

Ngati Raukatauri, Hapu of Ngati Huarere

**A Report Commissioned by the
Waitangi Tribunal
for Wai 693**

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Introduction

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this report in memory of my dear mother, Ripeka and grandmother Whaitiri (after whom I was named), of the Tamati whanau of Ngati Raukatauri of Ngati Huarere of Moehau.

I can remember as a small child and throughout my growing years when my mother together with my father's constant reinforcement would always gently remind us as children: 'Don't forget you're Ngati Huarere too, remember Matamataharakeke.' Nareira, oku koka tenei te taumaha o to whanau, me to iwi, engari he raukura tenei mo matou.

Acknowledgment from Whaitiri

I would like to pay a special tribute and thanks to Heather Bassett and Richard Kay of Auckland who assisted me in the completion of the Matamataharakeke alienation report and this present report on the traditional history of Ngati Huarere. I am deeply indebted to them for their patience, intellectual insight and enthusiasm which allowed us to finally tell our story. Ka nui taku mihi ki a korua. Also special thanks to Matthew Russell of the Waitangi Tribunal for his support, guidance and great patience over the last 18 months. I would like to acknowledge Deborah James of Waiheke Island whose initial research into the Matamataharakeke block prompted me into initiating the Wai 693 claim.

Authors

Whaitiri, the youngest child of ten children, is the daughter of Te Oru and Ripeka Mikaere. She was born on the Coromandel Peninsula and brought up among her Ngati Pukenga, Ngati Whanaunga and Ngati Maru relations of Manaia. Whaitiri proudly acknowledges her lineage from Ngati Pukenga and Ngati Ranginui of Tauranga Moana through her father, and her lineage from Rongomaiwahine of Mahia Peninsula, Ngati Maru of Hauraki, Te Tawera of Ngati Pukenga ki Manaia and Ngati Raukatauri of Ngati Huarere of Moehau through her mother.

At present she is completing her studies for a Diploma of Clinical Neuro-Psychology, with a secondary emphasis on Forensic Psychiatry, at the University of Auckland, Department of Clinical Psychology and the Department of General Psychiatry, Auckland School of Medicine.

Heather Bassett has a Bachelor of Arts Honours degree, majoring in history, from Waikato University. From 1993 to 1995 she worked as a researcher for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, during which time she co-authored the *Maori Land Legislation Manual*. Heather was a staff member at the Waitangi Tribunal from June 1995 to October 1996. She is now working as a contract historian based in Auckland.

Richard Kay has a Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in history, from Otago University and a Master of Arts Honours degree, majoring in history, from Waikato University. He has a Diploma of Teaching (secondary) from the Auckland College of Education. He is based in Auckland and works as a contract historian.

Together, Heather Bassett and Richard Kay have written the following reports:

- 'Otago Scenic Reserve' (Wai 210);
- 'Aspects of the Urbanisation of Maungatapu and Hairini, Tauranga' (Wai 342 and Wai 370);
- 'Case Studies of Crown Administration in Welcome Bay' (Wai 603);
- 'Mangatawa' (Wai 47);
- 'Otago Reserve and Bowentown Domain' (Wai 47);
- 'Huharua, Pukewhanake and Nga Kuri a Whare' (Wai 47);
- 'Ngaiterangi and the Crown' (Wai 215);
- 'Matamataharakeke' (Wai 693);
- 'Manaia IB & 2B Survey Charges' (Wai 285);
- 'Kaiua School Site' (Wai 563);
- 'Ngati Pukenga and Ngapeke' (Wai 47);
- 'Crown Acquisition and Desecration of Nga Potiki Land' (Wai 717); and

- 'Ngati Koata ki Te Tau Ihu' (Wai 566).

Commission

Wai 693 was lodged by Whaitiri Mikaere, on behalf of Ngati Huarere, in November 1997. The claim alleges specific grievances against the Crown in relation to the Matamataharakeke block on the north-eastern part of the Coromandel Peninsula. Bassett Kay Research have already completed a research report on the matters raised in the Wai 693 statement of claim.¹ This report is designed to complement that specific research report by identifying Ngati Huarere and the nature of their ownership of the Moehau district of the Coromandel Peninsula.

In June 1998 the Waitangi Tribunal commissioned Whaitiri Mikaere and Bassett Kay Research to prepare a report on the following matters:

- (a) Ngati Huarere whakapapa and Te Arawa traditional history
- (b) Ngati Huarere settlement and occupation of Moehau
- (c) The impact of Marutuahu settlement, and Ngapuhi incursions upon Ngati Huarere
- (d) The situation as it relates to Ngati Huarere occupation of Moehau during and after the arrival of Marutuahu.

This report has been researched and structured by Whaitiri Mikaere; Bassett Kay Research has assisted Ms Mikaere by collating her research into a written report.

Structure

The structure follows the chronology of the whakapapa going from the broad Te Arawa origin, through Ngati Huarere, and then focusing on the hapu of Ngati Raukatauri. The focus has been determined by the claimant, who is a descendant of the whanau of Ngati Raukatauri rangatira Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki. As the report will show, the history of Ngati Raukatauri is different from the history of the other hapu of Ngati Huarere. This means that Ngati Raukatauri have a distinct

¹ Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, 'Matamataharakeke', Waitangi Tribunal, July 1998, [Wai 686, A35]

story to tell, and this report does not claim to represent the history of other Ngati Huarere hapu.

Sources

The sources used to prepare this report were all identified and researched by Whaitiri Mikaere. The most important sources of information were:

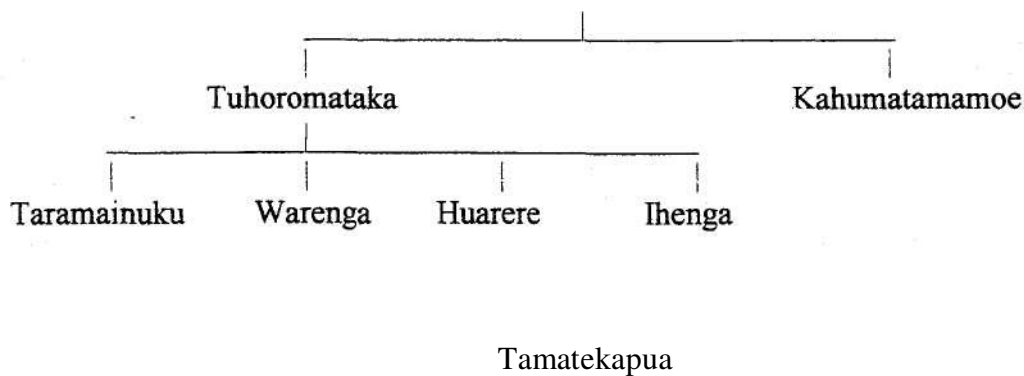
- accounts of tribal history given in the Native Land Court;
- secondary accounts of tribal history, particularly those collated by George Graham and Don Stafford;
- discussions with kaumatua Hiko Hohepa (Te Arawa), and Pera Kingi (Ngati Raukatauri);
- personal knowledge of family history.

Maps were drawn by Noel Harris of the Waitangi Tribunal following information provided by Whaitiri. These maps can be found at the end of the report.

1. Ngati Huarere and Te Arawa

1.1 Relationship Between Tamatekapua and Huarere

/. /. / Ngati Huarere, of Hauraki, derive their name from their ancestor Huarere, the grandson of Tamatekapua, the ariki of the waka Te Arawa.



1.1.2 It is reasonable to suppose that Huarere, himself, voyaged on the waka from Hawaiki. Don Stafford, after an analysis of various sources naming the crew members of Te Arawa waka, identified Ihenga as one of the crew. He concluded, that because Ihenga and Tamatekapua were onboard, then it would be logical that their father, Tuhoromataka would have also been on board the waka.² As Ihenga was the youngest child of Tuhoromataka, then it is also likely that his elder siblings were also on the waka. It certainly means that Huarere was born before the waka arrived in Aotearoa.

1.1.3 The first place Te Arawa waka landed was Whangaparaoa, from where, it journeyed down the coast to Moehau, on the Coromandel Peninsula. Tamatekapua claimed this land for himself, saying that it was where he would be buried. Te Arawa historian, Stafford, gave the following version of Tamatekapua's declaration:

'Listen all of you: whatever part of the mainland our canoe may finally arrive at, I shall return here; the mountain top yonder shall be my home.' He pointed to the summit of Moehau mountain and went on; 'My body shall rest here in this place for ever'.³

The waka then travelled along the Bay of Plenty coastline before finishing its voyage at Maketu.

² Don Stafford, *Te Arawa: A History of the Te Arawa People*, Auckland, 1967, p 475

³ *ibid*, p 18

1.2 Migration of Tamatekapua to Moehau

1.2.1 Shortly after settling at Maketu, Tamatekapua fell out with his son Kahumatamamoe. The argument was over the ownership of a garden cultivated by Kahumatamamoe. Despite Tamatekapua's claim based on his paramount status, the people sided with Kahumatamamoe.⁴ As a result, Tamatekapua left Maketu. He travelled back to Moehau, which he had previously claimed as his own, and this now became Tamatekapua's main settlement.

1.2.2 Tamatekapua was later joined at Moehau by his son Tuhoromatakaka, and his grandchildren. This was after Tuhoromatakaka and Kahumatamamoe fought at Parawai, over cultivation lands. Although Tuhoromatakaka had the better of the fight, the conflict spurred him to join his father at Moehau.⁵ He took with him his four sons: Taramainuku, Waranga, Huarere, and Inenga.

1.2.3 When Tamatekapua died he was buried by his son on the summit of Moehau. Before his death, he placed a tapu on Tuhoromatakaka, but Tuhoromatakaka failed to follow the conditions of the tapu, which brought about his own death.⁶ While dying Tuhoromatakaka told his youngest son, Ihenga, to carry out the burial rites on his body and instructed him then to seek out his uncle, Kahumatamamoe, so that the tapu could be lifted.

1.2.4 Tuhoromatakaka was buried on the ridge of Moehau, in a place known as Nga Tihi o Moehau [see Map One]. The fact that both Tamatekapua and Tuhoromatakaka were buried on Moehau made the land very important to their descendants. This was recognised by Ihenga, who told his dead father that if the land was 'abandoned, you and your father will be abandoned, and your offspring will perish'.⁷ Ihenga's statement emphasises that the ancestral link to Moehau was more than one of

⁴ *ibid*, p 24

⁵ *ibid*, p 25

⁶ *ibid*, p 26

⁷ cited, Stafford, p 26

ownership. It stresses that the descendants of Tuhoromatakaka had to stay on the land to honour and protect their tupuna. The spiritual significance of the wahi tapu was intrinsically linked to the well-being of the people.

2. Ngati Huarere and Moehau

2.1 Journey of Kahumatamamoe to Moehau

2.1.1 After his father's death, Ihenga went to Maketu to find his uncle, who lifted the tapu. Kahumatamamoe also married his daughter, Hinetekakara, to Ihenga. Following the birth of Hinetekakara and Ihenga's first child, Kahumatamamoe instructed Ihenga to go and find new lands for his family. After some exploration, Ihenga returned to Maketu and told Kahumatamamoe of land at Rotorua. He persuaded his uncle to visit these new lands.

2.1.2 After spending two years at Ngongotaha, (near Rotorua) Kahumatamamoe decided to visit his nephew Taramainuku, who was living at Pouto, on the banks of the Wairoa River, at Kaipara.⁸ While at Pouto, Kahumatamamoe told Taramainuku that Maketu was not his (Kahumatamamoe's) alone, but was also the land of Tuhoromatakaka's children, as well as his own children. This, he explained was one reason why he had married Hinetekakara to Ihenga. Taramainuku responded by offering his own daughter, Hinetu-te-rauniao as a wife for Kahumatamamoe's grandson, Uenuku. These negotiations were followed by a feast, which inspired Kahumatamamoe to name the place 'Kaipara'.⁹ While Ihenga stayed with his older brother Taramainuku, Kahumatamamoe left for Rotorua.

