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He Kākano i Ruia Mai i Hea?

*Kāwera: Rekindling the Home Fires*

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Master of Arts

in

Māori Studies

at Massey University, Manawatū,

Aotearoa

By Pareputiputi Nuku

2011
ABSTRACT

Kāwera (Ōmāhu IB4B2) is tūrangawaewae to the Nuku whānau (family). It is a relatively small block along the winding Taihape Road, that looks no different from any of the other neighbouring farm lands apart from our whānau urupā (family cemetery) and a stone waharoa (gateway) standing, as it might appear, randomly in the middle of the front paddock.

Our tipuna (ancestors) lived and worked on this land until the 1940s. They have all long since gone now, sadly taking with them, most of our oral narratives, our waiata (songs) and our pūrākau (ancient legends) that pertain specifically to Kāwera. Therefore this journey of uncovering our history, our whakapapa (genealogy), our stories, has in the main, depended on Māori Land Court records and fragments of memories held by only a few of my elders.

The significance of the block was solely based around our loved ones at rest in the urupā (cemetery) and our own experiences - camping and eeling at Kāwera over the years. However, this research has revealed that Kāwera has a rich and extensive history. This land has been fought for, both in combat and through the spoken word, and I strongly believe that we are extremely fortunate that this block is still retained by our whānau.

A great deal of the data has been collected from evidence provided to the Native Land Court in the late 1880s by my tipuna (ancestor), Wiramina Ngāhuka. Wiramina was an expert witness in terms of whakapapa and land sites, and well-known for her skills as a historian, as the holder of whakapapa that spans back to pre Ngāti Kahungunu. She deserves to at least be acknowledged by her own descendants.

The research also looks at Kāwera’s contemporary history, and whakapapa narratives pertaining to the hapū (sub-tribe) affiliations of Wiramina and her husband, Nuku II. The hope is that in some way, this research will sow a seed that rejuvenates a bond between us and Kāwera, and with each other.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

He tohu aroha tēnei ki ēnei o ōku hapū, arā, ki Ngāti Māhu, ki Ngāti Hinepare, ki Ngāi Tangihia, ki Ngāti Hineiao, ki Ngāi Te Upokoiri anō hoki; ki ōku tipuna hoki, a Wiramina Ngāhuka rātau ko Hēmi Nuku, ko Te Heuheu Nuku, ko Pareputiputi Nuku. Ka muri aroha noa te tōnga o te rā, te rerenga ki te rua, mā wai anō e tāpapa e ...

Ka huri te arotahi ki ngā kanohi ora, arā, ki a Joseph TeRito, nāna nei au i kipakipa haere kia whāia ngā mahi rangahau ki tōna mutunga. Ki a Materoa Haenga, taku toka tūmoana, taku kōtuku noho awa. E kui e, mei kore ake koe! Kāti ake.

My appreciation to Margaret Forster for her advice, patience and encouragement over the past 4 years. To Pat Parsons for his guidance and knowledge; and to the staff of the Hastings Māori Land Court for the research tips and assistance.

Much love to my whānau, Aunty Aggie Snr, Dad, Mum, uncles and aunties – for the shared memories and thoughts to enrich this kōrero. To my poutokomanawa, Mike and Teress for the hours spent helping me to proofread and amend this kōrero; to my children, Stormie and James, to Ron’s children, Melissa, Camara, James and Rose, and mokopuna, Richie and Toka; my nieces Puhiwahine and Pareputiputi, to my work colleagues and students of Te Manga Māori, for the continued encouragement and support.

Kai te kuku o taku manawa, taku tuarā, ko koe rā tērā Ron. Nei rā te mihi aroha e taku tau!

Hai whakakapi, e tika ana kia huri ki te tino kaupapa o tēnei rangahau, arā, ki aku uri. He takoha tēnei hai pupuri mā koutou, ā, mā rātau hoki o te whakatipuranga ki anamata.

Nau mai e tama ki te tāiao nei
Kia whakangungua koe ki te kahikatoa
Figure 1. My mokopuna, Conner, Cairo, Isaiah holding Māreikura and Connie-Rae, taken in November, 2010.

I share a waiata written by my mentor, close friend, workmate and kuia, Materoa Haenga, for our whānau and our whenua, Kāwera:

He taurere aha taku tangi?  
This weeping of mine is for what?

Ka tangi rā, he whakaahuru kore  
Tears flow because there is no sanctuary

Kua marae kore hoki  
For there is no marae

Taku papatipu, tuku papakāinga  
On my ancestral lands, my ancestral home

I Kāwera turua  
At beautiful Kāwera

E whakaraupuke nei i ahau  
That weighs heavily on my mind

Pō noa te ao, ao noa te pō  
Constantly day and night

Auē taukuri e! He rā kai tua?  
Woe is me! Will it never end?

Kāti ake  
So be it

Ko te pungarehu ki te pungarehu  
Ashes to ashes

Te whenua ki te whenua  
Dust to dust

Aroaroā kau ana  
Desolate and lonely

Te haupū a ngā uri  
Lie the descendants

O Tuawhakarere  
Of the far distant past

Kei te mūnga o te tini mano  
Amidst the silent multitude

Te aroha i a au e! Kāwera e ...  
Kāwera e ... you are my very soul!
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Ākuanei te hanga kino a tēnei wahine waiho ai, hei matakitakitanga mā te kanohi tangata kē. Presently our vulnerability will be seen by others

The following thesis follows a journey of enlightenment pertaining to my ancestors, my tūrangawaewae (a place where one has the right to stand and be heard) and ultimately, to myself. It has been a difficult journey but as I have learnt, we must prove ourselves before that which we seek, becomes readily available. Our elders test us as they too were tested, to ensure we can be entrusted with, and are deserving of, their taonga tuku iho (cultural resources passed down by ancestors through the generations). “Mate atu he tētē kura, haramai he tētē kura” (Brougham & Reed, 1987, p. 27). The fact that the elders I refer to have long since died, does not change this perspective in any way.

I was new to te ao Māori (the Māori worldview), new to actually ‘doing’ research, therefore it is right that this project about my whānau land, whakapapa and history has been my initiation into rangahau kaupapa Māori (research which adheres to Māori philosophies and methodologies).

Chapter Two covers the methodology that I adopted to guide the entire research process. It is one that honours and validates kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophies and methodologies), te ao Māori and furthermore, the way I now view the world. I have attempted to encompass those values upheld by my ancestors such as Wiramina Ngāhuka and Hēmi Nuku, who I believe held fast to his mother's principles, doing whatever was in his power for the benefit of future generations.

---

1 White, J. (1887). Hinepare, wife of Taraia I, and from whom Ngāti Hinepare originate from, spoke these words at Aropauanui to spur on her husband and his men when their resolve waned during battle. So too, has her words spurred me on throughout this journey.

2 ‘A fern frond dies, but another frond rises to take its place’. As the elders die off, new leaders emerge.
This chapter also provides an insight into my own personal development in terms of where I was before I began learning te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (the Māori language and customs) and kaupapa (processes) that inform the student on a range of topics relevant to being Māori, to now. The new and informed me is due to this research. New knowledge has been found. It has benefitted the researcher and other members of the whānau who have assisted in the proof reading process and it will, I strongly believe, continue to benefit future generations of my whānau. It is also my belief that with this knowledge, Kāwera and how it is viewed by whānau, will change in an extremely positive way.

This chapter in particular would have to be the most difficult because it was about defining what I did and why I did it. Many times one does a particular activity in a particular way because it is intrinsic. One does not think about the hows and whys. I did much of what I did to honour my tīpuna, to honour this land. But most of all I did it so that in time, when my mokopuna (grandchildren) decided they needed to know who they are, it would be there. I don’t pretend to state that this is everything I or they need to know. There is still a vast wealth of information yet to be gleaned. This is just a collection of some of the information that make up who we as Nuku are. I look forward to further research that informs me of who I am and where I come from. I also look forward to other whānau perceptions of the narratives that have been left for us.

Chapter Three is Part A of the Literature Review. It was written in 2007 at the very initial stages of this research and focused in the main, on the book, ‘West to the Annie’ which is research on various landblocks down the Taihape Road from Ōmāhu. This book is the only one of its type that focuses on Kāwera in any way. There are other research pieces but this is the most prominent. It also follows the Ngāi Te Upokoīri line of descent in regards to occupancy and affiliation to Kāwera. When I began this search, of all the Nuku hapū, Ngāi Te Upokoīri was the one I associated more with therefore this section of the thesis was highly meaningful.
This section was also exciting and rewarding. The awareness that my whānau descended from such a rich history was surprising and gratifying. To learn that great chiefs had coveted this very land that many of my generation take for granted, was unexpected to say the least. My regard for this land block had been, I regret to say, nonchalant. After completing this section of the research however, Kāwera became something of a utopia, he āhuru mōwai (*a calm, sheltered haven*).

Chapter Four which is Part B of the Literature Review was written in 2008-2009 after locating evidence provided to the Native Land Court in 1889 by my tipuna kuia (*female ancestor*), Wiramina Ngāhuka. Where I had been content with the information already found, this new knowledge not only took me out of the world as I knew it, it opened up a whole new way of thinking, a new way of defining who I am. I recall, when discussing a hill behind the house of my first husband, Jim Waapu, with my brother, Mike Nuku, he mentioned that ‘Wiramina Ngāhuka’ lived there, with the implication she was ‘somebody’. I recall thinking, who’s that? But nodded in ignorant agreeance. She would, in time, let me know exactly who she was.

Wiramina Ngāhuka is my great great grandmother, my hero, my role model. Her knowledge of our history is revered by historians and researchers alike, and I am proud to stand as her uri (*descendant*). This part of my research was life changing. I underwent a transformation in regard to my identity although I have described it at times as more of an identity crisis. Like many students in te ao Māori, when we learn something, particularly when it defines who we are in terms of hapū, *imi* (*tribe*), we hold it close and cherish it. This chapter represents many new definitions attained as to who I am and also represents as much anguish and heartache as it does inner happiness and fulfilment. I say this because I was content with the information found in Part I of the Literature Review. It not only affirmed what I had already learnt in regard to who I was as Ngāi Te Upokoīri, it linked a rich and illustrious history and genealogy dating right back to me!
Wiramina’s kōrero pulled the rug out from underneath my feet. To my horror, she denied Ngāi Te Upokoiri’s occupation and their right to Kāwera. However, despite her fervent and almost fanatical stance, (although it is not surprising as she was making a claim to Kāwera) my tipuna kuia showed a side of herself that expressed a deep love and pride for her hapū, Ngāti Māhu and Ngāti Hinepare. I acknowledge her therefore, firstly, for allowing me to see these hapū through her eyes and secondly, for disclosing a new hapū, one that I’d never heard of before, Ngāti Hineiao or Ngāi Takiora as it was sometimes referred to, the hapū of her husband, Nuku II.

The decision to separate the Literature Review into two parts is because Part A represents literature found, written by a number of western researchers, based on the whole range of evidence provided at the Ōmahu Hearing, Rehearing and subsequent final judgement. The focus is on Ngāi Te Upokoiri’s occupation of Kāwera.

Part B, however, relates to the same historical analysis of the same timeframe as Part B but through Wiramina’s eyes. She identified strongly with Ngāti Māhu and Ngāti Hinepare, two predominant hapū of the Nuku whānau. The deciding factor for me, is that she strongly denied Ngāi Te Upokoiri’s rights to Kāwera just as strongly as she denied Taraia had any right to the northern side of the Ngaruroro river. This stance against Ngāi Te Upokoiri alone was one major factor in my decision to have the two parts. Each is a view of the past but through different eyes.

Another reason is at times, there are obvious differences between the history books and Wiramina’s account. I don’t have any issues with those differences. Part A represents history as it is generally represented in the libraries; Part B is my tipuna’s story. To combine the two into one chapter, would highlight these differences and I would, I feel, be forced into analysing them. I do not wish to question or discredit either side. As explained in the methodology chapter, portions of Part B will not sit well with some people and that is fine. My intention is to inform my whānau of our stories.
Chapter Five begins with a synopsis of the Native (Māori) Land Court, why it was established and the implications on all Māori land, whether confiscated, sold or even those lands fortunate to be retained despite the Crown’s efforts to pry every last acre from the tangata whenua (indigenous people). The affects of the Native Land Court legislation on my tipuna in terms of Kāwera in particular, is also discussed.

This chapter also provides a history of Kāwera since the death of this kuia (female elder) and as I see it, a sad time because where in the past, this land that was formerly kept warm with the occupation of our ancestors, from the 1950s it was left alone in the hands of tauiwi (foreigner). There have been some very real challenges and heartache in relation to whānau initiatives to take over control of the land but I believe, these are the small teething steps taken that will enlighten the coming generations and in time, Kāwera will once again nurture and nourish the bloodline of Wiramina Ngāhuka and her son, Hēmi Nuku. The honour that Kāwera was bestowed with in ancient times will again be replicated by my descendants.

As this expedition provided me with extensive knowledge as to who I am and who and where I come from, I felt it only fitting that the whakapapa I have learned should be shared with my whānau and so this is the kaupapa of Chapter Six. In Chapter Two, key tipuna were discussed as related by Wiramina. In Chapter Six, the aim is to concentrate on the links to each hapū that I and my whānau are affiliated to. This will show that we are not only Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, that our ties go far beyond these. I presume that many of my whānau will be surprised as I was, to learn about the iwi living here pre Ngāti Kahungunu, moreso because of the fact that we closely whakapapa back to them.

One of the ultimate aims of this research is not only to share the knowledge that our tipuna before us, left in a variety of books and manuscripts, to not only realise the rich history that makes each of us who we are but to ignite a need to know more. To want to know our whānau whānui (extended family), who also whakapapa back to Wiramina Ngāhuka and beyond. It is my hope that in time, a whānau reunion will be held for all of her uri and that we might finally,
reunite and get to know each other. Until this happens, Hēmi Nuku’s goal of another wharenuī
(meeting house) being built at Kāwera, will remain as distant as it has for some 50 years.
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Haere i muri o te tira parāoa.
Travel in the company of chiefs.³

I first learned of the above whakataukī (proverb) in 2003. It is a kōrero whakatūpato (word of caution). When travelling to another rohe (area, region), to any hui (meeting, gathering), one should do so in the company of kaumātua (elders), for they hold the knowledge to ensure all tikanga (customs and practices; appropriate guidelines) are upheld and that the procedures are correct. They guide and protect us. So too with this research, I have strived to adhere to tikanga Māori (Māori customs and practices) to guide each step and in the context of this chapter, I use the whakataukī to show I have aspired to follow my tīpuna’s example and apply the knowledge they left behind for us.

This qualitative research into the history of the Māori land block, Ōmāhu 1B4B2 (Kāwera) has been informed by a kaupapa Māori methodology. This methodology validates the worldview, experiences, beliefs, “values, attitudes and practices” of each and everyone that the research encompasses (Smith, 1999, p. 125).

Kaupapa Māori research recognises and acknowledges the essence of ‘being Māori’; it adheres to Māori values and beliefs; it assumes the validity and legitimacy of Māori, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga; and it endorses tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty; absolute autonomy) (Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1990; Smith, 1997, as cited in Kahu & Wakefield, 2008).

At the very base of Kaupapa Māori research is mātauranga Māori (traditional Māori knowledge).

---

³ Brougham & Reed, 1987, p. 22.
‘Mātauranga Māori’ is a modern term for a body of knowledge that was brought to these islands by Polynesian ancestors of present-day Māori. Here this body of knowledge grew according to life in Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu. Despite an initial period of change and growth, the arrival of European populations in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries brought major impacts to the life of this knowledge, endangering it in many and substantial ways. All, however, was not lost as new knowledge was created through the encounter with the European and through the experience of the creation of the new nation called New Zealand. Important fragments and portions – notably the Māori language - remain today. These fragments and portions are catalysing a new creative period in Māori history and culture and in the life of the New Zealand nation. (Royal, 2006, p. 3)

Traditional knowledge “recognises that traditions are not static but continually changing and evolving over time, as cultural groups innovate, borrow and adapt their traditions to changing circumstances” (Dugeon & Berkes, 2003, p. 75). The arrival of Pākehā (a person of predominantly European descent) impacted substantially on this body of knowledge to the point that many aspects of Māori culture have been strewn to the winds, some obliterated and some buried, laying anxiously in wait for us to reveal them (Mead, 2003). This very knowledge, particularly, the majority of the knowledge sought in this study, is tapu (sacrosanct). It contains whakapapa and karakia (prayers). Therefore as our tīpuna were guided by tikanga, so too is this kaupapa rangahau.

As we honour ourselves as Māori, as we honour our values and beliefs, as we speak our reo (language) and practice our tikanga, we are giving expression to mātauranga Māori. “While Mātauranga Māori might be carried in the minds, tikanga Māori puts that knowledge into practice and adds the aspects of correctness and ritual support” (Mead, 2003, p. 7).
The institutions that produced mātauranga Māori have developed some rigorous systems and tikanga associated with the pursuit and attainment of knowledge. One only has to consider the legacy of the Whare Wānanga (traditional house of learning) and its sole purpose to “preserve desirable knowledge and to hand it down without any change by interpolation, omission, or deterioration” to gain some insight into the Māori worldview of knowledge, particularly sacred knowledge (Best, 1924, p. 65). While the classroom environment of today may be far removed from those ancient academies, this is by no means a reflection that our worldview of knowledge has changed in any way.

I have been a staff member and student of Te Manga Māori (Faculty of Māori Studies) of Te Whare Takiura o Kahungunu, (EIT Hawke’s Bay), and the institutional marae, Te Ara o Tāwhaki (the pathway of Tāwhaki) since 1997. This has impacted on my worldview, my belief systems, my very core value systems and my approach to research. Looking back, I strongly believe that I was guided to Te Manga Māori by my tīpuna.

**Te Manga Māori o Te Whare Takiura o Kahungunu**

At the time I was first employed by the faculty in July of 1997, there were four programmes, all one year in length which focused on te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. In 1998, the Bachelor of Arts (Māori) commenced. A three year degree majoring in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, research and Māori language teaching. In 2002, the new Bachelor of Arts Honours (Māori) was launched. The faculty had grown from very small beginnings in the early 1980s, to a student body of nearly 160. A passionate and committed Dean, Joseph Te Rito, and a staff of proficient kaiwhakaako (tutors) and kaitautoko (support staff), along with the backing of the local community including local kaumātua such as Tuahine Northover, was the reason for this success. I witnessed first hand the faculty’s capabilities in terms of empowering and changing students’ lives and in 2001, inspired by the positive changes I had observed in many students, I began my journey learning te reo Māori.
Pinepine te Kura

The Ngāti Kahungunu mōteatea (lament), ‘Pinepine te kura’ underpins the Bachelor of Arts (Māori) programme and one of the requirements of the 300 level tikanga paper is that each student knows this oriori (lullaby) in its entirety – some seven minutes in length. Tāwhaki was deliberately chosen as the tipuna because he is not specific to Kahungunu but to all iwi as our staff and students come from all over Aotearoa. It was Tāwhaki who ventured to the highest of the 10th heavens. He was able to do so by obeying the instructions of his kuia, his elder, Whaitiri and by reciting appropriate karakia. So it is fitting he stands as a role model to all who enter his marae ātea (the area in front of a meeting house).

“Piki ake kake ake i te toi huarewa, te ara o Tāwhaki i piki ai ki runga”⁴. Students are encouraged and guided in their own pursuit of knowledge, the pathway to enlightenment. As the koroua (male elder) sings Pinepine te kura to his mokopuna, teaching him about his whakapapa, about his history, so too are our students taught their language, customs and history that they too in turn, can pass down to their own mokopuna and beyond, to their whānau, hapū, iwi. Ultimately it is about survival not only of the students themselves and their descendants but mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori, te reo Māori⁵. This encouragement, guidance and learning has informed our worldview and research practices.

While my own tīpuna are no longer here for me to seek guidance from, I am fortunate that there are knowledgeable elders within my whānau and my workplace. As with the mokopuna being instructed by his koroua in song, I am always mindful to seek out guidance and expertise so that I honour te ao Māori and the knowledge left behind by the old people.

⁴ “Ascend, o’ child unto the heavens, in pursuit of the pathway followed by Tāwhaki”.
⁵ EIT Hawke’s Bay, BA (Māori), Programme Approval Document, 1996.
Ngā Tikanga Māori

In Kaupapa Māori, there are tikanga that govern, guide and protect not only the participants, but the researcher as well. They also demand excellence in the process and outcomes. In positioning this research within a kaupapa Māori research framework and the corresponding methodology, processes and practices, five key principles that underpin this research have been identified. The principles are:

1. Tūrangawaewae (a right to stand on a particular spot of land). “Tūrangawaewae represents one spot, one locality on planet earth where an individual can say, ‘I belong here. I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand tall here” (Mead, 2003, p. 43). Kāwera is this ‘spot’, this one place where we, the Nuku whānau, bury the pito (tummy button, naval) of our babies and in turn, where we inter our deceased. Kāwera is our ancient ‘stomping ground’ because it connects us with our tīpuna from pre European days, pre Kahungunu days. “Maori land represents tūrangawaewae. It is proof of our link with the ancestors of our past, and with generations to come. It is an assurance that we shall forever exist as a people, for as long as the land shall last” (Sharples, 2010). Kāwera links us with our ancestors who worked the land,
walked this land and who settled on it and became one with it. Hēmi Nuku and in turn, my grandparents originally lived at Kāwera and this land was so loved by Hēmi, that even in his late 80s he was seen walking there from Ōmāhu.

The land is Papatūānuku, *(mother earth)*, the provider of sustenance. As Māori, we can whakapapa back to her so not only is she the ultimate mother, she has provided us and the generations before with kai *(food)* and shelter. Therefore it is obvious why Papatūānuku is revered in the way Yoon alludes to *“The Māori mind has always been on Māori land. The people have maintained a transcendental bond with the land which was treated as a dearly loved person”* (1986, p. 18). Whenua is translated as both land and placenta, therefore the relationship with Papatūānuku is twofold (Marsden, 2003).

Mead describes that as with the Kāwera block being quite a small block of 103 acres, regardless of the size of the block of land, regardless too of the numerous owners of that block, any share *“represents a link to the land and is the basis of an individual’s tūrangawaewae in respect of that block of land”* (2003, p. 274). Hēmi Nuku walked from Ōmāhu to Kāwera a couple times not long before he died at the age of 90. This action alone illustrates the deep bond he had with this land. *“Māori people still deeply love their land. They treasure even a ‘small piece of land’ in their home territory, though it may have little market value”* (Yoon, 1986, p. 18).

This principle is a key factor in this research as it goes to informing my whānau of the importance of Kāwera, their connection to this, the original tūrangawaewae of our tipuna and why they could, as we can today, stand proudly and say, *‘Nō Kāwera ahau’ (I am from Kāwera)*. It is through this connection to Kāwera, I have the right to delve into its history, analyse the wealth of knowledge of my tipuna kuia and present my findings so as to inform current and future descendants, why Wiramina fought for this land. The principle of tūrangawaewae obliges me to pass on to my whānau why they have mana whenua *(authority over tribal estates)*, why they belong to this land block.
2. Whakapapa (genealogy) – The principle of whakapapa traces one’s history, ancestor by ancestor, right back from ancient times to current times, and locates him or her, solidly within this very whakapapa. “Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth. It is the social component of the ira, the genes. A child born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations” (Moko Mead, 2003, p. 42).

As the principle of tūrangawaewae acknowledges the individual’s right to stand on a piece of land and say I belong here, the whakapapa principles connects that individual to the many generations before to those who also use to say I belong here.

Whakapapa has had a major part to play in the resilience of Māori and their ability to spring back up. It is to do with that sense of being essentially at one with nature and our environment, rather than at odds with it. As tangata whenua we are people of the land – who have grown out of the land, Papatūānuku, our Earth Mother. Having knowledge of whakapapa helps ground us to the earth. We have a sense of belonging here, a sense of purpose, a raison d’être which extends beyond the sense of merely existing on this planet. (TeRito, 2007, p. 11)

As TeRito had set a personal goal of finding information about each of his tipuna, I too became almost obsessed with having to know something about each person that I mentioned in my thesis, that is each person referred to by my tipuna kuia regardless of the fact that they were tipuna of mine or not. In some cases, this was not possible and it was always a disappointment to me when this dilemma arose. However, perhaps in time, details can be located so that these key players in our whānau history can be acknowledged accordingly.
Initially, I had structured the first section of the Literature Review using significant dates. In hindsight, this was evidently my ‘Pākehā side’ showing through, that is the need to quantify information found. However, this view clashes with te ao Māori in terms of whakapapa. As Maire Te Tau warns, “The danger with this approach is that the very act of applying this method implies an attempt to historicise a past that was not intended to constitute a history” (2001, p. 63). He illustrates this point further,

Māori cannot impose a chronological order upon Rangi (*short for Ranginui, sky father*) and Papa (*Papatūānuku – earth mother*), saying that they lived in some distant past, when Rangi and Papatūānuku are standing directly before us in the present. Likewise with our ancestors whom we continue to communicate with, regardless of whether they died yesterday, last year, or a decade ago”.

(Tau, 2001, p.63)

3. Whakawhanaungatanga (*interrelationships*) – the act of connecting to another person or other people (in the case of this research, by way of common whakapapa)

Whanaungatanga is a fundamental tenet of social behaviour in te ao Māori. We connect not only to our parents and siblings but to our whānau whānui, the extended whānau, from our grandparents, uncles, aunties, cousins, nieces and nephews, children, mokopuna. My first cousins’ mokopuna are my mokopuna and vice versa. This extends further to our hapū, our iwi and the desire to form ties with those who have common ancestry for they are just another extension of ourselves.

The circumstance that perhaps threatens our connectedness with each other, in the case of my whānau, is that our whānau live, not only all over Aotearoa, but overseas as well. When my Uncle Hēmi passed away in Melbourne two years ago, he was buried there. As his wife and all of his children and grandchildren had also moved there, this was his and
their wish. I personally found this quite distressing, probably because of my research and the significance of his grandfather and namesake, Hēmi Nuku. “Survival, itself, was threatened by the fragmentation of land ownership. People who lost links with their land often lost contact with each other” (Sharples, 2010).

The optimum implication of this research is that Kāwera will reconnect not only our whānau but the whānau whānui, the children and descendants of my father’s first cousins. The principle of whakawhanaungatanga not only focuses on those relationships with our ancestors, with our whānau of today, it looks ahead to ensure our mokopuna know who they are, where they came from, and who they are related to.

4. Tuakiri (identity)

Ngā āhuatanga motuhake e tohu ana ko wai te tangata, te huinga tāngata rānei. (i) I a ia tana puka uruwhenua e whakaatu ana i tana tuakiri. (ii) Ko ngā whakapapa o te tangata tētahi wāhanga nui o tana tuakiri. (iii) Ko te reo, ngā tikanga me ngā toi Māori, ētahi āhuatanga nui tonu o te tuakiri Māori. (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008, p. 986)

The unique identifying characteristics that are held by a person or persons. (i) He had his passport to authenticate his identity. (ii) The genealogy of a person is a significant part of their identity. (iii) Language, customs and Māori art are some significant aspects of the Māori identity.6

Mead (2003) describes tuakiri in terms of one’s connection to the land, to a particular place. Due to my own life experiences, I feel Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori’s definition above for tuakiri which includes one’s whakapapa and knowing te reo Māori me ōna

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6 Translations of all quotes in te reo Māori have been reviewed/edited by Materoa Haenga, Te Reo Māori Consultant.
tikanga, in conjunction with Mead’s definition, more aptly encompasses the key factors affecting tuakiri. Durie supports this broader notion:

... key factors in identity formation for Māori which promote collective and individual wellbeing for healthy development in a culturally appropriate manner, are taken to be ancestral connections through whakapapa or genealogy, combined with access to ancestral land as tūrangawaewae, bound together by the ancestral language, Te Reo Māori. From these combined strengths a vitality of spirit can emerge capable of expressing te ihi me te wana o te mana Māori, *(all that is excellent about being Māori).* (1997, p. 142)

The acquisition of my tipuna kuia’s stories has heightened my awareness of who I am. These kōrero *(narratives)* contain not only whakapapa charts and references to tūtohu whenua *(prominent features of the land e.g. mountains, rivers)* but as a bonus, they provide the whakapapa kōrero; the details relating to the actual people of that whakapapa, and actual descriptions of events that occurred at the various tūtohu whenua. “*Identity and identification are so closely linked to territory and significant features of the landscape contained within it …*” (Durie, 1997, p. 151). Peter Sharples’ words sum up how this research into Kāwera has changed my whole perspective on who I am when he stated:

Land provides us with a sense of identity, belonging and continuity. It is proof of our continued existence not only as a people, but also as tangata whenua of this country. It is proof of our tribal and kin group ties. (2010)

I have been raised in te ao Pākehā *(the western worldview)* as many of my generation and that before us, have, so at this stage of my learning paradigm, I strongly promote the
importance of learning our tribal history in terms of our identity as Māori. The narratives passed down from our tipuna kuia have connected us firmly to the land, to each other and to other ‘people’ we have known for some time but did not know there was a whakapapa link. In some cases, these links are very close. Those few whanaunga (relatives) who have taken an interest in this kaupapa by way of proof reading or sharing of memories, have already shown other signs of interest in te ao Māori i.e. in te reo Māori and local pūrakau/pakiwaitara (legends).

