitions every 2 metres to prevent crossfire raking the entire trench. This extra feature is obviously incomplete, suggesting last minute preparations. The seaward side needed no protection whatsoever. Makeronia is a typical trenched gunfighters pa. It is situated on the edge of a steep face overlooking the wharf. On either side are steep gullies. The main earthworks consist of two very deep trenches with built-up edges to prevent salvos being fired into the enclosure. In places from the bottom

While a Sunday church service (6 Aug) was in progress at Te Hatepe a female prisoner and child escaped. When her trail was picked up it was found she had gone to Horoera. It was decided to secure the area west of Te Pākihi (East Cape) to prevent the Hauhau being able to withdraw there. Kohere and Wikiriwhi with a body of Te Aowera spent several days (6-11 Aug) involved in a series of skirmishes where they managed to push those Hauhau supporters in the Horoera - Te Kawakawa district back to Kōtare Pā.<sup>118</sup> Kohere's party were assisted by some of Houkāmau's men who came over from Makeronia Pā. The pā at Horoera was taken and a number of women rounded up.<sup>119</sup> The prisoners, about 10 in number, were taken over to Makeronia. Te Kawakawa Pā was burnt. Hohua Tāwhaki, who Captain Luce had met in May and to whom the pā belonged, had earlier joined Houkāmau at Makeronia. A large portion of Tāwhaki's people had joined the Hauhau.<sup>120</sup>

Together with 40 of Houkāmau's men, including Ihairaira himself, and Rev. Rota Waitoa, Kohere pushed on to Kōtare Pā. On surrounding the pā they discovered that the Hauhau defenders had deserted it for the more protective stronghold of Pukeāmaru. This was a very old pā which had been used in the defence against Pōmare in the 1820s. The Hauhau felt it was impregnable, it being in a very steep position and endowed by nature with rock cliffs and a solitary path up to it. Still the attacking party were able to get in close and fired up at the pā with several direct hits. Some of the defenders who were shot, fell down the rocky cliff face.<sup>121</sup> This pā also capitulated and among the plunder, Kohere and Houkāmau's men took eight Hauhau flags.<sup>122</sup> The survivors from Kōtare escaped and went further up the range to a spur where they worked on the construction of

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of the trench to the top of the raised edge, it measures 3.5 metres. An extra shallow trench runs around the perimeter and would have been an additional rifle pit. L Lawson, 1987, *Wharekahika: a history of Hicks Bay*, p. 50.

<sup>118</sup> Whanaupō was killed in the vicinity of Horoera and Paraone Papahia at Te Kawakawa. Both men were part of the Hauhau defence. *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 20.

<sup>119</sup> Paora Pokaia, Wātene Rekereke, Paora Puhawai, and Te Keepa Ronogtiakiwaho were arrested at Horoera. Hāre Te Whā to W. L. Williams, 10 Aug 1865.

<sup>120</sup> When Tāwhaki saw the names of the people from his district who had sworn allegiance to the Queen published in the Māori newspaper he was furious that he and others had been left out. The names of Hohepa Tāwhaki, Wiremu Tamatama, Ihaka Te Kahu, Hori Tapore, Raharuhi Tapore, Reweti Wharite, Reihana Pahia, Tāmati Topi, Nikorima Whānau, Wātene Tawa, Tipene Manawa, Arepata Haua, Haimona Honorua, Paratene Maomao and Piniera Mānuka were published in a later issue. Ihairaira Houkāmau to McLean, 7 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, pp. 24-25.

<sup>121</sup> Kereopa and Whānaukainga were two who were killed.

<sup>122</sup> The account of Kohere's skirmishes in the region of Te Kawakawa is taken from a letter from Mohi Tūrei to McLean published in *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 20.

yet another defence work. This was Hungahungatoroa which would witness the final engagement between Ngāti Porou and the Hauhau adherents in October.

There were now over 30 prisoners at Te Hatepe and it was decided to remove the men to Napier, while the women and children remained. Deighton with an armed guard took a number of men to the gaol in Napier. Some were taken on to Wellington and held on a prison hulk<sup>123</sup>

### **Tokomaru**

With the defeats at Te Kawakawa, the Hauhau turned their attention south. Communication was established between Pukemaire and Pukepapa, the stronghold where those who had turned Hauhau in Tokomaru were encamped.<sup>124</sup> The situation was tense. Like Whānau-a-Ruataupare at Tokomaru, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti had also divided over the war. Victor Walker who has studied the reasons for the dissension among his tīpuna, believes that the cleavage in the Uawa region was based more on traditional animosities. Walker explained:

The death of Te Kani-a-Takirau in 1856 ushered in a new era of leadership among Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. Te Kani-a-Takirau had shown that paramount leadership could reside with an individual. Following his death, hapū chiefs endeavoured to secure for themselves the vacancy he left while also trying to strengthen their leadership positions within their own hapū. This resulted in fierce inter-hapū competition and rivalry. From lands north of the Uawa river, a number of chiefs emerged as likely successors: Mōkena Huatau, a close relation to Rangiua ( a contemporary of Te Kani-a-Takirau), Rāniera Tūroa and Raharuhi Hapupoia who became the leaders of Ngāti Kuranui, Ngāti Whakamaara and Ngai Te Wharetupainga, and Karauria Pahura, Himiona Te Kani and Heremia Taurewa, who chose to side with the Crown, and who were recognised as the leaders of Te Hapu Matua, Te Whānau-a-Te Rangipureora and Ngāti Hauriki. Mōkena and Raharuhi joined the Hauhau in an attempt to upset Karauria's mana on the land. To Karauria, Raharuhi said, "If you conquer, the land will belong to you and if I succeed the land will belong to me." Mōkena and Raharuhi with their people joined the Hauhau at

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<sup>123</sup> Hāre Te Whā to W. L. Williams, 10 Aug 1865.

<sup>124</sup> This pā was set at the very top of the hill immediately behind Tokomaru (if one looks directly up the Mangahauini Stream from the bridge in present-day Tokomaru) where a communication mast now stands. Signs of the pā are still there. The Tuatini Pā was also reinforced as a redoubt further up the ridgeline running to Pukepapa. This fortification is still a clearly marked ground feature. It is interesting that after the outbreak of war, Rev. Matiaha Pahewa had continued to visit his ex-parishioners at Tuatini and Pukepapa and by so doing had incurred Pōtae's wrath. A panui (notice) appeared in the Māori newspaper that Pahewa had gone over to the other side. In some strong words the article said that he could be a

Waerenga-a-Hika. During the fight which occurred there, Karauria took Mōkena and Raharuhi out of the pā.<sup>125</sup>

From Walker's statement, it appears that the Hauiti split needs to be considered in terms of the history of its hapū and their long long-standing disagreements which the war further north had only served to exacerbate.

Karauria Pahura, Himiona Te Kani and Heremia Taurewa brought the women and children from Uawa through to Tokomaru to the safety of Te Māwhai bringing the numbers in the pā to 200 or more. This worried Hēnare Pōtae and the chief wrote to McLean (11 Aug) for more of the effective minie rifle to protect themselves. In his letter Pōtae listed over 130 Whānau-a-Rua and Aitanga-a-Hauiti names who had taken the oath of allegiance at his pā. He warned, however, that the district was no longer safe, the Hauhau element looting and pillaging travellers throughout the area. Even Hirini Te Kani and a party of 10, who had come to the bay to try and convince those from the Tūranga region to return to their own district, were unsure whether they had safe passage home.<sup>126</sup>

Already many of the younger members of the hapū had been involved in the fighting at Waiapu. A party of 40 had been at Pukemaire, while some of their own relatives, the Ngāti Ira (part of Te Aitanga-Hauiti) living further south, had moved into Tokomaru to strengthen the resistance. Other Ngāti Ira were based at Tahutahupō, between Hikuwai and Uawa. It was rumoured that in order to give relief to Pukemaire the Whānau-a-Ruataupare at Pukepapa planned to drive north with an attack on their neighbours stationed at Tūparoa and Reporua.

Based on this information Hōtene Porourangi and Rāpata Wahawaha shifted a force of 129 men from Te Hatepe to Waikawa to prevent any one using the coastal route.<sup>127</sup> They had already pressed their peers at Te Hatepe to launch an attack on the Hauhau

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Tienara (general) for the Hauhau and that he had repaid the missionaries — by becoming a “Poropiti Hau Hau” (a Hauhau prophet). *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, p. 23.

<sup>125</sup> Pers. comm., Victor Walker, 15 Jan 2000

<sup>126</sup> Hēnare Pōtae to McLean, 30 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 11 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, p. 23. Hirini Te Kani and his party did return safely to Tūranga arriving on 19 August. He tried to dissuade Wiremu Kingi Paia from taking a party through to Tokomaru. They declined his advice and went only to be turned back at Puatai by a party of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. *Jnl of W. L. Williams*, 21 Aug 1865.

<sup>127</sup> Porter said Pōtae sent a messenger by whaleboat from Te Māwhai to Wahawaha for assistance. Thomas Porter, 1897, *Major Rōpata Wahawaha*, p. 7.

sympathisers at Tokomaru. They were motivated by the news that the Te Aowera homes and property at Pōpoti had been looted and burnt. It was the Whānau-a-Ruataupare party from Tokomaru and others from Tūranga who had been to aid Pukemaire who they believed were responsible.<sup>128</sup>

In the earlier engagements Wahawaha had impressed and the affray at Tokomaru was to see him advance another rung in the estimation of his men and among the other hapū who he aided.

