Te Pareihe and the Migration to Nukutaurua 1823-1824

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At the juncture of 1823-24, thousands of people from the Heretaunga (southern Hawkes Bay), Ahuriri (northern Hawkes Bay) and Wairarapa communities of the lower East Coast of the North Island migrated to the Māhia Peninsula. Those who moved north to Māhia would stay for nearly 20 years in a migration common for many iwi and hapu affected by the upheaval, danger and violence, of the 'Musket Wars' that took place across Aotearoa New Zealand in the early nineteenth century. In the 1820s, Te Pareihe, a chief of the hapu Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti from the Te Aute area led a varied contingent of East Coast migrants to refuge at Māhia. This dissertation examines the reasons for this migration, paying particular attention to external threats and utu, the indefensibility of Heretaunga, Ahuriri and Wairarapa areas, the alliance with Te Wera Hauraki of Ngāpuhi, and the role of tohunga prophecy. In addition to these issues, the study also deals with the reasons why Māhia was selected as the most suitable refuge. This dissertation, then, offers an important reminder that Māori migrated internally, and frequently, within their traditional boundaries well before the more researched urbanisation migrations of the mid-twentieth century, and well after the multiple migrations well chronicled in early Māori history waka voyaging. These migrations like those of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti in 1823-24 included important reconnections with traditional papa kainga, and were not simply movements away from home. Indeed, in the case of East Coast Ngāti Kahungunu Māori, the Nukutaurua migration signalled both a broadening of boundaries and strengthening of links within the hapu of Takitimu waka. This study draws on historical data and evidence, interview data, and the existing literature in Kahungunu indigenous history.

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Mai atu i ngā tupuna o ēnei korero, tena koutou mo o whakāro whakahirahira, me o mahi rongonui.

Tena koutou katoa.

To God, that gives life to all things.

To my family - my husband, Olaf, my children, Connor and Charlotte, my parents, parents-in-law and to my extended family.

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Introduction

Ko Takitimu te waka

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi

Ko Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti te hapu

In writing this dissertation I have been privileged to have the opportunity to research not only a significant and formative event in the history of Ngāti Kahungunu, and their neighbouring tribes on the East Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, but also to look into my personal family history; particularly those who were among the group that migrated to Te Māhia in the nineteenth century. This dissertation explores the question why various hapu from Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri migrated to the Māhia peninsula under the leadership of the Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti chief Te Pareihe in 1823-1824. It examines the reasons why these hapu left their homes, and why Te Māhia was chosen as their destination.[1] Migration research is important to Māori, and much has been written on movement in tribal histories, particularly in volumes dedicated to early waka migrations, and to later urban migratory histories. But smaller migrations, such as this, are given far less attention. Indeed, little is written on the Māhia migration that took place in 1823, even within the broader Takitimu narrative. This study takes a closer look at why these hapu and iwi moved, and how that movement is connected to various reasons related to whakapapa affiliation, tikanga, prophecy, trade, securing safer and more defensible pā sites, and reconnecting to home rather than simply moving away from it.

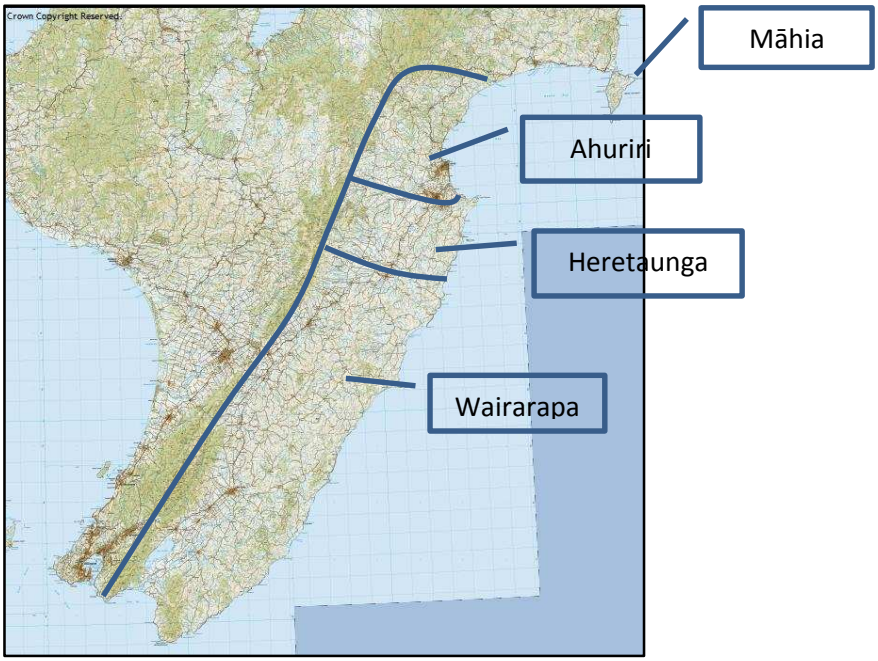
The sources consulted for this dissertation are drawn from deep and varied wells of knowledge. This study draws on visual sources, and an array of important texts, existing histories, theses, maps, images and photographs, and historical journals. It pays particular attention to some of the primary tribal histories in the

[1] The names Te Māhia and Nukutaurua are used interchangeably in this dissertation; Nukutaurua being the place on the south eastern coast of the Māhia Peninsula where the eponymous ancestor Kahungunu lived.

area including J. H. Mitchell's *Takitimu*, Angela Ballara's PhD thesis 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', and Thomas Lambert's *Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast of New Zealand*.[2] This study also draws on the testimony of William Blake QSM, kaumatua of Te Rakato marae at Te Māhia.[3] This interview was elicited through a robust ethical and tikanga process, and has enabled invaluable kōrero tuku-iho (oral history and tradition) to be made available in support of this study. In selecting and analysing the mātauranga employed in this dissertation, a careful balance between oral, written, and visual texts has been employed to weave together the multiple threads that are vital to this narrative. With local mātauranga in mind, it is important to note the specific geographical space within which this study is set. Those people and places mentioned in this dissertation are located in in the lower East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, encompassing the rohe known as Heretaunga, Ahuriri and Wairarapa in Te Ao Māori. The areas of Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri that are referred to in this work should be understood and situated in the following ways:

Heretaunga: This term often refers to the entire Hawkes Bay region, as in the current tribal designation of Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga (as opposed to 'ki Wairoa' or 'ki Wairarapa'). This dissertation employs the term Heretaunga in a specific way to include only the geographic area bounded by the Tukituki River to the south and the east, by the Ruahine Ranges in the west and the old course of the Ngaruroro River to the north.[4]

[2] J. H. Mitchell (Tiaki Hikawera Mitira), *Takitimu*, (Wellington: A H & A W Reed Ltd., 1972); Heather Angela Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu' (unpublished PhD Thesis: Victoria University of Wellington, 1991); Thomas Lambert, *Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast of New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1925).
[3] Interview with William Blake, 6 September 2014. Interviewed by Rebekah Bright. Audio file and transcripts held by Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi.
[4] Ballara, p. 194.



Map of lower East Coast

Adapted from New Zealand Topomap[5]

Wairarapa: This term is often used to refer to the entire East Coast of the North Island, south of Hawkes Bay. For the purposes of this study, the term Wairarapa includes the hapu affiliated to the eponymous ancestor Kahungunu in particular, rather than to those affiliating to other eponymous ancestors in that rohe such as Ira and Rangitāne. The area that these descendants of Kahungunu covered ran from Cape Turnagain – Te Aho-ā-Maui in the north, to Kawakawa (Palliser Bay) in the south, from the Tararua and Remutaka Ranges to the west, to Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) in the east.[6]

Ahuriri: This is the Māori name now attached to the city of Napier. This study invokes the name Ahuriri to describe the people who in 1823 inhabited the area from the inner Ahuriri harbour to the Kaweka Ranges, and from north of the old course of the Ngaruroro River to the Mohaka River as its northernmost boundary.[7]

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[5] NZ Topo Map, <http://www.topomap.co.nz> [Accessed 3 April 2014].
[6] Waitangi Tribunal, *WAI863 Wairarapa ki Tararua Report* Volume 1, 2010, p. xl. Note the spelling 'Remutaka' rather than 'Rimutaka' advised to be the correct spelling of these ranges in this Waitangi Tribunal report.
[7] Ballara, pp. 193-4.

Musket Wars and the Nineteenth Century Colonial Context

The migration to Māhia took place against the backdrop of the 'Musket Wars' of the 1820s.[8] The period 1818-1840 was a time of turmoil, displacement, utu, and significant far-reaching changes to Māori society. Increases in the scale of warfare between tribal groups, the impact of new technologies procured through contact with Europeans, as well as the increasing use of non-kin allies meant this period was one of intense conflict that necessitated migrations by different groups throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, as they became displaced or were forced to seek refuge. Other groups found themselves in a position to actively seek out new territories with a view to permanently occupying these.[9] This study examines the Kahungunu migration that began in the period 1823-24, and covers the first two waves of migrants leaving Heretaunga and Wairarapa, followed by those of Ahuriri after the defeat at Te Pakake in 1824. This migration was led by Te Pareihe of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, an able military leader who was chosen for greater responsibilities in the context of his hapu grouping.

A Brief View of the Literature

This dissertation sits within interrelated bodies of historical writing. J. H. Mitchell's *Takitimu* and Angela Ballara's thesis 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu' are the most substantial works on Kahungunu iwi history. There are also further works in iwi historiography such as Mere Whaanga's *A Carved Cloak for Tahu* and articles published by *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* as well as Thomas Lambert's *Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast*.[10] Mitchell's *Takitimu* focuses

[8] The inverted commas have been used because this term has been challenged by historians such as Angela Ballara, *Taua: 'musket wars', 'land wars' or tikanga?: warfare in Maori society in the early nineteenth century*. (Auckland: Penguin, 2003). James Belich suggested the term 'Potato Wars' to reflect the impact of the potato in allowing greater mobilisation of warriors and trade for muskets and other goods.

[9] Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', p. 423.

[10] J. H. Mitchell (Tiaki Hikawera Mitira), *Takitimu*, (Wellington: A H & A W Reed Ltd., 1972); Heather Angela Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu' (unpublished PhD Thesis: Victoria University of Wellington, 1991); Mere Whaanga, *A Carved Cloak for Tahu* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004); Thomas Lambert, *Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast of New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1925); *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Auckland: Auckland University, beginning 1892).

on recording the stories that relate to key events and tupuna such as Kahungunu and Taraia, the majority of whom lived a number of generations before the period of this study. Ballara's thesis covers a vast time span, including the time of this migration, and carries on to the late 1890s when the iwi Ngāti Kahungunu became an identifiable entity. Mere Whaanga's *A Carved Cloak for Tahu* captures some of the important kōrero of Takitimu waka and Kahungunu iwi, while the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* provides examples of interesting anecdotes in Kahungunu history, in particular for this dissertation, relating to Te Wera Hauraki and his involvement with the East Coast. Thomas Lambert gives a reasonably broad history of Wairoa and surrounds, including the time period of the migration, and then goes on to focus on early European settlers and the establishment of towns, farms and ports. None of these works particularly focus in on or analyse the migration to Māhia beginning 1823-24.

Migration has been popular topic in Māori historiography. Works around iwi migration have been undertaken by researchers such as S. Percy Smith in *Hawaiki – The Original Home of the Maori,* Joan Metge in *A New Maori Migration*, Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson in *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History* and more recently in journal articles such as Nēpia Mahuika's 'Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Maui: Migration and the Nation' in *New Zealand Journal of History*.[11] This dissertation also deals with migration, outside of the more popular studies on early arrival migrants and twentieth century urban migrants. This study is interested in internal migration within a waka grouping's own boundaries, the idea of 'home' and particularly of multiple homes or 'Hawaikis'. This dissertation affirms the notion that Māori migration was not limited to the initial waka migration, followed by thousands of years of stasis, with an urban migration after World War Two. Rather, it shows that migration was a frequent, normal and crucial activity undertaken by hapu groupings in response to a constantly

[11] S. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki – The Original Home of the Maori* 4th edition (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1921); Joan Metge, *A New Maori Migration* (London: University of London – The Athlone Press, 1964); *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History*, Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson (eds) (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books in association with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2008); Nepia Mahuika, 'Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Maui: Migration and the Nation' in *New Zealand Journal of History 43:2*, 2009.

changing social and economic environment. This is important to East Coast iwi, and especially for Ngāti Kahungunu during the musket war period. Although mention is made of Kahungunu movement, little attention has been given to this significant migratory moment in Kahungunu written histories. Indeed, the migration under Te Pareihe is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is a migration that appears to have ensured the survival of a great number of people of the lower East Coast through a period characterised by conflict and uncertainty. Secondly, it is a crucial moment that sees an unprecedented level of unity and common purpose across Kahungunu hapu. This unity formed the basis for a coherent iwi grouping to emerge in the late 19th century. Thirdly, through careful management and monitoring of the lands left behind, the mana whenua of the people was retained, and ensured a space for them to return to in their home rohe of Heretaunga, Ahuriri and Wairarapa once the danger had passed.

Dissertation Outline

In addressing the question why many hapu of Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri migrated to the Māhia peninsula in the period 1823-1824, and why Te Māhia was chosen as their destination, this dissertation is presented in two parts. The first part, *He Waka Eke Noa*, looks at the reasons why the people of Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri left their established kainga in these rohe. The second part, *Te Hekenga Rangatira ki Nukutaurua*, looks at why Nukutaurua was selected as a suitable refuge. In each major section, smaller subsections are used to focus on varying issues, including the pull of trade at the more accessible Māhia peninsula, the threat of war and destruction at the hands of various enemies, and the complex relationships of whakapapa that produced sophisticated shifts in the decisions to stay or go. These subsections cross over and are inter-related. At times, during this study, factors introduced in earlier sections are reconsidered as they intersect with other relative threads of information. Nevertheless, this study divides itself into the two main section that highlight those reasons that contributed to movement away from

Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri, and those reasons that contributed to movement towards Te Māhia.