2.2 Kahumatamamoe Presents Moehau to Huarere

2.2.1 On his journey home from Kaipara, Kahumatamamoe visited Huarere at Moehau. It was by now a very significant place, because both Kahumatamamoe's father and brother were buried there. Huarere told Kahumatamamoe that his uncle Ngatoroirangi had been at Moehau, 'to disinter the bones of Tamatekapua and Tuhoromatakaka.'¹⁰ Kahumatamamoe was pleased about the disinterment and

⁸ *ibid*, p 37

⁹ *ibid*, p 38

¹⁰ *ibid*

decided that he and Huarere should visit the summit of Moehau, where Tamatekapua had been buried.

2.2.2 Kahumatamamoe and Huarere climbed Moehau o Tama (the sleeping sacredness of Tama) and Kahumatamamoe set up a sacred marker in the bush, 'to prevent anyone from passing further that way.'¹¹ He then went onto the beach where he faced the mountain and said a lament for his brother Tuhoromatakaka:

the place was named Tangi-aro-o-Kahu. He then went to the stone that Ngatoro had set up as a token for him. That place is named Te Kohatu-whakairi-a-Ngatoro...Then he climbed another hill, and placed a stone on its summit. This stone was named Tokatea. From there they travelled along the ridge of the hills till they reached a lofty peak. They ascended it and remained there while Kahu looked about on every side. 'This is an island,' said Kahu, and he turned to Huarere, 'your land, my child'.¹²

2.2.3 Kahumatamamoe told Huarere that the Coromandel area was good because there were two flood tides, and that the east tide flowed while the west was ebbing. At the water's edge they observed fish called aua, so the water was called Wai-aua (Coromandel Harbour).

2.2.4 These events are said to have taken place in the mid to late fourteenth century.¹³ From this time, the descendants of Huarere occupied the Moehau district (see 3.2). According to Anne Salmond, when Kahumatamamoe gave Moehau to Huarere, the area was already occupied by descendants of Mokoterea, from the Aotearoa waka.¹⁴ Ngati Huarere intermarried with these earlier inhabitants.

2.3 Ngati Huarere in Hauraki Gulf/Tamaki

2.3.1 As he was making his way from Kaipara to Moehau, Kahumatamamoe left two guardians in the Waitemata Harbour. One guardian was placed at Motutapu, which

¹¹ *ibid*, p 39

¹² *ibid*

¹³ Peter McBumey, 'Te Whanau o Hamiora Mangakahia Mana Whenua Report', Waitangi Tribunal, November 1996, p 6, [Wai 686, A28]

¹⁴ Beaglehole, cited in Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Auckland, 1991, p 192

Kahumatamamoe named, 'Mokonui o Kahu' after himself.¹⁵ The other guardian was named after his uncle, Hei, 'Mokonui o Hei', and placed at Rangitoto. He also named the islands after places in Hawaiki. The guardians, now turned to stone, were described as lizards (Moko), and are also known as Nga-moko-rua-mo-titiro a Kahu (the two lizards sleeping with open eyes of Kahu).¹⁶ When he reached Moehau, Kahumatamamoe told Huarere where the guardians were located.

2.3.2 Thus Ngati Huarere were linked to the Waitemata Harbour. Huarere himself later moved from Moehau to Waiheke Island. He lived there, at Okahuiti, until his death.¹⁷ Waiheke historian, Paul Monin, suggests that most of the pa sites on the island were constructed by Ngati Huarere.¹⁸

2.3.3 While this report focuses on the descendants of Huarere who occupied the Coromandel Peninsula, other Ngati Huarere hapu lived on the Tamaki Isthmus. One of Huarere's descendants (12 generations later), came from Moehau to Tamaki, where he married a local woman.¹⁹ They settled at Te Tatua (Three Kings), along with their children, who also intermarried. However, as an old man, Whaoroa was also concerned to maintain his Ngati Huarere line and directed his descendants to return with him to Moehau, to meet their relatives, and find husbands and wives from among their own people.²⁰

2.3.4 They returned to Moehau, where Whaoroa died. He was buried at Waikawau. His children returned to Tamaki, along with some of their relatives from Moehau. This led to further intermarriage between the Tamaki and Hauraki branches of Ngati Huarere. Graham recorded that, as a result of the intermarriages, Ngati Huarere had occupation rights at 'Ngahu-wera, Rerenga-oraiti, and in Horotiu, as well as at Orakei'.²¹ The first three places are along the waterfront of present day central Auckland. However, when Kawerau defeated Wai-o-hua at the battle of Titirangi, all

¹⁵ George Graham, 'Te Tuhi-a-Manawatore', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1921, Vol 30, p 252

¹⁶ *ibid*

¹⁷ Personal communication, Hiko Hohepa to Whitiri Mikaere, 26 April 1998

¹⁸ Paul Monin, *Waiheke Island: A History*, Palmerston North, 1992, p 17

¹⁹ George Graham, 'A Legend of Te Tatua Pa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1921, Vol 30, p 165

²⁰ *ibid*

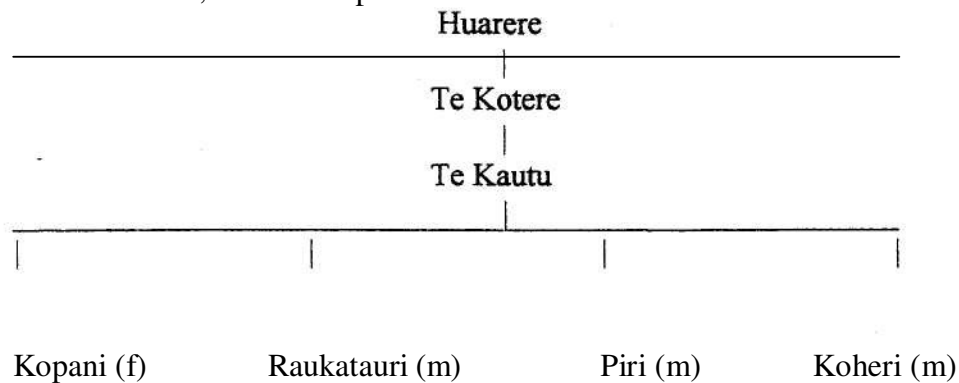
the sons of Whaoroa were also killed, as they were related to Kiwi Tamaki through their mother. This ended the Ngati Huarere occupation, although some with Ngai Tai connections, escaped to Maraetai and Wairoa.

²¹ *ibid*, p 167

3. Ngati Huarere in Coromandel

3.1 Descendants of Huarere

3.1.1 The following whakapapa, descended from Huarere to Raukatauri, was provided by Te Arawa historian, Hiko Hohepa:²²



3.1.2 Raukatauri was the eldest son of Te Kautu, thus the senior line of descent from Huarere. He was named after a Te Arawa chief who lived at the same time as Tamatekapua.²³

3.2 Hapu and Their Territory (Pre Paeke's Conquest)

3.2.1 The four children of Te Kautu are the ancestors of the four Ngati Huarere hapu occupying the Coromandel Peninsula:

Tupuna	Hapu
Kopani	Ngati Pare
Raukatauri	Ngati Raukatauri
Piri	Ngati Piri
Koheri	Ngati Koheri

²² Personal Communication, Hiko Hohepa to Whitiri Mikaere, 26 April, 1998

²³ *ibid*

3.2.2 Before the expansion of the Marutuahu tribes into Hauraki/Coromandel, Ngati Huarere had many pa and settlements along the peninsula and around the Thames/Kaueranga area.²⁴ The four main hapu shared the territory in the northern half of the peninsula approximately as follows:²⁵

- Ngati Pare lived at Whangapoua.²⁶ Peter McBurney's report on the Mangakahia whanau identifies the main Ngati Pare pa and occupation sites around the Whangapoua Harbour.²⁷ Important pa sites include; Te Karaka, Whakaarorangi and Koruakomako.
- Ngati Piri and Ngati Koheri occupied the western side of the Coromandel Peninsula around the Waiau (Coromandel) and Manaia harbours. Their pa sites include: Taungatawa, Pukewhakaratarata, Pukehina, Totara, Koputauaki, Motukeri, Teraki, Opito, Te Poroporo, Takitiamu, and Aotearoa [see Map One].
- Ngati Raukatauri were at the north eastern end of the Ngati Huarere territory, largely on the coast around Moehau. The territory of Ngati Raukatauri ran from Cape Colville down to just north of Whangapoua [see Map One]. It included Harataunga and Matamatahareke (see sections 4 and 5). Te Arawa historian, Hiko Hohepa, described Ngati Raukatauri's boundaries thus:

Ngati Raukatauri's traditional territory started at the ridge of Kopurukaitai at Harataunga (Kennedy's Bay), and extended up to Waikawau Bay, to a place called Matamataharakeke. The boundaries of Ngati Raukatauri's territory are carved into stone, for instance there is a symbol carved into stone which marks the Kopurukaitai boundary. I have seen it myself and as far as I'm aware it should be still there to this very day.²⁸

It is uncertain how far Ngati Raukatauri's rights extended along the western side of the peninsula. Evidence presented in the next section regarding Paiamanu and Manukaihongi suggests that Ngati Raukatauri did have settlements on the western side around Tukituki, and Cabbage Bay.

²⁴ F.L. Phillips, *Nga Tohu o Tainui: Landmarks of Tainui*, Volume One, Otorohanga, 1989, pp 44 - 45

²⁵ These descriptions of territory are only broad approximations. The later arrival of the Marutuahu tribes changed the distribution of land, and the historical records relating to the pre-Marutuahu period are scant.

²⁶ Hauraki Minute Book (MB) 55, fol 172, 11 June 1907

²⁷ McBurney, p 9

The main pa of Ngati Raukatauri were:

- **Kamakamakura** - this pa, at Matamataharakeke was the principal residence of Ngati Raukatauri ariki, from at least the time of Tuatiki (see section 3.1). The pa was on a coastal hill, south-east of the mouth of the Matamataharakeke Stream.²⁹ There were also settlements on the flat, beside the stream. Tuatiki, Teoteo, Urehamama, Paeke, Te Tairinga, Te Wharekiri and Te Rangihurimoana, all lived at Matamataharakeke.³⁰
- **Te Maungakutia** - was the Ngati Raukatauri pa at Harataunga.³¹ It was on the northern part of the harbour, and remained in Ngati Raukatauri possession after land at Harataunga was gifted to Ngati Porou (see 5.3).³² Harataunga was the principal kainga of Ngati Raukatauri until the time of Tuatiki, who shifted to Matamataharakeke with Teoteo and Urehamama.³³

²⁸ Personal communication, Hiko Hohepa to Whaitiri Mikaere, 26 April 1998

²⁹ Coromandel MB 2, fol 224, 15 December 1871

³⁰ *ibid*, fol 219

³¹ *ibid*, fol 224

³² Personal communication, Hiko Hohepa to Whaitiri Mikaere, 26 April 1998

³³ Coromandel MB 7, fol 250, 8 May 1899

4. Ngati Raukatauri

4.1 Early Relationship With Marutuahu Tribes

4.1.1 Ngati Huarere's secure occupation of the Coromandel Peninsula was challenged by the expanding Marutuahu tribes. This report will not recount the full story of the various Marutuahu battles, but concentrates instead on the outcome for Ngati Huarere, and particularly Ngati Raukatauri. The important point to note is that although some earlier sources, based on Tainui or Marutuahu accounts,³⁴ claim that the Marutuahu attacks completely wiped out Ngati Huarere, evidence will be presented of continued occupation by Ngati Raukatauri, a hapu of Ngati Huarere. The presumed conquest of Ngati Huarere took place through a series of battles, over several generations, which saw the tribes of Marutuahu eventually move up the peninsula to the Manaia and Waiau harbours. However, the evidence shows that Ngati Huarere hapu continued to live further north and on the eastern coastline. It will also be seen that, as well as the often reported conflicts, a number of intermarriages took place over time which ensured a continued Ngati Huarere presence in, and ancestral link to, the Moehau region.

