

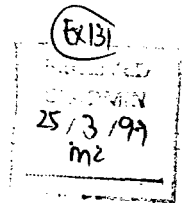
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**Ngati Ira and Rangitane
in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara to 1865**

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A Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal

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Introduction

My name is Heather Bauchop. I graduated with a BA(Hons) first class in history from Otago University in 1990, in which I specialised in New Zealand and Pacific history. In 1991-1992 I was commissioned to undertake historical research for the WAI 143 Taranaki claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

I have been commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal to write a report from written primary and secondary sources, as well as oral sources on Rangitane and Ngati Ira's occupation of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara up to 1865.¹

¹ Directions to Commission Research, Appendix One

Sources

Primary

The research is based on written English language primary and secondary sources. The main primary sources used were the minutes of the Native Land Court. I have surveyed the Wairarapa Minute Books to 1900, Wellington to 1900, and Otaki to 1890, although there are some gaps in this information. There is material in the minute books in Maori which has not been consulted, although it could well include relevant information. Native Land Court minute books usually contain only the witnesses answers to questions, not the questions to which they are responding. The context of the questioning is not always clear, making some answers unintelligible.

At the Native Land Court hearings in Wellington, the majority of the cases were disputes between members of the same tribe or hapu. Most claimants were of Taranaki, Ngati Tama and Te Ati Awa. Other tribes do not seem to have lodged claims to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara with the Native Land Court. Evidence in Otaki minute books provides information about the heke down the west coast, but not much about the pre-heke occupants of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. The Wairarapa minute books focus on land east of the Rimutakas, and while they provide context to the accounts within Wellington, little reference is made to any interests in the harbour area. Wairarapa hapu were focused on their own hapu disputes, and seem to have had little to say about land to the west of the Rimutakas.

Together these minute books do provide an overall picture of the settlement of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara from 1820-1840, but it is mainly from the migrant's perspective. According to Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa witnesses they expelled the tangata whenua from the region and established their own occupation of the land from Kapiti to Turakirae, and at times into the Wairarapa. There were incursions from "Ngati Kahungunu" from Wairarapa, but after the late 1820s Ngati Ira, Ngati Kahukuraawhitia and Rakaiwhakairi did not re-establish occupation in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

As Ehrhardt has also noted other written sources, such as the evidence taken before the Spain Commission, records the claims of Te Ati Awa (Ngati Tawhirikura, Ngati Te Whiti and Te Matehou), Ngati Tama, Taranaki, and Te Rauparaha of Ngati Toa. Other tribes who

may have had claims were either not given the chance, or did not take the opportunity to be heard before that Commission.²

In addition to consulting written material, I have had meetings with Rangitane in Manawatu, Dannevirke and Wairarapa to discuss the oral history of Rangitane and Ngati Ira in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

Secondary Sources

Secondary material is largely based on that supplied by Maori informants to ethnographers, such as Elsdon Best and S Percy Smith. More recent work by Angela Ballara is based on close study of Maori Land Court minute books. Ballara makes the useful point that there is a tendency by both the northern invaders and the Europeans to refer to the tangata whenua groups of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara and Wairarapa as “Ngati Kahungunu.” Concerning Ngati Ira’s expulsion from the harbour area, Ballara argues that it was a “gradual untidy affair” rather than a massacre and expulsion, but that Ngati Ira was no longer a force in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara in the 1830s. She does recognise, however, that Te Ati Awa’s feeling of vulnerability from Ngati Raukawa and Te Rauparaha, as well as “Ngati Kahungunu” contributed to their willingness to sell land to Wakefield. She believes that after three years of occupation, Te Ati Awa did have rights to land gifted to them by Ngati Mutunga and to the land they took from Ngati Haumia of Taranaki. Other sources such as McEwen, *Rangitane, A Tribal History*, and Burns, *Te Rauparaha, A New Perspective*, accept that the tangata whenua tribes were expelled from Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

Relationship of Ngai Tara, Ngati Ira, and Rangitane

Nomenclature

A range of names that have been used to describe the tangata whenua of the region.³ These have included at various times Ngai Tara, Rangitane, Ngati Ira, and Ngati Kahungunu. McEwen believes that in earlier periods the name “Rangitane” has been used as a blanket term in reference to these interrelated iwi - all of the pre-Kahungunu tribes in the

² Penny Ehrhardt, *Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Customary Tenure 1750-1850*, Te Roopu Whakamana I Te Tiriti O Waitangi, Waitangi Tribunal Division, Department of Justice, Wellington, 1992

³ This section is based largely on AH Ballara, “The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu” PhD Thesis, VUW, 1991

Heretaunga [Napier/Hastings] area.” By 1800 “Ngati Kahungunu” was being used in a similar way.⁴

The orthodox history of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara has it that by the seventeenth century Ngati Kahungunu became the “all conquering sole occupiers of the territories from Te Mahia to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara” by expelling the original tangata whenua inhabitants.⁵ The impression of Ngati Kahungunu dominance is reinforced in the nineteenth century by the consistent use of the term “Kahungunu” to describe previous inhabitants of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara, as well as all the tribes in the Wairarapa and Heretaunga (Hawkes Bay).

The relationship between Ngati Ira and Rangitane is one which has been blurred in the commission which refers to “Ngati Ira/Rangitane. Ngati Ira has been referred to by most previous writers as an Iwi in its own right. Ngati Ira, while related to Rangitane, has close associations also with Ngati Kahungunu.⁶ Rangitane has also been considered an Iwi. As much as possible in this report references to each of these Iwi has been as specific as possible, noting the point above about blanket labelling.

Another point of confusion is the name Hamua. Hamua is a name associated with Rangitane in the Wairarapa. There is another Hamua, a Ngati Hamua, which is a hapu of Te Ati Awa. This Ngati Hamua, according to Mark Te One of Te Ati Awa, originated in Taranaki, and some of its people later changed their name to Te Matehou once they resided in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. Ngati Hamua in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara is associated with Waiwhetu marae. This is the Hamua noted in census in the 1870s.⁷

Relationships between iwi

The relationship between the various descent groups in the Wairarapa and Te-Whanganui-a-Tara is more complex than the use a blanket term allows. Ballara puts forward a model of inter-group relationships which suggests changing identities based on new descent groups over a number of generations.⁸ The successive waves of migration to Wairarapa and Te-Whanganui-a-Tara from further up the east coast, resulted in accommodation of new arrivals, and often new identities emerging from these new associations.