Part One: He Waka Eke Noa

Our Common Circumstance[12]

[12] Kingi Ihaka, 'Nga Whakatauki me Nga Pepeha Maori: Proverbial and Popular Sayings of the Maori' in *Te Ao Hou*, 26 (March 1959), p. 54. Literally translated, 'we are all in the same boat'.

The decision to migrate out of their home areas was not one undertaken lightly by the people of Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri. There were several different reasons for migrating. Some were shared across the three rohe, such as the difficulty in defending their terrain, and common external threats. Other reasons were unique to that rohe and their experiences of this tumultuous period. This section will look at the reasons for the people of each of the three rohe of Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri in deciding to migrate out of the area.

HERETAUNGA

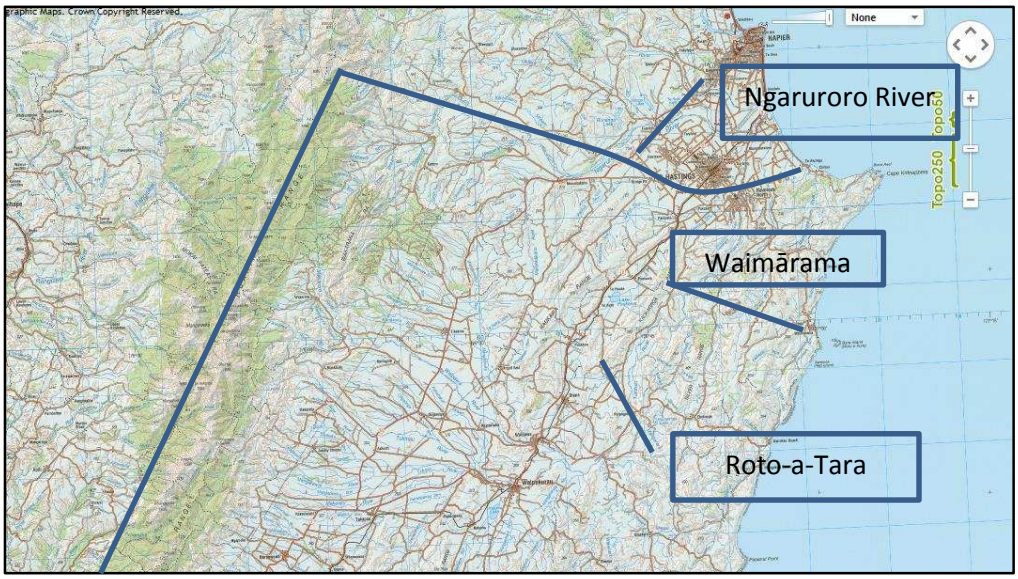
Heretaunga of the 1820s was a wide forested plain, flanked by mountains to the interior and to the coast, and with an abundant supply of food including eels in the vast swamps and lakes. These eel habitats were already bountiful in the time of Tara, who lived 25 generations before Te Pareihe and his contemporaries, and for whom the lake Roto-a-Tara is named.[13] The people who occupied this area were mainly of the hapu Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngāti Hāwea, Ngāi Tukuaterangi, Ngāti Kurukuru, Ngāi Te Upokiri, Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngai Tahu o Kahungunu.[14]

The nourishment that could be derived from Papatūānuku, the earth mother, in this area may have been both blessing and curse; while making it a very habitable place to live, it also drew unwanted attention from groups outside the region, many of whom were increasingly displaced during the Musket Wars.[15] Locals understood the significant value and potential in the area, noting its wealth of natural provision and resources in the well-known saying 'Heretaunga haukū nui' ('Heretaunga of heavy dew'); a comment on the "richness of the land,

[13] Best, Elsdon, 'The Land of Tara and they who settled it' Part II *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Volume 27, No. 105, 1918 pp. 1-25. Both Roto-a-Tara (since drained) and Lake Poukawa were eel preserves of Tara. See also J. Graham, 'Whakatangata kia kaha - Toitū te whakapapa, toitu te tuākiri, toitū te mana: An examination of the contribution of Te Aute College to Māori advancement' (unpublished PhD thesis, Massey University, 2010), p.27 about the interest in the area from outsiders due to its plentiful food resources.

[14] Ballara, Angela, 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', pp. 194-214. See also Ballara pp.188-89 about the boundaries (north and south of the Ngaruroro River) and interrelationship between the rangatira of Heretaunga and Ahuriri rohe.

[15] J Buchanan, *The Maori History and Place Names of Hawkes Bay* (Wellington: A H & A W Reed, 1973) p.21.



Map of Heretaunga area, from the Ruahine Ranges in the west to the coast, and from the Ngaruroro River to the north, showing key locations. Adapted from NZ TopoMap.[16]

both in cultivated food and natural production, such as fish, eels, birds and the abundance of shellfish."[17]

In 1823, the decision was made by Te Pareihe, leader of the hapu Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti that all the people of Heretaunga were to leave this papa kainga.[18] Some hapu decided to remain, while others elected to join Te Pareihe at a later date; in particular, following the defeat of Ahuriri at Te Pakake in 1824[19].

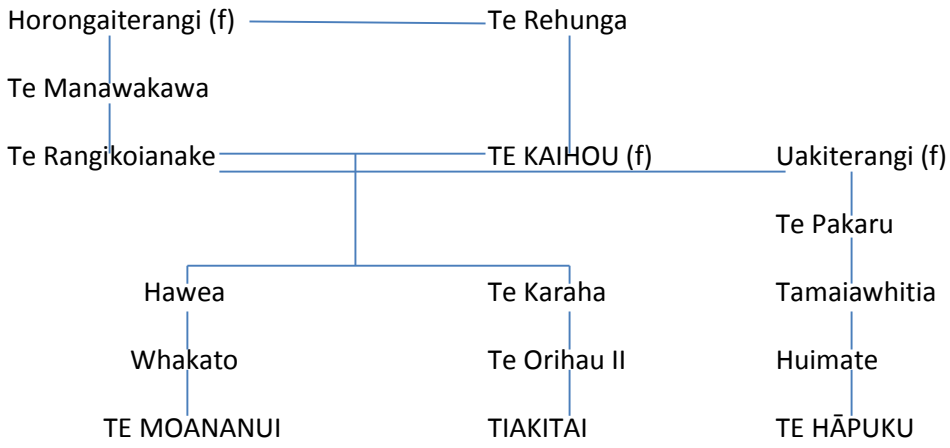
There were several reasons why Te Pareihe felt it necessary that the various hapu of Heretaunga migrate. These included external threats and utu, defensibility of Heretaunga (both in terms of geography and weaponry available to them), a fortuitous alliance with Te Wera Hauraki and the prophecies of Te Ngoi. Te Wera Hauraki was a Ngāpuhi chief who befriended the people of

[16] NZ Topo Map, <http://www.topomap.co.nz> [Accessed 1 July 2014]. Angela Ballara advises that the course of the Ngaruroro River in the 1820s was to the south of present-day Hastings, whereas now it is to the north ('Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', p. 34).
[17] Mitchell, p.250.
[18] The idea of multiple papa kainga is discussed on page 38 in the chapter 'Kinship to Te Māhia'.
[19] Some hapu did not migrate but stayed in the area or nearby, such as Ngai Te Upokoiri.

Māhia, while Te Ngoi was the prophet of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti hapu and Te Pareihe's spiritual advisor.[20]

External Threats and Utu

To understand the situation in 1823 for the people of Heretaunga, it is important to consider the events that led to the tribe's exodus. In the years prior, Te Kaihou, sister of Te Ringanohu (who had been killed in battle shortly beforehand), had decided to bestow mana and land on Te Pareihe as leader of the hapu grouping of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti.[21] This change of leadership signalled also a change in direction for the hapu grouping. Te Pareihe's abilities as a chief had been demonstrated on the battlefield, but would now extend to all areas of governance for the hapu.

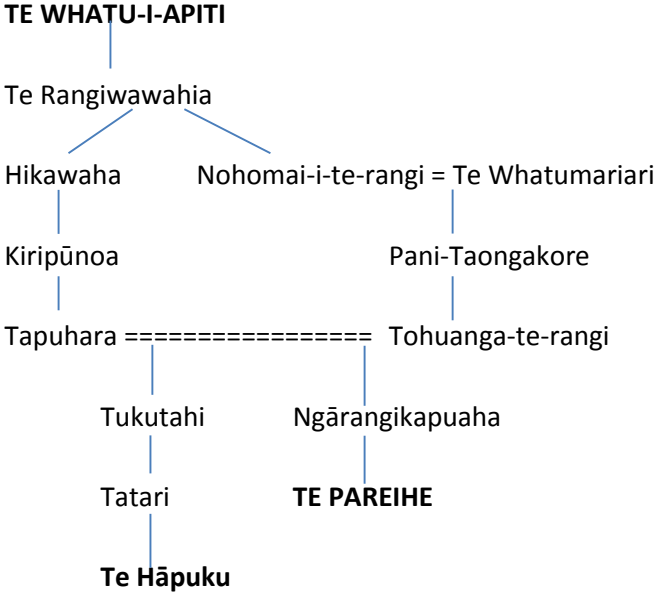


From Angela Ballara *The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu*[22]

As can be seen from the above whakapapa table, three of the key rangatira in the Heretaunga / Ahuriri area of the early to mid-1800s, Te Moananui, Tiakitai and Te Hāpuku, were descendants of the important ariki Te Rangikoianake, and

[20] These influential people will be discussed further from page 23 onwards in this chapter.
[21] Angela Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu', p. 430. Te Kaihou belonged to Ngai Te Kikiri-o-te-Rangi, a sub-hapu of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti.
[22] Ballara p. 103, Genealogy 41 and 42.

his union with either Te Kaihou herself or another wife. Te Pareihe does not feature in this chart; he is related to Te Hāpuku through the other side of Te Hāpuku's parentage.[23]



From *Nga Moteatea I*

This may give some insight into the dynamic between Te Pareihe and the others of more senior birth; Te Pareihe, through making a name for himself as a military leader, was placed in a position of power that far outweighed his rank according to his pedigree. This would challenge the sensibilities of the other rangatira, and play a large part in their respective decisions whether or not to migrate to Māhia, or even co-operate with Te Pareihe in the rohe.

At the same time as placing Te Pareihe in a key leadership role, Te Kaihou invited Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa, who was then based around Maungatautari in the Waikato, to settle in Heretaunga. Te Whatanui and his ope had muskets, and had previously fought for Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti against Ngai Te Upokiri.[24] This invitation to Te Whatanui would lead to a string of problems that iwi like Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti encountered when recruiting non-kin allies in this turbulent period

[23] Sir Apirana Ngata, *Nga Moteatea Part I*, (Wellington: A W & A H Reed Ltd, 1928), I:30.

[24] Ballara, p. 431.

of history.[25] It also, in essence, undermined the mantle given to Te Pareihe, threatening his mana whenua, and created a situation in which he must either overthrow Te Whatanui or be driven out himself, to reassert his mana elsewhere.

A short time later, Tangiteruru led an ope taua of Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Maru into Heretaunga, where they took the pā Roto-a-Tara, which was the main defensive pā of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, and also another pā belonging to Ngāti Kurukuru of Waimārama named Karamea.[26] This event shows that at this point in time, the people of Heretaunga faced very real threats to their mana whenua, from the west and the north.

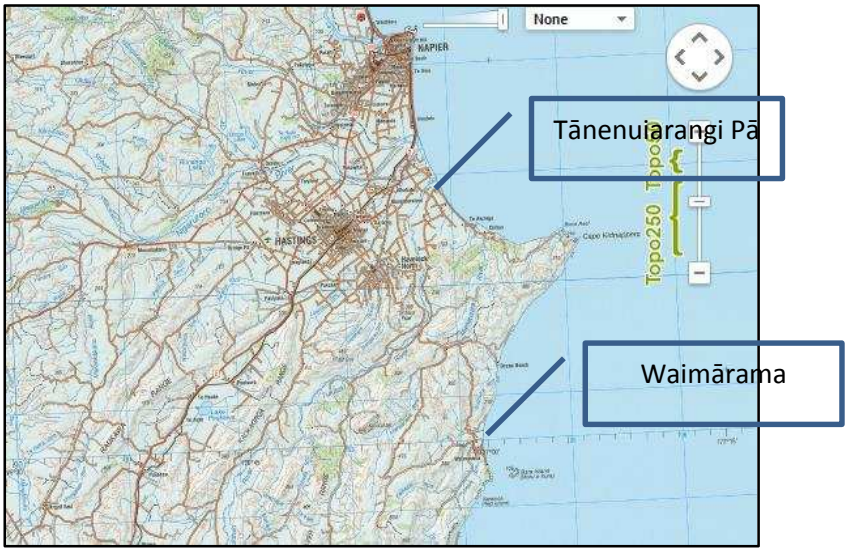
In response to this, Te Wanikau, of both Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and Ngai Te Upokoiri, made contact with Te Heuheu Mananui of Taupō to assist with retaking these pā. Arriving with a strong ope taua, Te Heuheu's forces made short work of those they encountered at Raukawa, to the north of Roto-a-Tara. At this point, Tangiteruru abandoned the pā he had taken and fled south.[27] Te Pareihe then reoccupied Roto-a-Tara.

Te Heuheu's contingent "camped on the shore, threatening the island pā" of Roto-a-Tara and also sent a small group to attack Mangawharau near Waimārama, from which the attackers were roundly repulsed, and Te Heuheu's younger brother was among the casualties.[28] This drew the ire of Te Heuheu, who withdrew from the siege at Roto-a-Tara and attacked Mangawharau, where the defenders, made up of Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Kurukuru and Ngāti Tamaterā, suffered total defeat. This battle is known as Te Aratipi.[29]

In the aftermath of this conflict, Te Heuheu returned to Taupō in order to gather fresh men and supplies. Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa then joined Te Heuheu to lay siege once more to Roto-a-Tara. But having brought no waka with them, Te Heuheu and Te Whatanui were compelled to build a causeway out to the

[25] Ballara, p.430.
[26] Ballara, p. 432. See her note at bottom of page 432 about the difficulty of placing dates.
[27] Ballara, p.433.
[28] Ballara, p.433.
[29] Buchanan, p.22.

island pā in order to assault it. Here, they met with staunch resistance that drove the invaders back over their causeway, with many drowned during the fighting. Te Pareihe abandoned the pā that night in favour of Porangahau. [30] This battle is known as Te Kahupapa ('the causeway') or Roto-a-Tara I which is said to have occurred circa 1822.[31] Kōrero relative to this event suggests that up to fifty chiefs were killed from the attacking side.[32] The imperative of utu in tikanga Māori meant that this loss could not go unavenged. Utu has been defined as "the maintenance of balance and harmony within society."[33] For the invaders, their society was now out of balance through the deaths of so many rangatira, and this called for a major corrective act. It is important to note at this point Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti were still operating without firearms, and thus continued to be vulnerable to attack by rivals who likely considered them a 'soft target'.