4.1.2 For Ngati Raukatauri the conflicts started when the Ngati Rongo-U chief, Mahanga, was killed by Ngati Huarere on the beach near Thames.³⁵ Later Mahanga's sons, including Manukaihongi, returned to Hauraki with a war party to seek revenge. Although surrounded and outnumbered while collecting water, Manukaihongi managed to trick Ngati Huarere into the path of the war party, and Ngati Huarere were defeated.³⁶ Manukaihongi was then involved in a battle with Ngati Huarere further north on the peninsula at Tukituki, near Colville, closer to Ngati Raukatauri's territory. Manukaihongi was on a fishing expedition with Ngati Rongo-U, when the canoe was driven by the wind towards the coast.³⁷ The Ngati Huarere living there

³⁴ see for example Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Bruce Biggs (ed), *Nga Iwi of Tainui*, Auckland, 1995, and various articles by George Graham in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

³⁵ Phillips, 1989, p 47

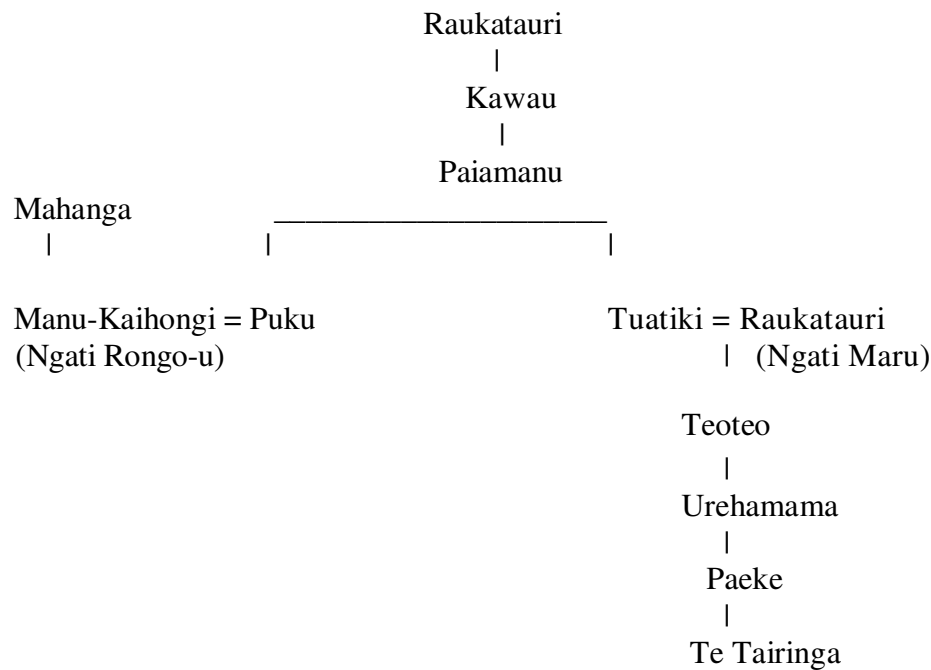
³⁶ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Bruce Biggs (ed), *Nga Iwi of Tainui*, Auckland, 1995, pp 132-134
³⁷ Phillips, 1989, pp 55-56

attacked and killed some of the crew, but Manukaihongi and others escaped to a small offshore island. Meanwhile, other Ngati Rongo-U from Waiau came in search of the fishing party, and when Manukaihongi saw them approach he and his fellow survivors attacked Ngati Huarere on the beach. When the approaching canoe landed, Ngati Huarere found themselves outnumbered and were driven off into the forest. Manukaihongi established a Ngati Rongo-U settlement at Tukituki.

4.1.3 Paiamanu, the grandson of Raukatauri, was later involved in making peace with Ngati Manukaihongi, which means that it is likely that those Ngati Huarere who fought with Ngati Rongo-U were members of Ngati Raukatauri. Although Ngati Huarere had retreated into the hills following the conflict, intermarriage [shown below] allowed for peace to be made and for the Ngati Huarere hapu to re-emerge.

4.1.4 An account of this process was given to George Graham by Anaru Makiwhara (Ngai Tai).³⁸ Ngati Raukatauri, under their chief Paiamanu, were living in the hills, out of the sight of Ngati Rongo-U. However, under stealth, they continued to gather shellfish on the coast. Manukaihongi surprised a party of shellfish gatherers, and killed some of them. However Paiamanu's daughter, Puku [see whakapapa over page], was captured by Manukaihongi, and taken back to his pa at Tukituki, to be his wife. However, Puku missed her family and, under her influence, Manukaihongi guaranteed that Paiamanu 'and his people will be truly spared by me, no man will kill them'.³⁹ Paiamanu and Ngati Raukatauri then came to live at Tukituki in peace with Ngati Rongo-U.

George Graham, 'Ngati Huarere: An Account of the Wars Against Them and of Their Emigration to the Northern Districts', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1923, vol 32, pp 41-43
³⁹ *ibid*



4.1.5 Paiamanu also had a son, named Tuatiki. Like his sister, Puku, Tuatiki married into a Marutuahu iwi. His wife was called Raukatauri, although Hiko Hohepa maintained that her name was Raukatahuri. That Tuatiki's wife shared the same name as the Ngati Raukatauri hapu was later the cause of some confusion in the Native Land Court, where opponents of the Ngati Raukatauri case argued that the hapu was named after Tuatiki's wife.⁴⁰ Tuatiki and his descendants lived at Harataunga and Matamataharakeke.⁴¹

4.1.6 As well as attacks by Marutuahu from Hauraki, the Coromandel district was also attacked by Ngati Pukenga from Tauranga. One of the most prominent Tauranga rangatira to attack Ngati Huarere was Kamaukiterangi of Ngati Pukenga. Kamaukiterangi was a mokopuna of Marutuahu. After his death, his sister, Te Uru Mahora, composed the following waiata commemorating his life:⁴²

Ngaro noa Kamau kiterangi
teai he tangata tutu taua
kite ao na i
Kati ano ra e te hoa.
Kapau te huri whara i
te tai o waiaua i te au o wherahia
ki to matua kei a pae a te hui.

⁴⁰ Coromandel MB 8, fol 80, 22 May 1899

⁴¹ *ibid*, fol 219

⁴² Personal Communication, Awanui Black, Ngati Pukenga, to Whitiri Mikaere

E moe i te hau na i.

*Me turakina pea koe ki te ake
rautangi e whaka raua i te ata
ki nga iwi ririki ki Ngatihinu
ki Ngati Piri ki Ngati Koheri*
Kia kore i reira me uta koe ki te
waka whakarei
Kia noho i te mutu awa i runga o Pukewhau
Kia maru tata ai kia toka koukou
He hau kai tangata
Tenei kei a taua na i
E au noa ana te tai o Kanere
Ka riro ra e whiti rere i te ata
i hinga tama wahine kihai i tama tane
E whakakau atu ana hoki
Kia noho i te tara waha
i runga o Turipeka kei ahokiri manu na i
He ika koa te makau i he i te pokai
Kihai i tatari ki tere apai
Te waka utauta ia Kamaukiterangi
tenei ra e ka haruru ki te mate
me aha iho ko
te namu a Tamahere na i.

4.1.6 Whaitiri Mikaere, the Wai 693 claimant, explains the meaning of the waiata, according to her tribal history:

The waiata refers to an event where the Ngati Huarere hapu, Ngati Piri, Ngati Hinu and Ngati Koheri were captured by Ngati Ha [Pukenga] and eaten at Hauturu. It is said that the reason for this was because of a plan by Tokakoukou a chief of Ngati Whanaunga. The victims of Tokakoukou's plan were the Ngati Huarere hapu mentioned. The line in the chant which reads in Maori, 'Me turakina pea koe ki te ake - rautangi e whaka raua i te ata - ki iwi ririki ki Ngati Hinu, ki Ngati Piri, ki Ngati Koheri', which translated means, 'Perhaps if you had been felled by weapon or had been enslaved in the morning by those people who had suffered your wrath Ngati Hinu, Ngati Piri, Ngati Koheri'. The tribes of Tauranga carried out frequent assaults on these particular hapu of Ngati Huarere. This chant serves to immortalize the fate of victors and serves to cement into concrete forever the fate of the defeated. The hapu of Ngati Huarere, Ngati Hinu, Ngati Piri and Ngati Koheri.⁴³

4.1.7 It is interesting to note that the only Ngati Huarere hapu referred to are Ngati Hinu, Ngati Piri and Ngati Koheri. Kamaukiterangi and his allies were not involved in attacking Ngati Pare and Ngati Raukatauri, who were living further up the eastern side of the peninsula.

⁴³ Personal Communication, Whaitiri Mikaere to Heather Bassett, 6 December 1999

4.2 Internal Fighting Between Ngati Huarere Hapu

4.2.1 After Tuatiki's time, there was a series of battles between Ngati Raukatauri and their Ngati Huarere relations. The battles arose out of murders and revenge, and were to have a major impact on Ngati Raukatauri. The conflict spanned three generations, and the outcome was Ngati Raukatauri aligning themselves with Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Rongo-U.

4.2.2 The conflicts started when the Ngati Raukatauri chief, Urehamama, was killed at Koputauaki Pa [see Map Two], by other hapu of Ngati Huarere.⁴⁴ This death was to result in a series of attacks upon, and defeats of, Ngati Huarere pa, by Urehamana's son Paeke. Paeke was assisted by Puha of Ngati Rongo-U, who was married to a Ngati Raukatauri woman. Both men were determined to avenge Urehamana's death. They planned their attack at Urehamama's kainga, at Matamataharakeke, where they had gathered between them 140 warriors. From this base they attacked and occupied a number of Ngati Huarere pa. The first attack was on Tutahoa Pa at Kuaotunu, which they captured, after killing a number of the occupiers. This was followed by a series of successful attacks on Te Papoporo Pa, Takitiamu Pa and Aotearoa Pa. Those Ngati Huarere people who managed to escape this onslaught went to Koputauaki, the pa where Urehamama had been killed.⁴⁵

4.2.3 Paeke and Puha consolidated their victory by settling and planting crops in these areas. They settled at Papaaroha. Paeke lived at Rorohea at a place called Te Rautawaka, with his hapu, who cleared land and placed stones in heaps, perhaps as boundary markers. Puha lived at Haunini and Te Auraki, where he and his people also cultivated crops. While living at these places they sent warriors to Poporangi, to observe what was happening at Koputauaki. The chiefs were informed by their 'sentries...that Koputauaki was covered with people of the Ngatihuarere who had

⁴⁴ Coromandel MB 7, fol 93, 14 April 1899

⁴⁵ *ibid*, fol 93

collected from O Manaia, Waiiau, Kapanga and other places for the purpose of retaliating [against] their defeats.⁴⁶

4.2.4 Paeke and Puha attacked Ngati Huarere at Koputauaki.⁴⁷ They were observed by Ngati Huarere at Te Niho, so, Paeke decided to lead the main body of warriors in the attack on Ngati Huarere, while Puha remained in reserve. Their plan was that if Paeke found the resistance from Ngati Piri and Ngati Koheri was too strong, he should retire his warriors and allow his enemy to force the attack and follow his (Paeke's) retreating warriors. It was from this point, that Puha and his warriors in reserve would renew the attack and drive the advantage of surprise home. Paeke successfully executed his part of the plan. The Ngati Huarere warriors followed the retreating warriors of Paeke over a tidal area and 'Puha gave the command to rally - where his followers made great slaughter (thousands!) The Ngatihuarere fell.⁴⁸ They pursued those who survived the battle to Koputauaki Pa, which they captured. Those Ngati Huarere who managed to escape the pa fled westward but were captured and killed at Tuhitoto. Those who fled inland were killed at Te Whare-oteriwi. After their victory, Paeke took possession of Koputauaki and Puha possession of Papaaroha.