### **Tuatini Pā relinquished**

Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi were waiting at Waikawa on the morning of 17 Aug. This was the day fighting in Tokomaru broke out. It was fomented by some of the Hauhau from Pukepapa who went in pursuit of a party of Pōtae's people while they were foraging for food about Tokomaru. The Hauhau party met with gunfire as they chased the Māwhai residents. At Waikawa a man and woman belonging to the Hauhau party were caught coming over from Tokomaru and from them Hōtene and Wahawaha learned of the skirmish. They took 90 men and went over the Tāwhiti track to Tokomaru. On reaching the bay they sent a messenger to inform Hēnare Pōtae that they had arrived and required a supply of gun powder. The powder was brought back in the night with the plan for the attack on the Hauhau. The next morning (18 Aug), as they had planned, Pōtae led a contingent from Māwhai and converged with Te Aowera at Tuatini Pā below Pukepapa. The Hauhau defending Tuatini, deserted it before the two parties arrived and made for the bush.

### **The fall of Pukepapa Pā (19 Aug)**

From Tuatini they moved up the ridge to attack Pukepapa. The pā was still under seige when a recess was called by the attacking party in the early afternoon. Wahawaha, at this time acted in concert with a counsel of leaders of the other hapū and it was felt that the attack should be stalled until the next day. Wahawaha believed the pā should be attacked again as he felt it would fall. But as it was, the pā was not taken that day. Wahawaha

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<sup>128</sup> Rāniera Kāwhia to W. L. Williams, 15 Aug 1865.

would gain more autonomy in the near future, born of the confidence of further victories, but for the time being he followed the instruction of the counsel of chiefs.<sup>129</sup>

In the night most of the Hauhau party evacuated Pukepapa and when the besiegers entered it the next morning (19 Aug) only a few wounded were to be found. Gudgeon (1879) and Porter (1897) wrote that at Pukepapa Wahawaha discovered and shot eleven of his own kinsmen who had joined the Hauhau — this account was repeated by James Cowan in *The New Zealand Wars*.<sup>130</sup> According to Gudgeon, Wahawaha shot them one by one with his revolver after telling them, “I do not kill you because you have fought against me, but because I told you not to join the Hauhaus, and you have disobeyed me.”<sup>131</sup> Porter’s account was more dramatic. He said the prisoners were tied up and Wahawaha stated:

You belong to the Aowera. When they brought this Hauhauism I warned my people not to join it, to have nothing to do with it, because it was evil and the results would be evil. Now you have joined in disobedience to my advice and the evil has come. I care not for your religion, but I will have no members of my tribe disobedient, and this is the way I treat them.<sup>132</sup>

Neither Gudgeon nor Porter were witnesses to the event and it may be that Porter built on Gudgeon’s published account. In the several primary sources researched for this thesis, including the eyewitness account of Hēnare Pōtae, and Wahawaha’s own narrative, there is no record of such executions taking place. Nor are there any more than two casualties listed for Pukepapa. Wahawaha was not reluctant to write about other members of the enemy party who he shot and he named who they were. It seems inconsistent with his narrative that he should omit to mention this incident.

### **Tahutahupō captured**

Wahawaha and Pōtae gleaned from the stragglers left in the pā that the others had gone towards Hikuwai where they were intent on finishing another pā at Tahutahupō. After two days (21 Aug) they set out for Hikuwai and came across the Hauhau working on the Tahutahu encampment. The Tokomaru force was split into two, one under Pōtae which followed the Hikuwai river which passes by Tahutahupō, the other under Wahawaha that

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<sup>129</sup> Among others the counsel would have included Hēnare Potae, Hōtene Porourangi, and Karauria Pahura.

<sup>130</sup> Cowan, vol. 2, p. 116.

<sup>131</sup> Thomas W Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand*, p. 84.

followed the inland ridges. Together they attacked the pā and six Hauhau were killed for the loss of one of Wahawaha's men.<sup>133</sup> The Hauhau party who had been at the pā fled into the bush. The ope taua spent the night in the pā.

The next morning Hēnare Pōtae and a party of 36 determined to return and check on his people at Te Māwhai in case the Hauhau forces had regrouped and gone back there. Pōtae's party was a combination of Karauria Pahura's people of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and his own relatives of Whānau-a-Ruataupare. Not long after they left, they were set upon by a Hauhau contingent at a place called Pākura. The two groups fought an action alongside a deep swamp. On hearing the gunfire, Rāpata Wahawaha left Hōtene Porourangi with the captured women and children and took a company of 90 to aid Pōtae. Out-numbered, Pōtae's men fell back and were in retreat toward Tahutahupō when Wahawaha and his men happened upon them. Wahawaha tried to stay the retreating force shouting orders to rally around his own men. But he could not halt them. With his own party following him, he charged the oncoming enemy. This had the effect of reversing the situation, the Hauhau breaking for the bush. According to Wahawaha, when the Hauhau group recognised him they scattered (No te kitenga mai a te Hau Hau i a Rāpata e haere atu ana i mua o tana ope, ka whati te Hau Hau ki te ngahere).<sup>134</sup> The Te Aowera unit had, by this stage in the war, earned itself a small reputation as fearless fighters.

Two of Pōtae's men had been killed.<sup>135</sup> The victorious party began to round up some horses belonging to the Hauhau, and while doing so, Wahawaha spotted a trace of blood leading into the swamp. He followed the trail and spotted the wounded man rushing into the raupo. Wahawaha fired killing him. He discovered the man was Hāmiora Rangiuia,

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<sup>132</sup> Thomas Porter, 1897, *Major Rōpata Wahawaha*, p. 8.

<sup>133</sup> WNRW, p. 9 and Hēnare Pōtae to McLean, 30 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, p. 25.

<sup>134</sup> WNRW, p. 9.

<sup>135</sup> Hāre Mauwhata was captured by the Hauhau party and Gudgeon recorded the following account of his escape. "Two of the retreating Hauhaus fell in with one of Henare's (Potae) men; he had not taken part in the fight, but was carrying important despatches from Tologa Bay to Rāpata; he was made a prisoner and threatened with instant death, but our friend remonstrated with his captors and played his part so well, assuring them that he was a genuine Hauhau in disguise, that they finally agreed to take him before Patara, who would pronounce sentence upon him. While on the road, Hāre, a powerful man, noticed that the double-barrelled fowling-piece of one of his captors was loaded and capped. Watching his opportunity he suddenly wrested it from him and shot his companion; the other, unarmed, was now at his mercy, and was soon disposed of. Hāre Mauwhata [sic] achieved greatness. Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, p. 84.



who belonged to one of the chiefly families of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti.<sup>136</sup> Once again Wahawaha had out-performed the other leaders of the allied force. The fact that he had gone to the aid of Pōtae on his own initiative and had managed to inspire his men to fight in the face of the Hauhau onslaught won him more support and one suspects the admiration of Pōtae, Hōtene Porourangi and other chiefs.

Since the first outbreak at Tokomaru, 18 Hauhau supporters were buried by their opponents.<sup>137</sup> The Hauhau refugees from these engagements retreated to Ūawa and began working on another pā. Pōtae sent a message to them to give up the fight and hand over their leaders. They refused and asked for a ceasefire, but this was only to enable them to finish fortifying their pā. Some of those who had been killed were from Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki and reinforcements from the two tribes were expected.<sup>138</sup> As it eventuated the refugees continued on to join their relatives at Waerenga-a-Hika. Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi returned (30 Aug) with their men to Tūparoa and in September moved closer to Te Hatepe to assist in the inevitable siege of Pukemaire.<sup>139</sup>

#### **Attack on Te Māwhai Pā (c.27 Sep)**

As Major Fraser awaited an opportune time to attack Pukemaire, a Tokomaru party who had been in the pā returned to their own district with the intention, it was believed, of journeying on to Tūranga. Aware of their plan, Hēnare Pōtae and his men set out for Tūranga on Monday 25 September, believing that the Tokomaru contingent had left the day before him.<sup>140</sup> However, the Hauhau party had not departed and in his absence decided to attack Te Māwhai, Pōtae's pā.<sup>141</sup>

At that time, the pā was occupied mostly by the elderly, the women and children and a handful of old whalers. A young chief Hati Houkāmau and some of the women — Hēni

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<sup>136</sup> WNRW, p. 9.

<sup>137</sup> The details for the Tokomaru and Tahutahupō actions came from the WNRW, p. 9; and a letter from Hēnare Pōtae to McLean, 30 Aug 1865, published in *TWMA*, 9 Sep 1865, vol. 3, no. 59, p. 25

<sup>138</sup> This was probably the party led by Wiremu Kingi Paia which was turned back at Puatai. See footnote no. 126.

<sup>139</sup> Major Fraser was not prepared to attack Pukemaire until he had the support of the Tuparoa force. Fraser to McLean, 4 Sep 1865. It was not until late-September that Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi encamped again at Waioamatini.

<sup>140</sup> W. L. Williams to McLean, 2 Oct 1865.

<sup>141</sup> The attack was not made while Whānau-a-Rua were holding Pukepapa as Cowan claimed. Cowan, vol. 2, p. 120. Nor could it have been made on 4 October as *TWMA*, 21 Oct 1865, vol. 3, no. 62, p. 39 stated, since Archdeacon Leonard Williams wrote of it in his diary on 2 October.

