

The Pouakani Report 1993

2 Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata

2.1 Introduction

The Pouakani block straddles the traditional border zone between two major groups of tribes descended from the people of Tainui and Te Arawa waka (canoes). In the west are the Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Raukawa tribes of Tainui and to the east the descendants of Tia and others of Te Arawa, and later migrants who now comprise the tribes collectively called Ngati Tuwharetoa. Before the arrival of Tainui and Te Arawa waka the land was already peopled, and the names Ngati Hotu, Ngati Ruakopiri and Ngati Kahupungapunga are mentioned as the original tangata whenua of the Taupo and upper Waikato district. However, none of these tribes have retained a separate identity, and the important descent lines are from Tainui and Te Arawa. The "boundaries" of these two waka have traditionally been expressed in very general terms as follows.

Tainui:

Mokau ki runga
Tamaki ki raro
Mangatoatoa ki waenganui
Pare Waikato
Pare Hauraki.

From Mokau in the south to Tamaki in the north, Mangatoatoa is at the centre. From the mouth of Waikato River in the west to all of Hauraki.

Te Arawa:

Mai Maketu ki Tongariro.
Maketu is the prow and Tongariro is the stern of the canoe Te Arawa.

During the hearings there were frequent references to "Pouakani people", both in the context of the "owners" of the Pouakani block and in a more general sense. Pouakani is not a tribal name but was part of the name given to the block when first surveyed, Horaaruhe Pouakani. There was a kainga called Horaaruhe, a name probably associated with a fern ground (aruhe). Te Pou- a-kani was a boundary marker at the northern end of the block which came to be associated with the boundary of the Rohe Potae, King Country, in the 1880s.

The people who occupied the lands of Pouakani and adjacent blocks in the nineteenth century can trace descent from both Tainui and Te Arawa, but these tribal relationships are complex. The land (and its resources) was not "owned" by Maori in the sense that it was property, a disposable commodity that can be bought and sold. Maori people occupied land in extended kin groups, whanau and hapu, under a system of interlocking and overlapping rights of use (usufructuary rights). These rights, take, were derived as follows:

- Take whenua kite hou: a right of discovery, such as one related to journeys of occupants of an ancestral canoe.
- Take tupuna: an ancestral right derived from continuous occupation, particularly one which would be traced from an ancestral canoe.
- Take raupatu: a right obtained by conquest, with displacement or servitude of the original occupants, followed by occupation of the land by the conquering group.
- Take tuku: a right by virtue of a gift or exchange awarded in special circumstances such as a marriage or settlement of a dispute.

The principal sources of rights of occupation were based on take tupuna and take raupatu. However, these rights did not stand alone. An important related concept was ahi ka or ahi ka roa, the principle of keeping the fires burning on the land as a symbol of long-standing occupation. This did not necessarily mean continuous settlement, but it did mean continued use, such as seasonal visits for fishing or birding in which temporary encampments might be made. If occupation rights were not maintained, the fires grew cold and after three or more generations the fires may be regarded as being extinguished, ahi mataotao.

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2.2 Take Whenua Kite Hou: Te Arawa

After the arrival of the canoe Te Arawa at Maketu in the Bay of Plenty, various members of the party set out to explore the new land. Parts of the land were already populated and they sought a place to settle permanently. Tia set out with his son Tapuika, and with Oro, Maka and others. They travelled inland, stopping at a village south of Rotorua in the area now known as Horohoro. Here Tia unintentionally touched the dead body of a chief during a tangihanga and was required to undergo the rituals of lifting the tapu he had incurred. Because of this incident the place became known as Te Horohoroinganui o Tia. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:1} Tamati Wharehuia in his evidence (appendix 4) provided another level of meaning of "Horohoronui o Tia", a symbolic play on words indicating Te Arawa speeches of respect for their ancestor Tia.

Because the land around was already occupied, Tia and his party journeyed southward. When they reached the Waikato river they found the water very muddy. Tia studied it and concluded that someone had already reached the source of the river and had discoloured the water purposely to show those journeying to the interior that the district was already occupied. Disappointed, Tia continued his journey. The spot where he crossed the river he named Atiamuri (Tia who follows behind), signifying that he was not the first in the land. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:2} Tamati Wharehuia's interpretation of the name Atiamuri is that it recalls Tia's turning his mind back to the poroporoaki, the farewell speech of Atuatua before the canoe Te Arawa left Hawaiki.