4.2.5 After living on the land for some time, Paeke was involved in a subsequent battle with Ngati Huarere, in which he was killed at Motu Keri Pa.⁴⁹ According to an account from Rihitoto Mataia,⁵⁰ Paeke was killed when he tried to intercede when Ngati Piri people from pa at Opito and Teraki were seen trespassing on a Ngati Raukatauri hapuka fishing ground at Harataunga, near Anarahi. Paeke and his people saw the Ngati Piri canoes from the shoreline, and when they paddled out to meet the trespassers, a fight took place and Paeke was captured and killed.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *ibid*, fols 93-94

⁴⁷ *ibid*, fols 93-94

⁴⁸ *ibid*
ibid

⁴⁹ *ibid*, fols 97-98

⁵⁰ Rihitoto Mataia was descended from Te Tairinga and Rangitaiki, making her both Ngati Raukatauri and Ngati Tamatera. A whakapapa table for Rihitoto, and the next witness, Huihana Rangituia, can be found in Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, 'Matamataharakeke', Waitangi Tribunal, July 1998, p 61.

⁵¹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 339

4.2.6 His son, Te Tairinga, wishing to avenge his fathers death went to Hauraki to seek the assistance of Ngati Maru and Ngati Whanaunga. They refused to help Te Tairinga, so he then went to Ohinewai, where two Ngati Tamatera chiefs, Whareiro and Whatihua agreed to help. Whareiro, Whatihua and Te Tairinga attacked and captured the Ngati Huarere pa Motu Keri. They chased those who escaped the initial attack on the pa to Opito, where they killed these escapers. They also killed the Ngati Piri and Ngati Koheri occupiers and two of their chiefs, Ruareinga and Hoekao, who according to this account, were killed while fishing.⁵²

4.2.7 According to Huihana Rangituia, Ngati Piri and Ngati Inu were seen trespassing on Ngati Raukatauri's hapuka fishing ground, named Pungarewa, near Harataunga. Paeke and Te Tairinga fought these two hapu. Paeke was killed during the fight and Te Tairinga chased the trespassers as far as Whangapoua. He then returned to Harataunga, where his wife Rangitaiki said that he should go to Ohinewai, and ask her 'matuas', Whareiro and Whatihua to help avenge Paeke. Whareiro and Whatihua agreed to help Ngati Raukatauri. Te Tairinga told them that Ngati Piri and Ngati Inu were at certain times occupied in fishing for mango (shark). He said that their shark fishing seasons occurred when the kowhai blossomed (summer) and at full-moon when, the 'men would then all be away at a place called Whakahu, an island a long way out.'⁵³ Rihitoto Mataia provided a similar account, she said that to avenge the death of Paeke, Whareiro, Whatihua and Te Tairinga planned to attack Ngati Piri and Ngati Inu by sea. They went to Harataunga overland, from where they travelled by canoe at night to Tiraki, where they split into two parties of warriors. Whatihua and his warriors went to Teraki Pa and Whareiro went to Opito Pa. Both parties attacked at daybreak. As expected they found that both pa contained old people and children. The male defenders of the pa were away fishing. They killed the old people and children and set fire to the pa. The men fishing saw their pa on fire and hurried back. The war party saw their approach and allowed them to land before 'they attacked them, killing all without exception.'⁵⁴

⁵² *ibid*, fol 200

⁵³ Coromandel MB 8, fol 110, 22 May 1899

⁵⁴ Coromandel MB 7, fols 340-343, 14 April 1899

4.2.8 Te Tairinga returned home with his warriors by the east coast and landed at Harataunga. They continued their journey until they got to Tokatea, where they stood on a rock called Tokatea, which Te Tairinga presented to Whareiro and Whatihua.³⁵ Although, Te Tairinga had gifted the land to Whareiro and Whatihua they did not live there. A descendant of Whareiro, Nukurewa, was the first to live in the area, on land near the gifted land. Nukurewa did not live on the gifted land because it was 'unfit' for occupation. Instead, he lived on nearby Ngati Raukatauri land. In this way, Ngati Raukatauri acknowledged the gift they had made to Whareiro for his assistance in the defeat of Ngati Piri, Ngati Koheri and Ngati Inu.³⁶ Despite the gift, Te Tairinga and his descendants had continued to occupy the land west of that given to Whareiro and Whatihua.³⁷

4.3 New Tribal Alignment for Ngati Raukatauri

4.3.1 The traditional histories do not reveal why Urehamama was killed by his Ngati Huarere relations, nor why Ngati Raukatauri were pitted against the other Ngati Huarere hapu. However, the outcome was three generations of warfare between Ngati Raukatauri on one side, and Ngati Piri, Ngati [H]inu and Ngati Koheri on the other. It is, therefore, not surprising that after Te Tairinga, with the assistance of Ngati Tamatera, defeated Ngati Piri, that Ngati Raukatauri were no longer aligned with the other hapu of Ngati Huarere. Instead, by the nineteenth century, Ngati Raukatauri had taken on a new name, Te Mango, derived from a proverb by Paeke: 'Let us not be slain like schnappers - but let us die like sharks'.³⁸ They also became more closely aligned with Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Rongo-U (see section 5.3). This was the outcome of both the military assistance given by those iwi, and the new relationships and descent lines created by intermarriage.

³⁵ *ibid*, fol 200

³⁶ *ibid*, fol 162

³⁷ *ibid*, fol 201

³⁸ *ibid*, fol 224

4.3a The Role of Military Alliances

4.3a. 1 During the three generations of conflict, between Ngati Raukatauri and the other hapu of Ngati Huarere, Ngati Raukatauri leaders were twice called upon the assistance of other tribes to defeat their enemies. In the first case, Paeke engaged Puha of Ngati Rongo-U to avenge the murder of Urehamama. Puha's men were described as the 'soldiers of Paeke'.⁵⁹ When Te Tairinga wished to avenge Paeke's death, he too knew that he had to seek assistance. In 1899, Hohepa Kapene explained Ngati Raukatauri's position:

Because they alone would not have been able to avenge the wrong done them by Ngatihuarere. When Muratuhau chose to join Paeke in his former fight they were successful but when it came for Paeke and his own people to fight the Ngatihuareres single-handed he was defeated. When Whareiro and Whatihua joined the Ngatiraukatauri's they won.⁶⁰

4.3a. 2 In both cases, Ngati Raukatauri repaid their allies with gifts of land. Paeke gifted the northern portion of the Papaaroha block to Puha, and Te Tairinga gifted Tokotea and other Papaaroha land to Whareiro and Whatihua.⁶¹ Such gifts, or *tuku*, can be seen as another way of creating, or cementing an alliance. Anthropologist Joan Metge has analysed the various meanings attached to a *tuku* of land. A *tuku* was made under certain circumstances, including as a gift of land in compensation (*hei utu*) for services rendered in war.⁵² Metge has noted that *tuku* involved more than just the gift of land, but were also part of a reciprocal exchange arrangement:

In every case, the 'gift' of land was made in connection with an on-going relationship between the groups, whether to initiate or maintain a positive exchange relationship or to turn a hostile exchange relationship into a positive one.⁶³

4.3a. 3 Using this analysis, it can be seen that by gifting land to their new allies, Ngati Raukatauri ensured that what had started as military assistance was turned into a more permanent alliance. Such a gift still retained Ngati Raukatauri mana over their ancestral lands. The areas gifted to Puha, and to Whareiro and Whatihua, were part of

⁵⁹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 198, 3 May 1899

⁶⁰ Coromandel MB 7, fol 163, 28 April 1899

⁶¹ The exact extent of land gifted by Te Tairinga was heavily disputed in the Papaaroha case. Although Wikitoria Rangipiki and Hohepa Kapene said it was only an inland portion, the Appellate Court found that Te Tairinga had gifted the remainder of the block.

⁶² Joan Metge, 'Cross Cultural Communication and Land Transfer in Western Muriwhenua 1832-1840', Submission to the Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p 95 [Wai 45, F13]

the territory newly conquered from Ngati Piri and Ngati Inu. Gifting part of this land to their Ngati Tamatera allies was a strategic move on the part of Paeke and Te Tairinga.

4.3a.4 Ngati Raukatauri's political alignment with the other hapu of Ngati Huarere could not be maintained after the bitterness of three generations of massacres. However, Ngati Raukatauri recognised that they could not stand on their own, and sought the assistance of Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Rongo-U, who were more dominant at that time. Not only did the military assistance immediately result in a Ngati Raukatauri victory over Ngati Hinu, Ngati Koheri and Ngati Piri, but it also created lasting alliances with Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Rongo-U. By gifting land in return for military services, Ngati Raukatauri ensured the ongoing allegiance and support of Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Rongo-U. In return, Ngati Raukatauri also maintained an allegiance with the Marutuahu tribes, rather than their Ngati Huarere enemies. By the nineteenth century this led to a situation where Ngati Raukatauri identified themselves primarily as Ngati Tamatera, rather than Ngati Huarere.

4.3 b The Role of Intermarriage

4.3b. 1 It has already been noted that Ngati Raukatauri started to intermarry with Ngati Rongo-U at the time of Paiamanu. Both his daughter, Puku, and his son, Tuatiki, married members of Ngati Rongo-U (see section 4.1).

4.3b. 2 When Paeke commenced his conquest of the Papaaroha/Koputauaki district, he was assisted by Puha, of Ngati Rongo-U. One reason Puha joined Paeke's campaign was that Puha himself had close Ngati Raukatauri relations. Both Puha's mother and wife were members of Ngati Raukatauri. In 1901 Hohepa Kapene gave the following whakapapa for Puha:⁶⁴

⁶³ *ibid*, p 96

⁶⁴ Coromandel MB 9, fol 22, 18 July 1901. Note the names are nearly illegible in the Minute Book, so the names in the whakapapa table may not be correctly spelt.

His [Te Tairinga's] wife Rangitaiki spoke to him, saying - Go you to Ruawehea where my matuas and brothers are - viz Whareiro and Whatihua and their children and ask them to come to your aid and avenge your defeat.⁶⁸

Although the minutes of the Native Land Court do not record why Whareiro and Whatihua agreed to help Te Tairinga, it is not unreasonable to assume that it was out of loyalty and concern for their daughter/niece, and her whanau.

4.3b. 5 The result of at least five generations of intermarriage between Ngati Raukatauri and their Marutuahu neighbours was that although Ngati Raukatauri were a hapu of Ngati Huarere, they now had close alliances with the descendants of the Marutuahu tribes who had expanded into Coromandel. The interests of Ngati Raukatauri were, at this point in time, more closely aligned with Ngati Rongo-U and Ngati Tamatera than with the other hapu of Ngati Huarere. Similarly, Ngati Rongo-U and Ngati Tamatera now had more interest in protecting Ngati Raukatauri, and working with them, than fighting them. By the nineteenth century, a further result of these intermarriages was that Ngati Raukatauri rangatira also had strong lines of descent from Ngati Tamatera, and could equally claim to be members of Ngati Tamatera.