The retention and transmission of tribal history is critical for the formation of cultural identity. The narratives associated with people, places and events establish mana whenua (authority over tribal estates), connect people to one another’s whakapapa and promote the principles and practices valued by a culture. (Forster, 2006, p. 100)

The one regret I have is that I have not been able to write this thesis in te reo Māori. My reo is such an important part of my life that I feel almost dysfunctional not being able to utilise it to communicate this research. Particularly in regard to my tipuna, I strongly believe the use of te reo Māori would have better expressed the essence of her kōrero. Williams referred to such complexities that arise when trying to convey and maintain this ‘essence’ of te ao Māori when the language being used is that of another worldview. “These difficulties arise from the fact that each of the world’s natural languages has been specifically crafted over time by its community of speakers to express the culture of that community” (1997, p. 13).

There were many instances where expressing whakaaro Māori into Pākehā proved a very real challenge and even now, I am not fully satisfied with some of my translations.
Te Reo Māori serves as the medium through which symbolic and cultural components are properly united and Māoriness most appropriately expressed. Erosion of the language as an everyday medium of communication, as with loss of territory, has served to undermine classical determinants of healthy identity formation. 

(Durie, 1997, p. 152)

5. Kaitiakitanga – *(one’s ability to protect and preserve the whenua, whakapapa)*. It is also a relevant aspect of research in terms of the role of our kaumātua and kuia as kaitiaki *(guardians)* over the researcher *(protector/guardian/guide)*.

The te reo Māori student’s ‘bible’, the Williams Māori Dictionary, does not list the word, ‘kaitiakitanga’. It instead contains the root of the word, ‘tiaki’, *(to guard, keep)*, (Williams, 1957, p. 414). This therefore implies that the word ‘kaitiakitanga’ was not used by our tīpuna. “While the word *[kaitiakitanga]* may be recent, the underlying values and cultural convictions have been key facets of Māori life for generations in the management of resources and the promotion of identity” (Kawharu, 2000, p. 350). Kawharu’s indepth analysis of ‘kaitiakitanga’ took a holistical view, drawing on her own whakaaro *(ideas, opinions)* and those of other researchers and government agencies. In summary she stated, “… underpinning the application of ‘kaitiakitanga’ was the ethic of reciprocity. Reciprocity enhances the political strength of the kin group by maintaining relations between humans, their ancestors, the spirit world and the natural environment” (2000, p. 353).

Until I began this research, I had not yet experienced a strong emotional or spiritual connection with any piece of land (Yoon, 1986) except for my grandmother’s home at Ōmāhu. In my worldview, land was instead, like a house or car - an asset that you worked hard to pay off over a number of years and you, you alone ‘owned’ it. Furthermore, with
my nuclear whānau being so transient during my childhood, land or any type of home base held very little significance for me.

I now understand why my father travelled near and far to many land meetings, night after night, weekend after weekend, since I was a young child. He was obviously raised knowing the importance of our land, so much so, that he took on an active role in managing his father’s lands, at the age of 20. Fifty years later, he is still committed to ensuring the sustainability of many land blocks including Kāwera, that is, meeting the needs of today’s climate while always keeping in mind the future generations’ needs. “Sustainable futures with Maori land’ is about people sustaining the land, and the land sustaining the people, into the future” (Sharples, 2010).

The concept of tino rangatiratanga or self-determination affirms our right as Māori to control our own tikanga, aspirations and future. It is about authority and independence. In terms of “tino rangatiratanga, the concept of kaitiakitanga is closely aligned with sustaining the authority to care and protect all taonga tuku iho” (Wakefield, 2008, p. 62).

Connecting with the past

There are three main objectives: firstly that of retelling my ancestresses evidence/stories of the ancient history relating to Kāwera; secondly to discuss the more recent history; and thirdly, build on whakapapa links to the several hapū that the Nuku whānau affiliate to.

Where in the past, oral traditions were passed down generation to generation, in my whānau’s case, for various reasons such as colonisation, urbanisation and fragmentation of the whānau, this practice ceased many years ago. Durie (as cited in Forster, 2006) suggested that the suppression of tikanga Māori and te reo Māori were the cause of the breakdown in the dissemination of our stories. Smith (1999) refers to ‘claiming whereas this research is one centred around the concept of RE-’claiming’ because the oral traditions were disseminated some 101 years ago in the Native Land Court and have been retold in various literature
pertaining to Treaty claims and historical resources. This is the first time these stories of Wiramina Ngāhuka have been passed down specifically for her descendants. These narratives are repackaged and reinterpreted through a Māori lens to ensure that it is accessible to new generations and reflective of their collective story (Smith, 1999).

After a ‘testing’ period of finding very little information on Kāwera through the Māori Land Court or by any other means for that matter, eight months after I started my search, when I was reluctantly considering pursuing another kaupapa, I was not only given the whereabouts of Wiramina’s evidence but the very pages of the minute books of where this evidence could be found by local historian, Patrick Parsons.

I have no living grandparents and the majority of the elders of my whānau have passed on. Therefore to find the evidence of my tipuna kuia that she gave in the late 1800s to the Māori Land Court, was beyond my expections and has had a huge impact on me as a person and as a researcher.

Therefore I choose to retell the kōrero that my tipuna kuia gave to the court in order to authenticate her claim to Kāwera. There may be statements made that do not sit well with other researchers or whānau but who am I to dispute or question her words? I recall Patrick Parsons saying that Wiramina was a reliable source, that is, her recounts of facts never altered in the evidence she provided on a number of occasions to the Māori Land Court. These are her stories and just as if these stories had been passed down generation to generation, they now are my stories. I am an insider and I am biased. I do not apologise for this bias. Wiramina Ngāhuka, my great greatgrandmother is my connection to an otherwise unknown history. My role is retell her stories to my whānau so they too can gaze on Kāwera with fresh eyes, understanding and acknowledging its rich history - our history.
New Directions

Being relatively new to research, I took the advice of Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (1992) that one should commence research with their own whānau. The justification behind this advice is because part of the research process is interviewing other people so rather than choosing a research topic that requires the researcher to ask strangers for help, selecting a topic that relates to one’s whānau means drawing on the knowledge of those whānau members. Furthermore, they are more likely to be approachable, pleased to assist and ultimately, likely to develop their own connection to the finished project.

The chosen topic was not a difficult one. To investigate the history of our whānau land block called Kāwera or Ōmāhu IB4B2. It is a small block of land on the Taihape Road and apart from a small cemetery and a carved stone waharoa near the roadside, there is little difference from any of the lands found along that long country road. As far back as I could remember my grandparent’s home was at Ōmāhu. Why were not my whānau buried at the urupā at Ōmāhu, a two minute walk away? Why Kāwera? The need to find out why my great grandfather, my grandfather and in particular my grandmother, whose parents, brothers and sisters of the Hāpuku Te Nahu whānau, are buried at Te Haukē, lay at Kāwera became overwhelming. I have known for many years that in time I too will lay there but at the moment all of these questions arose, I asked myself what right would I really have there, had I not even known anything about this land?

Method

I chose to interview face to face each kuia/koroua of my whānau. Because the information required was dependent on my elders’ memories in particular, there was no other way of accessing these memories but by interview.

I also planned to ask if I could be taken on a tour of the block and then ask for help to sketch where the kāinga (home) stood when the wharenui was still standing. By actually being there on the land, I also hoped their memories would be rekindled from the sights, sounds and smells
i.e. the sound of the Ōhiwia stream might trigger memories of swimming as children and who were those children.

As this was to be a qualitative research project, the information needed was reliant on whānau members’ memories of both lived experience and knowledge passed down to them by their elders. A set of questions was compiled with great difficulty because knowing very little about this land block, I basically sought any information whatsoever. Questions were drawn up and checked by two fellow work colleagues, one being a kuia to obtain her opinion as a pakeke (adult, senior) and the questions were then filed for easy access. These questions sought information on the interviewee themselves, their own personal history about their whānau, their kāinga, their memories if any, of living at Kāwera, of the wharenui that stood on this land many years ago; of Hēmi Nuku and a range of generic questions aimed at other significant events, land sites, whakapapa, etc. Armed and ready to seek out those knowledgeable about our history, I arranged a hui of all descendants of Hēmi Nuku. This has been estimated at approximately 200 or more adults.

Consultation

“As projects develop, discussions about them can take place within hui wānanga (conscious thought-processing and discussion), and guidance can be secured” (Royal, 1992, p. 89). A whānau hui was arranged for the 6th of April, 2008 at Ōmāhu marae. Apart from myself, twelve whānau members attended this hui. Prior to this hui, the initial literature review had been completed to meet the requirements of the Massey research paper, Tā te Māori Rangahau Kōrero (Māori Research Methods) in 2007. Using this review, a powerpoint presentation was prepared and shown to the whānau that attended the April hui and permission sought to continue with this research project. All twelve agreed.

It was with apprehension that I presented the powerpoint on the literature review, fearing that the whānau present would already know this information and be frustrated that no new
information was on offer. I was relieved, though surprised, that I was not the only whānau member who knew little of Kāwera’s rich history.

We also briefly discussed whakapapa and the inclusion or non-inclusion of this type of information within the research document considering that it will, once completed, be available to the public through the Library at Massey University. There were no objections in regard to having whakapapa in the thesis. One of my elders who I have continuously sought for guidance has agreed to the whakapapa I have included in this research. The fact that I myself, found much of the whakapapa in other literature, including Māori Land Court minutes, illustrated this information is already accessible by the public.

The final purpose of this hui was to draw from those present, a list of names of those who are considered the holders of the knowledge, that is those who I could approach to interview. At that stage, no names were provided. I was however, recommended to contact Patrick Parsons.

Students of the Whare Wānanga demonstrated their acquired knowledge to the tohunga (repositories of traditional knowledge) and their hoa ākonga (classmates), be it whakapapa or mōteatea; not unlike the concept of ‘peer assessment’ in today’s terminology (Hemara, 2000). Feedback commended the efforts of the student or expressed the need for the student to keep practicing. This initial hui was my first ‘assessment’ by my peers and elders.

The next hui held on February 14, 2009, was a little more successful with 16 whānau members showing up, ten of whom did not attend the first hui. An update was provided after having met with Pat Parsons and receiving his help locate Wiramina’s evidence (both English and Māori) and that of her daughter-in-law, Katarina Wharepake, my great grandmother. Again positive feedback and reinforcement was forthcoming. Whānau were given the opportunity to voice any issues they had with the research process, offer advice as to the type of information they saw as being beneficial, and provide any information they had been privy to, from their parents,
grandparents. Names were also collected from those who agreed to stand as representatives of the families for the surviving children of our great grandfather, Hēmi Nuku.

However, I could not help but feel apprehensive about the implications of the limited representation of the whānau whānui at these two hui. What if I write something that whānau members do not agree with or perhaps include information that does not sit well with those who do not see the finished thesis until it is completed and accessible to the public. This was an identified risk therefore the final approval from the Nuku whānau pakeke is vital.

Māori Landcourt Evidence
Advice from whānau and work colleagues was that I seek assistance from the Māori Land Court, “The minute books of the Native (later Māori) Land Court constitute much the largest body of written records of Māori land tenure, namely, the direct testimony of thousands of Māori men and women” (Erueti & Ward, 2001, p. 165).

At first I went to the Māori Land Court and upon instruction from the receptionist, I went to the computer to access their database. I knew the name of the block so I believed I was set. I found some minutes from recent years but nothing very historical. Still I was excited at that point to find what I did.

I returned twice after that, desperately searching the database with very little fruition. It was only after talking with one of the BA (Māori) students who had experience researching her own whānau land, that I realised one had to ask for the ‘file’ on a particular land block to get more detailed information.

So on my next visit, I did just that and was given 3 large files full of hard copy documents. I scrupulously wrote as much of the information word for word and ordered photocopies of some of the pages and went home rejuvenated.
My next visit followed suit. However, after reading through all of the records, I found that the information was not as historical as I required. My conclusion after the fact, is that I probably didn’t ask the right questions of the receptionist.

Contact was finally made, after many attempts, with Patrick Parsons late in August 2008 and he agreed to meet with me on the 2nd of September 2008 at the Māori Land Court. Patrick not only knew of Wiramina, he had actually quoted her evidence on a number of occasions for historical research relating to relevant hapū or landmarks. Furthermore because of Patrick’s continual reference to the numerous minutes books held at the Land Court, he not only provided me with the relevant volume numbers of the minute books, he also gave me the actual pages numbers that housed Wiramina’s evidence. The door that had been closed for all of those months, opened up that day and access was gained to some 80 pages of my tipuna’s kōrero.

Unfortunately on searching the internet for information on Wiramina, very little was found. Unlike many of the koroua that provided evidence in the land court hearings, kuia with special mana were not acknowledged in the way their male counterparts were in regard to providing testimonies in the Native Land Court (Parsonson, 2001, p. 24). However, it was obvious to me that Patrick Parsons was an avid fan of my tipuna. “Wiramina was the best of the women of Ngāti Hinepare and Ngāti Māhu. No-one has appreciated the contribution women historians have made. They held a special status and were rated high in Māoridom” (Parsons, personal communication, February 9, 2010).

Not wanting to wait for copies of the material, I read the evidence and took notes. With limited time, this was a very slow process. However, during one of my visits to the Māori Land Court, senior staff member, Huia Harrison, advised me that researchers from the Crown Forest regularly visit the Land Court to seek information and she noticed that rather than order copies of documents, as they had traditionally done, they would arrive, armed with digital cameras and take photos of each document, each page. This way, they could transfer the files to
computer, enlarge them, print them, in fact manipulate them in any way to simplify accessing the information. So I purchased a $800 camera and in less than an hour, I had a copy of all 80 pages of Wiramina’s evidence.

I instantly rang my father who equally excited asked me to transcribe the evidence. I agreed in my excitement. However, I was yet to see what this promise would mean. Hours and hours of transcribing. With the minutes being handwritten, this caused problems in regard to spelling errors (by the scribe and myself). Enlarging the pages on to A3 and purchasing a magnifying glass helped to some extent but errors were inevitable. In saying this though, I now appreciate my father’s request because it has simplified the process of extracting information from these minutes. I can now find particular sentences within seconds because it is legible and now well marked and highlighted. At times when I feel the need to check the copies of the manuscripts, I still have great difficulty deciphering some of the words.

Another issue is the total frustration in regard to the concept of time. I could be writing about one tipuna and then another name might appear of someone who I had thought lived generations before. Fortunately Wiramina provided elaborate whakapapa to go with her evidence and I was able to structure a timeframe around those offered by Parsons (2002) from his chronological study of the prominent chiefs of Ngāi Te Upokoiri.

Over the Christmas period, my brother, Mike Nuku, mentioned that he had heard Patrick Parsons held the original transcriptions of some of Wiramina’s evidence in te reo Māori. As Mike and I were both studying te reo Māori, this was exciting news so I contacted Patrick once again and arranged a meeting. On the 30th of January, 2009, Mike and I met with Pat at his home and both took photos of the 28 pages of evidence and seven pages of whakapapa. However it was not until December 2009 – January 2010 that I realised the value of the whakapapa in particular.
After working on the first draft of the analysis of Wiramina’s evidence, a number of major questions arose from my initial findings. It seemed as I became closer to the end of the evidence, discrepancies surfaced to the point I was unable to continue.

Patrick again agreed to talk with me at his home on the 9th of February, 2010. When asked if the interview could be taped by digital recorder, he said due to backlash related to previous interviews, he preferred not to be taped so I took notes during the interview. This interview was most helpful and cleared up some cloudy aspects of my project.

Whānau Interviews

The use of interviewing as a means to collect information can be seen “as a means for exploring and gathering experiential narrative material that may serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomenon” (van Manen, 1997, p. 66).

Therefore, a priority was to interview as many of my elders as possible. As previously mentioned, there is only one surviving pakeke who holds this type of knowledge. She is known as Aunty Aggie Snr to us of the Nuku whānau. She married Reihana Nuku, son of my Grandfather to his first marriage. She turned 90 years of age in July 2010 and is the most senior of our whānau. I decided to make contact by phone because we have a good relationship and I had no reservations about making contact in this manner. This was not an easy feat as Aunty Aggie is very involved at Ōmāhu marae, as a respected elder and kaikaranga (caller, the woman or women who perform the ceremonial call of welcome to visitors at the beginning of a formal reception onto the marae), so she can be difficult to contact. However, eventually I managed to find her at home and she agreed, although somewhat reluctantly, to meet with me at her home at Ōmāhu. Firstly we shared a hot drink and some of the kai I took as a koha (gift), chatting and catching up with news of the whānau.

Afterwards, when asked if Aunty would agree to my using a video camera or a digital recorder, to record the interview, she replied flatly, no. Therefore I had to take notes and draw diagrams. Fortunately I have many years experience in minute taking but there is always room for error
because only brief notes can be taken so the whole process leaned on my recall ability. After an hour or so, as the interview continued and Aunty became more relaxed, she suggested I drive her up to Kāwera so she could show me the key sites where homes had been situated, where milking sheds once stood and so on. It was a true privilege and I count myself fortunate to have had that time with her. She did not wish to sign any consent forms saying I was her niece and she trusted me. When I explained that it was a requirement of Massey University, she said she was happy to speak with anyone who wished to challenge this decision. This illustrates the whakatauki, “He tangata ki tahi” (Brougham & Reed, 1987). It has been my observation over the years, that with many of our elders, their word is enough. Many are uncomfortable and even suspicious about signing their names to papers or forms.

Therefore, the interview began. However, as it turned out, I only asked one or two questions and Aunty took it from there. I ticked off each question as she covered it and if not, I asked these to round off the interview. The need to find out specific information changed to ‘any’ information whatsoever.

Aunty Aggie attended the second whānau hui and showed approval and enthusiasm for the research project. As previously mentioned, after a whānau working bee at Kāwera that lasted five hours, instead of returning home to rest, she requested that my father drive her to my house to watch my second presentation once again.

Information was readily available from my father, Tāmihana Nuku and because of our relationship, I could phone him or visit him at short notice and he would provide the information I required or suggest an alternative source.

Information was also provided by my father’s younger brother, Phillip Nuku, by phone and at the above two hui. No formal interviews were held with my uncle but in relation to the recent history of Kāwera, an interview was held with my father in October, 2010. He has been heavily

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7 A man of his word or in this case, ‘a woman of her word’.
involved in many of our land trusts for the past 50 years and yet he, like Aunty Aggie, was still unsure of how he could assist me with this study.

Maps
According to my father, there was once ceiling to floor length maps at the Māori Land Court. However, in December 2009 on visiting the Māori Land Court to seek copies of said maps, I was told they had been water damaged and discarded. A further search into the Court’s remaining archives of maps in January 2010 proved fruitless.

I have small maps of individual blocks, maps from Buchanan’s book, ‘Māori History and Place Names of Hawke’s Bay’ plus topographical maps which are helpful but are modern. Another map provided by my father shows the blocks but few of the historical Māori names appear. This has been one of the most frustrating aspects of this research, that is being unable to pinpoint exactly where a cited landmark is – whether it is pertinent to Kāwera or not. A trip to the NZ Archives in Wellington in November, 2009 provided me with better copies of Bristed’s 1889 map of Hawke’s Bay and another hand-drawn map of Ōhiti-Ōmāhu. However, the latter did not show Kāwera.

Insider/outsider
I have become increasingly aware of the absolute importance of narrative, of authorship, and of storytelling. This paper is my story. Its prose is intentionally subjective, written in the first person, to allow the reader to enter my world, to be privy to and to experience my personal thoughts and feelings. (Britton, 2007 as cited in Pere, 2009, p. 1)

When attempting to first write up the analysis chapter of this thesis, it became increasingly difficult and almost uncomfortable. The realisation gradually dawned on me that to adhere to the requirement/recommendation that the ‘third person’ approach be taken throughout this thesis, would be limiting, stifling and unnatural. The majority of the data used for this thesis
comes from my ancestress, from her very words while providing evidence to the Land Court in the late 1800’s. These are her words, her thoughts, her stories about herself, about other ancestors, about our land, our history. These belong to me as if she told them to me herself.

This research project is not the mere conclusion of an academic goal but the first steps to realisation, personal development, tuakiri. For whatever reasons, I have been led to take this journey for, at the very least, my descendants, for my whānau. The primary purpose of this thesis is to inform and share this wealth of knowledge with my whānau. To tell them in the third person mode, I feel, would be unnatural, even insulting to all concerned. Therefore as part of my methodology I have chosen to write in the first person, telling our stories, our narrations in such a manner that shows I own these. This is a personal journey. “My account is consciously reflective and subjective. It is an account of my own hapū ...” (TeRito, 2007, p. 47).

I write for my whānau, for those and I believe there are many, who like me before this research journey, have little knowledge of the history pertaining to our iwi let alone our land block in question. Therefore they are in my mind when I write. They are my audience. “A thoughtful writer imagines the characteristics or nature of a particular audience and keeps this mental image in mind when writing” (Biklen & Casella, 2007, p. 6).

The methods I utilised in order to collect the information found have each had their fair share of challenges but in most cases have provided me and my whānau with such a gift of knowledge, a taonga (treasure). These methods have included:

- Organising by way of phone calls, emails and post, four whānau hui - the first to gain whānau permission to go about this research; and the remaining three for updating the whānau in terms of my progress;
- Preparing and presenting progress reports using power point;
- Booking the venue and preparing lunch for two of these hui, morning tea only for one; and a barbecue for the last hui;
• Writing minutes for these hui (note: most of these hui were planned to follow other whānau hui such as Trustee elections, etc.);
• Extensively searching for data from the Māori Land Court;
• Spending a great deal of time transcribing the court minutes;
• Interviewing whānau members face to face and taking notes by hand; and
• Interviewing whānau who live some distance from Hastings, through Facebook.

All of the above have played a significant role in the development of a historical resource for the Nuku whānau particularly associated with Kāwera.
CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW PART A

Ko ngā ika whakamoe o te kōpua.
The fish of high descent of the deep pool.\(^8\)

![Aerial map of the Hastings and Napier area and Taihape Road commencing at Ōmāhu, stretching westwards\(^9\)](image)

**Figure 3.** Aerial map of the Hastings and Napier area and Taihape Road commencing at Ōmāhu, stretching westwards\(^9\)

**Introduction**

This research explores the history of the Nuku whānau papakāinga (*ancestral home*) known as Kāwera or Ōmāhu IB4B2, on the Taihape Road some 6km from Ōmāhu marae. At one time, a wharenuī stood on this land at the centre of a small pā. However, between 1945 and 1955, the wharenuī was dismantled and used to build a kāinga at Ōmāhu by one of the grandsons of Hēmi Nuku\(^10\) (Tāmihana Nuku, personal communication, August 16, 2007). Today this land block stands bare apart from one of the original kāinga, a whānau urupā, and a waharoa that was carved in the late 1990’s by Hēmi Nuku’s great grandson and carver, George Nuku. This waharoa was to stand as a reminder of the past and an inspiration for the whānau, so that in

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\(^8\) Moko Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 237. Ngāi Te Upokoiri whakataukī. Refer to page 40 for explanation.

\(^9\) [http://maps.google.co.nz/maps?hl=en&tab=wl](http://maps.google.co.nz/maps?hl=en&tab=wl)

\(^10\) My great grandfather
time another wharenui would be built. Only fragments of knowledge about this land block are held by a few whānau members and this research endeavours to bring together this knowledge and that found in written form, so that the current and future generations have a better understanding of the papakāinga.

Figure 4. Photograph of Kāwera Waharoa: Te Kawa o Taraia te Ruawhare

The aim in this chapter is to draw together information and research on Kāwera and its history in relation to whakapapa, key people and events. Initially this research was driven by my own personal need for answers in an attempt to ascertain why members of my whānau were buried at Kāwera and not at the Ōmāhu urupā, some 500 metres from our contemporary whānau homestead. In discussing the significance of Kāwera with whānau of my generation, it became clear that apart from the urupā, this land block’s importance was based solely around lived experiences, not because it encompassed the history of our tīpuna. It became imperative that I find out why this small block, in the middle of nowhere, had been chosen by my tīpuna as their final and permanent resting place. Furthermore, it is a given that one day I too will follow them, so the need to find out why there, became a priority.

This chapter will focus on one main literary source found. This relates to the chapters of the study, ‘West to the Annie’ contributed to by Patrick Parsons in relation to the history of Kāwera
and surrounding blocks. This was the only literature that focused on Kāwera in particular in any way.

However, this is not to diminish in any way, the wealth of information offered by such literature as Angela Ballara’s thesis, ‘The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu’, John Buchanan’s ‘Māori History and Place Names of Hawke’s Bay’, Jack Mitchell’s ‘Takitimu’, to name a few, as well as other writings by Patrick Parsons, all in relation to Ngāti Kahungunu as a whole, to Heretaunga, Ahuriri and the rich history that we of the haukāinga (home base), can call our own.

This thesis is structured on the whakapapa model. Therefore this research focuses on the key people, that is, significant chiefs, their spouses and children. “The whakapapa paradigm operates at various levels. It exists as a genealogical narrative, a story told layer upon layer, ancestor upon ancestor up to the present day. There are parallel lineages of characters which run side by side, era by era, and incident by incident” (Te Rito, 2007, p. 7). It also includes details relating to their places of dwelling and key events that impacted upon them. While every attempt has been made to include some details about each person named, to show their connection to the beneficiaries of this research, it has not always been possible.
Figure 5. Excerpt from ‘West to the Annie’ inside front cover showing the various land blocks that in the main still exist today. Kāwera is marked by the white star.

Ngā Iwi Taketake

Prior to the 1500s, Kāwera was occupied by Ngāti Ruapīrau, who descended from Ngāti Whatumāmoa (Ballara, 1991, p. 81; Parsons, 2002a, p. 35). This tribe whakapapa to the chief, Ōrotu and is the same tribe that would later become Ngāti Māmoe after migrating to the South Island. On the other hand, while Buchanan (2004, p. 15) ascertains that Ōrotu was of vague descent, Ballara (1991, p. 67) obtained whakapapa that linked him back to Tangaroa te Kore and the belief that his people did not come to Aotearoa by way of waka. Conversely, the editor of Downes (1914) footnoted that they were a part of the Tahitian migration in the middle of the 14th century.

Ngāti Ruapīrau, a hapū of Ngāti Whatumāmoa, was the tangata whenua (Ballara, 1991, p. 81; Buchanan, 2004, p. 91; Parsons, 2002a, p. 35). Evidence provided to the Native Land Court in 1889, described Ngāti Ruapīrau as the “original owners of the soil” (Māori Land Court Records, 1890, p. 1). In “1550 their principal pa was Te Kairae ... close to Hauhau, the outlet to Lake Oingo” (Parsons, 2002a, pp. 36-37). Parsons (2002a, p. 37) also noted that although they had settled by Lake Ōingo originally, they later moved to Kāwera because of the abundant food sources. Those listed by Parsons, were eels (“Lake Oingo, Lake Runanga and the neighbouring swamps were renowned eeling grounds” (2002a, p. 37)), kākahi (NZ freshwater mussels), pūkeko (NZ swamp hen), paradise and grey ducks. Kāwera, Lake Ōingo is strongly associated with the eel. “... the Māori evidence shows the huge importance of the eel to traditional Māori society. A battle at Lake Oingo right near the heart of present-day Omahu was over an outside group contesting the right to fish for eels in the lake” (TeRito, 2007, p. 28). “Wekas (NZ woodhen) were also plentiful in pre-European times” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 38).

11 Further details provided in Part B of the Literature Review
12 Ōmāhu Rehearing Records, 1890, Minute Book 26, p.1.
13 A lake on the Ōmāhu block and significant landmark.
14 Further details provided in Part B of the Literature Review
Other early iwi in Heretaunga at that time were descendants of Awanuiārangi, that is, Ngāti Awa or Maruiwi, and Ngāti Rangitāne (Ballara, 1991, pp. 64, 70, 80; Huata, 1983, p. 7; Wright, 2004, p. 13).