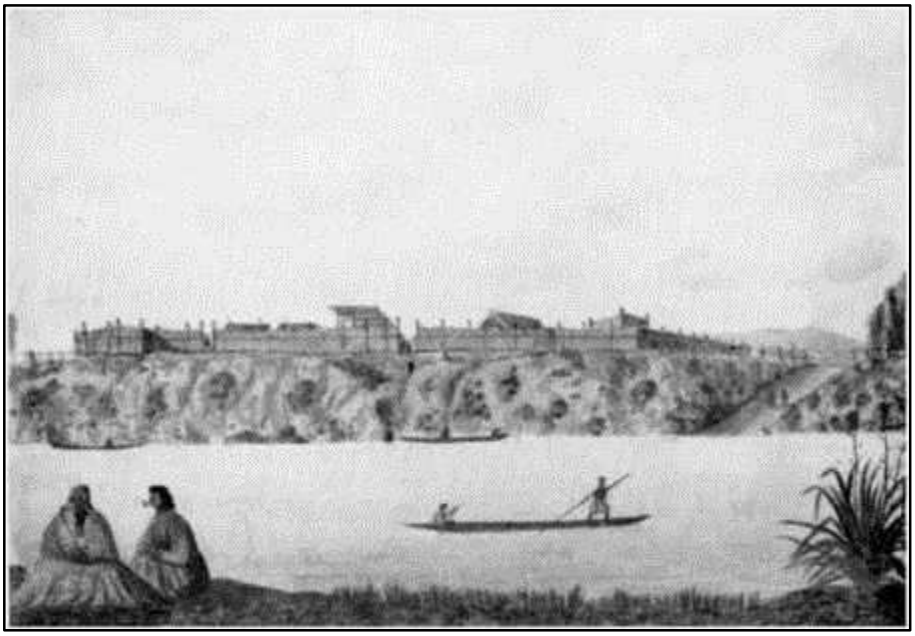


Map of Upper Heretaunga adapted from NZ Topomap

[30] Graham, p.29.
[31] Graham, p.29; Ballara, p. 443. Note: this lake was drained by European settlers in the 1850s.
[32] Graham, p. 30; W T Prentice, 'The Maori History of Hawkes Bay' in *History of Hawkes Bay*, (Wellington: A H & A W Reed, 1939) p. 90.
[33] Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Māori values and practices', updated 20-Dec-2012 <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/frontier-of-chaos/maori-values> [Accessed 13 July 2014].

Te Wera Hauraki, of Ngāpuhi, had meanwhile settled at Te Māhia. Aware of his presence and reputation, Te Hauwaho of Heretaunga and Te Waikopiro of Mohaka went to Māhia to gain Te Wera's assistance in some matters of utu. Te Wera's forces joined those of Te Hauwaho and Te Waikopiro, and headed south, killing perhaps 100 people of Ngāti Hawea and other hapu en route.[34]

On approaching Waimārama, Te Wera and his group saw the fires of Te Pareihe's people, who were staying with Tiakitai of Ngāti Kurukuru. Te Pareihe caught word that Te Wera was at Tanenuiārangi, a pā on the south bank of the Ngaruroro River. During his advance towards the pā, Te Pareihe's party found themselves surrounded as an ambush had been set. At this critical juncture it became apparent that neither side wished to fight, and peace was made.[35]



Tane-Nui-A Rangi Pa Drawing by Lt. H S Bates[36]

The groups then joined for a battle named Te Whitiotū, where Tiakitai, Te Pareihe, and Te Wera and his Ngāpuhi forces, defeated Ngai Te Upokoiri and Tūwharetoa at the stream for which the battle is named. This was a significant

[34] Ballara, p.443. See also my chapter 'Te Wera Hauraki' on p.45.
[35] Ballara, p.444.
[36] A fortified village of the olden time, on the Ngaruroro River, Hawke's Bay. From a drawing by Lieut. H. S. Bates, 65th Regiment, 1858. The pā is near present-day Clive.

moment, because it was here, where for the first time, both sides were equipped with muskets. The losses suffered by Tūwharetoa at Roto-a-Tara I / Te Kahupapa remained unavenged.[37]

Difficulties in Defending the Terrain

Part of the reason Te Pareihe made the decision for his people to leave Heretaunga was due to the indefensibility of the terrain. The Heretaunga area is a long run of flat land, which includes several lakes and swamps, with the sea to the east and mountains to the west. In 1823 the area from upper Tukituki to Manawatu was covered in forest, while the area to the south of the Tukituki River was grassy plain "stretching as far as the eye could reach."[38]

For Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti under Te Pareihe, the corner stone of any defence effort was the island pā of Roto-a-Tara. This island fortress had been a useful tactical keep for several generations prior to the time of Te Pareihe.[39] However, new aspects of warfare which included the introduction of muskets (held by the invaders but not by the defenders prior to the alliance with Te Wera Hauraki) as well as the recruitment of non-kin allies, which escalated the scale of each subsequent attack or reprisal, challenged this stronghold to its limit and called for daring tactics on the part of the defenders that could not be easily replicated in future. In short, the pā, and therefore also the rohe, was no longer defensible. Defending the Heretaunga region had become problematic.

Ngāti Kurukuru at Waimārama had a slightly better position to protect in a tactical sense.

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[37] Graham, p.29.

[38] Bishop G A Selwyn, Journal Entry 14 November 1842, as quoted in J. Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., NZ*, (Gisborne: Joseph Angus Mackay, 1949); Ballara pp. 33-34.

[39] Graham, pp.25-26. This pā was used by the eponymous ancestor Te Whatu-I-Apiti. See p.41 in 'Kinship to Te Māhia' for his whakapapa. The island's formation is traditionally attributed to a battle between Tara and a Taniwha, with the island being formed by the thrashing of the monster's tail (Graham, p.21).

Looking towards Waimārama Beach Photograph: R Bright, 3 July 2014

Waimārama was used as a launching place for the migration to the Māhia Peninsula which followed the Battle of Te Whitiotū. A layered semi-circle of mountains to the interior impeded the progress of any incursions by hostile forces. However, the land that fell within this sheltered area was limited and

From Waimārama looking toward Motu-O-Kura (Bare Island) Photograph: R Bright, 3 July 2014

could not support the entire population of Heretaunga. The beach was broad with smooth stones making for easy waka landings and departures; while this was advantageous for Ngāti Kurukuru and their affiliates to launch waka from, or to receive reinforcements from the ocean highway in the case of a siege situation, this could also provide an avenue for enemy attack. The terrain had become difficult to defend for the people of Heretaunga.

Alliance with Te Wera Hauraki

The alliance with Te Wera Hauraki was a further contributor to the decision by Te Pareihe to migrate away from Heretaunga. The alliance was initially between the Ngāpuhi allies of Te Wera Hauraki, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti under Te Pareihe, Ngāti Kahungunu-ki-Wairoa under Te Waikopiro, and the communities of Wairoa and Te Māhia.[40] Later the people of coastal Wairarapa and Ahuriri would join the alliance as well, in response to the common threat.

This alliance provided an avenue for Te Pareihe to preserve the lives of his people for several reasons. The first was that Te Wera and his affiliates had muskets, where Te Pareihe did not. These were decisive in the Battle of Te Whitiotū, which saw the defeat of Ngai Te Upokoiri and Tūwharetoa at the hands of the newly formed alliance. Had this alliance not been made, Te Pareihe and his people would have been without muskets for the foreseeable future and therefore would have been vulnerable to well-armed attackers.

The second aspect to this alliance in terms of preservation of life for the people of Heretaunga was that Te Wera Hauraki gave an invitation to Te Pareihe to join him at his newly acquired stronghold in the Māhia Peninsula, offered to him by the hapu Rakaipāka.[41] In essence, Te Pareihe was thrown a lifeline at a crucial moment in time. Te Māhia would provide a haven for the people of Heretaunga, and also those of Wairarapa and Ahuriri in time to come. Furthermore, in terms of its location it allowed the people of the lower East Coast better access to traders, and in the process establish the ready supply of a much needed arsenal of firearms. Simultaneously, Te Māhia, as well as being a short (to medium) term haven, was a spiritual home for descendants of the revered ancestral figure Kahungunu, and this was a strong contributing factor in the decision to migrate.

[40] Ballara, p.444.
[41] Interview with William Blake, 6 September 2014, 'About Te Wera Hauraki' p. 8. Interviewed by Rebekah Bright. Audio file and transcripts held by Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi.

Te Ngoi and his Prophecies

Spiritual guidance and prophecy was yet another important factor that influenced Te Pareihe to lead his people out of the Heretaunga area. Of the influence of spiritual leaders in the Māori world at this time, Robert Joseph writes that:

> Tohunga Māori or expert priests supervised worship and all else that was involved in the traditional Māori religious system that was based on tikanga Māori. Sometimes tohunga became mediums for the atua (gods) they served. In these roles, the tohunga would give oracles, cure diseases and admonish the people.[42]

Prior to finalising his decision to leave Heretaunga, Te Pareihe was advised by Te Ngoi, the tohunga for Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, that he had foreseen the arrival of a great force that would imminently descend on Heretaunga. According to Te Ngoi, victory was not possible. [43] The role of tohunga on the East Coast in pre-European times was that of spiritual advisor and matakite (seer). Elsdon Best writes that:

> The tohunga maori, or native priest, was ever an important personage in a village community, and his influence was a far-reaching activity…The oracular utterances made by the mediums of spirit gods were treated with great respect by the Maori, and were firmly believed in. They were so believed in because they were held to emanate from the gods, who vouchsafed these warnings to man through their human mediums.[44]

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[42] Robert Joseph, 'Intercultural exchange, matakite Māori and the Mormon Church' in *Mana Māori + Christianity*, ed. by Hugh Morrison et al, (Wellington: Huia, 2012) p. 47.
[43] Takaanui Tarakawa, 'Nga mahi a Te Wera, me Nga-puhi hoki ki te Tai-Rawhiti: Wahi III', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 9, 1 (March 1900), p. 50.
[44] Elsdon Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology Part I,* (Wellington: A R Shearer, Government Printer, 1976) p. 260 & p.279.

Despite the introduction of Christianity to the East Coast from about 1823 onwards via Māori emissaries, and from the mid-1830s via European missionaries, tohunga and matakite have remained influential in advising on spiritual matters pertaining to tapu.[45] Therefore, tohunga in the 1820s would have held a key place in any decision-making situation, including the decision of Te Pareihe to migrate with his people to Nukutaurua.

Non-Migrants

Among the people of Heretaunga there were some groups who elected not to go to Te Māhia at the end of 1823. Ngai Te Upokoiri were a hapu group that chose not to migrate. Despite being related to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, they had been at loggerheads with them for some years by the time the migration took place. There had been some attempts at peace between the two hapu via marriage alliances, but Ngai Te Upokoiri had fallen 'outside the fold' of Heretaunga and had moved closer to non-kin allies; particularly, Tūwharetoa.

Te Hauwaho of Ngā Tukuaterangi was another rangatira who elected not to migrate. Senior in rank to Te Pareihe and incensed by the latter's appropriation of the leadership of the people of Heretaunga, he chose to stay and retain command of his hapu.[46] Te Hauwaho refused to either go to Nukutaurua or to assign his mana over to Te Pareihe, symbolically by handing over his axe. The tohunga Te Ngoi had prophesied that if Te Hauwaho were to give Te Pareihe the axe, he would outlive Te Pareihe. Te Pareihe is credited with saying, in response to the refusal: "Enough! Remain and be fuel for my fire lighted at Te Whitiotū." [47] Te Hauwaho was killed at the Battle of Te Pakake in 1824.

Likewise, Tiakitai, the rangatira of Ngāti Kurukuru, elected to keep ahi kā roa ('the home fires burning') in Heretaunga. He hosted the departure of the flotilla of waka from Heretaunga and also from Wairarapa, to Te Māhia from his base at Waimārama. Tiakitai was instrumental in sending word to the new residents of

[45] William Blake QSM interview, and Ian & John Gillies, *East Coast Pioneers: A Williams Family Portrait* (Gisborne: Gisborne Herald, 1998) p.102.
[46] Ballara, p. 447.
[47] Mohi Te Ātahikoia, as quoted in Ballara, p. 447.

Māhia when their home patch was in trouble and in refortifying Te Pakake pā after its sacking in 1824.[48] He would travel several times to Māhia in the years that Te Pareihe and his people were settled there, and eventually drowned on such a journey.[49]

Te Hauwaho, Tiakitai and several other rangatira including Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku remained in Heretaunga / Ahuriri when Te Pareihe took the first wave of migrants north to Te Māhia at the end of 1823. Their reasons for remaining varied, but the idea of keeping ahi kā in their home rohe was certainly a factor for these rangatira who stayed behind.

Summary

There were a number of factors that led Te Pareihe, the rangatira of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, to encourage his hapu and those affiliated to it, to migrate out of the Heretaunga area and to settle for a time at Te Māhia. These included issues of outside threat and utu, the increasing difficulty in defending the landscape of Heretaunga, a lack of advanced weaponry, the spiritual influence of Te Ngoi and the alliance with Te Wera Hauraki. This migration would leave the Heretaunga area lightly guarded and sparsely occupied for the next two decades and gave the appearance that the Heretaunga plains were largely deserted. This naturally attracted some attention from outsiders displaced by the upheavals of warfare, and some attempts were made at this stage by Ngāti Raukawa and others to establish themselves in Heretaunga on a permanent basis. Te Pareihe was able to return quickly with taua in case of external incursion, which he did on at least two occasions while living at Te Māhia.