Near Atiamuri, Maka had sensed the presence of another person. Tia recited some prayers for their protection. The unknown person turned out to be Hatupatu, who was described as having reddish hair and body, a person described as urukehu. Maka wanted to kill Hatupatu but Tia said "No", and reminded him of the poroporoaki of Atuatua, "Go inland Tia, Oro and Maka. Do not stay on the coast where fighting may break out and you may be killed. Go inland to settle so that when death comes it will be from natural causes". And so Hatupatu was spared and travelled with them on their journey.

Hatupatu appears to have been one of the tangata whenua adopted into Te Arawa. The names of his parents are unknown. It was Hatupatu who went on birding expeditions to Whakamaru, Maroa, Tutukau, Tatua, Tuaropaki, Hurakia and Hauhangaroa. It was Hatupatu who stayed with the bird woman, Kurangaituku, also one of the tangata whenua, and stole her cloak of kaka feathers and other precious things. Kurangaituku chased after Hatupatu and he hid in the rock known as Te Kohatu o Hatupatu, which can still be seen on the roadside of state highway 1 at Atiamuri. Hatupatu escaped to Rotorua and became known later for his killing of Raumati who had burned the canoe Te Arawa at its resting place at Maketu, {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:3} Hatupatu was

able to take on this role because, as tangata whenua, he was not bound by the invocation of Atuatua to the people of Te Arawa to avoid fighting and killing. By avenging the burning of Te Arawa, Hatupatu established his mana among the newcomers.

Tia and his party travelled on to Maroa, a name derived from Te Maroa-nuia-Tia. At this place Tia ate some special dried food which had been brought from Hawaii, and reserved for a rangatira. This is a reference to a ritual involving food which established a claim to the land there. The next place named by Tia was Aratiatia, a name often translated as "the stairway of Tia", the rapids on the Waikato river near Tauhara mountain. Because the northern shores of Lake Taupo were already occupied by Ngati Hotu, Tia and his people travelled on to a place called Paka on the eastern shore. This was known as Hamaria (Samaria) in missionary times and is now called Hallett's Bay. Here Tia constructed a tuahu, an altar, to signify his occupation of this land.

Meanwhile Ngatoroirangi, the tohunga of Te Arawa, travelled inland from Te Awa o te Atua to Tarawera and south across the Kaingaroa plains to the Taupo district. He climbed Tauhara mountain and claimed the district, and set up tuahu in various places. Travelling along the eastern shore of the lake he discovered Tia's tuahu and challenged him. Ngatoroirangi had built his tuahu nearby with old dried materials to convince Tia of his prior arrival. Tia realised he had been outwitted and he returned now to settle with his people on the lands northwest of the lake around Titiraupenga. In some versions, Tia and his people travelled via Tokaanu around the lake to Titiraupenga. Tamati Wharehuia maintained that it was Tia who outwitted Ngatoroirangi by building his tuahu of dried materials so that Ngatoroirangi would have to acknowledge his prior arrival.

The name Taupo-nui-a-Tia given to the lake and district is associated with the tuahu of Tia. One version of the story follows:

While Tia was at Hamaria, he noticed, standing some distance away a high rocky cliff which faced the lake. He observed the peculiar formation and colouring of the laval rock. It appeared to him to resemble the cloak that he wore about his shoulders. The cloak was called a taupo (a word that is now obsolete) and was made of closely woven material with an outer covering of flax leaves, coloured yellow and black. It was used as an outer garment to shed the rain. Tia went toward the cliff and under it made a post of sacrifice that he named Hikurangi. There he recited the incantations considered needful to propitiate the local deities. Rising up he removed his cloak and fastened it to the post and named the great cliffs Tauponui a Tia (the great cloak of Tia). {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:4}

Another version of the origin of the name is that when Tia arrived at the northern end of the lake and saw one of the tuahu erected by Ngatoroirangi, he hurried on around the eastern shores of the lake. At one place the water squelched up from under his feet, and was named Te Waipahihi a Tia:

Ngatoroirangi watching him from his lookout on Tauhara endeavoured to turn him back by incantations, but Tia continued unperturbed. When he had gone a few miles, Ngatoroirangi again attempted to halt him, this time by throwing his spear Kuwha, from the top of the mountain. It, however, fell harmlessly into the lake by the shore at Wharewaka, and Tia's protectors shook off the effects of Ngatoroirangi's incantations.