**Taraia I**

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Tamatea Arikinui = Iwipūpū
| Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine
|     | Kahukuranui = Ruatapuwahine
|     | Rākaihikuroa
|     | Taraia I
```

In the mid 1500s, Taraia I and his people migrated into Heretaunga and as is the common consensus of the research collective, by whatever means available to him and his iwi, they took over this area. (Ballara, 1991, p. 81; Parsons, 2002a, p. 39; Wright, 2004, p. 15). This conquest over Heretaunga was achieved by battle, banishment or intermarriage. Tūrauwhā, of Ngāti Whatumāmoa and Ngāti Awa, was the principal chief at that time, living at Ōtātara¹⁵ (Parsons, 2002a, p. 38). This pā (village):

covered an area of about eighty to one hundred acres and it incorporated two pa, the upper one called Hikurangi and the lower one called Otatara. ... Its narrow paths with precipitous descent to the river bed were close to prolific eel swamps and sea and river fishing. A military man visiting the site estimated that it would take ten thousand men to man and defend this pa. (Huata, 1983, p. 39)

Taraia I besieged this pā and while he successfully conquered Hikurangi, he was unsuccessful in his plight to take over Ōtātara, the main stronghold. He settled his people at the mouth of the Ngaruroro river and left for Te Wairoa for some time. On his return, he decided to approach

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¹⁵ One of the largest historial pā sites in Aotearoa, situated above EIT Hawke’s Bay in Taradale, Napier.
Tūrauhā in peace but the latter, seeing Taraia’s huge entourage approaching his pā coupled with his doubts as to Taraia’s intentions, he took his people and fled for Tuhirangi, a land block northeast of Kāwera. This abandonment of Ōtātara left the way clear for Taraia and eventuated in him achieving great mana (*authority, influence*) over this district. Parsons (2002a, p. 39) continued saying that within two generations, probably due to pressure from Taraia I in an attempt to strategically ground his people in the Heretaunga district, all of Tūrauhā’s descendants had married into Ngāti Kahungunu.

*Figure 6. Ōtātara Pā of today*

**Te Rangitaumaha**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taraia I</th>
<th>Hinepare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Rangitaumaha</td>
<td>Hineiao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Te Rangitaumaha, Taraia I’s son, lived at Oueroa Pā which stood on a hill between Ōmāhu and Waiohiki. The area where this pā once stood, can be seen from Ōtātara pā. Buchanan (2004, p. 102) refers to this pā as being one of the oldest and most important areas of Hawke’s Bay. Te Rangitaumaha married Hineiao, daughter of Rangituehu, the nephew of Taraia I, and Rākaitekura, Tūrauhā’s daughter (Parsons, 2002a, p. 40). Hence a unification of the tangata whenua and Ngāti Kahungunu was initiated.
Te Rangitaumaha and Hineiao had eight children – four of whom were girls, one being Te Huhuti, who would later marry Te Whatuiāpiti, a great chief of Heretaunga in his time. Three of their sons, Taraia II, Hinehore and Hikateko, lived on the land, firstly at Oueroa pā, then later moved to Te Kairae pā at Lake Ōingo, thus dislocating the Ngāti Ruapūrāu who were living there.

**Taraia II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te Rangitaumaha</th>
<th>Hineiao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Huhuti</td>
<td>Ruatiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manutiatoi</td>
<td>Parengenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taraia II</td>
<td>Hinehore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hikateko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaiotea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taraia II married Punākiao, a descendant of Kahungunu and Whatumāmoa. “Taraia II was placed on the lands occupied by Ngati Ruapūrāu” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 40). He also refers to a time after Taraia II’s arrival at Kāwera. Ngāti Ruapūrāu’s resentment towards the mana of Taraia II led to their refusal to provide his wife, Punākiao, with relish for her food. When they next went to empty their eel pots at the Kāwera swamp, Taraia II berated them from the roof of his wharenui, ‘Amorangi’¹⁶, and demanded a payment of land for disrespecting his wife. Ultimately, the transgression was costly to Ngāti Ruapūrāu as they were banished to Pukekautuku on the Tūtaekurī river.

Another version of the story was that Punākiao had tuna mōkai (*pet eels*) and it was common knowledge to the tangata whenua, these eels were protected. Visitors were always warned of this but two failed to listen and subsequently caught and ate Punākiao’s mōkai. These men were put to death by Taraia II. This is how the land block next to Kāwera, Ōkawa got its name – ‘of the kawa’. The kawa was broken, hence the deaths. (Tāmihana Nuku, personal communication, March 1999)

Taraia II and Punākiao had seven children. The eldest, Hinemanu, left the area to live in Inland Pātea. The second child, Hinetearo, inherited Kāwera and Pukehāmoamooa from her father. Parsons stated, “The fact that her descendants led a rather troubled existence is explained by

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¹⁶ No further information has been found relating to his wharenui.
the fact that the highly sought after eeling grounds of Kawera were within her portion” (2002a, p. 41). Hineteao’s brother, Hineotua, also shared in Kāwera although this is the only reference to him.

**Honomōkai**

Honomōkai’s son, Honomōkai married Te Aopupururangi, who was a chieftainess of Inland Pātea and so Honomōkai acquired a great deal of land from both his parents and his wife’s whānau. As stated above, Kāwera went to his elder sister, Hineteao.

**Rangitūouru and Te Upokoiri**

Honomōkai’s son, Rangitūouru achieved great status marrying Te Upokoiri, the great granddaughter of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti. Interestingly, Downes (1914) had Te Whatuiāpiti listed as Te Huhuti’s grandson when in fact they were husband and wife as supported by Ballara (1991, p. 195) and Parsons (2002a, p. 41). Wilson (1939) stated that Ngāi Te Upokoiri were the descendants of Te Wāwahanga and Taraia II, two of the children of Te Whatuiāpiti and Te Huhuti. Whakapapa evidence shows that although Te Wāwahanga was a
son of Te Whatuiāpiti, Taraia II was Te Huhuti’s brother (Ballara, 1991, p. 202). The arduous task of cross referencing names and their spelling, in particular, became a commonplace part of this research project for fear of ‘stepping’ on any of my ancestor’s mana.

Te Upokoiri grew up at Raukawa, near Lake Poukawa according to Parsons (2002a, p. 41) while Buchanan (2004, p. 31) refers to her home being in the Korongata district near Bridge Pā. While fairly close in proximity, they are definitely two separate locations. She and Rangitūouru lived at Ruahine and had seven children, the eldest being Te Mumuhu o te Rangi who married Hinenui of Ngāti Rangiita, Tūwharetoa. Ngāi Te Upokoiri attained hapū status under Te Mumuhu’s rule from approximately 1700 to 1730 (Ballara, 1991, p. 203).

**Te Uamairangi**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rangitūouru} & = \text{Te Upokoiri} \\
\text{Te Mumuhu} & = \text{Hinenui} \\
\text{Te Uamairangi} & = \text{Turaki}
\end{align*}
\]

“*Patea was the place and Te Uamairangi the man*” (Ballara, 1991, p. 274). This proverb alludes to the great prominence Te Uamairangi gained as a leader. In regard to Ngāi Te Upokoiri, it does not take one long to realise that chiefs like Te Uamairangi and his grandson, Te Wanikau were infamous due to their warrior status (Te Rito, 2007, p. 16). One of Te Uamairangi’s principal pā was Taumataōhē situated at the junction of the Maraekakaho stream with the Ngaruroro river (Buchanan, 2004, p. 95), which appears to be south of Kāwera. Buchanan (Ibid) also refers to this pā as an ancient one originally inhabited by the Waitaha people, followed by Ngāti Māmoe or Ngāti Ruapīrau and finally by Ngāi Te Upokoiri.

Parsons (2002a, p. 42) describes the population of Heretaunga as a rapidly increasing one and smaller hapū selected important chiefs with which to set up alliances with, anxious about their own protection. Te Uamairangi had such a following of hapū who remained loyal to him because he afforded them with such protection and safety, to the point that when he left the
district, he ensured they were protected. These hapū included Ngāti Hineiao, Ngāi Takaha\textsuperscript{17}, Ngāti Kōpua\textsuperscript{18}, Ngāti Mate\textsuperscript{19}, Ngāti Uranga\textsuperscript{20} and some of Ngāti Māhu who looked to him for security (Ballara, 1991, pp. 270-271).

“Although Te Uamairangi had access to the eeling grounds of his relatives at Ka\textsuperscript{wera}, he chose to live in the upper reaches of the Ngaruoro” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 42). A difficult time was in store for this chief. Continued battles, one in particular, where he barely escaped death, and another where his brother was killed, took a heavy toll on Te Uamairangi. Overcome with grief and disappointment because his various hapū failed to protect his brother, he decided to go and live with his mother’s iwi in Whakatāne and handed over the care of his people to Hāwea of Te Awanga. These hapū sought assistance from Hāwea to intervene and beseech Te Uamairangi, on their behalf, to stay. But this was to no avail and Te Uamairangi went on to Taupō for a period of time because of his mother’s ties to Tūwharetoa (Ballara, 1991, p. 279 ).

Although he did not inherit Pukehāmoamoa, (the neighbouring block to Kāwera), once his son married two of Hineteao’s uri, he gained mana over this area.

After some time, Te Uamairangi returned to his people and he and his son, Tūhotoariki lived at the pā of their tipuna, Te Rangitaumaha, at Te Taumataōhē. One part of Ngāti Hineiao chose to remain under the protection of Te Uamairangi on his return. Ngāti Hineiao held the mana over Kāwera. However, another section of Ngāti Hineiao had chosen to follow the chief of Ngāti Pārā\textsuperscript{21}, Te Rangikamangungungu and neither he nor Tūhotoariki wished to surrender their rights “to one of the best eeling grounds in Heretaunga” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 44). It was then that Tūhotoariki married the two women of Ngāti Hineiao to strengthen his link to their lands.

\textsuperscript{17} Takaha was grandfather of Te Whatuiāpiti.
\textsuperscript{18} A hapū from Inland Pātea and Heretaunga.
\textsuperscript{19} A hapū from Inland Pātea.
\textsuperscript{20} Also known as Ngāti Mahuika, descendants of Mahuika, son of Taraia II.
\textsuperscript{21} Hapū now living in the Waiohiki area.
During Tūhotoariki’s time, a significant battle called Paratuna took place near Kāwera by Lake Īingo. He and one of his warriors, Tareahi, raided eel weirs at the lake and were caught by Ngāti Hāwea and Ngāti Pārau. Ngāi Te Upokoiri were dealt with heavily and one of their women was killed and her head was placed on a post as a rāhui (warning) to others at Hauhau (Parsons, 2002a, p. 45).

Te Wanikau

The great chief, Te Wanikau led from 1810-1830 and he was so concerned with maintaining control of Kāwera and the surrounding land, he built a pā on Te Horo. Te Horo is a hill and significant land site which separates the Kāwera and Hurimoana swamps (Parsons, 2002a, p. 45).

There follows a period of significant battles that were to have devastating implications for Ngāi Te Upokoiri. The battle of Mangatoetoe was where they fought alongside Ngāti Hāwea and Ngāti Rangikoianake, defeating Takapau hapū. A number of prisoners were taken to Kihiao where they were put on the menu for the opening of the wharenui, Kahukuranui. The chain reaction that followed saw the prisoner’s chief being killed when seeking revenge and

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22 Near Lake Īingo.
23 A hill and significant landmark near the Hurimoana swamp.
24 A pā at Ruahine, Kereru (see top left hand corner of Figure 5).
Ngāi Te Upokoiri offering “half his body each to Ngati Hawea and Ngati Rangikoianake” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 46). Ngāti Rangikoianake, being relatives of this chief, sought revenge. They managed to kill a few of Ngāi Te Upokoiri who they found outside of their various pā in the Ruahine ranges district but decided to regroup and camp at where the Mangaōnuku and Mangamate streams meet, southeast of Tikokino. A battle ensued with six or more of Ngāti Rangikoianake chiefs being slain. “If a single event could be isolated which precipitated the downfall of Ngai Te Upokoiri, Mangatoetoe would be prime candidate”, because the quest for revenge by all parties escalated into full scale war (Ibid).

Another version of this story as told by Takanui Tarakawa⁵⁶ claims the battle of Mangatoetoe was between Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Whatuiāpiti. The latter were crushed with 30 of Te Whatuiāpiti’s chiefly descendants dying. Hence the whakataukī attributed to Ngāi Te Upokoiri, ‘Ko ngā ika whakamoe o te kōpua’, which refers to the many chiefs that died during that battle, at the hands of Ngāi Te Upokoiri.

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⁵⁵ http://maps.google.co.nz/maps
⁵⁶ A Te Arawa tohunga and historian who lived in Takapau from 1897 to 1899 and wrote ‘Ngā Mahi a Te Wera me Ngā-Puhi hoki ki te Tai-Rāwhiti’ which followed their activities between 1818 and the late 1830s.
With the marriage of Te Wanikau’s sister, Ihukino to Te Nahu, of Ngāti Rangikoianake, there was temporary reprieve for Ngāi Te Upokoiri until Te Nahu died in approximately 1818. Te Wanikau placed a rāhui (*a prohibition or temporary ban instituted on a particular area*) on Lake Poukawa during the time of the tangihanga (*mourning ritual, bereavement*) which riled Ngāti Rangikoianake. They destroyed the rāhui poles and Te Wanikau construing their actions as a curse, looked to his relations from Tūwharetoa to support his next mission of revenge.

The attempt of Te Wanikau and his people, together with Ngāti Tūwharetoa to besiege Ngāti Rangikoianake proved a very difficult task. But matters were to worsen with the slaying of Tūwharetoa’s younger brother, Manuhiri. As expected Ngāti Tūwharetoa wanted revenge and did so, at Te Aratipi where Manuhiri died. Furthermore, in the ensuing battle of Roto-a-tara I, one of the Waikato chief’s sons was killed.

In preparation for the inevitable, Pareihe, chief of Ngāti Whatuiāpiti, approached Ngāpuhi chief, Te Wera Hauraki who was living at Te Māhia, to assist his people resist the fury of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Waikato. The battle of Whitiōtū followed and a number of Ngāti Tūwharetoa chiefs were killed.

Te Wanikau gathered up his people and left for Taupō while Ngāti Tūwharetoa strategised their next attack. Pareihe and Te Wera made the wise decision to leave Heretaunga and return to Te Māhia, trying to convince Te Hauwaho and the hapū, Ngāti Pārau, Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Hāwea and Ngāti Matepū to follow suit. They instead remained at Te Pakake pā. “*Three months later, in 1824, an army 1000 strong comprising Ngati Tuwharetoa, Waikato, Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Raukawa armed with 400 muskets lined up to claim utu (revenge) for their earlier losses*” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 48) That ‘utu’ (*cost*) was approximately 600 lost lives!

A further two battles followed called Kahotea and Roto-a-tara II but this time they were between Pareihe defending his pā, Roto-a-tara, from Ngāti Raukawa chief, Te Whatanui, who

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27 Great grandson of Rangikoianake.
had arrived in Heretaunga and was eager to take over new territory. Ngāi Te Upokoiri fought alongside Pareihe and at the Roto-a-tara II clash, Ngāi Te Upokoiri lost a number of chiefs and Renata Kawepō, grandson of Te Uamairangi, was taken prisoner by the Ngāpuhi tribe.

Te Wanikau then took his people to the Manawatū with Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa. Dating right back, this had been common practice for this warlike hapū, to flee the district for fear of reprisal from a number of hapū or iwi. This battle in particular had meant the deaths of great chiefs from many hapū and the wider iwi of Te Ika a Māui. Te Wanikau died “soon after November, 1839” while Ngāi Te Upokoiri were still in exile (Ballara, 1991, p. 269). He was buried in a hollowed tree at Turitea (Massey University site of today) (Parsons, 2002b, p. 51) and then later, his bones were exhumed and re-buried at Tongariro (Ballara, 1991, p. 287). Renata Kawepō sought permission from Te Moananui (one of the principal chiefs of Heretaunga at that time) to allow him to go and collect his uncles’ bones but because it was such a prestigious mission, Te Moananui went himself.

The lands of Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Hinemanu were desolate from 1830 - the exile lasted approximately 30 years and had it not been for peace treaties instigated by the Anglican Church, they would highly likely not have been able to return back to Heretaunga (Ballara, 1991). William Colenso was appointed by the church as Ahuriri’s resident missionary and he brought with him Renata Kawepō, nephew of Te Wanikau, who had been held prisoner by Ngāpuhi since the second battle at Roto-a-tara, as his assistant. Renata met with the different chiefs of Heretaunga of that time in 1845 and as Renata’s father was Ngāti Hinemanu and his mother, Ngāi Te Upokoiri, he was instructed to lead his people back to Ōmāhu. Five years later, the first of three groups arrived, another five years later, the second and finally the third group arrived in 1862. They settled in Ōmāhu and Ngāti Hinemanu at Ōhiti.

This was a time of great turmoil because of the Pākehā aim to purchase Māori land (Ballara, 1991; Parsons, 2002b, p. 52). Amazingly, Kāwera has been retained in our whānau through the years. I say amazingly because a great deal of the neighbouring blocks which my tīpuna had
shares in, have been sold. One example is the block across the Taihape Road, Ōkawa, where 16,000 acres were sold in 1854 for a mere 800 pounds to recompense debts incurred in respect to the sale of Ngāti Hinepare lands. There is extensive literature about it from the majority of the authors but as there is no mention of Kāwera, this review will not look into that subject.

Figure 8. Rural real estate advertisement, Hawke’s Bay Today\textsuperscript{28} showing that 236 acres today is worth over one million dollars. Where the land cost approximately $40 per acre in 1854, it is now valued at roughly $4,237 per acre.

Renata Kawepō

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}

\node (Rangitūouru) {Te Rangitūouru} child {node (Upokoiri) {Te Upokoiri}};
\node (Mumuhu) {Te Mumuhu} child {node (Uamairangi) {Te Uamairangi}};
\node (Tūhoto Ariki) {Tūhoto Ariki} child {node (Pakapaka) {Pakapaka}} child {node (Tamanakoia) {Tamanakoia}};
\node (Wanikau) {Te Wanikau};
\node (Mekemeke) {Erena Mekemeke};
\node (Hikurangi) {Tama-ki-Hikurangi (Renata Kawepō)};

\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Renata\textsuperscript{29} had been taken prisoner in the Northland as previously mentioned. Some 17 years later, he returned to Heretaunga with William Colenso, as Colenso’s assistant and as a native

\textsuperscript{28} Tremains Real Estate Flyer, Hawke’s Bay Today, October 17, 2007, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{29} Nephew of Te Wanikau.
teacher (Parsons, 2002b, p. 51). Renata had been educated at a Mission School while in captivity.

The founder of present-day Ōmāhu, Rēnata Kawepō had a Ngāti Hinemanu father and a Ngāi Te Upokoiri mother. He gained great prowess as a fighting chief. He was perhaps the most prominent chief in Heretaunga in the 1880s after the previous generation of leading Heretaunga chiefs had passed on. (TeRito, 2007, p. 16)

Renata was committed to his people’s welfare and he was active in arranging leases between local Māori and Pākehā. In fact, Renata set up a number of initiatives in order to generate income for his people. “Wheat and maize were grown in Ohiti and Omahu and he grazed sheep on unleased land” (Parsons, 2002b, p. 55). Renata instigated the building of a native school at Ōmāhu and promoted education to Māori as a means to prosper. He was a “public-spirited leader and a man of vision” (Parsons, 2002b, p. 62).

Renata Kawepō, Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Hinemanu chief, died in 1888 and was buried in the Ōmāhu urupā close to the Anglican church, he was involved in building. However, a grueling court case over two versions of his final will became a battle between Renata’s niece, Airini Donnelly and his whānai (foster son), Wiremu Broughton. This conflict brought about the well-known Ōmāhu hearing which took place in 1889 to determine ownership. The Ōmāhu block as a whole, was viewed as “the most valuable portion of the Ngai Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu estates” (Parsons, 2002b, p. 81).

A Changing Landscape
On the 18th of February 1890, Kāwera and the surrounding land were divided into two blocks – Matatanumia and Kāwera by the Native Land Court. While no-one lived at Kāwera at that time because it was largely leased land at that stage, whānau stayed in temporary shelters during the eeling seasons. On the 22nd of February, 1890, Kāwera was awarded to 32 people (Appendix
I) being descendants of Te Uamairangi and hapū such as Ngāti Hineiao who lived under his protection.

On the 26th of May, 1892, a rehearing was held with the owners and the block divided into four sections. Ōmāhu 130 consisted of 480 acres, “bordering the Kawera swamp” (Parsons, 2002c, p. 269). This block was awarded to 12 people, of which eleven descended from Taui31 of Ngāti Māhu and Ngāti Hinepare. They were32:

- Wiramina Ngāhuka
- Ani Amoamo
- Apikaera Te Herepao
- Hoera Te Karaha
- Rukarei Tamarakei
- Hēmi Nuku

Hareti Parāone
Rewi Haukore
Hōhaia Te Hoata
Peraniko Raurimu
Marara Ngākai
Hōhepa Te Umurangi

(Māori Land Court, 1892, p. 210)

Additionally, at this time the 480 acre block was declared ‘inalienable’ meaning it could not be sold (Parsons, 2002c, p. 271).

In 1902, Ōmāhu 1 was divided into 2 portions, 1A and 1B. Whānau wished to have more control over their own shares so in August, 1910, this 442 acre block was partitioned into a further four sections. Ōmāhu 1B4, and its 105 acres, was awarded to Hēmi Nuku and Te Rehunga Tomoana.33

Māori Land Court records show that in 1964, an application was made by the owners to set aside a partition for a papakāinga for the whānau. However, while not clearly explained as to

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30 The land block with which this review is focussed on
31 Great great grandfather of Wiramina Ngāhuka and Nuku II.
33 No information has been located on Te Rehunga Tomoana.
why, this application was not ratified. Instead the land remained under the status of Māori freehold land and that section, comprising approximately 5 acres, that the application referred to, became Ōmāhu 1B4B3. IB4 now shows as 40.41 hectares or 99.8 acres.

Parsons also describes how in 1892, Hēmi Nuku (my great grandfather) along with Hōhepa Umurangi, Hēmi’s first cousin, were awarded 990 acres of the neighbouring Pukehāmoamoa block (2002d, p. 242). However, by 2001, it appears that this had all been sold.

Figure 9. The area where the original wharenui stood.

Parsons refers to a meeting house that stood close to a group of macrocarpa trees on the hill but that this was demolished shortly after World War Two (2002f, p. 389). My father Tāmihana Nuku (personal communication, 2007) explained that there had once been a thriving community at Kāwera consisting of about eight whānau all working in a cow milking business. Unfortunately, around the time of the second World War, the community could not meet the demands of their contracts for town supply and had to shut down the business and move closer to Hastings or other areas, to seek alternative work. Baker (1965) confirms that 1943-44 was a bad season for the milking industry and rationing was enforced. Whānau members can remember despite having a great number of cattle on site, there was not a drop of milk in the

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34 Looking from Taihape Road, this is the ridge behind the waharoa standing on Kāwera block today.
house. Statistics also show that “from 1945 to 1961, the proportion of the total Maori population residing in the urban areas almost doubled” (Pool, 1977, p. 199).

**Summary**

Each book or journal found that offered any information at all about Kāwera was greatly appreciated because it was almost like looking for a needle in a haystack! Patrick Parson’s work with the Historical Committee of RD9 was extremely helpful and is the backbone behind this chapter. He went into great depth about the Ōmāhu block bordering Taihape Road and I also appreciated that in comparison to other literature, it was easy to read.

Angela Ballara’s thesis revealed a massive amount of information on Ngāti Kahungunu history as a whole including 550 pages of readings, maps and masses of footnotes. As with all other books except Parsons, trying to skim read through huge text such as this to find anything at all relating to Kāwera was a difficult task. I then had to actually read the bulk of the thesis. In saying that though, this thesis comes highly recommended and personally I know of a number of researchers who have and continue to, utilise Ballara’s thesis to assist them in their work.

While other books such as Buchanan provided interesting and even vital information on land sites and excellent maps, there is very little literature anywhere close to that offered by Parsons and Ballara.

Another difficulty experienced was that of ascertaining where particular land sites were. While Ballara and Buchanan provided a number of historical maps, in many cases, some of the pā sites or other locations did not feature on these maps. Even in regard to Kāwera and surrounding blocks, it was difficult to determine where particular sites were because there was no current day ‘road’ for me to use as a guide. Another perplexing issue was keeping a track of where Ngāi Te Upokoiri dwelled as they moved constantly and in most circumstances there was no apparent reason for the relocation. One possible reason for their nomadic nature was their warring nature and their need to avoid reprisal from other hapū or iwi seeking utu.
The review may be disjointed in some parts because it refers to people or events that may seem unconnected to the topic, that is, Kāwera but even if there is some indistinct relation, the information has been included.

Further research is needed to fill the years after 1892 as well as further fine tuning and searching of the history relating to the occupation of Kāwera, to the wharenui that once stood on this block and its thriving community, and also, to whakapapa and waiata that have survived the generations. It also appears that further analysis of the Land Court records needs to be undertaken in terms of the original size of this block as defined by the Court in 1890 in comparison to that shown in their records today.

Finally and surprisingly, Kāwera was awarded to twelve people and of that twelve, eleven descend, not from Ngāi Te Upokoiri, but Ngāti Hinepare. Why this was surprising was because all of the history located to this point had centred on Ngāi Te Upokoiri’s occupation and affiliations to Kāwera. Ngāti Hinepare descend from Hikateko, son of Hineiao and Te Rangitaumaha. Hikateko inherited from his father, “the north-east portion of Lake Oingo and the lands extending to the Tutaekuri river taking in Pirau, Moteo and Tuhirangi” (Parsons, 2002a, p. 40).
CHAPTER FOUR: LITERATURE REVIEW PART B

*Kia heke iho rā i ngā tūpuna, kātahi ka tika.*
*If handed down by the ancestors, then it would be correct.*

The majority of the following is based around evidence provided by Wiramina Ngāhuka, also known as Wiramina Ngāhuka Tokopounamu, during the Ōmāhu Land Hearings in 1889 and the Pīrau Land Hearings in 1888.

**Background on Wiramina Ngāhuka**

Wiramina Ngāhuka is my tipuna kuia, my great-great grandmother.

Parsons spoke very highly of Wiramina in regard to her knowledge of the local hapū and iwi (personal communication, 2008). “*Wiramina was Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu and a formidable historian*” (Dept. Conservation, 1997, p.12). She was called upon a number of times to give evidence in land court hearings in the late 1800s relating to Ōmāhu, Wharerangi, Pīrau and other local land blocks, and her oral histories can be found in various literature, ranging from land claim research to historical resources.

It is estimated that Wiramina was born between 1835 and 1840 in Pūkiokio which is located along Omarunui Road opposite the area of Dartmoor of today, near Puketapu.

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36 Tokopounamu was Wiramina’s grandfather on her father’s side.
Wiramina identified herself as Ngāti Māhu, Ngāi Tūrāwaha, Ngāi Tangihia, Ngāti Hinepare and Ngāi Takiora. She was born at Pūkiokio and the second child of her father, Tahana Pura of Ngāti Māhu, and Roka Mariri, of Ngāti Hinepare. The whānau moved often staying at various kāinga but in the main, lived between Wharerangi and Kāwera equally. Wiramina recalls living at Wharerangi, Mōteo and Paepaetahi and when in the locality of Kāwera, they lived at Te Tapere, Te Marumaru, Tawhitinui (on the western shore of Lake Ōingo) and Te Koutu, all of which were in close proximity to Lake Ōingo, a lake well known for its abundance of eels. Throughout Wiramina’s evidence, it was obvious this tūtohu whenua held great significance to her.

Ko Hareti Te Kuru, ko Ani Amomo, ko Rewi Haukore, ko Apikaera Te Herepao. Ko enei he papa kotahi, he whaea kotahi, he taina, he tuakana noku ... (Ngāhuka, 1888)

_Hareti Te Kuru, Ani Amomo, Rewi Haukore and Apikaera Te Herepao are from the same parents. They are my elder and younger siblings._

Wiramina’s older sister, Hareti Te Kuru married Paraone Kuare from Petane. Following Wiramina was her sister Ani Amomo, who married Manahi Te Aro from Kohupātiki, followed by Rewi Haukore, ancestor of the Eden whānau from Waiohiki. Rewi married Atata Kaitote from Petane. Finally her youngest sister, Apikaera Te Herepao married Hohaia Te Hoata.

Wiramina’s father, Tahana Pura died at Ōtīre which is approximately 6 miles from where he was buried at Petane. After that her mother, Roka Mariri went to stay at Petane until her death and she was buried at Wharerangi. While no dates are provided, it is surmised that Wiramina was a young girl at the time of her parents’ deaths because she was then brought up until ‘womanhood’ by Nōpera Tumuhaere, her father’s elder brother.

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37 Iwi and hapū beginning with the letter ‘T’ are preceded by Ngāi rather than Ngāti except Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Piripi Nuku, personal communication, 2009)

38 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing – Original Manuscript, 1888, ‘Kei roto ano i te Riihi o Piirau, tera atu ano etahi atu ...’ (First line of page – no page number)
Na Nopera au i whakatupu, he tuakana a Nopera no Te Tahana. Ko te wahine a Nopera ko Ruta Tawhitimanuka. I noho ano raua ki Wharerangi. Na raua ahau i whakatupu. (Ngāhuka, 1888).[^39]

*Nopera raised me. Nopera was the elder brother of Te Tahana. Nopera’s wife was Ruta Tawhitiinui. They also lived at Wharerangi. They raised me.*

They lived between Kāwera and various kāinga along the Tūtaekurī. Wiramina married Nuku II. “He was a Ngati Hineiao, Ngati Takiora, Ngati Mahu and Ngai Tangihia” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 324). They had one surviving child, Hēmi Nuku who was born in 1852 (based on the fact he died in 1942 at the age of 90). I heard some years ago that there may have been another two children but they died. No supporting information has been found about these said children. It seems that Nuku II died reasonably young and Wiramina remarried later in life to a Tūwharetoa man, Reihana Te Aonui (P. Parsons, personal communication, February 9, 2010).