Te Pahuahua, Te Rangi-i-paea, and Mere Arihi Te Puna — garrisoned the pā with a handful of guns when the attack was made on the morning of 27 September.<sup>142</sup> The old men in the pā loaded the guns for the women who managed to shoot a number of the Hauhau party who were climbing the steep face from the northern seaward side. Others in the pā hurled stones at the attackers.

Estimates of the number of Hauhau killed ranged between nine and thirteen.<sup>143</sup> John Henderson (Haki) an old whaler was wounded, shot in the face, and later died in Auckland hospital.<sup>144</sup> Hati Houkāmau was decorated for his effort in defending the garrison.<sup>145</sup>

The following day, three boys left the pā to collect in the horses. These were Henry Henderson, a young lad named Gillman and George Ryland, sons of whalers. Their mothers were from the Tokomaru district. They were caught by a Hauhau party and Henderson was killed. The body was found at the side of a stream. The boy's head had been bashed against a rock. His eyes and brains were missing. Young Henry was John Henderson's son and he and Ryland were both 13 years. Gillman managed to escape, but Ryland was held prisoner and taken to Tūranga.<sup>146</sup>

When he found out what had happened, Hēnare Pōtae was keen to follow the Hauhau party up. Rumours spread that he was trying to get assistance from the Ngāti Porou

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<sup>142</sup> Hati was the son of Iharaira Houkamau, the chief at Makeronia Pā.

<sup>143</sup> Cowan put the figure at 13 while a report in *Te Waka Māori* said nine were killed. Cowan, vol. 2, p. 120; *TWMA*, 21 Oct 1865, vol. 3, no. 62, p. 39. Gudgeon recorded, "Forty Hauhaus started at once, and at grey dawn scaled the cliffs surrounding the pah; fortunately they were seen by a woman, who gave the alarm in time. There were but four men in the pah, but the women were equal to the occasion, and made such a vigorous defence that the enemy retreated to Poverty Bay, leaving ten of their number dead behind them." Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, p. 85.

<sup>144</sup> Cowan, vol. 2, p. 119.

<sup>145</sup> Houkāmau's medal is still with his descendants at Wharekahika. The author saw this medal with Manu Stainton on a visit to Sonny Houkāmau in 1992.

<sup>146</sup> W. L. Williams to McLean, 2 Oct 1865. Gudgeon wrote that Henderson was murdered "by the infamous half-caste Eru Peka, who is said to have murdered Mrs. Biggs at the Poverty Bay massacre. Henderson and another half-caste named Ryland had been sent out to look for horses; they were met on the road by Peka, who suspected that Henderson had been given some percussion-caps to carry to his people. He demanded them from the boy, who denied having any, and at the same time dropped them behind him and dug them into the sand with his heel; Peka unfortunately saw the action, and seizing hold of him beat his brains out with a stone. The other boy ran off to the Hauhau pā where a kuia hid him until it was safe to escape." Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, p. 85. According to Williams, five of the group who took Ryland to Tūranga were Tūranga men. Williams to McLean, 2 Oct 1865.

forces further north. Any support from Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi would have to wait, however, as all interest in the Waiapu was centered on Pukemaire.<sup>147</sup>

### The end of Pukemaire Pā

Much of September had been spent reconnoitering and determining the strength and layout of Pukemaire and it was decided between Fraser, Biggs and the various rangatira to attempt to overthrow the pā. About fifty more reinforcements under Captain Westrupp (Watene) and Lieutenant Ross arrived by way of the *HMS Brisk* on 1 October.<sup>148</sup> Te Hatepe now mustered a force of 180 Pākeha and Māori while Wahawaha and Hōtene brought together a combined force of 200. Pukemaire was a formidable pā and had been reinforced in preparation for the impending attack. It consisted of two large areas of fortified ground adjacent to each other and joined by a covered walkway. It was estimated that it held as many as 500 fighting men.

### First attempt (3 Oct)

The assault opened on 3 October with a complete encircling of the pā and the attackers skirmished up the ridge until they were in a position to open a flying sap.<sup>149</sup> The soldiers were about 15 metres from the outer palisade returning fire when it began to rain adding to the difficult situation.

In the assault Wahawaha again was the outstanding leader. Under heavy fire he managed to get a party of twelve men up to Makorau where the Meri Tapu church was positioned. (situated where St Mary's stands today). This whare karakia belonged to the Whānau-a-Hinerupe but they had ceased using it when they turned to the Hauhau religion. It was just below the hilltop on which the pā stood. Among the party which reached the church was a young Paratene Ngata. They took cover in the church and could hear bullets hitting the roof. Wahawaha instructed his men to return fire up at the pā. His men interspersed their firing with some of the songs of derision which Mohi Turei had composed, shouting the words out to the Hauhau sentries.<sup>150</sup> After awhile Wahawaha and his party sneaked

<sup>147</sup> It was not until the end of October that a decision was made to follow up the Hauhau who had been at Tokomaru when the Ngāti Porou chiefs agreed to assist in the siege of Waerenga-a-hika (see p. 306).

<sup>148</sup> Cowan, vol. 2, p. 117.

<sup>149</sup> Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, p. 86.

<sup>150</sup> One of the songs was published in *Te Waka Māori*. The words were, "Ka noho au ka rau mahara noa. Kei te rūrū au ki te whare. Ka panapana haere i runga i te ngutu Tiu. Kua pukaikaka te ao o wheua i te

up to the sentry post which was attached to the outer palisade of the pā above St Mary's.<sup>151</sup>

Below the stockade they jested with the men who were manning their posts.<sup>152</sup> They knew Piniha Rangahau who was one of the men standing guard. Hēmi Pāroa, Hoti, Hekiera Tūhou, Wiremu Taika<sup>153</sup> and Paratene Ngata were some of the party with Wahawaha. While they were talking, Wahawaha had a branch cut from a kauere tree and tied with a rope. This they threw over the stockade. It caught on the cross-rail of the fence and they all pulled on it trying to bring down a part of the palisade. Wahawaha's men fired shots at the sentries to keep them from getting to the rope. One of the Hauhau sentries tried to cut the rope with an axe but was shot in the hand.<sup>154</sup>

At about that time Captain Westrupp and a party of reinforcements arrived on the scene. Westrupp used his sword to cut at the rope binds holding part of the the palisade together which the men pulled away. When the breach was made Wahawaha raced into the gap, the Hauhau party retreating from their post to the inner sanctuary of the pā. At that moment the rain began to pelt down and it turned bitterly cold. Further advance was

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parekura i Rangiriri. Puritia mai e Tako i te pito o te whenua kia ora atu ai taku ngākau. Hoki atu koe e Kaiwhatu ki Taranaki. Nukunuku atu! Nekenekē atu! Ka tū koe i aku kipa! Kipakipaia! Whakarongo rā e ngā iwi Kingi; Te rongo toa i a te Ātiawa e hau mai nei, Tamoea mai te Hau Hau ki Ahuriri nei. Tae rawa mai ki Tūranga, kei te panapana i te Hau Hau; Kei te kumekume ngā rangatira, Kei te tiro tiro ki tētahi pito, ki tētahi taha, ki waenganui. Tūpou rā a te Mōkena o te ata noho. E ki ra i tō ki! Kūpapa ki raro ra whakarongo puku ai. Ka tere mai Ingarangi, ka tere mai nei Tiamana. Ko te hunanga tēnā o te Kingi tohetohe o Waiapu — pokia! Whakakore rawa ake rā e ngā Tiu. Ka puta te rongo ki tāwhiti ki Ingarangi; Ka rongo te Ingarihi, ka rongo te Teamana. Me aha koa i te mamae a te Wākana. E kainga torokatia mai nei. Me he rite tahi tātou e hoa mā, Kua mau au ki te pū, ki te taiaha, ki te meremere. Pēnei pea e taka mai Rura ki roto ki taku ringa, Me haehae, ka pakaru, ka tahu ki te ahi. He matakū aha tou e Tūranga i tukua ai e koe a Kaiwhatu; Ka katia nei e au ki te Kautuku, Ka whanga ake i te pō rua, I te turanga kati nā te Rūnanga, Mō ngā Tiu nei, mō Kaiwhatu mā. Turaturakina te mana o te Kingi! Hurei!" *TWMA*, 1 Jul 1865, vol. 3, no. 54, p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> Paratene Ngata wrote that he and two others skirted behind the pā and took three horses belonging to the Hauhau party. One was named Taua which he recorded belonged to Hoterene. *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p. 50.

<sup>152</sup> Paratene Ngata recalled their bantering, "Ko Piniha e karanga mai ana, 'E tama mā, he haramai tonu koutou ki te patu i a mātau. Anā kē te mahi, mā koutou he tari paura mai ki konā putu ai ka hoki koutou.' Ka karanga atu a Hemi Pāroa, 'Tikina mai nga paura mā koutou'. Ka karantga mai a Piniha, 'Waiho i waho ra putu ai kia hoki rawa koutou ka tiki atu ai au.' " *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p. 50.

<sup>153</sup> This man was to gain a reputation for extreme bravery and earned the title *tini toa* (many warriors). The name Taika (tiger) described his temper. His real name was Wiremu Te Urupā.