Tia continued his journey, but by the time he reached Hamaria he began to feel Ngatoroirangi's supernatural influences. The latter chief by then had called the most powerful of his gods to his aid. As Tia walked beneath the coloured lava cliff that stands back from the lake shore at that place, the fury and might of Ngatoroirangi and his gods descended upon him. He was enveloped in darkness and not able to proceed. He knew he was defeated and so he turned back. He crossed the Waikato River by the present Taupo township and journeyed to Titiraupenga

The name Tauponui a Tia, according to this version, originated as the result of the blotting out of Tia's view of the surrounding country (the great envelopment of Tia by darkness). {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:5}

There is no doubt that Tia and his people took possession of the lands around Titiraupenga, although Tapuika later returned to the Bay of Plenty to settle in the Te Puke district. The mana whenua, the ancestral status of the land northwest of Lake Taupo, was vested in Tia. Tia was buried on Titiraupenga and this is the principal reason why this is a maunga tapu, a sacred mountain. In 1868 Poihipi Tukairangi, stating his claim to the Tatua block on the eastern boundary of Pouakani, set out the boundaries of the land under the mana of Tia:

I will describe the great boundary line which divides the Arawa lands from those of Ngatiraukawa. Tia, Oro and Maka, all these from the Arawa canoe, came to this part of the country and laid down the boundary. They commenced at Tauranga at Papamoa (Maungatawa) as soon as their canoe landed they came along the line I am about to describe to claim the land within it. They came from Papamoa to Mangorewa thence this [is] the forest line of Patetere to Whakamaru on the Waikato thence to Waipapa on the Waikato to Maraeroa thence to Pureora to Karangahape on Lake Taupo. Hence the proverb "Taupo nui a Tia." From Karangahape they laid the boundary to Titiraupenga, where afterwards they formed a settlement and where they lived and died. From Titiraupenga they went to Tuaropaki, Kiwitahi, Maroanui a Tia, te Tatua o Pariroro, Hauai, Totorewa on Waikato and so on towards Rotorua. One side [of] this line belonged to Tainui the other to the Arawa. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:6}

This "forest line" from Mangorewa, Patetere to Whakamaru appears to coincide with the Tainui boundary mapped by Pei Te Hurinui Jones ([map 2.1](#)). This boundary description also serves to connect the Tapuika section of Te Arawa in the Te Puke

district, east of Papamoa, with the burial place of their ancestor Tia, father of Tapuika, at Titiraupenga.

Ngatoroirangi continued his journey south to Tokaanu and Rangipo and with his slave, Ngauruhoe, climbed Tongariro. He was near freezing to death in a snowstorm on the mountain and called on his sisters Kuiwai and Haungaroa in Hawaiki to bring him warmth. It is to them that the origin of the geothermal activity in the Rotorua Taupo district is attributed. One of the places that shows evidence of this journey is the hot springs in the Mokai area of the Pouakani block, which are still sometimes described as "the children of Kuiwai and Haungaroa".

The tribes Ngati Hotu and Ngati Ruakopiri, whose origins are not known in detail, appear to be of Te Tini o Toi, the original tangata whenua of the Bay of Plenty, who had moved south along the Rangitaiki valley and took possession of lands around Lake Taupo. Ngati Hotu and Ngati Ruakopiri were in occupation of the northern and eastern shores of the lake at the time of the journeys of Tia and Ngatoroirangi. Within a generation, Kawhea, son of Kurapoto of Te Arawa, moved into Taupo with his people and occupied the northeastern shores, pushing Ngati Hotu southward. The descendants of Tin who had settled northwest of the lake in the Tihoi and Titiraupenga area became known as Ngati Ha.

Some of Ngati Hotu settled in west Taupo but following the killing of the chief Hakuhanui, a descendant of Tia, at Maraeroa, the combined forces of Ngati Ha and Ngati Kurapoto pushed Ngati Hotu and Ngati Ruakopiri out of this area. Another group from Te Arawa, Ngati Tama, also settled in west Taupo. Some time later the sons of Tuwharetoa took possession of the lands in a series of battles around the eastern and southern shores of the lake. Ngati Hotu were forced into the Tuhua ranges and disappeared or were absorbed among the people of the Taamarunui district. Ngati Tama who were allied with Ngati Hotu are said to have been the ancestors who migrated to north Taranaki. Ngati Ruakopiri appear to have been absorbed too. Ngati Tahu traditions indicate that Tahu defeated them in the Kaingaroa plains and they were pushed south of Tauhara where they were presumably caught up in the subsequent struggle for occupation of lake-shore living places.