[48] Ballara, p. 451. Tiakitai was also captured briefly after the battle.
[49] Angela Ballara. 'Tiakitai', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t98/tiakitai> [Accessed 15 May 2014].

WAIRARAPA

Alongside the people of Heretaunga, the people of Wairarapa, under the rangatira Nuku-pewapewa, were also part of the migration to Te Māhia in the period 1823-24. Wairarapa tangata whenua faced some threats in common with the people of Heretaunga, while other pressures were unique to them and their placement near Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington).

Nuku-pewapewa was a capable military leader and descendent of Kahungunu, Ira, Te Aomatarahi and Rangitāne.[50] After the successful recapture of several pā in the Whanganui-a-Tara area from Tuwhare, Nuku-pewapewa was invited by Te Pareihe to join him in Heretaunga to help defend the area. The battle of Roto-a-Tara I had resulted in many attacking chiefs being killed, and those unavenged deaths left a large amount utu to be portioned out to the people of Heretaunga in the imminent future, in the form of retributionary attacks. [51]

The hapu involved in the migration from Wairarapa were 'all the coastal people from south of Waimārama to Palliser Bay'.[52] Their vast territory is shown below:

Map showing Wairarapa area involved in the migration – adapted from NZ Topomap [53]

[50] Angela Ballara. 'Nuku-pewapewa', from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30 October 2012 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n16/nuku-pewapewa> [Accessed 15 November 2014].

[51] Ballara, 'Nuku-pewapewa'.

[52] Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', p.447.

[53] NZ Topo Map, <http://www.topomap.co.nz> [Accessed 17 November 2014]; WAI863 'The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report', *Waitangi Tribunal*, Volume 1, 2010, p. xl.

These hapu were Ngāi Tūmapuhiarangi, Ngāti Hamiti, Ngāti Hikawera, Ngāti Kerei, Ngāti Pohoi, Ngāti Rongomaiaia, Rākaiwhakairi and Te Hika a Papauma.[54] As well as being under threat from the north, from Ngāti Raukawa and Tūwharetoa, these Wairarapa hapu had additional danger to their south-west. Born in the Waikato area, Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa had joined forces with Te Waka Nene and Patuone of Ngāpuhi, and in about 1819, had travelled with them, in a taua of around 1,000 warriors, to Taranaki where Takaratai of Te Ātiawa joined them with his warriors. The group then ventured on to Whanganui, finally making a base at Kapiti Island.[55] Although strategic for access to the Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) area and Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island), Kapiti and its nearby mainland coast were described as 'a place of little food' and the war party carried on to Ngāti Ira and Ngāti Kahungunu-ki-Wairarapa territory east of Te Whanganui-a-Tara, Wellington Harbour.[56]

Although the defenders achieved an early victory, they were heartily pursued by the attackers and suffered severe losses at the Battle of Te Māwhitiwhiti, where they were hopelessly outgunned by European musketry.[57] On the advice of his Ngāpuhi counterparts, Te Rauparaha decided to remain in the area of Te Upoko-o-Te-Ika ('the head of the fish' – the Wellington area) rather than returning to Kāwhia, to be rangatira of that area and trade with the Europeans that passed by in their whaling ships. There was also the strong possibility that if Te Rauparaha did not lay claim to the Wellington area, that Ngāpuhi would in his stead.[58] The interest in Te Upoko-o-Te-Ika but lack of food there meant danger for the neighbouring people of Wairarapa, whose lands were bountiful.

After Nuku-pewapewa was invited to Heretaunga by Te Pareihe, the situation there worsened and plans for migration to Nukutaurua gained credence. The people of Wairarapa departed initially for Waimārama by waka, to join Te

[54] Ballara, p.447.
[55] Hēni Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora: The Spirit of Te Rauparaha* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010) pp. 33-35.
[56] Collins, p. 35.
[57] Collins, p.36 (translation: the grasshopper – the defenders were slain like grasshoppers).
[58] Collins, p.38.

Pareihe's exodus. Tiakitai had recently attacked Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa to exact utu (with assistance from Ngāpuhi), but then satisfied that the matter was at rest, took a protective role over the migrants coming up from Wairarapa.[59] It is even suggested that it was Tiakitai who convinced the people of Wairarapa to join the migration to Māhia.[60]

The rangatira that were staying in the Heretaunga-Ahuriri area were hostile to the people of Wairarapa. Both Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui had planned on attacking the Wairarapa people at Waimārama as they travelled north, but these rangatira were eventually dissuaded from such a course.[61] Those of the iwi Rangitāne in the Wairarapa dispersed to places such as Pōrangahau, Mangatainoka and Manawatū, and some are said to have joined the migrants to Nukutaurua, such as the people of Te-Tapere-nui-ā-Whātonga (Seventy Mile Bush).[62] Others of both Kahungunu and Rangitāne descent stayed in the Wairarapa to keep ahi kā, while some migrants returned sporadically to monitor their lands. Those who stayed tended to keep to the north of the rohe, away from Whanganui-a-Tara and the many adversaries in residence there.[63]

In light of the threat of invasion from multiple quarters, and a timely invitation from Te Pareihe to migrate, most of the hapu affiliating to Kahungunu in the Wairarapa area migrated out of the Wairarapa in late 1823. These Wairarapa people were with Te Pareihe and the people of Heretaunga in the first wave of migrants to Te Māhia, with further Wairarapa tangata whenua making the voyage after their defeat at Pehikātea in 1834.

[59] Ballara, pp. 445-48.
[60] 'The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report', p.11.
[61] 'The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report', p.12.
[62] 'The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report', p.12.
[63] 'The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report', pp.12-13.

Like the people of Heretaunga and Wairarapa, those living at Ahuriri faced challenges to their mana whenua in the form of incursions from outsiders looking to occupy their lands.

AHURIRI

North of the Ngaruroro River in the Ahuriri rohe, lay the lands that in 1823 were occupied by Ngāti Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga, Ngāti Hawea, Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāi Tamawāhine and Ngai Tapuhara and others.[64] They were led by the rangatira Te Hauwaho, Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui and their lands stretched northward from the Ngaruroro River to the Mohaka River, and from the Kaweka and Kaimanawa Ranges in the west, with the sea to the east.[65]

Map of Ahuriri region: from the Mohaka River in the north to the Ngaruroro River in the south, from the mountains to the ocean.[66]

[64] Ballara, 'Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', pp.188-194. Here 'Ngāti Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga' refers to the hapu, rather than the multi-hapu iwi that would emerge towards the end of the 1800s.
[65] Ballara, pp. 39 and 188.
[66] NZ Topo Map, <http://www.topomap.co.nz> [Accessed 16 October 2014]; Ballara, p.34.

In the early nineteenth century, the Ahuriri terrain was similar to that of Heretaunga in consisting of plains hemmed by mountains and sea. In 1851, Richard Park observed that the Ahuriri Plains north of Ngaruroro River were "forty miles by ten miles wide."[67] Despite this similar challenge in defending their territory from much the same threat, the people of Ahuriri had several issues that differed from the people of both Heretaunga and Wairarapa, which spurred them to initially remain in Ahuriri rather than joining the migration to Nukutaurua.

The rangatira of the Ahuriri; Te Hauwaho, Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui, did not consider Te Pareihe their equal in rank and mana, and certainly not as one superior to them that should be followed into potential exile and their powers placed subordinate to his. Te Hauwaho is attributed with saying: "Pareihe! This journey is of your own undertaking, am I the person that should escort you to your destination? I shall stay here!"[68] Te Pareihe was of lesser birth than Te Hauwaho, Te Hāpuku and Te Moananui and his position had been achieved in recognition of his military leadership.[69] But it appears that this was not sufficient for these three rangatira to throw their lot in with Te Pareihe at the end of 1823 and join his mass exodus to Te Māhia.

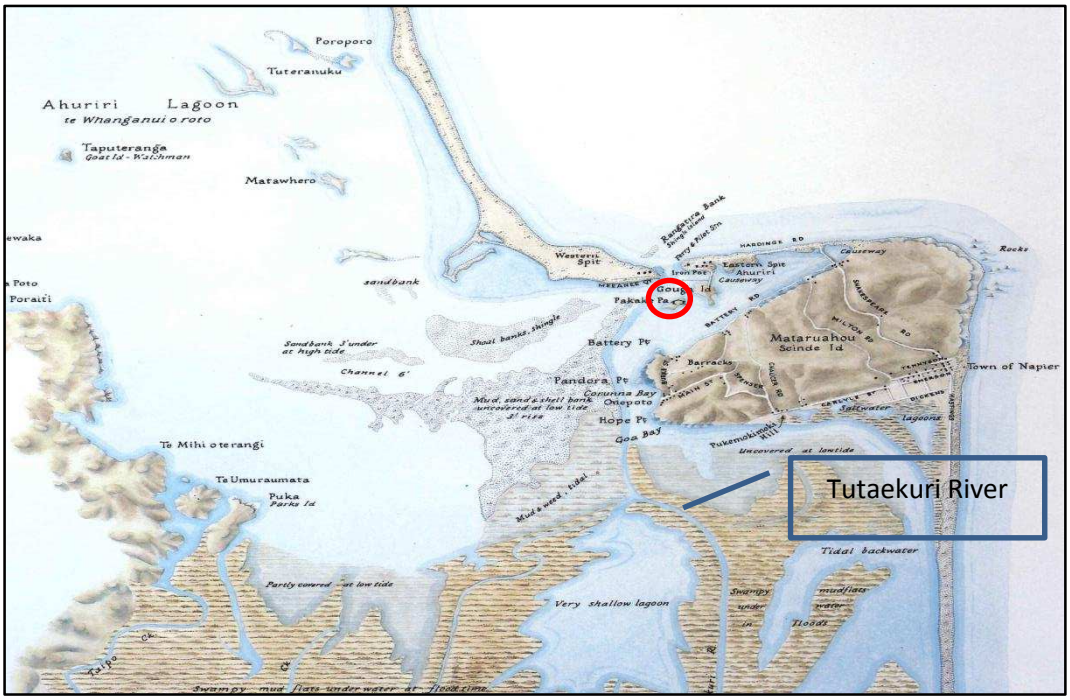
In addition, there was also internal division between the rangatira of Ahuriri, which impacted on the decisions made. At the end of 1823, Te Hauwaho and Te Moananui were at odds with each other, the former having recently recruited the assistance of Te Wera Hauraki in relation to a matter of utu affecting the latter's hapu Ngāti Hawea. Therefore there was a basis, for Ngāti Hawea in particular, for absolute distrust of Te Wera Hauraki, his having killed around 50

[67] Robert Park, *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1862, c - No.1rp.313 as quoted in Ballara, p.34.
[68] As quoted in Patrick Parsons, *Ahuriri Estuary and Surrounds: Places of Spiritual Significance to the Maori*, (Napier: Patrick Parsons, 1995), p.10.
[69] As outlined in the whakapapa tables on pages 16 and 17 in the chapter entitled 'Heretaunga'.

people of Ngāti Hawea prior to forming an alliance with Te Pareihe.[70] At the time of the migration, Ngāti Hawea, under Te Moananui were:

> occupying the Pakake pa on a sandy island at the outlet of the Ahuriri lagoon, decided that they were safe enough and elected to remain where they were.[71]

This discord among the rangatira of Ahuriri would also have contributed to the desire to stay and hold what was theirs from the incursion of their kin and neighbours. And while these power struggles were important in the matrix of decision-making undertaken by each rangatira on whether or not to cooperate with each other and with Te Pareihe, and whether or not to migrate out of the rohe, another factor was that Te Pakake Pā was held in high regard as a defensive position at this point in time.



Portion of 1865 map of Ahuriri Lagoon showing the location of Te Pakake Pā[72]

By the end of 1823, the people of Ahuriri had developed some foundation to their belief that they could hold Ahuriri against outside forces. The mainstay of

[70] Ballara, p.443.
[71] J Buchanan, *The Maori History and Place Names of Hawkes Bay* (Wellington: A H & A W Reed, 1973), p.23.
[72] 1965 copy of 1865 map, provided courtesy of MTG Tai Ahuriri – Napier Museum.

any defensive effort tended to be the island pā of Te Pakake, which was located in the Ahuriri Lagoon.[73] In addition, this area was an abundant source of food, as evinced by the words of Raniera Ellison at a Native Land Court hearing in 1932:

> Te Whanganui ā Orotu [Napier Harbour] from time immemorial was a veritable garden owing to its fertility. It was truly a food supply area and has been so for ages. So greatly was it valued by Māori through the generations that songs were sung, poetry composed and dances created in praise of its productiveness. It was the most valuable part of the patrimony. Māori tradition and available evidence demonstrates that clearly in its original state, it was a freshwater area with a fair proportion of rich dry flats. The deepest portion of the water was around Te Pakake Pā.[74]

Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa ki Maungatautari had attempted to settle in the rohe after the Battle of Te Kahupapa (Roto-a-Tara I). He was offered Te Pakake Pā by the rangatira of Ahuriri in return for bringing his warriors and muskets as a bulwark against further incursion by outside ope. Instead Te Whatanui proceeded to build his own pa without permission at Puketapu on the Tutaekuri River.[75] Te Whatanui began to bully the local tangata whenua who then retaliated. Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngāti Kurukuru and Ngai Te Rangikoianake joined forces to rush Puketapu and Te Whatanui narrowly escaped.[76]

By the time of the battle Roto-a-Tara I in approximately 1822, an ope from Ngai Te Rangi and Te Moana a Toi (Bay of Plenty) had come to attack Te Pakake by

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[73] Thomas Lambert, *Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Reed Books, 1925), p.315.

[74] As quoted in 'Ahuriri Hapū and the Crown, Agreement in Principle to Settle Historical Claims', 2013, p.13.