<sup>154</sup> One account states, "... a rather celebrated character (Hēmi Tāpeka) threw a rope with a strong bar attached to it over the palisades, but it was immediately cut by the Hauhaus. It was again thrown over, this time by Wātene Ketua [sic], and again a Hauhau rushed forward to cut it, but he was shot in the act by Wātene; and before another Hauhau could summon courage to attempt this dangerous duty, the united strength of the Aowera and Tūpāroa men had torn down a whole line of palisades and made such a formidable breach in the outworks, that the remainder appeared easy enough." Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, p. 86.

thwarted by the weather conditions. The Hauhau defenders manned the inner stockade line and fired at the attacking party. Some of Westrupp's men had followed Wahawaha in through the breach and they fired up at the defenders. The superiority of the minie rifles was obvious when nine of the Hauhau defence were gradually picked off in the pouring rain.<sup>155</sup> Te Winiwini of Taranaki was said to be one of them.<sup>156</sup>

Nōpera Paekura was shot dead while Hāre Mūmū and Paora Hakorea received arm wounds when Wahawaha's party were trying to create the breach in the defence work.<sup>157</sup> Wahawaha, under fire, took the rope and bound it to the feet of the corpse and shouted to his men to pull the body out. In the pouring rain they were elated with their prize. As the weather conditions worsened the attackers were recalled and Wahawaha bid his men to retire.<sup>158</sup>

Perhaps the pā would have fallen had not the bugle sounded the withdrawal. An observation documented some years later suggested, "Another hour and the pah would have been taken: so thoroughly covered were the Hauhaus by the success of the beseigers, that they were actually deserting the pah when the order to retire was given." Two Pākeha soldiers died as a result of the attack, one by a bullet wound the other of hypothermia.<sup>159</sup> Most of the force retired to Te Hatepe or Waiomatatini to recuperate and to await a better day before attempting another seige.

### Second attempt (9 Oct)

The second assault on Pukemaire was planned for 9 October giving time for the rivers to recede so that the Waiomatatini-based under Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi force could join the siege. Major Fraser sent Captain Westrupp out from Te Hatepe the night before with orders to take up a position near Pukemaire and remain in hiding until the morning. Early the next day the rest of the force arrived, but were to discover that the pā had been abandoned. The Pukemaire people had been made aware of the attack by a

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<sup>155</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 50.

<sup>156</sup> Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, p. 86.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>158</sup> In Major Fraser's official report he wrote a further reason for the withdrawal was the shortage of ammunition, the supplies having not been brought through from Te Hatepe. *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 345.

<sup>159</sup> According to Ngata, the victim of cold died during the return when they reached Rangitukia. Another 3 soldiers were wounded. *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p. 51.

woman who had escaped from Te Hatepe the night before. The occupants had retreated northward to Te Kawakawa.<sup>160</sup>

Before they took flight the Pukemaire residents had set their umu (ovens) alight and the dogs were still tied up to give the impression the pā was occupied. A rearguard party had remained as decoys, walking the ramparts and changing their shirts from black to white as if there were more people present. Obviously they intended to buy their people time to reach Hungahungatoroa. In the end it was the howling of the hungry dogs which gave the show away. That morning the pā was entered by the combined force.

### **Te Kawakawa (10 Oct)**

The pā was set fire to and the army returned to Te Hatepe. The next morning (10 Oct) the contingent was divided into two sections for transfer to Te Kawakawa: Fraser (60 men), Kohere and Arapeta Te Haenga (50 men) would march by the coastal route, Wahawaha, Hōtene Porourangi (100 men) and Biggs (30 men) would take the inland track.<sup>161</sup> The plan was to approach Te Kawakawa from two directions and cut the Hauhau retreat off. Biggs, Wahawaha and Porourangi set out immediately keen to cover the 28 miles to Te Kawakawa as quickly as possible. Fraser, however, never left until 10.30 am as Westrupp's men had much sleep in the previous two days.<sup>162</sup>

The inland party followed the Hauhau trail to Te Kiekie where, about fifteen miles from Te Hatepe, they discovered a wounded man, Ngahara of Te Whānau-a-Māhaki. He had been left because he could not keep up with the fleeing party. From him they learned that some of the Hauhau company were probably at Te Kawakawa. The physician in Biggs' unit examined Ngahara and determined that he would not live. The force left him a hot tea, biscuits and a container of water and continued on. Reweti Kohere recorded the following details about the Hauhau flight from Pukemaire which give some indication of the state the Hauhau force were in.

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<sup>160</sup> For the official report of the siege of Pukemaire see Major Fraser's account printed in *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 345.

<sup>161</sup> Pineamine Tuhaka to the editor of *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, in *TWMA*, 4 Nov 1865, vol. 3, no. 63, p. 46. Lieutenant Biggs report to Major Fraser published in *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 346.

<sup>162</sup> Fraser's official report in *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 345.

Hori Kōhuru told me that in the retreat families suffered much from hunger. As one party tried to rest another would come along and leap-frogged over the family resting; then this family would in turn leap-frogged over the next or more families, for a family dreaded the idea of being the first. Leap-frogging was kept up all night long until the Awatere Valley was reached at daybreak. Here a store-house of potatoes was found. In order to roast the potatoes the whole house was set on fire.<sup>163</sup>

Biggs described the ground which both parties had to cover:

The road was extremely bad, being for many miles through bush, some very steep hills to get up, and down, and up the beds of creeks, so that the men were never dry from the time they started.<sup>164</sup>

Paratene Ngata wrote that when they reached Te Kawakawa, they came upon a considerable party which included his own relatives who were returning from collecting kaimoana (seafood). Biggs' men opened fire on them from within 100 metres. They ran off and the soldiers gave chase. They managed to capture two women, Hēni Kahiwa and Mere Heihi. The rest all escaped unharmed due to the composite force which was giving chase being fatigued from the forced march.

The divided loyalties of sympathetic relatives played a part in their escape. Rīpeka Paia, who had reached the group, called backed to the pursers to stop firing that they were "kāwanatanga".<sup>165</sup> Firing ceased, the group of Hauhau adherents escaped, and it was discovered that Rīpeka was the only one who had remained. Paratene Ngata, when he recognised a party of his own relatives, said he made signs to them to quickly escape ( i tūpono tonu ki ōku whanaunga kia Renata Mangatekapua mā, ka tū atu taku ringa kia tere te oma).<sup>166</sup>

### **Hungahunga-toroa (11 Oct)**

The contingent under Wahawaha, Porourangi and Biggs made camp at Te Kawakawa to await the arrival of the force travelling by the coast. But with no word of Kohere and Fraser, at 2.00 am the next morning they departed determined to press on to the

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<sup>163</sup> Reweti Kohere, p. 56.

<sup>164</sup> Biggs report to Fraser in *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 346.

<sup>165</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 52. Rīpeka Paia was the mother of Hati Houkāmau.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Karakatūwhero valley.<sup>167</sup> Near Kotare Pā (5.00 am) they could see fires and knew that some of the Hauhau assembly were asleep there. This was the outer perimeter of their camp, the main contingent of the Hauhau party being further up the river at Hungahungatoroa. There was some debate between Biggs and Wahawaha as to who should take the lead in the attack. Biggs won out. Prayers were said and quietly the soldiers made their way around to the rear of the outpost and discovered the Hauhau occupants were also engaged in a prayer service. When Biggs and Wahawaha were close enough they had their men fire a volley towards the lighted fires and were promptly met with return fire. No one was killed, but immediately the Hauhau occupants descended, fighting a rearguard action as they retreated along the Karakatūwhero river. Pita Rirerire was the only casualty in the attacking force, receiving a wound to the thigh. Some women were among Wahawaha's force: Hēni Nohoaka — two cartridge belts across her body and a single-barrel percussion-lock rifle in hand — just missed being hit when Rirerire fell wounded.<sup>168</sup>

Eventually the retreating party fell back into the bush and made the steep climb up to Hungahungatoroa Pā. There were well over 300 men in that pā and some 200 women and children. "This palisaded stronghold, deep in the bush, was surrounded by cliffs very difficult to scale."<sup>169</sup> It was a most difficult place to get at but it was not strongly reinforced, the defenders not having enough time to complete it.

Wahawaha noticed that a rocky outcrop paralleling the ridge running up to Hungahungatoroa gave a good view of the pā from the flank and rear. The Hauhau party had not covered the access to it as they felt no one would be able to scale the dangerous precipice.<sup>170</sup> But Wahawaha was keen to attempt it. With three of his own men accompanied by Cornet Tuke and a half dozen Pākeha soldiers they climbed the point and from a little over a 100 metres behind the pā began to rain shots down on the occupants. The covering fire from Wahawaha's group allowed Biggs and the others to gradually

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<sup>167</sup> Fraser had reached Horoera that night and made camp. *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 345.

<sup>168</sup> Nihoniho, p. 43. Nohoaka had also fought in the two attacks on Pukemaire. She would call to her kinsmen to inspire them in the attack, "Kōkiri rā! Te Aowera e! Kōkiri! Kōkiri!" The high-pitch of her voice carrying over the gun fire.

<sup>169</sup> Cowan, vol. 2, p. 117.

<sup>170</sup> Biggs describe it as virtually "impossible to get up it but by climbing and one false step or slip would have cost a man his life." In his report Biggs gave the impression that it was Cornet Tuke who



push forward towards the outer defence-work of the pā. From a little over 100 metres, the composite Te Aowera — Whānau-a-Rua force and Biggs' party fired continuously at the pā. Some from its front and some from the flank. Others remained at the river cooking breakfast.<sup>171</sup>

### Prisoner shot

Returning to his troops, Wahawaha chose eight of them to sneak through the bush to the perimeter of the pā. In so doing, they came upon a sentry whose task it was to waylay any of the enemy who might approach. However, Wahawaha got to the sentry before he managed to engage his rifle and signal to the pā. Once he had him, Wahawaha realised it was Pīta Tamaturi, a rangatira of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, and one of those considered responsible for bringing Pātara to Ngāti Porou. Biggs soon followed up and asked Wahawaha who his prisoner was. Wahawaha wrote of the incident:

Ka pātai a te Piiki, "Nō whea tēnei tangata?"