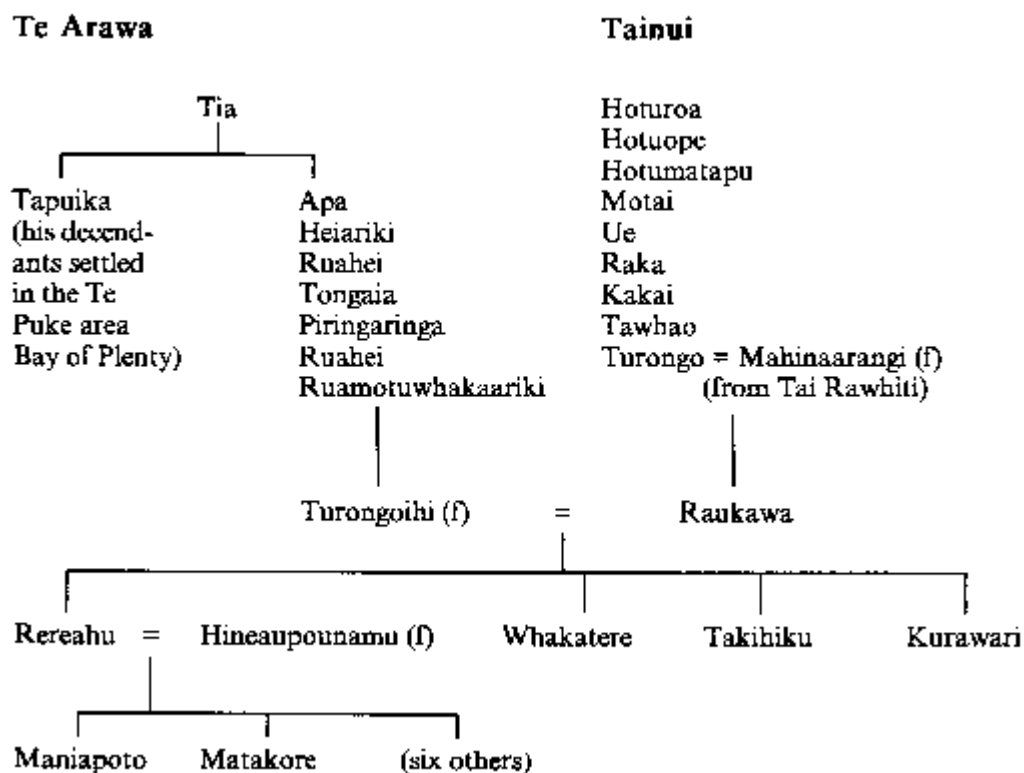
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2.3 Take Whenua Kite Hou: Tainui

A number of place names of Tainui are associated with the journeys of the tohunga, Rakataura. While the canoe Tainui was sailed along the coast south from Manukau toward Mokau, Rakataura and his party made their way overland to Kawhia where they erected a tuahu named Ahurei and named the place called Maketu inside the entrance to Kawhia harbour. Rakataura had a disagreement with Hoturoa but the two were later reconciled and Tainui was brought from Mokau to a final resting place at Maketu. From this landing place, Tainui people explored the land around Kawhia and settled down. Rakataura and his wife Kahukeke set out on a journey of exploration into the valley of the Waipa, naming landmarks as they went. The extinct volcano which forms the summit of the range they called Pirongia-te-aroaro-o-Kahu, and another place they named Mango-waero-te-aroaro-o-Kahu. Observing yet another volcanic cone they gave it the name Kakepuku-te-aroaro-o-Kahu, after which they journeyed southward to the source of the Waipa and named the range in that vicinity Rangitoto-o-Kahu. Then they turned in a north-easterly direction and went to Wharepuhunga-o-Kahu which they also named. At this place their son was born. They travelled on southward, but Kahukeke became ill. Because Rakataura offered up prayers and performed appropriate ceremonies which caused her to recover, this place was called Pureora-o-Kahu.



Ngatoroirangi of Te Arawa had already penetrated inland when he heard of the activities of Rakataura. Expecting that Rakataura would eventually take possession of the country to the south, Ngatoroirangi proceeded further and climbed the snow-covered heights of Tongariro thus exercising a prior claim. Meanwhile Rakataura and Kahukeke continued their explorations and climbed a mountain which they named Puke-o-Kahu. It was here that Kahukeke died. She had been ailing for some time and her death caused Rakataura to abandon his explorations in that direction. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:7} This journey of Rakataura and Kahukeke effectively established the extent of Tainui in the upper Waipa and Waikato valleys in the first few generations of settlement. A Maniapoto tradition associates this naming of places with a journey by Kahupeka, the grieving widow of Uenga, who travelled with her son along a similar route from Kawhia and settled near Puke-o-Kahu where she died. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:8}

The connections between the descendants of Tia and the Tainui tribes Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Maniapoto are set out in the above whakapapa. The descendants of Rereahu and Hineaupounamu settled the lands in the southern portion of the Tainui region. Rereahu passed his mana on to his son Maniapoto who established his people in the Te Kuiti area. His younger brother Matakore had supported Maniapoto in repulsing the rival claims of their older half brother Te Ihingarangi, "with the result that when Maniapoto settled in the Manga-o-kewa valley, Matakore was left in undisputed possession of the upper Waipa Valley and adjacent Rangitoto ranges". {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:9} This appears to have been a peaceful occupation. The hapu of Ngati Matakore have maintained their identity with the Pureora, Maraeroa and Rangitoto area on the western margins of the Pouakani block. The descendants of Raukawa occupied the Waikato valley between Maungatautari and Whakamaru and north to the Kaimai ranges.