Wiramina had an impressive knowledge of whakapapa, of traditional history and of local land sites (P. Parsons, personal communication, February 9, 2010). This was not only because she was brought up by the ‘old people’ but because she walked, and worked, these lands. Parsons commented as a historian himself, Wiramina was considered a ‘reliable’ witness, in that she maintained her version of local history throughout a range of court hearings. She held a special status that ranked her high in te ao Māori. Wiramina was highly respected and very knowledgeable and we are extremely fortunate she made this contribution to her people, her descendants.

Accounts of Wiramina’s life at Kāwera will be discussed later in this section.

[^39]: Native Land Court, Pirau Hearing – Original Manuscript, 1888, ‘Kaore ano au i korero ki te kooti i tae au ki Raoraoroa’ (First line of page – no page number)
Wiramina died in 1903 (P. Parsons, personal communication, February 9, 2010) and is said to be buried at Pāparakaitangi cemetery at Wharerangi (Mike Nuku, personal communication, October 11, 2008). It is estimated she was in her early 70s but this estimate is based on her giving birth to Hēmi in her twenties.

Kāwera

When using the name ‘Kāwera’, it became apparent that Wiramina was referring to the northeast part of Lake Ōingo, that is, the portion inherited by Ngāti Hinepare tipuna, Hikateko, as many of the key landmarks she cited were near or around this lake and in other areas outside the boundaries of the ‘Kāwera’ block known today. “Hineteao’s claim was in Kawera proper which did not extend to Oingo. Beyond that was Hikateko’s and Hinehore’s” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 324).

Figure 10. Map showing how the Ōmāhu block was divided into four major sections in May, 1892.  
(The shaded red area refers to the approximate size of the Kāwera block (IB4B2) of today).

Wiramina is actually referring to this area, formally part of ‘Kāwera’ until the Land Court hearings in 1889.

40 Parsons, 2002, p. 82
41 While the red area signifies an approximate size of Kāwera today, it was obvious that Wiramina, when referring to ‘Kāwera’ was referring to all of the Ōmāhu blocks, including Lake Ōingo and surrounding land.
For the purposes of this section, the table below outlines the name and details of the land areas that will be identified and are illustrated on the following map:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term used in this research</th>
<th>Official title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu block</td>
<td>Ōmāhu 1, 2, 3C, 3D and 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu 1</td>
<td>IB4 (Ōmāhu 1 as shown in map below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāwera</td>
<td>IB4B2 (refer to figure 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāwera Papakāinga</td>
<td>IB4B3 (refer to figure 8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Map Image]

*Figure 11. The Kāwera block (IB4B2) including the area reserved as a papakāinga (IB4B3). The whānau urupā has also been inserted for this project.*

Wiramina outlined the following boundaries of the Ōmāhu block which included Ōmāhu 1, 2, 3C, 3D and 4, to the Māori Land Court on the 14th of April, 1892. She said,

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... they begin at Ngamahanga, then to Poukereru, then to Ohineumu, Oreore, Parahamuti, Rangatahi, Timutimu, then Lake Runanga to Upokopaoa, then towards the east over the Kaingahapuku ridge to the Ohiwia stream beyond, to Lake Kautuku, then across Oingo Lake to ______ to Te Totara then towards the northwest, along the boundary of the Omarunui block to Te Tohu, then it joins the boundary of Pirau blocks then along that boundary and then to Ngamahanga, the starting point.

Figure 12. Historical map of the area between the Tūtaekūrī and Ngaruroro rivers adapted from four maps taken from Buchanan’s ‘Māori History and Place Names of Hawke’s Bay’.

Ōmāhu 1 comprised two sections - Kāwera Moana, the land on the south side of the Taihape Road which was mainly swamp (Lake Rūnanga side of the road and the section this research is focused on); and Kāwera Hiwi, the hilly side north of the Taihape Road.
All accounts support the fact that this block was principally a place for catching eels. Wiramina resided there permanently with Nōpera in a wharau (temporary shelter) and at the time Ngāi Te Upokoiri returned to Heretaunga after their 30 year exodus to the Manawatū (between 1830 and 1860), they found her at Kāwera. These facts were to prove to the Court the concept of ‘ahi kā’ i.e. she had continued to maintain regular occupation thereby ‘keeping the home fires burning’ on Kāwera.

At some point, other relatives began frequenting Kāwera. Wiramina’s brothers and sisters, and Te Raro Tawhana and his children were amongst those listed by Wiramina. The children were Nuku II, Tuakana and Paeroa.

After the Pakiaka battle in 1857, Wiramina lived between Te Pīrau, Mōteo and Omarunui. Kāwera was not abandoned altogether however, as Wiramina and her whānau returned on a regular basis to acquire food such as pigs and eels.

Wiramina claimed Ōmāhu and other blocks through ancestry, occupation, mana over the land and bravery.


E mohio ana au ki te poraka whenua i te aroaro o te kooti nei. E whai paanga ana hoki au ki tenei whenua aku take i whai paanga ai au ki tenei whenua he take tupuna, he ahika, he toa, he mana, ko Turauwha te tupuna, no Turauwha tonu ake tenei whenua. (Ngāhuka, 1888)  

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43 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, Keehi A & C - Pirau’
Wiramina Ngāhuka is my name. My homes are Wharerangi, Mōteo and Paepaetahi.

My sub-tribes are Ngāi Tūrauwhā, Ngāi Tangihia, Ngāti Māhu and Ngāti Hinepare.

That sums up my sub-tribes.

I know about the block before this court. I too have a right to lay claim to this land and the reasons I have a right to this land is because of my ancestor. He had the right to occupy this land, he was a warrior, a man of great integrity and worth; Tūrauwha was my ancestor. Tūrauwha owned this land.

Tūrauwha

“From the lips of prisoners came stories of rich plains, and of rivers abounding with fish, to the south, where from his tower on Otatara’s heights Tūrauwha held sway from the sea to the western ranges” (Mitchell, 1944, p. 113).

Figure 13. Photograph of Taradale and Napier from Hikurangi, the uppermost pā from Ōtātara.
According to Pat Parsons (personal communications, October 2009\textsuperscript{45}), to better understand this chief, one needed to contemplate Tūrauwhā’s status and how it was attained.

There was an old saying and in line with the opening quote, that when Tūrauwhā stood on the upper pā of Hikurangi, all of the land that he could see, from the coast, all the way up to the Kāweka Ranges, was his territory. As to how he achieved this mana, one only has to look at his whakapapa to see that he belonged to the two principal tangata whenua of this region.

\textsuperscript{44} All whakapapa sourced from Wiramina Ngāhuka’s evidence for Pirau Case, 1888; Nuku whānau records and Pat Parson’s records.

\textsuperscript{45} Interview between Patrick Parsons and Pōmare Sidney, student of EIT Hawke’s Bay, 2009 (Permission granted by both parties in 2010).
Tūrauwhā’s father Kearoa, was of Ngāti Awa who descends from Awanuiārangi, from Toikairākau. Tūrauwhā’s mother, Te Kuratawhiti II, was of Ngāti Whatumāmoa. Ngāti Whatumāmoa descend from Māhu Tapoanui who Ballara (1991) discussed, and the belief that Māhu did not come to Aotearoa by way of waka (canoe) - his people were one of the ancient people of this land. “Mahu Tapoanui was the very beginning of our people – a taniwha (chief, something or someone awesome) or god ... Ngati Mahu and Ngai Turauwha were one and the same people ... Ngati Awa emigrated there from the East. Ngati Mahu were on the land” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 314).

Therefore Tūrauwhā was of high rank. His father descended from the senior line of Ngāti Awa and his mother from the senior line of Ngāti Whatumāmoa. Furthermore, Parsons, on contemplating the preservation of Tūrauwhā’s genealogy as in the case of other rangatira (chief) lines, surmised that although many of his descendants fled the area, or were killed, Tūrauwhā’s genealogy has survived the generations showing his ‘special status’.

**The Maruiwi**

A story I learned of as a child living at Te Pohue on the Napier-Taupō Road, was that of the Maruiwi people. Unbeknown to me at the time, this story related to my ancestors and those too, of Tūrauwhā, six generations before his time.

The Department of Conservation (1997, pp. 17-18) and Parsons (personal communication, 2009); detailed the events. Approximately 500 years ago, Ngāti Awa occupied the pā of Kapuarangi at Whakatāne. Circumstances occurred that eventuated in one of Awanuiārangi’s grandsons, Maruiwi, having to leave his home and seek out new territory to settle on. He decided that he and his group would head for Ahuriri where his brother, Koaupari, was already living at Ōtātara pā. However, camping down the Rangitaiki river near Rūnanga on the Taupō Road, they clashed with Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Maruiwi was the victor of this conflict, killing a number of the enemy war party, including two sons of Tūwharetoa. It is said the bodies were piled up under a tree and so the spot was named Ōwhakatihi. At Pūrotu, by the Mohaka river,
Maruiwi’s people built a large oven and incinerated the bones of the Tūwharetoa victims. This oven was named Umuariki because of the chiefs that perished.

Obviously Tūwharetoa were not to let this outrage go unavenged and caught up with Maruiwi’s group again at the northern side of the Mohaka river. Some of Maruiwi’s people were killed but they managed to flee. Crossing the Mohaka river and climbing Titiokura, they camped south of Lake Pohue near Rukumoana Road of today. Nearing sunset, the party had just set up camp when one of their scouts alerted the group that Tūwharetoa were near. Maruiwi then made the decision to send his son, Pākaumoana and a few followers towards Waiohinganga river (Esk river), on to Ahuriri, while he and the remainder of the group took another path. However, due to the darkness and high bracken and the fact they were being chased by Tūwharetoa, Maruiwi and his group plunged into a gorge called Pokopoko. Those who didn’t fall or get pushed from the force of the group behind them, were killed by Tūwharetoa warriors. It is said the Mangaone river ran red with blood after this tragedy.

**Te Heke o Maruiwi ki te Po**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko te heke o Maruiwi</th>
<th>The migration of Maruiwi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toremi ki te reinga</td>
<td>That descended into Hades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I whakakopaia mai i Taraiti</td>
<td>It fled from Taraiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I te maunga i te hu</td>
<td>And when caught on the hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka hoki te wai o Pakiteao</td>
<td>The waters of Pakiteao began to flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te heke o Maruiwi</td>
<td>The migration of Maruiwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toremi ki te reinga</td>
<td>Thus descended into Hades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I a Ruaimoko e ...</td>
<td>Forced by Ruaimoko.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mitchell, 1972, p. 188)

Oblivious to this tragic outcome, Pākaumoana, Maruiwi’s son, and his small unit headed towards the Waiohinganga river, and on to Heipipi pā to seek refuge with the great tohunga and chief of that area, Tūnui. Pākaumoana eventually married Tūnui’s sister, Hinetū thus
cementing his right to live in Heretaunga. Tūnui was of Ngāti Whatumāmoa. Koapari, Pākaumoana’s uncle, in the meantime had settled in Heretaunga and “the old people say he was the builder of the original Otatara Pa” (Dept. Conservation, 1997, p. 16). Therefore Ngāti Whatumāmoa occupied Heipipi Pā and Ngāti Awa, Ōtātara. Pākaumoana had connections to both of these principal pā through his wife and uncle.

Consequently had it not been for Maruiwi’s insight and the decision to send his son along an alternative pathway to Ahuriri, Tūrauwhā would not have been born some five generations later, and the successive generations from his time.

“I rongo au he tangata toa a Turauwha ...” (I heard Tūrauwhā was a warrior ...) (Ngāhuka, 1888). According to Ngāti Hinepare kaumātua, Hohaia Te Hoata, Tūrauwhā’s “… bones and those of his successors to Hikateko are in Tahoka Cave outside this block, on the other side of Tutaekuri opposite Tuhirangi block” (Te Hoata, 1889, p. 418).

Rākaihikuroa

Tamatea Arikinui = Iwipūpū
Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine
Ruatapuwahine = Kahukuranui = Tūteihonga
Kahutāpere = Rongomaitara
Rākaihikuroa

Rākaipāka
Tāmanuhiri

Taruikuta
Tarakitai
Tūpurupuru
Taraia

Tamatea, Kahungunu’s father, settled in Kaitāia for some time after sailing around the island on a waka built and named ‘Takitimu’ after the original vessel. He married three sisters, the last one being Iwipūpū, granddaughter of Porourangi, Ngāti Porou. However, the local people grew to dislike him so he relocated to Tauranga which is where Kahungunu was raised. He also

46 Native Land Court, Pirau Hearing, 1888, ‘Ka haere tonu a Tamatea, a Patea, a Whanganui, ka tae ki Whanganui ...’
traversed the seas as his father had done and along the way, married six wives\(^47\), the final wife being Rongomaiwahine from Te Māhia.

From this union, Kahukuranui was born. He married Ruatapuwahine and later Tūteihonga. She had been married to Tūpōuri, great grandson of Maruiwi but he had been killed by Te Pōrangahau near Ōmāhu. Tūteihonga laid the challenge that whoever avenged her husband’s death, would gain her hand in marriage. Kahukuranui rallied his team of warriors and they completed the task. Tūteihonga agreed to marry him. This was one of many marriages between Ngāti Kahungunu and the original tangata whenua of Heretaunga.

Rākaihikuroa, had high hopes for his son, Tūpurupuru, so that when Rākaihikuroa began to see chiefly potential in his twin nephews, Tarakiuta and Tarakitai, Rākaihikuroa plotted to have them murdered. Kahutāpere, father of the twins, used special karaki enabling him to establish that their murderer lived in the house of Tūpurupuru. The house was attacked by Kahutāpere’s whānau, including Rākaihikuroa’s half brother, Rākaipāka, and Tūpurupuru was killed in the struggle. Rākaihikuroa was so overcome with grief, particularly because of the part he played in his son’s death, that he left Tūranganui for Nukutaurua.

On hearing that Kahuparoro and Hauhau, two of the chiefs from Nukutaurua, were heading to Tūranga, Rākaihikuroa said to them, *“When you get to Turanga, you are not to disturb the bones of Tupurupuru, but let him rest in peace at Turanga”* (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 406). However, they ignored Rākaihikuroa’s instructions and collected Tūpurupuru’s bones. They then took the bones back to Māhia, fashioned some into fish hooks, and went out to sea to make use of them. *“Matakana was the name of the fishing place. They threw the anchor over on arrival and Kahuparoro’s line was put down at the same time”* (Ngāhuka, 1889). It was not long when Kahuparoro caught a hāpuku (*NZ groper*) and as he pulled it in, he chanted a karakia to make the task easier. Tāmanuhiri, half brother of Rākaihikuroa, was another on board that waka. When he heard Kahuparoro’s karakia, Tāmanuhiri realised the hooks were made from

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\(^47\) Within the history books, there are variations on the number of wives Kahungunu had.
Tūpurupuru’s bones. He hit himself on the nose, causing it to bleed and laid on the bottom of the canoe, groaning. Thinking his passenger was ill, Kahuparoro returned Tāmanuhiri to shore where Tāmanuhiri ran to alert his whānau what had happened. The next day when Kahuparoro prepared to go fishing again, he and his people were attacked and killed by Rākaihikuroa’s whānau.

Rākaihikuroa then heard of more of Tupurupuru’s bones being used as a treadle on a type of cultivating instrument. Rākaihikuroa’s people went to Māhanga where Hauhau’s hapū were using the implement to dig for fern-root and demanded the implement. The implement was obtained and Hauhau and his people were slain. This fight was named Hauhau after the chief (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 407).

Mistakenly, Rākaihikuroa thought this was the end of the violation of his sons’ bones. However, he received word that some had also been taken to Te Wairoa. Taraia and some of his people travelled there and avenged the insult on his older brother, at the same time, taking many canoes. A warrior named Rākaimoari managed to escape though, taking some of the bones down to Aropaoanui.

Taraia I
Taraia, his wife, Hinepare, and others travelled down to Aropaoanui by land while another contingent of his people went by sea. They arrived at the east side of the Arapaoanui river mouth and set up camp. Rākaimoari was on the other side of the mouth, on the bank near the pā, Te Puku o te Wheki. He and Taraia saw each other and Rākaimoari challenged Taraia to a fight. In his anger, Taraia threw a stone at the challenger, saying an incantation over the stone. It hit Rākaimoari’s adorned topknot causing it to fall to the ground. “Taraia said, ‘This is your head dress and tomorrow your body will lie there’” (Ngāhuka, 1889).

The next morning, Taraia and his people attacked Rākaimoari’s pā but the tangata whenua fought them off to the point, Taraia’s side retreated for fear of defeat. Taraia’s wife knew her
husband and the warriors had given up, so she stood on a rock in the sea and lamented the following, “Waia o nga tāne! Ākuanei te hanga kino o tēnei wahine ka mātakitakitia e ērā ngā tāngata!” 48 “She took to her, a water-vessel which contained the spirit called Takotako-oranga and broke the vessel and her relations thought she was killing one of the enemy” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 407). This incited the men folk to fight on and they defeated Rākaimoari and his army. Taraia and his people continued their journey down to Ahuriri.

Before Taraia’s arrival, the mouth of Ngaruroro belonged to Tūrauwhā. However Taraia had already laid claim to that while still in Nukutaurua, after hearing that it was a great source of kai, hence the name, ‘Te Ipu o Taraia’.


Tōtara was the person who travelled from here to Gisborne. On his arrival at Nukutaurua, he found Taraia. Tōtara told Taraia that the people of Heretaunga has two main food sources. They were Te Whanganui a Orotu and Ngaruroro. Then Tawhao and Taraia made claims. Tawhao claimed his garden at Te Whanganui a Orotu and Taraia claimed the ‘Iron Pot’.

However there were some formidable undertakings ahead for Taraia. Heipipi was ruled by the chief, Tūnui, infamous for his magical powers. Taraia knew he had to conquer this pā as it was one of the largest in Ahuriri. He had some of his men dress in dark garments and lie on the

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48 “Fatigue of the men! Presently will the evil works of this woman be gazed upon by those other men!”
49 A chief of Heipipi pā, Ahuriri
50 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘... au. Ko te matenga o tona taina o Tupurupuru ...’
sand, while he had others thrash about in the sea so as to resemble a large school of fish. The sentry at Heipipi pā seeing this sight, alerted his people, “Upokohue, upokohue!” (Mitchell, 1972, p. 112). “The people of the pa feasted their eyes upon what they thought were a gift from Tangaroa, the gates of the pa were opened, and the inhabitants came down to cut up the fish” (Huata, 1983, p. 59). However, as they did so, Taraia and his warriors stood upright and attacked them. However, Tūnui chanted a sacred karakia and his people slipped through the hands of their attackers. Taraia did not conquer Heipipi but he knew he had to make peace with this powerful rangatira, Tūnui. “Not one of the people of Heipipi was killed. Peace was made with Tunui.” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 328).

According to Pat Parsons, then Tūnui provided them with a feast of pāua which they took to eat near the foot of Ōtātara, approximately near where EIT Hawke’s Bay now stands. After that, Taraia and his warriors besieged Ōtātara for several days to no avail. Taraia noticed if Ōtātara was being attacked, the warriors within Hikurangi, the upper pā, would traverse down and assist. Taraia then decided his men would concentrate all of their strength on Hikurangi which eventually fell. Parsons suggested it could well have been because the people were actually starving to death inside the pā. Then Taraia turned his might to Ōtātara. Many from Hikurangi had escaped to its ally pā and the tangata whenua immediately commenced on digging their trenches even deeper making it more difficult to penetrate their stockades. As with his seige on Heipipi, Taraia’s attack on Ōtātara was thwarte and he knew he had to make peace. Parsons (2009) concluded that it was highly likely that Tūrauwhā agreed to Taraia occupying the mouth of the Ngaruroro and Tukituki rivers at that time. Taraia journeyed back to Te Wairoa to collect the women and children of his people but as a twist of fate, on their return approaching Ōtātara, Tūrauwhā mistook the group for an even larger group of warriors and made the decision to flee the pā for his country pā at Tuhirangi. This gave Taraia free reign to his kingdom.

51 Translated as ‘Blackfish’.
The account continues with Tūrauwhā and his people fleeing to Puketitiri because birds as a source of kai were plentiful in the winter months. Landless and living in misery, Taraia ‘gave his nephew Rangituehu to Tūrauwhā and said, “Take this our child to be a chief over you”. Tūrauwhā did so and eventually Rangituehu married his ‘foster mother’, Rākaitekura, daughter of Tūrauwhā. This was to be one of many marriages between the two iwi” (P. Parsons, personal communication, 2010).

Contrary to other historical writings, Wiramina’s version of the Ōtātara Pā battle saw Taraia I and Tūrauwhā in partnership, besieging Ngāti Awa and Rangitāne at Ōtātara. These latter tribes were defeated but some of their people managed to escape to the southern side of the Ngaruroro River. “I kī ra au i whakahoa a Taraia raua ko Turauwha ki te patu i a Ngati Awa ...” (I said that Taraia and Tūrauwhā united to fight Ngāti Awa ...) (Ngāhuka, 1888). Taraia I did not gain any authority over Tūrauwhā’s land through this battle. He did, however, attack and defeat Ngāti Awa and Rangitāne on the other side of the Ngaruroro and gained authority over their lands including Raukawa which is near Roto-a-tara and Te Aute. “I deny that Taraia by conquest of Ngati Awa took all the lands in this district. He got no lands whatsoever through it. I repeat it. He (Taraia) got no lands I say again within Tūrauwha’s boundary“ (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 316).

“Taraia I came from Turanga. He left that place on account of the death of Tupurupuru, his younger brother. He was driven away by Rakaipaka. His children were here and had intermarried with Tūrauwhā’s descendants” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 317). This indicates that Taraia’s nephew, Te Rangituehu had already married Tūrauwhā’s daughter, Rākaitekura and perhaps too, that Taraia’s son, Te Rangitaumaha had married Te Rangituehu’s daughter, Hineiao. Therefore an alliance would have already been established before Taraia’s arrival in Heretaunga.

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52 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘Kia roa noa atu a Taraia ki Ngaruroro e noho ana ...’
The differences between the two versions continue with the account that because of the battle at Ōtātara, Tūrauwhā lost his mana and his lands. However throughout Wiramina’s evidence in relation to whichever land block she was fighting for, when the subject of Taraia taking over the lands of Tūrauwhā arose, she emphatically rejected any claim that this in fact happened.

Throughout Wiramina’s evidence, both at the Ōmāhu and Pīrau land court hearings, she ardently denied that Taraia I gained any rights to the land on the northern side of the Ngaruroro river⁵³.

Kaore he take o Taraia ki tera taha o Ngaruroro. Kua kiia ra e au, “Ka hinga a Otatara, ka riro i a Turauwha tera wahi o Otatara, ka haere a Taraia ki tera taha o Ngaruroro noho ai.

Ko taku korero e korero nei au, ka mutu te whawhai i Otatara, ka whai mana a Turauwha ki ona ake whenua, a, ka whai mana a Taraia ki nga whenua o Ngati Awa. (Ngāhuka, 1888)⁵⁴

_Taraia had no business to that side of Ngaruroro. As I said earlier, when Otatara fell, Turauwha maintained authority over Otatara and Taraia went to the other side of the Ngaruroro to live._

_The statement I am making is that when the battle at Otatara was over, Turauwha obtained authority over the lands of Ngati Awa._

Māori historian, Hohaia Te Hoata of Ngāti Hinepare, gave similar accounts in that Tūrauwhā and Taraia fought alongside each other against Ngāti Awa and Rangitāne (Dept. Conservation, 1997, p. 25). Wiramina cited the following waiata at the Ōmāhu Hearing in 1889:

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⁵³ The Ngaruroro river flowed on the Pakipaki side of the plains until the 1867 flood.
⁵⁴ Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘... ai a Taraia ki tera taha o Ngaruroro. I noho hoki ...’
Te Waiata o Te Whatu

E tama e tangi nei, he tangi kai pea
Kaore nei e tama he kainga i a taua
Tena nga kainga kai nga wehewehe a o tipuna
Ko Te Huhuti ano te taha ki Ruahine
Ko Te Rerehu ko Tamanuhiri ki runga ki Kawera
Ko Hineiao ano ki tona tauranga ki Tawhitinui
Ko Hinekai ano ki tona waiu ki Te Rotokare
Ko Haumahurua ano ki Ohiwia
Ki Te Mokoparae
Ka tau mai Taraia
Nga ngutu awa Kahawai kai Ngaruroro
Ka whati mai o tipuna
Ki runga te tahuna tapapa noa ai
Hou he ra e ao ana
Ka whakamanawa mai ki runga ki nga hiwi
Nga uru rakau kai Ngatokorua a Houmea
Kai tapu a Tira (Puketitiri)
Ehara e tama he kaanga ahí hokotahi
Kia horo te haere
Ngā taumata ki Te Poraiti
Ko te kainga tino i pepehatia e o tipuna
Ko rua te paia ko Te Whanga
He kainga to te ata
He kainga ka awatea
He kainga ka ahiahi e tama e i

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55 Ōmāhu Case, NMB 18, 1889, insert - no page number
Wiramina stated that Te Whatu was an ancestor of hers from Tāmahuki (son of Tūrauwhā). The words were read out along with the following translation to the Land Court on Monday, the 22nd of July, 1889. Wiramina confirmed the words were correct, all except for one – ‘whati’ (driven away). She said instead it should have been ‘haere’, ‘Your ancestors went away’. It is also noted that whati can be translated as “turn and go away” (Williams, 1971, p. 491).

The following translation was also provided:
My son who is crying, are you crying for food?
There is no land my son, that is ours
There the lands which were divided by your ancestors
To Te Huhuti the side at Ruahine
Ko Te Rerehu and Tamanuhiri at and upon Kawera
Hineiao to her landing place at Tawhitinui
Hinekai to her mothers milk at Te Rotokare
Haumahurua to Ohiwia and Te Mokoparae
When Taraia came to the kahawai river mouth at Ngaruroro
Your ancestors were driven away
To the shingle banks and there squatted without right
A new day dawned
They would take breathing time upon the hills
And the dense forests at Ngatokorua a Houmea
At Tapu a Tira (Puketitiri)
Not there my son once the fire burned
Go quickly to the mounds at Te Poraiti
That is the land in a proverb by your ancestors
The storehouse that never closed is Te Whanga
A meal in the morning
A meal at noon
A meal in the evening, my son.
Wiramina said “It is not a song of conquest – but Whatu indicates to what places his grandson had a right. The grandson was Te Iho-a-te-Rangi” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 320). When being interviewed by Aperahama Te Kume, Wiramina added that not all of the waiata had been read out. He omitted,

We are not the descendants of Taraia. The land is permanent, the people are also permanent. We are permanent people (natives of the soil). We are the root (principals within) of Heretaunga. When people ask you to whom it belongs, you reply. If asked who you are, say that. (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 327)

Ehara taua i te heke i a Taraia e
He whenua tipu he tangata tipu – tonu
He takere taua no roto no Heretaunga
Ma te tangata e ui mai ki a koe
Na wai ra e kiia atu e koe
Na Tangaroanui a te kore
Na Maikanui a Te Whatu
Na Hoakehu ano a Haumaitawhiti
Na Orotu a Whatumamoa
Na Tamaahuroa a Ruakukuru
Nana te awa poka Hauhaupounamu

We are not of the migration of Taraia
The land is permanent, the people also permanent
We are the principals within Heretaunga
When people ask you to whom it belongs, you reply
By Tangaroanui is te kore
By Maikanui is Te Whatu
By Hoakehu is Haumaitawhiti
By Orotu is Whatumama
By Tamaahuroa is Ruakukuru
He made the water course Hauhaupounamu\footnote{Provided by M. Kemp, October 2010; Ballara, 1990, p. 116}

\textbf{Te Hika a Papauma and Te Hika a Ruarauhanga}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c c c c c}
Ruarauhanga & = & Rākaihikuroa & = & Papauma \\
& & & & Tāmanuhiri \\
Taraia I & = & Hinepare \\
& & & & Raupare
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

It would be apt at this point to discuss the two main factions of Ngāti Kahungunu people living in Heretaunga at that time. At this point, reference is made to Parson’s research for the Wai 400 claim, where he outlined the infighting between the 19 children Taraia I’s father, Rākaihikuroa, had from his four wives. From his marriage to his second wife, Papauma, derived the term, ‘Te Hika a Papauma’, and her descendants who lived “between the old Ngaruroro river and the Tutaekuri river and overlapped the Tukituku near Haumoana where their principal pa, Te Kauhanga, was located” (Parsons, 1991, p. 28). The other main grouping was named ‘Te Hika a Ruarauhanga’, after Rākaihikuroa’s third wife. Her descendants lived “on the land north of the Ngaruroro as far as Te Waiohinganga which included Te Whanganui a Orotu” (Parsons, 1997, p. 30).

In relation to these two divisions, Wiramina then discussed in great detail, the story of Te Raupare, daughter of Taraia I, at the time he was building a new whare to be named ‘Te Raroakiaki’ at Herepū (in the Twyford area) (Buchanan, 1973, p.24). When Taraia was building the house, he ordered Raupare, his daughter, to be put in the post-hole “as a sacrifice to the gods” (Buchanan, 1973, p.24). Ariari, a relation to Taraia I from Rākahikuroa’s second marriage.
to Papauma, observing what was planned, took the child and hid her under his clothes and placed her clothes and a stone in the hole (Parsons, 1997, p. 30). Taraia, mistakenly thinking Raupare was in the hole, inserted the post. The child was thus saved and Ariari took her into the bush and raised her. On her reaching adulthood, Ariari married Raupare.

After some time, while pregnant with her first child, Raupare told her husband that she would need a wrap for her new child and returned to Tahunamoa, the home of her parents, Taraia and Hinepare. She arrived at night and found her parents asleep. Her intention was to creep inside the whare and take some clothes unnoticed. However, she knocked her sleeping mother who caught her by the leg and recognised her daughter by her anklets of flax. Hinepare awoke Taraia and he asked Raupare with whom she had been staying with and she replied, with Ariari. Taraia went outside as it was near daylight. He got up on the house and called for his elder half brother, Tuwhakakawhiurangi (Rākaihikuroa’s firstborn from his first marriage to Tūroimata) and said here is your wife (Parsons, 1997, p. 29). Raupare had previously been betrothed to him.

Ko tuku rongo tenei ki o ku pakeke ka ara i te riri a Taraia ki a Ariari. Ka riri ahu mai i reira, whakakonei te riri a Taraia ____ Mangawhero. Kaore au i te mohio mehemea kei hea te parekura a Mangawhero. Koinei te kakari i ngaro nga tangata o Heretaunga nei. Ko Te Raupare te take. (Ngāhuka, 1888)

What I heard from my elder was that Taraia became enraged with Ariari. The contention arose from that incident and Taraia lashed out at Mangawhero. I do not know where the massacre of Mangawhero took place. This was the fight whereby the people of Heretaunga were annihilated. Te Raupare was the reason.

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57 The only reference found for Mangawhero is a stream near Takapau.
58 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘...Te Raupare kia haere ki a Taraia ki te tiki kakahu ...’