⁶⁸ Coromandel MB 8, fol 110, 6 June 1899

5. Ngati Raukatauri in the 19th Century 5.1

Ngati Raukatauri and Ngapuhi

5.1.1 Around the turn of the nineteenth century the people of the Coromandel Peninsula suffered a number of attacks from Ngapuhi taua. These attacks affected all the iwi of the peninsula. Not only were many people killed in battle, many others were taken back to northern New Zealand as slaves. By 1821 Hongi Hika had obtained firearms, and it was well known he planned to seek revenge on Ngati Maru, for the battle of Waiwhariki. The result was the attack on Te Totara Pa, near Thames. As a result of this, and the many earlier attacks, the Thames, Coromandel, and Auckland districts were largely abandoned as the people retreated inland to the Waikato.

5.1.2 Hohepa Kapene said that, at the time of the Ngapuhi attacks, many of his people went to Waikato because they feared the Ngapuhi invaders.⁶⁹ He said that they did so because they had heard that Ngapuhi intended to slaughter everyone in the area.⁷⁰ At this time, Wikitoria Nohohau and Arama Karaka's mother, Hinengako, was living at Harataunga. A number of the tribe were killed during the invasion and some were captured and others left Harataunga. Nohohau said that she had been born at Harataunga and her brother Arama had been born later in Tauranga. According to Kapene, at the time that 'Hinengako fled to Tauranga it was the flight of the whole tribe.'⁷¹ Hinengako died in Tauranga. Other people however, from Ngati Rongo-U and Ngati Raukatauri, including the family of Wikitoria Rangipiki, remained at Koputauaki and Mangungukaiota (Cabbage Bay).⁷² Although at the time of the invasion, Marutuahu leadership encouraged its people to leave, Te Maunu, a chief of Ngati Rongo-u and Ngati Raukatauri, said that it was 'better that my neck be severed on this my land' and a number of his people hearing this 'refused to go'.⁷³ Te Maunu

⁶⁹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 99

⁷⁰ *ibid*, fol 104

⁷¹ Coromandel MB 2, fols 219-220, 15-18 December 1871

⁷² *ibid*, fol 225

⁷³ Coromandel MB 7, fol 99, 14 April 1899

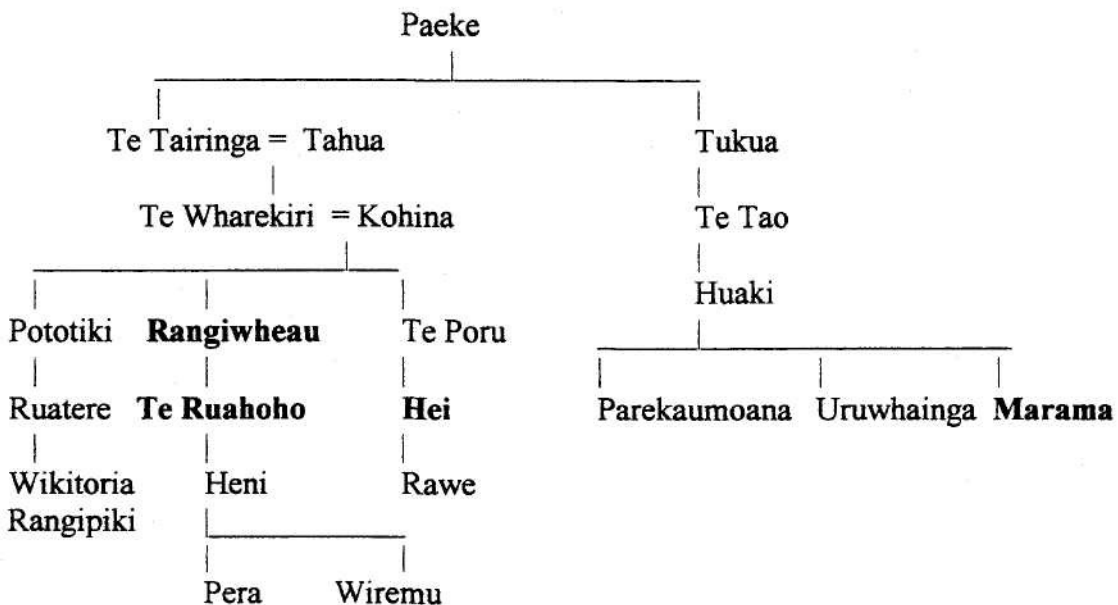
was killed by the Ngapuhi invaders, which ⁷⁴ prompted some Ngati Raukatauri, who had left for the Waikato, to return to avenge his death.

5.1.3 According to Te Arawa historian Hiko Hohepa, during these raids Ngapuhi:

captured a number of women of high rank and took them back to the north... Women of high rank were taken because their captors wanted to possess the rangatira lines from all over the country. After the prisoners produced offspring to their Ngapuhi captors they were allowed to return to their homelands.⁷⁵

Similarly, anthropologist David Simmons has said that two Ngati Huarere women who were captured by Ngapuhi were eventually returned to Ngati Huarere. He said, Ngapuhi took 'Rangatira women... because they possessed the mana of the hapu the tribe.'⁷⁶

5.1.4 The following whakapapa shows the Ngati Raukatauri descent lines of some of the people who were captured by Ngapuhi [indicated in bold type]:⁷⁷



5.1.5 Arama Karaka remembered that Marama had been taken as a prisoner to Tamaki by Ngapuhi and was killed there, by Pakahorahora, a hapu of Ngati Paoa. He said that his people were called together to avenge her death, and that he went to

ibid, fol 103

Personal communication, Hiko Hohepa to Whitiri Mikaere, 26 April 1998

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Personal communication, David Simmons to Whitiri Mikaere, no date

Tamaki with the war party.⁷⁸ Matenga Ngupara agreed that Marama was killed by Pakahorahora. He added that she had died without having children.⁷⁹

5.1.6 Te Rangiweheu, the daughter of Te Wharekiri and Kohina, had been captured by Ngapuhi and taken north, as was her son Te Ruahoho. Rangiweheu was captured by Ngapuhi during a raid on her kainga at Te Hoho.⁸⁰ According to Pera Kingi, Te Ruahoho was separated from his mother during the Ngapuhi raid, and was subsequently captured at a later date, with his wife Rekara, who was also of Ngati Huarere. This took place during one of the last Ngapuhi raids of the 1820s. Hei Te Poru was also taken at this time. They were all first cousins and were taken from Te Huawai. Rekara gave birth to Heni while they were being held by Ngapuhi. All three people eventually returned to Koputauaki, and Te Ruahoho died at Koputauaki Pa.

5.1.7 Pera Kingi maintained that, although they were taken by Ngapuhi, contact was maintained with their Ngati Raukatauri whanau. He said that when Heni was born, her Ngati Raukatauri whanau living at Koputauaki were informed of her birth. This resulted in Wikitoria's mother, Ruatere, making an arrangement with Te Tawera (Ngati Pukenga) chief, Te Kouorehua, to negotiate on behalf of Ngati Raukatauri with their Ngapuhi captors. According to Pera Kingi, Ruatere approached Te Kouorehua because she 'had to try and save her whanau who were the line of Te Wharekiri'. Te Kouorehua was successful in his negotiations. It was arranged that Te Ruahoho and his family would live at Hokianga, at a Ngati Pukenga kainga, Otawa. When Heni grew up she was married to a Ngati Pukenga chief Tamati (a direct descendant of Kamaukiterangi) who, not coincidentally, was also a close relative of Te Kouorehua. After the marriage between Heni and Tamati, 'Ngapuhi ceased raiding the tribes of Moehau.' Tamati and Heni had two sons, Pera and Wiremu.

⁷⁷ compiled from Coromandel MB 2, fol 217 and Hauraki MB 55, fol 161

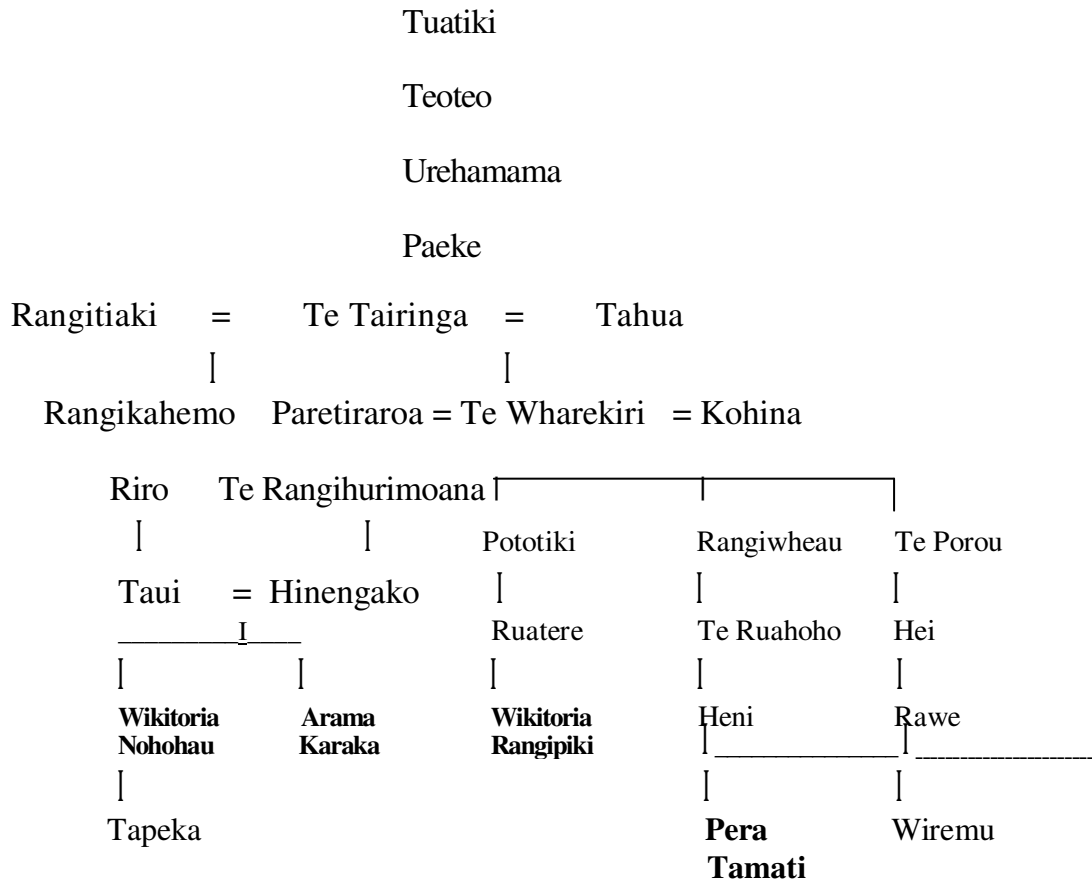
⁷⁸ Coromandel MB 2, fol 232, 15-18 December 1871

⁷⁹ *ibid*, fol 245

⁸⁰ Personal communication, Pera Kingi to Whaitiri Mikaere, 21 May 1999

5.2 Nga Rangatira o Ngati Raukatauri

5.2.1 This section provides brief biographical information on four prominent leaders of Ngati Raukatauri in the nineteenth century. These people are all the tupuna of Whaitiri, the Wai 693 claimant. The following whakapapa shows the ancestry of the nineteenth century descendants of Te Tairinga and his second wife Tahua:



Wikitoria Nohohau

5.2.2 As the above whakapapa shows both Wikitoria Nohohau and her brother Arama Karaka were descended from both Te Tairinga's wives. This meant they continued the Ngati Raukatauri line, but also had strong Ngati Tamatera lineage through their link with Rangitiaki. Wikitoria Nohohau was born at Harataunga and was also named Parekaumoana after her ancestor (see whakapapa p 26). Nohohau was a child living at Harataunga when Ngapuhi invaded. She went with her mother to Tauranga and then to Horotiu. She was one of the first Ngati Raukatauri people to return to the Coromandel following the Ngapuhi invasion. Nohohau then went to Turanga to live

with her husband.⁸¹ Her daughter, Tapeka, was named after another ancestor. Tapeka died at a young age. Although Nohohau lived at Turanga for many years, she and her husband returned to live at Omaru (Papaaroha).⁸² She died in 1876.⁸³ She was buried at Te Nga Nga, a Ngati Raukatauri urupa.⁸⁴

Arama Karaka

5.2.3 Arama Karaka was born in Tauranga, after his mother fled from Harataunga following a Ngapuhi attack. He returned to the Coromandel with his sister Wikitoria Nohohau and said he was 'brought up' at Matamataharakeke.⁸⁵ He was living at Koputauki in 1859.⁸⁶ By 1882 Arama and his people were living at Omaru [see Map Two].⁸⁷ He also lived at Papaaroha and Mangungukaiota [see Map Two].⁸⁸ By the nineteenth century he was a senior male in the Ngati Raukatauri line, as well as having prominent Ngati Tamatera ancestry. He was also known as 'Ruarangi', or Arama Karaka Ruarangi.⁸⁹ He married Paretakaha, and they had one child, who later died.⁹⁰ He later married Wikitoria Rangipiki, and lived with her at various places around Papaaroha, Koputauaki and Matamataharakeke. Arama died in 1894.⁹¹ He was buried at Te Nga Nga.⁹²

Wikitoria Rangipiki

5.2.4 Wikitoria Rangipiki was born at Whitianga. As a child she went to Otaina (east of Kuaotunu), then Te Kowhai, at Kapenga. She returned to Mangungukaiota (Cabbage Bay) following the Ngapuhi invasion. While living at Mangungukaiota she was married to Arama Karaka.⁹³ She survived her husband by ten years, until 18 June 1904. She died at Koputauaki where she was buried. She had no children but she was

⁸¹ Coromandel MB 2, fol 220

⁸² *ibid*, fol 221

⁸³ Coromandel MB 3, fol 196, 5 April 1883

⁸⁴ Coromandel MB 8, fol 114, 22 May 1899

⁸⁵ *ibid*, fol 234

⁸⁶ Coromandel MB 7, fol 39, 14 April 1899

⁸⁷ *ibid*, fol 42

⁸⁸ *ibid*, fol 192

⁸⁹ Coromandel MB 2, fol 77, 5 July 1867

⁹⁰ Coromandel MB 8, fol 108, 22 May 1899

⁹¹ Coromandel MB 6, fol 144, 23 March 1899

⁹² Coromandel MB 8, fol 114, 22 May 1899

⁹³ Coromandel MB 8, fol 164, 22 May 1899

survived by her two nephews, Pera Tamati and Wiremu Tamati.⁹⁴ Pera's daughter, Pare, was brought up by Wikitoria, and lived with her until Wikitoria died. Wikitoria was descended from Raukatauri on her mother's side. Her father was Hura of Ngati Whanaunga. Hura had two wives, and Wikitoria had a half-brother named Maihi, who lived with her at Koputauki.⁹⁵

Ruatere	=	Hura	=	Paea
		Wikitoria Rangipiki		Maihi Hura

Pera and Wiremu Tamati

5.2.5 As explained above (section 5.1) Pera and Wiremu Tamati were the descendants of Ngati Raukatauri people who had been captured by Ngapuhi. They grew up at Hokianga, as their mother lived with Ngati Pukenga, her husband's iwi. Pera and Wiremu were not re-united with their Ngati Raukatauri hapu until 1884, although they had been taught by their mother that they were descended from Te Wharekiri. They were also told that Wikitoria was their 'whaea'.⁹⁷ In 1884 they went to Manaia, a Ngati Pukenga kainga. There they were recognised by Hei, who wrote to Wikitoria. She asked them to come to Koputauaki, and when they arrived 'Wikitoria wept over us, so did they all'. The brothers were emotionally received because they had returned from Ngapuhi, ensuring that Te Wharekiri's line continued. While Wiremu returned to Manaia, Pera and his daughter, Pare, lived at Koputauaki with Wikitoria Rangipiki and Arama.⁹⁸ They then moved to Harataunga to dig gum and then back to Koputauaki, where Rangipiki died.⁹⁹

5.2.6 Pera had two wives. The first was named Atareta, a Te Arawa rangatira, and together they had three children. His second wife was called Rena, and they had four children.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Hauraki MB 55, fols 112, 31 May 1907

⁹⁵ *ibid*, fol 183

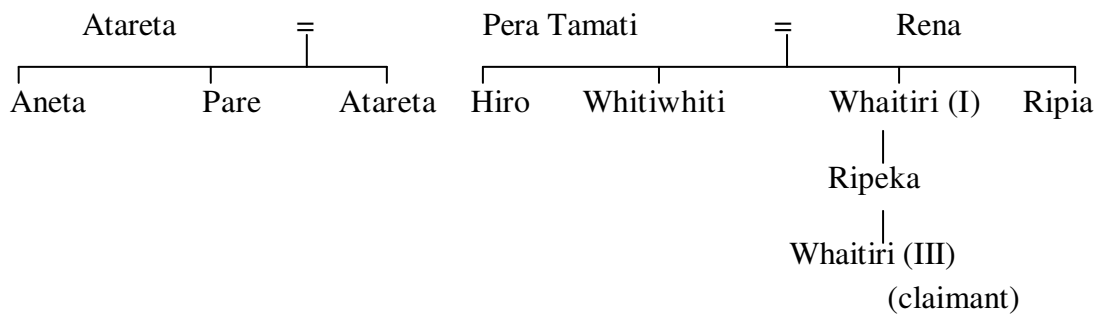
⁹⁶ *ibid*, fol 178

⁹⁷ *ibid*, fol 161

⁹⁸ *ibid*, fol 184

⁹⁹ *ibid*, fol 161, 10 June 1907

¹⁰⁰ Heather Bassett and Richard Kay, 'Matamataharakeke', Waitangi Tribunal, July 1998, p 83



5.2.7 Pera's eldest daughter, Aneta, married a tupuna of Hiko Hohepa, who explained that Pera arranged the marriage with the aim of maintaining Ngati Raukatauri's Te Arawa bloodline:

It was agreed at a hui between our whanaus that Pera wished to keep his bloodline in Te Arawa. The senior line of Raukatauri, the eldest son of Te Kautu and therefore the eldest male descendant of Huarere. That was how it was. At your marae in Manaia there stands today a statue of Aneta dedicated to her as the Maataamua of Ngati Raukatauri of Ngati Huarere.¹⁰¹

5.2.8 A large ceremony was held at Manaia in the early 1940s to mark the unveiling of the statue of Aneta. As well as local Ngati Huarere and Ngati Pukenga, the ceremony was attended by 'busloads from Te Arawa'.¹⁰² This ceremony, which honoured Aneta as the senior line of Ngati Raukatauri, was also an acknowledgment of the continued Ngati Raukatauri identity.

5.3 Continued Occupation and Rights of Ngati Raukatauri

5.3.1 Although Ngati Huarere have been described as a completely defeated people,¹⁰³ the rangatira of Ngati Raukatauri did continue to exercise control over the lands of their Ngati Raukatauri ancestors. The rights of Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Rangipiki, and Wikitoria Nohohau were also acknowledged by other Maori and Pakeha at the time. The following section relies on evidence given in the Native Land Court, in cases where Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki claimed land through their Ngati Raukatauri lineage.

¹⁰¹ Personal communication, Hiko Hohepa to Whaitiri Mikaere, 26 April 1998

¹⁰² *ibid*

5.3.2 Although, in many of the cases, the ancestors presented were from Ngati Raukatauri whakapapa, Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Rangipiki, and Wikitoria Nohohau generally identified themselves as being from the Te Mango hapu of Ngati Tamatera. That the leaders of Ngati Raukatauri chose to identify themselves as Ngati Tamatera reflects the situation explained in section 4.3. That is, Ngati Raukatauri were now more closely aligned to Ngati Tamatera than to Ngati Huarere. There were also sound political reasons for this alignment. In the Native Land Court, Ngati Huarere were typically described as no longer having any rights. For example, an Appellate Court judge said: 'it is well known the N'Huarere were, as the result of various expeditions, conquered by the descendants of Marutuahu, and their lands appropriated by the conquerors'.¹⁰⁴ This meant that it was advantageous for Ngati Raukatauri to distance themselves from Ngati Huarere if they wanted their claims to be recognised.

5.3.3 One factor in why it was necessary to stress their Ngati Tamatera ancestry was the way that the Native Land Court interpreted and applied 'Maori custom' to the question of land rights.¹⁰⁵ The court operated on a system of recognising four types of rights to land: discovery; ancestry; conquest; and gift. Recent scholarship has suggested that in practice colonial judges placed greater emphasis on conquest than the other types of land rights.¹⁰⁶ In particular, the jurisprudence developed by the court seems to have down played the importance of ancestry/whakapapa ties to the land in tikanga Maori. In 1996 Chief Judge E. Durie explained how ancestry was fundamental to Maori land rights, and suggested that rights of conquest were dependant on creating ancestral ties:

Those who belong to the land, the tangata whenua, are those who trace descent from the original peoples, by whakapapa, or from meticulously preserved genealogies that generally extend over a minimum of 25 generations. The philosophy admits of migrants by incorporation. It admits the children of those who, by marrying into the local community, have sown their seed in the whenua.

Like all theories there were exceptions, but a claim by conquest was probably

¹⁰³ see for example Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Bruce Biggs (ed), *Nga Iwi of Tainui*, Auckland, 1995, and various articles by George Graham in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

¹⁰⁴ Coromandel MB 9, fol 83

¹⁰⁵

The following discussion owes much to the analysis in David V. Williams, *Te Kooti tango whenua: The Native Land Court 1864-1909*, Wellington, 1999, pp 187-189 ¹⁰⁶ ibid

exaggerated by colonial administrators. The retention of land by the strength of one's arm was a common expression but described a defensive position. A conqueror's right to land was more regularly claimed by marriages with the conquered.¹⁰⁷

5.3.4 However, in the last half of the nineteenth century the Native Land Court put more emphasis on conquest, so that the evidence recorded in the minutes is primarily concerned with battles. As Angela Ballara has commented:

Witnesses recounted details of former disputes concerning the people on the land or the land itself, and judges and witnesses alike kept a kind of running score of 'conquests' and counter 'conquests' or revenges which was intended to establish which party was the eventual winner by 1840.¹⁰⁸

This meant that while Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Nohohau, and Wikitoria Rangipiki maintained their ancestral connections to Ngati Raukatauri land, in the Native Land Court they also had to stress they had not been defeated or conquered on those lands.

5.3.5 Although primarily describing themselves as Te Mango, they still used the Ngati Raukatauri name, saying that Te Mango was another name for Ngati Raukatauri.¹⁰⁹ Hohepa Kapene explained how Ngati Raukatauri got the name Te Mango (the shark): 'When a shark is caught it twists about and struggles in the canoe - This man Houtake urged his children and grandchildren to act likewise in the battlefield.'¹¹⁰ However, Wikitoria Rangipiki said that the name originated from a proverb by Paeke; 'Let us not be slain like schnappers - but let us die like sharks'.¹¹¹ Although they admitted that Te Mango was Ngati Raukatauri, in the Papaaroha case in particular, they were careful to not identify Ngati Raukatauri as Ngati Huarere. Because the Marutuahu tribes were seen to be dominant by the Native Land Court, they chose to emphasize their Ngati Tamatera lineage and alliance.