⁴ JM McEwen, *Rangitane: A Tribal History*, Reed Methuen, Auckland, p 45 and p 152

⁵ Ballara, p 9

⁶ Tipene Chrisp, pers comm. 21/11/96

⁷ Mark Te One, pers comm., 9 December 1996. Ehrhardt also notes the existence of the Te Ati Awa hapu Ngati Hamua. See Ehrhardt, p 20

The dynamics between iwi and hapu were complex. These relationships were fluid, and changing. Joan Metge argues that

the roster of tribes was not fixed: the tribal histories make it clear that tribes waxed and waned. Sections of tribes (hapu) became tribes when large and powerful enough to enforce their right to independent action. Tribes weakened by war or famine were reabsorbed into related ones as subtribes, whether a particular group was tribe or sub-tribe at any given time was often a matter of debate.

Metge's argument gives an indication of the potential complexity of relationships in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara - divisions between groups, whether hapu or iwi, were difficult to distinguish, and they changed over time.

Ballara argues that by 1769 terms such as "Rangitane" and "Kahungunu" were irrelevant to the "activities of effective social groups." She states that such "Iwi" had "no visible structure or corporate functions." Their continued importance lay in the fact that they allowed the contact period people to acknowledge that they belonged to a group wider than their own hapu.⁹ The effective social groups of this period remained hapu-based. Major and minor hapu groups formed associations as circumstances required. Individuals could, Ballara argues, "transfer their allegiance and residence from community to community." This resulted in a network of alliances, held together by the mana of the chief. In both Wairarapa and Te-Whanganui-a-Tara hapu were the descendants of both the original tangata whenua and the later migrant groups.

From the written sources, such as the Maori Land Court minutes books, it seems clear that there were certain groups associated with Te-Whanganui-a-Tara - Ngati Ira, Rakaiwhakairi, and Ngati Kahukuraawhitia. Their links with each other, or other iwi would have been fluid, and determined by the dynamics of each situation. Whether they identified as members of Ngati Kahungunu or Rangitane is not clear, as hapu was, according to Ballara, a more important determinant than iwi.

Rangitane and Ngati Ira in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara to 1820

⁸ Ballara, p 14

⁹ Ballara pp 15-16

Pre-1700 occupation of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara has been characterised by consecutive waves of occupation.¹⁰ Migrations were gradual, usually over several years. The descendants of the original migrants intermarried. Struthers identifies Ngai Tara and Rangitane as resident in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara around the twelfth century. Ngati Kahungunu, Ngai Tahu and Muaupoko followed in the seventeenth century. Ngati Ira are identified as tangata whenua up to the 1820s.¹¹

Rangitane tribal history, as collected by Jock McEwen from both written and kaumatua testimony, says that the first occupants of the region from Wellington to Manawatu were descendants of Toi, his son Whatonga and grandson, Tara and Tautoki. The descendants of Tara, after whom the harbour was named, assumed the tribal name of Ngai Tara. Ngai Tara took up residence at Matiu and Te Motukairangi and according to Best occupied the land from the Hutt to the northern side of Porirua Harbour, on the coast rather than the hinterland.

Tautoki's descendants, known by the name of his son, Rangitane, were concentrated in the Manawatu, and in the Wairarapa. Their tribal lands met those of Ngai Tara, at Te waewae-kapiti-o-Tara-raua-ko-Rangitane (Kapiti). Ngai Tara and Rangitane were closely related, through both descent and intermarriage.

After about 11 generations of the occupation of Whatonga's descendants was interrupted by Ngati Ira. Ngati Ira were originally from the East Coast, through eponymous ancestor Ira-turoto, and moved south over a number of generations. As they moved, along with the descendants of Kahungunu, they intermarried with existing people. Ehrhardt writes that by the time they settled at Te-Whanganui-a-Tara Ngati Ira were descendants of Tara, Rangitane, Kahungunu and Ira-kai-putahi as well as Ira-turoto. They spread as far as Pukerua Bay, into the Wairarapa and around the harbour. In some areas, groups took on names of later ancestors - Rakaiwhakairi and Ngati Kahukuraawhitia became important tribal names in the Heretaunga.¹² The group who eventually occupied the harbour, coastal

¹⁰ This section is based largely on Ehrhardt, *Te-Whanganui-a-Tara, Customary Tenure 1750-1850*; AH Ballara, "The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu" PhD Thesis, VUW, 1991; and R Anderson, *Historical Overview of Wellington Region, Crown Congress Joint Working Party Historical Report on Wellington Lands*.

¹¹ Struthers, J, *Miramar Peninsula: A Historical and Social Study*, Struthers, Wellington 1975, timeline, inside cover.

¹² Penny Ehrhardt, *Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Customary Tenure 1750-1850*, Te Roopu Whakamana I Te Tiriti O Waitangi, Waitangi Tribunal Division, Department of Justice, Wellington, 1992, p 12

Wairarapa, Palliser Bay and on the Kapiti coast as far as Waimapihi, retained the name Ngati Ira.

There were challenges to Ngati Ira's occupation, notably around 1700 by Rangitane, covered by both Ballara and Ehrhardt. Although Rangitane defeated Ngati Ira, they apparently did not follow up the defeat with settlement of the area. As a result of the fighting Ballara claims Ngati Ira deserted their settlements at Te Motu Kairangi, Paekawakawa and the southern areas of the harbour. Susan Butterworth also argues that the dearth of Maori places names around Pito-one indicates that it was not much used for settlement in this period.

Ngati Ira were settled on the eastern shores of the harbour from Waiwhetu to Turakirae, with a number of settlements along the coastline - pa of refuge on Matiu, Makaro, Tapu Te Ranga and Hakoiwi, and a fortified settlement at Waiwhetu. There were fishing villages at Okiwi, Parengarahu, Kohanga-te-ra and Orongorongo. They were also living between Te Rawhiti and Pukerua Bay, with major settlements at Porirua, Titahi Bay and Ohariu, and a pa at Waimapihi.

In Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) were Rakaiwhakairi and Ngati Kahukuraawhitia, who were also important descent groups in the Wairarapa. They had at least three pa in Heretaunga. Rakaiwhakairi also shared a pa at Kapiti with Hamua and Rangitane. Ballara argues that Rakaiwhakairi and Kahukuraawhitia were more "distinctive markers of identity" in the Wairarapa and Te-Whanganui-a-Tara than Rangitane or Ngai Tara. Her argument is based on the number of claims based on mana derived from them; and the number of times they were regarded as the eponymous ancestors of tribes.¹³ She also argues that during the nineteenth century Ngati Kahungunu became the important uniting identity for the Wairarapa area; Rangitane became a more west coast-based identity, while Ngati Ira lost ground through military defeats and loss of territory.¹⁴

Therefore, the tangata whenua occupants at the time of the arrival of Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa were apparently Ngati Ira, Rakaiwhakairi and Ngati Kahukuraawhitia.

Events 1819-1839

¹³ Ballara, pp 128-133

¹⁴ Ballara, pp 133-136

Around 1819 Ngati Ira occupation of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara was disrupted by a Nga Puhi-dominated taua from the north. Included in the party were a Ngati Toa party under Te Peehi Kupe, Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, some Ngati Mutunga, Te Ati Awa chiefs with Mauukonga and Takaratatu and Te Puoho of Ngati Tama. S Percy Smith's account of the fighting focuses on massive slaughter and slave taking, while Ballara argues that the invaders were defeated in some battles. Whatever the details, the result was the weakening of Ngati Ira's position in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

In 1821 this expedition was followed by the Amiowhenua expedition, which contained Ngati Whatua leaders, as well as some Waikato, Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Maru. These taua were not aiming to conquer land for settlement.

In 1822 Ngati Toa from Kawhia came south to Kapiti and Waikanae, bringing with them Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama. In 1824 a section of Te Ati Awa under Rere Te Whangawhanga and his son Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, settled at Kapiti and Waikanae. Other Taranaki iwi formed a line of villages from Te Aro to Kaiwharawhara. Te Rauparaha continued his attacks south to Kaiapoi. In his wake Te Puoho, with Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Manukorihi and Puketapu "conquered" Queen Charlotte Sound and Tasman Bay.

There are few mentions of those people who were living in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara when Ngati Toa, Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga arrived. Enoka Hohepa mentions a "Ngati Kahungunu" Manihiria Rangitekaiwaho, killed by Ngati Tama. He mentions that this expedition also killed people at Heretaunga and Wairarapa. He told the Native Land Court that the "country was all conquered", and those killed were the "survivors from previous inroads." They were killed in order so the invaders could take possession. He also remembered a Ngati Tama chief being killed by Ngati Kahungunu.¹⁵

Around 1824 the coastal tribes of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara, Kapiti, Horowhenua and the Marlborough Sounds - including Rangitane from the Manawatu and the Sounds, attempted to drive Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa people from Kapiti, in the battle known as Waiorua. They were defeated. Their loss, according to McEwen, "completely established the position of Te Rauparaha in the Horowhenua district."¹⁶ This argument is supported by Maori Land Court evidence. Hohaia Pokaitara, of Ngati Toa and Ngati Awa living at Porirua, stated that this battle "settled land right down to Wellington and Wairarapa" and

¹⁵ Wellington Native Land Court minute book 2, Enoka Hohepa, 21 March 1888, pp96-98

¹⁶ McEwen, p 97

that afterwards the “defeated party abandoned the land.” Karihana, also from Ngati Toa, agreed that the result of the war was that Ngati Toa took and occupied the and the tangata whenua were forced out “from Rangitikei on one side, to Wellington.”¹⁷

In the 1820s Ngati Toa attacked Te Horopari village at Waiwhetu. They also attacked two other pa up the river - Hau-karetu and Pa-whaka-taka, although Ballara writes that it was not until around 1832 that Hau-karetu and Pa-whaka-taka were abandoned and Rakaiwhakairi and Ngati Kahukuraawhitia left for the Wairarapa. David Miller writes that the inhabitants of these pa, Ngati Ira and Ngati Kahungunu, retreated to the Wairarapa, preferring “to lose face rather than lose their skins.” Te Rauparaha and his men chased the retreating people into the Wairarapa.¹⁸ Ballara argues that from the late 1820s onwards Ngati Ira was no longer a significant force in the Te-Whanganui-a-Tara region, and that their mana as iwi had departed.¹⁹

According to Matene Te Whiwhi, of Ngati Toa, Ngati Awa and Raukawa descent, Te Rauparaha made peace with Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Ira, and brought them back from the South Island with him - as defeated tribes, living under his mantle. Te Whiwhi himself, at Te Rauparaha’s request, went to the Wairarapa to make peace, providing the protection of Ngati Toa, recognising the Tararua Ranges as a boundary to prevent interference with Wairarapa tribes. The only Ngati Kahungunu chief who continued to live with Ngati Toa was Weretakairangi, who stayed for a year and then returned home. Peace was not made with those tribes living further up the west coast - Ngati Apa, Muaupoko or Rangitane.²⁰

In the mid 1820s, Taranaki invaders of Waikanae found themselves in competition not only with the local tangata whenua but also with Ngati Toa, and the Taranaki people who had come before them. Around 1824 Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama (accompanied by Ngatata-i-te-rangi of Te Ati Awa) moved to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara, Ohariu and Palliser Bay - with pa at Lake Onoke.

According to Te Whiwhi, in 1827 Ngati Kahungunu lived at Wellington Heads, Porirua and Kapiti. A series of attacks by Mutunga and Tama drove Ngati Ira from the harbour

¹⁷ Hohaia Pokaitara, MLC Minute Book, Otaki 10, 31/1/1890, p 84 and p 100; Karihana, MLC Minute Book Otaki 10, 3/2/1890, p 111

¹⁸ DP Miller, *Once Upon a Village: A History of Lower Hutt*, New Zealand University Press: Wellington, 1972, p 2

¹⁹ Ballara, p 153

²⁰ Matene Te Whiwhi, MLC Minute Book, Otaki 1, 3/12/1872, pp 138-145

area. The final attack was at Island Bay around 1827. Ngati Mutunga, under the chief Patukawenga, were attacked by "Ngati Kahungunu" at Waiwhetu - the battle known as Te Ngoingoi. Mutunga pursued the Ngati Kahungunu, capturing the chief Te Kuaki. Te Kuaki managed to kill Te Wera, and then fled. A party of Mutunga pursued Te Kuaki, with the assistance of the Te Ati Awa hapu Te Matehou. They fought at Matakiki and Pahaoa. On reaching Rangiwakaoma the party returned, Te Wera's death avenged. After this fight Patukawenga and Ngati Mutunga went to the Chatham Islands.²¹