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2.4 Take Raupatu: Ngati Raukawa

It was on the basis of the exploits of Wairangi and his brothers, the sons of Takihiku, and Whaita, son of Kurawari, that Ngati Raukawa established claims in the Waikato valley between Whakamaru and Lake Taupo. The following area was described in the evidence of Ngati Raukawa kaumatua as Te Pae o Raukawa:

Kite Waitere
Horohoro
Pohaturoa
Ko Ongaroto
Ko Whaita e
Nukuhau
Ki runga o Hurakia
Hauhangaroa
Titiraupenga
Arohena
Wharepuhunga
Titiraupenga
Whakamarumaruru
Te Pae o Raukawa
Titiro atu kite Kaokaoroa o Patetere
Maungatautari
Ka titiro iho ki Wharepuhunga
Ko Hoturoa, Parawera
Kote manawa ra o Ngati Raukawa
The district of Raukawa is from Te Waitere, to Horohoro and Pohaturoa.

At Ongaroto is the house of the ancestor Whaita.
From Nukuhau to Hurakia on the Hauhangaroa Range,
From Titiraupenga Mountain, the horizon is the boundary of the district of Raukawa,

To the mountain Wharepuhunga and the marae at Arohena,
To the ranges of Whakamaru.
The view extends to the region of Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere,
To Maungatautari.
The view extends beyond Wharepuhunga to the ancestor Hoturoa, to the marae at Parawera.

Here stands the proud spirit of Ngati Raukawa.

Ngati Raukawa pushed up the Waikato valley from the Maungatautari area and displaced or absorbed the tribe called Ngati Kahupungapunga. John Grace suggested that Ngati Kahupungapunga had once occupied lands bordering Lake Taupo but had been dispossessed by Ngati Hotu and Ngati Ruakopiri who drove them north of Atiamuri where they remained undisturbed until destroyed by Ngati Raukawa. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:10} However, there is some doubt about the identity of Ngati Kahupungapunga as the following quotations indicate:

Of these people we have only a mere tradition of their former existence, for it is not known who they were, or when they came; we only know that about 300 years ago they occupied all the valley of the Waikato, from the Puniu river southwards to Te Whakamaru range on the borders of the Taupo country; viz. all the country subsequently occupied by Ngati Raukawa, for at that period the descendants of Hoturoa of the Tainui immigration were still in the Kawhia district, where they first landed, and had not crossed the Pirongia ranges which separated them from the Waikato {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:11} country.

One of the most controversial points is just who those Ngati Kahupungapunga people were and where they came from. They are generally spoken of as being... [people] who had been driven from the west coast area around Kawhia by those who arrived in the Tainui canoe, finally taking refuge in the Waikato River valley between Putaruru and Atiamuri. There is in fact considerable doubt about their origin, although their eventual fall is fairly well documented. It now seems likely they were actually of Arawa descent but had lost their identity because of their position in the tribal social scale. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:12}

Kelly followed Gudgeon's account and considered that Ngati Kahupungapunga were remnants of the tangata whenua either absorbed or forced out by Tainui immigrants. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:13} In any case, their final extinction as a tribal identity was the result of the campaigns of Wairangi and Whaita of Ngati Raukawa. There are several different versions of a story which involved a woman whose death had to be avenged. The fighting, in a series of battles in the valley of the Waikato, culminated in the siege of the pa called Pohaturoa, at Atiamuri, and the final destruction of Ngati Kahupungapunga at Ongaroto. Ngati Raukawa continued the fight into the Horohoro district but were repulsed by Te Arawa.