5.3.6 However, this did not mean that (as was shown in some Native Land Court cases) the Ngati Raukatauri land rights had ceased. When successfully claiming the Kutia block, Arama Karaka explained that it was tribal ancestral land, and said that

¹⁰⁷ *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, 'Will the Settlers Settle? Cultural Conciliation and Law' *Otago Law Review*, vol 8 no 4, 1996, cited in Williams, p 188

¹⁰⁸ Ballara, H.A., 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungungu', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991, p 530, cited in Williams, p 188

¹⁰⁹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 224

¹¹⁰ Coromandel MB 7, fol 133

¹¹¹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 224

'the name of our Ancestor was Raukatauri'.¹¹² He then traced his descent from Raukatauri. Arama also claimed the neighbouring Waimai block, based on his descent from Te Teoteo, the father of Urehamama.¹¹³ Ngati Raukatauri were not alone in successfully maintaining the rights of Ngati Huarere. McBurney has shown that Ngati Pare successfully claimed land at Whangapoua through their Ngati Huarere lineage.¹¹⁴

5.3.7 In the Matamataharakeke case, Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Nohohau, and Wikitoria Rangipiki claimed from Tuatiki of Ngati Raukatauri. Paraone Te Awa also traced his claim from Ngati Huarere ancestors.¹¹⁵ Arama's claim was supported by Riria Karepe, who said that Matamataharakeke had been in the continuous possession of the ancestors of Rangipiki, Nohohau and Arama up until the time of the hearing.¹¹⁶ Not only did this confirm their rights as occupiers, but it also confirmed that those rights were derived from their Ngati Raukatauri ancestors. Tamati Tute of Ngati Porou said that Paora Te Putu had told him that Matamataharakeke belonged to Arama and Wikitoria so that Ngati Porou would know the land's history.¹¹⁷ Hohepa Kapene of Ngati Rongo-U explained that he knew Matamataharakeke belonged to Arama 'through his own ancestors' and not through his relationship with Ngati Tamatera chiefs.

5.3.8 In the Papaaroha case, Wikitoria Rangipiki based her claim from Paeke. Both she and Hohepa Kapene related the history of Ngati Raukatauri's battles with other Ngati Huarere told in section 4.2 above. This version of events was told to Kapene by Hakopa Whakarewa at the Rangitaotao hui held in 1852:

Hakopa said before hundreds of people the words I have spoken. There was a very large meeting - I was then a young man who associated myself with the old people and listened carefully to their discussion.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Coromandel MB 2, fol 77

¹¹³ Coromandel MB 2, fol 162

¹¹⁴ McBurney, p 16

¹¹⁵ Coromandel MB 2, fol 255

¹¹⁶ Coromandel MB 2, fol 238

¹¹⁷ Coromandel MB 2, fols 254-255, 15-18 December 1871

¹¹⁸ Coromandel MB 2, fol 242, 15-18 December 1871

¹¹⁹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 144

5.3.9 Although the various claimants to Papaaroha differed on timing and details, the basic story of Paeke's conquest, followed by Te Tairinga seeking the assistance of Ngati Tamatera, was agreed upon by the witnesses and judges. However, Ngati Tamatera claimants argued that Te Tairinga had gifted the whole of the Papaaroha block to Whareiro and Whatihua. The judge denied Wikitoria Rangipiki's claim on the grounds that the whole of the block was given by Te Tairinga to Whatihua and Whareiro.¹²⁰ This meant that although the court rejected Wikitoria Rangipiki's claim, it did not deny the history she gave regarding Te Urehamama, Paeke and Te Tairinga, as repeated in this report. The court accepted that Paeke had owned the area, but found that Te Tairinga had gifted Papaaroha in its entirety to his allies. However, Rangipiki and Kapene said that only a portion of the block was given to Ngati Tamatera, and Ngati Raukatauri retained rights: 'the main portion of the land [outside Ngati Rongo-u's] belonged to Wikitoria Rangipiki, Arama Karaka and Huihana Rangituia - viz the descendants of Paeke'.¹²¹ Alfred Preece, the son of land purchase officer James Preece, said that the owners of Koputauaki in 1855 were Paora te Putu, Riria Karepe, Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Rangipiki and Pita te Hangi. He stated that the principal chiefs and owners of Papaaroha were Rupene, Wikitoria Rangipiki, and Arama Karaka.¹²² Other evidence was presented during the course of the Papaaroha hearing on the precise areas owned by Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Rangipiki and Wikitoria Nohohau.

5.5.70 Ngati Raukatauri also maintained ownership of Harataunga (Kennedy's Bay), until part of it was given to Ngati Porou in the nineteenth century. The history of this gift to Ngati Porou is usually associated with Paora te Putu, of the Patukirikiri hapu of Ngati Tamatera. However, Ngati Raukatauri's rights as the owners of the land were also recognised. Paora te Putu was the most prominent leader in the Moehau district by the mid-nineteenth century. When Ngati Porou asked for some harbour land they could use to transport goods to Auckland, Paora te Putu, as leader of the people, allowed them to have Harataunga. However, it was Ngati Raukatauri land, and they

¹²⁰ Coromandel MB 8, fol 330

¹²¹ Coromandel MB 7, fol 120

were consulted about the gift, and participated in other gifts given in exchange by Ngati Porou.

5.3.11 Takerei te Putu of Ngati Tamatera confirmed that when Paora gifted Harataunga to them, Ngati Porou gave money, horses and greenstone in return. Paora gave the horses and money to Arama Karaka, Hori Te Waiparu, Wikitoria Rangipiki and Hera Putea. Takerei concluded by saying that 'Paora knew they were the rightful owners of the land.'¹²³ Wikitoria Rangipiki said that Paora had asked their permission, before giving the land to Ngati Porou, and that herself and Arama had agreed in order to create a strategic alliance: 'He asked us that Harataunga be given to Ngatiporou so that they might become a people for us.'¹²⁴

5.3.12 When the Harataunga block was brought before the Native Land Court in 1868 by Ngati Porou, the northern head of the Bay was awarded to Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki, as Harataunga 4.¹²⁵ This included the site of the Ngati Raukatauri pa, Te Maungakutia. It was acknowledge by Ngati Tamatera and Ngati Porou that this portion of the bay had not been included in the gift to Ngati Porou.

5.3.13 Paora te Putu was the leader of the people during his lifetime at Moehau, which meant that he was the 'spokesman' for the Patukirikiri/Tamatera and Ngati Raukatauri people. However, this did not mean that he owned all the land in the district. Wikitoria Rangipiki explained that, while they may have come under his authority, it was a matter of choice, and it did not affect their ancestral rights to the land:

It was not until his time when he lived at Koputauaki and he showed consideration for us that Hera Putea and my matuas raised him up and his mana then came over us. His mana did not affect the land.¹²⁶

She clarified this by saying: 'The mana was never vested in him. We appointed him our Kaiwhakahaere. We elevated him to his high position'.¹²⁷

¹²² *ibid*, fol 190

¹²³ *ibid*, fol 11

¹²⁴ *ibid*, fol 224

¹²⁵ Hauraki MB 2, fol 14, 25 June 1868

¹²⁶ Coromandel MB 7, fol 278

¹²⁷ *ibid*, fol 229

5.3.14 Not only did Ngati Raukatauri retain their ancestral rights to land, but Arama and the others also maintained those rights through occupation, (both permanent and migratory), and by controlling the use of the land and its resources. Throughout their lifetimes Arama Karaka, Wikitoria Nohohau and Wikitoria Rangipiki lived a semi-migratory lifestyle, maintaining ahi kaa at their various kainga by moving around between Papaaroha, Koputauaki, Mangungukaiota, Matamataharakeke and other places. They had houses and cultivations at these places, as well as moving around to dig gum, harvest flax and mill timber.

5.3.15 Hohepa Kapene identified kainga belonging to Wikitoria Rangipiki at Papaaroha, Mangungukaiota, Koputauaki, Hungahunga, Omaru and Te Nga Nga.¹²⁸ He said that Wikitoria Rangipiki and Arama Karaka, and their whanau, had rights 'because her ancestors and matuas are buried on this land'.¹²⁹ Montgomery Davis, a timber trader, confirmed that Arama and Rangipiki's main kainga were at Omaru and Mangungukaiota, where they had built houses. He said they had also planted at Koputauaki where they had another house.¹³⁰ Alfred Preece confirmed that Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki were living at Koputauaki, Papaaroha and Mangungukaiota, where he saw them cultivating and raising cattle.¹³¹ An example of their horticultural activity was Pohokuo Island off the coast of Papaaroha, where Wikitoria Rangipiki had potatoes, kumara, maize, peaches and vines in 1899.¹³² Both Nohohau and Rangipiki had earlier said that, after the return from Horotiu, they regularly visited Matamataharakeke to tend to their cultivations.¹³³

5.3.16 Because the rangatira could not constantly attend to all their kainga, they left people on the land to both attend to the resources, and protect their ahi kaa. In some cases they even had Pakeha they allowed to occupy: 'Hare Waikato was our pakeha

¹²⁸ Coromandel MB 7, fol 134, 14 April 1899

¹²⁹ *ibid*, fol 135

¹³⁰ *ibid*, fols 87-99, 21 April 1899

¹³¹ *ibid*, fol 192, 14 April 1899

¹³² *ibid*, fol 223

¹³³ Coromandel MB 2, fol 220

we placed there [Matamataharakeke]'.¹³⁴ Another Pakeha, Sandy McGregor, was placed at Harataunga in the early 1860s from where he shipped timber, some of which Arama had sold from Matamataharakeke. This indicates that, as well as exercising mana whenua by having cultivations at Matamataharakeke, the Ngati Raukatauri exhibited further control over the area by placing *their* Pakeha on the land.

5.3.17 The tribe also placed other Maori on the land. Rangipiki and Arama, accompanied by Hopa and Tamati Tute of Ngapuhi, went to Matamataharakeke and cleared some land. They then left Hopa and Tamati to cultivate at Matamataharakeke. Although Hopa died not long after, Tamati was still living on the block in the 1870s. Tamati maintained that he 'lived on the land permanently at that time' and 'only ceased to reside there this year. I lived there under the mana of Arama and Wikitoria'.¹³⁵ Wikirahi and Winiata were put there to 'cultivate our mara', and Hona was taken there by Arama's younger brother to search for gold.