The last southward migrations of north Taranaki iwi came south in 1828 (Te Heke Whirinui), and in 1831-2 (Tamateuaua). In 1831-2, Waikato forces invaded Taranaki, and the remaining north Taranaki Te Ati Awa were defeated at Pukerangiora. Survivors took refuge at Ngamotu, and with Te Wharepouri's aid repelled the Waikato attack. Te Wharepouri, with cousins Te Puni and Wi Tako Ngatata, and elder Rauakitua led some 2,000 Te Ati Awa southwards in 1832. These hapu, collectively known as Ngamotu, included Ngati Te Whiti, Ngati Tawhirikura and Te Matehou. Also accompanying the Tamateuaua migration were parties of Ngati Tama, Mutunga, Puketapu, Manukorihi, Pukerangiora, Rahiri, Kaitangata, Ngati Hineuru and Te Whakarewa.

The Te Ati Awa presence in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara seems to have been established first in 1824 by Ngatata-i-te-rangi, and then in the early 1830s when Te Matangi and Te Manihera Te Tohu were invited by Ngati Mutunga to reside at Pitoone. Their rights were strengthened by the arrival of Wi Tako Ngatata. Ngatata accompanied an expedition of Ngati Raukawa and inland through the Manawatu into Hawkes Bay. Ngamotu came through Heretaunga where they attacked a Rakaiwhakairi settlement in revenge for the killing of Te Momi, a Ngati Mutunga chief. Patukawenga of Ngati Mutunga gifted the resources and lands to them in return. Te Wharepouri and Te Puni led the majority of Ngamotu people to the apparently abandoned Wairarapa Valley 1833-34.

After the battle called Paengahuru, many of the Wairarapa tangata whenua went to Nukutaurua at Te Mahia, some to Manawatu, and others to Te Wai Pounamu. They returned in 1841-42, after an absence of eight years. On their return, fearing Ngati Tawhirikura and Ngati Tama, Kahungunu stayed together in one place for a time, until their confidence was restored and they returned to their own settlements.²²

²¹ Enoka Hohepa, Wellington Native Land Court minute book 5, 19 March 1895, p 3

²² Manihera Maaka, MLC Minute Book, Wairarapa 7, 12/6/1888, p 264

After the 1834 Haowhenua battle at Waikanae Rakaiwhakairi and Hamua finally abandoned the pa in the upper part of Te Awa Kairangi and from then on lived only in the Wairarapa, and “accepted permanent loss of their interests in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara about 1840.” The peace agreements of around 1840 re-defined their boundaries, basing them on the east coast of the North Island only. Only Rangitane remained on both sides of the dividing ranges of Tararua in Manawatu and Wairarapa.²³

As early as 1836, Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga emigrated to the Chatham Islands. Te Wharepouri and his people settled in Pitoone. John Miller writes that these new Pitoone settlers were in a precarious position, for they had quarrelled with Lambton Harbour Maori, who out-numbered them, and they were threatened by “Kahungunu” who might press down from Wairarapa. Ngati Toa remained an unpredictable presence at Kapiti. When the New Zealand Company agents arrived in September-October 1839, the situation was “as confused as it could be.” The events of the twenty years to 1840 had thrown many things “in particular the question of tribal boundaries into a state of uncertainty and flux.”²⁴

During Kahungunu’s absence Ngati Tama, Ngati Tawhirikura and Ngati Te Whiti had occupied settlements in the Wairarapa. At the close of the 1830s Nukupewapewa attacked them at Tauwharerata, near Featherston, where Te Wharepouri and Ngati Tawhirikura were living. They captured Te Wharepouri’s niece Ripeka Te Kakapi and wife Te Urumairangi (otherwise known as Umairangi). Te Wharepouri and his people retreated to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. When the women were returned he made a peace offer.

Peace with the Wairarapa people was made around 1841, after their return from Nukutaurua.²⁵ S Percy Smith recounts the event in a story given to him by an “old Maori.” Tutepakihirangi told a gathering at Pitoone:

live all of you, on this side of the bounding mountains (Remutaka) - you on this side, I on the other. I will call these mountains our shoulders. The streams that fall down on this side are for you to drink, on the other side for us.

According to Ballara Tutepakihirangi’s speech “recognised and legitimated in Maori eyes the conquest of the northern peoples on the Kapiti Coast and in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.” In

²³ Ballara, pp 230-231, pp 423-425

²⁴ J Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand: A Study of Racial Tension and Social Attitudes 1839-1852*, Oxford University Press: London, 1958, pp 19-20

so doing promising that the take of Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngati Ira, Ngati Apa and others would not be avenged by the people living east of the divide. The divide established the boundary of the Wairarapa tangata whenua. The claims of Ngati Ira, "whose territory once sprawled across to the west coast and into Te Waipounamu were abandoned. Tutepakihirangi indicated that their *take* were not the responsibility of the people living east of the ranges, referring to Rangitane and Muaupoko in the Manawatu and the Horowhenua.²⁶

When the New Zealand Company's negotiators arrived, the iwi occupation of Te Whanganui-a-Tara remained tenuous. James Cowan argues that one of the reasons Te Puni participated in the Wellington purchase, was the need for muskets and ammunition, without which "their tenure of the district in those days of almost constant intertribal jealousy and conflict would have been precarious."²⁷ There was considerable uncertainty with regard to boundaries, particularly in the Hutt Valley.

New Zealand Company purchases 1839

The New Zealand Company's claim to the Harbour area derived from three deeds of sale, the first signed by Te Ati Awa in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, the second by Ngati Toa at Kapiti, and the third by a combination of Te Ati Awa, Rangitane and Ngati Apa in Queen Charlotte Sound. Commissioner Spain considered the most significant deed to be the one resulting from the Company's initial dealings with Te Puni and Te Wharepouri of Pitoone and Ngauranga Pa, who became the major protagonists of the sale to the Company. This deed conveyed to the Company all the land from Sinclair Head to Cape Turakirae and inland to the Tararua Rangi. Included were the islands of the harbour and part of the inland Porirua district. It was signed on 27 September 1839.