[75] See map on page 32.

[76] Angela Ballara. 'Te Whatanui', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t86/te-whatanui> [Accessed 2 April 2014]; Ballara, Angela 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu', p.438.

waka to redress some utu matters. The attackers, although armed with muskets, were bombarded with stones and missiles, and were unable to fire off any effective shot. Their waka overturned and all the attackers drowned or were killed.[77] No muskets were held by the defenders of Te Pakake for this incursion; although it is logical that they would have had some by the conclusion of the battle as spoils of war. Whether they had knowledge of how to use them, or powder and shot is unlikely; these muskets do not appear to have been used for the Battle of Te Pakake in 1824.[78]

Therefore, the people of Ahuriri had some foundation to their belief that they could hold Ahuriri against invasion – unbeknownst to them, however, the full force of the European musket had not yet been unleashed on them. Although there were some factors that made Te Pakake Pā a worthy fortress, especially when faced with traditional weapons, the 'little sandy island' could be reached on foot at low tide, which therefore made it more vulnerable.[79]

In early 1824, when the first wave of migrants to Māhia had departed, Waikato, Ngāti Awa and Te Arawa returned to seek utu for previous losses in the region. Ballara writes that they were a 'massive taua, heavily armed with muskets' and brought absolute defeat to the people of Ahuiri at Te Pakake Pā.[80] Many rangatira were killed, including Te Hauwaho. Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku were both captured and Te Hāpuku was later returned to his people by Waikato, along with gifts of muskets and a cask of powder named 'Heretaunga'.[81] This appears to have been as a gesture of remorse for the total rout suffered by the defenders of Te Pakake. The survivors fled to Māhia to join Te Pareihe, apart from those connected to Tiakitai of Waimārama who remained in the rohe.

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[77] Ballara, p.439.
[78] This was the case for Wairarapa when they captured muskets but could not get instruction on how to use them. See Angela Ballara. 'Nuku-pewapewa', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n16/nuku-pewapewa> [Accessed 28 June 2014].
[79] Lambert, p. 315.
[80] Ballara, p. 451.
[81] Ballara, p.451.

Summary

The people of the three rohe that migrated; Heretaunga, Wairarapa and finally Ahuriri, held different motivating factors for leaving their respective kainga and travelling to the most easterly point of the territory of Takitimu waka. These factors included shared threats from other groups making forays into their rohe for resources, territory or to settle matters of utu. The lack of European weaponry and the layout of the terrain were also common factors between the three rohe that made them vulnerable to attack. The decision to migrate was one that would change the course of history for the people of these three rohe, and ultimately, grant their survival.

Having thus elected to migrate, their sanctuary would need to be selected with the greatest of care, with the lives of many thousands to be sheltered therein. Te Māhia at the extreme easterly point of Takitimu territory was a place with a number of advantages as well as ancestral ties, and this was the place to which they voyaged.

Part Two: Te Hekenga Rangatira ki Nukutaurua

The Migration of Chiefs to Nukutaurua[82]

[82] The traditional name of this migration. *Ngā Taumata: He Whakaahua o Ngāti Kahungunu*, ed. by Ngatai Huata, (Hastings: Huia, 2003).

A refuge was needed to shelter the people of the lower East Coast during this time of upheaval, and the reasons for selecting Māhia as a suitable place were many. This traditional home of the eponymous ancestor Kahungunu, aside from there being a spiritual connection to this place, also offered advantages to the people of the lower East Coast, in its access to trade, its strategic superiority for defence and in being settled close by to Te Wera Hauraki and his warriors.

KINSHIP TO TE MĀHIA

The vast majority of people living on the East Coast of the North Island, from Te Māhia through Wairoa, Nuhaka, Mohaka, Ahuriri, Heretaunga and Wairarapa, at the time of the migration beginning in 1823, had genealogical ties to the eponymous ancestor, Kahungunu. These people would go on to form 'Ngāti Kahungunu', the multi-hapu tribe of the lower East Coast, but that gradual coalition was some decades away at this point in time.

Kahungunu was born in Kaitaia and grew up in Tauranga, eventually settling in Nukutaurua on the Māhia Peninsula. He married five women; Ruareretai, Hine-puariari, Kahukurawaiaraia, Rongomaiwahine and Pouwharekura. Their descendants eventually spread to inhabit the area from north of Te Māhia to the outskirts of present day Wellington, in areas such as Heretaunga in Upper Hutt named after the same Heretaunga in the Kahungunu territory of Hawkes Bay.[83] Because of these links to the eponymous tupuna Kahungunu, there remained a strong affiliation and connection to Te Māhia, in Te Pareihe's generation, as the spiritual home or kainga tūturu of the lower East Coast peoples. This genealogical and geographical treasure had been, and continues to be, reinforced and reiterated through stories and songs handed down to each generation, most especially the story of the courtship of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine.

[83] Mitchell, pp. 76-85.

Carved lintel depicting Rongomaiwahine at Kahungunu marae in Nūhaka[84]

Unlike other diaspora happening in Aotearoa during this period of upheaval referred to as the 'Musket Wars', for the people of the lower East Coast, this was a migration *towards* home rather than away from it. How then, might we adequately problematise the Western notion of "migration", when this movement was a return to traditional homelands, and not a diasporic shift to "elsewhere"? This study, does not offer a modified set of phrases that more adequately account for these movements, yet it is important to problematise migration in the broader colonial fabric of Aotearoa New Zealand histories, particularly for indigenous groups, whose movements are internal within lands and spaces that are familiar and deeply storied. Moving towards home, rather than away, was a common situation for various iwi during the musket war conflicts.[85]

This also has clear links to the idea of there being 'multiple Hawaikis' – more than one 'home', as discussed in the works of S. Percy Smith and Colin Richards.[86] Smith notes that "even this most ancient name of Hawaiki was

[84] From 'Ngāti Rongomaiwahine - Important ancestors', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 15 November 2012 <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/229/carved-lintel-depicting-rongomaiwahine> [Accessed 11 May 2014].
[85] For more discussion of this idea, see Nēpia Mahuika's article 'Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Maui' in *New Zealand Journal of History,* 43:2 (2009).
[86] Smith, *Hawaiki – The Original Home of the Maori*; Collin Richards, 'The Substance of Polynesian Voyaging' in *World Archaeology*, 40:2 (2009), pp.206-223.

applied to more than one place, or home of the people."[87] The idea that one could have more than one home is a key concept in the motivation for this migration to Nukutaurua. It is also significant to note that like the mythical island Hawaiki, from which Māori people have their genesis and to which the spirits of the departed return, in 1823 Māhia, too, was an island.[88] This migration towards a spiritual home or Hawaiki gave the exodus of the people of the lower East Coast an added dimension, a familiarity and a safeness that many other groups displaced during the Musket Wars would not share in their own exile experiences.

This was the case for Ngāti Raukawa, who were under attack from Waikato Tainui. Their migration of the early 1820s took them from the lower Waikato near Maungatautari to the Kapiti Coast, some 400 kilometres away. Ōtaki (on the Kapiti Coast) is now considered the centre for this iwi. Te Whatanui, who after trying unsuccessfully to settle in Heretaunga/Ahuriri, led the third wave of Ngāti Raukawa's migration south, and responded thus to an invitation to return to the lower Waikato;

> 'Should I, Ngāti Raukawa, return to Maungatautari? To the home abandoned from the heart? … I dread to be looked on as a visitor.'[89]

The ancestral homelands at Te Māhia, not doubt appealed in a large part to the reason why Te Pareihe, his allies and their dependents stayed there for such an extended period – until about 1839. This was "home" in a spiritual sense and the centre of identity for descendants of Kahungunu.[90] The temporal reasons for going to Te Māhia, such as defensibility and access to trade, may have been the motivations for going, but these were not the only reasons for staying.

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[87] Smith, p.44. Māhia being an island is discussed further in the chapter 'Geographic and Strategic Factors' on page 47.
[88] William Blake interview.
[89] Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal. 'Ngāti Raukawa', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4 December 2012 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-raukawa> [Accessed 16 May 2014].
[90] Ballara, p.461.

The Umbilical Connection to "Home"

Within the group rather than individual outlook that prevailed in nineteenth century Māori communities, tikanga relevant to genealogical ties was an essential factor in any decision made at the whānau and hapu level. Whakapapa was the basis for a reciprocal system of cooperation and assistance between whānau and hapu, and was one of the core elements that determined how codes of conduct and morality applied and were conceived. Adherence to the tikanga within whakapapa was vital to political and social stability, and departing from this would bring shame and severe repercussions to the deviant individual or even sub-group. [91]

Alternatively, these ties could be strengthened by further alliances as taua in assisting in the defence of papa kainga, through marriage and whāngai, trade, and through meeting together to celebrate or mourn. Likewise, these ties could be weakened by refusal to participate in important events, or in not reciprocating assistance or hospitality. Such failure would necessitate a retaliatory action by the wronged against the wrong-doer(s) and often also their whānau or hapu. Traditionally, a collective group was deemed the offender (rather than an individual) and a collective group was deemed the victim. The punishment for wrong-doing might be forfeiting property or the performance of a service. The individual offender was not necessarily involved in this transaction. Having said this, the individual did not escape penalty for their actions; this may instead have been administered by their own group:

> There were consequences for the individual responsible for the commission of hara (crime), with whakama (shame) being the primary personal repercussion.[92]

[91] Joseph Selwyn Te Rito, 'Whakapapa: A framework for understanding identity' in *MAI Review*, 2007, p.1. <http://www.review.mai.ac.nz> [Accessed 13 May 2014].
[92] K Quince, 'Maori and the Criminal Justice System in New Zealand' in Criminal *Justice in New Zealand,* ed. by J Tolmie & W Brookbanks, (Wellington: LexisNexis NZ, 2007) p. 340.

Therefore one's obligations to genealogical ties were a major consideration that had to be placed at the forefront of every significant decision.

Te Whatu-I-Apiti from whom Te Pareihe's tribe take their name, is a descendant of the renowned figure Kahungunu, through his union with Pouwharekura:[93]

KAHUNGUNU = Pouwharekura

Ruatapui

Kahuturi = Tupoho

Tamaira = Rua-aranui

Takaha = Rakai-po

Hikawera (I) = Hine-te-moa

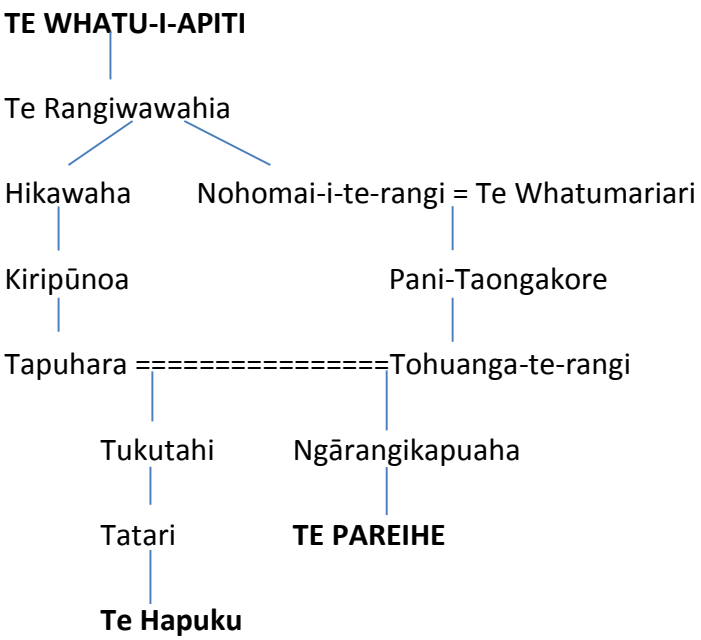
TE WHATU-I-APITI

From Mitchell, *Genealogical Table vii*[94]

Like many other East Coast hapu, Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti trace their whakapapa through Hikawera, and it is this direct relationship to Kahungunu that these descendants share a deep historical connection to the turangawaewae of Nukutaurua on the Māhia Peninsula. Entangled in these same genealogical threads, other hapu of the upper Wairarapa, Heretaunga and Ahuriri areas, shared similar motivations and kinship relationships that no doubt influenced Te Pareihe in his decision to head north to Māhia.

The following table shows Te Pareihe was a descendant of Te Whatu-i-Apiti through both sides of his grandparentage:

[93] The hapu centred around the eponymous tupuna Te Whatu-i-Apiti.
[94] J H Mitchell, *Takitimu*, (Wellington: A H & A W Reed Ltd., 1944).