Ka mea atu a Rāpata, "Nō Tūranga."

Ka mea mai a te Piiki, "He rangatira?"

Ka mea atu a Rāpata, "Ae. He tino rangatira tēnei. Nō te Itanga-a-Māhaki."<sup>172</sup>

Biggs asked, "Where is this man from?"

Rāpata replied, "From Tūranga."

Biggs said, "Is he a chief?"

Rāpata answered, "Yes. This is an important chief. He is from Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki."

*(my translation)*

With that Biggs shot Tamaturi with his revolver. This execution was to rebound on Biggs when in 1868 he and his family were murdered at Tūranga by the Hauhau prisoners who escaped from the Chatham Islands.<sup>173</sup>

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lead the men up the precipice. It was in fact Rāpata and his men who lead the way (see footnote 173). *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 346.

<sup>171</sup> *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p. 53.

<sup>172</sup> *WNRW*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>173</sup> Another version of the approach was given by Gudgeon: "Rāpata and nine of his immediate relations led the way as advanced guard, and when about half-way up the hill came across a Hauhau in a potato-plantation; he was immediately shot. The report brought up Biggs and eleven of his volunteers, who started with Rāpata to reconnoitre the position. It was found to be stronger than they had anticipated, and it was finally decided that Rāpata and Biggs should scale the cliff in rear of the position, while the main body held the slope in front, and engaged the enemy's attention by a false attack. This was a dangerous and desperate attempt to dislodge the enemy, but it was the only way to command success, and Biggs and Rāpata were not the men to allow mere danger or difficulties to intervene. The Māories,

## The surrender

The firing from close proximity to the pā was kept up and the Hauhau were sustaining considerable casualties. They were hemmed in and there was little they could do but try to take cover and return fire. It must have been some respite for them when the attacking force called a cease-fire at midday. A small body of soldiers had arrived from Fraser and Kohere's contingent, who were still making their way to the scene of the battle.<sup>174</sup> The messenger had a note from Kohere asking the Ngāti Porou leaders to spare their own tribesmen if they were willing to surrender. Insurgents from other tribes, however, were to be given no opportunity to capitulate.<sup>175</sup> Biggs received similar instructions from Major Fraser. There were approximately sixty outsiders from Whakatōhea, Whanau-a-Apanui, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe in the pā.

The details of the negotiations surrounding the surrender are interesting and vary in slight detail according to the different accounts. Reweti Kohere wrote that Hēni Kahiwa, (one of the women captured at Te Kawakawa), and another woman (probably Mere Heihi), were sent into the pā to ask their relatives to surrender. Hāre Paraone refused and stood astride the entrance, warning his kismen not to trust the word of their enemy.<sup>176</sup>

After about an hour's negotiating the Ngāti Porou, who realised they were cornered, were willing to lay down their arms and relinquish the pā. Hapū by hapū they were called to

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bootless and trouserless, went up the cliff with tolerable ease, but the Pākehas, encumbered by civilisation, laboured behind. Just after reaching the top, Wātene [sic], a relation of Rāpata, observed a man among the trees and pointed him out to the chief, who called on his men to fire, which they did, but without effect; the man, however, finding escape impossible, shouted to them not to fire lest they should hit him. Rāpata amused at this naive request, inquired who he was; the man replied, "It is me." "Yes," said the chief, "I know, but I want to see your face; I shall then know you better." The man approached and was recognised as Pīta Tamaturi, a chief of the Aitanga-a-Māhaki, a man very objectionable to the Government. A Ngatiporou, Rāpata, took him by the wrist to lead him away, but found he could not hold him, Pīta being a veritable giant for strength and size; he was, however, disarmed by Wātene's [sic] help, and Rāpata would have shot him had not Biggs arrived at the moment and asked, "Who is the man?" "Pīta Tamaturi," said Rāpata, "the man who brought all this trouble on Ngatiporou; it was he who brought the Hauhau religion here." On hearing this, Biggs drew his revolver and ended further argument by shooting the prisoner dead." Gudgeon, 1879, *Reminiscences...*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>174</sup> On reaching Te Kawakawa, Fraser learned from a note which Biggs had left and from some of Biggs' party who were holding the prisoners what had taken place. He also understood from the two female prisoners that the Ngāti Porou Hauhau were willing to surrender. *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 35.

<sup>175</sup> This was a policy that the Ngāti Porou leaders would try to implement outside of their own territory in the conflict that followed at Tūranga and Te Wairoa.

<sup>176</sup> Reweti Kohere, p. 57.

come out of the pā. When those from other tribes were not called they knew that they were not to be spared.

Paratene Ngata recorded that when Rāpata Wahawaha, Hōtene Porourangi and the other leading chiefs agreed to Kohere's request they called to the occupants of the pā for someone to come out and hear the terms of the surrender. Ārihia Te Hahawai and Niha Matuakore were the two who came out and took the terms back to their relatives. When the Ngāti Porou majority agreed to an unconditional surrender, Paratene Ngata and others were sent in to collect their arms as they filed out. He saw his Ngati Rangi and Whānau-a-Karuai relatives departing and noticed the Whakatōhea and Taranaki contingent had not relinquished their arms. Before he realised it they slid down the steep bank on the edge of the pā.<sup>177</sup> Most of them got away into the deep ravine alongside the pā and made off into the steep and heavy bush-clad country. They were fired upon and three were killed. Some of the Ngati Porou force tried to follow their tracks but found that they had climbed back up another ridge into the steep bush-clad range. It seems they had already planned an escape route and followed guides who had familiarised themselves with the terrain.

### Prisoners

The amount of arms collected from the pā and the number of people who surrender also differ according to the various accounts. Perhaps the most accurate is Lieutenant Biggs, who in his report to Fraser, said that they had taken 120 guns, 200 men and 300 women and children. About 20 Hauhau had been killed as they tried to hold out against the constant fire. There were 8 wounded in the pā some of whom were women. One of Biggs' men, Sergeant Dearlove, died of wounds.<sup>178</sup>

The prisoners were marched to Te Kawakawa and there they spent several nights. A large hui was held where the Ngāti Porou chiefs were "loud in their praises for their

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<sup>177</sup> Jnl of Paratene Ngata, p. 53.

<sup>178</sup> Dearlove is buried in a small cemetery adjacent to Te Hatepe, where those Pākeha soldiers who lost their lives in the Waiapu campaigns were interred. The names of the wounded were recorded by the surgeons T. F. Baker and F. J. Ormond as Thary, gunshot wound of hand, commencing mortification; Erme, gunshot wound in head, wound of left hand and left shoulder; Rapera Harake, gunshot wound of jaw and kneck; Pouha, gunshot wound in groin; Harukureha, wound of left hand and fore arm — mortification; Margareta, gunshot wounds of left arm, close to the shoulder-joint; Penehamone, gunshot wounds in neck; Meta, wounds in left arm and through neck." *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p.346.

'pakeha friends'."<sup>179</sup> Te Aopururangi, the senior chief of Raukokore, was one of the captives, and he agreed to Major Fraser's request that he would have his people give up their arms and the Pai Marire religion, and that they would swear allegiance to the Queen by 1 November. The guard placed over the prisoners showed leniency and the Hauhau captives were allowed some freedom within the camp. As a result, on one of the nights, a few prisoners escaped in the dark and fled to Raukokore. One of these was Hōne Te Kauru, the son of Pōpata Te Kauru.<sup>180</sup>

All in all, however, the victorious side were in high spirits and very relieved that the situation in the Waiapu was finally under control. So much so that following on the victory some were quite prepared to forfeit land as payment for that portion of the tribe which had been in rebellion. A difficult thing to do, of course, as those who fought against the Hauhau also had interests in any land that might be conceded. Nevertheless, Iharaira Houkāmau offered the area from Karakatūwhero to Kautuku, which included Horoera and Te Pākihi. "That was to show his anger for the people who had sided with the wrongdoers."<sup>181</sup>

No immediate action was planned for confiscation but the Ngāti Porou chiefs knew that at some future date the matter would be attended to.

### **Allegiance to the Queen**

On 15 September, the force pushed on with their captives towards Te Hatepe. They took the coastal route, passing the desolated villages around Horoera. Rāpata Wahawaha used the word "terepu" to describe the way in which the Hauhau party were lead around to Te Hatepe. The word gives the impression of driving a herd of animals. Paratene Ngata's description also conjures up similar imagery — "E akiaki ana ngā herehere" (The prisoners were urged on). Fraser wrote in his report that they seemed, "thoroughly disheartened and dispirited, and deplore their folly in ever having taken up arms in such a cause."<sup>182</sup> Certainly, some felt they had been deceived by the Hauhau prophets and it is

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<sup>179</sup> *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 346

<sup>180</sup> *Jnl of Paratene Ngata*, p. 54.

<sup>181</sup> Evidence of Hatiwira Houkāmau, Wp 39/140. The land included the holdings of the rangatira Hohua Tāwhaki at Te Kawakawa and Wikiriwhi Matauru at Te Pito. Both had opposed the Hauhau. It is unlikely they would have agreed to forfeiture

<sup>182</sup> *NZG*, 18 Nov 1865, p. 346.

worth noting that some later enlisted to fight against Hauhau sympathisers in other parts of the country.