The New Zealand Company dealt only with sections of Te Ati Awa whom they found resident on the shores of the harbour. Anderson writes that the offer of land for sale reflects in part the desire of certain sections of Te Ati Awa, such as Ngati Tawhirikura, to clearly establish their mana over the area. She writes that contemporary Pakeha accounts were likely to be coloured by the viewpoint of their informants, by their own self-interest. Commissioner Spain, appointed to investigate the sale of Te Whanganui-a-Tara, for

²⁵ Ihaia Whakamairu, Ngati Kahungunu, MLC Minute Book, Otaki 1, 30/11/1872, pp 120-121

²⁶ Ballara, p 475

²⁷ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars and the pioneering period: A History of the Maori Campaigns and pioneering period 1845-64*, volume 1, Government Printer: Wellington, 1955, pp 88-89

example did not seriously consider the possible claims of former occupants, and rejected Ngati Toa's claim. Wakefield did not consider whether Te Ati Awa had a right to sell considering Ngati Toa claims of dominance. Company representatives did not meet with Ngati Ira representatives, nor did any Ngati Ira appear to press any claim at the time of the purchase.²⁸

Ngati Ira's Position in 1839

Although Ngati Ira appear not to have been in occupation of the harbour by the mid 1830s, retreating to Wairarapa and perhaps Nukutaurua, there were still incursions into the eastern harbour area. These threats did influence the sellers of the land. George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines, reported that those who participated in the sale did so in part because of the

unsettled state in which they were living, being continually harassed by the daily predatory excursions of their old enemies, the Ngati Kahungunu, and expecting to be overpowered by the Ngati Toa and other hostile tribes by whom they were surrounded; and by inviting the Europeans to settle down amongst them as a barrier between them and their more powerful neighbours, they thought they might avert impending evil.²⁹

Te Puni told George Clarke that he had participated in the sale of Port Nicholson "because I has afraid of Ngatiraukawa, Ngatikahungunu, Taupo, Waikato, your friend Werowero; and because all the people of Hutt were going to Pipitea except my two brothers." The people were moving from the Hutt into the inner harbour area because of fear. He said that when the *Tory* arrived the 50 or so people at Heretaunga and Waiwhetu were moving to Pipitea "through fear."³⁰

The Port Nicholson sale did rouse reaction from Ngati Kahungunu. Dieffenbach reports that Wiremu Puwhakawe (also known as Puakawa), a Te Atiawa chief, was killed by them as revenge for old grievances called forth once again by the sale.³¹

²⁸ Robyn Anderson, "Historical Overview of Wellington Region: Crown Congress Historical Report on Wellington Lands." WAI 145, A44, p 6

²⁹ G Clarke jnr to G Clarke, Report on state of the natives in and about the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson 13 December 1842, encl 2 in no 8, p 123; Appendix to Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand, *BPP/IUP* 2 1844

³⁰ Te Puni, examined before the Commissioner's Court, 8 July 1842, OLC 1 906

³¹ Dieffenbach, p 92

JC Crawford reported that there was opposition to the sales in the Hutt Valley. He believed the opposition has "proceeded from parties who...were in the district at a very distant period." Crawford told the Select Committee on New Zealand that these parties had returned and set up a claim to "extort money."³²

Anderson writes that the fact of sale was used to delineate borders with Ngati Kahungunu to the east. The boundaries described by Te Wharepouri to Wakefield were confirmed by the agreement reached between the tribes occupying Port Nicholson and the peoples of Wairarapa. Wairarapa was restored to its tangata whenua, and western boundaries were set at the Tararua and Rimutaka ranges. In exchange "Ngati Kahungunu" abandoned their claims to the west coast and Port Nicholson.³³

The Spain Commission's Investigation

Commissioner William Spain was appointed in 1842 to investigate the New Zealand Company's title. He was instructed that the Company's title was dependent upon proof that Maori title had been fairly extinguished. He was initially welcomed by Te Ati Awa, and conducted a thorough investigation as it became evident that there was Te Ati Awa opposition to the sale. Wakefield was less that supportive, with openly obstructionist tactics, and a campaign of opposition to the Commission. Spain's report in 1843 was unfavourable to the Company, leaving a complete claim to only small parts of the district, because he argued that there was not consent from chiefs at Pipitea, Kaiwharawhara and Kumutoto. He also argued that residency equalled rights, and rejected Ngati Toa's claim to the harbour area, based on conquest as it was.³⁴

I have found no evidence that Commissioner Spain met with any Ngati Ira representatives, nor whether Ngati Ira was aware of the sitting of the Commission. The Commission sat when Wairarapa Maori were settling themselves back into their old lands, after their return from Nukutaurua. Nor does Protector of Aborigines George Clarke seem to have had any dealings with these people. The common Te Ati Awa, and therefore settler narrative, of the history of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara was that Ngati Ira were driven from the area, and had

³² JC Crawford, 18 June 1844, Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on New Zealand, p 164, *BPP/IUP* 2 1844. This reference may be to Ngati Rangatahi's claim in the Hutt Valley.

³³ Anderson, p 23

³⁴ Anderson, p 36

abandoned their claims, and this was the version that both Spain and Clarke heard.³⁵ The effect of non-attendance at these hearings was that Ngati Ira were not allocated reserves made in the Wellington region from the Port Nicholson purchase, although they do not seem to have been occupying the land as a group at this time.