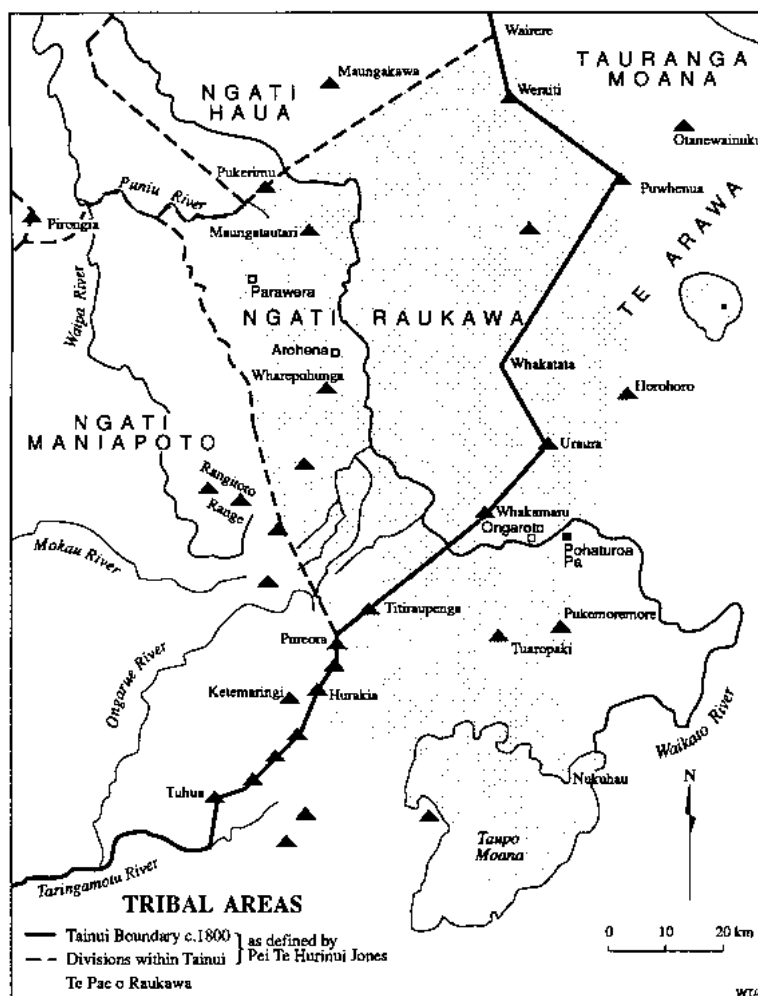
Hare Reweti Te Kume provided the most detailed account of the conquest of Wairangi in his evidence before the Native Land Court in April 1868 supporting Hitiri Te Paerata's claim to the Tatua block on the eastern boundary of the Pouakani block. He acknowledged the occupation by Tia but considered the rights of the descendants of Tia and the tribes of Te Arawa to have been superseded by the conquest and occupation by Wairangi:

I am descended from Wairangi and Whaita. I am acquainted with the boundary described by Hitiri. There are two boundaries, the first by Tin, the last by Wairangi. The boundary laid down by Tia commenced

at Te Totorewa, a pa on the Waikato, thence to Hauai, te Tuaahu, te Tuata, te Weta o te Ngako, Otuparahaki between Pahikowhango and Puketarata, Ohinekahu. The east side belonged to Tamaihutoroa, the ancestor of N'Tuma and the west side to Tia and Rehurehu. The children of Tamaihutoroa intermarried with those of Tia and the dividing boundary was done away with and they became one. Tin was the first occupant, afterwards came Kahupungapunga, and afterwards Ruakopiri. Then came the Tainui people, Wairangi, Opokoiti [sic] and Whaita. They came to Whakamaru and saw there were huahuas [preserved birds stored in the kainga visited] and plenty of food and desired to possess the land. At Pohaturoa they saw kouras [fresh water crayfish] and huahuas, at Tuata they saw plenty of kai [food]. The Ngatikahupungapunga and Ngatiruakopiri were at this time in possession, they belonged to the Arawa and were connected with Tia and Tama. They returned to Whakamaru leaving with the Ngatikahupungapunga and N'Ruakopiri a chieftainess named Koroukore that they might be received again as friendly visitors. They then went back to Kawhia. The tribe bethought themselves that this woman being thus left would give them a footing as visitors (ka whakapahi) so they [Kahupungapunga] killed her and burnt the body. Her slave who had been left with her raked away the ashes [of her burnt house] and discovered the body and saw by the marks that she had been murdered. He went to Kawhia and conveyed the intelligence, a war party of 540 was collected the same day and started next morning. They came on to Rangitoto and took that place, then took possession of Arohena, then they came to Waikato to Panapana; there they were seen by the murderers, the Ngati Kahupungapunga, a battle was fought called Tauruanuku, the N'Kahupungapunga and N'Ruakopiri were beaten and chased as far as Matanuku and Kakapo (Ka patu a haeretia). The invading army now divided, one part went on to Kopuaroa and the other to Whakamaru killing the enemy. At Whakamaru they beat them again and the remnant fled to Pohaturoa. Some were attacked and defeated by the other part of the army at the Waimahana. The two divisions joined at Pohaturoa, the fugitives had all fled thither and there they made a stand. The pursuers crossed the stream to Pohaturoa, each party fought very valiantly, the Ngatiwairangi were several times repulsed but in the end they drove back the others and captured their great 'toa' [fighting chief] Hikaraupi. The great stones [at Ongaroto] on which the bodies were cooked can be seen still. The remnant of the two [Arawa] tribes fled to Tuata. On the following day the N'Wairangi attacked them and gained another victory. Those that escaped fled to Horohoro, Patetere and other places. Part of the Ngatiwairangi army returned and the other part under Raurahu, Wairangi's son, went to Tutukau and attacked the Ngatitahu, as they were connected with Kahupungapunga. Raurahu stayed. Wairangi returned to Kawhia but shortly after came back again and fought the remnant of N'Kahupungapunga at Horohoro and te Pana o Whaita whither they had fled. He wanted to exterminate them. The Ngatitama and Ngatimanawa at this time had joined the Ngati Kahupungapunga. The remnants fled to Rotokakahi and Rauporoa

