ŌTAU

A NGĀI TAI CULTURAL HERITAGE ASSESSMENT OF CLEVEDON VILLAGE, WAIROA VALLEY

Prepared by Nat Green on behalf of

Ngāi Tai ki Umupuia Marae
&
Ngāi Tai Umupuia Te Waka Tōtara Trust

For

Manukau City Council's
Clevedon Sustainable Management Plan

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....3
TE WAIROA – ŌTAU – CLEVEDON (TRADITIONAL & CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS)....5
TĀNGATA WHENUA – MANA WHENUA – TUKU WHENUA....7
RAUPATU....11
TE TIRITI Ō WAITANGI....12
TINO RANGATIRATANGA....13
TĀONGA....14
KAITIAKITANGA....15
THE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ACT....17
WĀHI TAPU & SITES OF SIGNIFICANCE....25
HISTORICAL NARRATIVE....39
BIBLIOGRAPHY....92

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Te Karakia ā Taikehu
Taku hoe tapu nei, Ko Hauhau Te Rangi!
Whāia Te Arawa, me kore e rokohina; me kore e rokohina
Ka riro ia i te tārewa-putuputu
Whakapoi ake te kakau ō te hoe
Ko Manini-tua, Ko Manini-aro!
Ka tangi te kura, Ka tangi wawana
Ka tangi te kura, Ka tangi wiwini
E Hiki, E Raka' – Nau mai!
Te haria te kawe ā Tāne ki uta

Nā Io te wai,
Kei Te Pae ō Maruaonui

Mō te akoranga ō te kōrero tāwhito ō ngā Tāngata whenua ō Ōtau ki Te Wairoa, e pirangi ana te kaituhituhi nei he mihinui atu ki a Te Irirangi Te Tara ki Moehau, Wīremu Herewini Te Hauā, Te Horeta Te Taniwhā, Hetaraka Takapuna Te Hehewa, Mere Mahu Horohinu, Hone Tana Te Tara Te Irirangi, Hori Kīngi Te Whētuki, Te Wātene Te Makuru, Te Potipoti, Thomas Maxwell, James Moncur, William Thomas Fairburn, Raniera Rangitūnoa, Te Hatawira Ngāke, Timoti Tūtaura, Rāpata Tamehana, Hāwira Maki, Tukumana Te Taniwhā, James Maxwell, Patariki Te Manihera Makiwhara, Hera Maurahu Knox, Ānaru Te Rira Makiwhara, Raiha Manakā Poti, Hēnare Kīngi Te Whētuki, Riria Te Roto Kīngi Te Whētuki, Pepa Te Ueroa Tauke Kirkwood, Hamiora Te Urikupai Pūangarahi, Wīremu Te Oka, Heta Hetaraka, Maihi Te Kapua Te Hīnaki, William Thomas Duder, Te Arani Brady, Te Hanatāua Hēnare Tūrei, George Samuel Graham, Rangitakotokino Emere Beamish, Ihaka George Brown, Hector Ross McKenzie, Sir Māui Pōmare, Emilia Maud Nixon, Maata Tūrama Reweti, Rāhera Ngeungeu Te Irirangi Zister, Rangi Phoebe Barker rātou ko Lucy Charlotte McCollum mō te kōrero i tuku iho nō ngā tūpuna. Takoto mai e koro, e kui mā... moe mai, moe mai, haere atu rā...

E ngā Pākeke mā, ko Aperehama Fredrick Tūrei Jr., Percy Te Awaroa Thompson, Murphy Thompson, Maungarongo Tautari, Māora Okeroa Brown, Sydney Brown, Makareti Atama, Ngaronui Lewis Maxwell, Valerie Emily Sinton, Nārua Elizabeth Irvine, John Hewson Beamish, Barbara Beamish, Carmen Kirkwood, Haraina Whaanga, Ānaru Kīngi, Nora Te Puea Kīngi, Kīngi

Rahipere, Taini Drummond me ngā Kaumātua, Pākeke katoa kua tautoko tōku mahi, ka nui te aroha ki a koutou.

Ngā mihi rangatira atu ki a Hūhana Tūrei, Pita Tūrei, Jaroz Adams, Lucy Steel, Gloria Hetaraka Keepa, James Brown, Joy Markoni-Lyons, Barry Soutar, Tīpene Ngeungeu Zister, Laurence John Beamish, David Richard Beamish, Emily Karaka, Peter Karaka, Tipa Compain, Tweetie Tait-Jamieson, Racheal Maxwell-Treloar, Jonathan Billington, Tauawhi Derbyshire, Alan La Roche, Raewyn Paewai rātou ko Bruce Ringer.

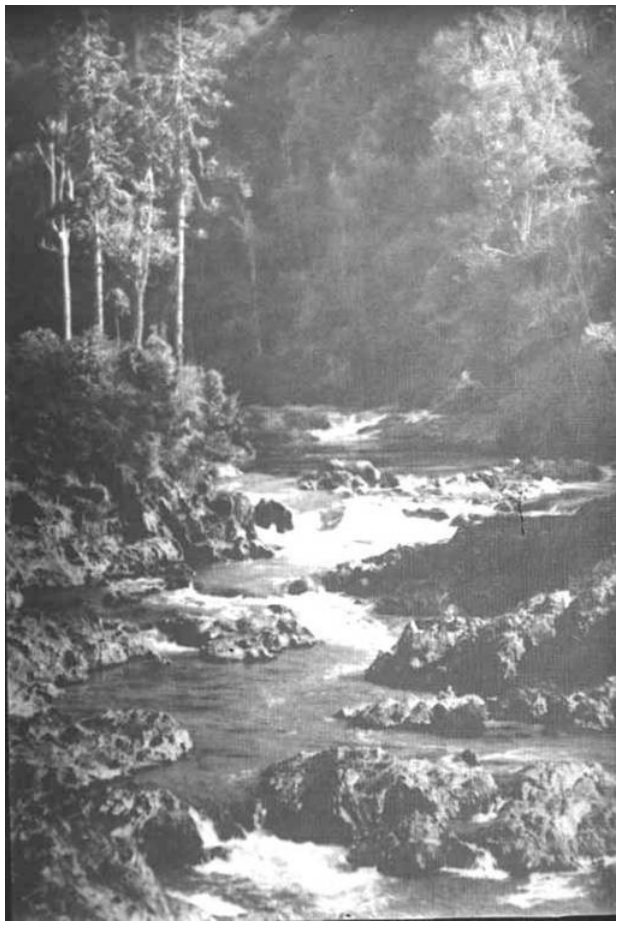
He mihi tino rawe atu ki ngā mahi rangahau nui ō Te Warena Tāua rāua ko Graeme Murdoch.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, kia ora mai tātou katoa.

Ka whakatapua tēnei pukapuka hei whakamaharatanga ki a Sean Nathaniel Beamish (1978 – 2008)

TE WAIROA – ŌTAU – CLEVEDON
(TRADITIONAL & CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS)

Ngāi Tai names for the land now known as Clevedon District and Clevedon Village include Te Wairoa, and Ōtau. Te Wairoa describes both the Wairoa River and its wider surroundings, including the broader Clevedon District. The name of Ōtau refers more specifically to the narrow, serpentine stretch of Te Wairoa that winds through the site of present-day Clevedon Village, and is therefore the name traditionally applied by Ngāi Tai to the general vicinity of Clevedon Village itself.



Te Wairoa c.1908
Photo: James Richardson

While the name of Ōtau originates from a point on the river and its immediate surroundings, it is perhaps better known to descendants of early European settlers as referring to a mid 19th Century defended kāinga near the adjacent east bank of the river, opposite present-day Clevedon Village. As such, the principal kāinga of Ōtau during this (early European) period was situated just outside the perimeter currently defined by Manukau City Council's 'Clevedon Sustainable Management Plan' (CSMP) as the 'Area Of Interest' (AOI).

It is therefore necessary to draw distinction between the relevant areas and the differing applications of names in both traditional and contemporary usage.

For the purposes of this report, unless otherwise noted

- **Te Wairoa** means the Wairoa River, its Riverbed, Estuary and outlet at Te Maraetai/Tāmaki Strait (including Whakakaiwhara to the west & Kōherurahi to the east), Wairoa Valley, Upper Wairoa, Lower Wairoa, 'Wairoa South' & 'Clevedon District'
- **Ōtau** means **Ōtau**, as defined by Ngāi Tai tradition
- **AOI** means the council defined Area Of Interest
- **Ōtau kāinga** means the 19th Century kāinga just outside the AOI, including also Te Okenga and Ōkauanga
- **Ōtau–Hikurangi** means the Government defined confiscation block known as both the 'East Wairoa Block' & 'WAI/096'

TĀNGATA WHENUA – MANA WHENUA – TUKU WHENUA

Tāngata whenua or 'people of the land', while commonly borrowed into New Zealand English as a generic alternative to 'native', 'aboriginal' or 'indigenous' people, in Te Reo Māori refers specifically to the original founding hapū or iwi of the land being spoken of. In other words, Tāngata whenua means the direct descendants of the person or persons to first occupy and establish **Mana whenua** over the land ***i mai rā nō*** – since time immemorial.

Ngāi Tai are the ***Tāngata whenua*** of the Clevedon/Wairoa Valley districts.

Mana whenua refers to the traditional expression of authority, rights, responsibilities and obligations associated with customary Māori land tenure. In other words, the people holding Mana whenua status over a particular **rohe** or 'tribal domain' are the principal tribal authorities responsible for the land in question.

Ngāi Tai hold the customary ***Mana whenua*** status over the rohe in which the Clevedon Village and Wairoa Valley are contained.

Mana whenua is traditionally established through a variety of pūtake or 'causative origins':

> **Take tupuna** – ancestral causes; Mana whenua has been established through **whakapapa** to the original Tāngata whenua ancestors of the land.
>
> **Take ahi kā** – occupational causes; Mana whenua established through ahi kā (occupation), and better still, **ahi kā *roa*** (long–standing, unbroken, continuous occupation over multiple generations). Ahi kā refers literally to the tending and maintaining of traditional home fires.
>
> **Take raupatu** – rights originating from conquest; whereby through thorough and decisive defeat the Mana whenua of the conquered party has been relinquished to, or absorbed by, the victorious party.
>
> **Take tuku** – rights originating from **tuku whenua**; a grant to occupy an area of land pointed out by the existing Mana whenua party.

The traditional act of tuku whenua does not equate with the alienation, extinguishment or relinquishing of Mana whenua, and Mana whenua does not necessarily equate with 'exclusive title' or 'ownership' of land, insomuch as Mana is not an alienable material possession. (Mana whenua is, however, the nearest equivalent Māori concept to contemporary western ideas relating to 'property rights', and as such, Mana whenua issues correspond directly with *rightful ownership* issues.)

Acts of tuku whenua may occur as a result of a variety of pūtake.

For instance, at Taupō of Kawakawa Bay, Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Kōhua granted tuku whenua rights to Te Urikaraka owing to the death of their ancestor Te Māhia on that land, and in recognition of the role Te Māhia had played on Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Kōhua's behalf during a period of warfare in that rohe. The various pūtake of this act of tuku whenua relate to bloodshed, indebtedness, aroha (sympathy, compassion) and peacekeeping.

Between the Mangemangeroa Valley and Te Puru, Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū were granted tuku whenua rights to occupy Ngāi Tai lands because they were descendants of an important Ngāi Tai ancestress, Te Kuraiawhetu, and because they maintained close relationships and alliances with Ngāi Tai. The pūtake in this case was thus one purely on the basis of mutually cherished whakapapa and whanaungatanga.

At Te Tauoma (the land between the West Tāmaki Heads and Panmure), Te Taoū were granted tuku whenua rights by the Ngāti Tai ancestor Te Hehewa, owing to Waetāheke of Te Taoū having earlier avenged the deaths of Ngāi Tai ancestors. In this instance, the pūtake derives from a form of social debt of gratitude, for which the tuku whenua is granted as utu (payment, recompense, reciprocation).

On the lands extending between Te Wairoa and Tāmaki Rivers, Te Pēpene (Mr. W. T. Fairburn of the Church Mission Society) was granted tuku whenua rights because he brought Ngāi Tai both new spiritual and material benefits and a stabilising, mediating influence to the area. His role within Ngāi Tai society assisted with the peaceful resettlement of traditional Ngāi Tai lands in the wake of the Musket Wars. He also made utu or payment for this grant in the form of trade goods. Thus the pūtake for this act of tuku whenua was an important and mutually beneficial strategic alliance.

Historically, in all of the foregoing instances where Ngāi Tai or Ngāti Tai ancestors have held Mana whenua over a particular area, and have then granted tuku whenua rights in that land to another person or persons, the rights given by way of tuku whenua have extended only to a 'grant of the right to occupy'. This 'right to occupy' may in turn extend to occupation on a seasonal basis for the purpose of cultivation, fishing rights, wood cutting or other resource harvesting, or it may be that a right of ahi kā/continuous occupation is granted.

The recipient of the tuku whenua/land grant, however, whether they occupy the land permanently or on a seasonal basis, does so under the Mana whenua of the original Tāngata whenua in question (in this case Ngāi Tai). The Mana whenua status of the original Tāngata whenua party is not relinquished – rather, the recipient establishes their own Mana whenua in the land through the pūtake of ahi kā.

In the event that the recipient of the tuku whenua should relinquish their interests in the land in question (e.g. permanently vacating for some other place), then the mana of the land remains with the original 'vendor'. It cannot, for instance, be taken away to be held elsewhere, or given away to some other party.

And so, in every known instance whereupon Ngāi Tai did make such an act of tuku whenua, it is well known and frequently commented upon by both Māori & Pākehā historians alike, that Ngāi Tai remained undisturbed in exercising Mana whenua and all rights associated with traditional occupation of their ancestral lands. On those lands where other parties later shared occupation and resources with the original Tāngata whenua of Ngāi Tai, they did so under the Mana whenua of Ngāi Tai.

Mana whenua can, however, be taken by raupatu/conquest, at least for so long as the original Tāngata whenua group does not retrieve their Mana whenua status by way of utu/recompense. Furthermore, for Mana whenua via *take raupatu* to be conceded, the pūtake behind the conquest must be accepted by all affected parties as having derived from a *just* pūtake, as defined by customary protocols.

For instance, if an invasion occurred as utu for earlier bloodshed, this may be regarded as **tika** (correct or appropriate according to custom). If not, then the conquest might very well be persistently contested for generations to follow. Even when Mana whenua deriving from ***take raupatu*** was successfully achieved, while the

original Tāngata whenua may have afterwards resided in a subjugated position, their pre-existing rights to continue to occupy and make customary use of the land were rarely interfered with, nor would the conquered party ever concede that they no longer possessed the Mana of their ancestors.

In the case of Ngāi Tai at Te Wairoa, no traditional act of raupatu has ever occurred that would see the Mana whenua of Te Wairoa resting in the hands of another hapū or iwi. Ngāi Tai within Tāmaki Makaurau have on occasion suffered from devastating invasions by external groups (some of which are discussed within the 'Historical Narrative'), but in none of these instances did the invading party ever assert Mana whenua over Ngāi Tai, for there was no subsequent ahi kā/occupation through which to establish that Mana.

RAUPATU

Under Te Ture Pākehā (European Law), however, there have been two 'Raupatu' specifically affecting Ngāi Tai's ability to exercise Mana whenua rights within the Clevedon District, which at the time of writing remain unresolved. Historically, these have proven to be oftentimes contentious issues, due in part to Te Ture Pākehā having been incompatible with tikanga Ngāi Tai, but moreso simply due to the clear injustices associated with them '*in anyone's language*'.

These 'Raupatu' are herein differentiated from customary ***take raupatu***, because again, no decisive conquest ever took place to strip Ngāi Tai of Mana whenua. In contemporary usage, the term 'Raupatu' has increasingly become synonymous with Crown confiscation, but in many instances simply refers to legislative theft. Such is the case for the two principal 'Raupatu' affecting the Mana whenua of Ngāi Tai at Clevedon today.

The first of these 'Raupatu' was the Crown confiscation of lands including the 'Fairburn Purchase' or 'Tāmaki Block', and the simultaneous 'disallowance' of the Cleghorn & Goodfellow pre-emptive waiver purchase. These 'Raupatu' took place by protracted legal processes under the auspices of the Land Claims Commission (LCC) between 1840 and 1854. The second 'Raupatu' took place by proclamation in 1865, deriving its pūtake from the Land Wars of 1863.

In neither of these cases has Ngāi Tai ever conceded that the 'Raupatu' derived from a just pūtake. The land was never taken as utu for some past injustice done by Ngāi Tai against the Crown or the Pākehā people. Ngāi Tai did not shed the blood of the Pākehā, nor did Ngāi Tai fail to uphold or honour the covenant of the Treaty of Waitangi. Accordingly, Ngāi Tai have continued to contest these Government land thefts over successive generations. Both these and other 'Raupatu' are subjects of Ngāi Tai claims before the Waitangi Tribunal and proceedings with the Office of Treaty Settlements and both are discussed further within the 'Historical Narrative'.

TE TIRITI Ō WAITANGI

The Treaty of Waitangi is aptly summarised by Ngāi Tai historian Te Warena Tāua as "a pithy document of only one page, comprising a short preamble, followed by three short Articles and a short concluding section."[1]

There are two versions – one written in English, and the other in Māori. Around 50 individuals of the Far North signed the English version; while a further 500 Rangatira from around New Zealand signed the Māori version.

This report does not set out to examine or investigate differing interpretations arising out of these two versions. Ngāi Tai ancestors are not from the Far North, and as at 1840 did not speak English. The principles and articles of the Māori Version are therefore deferred to here.

Under the First Article, the assembled **Rangatira** and all other **Rangatira** wishing to enter into the Treaty, grant/gift (**tuku rawa atu**) to the Queen of England (the Crown) the right of **Kāwanatanga** (Governance).

Under the Second Article, the Queen of England promises all of the **Rangatira**, all of the **hapū**, and all of the **tāngata** of New Zealand **Tino Rangatiratanga** over their **whenua** (lands), their **kāinga** (homes), and all of their other **tāonga**. However, the assembled Rangatira and all of the Rangatira of New Zealand also grant to the Queen, through her appointed agents, the right to purchase whatever portions of their land they are agreeable to selling, for whatever **utu** is agreed to by those chiefs.

Under the Third Article, the Queen of England grants to all Māori people of New Zealand (**ngā tāngata Māori kātoa ō Nu Tirani**) the equivalent rights and freedoms of the people of England.

[1] Tāua (2002), p.71

TINO RANGATIRATANGA

Some sources argue that Tino Rangatiratanga is a term originating exclusively from the Treaty of Waitangi, and, given the European authorship of the Treaty, the same argument is sometimes extrapolated to the seemingly logical conclusion that the term Tino Rangatiratanga is one of Pākehā origin (!). While interesting, this notion is not borne out by Māori etymology.

Rangatira simply put, refers to a "chief", a dignitary, a noble, a royal, a sovereign, a leader; a person who is, be it by heredity or by ascent, recognised within their community as having notable Mana, prestige, authority, and/or other leadership qualities.

Coupled with the suffix ***–tanga***, Rangatiratanga refers to properties of the Rangatira – their majesty, dominion, liberty, freedom, authority, power, wealth, prosperity and personal possessions. By extension, Rangatiratanga also naturally embodies the duties and obligations of the Rangatira in relation to his or her domain. Be they the leader of a large community or one small household, incumbent duties of Rangatiratanga include representation & advocacy, and inevitably extend to many of the responsibilities also manifest within Mana whenua and **Kaitiakitanga**.

Tino is more commonly described as 'an intensifier'. It indicates that the subject of the phrase is total, unequivocal, or absolute.

Tino Rangatiratanga is thus the total and absolute authority, dominion and liberty of the Rangatira. Within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi, Tino Rangatiratanga is a right guaranteed by the Crown, to all of the Rangatira of New Zealand, over all of their whenua (lands), kāinga (homes) and tāonga.

The term has become synonymous with the social and political movement within Māoridom which advocates for the Treaty to be honoured, for the pre-existing sovereignty of the Māori people at the time of the Treaty partnership being entered into to be recognised and upheld, and for *the right to self determination*.

TĀONGA

There are several proffered translations of this word, but it is perhaps most succinctly rendered as 'treasure'. 'Treasured possessions' is another common term equated with tāonga, and is certainly applicable in many circumstances, but should not be regarded as referring only to material possessions.

Tāonga may include physical personal possessions, but also intangible tāonga of a spiritual, metaphysical, or intellectual nature. Te Reo, for instance, is regarded as a tāonga, as is knowledge of one's whakapapa and tribal history ***he tāonga i tuku iho*** – 'a treasure handed down'. Many other elements of Māoritanga, or Māori Culture, are correctly described as tāonga.

Where the English version of the Treaty also guarantees protection of Māori Fisheries and Forestry, the Māori Version refers specifically to whenua, kāinga and tāonga. Tāonga, within the context of the Treaty, should therefore also be understood to include Forestry and Fisheries.

The protection guaranteed to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi for the right to retain Tino Rangatiratanga over not only lands and homes, but all other tāonga, is pivotal to understanding Tāngata whenua relationships to government at a national, regional and localised level.

KAITIAKITANGA

Of the many responsibilities inherent within holding Mana whenua status, is the responsibility of Kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga is also a necessary component of exercising Tino Rangatiratanga over our whenua, kāinga and tāonga.

Near equivalents of Kaitiakitanga in the English language may include terms such as custodianship, guardianship or stewardship, protection, care-giving/care-taking and so forth.

Kaitiakitanga derives from the whakapapa of Te Timatanga – the cosmological genesis of Creation. From the Atua, or Divinities, all things in Te Ao Māori (The Natural World) derive whakapapa, or 'genealogical descent'. As such, all living things and all natural elements are related.

Tāngata whenua, therefore, in understanding our own place within that whanaungatanga or 'kinship relationship', through the incumbent responsibilities of our Mana whenua & Rangatiratanga, have inherited certain obligations to our relatives – the heavens, the earth, the mountains, rocks and stones, the oceans and waterways, the forests, trees and plants, the birds, reptiles and insects, and of course, our fellow man. One such obligation, as the only members of that whānau gifted with the necessary capacity, is to act as Kaitiaki – protectors and guardians of our natural whānau.

Kaitiakitanga, however, is not confined alone to 'Environmental Causes', and extends also to the traditional custody and protection of our own personal tāonga.

Contemporary expressions of Kaitiakitanga increasingly take the form of 'Resource Management' including management of natural, physical, spiritual, cultural and intellectual resources. Ngāi Tai, as Tāngata whenua, Mana whenua and kaitiaki of Ōtau & Te Wairoa therefore actively seek out every opportunity to play a Resource Management role in the protection of our environmental, cultural and other tāonga within that rohe. It is this Kaitiakitanga aspect of Ngāi Tai's Mana whenua which, under current Resource Management policy & legislation, is central to Ngāi Tai's ongoing relationship with regional government bodies.

Kaitiakitanga interests of Ngāi Tai within Clevedon include (but are by no means limited to) the protection and guardianship of:

- Wāhi tapu (sacred places)
- Arawai (waterways)[2]
- Te Waonui ā Tāne (indigenous flora and fauna)
- Mahinga kai (customary food gathering resources)
- Mahinga mātaitai (customary Kaimoana resources)
- Tikanga & Kawa (protocols & customary practices)
- Matauranga (traditional knowledge & intellectual property)
- Te Reo Ngāi Tai (the unique regional & tribal dialect of the Māori language spoken by Ngāi Tai ancestors)

Ngāi Tai resource management & Kaitiakitanga may also extend to a raft of potential social, cultural & economic development issues.

[2] For simplicity, the term Arawai as a 'catchall' for waterways is used here, whereas there are numerous & complex Kaitiaki interests for Ngāi Tai in rivers, streams, lakes, swamps, harbours, straits & passages, oceans, the foreshore & seabed etc. In the currently defined Clevedon AOI the principal Arawai are Te Wairoa & Taitaia.

THE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ACT

Included here are some, but by no means all, elements of the Resource Management Act 1991 (as it stands at March 2010) which have relevance to the Tāngata whenua relationship with regional & territorial authorities, and which have specific ramifications for Ngāi Tai's ability to exercise rights of Tino Rangatiratanga, Mana whenua and Kaitiakitanga over our whenua, kāinga and all other tāonga.

There are a number of other Sections of the Act, pertaining to customary rights orders, the Foreshore & Seabed Act 2004, foreshore & seabed reserves, coastal & marine reserves, coastal policy statements, and a host of related issues, which are of direct relevance to Tāngata whenua, but which this report does not specifically seek to address.