From *Nga Moteatea*.[95]

Te Pareihe through the lineage of both his grandparents, Tapuhara and Tohuanga-te rangi, could claim descent from Te Whatu-i-Apiti and through this connection traced a lineage back to his ancestors who resided at Te Māhia, including the eponymous ancestor Kahungunu. However, Te Pareihe was not the highest ranking rangatira of his hapu in 1823. He was "senior by a generation to Te Moananui and Te Hāpuku, his nearest kin among the hereditary chiefs of Heretaunga, but his rank did not match theirs."[96] As the chart above shows, Te Hāpuku descends from a senior line (matāmua) to that of Te Pareihe, from Tapuhara and Tohuanga-te-rangi. The importance of seniority is noted by Apirana Mahuika, who notes that in Ngāti Porou, another East Coast tribe:

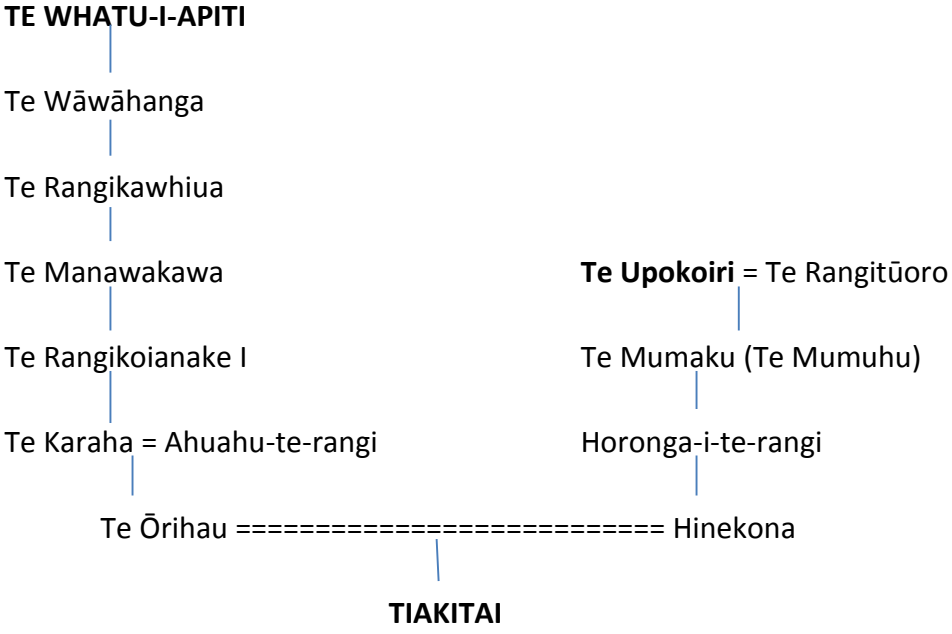
> The exercise of this authority was the prerogative of the first-born of the most senior in society… In practice, however, the governing factor was the ability to lead – only if the most senior in society had the necessary personal qualities to command the

[95] Sir Apirana Ngata, *Nga Moteatea Part I* (Wellington, A W & A H Reed Ltd, 1928) I:30.
[96] Ballara, p. 464.

respect and confidence of the people would he be given the mandate to lead them.[97]

Likewise, what Te Pareihe lacked in hereditary rank, he made up for with dynamic leadership ability and success against invading taua.[98] Thus, his leadership was "achieved", and although able to claim descent through birthright, his role within his own hapu and across other inter-hapu boundaries was always tempered by his positon through whakapapa, whether as a senior or junior relation.

Like Te Pareihe, Tiakitai, a leader of the hapu Ngati Kurukuru that stayed in the Heretaunga region during the Whatuiāpiti migration, also descends from Te Whatu-I-Apiti: [99]



This whakapapa (genealogy) of Tiakitai is from the writings of Mohi Te Atahikoia,who was whāngai to Tiakitai in the 1840s.

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[97] Apirana Mahuika, 'He Wahine Kai-Hautu o Ngati Porou: The Female Leaders of Ngati Porou' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1973), p.17.
[98] Ballara, p. 465.
[99] Angela Ballara. 'Tiakitai', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t98/tiakitai> [Accessed 3 May 2014].

Tiakitai was descended from both Te Whatu-I-Apiti and Te Upokoiri. The hapu of both these eponymous tupuna were in conflict with each other, particularly in the period leading up to the migration to Nukutaurua. This study asserts that this was part of the reason that Tiakitai chose not to go to Nukutaurua until much later (1834). As taharua (related on both sides) he may have been in a position to encourage peace in the area between the two hapu. Alternatively, he may have wanted to keep his options open should his Ngai Te Upokoiri relatives gain the upper hand in the region.

There are suggestions that Te Pareihe was foolhardy in taking all his people to camp on others' land and court near-starvation at Te Māhia, which became severely overcrowded in the 1830s.[100] There was comparatively little military activity in the greater Heretaunga area after about 1824 (although Wairarapa was still under threat), and Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti lands and waterways left behind were productive and fertile. This could be part of Tiakitai's rationale in holding back on the voyage and prudently keeping ahi kā roa in his home district.

Simultaneously however, for the great majority of people of the lower East Coast, the migration to Māhia begun in 1823 was a homecoming, a return to the sacred seat of Kahungunu, to their turangawaewae of Nukutaurua. Alongside this magnetism was the attraction of having a powerful ally who had based himself at Māhia, Te Wera Hauraki.

[100] Lambert, p.213.

TE WERA HAURAKI

The alliance with Te Wera Hauraki, of Ngati Hineira and Te Uri Taniwha hapu of Ngāpuhi, was a major factor in spurring Te Pareihe to take his group of whānau and affiliates to Te Māhia in 1823[101]. This group included Te Pareihe's own hapu of Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti, as well as other hapu of Heretaunga, and the coastal hapu of Wairarapa.

Te Wera Hauraki came to the East Coast as leader of an ope taua in 1820-21 and took many prisoners including Te Whareumu, a chief of the hapu Rakaipāka at Te Māhia.[102] Te Wera made a promise to Te Whareumu that he would be restored to his home at Te Māhia. On fulfilment of this promise in 1823, Te Whareumu entreated fellow rangatira to welcome Te Wera and to install him as protector at Te Māhia.[103] Te Wera agreed, and made Nukutaurua his permanent home.

Despite the potential risks, Te Pareihe was acutely aware of the need for this powerful alliance. In solidifying this alliance, he gambled with the possibility of losing vital control and influence, and in the long term even the confidence, of his own hapu (as opposed to holding co-leadership). Thus, his position as their leader came under threat with the chance that Te Wera Hauraki would either rescind the alliance or use it in a way harmful to Te Pareihe and his affiliates. Ultimately, Te Pareihe realised had little choice but to accept the peace offered by Te Wera, particularly when Te Wera's forces had muskets and Te Pareihe's did not. The choice to go to Te Māhia, however, was one in which Te Pareihe retained volition.

Te Wera Hauraki was an experienced military campaigner and son of the principal rangatira of his hapu.[104] He had been in contact with Anglican missionaries in Northland, notably Thomas Kendall in 1817 and Samuel Marsden

[101] Angela Ballara, 'Te Wera Hauraki', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t83/te-wera-hauraki> [Accessed 12 May 2014].
[102] Ballara, pp.176, 441.
[103] Ballara, p. 441.
[104] Ballara, 'Te Wera Hauraki'.

in 1819.[105] While not being a convert to Christianity, Te Wera had been exposed to and influenced by Judeo-Christian concepts, including that of the 'saviour' and 'shepherd', and the narrative of exodus and the righteous acquisition of promised lands. When the missionary William Colenso arrived at Māhia in 1840 he noted the openness of locals to the reception of the Anglican faith (Te Hāhi Mihinare). This situation was most certainly enhanced by the recent Ngāpuhi migrants who had taken up residency on the Coast in the preceding years. The Anglican Church attributes much influence to Te Wera in this matter, and goes so far to call him a "missionary in Ngati Kahungunu". Te Wera's reputation sprang from the even-handedness of his dealings:

> Never was he ever accused of evil deeds, nor did he ever abandon those who placed themselves under his guidance and beneficent rule. . . If a messenger came asking his assistance, he carefully inquired into the cause . . .
> If Te Wera saw it was a just cause he would consent to conduct the war in order that it might be quickly closed.[106]

In offering to shelter Te Pareihe and his affiliated hapu groupings, which numbered in the thousands, Te Wera Hauraki perhaps saw an opportunity to offer a kindness to his former enemies.[107] This alliance with Te Wera was a key factor that drew Te Pareihe to Māhia, along with thousands of people of the lower East Coast under his care. This partnership of chiefs would prove to be very sound and workable, with the chiefs of each rohe retaining control of their own group, while working alongside each other at Te Māhia for their common goals; maintaining their safety, production and gathering of food for themselves, and production of flax for trade with whalers.

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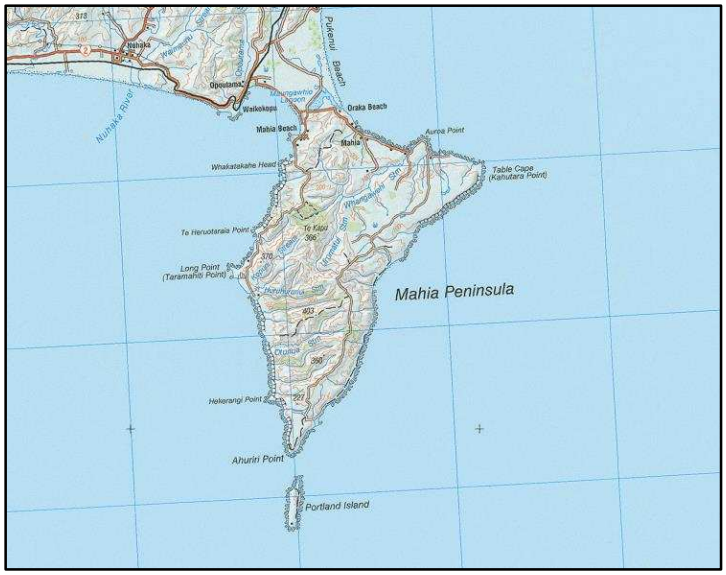
[105] Ballara, 'Te Wera Hauraki'.
[106] The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 'Te Wera Hauraki-Missionary in Ngati Kahungunu' from <http://www.anglican.org.nz> [Accessed 14 June 2014].
[107] Angela Ballara, 'Te Wera Hauraki'.

GEOGRAPHIC AND STRATEGIC FACTORS

As well as offering turangawaewae, and being the residence of Te Wera Hauraki, the Māhia Peninsula also had a lot to offer Te Pareihe and his affiliated hapu groups in terms of geographical and strategic advantage.



Map of Te Māhia[108]

In the early 19th century, Māhia was essentially an island, which was only approachable on foot at the lowest of tides; a mountainous isthmus on the East Coast of New Zealand, surrounded by the Pacific Ocean, Te Moana-Nui-a-Kiwa.[109] Its accessibility from the sea was limited due to the steep cliffs along much of its coastline, and rock formations in the water that created hazards to shipping. Although marine landings could be made in favourable tides in specific locations, the danger of approaching by sea made it an advantageous site to defend and occupy. However, this advantage could swiftly turn, in that the treacherous coastline could also isolate defenders from outside assistance when faced with an overland threat.

Locals preferred to approach it via the overland route, rather than paddling around the exposed tail of the peninsula. Indeed, the treacherous nature of the

[108] Topographical map of the Māhia Peninsula from NZ Topo Map, <http://www.topomap.co.nz/> [accessed 8 May 2014].

[109] William Blake interview.

waters in and around the peninsula-island had been well-noted in local history, song and memory. This was a place where even the most experienced seafarers and chiefs had lost their lives. Perhaps the most notable was Tiakitai, leader of Ngāti Kurukuru of Waimārama drowned in 1847 while sailing on a 'European vessel' around Te Māhia, despite being a seasoned sailor who had made the journey many times.[110] The following is an excerpt from a lament commemorating this calamity:

E mate rā koe i tēnei waka hou, ē,	Alas, that you should die upon this new canoe,
Anei tō waka ko Nuku-tai-memeha,	Here is your canoe, 'tis Nuku-tai-mehameha,
Hei ara atu mōhou ki te mate,	The canoe befitting your journey to the hereafter.
Ko te waka tēnā o tō tipuna o Maui,	That canoe was of your ancestor Maui,
I hī ia ai rā te whenua nui nei.	From which he fished up this widespread land.[111]

Reefs and rocks on the north-eastern side of the peninsula

Photograph by R Bright, 9 July 2014

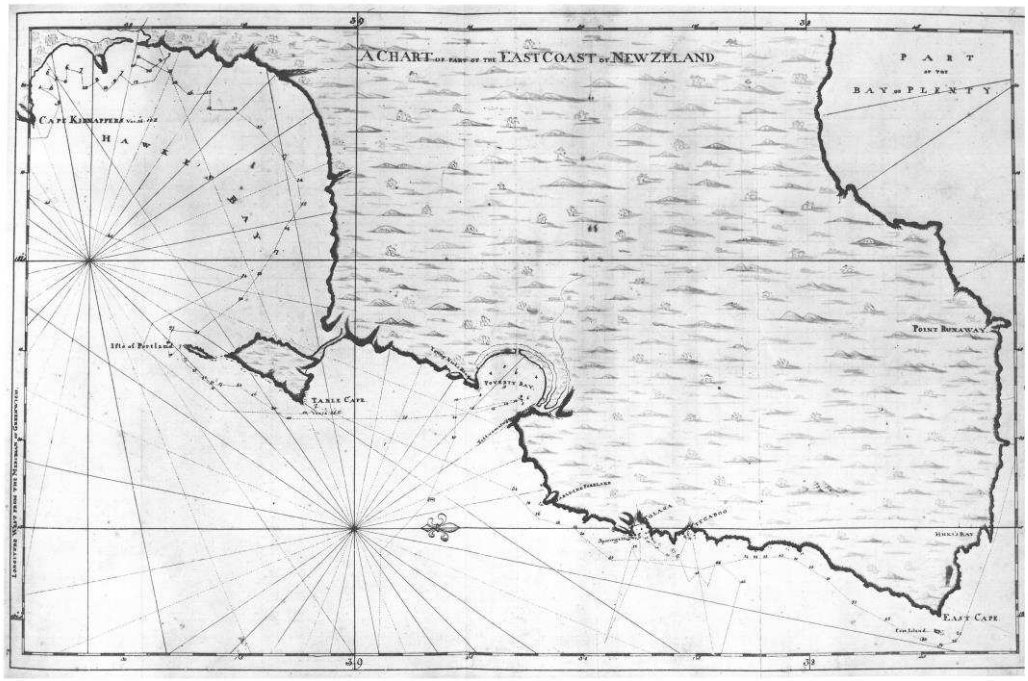
The risks, not only for Māori but for new settlers, were well documented. Joseph Banks, in his journal entry of 12 October 1769 as part of Cook's first voyage to

[110] Ballara, p. 37.

[111] Sir Apirana Ngata, 'He Tangi Mō Tiaki-Tai – A Lament for Tiaki-Tai na Porokuru (Ngati Kahungunu ki Heretaunga)' in *Nga Moteatea Part III* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006). p.381.