This event initiated a feud that would last many generations (Dept. Conservation, 1997, p. 38). "Taraia made war with Ariari whose people were slaughtered" (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 317). Furthermore, the feud included intervention by the Wairarapa peoples when Takaha (grandfather of Te Whatuiāpiti) was killed by Taraia's son, Huikai along with Ariari at Pekapeka, above Pakipaki. Taraia was killed during Takaha’s nephew’s quest for revenge three years after Takaha’s death. Hinepare was spared because she was of Te Hika a Papauma.

It was not until Te Whatuiāpiti of Te Hika a Papaumu, and Te Huhuti of Te Hika a Ruarauhanga married and unified the two divisions, that the feud ceased.

**Rākaitekura**

![Family Tree Diagram]

Wiramina cited her ancestors, Tūrauwhā, Rākaitekura, Hineiao and Hikawera as her right to the Ōmāhu block. Tūrauwhā’s daughter, Rākaitekura married Te Rangituehu, Taraia I’s nephew and from this union four children were born, Hineiao, Tuaka, Kehu and Taraiwhenuakura. Hineiao was the only child with a right to the land this research is focused on as Tuaka went to Waikato and begat Mahinarangi, the ancestress of Ngāti Raukawa; Kehu went to Taupō and Tarawera and never returned; and "Taraiwhenuakura died while catching birds for Hineiao" (Parsons, 1997, p. 26).

A story that Wiramina told in two separate occasions related to Rākaitekura’s husband, Rangitūehu and the relationship he had with his uncle, Taraia I. At some stage, Taraia left the mouth of the river where he lived and went to Raukawa because Rangitūehu struck him with a

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59 Today personified by the tekoteko on Kahukuranui, the whare tipuna of Ōmāhu marae.
kahawai (NZ fish). Rangituehu took his net to where Taraia was living to catch fish. When he arrived at the Ngaruroro, he put out his net and caught some fish. He watched Taraia’s people go and take some of this fish but he was more interested in seeing if Taraia would follow suit. When he did, Rangituehu took hold of a kahawai and said to Taraia, “Did you not say when my father was alive, I had mana and when my father died, his mana would cease” (Ngāhuka, 1888)²⁶⁰ Rangituehu then struck Taraia’s head with the kahawai. Taraia could not say a word because his nephew was correct. Taraia went to Raukawa.

This story about Te Rangituehu striking Taraia’s head with the fish, is an ancient story told by the elders. Those were were alive or knew this story, have since died ... this is not a fictitious story.

Hineiao

Note: The first four children were female, the last four male.

²⁶⁰ Native Land Court, Pirau Hearing, Napier Minute Book 17, p. 166. Taraia had said to a messenger sent by Te Rangituehu, “Go! When his father was alive, he was called a man, a chief but now he is dead, he is a nobody”.
²⁶¹ Native Land Court, Pirau Hearing, 1888, ’Kia roa noa atu a Taraia ki Ngaruroro e noho ana ...’
Hineiao, grand-daughter of Tūrauwhā, married Te Rangitaumaha, the son of Taraia I and Hinepare.

In regard to the remainder of Hineao’s children, Te Huhuti had no right to this land because she married Te Whatuiāpiti and went to live at Roto-a-tara.

When a woman leaves her land, whether she marries or not, and does not return, she loses her right to that land. Paora Kaiwhata’s mother left to marry but she returned regularly so did not lose her right to this land. Huhuti’s boundary was Ngaruroro (south side). She went and married Te Whatuiapiti and got the right to go there. (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 307)

Ruatiti lived at the mouth of the Ōhiwia and by the Ngaruroro river; Te Manu a Toi lived at Te Wairoa, having married Tamateao; and Parengenge lived at Waitamoa, Purimua and Te Whanga. There is no mention of the youngest child, Kaiotea.

Taraia Ruawhare or Taraia II inherited the land previously occupied by Ngāti Ruapīrau, a hapū of Ngāti Whatumāmoa, that is, Ōhiti, Matapiro, Otamauri, Omāhaki and parts of Īkawa and Tunanui. “Okawa and Pukehamaamoa were given to Taraia by his mother Hineiao. So also were Waitio, Torohanga, Ohiti to Ngaruroro and then to Kaitangikehu Tiwhakairo, a plain, Matapiro or Kikowhero river.” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 320)

Only Hineiao’s sons, Hinehore and Hikateko had a right to the land block of Ōmāhu.
Wairoa oti tonu atu. Ko Parengenge noho ki tera taha o Tutaekuri, haere atu ki Te Whanga. Ko Taraia i whakanohoia ki Ngaruroro. (Ngāhuka, 1888)

*Hineia had seven children. Hinehore and Hikateko were the only ones who had any claim to this land. The reason the other five had no claim was because Te Huhuti left. She married Te Whatuia piti and lived at Te Roto a Tara; Te Ruatiti lived at Ohiwia, by the Ngaruroro; Te Manuiti a Toi married a man from Te Wairoa; Parengenge lived on the other side of the Tutaekuri river, heading to Te Whanga; Taraia dwelled at Ngaruroro.*

Wiramina noted that Te Rangitaumaha had a hapū named Ngāi Te Ao who were the descendants of Rangikohea, Te Rangitaumaha’s half brother’s son. When Te Huhuti and Te Whatuiāpiti’s first child, Te Wāwahanga was born, Te Rangitaumaha went to the naming ceremony. Apart from the kākahi he had obtained from Ōingo and Rotokare and huahua manu (*birds that have been preserved in their own fat*) provided by Te Whatuiāpiti, there was no other food. Te Rangitaumaha then offered his hapū, Ngāi Te Ao as food. This showed the mana Wāwahanga had from birth.

My first husband’s whānau have a taiaha (*close quarters combat weapon*) which is named Te Rangitaumaha and was owned by Taraia II. It was handed down to the women of their whānau. At one stage in the early 1980s, when Jim was training to be a part of a welcoming party to Dame Te Ātaira ngikaahu to Hastings, he was given the taiaha, Te Rangitaumaha, to use. We had this taiaha in our home for one year and fortunately I was taught to respect this taonga as if it was Te Rangitaumaha himself. It was not until Jim returned the taiaha to the whānau home, I noticed a sense of loneliness, of loss within our home for quite some time. This research has shown me just how fortunate I was to have that honour, even for just a short time.

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*Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘Ko Pahau i whakanohoia a Turauwha ki tera taha o …’*
*Williams, 1971, p. 83 - Hyridella menziesi, a fresh-water bivalve mollusc.*
Parsons said Hinemanu, the eldest daughter, went to Inland Pātea (2002a, p. 41). From her marriage to Tautahi, Tarahe was born. He returned to Heretaunga and his descendants became Ngāti Hinemanu.

Hineteao, who was raised by her grandmother, Hineiao, inherited part of Pukehāmoamoa and Kāwera from her father. According to Wiramina, Hineteao received Pukehāmoamoa and Te Awahuri ridge. Hineteao shared part of Kāwera with her younger brother, Hineotua. “I hoki mai ko Hineteao, i whakahokia mai ki Kawera, ki tenei poraka. I noho tuturu a Hineteao ki runga ki tenei poraka, a, puta noa ___ ki ona uri.” (Ngāhuka, 1888)  

Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘Ka haere tonu a Tamatea, a Patea, a Whanganui, ka tae ki Whanganui ...’
No information has been found as to whom Hineteao married but from her time, Ngāti Hineiao evolved, of whom Hēmi Nuku, the child of Wiramina Ngāhuka and Nuku II, is a direct descendant of. “Hineteao’s claim was in Kawera proper which did not extend to Oingo. Beyond that was Hikateko’s and Hinehore’s” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 324). Using the above whakapapa, Hineteao aligns with the time of Ruruarau who inherited the mana over the lands south of Ngaruroro, which would explain why there is very little mention of Hineteao apart from her inheritance.

Tamatekapua went south to Kaikōura to the Ngāi Tahu; Te Koa a Hauiti went to the southern side of the Ngaruroro; Mahuika lived at Tāwhaowhao, Torohanga, Ōhiti, Waitio, Tiwhakairo, Matapiro and by the side of the Ngaruroro; Honomōkai also went south of the Ngaruroro to Te Popo, Ngātarawa, Maraekākaho, Aorangi, Ruahine, Ōwhaoko and Pātea; and Hineotua lived on the other side (south) of the Ngaruroro.

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Believes that this refers to Kāwera of today
Honomōkai became a chief and his descendants would form the hapū, Ngāi Te Upokoiri as outlined in Part A of the Literature Review.

Further to the story of how the land block Ōkawa acquired its name in Taraia Ruawhare’s time, which was discussed in Part A of the Literature Review, Wiramina said,

Okawa got its name from Punākiao, Taraia II’s wife. She was the cause of that name. Her mouth was very bitter because she had nothing nice to eat with her food and
that was how that place got its name. Never heard that Tuanewa lived in time of that Taraia. Have heard of him and Rangipatahi. (Ngāhuka, 1889, pp. 320-321)

Tuanewa and his brother Rangipātahi were of Ngāti Ruapīrau, the original inhabitants of Kāwera. According to Wiramina, her ancestor Ruakukuru, grandson of Whatumāmoa and his descendants down to the time of Ruapīrau had occupied Kairae, Motukūmara and Rakatō pā sites.

With reference to the waharoa that stands today on Kāwera, the carver, my cousin offered the following when I asked him for the name he had given to our entrance way. It concurred with the version told to my father, Tāmihana Nuku,

Ko Taraia te Ruawhare (Taraia 2) te ingoa, ko te ingoa tuturu ko Te kawa o Taraia Te Ruawhare (Ōkawa). (Taraia Ruawhare is the name. The correct name is Te Kawa o Taraia te Ruawhare (Ōkawa)). He is depicted standing on top of two people who were punished for taking tuna without permission thereby transgressing the authority of Taraia over lands and resources, the two perpetrators are depicted as eels also. The waharoa is positioned as close to the original site of the marae (from what we were told).’ (George Nuku, personal Communication, January 29, 2010)66

**Hinehore and Hikateko**

Hinehore’s share included the land his father had lived on at the lower end of Lake Ōingo, as well as the flats towards Oueroa Pā and land near Roy’s Hill. Hikateko’s inheritance went from the north-east part of Lake Ōingo to the Tūtaekurī river including Pīrau, Mōteo and Tuhirangi. Hikateko is the ancestor of Ngāti Hinepare.

Wiramina described Hinehore and Hikateko’s land boundaries during the Pīrau hearing in 1888:

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66 Refer Figure 4 of photograph of waharoa.
Timata i Pakahoreroa kei te awa tonu o Tutaekuri, Taungatara, e ahu ana whakarunga o te awa ki Te Ana, Pukiokio, Te Hoangai, kei roto tonu enei i te awa o Tutaekuri e ahu ana whakarunga ki Te Whangai, Kaiawatea, Te Weta, Mataotao, Pamairi, ki Tahutahuparai, kei roto katoa enei i te awa o Tutaekuri. Takiritoa, Pakikokiko, Te Pa o Hikateko, whati ki te hauauru ki Te Mata, Ngamahanga, Pa o kereru, Ohineumu, Oreore, Parahamuti, Rangitahi, Te Timutimu, ka tapahi i te roto o Runanga (He moana nui tonu). Ka u ki Upokopaoa, Tonganui, Tokanui, ka m___ Waitio awa. Ka rere i runga i te au o Waitio kei Tokanui (he hiwi), te makeretanga atu ki __ Ka ahu whakararo o Waitio ki Ngapuke rere ki te ngutuawa o Ohiwia awa. Ka rere i roto i te awa o Ohiwia, ka tae ki Rere a Ruamahu i te piriti i Omahu __ tonu i Ohiwia ki Waipiropiro, he awa ka ___ ki Te Rotoroa tuaraki ki te Rotoroa awa. ___ rere ki Paherumanihi, Urukoukou, Papakohatu, Te Totara, Taurangakoau, Te Aopohue, Te Waiaruhe, Tauhirirourou, Taumakomako, Pakahoreroa, ka kati/kati ki te timatanga. (Ngāhuka, 1888)67

It began at Pakahoreroa on the Tutaekuri river thence to Taungatara (up the river) to Te Ana, thence to Pukiokio, to Te Hoangai (these are places along the river), Te Whangai, Kaiawatea, Te Weta, Mataotao, Pamairi, Otamoe, Tahutahuparai (all these places are along the river), Takiritoa, Pakikokiko, Te Pa o Hikateko, then west to Te Mata, Ngamahanga, Paokereru, Ohineumu, Oreore, Parahamuti, Rangitahi, Te Timutimu, striking across lake at Runanga thence to Upokopaoa, thence to Tonganui, to Tokanui, thence to Waitio stream near Tokanui hills, thence to Ngapuke following the Waitio stream to mouth of Ohiwia stream, then to Omahu following the Ohiwia stream, then to the Rerearuamahu then to Waipiropiro stream thence to Rotoroa stream to the west, thence to Paherumanihi at the mill, thence to Urukoukou, thence to Papakohatu, thence to Te Totara, Taurangakoau, Te Aopohue, Te Waiaruhe, Tauhirirourou, Taumakomako to Pakahoreroa, the commencing point. (Native Land Court translation, 1988)

67 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing, 1888, ‘Rere ki Paheremanihi, Rurukaukau, Papakohatu …’
Taraia Ruawhare, Hinehore and Hikateko left their father’s home at Oueroa Pā and moved to Lake Ōingo, to Motukūmara where Te Kairae Pā stood. This meant the then occupiers, Ngāti Ruapīrāu, had to vacate.

**Hikawera II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kahutāpere</th>
<th>Hineiao = Te Rangitaumaha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wharekotare</td>
<td>Te Huhuti = Te Whatuiāpiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Uira i waho = Hikawera II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakapakaru = Ruruarau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hikawera II, son of Te Huhuti and Te Whatuiāpiti, who despite the fact that his mother left the Ōmāhu block permanently, later returned to this land. He was living at Ōtātara at the time his daughter Whakapakaru was growing up, as well as other pā sites such as Otakutaro o te Rangi, Tahunamoa and Ngāwhakapakare. Hikawera II had married Te Uira i waho, daughter of Wharekotore and also grand-daughter of Kahutapere II (of Ngāti Matepū⁶⁸). Hikawera II looked to his now grown daughter as his means to the boundaries of Hikateko. So he decided she should marry Ruruarau, Hikateko’s son. However, Hikateko did not agree to this marriage and took his son to Mātaotao Pā on the Mōteo block and other places to avoid the planned marriage and Hikawera II getting his land. Due to Whakapakaru being lovesick for her husband, Hikawera II took her to Hikateko and Ruruarau. Hikateko said to Hikawera II, “Welcome friend. *What plebeian would presume to mate with a chief? Go and find a husband for your daughter amongst chiefs.*” Hikawera II replied, “Sit down. Cease your talk or I will roast you. Do you wish my daughter to die while your son lives?” (Parsons, 1997, p. 61).

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⁶⁸ Previously called Ngāti Hineterangi after Kahutapere II’s wife but with the introduction of the muskets and the dramatic effects of this to their hapū during the Ahuriri wars, particularly the Pakake battle, they changed their name to Ngāti Matepū.
The following was said by Hikawera and Hikateko had to take heed.

“Akuanei korua ko to tama (Soon you and your son
Umurangitia ai ki roto ki ta korua whare will be burned inside your house
Akuanei korua ko to tama Soon you and your son
Taonatia ki roto ki ta korua whare.” will be cooked in your house).

(‘Te Hoata in, 1997, p. 62)

Ruruarau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruruarau</th>
<th>Whakapakaru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuku</td>
<td>Taura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umutaowhare</td>
<td>Wheao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaitoi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ruruarau and Whakapakaru married and had six children although Wiramina stated that Whakapakaru became pregnant to Tawhi after she married Ruruarau. She had gone away with Tawhi but returned to Ruruarau admitting to him what had happened. He obviously loved her because he agreed to acknowledge this child as his own. The child was Wheao.

The second child was named Te Umutaowhare on account of the threat by Hikawera II. Their eldest son Tuku, was named after his uncle. He inherited his father’s mana over the lands.

There is no explanation as to why but Wiramina affirmed that Taura, Kaitoi and Moko had no right to Ōmāhu lands.

Wiramina also discussed the fact that Ruruarau had a ‘house’ at Hurimoana named Whāriki Awatea (a house built at Ōkawa, Ōmāhu, near Hastings, over which Te Haku-rangi presided and taught) (Whatahoro, 1913, p. 83).

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70 No information found as to who this man was or if the spelling is correct.
Wiramina refers then to the son of Ruruarau, “Tuku was a chief. He was chief over land and people” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 294). It was he who gave land and people away to his first cousin’s son, Rangikamangungu. This ‘gift’ is a very controversial subject which is denied by many but nevertheless is spoken about and confirmed by Wiramina. When Tuku was dying, his last wish was passed to his daughter, Hinehine ariki or Hinahina ariki, that when Tuku died and Rangikamangungu came to weep over him, that she give him Otupaopao and Ōmāhu and the hapū Ngāti Hineiao and Ngāti Hinehore. Rangikamangungu was the ancestor of Airini Donnelly and Arihi Te Nahu and he did not live on the land gifted to him. Instead he returned to Tanenuiārangi near Clive. He became owner of all of the land including Ōmāhu.

Rangikamangungu then “decided to go to Puketitiri and take it” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 294). However, on arriving at Puketitiri he met with Mātoru, the eldest son of Wheao and a fight ensued with approximately eight of Rangikamangungu’s men being killed. Pūtake and Piko were killed. “Enmity and hostilities thus began between them and Haimania, Pakapaka and Koputanaki71 took up the quarrel against Rangikamangungu” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 295).

At the time Rangikamangungu’s grandson, Te Hauwaho became a great chief, Koputanaki killed his servant, Tawhai and took his relative, Kōrara, prisoner. Subsequently, two battles occurred – Haronga and Te Kahu. There were no fatalities but Rangikamangungu’s people were taken prisoners.

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71 All three were descendants of Tuku and Ruruarau
Te Kauhaurangi was killed at Ōingo for trespassing by Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu and Ngāi Tangihia. His wife escaped to Tanenuaīrangī where she mourned the loss of her husband. On hearing the widow’s grieving, Rangikamangungu said to his grandson, Te Hauwaho, “You hear your grandmother crying over the loss of her husband and will you allow it to go on and not avenge it?” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 295). So Te Hauwaho organised a war party and they went to Puketapu on the northern side of the Tūtaekurī river but were defeated by Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāi Tangihia and Ngāti Māhu.

Following this, these hapū attacked the descendants of Rangikamangungu at the pā of Tūnuiarangi and took prisoners. Entitled Pōhutuwai, this battle was the final altercation with Rangikamangungu’s people. The land that had been gifted to him reverted back to the original owners. That is the reason Wiramina claimed bravery as her right to this land.

**Other key ancestors**

**Te Raro Tāwhana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taraia</th>
<th>Hikateko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hineteao</td>
<td>Ruruau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaitiaiterangi</td>
<td>Wheao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takiora</td>
<td>Hineroi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keke</td>
<td>Whakarepo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Rākautawa = Tokerautawhiri</td>
<td>Roka Mariri = Tahana Pura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Raro Tāwhana = Himoana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuku II</td>
<td>Wiramina Ngāhuka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wiramina noted that Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu, Ngāi Tangihia, Ngāi Tūrauwhā and Ngāi Takiora fought against Ngāi Te Upokoirī for revenge. They killed Rākautawa, great grandfather of Hēmi Nuku at Lake Rotokare of the Rāhuirua block. Raniera Te Waha, another historian who
lived on the Ōmāhu block, stated, “He (Rakautawa) was killed at Rotokare by Ngai Te Upokoiri. ‘Your lips that have eaten forbidden food’, a satirical song, was applied to him by Pihere, the ancestor of Renata and Airini. The lakes of the Omahu block had been made sacred by Pihere and Rakautawa poached and had the above reproach cast at him.” (Te Waha, 1889, p. 339).

When Hēmi’s father, Te Raro Tāwhana heard of the death of his father, Rākautawa, he went to Wheao Pā at Raukawa to his whanaunga, Rewharewha and they raised a war party which attacked Taumataōhē Pā where two or so men were killed. Not satisfied with this, he ordered more killed. Furthermore some thirty Ngāi Te Upokoiri were taken prisoners by Ngāti Hinepare including Raniera Te Ahiko, another renowned historian of the hapū of this region. He remained as a captive for 30 or 40 years but returned to Ngāi Te Upokoiri after the introduction of Christianity.

Wiramina recalls when Ngāi Te Upokoiri killed some of Ngāti Hinepare and Ngāi Takiora, some of her elders. After this Ngāi Te Upokoiri returned to Pātea, Ruahine and Makeo, the latter being near Puketitiri. Ngāi Tangihia, Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu and Ngāi Takiora crossed the Ngaruroro to Makeo at Ruahine and successfully attacked Ngāi Te Upokoiri killing approximately 30 people. On their return home, Ngāi Te Upokoiri under their chief, Te Wanikau, came from Pātea through Tunanui. The four hapū on hearing of the approaching war party, went to meet them which they did at Oneone and defeated them. Te Wanikau was taken prisoner by Mata o Tohikura (father in law of Te Raro Tāwhana).

A number of battles followed after this. One being Whitiotū and another the famous Roto-a-tara. A number of people were killed from Ngāi Te Upokoiri – Whiuwhiu Tanguru, Waka, Pakapaka and others. Renata was taken prisoner but most of Ngāi Te Upokoiri then fled to Taupō and Rotoaira and other places until Whatanui took them to Manawatū and Ōtaki. Whatanui was a Ngāti Raukawa. None of them remained in Heretaunga.

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72 Daughter of Ngāi Te Upokiri chief, Te Uamairangi.
73 Mother of Ngāi Te Upokoiri chief, Renata Kawepō.
At one point, Ngāi Te Upokoiri sent a war party up under Whatanui to Heretaunga and killed Paeroa, wife of Whakatō and mother of Te Moananui, one of the principal chiefs of Heretaunga at the time. “Paeroa’s father was Haemania, principal chief of Ngati Hinepare” (Parsons, 1997, p. 97). She was killed at Tāngoio. Outraged, Ngāti Kahungunu organised a war party and went to the Manawatu and killed Kaimokopuna74, a chief of Rangitāne and others of his iwi. Paeroa’s head had been preserved. It was demanded that the head be returned to Heretaunga but Ngāi Te Upokoiri did not wish to take it back. Te Raro Tāwhana75 offered to take it. He was of Ngāi Takiora. Te Raro Tāwhana was not with Ngāi Te Upokoiri but had gone down to Manawatū at some point to visit his sister who had married into that hapū. Two of his sisters, Wharetewae and Rangaranga had married Tūhotoariki, son of Te Wanikau. When he returned to Heretaunga, Ngāti Kahungunu were enraged and threatened to kill Te Raro Tāwhana. However, their anger subsided and they agreed to the return of some refugees. “Certain obstacles to the repatriation of Renata’s people had been removed by the ceremonial return of Paeroa’s head. This was essential before any approaches could be made to her son, Te Moananui, principal chief of Heretaunga” (Parsons, 2002b, p. 52).

Rarotawhana brought back the head of Paeroa I said. He undertook the work himself. He went to Manawatu to Ngai Te Upokoiri because of relationship. Rarotawhana was not at Rotoatara nor his tribe. He was a chief and related to Paeroa. He never lived at Kawera under Te Wanikau. (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 313) Although Ngāi Te Upokoiri had been invited to return to Heretaunga they declined. Later when Te Moananui went to exhume the bones (hahunga) of Wanikau, he extended the invitation again. This time Ngāi Te Upokoiri agreed. Renata Kawepō, his sister Tawhara and a number of the hapū returned in 1850 (Parsons, 2002b, p. 52). They came to Waipureku (known as Clive today), the kāinga of Te Moananui at the mouth of the Tukituki river. Later they moved to Pokongao at the mouth of the Ngaruroro river. Te Moananui gave land on a temporary basis for

74 Kaimokopuna assisted Ngāi Te Upokoiri in securing land on which to settle while staying in the Manawatū.
75 Father of Nuku II – Wiramina’s husband.
Ngāi Te Upokoiri for cultivation. A long time later, more Ngāi Te Upokoiri came and stayed at the same place (1855 Pg. 52). Renata Kawepō also stayed with his people there.

Airini’s grandmother, Wikitahutahu, objected to Te Moananui’s gift. Her son, Karauria, continued this objection. He built a stock-yard from Ngārua a te Rangitaumaha (near Oueroa pā) to Hauhau (on Lake Ōingo). It was an earthen wall and to the east of it was where Karauria lived at Ngāhape. Tareha tried to restrain Karauria saying, “Kati, waiho to tupuna kai noho ana whakaaro ki o tamariki” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 299). (Stop, leave the desires of your ancestor lest your children bear the consequences). Airini continued her grandmother’s and father’s opposition to the gift after Karauria died. Ngāi Te Upokoiri continued to live in Ōmāhu under Renata as their chief.

**Renata Kawepō**

Renata had been held captive by Ngāpuhi for some 15 years and after that period, around the time christianity was introduced to this area, he returned to Heretaunga aboard the ship, Nimrod, with William Colenso. The Williams brothers, William and Henry, had built a church at Awapuni. “On December 4th he [Henry Williams] set out early, and after a walk of 7½ hours (from Waimārama) arrived at Awapuni, Rev. W. Colenso’s station” (Williams, n.d., p. 75). This station refers to a Mission station at Awapuni, or Awatoto as it is known today. Wiramina, an adult at the time, saw them arrive at Awapuni from Napier. Renata lived at Colenso’s house for a while but left to join his people once they left for the Manawatū.

Renata went to Ōmāhu shortly before the battle at Omarunui which occurred in 1856. Renata did not live at Ōmāhu by right of his genealogy but was with his relatives, Airini Donnelly and others and became their foster father.

Te Moananui gave Renata an eel-fishery at the time of Renata’s son’s birth. It was called Ngārara at Omakuru, at Te Kotore o Hauhau on Ōingo Lake. The child was named Pine Te Uamairangi but he died at the time of the Pakiaka battle in 1857 when he was only six or seven
years of age. When Te Wiki Tahutahu died, Renata collected Airini from Pāwhakairo and took her to Ōmāhu to live. He raised her and educated her until her marriage. However, Airini ran away with a European and moved to Waiohiki. Renata was not happy about this marriage.

Renata arranged the lease of Kāwera to Lowry and gained Wiramina’s consent before it was finalised. However, only 40 pounds was paid on the lease. It is not known what term this payment referred to.

**Life at Kāwera / Lake Ōingo**

Wiramina recalls living at Te Koutu when she “was a child – an infant in arms” (Ngāhuka, 1892, p. 58).

She was living at Omarunui when she got married to Nuku II and there they lived for a year. After the Pakiaka fight, they visited Kāwera to fish for eels and hunt for pigs. “Omahu lands have been fishing places principally for catching eels” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 324). Like the other women of that time and place, she also worked flax. Parsons said many women would cut and dress the flax and then trade these for muskets (personal communication, February 9, 2010). Wiramina named many eel-weirs throughout her evidence and it became evident that Lake Ōingo was a significant food source for its people.

Wiramina also planted potatoes, maize, hue (gourds) and peach trees. At the time of the Ōmāhu hearing, two peach trees still stood but the remainder had been destroyed by cattle. One of the trees stood at Mangateretere and the other at Opakau. Nuku II brought the seeds from Thames. He had been in Hauraki for a year but returned around the time christianity was introduced. It was before the Pakiaka battle.

They were unable to grow kūmara (sweet potatoes) at Kāwera. Instead kumara pits were to be found in Otupaopao. They were grown there in the time of Tuku and transported to Wiramina’s peoples’ pits for storage. There was a pit at Motukūmara and Tawhitinui.
Birds could be caught on the land block. The koreke (*NZ quail, now extinct*) was one variety caught but not in Wiramina’s time.

Wiramina and her people ceased to reside at Kāwera after the Battle of Pakiaka because Renata Kawepō arranged a lease of the block to Lowry. Renata went to Omarunui and discussed this with Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Māhu, Ngāi Takiora, Hēmi Nuku and Hēmi’s younger brother, Tareahi.

In relation to Ngāi Te Upokoiri’s rights to Kāwera, Wiramina said she had not heard they lived on the block in question. They instead had lived at Matatanumia, Torohanga and Ōhiti, and across the Ngaruroro. They also had a great number of pā at Ruahine.

**Wiramina’s claim to Kāwera**

On Thursday, February 13th, 1890, the Native Land Court made judgement as to the claims made by various parties, including Wiramina Ngāhuka, to the Ōmāhu block. The court precluded by stating that they accepted the evidence about the conquest of Taraia I and the fact that Taraia and Tūrauwhā had made peace. However, it was also their belief that Tūrauwhā lived under the mana of Taraia but retained influence in this area. The marriage of Taraia’s nephew, Rangituehu to Tūrauwhā’s daughter, Rākaitekura, cemented this peaceful alliance. The court concluded that with his marriage to Tūrauwhā’s granddaughter, Hineiao, Taraia’s son, Te Rangitaumaha exercised his rights of ownership and that furthermore, their children united the blood of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Tūrauwhā.

We define the interest of Wiramina Ngahuka and her party as that part of the land at the western end of the block containing 480 acres (Omahu 1) which is bounded by a line drawn from the point where the Ohiwia stream leaves the Runanga lake thence down the middle line of that stream to the point nearest the Hurimoana lake and thence by a swinging line drawn to the western boundary of the block so as to give the required area, the residue of the
boundary being the western boundary of the block to the northern end of the Runanga lake and thence along the northern shore of the lake to the starting point. (Smith, S., 1892, p. 8)

Therefore Wiramina’s claim to Kāwera through Tūrauwhā solely and the fact that, in the court’s eyes, her claim was so weakly supported, she and those on her ‘list’, only received a small share. Had it not been for Wiramina’s strong stance in regard to her Ngāti Māhu whakapapa, she would most likely have fared better. If she had maintained instead, her Ngāti Hinepare whakapapa, history would be different today (Parsons, personal communication, February 9, 2010).
CHAPTER FIVE: KĀWERA - POST 1900

Kia mau ki tō toko; titiro whakaute!
Hold fast to your support; look after it!\textsuperscript{76}

Native Land Court

To understand why so many of our elders, those who held the knowledge in relation to land holdings and boundaries, whakapapa and history, spent hours, days, weeks in court hearings, it is fitting at this point to go back in history to the time shortly after Pākehā arrived in Aotearoa.

Traditionally, Māori land was held under the authority of the tribe rather than by individuals, as was the case in Western society, \textit{“One belonged to a whānau that belonged to a hapū that belonged to a tribe. One did not own land. One belonged to the land”} (Durie, 1987, p. 78). Areas of land were designated to individuals or groups as per the consensus of the tribe but ultimately the decision sought to benefit the collective, \textit{“This was a communally held ancestral estate that gave no power of alienation of property to any individual”} (Stokes, 2002, p. 1).

With the arrival of Pākehā, came a new concept of land tenureship, the \textit{“creation of individual interests”} (Stokes, 2002, p. 11) - a concept completely foreign to the Māori worldview. So foreign in fact, even after land was sold, many Māori viewed the transaction as temporary. They didn’t realise they were disconnected from it permanently (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 16).