Part 1: Interpretation of the Act
Section 2:
***historic heritage*—**

- (a) means those natural and physical resources that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of New Zealand's history and cultures, deriving from any of the following qualities:
    - (i) archaeological:
    - (ii) architectural:
    - (iii) cultural:
    - (iv) historic:
    - (v) scientific:
    - (vi) technological; and

- (b) includes—
    - (i) historic sites, structures, places, and areas; and
    - (ii) archaeological sites; and
    - (iii) sites of significance to Māori, including wāhi tapu; and
    - (iv) surroundings associated with the natural and physical resources

iwi authority means the authority which represents an iwi and which is recognised by that iwi as having authority to do so

joint management agreement means an agreement that—

- (a) is made by a local authority with 1 or more—

    - (i) public authorities, as defined in paragraph (b) of the definition of public authority:
    - (ii) iwi authorities or groups that represent hapu; and

- (b) provides for the parties to the joint management agreement jointly to perform or exercise any of the local authority's functions, powers, or duties under this Act relating to a natural or physical resource; and

- (c) specifies the functions, powers, or duties; and

- (d) specifies the natural or physical resource; and

- (e) specifies whether the natural or physical resource is in the whole of the region or district or part of the region or district; and

- (f) may require the parties to the joint management agreement to perform or exercise a specified function, power, or duty together; and

- (g) if paragraph (f) applies, specifies how the parties to the joint management agreement are to make decisions; and

- (h) may specify any other terms or conditions relevant to the performance or exercise of the functions, powers, or duties, including but not limited to terms or conditions for liability and funding

kaitiakitanga means the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Maori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship

maataitai means food resources from the sea and ***mahinga maataitai*** means the areas from which these resources are gathered

mana whenua means customary authority exercised by an iwi or hapu in an identified area

tangata whenua, in relation to a particular area, means the iwi, or hapu, that holds mana whenua over that area

taonga raranga means plants which produce material highly prized for use in weaving

tauranga waka means canoe landing sites

tikanga Maori means Maori customary values and practices

Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) has the same meaning as the word Treaty as defined in section 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

Part 2: Purpose & Principles of the Act
Section 6: Matters of national importance

- In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources, shall recognise and provide for the following matters of national importance:
    - (a) the preservation of the natural character of the coastal environment (including the coastal marine area), wetlands, and lakes and rivers and their margins, and the protection of them from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development:
    - (b) the protection of outstanding natural features and landscapes from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development:
    - (c) the protection of areas of significant indigenous vegetation and significant habitats of indigenous fauna:
    - (d) the maintenance and enhancement of public access to and along the coastal marine area, lakes, and rivers:
    - (e) the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga:
    - (f) the protection of historic heritage from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development:
    - (g) the protection of recognised customary activities.

For Ngāi Tai, not just Section 6 (e), but all of Section 6 (a – g) is relevant to "the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga".

Section 7: Other matters

- In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources, shall have particular regard to—

- (a) kaitiakitanga:
- (aa) the ethic of stewardship

Section 8: Treaty of Waitangi
In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources, shall take into account the principles of The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti ō Waitangi).

Part 4: Functions, Powers, and duties of Central and Local Government
Section 35A: **Duty to keep records about iwi and hapu**

- (1) For the purposes of this Act or regulations under this Act, a local authority must keep and maintain, for each iwi and hapu within its region or district, a record of—
  - (a) the contact details of each iwi authority within the region or district and any groups within the region or district that represent hapu for the purposes of this Act or regulations under this Act; and
  - (b) the planning documents that are recognised by each iwi authority and lodged with the local authority; and
  - (c) any area of the region or district over which 1 or more iwi or hapu exercise kaitiakitanga.

  (2) For the purposes of subsection (1)(a) and (c),—

  - (a) the Crown must provide to each local authority information on—
    - (i) the iwi authorities within the region or district of that local authority and the areas over which 1 or more iwi exercise kaitiakitanga within that region or district; and
    - (ii) any groups that represent hapu for the purposes of this Act or regulations under this Act within the region or district of that local authority and the areas over which 1 or more hapu exercise kaitiakitanga within that region or district; and
    - (iii) the matters provided for in subparagraphs (i) and (ii) that the local authority has advised to the Crown; and
  - (b) the local authority must include in its records all the information provided to it by the Crown under paragraph (a).

(3) In addition to any information provided by a local authority under subsection (2)(a)(iii), the local authority may also keep a record of information relevant to its region or district, as the case may be,—

- (a) on iwi, obtained directly from the relevant iwi authority; and
- (b) on hapu, obtained directly from the relevant group representing the hapu for the purposes of this Act or regulations under this Act.

(4) In this section, the requirement under subsection (1) to keep and maintain a record does not apply in relation to hapu unless a hapu, through the group that represents it for the purposes of this Act or regulations under this Act, requests the Crown or the relevant local authority (or both) to include the required information for that hapu in the record.

(5) If information recorded under subsection (1) conflicts with a provision of another enactment, advice given under the other enactment, or a determination made under the other enactment, as the case may be,—

- (a) the provision of the other enactment prevails; or
- (b) the advice given under the other enactment prevails; or
- (c) the determination made under the other enactment prevails.

(6) Information kept and maintained by a local authority under this section must not be used by the local authority except for the purposes of this Act or regulations under this Act.

Section 39: Hearings to be public and without unnecessary formality

(2) In determining an appropriate procedure for the purposes of subsection (1), the authority shall—

- (b) recognise tikanga Maori where appropriate, and receive evidence written or spoken in Māori and the **Māori Language Act 1987** shall apply accordingly

Section 42: Protection of sensitive information

- (1) A local authority may, on its own motion or on the application of any party to any proceedings or class of proceedings, make an order described in subsection (2) where it is satisfied that the order is necessary—
    - (a) to avoid serious offence to tikanga Maori or to avoid the disclosure of the location of waahi tapu

Part 5: Standards, policy statements, and plans
Section 61: Matters to be considered by regional council (policy statements)

- (1) A regional council shall prepare and change its regional policy statement in accordance with its functions under section 30, the provisions of Part 2, and its duty under section 32 and any regulations.

  (2) In addition to the requirements of section 62(2), when preparing or changing a regional policy statement, the regional council shall have regard to—

    - (a) any—
        - (iia) relevant entry in the Historic Places Register; and
        - (iii) regulations relating to ensuring sustainability, or the conservation, management, or sustainability of fisheries resources (including regulations or bylaws relating to taiapure, mahinga maataitai, or other non-commercial Maori customary fishing)

The RMA does not contain a definition of ***taiāpure****, which in legal terminology refers to reefs, coastal areas & other fishing grounds set aside as reserves under* ***Sections 174-185 of the Fisheries Act 1996*** *for customary mahinga mātaitai.*

(2A) A regional council, when preparing or changing a regional policy statement, must—

- (a) take into account any relevant planning document recognised by an iwi authority, and lodged with the council, to the extent that its content has a bearing on resource management issues of the region; and

- (b) recognise and provide for the management plan for a foreshore and seabed reserve located in whole or in part within its region, once the management plan has been lodged with the council.

*The same provisions regarding Tāngata whenua under **Section 61** also apply under **Section 66** pertaining to regional council's functions & obligations regarding plan changes, and under **Section 74** in relation to matters to be considered by territorial authorities.*

Section 62: Contents of regional policy statements

- (1) A regional policy statement must state—
  - (a) the significant resource management issues for the region; and
  - (b) the resource management issues of significance to —
    - (i) iwi authorities in the region

Part 8 of the Resource Management Act under ***Heritage Orders*** (sections 187 – 198M) is, while not explicitly stated by the Act, of particular importance to Tāngata whenua's protection of wāhi tapu and other significant heritage sites. Due to the complexity of the policies and procedures outlined within this Part of the Act, this report does not seek to set out all areas of relevance to Ngāi Tai.

Schedule 1, Part 1: Preparation and change of policy statements and plans by local authorities
Section 3: Consultation

- (1) During the preparation of a proposed policy statement or plan, the local authority concerned shall consult…
  - (d) the tangata whenua of the area who may be so affected, through iwi authorities; and
  - (e) the board of any foreshore and seabed reserve in the area.

3B: Consultation with iwi authorities
For the purposes of clause 3(1)(d), a local authority is to be treated as having consulted with iwi authorities in relation to those whose details are entered in the record kept under section 35A, if the local authority—

- (a) considers ways in which it may foster the development of their capacity to respond to an invitation to consult; and

- (b) establishes and maintains processes to provide opportunities for those iwi authorities to consult it; and

- (c) consults with those iwi authorities; and

- (d) enables those iwi authorities to identify resource management issues of concern to them; and

- (e) indicates how those issues have been or are to be addressed.

For Ngāi Tai, 'consultation' which *sets out to* satisfy the criteria defined by the RMA may not necessarily fulfil all the customary criteria of iwi consultation. If that is the case, then the consultation process has probably not "*considered ways in which it may foster the development of their capacity to respond to an invitation to consult*", "*established or maintained processes to provide opportunities for those iwi authorities to consult it*", or actually "*consulted with those iwi authorities*" in any effective or meaningful way. In addition, under Schedule 1, Section 3B (d), where "*issues of concern*" are identified during consultation by iwi, what the regional authority may regard under (e) as having "*addressed*" those issues may not necessarily be addressed to the satisfaction of iwi.

In addition to **Part 8** of the Act, the Resource Management Act also makes provision for areas protected under the **Historic Places Act 1993**, which include ***wāhi tapu*** and ***wāhi tapu areas***. Of the many sections of the Resource Management Act relating to the Historic Places Act, those of particular relevance include **Section 11** (Restrictions on subdivision of land), **61** (Matters to be considered by Regional Council policy statements), **66** (Matters to be considered by regional council plans), **74** (Matters to be considered by territorial authority), and **87B** (Certain activities to be treated as discretionary activities or prohibited activities).

WĀHI TAPU & SITES OF SIGNIFICANCE

While the Resource Management Act makes provision for the protection of wāhi tapu, it does not currently contain a definition of what a wāhi tapu is.

However, the **Historic Places Act 1993** (Section 2: Interpretation) gives the following definitions:

> ***Wahi tapu*** means a place sacred to Maori in the traditional, spiritual, religious, ritual, or mythological sense
> ***Wahi tapu area*** means an area of land that contains one or more wahi tapu

For the purposes of assisting council in this area, some further definitions of Wāhi tapu and related terms are included as follows:

> **Wāhi** – a place, an area, a particular portion (of land, sea, forestry, etc) within a wider rohe
>
> **Tapu** – Sacred, holy, sanctified, hallowed, (and by extension) subject to relevant ritual prohibitions
>
> **Wāhi tapu** – literally 'sacred place' or 'hallowed ground', including any '*place sacred to Maori in the traditional, spiritual, religious, ritual or mythological sense*'
>
> **Urupā** – a place of burial; while urupā are one of the most significant forms of wāhi tapu, not all wāhi tapu of Ngāi Tai contain urupā
>
> **Rāhui** – a customary restrictive ban/prohibition on harvesting resources from a particular area for a prescribed period of time, imposed & enforced by Mana whenua. Rāhui may be imposed for conservation or sustainable management purposes, but they may also be placed over certain areas due to Tapu and other religious, spiritual or ritual pūtake.
>
> **Kōrero tapu** and **kōrero taputapu** – kōrero (oration, narration, speech, discussion, things that are said) pertaining to subjects that are Tapu (including Wāhi tapu) and which kōrero is, by extension, considered to be Tapu (sacred and consequently subject to ritual prohibition) in and of itself. Kōrero of this nature represented in a

contemporary written format should still be regarded as kōrero tapu.

It is important that regional or territorial authorities do not seek to impose their own interpretations, translations, restrictions or definitions of "wāhi tapu" onto Tāngata whenua. What constitutes "*a place sacred to Māori*" cannot possibly be defined by any person or persons other than the Tāngata whenua to whom that wāhi (place) is considered tapu (sacred). To traditional Ngāi Tai thinking, the fact that a wāhi is considered by Ngāi Tai to be Tapu is, logically, precisely what qualifies it as a Wāhi tapu of Ngāi Tai.

Equally important in seeking a Tāngata whenua definition of their wāhi tapu is to consult with the *right* Tāngata whenua of the area in question through the appropriate, recognised iwi authorities & hapū representatives (i.e. not just any Māori willing to tell council what it wants to hear for resource consent purposes, in exchange for a 'consultation fee', for instance).

The importance of sensitivity to the Tapu nature of both Wāhi tapu, and the Matauranga & kōrero tapu associated with them, cannot be overstated. Often, Ngāi Tai iwi members in our dealings with regional authorities may feel that the Tapu of a Wāhi tapu is being trampled upon simply by being required to disclose kōrero tapu in an inappropriate context. For that kōrero tapu to then be questioned, challenged, scrutinised or otherwise held to task by external parties can be deeply and grievously offensive to the kaitiaki of that kōrero. Being required to prove or qualify articles of cultural and spiritual belief pertaining to a wāhi tapu is akin to being required to prove or qualify the existence of God in order to have the cultural and spiritual value of an historic Church building recognised.

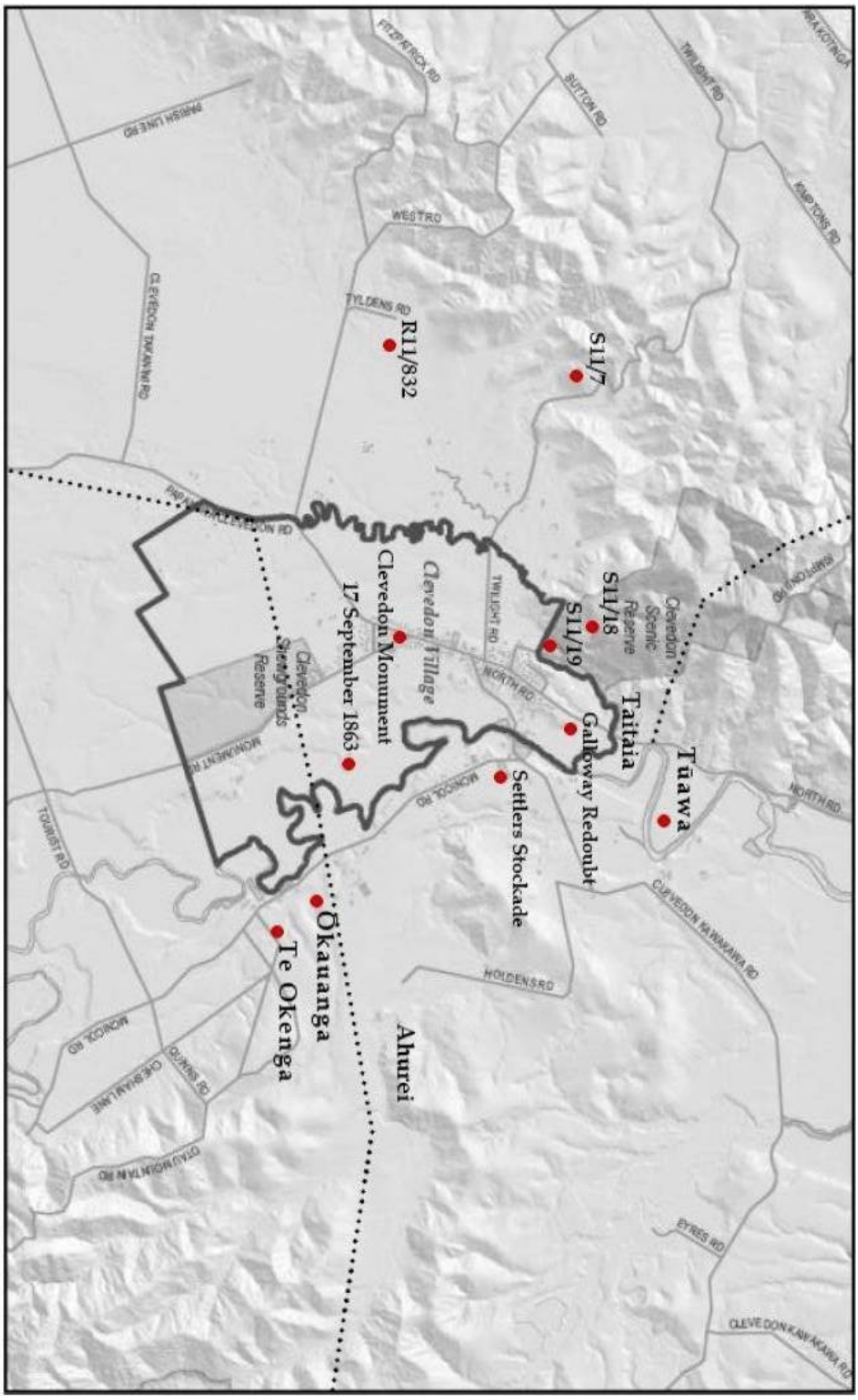
Regional councils' discretionary powers under Section 42 of the Resource Management Act may, to some extent, prove helpful in this regard, if the 'principles of the Treaty of Waitangi' are upheld (as directed by Section 8 of the Act) with regard for Ngāi Tai's Tino Rangatiratanga over our tāonga, which include our kōrero tapu and our Matauranga.

Many wāhi tapu, such as places of ritual, places where important ancestors have been born, performed important acts, or died, or scenes of battle and bloodshed (to name a few), may have left no discernable physical remains. Even places such as Pā sites, kāinga, urupā, food gathering or cooking sites and other places

that might normally be expected to contain archaeological remains, may have since had those features destroyed through natural events such as erosion, or through human activity such as forestry, farming practices, construction & other forms of land development. The absence of physical remains should not be taken to mean that the area in question is no longer considered sacred or otherwise significant by the iwi.

In addition to Wāhi tapu, any number of other sites, places, landmarks, natural heritage features, and archaeological features (etc) may also have significance to Ngāi Tai as places holding special cultural, spiritual, emotional, intellectual or practical values. They may include places of traditional seasonal activities such as food gathering or resource harvesting sites (which, due to their historic associations, may also still have heritage value to the iwi even if the natural resource is no longer physically present), places where important events in the tribe's history are remembered as having taken place, and so forth. Traditional names for particular places and areas will also contain stories and references behind them which in some way inform Ngāi Tai of our history, culture, traditions, resources & their uses, and oftentimes elements of our own unique Reo/dialect. These are all important tāonga.

Identified Sites within the AOI



..... Ancestral tracks

Locator points are intended as general indicators only. Not all of the sites located in and around the above may be solely & precisely confined to the locators as given.

Graeme Murdoch's map of Te Wairoa from '*A History of the Human Occupation of the Whakakaiwhara Block*' (1996) shows a number of traditional names for significant sites within the Wairoa Valley, including the kāinga known as Tūawa just north of the Clevedon Sustainable Management Plan 'Area Of Interest' (AOI). Note, however, that the position of some place names in the above map are approximations only, based on recorded Land Court recitals of boundaries, and the precise placement of Te Tōtara, Hukerewai and Pohotakahia in particular are currently considered doubtful. Ōtau as it appears above shows only the general location of the mid 19th Century kāinga following the alienation of Ōtau's west bank in 1854.

Within the AOI, the south & eastward banks of **Taitaia Stream** are contained. Taitaia is a place associated with the ritual lifting of

tapu from newly carved waka to be launched upon the Wairoa. The 18th Century Tohunga-tārai-waka (Expert in the ritual construction of waka) and Tohunga Whakairo (Master Carver) named Tūawa resided nearby at the kāinga bearing his name. **Tūawa kāinga** was situated on the large bend in the river immediately north of the AOI, now in privately owned land at 113 North Road. This point on the river is still referred to by Ngāi Tai as Tūawa.

The AOI was also one of several scenes of battle and bloodshed during the Land Wars, and contains the urupā of those who were slain during an armed attack on September 17th, 1863. The precise location of this site has not yet been positively relocated, but from the available historic accounts appears to lie within the area immediately east of the Clevedon Monument & Clevedon Showgrounds Reserve. These events are discussed further within the 'Historical Narrative'.[3] In addition to Ngāi Tai, whānau descended from the closely related hapū of Te Koheriki should be consulted in terms of maintaining an ongoing relationship to this wāhi tapu.

The Galloway Redoubt, Sketched by Lt.-Col. A. Morrow, 1863

The **Galloway Redoubt** is also considered by Ngāi Tai to be a site of significance to both Māori and Pākehā cultural heritage of the Clevedon area, relating directly to the period of conflict of 1863 during which the blood of both peoples was shed for control of

[3] Murdoch (1993 ii, p.16), associates the place name of 'Pohotakahia' with this event, but historic & traditional sources currently suggest that this may be an error. *Pohatakia* is situated inland of the river's east bank, within the boundaries of the Cleghorn & Goodfellow (later Hoye & McNicol) purchase.

the Wairoa Valley. These events are also further discussed within the 'Historical Narrative'.

The portion of Te Wairoa known as **Ōtau** was traditionally an important area linking Ngāi Tai communities of the east and west banks of the river. Prior to the land west of the river being alienated in 1854 as the result of Land Claims Commission investigations, the kāinga settlements of Ōtau also included the present Clevedon Village AOI and surrounding areas. While from the mid-19th Century the principal villages of Ōtau, Te Okenga and Ōkauanga lay just outside the AOI, these important settlements continued to have direct, ongoing cultural impacts and influences on Ngāi Tai's unique relationship to present-day Clevedon. The significance of the traditional Ōtau settlement area is also further discussed within the context of the 'Historical Narrative' component of this report.

Ōtau was also an important travel route for migratory groups from the Lower Waikato Valley providing access into Ngāherehere ō Kohukohunui (Hunua Ranges) and onward to the western shores of Tīkapa Moana ō Hauraki. According to Ngāi Tai oral tradition (as recorded by Graeme Murdoch), the name of Ōtau arises from the late 16th and early 17th Century migrations of Hotunui and his son Marutūāhu. Its significance is further discussed in our earlier report to the Environment Court *Ko Te Wairoa Te Awa*:

> *From the account recorded by Tukumana Te Taniwhā of Ngāti Whanaunga, the path of Marutūāhu's journey is known.*[4] *This is of great significance, for Marutūāhu was a powerful Āriki and an ancestor of many Hauraki peoples. It is also significant here, because it directly concerns the Tapu of Te Wairoa, and of Kohukohunui. Naturally, even though many Tapu feet have traversed the Wairoa; the Tapuwae of a person of Marutūāhu's Mana is a great Tapu.*
>
> *As a young man, Marutūāhu accompanied by his personal attendant travelled overland from Kāwhia along the mountain ranges to Tuakau on the north bank of the lower Waikato. From Tuakau they crossed the Waikato and travelled South-East to Tirikōhua; a volcanic Pā site to the west of the Wairoa's upper reaches, which Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Tamaoho and Te Uri ō Pou (Ngāti Pou) all hold ancestral links to. Here, says Te Taniwhā, Maru' and his companion sojourned awhile and speared several kuku, tūī and kākā before moving on.*

[4] Te Taniwhā, Tukumana (1929) in Graham (1941), p.124

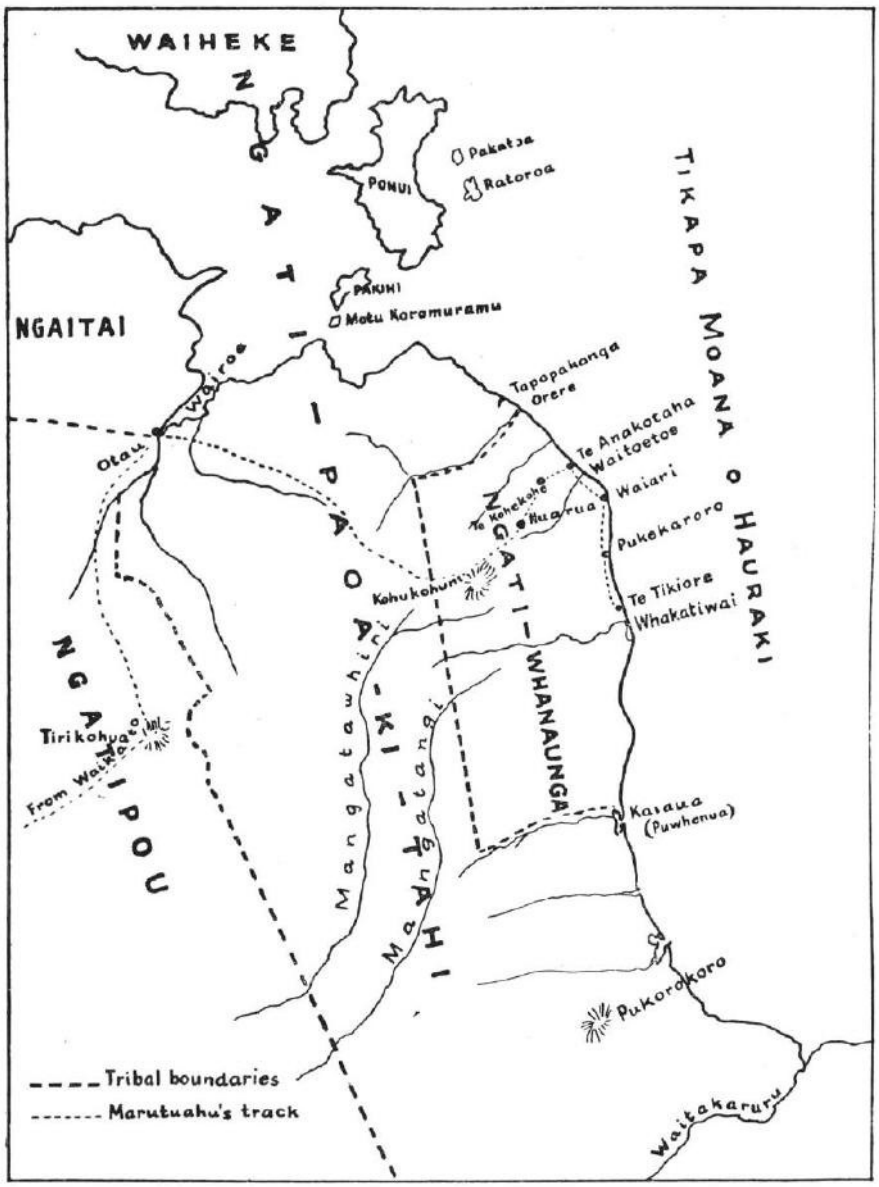
Following the Wairoa River's west bank they continued Northwards through the tribal domain of Ngāi Tai towards Ōtau (near present-day Clevedon); here they crossed Te Wairoa at its narrow, snaky bends.