New Zealand, made note of the hidden dangers in the waters around the Māhia Peninsula:

> About dinner time the ship was hauling round an Island calld by the inhabitants *Teahoa*, by us Portland, the ship on a sudden came into very broken ground which alarmd us all a good deal; the officers all behavd with great steadyness and in a very short time we were clear of all dangers; we never had less than 7 fathom but the soundings hardly ever were twice the same jumping from 11 to 7, which made us very glad once more to get deep water under us.[112]



Cook's Map of the East Coast showing Māhia ('Table Cape') to the centre left.[113]

Eighty years after Cook's first voyage, while better known to Europeans than in the 1700s, the hazards of the coast of Māhia were still significant and challenging

112 Sir Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768*–1771 [Volume One], ed. by John Cawte Beaglehole, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson Limited, 1962), p. 409.

[113] Captain James Cook, 'A Chart of Part of the East Coast of New Zealand' (1769) From *The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages Volume 2*, ed. by Andrew David, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1992).

to ships of all sizes. In *The New Zealand Pilot*, a shipping guide published in 1856, the authors noted that:

> [C]are must be taken to leave on the approach of easterly winds. The "Governor Hobson", schooner, was swamped, and all hands lost, in 1845; by holding on too long she was driven upon a patch of shifting sand, on which the sea broke in five fathoms…Between Wangawai and Table Cape the ground is foul,—rocks extend north of the cape, awash for near a mile, and the east coast of Mahia to Portland Island is studded with off-lying dangers.[114]

For those who avoided travelling by sea, the overland track to Māhia also had its own challenges, with mountains to cross and rivers to ford on both the eastern and northern routes to the peninsula-island, and about five kilometres of shallow lagoon to negotiate on the entrance to the isthmus, which in the 1820s was inaccessible on foot in all but the lowest tides, and presented hazards when approached by waka.[115]

The neck of the Māhia isthmus

Photograph by R Bright, 10 July 2014

From Te Māhia, toward Pukenui Beach

Photograph by R Bright, 10 July 2014

[114] *The New Zealand Pilot,* ed. by Captain G H Richards & Mr F J Evans (London: Hydrographic Office, Admiralty, 1856). 'Wangawai' to 'Table Cape' describes the north-eastern coast of Te Māhia, while Portland Island is located approximately two kilometres off the southern tip of the peninsula.

[115] William Blake interview.

For Te Pareihe, the geographical features of swamp, mountains, cliffs and ocean provided the basis for a superior defensive position. If assailed by land, Te Pareihe and his allies could defend at the narrow neck of the peninsula-island or from mountain pā to the interior and on the craggy coast. There were limited places from which they could be attacked by sea. In addition, such an attack necessitated an extra level of logistics for the taua on the campaign, as they would either need to bring warriors and supplies by canoe from another area, or portage the canoes and supplies overland to mount an assault by sea. This would mean a slower advance and require more supplies for the additional days and weeks required of campaign.

The surrounding beaches also provided an exit for defenders to escape from the pa. Likewise, if attacked by sea, there was an overland exit via the neck of the isthmus (at low tide), or beaches on the opposite side of the peninsula from which to execute a hasty departure. The strategic importance of pā, and their selection is noted by Elsdon Best who writes that:

> Repeated inquiries of old natives has convinced the writer that the Maori of yore was extremely careful in his selection of a site for a permanent fortified village, while examination of many old forts has served to uphold the belief.[116]

Writing further, Best observed that the location of pa sites that had steep terrain or were flanked or surrounded by water, became favourable locations. He pointed out that:

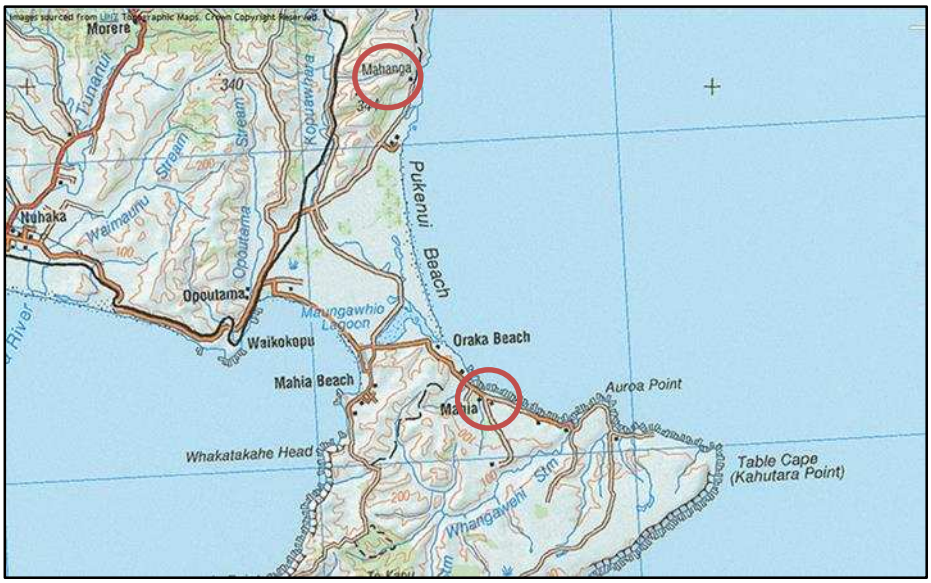
> The native forts were sometimes situated in the most inaccessible places from an attacker's point of view. On the summit of precipitous cliffs their remains are noted, places to which access must have been by ladders or a steep flight of steps… Others again were situated on capes or promontories extending into the sea, rivers, or lakes…

[116] Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori* (Wellington: A R Shearer, Government Printer, 1975), p.23.

> Sometimes these were connected with the land by a narrow neck only, the other faces being precipitous cliffs.[117]

Thomas Lambert's observations support this set of criteria for pā selection, noting that the pā of Okurarenga on the Māhia Peninsula was "a palisaded pa of great extent and was close to the sea, on top of a high cliff."[118]

Thus the selection of the pā at Okurarenga for Te Pareihe and Mahanga for Te Wera Hauraki (circled on the map below) had significant geographic and strategic advantage. The suitability of the Māhia landscape for defence was a major contributing reason why the people of the lower East Coast chose this place as their refuge in the 1820s.



Map showing archaeological points of interest – in particular Okurarenga/Kaiuku and Mahanga[119]

The particular pā sites selected by Te Wera and Te Pareihe will now be examined for their strategic qualities and the contribution this made to the events of 1824.

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[117] Elsdon Best, *Notes on the Art of War* (Auckland: Reed Books, 2001), p. 242.
[118] Lambert, p. 214.
[119] Map from NZ Topo, <http://www.topomap.co.nz> [Accessed 7 September 2014]. Location of Te Wera's pā prior to the Battle of Kaiuku given by William Blake QSM. After the battle, Te Wera was gifted lands to the south of Kaiuku, at Whangawehi.

Mahanga

Mahanga is located on the mainland opposite the Māhia peninsula. In 1823, the two were separated by ocean, but was possible to walk between them at low tide.[120] It was at Mahanga that Te Wera Hauraki established himself, with his group of about 200 people, in 1823. This pā had significance to the descendants of Kahungunu as one of the places that their ancestor had stayed prior to settling at Nukutaurua, at the far end of the Māhia peninsula.

The pā's key features were its being flanked by ocean, and on steep terrain, with further hills to the interior. It also has the advantage of being so near to the island-peninsula of Māhia as a fall back defensive position.

Mahanga Photograph by R Bright, 6 September 2014

Okurarenga / Pukenui / Kaiuku

The three names Okurarenga, Pukenui and Kaiuku refer to a single pā on the northern coast of Te Māhia. It was built by Rakaihikuroa, son of Kahukuranui, and grandson of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine.[121] Okurarenga is its original name; Pukenui is the name of the sandy beach at its base, and is sometimes used

[120] William Blake interview.
[121] Mitchell, p.94.

to refer to the pā. The name Kaiuku was also given in 1824 after the siege by Te Heuheu's forces.

In 1823-24 this was Te Pareihe's main defensive pā on the peninsula, and the place where all the migrants initially lived. The pā was positioned right on the edge of a cliff, but also had a place where waka could be landed, at the mouth of the Waihakeke Stream.[122] Okurarenga sat within a relatively short distance from the neck of the peninsula, enabling overland access and was fringed by thick forest to the interior, bountiful with kereru (wood pigeon) and other nourishment.[123] Its placement was on the far side of the peninsula from Heretaunga if approaching from the ocean, but there were caves in which waka could be stored and the last few kilometres made overland on foot. Partly this was done as the lagoon to the north of the peninsula-island was too risky to take waka across – Te Ara o Paikea as it was known - was not a safe place to take waka through.[124] Accordingly, the usual method was to store waka on the western side and walk over the hills to Okurarenga.

Kaiuku Photograph by R Bright, 6 September 2014

Okurarenga was strategically very strong as a defensive pā site. The placement of the pā on a seacliff, with mountains to the interior and the ready availability of food all helped make this pā an excellent stronghold. When Te Heuheu learned

[122] Cathryn Barr, *Mahia East Coast Road – Coastal Erosion Protection Archaeological Assessment* (Napier: Opus International Consultants Limited, 2011), p.10.
[123] William Blake interview.
[124] William Blake interview.

that Te Pareihe had left Heretaunga and was at Te Māhia, he travelled to Māhia to attack him there. The occupants of the pā, which initially included Rakaipāka, Heretaunga and Wairarapa people were able to withstand Te Heuheu's siege of the pā successfully for two months in the year 1824.[125] This is testament to the excellent defensive position they had established there, and that it was easier for Te Heuheu's forces to surround the pā and wait rather than risking their taua in trying to take the pā by direct force.[126] According to William Blake QSM, the siege was broken when Te Wera Hauraki and his warriors came from Mahanga and managed to approach the pā by waka at night. They were hauled up into the pā by ropes and ladders from the beach below, including their muskets and their waka.[127] The addition of a few muskets to the defenders' arsenal and the clever deployment of these at intervals so they appeared more numerous than they really were, assisted the defenders in repulsing their attackers, who they then chased away from Māhia in a rearguard action.[128]

The snatching of victory at Kaiuku after coming close to the jaws of starvation showed that Te Māhia was a superior defensive position for Te Pareihe and the migrants of the lower East Coast. Its treacherous approach by sea, the narrow neck of the isthmus-island, and the cliffs and mountains of the peninsula, provided the basis for a fortress that could withstand any invasion. As well as being highly suitable for defending, there was a geographical advantage to the Māhia peninsula being so easterly and thus, convenient for whalers in the Pacific to call in, which made it a viable trading hub.

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[125] William Blake interview. Visible in the image is the blue clay for which Kaiuku is famous. During the siege of this pā, the occupants took to eating this clay (*kaiuku* = to eat clay) in order to stave off starvation.

[126] Ballara, p.453

[127] William Blake interview. Note this version of events differs from the version recorded in Ballara's, 'The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu' but is consistent with Ted Nepia's 'Te Wera Hauraki me Ngāti Kahungunu' sound recording from radio programme *Te Reo o te Maori* (1973) accessed from Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero – The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound [Accessed 27 August 2014].

[128] William Blake interview; Nepia, 'Te Wera Hauraki me Ngāti Kahungunu'.

TRADE

A very important factor that made Te Māhia an appealing destination was the opportunity it enabled for trade with whaling boats. Whaling vessels had been calling regularly at New Zealand harbours from about 1800 and accordingly trading contact on the East Coast was well-established by the 1820s.[129] These boats needed to be resupplied with food (usually pigs and potatoes) and also traded for flax, which was useful in the making of ropes for rigging. Imported from these vessels were metal tools, clothing, rum and tobacco, but predominantly the hot ticket items of the day were muskets, gunpowder and the Bible.[130]

The East Coast waters of the North Island provided a rich source of whales, which were hunted for their oil and bone; commodities which fetched sky-high prices in the Northern Hemisphere. The price of whale oil reached a maximum in 1856 when it sold for $1.77 per gallon (about 3.8 litres), which at 2013 value would have been approximately $45.00 per gallon.[131] A single ship could return from a whale hunting voyage with tens of thousands of gallons. When the New Bedford whaler, Benjamin Tucker, returned to home port in 1851, she carried 73,707 gallons of regular whale-oil; 5,348 gallons of top quality sperm whale oil and 30, 012 pounds of whalebone (baleen).[132] This demonstrates how highly profitable this enterprise was, and therefore meant that ships were not averse to trading for what they needed as they were anticipating a large payday on return to port.

Between 1837 and the decline of whaling in the 1850s around a quarter of the whaling stations in New Zealand were located within the territory between

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[129] James Belich, *Making Peoples,* p.137.
[130] Gordon McLauchlan, *The Saltwater Highway* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2012), p. 12.
[131] George Dvorsky, '1846: The Year We Hit Peak Sperm Whale Oil' from <http://io9.com/5930414/1846-the-year-we-hit-peak-sperm-whale-oil> [Accessed 18 June 2014]. Also Morgan Friedman, 'The Inflation Calculator' <http://www.westegg.com/inflation> [Accessed 18 June 2014] to calculate today's value.

[131] Don Grady, *Sealers and Whalers in New Zealand* Waters (Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986), p.14.
[132] Grady, p.14.

Waimārama and northernmost edge of Te Māhia; the remainder were mostly in the Cook Strait area and on the east coast of the South Island[133].

From his initial settlement, Te Wera Hauraki had contact with whaling ships calling at Te Māhia.[134] Likewise, this appears to be a major motivating factor for Te Pareihe to lead his people northward to Nukutaurua in search of better "access to Europe's trade" and to form beneficial relationships with European whalers.[135]

Due to its extreme easterly location, Māhia was a natural 'coach stop' for ships sailing between the bustling ports of Turanganui (Gisborne) and Port Nicholson (Wellington). This marine highway was extremely busy as the ocean was by far the easiest way to get around New Zealand (particularly for settlers and others not familiar with the terrain) for many decades; the North Island Main Trunk railway line between Auckland and Wellington was not completed until 1908.[136]

Initially, the whalers in the area were Sydney-based of British descent, but by the 1830s American and French whalers made up the majority of visitors.[137] Among these whaler-traders was a European known to locals as 'Hare', a whaler who traded muskets and powder for flax fibre from the early 1820s from his barque, *Fanny*. [138] There is some debate whether this person was John Williams Harris, a prominent trader known as the 'founder of Poverty Bay'.[139] Critics point out that Harris would have been only 15 or 16 years old when this trading began at Te Māhia, making it unlikely that he was 'Hare'. It is said that Hare lived at Nuhaka, and was perhaps the first European to live in the Kahungunu rohe. [140]

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[133] L. S. Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand* (Auckland: Minerva, 1965) – maps inside cover and pp.59; 113. Whale oil was superseded by kerosene, which was easier to obtain and use.
[134] Lambert, pp.350-51.
[135] Matthew Wright, *Guns and Utu: A Short History of the Musket Wars* (Auckland: Penguin, 2011) p.120.
[136] McLauchlan, p. 7.
[137] Belich, p.138.
[138] Lambert, p.350.
[139] J Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., NZ*, (Gisborne: Joseph Angus Mackay, 1949), p. 94.
[140] Mackay, p.94.