where some were slaughtered by the Arawas as offerings to their gods when canoes were made and launched etc. The very few there still remained fled for shelter to Patetere and Whanganui. The Ngatiwairangi at this time took possession of the land described by Hitiri and occupied it. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:14}

Te Arawa versions of this campaign differ and this evidence was vigorously refuted by Poihipi Tukairangi and Ihakara Kahuaio at this 1868 hearing. Each side contradicted the other as to who built various pa, where their dead were buried and where they had rights to snare birds, or gather food, or fish in the rivers. The issue was not whether these tohu, signs of occupation, existed or not, but a matter of mana. Was the mana of Tia through right of discovery and occupation to be maintained against the rights derived by conquest by the Ngati Raukawa descendants of Wairangi and Whaita who claimed the Waikato valley upstream to Atiamuri?



Map 2.2

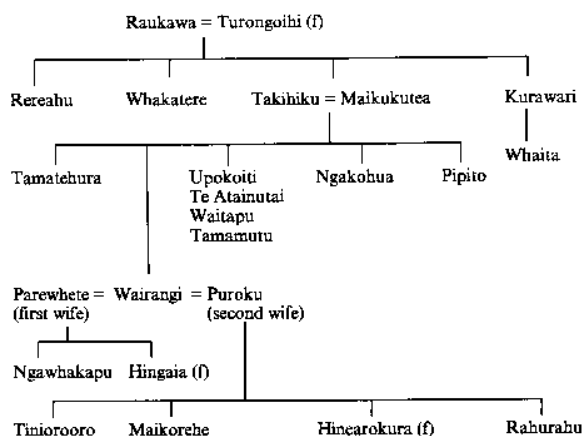
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2.5 The Mana of Te Heuheu: Ngati Tuwharetoa

Tuwharetoa, son of Mawaketaupo, was an eighth generation descendant of Ngatoroirangi. He also had strong kin connections through his father with Mataatua lineages and through his mother with Te Tini o Toi. The lands of Mawaketaupo extended from Kawerau to Matata and Otamarakau on the Bay of Plenty coast. Tuwharetoa inherited leadership from his father. Some time after this, his tribal lands appeared to be threatened by the encroaching settlements of Maruiwi people. In spite of advice not to be hasty from the now elderly Tuwharetoa, the sons of Tuwharetoa provoked a fight on the Kaingaroa plains with disastrous results. Some of the Tuwharetoa survivors were given refuge by their Te Arawa relations, Ngati Kurapoto. However, an incident occurred in which Tuwharetoa ancestors were cursed by Ngati Kurapoto women, angry at the theft of food by the refugees. This sparked off retaliatory attacks on Ngati Kurapoto, but in the process some Ngati Hotu villages were attacked as well. In due course a peace between the tribes was made. However, this did not last long and in time descendants of Tuwharetoa completely subdued Ngati Kurapoto and Ngati Hotu and the mana of Tuwharetoa was established in the Taupo district.

Whakapapa a:



making was completed with the offer of Te Atainutai's daughter Waitapu as a wife for Te Rangiita. Ngati Raukawa returned to live in the Maungatautari area. Te Atainutai built a pa, known as Te Pa o Te Ata (near the present Mokai village on the Pouakani block), so that he could be near his daughter. Some years later Te Atainutai was killed by Ngati Kurapoto. This death was avenged by his grandson Tutetawha years later.