Here we break momentarily with Tukumana Te Taniwhā's account, to refer to kōrero recorded by A.R.C. Culture & Heritage Historian Graeme Murdoch citing Ngāi Tai elders of Te Wairoa, a number of whom have since passed away. The river is normally shallow at this point, but on this occasion, Murdoch says, it was swollen by rain. Therefore Marutūāhu and his servant were forced to float their possessions and themselves across the river, giving rise to the name of Ōtau – the place of floating across.[5] *Mr. Murdoch continues:*

> *'The two men then headed up a leading spur of the main range toward the high point of Kohukohunui. They first climbed to 'Te Tihi o Mata' a summit named in honour of the Ngai Tai ancestor Te Mata. At this point Marutuahu, anxious to reach the shores of Tikapa Moana, quickened his pace and hurried on along the main ridge leaving his companion behind. It is from this event that the high point near the junction of McKenzie and Moumoukai Hill Roads became known as 'Te Tia Puhoi' or 'The slow manservant'. Marutuahu and his companion then travelled to 'Te Kuri a Taraterangi' another high point of importance to Ngai Tai, and finally reached Kohukohunui.'*[6]

Marutūāhu had come in search of his father Hotunui, who had earlier settled among Te Uri ō Pou in the Wharekawa region. It was by ascending to the summit of Te Kohukohunui that Maru' first sighted Te Au-wharewhare (the smoke of the villages) below, where Hotunui awaited him.[7]

[5] Murdoch (1993 i), pp.4-5
[6] Ibid, p.5
[7] Green (2009), pp.62–63



Map by George Graham from '*Marutuahu, by Tukumana Te Taniwha*', J.P.S., Vol. 50 (1941), p.123

Of paramount traditional importance to Ngāi Tai within the Wairoa Valley/Clevedon District is the Wairoa River itself, whilst to Ngāi Tai ki Umupuia (those whānau & hapū of Ngāi Tai based principally at Umupuia Marae), the entirety of the river's west bank is considered a wāhi tapu. The significance of the river to Ngāi Tai is elaborated upon in the aforesaid report to the Environment Court; some key points from that report may be briefly summarised as "*the <u>whole</u> of the Awa Tapu (Sacred Waterway) of Te Wairoa, from its source at Kohukohunui to its outlet at Tīkapa Moana, is of tremendous Mana, Mauri and Tapu to Ngāi Tai and the descendants of Ngāti Tai…*", "*…the entirety of the west bank of the lower Wairoa, from Te Ruatō to Te Whakakaiwhara, has particular importance as urupā and Wāhi Tapu of Ngāi Tai ki*

Umupuia…", "… the major Wāhi Tapu of Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Tai include, but are in no way limited to, the urupā located within the Taikoraha/mudflats of the Wairoa River's western banks, from Te Ruatō to Te Whakakaiwhara…", "…these and many other urupā and Wāhi Tapu are known and recorded and can be shown to exist in these and many other areas of the Wairoa River…", and *"…the particular significance of the west bank of the lower Wairoa as an urupā and Wāhi Tapu of Ngāi Tai… in no way negates the Mana, Mauri and Tapu attached by us and/or other peoples to any other part of the river."*[8]

There are also several areas of significance in the AOI relating to the more recent, shared history of the area.

The **Clevedon Monument** of Monument Road dedicated to the local boys who gave their lives in WWII is also acknowledged as having great social & cultural significance to both Māori and Pākehā communities of Clevedon.

Private Patariki Reupene Hetaraka (Pat Reuben), the son of Wīremu Reupene Hetaraka (Wī Reuben) & Māora Okeroa Reuben (née Maxwell) was a direct descendant of such illustrious Ngāi Tai ancestors as Tara Te Irirangi and Hetaraka Takapuna. He, and many of his comrades, gave his life at Faenza, Italy at the tender age of 24, and was survived by one son who has a large living whānau today. He was also survived by his parents and many brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews, and the name of Faenza is carried as a Reuben whānau name to this day.

Private Harry Hema from the Hema whānau of Kawakawa Bay & Kaiaua districts is also commemorated on the Clevedon Monument and Roll of Honour; he was killed in action at Tunisia, North Africa. These young men served in the 28th (Māori) Battalion's D Company, comprised of Tainui, Whanganui and South Island recruits and dubbed 'Ngāti Walkabout' due to their

[8] Ibid, p.111

disparate tribal origins. Both men rest in foreign soils, and as tikanga would normally have our fallen warriors returned to their whānau urupā on traditional papa kāinga lands, consequently the monument fills an important role to their surviving descendants & relatives.

Potential sites, in or near the AOI
(not yet positively re-identified)

The area of the AOI near the former site of the Galloway Redoubt (S11/533) immediately south of All Souls Church may also be the site of another significant wāhi tapu, however there is currently disagreement among the available historic sources as to whether this wāhi tapu, known as **Te Tōtara**, underlay the foundations of the Galloway Redoubt within the AOI, or the Lower Wairoa Redoubt a.k.a. Wairoa Redoubt (S11/534) approx 5km north. Current research of historic and traditional sources indicates the latter site as being more likely, but pending further historic and archaeological research to confirm this, it is mentioned here as a *potential* site of significance and sensitivity within the AOI.

Tradition also refers to **Tohetea**, a kāinga within the 'Fairburn Purchase' in the general vicinity of Clevedon, however, pending further research it is currently unclear whether Tohetea lay within the AOI itself, or perhaps slightly further south in the direction of Te Hūnua (i.e. Te Hūnua proper, just south of Clevedon Village). Tohetea was a settlement area associated with Tahere Manu[9] traditions and practices, particularly the snaring of Kererū, and was until 1854 the principal home of the Ngāi Tai hapū known as Te Ngungukauri and Te Uri Kupai. Again, these traditions and associations are further outlined within the 'Historical Narrative'.

[9] Sometimes referred to as 'the Māori Bird Cult'

Sites in the near/immediate vicinity of the AOI

Just outside the AOI there are several archaeological sites and wāhi tapu including a recorded Pā site and an ancestral track.

Just beyond the northern edge of the AOI lies the southernmost of two major ancestral tracks within a greater track network known as **Te Ara Kotinga** (*The Path Split in Two*). The track is shown in the c.1863 'Plan of the Seat of War' as emerging at the Wairoa River near the kāinga of Tūawa (previously discussed), and leading through the forested hill country inland of Maraetai to the Tūranga Estuary of present-day Whitford (the second major track of Te Ara Kotinga network lies further north of the AOI, and leads from near the mouth of Te Rautāwhiti on Te Wairoa, across the Pukekawa/Umupuia ranges to Te Awakarihi (Waikōpua), east of Tūranga). The significance of Te Ara Kotinga is also discussed in our earlier '*Ko Te Wairoa Te Awa*' report:

> *"The footsteps of any person are inherently Tapu; a concept expressed within the many protocols of the Marae surrounding Waewaetapu (literally 'Tapu Feet') referring to a newcomer's first steps on a new land. One who is Waewaetapu cannot proceed onto the Marae or enter the Wharenui without the appropriate rituals associated with Pōwhiri. Additionally, as most New Zealanders should by now be aware, footwear must be removed (by all persons – Waewaetapu or not) before entering*

the Whare and one must not place one's feet on a food surface. These are some very simple examples of the Tapu associated with one's feet. Some Āriki were considered so Tapu that, at times when they were placed under certain ritual prohibitions, to follow immediately in such a person's footsteps was to invite certain death. Even the word for 'footstep' is Tapuwae – the Tapu of the foot. An ancestral track worn by generation upon generation of venerated Ngāti Tai ancestors is therefore a significant Wāhi Tapu."[10]

'*Plan of the Seat of War*' c.1863 (Oriented South), showing Te Ara Kotinga

Immediately north and west of the AOI several archaeological sites are recorded, including rua kumara (crop storage pits) within the Clevedon Scenic Reserve (NZAA No. S11/18), recorded umu (oven) & ahu otaota (midden) near Taitaia Stream (S11/19) at 14 Thorp Quarry Road (probably associated with Tūawa kāinga), and a recorded Pā site (S11/7) approximately 1.5km west of the AOI on land at 21 Twilight Road.

Also west of the AOI, near the end of Tyldens Road, is a Moa Bone deposit site recorded as R11/832. H. S. Munro, who originally excavated the site in 1912 (following the accidental discovery by land owner Mr. T. L. Smith whilst draining a

[10] Green (2009), p.114

swampy piece of farmland), was of the opinion that this site represented deposits from hunting; that the raw bones, once stripped of flesh, had been placed in a swamp and weighted down with heavy timber for sanitary purposes.[11] More recently, however, Mica Plowman suggests that these are "non cultural", citing Atholl Anderson as saying that the surviving bones from the site (now held by Auckland Museum) show no signs of butchery.[12] Anderson, however, discusses the Clevedon Moa bone deposit on pages 52–53 of '*Prodigious Birds: Moas and Moa-hunting in New Zealand*' and makes no comment on whether or not the site is of cultural origins, or whether the bones show evidence of butchery.[13] R. Cassels of Auckland University's Anthropology Department, on revisiting the site in 1979, does state "Seems likely to be a natural deposit rather than human", but as neither the bones nor the swamp site were still present, it is not clear how this conclusion was arrived at.[14]

Regardless, the Moa is of cultural significance to Ngāi Tai, particularly Te Kuranui; a large variety of Moa known from the Wairoa–Rangiuru–Papakura districts, said to have had large red plumes. The mother of the prominent Ngāi Tai ancestor Te Whataātau also carried this name, Te Kuranui, whilst Te Wana (son of Te Whataātau) and his people held seasonal Moa hunting settlements at Aotea (Great Barrier) near his Pā of Ōwana (now corrupted as 'Awana'). Moa bone was also worked by Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Kōhua at Motukōrea (Browns Island); an important bone & stone working site where materials imported from all over Aotearoa were crafted into a number of prized tāonga.

Further south of the AOI lies the land traditionally known to Ngāi Tai, Te Akitai, Te Uri ō Pou, Ngāti Te Ata and Marutūāhu as Te Hūnua (i.e. the volcanic high country south of Clevedon, extending between the Wairoa River and Papakura). Several key aspects of Te Hūnua impact upon the Tapu of the Wairoa River, with particular emphasis on those parts of the river flowing between Te Hūnua and Ōtau/Clevedon. These include the Creation legends of the terrain concerning the Tūrehū, later historic traditions of the first rīwai (Māori potatoes) of the Wairoa Valley, and an incident during the late 18th Century warfare between peoples of Hauraki and the Far North.

---

[11] *Moa Bones – An Interesting Discovery* in *Poverty Bay Herald*, 28/9/1912, p.4
[12] Plowman (2009), p.35
[13] Anderson, A. *Prodigious Birds: Moas and Moa-hunting in New Zealand* (1989, 2003), pp.52–53
[14] NZAA S.R.F. N42/875

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Ngāi Tai, also known as Ngāti Tai, are the Tāngata whenua of the Wairoa Valley. The importance of whakapapa and history in defining Ngāi Tai's iwi identity is such, that Ngāi Tai's role and identity within Clevedon and the Wairoa Valley cannot be understood without some basic summary account of those origins and history.

Ngāi Tai/Ngāti Tai are the oldest extant Iwi identity of Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), with a traditional rohe or 'tribal boundary' extending as far south as Tirikōhua near Pukekohe, to Te Kawau Tū Maro (Kawau Island) in the north, across to Aotea/Great Barrier and the north-western shores of the Coromandel Peninsula to the east, and the upper Manukau Harbour to the west.[15]

Where Ngāi Tai's interests on the fringes of these territories are shared with many other hapū and iwi, and have at times been contested by later migrant groups, the undisputed epicentre of Ngāi Tai territory lies between the Wairoa and Tāmaki Estuaries.[16]

The Tāngata whenua of Te Wairoa were originally known as both Ngāti Tai and Ngā Iwi. Ngā Iwi is a collective name for "The Many Tribes" of Auckland descended from *Tainui*, including Ngāti Tai, and who were later confederated as Te Wai ō Hua.[17] Ngāti Tai of Ngā Iwi have inhabited the Wairoa Valley from the arrival of *Tainui* waka at Whakakaiwhara Peninsula in c.1350 A.D.[18]

While principally deriving origins from *Tainui* ancestors, through important marriages with earlier inhabitants of Te Ngāherehere ō Kohukohunui (a.k.a. 'Hūnua Ranges'), Ngāti Tai also trace whakapapa to the ancient peoples of Te Tini ō Maruiwi & Te Tini ō Toi, in common with other early *Tainui* and *Te Arawa* peoples of Tāmaki and Hauraki including Ngā Oho, Ngā Riukiuta, Ngā Marama, Ngā Riki, Te Uri ō Pou and Ngāti Huarere.[19]

---

[15] Tāua in La Roche (1991), pp.27–28
[16] Ibid, p.28
[17] Preece (1867); Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.274; Raharuhi (1896), p.246
[18] Preece (1867); Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.28; Murdoch (1996), pp.1–2
[19] See also Gudgeon (1903 ii), p.173; Kelly (1949), p.174; Jones (1995), p.40; Tūroa (2000), pp.39–40, 44–50, 55–58, 71; Monin (2001), pp.11–12

Tainui made landfall toward the East Cape of Aotearoa, coming to rest at a spot named Whanga-parāoa (‘*Bay of the Sperm Whale*’) near Cape Runaway (not the Whangaparāoa north of Auckland). Here they met with *Te Arawa* and saw a whale cast up by Tangaroa (Lord of the Sea), hence the name of that place. Here they also saw the Pōhutukawa in blossom for the first time, concerning which there are many important traditions of both *Tainui* and *Te Arawa*.[20]

Sailing on, the *Tainui* entered the Eastern Bay of Plenty, and near Taumata-Apanui the beautiful young Puhi Ariki (High Chieftainess) named Tōrerenuiārua disembarked from the waka and made her way ashore to the place named Tōrere in her memory. She was the eldest daughter of Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi, and she had gone ashore to avoid the advances of another crewmember. Tōrerenuiārua there met and settled down with a local Rangatira named Manaakiao. He was a descendant of celebrated ancestors who had crossed the Pacific many generations earlier, such as Māuitikitiki ā Tāranga and Toi Te Huatahi. Manaakiao and Tōrerenuiārua in due course had a son, whom they named Tainui, and their whānau took the hapū or subtribal name of Ngāi Tainui. In time they became the iwi of Ngāi Tai, after Tainui’s great-grandson Tai. Their descendants remain in occupation of Tōrere to this day, and are the custodians of many detailed and elaborate histories concerning the arrival of Tōrere, her marriage to Manaakiao and the foundations of the Ngāi Tai people.[21]

Following Tōrere’s departure, the waka *Tainui* had gone on to explore the Bay of Plenty and Hauraki, as did *Te Arawa*, and a number of their respective crews settled at different places along the way. From Te Moenga-Hau ō Tamatekapua (Mt. Moehau, Coromandel), they crossed the ocean of Tīkapa Moana ō Hauraki (Hauraki Gulf) to Te Motu Arairoa (Waiheke Island), where the two waka landed and conducted a special ceremony at Tīkapa (Gannet Rock). Here the people wept together for all those relatives they had left behind, and the Mauri stone called Tīkapa was deposited; hence the name now given to the ocean.[22]

From Te Motu Arairoa, *Tainui* came on to the southern coastline of Tīkapa Moana, and carried on northwards along the western

[20] See also Wilson (1866), pp.172–173; White (1888; Māori text), Vol. V, Ch. I, p.10; Graham (1919), pp.113–114; Kelly (1949), pp.48–50; Jones (1995), pp.36–38
[21] See also Wilson (1866), p.146; Shortland (1868) pp.2-3; Gudgeon (1903), p.56; Kelly (1949), p.50; Anon (1962); Adams (1974); Vickridge (1983), pp.56–59; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.28; Jones (1995), p.38; Tūroa (2000), pp.71–72
[22] Jones (1995), pp.38–39; Tūroa (2000), pp.185–186

shore to Wharekawa. There Mārama, who was Hoturoa's second wife, went ashore at Waihīhī and later travelled overland through Te Ngaherehere ō Kohukohunui ('*The Expansive Forests of Kohukohunui*' a.k.a. Hūnua Ranges), hosted by the ancient people Te Tini ō Maruiwi and Te Tini ō Toi. These people informed the *Tainui* of a great sea to the west of Tāmaki, and the waka portage to it at Ōtāhuhu, so Mārama arranged to meet with *Tainui* again at that place.[23]

Mārama and her party were conducted by the Tāngata whenua to Ōtau on Te Wairoa where they crossed the river, and onward to the great and ancient Pā of Te Puke ō Koiwiriki (Pukekiwiriki, Red Hill), where they performed the uruuruwhenua rites; ceremonies for entering new lands. From Te Hūnua they travelled northward to Ōtāhuhu, where they were received by the Ngāi Tāhuhu people. The place where Mārama awaited her *Tainui* relatives was called Te Whanga-i-Makau – '*Waiting-place of the Beloved*'.[24] Later, Mārama eventually quarrelled with Hoturoa and left him, returning to settle permanently among the Tāngata whenua between Ōtāhuhu and Te Hūnua, and thereby became the founding ancestress of the once widespread people of Tāmaki and Hauraki known as Ngā Mārama.[25]

Following Mārama's departure from *Tainui* at Waihīhī, some of the Tāngata whenua also came aboard the waka, to help pilot the *Tainui* around the unfamiliar coastline. When *Tainui* left Wharekawa, one of their Taniwhā (guardian sea-creatures) whose name was Paneiraira left their side, and a marangai (easterly gale) arose.[26] Forced by the strong winds to seek shelter, their local guides directed *Tainui* past Ōrere Point and along Kawakawa Bay, before passing between Motupākihi (Pākihi Island) and Te Pounui ā Peretū (Ponui Island). Soon afterwards they entered the large open bay extending between Kōherurahi ('*Abundance of Herrings*') and Te Whakakaiwhara (Duders Point), and beheld for the first time the entrance of the long river and its estuary that they named Te Wairoa, after the ancestral Ngāti Tai homes of Te Vairoa in Rarotonga, and Te Vairoa before that in Tahiti.[27]

---

[23] Te Taniwhā, Tukumana; endnotes to Taipari (1887) in Graham (1949), p.74; Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), pp.81–82; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.28; Murdoch (1993 i), pp.34–35; Jones (1995), pp.40–41; Tūroa (2000), p.194

[24] Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), pp.81–82; Jones (1995), pp.40–42; Tūroa (2000), pp.55–58

[25] Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), p.84; Jones (1995), pp.54–55

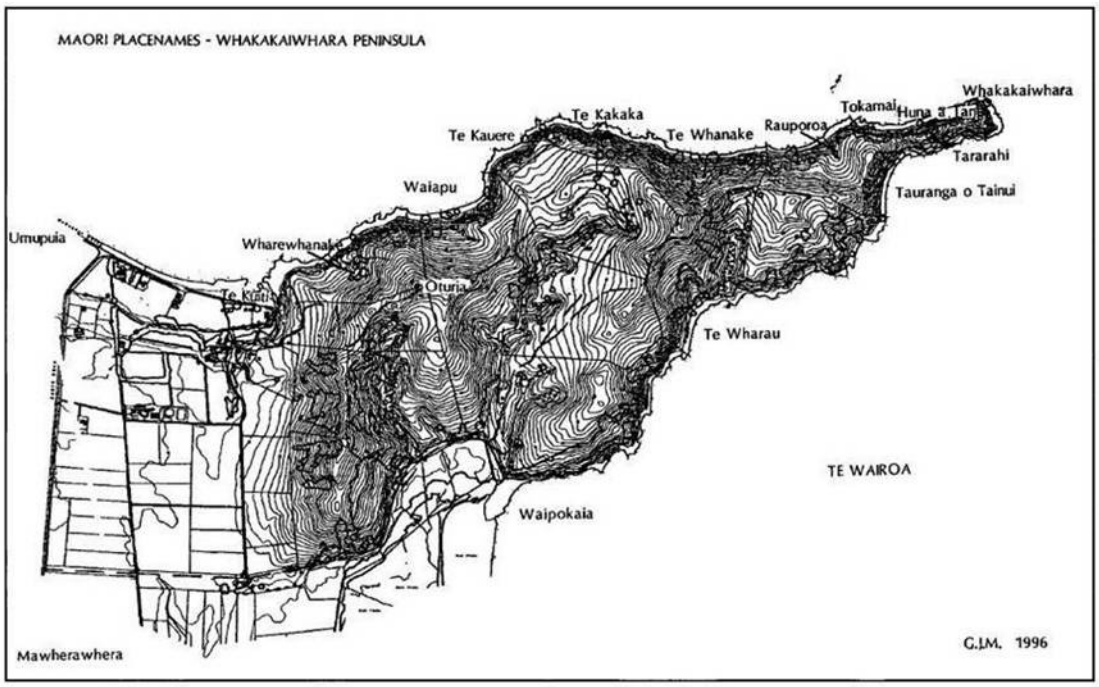
[26] Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), pp.81–82; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.28; Murdoch (1993 i), p.34 and (1996), pp.1–2

[27] See also Kelly (1955), pp.193–196

The waka made anchorage under the shelter of Te Whakakaiwhara in the bay that they called Te Tauranga ō Tainui ('*The Mooring of Tainui*'); within the stretch of coastline known as Tararahi ('*Abundant Terns*'). The people went ashore on the peninsula and made a feast from the 'whara' flowers of the kiekie vine, which grew there in plenty in those days. Therefore they called that place Te Whaka-kai-whara – '*The Feast-making of Whara*'.

Tāne-whakatia planted a kopi (karaka berry) near the point, brought here on their journey from the Pacific Islands, as a sign to future generations that the *Tainui* people had become established in this land. That berry grew into a great tree, and begat a sacred grove of trees called Te Huna ā Tāne, whose descendants still grow on that land today.[28] Tāne meanwhile made his home further inland on the river's east bank, near the mouth of a stream named Ōtāne ('*The Place of Tāne*'), a short distance west of Te Urungahauhau. Tāne-whakatia was (like Mārama) among the party to join Rakataura, Kahurere, Hiaroa and others who conveyed the many Whatuahurumanu (stone bird talismans) of *Tainui* including Korotangi from Te Hūnua to Ōtāhuhu and from Manukau to Kāwhia.[29] Later, he migrated southward to the Bay of Plenty.[30]

[28] Preece (1867); Murdoch (1996), pp.2 & 57
[29] Gudgeon (1903 i), p. 57; Cowan & Pōmare (1930), p.45
[30] Preece (1867)



'*Māori Placenames – Whakakaiwhara Peninsula*' (Murdoch, 1996) shows traditional names recorded by Governor FitzRoy (1854) and Ānaru Makiwhara (1893). Significant to the origins of Ngāi Tai at Te Wairoa are Huna ā Tane, Whakakaiwhara, Tararahi & Tauranga ō Tainui.

When all of the ceremonies had been concluded to claim Te Wairoa as a new home, and when the weather was again propitious, the *Tainui* eventually moved on from Te Whakakaiwhara and Te Wairoa, out into the long tidal passage which they called Te Maraetai – '*The Marae of the Tides*', or '*Enclosed Tide*'. This name was given because the sea was like unto the courtyard enclosure of a Marae, sheltered by Te Motu Arairoa ('*The Isle of Long Shelter*'); now known as Waiheke Island. Te Maraetai is now called Tāmaki Strait, and another name was Te Awaroa – '*The Long Waterway*'. Modern use of the name 'Maraetai' for the beachfront suburb nearby, and the translation of '*Meeting-Place by the Sea*' are of European origins.[31]

Tainui went on to make numerous explorations of the land between Maraetai and Mahurangi. While outside of the Clevedon/Wairoa area, the origins of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Tai as the Tāngata whenua of Te Wairoa derive directly from several important ancestors who elected to remain and settle permanently in these lands beyond the AOI.

The *Tainui* followers of Manawatere (a close relative and contemporary of the crew of *Tainui* who had landed at Maraetai shortly before them) settled the lands between Ōmanawatere

[31] See Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), p.82; Makiwhara in Graham (1921), p.252; Monin (1992), p.14

(Ōmana, Maraetai), Tūranga (Whitford) and Tūwakamana (Cockle Bay, Howick).[32] The Ngāi Tai ancestor Tāiki of *Tainui* named the mouth of the Tāmaki Estuary Te Wai ō Tāiki and settled with the descendants of Huiārangi (of Te Tini ō Maruiwi) between Te Naupata (Musick Point, Howick), Ōhuiārangi (Pigeon Mountain, Pakuranga) and Te Waiōtara (Ōtara Creek).[33] Horoiwi meanwhile made his new home with the Tāngata whenua chieftainess Whakamuhu at Te Pane ō Horoiwi (Achilles Point, St. Heliers Bay).[34]

Te Keteanatāua and his son Taihauā founded their hapū Ngāti Taihauā at nearby Taurere (Taylors Hill, Glendowie) and extended the Mana of Ngāti Tai over Te Tauoma (the land lying between West Tāmaki Heads and Panmure), absorbing within less than a generation the neighbouring interests of their relatives Ngāi Tāhuhu at Rarotonga (Mt. Smart) and Ōtāhuhu.[35] Taikehu meanwhile established his own branch of the Ngāti Tai people among the descendants of Peretū between the shores of the Waitematā & Takapuna (North Shore), and at Motutapu and neighbouring islands.[36] Both Taikehu and Te Keteanatāua also extended Ngāti Tai's interests westward into the upper Manukau Harbour.

These ancestors and the historic foundations of their respective hapū of Ngāti Tai are central to the origins of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Tai as Tāngata whenua of the Wairoa Valley.