Crown's dealings with Ngati Ira 1840-1865

Ngati Ira's interests in the Harbour

Ngati Ira seems to have no longer been resident in the harbour by 1840. Evidence given by settlers and New Zealand Company employees who came out in the late 1830s and early 1840s the idea that Ngati Ira were conquered and driven from Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. JW Child, a settler resident in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara for 3 years from 1840 had been told that the whole of the Port Nicholson district was conquered from Ngati Kahungunu by Ngati Toa under Te Rauparaha. Although surveyor Charles Kettle mentions Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Awa as the main iwi of the southern part of the North Island, he told the Select Committee on New Zealand that there were few Maori living on the Wairarapa plains.³⁶

It is possible that the iwi formerly resident on the coast of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara moved from the Wairarapa through Orongorongo and Rimutaka Ranges. Dieffenbach writes that Ngati Kahungunu had retired through the valley eastward to Palliser Bay where "they lived for some time in the dark recesses of the forest, continually issuing from their hiding places to harass their enemies."³⁷ Henare Pitt told the Native Land Court that at the time Colonel Wakefield arrived a chief in the Hutt, Ngakura was killed by Ngati Kahungunu when he went to the top of the hill to get food.³⁸ Principal surveyor for the New Zealand Company, Samuel Brees, was part of a team who went up the Wainuiomata Valley. Here he met the chiefs from the Wairarapa, Te Raro, Te Teira, "E Hido" and Maniera, who were "...very anxious to have white people among them; that they and their people may obtain such comforts and luxuries as they see the Ngatiawas possessed of." Te Raro wished to know

³⁵ CH Kettle, 20 June 1844; JW Child, 2 July 1844; Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on New Zealand, pp170-174 and p 228, *British Parliamentary Papers/IUP* Session 2, 1844

³⁶ CH Kettle, 20 June 1844; JW Child, 2 July 1844; Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on New Zealand, pp170-174 and p 228, *British Parliamentary Papers/IUP* Session 2, 1844

³⁷ Dieffenbach, p 81

³⁸ Henare Pitt, Wellington Native Land Court minute book 2, 16 March 1888, p 64

where the planned road was to go so he could cultivate the land next to it, presumably to access the market for produce.³⁹

There is evidence that Te Atiawa recently established at Pito-one were nervous about the proximity of their eastern neighbours. In December 1840 Ensign Best went into the Wainuiomata valley, but the Maori accompanying him refused to go up the valley because of the Ngati Kahungunu. He went pig-hunting inland from Lake Onoke, at the entrance to the Wairarapa valley, and again mentions considerable apprehension on behalf on his guides about the possible appearance on Ngati Kahungunu.⁴⁰ Ernest Dieffenbach, exploring the Heretaunga valley mentions that he could find no willing guides, the Maori living on the coast having little knowledge of the land up-river, “never having penetrated far for fear of the Ngati Kahungunu tribe, the former proprietors of the place, and their greatest enemies.”⁴¹ Commissioner William Spain, investigating New Zealand Company claims in the Port Nicholson area recognised that fear of Ngati Kahungunu incursions was one of the reasons Te Atiawa sold land.⁴²

Matau (also known as Mahau) expressed the view to the Commissioner’s court that if the land “were his own home, no man could sell the cultivation of another to white people.” He felt that the situation in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara was different he told William Spain that “this land did not belong to our forefathers, it of right belongs to the Ngatikahungunu: but the people here have taken the land. This is a different case.” Perhaps it was easier to sell land in a district where tenure was in a state of flux, until such a recent time.⁴³

Others saw the situation more simply. Te Kaeaea (Taringa Kuri) said that Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama had come south and “killed and eaten” the Ngati Kahungunu who had been occupying the coasts of the harbour. He stated that Wharepouri then brought Ngati Kahungunu from Nga Puhi [at Nukutaurua] “to be his slaves and to catch eels and feed pigs.”⁴⁴

³⁹ Samuel Brees to Col W Wakefield, 1 January 1844, Encl 1 in No 4, Appendix to New Zealand Company Report 14, *Reports of the New Zealand Company 1843-45*, p 66

⁴⁰ Ensign Best, *Journal of Ensign Best 1837-1843*, Government Printer: Wellington 1966, p 263 and pp 265-268

⁴¹ E Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand: volume 1*, Jon Murray: London, 1843, p 73

⁴² William Spain to Governor, Final Report, 31 March 1845, OLC 906

⁴³ Matau, Evidence before the Commissioner’s Court, 9 September 1842, OLC 1 906

⁴⁴ Te Kaeaea, cross examined by Dr Evans for the New Zealand Company, 28 May 1842, OLC 1 906

I have found no evidence of occupation by Ngati Ira as a hapu in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara after 1840. There is evidence that they did press a claim to the Crown in the 1850s regarding their previous rights in the harbour. Te Ati Awa and Ngati Toa do not seem to have objected to these claims, perhaps because it was no threat to their mana in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.⁴⁵

Following the fighting with Ngati Awa in the mid 1830s many hapu in Wairarapa had retreated to Nukutaurua, although some had stayed on their traditional lands. On their return around 1841, they found that Ngati Awa had "some time previously sold Wellington to Colonel Wakefield." According to Ihaia Whakamairu, Ngati Kahungunu then urged their claim of the government for the land sold by Ngati Awa at Wellington and the Hutt, and that the Government agreed to pay money for this claim, and that none of the chiefs of Ngati Toa or Ngati Awa objected to this because the claim was "made to the Government."⁴⁶

The Crown and Ngati Ira

Post 1840 Crown dealings with Ngati Kahungunu, which may include Ngati Ira, are strongly linked to the Wairarapa, rather than with Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. In 1853 the Government's land purchase efforts turned to the Wairarapa, although negotiations for the sale of land in the Wairarapa had been under way since at least 1851.⁴⁷ William Searancke reported that Ngati Kahungunu had been keen to take part in sales to the Crown, arguing that "the fact of their being a broken tribe prepared them to welcome European settlers among them, and subsequently, fearful that the Government would remove them, consented to the alienation of their land by sale to the Crown." He noted that the sales commenced in 1853 and were "vigorously carried on" through 1853-1854.⁴⁸

The first dealing with Wairarapa Maori concerning land on the west of the Rimutaka Ranges was the purchase of the Turakirae Block on 1 September 1853. Ngati Kahungunu were party to the sale of Turakirae. The boundary started at Turakirae, followed the course

⁴⁵ See p 20 below.