At Te Hatepe (16 Sep) the Union Jack was hoisted and a bible placed on a table at the foot of the flagstaff. The prisoners were each paraded under the flag and asked to swear allegiance to Queen Victoria. Deighton, the magistrate, witnessed the procedure. Some 19 male prisoners, thought to be the ringleaders among the Hauhau captives, were separated out by Deighton and the Pākeha officers.<sup>183</sup> Their names were:<sup>184</sup>

Papu or Robert (he mangumangu)	Harawira Whanautaua	Rihara Tātua
Hōtene Waipu	Hēmi Marumarupo	Karanama Ngerengere
Paratene Kāmura	Hōne Pōhe	Hira Kauhōu
Hākopa Tūrei	Wiremu Wānoa	Te Wariki
Hākopa Te Ari	Ihaka Whakatāne	Te Oti Kaikapo (no Taranaki)
Hōne Te Aruhe	Āperahama Te Kuri	
Hiriweteri Te Whakamate (said to have drunk Volkner's blood)		
Wiremu Tito (Paratene Ngata's father)		

Even though they had sworn allegiance, these men were taken to Napier gaol, some in shackles. They were eventually shipped to the Chatham Islands. Many would fight again under Te Kooti.<sup>185</sup> Wahawaha later wrote that it seemed somehow unfair that these Hauhau men, after surrendering and swearing allegiance should then be made prisoners. He intimated that the Pākeha officers had deceived them.

Ka whiriwhiria e ngā āpiha Pākehā o te Kawanatanga ngā tāngata o te Hau Hau mō te whare herehere. Ka rite ngā mea mō te haere. Kātahi ka tereputia ki te tīma, ka mauria atu ki Nēpia aua tāngata. Kōmiria e ngā āpiha Pākehā aua tāngata. Engari nei te kara a te Kuini i hopu. Kī tā Rāpata whakaaro, mā te ngutu pū tonu e hopu. Māna e tupono ki te mate ki te ora rānei, e taea hoki te aha. Nā, no te whiriwhiringa i ngā tāngata Hau Hau mō te whare herehere i roto o taua Rongopaitanga. Kātahi ka mohiotia hei hopu taua Rongopai i aua Hau Hau. Kia mau ai he wehi i te pū. Nō reira ka mau tonu te whakahē mō ēnei whakahaere a ngā āpiha. Koia rānei he tika tā rātou he hē noa iho rānei.

<sup>183</sup> Cowan, vol. 2, p. 495.

<sup>184</sup> *TWMA*, 4 Nov 1865, vol. 3, no. 63, p. 43. The prisoners were shipped to Napier on the schooner *Surprise*. They were accompanied by Captain Deighton and an armed guard of 30 men. Cowan, vol. 2, p. 495.

<sup>185</sup> Hiriweteri Te Whakamate, for example, was to surrender at Te Teko after being separated from Te Kooti's party. *Ibid*.

died down. Whānau-a-Uruahi, Whānau-a-Māhaki and Whānau-a-Rāhui all went with Hōtene Porourangi and Rāpata Wahawaha to live at Tūparoa for a time.<sup>188</sup>

From Wharekāhika to Waipiro, at least, the war was over and Rev. Mohi Tūrei estimated 108 killed on the Hauhau side before the attack on Pukepapa in August:<sup>189</sup>

Mangaone.....13	Tikapa.....9
Rāhui.....3	Kaiaparua.....7
Taraketiti.....1	Te Hatepe.....12
Tikitiki.....28	Pākairomiromi.....25
Pukerauaruhe.....2	Maruhou.....1
Te Horo.....3	Pukeāmaru.....4

An estimated 50 more were killed in the subsequent engagements.

Pukepapa.....2	Pukemaire.....?
Tahutahupo.....6	Te Kawakawa.....0
Pākura.....10?	Kotare.....0
Te Māwhai.....9	Hungahungatoroa.....20

In essence it had been a contest between Ngāti Porou and the victorious rangatira were quick to remind observers of that fact. The Tūparoa section sent off a letter to the editor of *Te Waka Maori* stating:

E hoa, tukua atu tēnei reta ki te perehi hei pānuitanga ki ngā wāhi i waho o tēnei whawhaitanga ki Waiapu e whawhai atu nei te tuakana ki te teina, te pāpā ki te tamaiti, te mokopuna ki te tipuna, te hunōnga ki tōna hungawai. Koi utaina atu ki runga ki ngā hoa pākehā e noho hū nei me ō rātou hoa māori hoki. Kāore a Kawana i tae mai ki Waiapu i mua iho tutuki noa mai ki tēnei rā anō. Kāore a te Mākarini i tae mai rāua ko te Pihopa o Waiapu ki Tūpāroa i te 8 o ngā rā o Hūne. Nā te Mōkena te take i tono ki Waiapu i tae ai rāua ki reira. I hoki atu rāua i Tūpāroa; kaore rawa he kupu mo te whawhai i puta i o rāua māngai. Engari nā mātou ake anō te take o te whawhai, nā ngā rangatira, nā ngā rūnanga. Ko te take tika tēnei ka whakaatūria atu

<sup>188</sup> When Te Kooti's raids were over these hapū lived at Te Rua-a-torea. When Hāmana Mahuika came from Tūparoa and settled at Kaitaha these three hapū were sent for as Hāmana was their leader. Evidence of Paora Haenga, Wp 65/64 and evidence of Wi Tahata, Wp Book 65/98.

<sup>189</sup> *TWMA*, 26 Aug 1865, vol. 3, no. 58, p. 21.

nei .... Tēnā e hoa mā, tirohia iho te whakatikanga o te take o te whawhai o Waiapu. Kāore i te pākehā, kei a mātou anō te take.<sup>190</sup>

Friend, let this letter go to press as a news item for places outside the zone of fighting at Waiapu where the elder brother fights against the younger, the father against the child, the grandchild against the grandparent, the son-in-law with the father-in-law. Lest (it be thought) that this is a war fought against our Pākehā friends, who remain silent, and their Māori allies. Governor has never been to the Waiapu down to this day. Nor did McLean and the Bishop of Waiapu visit Tūparoa of their own accord on 8 June. It was because of Mōkena's invitation that they came there. They went back from Tūparoa; not a word about fighting came from their mouths. Indeed the conflict belongs to us, that is, the chiefs, the rūnanga. This is the real reason (behind the conflict) which we have pointed out. It is not about the Pākehā, the feud is with us. (*my translation*)

One of the men behind the letter was Rāpata Wahawaha. Through the war he had earned himself a place among the leading rangatira in Ngāti Porou. In the campaigns which were to follow in Tūranga and Wairoa his reputation would grow — particularly among the Pākehā officers. Gudgeon later described Wahawaha as “a man of iron nerve who would never swerve from his purpose” and that “his strength was prodigious .... He seldom carried a weapon, except a pistol or walking stick”<sup>191</sup> Detailing an occasion where Wahawaha and his men were engaged with the enemy, Gudgeon wrote:

Rōpata stood on a rock, at a distance, and guided the movements of his own men by waving to them which way to proceed, so well disciplined were they. At another time he and his men were advancing up the bed of a river exposed to a very harassing fire, so much so that they became panic-stricken and showed a tendency to retreat. But Rōpata, bent on his purpose, resolutely advanced, come what would, and with his stick he thrashed all those who felt inclined to retire.<sup>192</sup>

As the chiefs moved to reposition the tribe for a unified future Wahawaha would play a significant role. There is little doubt that had the war not taken place, his life would have followed a different and less significant course.

<sup>190</sup> *TWMA*, 4 Nov 1865, vol. 3, no. 63, p. 45.

<sup>191</sup> Gudgeon, 1887, *Defenders...*, p. 84.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

## Chapter 9

### Conclusions

*Te Wīwī Nāti, nō Porourangi, he iwi moke, he whanoke.<sup>1</sup>*

*The Ngāti Porou, descendants of Porourangi, an independent people and most determined.*

This statement, taken from a song written by Sir Āpirana Ngata, refers to the tribe's adaptability to changing circumstances, and makes indirect reference to their tenacity in maintaining tribal integrity. It sums up the conduct of Ngāti Porou throughout the historical period covered in this thesis. During the nineteenth century the event which had the greatest impact on the tribe was colonisation with its twin instruments of the gospel and the state. The central argument in the thesis is that Ngāti Porou's leaders adapted to the potentially devastating changes brought about by colonisation, by choosing a course of action which best allowed for the perpetuation of their independence and autonomy.

#### **Ngāti Porou relationship with**

##### **• The Church**

In the late 1830s, the tribe accepted and nurtured Christianity brought by their own people from the Church Missionary Society at the Bay of Islands. The Anglican communion was the first denomination to preach the gospel, and Anglican missionaries were rewarded by a major tribal spiritual allegiance to the Anglican faith. And even though spontaneous religious cults arose over the years, and there are now several religious faiths established within the region, the greater number of Ngāti Porou remain faithful to the Anglican Church.

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<sup>1</sup> A statement expressing the individuality and adaptability of Ngāti Porou. Taken from the song written by Sir Āpirana Ngata.



### • The Crown

At the same time, the Queen of England was introduced not only as Defender of the Faith and head of the Church, but also as the monarch and the titular head of state. However, the Crown's initial goodwill and bestowal of "Her Royal Favour [on] the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand," gave way to a less protective attitude as new waves of settlers cried out for land.<sup>2</sup> The actions of successive Governors, the inevitable encroachment by Pākeha settlers, and the call for a united resistance to land alienation by other tribes, eventually caused internal factionalism within Ngāti Porou and during the conflicts of the 1860s, led to divided loyalties — some to the Māori King, others to the British Queen.