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, the first stage of Māori land acquisition occurred from 1846 to 1857. Pre-emption was enacted which meant only the Crown could acquire Māori owned land. It meant the Government, its officials and agents only, could attain Māori land and re-sell it for any price they wished. By 1860, 20% of the North Island had been obtained and 99% of the South Island (Ministry of Culture & Heritage, 2009).

\textsuperscript{76} Moko Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 215
In 1862, the Native Lands Act was ratified:

Crown pre-emption was waived, a judicial body was set up to investigate titles, and the investigation was the first part of a two-step process by which customary title was extinguished and replaced by a Crown grant in freehold to name individual owners (Boast, 2008, p. 63).

This judicial body was the Native Land Court which was established, based around the English system, to systematically replace land tenureship under Māori authority with “a system of individual property rights” (Stokes, 2002). The Crown, having experienced difficulties in its objective to acquire Māori land, issued the mandate that the Native Land Court be established. “Given that the primary purpose of the Native Land Court was to facilitate colonisation, its most significant task was to properly identify ‘owners’ of Māori customary land and thus confirm their right to sell their land interests” (Williams, 1999, p. 157). This process entailed carving up the land and individualising ownership, thus making negotiating sales easier – after all, convincing one person to sell their share of land meant less complications than that of persuading a large hapū.

Therefore, Māori, after applying to have their case for ownership heard by the land court and providing evidence to prove their customary right to the land, would receive a land title. On approval from the court they would also receive a Crown Grant, which would entitle them to sell their land to whomever they wished to. On the Crown’s part, “the policy was a failure, and after 1869 the colonial government returned to land purchasing on a large scale” (Boast, 2008, p. 6). However, they had to vie with the settlers for the land. But “by the use of the system, the Government was able to prise the great Māori estates out of their control” (Boast, 2008, p. 7).

With the Court’s main responsibility being to ascertain ownership of all Māori customary lands, “to make it easier, no allotment could be awarded to more than ten people” (Durie, 1987, p. 79). However, a proviso was added that if the piece of land in question was larger than 5,000
acres, the certificate of title could be issued to the tribe (Williams, 1999, p. 160). Needless to say, this ruling was rarely applied. The ten-owner rule was enacted by the 1865 Native Lands Act but was later overridden by the 1867 Act. However, “judging by the evidence produced in the Hawke’s Bay Commission of 1873, the ten-owners rule seems to have been the norm” (Boast, 2008, p. 71). This differed from case to case but “the end result was that tribal authority and the communal Māori society, were finally destroyed” (Durie, 1987, p. 79).

Today, the Native Land Court of old is viewed as “a veritable engine of destruction for any tribe’s tenure of land, anywhere” (Kawharu, 1977, p. 15). This view is held because of the ultimate intention that the court be established to legally disconnect Māori from their lands (Asher & Nauls, 1987, p. 29; Durie, 1998, pp. 121-122; Durie, 1987, p. 79; Walker, 1990, p. 135). If this was the objective of the Crown, than it succeeded, “It was so successful that within thirty years four million hectares had been acquired” (Walker, 1990, p. 136):

The Native Land Court proved to be an irrespressible agent in the imposition on non-Māori notions of ownership onto ‘Māori land’. In particular, it bestowed legal rights on individual Māori and allowed those individuals to alienate ‘their’ shares or interests in land without regard to requirements of Māori law and the welfare of the hapū as a whole. (Williams, 1999, p. 56)

All land still held by Māori today, was at some point, partitioned into smaller, more manageable partitions with the premeditated intention of alienating tangata whenua from their tenureships. This aspect of Māori land has become evidently clear from this part of the research. “Any survival of customary preference in the administration of these lands today is due only to Māori obstinacy. It survives despite the law, rather than because of it” (Durie, 1987, p. 79). Not only was there the dogged pursuit of customary land but the tangata whenua had other matters of great concern, such as financial burden, imposed on them as a result of the new legislation.

Financial implications
For Māori land owners regardless of whether they retained their land or not, there were costs attached to the whole process of individualising their tenureship. While today ownership of land is seen as a sign of prosperity, in many cases it was quite the reverse for our tīpuna, “The myth is that possession of land equals wealth and wellbeing” (Boast, 2008, p. 9). One of the most expensive aspects of land ownership was the requirement to have it surveyed. This was to ascertain land boundaries prior to one’s application being heard in the court. However surveys were not carried out just once – sometimes they had to be done repeatedly in order to meet the prerequisites of the land court. Boast (2008) refers to a Ngāti Awa block, where in 1907, had to relinquish 13% of the total block to cover the cost of surveying. It equated to a loss of some 11,267 acres!

Attending the court hearings brought with it a range of costs. Many of the sittings went on for days, weeks, months, meaning the attendees could not work and at times, had to buy costly rations for the trip or put them on account for payment at a later date. “Court sittings were often inadequately advertised, blocks were not dealt with in any set order, and so claimants had to wait weeks for their case to come up” (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 32). Furthermore, there were “daily hearing charges (£1 day)” (Boast, 2008, p. 76). Therefore, taking into consideration the length of some cases, particularly at the onset where detailed whakapapa and history were required, the costs could quickly add up.

Welfare of the people

... the principal tribes with their subtribes came to occupy definite areas with fixed boundaries. This love of their own territory developed to an absorbing degree, for tribal history was written over its hills and vales, its rivers, streams and lakes, and upon its cliffs and shores. The earth and caves held the bones of their illustrious dead, and dirges and laments teemed with references to the love lavished upon the natural features of their homeland.
Captives in distant lands have begged for a pebble, a bunch of leaves, or a handful of earth from the homeland that they might weep over a symbol of home. It is the everlasting hills of one’s own deserted territory that welcome the wanderer home and it is the ceaseless crooning of the waves against a lone shore that perpetuates the sound of voices that are still. (Te Rangihiroa, 1950, p. 381)

Te Rangihiroa’s haunting description of the significance of land to Māori, illustrates the possible implications to a people alienated, whether permanently or long-term, from their land base. It is evident that this was a people whose worldview encompassed a communal way of life, a people who believed that they, their ancestors and the land were one. It is therefore no surprise that “social cohesion between whānau and within tribes has been seriously undermined by the individualisation of land titles and the forced abandonment of collective ownership” (Durie, 1998, p. 116). Not only was their livelihood threatened in regard to the cultivation of food and access to food sources such as lakes, forest and rivers for example, but any possible opportunity for future land utilisation and development was lost, or at risk.

As owners died, their shares were apportioned out to their descendants, “With the extremely rapid increase in the Maori population since the turn of the century, the number of owners has increased greatly and the size of their interests or shares diminished accordingly” (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 67). Furthermore, for those who took every opportunity to maintain their ahi kā, that is, those who maintained a continuous connection to the land - in regard to their whanaunga who held equal shares, there was no special status. Those who held the majority had the say in the decision making process.

Where the hapū or iwi worked collaboratively in the past, the new laws encumbered the individual with debts associated with land ownership. In many cases, the small share the individual was allotted made it difficult in terms of raising capital with which to cover these costs.
Renata Kawepō in consultation with Wiramina and other elders, arranged the lease for Kāwera and other neighbouring blocks to provide income for his people and at the very least, cover the rates for the land block. He was exercising his rangatiratanga and the obligation as a leader to ensure the wellbeing of those who looked to him for support. Renata was focused on Māori moving forward and the role of the land to support this development. According to Head “He was proud of Ngāti Kahungunu’s contribution of land to the development of the colony” (2001, p. 118). This was the price of citizenship, of modernity, and a say in the affairs of the state. Therefore, the fact that Renata was instrumental in facilitating lease agreements, is not surprising. The land itself was generating income with which to cover its own overheads.

This did however impact on the hapū as they became alienated from their lands to some extent. While Wiramina affirmed that she and others continued to access food from Kāwera after it was leased, as experienced today, it was always temporary.

As was common in the mid 1800s, a great deal of Māori land was leased. Politicians mistakenly thought that many Māori would receive enough income with which to live on. However, “the mean rental income from Māori land in the period 1900-1920 was about £7 10s per person per annum, at a time when an income of £150 per annum was regarded as the basic minimum for survival” (Boast, 2008, pp. 269-270).

This could explain why other land holdings of the Nuku whānau were sold between the late 1800s and early 1900s. With minimum income and no capital to develop the land themselves, the opportunity to sell one or two blocks to develop other blocks, would have been appealing, “Social and economic surveys of Māori communities conducted in the 1930s indicate that owning land had little bearing on income and wellbeing” (Boast, 2008, p. 274).

While the Nuku whānau had two dairy milking businesses at Kāwera, as experienced nationally, due to high set up costs, little or no capital for modern machinery, the dairy industry was not for most (Boast, 2008, p. 296).
Fortunately when my grandparents moved to Ōmāhu, they maintained a large food garden and were also part of the shearing industry, “Māori may have been better off in Hawke’s Bay and the East Coast, not just because they had retained more of their land, but because the type of pastoral economy that developed there did offer real opportunities for seasonal work” (Boast, 2008, p. 296).

**Succession to Māori Land**

Returning to the individualisation of land titles, the process of disbursing the interests of any Māori who died intestate, was not enacted by way of legislation. In 1867, Chief Judge Fenton set the precedent with his decision to divide the estate of a deceased owner of the Papakura block, between his three children despite claims from a cousin of the deceased. Where English law favoured the eldest son inheriting either of his parents’ lands, the Judge felt this did not sit well with the Māori perception of justice or customary practice (Stokes, 2002, pp. 38-39).

Today, Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 elaborates the details for succeeding land interests which involves the legal transfer of land interests of a deceased person to his or her successors i.e. surviving children, grandchildren, whāngai, siblings, etc. (Sections 108 and 109 outline who may be a successor). The process is straightforward unless the deceased leaves a will in favour of only of their living children. Should this scenario occur, the onus is on the judge to adhere to tikanga Māori practices i.e. the result that best benefits the collective.
Fragmentation of land shares

The ‘ten-owners rule’ was gradually phased out over the years as land was succeeded to ensuing generations of descendants. For example, where Hēmi Nuku had been sole owner of Kāwera in 1903, the number of owners in 1994 stood at 129.77

Some of the problems identified with fragmentation are:

- The more owners, the more difficult to gain a consensus particularly relating to land development projects;
- The process does not acknowledge those who maintain ahi kā, those who occupy and utilise the land. Whānau members who may never return to the land in question, or show any interest at all in the land, will have the same rights as someone who stands as kaitiaki of the block.

The benefit of fragmentation is that with so many owners, it is very difficult to sell the land, therefore land blocks awarded to individuals by the court, have now succeeded to large whānau or even hapū, therefore reviving the traditional concept of land tenureship or as close as can be hoped for (Durie, 1987, p. 79). “Fragmentation of ownership is no longer necessarily an evil, but a path to making the tribal lands communal again” (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 47).

Urbanisation

The wharenui, Te Āwhina, was dismantled between 1945 and 1955. My father recalls that he went to Pukehāmoamoa school for a year and the following year, my grandparents moved the whānau to Ōmāhu. He would have been six years of age and the year, 1946. “In 1936, 11.2 percent of the Māori population lived in urban areas, and this has risen rapidly since the Second World War – 19 percent in 1945; 55.8 percent in 1966; 68.2 percent in 1971; and 78.5 percent in 1981” (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 43). While Ōmāhu does not fall under the category ‘urban’, it was much closer to Hastings and Napier cities and therefore, employment.

77 Māori Land Court, Ōmāhu IB4B3 Block Order File
By 1960, Kāwera was almost abandoned as whānau members left to dwell in, or move closer to, urban centres to secure employment. This has not changed today. In fact the majority of my whānau live outside of the tribal area in the main cities or even further - overseas in Australia and England.

**Alienation from the papakāinga**

From the mid 1800s to the early 1900s, my tīpuna were in the main, alienated from their lands – not because the land was sold but because it was leased out to Pākehā farmers. The tīpuna might have been able to return regularly to fish for eel and other food types but it is unlikely they could build permanent dwelling on these lands. Furthermore, with their land being leased, they could no longer sustain crops or live on the land. The implications were, I believe, that although they maintained their ahi kā, the subsequent generations highly likely would not have developed the love of that block as their parents or grandparents had. Perhaps after long term alienation from their land, the connection to the land, the love for the land and all it represented, faded. The following signifies the importance of ahi kā to our ancestors:

> Ko te tangata i noho roa te tika, ko te tangata i pikopiko haere, kaore i whai mana.  
> Ko te noho roa te tikanga o te mana, ko te raupatu ko te mahikai hoki. **The man who lives long on the land has the right to it, not so the man who travels afar. Through long occupation, conquest, and food-gathering upon the land does one have the right to it.** (Haami as cited in Whangataua, 1889)

It is obvious from Wiramina’s evidence, hers was an itinerant people, moving between different food sources and seasons. To have stayed permanently at Kāwera or any block, would have depleted the food stocks. This nomadic life style therefore, was the form of kaitiakitanga that we are, only in recent times, trying to emulate. This regular return to Kāwera also kept their home fires burning.
There are no horrors stories regarding Kāwera. No raupatu, no forced or dubious sale. However, today in terms of occupation and food gathering, those are activities only undertaken by a handful of the Nuku whānau. If it were not for the urupā, I strongly believe that Kāwera would have been long sold off or only ‘occupied’ through lease arrangements.

I have realised that our whānau is exceedingly fortunate that Kāwera has remained under the Nuku name for all of these years and despite the past alienation, this land base will always be there for each of us when the questions of who we are and where we are from start welling up inside:

A Māori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land. Loss of land is loss of life, or at least loss of that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and present with the future. (Durie, 1998, p. 115)

I believe the following quote from Wiramina illustrates her sorrow having been alienated from the land block named Pīrau:

I ki au i nohoia ano tenei poraka e aku tupuna tae mai ki te wa o aku matua, tae mai ki a au. He hipi nga mea kei runga i te poraka nei e noho ana inaianei. E penei ana te tikanga o tuku korero na te taima o Te Riihi, ka kore e nohoia tenei whenua. (Ngāhuka, 1888)  

I repeat, these are my ancestral lands – the old people, through to my parents and down to me, have all lived on this block. Now, the only thing on this land are sheep. I speak in this way because since the time of the lease, this land has been inaccessible.

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78 Native Land Court, Pīrau Hearing – Original Manuscript, 1888, ‘Kaore ra hoki a Te Taui i tae ki tera wahi ki te Piirau …’
79 My own translation
Wiramina’s estate
The following outlines the succession of Kāwera and its block down through the generations from Wiramina and her son, Hēmi.

Wiramina Ngāhuka died on the 14th of August, 1903 and was buried in the Pāparakaitangi urupā in Wharerangi.

On the 12th of October of that same year, Hēmi Nuku submitted the succession order for all of Wiramina’s land holdings, stating that Wiramina was his mother and that she had died intestate. He named the beneficiaries of her estate:

1. Pene Nuku  male
2. Wi Nuku  male
3. Ngaruma Nuku (Mihiterina)  female
4. Rangitawhaki Nuku  female
5. Karera Nuku  female 18yrs
6. Pikau Nuku  female 16yrs
7. Te Heuheu Nuku  male 12yrs
8. Rumakina Nuku  male 10yrs

This koroua could have kept all of his mother’s lands to himself as is the norm but he chose to share it with his children ... as young as some of them were. That tells me a lot about my grandfather”.

(T. Nuku, personal communication, December 2, 2010)

The succession order was approved.
Hēmi Nuku = Katarina Wharepake

Pene      Wī      Mihiterina      Rangitāwhaki      Tangiora      Kerera      Pikau      Te Heuheu      Rumakina

Hēmi’s estate

On the 12th of March, 1936, an application was made to the Māori Land Court by Hēmi Nuku declaring “the land to be a native reservation as a site for a meeting house for the use of the owners thereof” (Nuku, H., 1936, p. 199). Hēmi was sworn in and stated the following:

I live at Kawera, Omahu. I am the sole owner of this land. I want to give an area of 5 acres as a papakainga for the tribe. I desire that trustees be appointed, seven in number namely:

1. Hemi Nuku
2. Wamoana Peni
3. Wi Nuku
4. Ratima Nuku (Jim Wilson or Wirihana)
5. Reihana Nuku (Assumed to be Te Heuheu’s eldest son)
6. Raurimu Huriwai (Rangitawhaki’s son)
7. Mihiterina Nuku

... I want to give the land where the homes are, a meeting house and a dwelling house – the area should include both houses. I built the meeting house with my own money in 1893, for myself, my children, my grandchildren and the tribe. (Nuku, H., 1936, pp. 199-200)

He explained that his son, Wī Nuku, had built his own home which stood up on the hill to the right of the meeting house. Wī had since died some 20 years prior to this court sitting but his children were living in the home.

I want the area to be used for the purpose of my descendants. They are to be allowed to build houses for themselves on it ... The Reserve is to be for a meeting place for all the tribe and for building sites for my children and grandchildren only. (Nuku, H., 1936, p. 200)

The entire block was subdivided into 2 divisions although the reservation was not formally entitled as a papakāinga. However a recommendation by the court, made on that same day in 1936, supported the aforementioned application and Hēmi, the owner and donor, and 6 of his children were affirmed as trustees of that ‘Native Reservation’.
The matter was not looked at again until 20 years later in 1956, when the parent block, Ōmāhu IB4B, was partitioned into subdivisions 1 and 2 on the 8th of September, 1954. On the 25th of March in 1956, the reservation was named Ōmāhu IB4B3.

While no reason is provided in the court minutes, it was decided that IB4B3 remain as ‘ordinary Māori freehold land’. By this stage, Hēmi Nuku had died (24th of April, 1942), so his lands had succeeded to his surviving children or grandchildren.

In approximately 1908, Hēmi married Marata, a descendant of Heuheu Tukino, in Waihi.

Hēmi Nuku = Marata
Te Kahuti Nuku

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80 This is based on the fact that Hēmi and Marata’s son, Kahuti, died in 1930 at the age of 22.
On the 26th of August, 1910, a partition order was submitted to the Native Land Court and 11 owners were detailed for the Ōmāhu 1B4 block:

1. Hemi Nuku  Male  65 shares
2. Pene Nuku  Male  4 and 5/12 shares
3. Wi Nuku  Male  4 and 5/12 shares
4. Ngaruma Nuku  Female  3 and ¾ shares
5. Rangitawhaki Nuku  Female  4 and 5/12 shares
6. Pikau Nuku  Female  4 and 5/12 shares
7. Te Heuheu Nuku  Male  4 and 5/12 shares
8. Rumakina Nuku  Male  4 and 5/12 shares
9. Te Rehunga Tomoana  Male  6 shares
10. Mihiterina Nuku  Female  2/3 share
11. Te Kahuti Nuku  Male  5 and ½ shares

Total: 107 shares

Note: Although Te Rehunga Tomoana’s whakapapa has been researched, there is no obvious connection as to why he gained shares in Kāwera. Also Te Kahuti Nuku was shown as a female but he was in fact a son of Hēmi Nuku, to Hēmi’s second wife, Marata, from Waihi.

This block was shown as being 103a. 2r. 38p which was affirmed on the 23rd of December, 1913 after a survey had been completed on this block. The block was entitled, ‘Ōmāhu No. 1B. Section 4’. This concurs with the breakdown provided on the previous page. All blocks i.e. Ōmāhu IB4A; 1B4B1, 1B4B2, 1B4B3 and 1B4C combined roughly equal this amount.

There are countless succession orders that relate to each section of Ōmāhu 1B4 but this research will only focus on selected orders. For example, on 15th of May 1911, Te Rehunga Tomoana’s shares were succeeded to Hēmi Nuku, Nepata Kuare, Wiki Te Hoata and Hone Haukore. Te Rehunga died on the 23rd of May, 1912. Nepata Kuare was a son of Wiramina’s
sister, Hāreti Kuru; Wiki Te Hoata was the eldest daughter of Wiramina’s youngest sister, Apikaera Te Herepao; and Hone Haukore, the son of Rewi Haukore, Wiramina’s younger brother.

On the 7th of August, 1930, Hēmi Nuku succeeded the shares of his youngest son, Kahuti Nuku who it is said while working as a logger in Waihi, was accidentally killed sending logs down via the Waihi waterfall, on the 20th of March of that same year.

Hēmi Nuku died on the 24th of April, 1942. On September the 24th, 1964, 46 of his descendants were named as his successors:

- Pene Nuku - deceased
  1. Rangi Marama Pene Nuku - female - 1/12
  2. Benny Wamoana - male - 1/132
  3. Areta Peni - female - 1/132
  4. Kahukura Peni - male - 1/132
  5. Rohutu Marie Peni - female - 1/132
  6. Huihui Makarena Peni - female - 1/132
  7. Hemi Waimoana Peni - male - 1/132
  8. Hinerau Te Kau Peni - female - 1/132
  9. Brownie Tāpuke Peni - male - 1/132
  10. Peter Peni - m. 1965 - 1/132
  11. Ngatoto Peni - m. 1968 - 1/132

- Wi Nuku - deceased
  13. Nuku Wi Nuku - male - 1/36
  14. Ratima Nuku - male - 1/36
Tangiora Nuku - deceased
15. Hoani Pineaha  male  1/252
16. Kahuti Pineaha  male  1/252
17. Hinenuku Pineaha  female  1/252
18. Witeriu Pineaha  female  1/252
19. Aunty Pineaha  female  1/252
20. Mere Pineaha  f. 1966  1/252
21. Iraia Karauria Pineaha  male  1/252
22. Te Paea Puhiriri  female  1/36
23. Mapu Wi Nuku  male  1/36
24. Hera Wi Nuku  female  1/36

Mihiterina Nuku - deceased
25. Ngahina Wirihana  f. 1977  1/12
26. Teuira Wirihana  m. 1974  1/12
27. Raurimu Huriwai  male  1/12

Kura Huriwai - deceased
28. Koro Hanara  male  1/36
29. Matuakore Huriwai  male  1/36
30. Kura Huriwai II  female  1/36
31. Pikau Nuku  female  1/6

Te Heuheu Nuku - deceased
32. Kathleen Nuku  female  1/90
33. Raihania Nuku  male  1/90
34. Robert Nuku  male  1/90
35. Hemi Nuku  male  1/90
36. Wiramena Nuku  female  1/90
37. Thompson Matekino Nuku  male  1/90
38. Chappie Kelly Nuku  male  1/90

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81 This is my grandfather and numbers 32-46 include my father (no. 37), uncles and aunties.
39. Agnes Nuku female 1/90
40. Pamela Nuku female 1/90
41. Philip Nuku male 1/90
42. Memory Nuku female 1/90
43. Gloria Nuku female 1/90
44. Priscilla Nuku female 1/90
45. Walter Nuku male 1/90
46. Peter or Peterina Nuku female 1/90

In 1959 an extract from the N.Z. Gazette shows the following details for the different land blocks that make up Ōmāhu 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Block and Survey District</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu 1B 4A</td>
<td>V and IX, Heretaunga</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu 1B 4B 1</td>
<td>V, Heretaunga</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu IB 4B 2</td>
<td>V and IX, Heretaunga</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu IB 4B 3</td>
<td>V, Heretaunga</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōmāhu IB 4C</td>
<td>V, Heretaunga</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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When Hēmi Nuku applied for the native reservation, a survey was completed. At that time, a fence was standing between 1B4A and 1B4B2. Mihiterina ran a milking business on this section and my grandparents ran their business on IB4B2. The only reason that these blocks were separated is assumed to be because of this fence. It no longer stands.
Sole ownership of this block to Te Wāmoana Pene Nuku alias Wāmoana Areta.

This application was approved on the 8th of September 1954. On the 18th of February, 1975, sole ownership was succeeded to Te Wāmoana’s son, Hēmi Waimoana Peni. A whānau home was built on this land and in 1985, this land was declared Māori Freehold Land. This home still stands at Kāwera but has been unoccupied since Uncle Jim (Hēmi) died.

Ōmāhu IB 4B 2

![Image of map]

*Figure 18. Ōmāhu IB4B2 Block* 

On the 8th of September, 1954 Ōmāhu 1B4 was partitioned and IB4B2 was named as such. There were 18 owners:

1. Aunty Pineaha
2. Hera Wi Nuku
3. Te Heuheu Nuku
4. Hineruku Pineaha
5. Hoani Pineaha
6. Iraia Karauria (Pineaha)
7. Kahuti Pineaha

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*85 Ōmāhu IB4B2 Block File, Hastings MLC, 04:11:1975*
8. Te Kura Huriwai
9. Mapu Wi Nuku
10. Mere Pineaha
11. Mihiterina Nuku
12. Nuku Wi Nuku
13. Pikau Nuku
14. Rangimarama Pene (Nuku)
15. Ratima Nuku
16. Raurimu Huriwai
17. Te Paea Puhiiri
18. Witeriu Pineaha

This is the biggest of all the blocks and stretches from Taihape Road back to Ōhiwia Stream. Through the years, with the passing away of whānau, shares have succeeded down to the current owners.

On the 7th of September, 1959, my grandfather, Te Heuheu Nuku’s estate was succeeded to my grandmother, Pareputiputi Nuku and her children.

In 1978, trustees, Emma Paki, Areta Peni and Thompson Nuku were vested the Ōmāhu 1B4B2 block upon trust to use and manage for the 1978/79 cropping season. Unfortunately due to a bad season, the business venture recorded a loss and eventuated in a mortgage being procured in 1984. Further detail is provided under ‘Lease Arrangements for the Block’.

In 1982, trustees of this block were confirmed as being Emma Paki, Areta Pene, Thompson Nuku, George Culshaw, Hoani Pineaha, Betty Huriwai and Kahu Wirihana.
On the 12th of March, 1936, trustees for this block were confirmed as being Hēmi Nuku, Wāmoana Nuku, Nuku Wī, Rātima Nuku, Reihana Nuku, Raurimu Huriwai and Mihiterina.

**Ōmāhu IB 4C, Heretaunga**

My father said this small block which was to the south of the Ōmāhu IB4B1 block, was owned by the Peni whānau. However, it was found that this land was actually owned by the Cottrell whānau of Mōteo. It was sold in 2009.

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86 Ōmāhu IB4B3 Block Order File, Hastings Māori Land Court, 1947
On the 22nd of January, 1986, an order was made cancelling the titles of:
Ōmāhu 1B No. 4A
Ōmāhu IB 4B2
Ōmāhu IB 4B3

They were reconfigured under one title, being Ōmāhu IX. The above listed blocks were aggregated with the land block Wharerangi 6B4B2B. An orchard venture had been undertaken utilising funding support from the Department of Māori Affairs. However, with restructuring and other major changes within that sector, the original ‘grant’ was changed to a loan. When the department realised it could not manage mortgages, the Māori Affairs Department pulled out all funding nationally but assisted in the arrangement of loans with the Bank of New Zealand.

87 Ōmāhu V and IX Block Order File, Hastings Māori Land Court, n.d.
The Wharerangi orchard ran well at the beginning but after a couple of years, the market prices for apples dropped drastically and on top of that, the orchard was hit by a freak hail storm. The venture was in serious financial trouble.

In 1986, the aggregation was finalised between the owners of Ōmāhu IX and Wharerangi 6M blocks. A lease was then approved between Ōmāhu IX and Ōhiti Harvesting Limited for three years commencing October 1, 1990.

In 1991, on the 7th of February, the following trustees were appointed:

1. Charles Takiwai
2. Ken Apatu
3. George Culshaw
4. Kahu Hungahunga
5. Alice Watson

On the 2nd of November, 1992, the Bank of New Zealand wrote to the Māori Trustee in regard to the mortgage. Payments were behind and accumulating interest charges.

In 1993, a Trustee Appointment Order was approved to replace trustees:- Ōmāhu 1X & Wharerangi 6M - Kuru Nuku, Tāmihana Nuku, Brownie Peni, Diane Pākai, Margaret Culshaw, Walker Manaena & Joe De Har as replacement trustees.

In 2001, my first cousin, Les Nuku, contacted our whānau in regard to the mortgage payments being in default and the very real risk of Kāwera being sold to recoup arrears. Due to ignorance on my part and others, relating to the importance of this land and to the seriousness of the

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88 ‘Order Cancelling Several Titles and Substituting One Title’, 121 Napier MB 13-15, 22:01:1986
89 Māori Land Court, Ōmāhu IX Block Order File: Memorial Schedule, No. 9.
90 Ibid, No. 10, pp. 32-33.
91 Ibid, No. 14: TN 8368
situation, after calling a whānau hui, Les left for his home in Wellington, disappointed and dejected due to a very poor response.

In 200293, a new trust order was issued giving power to the trustees to sell 7.3ha of the Wharerangi 6M block and pay all arrears.

On the 28th of March, 2009, a hui was held at Te Āwhina marae in Ōmāhu as most of the trustees had either died or were inactive members. The following people were elected to represent the 202 owners of this block:

- Brownie Peni (existing trustee – son of Peni Nuku)
- Tamihana Nuku (existing trustee – son of Te Heuheu Nuku)
- Phillip Nuku (son of Te Heuheu Nuku)
- Les Nuku (grandson of Te Heuheu Nuku)
- Davis Wilson (grandson of Mihiterina Wilson)
- Haapi Wilson (grandson of Te Heuheu Nuku)
- Kerri Nuku (wife of Shayne Nuku, great grandson of Te Heuheu Nuku)

In November, 2010, plans were being put in place to sell another block, located in Mōteo. This block, Mōteo B2C was originally owned by the Nuku whānau but on the 22nd of April in 1949, it was exchanged by my grandfather, Te Heuheu Nuku, for Ōmāhu 2E7 owned by the Huriwai whānau94. It was on this Ōmāhu land that our whānau homestead was built and still stands today. Therefore the significance of this small block is far reaching in regard to our whānau. However, the debt on that block is large and because it has no direct access to the road, and a serious water issue, therefore rendering it almost unleaseable, the trustees had no other option but to sell before the bank organised a mortgagee sale.