Between the 14th & 16th Centuries, emergent hapū of Ngāti Tai in the Wairoa Valley included Te Ngungukauri, Te Uri Kupai, Ngāti Ruangaingai and Ngāti Parahanga; collectively identified as both Ngāti Tai Manawaiti, and Ngā Iwi (Te Wai ō Hua). Customary land tenure for these early Ngāi Tai communities revolved around seasonal cycles of fishing & shellfish gathering at the river's coastal reaches, collecting berries and snaring birds in the forested ranges further up river in and around the Ōtau and Tohetea lands (near Clevedon Village), and maintaining regular

[32] See Preece (1867); Makiwhara in Graham (1921), pp.252–253; Nixon (1948), pp.12–13; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.40
[33] Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), p.89 (endnote); Makiwhara in Graham (1946), p.37; Kelly (1949), pp.51–52; Graham in NZAA S.R.F. R11/863; Simmons (1987), p.27; Jones (1995), pp.40–41
[34] Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), p.83; Kelly (1949), p.52; Graham in Simmons (1987), p.77; Jones (1995), pp.40–41
[35] Smith (1898), p.34; Graham in Barr (1922), p.7; Graham (1925), p.177; Kelly (1949), p.56; Holloway (1962), pp.21–24; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.28; Jones (1995), pp.40–41; Murdoch (1996), p.2; Tūroa (2000), p.71
[36] Te Hīnaki (c.1894) in Graham (1951), p.82–83 (+ endnotes pp.88–89); Graham (1919), p. 115; Graham in Barr (1922); Makiwhara in Graham (1948), p.37; Tāua in La Roche (1991), pp.28–29

cultivations on the gentle slopes of both the coastal and inland areas.

The river's many mātaitai resources included Pioke sharks, which schooled at the river's mouth during summer and were pāwhara (split and dried) from Pōhutukawa trees in large numbers; Kingfish, Kahawai, Tāmure (snapper) and Pātiki (flounder) were caught with hand–lines from around the coastal and estuarine areas; Pātiki (both common & yellow–bellied) together with Parore (blackfish), Parohe (smelt/garfish), Kōheru (herring scads) and Kupai (sprats) were also caught by children in the lower reaches of the river's many tributaries by placing nets over the mouths of streams and chasing the fish downstream with fern branches; while Kokopu, Kōaro, Inanga (whitebait) and Tuna (eels) were once prolific throughout the lower Wairoa. The traditional significance of some of these tāonga is reflected in place–names of the Wairoa Valley including Mātaitai and Kōherurahi, whilst the Ngāi Tai hapū known as Te Uri Kupai of Tohetea took their name from the indigenous Kupai sprat.[37]

From the tidal reaches and outlying coastlands, large quantities of Tuangi (cockles), Pipi, Tupa (scallops), Kūtai (mussels), Tio (oysters), Kākara (whelks) and a wide variety of top-shell were harvested and processed, however, shellfish were not traditionally gathered from further upstream due to the immense Tapu associated with the mudflat areas.[38]

The Pōhutukawa, Kōwhai and Karaka dominated the Wairoa's coastal reaches whilst the latter two extended far up the river. The dense bush surrounding the Wairoa Valley contained Tōtara, Kauri, Tawa, Taraire, Rātā, Rimu and Te Kauere (Pūriri). Rātā, Rimu and Te Kauere also extended into lowland forests together with Mataī, Miro, Nikau, Whanake (Ti Kouka), Mānuka, Kānuka and Kāhikatea extending into the forest margins, gullies and wetlands. Here were also found Pukatea, Koromuko (Koromiko), Kāramuramu (Karamu), Raupō and a wide variety of fern and flax, while the fringes of the estuary itself were densely populated with Pūkio, Pūreirei and many other sea-sedges, Wīwī (salt rushes) and Mānawa (mangrove) forests.

These forests once teemed with birdlife including Tui, Kererū, Kōkako, Korimako (bellbird), Kākā, Kākāpō, Kākāriki, Pīpīwharauroa (shining cuckoo), Kōtare (kingfisher), Riroriro (grey warbler), Miromiro (tomtit), Pihipihi (silvereye), Pīwaiwaka

[37] See also Murdoch (1996), p.8; Green (2009), pp.44–48
[38] Manukau City Council (1989), p.53; Murdoch (1996), p.8; Lawlor (1996), p.5; Green (2009), p.44

(fantail), Rūrū (morepork) and Kiwi, while at least four species of Moa roamed between Te Wairoa, Rangiuru (Ardmore) and Papakura. Weka, Mohopererū (banded rail), Pukeko and Mātātā (fernbird) made their homes within the gullies, swamps & wetland margins of the river, while coastal and wading birds (both local & migratory) of the estuary and coastal fringes included Tuturiwhatu (NZ dotterel), Tōrea (oystercatchers), Tōrea–tai (pied stilts), Kuaka (godwits), Kōtuku (herons), Matuku (Australasian bitterns), Te Kawau (various kinds of cormorants or shags), Karuhiruhi (pied shag), Tara (terns of several kinds) and various native ducks including Weweia (dabchick), Te Whio (blue duck) and Pāteke (brown teal). The Kākāpō, Korimako, Kōkako, Kiwi, Weweia, Te Whio and Pāteke are now all locally extinct; the Weka persists in isolated pockets (through reintroduction), and the Tuturiwhatu, Tōrea, Mohopererū and Mātātā are all endangered.

Each and every one of these flora and fauna of the Wairoa Valley & Clevedon District has its own specific whakapapa, traditional narrative, and customary uses and associations for Ngāi Tai, too numerous to outline in any detail here. Some of these customary associations are, however, outlined in our earlier submissions to the Environment Court.[39]

Following the late 16th Century migration of Hotunui (c.1580) from Waikato to the western shores of Hauraki, later joined by his son Marutūāhu around the early 1600s, within a few generations Ngāti Tai also began to gradually establish links with Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāti Whanaunga and later Ngāti Pāoa. In particular, important unions are remembered between the Ngāi Tai ancestress Parekaiangaanga from Te Oue Pā near the mouth of Te Wairoa to the Ngāti Maru/Ngāti Tamaterā warrior chief Rautao,[40] and also the marriage of Te Kuraiawhetu (elder sister of the Ngāti Tai chief Paritū) to Tāhiwi, son of Tāwhaki; the ancestor of Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū of Ngāti Tamaterā.[41]

[39] See Green (2009), pp.19–43
[40] Tipa, Hāora (1866), p.30; Kelly (1949), p.184; Phillips (1995), p.167
[41] Te Moananui, Katikati (1844); Makiwhara Ānaru (1896), p.279


Tāmaki Te Ao

By the late 17th Century the principal hapū controlling the wider districts of Maraetai and Te Wairoa was Te Uri ō Te Ao; the people of the Ngāti Tai/Wai ō Hua ancestor Tāmaki Te Ao (son of Paritū).[42] During this period, a party of Ngāi Tai from Tōrere led by the three sisters Te Raukohekohe, Te Motu-ki-Tāwhiti and Te Kaweinga undertook a great migration overland via Tauranga to Hauraki, before settling in the Wairoa and Maraetai districts with the Te Uri ō Te Ao people led by Te Whataātau (son of Tāmaki Te Ao). This event is remembered in Ngāi Tai tradition as ***Te Heke ō Ngā Tokotoru*** – '*The Migration of the Trio*'. Te Whataātau married the two elder sisters, whilst Te Kaweinga married Te Whiringa, a Rangatira of Te Uri ō Pou.[43]


Te Whataātau

Following the marriage of Te Raukohekohe & Te Motu-ki-Tāwhiti to Te Whataātau, the Ngāi Tai people from Tōrere were gifted lands by Te Uri ō Te Ao. The people of Te Raukohekohe at this time numbered somewhere between 100 & 300 people, whose principal homes became established up Te Wairoa River near present-day Clevedon, along the foreshores between Umupuia Beach and Te Whakakaiwhara at the coastal fishing settlement of Te Kuti, and at Pōhaturoa on the Maraetai coastline where they established Pōhaturoa Pā.[44] As with all other customary acts of

[42] Te Irirangi, Honetana (1866), p.18; Te Whētuki, Hori (1866 ii), p.24; Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), pp.87–95
[43] Makiwhara in Graham (1922), pp.190–192
[44] Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), pp.89, 93, 95; Tūtaura, Timoti (1893), p.95

tuku whenua, the Mana whenua of the land rested in the hands of Ngāti Tai & Te Uri ō Te Ao, rather than the Ngāi Tai people from Tōrere. It was by descent from Te Whataātau that Te Raukohekohe's future descendants derived take tupuna and take ahi kā roa, and thus inheriting Mana whenua.[45]

Te Wana was the son of Te Raukohekohe and Te Whataātau, and he was born and raised at a place named Te Tawake. His mother Raukohekohe died soon after his birth, following which her sister Te Motu-ki-Tāwhiti, who bore no children of her own, raised Te Wana as her whāngai son.[46]

As an adult Te Wana came to the many hapū of Ngā Iwi and Ngāti Tai Manawaiti living on the land between Tāmaki and Te Wairoa and said that he would unite them as one Iwi under mana of his Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Tai and Te Wai ō Hua lineage. The people consented, and Te Wana gained his full-name, Te Wana Hui-kāinga Hui-tāngata (*Te Wana Gatherer of Villages and People*).[47] The land between the Tāmaki and Wairoa Estuaries was to become referred to by his descendants as '***The Land of Te Wana***'.[48] Whilst still retaining the names of Ngāti Tai and Te Uri ō Te Ao, Te Wana's section of the Ngāi Tai people of the Wairoa & Maraetai districts also took the hapū name of Ngāti Te Rau, commemorating his late mother Te Raukohekohe.[49]

Te Wana placed the people of Te Ngungukauri (who include Te Uri Kupai) and Ngāti Parahanga on kāinga up Te Wairoa in and around present-day Clevedon for the purpose of gathering kopi (Karaka berries) and snaring Kererū. These foods were regularly brought down river and delivered to the Kāhui Rangatira (chiefly families) of Ngāti Te Rau at Te Whakakaiwhara, Te Kuti & Umupuia, where the Ngungukauri people resided on a seasonal basis before returning to their inland forest homes. This tradition continued down to the time of Te Wana's great-great-great grandchildren, as later recalled by Patariki Makiwhara (alias Te Manihera Maxwell) from his boyhood (1840s & early '50s).[50]

Shortly before the arrival of the earliest Pākehā visitors in the area, warfare between the peoples of Tāmaki, Hauraki and Northland was steadily beginning to escalate. With the gradual expansion of neighbouring groups, through important marriages

---

[45] Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), pp.88–95; Tāua (2002), p.44
[46] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), pp.105–106
[47] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.105; Raharuhi (1896), p.264
[48] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), pp.104, 111
[49] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.33
[50] Maxwell, Te Manihera (1896), pp.1–2

and alliances Ngāi Tai ancestors of Te Wairoa from this period had become closely related to Te Uri ō Pou of Ōrere, Te Wai ō Hua of Tāmaki, and to Marutūāhu peoples (Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāti Whanaunga and Ngāti Pāoa) of Hauraki. This continual expansion coupled with increasingly complex whakapapa dynamics, however, also brought about internal divisions that would ultimately lead to war.

It is again necessary at this point to discuss not only Ngāi Tai history within the Wairoa Valley, but broader ranging episodes involving several hapū and iwi of the wider surrounding districts, which were to have direct impacts of the cultural heritage of the AOI.

Around the early–mid 1700s, Ngāriki (a Rangatira of Ngāi Tai & Te Uri ō Pou) built the fortified Pā of Te Waiārohia at Te Naupata (a.k.a. Musick Point) commanding views of all of Auckland's major waka highways. Hence the full name of that Pā – Te Waiārohia ō Ngāriki ('*The Panoramic Reconnaissance Waters of Ngāriki*').[51]

Meanwhile, Te Wana's first–cousin Ngaromania (son of Te Kaweinga of Ngāi Tai & Te Whiringa of Te Uri ō Pou) had his Pā across the Tāmaki at Te Pupū ō Kawau. Ngaromania was said to have regularly harassed his neighbours and relatives while passing along those waters; assaulting waka at whim and demanding heavy levies to pass. Ngāriki's people at Te Waiārohia were thus afflicted, and consequently his younger brother Ngātara invited Ngaromania to Tāpapakānga Pā (near Ōrere Point) on the pretense of a familial visit. Here Ngātara surprised and killed Ngaromania.[52]

Te Māhia was Ngaromania's nephew; a grandson of Te Whiringa and Te Kaweinga. By his marriage to Mahora of Ngāti Pāoa he was also regarded as a great chief among his wife's people. He was honour bound to avenge Ngaromania, but also reluctant, as he had sympathy for those of his relatives whom his uncle had harassed all those years.[53] However, Hikapouri of Ngāti Kōhua (a hapū also tracing descent from Ngāi Tai & Te Uri ō Pou) resided on the lands between the mouth of Te Wairoa River and Kawakawa Bay, and was himself engaged in disputes with

[51] Ngāriki (the ancestor) has been mistaken by later sources for the ancient hapū also known as Ngā Riki, who are in turn mistakenly said to have been a pre-*Tainui* people, and in various accounts both Ngāriki (the person) and Ngā Riki (the people) are credited with building the Pā in 900 A.D.
[52] Graham (1924), p.131
[53] George Graham (1924, p.131) states that it was Kaeaea of Ngāti Pāoa whose party avenged Ngaromania's death, but most tūpuna sources disagree

Ngātara over territories between Kawakawa Bay and Raukura Point.[54] Hikapouri saw the death of Ngaromania as an opportunity to exploit Te Māhia's grievance, and sought his assistance in dispatching of Ngātara. Te Māhia now had two *take* or 'causes' to kill Ngātara, and agreed.[55]

On the day of the next full moon, while most of Ngātara's people were away fishing at Motupākihi (Sandspit Island), Te Māhia's party fell upon Ngātara and a small number of his people at Ōrere, and killed them.[56] The survivors of this attack, led by the chief Waetahi, fled inland into the forests of Te Hūnua becoming known as Te Mauroto (*Ensconced Within*).[57]

Tokawhero, who was Ngātara's son, returned from the fishing expedition at Motupākihi to find his father dead.[58] Tokawhero and his followers then fled the scene and went inland; first up Te Wairoa to Ōtau where they sought shelter with their Ngāi Tai relatives, then across the Paepaetahi ridge to Papakura with Ngāti Tamaoho, and finally to Te Maketu (Peach Hill, Drury) with the Uri ō Pou people of Tokawhero's uncle Te Whatu (younger brother of Ngāriki & Ngātara).[59] Here at Te Maketu they cut down the great Kauri called Te Kahumauroa; this tree was considered tapu by Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Pāoa.[60]

Tokawhero's party then hauled the tree to Pāhurehure (the Papakura Inlet of Manukau Harbour) where it was fashioned into a waka. While this work was being done Kaeaea of Ngāti Pāoa received word, and came from Waiheke via Te Wairoa. From here he ascended Te Paepaetahi ridge and saw Tokawhero and his Kauri fellers working on *Te Kahumauroa* at Pāhurehure below. Kaeaea believed that the enmity between them should have by then been concluded, for the death of Ngaromania was already avenged. He therefore attempted to persuade Tokawhero to stay, but he would not. Kaeaea then descended to Pāhurehure and wept over *Te Kahumauroa*, the sacred Kauri of Ngāti Tai and Ngāti Pāoa, before Tokawhero and his people departed.[61]

From Pāhurehure the waka was taken via the Manukau Harbour to cross the Ōtāhuhu portage into the Tāmaki Estuary. There it was fitted with the stern-post, prow and all the other fittings and

[54] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p.295
[55] Ibid, pp.291–292; Tūtaura, Timoti (1871), p.319
[56] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p292; Tūtaura, Timoti (1871), p.319
[57] Rendered in early NLC records as 'Moroto'
[58] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p292
[59] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p.292; Murdoch (1993 ii), p.8
[60] Graham (1924), pp.130–132
[61] Ibid, pp.132-133

ornamentation required. This took place in November of 1769, which is known because the people from between the Tāmaki and Wairoa Rivers were then embarking in a great fleet across Tīkapa Moana ō Hauraki to visit Captain Cook's ship at Whitianga, on Te Whanganui ō Hei (Mercury Bay). *Te Kahumauroa* did not go out to Whitianga, as it was not yet complete.[62] Tokawhero was said to belong to many tribes, and so he and his people aboard *Te Kahumauroa* went on from Tāmaki to Northland where they resided for many years with relatives among Te Kawerau ā Maki, Ngāti Rongo (of Ngāti Whātua) and Ngāpuhi.[63]

Among the people who did visit Captain Cook at the time of Tokawhero's departure were other members of Te Uri ō Pou from Te Hūnua.[64] As noted earlier, Te Hūnua in Ngāi Tai & Te Uri ō Pou tradition refers to the volcanic high country lying just south of Clevedon between the Wairoa Valley and Papakura.[65]

Captain Cook gave the first rīwai (Māori potatoes) to the ***tino kaumatua*** (senior-most elders) of Te Uri ō Pou, who then returned and planted them at Te Hūnua. Hauraki tradition records that these were the first potatoes to be grown in Aotearoa.[66] As Graeme Murdoch writes, "*This would almost certainly be in the Wairoa Valley, probably in the vicinity of the Ōtau kāinga*".[67]

Three years after Cook's visit (1772), says Te Horeta Te Taniwhā, the first feast of the rīwai planted at Te Hūnua was held, after which seedlings were then apportioned out to all the tribes of Hauraki and Waikato.[68] Descendants of these first rīwai of Hauraki are still grown at Umupuia today.

Cook also left pigs in the area, which were kept at Aotea (Great Barrier). The Ngāi Tai hapū of Ngāti Tai Manawaiti and Ngāti Te Hauwhenua are among the several Tāngata whenua peoples of Aotea Island. When new pigs were born at Aotea, these too were distributed among the people of Hauraki.[69] From these, Ngāi Tai, Te Uri ō Pou, Ngāti Kōhua, Ngāti Pāoa & Ngāti Whanaunga released wild pigs into the Hūnua Ranges, which were regularly hunted at a place called Kiripaka, inland of Kawakawa Bay.[70]

---

[62] Ibid
[63] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p.292
[64] Te Taniwhā, Te Horeta in White (1888), pp.108–109
[65] Te Ngāherehere ō Kohukohunui is the traditional name for the 'Hūnua Ranges'
[66] Te Taniwhā, Te Horeta in White (1888), pp.108–109
[67] Murdoch (1993 ii), p.14 (f.n.)
[68] Te Taniwhā, Te Horeta in White (1888), pp.108–109
[69] Puna, Hera (1905), p.2 c.f. Murdoch (1993 i), p.41

Whalers, sealers and timber traders had begun cutting spars on outlying islands of the Maraetai (Tāmaki Strait) coastline by around the 1780s, with Waiheke Island becoming a regular port for ship repairs by the 1790s.[71] Outbreaks of dysentery and venereal disease soon followed, and the epidemic known as Rewharewha decimated the Tāpapakanga/Ōrere community during the same period.[72]

Sometime between roughly 1785 & 1790, an incident near Mahurangi led to further invasions of the Maraetai & Te Wairoa districts. The Ngāti Tai Manawaiti ancestor Te Hehewa had earlier made a tuku whenua grant at Tauoma (the land between West Tāmaki Heads & Panmure) to Te Waitāheke of Te Taoū.[73] Soon afterwards, members of Te Taoū in turn made a tuku whenua grant of lands at Tauoma to a section of Ngāti Pāoa.[74] Both Te Taoū & Ngāti Pāoa, however, had over recent generations established an extremely warlike culture of expansion and conquest, and soon began to compete with each other to assert mana over the land.

It was during this time that the chief Tarahawaīki of Te Taoū led a party of his people on a shark fishing expedition to Tiritiri-Mātangi Island. They were joined on this trip by another fishing party from Ngāti Pāoa, led by Te Haupā (son of Te Māhia). Upon fishing up a shark, Tarahawaīki named the fish 'Te Haupā' and struck it on the head, killing it. Enraged by the insult, Ngāti Pāoa in turn attacked Tarahawaīki's party at their fishing camp, and Tarahawaīki was killed.[75]

As recounted earlier, since 1769, Tokawhero of Te Uri ō Pou had resided to the north of Tāmaki with relatives of Te Kawerau, Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Whātua – close relatives of Te Taoū. Since his expulsion from Ōrere at the hands of Te Māhia and Hikapouri, Tokawhero had sought to raise a war party to avenge the death of his father Ngātara. The death of Tarahawaīki was more than sufficient grounds for Ngāti Whātua to heed his petitions.

In support of Tokawhero of Te Uri ō Pou, the warriors Maeaea and Te Whetu led a combined force of Ngāpuhi, Te Kawerau ā

---

[70] There are two lands named Kiripaka in the rohe of Ngāi Tai & related peoples; one near Kawakawa Bay and another near Umupuia.
[71] Murdoch (1993 i), p. 42; Tūroa (2000), p.177; Monin (2001), pp.23–38
[72] Thomson (1859), p.219; Tūroa (2000), p.177; Monin (2001), p.32
[73] Te Hapimana Taiāwhio in White (1888), Vol. XI, Ch. XI, p.147
[74] Tūhaere, Pāora in White (1888), Vol. XI, Ch. VII, pp.98–99
[75] White (1888), Vol. IX, Ch. IV (Māori text), pp.49–50; Kelly (1949), p.271

Maki, Ngāti Rongo, Te Taoū and Ngāti Whātua to attack Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Pāoa at Takapuna and Te Waitematā. Those who escaped from Takapuna were pursued to Motukaraka, where over 200 members of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Pāoa led by the chief Taeiwi were killed.[76]

The war party continued to Waiheke, Maraetai, Te Wairoa, Te Koherurahi and Taupō (Kawakawa Bay), leaving a wave of devastation in their wake.[77] At Te Wairoa, says Te Horeta Te Taniwhā, the Pā of Te Hūnua (where Cook's rīwai seedlings were first planted) was taken:

> "*...I ngā wā ō mua kā huakina Te Hūnua e te tāua a kā horo te pā, kā patua ngā tāngata a ko ngā koiwi ō ngā tūpāpakui i tititia ki ngā whata kai e te tāua, a kā tapu taua wāhi, a kā mahue i te Tāngata whenua, ko te riwai ia i tupu tonu i reira, a tēnei kei ngā pareparenga o ngā awa, kei ngā wāhi e amia ana e te paru waipuke e tupu mai nei ano aua riwai i ēnei rā.*"
>
> "...in those times Te Hūnua was invaded by the war party and the Pā was taken, the people were killed and the bones of the dead were hammered like nails into the posts of the food storage houses by the war party, and that place became tapu, and set aside (mahue) by the Tāngata whenua,[78] [and yet] the rīwai (potatoes) continued to grow there, on the banks of the waterways, in the places where the soil was carried by the water those rīwai still come forth to these days."[79]

At Taupō (Kawakawa Bay), the chiefs Te Māhia and Ikarangi were among the many people killed by Maeaea and his warriors.[80] The circumstances of Te Māhia's death gave rise to the hapū name of Te Urikaraka. This name, '*Progeny of the Karaka*' was taken by Te Māhia's children and their people in recognition of a sacred Karaka tree at Te Aute near Umupuia associated with this event.[81] Hikapouri and Maruwhenua of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Kōhua then gifted (tuku whenua) the lands of Taupō (the southern-most extent of Kawakawa Bay lying between Iwirahirahi and Te Whatu

---

[76] Kelly (1949), pp.271–272; Jones (1995), pp.328–329
[77] White (1888), Vol. V, Ch. V (Māori text), pp.66–69; Kelly (1949), pp.271–272; Jones (1995), pp.328–329
[78] Ngāi Tai, Te Uri ō Pou, Te Akitai & Ngāti Te Ata
[79] Te Taniwhā in White (1888), Vol. V, Ch. IX (Māori text), p.109
[80] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), pp.292, 295; Tūtaura, Timoti (1871), p.321; White (1888), Vol. V, Ch. V (Māori text), pp.66–69; Graham (1924), p.134; Kelly (1949), p.272; Jones (1995), pp.328–329
[81] Graham (1924), p.134; Tūtaura, Timoti (1871), p.321

ō Maru Pā) to Te Urikaraka, for Te Māhia had given his life on their account.[82]

In November of 1793 the crew of *Britannia*, anchored near the North Cape, were informed that the people of Muriwhenua, Ōruru, Whangaroa and Rāwhiti, had not long returned from a campaign against Hauraki.[83] This is thought to refer to the war expedition related above.[84]

In response to the attacks on Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Kōhua, Takurua (son of Te Wana) of Ngāi Tai & Te Uri ō Te Ao, together with Hikapouri of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Kōhua, led a combined force of 1,000 warriors of the former Te Wai ō Hua alliance against Ngāti Whātua ō Kaipara. The army of Takurua & Hikapouri included members of the Ngāti Ruangaingai and Te Ngungukauri hapū of Ngāi Tai from the Clevedon/Wairoa Valley. This expedition was to prove fatal, however; Takurua & Hikapouri were both killed, together with many of their followers.[85]

The remainder of Ngāi Tai and Te Urikaraka (Ngāti Pāoa) under the Tohunga of Ngāi Tai named Tūawa had meanwhile constructed the waka tāua (war canoe) named *Kotūitī*.[86] The chiefs of *Kotūitī*'s warriors were Te Haupā, Pōkai and Te Waero – sons of Te Māhia.[87]

They were joined in their campaigns by Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Whanaunga allies and relatives from throughout the Hauraki Gulf, led by the waka tāua *Te Tai ō Te Puruhi*. They too had scores to settle with the northern tribes, for their chiefs Pōkere and Hauāuru had been killed by Te Raraku of Ngāpuhi & Ngāti Whātua during the foregoing invasions of Hauraki.[88]

The allied Hauraki peoples then led a series of decisive defeats against Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whātua and their allies, most notably in the battles of Te Ringahuruhuru in the Lower Tāmaki Estuary, and Te Waiwhāriki in the Far North; both thought to have taken place sometime around 1793–1795.