Te Rangiita and Waitapu had four daughters, the eldest being Parekawa. Te Rangiita wanted sons and the pair were estranged. Waitapu returned to Maungatautari but she was already pregnant, and it was there that a son, Tamamutu, was born. The two were subsequently reconciled, three more sons were born, and the alliance between Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa maintained (whakapapa b). Te Rangiita had assumed the role of paramount chief and his mana extended over the western, northern and eastern shores of Taupo Moana. Theft children's names are commemorated in the hapu Ngati Parekawa, Ngati Tamamutu, Ngati Manunui, Ngati Meremere, Ngati Tutetawha. Of these, Parekawa assumed a significant role in west Taupo. She married Ngahianga, a descendant of Wairangi (whakapapa a and c). Their first child was Te Kohera whose name was perpetuated in the hapu Ngati Te Kohera. Pakaketiaiti, son of Te Kohera, is the name of the meeting house at Mokai.

By 1840, the region around Lake Taupo was peopled by a number of different hapu led by chiefs who operated independently of one another, but not in total isolation. There was a form of confederation of the various hapu whose lineages could be traced to Tuwharetoa:

It was the custom with Ngati Tuwharetoa, from the time of Turangitukua until the close of the nineteenth century, to select from a panel of high-born men the paramount chief and war-leader of the tribe. This rank was not necessarily a hereditary right. It was conferred by the tribe on the most suitable man, irrespective of seniority. The ariki of the tribe were the direct descendants of the senior male line from the tribal ancestor Tuwharetoa himself, and it was the senior ariki's prerogative on behalf of the people to install the paramount chief. The rank of ariki could not be removed as was the case of the paramount chieftainship. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:15}

In 1840 the paramount chief was Te Heuheu Tukino (Mananui) who died in a landslide at Te Rapa, near the present Waihi village, in 1846. The mother of Mananui was Rangiaho who was of Ngati Matakore and Ngati Karewa tribes of Maniapoto. Te Heuheu Iwikau, brother of Mananui, succeeded him and led Ngati Tuwharetoa until his death in 1862. He was in turn succeeded by Te Heuheu Tukino Horonuku, son of Mananui, who served until 1888, and was succeeded by his son Te Heuheu Tukino Tureiti.

On 14 July 1891, Judge Puckey, sitting in the Native Land Court at Cambridge, made a statement acknowledging the mana of Te Heuheu, in a judgment on the names of people to be admitted as owners of the Pouakani block:

As regards the claim of Te Heuheu and others we have in the proceedings before the Taupo Court the fact that Te Heuheu asserted a claim before the Court ... The fact that N. Wairangi were under the

protection of Te Heuheu during perhaps the most troublous period of the history of the Maoris and that being so they were not attacked by their powerful neighbours.

In a case like this the Court has to fancy itself as sitting shortly after 1840 to decide the ownership of the land. Sitting as we are half a century later and looking back at the past through a media more or less disturbing, it is at times difficult to see things as they really are (were?) - the Court however believes that if we were actually sitting in 1840, the claim of Te Heuheu would not for a moment be disputed. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:16}

The Pouakani block was included in the rohe of Te Heuheu, the land described as Taupouiatia block before the court in 1886. In 1889 a royal commission investigated the Maniapoto and Raukawa objections to Te Heuheu's boundary. {FNREF:0-86472-117-XA:2:17} In 1890 to 1891 there was a new hearing of Pouakani and Maraeroa blocks by the Native Land Court. A large amount of land was subsequently acquired by the Crown. Underlying all these complex transactions is a persistent theme of the mana of chiefs, their rights of control over land and resources, including rights to bring lands before the Native Land Court for investigation of title. These issues were fought out in the Native Land Court, under new rules derived from laws passed in parliament, in Wellington.

A tribal boundary is often described by a series of land marks. It is not fixed as in a line surveyed on the ground. People living either side of a line drawn connecting those land marks will have lineages in common. The issue of mana here lies in the authority, power and prestige of chiefs to determine the fate of their lands against the power of the Native Land Court under legislation designed to translate Maori customary tenure into individual property rights in blocks with precise surveyed boundaries. The Pouakani block lies at the junction of the territory of Maniapoto and Raukawa tribes of Tainui on the one side, and Te Arawa and Tuwharetoa on the other. The Pouakani block straddled an important travel route between Waikato and Taupo. It had been fought over in the past. It was part of the refuge area following the disruption of the wars of the 1860s.

The tribunal, sitting a century after the 1889 royal commission on the Taupouiatia block, has also tried to fancy itself as revisiting the events of the 1880s in order to understand. We have endeavoured to identify tribal relationships and set the scene. In the following chapters we provide a general historical overview and then focus on the specific transactions at issue on the Pouakani and Maraeroa blocks.

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