⁴⁶ Ihaia Whakamairu, MLC Minute Book, Otaki 1, 30/11/1872

⁴⁷ See for example, Donald McLean, 13 October 1851, Journal volume 3 1850-1851, p.83 Ms 1286 ATL

⁴⁸ William Searancke, "Report by Mr Searancke on the Native Lands in the Wairarapa." *AJHR* 1860, C-3, p3

of the Orongorongo Stream, into Otairua Stream, following it back to Lake Wairarapa, to Patungamatangi, then to Kiriwai, straight to the coast, back to the starting point.⁴⁹

The land was, according to Donald McLean, "bounded on the north-east side by the Wairarapa River and Lake, and on the south-west by the lands acquired from the Ngatiawa Tribes, of Wellington." McLean considered that the purchase included land about Mangaroa and Pakuratae, other valleys and mountain ranges to which the Wairarapa people had not previously extinguished title to, but also land which it was presumed, according to the maps of the Wellington and Porirua districts, that had been

ceded by the Ngatiawa and Ngatitua Tribes, whose right to have done so beyond a certain boundary agreed to between themselves and these Natives (the Ngatikahungunu) was, at least, very questionable.⁵⁰

According to Hahara Pakaitara Ngati Kahungunu set aside land at Mukamuka (coastal southern Wairarapa) for Ngati Tama, in the 1853 sale. Ngati Tama seem to have lived between Porirua, Kaiwharawhara and Mukamuka between 1846 and 1853. Taringa Kuri is mentioned as having rights prior to 1844.⁵¹

The second dealing with Wairarapa Maori's claims into Wellington, occurred less than a month later. On 29 September 1853 the Crown paid £100 to extinguish the claims of the Maori in the Wairarapa and East Coast to Wellington and Porirua. The deed, signed by 12 chiefs identified in the deed as Ngati Kahungunu, stated

we the Chiefs and people of Ngati Kahungunu unreservedly consent ... entirely to give up all our lands which have been sold by the Ngati Toa tribes to the Queen of England, that is all the lands at Wellington and Porirua and Heretaunga, that is all the lands which have been fully given to the Europeans.⁵²

⁴⁹ Donald McLean (Land Commissioner), to Civil Secretary (New Munster), 2 September 1853, *AJHR* G-4, No 1, 1891, p 39.

⁵⁰ Donald McLean (Land Commissioner), to Civil Secretary (New Munster), 2 September 1853, *AJHR* G-4, No 1, 1891, p 37

⁵¹ Wellington Native Land Court minute book 2, 14 March 1888, Hahara Pakaitara, pp 33-35. Permanent residents at Mukamuka were said to be: Wiremu Patani Ngakuri, Paara te Huruhuru, Paora Ngapara, Piripi Ngapari (son of Paora Ngapara), Matiu te Riri, Taituka Tumoana, Wi Omere, Henere Tuarua, Pene te Riri. The dates given in court are contradictory.

⁵² Copies of deeds of sale, Wellington 1849-1852. MA-MLP 6:2, Deed No.297, 29/9/1853. The chiefs were: Manihera Te Kehu, Te Wereta Te Inaki, Iraia Te Ania, Maika Meha, Wiremu Tamihana Hiko, Wiremuy Tutero Te Hoi, Raniera Te Iho, Hemi Te Miha, Ngairo, Hiri Te Miha o te Rangī, Te Wereta

This deed appears to be one of two times when the Crown recognised that the Wairarapa Maori had had rights to land in Wellington harbour area. It is possible that this deed acted as a lubricant for purchases from Wairarapa Maori. Following this payment, the purchases in the Wairarapa begin in earnest.

Crown policy of paying iwi to relinquish claims to land extended to the tribes in occupation of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. On 7 January 1854 the Government paid Ngati Toa, Ngati Tama and Ngatiawa £700 for their rights in Wairarapa, in the same way they had paid Kahungunu for their claims in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. The deed stated

we have relinquished our claims to all the lands at Wairarapa and the country adjacent thereto and all the disputes we have had in reference to these lands are now terminated in testimony of which, we, the elder chiefs of Ngatiawa, Ngatitama and Ngatitao subscribe our names.⁵³

There appear to have been no further claims from Ngati Kahungunu to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara after this time.

The Crown Exchange of Reserves in Wellington and Palmerston North

Lowry Bay sections were sold by Sir George Grey in 1866 and invested on behalf of the Waiwhetu people in sections at Palmerston North.⁵⁴ The 18 sections (71 acres 1 rood) in Palmerston North were purchased with proceeds from the sale of Native Reserves numbers 1 and 4 (a total of 102 acres 2 roods) at Wainuiomata. These original reserves were apparently "two swampy for Native use." With the advance of Palmerston North, the reserves became valuable and it was necessary to determine who was entitled to participate in the proceeds. The reserves were administered by the Commissioner of Native Reserves.⁵⁵

Kawakairangi, Te Kanamu Hanairoa. I have been unable to find any discussion of the reason why such a deed was deemed necessary by the Crown, nor any reaction by the Wairarapa Maori.

⁵³ The chiefs who signed the deed were: Honiana Te Puni, Wikitōa Taringakuri, Rawiri Puaha, Wi Tako, Moturoa Te Ropiha and Pouhi. Copies of deeds of sale, Wellington 1849-1872, 7/1/1854, No 326.

⁵⁴ Janet Bayly *The Heretaunga/Waiwhetu River Mouth: An historical narrative*, Petone Settlers Museum 1988, p 42

⁵⁵ Report of the Commissioner of Native Reserves, *AJHR* 1876 G-3, p 3; B Sheehan, "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Maori Reserved Land" *AJHR* 1875 H-3, p 18, p 262. I have been unable to find any further information on the exchange of reserves in Palmerston North and Wainuiomata.

Although the land was traditionally associated with Ngati Ira, they do not seem to have been in occupation of this land after 1830. It would seem that the exchange of land in Wainuiomata with land in Palmerston North had little effect on Ngati Ira, who had already abandoned their claims to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

Significant Sites Associated with Ngati Ira and Rangitane

The most recent publication dealing with historical sites in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara is Duncan Moore and Tom Bennion's *Nga Wahi Taonga o Te-Whanganui-a-Tara*. This section is based largely on that source. Their work is based on accounts of ethnographers, and material from the Wellington Maori Land Court minute books. It is interesting to note that the place names associated with the area are linked to tangata whenua tribes rather than the later migrants. Despite losing occupation these historical links have remained, a fact considered significant by the Rangitane claimants.

Nga Waahi Taonga o Te-Whanganui-a-Tara also identifies places associated with Ngati Ira.

Ohariu: M12 and M14, M21 - Te Ika a Maru precinct. One of a string Ngati Ira settlements and pa along the coast, including Porirua, Titahi Bay and Pukerua Bay.