---

[82] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p.295; Tūtaura, Timoti (1871), p.321
[83] Salmond, Anne – *Between Worlds* (1997), p.228
[84] Monin (2001), p.42
[85] Te Whētuki, Hori (1871), p.295; Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), pp.92, 95; Te Waewae, Hami in Smith (1895), pp.43–44
[86] While *Kotūitī* is known to have been constructed elsewhere, the former kāinga of Tūawa, still known to Ngāi Tai as 'Tūawa', lies immediately north of the Clevedon Village AOI – see 'Wāhi Tapu & Sites of Significance'.
[87] Graham (1924), p.134–135; Kelly (1949), p.272; Jones (1995), pp.328–331
[88] White (1888), Vol. V., Ch. X, pp.125–126; Kelly (1949), p.271

From the 1790s, the Ariki or 'Paramount Chief' of Ngāi Tai presiding over *The Land of Te Wana* between the Tāmaki and Wairoa Rivers was Te Rangitāwhia (son of Te Wana and brother of the late Takurua). While he was the leader of the people of the Wairoa Valley, his principal homes were the Pā of Te Waiārohia and Ōhuiārangi of the Howick & Pakuranga districts.[89]

Between Paparoa (Howick Beach) and Kahawairahi (Beachlands), the coasts and valleys of Waipaparoa (the Howick-Whitford-Beachlands Embayment) and the outlying islands of Motukōrea (Browns Island), Te Motu ō Ihenga (Motuihe) and Motukaraka were jointly occupied by Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Kōhua and the Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Tamaterā.

Te Rangitāwhia's younger brother Te Hangaiti led the Ngāi Tai people (Ngāti Te Rau, Te Wharetūoi & Ngāti Ruangaingai hapū) occupying the Maraetai coastline between Te Puru and Te Kuti with their principal Pā at Pōhaturoa & Papawhitu (near Maraetai Beach), whilst at Te Wairoa, several hapū of Ngāi Tai under a number of Rangatira traversed the river and its many Pā, kāinga and seasonal encampments.

These hapū included Te Uri ō Te Ao, now led by Pakihau (son of Takurua) & Te Whiu (son of Te Rangitāwhia) and were principally based around the river mouth at Te Whakakaiwhara Pā, Te Oue Pā and Pehowai Pā.[90] Opposite Te Whakakaiwhara Peninsula, Ngāti Kōhua led by Te Kohu (elder brother of the late Hikapouri) and the brothers Rangikapoa and Motuhuruhuru (sons of Hikapouri), occupied the lands extending from the Pakia Range and Poutō Pā at the river's mouth, outward to Kaihuru, Mātaitai and Koherurahi, and southward into Kawakawa Bay as far as Iwirahirahi Pā (Whitford Point).[91]

At Te Urungahauhau, Te Okenga, Ōkauanga and Ōtau, members of Ngāti Te Rau, Te Wharetūoi, Te Uri ō Te Ao & Ngāti Kōhua resided under Mana of the aforementioned chiefs of Te Whakakaiwhara, Oue Pā & Mātaitai, whilst Te Ngungukauri and Te Uri Kupai led by Rarowaiheke alias Te Tona (younger brother of Pakihau), maintained their seasonal Tahere Manu customs on lands extending between Ōtau and Te Hūnua, with their principal settlement at the kāinga of Tohetea.[92]

---

[89] Graham in Fairfield (1995), p.63
[90] Murdoch (1996), p.8; Tāua (2002), p.47
[91] See N.L.C. Hauraki Minute Books 1 (pp.41-57) & 3, pp. 288 – 379 (passim)
[92] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.273; Maxwell, Te Manihera, (1896), pp.1–2

All of these Rangatira and their respective hapū were of Ngāi Tai/Ngāti Tai, and as a collective, the iwi traversed this tribal domain maintaining customary occupation on a far more fluid, transitory basis than the foregoing description might seem to imply. The importance of outlining some of the principal homes of these ancestors and their followers is to provide relevant layers of cultural and historic meaning to the area in question.

While Te Rangitāwhia was still the leading chief of Ngāi Tai, by the turn of the 19th Century his grandson, Te Irirangi (of Ōtara fame), was emerging as a prominent Rangatira. Te Irirangi was also known as Te Tara ki Moehau, and is better remembered today as Tara Te Irirangi; sometimes Ōtara Te Irirangi. By his whānau he was most often called Te Irirangi, but to early European visitors and settlers he was usually called Te Tara or Tara (undoubtedly easier to pronounce for newcomers to Aotearoa).

In his grandfather Te Rangitāwhia's time, Te Tara a.k.a. Te Irirangi presided over the neighbouring Ngāi Tai settlements of Te Puke ō Tara (Smales Mount/Ōtara Hill), Te Wai ō Tara (Ōtara Creek) and Mātanginui (Green Mount). He is understood to have first achieved distinction as a young Toa Rangatira (leading warrior) during the warfare that drew the preceding century to a close, and by the early 1800s was the commander in chief of Ngāi Tai's warriors.[93]

Other leaders of Ngāi Tai in Te Irirangi's time included his first-cousin Te Nuku (son of Pakihau), father-in-law Te Ngako, and Te Ngako's sons Te Waru and Te Hauā.[94] These Rangatira led Ngāi Tai during the Musket Wars of the 1820s, and the early period of continuous trade with European visitors to Auckland and Hauraki.

In 1807, Tara Te Irirangi is remembered by Waikato tradition as having led Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Tai forces to the support of their Tainui relatives at Te Mangeo to the south of Waikato, where they fought in the battle known as Te Hingakākā – the greatest battle ever fought in Aotearoa with traditional hand-to-hand weaponry.[95]

Ironically, it was also in about 1807 that Ngāpuhi first began to experiment with muskets obtained from European traders at

[93] See Green (2009), pp.79–80
[94] Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), pp.88, 93; Tūtaura, Timoti (1893), p.96; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), pp.106–107; Maxwell, Te Manihera (1896), pp.1–2
[95] Kelly (1949), p.291

Kororāreka.[96] In a battle known as Te Kai ō Te Karoro, a musket armed party of Ngāpuhi unsuccessfully met with Ngāti Whātua and Ngāti Rongo warriors in battle. The latter party gained the upper hand during this encounter, by surprising Ngāpuhi with hand-to-hand weapons as they struggled to reload. One of the few survivors of that battle was a young Hongi Hika.

Now, Te Tōtara was an early 19th Century Pā of Ngāi Tai, built in the time of Te Irirangi[97] (probably between 1815 & 1818) in response to the growing threat of musket warfare, against which many older Pā were increasingly regarded as indefensible. It is not entirely clear when Ngāi Tai of Te Wairoa first encountered musket warfare, but it is known that from Whakatīwai our close relatives Te Urikaraka & Ngāti Pāoa led by Te Haupā controlled the Hauraki trade in firearms by around 1815, if not before. At the time of writing, the precise location of Te Tōtara Pā is subject to ongoing research. From the available historic and traditional accounts, there are two potential sites along the west bank of the Lower Wairoa River which may have been the original site of Te Tōtara, one of which lies within the Clevedon Village; the other is within about 5km.

In 1821, Tāmaki Makaurau was devastated by a major invasion from the Far North by Ngāpuhi and allied tribes under the notorious warlord Hongi Hika. He had recently armed his people with over 1,000 muskets during a trading expedition to England and Australia, facilitated by the rogue missionary Thomas Kendall. Hongi came to avenge the wars of the previous century.

Following Hongi's now infamous invasion of Mokoia and Mauinaina at Panmure in September of 1821, a detachment led by Patuone (Te Kapotai & Ngāti Hao) came to 'Maraetai Pā' (i.e. Papawhitu, of Waiōmaru Bay) and Motupākihi near the mouth of Te Wairoa with the intention of attacking Ngāi Tai. Upon Patuone's meeting Tara Te Irirangi, however, it was discovered that through Ngāi Tai's intermarriages with Ngāti Huarere, both parties shared whakapapa from *Te Arawa* ancestors. Patuone therefore forbade his people from attacking Ngāi Tai.[98]

Te Irirangi knew that this whanaungatanga was not going to protect Ngāi Tai forever, and so at this time Ngāi Tai's many Pā between Howick and Maraetai were evacuated in favour of Te Tōtara. Many had already suffered intense loss of life as Ngāpuhi swept across the Tāmaki Isthmus, and were consequently

[96] King, Michael – *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (2003), pp.131-132
[97] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.269
[98] Makiwhara, Ānaru in Graham (1923), p.43

declared wāhi tapu. Te Irirangi meanwhile went to Whakatīwai to procure firearms.[99]

Te Tirarau Kūkupa, who was then paramount chief of Te Parawhau from Whangarei, had not allied himself with Hongi Hika, and had in fact been engaged in several conflicts with Hongi as recently as 1820. On the return of warriors from Tāmaki, however, Tirarau learnt that his brother Te Ihi had slain their family's old rival Te Kāea of Ngāti Pāoa at Mokoia.[100] He also heard that the daughter of Te Irirangi, Te Whakakōhu, "was a fine woman".[101] Tirarau was said to have had as many as twelve wives; many of them taken as trophies of former conquests.

Furthermore, Tirarau was a descendant of Ngāi Tāhuhu & Ngāti Ruangaio, and his grandmother had been named Te Toka-i-Tāwhio in remembrance of old wars with Ngāti Tai & Ngā Iwi (Te Wai ō Hua) dating back to the 15th & 16th Centuries.[102] He therefore had several *take* to now join in the musket raids against Tāmaki, and in particular, against Ngāi Tai at Te Wairoa.

Tirarau's ope tāua (war party) arrived at Te Tōtara Pā while Te Irirangi was still at Whakatīwai. While Ngāi Tai probably had at least some muskets in their possession by this time, they were still predominantly armed only with traditional weapons, and at Te Tōtara were thoroughly overwhelmed. Ānaru Makiwhara later said of the invasion of Te Tōtara Pā that "*all of the people of this land were taken*" (i.e. all those gathered at Te Tōtara were either killed or enslaved). Among the captives taken were the eldest two daughters of Te Irirangi – Te Whakakōhu and Ngeungeu.[103]

It is generally said that Ngāi Tai at this time joined Ngāti Pāoa's mass exodus from Tāmaki to Maungatautari of Waikato. While that is true of a small section of Ngāti Tai Manawaiti from Takapuna and Te Waitematā, moreover this version of events can be attributed simply to the absence of a detailed historic record concerning Ngāi Tai from this period. In reality, Ngāi Tai of the Wairoa Valley remained in unbroken occupation of their traditional lands. As John White later wrote:

> "*This little hapu is related by marriage to the Ngatipaoa, Te Akitai, and Ngatimaru, which are adjoining hapus and iwi but*

[99] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.112
[100] Makiwhara, Ānaru in Graham (1923), p.95
[101] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.112
[102] Graham (1925), p.178
[103] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.111–112

> *still they exercise the sole mana over the land they claim, nor do they pay tribute for their land to any chief, nor in all the land they have disposed of which they claim by conquest have they given any portion to other chiefs. In the war on Mauineina* [sic] *by the Ngapuhi, the Ngatitai still remained on their own land, and, although many of them were killed there by Hongi, yet when the Ngatipaoa fled to Waikato they maintained their position on the Wairoa."*[104]

Te Irirangi, painted at Umupuia by George French Angas, 1844 (published 1847)

Ngāti Te Rau and Ngāti Wharetūoi hapū of Ngāi Tai, led by Te Irirangi, Te Waru, Ruapuke and Turia, retained ahi kā of the Wairoa within the hinterlands of the valley's forested ranges, overlooking the river's west bank.[105] Te Uri ō Te Ao led by Nuku together with his wife Kimoka's hapū Ngāti Kōhua meanwhile maintained their stability on Te Wairoa within the refuges of Mātaitai Pā east of the river's mouth and inland at Te Urungahauhau.[106] The surrounding Tāmaki districts remained in a state of war between Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāti Whātua, Waikato and Ngāpuhi throughout the 1820s and early '30s; much of the landscape appearing to be all but deserted to European visitors of the period.

Of Te Irirangi's daughters, Te Whakakōhu became a wife of Tirarau, but Ngeungeu, who was not yet old enough to be married, grew up in Northland where she became widely respected as a noble young Rangatira Kura (chieftainess) in her own right. In due course, she came to reside near Paihia and Kororāreka at the Bay of Islands, where in about the late 1820s or early '30s she met a Scottish trader, mariner and ship-builder by

---

[104] White, John – *Lectures on Maori Customs & Superstitions* (1861), *No. 2: On the Tenure of Maori Lands*
[105] Graham in Fairfield (1995), p.63
[106] Te Whētuki, Hori (1866), p.44

the name of Thomas Maxwell. He became known to Māori as Tame Kohe, Tame Matakohe, and Te Makiwhara.[107]

Thomas is said to have arrived at the Bay of Islands on a whaling barque named *Harriet* during the 1820s, but the precise date is not known.[108] Thomas probably worked in the shipyards of Kororāreka during this time, but little record survives of his doings in New Zealand prior to the 1830s. In 1831 he was introduced to the entrepreneurs Gilbert Mair and William Powditch by a sawyer in their employ named Seymour, and entered into several business arrangements with the pair.[109] He then resided as a tenant of Mair and Powditch at Te Wahapū near Paihia, ran a pub from nearby Toretore Island,[110] and was involved with setting up New Zealand's first postal service.[111] William Powditch had been commissioned by the Postmaster-General of New South Wales to establish a post office at the Bay of Islands between 1831 and '32.[112]

Thomas and Ngeungeu were married at the Paihia Mission by the Reverend Henry Williams.[113] Ngeungeu took the Baptismal name of Sarah, after Sarah Fairburn (née Tuckwell; wife of the lay catechist William Thomas Fairburn), becoming known to European settlers of this period as Sarah Maxwell or Mrs. Maxwell.[114] Throughout much of the 1830s Thomas & Ngeungeu remained resident at the Bay of Islands where their first three sons – Hone, Hemi and Rāpata – were all born.[115]

Thomas was also known to have dealings at Waitematā, Maraetai and Waiheke by 1833 if not before. The Makiwhara whānau regularly visited Ngeungeu's people at Maraetai and Thomas spent time at Waiheke Island, where in 1833 he built a ship from Waiheke timber named *Te Matuku* ('The Bittern'), which made the first voyage by a locally built European sailing ship on the Waitematā.[116] It was the first to be built in Auckland, and Thomas became known as '*Auckland's First Ship Builder*'.[117] During this time, he would have also been the first European navigator to become intimately acquainted with the Wairoa River,

---

[107] For more detailed references see Green (2009), pp.92–95
[108] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p33
[109] Thomas Maxwell, Gilbert Mair and William Powditch (31/07/1833) in BR1/1 [Micro 6908]
[110] Ibid
[111] Zister, R. N. (n.d.) in H&PT
[112] Williams in Rogers (1961), p.271
[113] Zister, R. N. (n.d.) in H&PT
[114] Angas (1847), pp.292-294; see also Day, D. (1989), p.23; and Green (2009), pp.92–93
[115] Maxwell, James (1869) and Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.111
[116] Makiwhara, Ānaru (Obit) in A.S. (1927)
[117] 'Matanga' in N.Z.H. (1932), Supplement, p.1

and both he and his trading partner James Moncur would later become the first 'Pākehā–Māori' settlers of the Clevedon–Wairoa district.

The Church Mission Society (CMS) missionaries Rev. Henry Williams and Mr. William Thomas Fairburn meanwhile visited the Wairoa River in November of 1833. Williams and Fairburn travelled 2–3 miles up the river (about mid-way between Te Urungahauhau and Pukekākaho) "*to gain an interview with the natives*", well aware that the Ngāi Tai heartland was by no means 'abandoned', as often suggested by later sources. While the communities of the lower valley maintained a position later described by Fairburn as "*in continual dread*" and "*always starting and timorous*", he and Williams nonetheless observed the fires of Ngāi Tai smoking "*in several directions*".[118]

Mr. WM. THOS. FAIRBURN.

It was not until the journey back down the river that they made contact with a young man and a child. Fairburn described the man as "*a fine athletic young man… a musket in his hand and a cartouche box stuffed full of cartridges girst tight around him*" whom Williams said was "*fully prepared for action… Having satisfied himself who we were, he came forward. He invited us to the settlement which was some distance up the river, but we could not go as the tide was low.*"[119] Clearly the principal settlement referred to was on the land surrounding Ōtau.

Fairburn and the Reverend James Preece made regular visits to various kāinga of Ngāi Tai in Te Wairoa and Maraetai between 1835 and 1836 from the mission station established at Pūriri, Coromandel, which was later regarded as untenable.[120] In 1835, a number of Tāmaki iwi exiled at Waikato returned under the protection of Te Wherowhero, who was installed as a peacemaker, protector and symbolic figurehead of the Tainui tribes of Manukau/South Auckland through an act of tuku whenua at

[118] Fairburn in *CMS Mission Book* Vol. 7 (1833), p.39; Williams (Ed. Rogers, 1961), p.245
[119] Ibid
[120] La Roche (1991), p.45; Murdoch (1996), p.11

Awhitu.[121] Frictions soon arose, however, between returning groups (Ngāti Pāoa & Ngāti Tamaterā in particular) competing to reoccupy Ngāi Tai lands that had been unoccupied since the devastation of the muskets.

In an attempt to resolve these issues, several Hui were held at Tāmaki, Ōrere and Ōkāhu for peace negotiations between the affected parties, and on 18 January 1836 Te Wherowhero, Turia of Ngāti Te Rau and Henry Williams arranged a large peace-making conference at Ōtāhuhu between Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāti Tamaterā, Waikato and Ngāti Te Ata.[122] Williams suggested to Te Wherowhero that the contested land of Tāmaki should be sold to the CMS, as a means of removing what Fairburn described as '*the bone of contention*'.[123]

The outcome was that on 22 January 1836 thirty-two Rangatira led by Te Hira Te Tuiri of Ngāti Tāwhaki (Ngāti Tamaterā), and Herua (a.k.a. Kahukōti) & Hauāuru of Te Urikaraka & Matekiwaho (Ngāti Pāoa), signed a deed of sale for a block referred to as 'Tāmaki', comprising an estimated 40,000 acres of land to Fairburn (later revealed to be between 78 & 83,000 acres when surveyed).[124]

In short, the boundaries of the 'purchase' commenced at Ōtāhuhu, extended southward along the Manukau Harbour to Papakura, turning east to take in the country between Papakura and Te Wairoa, and along the Wairoa's west bank to the river's exit at Maraetai (Tāmaki Strait), along the Maraetai coastline to the mouth of the Tāmaki, and then along the Tāmaki back to Ōtāhuhu.[125] As such, the block contained the western edge of the land of Ōtau, and thus included present-day Clevedon Village.

While the names of 'Ngāti Tai' and 'Ngāti Terau' do not appear within the preamble of the original deed, the signatures of several Ngāi Tai/Ngāti Te Rau leaders including Ruapuke, Te Waru, Te Tara (Te Irirangi), Te Hauā, Waekaha, Te Aotahi and Te Pūangarahi can all be clearly identified.[126] It appears that the deed identified hapū of Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngāti Pāoa as the principal vendors simply because these were the parties whose conflicting interests the transaction ostensibly sought to resolve.

[121] Fenton (1869), pp.75–76; Stone (2001), pp.150–153
[122] Fairburn (19/6/1851) enclosed in Gisborne to Colonial Secretary (1/7/1851), OLC 1/14 589–590
[123] Fairburn to NSW Colonial Secretary (2/1/1841), OLC 1/14 589–590
[124] Fairburn (23/5/1842), testimony before Godfrey & Richmond in OLC 1/14 589–590; Ligar (minute, 17/10/1851) in *Ligar and Gisborne to Colonial Secretary* (9/10/1851) OLC 1/14 589–590; Ward in Husbands & Riddell (1993), p.14
[125] Tāmaki Deed (22/1/1836) in OLC 1/14 589–590
[126] Ibid

Perhaps as a result of the initial oversight, a further transaction took place between Fairburn and Ngāti Te Rau of Ngāi Tai on December 1st of the same year, in which 20 Rangatira of Ngāti Te Rau led by Tara, Te Waru and Ruapuke again signed a deed for the land contained between Wairoa, Papakura, Manukau and Ōtāhuhu.[127] The following year, Fairburn wrote out yet another deed on the reverse of the first, promising to return one third of the entire purchase to the original vendors.[128] During 1839 Fairburn conducted several further transactions with small parties of Te Akitai, Ngāti Tamaoho and Ngāti Whātua regarding some of the outer fringes of the block at Papakura, Manukau and Ōtāhuhu.[129]

For Ngāi Tai, there are several issues arising out of the 'purchase'. In the first instance, none of the Ngāi Tai/Ngāti Te Rau signatories of the original 1836 deeds were able to read or write. It was Fairburn himself who introduced literacy to the area. Secondly, Ngāi Tai had no previous experience with land transactions of this nature; the concepts of private ownership and alienable/extinguishable title were completely foreign. The nearest concept in the tikanga of Ngāi Tai was that of tuku whenua. It is not even remotely plausible that Ngāi Tai would have signed the deed had they fully comprehended the long term implications of the transaction.

For Ngāi Tai, the transaction's ultimate function had been for the contested interests of Ngāti Pāoa and Ngāti Tamaterā within the traditional domain of Ngāi Tai to be relinquished, thereby restoring peace to the area. Ngāi Tai now had a missionary installed on their land (a very desirable asset at this time); he was granted a right to occupy and thereby maintain the newly established peace, whilst also bringing material, educational and spiritual benefits of European culture to the area.

That Fairburn, by way of the 'purchase', gave utu/payment in response to this act of tuku whenua was perfectly tika (correct according to custom), but in no way extinguished the Mana whenua or Kaitiakitanga of Ngāi Tai. It was also widely understood, both between Ngāi Tai & Fairburn and as a simple matter of course when dealing with any tuku whenua grant, that when Fairburn's purposes on the land had been fulfilled, the Mana whenua would be retained by Ngāi Tai.

---

[127] Ngāti Terau Deed (1/12/1836) enclosed in OLC 1/14 589-590

[128] Fairburn promissory 'Deed of Conveyance' (12/7/1837) in OLC 1/14 589-590

[129] Tāmaki (Te Reweti) – receipt (26/7/1839); Mohi & others (Ngāti Tamaoho) – receipt (27/11/1839); Ihaka Takaanini & others (Te Akitai) – receipt (18/12/1839); OLC 1/14 589-590

This understanding was further reinforced by the fact that Ngāi Tai were never compelled by Fairburn or the CMS to vacate their lands, but rather, thanks to the influence of Christian peacemakers were now able to return from the hinterlands and more freely and openly reoccupy the entirety of their tribal domain unmolested.

Between 1836 & 1854, Ngāi Tai continued undisturbed in all their customary uses of the land throughout Fairburn's occupation.[130]

Ngeungeu & her son James Maxwell, Umupuia, 1844 – G. F. Angas (1847)

Following the birth of Ngeungeu & Thomas Maxwell's third son, Rāpata Maxwell, in 1837 Thomas under Mana from Te Irirangi entered into negotiations to purchase Te Huruhē (Man O' War Bay, Waiheke Island) from Te Ruinga (a.k.a. Hori Kīngi Pōkai) and several other chiefs of Te Urikaraka. Te Ruinga was Te Haupā's nephew; the son of Pōkai and thus closely related to Te Irirangi's people. Payment was completed in 1838, and the whānau soon after took up permanent residence at Waiheke. Thomas built a house, set up 'Maxwell's Station' to reprovision visiting ships as well as building several vessels of his own, had potato plantations, and ran pigs, goats and chickens. Te Ruinga and Te Urikaraka also remained on their kāinga on the land and maintained their cultivations.[131] Here Hori and Patariki Maxwell were born between 1838 and 1841.[132]

In January of 1840, meanwhile, Thomas purchased Motutapu, Motuhurakina (Rakino Island) and the smaller 'Noises' islands of Ōtata and Motuhoropapa from Te Irirangi, Te Waru and Te Hauā.[133] The following month, Te Irirangi made out a deed of gift

[130] Fairburn (19/6/1851) enclosed in *Gisborne to Colonial Secretary* (1/7/1851), OLC 1/14 589–590
[131] Maxwell, Thomas (1841) in OLC 1/14 331-332
[132] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.111
[133] Motutapu Deed (11/1/1840) in OLC 1/14 331-332

for a large tract of land along the Wairoa's east bank (from Poutō at the river's mouth to Te Urungahauhau, and extending quite some distance inland behind Kawakawa Bay) "*ki ōku Mokopuna ki ngā tamariki ō tōku Kōtiro Ko Ngeungeu raua tahi ko Tame Kohe*" (to my Mokopuna, the children of my daughter Ngeungeu and Thomas Maxwell) as "*he kāinga mō āua tamariki, me ō rātou tamariki hoki, ake, ake, ake*" (a home for their children, and their children also, and so on forever and ever).[134] It is notable that all of Ngāi Tai's pre-Treaty land transactions were conducted with persons who had established themselves as valued members of the Ngāi Tai community, giving little reason to fear permanent alienation of the iwi's interests.

Nearby, Thomas's trading partner, James Moncur, had meanwhile married Ngeungeu's first-cousin Potipoti. Te Poti, as she was also known, was the daughter of Te Irirangi's elder sister Te Rangitakerehau and her husband Te Wharerau of Ngāti Tāwhaki & Te Urikaraka.[135] Moncur, or Manakā as he was known to Ngāi Tai, was granted a block of 50 acres between the Pakia Range and Mātaitai near the Wairoa River's mouth by Ihaia Te Kupuroa, then leading Rangatira of Ngāti Kōhua hapū. Here Moncur also ran a ship-building station and was granted permission to clear timber.[136] While the history books of post-Colonial Clevedon may prefer to forget them, these two 'Pākehā-Māori', Manakā & Te Makiwhara, were the first European settlers of the Wairoa Valley & Clevedon District, and their descendants remain in the area to this day.