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93 166 Napier MB, p. 203  
94 NMB 88, 22.04:1949, p. 100
Lease Arrangements for Kāwera

Kāwera was leased to a member of the Harper family, it appears from 1953. He retained this lease for many years and one way he ensured this happened was that he would take meat or vegetables to the old people just before his lease was up for re-tender. So at the time whānau members decided to take over the lease and work the land themselves, and my father approached his elders, he was asked by one kuia, ‘so where’s your bucket of peas for me?’

Until this time leases were granted on a handshake which I’ve heard was common practice amongst the elders. At the time of applying for the lease, members of the whānau decided to form a legal trust to take care of such matters. New trustees were nominated consisting of Emma Paki, Areta Peni, Thompson Matekino Nuku (my father), George Culshaw, Hoani Pineaha, Betty Huriwai and Kahu Wirihana. My father, Emma Paki and Areta Peni applied for the aforementioned lease to use the land for cropping pumpkins/squash and the request was approved. They had a bumper crop but due to severe winds and hail plus the substantial and unforeseen drop in the price of pumpkins, the venture flopped. The pickers who had been organised could not meet their obligations so our whole whānau was called in to help pick the crop. It was however, too late. The venture left a $10,000 debt. The trustees did not agree to the business continuing and so the land went on to being leased.

Kāwera has continued to be leased by Ken Apatu since that time until approximately 2002. Two other leases ran since that time, one of which still owes a considerable amount of rent. This is still being pursued.

I remember going there (Kāwera) all the time to get watercress from around the spring. I recall that when Ken Apatu had the land, we had no worries about going on the land. But when he moved on, access to our whenua became a bit tricky and for some time I didn’t go up there to get watercress. I still managed to climb the fence when it was time to bury the pito of our mokopuna though.

(Teress Nuku, personal communication, December 14, 2011)
This saddened the whānau because we had been given full access to our land for eeling and camping for as long as we can remember.

Last year in 2009, the lease was taken over by Davis Wilson who descends from Mihiterina, daughter of Hēmi Nuku. Therefore it is very gratifying to know that the situation has done a full circle and that this land is finally being used by whānau for the benefit of whānau. The benefit is that Davis also employs whānau members such as my cousin, Les Nuku, with the drainage of the swamp area. In November 2010, my son, James, took my two mokopuna, Isaiah 7yrs and Conner 5yrs, and my nephew, Karl, took his son, Rāwiri 7yrs, eeling up at Kāwera for the very first time. It was heart-warming to view the photos posted on Facebook and know that these boys were following in their ancestors’ footsteps, hunting for the treasured tuna of Kāwera.

Over the Christmas period, 2010, it was recommended that descendants of Te Heuheu Nuku reunite and camp up at Kāwera for the Christmas/New Year holiday period in 2011. To this date, the response is very positive. As my sister Teress said, “Let’s make new memories for a new generation of kids!” (Personal communication, December 26, 2010).
He Hokinga Mahara

Agnes Nuku (Aunty Aggie Senior) moved to Kāwera in 1939. Her husband and eldest son of my grandfather, Te Heuheu Nuku, Uncle Rei, built a batch by the river. However they went to Rotorua and on their return, the bach was gone.

She recalls Pat Parsons telling her that Hēmi Nuku owned all of Kāwera and Pukehāmoamoa. He was the firstborn of Wiramina Ngāhuka Tokopounamu. She owned a great deal of land but she gave it out to different people.

A meeting house named Te Āwhina stood at Kāwera. My father, Tāmihana Nuku was born in this wharenui in 1940. Aunty recalled dad being taken home in a towel and she gave him his first bath. She was 20 years of age at the time.

The only one of the original homesteads still standing at Kāwera belonged to Mihiterina Ngāruma or Aunty Māmā, as my father called her. She married Wirihana Hemopo but they took the name Wilson or Wirihana as their surname. She brought up Jim Wilson and also her mokopuna, Missy, Puti (Boots), John, Kura and Matu/Mapu.

Also up on that hill but towards the south, stood the homestead of Wī Nuku. Aunty remembers this house being a big house with 4 large bedrooms and a huge kitchen. Tāmihana also remembers this house as being very large, surrounded by a large verandah and where the elders used to have their hui. They, the children, had to behave because from that viewpoint, their every move could be seen. He also remembers the huge cars that the elders arrived in. Some had six doors.

Te Uenuku Dehar and Kororia (daughter of Te Heuheu from his first marriage) lived in the wharenui.

95 The river is now a stream – Ōhiwia Stream.
My grandparent’s, Te Heuheu (Peter) and Pareputiputi (Polly) house stood where the urupā of today is. When the house burnt down and their daughter, Te Āwhina died, they literally buried her at the exact spot of her death. I remember my Aunty Petie telling me that Nanny was hapū with my father when Te Āwhina died and that she stopped eating, so everyone feared for the unborn baby. Actually, my dad weighed ten pounds at birth!

A new home was needed so they built a kāinga where Jim Peni’s house⁹⁶ stands today. It had a front and back verandah and the boys slept on the back one.

There were two farms. Nanny Māmā operated one cow milking business and my grandfather the other. My grandfather’s cowbales stood at the back of their house. They had 20-30 cows each and Aunty can remember my Aunty Whilamena and Uncle Hēmi going out to round up the cows for milking when they were around 5-7 years of age. There was a great deal of blackberry behind my grandfather’s cowbales and lots of turkeys. There were also many turkeys on the other side of the hill to the south of the Peni house. Aunty recalled catching carp in Lake Rūnanga. Another source of food was the river (Ōhiwia Stream as it is known today). Wild ducks were commonplace and Aunty and others would collect their eggs. The area at the rear of the wharenui was swamp and pūkeko and ducks were also plentiful here.

In terms of kai and the whanaungatanga between the Ōmāhu and Kāwera communities, an excerpt was found from the Whanganui ā Ōrotu Hearing held at Ōmāhu Marae in 1993, regarding my grandfather, Te Heuheu, also known as Peter Nuku and his brother in law, Jim Wilson, husband of Mihiterina or Māmā,

The inner harbour opposite Port Ahuriri, having been emptied of its water within a few hours, remained elevated, and large quantities of fish were entrapped in the shallow pools that dotted its surface. Claimant witness Selina Sullivan remembered collecting fish (flounder and kahawai) as the tide went out:

⁹⁶ Ōmāhu I84B1 - The descendants of Wāmoana Peni subdivided this from the larger block.
That was a luxury straight after the 1931 quake. We had two big trucks in Ōmāhu . . . They were used to get logs from Taupo. They took a crowd to the port . . . at that time the sea went out a mile and a half I think and things were all in puddles, the fish, kina, everything. They couldn’t get away. We all had a feast . . . Peter Nuku and Jim Wilson were the ones who had these trucks and distributed the catch right through the paa.

Not long after that the water started coming back slowly. We never got all those luxuries again. (D14:4)\(^97\)

Returning to the layout of Kāwera of those times, Nanny Māmā’s cowbale was near the boundary between Kāwera and Pukehāmoamoa. In 2009, a huge cactus plant stood as a landsite of the cowbales and although it has since been removed for cropping purposes, we remember it and what it represented in terms of a landmark. Tāmihana recalls a type of batch that stood near the cowbales but he could not recall who lived there. He also said there was a plantation of pine trees along the eastern side of the river. He was sure that it was from these trees, the current Nuku homestead at Ōmāhu was built.

There were other kāinga near my grandfather’s cowbales but people tended to stop and stay briefly, then move on.

The water supply came from a well, a spring. The spring is still there today on the other side of the hill, west to the area where the wharenui stood. There was always an eel in the spring. Eels maintain the cleanliness and wellbeing of waterways.

Another kāinga which was more like a shed, stood near the current day spring. It was made from tin but had designs which indicated it had come from some type of commercial container which had been pressed flat. Tāmihana also recalled an old car that had been left near the

\(^97\) Te Whanganui ā Ōrotu Hearing, Ōmāhu Marae, 19-23 July 1993
spring. The children liked to be instructed to fetch water because it meant they could play in this car.

The hill and the flat area where the waharoa stands today is the papakāinga. Aunty Aggie remarked that Kāwera used to be a beautiful, peaceful place.

Figure 23. Aerial photo of Kāwera.

There had been a close relationship between the communities of Kāwera and Rūnanga. My father went to the local Pukehāmoamoa school for one year until the whānau moved to Ōmāhu. They lived in a house towards the rear of the, then, two wharenui, Kahukuranui which still stands today and Hinemanu. It is here where Hēmi Nuku lived in his later years of life.
Tāmihana remembers there was an open fire in one of the lounges and in a recess next to the fireplace were many photos of deceased people actually in their coffins. When a tangihanga was being held at Ōmāhu marae, the people would go to my grandparents’ home and file through those photos till they found someone related to the tūpāpaku (deceased person) and take the photos back to be placed on the mahau (verandah of a meeting house). The photos were an object of great fear to my father. In 1950 or thereabouts, they moved into their new home which is our whānau kāinga as we know it today.

My father recalls that his father continued to return to Kāwera, sometimes to work on the land but he spent a great deal of time with his sister, Mihiterina, discussing land business. Te Heuheu (also known as Peter), at one point, had secured the contract to plough land on Ōkawa and Pukehāmoamoa and it took him all day from the starting point, to lead the horse drawn plough around these blocks, and back to where he commenced from. This gives some idea of the size of these blocks.

Unfortunately, my grandfather died before I was born. He died in 1958, the year before my parents married. He had wanted them to marry but regretably he never got to see that day. My mother was boarding at my grandparents home and used to take him cups of tea as he was bedridden. She always speaks very highly of him, saying he was a gentle man. Nanny was the bread winner and I have no doubt, she took it all in her stride and did what had to be done.

My grandmother was a hard worker. I would not be the only one to say, she could work harder and longer than any man! Even when the men were having a break, she would still be pottering around, tidying up. As far back as I can remember, she was always working. If she was not tending to her flower gardens or trimming the formidable hedge that seemed to grow like it was on steroids, she was mowing the urupā at Kāwera or the big urupā at Ōmāhu. Nanny was a perfectionist as well. You would see her with an everyday bread knife scraping moss off the headstones. I believe she gained much satisfaction from beautifying what ever she turned her attention to.
She also kept the land tidy. I remember her getting us to hoe thistles in the big paddock at Kāwera, between the hill and the stream, before a camp out one Christmas. It was in the middle of summer at the hottest time of the day! Kāwera was very special to Nanny and I understand more clearly now why she chose to be buried there rather than at her own whānau urupā in Te Haukē.

Today, the homestead that Mihiterina lived in, still stands and is occupied by one of her great granddaughters and her whānau. The Peni home is vacant though. Much progress has occurred over the years, with lifestyle blocks to the back of Kāwera and new homes being scattered around the boundaries.

In July, 2009, a wānanga was held by our whānau in regard to the spring situated behind the original site of the wharenui. Our kuia, Aunty Aggie Nuku, supervised the wānanga and it was a special event with whānau travelling from as far as Wellington to help out on the day. At first, no one could locate the spring following the instructions of our elders. But one of the youngsters soon located it, not under a fallen tree as first thought but more out in the open. It actually only needed a quick weed around it but because of the keen workforce present that day, in no time all hands were chainsawing, carrying or stacking wood for use by the whānau during the winter months. Some of us women and our children went to the urupā and did some weeding. It was enjoyable working and chatting together. Everyone present enjoyed the hard work especially because it benefitted our own land.

After the work was complete, we all travelled back to the whānau homestead for a shared lunch. It was here we decided to go back to my whare, have a BBQ and then present the powerpoint on my research that I had given at a previous hui, to Uncle Kota. He works nightshift so misses out on daytime whānau gatherings. Aunty Aggie and my dad, who I expected would be exhausted, came straight to my home to watch the powerpoint for a second time. It was here that I noticed Aunty and my dad discussing each slide and I heard some new information. Perhaps had I interviewed Aunty in this manner, she would have been more
relaxed and dad was helpful in that he reminded her of events and people. This was one of the highlights of this research project – being honoured by my elders presence despite their tiredness. The day’s activities had rejuvenated them.

Figure 24. Photograph of whānau working together to clean spring

Figure 25. Photograph of the supervisors for the day, my mother, Maureen and Aunty Aggie Snr.

Tūrangawaewae
My own personal memories in relation to Kāwera span back to when I was a teenager and going there a few times with my Nanny when she mowed the urupā. Later, our whānau would camp next to the stream for the Christmas New Year’s break every two years. These were good times where the tamariki swam in the stream or played sports, mostly cricket, in the paddock and the adults would join them or relax under the willow trees and then celebrate in the evenings.
Growing up, I felt no real connection to this land. My father was a farmer and this meant, because of the nature of that type of occupation in those days, that we moved often and lived as far north as Te Pōhue down to Pōrangahau. At times, it meant starting at a new school every year. I have never felt a tie to any particular land space except our whānau homestead at Ōmāhu. This is because not only were my parents living there when I was born, but we continued to visit there regardless of where we lived at the time. Furthermore, when I was 12 or 13 years old, the farming sector collapsed and our whānau had to move back so dad could find a job. We lived at Ōmāhu. Nanny lived in the batch but was away a lot, working as a cook for a shearing gang down south. Even after I left home, this was still our homebase. It was there that almost every Christmas, we would travel back to my Nanny’s house as most of our uncles, aunties and cousins did, and celebrate that time together. This is how it was when I was a child.

Figure 26. Photograph of our whānau base in Ōmāhu taken in approximately 1973, of Nanny, Aunty Whilla, Aunty Priscilla, Uncle Kota with my first cousin, Tracey Flux, on his shoulders. Shortly after this photo was taken, Aunty Priscilla and her husband, Gerry Johnson, moved to England for 12 years.

Figure 27. Photograph of Nanny (centre, wearing navy blue shirt), her children and grandchildren at the whānau homestead at Ōmāhu, in approximately 1962. I am the middle child sitting in the very forefront.
Cousins would come and stay ‘on the farm’ with us and sometimes we would stay in town with them. Looking back, I considered all of my cousins around my age as brothers and sisters. That’s how close we were. So despite not having a land base, I strongly believe we were raised with strong whānau values. So strong in fact, that I have unwittingly passed this on to my own children and they are very whānau orientated. This means when one has cause to celebrate, your whānau are right there celebrating with you and when you are at crisis point, they are there to pick you up, give you a big hug and words of advice.

Therefore my identity has always centred significantly around my whānau. However, having lost loved ones such as my Nanny, Aunty Pete and Uncle Chappie, who are all buried at Kāwera, a connection has been made to this land. While my generation didn’t know of or practice the burial of the pito, our young people have begun to revive that special tradition and therefore strengthening not only their childrens’ ties to Kāwera, but their own.

This research has not only connected me to Kāwera and to my tipuna kuia, Wiramina Ngāhuka, it has explained why there is no other place in the world that I could possibly be buried than Kāwera, “The Māori people had intense emotional and spiritual links with their land, since it provided a sense of belonging, security and sustenance” (Yoon, 1986, p. 57).

In 1988, my father’s generation organised a whānau reunion and it was held at Waiohiki marae. There were sporting activities arranged, namely a cricket match between those of us living in Hawke’s Bay against whānau who lived out of the area. The majority lived in Wellington. The following year, one of my aunties came up with idea of hiring the Deerstalkers’ Hall at Roys Hill, south of Ōmāhu. My eldest aunty, Whilamena (named after Wiramina Ngāhuka), wanted the whānau to instead camp at Kāwera and so we did. The event was to be two weeks in length. The following are memories shared by some of the whānau in relation to the times, we camped up at Kāwera:
My father’s youngest brother, Kota, can recall when, on deciding to have a whānau reunion, one of his sisters had suggested that the Deer Stalker’s Club at Roy’s Hill be the venue. However, his eldest sister wanted it held at Kāwera. Kota was elected spokesperson for those wishing to go the Club. He thought there would be an argument but all Aunty Whil said to him was, ‘Go and have a look before you decide’. He and his children fell in love with the Ōhiwia stream, the willows and the country. We came together at Kāwera that year and for years after that. (Kota Nuku, personal communication, December 13, 2010).

Prior to that reunion, Nanny got some of us to hoe the big thistles in the paddock. A cricket competition had been organised between the local whānau and those living outside of Hawke’s Bay so a cricket pitch also had to be mowed into the paddock.

Everyone turned up with tents, bedding, and clothes as expected for a camp-out. The difference with our camp was there was a generator, a stove, a fridge, a TV and even a sink with benches!

The highlight of these camping reunions was the benefits to the children. Being next to the stream, they could swim all day under the close eye of the adults. The first task however, was to dam up the stream to make a swimming hole. At night, they could play torch games, catch eels or freshwater crayfish, or sit around the bonfire and listen to the older generation talk about the old days. (Teress Nuku, personal communication, December 13, 2010).

My son, James Waapu, remembers learning to eel and sitting around the bonfire at night, as his best experiences at Kāwera. The one thing none of us have anything good to say about, is the long-drop toilet, particularly in the middle of summer!
Figure 28. Photograph of some of Nuku whānau reunion at Kāwera in 1984.

He awa wai kōpuia he taniwha kei roto, e mate;
he awa wai kōpuia wahine, taka ana te āhuru.

Think not forever of yourselves o’ chiefs, nor of your own generation.
Think of the continuing generations of our families, think of our grandchildren
and of those as yet unborn, whose faces are coming from beneath the grounds.  

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CHAPTER SIX: KO WAI AU?

_Ko te kura i huna ki roto ki te toto._

_It is the hidden treasure in the blood._

The following is an attempt to trace my descent to the hapū that Wiramina lists throughout her evidence in regard to who she was, to who her husband, Nuku II, was.

Wiramina Ngāhuka

Ngāti Māhu, Ngāi Tūrauwhā, Ngāi Tangihia, Ngāti Hinepare and Ngāi Takiora.

Nuku II

Ngāti Hineiao, Ngāti Takiora, Ngāti Māhu and Ngāi Tangihia.

Ngāti Māhu/Ngāi Tūrauwhā – Father of Wiramina, Tahana Pura’s side.

Tūrauwhā married Kuratawhiti and they had three children:

1. Tūmahuki (m.)
2. Pahau (m.)
3. Rākeitekura (f.)

Ngāti Māhu descend from the eldest son, Tūmahuki. He married Hinetarere and two sons were born:

1. Puketurua (m.)
2. Tamakanohi (m.)

Puketurua married Ruahuna, and Tūtaeata was born.

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99 Moko Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 254 (“Interpretation of this old proverb equates the ‘treasure’ with the genes in the blood. Hidden from sight, their full significance has only in modern times become appreciated.”)
From Tūtaeata came Karuiro.  
From Karuiro came Taukai who married Parekairaie.  
From this union, came Te Mātoe who married Kanoho. They had two children:

1. Te Hinu (f.)  
2. Te Mū (m.)

Te Hinu and Te Mū o te Rangi married respectively, Te Āhuhu and Te Moeioio, brother and sister. They were great great grandchildren of the ancestor, Ruapirau, who was in turn the great great grandson of Whatumāmoa. These marriages thus united Ngāti Māhu and Ngāti Ruapīrau (Parsons, 1997, pp. 43-44).

Te Mū o te Rangi married Te Moeioio, and three children were born:

1. Rangihuanoa  
2. Te Kauawaho  
3. Tokopounamu

Tokopounamu married Taungawai. In some cases, Wiramina had been referred to as Wiramina Ngāhuka Tokopounamu. Tokopounamu and Taungawai had 3 children:

1. Te Pou  
2. Tahana Pura  
3. Te Kaiwhare

Tahana Pura was the only one of the three children who had issue. He married Roka Mariri of Ngāti Hinepare and they had five children, Hareti Te Kuru, followed by my tīpuna, Wiramina Ngāhuka, Ani Amamo, then a son, Rewi Haukore, and finally another girl, Apikaera.
Ngāti Hinepare, Wiramina’s mother, Roka Mariri

Taraia and Hinepare’s son, Te Rangitaumaha married Hineiao, granddaughter of Tūrauwhā. Their children were:

1. Te Huhuti (f.)
2. Ruatiti (f.)
3. Manutiaitoi (f.)
4. Parengenge (f.)
5. Taraia II (m.)
6. Hinehore (m.)
7. Hikateko (m.)
8. Kaiotea (m.)

Hikateko married Huikirangi and they had eight children:

1. Rūruarau
2. Manuātea
3. Manawa
4. Toheriri
5. Taotahi
6. Iwikohurehure
7. Hikawera Mōkai
8. Paka

The eldest son, Rūruarau, married Whakapakaru, daughter of Hikawera II, granddaughter of Te Huhuti and Te Whatuiāpiti. Their 6 children were:

1. Tuku (m.)
2. Taura
3. Te Umutaowhare
4. Wheao
5. Kaitoi
6. Moko

Wheao married Te Heketanga i Waho and from that union came:

1. Matoru
2. Hineroi
3. Paraheka
4. Te Huiki

Hineroi wed Hineiwikore.

1. Te Kohikohi
2. Whakarepo

Whakarepo married Umutaramea and they had Roka Mariri, the mother of Wiramina Ngāhuka.

Ngāti Hineiao / Ngāi Takiora - Nuku II’s father, Te Rarotāwhana

We return to the tipuna, Hineiao, Tūrauwhā’s granddaughter who married Taraia I’s son, Te Rangitaumaha. They had

1. Te Huhuti (f.)
2. Ruatiti (f.)
3. Manutiaitoi (f.)
4. Parengenge (f.)
5. Taraia II (m.)
6. Hinehore (m.)
7. Hikateko (m.)
8. Kaiotea (m.)

Taraia II married Punākiao, of Ngāti Whatumāmoa. Their children were:

1. Hinemanu
2. Hineteao
3. Tama te Kapua
4. Te Koa a Hauiti
5. Mahuika
6. Honomōkai
7. Hineotua

There is limited information about Hineteao. What is known is that she had a child named Katia-i-te-rangi who in turn, had Takiora. Takiora married Rarake and they had Te Rangikānapananapa, Keke and Whakaputa. “The owners of this land [Pukehāmoamo] were known as N’Hineiao. This was their principal name. They were also known as N’Takiora” (Ngāhuka, 1894, p. 76).

Kēke had a son, Rākautawa who married Tokerautawhiri, descendant of Hinehore. Their children were:

1. Te Rarotawhana
2. Hawea
3. Ruka Takuao
4. Tihi
5. Haea
(Strangely, there is no mention of Wharetewae and Rangaranga, Te Rarotāwhana’s sisters who married Tūhotoariki, chief of Ngāi Te Upokoirī). Te Rarotāwhana married Hīmoana and they had:

1. Nuku II (m.)
2. Tuakana (m.)
3. Paeroa (f.)

Ngāti Hinepare – Nuku’s mother, Hīmoana

Hineiao’s son, Hikateko, married Te Huakirangi and she gave birth to Rūruarau, Manuātea, Manawa, Toheriri, Taotahi, Iwikōhurehure, Hikawera Mōkai and Paka. Rūruarau had mana over the lands from Ōingo to Tūtaekurī. No other children of Hikateko had mana over these lands’ (Parsons, 1997, p. 57). Ruruarau married Hinekino and they had only the one child, a son named Taui. Taui and his wife, Tūhara, had 3 children,

1. Nuku I
2. Ruawai
3. Ruakitepō

Nuku I’s younger brother, Ruakitepō married Poho. They had Te Matao Tohikura who married Hīmoko. They were the parents of Hīmoana, wife of Te Rarotāwhana – the parents of Nuku II.

An interesting piece of whakapapa found is that Nuku I married Te Waiatauranga and they had a daughter, Taungawai. Taungawai married Tokopounamu and they were the parents of Tahana Pura who married Roka Mariri, the parents of Wiramina.

Therefore Wiramina and Nuku II descended from the same great great grandparents.
Ngāi Tangihia

After the Ōtātara battle, Ngāti Whatumāmoa moved to the other side of the Ngaruroro river. “After this, a migration took place and Ngai Tangihia came from Turanga. Turauwha did not kill them but received them as a portion of his people” (Ngāhuka, 1889, pp. 292-293). Their tipuna, Tangihia, had a child named Tauira. Tauira had 2 children:

1. Paeākau
2. Hinekino

Paeākau had 3 children:

1. Hinetūraha (f.)
2. Tūhara (f.)
3. Hinehawahawa (f.)

Hinetūraha was the mother of Te Waiātauranga, wife of Nuku I. Hinehawahawa was mother of Poho, who married Nuku I’s younger brother, Ruakitepō.

Wiramina and Nuku II only had the one surviving child, Hēmi Nuku. He married Katarina Wharepake, also known as Katarina Te Riu. She was Ngāi Te Upokoiri on her grandmother’s side and Ngāti Tūwharetoa on her father’s side.

They had 9 children:

1. Pene
2. Wī
3. Mihiterina
4. Rangitāwhaki
5. Tangiora
6. Kerera
7. Pīkau
8. Te Heuheu
9. Rumakina

I believe it is fitting at this point to include Katarina Wharepake’s whakapapa to Ngāi Te Upokoiri.

Hineiao’s eldest daughter, Te Huhuti, married Te Whatuiāpiti, chief of Ngāti Kahungunu. From this union came Te Wāwahanga; from Te Wāwahanga came Te Rangikāwhiua; from Te Rangikāwhiua came Te Upokoiri, the eponymous ancestor of the hapū named after her. Te Upokoiri married Te Rangituouru. Their child Te Hōpaka married Mania. Their child Te Haruru married Te Rere; from Te Haruru and Te Rere came Māpuna who married a Ngāti Tūwharetoa man, Tahawai. Mihiterina was their child and in turn, the mother of Katarina Wharepake, wife of Hēmi Nuku.

I have lived on this land. I was born at Old Omahu. I was taken to Taupo by some of my elders when I was able to walk about. I returned to this district and have remarried here since I came to Old Omahu, after the fight at Taupo – Te Porere, 1869... I lived at Kāwera when Hemi (Nuku) and I were married ... We were living at Pukehamoamoa but we visited Kāwera for the purpose of collecting food.
(Wharepake, 1892, pp. 87-88)

Te Heuheu married Te Ao Rāpata. Three children were born from this marriage:
1. Reihana
2. Robert
3. Koria / Katarina
Te Ao Rāpata died and Te Heuheu married Pareputiputi Hāpuku of Ngāti Rangikoianake. Pareputiputi, my nanny, was the daughter of Tamaiawhitia Hāpuku and Waireti Hokianga of Te Hauke. However she was a whāngai of her mother’s uncle and raised near Te Wairoa.

My grandparents had 16 children / whāngai:

**Figure 29.** Photograph of Pareputiputi (Polly) Hāpuku and Te Heuheu (Peter) Nuku at Aunty Whilamena’s wedding to Walker Manaena

1. Hēmi (m.) Died 2008 in Melbourne, Australia
2. Wiramina (f.) Died 1987 in Hastings
3. Te Āwhina (f.) Died 1939 at Kāwera
4. Peterina (f.) Died 1998 in Hastings
5. Thompson (m)
6. Chappie (m.) Died in 2003 in Masterton
7. Agnes (f.)
8. Sonny Nuku (m.) Died in 1944
9. Paul Wētini Nuku (m.)
10. Pamela (f.)
11. Phillip (m.)
12. Memory (f.)
13. Gloria (f.)
14. Priscilla (f.)
15. Walker (m.)
16. Kota (m.)

Due to the large size of our whānau and the inability to gain each and everyone’s permission to provide their details, I will only focus on my father’s line of our whakapapa down to his great grandchildren. The goal is to hold a whānau reunion and collect this information as a whānau.

My father, Thompson or Tāmihana, married Maureen Stevens and they had four children:

![Photograph of Tāmihana and Maureen on their wedding day, 14 December, 1959.](image)

Figure 30. Photograph of Tāmihana and Maureen on their wedding day, 14 December, 1959.

1. Pareputiputi Nuku (f.)
2. Gonda Nuku (f.)
3. Teress Nuku (f.)
4. Michael Nuku (m.)

My parents have since divorced and my father is now married to Sandy Chevallerau. They live in Taradale, Napier. Dad is semi retired but very active in the sport of waka ama. My mother, a career woman, is also semi retired and lives directly across the street from me in Mayfair, Hastings.

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100 Nomenclature for whakapapa from this point on:
(1) First digit denotes children of Tāmihana and Maureen Nuku i.e. 3. Teress Nuku (f.)
(2) Second digits denotes the grandchildren i.e. 3.2 Sara Tēneti (f.)
(3) Third digit denotes the great grandchildren i.e. 3.2.2 Serenity Pātia (f.)

Therefore any name with the first digit 3, is a descendant of Teress Nuku.
Figure 31. Photograph of our whānau (my parents, sisters and brother and our children) in front of Kahukuranui, Ōmāhu marae in approximately 1995.

I married James Frederick Rātima Waapu, also of Ōmāhu, in 1979 and we had two children:

1.1 Stormie Chanel Anz Waapu (f.)
1.2 James Ngātau Peter Waapu (m.)

My husband, Jim, died in 1990, in Auckland. Ronald Dennis, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou, is now my partner. Ron is also an ex graduate and kaiwhakaako at Te Manga Māori, EIT and as mentioned above, we live in Hastings.

Stormie and Sean Phillips have one child at this time. They are the only members of our whānau who live away from the tribal area. They live in Māngere Bridge, Auckland. Stormie is a self-employed lawyer and Sean works in the freight sector at Auckland Airport. Sean affiliates to Ngāti Hinemanu.

1.1.1 Māreikura Waapu (f.)

James and Jaylin Ruru had 3 sons:
1.2.1 Malachi Waapu (m.) Died in 2003 in Hastings
1.2.2 Isaiah Waapu (m.)
1.2.3 Conner Waapu (m.)

James is now with Camara Dennis, and they have two children and also live in Mayfair, Hastings. Isaiah and Conner also live in Hastings and stay with their dad every weekend.

1.2.4 Connie-Rae Dennis (f.)
1.2.5 Cairo Waapu (m.)

My younger sister, Gonda, contracted meningitus when she was only six months of age and it left her mentally disabled. However, Gonda lives a full and happy life, flatting in Frimley, Hastings.

Teress and David Tēneti had two children. Teress is now single and until 2010, worked in management for some twenty years. She now lives in Pirimai, Napier with our younger brother, Mike, and his whānau while she studies towards her BA (Māori) at EIT.

3.1 Karl Tēneti (m.)
3.2 Sara Tēneti (f.)

Karl and Vicki Tanenui had 3 children:

3.1.1 Rāwiri Tēneti (m.)
3.1.2 Shante Tanenui Tēneti (f.)
3.1.3 Karl Tēneti (m.)

Karl and Vicki parted and Karl is now living with Georgie Jeffares and her two children, in Mayfair, Hastings.
Sara and Junior Patia have 3 children. They too, live in Mayfair, Hastings.

3.2.1 Sebastian Patia (m.)
3.2.2 Serenity Patia (f.)
3.2.3 Arkaina Patia (m.)

Michael married Ronalda Archer and they have 5 children. They live in Pirimai, Napier. Mike is a kaiako at Te Kura Kaupapa o Te Ara Hou also in Pirimai and Roni is a Health Consultant with Te Kupenga o Hauora in Napier. Roni will be studying towards the BA (Māori) at EIT from February, 2011. All of their children speak te reo Māori.