This thesis set out to demonstrate that Ngāti Porou service to the Crown in the nineteenth century wars was less a matter of blind loyalty to a settler Government, than a deliberate and strategic decision to retain both land and as much independence as the new order could withstand. The reasons for Ngāti Porou participation in the different theatres of war up until late 1865 were analysed in chapters six, seven, and eight. Summarised here, these reasons were peculiar to the tribe, characteristic of the period, and based on a quarter of a century of adjustment to the colonisation process.

### Kīngitanga, 1863 — 1864

For two decades Ngāti Porou's relative isolation allowed them to observe from a distance the effects of colonisation elsewhere and to develop the resourcefulness required to stay the tides of change that would eventually be visited upon them. The Kīngitanga movement offered iwi a nationalistic response to settler encroachment, but in many ways cut across the tribal system. Opinion was widely separated, and it is unfortunate that the establishment of a king "led to a greater degree of misunderstanding and aroused more conflict than it deserved. It appeared to raise the question of allegiance to Queen Victoria and suggested a state of rebellion, which was far from being its mood and purpose."<sup>3</sup> A section of Ngāti Porou which supported the King's cause found themselves in a war for Māori

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<sup>2</sup>From Treaty of Waitangi.

<sup>3</sup>Āpirana T. Ngata, 1940, "Tribal Organisation," in I. L. G. Sutherland (ed.), *The Māori People Today*, p. 178.

independence outside their region. The rest of the tribe refused to embroil themselves in a fight against the Crown, believing it better to progress with the new power than in opposition to it.

### **Civil conflict in Ngāti Porou, June — October 1865**

In 1865 the conservative element in the Waiapu valley confronted the Hauhau at Pukemaire. It was their way of responding to a perceived invasion of their territory not just by unwanted intruders, but also by a rival religious cult that was already responsible for murdering one of their Anglican missionaries. Tribal leaders had directed those of Ngāti Porou who supported Pātara not to bring the harbingers of the Pai Marire faith into Ngāti Porou territory. Blatant disregard by the Hauhau element resulted in the outbreak of hostilities within Ngāti Porou territory. Such involvement of colonial troops as there was, came by way of an invitation from the chiefs, Mōkena Kōhere, Hēnare Potae, and others who were less well-armed – their actual motive being to strengthen the Ngāti Porou force with a powerful ally and the latest weaponry. Had the Ngāti Porou establishment sufficient arms to win the war themselves, it is most likely they would not have solicited Government aid.

### **Benefits of participation in war (19th century)**

In these wars then, the conservative element of Ngāti Porou made a relatively astute decision to fight alongside the Crown. Despite the costs, a degree of autonomy was retained. They had been able to repulse and disempower in their district the pan-Māori movement – Pai Marire or Hauhauism – which they believed was a threat to the efficient and continued operation of the social and political tribal structure. Had the whole tribe ranged themselves in opposition to the Crown, it is probable that large-scale confiscation would have occurred and that Ngāti Porou would have experienced a flood of European settlement.

As a result, Ngāti Porou never felt “the cultural and economic bruising” experienced by other tribes who suffered land loss through raupatu.<sup>4</sup> For a subsequent generation they were able to remain on the periphery of full settlement and government. The continued ownership and control of their land base and coastline enabled the retention of a substantial economic base and that led to the maintenance of a strong tribal identity.

But there had been a cost. “The price paid was the ultimate sacrifice in that families fought and killed each other, families were forcibly separated and exiled from each other” and a bitterness that would last for generations was sown.<sup>5</sup> In many instances, forced exile resulted in “a loss of whakapapa ties” with those at home, “loss of taonga tuku iho (inherited rights) and the branding of people as ‘traitors’,” stigma that would endure over the years.<sup>6</sup>

From this perspective the involvement of the conservative element of Ngāti Porou in the conflicts was an orchestrated commitment controlled by the leaders acting in the supposed interests of the iwi. It was a shrewd calculation that also enabled a valuable start once hostilities had ceased. The peace that followed, chartered further by Wahawaha and the other military leaders, maintained a similar philosophy, attempting to resist any notion of assimilation into a uniform national mainstream and preserving some degree of tribal independence. As stated by the rangatira at the Mataahu hui of 1872, adherence to Queen and Church was to be strenuously sought in order to smooth the post-war transition and to repair the tribal social fabric which had been seriously eroded by the war. The retention of the tribal land base, coupled with their relative isolation, made Ngāti Porou’s particular local and tribal circumstances more suited to a successful adjustment to the new and changing demands brought about by the relentless march of colonisation.

### **Wahawaha and leadership**

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<sup>4</sup> Pers. comm., Te Kapunga Dewes, 5 Jan 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Affidavit of Āpirana Mahuika before the Waitangi Tribunal, 12 April 1999, WAI 262, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

Leadership in Ngāti Pōrou during the nineteenth century adapted to the changing times introduced by colonisation. The old order of hereditary leadership which provided for the rangatira families to assume authority in matters of ceremony as well, to an extent, in all other activities of life, went through a period of challenge resulting primarily from the dispersal from communal living in central pā and the influence of Pākehā culture. The dissension which it caused, found its greatest expression in divided loyalties — some to the traditional rangatira, some to the pan-Māori movements of Kīngitanga and Pai Marire. Leadership on ceremonial occasions remained with those rangatira with the highest lineage, but in matters of wisdom and business, those most competent to direct the tribal affairs took the lead. Into this environment came Rāpata Wahawaha.

The Hauhau conflicts engraved the name of Major Rāpata Wahawaha forever in the annals of Ngāti Porou history, ranking him among their foremost leaders in the nineteenth century. Historians also took interest in Wahawaha because he stood out in the vortex of the tribal political and social upheavals of the period. But more often than not, his motives have been misconstrued, loyalty to the Crown being ranked ahead of any duty to the tribe. Fighting alongside colonial troops unfairly earned him the reputation of a traitor, at least in some quarters. And among some historians he was simply assigned to the ranks of kupapa, a term that has itself been misinterpreted. Those views do not fit comfortably with the evidence produced in this thesis, nor do they coincide with the prevailing Ngāti Porou recognition of Wahawaha as a leader who shaped tribal direction and positioned Ngāti Porou to take advantage of new technologies and new alliances.

Wahawaha was an astute and intelligent man — hardy, single-minded, with the interests of the wider group at heart. Character building is always developed in the private rather than the public arena and it has been argued in this thesis that the particular character of Rāpata Wahawaha was born out of the harrowing experiences he faced in childhood. Those encounters heightened his sense of vigilance and fired his determination to retain a level of control which might avoid subordination and loss of mana. Sir Āpirana Ngata described him as “an impassive man of few words, essentially a man of action who took the most

direct route to his objective.” Indeed his leadership was incisive in battle and practical in peace.

War is a critical test of leadership, and the circumstances which created a need for a dynamic, confident leader were due in part to the battle at Mangaone. Because a number of rangatira fell victim to musket shot in that engagement and the Te Aowera contingent suffered a crushing defeat, a fresh and commanding leadership style was crucial, particularly if the tribe was to be steered through the enveloping conflict which lay ahead. The choice of Wahawaha as the sub-tribal military leader was a decision made by the influential members of the hapū who had witnessed his composure and fearlessness under fire. His immediate following were his blood relatives and the clans of the Hikurangi basin whom he had represented in political and religious matters in previous years. Other hapū leaders were to relinquish command to him as his reputation grew and, in return, he was able to build harmonious collaborative fighting units and lead them well.

### **The Price of Citizenship**

Earlier in this thesis a link was drawn between the leadership and philosophy of Wahawaha and the contribution by Ngāti Porou to the theatres of war that followed the 1860s. This was indirectly through Wahawaha’s wife’s great-nephew, Āpirana Ngata, who eventually assumed the mantle of leadership, and Wahawaha’s own influence on Ngata’s early education. Like Wahawaha, Ngata continued to place emphasis on allegiance to the monarch based on the Treaty of Waitangi in an attempt to win benefits, not just for Ngāti Porou, but for all Māori. Ngāti Porou allegiance to the Crown was most visibly expressed when men enlisted for the global wars of the twentieth century. In a recent television documentary on the Māori Battalion, Mere Karaka Ngārimu reflected on the Ngāti Porou response,

Ka timata ngā ahuatanga pēnei ko te riri, he aha he mahi mā tātou. E tautoko o tātou tipuna nā rātou nei tātou i haina atu i raro i te mana o te Kuini o Ingarangi.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> He Rau Aroha, screened 28 Nov 1999 on Waka Huia, channel One, TVNZ.

When the war broke out we thought about what we [Māori] might do. [We decided] we would support our ancestors who had signed under the mana of the Queen of England. (*my translation*)

The sense of nationhood, patriotism and empire in the 1930s had matured to a point where the men of Ngāti Porou, when asked to volunteer, flocked to join the 28 Māori Battalion. So resolute was the sense of duty in the district at the time that even if the Māori Battalion had not been formed, many of the men would have enlisted anyway.