On sighting a whaling ship, the people living on the Māhia peninsula would row canoes out and board the vessel in order to trade.[141] This would have maximised the safety of the whaling vessel, as it would not have to come so close to the rocky shoreline. Local knowledge of reefs and rocks, as well as more manoeuvrable craft meant locals could more easily go to the vessel than the vessel come to them. This boldness, of venturing out to a visiting ship was important, in that it facilitated connections, and forged relationships in a way that would most likely not have occurred otherwise.

West Māhia Cliffs Photograph by R Bright, 10 July 2014

Contact with Europeans was important to the hapu for a number of reasons. On the surface, the potential to trade for muskets and powder was an important factor; however this contact with whalers and subsequent visitors had far more profound implications. It was a means of growing the hapu's capabilities, of being a part of the economy, of the exchange of ideas, technology and language – including literacy. It presented opportunities for people to be intermediaries between the Māori and European worlds. It also made clear to the European travellers through their interactions with local hapu as to who the rangatira and tangata whenua of a particular area were, thus maintaining balance in the power dynamic of the hapu. It was a means of shoring up the independence of the

[141] Ballara, p.470.

tangata whenua as they increased their ability to achieve their own economic and social goals by way of trade and contact with Europeans. It was a vehicle for intermarriage and settlement of Europeans into a rohe, and this may well have resulted in some perception of increased safety for the local hapu, in having their own resident Pākehā population.

Te Pareihe joined the flax trading enterprise with vigour after the Battle of Kaiuku in the winter of 1824, when he set his people to work preparing flax for trade and "encouraged and protected the whaling fraternity."[142] This gave him the opportunity to play 'catch up' in terms of the weapons of war available to Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti and their allies, independently from Te Wera Hauraki. Until this point, the only muskets used on Te Pareihe's behalf had been in Ngapuhi hands.[143]

It seems that the influence of Te Wera's interactions with missionaries such as Samuel Marsden may have had strong effect on the trading parameters for the Māhia Peninsula.[144] There does not appear to be an account of trading for alcohol, tobacco, sex or *upoko tuhi* such as occurred notoriously in Kororareka. At the same time, there is neither record of trade for the Bible, which was a highly sought-after trade item in Ngāti Porou territory to the north at this time. This may present an area for further enquiry. Through this trade for muskets and the increase of his mana, as well as by gaining further adherents, Te Pareihe and Te Wera became the leaders of an "invincible force", which after 1824 was not troubled further in their own territory by those from other districts.[145]

Summary

Te Māhia offered many different levels of security for the people of the lower East Coast, in terms of a destination to migrate to, out of their own vulnerable rohe. It was a spiritual home, and the local tangata whenua were kin, being of a common ancestor, Kahungunu. It was a site geographically advantageous in

[142] Ballara, p.454.
[143] Ballara, p.451.
[144] Lambert, p.292.
[145] Ballara, p.454.

terms of defence and also for trade with whalers travelling the marine highway to the east of the North Island. It was also the newly established home of renowned Ngāpuhi chief Te Wera Hauraki, his warriors and muskets. These combined considerations made Te Māhia an attractive and familiar destination for the people of the lower East Coast.

CONCLUSION

In 1823-24, the Ngai Te Whatuiāpiti leader Te Pareihe led a group of migrants with different affiliations north to the Māhia Peninsula because it was in essence the more politically and shrewd strategic option during a period of immense danger and conflict. This dissertation has shown that this decision was complex in many ways. In the opening section of the study, *Te Waka Eke Noa*, the people of Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri were under threat. They encountered outside groups interested in making permanent settlements along the lower East Coast, some who sought utu for unredressed wrong and others looking for new food supplies. There were predominantly threats from the north and west, driven by tribes such as Ngāti Raukawa, Waikato Maniapoto, and Tūwharetoa. Having suffered the loss of leading chiefs at Te Kahupapa (Roto-a-Tara I) in 1822, Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Raukawa sought to exact utu from the people of Heretaunga/Ahuriri (see 'Heretaunga', pages 18-21). For those resident in the Wairarapa, there were also additional threats in the form of Ngāti Toa, Te Ātiawa and Ngāpuhi all actively pursuing the food supplies that could be obtained east of the Remutaka and Tararua Ranges (see 'Wairarapa', page 28). Whether from the north, south, or west, the East Coast tribes occupying Heretaunga, Ahuriri, and the Wairarapa were constantly aware of the threats on all sides. This pushed them together, creating alliances built not only through whakapapa connection, but the intimacy and political reliance necessitated in their geographical relationships. Each were aware what might occur if their neighbours fell to outside predators.

In addition to the pressure from outside groups, the difficulty of defending the terrain was a factor which motivated the people of the lower East Coast to vacate their kainga. The plains bounded by mountains to the west and ocean to the east, while providing a fertile landscape for food production, did not lend itself easily to defence, particularly against invaders with musket. It is a moot point whether the people of the lower East Coast would have stayed if they had sufficient muskets in 1823. At the time of the migration, the muskets used for

the defence of the lower East Coast, in particular Heretaunga rohe, were held by Te Wera Hauraki's Ngāpuhi contingent. These were employed at the Battle of Te Whitiotū with the invaders effectively repulsed (see 'Heretaunga', pages 20-21).

Despite the terrain being difficult to defend, it is perhaps fair to say that had the lower East Coast held enough muskets, invaders would have redirected their attentions elsewhere, to more vulnerable targets. While the alliance with Te Wera Hauraki gave the added protection of an arsenal of muskets, this was a temporary shield. Te Wera had based himself at Mahanga, just north of the Māhia island-peninsula. His muskets were only present in Heretaunga while he and his ope taua were present (see 'Te Wera Hauraki', page 45). Te Wera was also a person frequently approached for assistance by different groups, and thus moved regularly to assist in various matters pertaining to utu. The Kahungunu alliance with Te Wera was two-fold in that it included an invitation to join him at Te Māhia, which came at a moment of seemingly imminent calamity.

In addition to the difficulty in defending the terrain and lack of muskets, there were also spiritual reasons that influenced Te Pareihe and allies to migrate. Te Pareihe's tohunga Te Ngoi had prophesied that a peace would be brokered between Te Pareihe and Te Wera Hauraki, and despite all odds, this came to pass. Te Ngoi had also predicted that great hordes would descend on Heretaunga and that victory would not be possible (see 'Heretaunga', page 24). This must have been a heavy burden for Te Pareihe, who was responsible for the safety of his people. He decided to migrate even though several other chiefs in the area refused to join him. Though a difficult decision, this migration to Māhia would enable thousands of people of the lower East Coast to survive the tumultuous period of the 1820s and 30s. This dissertation has outlined and examined the reasons for the descendants of Kahungunu of the Heretaunga, Wairarapa and Ahuriri areas electing to migrate northward with Te Pareihe in the period 1823-24.

Te Hekenga Rangatira ki Nukutaurua

The choice of Māhia as a migratory destination was a return home rather than an exile to elsewhere. Māhia, being the home of the eponymous ancestor Kahungunu, was and remains a spiritual home for his descendants (see 'Kinship to Te Māhia', page 37). The notion of multiple kainga and multiple Hawaikis has long been embedded in Māori movement, and for the Kahungunu migrants moving between homes, both old and new, could be a frequent, normal and crucial activity (See 'Kinship to Te Māhia', page 38). Migrating to various papa kainga, then, posits an important understanding in the long duree of migratory ideas relevant to Māori from early waka migrations to the 'new' urban migration of the mid-twentieth century. If 'home' was a place to migrate to, then for many iwi, Hawaiki and the notion of kainga, remained an essential narrative thread in the way Māori have envisioned movement in the nineteenth century and beyond. Moreover, Māori were migrants, but the spaces to which they moved were often known, and well-versed in their own histories as places owned, belonged to, and crucial to their sense of home.

The alliance with Te Wera Hauraki provided extra attraction in selecting Māhia as an island refuge. Te Wera's instalment there with the blessing of Māhia tangata whenua Rakaipāka had made the island something of a fortress. Its geography also offered superior defensive terrain, being an island surrounded by cliffs and reefs, difficult to approach from both land and sea (See 'Geographic and Strategic Factors', page 47). Essential to maintaining a defensive position, Māhia also had a plentiful food supply in the oceans and forests. Between Te Wera's muskets and Māhia's natural defences, it was a fortress *par excellence*. The Battle of Kaiuku in 1824 demonstrated the superiority of Māhia as a defensive position. The people of the lower East Coast, alongside Te Wera Hauraki's Ngāpuhi contingent and the local tangata whenua of Māhia, were able to withstand and then emerge victorious from a two month siege by Tūwharetoa and others (See 'Geographic and Strategic Factors', pages 54-55). Māhia also had the advantage of being *en route* for whaling vessels travelling along the East Coast, between Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) and Tūranga (Gisborne) and on

to Kororāreka in the Bay of Islands. This extreme easterly position provided an opportunity for the residents of Māhia to engage in trade with the whalers, and thus provided an opportunity for contact with Europeans, for exchange of goods, technologies and ideas and to build their arsenal of muskets to a level that ensured their ongoing safety (See 'Trade', page 59).

Between Māhia being a turangawaewae for descendants of Kahungunu, its newly resident protector Te Wera Hauraki and its geographic and strategic advantages for defence and to engender trade, Māhia was a most worthy choice of sanctuary for the people of the lower East Coast who migrated there beginning 1823. Many of the migrants would stay until the late 1830s, by which time many of the threats hovering in 1823 had diminished. Te Māhia was, for these intervening years, a kohanga iwi, to use Angela Ballara's phrase; a nest in which the iwi Ngāti Kahungunu could gradually coalesce and become an identifiable entity by the late nineteenth century.[146]

This dissertation has shown that this migration was a carefully considered and astute undertaking, and was one of many migrations happening during the Musket Wars of the 1820s. This migration, rather than being an exile to elsewhere, was a return "home" and reminds us that there were multiple homes for the people of the lower East Coast within the boundaries of Takitimu waka. It also reminds us that internal migration was a normal and natural occurrence for Māori people and a considered response to a changing social environment. The importance of Te Pareihe's migration is three-fold. To begin with, this migration preserved the lives of multitude of people of the lower East Coast during a period characterised by conflict and uncertainty. Furthermore, it is an event that demonstrates an unprecedented level of accord across Kahungunu hapu that would be fully realised in the emergence of the iwi Ngāti Kahungunu in the late 19th century. Finally, through the practice of ahi kā roa, the rohe of Heretaunga, Ahuriri and Wairarapa were kept for the people of the lower East Coast to return to once the danger had passed. This dissertation has examined the reasons both

[146] Ballara, p.461.

for leaving the lower East Coast in the period 1823-24, and for selecting Māhia as a suitable refuge.

In closing, this formative event in lower East Coast history is recorded in whakatauki as a moment in which pathways were renewed, and departed chiefs remembered. It stands as an affirmation of belonging, in which migrants shifted yet remained cast in verse for future generations to attest to as their own narrative, deeply aware of the pathways that have tied their lands together:

Heretaunga ara rau	Heretaunga of arcadian pathways
Heretaunga haukū nui	Heretaunga of life-giving dew
Heretaunga haro o te kahu	Heretaunga the beauty of which can only be appreciated by the eyes of a hawk in full flight
Heretaunga takoto noa	Heretaunga from whence the chiefs have departed and we the servants remain.[147]

[147] Wananga Te Ariki, Walker, 'Kahuranaki' from 'Nga Maunga Korero', <http://www.maungakorero.com/2014/01/19/issue-24-kahuranaki> [Accessed 12 June 2014].

APPENDIX ONE

Glossary of Māori Terms

Ahi kā, Ahi kā roa	domestic fire, signifying continuous occupation of land
Aotearoa	land of the long white cloud, a name for New Zealand
Ariki	chief
Atua	god, gods
Hāhi Mihinare	Church of England
Hapu	clan, sub-tribe, descendants, pregnant
Hawaiki	ancestral homeland
Iwi	tribe, people, bone
Kainga	home
Kainga tūturu	true home, origin, genesis
Kaumātua	elder, elders
Kereru	wood pigeon
Kōrero	talk, speech, narrative
Kōrero tuku iho	oral history or tradition
Mana	authority, power, prestige,
Mana whenua	authority and prestige derived from control over land
Marae (atea)	courtyard in front of meeting house
Mātauranga	knowledge, learning
Matakite	seer, second sight
Matāmua	first, elder, senior
Moteatea	lament
Ope, Ope Taua	fighting force, war party
Pā	fortified village
Pākehā	*person of European or non-Māori descent*

Papakainga	homestead
Papatūānuku	earth mother
Rangatira	chief
Rohe	district
Taha-rua	two-sided, related to both sides
Tāngata whenua	people of the land
Taua	warriors, war party
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Tikanga	customs, protocols
Tōhunga	expert, doctor
Tupuna	ancestor, ancestors
Tūturu	authentic, real, true
Turangawaewae	'a place to stand', a place to which one is connected
Upoko tuhi/ Toi moko	*preserved or dried, tattooed Māori head*
Utu	compensation, payment, redress
Waka	canoe
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakataukī	proverb, sayings
Whānau	family, birth
Whāngai	adoption, adopted person
Whenua	land

APPENDIX TWO

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