4.1 Puhiwahine Nuku (f.)
4.2 Pareputiputi Nuku (f.)
4.3 Te Waiatauranga Nuku (f.)
4.4 Nukuroa (m.)
4.5 Nukutai (m.)
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

He aroaro ka huri ki te wā kāinga e kore e tau ki raro.
A person returning home does not stop to rest.\(^{101}\)

Ngā Onepunga\(^{102}\)

1. In this section, I will identify many obstacles that I have been faced with throughout my journey but the one that comes to the forefront is the decision to write my thesis in te reo Pākeha. Initially, my goal was to produce my thesis in te reo Māori so as to do justice to Wiramina’s kōrero. This also aligned with my current studies. However, due to the following reasons, I decided to write in te reo Pākehā:

i. On receiving feedback from my te reo Māori supervisor, Materoa Haenga, on my initial drafts, it was evident my knowledge of the reo was not at the required level to do justice to this kaupapa;

ii. Advice received from other researchers that to write such a large document in the reo would be very difficult;

iii. When discussing the thesis with one of my aunties, she commented that if it were in te reo Māori, she, her children and her grandchildren would not be able to understand it.

In my desperation to honour those who had taught me over the eight years of learning te reo Māori, I even considered writing it in Māori and Pākehā but was advised that then, I would be writing two thesis. Having to surrender to the fact that I must write this thesis in te reo Pākehā has caused me much anguish and disappointment. Ultimately, my plan is to

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\(^{101}\) Moko Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 66. “In general if an objective is compelling, one pursues it without pausing”. In terms of researching Kāwera, it has been a journey over the past four years and so compelling, regardless of the difficulties experienced, I was determined to see it through to the end.

\(^{102}\) Light soil, lacking in substance (used to reflect difficulties experienced)
rewrite this in te reo Māori, maybe in my retirement years, to further enhance the kaupapa and mana of my kōrero and to nurture the whenua and the whakapapa that this is based on.

2. As mentioned previously, the deterioration of historical records (water damaged maps, time worn minute books, etc.) especially the minutes of Wiramina Ngāhuka’s kōrero has hindered my progress to a point. Through sheer determination and with the help of today’s technology, I have been able to piece together a lot of the information but there are parts that still need further investigation and interpretation.

With this comes the risk of misspelling in terms of tipuna names and place names due to the age of the minutes and the handwriting of the transcriber. One needs to be wary of the transcriber and their interpretation. Is it a true and accurate account of what was really being said? “Manuscripts capture on particular aspect of Māori though at particular period within a narrowly defined context” (Tau, 2001, p. 69). Not only does this question arise from the historical interpretations but also my own interpretations. Being aware of the very real chance that there could have been errors in both the transcribing of the evidence of Wiramina and the translation of her reo Māori is a consideration not taken lightly. For instance, finding out that ‘Kāwera’ of Wiramina’s time is vastly different to Kāwera of today. The block she talks about covers a larger area. However, the land block we know of as Kāwera, she refers to as ‘Kāwera Proper’, “As with all evidence, it is necessary to have regard to the contexts and circumstances in which it was created, and the particular interests and purposes of the witness” (Erueti & Ward, 2001, p. 165).

3. The time spent transcribing the Māori Land Court evidence was very time consuming and exhausting, having to use a magnifying glass and if that didn’t do the trick, magnifying the digital copy on the computer. There were many instances when even this didn’t help and I had to instead, leave an underscore i.e. ______. However, this never sat well with me.
4. Another constraint I faced was that there was only one living relative, Aunty Aggie Snr, who could provide me with a sound recollection of how Kāwera was, albeit that even she first encountered this whenua only in the early 1930s. My father, Tamihana Nuku and his sister, Aunty Priscilla were able to recount some things but were very young at the time. They assisted by passing down kōrero that they had heard or picked up through their own research throughout their lives. When preparing for the interview process, I had assumed that there would be quite a few of my elders who knew information to assist me.

5. All of the above challenges have played a significant role in ‘hindering’ progress in terms of this thesis. However, the greatest wero (challenge) has been juggling the demands of researching Kāwera with my work and other study commitments, notwithstanding my whānau obligations.

The past two years have been extremely demanding but very rewarding. However, the biggest cost has been, ironically, my whānau. Ironically because the very essence of this research is all about whānau, our history, our connections to the past so that our future may be brighter, stronger and richer. Where my mokopuna used to stay with us, their kui (female elder) and koro (male elder) regularly, they now have short visits and our relationship has suffered because of this. I hold close to the belief, once this thesis is completed, I will be a new and improved kuia to better cope with their enquiring minds.

6. The fact that our extended whanau as a whole, is quite disconnected, means that I was unable to ascertain if whānau members through other lines might hold information that could assist in this process. As it was, at the first hui I called to seek permission to carry out this research project, I was surprised to meet nieces of my father for the very first time who were close to his age. As previously mentioned, we are a fragmented whānau. I know many of my relations, but there are a great number I have not yet met.
7. I regret that I have not uncovered any background to the name Kāwera, itself, it’s origin and meaning. Attempting to find some connection between the tipuna, Hikawera II, and this land block, did not lead to any concrete conclusions. However, I cannot help feeling there is some correlation between the two. Perhaps in time, this mystery will be solved.

8. Learning new waiata that pertain to Ngāti Māhu and Ngāti Hinepare has been very rewarding. One waiata, together with Te Waiata o Te Whatu (p. 67), has taught me the names of significant landsites and the ancestors that strongly affiliate to those sites.

Appendix II

Ngā Onemata

1. In hindsight, while pondering the barriers I was faced with, I must now highlight the positive attributes of this research with one of the major highlights being the discovery of Wiramina Ngāhuka’s evidence she provided to the Native Land Court from 1888-1889 and other hearings pertaining to other land blocks. Over 100 pages of her evidence in English were located, photographed and printed, as a resource for all of her uri.

Both my father and brother had mentioned to me that they had heard Patrick Parsons had Wiramina’s evidence in regard to the land block, Pīrau. However, at that time, I had not taken this on board because, in the main, it related to another land block. After transcribing all of the English translations of her evidence in relation to the Ōmāhu block, I was eager to find more. I contacted Pat, and my brother and I, armed with digital cameras, headed to his home. I took home the equivalent of 55 pages of Wiramina’s evidence in te reo Māori, that day. The annoying aspect of that exercise was that my $800 camera (that I had purchased for this kaupapa) was not all it was made out to be and I had to ask my brother for his copies instead!

103 Dark, fertile soil (used to reflect highlights of this research)
Many times, an onlooker might have been mistaken that I was reading an action thriller novel. Discovering that Te Rarotāwhana, my great, great, great grandfather offered to return Paeroa’s head from Ngāi Te Upokoiri in the Manawatū, to her whānau, Ngāti Kahungunu, was an exciting find. He came close to losing his life because of the anger and hurt felt by the whānau. Fortunately their anger subsided and he was saved. One thing I will never forget was reading “Nuku was killed at Ruahine and eaten at Puketapu ...” (Ngāhuka, 1889, p. 296). My class at the time, were working independently and I was transcribing the Māori Land Court evidence. I let out a loud, ‘No! Oh no it can’t be!’ One of my students stopped what he was doing and rushed over to see what was wrong. On reflection, I do not think for a moment that it was Nuku I or Nuku II, perhaps another name although it distinctly appears to be ‘Nuku’. Had it been so, surely there would have been further reference to such a shocking end to his life! I have to add that although many times, I regretted agreeing to my father’s request that I type up all of Wiramina’s evidence, overall, it meant I could not skim read, rather I was forced to read it all slowly and thoroughly. It has been a fascinating experience.

Another definite highlight of this research, from the viewpoint of a te reo Māori student, was to read the words of my tipuna - to read her kōrero and understand it. I say this in amazement because I am accustomed to reading the reo of fluent speakers in expectation that it would be a struggle for me, knowing that my Māori dictionaries will be utilised to their full capacity and fully prepared for the headaches that follow. On the contrary - Wiramina’s reo was simple - almost easy to understand! This was a huge milestone for me in terms of my reo. While it was not academic reo, the reo I was being taught, it was ground roots reo, it was te reo o te kāinga (the language one uses at home versus formal language)! This meant if she were here today, telling me her stories, I would be able to understand!! That was one of the most special days of this journey!

2. On learning of the possible existence of a photo of Wiramena’s son, my great grandfather Hēmi Nuku, I knew I had to track it down. After many phone calls, I was eventually
referred to the Grace whānau museum in Tokaanu, so my father – Tamihana, sister – Teress, brother – Maika and I embarked on a journey to investigate. We arrived at the museum to find that the kuia who had been the kaitiaki of this museum and its collection of taonga, had since died. Furthermore, her daughters were in the process of reorganising the museum so it was not open to the public. However, it was our good fortune that on arrival, we were ushered into the museum and guided directly to the photo. Words cannot explain how we all felt, looking at this photo of our tipuna koroua. Finally, a face to the name I’d written, read and spoken out loud, so many times. Even if I could not complete all of my objectives in regard to this research, this photo alone was more important than anything I could write. I envy other whānau who have photos or paintings of their tīpuna. On my grandfather’s side, this photo is all we have of Hēmi Nuku and any preceding generations, therefore it is a taonga for our whānau, now and in the future. Incidentally Pat Parsons has located a photo of Wiramina’s sister, Te Apikaera. It is our hope that we will be able to obtain a copy of this.

Figure 32. Teress, myself and our dad, Tāmihana, in front of Te Mahau, the wharenui just inside the entrance gate at Waihi, on the edge of Lake Taupō.

After leaving the museum, our father took us all back to Waihi where I saw, Te Mahau, the wharenui that Hēmi Nuku built and the land around it, for the third time in my life. It had been renovated and therefore, stood majestically within the native bush backdrop. My father continued to tell us many stories relating to the past, further instilling in us our
Tuwharetoa ties. We climbed the hill to the rear of Tāpeka marae, to the urupā to try and find my great grandmother, the first wife of Hēmi Nuku - Katarina Wharepake’s grave but were unable to. We then went to the Waihi waterfall as we’d done as children.

Figure 33 and 34. My sister, Teress (right), and I in front of the Waihi waterfall in 1969 and 2009.

3. It was with great interest and surprise to learn that further to our affiliation to Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Tuwharetoa, we, like many others here in Hawke’s Bay, whakapapa back to the tangata whenua of this area, that is, the people here before the coming of Ngāti Kahungunu. I had known the stories about Ōtātara pā and Taraia’s ‘invasion’ for many years but to learn that I whakapapa back to that chief, Tūrauwhā, was mind blowing. It was a little embarrassing too because for almost 14 years, I have been working at EIT, which is situated at the foot of Ōtātara and Hikurangi maunga! Therefore everyday, now, I gaze up to these maunga with new eyes and new perspectives.

4. It has been very fulfilling to locate and study our whakapapa. I especially enjoyed formatting different sections to illustrate how we whakapapa to each of the hapū that Wiramina and Nuku II named as their own. The fact that Ngāti Hineiao and Ngāi Takiora are one and the same hapū was only determined during the final proofreading phase of
this thesis. My sister and I were at the local Māori Land Court searching for information on another land block altogether and there was Wiramina, once again, showing me what I needed to know at the right time!

5. In closing, the section on the Native Land Court and subsequent legislation that has impacted on my people, has left a lasting impression on myself and some of my whānau. As Kāwera has been retained by the Nuku whānau throughout the years, I was content that I would not have to delve into the Treaty of Waitangi and the politics that followed. However, while researching another block of land that was sold soon after being Crown granted in 1889, I discovered that whether Māori land was sold or not, it was affected by this stream of legislation. In 1889 alone, the year the Ōmāhu hearing was held, nine Acts were passed! With this state of obvious confusion and the significant expense associated with land tenureship at the time, it is no wonder Māori land was widely sold voluntarily.

Therefore the majority of the final stage of this research has been related to Māori land tenureship and in particular the effects of alienation. There is a great deal about “the loss of identity, mana and, by definition, loss of rangatiratanga” (Stokes, 2002, p. 180) and from Wiramina’s evidence, there were times where this loss could be almost felt within her statements. For us, her descendants of today who have never lived on Kāwera, that loss is different. It is only now that I have researched our whenua, that I can empathise with the ‘loss’ suffered by the tīpuna. My generation can only imagine what it must have been like, then get angry and move on together to safeguard the lands that have survived the past crises.

This section, like so many other milestones along the way, has convinced me that the Nuku whānau are extremely fortunate to still retain Kāwera. It is my hope that this point will shine through and that as a whānau, we will work together to leave a rich history for our mokopuna as our tīpuna have left for us. It is also my hope too that this research “is fulfilling another purpose of providing the catalyst to get the whanau back together” (Stokes, 2002, p. 183). If this kōrero brings our whānau closer, if it makes a positive
difference in the life of even one of my whānau, I will view this four year journey as a great success.

_He kupenga tēnei ka rūhā ka pae ki te one._

_For anything worth having, one must pay the price; and the price, is always work, patience and self-sacrifice._\(^\text{104}\)

The previous chapters illustrate the rich history that Kāwera holds. A history that spans over many years and over many generations. This history cements the connections of Hēmi Nuku’s descendants to this land and beyond. Personally, when I drive out to this small block of country land now, I feel differently. It is more than knowing this is my land, it is an intimacy I have never known before. Despite the fact that I now know so much about this land, it still holds so much more kōrero that sadly, I will never be privileged to know. It is lost to te ira kikokiko (the human life principle). Instead, it lays within the soil, layer upon layer, extending deep within the earth. It flows too, through the heart of Kāwera, within the slow waters of Ōhiwia, out to the majestic Ngaruroro river.

---

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Māori Land Court (1889). Napier Minute Book 20: Ōmāhu Hearing.

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## APPENDIX I

### GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word or term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>ahi kā</td>
<td>those who have the right to occupy the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapū</td>
<td>sub-tribe(s) made up of a collection of families that share a common ancestor. Ngāti Hineiao is a collective of family lines that can all trace back to the ancestor, Hineiao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāpuku</td>
<td>NZ groper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haukāinga</td>
<td>home base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he āhuru mōwai</td>
<td>calm, sheltered haven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he kākano i ruia mai i hea?</td>
<td>where was this seed disseminated from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he tangata kī tahi</td>
<td>A man of his word or in this case, a woman of her word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoa ākonga</td>
<td>classmate(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huahua manu</td>
<td>birds preserved in their own fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hue</td>
<td>a general name for all gourds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>meeting, gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ira</td>
<td>the genes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe, a collective of sub-tribes who share a common ancestor e.g. Ngāti Kahungunu iwi are a collection of many interrelated sub-tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahawai</td>
<td>NZ fish (arripis trutta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaikaranga</td>
<td>caller - the woman (or women) who perform the ceremonial call of welcome to visitors at the beginning of a formal reception on a marae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāinga</td>
<td>home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitautoko</td>
<td>support staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitiaki</td>
<td>guardian(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitiakitanga</td>
<td>the act of guardianship; protection of property and treasures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kākahi</td>
<td>NZ freshwater mussel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiwhakaako</td>
<td>tutor(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karakia</td>
<td>prayer(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaumātua</td>
<td>male and female elder(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupapa</td>
<td>process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>Māori philosophies and methodologies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>protocol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koha</td>
<td>gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koreke</td>
<td>NZ quail, now extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōrero</td>
<td>narrative(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōrero whakatūpato</td>
<td>word of caution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word or term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koro</td>
<td>male elder (abbreviated form), term of address to male elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koroua</td>
<td>male elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūi</td>
<td>female elder (abbreviated form), term of address to female elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuia</td>
<td>female elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūmara</td>
<td>sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahau</td>
<td>verandah of a meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>authority, influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana whenua</td>
<td>authority over tribal estates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marae ātea</td>
<td>the area in front of a meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātauranga Māori</td>
<td>traditional Māori knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokopuna</td>
<td>grandchild(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōteatea</td>
<td>lament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Kāwera ahau</td>
<td>I am from Kāwera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onemata</td>
<td>dark, fertile soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onepunga</td>
<td>light soil, lacking in substance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oriori</td>
<td>lullaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>a person of predominantly European descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakeke</td>
<td>adult, senior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakiwaitara</td>
<td>legend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa</td>
<td>abbreviation for Papatūānuku (mother earth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papakāinga</td>
<td>ancestral home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papatūānuku</td>
<td>mother earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pito</td>
<td>tummy button, naval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūkeko</td>
<td>NZ swamp hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūrākau</td>
<td>ancient legend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāhui</td>
<td>a prohibition or temporary ban instituted on a particular area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangahau kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>research which adheres to Māori philosophies and methodologies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangi</td>
<td>short for Ranginui (sky father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reo</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohe</td>
<td>area, region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiha</td>
<td>close quarters combat weapon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangata whenua</td>
<td>indigenous people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangihanga</td>
<td>mourning ritual, bereavement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taniwha</td>
<td>water spirit, monster, chief; something or someone awesome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>treasure; highly prized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga tuku iho</td>
<td>cultural resources passed down by ancestors through the generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>sacrosanct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word or term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauwi</td>
<td>foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ao Māori</td>
<td>the Māori worldview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ao Pākehā</td>
<td>the western worldview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ara o Tāwhaki</td>
<td>name of the marae at EIT, Taradale (the pathway of Tāwhaki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ihi me te wana o te mana Māori</td>
<td>all that is excellent about being Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ipu o Taraia</td>
<td>the ‘Iron Pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ira kikokiko</td>
<td>the human life principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo Māori</td>
<td>the Māori language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo Māori me ōna tikanga</td>
<td>the Māori language and customs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo o te kāinga</td>
<td>the language one uses at home versus formal language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiaki</td>
<td>to guard, to keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikanga</td>
<td>customs and practices; appropriate guidelines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikanga Māori</td>
<td>Māori customs and practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tino rangatiratanga</td>
<td>sovereignty, absolute autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna</td>
<td>ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna koroua</td>
<td>male ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna kuia</td>
<td>female ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohunga</td>
<td>repositories of traditional knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuakiri</td>
<td>identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuna</td>
<td>eel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuna mōkai</td>
<td>pet eel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūpāpaku</td>
<td>deceased person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūrangawaewae</td>
<td>a place where one has the right to stand and be heard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūtohu whenua</td>
<td>prominent features of the land e.g. mountains, rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urupā</td>
<td>cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uri</td>
<td>descendant(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utu</td>
<td>revenge; cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waharoa</td>
<td>gateway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiata</td>
<td>song(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wānanga</td>
<td>conscious thought-processing and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weka</td>
<td>NZ woodhen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wero</td>
<td>challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakaaro</td>
<td>idea(s); opinion(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakataukī</td>
<td>proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakawhanaungatanga</td>
<td>interrelationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word or term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau</td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau urupā</td>
<td>family cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau whānui</td>
<td>extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanaunga</td>
<td>relative(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whāngai</td>
<td>foster son/daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wharau</td>
<td>temporary shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare wānanga</td>
<td>traditional house of learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wharenui</td>
<td>meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whati</td>
<td>to flee; turn and go away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whenua</td>
<td>land, placenta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II

Saturday, 22nd February, 1890

Court opened at 9.30am

Present: The same

List of names in Kawera as passed\textsuperscript{105}. Trustees

1. Renata Kawepo m. (Died before case heard)
2. Airini Tonore f.
3. Iraia Karauria m.
4. Pani Karauria f.
5. Erena Haromi Karauria f. 18 Airini Tonore and Te Teira Tiakita
6. Anikanara Kawenata f.
7. Kiriona Tauwhitu m.
8. Hemi Nuku m.
9. Hohepa Te Umurangi m.
10. Matetahuna Tiopira m. 20 Wiremu Te Muhunga Broughton
11. Hoeroa Tiopira m. 18 Arona Raurimu & Hemi Nuku
12. Wiramina Ngahuka f. Admitted by both parties through aroha
13. Toki Toki m.

\textsuperscript{105} The final list included only 32 owners. As indicated above, Renata Kawepo had died but it is unknown who the other person was to be taken off the list.
14. Meretini Mohi f. 18

15. Ria Tawhara alias Mohi f. 17  Airini Tonore

16. Rohutu Mohi f. 16

17. Hori Tahiko alias Mohi f. 12  and Temuera Rangitaumaha

18. Hawhekeihe Mohi f. 8

19. Raniera Te Ahiko m.

20. Te Muera Rangitaumaha m.

21. Ihimaera Karaka m. 20  Airini Tonore

22. Te Hina Karaka m. 18  and Temuera Rangitaumaha

23. Rahira Karaka f. 17

24. Karena Ruataniwha m.

25. Anaru Te Wanikau  Interest small

26. Meri Tawhara f.

27. Waata Rakaiwerohia m.  Interest small

28. Te Amopo Te Mina m.

29. Waipu Te Moata f.

30. Paora Kaiwhata m.

31. Rawinia Kaingaroa f.

32. Hemi Awapuni m.

33. Heni Hepora f.  Interest very small

34. Para Marewa f.
APPENDIX III

Te Tangi a Rawiri Tareahi mo Ahuriri

1. Waiho au kia takoto ki taku taumata okiokinga
   O Poraiti ki Te Rere-a-Tawhaki
   Kia rongo tonu ai maua ko taringa
   I te haruru i te papaki mai o nga tai
   Aki mai ki uta ra ki Ahuriri e

2. E koingo\(^{106}\) nei a ngakau kia kotahi ano te kitenga
   Pere te titiro ki a Hinemoana, ki te motu o Tapu-te-ranga\(^{107}\)
   Wahi tohinga Karauria Pupu
   Te otinga atu e

3. Kei mua tonu i te aroaro ko Te Taha
   Whakauenukutanga\(^{108}\) a Rangatira
   Tateatanga\(^{109}\) a Ruawharo
   Whakangotonga\(^{110}\) tapuwae hoki o Mahu-tapoa-nui e

4. Whiti i te hongere\(^{111}\) ko Mataruahou
   He whatinga mai i te pae maunga o Raukawa
   E ai ki te korero e

5. Nohonga o Pania o te iwi Ponaturi mai i te moana

\(^{106}\) Koingo = yearn, fret, sorrow, grieve
\(^{107}\) Tapu-te-ranga = was a place of old ancestral associations, a place of baptism
\(^{108}\) Whakauenukutanga = burial place
\(^{109}\) Tateatanga = offspring
\(^{110}\) Whakangotonga = impress, mark
\(^{111}\) Hongere = channel
Tunui o Heipipi tona uri

Ka hoki komuri te mahara ki Tuhinapo

O tua atu i Mataruahou

Ki te wai tuku kiri, ki te puna wai maori

Whakaahurutanga\textsuperscript{112} o Pania e

6. Pohepohe\textsuperscript{113} kau ana i te tukawikawi\textsuperscript{114}, i te toritori\textsuperscript{115}

O roto mai o Heipipi, te tohu o te mana

O te mauri o Whatumāmoa\textsuperscript{116}

Hoki ana te mahara ki te tōhunga āriki

Ki a Tunui\textsuperscript{117} e

7. Ko Keteketerau\textsuperscript{118} tona ara ki te ripi paua ki Matariki\textsuperscript{119}

Ko Ruamano te kaikawe e

8. Piki ana au ki ...Titi-o-Kūra\textsuperscript{120}

Kei te ta/epa/epa/tanga o te rangi\textsuperscript{121}

Ko te waka o Nga-rangi-ka-taka

Titia ko nga pou tarawhao e

9. Ko Rongomaipāpā\textsuperscript{122}, ko ...Kahungunu

\textsuperscript{112} Whakaahurutanga = warm, nestle, cherish
\textsuperscript{113} Pohepohe = distracted
\textsuperscript{114} Tukawikawi = eager, quick, hustle
\textsuperscript{115} Toritori = strenuous, energetic, busy, bustling
\textsuperscript{116} Whatumamo = Ngati Mamo, Kati Mamo
\textsuperscript{117} Tunui = Tunui-a-rangi, great great grandson of Pania
\textsuperscript{118} Keteketerau = clicking noise made with the tongue, also the principle outlet from Te Whanganui-a-Orutu
\textsuperscript{119} Matariki = Pleiades, also known as Te Matau a Māui, Cape Kidnappers
\textsuperscript{120} Titi-o-Kura = the summit on the Napier / Taupo road.
\textsuperscript{121} Taepaepatanga o te rangi = is the place where the sky hangs down to the horizon
I toku taumata tiro iho ana au ki te wharuarua...

Ka hoki a mahara... ka heke a roimata...

Mo te heke o Maruiwi e

10. Tu tonu mai ki toku aroaro

Ko nga pou e wha nei ara

Ko ... Kaitahi, Tukapua, Hine-tau-moa

Ko Rangi-tau-mapu e

11. Kau ana au i taku awa o ...Mohaka ki Ranga-a-Tawhao

E takoto mai ra i te take o te taupae ki ... Kaweka

Haere tonu atu ki ... Maharakeke

Ki te tahatika o Ngaruroro

Ko Tūmatai tā, ko ...Ngati Ruapirau

Te tunga o ...Kohurau, o ...Umukiwi e

12. Tutuki ana te haere ma Tutae-kuri

Otaatara, nohonga o te upoko ariki, o Turauwha

Nona nei te tipuna i hinga i te apiti ki ...Pokopoko Rohe o Te Pohue e

13. Kati ra, e koro Rawiri

Na to ohaki ka puta ko te kupu

Ka kai kino ko te aroha, me te mamae e.

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122 Rongomaipapa = daughter of Kahungunu, wife of Ruapani
APPENDIX IV

Photographs of Kāwera

Whānau urupā

Mowing the urupā: Niece, Puhiwahine and sister, Teress on Taihape Road. Waharoa in background.

Ōhiwia Stream

The natural spring on Kāwera

Kāwera papakāinga

Part of Ōkawa and Kāwera Hiwi