The desire to go to war is based on complex and often contradictory motives; nor does the enthusiasm of previous generations to fight, necessarily transfer to later generations. On that score, whether Ngāti Porou would be so ready to take up arms in the twenty-first century is a matter of conjecture. In part, willingness to die for country may reflect the mutual obligations within the Treaty of Waitangi. Under article three, for example, Māori were promised the rights and privileges of British subjects, but loyalty was expected in return. Such privileges do not come without a price. There was the expectation that, as British subjects, Māori had a duty to serve in the defence of the country. Sir Āpirana Ngata explained:

British sovereignty was accepted by our forefathers, and it has given the Māori people rights which they would not have been accorded under any conqueror. We are participants in a great Commonwealth, to the defence of which we cannot hesitate to contribute our blood and our lives. We are the possessors of rights which we must qualify to exercise, also of obligations which the Māori must discharge always in the future as he has done in the past.<sup>8</sup>

But in his treatise, *The Price of Citizenship*, Ngata also asked whether Māori service overseas would guarantee equal opportunities within New Zealand.<sup>9</sup> Disparities between Māori and non-Māori in almost all socio-economic indicators, are a clear indication that article three has yet to be fulfilled. And Māori readiness to serve again, and to risk life and limb, is therefore similarly not unqualified.

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<sup>8</sup> Eric Ramsden, 1948, *Sir Āpirana Ngata and Māori Culture*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>9</sup> A. T. Ngata, 1943, *The Price of Citizenship*, p. 18.

**Benefits of participation in war (20th century)**

Whether Ngāti Porou were astute in choosing war to advance their objectives in the twentieth century is a question which sometimes eludes an answer because current benefits are less apparent than those of the nineteenth century. Certainly, the World War Two servicemen achieved equality with Pākeha New Zealanders while the war was on, but time has not yet seen the realisation of Ngata's idea of full and equal citizenship.

On the other hand, and the issue is how benefits might best be measured, the Ngāti Porou population has never been higher or as dispersed. Its members are to be found in numerous positions of influence in Parliament, universities, commissions, law offices, commerce, and trade. They are prospering.

Moreover, the Ngāti Porou tradition continues on marae and with hapū throughout the tribal territory and even beyond. And if the autonomy and independence which so strongly motivated Wahawaha is relative, in terms of New Zealand's constitutional arrangements, there has been no lessening of the quest for self-determination and the commitment to tribal governance over tribal affairs. Was it not for this that their grandparents fought?

## Afterword

### Waerenga-a-Hika, November 1865

The excursions by Ngāti Porou out of their own territory from late 1865 has not been examined in this thesis but does bear some comment before closing the thesis. Ngāti Porou went to assist in quelling the Hauhau movement at Tūranga. They went at the request of Donald McLean, at that time the Superintendent for the Hawkes Bay province, and, therefore, they went partly in aid of the Government. The Ngāti Porou leaders, including Wahawaha, felt they were justified in providing military aid as it afforded an opportunity to punish the perpetrators of the rival faith who, through insurgents, had sought to undermine Ngāti Porou leadership. Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki had not only encouraged the Pai Marire faith among Ngāti Porou, but some of their members had escorted Pātara into Ngāti Porou territory and engaged in fighting against Ngāti Porou. The fact that colonial troops were also involved in this campaign was of less importance than the wider objective of Ngāti Porou — to bring the cult, and its threat to Ngāti Porou leadership and retention of tribal lands, to an end.

### Te Wairoa, January 1866

When, in 1866, Wahawaha and Hōtene Porourangi led a contingent to join the fighting in the Wairoa district, they did so only at the invitation of the Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs. The practice of lending support as an ally was not foreign to Māori thought and had occurred often between iwi on the East Coast before the cessation of inter-tribal hostilities in 1837. In any event, the decision to assist was also motivated by a perceived need to stamp out the influence of the Pai Marire faith altogether, lest it reignite in their own district. That McLean was the bearer of the letter which held the invitation did not necessarily mean the Ngāti Porou chiefs felt they were going to the aid of the Government. McLean's role was not unlike the messengers of old who took the 'call to war' to traditional allies, and whose task it was to convince other hapū groups of the benefits of an alliance. In this instance, it



was primarily to the Ngāti Kahungunu establishment that Ngāti Porou provided military assistance.

In each of the campaigns of 1865-66 Ngāti Porou were commanded by their own rangatira, and if the colonial officers had any control in planning and conducting the actual battles it was control shared with Wahawaha and the other Māori leaders. Certainly Wahawaha carried a degree of autonomy which was to endear him to his people.

### **Tītokowaru and the pursuit of Te Kooti, 1868 — 1871**

By 1868 very real plans were in place for the confiscation of land within Ngāti Porou territory for the part played by those deemed to have been in rebellion against the Crown. Major Biggs representing Government interests entered negotiations with the Ngāti Porou chiefs at Te Kawakawa, Waiapu and Tokomaru. He was told in no uncertain terms that the Government had no right to stipulate which land tracts should be offered up. Just as a number of chiefs had earlier publicised the war as a matter between Ngāti Porou and not with Pākehā (see letter to *Te Waka Māori* in Ch. 8, pp. 296-297), several rangatira told Biggs that he and the other Pākehā soldiers had participated in the conflict by invitation and therefore were not in a position to determine the land tracts to be confiscated.

Wahawaha later wrote that Ngāti Porou were not sure if Biggs was acting on his own initiative in demanding more land than they were offering but reiterated that Ngāti Porou were adamant the war had been between elements of Ngāti Porou and not with the Government (Nā Ngātiporou anō taua whawhai kia rātou whakamāori anō. Ehara i te mea whakahau nā te Kāwanatanga.)<sup>10</sup> Biggs, perhaps to appease the chiefs, offered a monetary incentive to which Mōkena Kohere responded, “Mauria tō moni, nāku tonu taku riri, ehara i a koe, i te Pākehā.” (Take your money, the fight was mine, not yours the Pākehā.)<sup>11</sup>

Negotiations were interrupted by the escape of prisoners from Wharekauri and the Government was compelled to call upon local Māori assistance in the defence of Tūranga.

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<sup>10</sup> WNRW, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Rarawa D. Kōhere, 1992, “He Koha Kei Roto: He Utu Kei Waho,” MEd Thesis, AU, pp. 172-173.

Ngāti Porou, lead by Wahawaha, openly aided the Crown first at Tūranga and then in the pursuit of both Te Kooti and Tītokowaru. They were motivated to do so in order to protect their own land from the threat of confiscation. Often intolerant of control by outsiders, their involvement could only be on their own terms, as the reports of frustrated British officers showed when they could not get Wahawaha to follow orders. Ngāti Porou were in the field for almost three years, and while capturing Te Kooti was the Government's goal, extending the campaign was Ngāti Porou's. They were of the view that the longer they were aligned with, and seemingly indispensable to the Crown, the more assured they were that confiscation could not take place. Their commitment to assist the Crown until the cessation of hostilities in 1871 did in fact prevent the confiscation of their land.

In addition to these primary motivations, however, there was an element of allegiance to the Crown inspired by a loyalty that stemmed from a desire to uphold the word of their own rangatira who had accepted the roles of both the Crown and the Church as evidenced in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1873, the Government of the day rewarded Ngāti Porou for their 'loyalty' by remunerating the tribe with land and the promise that no confiscation would occur in Ngāti Porou territory. 10,000 acres of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki's Patutahi lands, which formed part of a greater area that had been confiscated by the Crown, were made over to the Ngāti Porou leaders. Sensibly, at least in terms of recognising their own tribal boundaries, they accepted a monetary consideration of 5,000 pounds in lieu of receiving the land.

Throughout these later campaigns Wahawaha continually emerged as the dominant military leader of the Ngāti Porou forces. Leadership might also be measured not by charisma, or valour, but by the coalescence of disparate units in order to form a stable coalition. Post-war, the divided tribe was in need of reunification and Wahawaha provided the leadership. In the peace that followed he was perceptive and demonstrated his vision and enthusiasm for the best direction for the tribe to follow. He helped to resolve the challenges facing Ngāti Porou and was the driving force behind the establishment of the first permanent schools in the district, these being among his own hapū at Waiomatatini in 1871 and Akuaku in 1872. The early native schools were important nurseries of community

sentiment and reflected a consciousness of rival hapū affiliations. “It was his keenness upon putting his tribe to school that founded a policy which from then on became almost a religion.”<sup>12</sup> The continual emphasis after the wars on education, church and state became the fundamental factors in Ngāti Porou progress.

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<sup>12</sup>Felix M. Keesing, 1929, “Māori Progress on the East Coast,” in *Te Wānanga*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 14.

## Glossary

hākari	feast
hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kaimoana	seafood
kaitangata	cannibalism
kaitiaki	guiding spirit
kaumātua	elder
mana	standing (prestige)
māra	garden
mere pounamu	greenstone mere
moko mōkai	tattooed heads
mokopuna	grandchild
ōhaki	parting instructions before death
ope taua	war parties
pānui	notice
pakeke	adult
pononga	slaves
pū	musket
raruraru	trouble
rewa	elevated stage used as a lookout
tahā manu	calabashes of preserved birds
tāmoko	the art of tattooing
tangi	funeral
tuakana	elder sibling (sister, brother, cousin)
te reo	Maori language
tīpuna	ancestors
toa	warrior
tohunga tā-moko	experts in traditional skin tattoo
tikanga	aspects of Maori culture
tūtū ngarahu	haka before going to battle
tūtū waewae	haka in preparation for battle
umu	earth oven for cooking
utu	revenge
waka	canoe
waka taua	war canoes
whakapohane	expose the buttocks in an insulting manner
whānau	extended families
whāngai	adopted child
whare karakia Māori	rush chapel

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