Mohua and Te Kauae o Poua: (M42) natural features, a tall isolated rock, and 3 rocks off Te Rimurapa. Associated with Ngati Ira.

Taumata Patiti pa: (M43) on a ridge running to Rimurapa. Associated with Ngai Tara and Ngati Mamoe. Later occupied by Nga Motu people - Ngati Waipango.

Hauwai Cultivation area: (M69) Basin Reserve. Associated with Ngati Hinewai hapu of Ngai Tara. It has been built over.

Te Akatarewa pa: (M70) Pa overlooking what is now Greta Point. Associated with the Ngati Hinewai hapu of Ngai Tara. Part of a chain of forts. Now built over.

Te Waihirere pa: (M71) Precise location not known, but probably on the upper bend of Carlton Gore Road. A stockaded village associated with Ngati Tara. There are hut sites in the vicinity.

Owhiro Terraces: (M80) Terracing associated with Ngati Ira and later Ngati Awa. Condition unknown.

Motu-haku Kainga or pa: (M84) Near Island Bay foreshore. The site has been built over. Associated with Ngai Tara.

Uruhau pa: (M85) Melbourne Road, on the hill above Island Bay. This is a fortified pa associated with Ngai Tara. It was in good condition in 1960, with terracing visible, but no traces of fortifications.

Tapu Te Ranga Island: (M90) This was a Ngati Ira refuge, of which little remains.

Kai Whakaaua Waru: (M93) This was a kainga on the south east side of Point Halswell. It was associated with the Kai tangata hapu of Ngati Ira. The middens have been affected by road works. (Archaeology report NZAA N164/6, 81-82)

Mataki Kai Poinga: (M94) There is some doubt as to the position of this pa, it was on a spur of the main north-south ridge on the Miramar peninsula. It was associated with the Kai tangata hapu of Ngati Ira, and also with Ngai Tahu. (NZAA N164/5). Some terracing and depressions remain.

Kakariki-Hutia Pa: (M101) This on the eastern terminus of Awa Road, above Worsler Bay and was associated with Ngati Ira. In 1955 there were still "good traces" of the pa.

Whetu Kairangi: (M102) This major pa associated with Ngai Tara and Ngati Ira was between Seatoun Heights and Marine Parade, opposite Worsler Bay School. Its condition is not known.

Poito pa: (M110) This Ngai Tara and Ngati Ira pa is on a headland above Tarakena Bay. Its condition is not known. (NZAA 164/3, R27/55).

Rangitatau pa: (M111) A pa associated with Ngai Tara and Ngati Ira above Tarakena Bay. Its condition was described as good in 1960.

Oruaiti pa: (M114) A pa and kainga at Fort Dorset, largely destroyed. Associated with Te Rerewa of Rangitane, and later other tribes.

In addition Elsdon Best identifies other sites associated with Ngati Ira. I have not identified their post 1840 history.⁵⁶

Okiwi-nui: Robinson's Bay, the name of a fortified village at that place. Residence of the chief Te Rangi-irokia. May also be known as Matua-iwi.

Okiwi-iti: Brown's Bay. Original Maori name was Makokomiko. Renamed after a Rangitane chief who was killed there.

Otuamotoro: Day's Bay. A Ngati Ira fortified village. Built by Te Hiha six generations ago.

Ngutuihe: Ngati Ira village on Section 77 east of Waiwhetu Stream.

Ohiti: A stockaded village at the mouth of the Waiwhetu Stream, east side. Apparently an old Ngati Ira village, afterwards occupied by Ngati Awa.

Hau-karetu: Ngati Ira village near Upper Hutt.

Pa-whakataka: Ngati Ira village near the junction of the Mangaroa and Heretaunga streams.

Te Horopari: Ngati Ira village on the Hutt River.

Te Ake-tarewa: Old stockaded village of Ngati Tara on Mt Alfred, a secondary peak of the Rangaahiwi ridge (Point Jenningham to Island Bay).

Te Wai-hirere: Stockaded Ngati Tara village on Point Jenningham. Levelled hut sites used to be visible in youth.

Maupuia: Ngati Hinepare of Ngai Tara village on Rongotai ridge.

⁵⁶ Elsdon Best, "The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It. Part V" *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 28: 165-177

Conclusion

It is clear from the historical evidence that Ngati Ira were in occupation of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara into the 1820s. With the arrival of the northern taua of Ngati Toa and the Taranaki-based iwi, their occupation was challenged and by 1830 they were largely absent from the harbour area, having retreated to the Wairarapa. The threat of further attacks into the Wairarapa led to a large number Wairarapa-based tribes retreating to Nukutaurua, although some remained to maintain ahi kaa.

In the 1830s there were intermittent attacks from the Wairarapa into Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. These forays were enough to make the Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Tama and Te Ati Awa who occupied the Hutt Valley nervous, and encouraged them to sell the land, in return for the presence of Europeans and access to weapons. Peace was negotiated around 1840, with "Ngati Kahungunu" agreeing to keep east of the main divide, and Te Ati Awa staying to the west.

It is clear that throughout the 1830s the tenure of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara was still in a confused state. Te Ati Awa occupation was still being negotiated between the various hapu, and relationships further up the coast with Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa were volatile.

Into this situation came the New Zealand Company. Their dealings with Te Ati Awa established Te Ati Awa as the tangata whenua of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. It seems that the various Wairarapa-based hapu had largely accepted that they had lost their occupation of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara. The peace agreement allowed them to return to the Wairarapa without threat of further attack.

It was not until the early 1850s that any claim was made into Te-Whanganui-a-Tara, and this was recognised as having a validity by the Crown, as evidenced by the payment of £100 to Ngati Kahungunu to extinguish their rights in the harbour area. This payment is evidence perhaps of some dispute about title to Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

Rangitane kaumatua feel a strong association with Te-Whanganui-a-Tara, and argue that their claim is evidenced by the place names, some of which have their origin with the earlier Rangitane occupation of the area.

Given the relatively recent occupation, through to the early 1830s in some areas, of Ngati Ira, Ngati Kahukuraawhitia, Rakaiwhakairi and associated tribes, whether their rights were fully extinguished by Te Ati Awa at the time of the New Zealand Company's arrival and purchase in the area is unclear. Certainly they never returned to occupy the area, and their rights are limited by the peace agreement reached with Te Ati Awa in around 1840.

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