On February 6th of 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed at Waitangi, Northland, establishing New Zealand as a colony of the British Empire, by way of partnership between Victoria, Queen of England, and the chiefs of New Zealand. Copies of the Treaty were then brought to Auckland by Governor Hobson aboard the *HMS Herald* seeking the signatures of Rangatira from Iwi of Tāmaki. The Reverend Henry Williams had accompanied the new Governor to Waitematā, and was sent from the *Herald* at Waitematā to initiate Treaty discussions at the Maraetai Mission Station. However, while these Hui were still underway, it was reported that Governor Hobson had suffered a stroke while still aboard the *Herald*.[137]

Rev. Williams nonetheless arranged a Treaty signing at Waiarohe (Karaka Bay) near the banks of the Tāmaki, having traveled

[134] 'Te Tara, He Rangatira ō Ngāti Te Rau' Deed of Gift (15/2/1840) in OLC 1/14 331-332
[135] Poti, Raiha Manakā (1896), p.9; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), pp.279–280
[136] N.L.C. Auckland Minute Book 6, 9/1/1895, pp.19–20
[137] Williams in Carleton (1877), p.18; Buick (1914), pp.143–144

overland from Maraetai with a party of 16 Rangatira who signed the Treaty on March 4th.[138] Most signatories from Maraetai were chieftains of Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Pāoa and Ngāti Tamaterā of Hauraki, including a number of Fairburn's young converts. No signatories from Ngāi Tai have been positively identified, but according to Ngāi Tai historian Te Warena Tāua, Kirkwood whānau tradition holds that the signatory 'Anaru' at the Karaka Bay signing was the Christian Baptismal name of the Ngāi Tai ancestor Te Nuku.

In a letter to Emilia Maud Nixon, Auckland historian & ethnologist George Samuel Graham (a close personal friend of Ngāi Tai leaders throughout the late 19th and early 20th Centuries) further asserts that Tara Te Irirangi was also a signatory, but signed using a tohu from his facial moko to which his name was not appended. Te Whangamatau (now called Waiōtāiki Bay) was, according to Mr. Graham, the site of Auckland's second Treaty signing on 9 July 1840.[139]

In any event, Ngāi Tai recognise the Treaty as the nation of New Zealand's founding document, and an historic, ancestral and binding covenant between the chiefs of Aotearoa and the Crown, under which the rights and freedoms of the Māori people are expressly protected. Te Irirangi, Nuku and subsequent generations of their Ngāi Tai descendants are well documented as having been loyal adherents to this covenant.

With the foundation of the New Zealand Government came the Land Claims Commission who set out to investigate the pre-Treaty purchases of early European settlers. Ostensibly, one of the Commission's roles under the Treaty of Waitangi was to protect Māori from unscrupulous land sharking tactics of early settlers. Purchases that were found to be excessive, inequitable or otherwise unfair were to be 'disallowed' – i.e. no formal grant of legal title would be awarded by the Crown to the claimant alleging to have purchased the land.

In practice, however, this process was fundamentally flawed as 'disallowed' lands from pre-Treaty purchases were not returned to Tāngata whenua, but retained as 'Surplus Lands' to be on-sold to colonists at tremendous profit to the Crown. In many instances, the rulings of the Crown (as distinct from the Commission), frequently overruled the findings and recommendations of the Commissioners themselves, no matter

[138] Williams in Carleton (1877), p.18
[139] Graham in Fairfield (1995), p.63

how earnest their intentions may have been to uphold their directives to protect the sovereign interests of Tāngata whenua.

Overall, these processes typically failed to recognise the pre-existing sovereignty of Māori at the time of the Treaty; the pre-emptive purchase rights of the Crown established under Article Two of the Treaty were instead applied retrospectively to pre-Treaty land transactions made by independent sovereign Rangatira.[140]

In 1841, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn became the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand and baptised many of Fairburn's converts into the Anglican Church, beginning Ngāi Tai's long standing association with the Pihopatanga (Māori Anglican Church). Soon afterwards William Thomas Fairburn was forced to resign from the Church Mission Society, following intense scrutiny and an internal investigation led by Bishop Selwyn over his controversially large purchase at Tāmaki. He had now also come under investigation by the Land Claims Commission.[141]

In December of the same year, Thomas Maxwell departed Waiheke Island for Auckland on a 42 ton schooner he had built from Waiheke Kauri and named *Sarah Maxwell* after his wife. Ngeungeu was then pregnant with their sixth child, and went to stay with whānau at Umupuia.[142] From Auckland, the *Sarah Maxwell* was advertised for sale, freight or charter, and commissioned in January of 1842 by a Captain Lauder for a trading expedition between the East Coast, Hawkes Bay and Port Nicholson, Wellington. Over the following months Thomas and Captain Lauder were recorded making several trading trips throughout the area, but in April 1842 embarked from Hawkes' Bay for the return voyage to Auckland and were never seen or heard from again. It was believed that the *Sarah Maxwell* had foundered during a marangai (easterly gale) near Cape Runaway, where the ship's bowsprit and rudder were later retrieved for identification in 1843.[143] Soon after his departure from Auckland, Thomas Maxwell's youngest son, Ānaru Makiwhara (later known as Te Rira), was born at Umupuia.[144]

In 1844, Tara Te Irirangi and his nephew Wātene Te Makuru made the first land sale to European settlers east of the river; an

[140] This is one of several alternate views of pre-Treaty purchases.
[141] Tāua in La Roche (1991), pp.34–35; La Roche (1991), pp.50–51
[142] Kōrero ā Matua James William Maxwell, Umupuia, 06/02/2004
[143] Misc shipping intelligence from *New Zealand Gazette & Wellington Spectator*, *Auckland Chronicle*, *Daily Southern Cross*, *New Zealand Colonist & Port Nicholson Advisor* et al (1841–1843)
[144] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.286

estimated 5,000 acres[145] of land lying between Te Urungahauhau and Ōtau opposite Clevedon Village sold to members of the Cleghorn & Goodfellow families.[146] This was a 'pre-emption waiver' purchase – purchases made when, between 1844 and 1846, for approved claims, the Crown was willing to waive its exclusive right to pre-emptive purchase of Māori land.

As a result of the Land Claims Commission's enquiry into the Fairburn Purchase, the Crown 'disallowed' Fairburn's claim and 'retained' (confiscated) most of the 'Tāmaki Block' including present-day Clevedon Village between 1847 and 1848, allowing Fairburn to keep 5,494 acres at Maraetai & Ōtāhuhu. No grant of land was made to Ngāi Tai at this time, despite both Fairburn's 1837 promissory deed to return one third of the original purchase, and the Crown Surveyor's own recommendations in 1842 that a grant of 15,000 acres be made as a 'Native Reservation'.[147] The Crown immediately set about selling land within the block and creating military settlements such as Ōtāhuhu and Howick, without any attempt to investigate or address Tāngata whenua interests in the land.

During the mid-late 1840s the elder chiefs Nuku, Te Waru and others of their generation had passed away. The three eldest Makiwhara brothers meanwhile left New Zealand during this period; John (Hone) Maxwell went to England, James (Hemi) to Sydney and Rāpata Makiwhara joined the Californian Gold Rush of 1849.[148] The following year, Tara Te Irirangi and his brother-in-law Te Hauā (who had since taken the Baptismal name Wīremu Herewini or 'William Selwyn' and was more widely known as Wī Te Hauā) built a Pā at Umupuia.[149]

In February of 1851 the protests of Te Moananui Katikati (of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Tāwhaki) against logging at Te Puru near Maraetai by local sawyer William McGee prompted the Crown to reopen the investigation into the Fairburn Purchase.[150] The Crown, however, still had no intention of honouring Fairburn's original contract, nor the Land Claims Commission's original recommendations. In March of 1854 they moved instead to 'extinguish' the interests of Katikati altogether; he received £26 compensation for the timber

[145] Apparently closer to around 2,500 acres
[146] Original deed attached to *Thomas Cleghorn to Colonial Secretary* (7/8/1850), OLC 1167–1172. See also Turton's Private Deeds, pp.472–473
[147] Husbands & Riddell (1993), p.14
[148] Maxwell, James (1870) in OLC 1/14 331–332
[149] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.106
[150] McGee to Commissioner of Crown Lands (24/3/1851) & Katikati Te Moananui (9/6/1851) enclosed in OLC 1/14 589–590

taken by McGee, and a pitiful £20 for his claims on all of the lands between Mangemangeroa and Te Puru.[151]

Hori Te Whētuki (son of the late chief Nuku), however, pressed the matter further, leading to a more thorough reinvestigation before the Commission between 1851 and 1854.[152] In 1854 Ngāi Tai received £500 and Ngāti Tamaterā (i.e. Ngāti Tāwhaki, led by Katikati) received £200 compensation for the land taken from within Fairburn's returned third. Once again, the majority of the lands were retained by the Crown, rather than returned to iwi. The Crown instead created the much smaller 'Umupuia Native Reserve' (6,063 acres) in 1854; extending from present-day Maraetai Beach to Umupuia, including land extending from Te Whakakaiwhara Peninsula to just inside the Wairoa River's mouth.[153] This constituted less than one thirteenth of the 83,000 acres in question.

Formal title to the Umupuia Reserve and the payment of compensation was granted under the condition that Ngāi Tai vacate all lands outside the Reservation, and instruct all and any other hapū or iwi living anywhere on the original Fairburn Purchase block to do the same.[154] Consequently members of Te Hingawaka (hapū of Ngāti Pāoa) were forced to reside at Oue Pā near the mouth of Te Wairoa under sufferance of Ngāi Tai,[155] whilst Te Ngungukauri and Te Uri Kupai were forced off their traditional kāinga of Tohetea (near Clevedon) and reduced to living as 'serfs'; beholden to the Mana and hospitality of the Kāhui Rangatira of Ngāi Tai at Umupuia.[156]

Meanwhile, the Crown had also disallowed the Cleghorn & Goodfellow purchase, despite having waived its own pre-emptive purchase rights under Article Two of the Treaty. In disallowing the claim and retaining the land, the Crown denied Ngāi Tai (who had not waived their Tino Rangatiratanga under the same article) the right to choose for themselves who they welcomed to settle on their own land. While the Governor's initial opposition to allowing the Cleghorn & Goodfellow claim was "*on account of the locality, the extent of the demand, and there being as yet no reserve made in that quarter*",[157] the size, location and absence of a native reserve in the area did not prevent the Crown from offering the same block for sale again. The McNicol & Hoye families

[151] Turton (1877), p.733
[152] OLC 1/14 589–590
[153] FitzRoy (1854)
[154] Turton (1877), Deed No. 233, p.290
[155] Te Whētuki, Hori (1851) in OLC 1/14 589–590
[156] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.110 & (1896), p.273
[157] Governor to Colonial Secretary (3/12/1844), OLC 1167–1172

purchased equal shares in the block from the Crown in 1852 – two years prior to the creation of the Umupuia Reserve.[158]

During the same year, Tara Te Irirangi grew ill at Umupuia, and at his request, was taken to the mouth of the Wairoa River where he died.[159] He was subsequently interred in his waka in the ancient burial swamps of Te Ruatō within the river's west bank.[160]

From 1854, the Crown began to establish rural settlers on the Wairoa (Clevedon) portion of the Fairburn 'surplus lands' advertised for sale by the Auckland Waste Lands Office. These included the sale of just under 2,000 acres to Captain John Salmon in 1855, on which were contained a number of wāhi tapu. Hitherto, Mr. Fairburn's custody of the land had not interfered with Ngāi Tai access to these wāhi tapu. During the same year, William Steel purchased a small but significant block on the fringes of the Ruatō burial ground. Salmon's property was later the site of the Lower Wairoa Redoubt erected on the wāhi tapu known in Ngāi Tai tradition as Pukekākaho, whilst William Steel was to play an active role in the Crown's military aggression towards the Tāngata whenua of Te Wairoa & Ōtau.[161]

Ngāi Tai, however, continued to exercise Mana whenua throughout the area wherever possible. Significantly, interments of important Rangatira continued in the ancient burial grounds of Te Ruatō, even after the adjoining land was purchased from the Crown during the early 1860s by the Browne family.[162]

Despite their grievances with the Crown, Ngāi Tai led by Hori Te Whētuki, Honetana Te Irirangi (son of Te Tara) and Wātene Te Makuru (son of Wī Te Hauā) at every opportunity maintained positive relations with the new settlers. Pioneer families such as the McNicol, Thorp and Munro families were welcomed by Ngāi Tai, transported through the area aboard waka, taught about the foods of the bush, and housed in Whare built for them with thatched Raupō rushes.[163] Hori Te Whētuki became known to early settlers as 'Long George' due to his immense stature, being reputedly 6'6'' tall, and took the lead role on behalf of Ngāi Tai in dealing with European settlers and traders.[164]

---

[158] Murdoch (1988), p.25
[159] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.269
[160] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.102
[161] See Murdoch (1988), pp. 25–32 for a more comprehensive account of early Clevedon settlement
[162] Duder, William Thomas (1896), pp.265–266
[163] Munro, C. C. (1952), p.12; Murdoch (1988), pp.26, 27, 32
[164] Jacobs, James (1893), p.99; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.285

Ngāi Tai participated heavily in the local trade economy, with large orchards at Ōtau, Umupuia and Whakakaiwhara (which became locally known as 'Peach Point'), and traded large quantities of pigs, potatoes, kumara, fish, fruit and other produce at Clevedon, Howick, and on the Auckland Markets. Te Urikaraka and Ngāti Kōhua meanwhile ran a successful Flour Mill at Rotopiro near Mātaitai. The Browne, Bell and Hale families had settled in the area by the early 1860s and became close friends with their Ngāi Tai neighbours. Dr. Robert Hale was the first European doctor in the area and settled at the kāinga of Matuku (adjoining the south-eastern edge of the Umupuia Reserve) providing valuable medical services to the Ngāi Tai community.

Sadly, despite these good relations, fighting broke out between Māori and Pākehā forces on the outskirts of Wairoa South (Clevedon) in July of 1863. The Government at the time was raising forces against the Kīngitanga movement of Waikato, in response to Waikato's growing resistance under King Tāwhiao to land sales & Government roads. Between 1861 and 1863 a number of stockades and Redoubts had been set up across South Auckland by Government forces, and at Te Wairoa included the Galloway Redoubt, the Upper & Lower Wairoa Redoubts, and the Wairoa Settlers' Stockade. There were also rumours of an impending attack from Waikato on Auckland, which, however lacking in substance, strengthened local settlers' support for military action.

Governor Grey ordered on 9 July 1863 that "*all persons of the native race living in the Manukau district, and the Waikato frontier*" either sign an Oath of Allegiance to the Crown and surrender their arms, or cross the boundary line at Mangatāwhiri into Waikato to be considered Rebels.[165] Those who could not bring themselves to sign the oath were to be either forcibly ejected, or imprisoned. Two days later a curfew was placed on all Māori vessels traveling on the Waitematā & Manukau Harbours outside the hours of daylight.[166] 'Friendly natives' in central Auckland had to also abide by curfews and wear arm-bands in order to pass safely through the town during the day.[167]

Amidst these growing rumours and tensions a number of both Māori and Pākehā residents fled the Wairoa South (Clevedon) area. Unattended farms and villages belonging to both communities began to be looted by volunteer militia, which led to

[165] D.S.C. (11/7/1863), p.3; N.Z.A. files MA/1 1863/186
[166] Monin (2001), p.190
[167] Sorrenson (1959), .p12

some of the first armed exchanges in the Wairoa–Clevedon & Papakura districts during the latter part of July, 1863.[168]

In September the Ngāi Tai settlements of Ōtau kāinga and Te Urungahauhau were moved upon by the forces of Major Lyon, based on reports of Ngāi Te Rangi and Te Koheriki armed forces moving through the Wairoa Valley. On 17th September a party of Māori (thought to have been of Te Koheriki, then based temporarily at Ōtau kāinga) were intercepted at what is now Clevedon Village on their way to Ōtau, carrying loot from deserted settler properties further up the river. They were fired upon and three men were killed,[169] being buried where they lay the following day by the troops of Major Lyon returning to the Galloway Redoubt.[170]

Earlier on the morning of the 18th, at 4.30am, men, women and children of Ōtau kāinga had been fired upon in a surprise attack by Lyon's troops just before dawn, while most were still sleeping. Two men were killed and almost every member of the Ōtau kāinga community was wounded; the soldiers entering the village later that day to find the houses splattered with blood, both inside and out.[171] Lyon's troops later embarked to invade Te Urungahauhau, on the strength of intelligence that "*a large native force had assembled in the settlement*", but found it occupied by a solitary Kuia.[172]

Ngāi Tai under Honetana Te Irirangi had evacuated Ōtau, Te Urungahauhau and surrounding villages of the Wairoa, and went to Te Tawai and Whakarongotukituki near the mouth of the Wairoa River. The community at Umupuia and the Maraetai coastline led by Hori Te Whētuki meanwhile gathered at the opposite side of the river mouth. Both men wore British officers' uniforms and flew the Union Jack from either side of the river's mouth to show that they were friendly to local Pākehā.[173] They maintained regular communication with the troops stationed at the Galloway Redoubt and made every effort to keep the peace.[174]

---

[168] See Lush in Drummond (Ed. 1971), pp.245–246; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.38

[169] First-hand military accounts of this engagement differ on the casualties sustained – Major Lyon says that two men were killed; Lt.-Col. Morrow gives the number as three.

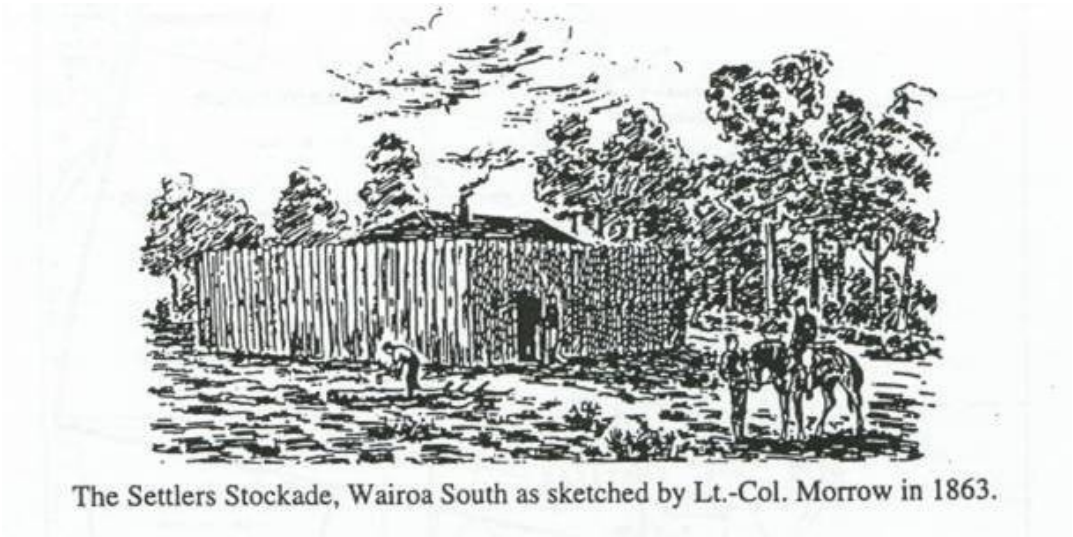
[170] *Wairoa (From our own correspondent)* in D.S.C. (18/9/1863), p.3; *Major William C. Lyon to Major de Quincey, Military Secretary* in D.S.C (25/9/1863), p.3; Morrow in Cowan (1922), pp.455-456; Cowan (1922), p.289

[171] *Wairoa (From our own correspondent)* in D.S.C. (19/9/1863), p.3; *Major William C. Lyon to Major de Quincey, Military Secretary* in D.S.C (25/9/1863), p.3; Knox, Hera Maurahu (n.d.), p.2; Morrow in Cowan (1922), pp.456–457; Te Kirikaramu in Cowan (1922), pp.290–291; Cowan (1922), p.289–291

[172] Morrow in Cowan (1922), p.456

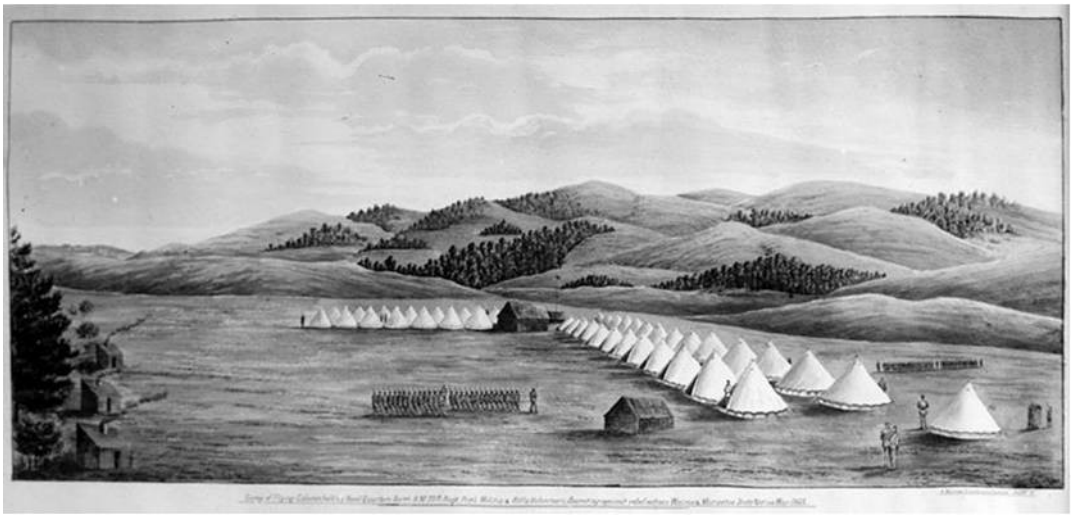
[173] Tamehana, Rāpata (1893), pp.97–98; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.109; Knox, Hera Maurahu (n.d.), pp.1–2; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1924)

While they were regarded by the Government as 'friendly' and 'loyal' and permitted to retain their arms to defend the area, they did not take part in the fighting on either side, discouraged other Ngāi Tai members from doing so, and warned both Māori and Pākehā residents in the area whenever they received intelligence of an impending attack. Their actions are believed to have saved many lives on both sides, but also led to suspicion and accusations from within the settler community that Hori Te Whētuki was a rebel spy.[175]



The Settlers Stockade, Wairoa South as sketched by Lt.-Col. Morrow in 1863.

Above: Lieutenant–Colonel Arthur Morrow's sketch depicts the Settlers' Stockade near the original McNicol Homestead, which was fired upon by members of Te Koheriki on September 15th, 1863. Hori Te Whētuki forewarned the settlers of the impending attack.
Below: '*Camp of the Flying Columns headquarters and N York regiment, Pitt's Militia and Rifle Volunteers operating against rebel natives in the Wairoa-Maraetai districts, 1863*', also by Morrow.



[174] *Wairoa (from our own correspondent)* in D.S.C (26/9 & 11/11/1863), p.3; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.287; Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.38; Murdoch (1996), pp.15–18
[175] *Daily Southern Cross* – (29/10/1863), p.3; (26/10/1863), p. 3 & (13/11/1863), p.5

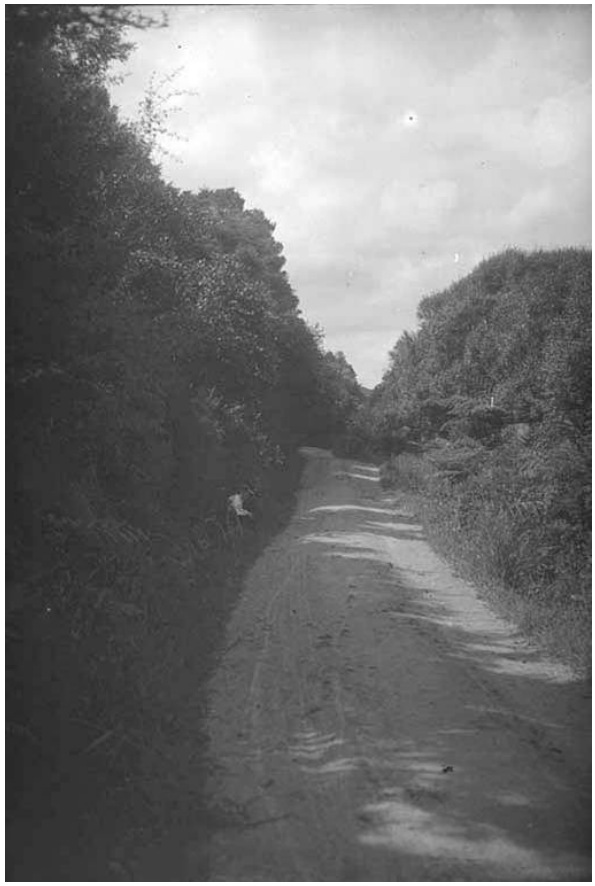
The colonists' lust for Ngāi Tai land at Ōtau, however, was made clear by the *Daily Southern Cross* in December that year.