5.3.18 Arama and others also dug gum at Matamataharakeke. Te Meiha, of Ngati Tamatera, confirmed that he was part of a gum-digging party which went there, after first seeking Arama's consent.¹³⁶ The gum was sold by Arama to Richard Copeland.¹³⁷ Copeland, who had lived at Cabbage Bay since the 1850s, remembered Arama and his party going to Ahirau and selling him gum. He said that Arama, Te Waipara and Wikitoria 'were considered the chiefs' and from what 'I have understood from my intercourse with the natives I heard that Arama Karaka owned considerable land in this District'.¹³⁸

5.3.19 Montgomery Davis explained that Arama had arranged the lease for milling timber from Moehau 4, and had agreed to straighten the creek, presumably for the 'driving' of logs once the trees had been felled. Huihana Rangituia acknowledged Arama's rights in Moehau 4 by paying him £40 of the purchase money.¹³⁹ Arama and

¹³⁴ *ibid*

¹³⁵ *ibid*, fol 251

¹³⁶ *ibid*, fol 247

¹³⁷ *ibid*, fol 229

¹³⁸ *ibid*

¹³⁹ Coromandel MB 8, fol 175

Wikitoria Rangipiki also participated in the Crown negotiations to open up the goldfields.¹⁴⁰

5.3.20 Further evidence of Arama Karaka's and Wikitoria Nohohau's mana whenua can be found in the way that they gave portions of their land to other people. Te Paea Aperaniko was awarded certain small blocks on the grounds that they had been gifted from Arama Karaka.¹⁴¹

5.3.21 The Native Land Court minute books provide extensive evidence that Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki were leading occupiers of the Papaaroha, Matamataharakeke, Harataunga area. This report has only summarised that evidence, and more details about boundaries, family urupa and pa sites can be found in the minute books. In the Papaaroha case, although the judge decided that the Ngati Tamatera ancestral claim took precedence over the Ngati Raukatauri claim from Paeke, it could not be denied that Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki had extensive ownership rights. Because Arama had Ngati Tamatera, as well as his Ngati Raukatauri lineage, the judge had no difficulty in admitting Arama's rights: 'Arama Karaka has evidently been the chief occupier of the block generally. He is descended from all the ancestors put up.'¹⁴² The Appellate Court judge also recognised the importance of Wikitoria's status:

as there is overwhelming evidence that Wikitoria was one of the real permanent occupiers of the land, she must be admitted to an interest in the land.¹⁴³

5.3.22 Arama Karaka and Wikitoria Rangipiki were also awarded ownership in the following blocks: Moehau 2B, Moehau 1, Matamataharakeke, and Harataunga 4.

¹⁴⁰ Coromandel MB 9, fol 36

¹⁴¹ Coromandel MB 6, fol 162, 10 April 1899

¹⁴² Coromandel MB 9, fol 85

¹⁴³ *ibid*

Summary

1. Huarere was the grandson of Tamatekapua, the kaitautu of the Te Arawa waka. Huarere was born before Te Arawa landed in Aotearoa. Tamatekapua claimed Moehau as his final resting place, and lived there before his death. Huarere's father, Tuhoromatakaka was also buried on Moehau. These burials created a strong ancestral link to Moehau for the descendants of Tuhoromatakaka. Ngati Huarere's rights to Moehau derive from an award made by Kahumatamamoe, Huarere's uncle. Ngati Huarere also had rights around the Hauraki Gulf and Tamaki. Huarere himself died on Waiheke Island.

2. The four main hapu of Ngati Huarere, with rights on the Coromandel Peninsula, were descended from four of Huarere's great grandchildren, the children of Te Kautu:

Tupuna	Hapu
Kopani (f)	Ngati Pare
Raukatauri (m)	Ngati Raukatauri
Piri (m)	Ngati Piri
Koheri (m)	Ngati Koheri

Ngati Raukatauri are thus descended from the senior male line of Huarere. The territory of the four hapu divided up the Coromandel Peninsula. Ngati Raukatauri occupied the north-eastern part of Moehau, around Harataunga (Kennedy's Bay) and Matamataharakeke (Waikawau Bay).

3. Ngati Raukatauri were affected by the expansion of the Marutuahu tribes along the Coromandel Peninsula. Ngati Rongo-U chief, Manukaihongi, defeated Ngati Huarere at Tukituki. Later, peace was restored after Manu married Puku, who was the daughter of Paiamanu (Raukatauri's grandson). Paiamanu's son, Tuatiki, also married into Ngati Rongo-U.

4. Ngati Pukenga chief, Kamaukiterangi, was famous for his attacks on Ngati Huarere. However, the waiata 'Ngaro noa Kamaukiterangi' does not include Ngati Raukatauri in the names of the hapu defeated by Kamaukiterangi.

5. Urehamama, the grandson of Tuatiki, was killed by members of the other hapu of Ngati Huarere. This was the beginning of three generations of warfare between Ngati Raukatauri and their Ngati Huarere (Ngati Piri and Ngati Koheri) relations.

6. Urehamama's death was avenged by his son, Paeke, with the assistance of Puha of Ngati Rongo-U. Both Puha's wife and mother were from Ngati Raukatauri. Paeke and Puha conquered Papaaroa, which they both settled. Paeke and Puha then extended their conquest over the other Ngati Huarere by taking Koputauaki Pa. Paeke was later killed by Ngati Piri, in a conflict over a fishing ground.

7. Paeke's son, Te Tairinga, wished to avenge his father's death, and sought assistance from two Ngati Tamatera chiefs, Whareiro and Whatihua. They were close relations of Te Tairinga's wife. Te Tairinga and his Ngati Tamatera allies sacked the Ngati Piri and Ngati Inu pa while the men were out fishing. The returning men were then all killed. In return for their assistance, Te Tairinga gifted part of the land at Papaaroa to Whareiro and Whatihua. He thereby cemented a strategic alliance between Ngati Raukatauri and Ngati Tamatera by giving away some of the newly acquired territory. Ngati Raukatauri ancestral lands were not affected.

8. The military alliances between Paeke and Puha, and between Te Tairinga and Whareiro and Whatihua, meant that Ngati Raukatauri became more closely allied with Ngati Rongo-u and Ngati Tamatera. Ngati Raukatauri's bonds to their Ngati Huarere whanaunga were severely damaged by the three generations of warfare which had taken place. In contrast, peaceful relations were cemented with the Marutuahu tribes. An important factor in this new relationship was the various marriages between Ngati Raukatauri, Ngati Rongo-u and Ngati Tamatera.

9. In the early nineteenth century Ngati Raukatauri were affected by the Ngapuhi attacks. Most of the hapu fled the district, and some individuals were captured by Ngapuhi and taken north. One of these was Ruahoho, whose wife later gave birth to Heni while they were still being held by Ngapuhi. When Heni was bom an

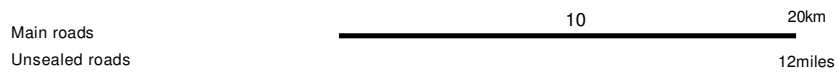
arrangement was made whereby Heni was to marry a Ngati Pukenga chief, Tamati. They had two sons, Pera and Wiremu. This marriage restored peace between Ngapuhi and Ngati Raukatauri.

10. In the mid-nineteenth century the principal descendants of Ngati Raukatauri were Wikitoria Nohohau, her brother Arama Karaka, and Wikitoria Rangipiki. Arama and Rangipiki were later married. Wikitoria Nohohau died in 1876, Arama Karaka died in 1894 and Wikitoria Rangipiki died in 1904. Although they had no surviving children, Wikitoria was survived by her nephews Pera and Wiremu, who had returned to Moehau by that time. In the 1940s, Pera's eldest daughter, Aneta, was acknowledged as the senior descendant of Ngati Raukatauri.

11. Ngati Raukatauri had not been driven off Matamataharakeke and their other ancestral blocks by Ngapuhi. They had only left the area temporarily at the time of the Ngapuhi attacks. It was acknowledged in the Native Land Court that Arama's rights to those lands came from his Raukatauri line and the undisturbed Ngati Raukatauri occupation. The Native Land Court minute books provide extensive evidence of Arama Karaka's, Wikitoria Nohohau's and Wikitoria Rangipiki's occupation of, and status at, Moehau. The evidence includes: houses and cultivations, resource use and control, participation in land transactions, and the maintenance of ahi kaa by placing others on their ancestral lands to protect their rights as Ngati Raukatauri.

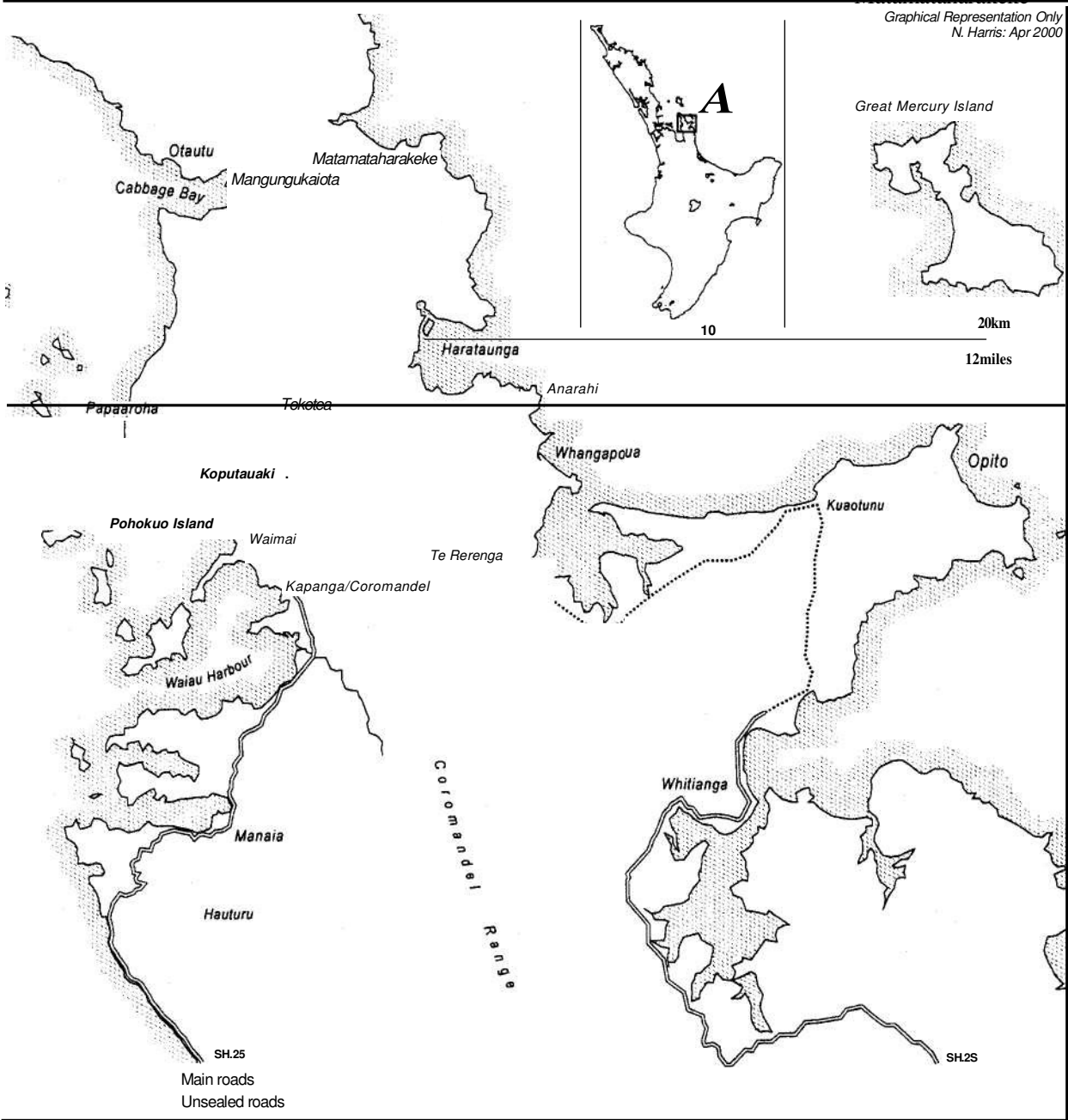
12. The nineteenth century leaders of Ngati Raukatauri continued to exercise mana over their ancestral lands, and to acknowledge their Ngati Raukatauri ancestry. However, political realities meant that in the Native Land Court they tended to identify Ngati Raukatauri as members of Ngati Tamatera. This was done to distance Ngati Raukatauri from the image of Ngati Huarere as a conquered iwi. However, although Arama and the others had Ngati Tamatera blood lines, they continued to claim Ngati Raukatauri ancestral land from their Ngati Raukatauri ancestors, particularly Paeke and Tuatiki.

Graphical Representation Only
N. Harris: Apr 2000



Map One: Ngati Huarere Sites

Graphical Representation Only
N. Harris: Apr 2000



Map Two: Placenames

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