> I would bespeak no more attention to the Maori settlement of Otau than its importance as a suitable field for colonisation, and the reminiscences it exhibits of an episode of the present war warrant. That settlement, it will be remembered, formed the head-quarters of the native war party, which attacked the Wairoa stockade last September, and in which the natives suffered some loss in killed and wounded. When peace returns, and when the confiscated acres of Otau will be offered to European enterprise, it may reasonably be supposed, that in addition to its being prized for the great fertility of its soils and the remarkable beauty of its situation there will be also an interest felt in marking the traces of the leaden shower which hailed on the inmates of the native whares that early morning...
>
> Leaving the stockade, and proceeding for nine or ten hundred yards up the right bank of the river, a belt of bush is reached through which tracks run straight to the settlement. Diverging to the left here for a little, at the edge of the bush, and just behind the small ti-tree and fern which form its fringe, are the breastworks which the Maoris constructed, with the best of intentions. They are ten in number, and the engineering student will admire the variety of angles which their faces present. They are in the same condition as when the Maoris occupied them, sitting on the Nikau leaves, waiting for the Pakeha to come and be killed. But fortunately they angled in vain, and the three hundred fishers who sat all day there without a single nibble, retired at night to find the Pakeha had out-generalled them. On through the level and now quiet forest the patrol threads its way; not a word is spoken, for the lurking savage is not far off, and every man is on the alert; but the open is at length reached, and the deserted settlement is in sight. A slight crackling is heard in the bush a couple of chains on the left, the rifles are brought smartly to the "capping position," every man stands where he heard it, no need to call "attention". A short and breathless pause. The crackling is louder; the strained attention is relaxed; "too loud to be a Maori" is whispered; "only some cattle" is responded; and in a few seconds some young beasts emerge from the forest, and the patrol is again in motion. Away past Crawford's homestead, with its broken windows and smokeless chimney – away across his tall rye-grass, running to waste – and Maori-land is reached. With the clear flowing river on the right, the gently rising ranges far on the left, the beautiful rolling lands in front, studded with bowers of peach trees (the fruit so heavy as to already have broken many branches with its weight), and waving grass, where a hundred beasts might fatten – there, stretched out before the charmed eye, lies the rich and lovely settlement of Otau. Looking on the soft beauty of the scene, the mind experiences a feeling of calm delight and delicious repose, and the words of the fine old song are forcibly suggested to the memory –
>
> And I said, if there's peace to be found in this world,
> A heart that is humble might look for it here
>
> – *Daily Southern Cross*, December 14th, 1863, p.3

In December of 1864, despite the efforts of the Rangatira of Ngāi Tai to remain neutral during the Land Wars, over 58,000 acres of land, known to Ngāi Tai as Ōtau–Hikurangi and to the Crown as

the East Wairoa Block, was confiscated by the Government from Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Kōhua and Te Koheriki.[176] Honetana Te Irirangi was paid £1,000 compensation on behalf of the iwi,[177] but Ngāi Tai continued to feel betrayed by the Crown over the loss.

The Native Lands Act of 1865 and the establishment of the Native Land Court also helped to alienate further land from the remaining Umupuia Reserve, by removing ***papa tupu*** title (collective ownership) from the iwi and instead awarding private, alienable titles over smaller blocks to individual chiefs. Umupuia was divided into 11 individual blocks between 1865 and 1866, ten of which had been alienated by 1869, leaving a little over 1,300 acres in collective Ngāi Tai ownership.[178] The Duder family had purchased the Whakakaiwhara Block during this period, and members of Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Kōhua soon took employment on the Duder Farm.



North Road, 1907
(James Richardson)

The creation of North Road between 1875 & 1879 under the Public Lands Act (in which the Government awarded itself the right to take Māori land for roads) meanwhile cut the Umupuia settlement off from important homes, burial grounds and cultivations on the opposite side of the road.[179] A new urupā was established near present-day Umupuia Park, while others on the private land of friendly European neighbours such as the Duders and Brownes continued to be used.[180]

---

[176] *New Zealand Gazette* (1864), p.461
[177] *The Wairoa Block* (Before Judge Fenton) in D.S.C. (29/5/1865), p.5
[178] See N.L.C. Hauraki Minute Book 1 ('Whakakaiwhara', 'Papepape'), Hauraki MB 2 ('Maraetai', 'Ngā Mawhatu', 'Ruangaingai' Nos. 1 & 2, 'Waihōhonu', 'Pōwhaturoa', 'Waiōmaru', 'Ōkaroro') and Murdoch (1996), p.18
[179] *Hori Te Whētuki and all of us of Ngātitai, Umupuia to Auckland Provincial Superintendent* (5/11/1875 & 3/12/1875), Auckland Provincial file 2246/76
[180] Duder, William Thomas (1896), p.262

Hori Te Whētuki's youngest daughter Hārata Kīngi Te Whētuki died in 1875 at Maketu (Bay of Plenty), among her mother Hohi Ihakarā's relatives,[181] and soon afterward Hori had Rāpata Tamehana (also a relative of Hori's wife Hohi) built the Whare Runanga at Umupuia, which was named Hārata Kīngi in honour of Hori's late daughter.[182]

Honetana Te Irirangi died the following year,[183] and his sister Ngeungeu also passed away during the 1870s, followed by Hori Te Whētuki who died on March 23rd, 1882, in the whare of Hārata Kīngi at Umupuia.[184] Honetana & Ngeungeu rest at Umupuia,[185] whilst Te Whētuki was interred at the sacred ground of Te Ruatō where Tara Te Irirangi and other great Ariki of Ngāi Tai had gone before him.[186] Wātene Te Makuru went to Taranaki in 1881 to follow the teachings of a prophet;[187] there he later died in 1888.[188] In 1891 his remains were returned to rest at Umupuia by Patariki Makiwhara.[189]

[181] *He Tāngata Mate* in *Te Waka Māori ō Niu Tirani* (11/1/1876), p.2
[182] Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), p.88; Maxwell, Te Manihera (1896), p.7
[183] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893 ii), p.29
[184] *Reports of Officers in Native Districts* in AJHR (1882), G1, p.2; Duder, William Thomas (1896), p.262
[185] Te Whētuki, Riria (1893), p.91; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.102, 106
[186] Knox, Hera Maurahu (n.d.), p.3; Duder, William Thomas (1896), pp.265–266; Maxwell, Te Manihera (1896), p.7
[187] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.111
[188] Maxwell, Te Manihera (1892), p.1
[189] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.102

Maraetai (Umupuia), Wairoa South, Sketched by A. Horne, 1882

Leaders of the Ngāi Tai community from the 1880s through to the early 20th Century included the surviving Maxwell brothers Rāpata (who had returned home from America in 1886),[190] Patariki (Te Manihera) and Ānaru Makiwhara, alongside Hori Te Whētuki's surviving children Hēnare Kīngi Te Whētuki,[191] Riria Te Roto Kīngi Te Whētuki, and Riria's husband Pepa Tauke Kirkwood from Ngāti Ruanui of Taranaki.[192] From the 1880s until the outbreak of World War I Ānaru Makiwhara was a well known Tohunga Tā Moko (master tattoo practitioner) throughout the upper North Island, and had become a widely consulted authority on the traditional histories of Ngāi Tai, and of wider Auckland and Hauraki.[193]

Members of Ngāi Tai continued to work for local farmers of Clevedon, or on Kauri logging and gum-digging settlements such as Kahawairahi & Kauriwhakiwhaki (Beachlands), where whānau maintained traditional kāinga, fishing grounds, cultivations and urupā on land now in European ownership.[194] A flax mill was run from Umupuia during the latter stages of the 19th Century,[195] and pigs, fruit and vegetables continued to be traded by the

[190] Maxwell, Te Manihera (1892), p.3; Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.112
[191] Jacobs, James (1893), p.99
[192] Murdoch (1996), p.24; kōrero ā Carmen Kirkwood
[193] Makiwhara, Ānaru (Obit, 1927); Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39; McCollum & McCollum (2000)
[194] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896), p.286; Murdoch (1996), pp.9, 24 & 33
[195] Murdoch (1996), pp.27 & 29

Kirkwood, Hēnare and Maxwell families in both the local and Auckland markets.

The ongoing subdivision of land blocks within Umupuia throughout the 1880s, 90s and early 20th Century, however, saw the iwi land-base continue to shrink, and the local Ngāi Tai lifestyle becoming an increasingly subsistence one.

Umupuia, September 1904, showing the Flax Mill on the site of present-day Umupuia Marae – Photographed by James Richardson

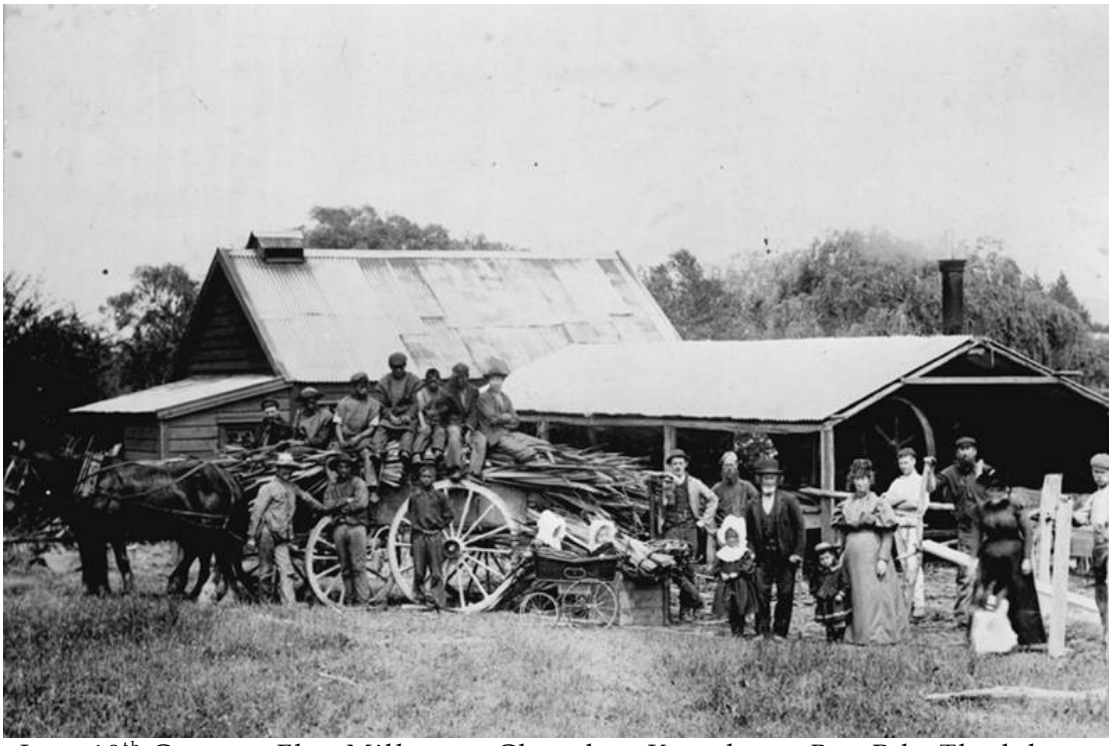
During the 1890s Hēnare Kīngi Te Whētuki and Riria Te Roto Kīngi both passed away,[196] as did Patariki and Rāpata Makiwhara between 1909 and 1914.[197] Ānaru Makiwhara, who was widowed in 1907,[198] had been living at Waikato with his wife Pēti Herewini's people since the death of Hori Te Whētuki,[199] but continued to play a leading role on behalf of Ngāi Tai; petitioning the Land Court and the Government on numerous occasions regarding the Ōtau–Hikurangi confiscations, and the ongoing desecration of Ngāi Tai burial grounds at Te Ruatō.[200]

The children and grandchildren of Patariki and Ānaru, together with Hori Te Whētuki's grandchildren and their families were the

[196] Kirkwood, Pepa Tauke (1896), p.239; Te Arani Hēnare (1901), p.250
[197] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1910), p.308 & (1915), p.325
[198] *Te Pipiwharauroa* No.111 (June 1907), p.10
[199] Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893), p.111
[200] Copies of Ānaru's successive petitions are found in *Reports of the Native Affairs Committee*, 1876, 1880, 1881, 1888, 1904 & 1905

last remaining Ngāi Tai families living at Umupuia by this time. Small blocks in the Mātaitai & Kawakawa Bay area remained with whānau of Ngāti Kōhua, Ngāi Tai & Te Urikaraka.

Umupuia was devastated by fire during the early 20th Century, destroying both the flax mill and the last standing traditional meeting house, Hārata Kīngi, meaning that the major economic and cultural centres for the iwi were now gone.[201] Important gatherings such as Tangihana became increasingly based around whānau homesteads in the Clevedon area, while other families continued to move away altogether in search of work in the cities.



Late 19th Century Flax Mill, near Clevedon–Kawakawa Bay Rd. The labour (seated atop the flax-laden cart) is composed almost entirely of Māori children. The owners & operators (standing to the right) are Pākehā, including Mr. George Hoye (with bowler hat & beard) and family.

Nonetheless, several important whānau from other tribal districts had also begun moving into the Kawakawa Bay, Clevedon and Maraetai area during the early 20th Century. They included Te Hanatāua Tūrei (also known to Clevedon residents as Harry or Hēnare Tuesday) of both Taranaki and Ngāti Kahungunu descent, and Tete Parāone who traced links to both Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Maru. The families of both men became closely linked through marriages to local whānau of Mātaitai and Umupuia, so that today the Tūrei and Brown families have both become part of Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Kōhua of Clevedon. In 1912, Te Toka Toru

[201] *Dream of Marae Comes True* – N.Z.H. (13/11/1990), p.6; Murdoch (1996), p.27

Tapu Church of Mātaitai, built by volunteers from local whānau on land donated by Tete Parāone and his wife Rāhera Titia-i-Te Rangi (of Ngāti Kōhua), was officially opened and dedicated by the Bishop Crossley.[202]

Te Toka Toru Tapu, Mātaitai

Ānaru Makiwhara (Te Rira), at Waiariki Pā, Onewhero, 1926. Photo by Te Ngeungeu Beamish

In the later years of Ānaru Makiwhara's life, emerging Ngāi Tai leaders included his daughter Emere Rangitakotokino Beamish and granddaughters Maata Tūrama Reweti and Te Ngeungeu Beamish, and the grandchildren of Hori Te Whētuki, including Te Arani Brady (née Hēnare; daughter of Hēnare Kīngi Te Whētuki), and Hauwhenua & Pareteuenga Kirkwood (children of Riria and Pepa), among others.[203] Many of the children and grandchildren of Patariki Makiwhara moved away to Tōrere, Taranaki or Waikato, but others including his daughter Māora Okeroa Reupene and son Hori Maxwell (a decorated Lance-Corporal in the Māori Pioneer Battalion during the First World War), and

[202] *Clevedon: New Church at Mataitai* in N.Z.H. (10/6/12), p. 4; Brown, George Ihaka (1962); T.O.H., No. 39 (June 1962), p.18

[203] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39

granddaughters Te Aue Haata, Te Whakakōhu Tahapēhi, Mere Mahu Thompson and her brother Hone Te Irirangi Reuben, to name a few, all raised large whānau who remained strongly connected to both Umupuia and Mātaitai throughout the 20th Century.

Once again, the temporary displacement of many Ngāi Tai families from their traditional homelands at Te Wairoa during the 20th Century requires some commentary on events in the tribe's broader history both within and beyond the Clevedon AOI. As with all other episodes in Ngāi Tai history, none of these events reflect in any way a loss of Mana whenua, but rather, an extension of the Mana of Ngāi Tai of Te Wairoa over areas far and beyond the prescribed 'Area Of Interest'.

In 1917 Te Ngeungeu Beamish became a clerk for a law firm in Whakatāne, before transferring to Wellington to work for the Public Trust Office's Māori Land department in 1920, and the legal branch of the Department of Māori Affairs in 1923.[204] Hauwhenua Kirkwood – born and raised at Māwherawhera kāinga of Umupuia, Clevedon – meanwhile hosted and escorted the Prince of Wales (later King George VI) in 1920 on a tour of Rotorua and Hawkes Bay in his Daimler; the first seen in New Zealand.[205]

Ngeungeu frequently travelled back and forth to Waikato and Auckland during the 1920s to support her grandfather's petitions to parliament, and on Ānaru's death in 1927, Ngeungeu inherited responsibility for Ngāi Tai's ancestral grievance over the Ōtau–Hikurangi confiscation. That same year she became the Social Secretary for her childhood friend and cousin Princess Te Puea of Waikato from 1927 – 1938, during which period she was also a Māori agent for the Native Land Courts in Hamilton and Auckland.[206]

Ngeungeu and her cousin Hauwhenua Kirkwood moved within a circle of distinguished Māori scholars and community leaders including Sir Māui Pōmare, Sir Apirana Ngata, Dame Whina Cooper, Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Sir Pāora Reeves among others. Ngeungeu, Hauwhenua and their cousin Te Arani Brady were all active members of Te Akarana Māori Association, established in 1927. During the 1930s, Ngeungeu and her mother Emere Beamish, Hauwhenua Kirkwood and Te Arani Brady, together with members of Sir Māui Pōmare's whānau, were active

[204] McCollum & McCollum (2000)
[205] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39
[206] McCollum & McCollum (2000)

in assisting Ms. Emilia Maud Nixon and George Graham in setting up the Tainui Garden of Memories in Howick. The carved Whare in the Garden was officially opened and dedicated in October of 1936.[207]

During World War II, a number of young men from Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Pāoa & Ngāti Kōhua of Clevedon served in the 28th (Māori) Battalion's D Company, a.k.a. 'Ngāti Walkabout'. Local boys included Raniera (Daniel) Jack, William Albert King, Harry Hema and Patariki (Pat) Reuben from Clevedon, and Tokorua Kirkwood of Onehunga. Many of Patariki Maxwell's descendants from Tōrere and the East Coast also served with the C Company 'Cowboys', as did large numbers of Ngāi Tai from Tōrere. Harry Hema was killed in Tunisia, North Africa in 1943, and Pat Reuben along with many of his comrades gave his life in Faenza, Italy, in 1944.

Ngeungeu Beamish had married Canadian-born William Zister in 1938, and following Bill's service in WWII they returned to farm whānau land together at Umupuia. As well as farming New Zealand's first herd of Belted Galloway cattle (whose descendants are still at Umupuia), Bill Zister ran a rural delivery service in Clevedon.[208]

[207] N.Z.H (2/11/1936), p.14
[208] McCollum & McCollum (2000)


Hauwhenua Kirkwood, Māngere Marae, 1955

From 1946 Hauwhenua Kirkwood held the seat for Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Tamaoho and Te Koheriki on the Tainui Māori Trust Board until he became the Chairman of the Onehunga–Māngere Marae Committee in 1949.[209] Hauwhenua's elder sister Pareteuenga Kirkwood became a well-known expert in Māori chants, and the use of traditional weapons such as the patu, mere and taiaha. She supported Te Puea in Raupatu petitions to parliament, and married Mita Karaka, Secretary to King Te Rata Mahuta.[210]

Clevedon farmer Hēnare Te Hatawira Brown, son of Rahera Titia-i-Te Rangi (Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Kōhua) and Tete Parāone (Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Maru) won the Ahu Whenua Trophy for 1946-1947. He had also won place medals for 1942 and 1944.[211]

In 1947, members of Ngāi Tai led by Ngeungeu Zister, Hohi Huirama–Collins and George Ihaka Brown (brother of Hēnare Te Hatawira) took pride of place in the Howick Centennial Parade.[212]

[209] T.A.H. No.11 (July 1955), p.46
[210] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39
[211] Brown whānau papers & archives
[212] Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives

Howick Centennial Parade, 1947 – Ngeungeu Zister & Hohi Huirama-Collins in front, George Ihaka Brown in centre of row behind

Emere Rangitakotokino Beamish (daughter of Ānaru Makiwhara and mother of ten children, including Maata Tūrama Reweti & Ngeungeu Zister) passed away in 1948 at her home in Onehunga and was buried at Umupuia.[213] The following year, Ngeungeu succeeded Hauwhenua Kirkwood to the seat for Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Tamaoho and Te Koheriki on the Tainui Māori Trust Board – becoming the first woman elected to the Board; and in 1951, she became a foundation member of the Māori Women's Welfare League, and was appointed a Justice of the Peace.[214]

Te Hanatāua Tūrei, of Tūrei Hill fame, passed away in 1955 at the age of 110 and was buried at Te Toka Toru Tapu, Mātaitai. He was well known among local whānau for his knowledge of bird and forest lore, and an admired and respected figure with local Pākehā of Clevedon & Kawakawa Bay as well.[215]

In 1961, Hauwhenua Kirkwood became a founding member of the Māori Education Foundation (now the Māori Education Trust).[216]

---

[213] Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives

[214] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39; McCollum & McCollum (2000) + Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives (there is some discrepancy among sources as to the correct dates when Hauwhenua Kirkwood held the seat for Tainui Māori Trust Board and when Ngeungeu Zister was elected)

[215] Information compiled from Te Hana's headstone; McKenzie (1979), pp.111 & 117; personal comments of Jessie Munro (McNicol Homestead curator) & Mary Couldrey (Kawakawa Bay); and kōrero & records of the Tūrei whānau

[216] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39

George Ihaka Brown, who had contributed carvings to the Mātaitai Chapel of Te Toka Toru Tapu, published the church's history on its 50th Anniversary in 1962. He was also actively involved with Clevedon School, running the school's kapa haka and other Māori-focused education projects.[217]

Between 1963 and 1965, Ngeungeu Zister assisted Dame Whina Cooper to raise funds for Te Unga Waka Māori Catholic Marae in Epsom, and was active in supporting Te Puea Marae in Māngere which also opened in 1965, and which had been initiated by Hauwhenua Kirkwood.[218] In October of 1966 Jim Maxwell, one of the 17 children of George & Minaora (née Moeke) Maxwell of Umupuia, became a founding member of the Ōtara Marae Steering Committee who worked throughout the 1960s and '70s to establish what would eventually become Ngāti Ōtara Marae.[219]

Ngeungeu Zister was appointed to the Hauraki Gulf Maritime Park Board in 1970, again becoming the first woman on the Board.[220] That same year, members of the Kirkwood whānau, through their strong links to Ngāti Tamaoho & Waikato-Tainui, played a leading role in the creation of Whātāpaka Marae in Karaka, Manukau, as a Tainui Marae for Ngāti Tamaoho, Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Koheriki. The majority of whānau from Whātāpaka were (and are still) of both Ngāti Tamaoho and Ngāi Tai, with many being the direct descendants of Hori Te Whētuki.[221]

In 1972 the earliest incarnation of Ngāti Ōtara Marae was officially opened on April 15th, housed in a former Social Welfare building donated from Ōtāhuhu. During the same year, Maata Tūrama Reweti passed away and was buried at Umupuia.[222] In August of 1973, Hauwhenua Kirkwood also passed away and was laid to rest at Whātāpaka.

Meanwhile, Rangitakerehau Tūrei (née Pāora), granddaughter of Te Aue Haata (née Maxwell) and Te Haata Mihaka, became a founding member of the Papakura Māori Welfare Committee; formed to establish an urban Marae and Māori social services in

---

[217] Brown, George Ihaka (1962) and kōrero, records & papers of the Brown whānau
[218] McCollum & McCollum (2000); kōrero ā Carmen Kirkwood
[219] *Otara Marae Launched at Dinner* in S.A.C. (12/10/66), p. 24; *Campaign to Build Otara Marae* in Papatoetoe-Otara Gazette (19/10/66), p. 2; *Otara Marae: Its Progress and Aims* in S.A.C. (12/7/67), p. 27; *Mayoral Tribute: James (Jim) Maxwell* in Minutes: Manukau City Council Meeting (13/12/2007), p.27
[220] McCollum & McCollum (2000) + Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives
[221] Kōrero ā Carmen Kirkwood
[222] Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives

Papakura.[223] In 1975 Te Koiwi Park was donated as a reserve for Papakura Marae.[224]

Raniera ('Barney') Kirkwood, grandson of Hauwhenua, had also become a prominent leader of Ngāi Tai & Ngāti Tamaoho by this time. Barney became proactive within Manukau on environmental issues, particularly those affecting Manukau Harbour, and served on the Manukau Harbour Maritime Planning Committee. Together with his wife Vera he was also an advocate of improved Health and Mental Health Services for Māori.[225]

Barney's cousin Carmen Kirkwood from the mid-1970s spearheaded the move to engage northern Tainui peoples in the resource management process to protect the waterways of Manukau and the Lower Waikato Valley, coming to the attention of Professor Mason Durie when, decades ahead of her time, Carmen presented a 200 page Tāngata whenua submission on the environmental impacts of climate change.[226]

In 1978 representatives of 23 Waikato Marae came together at Whātāpaka to form Te Puaha ki Manuka; a group borne of concern over the impacts of development on land, waterways, fisheries and wāhi tapu. This group became formally incorporated as the Huakina Development Trust in 1983, with Carmen and Barney playing a leading role in Tainui environmental and resource management issues. The Trust's mandate diversified over time to provide wide range of social services. Throughout the 1980s, Carmen, Barney and the Huakina Trust strongly supported Ngeungeu Zister and Ngāi Tai at Umupuia on environmental issues affecting the Wairoa River, the Waikōpua Estuary and Ngāi Tai's many precious waterways, while Carmen continued to serve Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Tamaoho and Te Koheriki on the Tainui Māori Trust Board.

Bill Zister died and was buried at Umupuia in 1978.[227] Te Ngeungeu began raising funds to reopen a Marae at Umupuia by renting camping space on her farm and running a popular beachfront shop, near the site of the original Whare Runanga, Hārata Kīngi.[228]

---

[223] Kōrero ā Hūhana Tūrei; see also *Fund Started for Marae in P'kra* in S.A.C. (21/11/1972), p.3; *Crisis for Papakura Maori* in S.A.C. (22/3/1972), pp.8 & 31

[224] *Landscaping Controlled by Council* – S.A.C. (4/12/1975), p.4; *Building Soon to Begin on Papakura Marae* – S.A.C. (5/2/1976), p. 1; *Maori Name for Marae Reserve* – S.A.C. (25/3/1976), p.4

[225] Kōrero ā Carmen Kirkwood

[226] Auckland Conservation Board – Minutes (13/4/2009), p.14

[227] Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives

[228] *Dream of Marae Comes True* – N.Z.H. (13/11/1990), p.6; McCollum & McCollum (2000)

Emily Karaka, granddaughter of Pareteuenga Kirkwood and Mita Karaka, held her first solo exhibition as a painter in 1980, going on to become a critically acclaimed artist and noted Māori activist from that time forward. As an artist, her early supporters included Greer Twiss and Colin McCahon, whom she came to regard as an elder. McCahon and Ralph Hotere, another mentor, are often referenced in comparative studies of Emily's work. Heavily influenced by activist movements of the 1970s, nearly all of Emily's pieces produced since the 1980s have revolved around cultural, spiritual, emotional and political themes stemming directly from her work on Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki's Treaty claims.

Emily's brother Dilworth Karaka, meanwhile, had joined iconic Kiwi Reggae band Herbs in 1980, going on to become the band's longest serving member. The band created a stir early on with their politically charged '*What's Be Happening?*' EP; released on the eve of the controversial Springbok tour of New Zealand and featuring a cover-photo of Māori protestors being evicted from Bastion Point. Herbs won over the hearts of 'mainstream' New Zealand with their stance on nuclear testing in the Pacific expressed in songs like '*French Letter*' and '*Nuclear Waste*', and later found commercial success and industry awards with '*Slice of Heaven*' (with Dave Dobbyn) in 1986 and '*Sensitive to a Smile*' in 1987.

The Umupuia Marae Trust was formed in 1982 with the support of Ngeungeu's friend David Roy Simmons (ethnologist and head of the Māori Department at Auckland Memorial Museum) as the Trust's secretary.[229] In March of 1983 a portion of the Umupuia farmland was gazetted and returned to collective iwi ownership for the purpose of re-establishing the Marae.[230] Meanwhile the Papakura Catholic Church donated the building of St. Mary's Church, formerly of Te Ararimu Parish, as a Wharekarakia for Umupuia in recognition of Ngeungeu's services to Māori Catholics of South Auckland.[231]

Fund-raising for the Marae continued throughout the 1980s, and in 1987 Ngeungeu Zister and other elders formed the Ngāi Tai Tribal Committee.[232] The Chairman of the Committee was historian Te Warena Tāua (Ngāi Tai, Te Kawerau ā Maki), who had also become Assistant Ethnologist at the Auckland Museum in 1985 and, between 1985 and 1995, wrote a number of important articles and papers on the traditions and history of Ngāi Tai, Te

[229] *Dream of Marae Comes True* – N.Z.H. (13/11/1990), p.6
[230] NZ Gazette (1983), pp.684–5
[231] N.Z.H. (25/7/1983), p. 7; *Mrs Zister Remembers* – Manukau Courier (undated clipping)
[232] Tāua (2002), pp.69–70

Kawerau & Te Wai ō Hua. Together with elders including Te Ngeungeu Zister and Barney Kirkwood, throughout this period Te Warena also worked closely with Auckland culture & heritage historian Graeme Murdoch to see Ngāi Tai oral histories committed to record.

The Tribal Committee had also been created for the purpose of advocacy, as Ngāi Tai had no formal representative body. This was partly in response to Ngeungeu Zister's concerns over a proposed Marina development on a site near Whakakaiwhara of Te Wairoa, which she and other Ngāi Tai elders insisted was a burial ground. This was eventually proven with the assistance of an archaeologist, and the Marina did not proceed.[233]

In 1988, the Ngāi Tai Tribal Committee became the Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Committee, to avoid confusion with the Tribal Committee of Ngāi Tai ki Tōrere.[234] In 1989 Ngeungeu Zister was awarded a C.B.E for her services to Māori, presented by the Governor-General Sir Pāora Reeves at an investiture ceremony at Umupuia.[235] In September that year, she formally registered the East Wairoa/Ōtau block as a Raupatu grievance with the Waitangi Tribunal, thereafter known as Treaty Claim WAI-96.[236]

In November of 1990 Umupuia Marae was at last officially reopened and dedicated, again by Sir Paul Reeves.[237] Ngeungeu was now 97 years old, and having no children of her own, insisted that her grand-nephew Stephen Maxwell Barker take her name of Ngeungeu Zister (and that he should cut his hair). Aunty Ngeungeu also received the 1990 New Zealand Commemoration Medal, and in 1993 at the age of 100 received the New Zealand Women's Suffrage Centennial Medal – having been born in the same year in which New Zealand women became the first in the world to gain the vote.[238] In 1991, Te Whare ō Tōrere at the Howick Memorial Gardens was expanded and reopened, and officially blessed at the rededication ceremony by Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangi Kāhu.

In August of 1992, the Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Committee was dissolved in favour of establishing a more formalised organisation, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Trust, which was incorporated

[233] Ibid
[234] Ibid
[235] Tāua in La Roche (1991), p.39; McCollum & McCollum (2000) + Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives
[236] Waitangi Tribunal – *The Hauraki Report* (2006), Vol. I, p.8
[237] *Dream of Marae Comes True* – N.Z.H. (13/11/1990), p.6
[238] *What's a Year Here or there at the Age of 101?* – Manukau Courier (20/10/1994), p.5; McCollum & McCollum (2000)

as a Charitable Trust days later. The Trustees included Te Warena Tāua, Stephen Ngeungeu Maxwell Zister, Michael Kirkwood, Laurie Beamish, Haare Tūrei, Emily Karaka, Josie Cameron, Runi Tahapēhi, June Rangihunoa and Pita Ririnui. In 1995, the name was changed to Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust, by which name it is still known today.[239] During the same year, George Ihaka Brown passed away at the age of 92.

Between 1994 and 1995 Umupuia was again subjected to a series of arson and vandalism attacks, in which the carved gateway to the urupā and the Wharekai (Dining Hall) called Te Urungahauhau were both destroyed, and the historic church of St. Mary's was completely gutted. Many tāonga including photographs, historic manuscripts and other precious heirlooms of Ngāi Tai ancestors were inside. The Kuia was so distraught when the church was set ablaze that she had to be hospitalised and heavily sedated, and her health steadily began to decline.[240] Rāhera Ngeungeu Te Irirangi Zister passed away at Middlemore Hospital in May of 1997, nearing her 104th birthday, and was interred alongside her husband, sisters and mother at Umupuia.[241]

In 1998, Ngāi Tai Umupuia Te Waka Tōtara Trust was established in order to fulfil the Kuia Ngeungeu Zister's vision of seeing Umupuia Marae restored and completed, and the Ngāi Tai Umupuia Kaumātua Council was formally constituted as a tikanga advisory committee to the Marae and the Trust.[242] Te Waka Tōtara Trust also assumed Umupuia Marae's resource management & environmental kaitiaki responsibilities, while the Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust became increasingly focused on Treaty claims. The Chairman of Te Waka Tōtara (1998-2002) was Robert Tuakana Maxwell Jr. followed by Stephen Ngeungeu Maxwell Zister (2002-present), and other long serving Trustees & representatives have included James Brown, Laurie Beamish, Makareti Atama, Faenza Bryham, Jaroz Adams, Ānaru Kīngi and Nora Te Puea Kīngi. Te Waka Tōtara was instrumental in the naming of Te Irirangi Drive in the year 2000, and in 2001, following the council approved desecration of Te Oue & Pehowai Pā, received a High Court ordered Resource Management & Environmental Service contract with Manukau City Council, and a formal public apology from then Mayor, Sir Barry Curtis.

---

[239] Tāua (2002), p.70

[240] *Umupuia Church Torched* – H&PT (7/9/1995), p.1

[241] *Matriarch Lived Life for Maori* – N.Z.H. (23/5/97), p. 7; *Matriarch's Eventful Journey Ends* - Eastern Courier (28/5/1997), p.3; *Long Eventful Journey Ends* – Papakura Courier (28/5/1997), p.3; *Matriarch and Marae Founder Passes Away at Age 103* – Pohutukawa Coast Times (30/5/1997), p. 9; McCollum & McCollum (2000)

[242] Ngāi Tai Umupuia Te Waka Tōtara Trust Deed of Establishment

Carmen Kirkwood meanwhile penned the acclaimed books '*Koroki My King*' (1999), '*Tawhiao, King or Prophet*' (2000), and '*Te Arikinui and the Millennium of Waikato*' (2001); compiling and documenting the histories and traditions of the Kīngitanga from Waikato–Tainui sources. Carmen has throughout the first decade of the 21st Century continued to serve the Umupuia Marae Committee, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust, Whātāpaka Marae, Huakina Development Trust, Tainui Māori Trust Board, Waikato Conservation Board and later the Auckland Conservation Board, and, with Nora Te Puea Kīngi and Racheal Treloar-Maxwell, represents Ngāi Tai on Te Kauhanganui – the 'Great Council' of King Tāwhiao, first established in 1889.

Te Warena Tāua was appointed a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit (MNZM) in 2004 for services to Māori and conservation, having served two terms as a member of the Auckland Conservation Board since the 1990s.

Te Waka Tōtara Trust has since 2004 represented Ngāi Tai on Manukau City Council's Treaty of Waitangi Committee, and is represented on regional government Mana Whenua forums for the Manukau, Papakura and Franklin districts. In 2005 Te Waka Tōtara launched the iwi website for Ngāi Tai of Umupuia Marae and Tāmaki Makaurau.

In June of 2006 Raniera ('Barney') Kirkwood passed away aged 73. Counties–Manukau District Health Board and Massey University named the Raniera and Vera Kirkwood Te Rau Puawai Scholarship in honour of Barney and his late wife Vera's work in Mental Health services. Jim Maxwell, kaumatua Ngāi Tai of Ngāti Ōtara Marae, also passed away in November of the same year.

In 2008, Umupuia Marae & Te Waka Tōtara successfully petitioned the Ministry of Fisheries to place a Rāhui (protective ban) on the cockle beds of Umupuia Beach. Umupuia is one of Auckland's most rigorously plundered shellfish gathering resources, and studies showed that over a ten year period, shellfish had declined from 40 million to 2 million cockles in the same survey area.

Carmen Kirkwood receives her Lifetime Achievement Award from King Tuheitia

At 2009's Te Amorangi National Māori Academic Excellence Awards, the recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award was Carmen Kirkwood. Meanwhile Umupuia Marae & Te Waka Tōtara had the historic church St. Mary's Wharekarakia ō Te Ararimu restored and reopened in a rededication ceremony in 2009, and the marriage of Laurence John Beamish (great grandson of Rangitakotokino Emere Makiwhara) and Ani Forgie (of Ngāti Kahungunu and also a descendant of Tōrere) conducted by Barry Bublitz of Ngāti Kōhua in January of 2010 was the first to pave the way for all others to follow.

Throughout 2009 Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust also commenced a series of landmark Hui ā Iwi based between Umupuia and Ruapōtaka Marae, achieving a formal mandate to enter into negotiations with the Office of Treaty Settlements. At the time of writing (March 2010) Ngāi Tai as an Iwi are moving towards a settlement agreement for the Crown's multiple breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi against Ngāi Tai since 1840.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Notes on Citation Sources contained within the Text & the Bibliography

Events outlined within the 'Historical Narrative' component of the report and which discuss the pre-Colonial and early Colonial periods of Ngāi Tai history are first and foremost drawn from traditional, oral sources known to the author as a descendant & student of Ngāi Tai historians, kaumātua and senior rangatira, and from the private collections of Ngāi Tai whānui. However, wherever possible citation sources are also given to known sources in which a written account of the traditional narrative may be obtained.

Footnotes within the text appear in chronological order, with preference given to the earliest available traditional sources. Where no written Tāngata whenua account is available to the author, secondary sources may be cited, and in some instances no citation is provided at all. Citations of historic records increase steadily from the earliest sources during the early-mid 19th Century onwards and in turn become less frequent in reference to the latter 20th & early 21st Centuries where events are from recent living memory.

Further reference to sources whose documented output has been of particular value to the author's understanding of this history (including some not cited within the text) is also noted in the 'Acknowledgements'.

In some instances, such as references to Newspaper articles and other periodicals, if the source is cited only once or infrequently within the text, then the full reference is given within the footnotes of the relevant page and may not necessarily reappear in the bibliography.

Journals, Periodicals & Newspapers

Abbreviations used:

A.S. – *Auckland Star*

D.S.C. – *The Daily Southern Cross*

H&PT – *Howick & Pakuranga Times*

J.P.S. – *Journals of the Polynesian Society*

NOTORNIS – *Journal of the Ornithological Society of New Zealand*

NZFHS – *Journal of the NZ Federation of Historical Studies*

N.Z.H. – *The New Zealand Herald*

O.R.H. - *Ohinemuri Regional History Journal*

S.A.C. – *South Auckland Courier*

T.A.H. – *Te Ao Hou Magazine*

TRANZ – *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*

WDHS - *Journal of the Whakatane and District Historical Society*

Texts referred to:

Adams, Lionel (1974) – *A Tainui Whakapapa* – O.R.H., Vol. 18, June 1974

Anon (1962) – *The Romance of Torere* – WDHS, Vol. X, No.2, June 1962

Graham, George (1919) – *The Account of Kupe and Tainui* – J.P.S. Vol. 28

Graham, George (1921) – *Te Tuhi-ā-Manawatere and other legends of Maraetai, Auckland (As Narrated by Anaru Makiwhara, of Ngati-Tai)* – J.P.S. Vol. 30, No. 120

Graham, George (1922) – *Te Heke-ō-Ngā-Toko-Toru* – J.P.S. Vol. 31, No. 124

Graham, George (1923 i) – *Ngāti Huarere – An Account of the Wars Against Them and of Their Emigration to the Northern Districts* – J.P.S. Vol. 32, No. 125

Graham, George (1923 ii) – *The Fall of Mokoia and Mauinaina and the Death of Kāea – 1821, As related by Ānaru Makiwhara of Ngāti–Tai, Maraetai* – J.P.S. Vol. 32, No. 126

Graham, George (1924) – *Kahu-mau-roa and Te Kotuiti – Two Famous War Canoes of Ngāti–Pāoa and their History* – J.P.S. Vol. 33, No. 130

Graham, George (1924) – *Te Toka-Tū-Whenua – A Relic of the Ancient Waiōhua of Tāmaki* – J.P.S. Vol. 34, No. 134

Graham, George (1941) – *Marutūāhu, by Tukumana Te Taniwhā* – J.P.S. Vol. 50

Graham, George (1946) – *Some Taniwhā and Tūpua* – J.P.S. Vol. 55, No. 1

Graham, George (1949) – *Pare Hauraki–Pare Waikato* – J.P.S. Vol. 58, No. 2

Graham, George (1951) – *Tainui* – J.P.S. Vol. 60, No. 1

Gudgeon, Lt.–Col. (1903 i) – *The Whence of the Maori – Part III* – J.P.S., Vol. 12, No.1, March 1903

Gudgeon, Lt.–Col. (1903 ii) – *The Whence of the Maori - Part IV* – J.P.S., Vol. 12, No.3, September 1903

Te Hīnaki, Maihi Te Kapua (c.1894) in **Graham, George (1951)** – *Tainui* – J.P.S. Vol. 60, No. 1

Kelly, Leslie G. (1955) – *Cook Island origin of the Māori* – J.P.S., Vol. 64, No. 2

McKenzie, H. R. (1979) – *A History and Account of the Birds of the Hūnua Ranges* in *NOTORNIS* Vol. 26, Pt. II (June 1979)

'Matanga' (1932) – *Early Exploring; Marsden in the Waitematā* – N.Z.H. (6/8/1932), Supplement, p.1

Makiwhara, Ānaru in **Graham, George (1921)** – *Te Tuhi-ā-Manawatere and other legends of Maraetai, Auckland* – J.P.S. Vol. 30, No. 120

Makiwhara, Ānaru in **Graham, George (1922)** – *Te Heke-ō-Ngā-Toko-Toru* – J.P.S. Vol. 31, No. 124

Makiwhara, Ānaru in **Graham, George (1923 i)** – *Ngāti Huarere – An Account of the Wars Against Them and of Their Emigration to the Northern Districts* – J.P.S. Vol. 32, No. 125

Makiwhara, Ānaru in **Graham, George (1923 ii)** – *The Fall of Mokoia and Mauinaina and the Death of Kāea, 1821* – J.P.S. Vol. 32, No. 126

Makiwhara, Ānaru (Obit) – *Link with the Past – Auckland Star* 26/2/1927

Makiwhara, Ānaru – *Moko-ika-hiku-waru The Fish-like Lizard of the Eight Tails* in **Graham, George (1946)** – *Some Taniwhā and Tūpua* – J.P.S. Vol. 55, No. 1

Te Moananui, Katikati (1844) – Letter (29/1/1844) in *Te Karere ō Nui Tirani* (1/2/1844), pp.10–11

Preece, Rev. James (1867) – *Maori Manners, Customs & Traditions – No. 2* in D.S.C (25/03/1867), p.6

Shortland, Edward (1868) – *A Short Sketch of the Maori Races* in TRANZ, Vol. I

Smith, S. Percy (1895) – *The History of Ōtakanini Pā, Kaipara* – TRANZ, Vol. 28

Smith, S. Percy (1898) – *The Peopling of the North* – J.P.S. Vol. XI (supplement)

Sorrenson, M.P.K. (1959) – *The Māori People and the City of Auckland* – T.A.H. No. 27 (June 1959)

Taipari, Wīremu Hoterene (1887) – *Pare Hauraki – Pare Waikato* in **Graham, George (1949)** – J.P.S. Vol. 58, No. 2

Te Taniwhā, Tukumana endnotes to **Taipari (1887)**

Te Taniwhā, Tukumana (1929) – *Kā Heke-mai ā Marutūāhu ki Hauraki Nei* in **Graham, George (1941)** – *Marutūāhu, by Tukumana Te Taniwhā* – J.P.S. Vol. 50

Vickridge, Noel (1983) – *NGAITAI A Preliminary Sketch* – NZFHS, Vol II, Ch. 1, July 1983

Te Waewae, Hapi in **Smith, S. Percy (1895)** – *The History of Ōtakanini Pā, Kaipara* – TRANZ, Vol. 28

Zister, R. N. (n.d.) – *The History of Howick* in H&PT (undated clipping from Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives)

Land Courts, Land Claims, Waitangi Tribunal & National Archives

Abbreviations used:

M.L.C. – Māori Land Court

N.L.C. – M.L.C. Native Land Court records

N.Z.A. – National Archives, Archives New Zealand

O.L.C. – N.Z.A. Old Land Claims Commission files

WTRS – Waitangi Tribunal Report Series

Texts referred to:

Duder, William Thomas (1896) - N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 6

Fenton, Chief Judge Francis Dart (1869) – *Ōrākei Case: Interlocutory Judgment* in **N.L.C. (1879)** – *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1866–1879*

FitzRoy (1854) – *Plan of a Piece of Land Reserved for the Natives by Governor Fitz-Roy – Maraetai* (Crown Map)

Hēnare, Te Arani (1901) – N.L.C., Hauraki Minute Book 50

Husbands, Paul & Riddell, Kate (1993) – *The Alienation of South Auckland Lands* (WTRS)

Te Irirangi, Honetana (1866) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 1

Te Irirangi, Te Tara ki Moehau (1840) – N.Z.A. files OLC 1/14 332-333

Jacobs, James (1893) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 4

Kirkwood, Pepa Tauke Te Ueroa (1893) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 4

Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 4

Makiwhara, Ānaru (1893 ii) – N.L.C. Auckland Minute Book 4, p.29

Makiwhara, Ānaru (1896) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 6

Makiwhara, Ānaru (1910) – N.L.C., Mercer Minute Book 14

Makiwhara, Ānaru (1915) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 12

Maxwell, James (1870) – *James Maxwell to Native Land Agency*, 2/9/1870, enclosed in N.Z.A. files O.L.C. 1/14 332-333

Maxwell, Te Manihera (1892) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 5

Maxwell, Te Manihera (1896) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 7

Maxwell, Thomas (1833) – Statement of Evidence to James Busby (31/7/1833), British Resident at New Zealand, in N.Z.A. British Resident Records file BR1/1 [Micro 6908]

Maxwell, Thomas (1841) – Statement of Evidence (11/8/1841) to Commissioners Godfrey & Richmond, in N.Z.A. files O.L.C. 1/14 332-333

Poti, Raiha Manakā (1896) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 7

Raharuhi, Hamiora (1896) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 6

Tamehana, Rāpata (1893) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 4

Tipa, Hāora (1866) – N.L.C., Waiheke Minute Book 1

Turton, H. Hanson (1877) – *Māori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, Vol. I

Turton, H. Hanson – *Māori Deeds of Old Private Land Purchase in New Zealand, From the Year 1815 to 1840, with Pre-emptive and other Claims*

Tūtaura, Timoti (1871) – N.L.C., Hauraki Minute Book 3

Tūtaura, Timoti (1893) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 4

Te Whētuki, Hori (1851) – Statement of Evidence (14/6/1851) enclosed in *Gisborne to Colonial Secretary* (1/7/1851) in N.Z.A. files O.L.C. 1/14 589-590 [Whētuki recorded as 'We Tuki']

Te Whētuki, Hori (1866 i) – N.L.C., Hauraki Minute Book 1

Te Whētuki, Hori (1866 ii) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 1

Te Whētuki, Hori (1866) – N.L.C., Hauraki Minute Book 2

Te Whētuki, Hori (1871) – N.L.C., Hauraki Minute Book 3

Te Whētuki, Riria (1893) – N.L.C., Auckland Minute Book 4

Historic, Cultural & Archaeological Papers & Reports

Abbreviations used:

NZAA – New Zealand Archaeological Association

S.R.F. – NZAA Site Record Form

Texts referred to:

Green, Nat (2009) – *Ko Te Wairoa Te Awa: Ngāi Tai Cultural Heritage Report on Te Wairoa River, Clevedon*

Manukau City Council (1989) – *Coastal Management Plan 1989*

Murdoch, Graeme (1989) – *Historical Perspectives on the Southern Kaipara, Lower Waikato and Wairoa Valley Part II: The Lower Waikato, Wairoa Valley*

Murdoch, Graeme (1993 i) – *History of Human Occupation in the East Hunua*

Murdoch, Graeme (1993 ii) – *A Brief History of the Human Occupation of the Hunua Catchment Parkland*

Murdoch, Graeme (1996) – *A History of the Human Occupation of the Whakakaiwhara Block*

Plowman, Mica (2009) – *The Archaeology of the Clevedon Village and Wairoa River Valley*

Tāua, Te Warena (2002) – *Ngai Tai: A Cultural Heritage Report to Manukau City*

Published Books

Angas, George French (1847) – *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. I

Barr, John (1922) – *The City of Auckland, New Zealand, 1840–1920*

Cowan, James (1922; 1955) – *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*

Cowan, James & Pōmare, Hon. Sir Māui (1930) – *Legends of the Māori*, Vol. I

Fairfield, Geoff (1995) – *Te Waiārohia ō Ngāitai – The Story of the Bucklands Beach Peninsula*

Graham, George – *A Māori History of the Auckland Isthmus* in **Barr, John (1922) –** *The City of Auckland, New Zealand, 1840–1920*

Graham, George (c.1929) – *Māori Place Names of Auckland* in **Simmons, David (1987)** – *Māori Auckland*

Graham, George (n.d.) – *Ancient Māori Occupation of Musick Point – Te Waiārohia-ō-Ngāriki* in **Fairfield, Geoff (1995) –** *Te Waiārohia ō Ngāitai – The Story of the Bucklands Beach Peninsula*

Holloway, K. M. (1962) – *Maungarei: An Outline History of the Mt. Wellington, Panmure and Tāmaki Districts*

Jones, Dr. Pei Te Hurinui (1995) – *Ngā Iwi ō Tainui* (Ed. Prof. Bruce Biggs)

Kelly, Leslie G. (1949) – *Tainui – The Story of Hoturoa & His Descendants*

La Roche, Alan (1991) – *The History of Howick & Pakuranga*

Lush, Vicesimus (Ed. Alison Drummond, 1971) – *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush 1850–63*

McCollum, Maureen & Robert (2000) – *Zister, Rachael Ngeungeu Te Irirangi 1893 - 1997* in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Vol. V (1941 – 1960), p.584

Monin, Paul (1992) – *Waiheke Island: A History*

Monin, Paul (2001) – *This Is My Place: Hauraki Contested 1769 - 1875*

Morrow, Lieut.–Colonel Arthur (n.d.) – *Operations on the Wairoa* in **Cowan, James (1922; 1955)** – *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*

Munro, C. C. (1952) – *Clevedon (Late Wairoa South) Centennial*

Nixon, E. M. (1948) – *Romance of the Tainui Garden of Memories*

Phillips, F. L. (1985) – *Ngā Tohu ā Tainui*, Vol. II

Simmons, David (1987) – *Māori Auckland*

Stone, R. J. C. (2001) – *From Tāmaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland*

Te Taniwhā, Te Horeta in **White, John (1888)** – *Ancient History of the Māori* (Māori Text), Vol. V, Ch. IX

Tāua, Te Warena – *A History of the Māori People* in **La Roche, Alan (1991)** – *The History of Howick & Pakuranga*

Tūroa, Taimoana (2000) – *Te Takoto o Te Whenua o Hauraki* (Ed. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal)

White, John (1888) – *Ancient History of the Māori*

Williams, Rev. Henry in **Carleton, H. (1877)** – *The Life of Henry Williams*, Vol. II

Williams, Rev. Henry in **Rogers, L. (Ed. 1961)** – *The Early Journals of Henry Williams*

Wilson, J. A. (1866) – *The Story of Te Waharoa*

Private Collections

Brown whānau papers & archives – private collection of whānau archives held by Sydney Brown (Ngāti Kōhua, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Kahungunu) and Māora Okeroa Brown (née Reuben/Hetaraka; Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Kōhua, Ngāti Porou)

Knox, Hera Maurahu (n.d.) – *Memoirs of Hera Kuia* – typescript of a translation by an unknown Maxwell whānau member, from an earlier handwritten Māori MS by Hera Maurahu Knox, thought to have been originally written around the late 1920s

Zister/Beamish whānau papers & archives – miscellaneous papers, memoirs, correspondence, clippings etc. held in several private collections by descendants of Ānaru Te Rira Makiwhara