

Ikatapua

Ikatapua was a pa that belonged to the ancestor Tokopounamu. It is located near Umukapua.

Pakatuara

This site was an important pa and kainga of Ngati Kaipoho.

Puku

This was a Ngati Maru pa made prominent by the ancestor Tamanui. It is located on the Mirimiri block. Despite conflicts involving Tutekohi the pa was not disturbed. Tamanui and his people flourished during the mid-fifteenth century.

Totara mai Tawhiti

Totara mai Tawhiti was a Ngati Maru pa. It is associated with the ancestor Kokoaua.

Paraumu

Paraumu is a pa connected to Ngati Maru and the ancestor Nihotunga. It is located on the Kaioaro block.

Raeotekapua

Adjoining Tauranga Pa was Raeotekapua. It is a Ngati Maru pa. The ancestors Tarake and Hunaara were associated with this site.

Ahimanawa

Ahimanawa is a Ngati Maru pa. It belonged to the ancestor Te Kaka and then transferred to his son Tamarau in the mid-sixteenth century.

Heketahi

Heketahi is a Ngai Tawhiri pa connected with the ancestor Rongoteuruora. It was located on the Ruataniwha block.

Tiwha o Te Rangi

Tiwha o Te Rangi was a pa situated on the opposite side of old Te Arai stream from Tapui pa. It was built on Te Poho block by Te Whaiti, son of Te Aweawe. It was a Ngati Kaipoho pa.

Rae o Tokorakau

This pa was situated on the old Te Arai River on the Hahaenga block. It was built by Te Whaiti, son of Te Aweawe.

Te Rae o Te Kahawai

This was one of the three pa built by Te Whaiti on the Te Hahaenga and Te Poho blocks across the old Te Arai River from Tapui.

Taumata o Te Pahou

This site was a Ngati Kaipoho marae that originally belonged to Te Whaiti. Authority over Taumata o Te Pahou eventually passed to Te Ikawhaingata.

Paharakeke

This pa was situated on Ruaotaua and south of Ruaotaua. It belonged to Ngai Turehe and Ngai Te Aringaiwaho of the Ngati Kaipoho hapu of Rongowhakaata.

Te Huia

Moeahu, his wife Koihu and their children lived at Te Huia before and shortly after Rongowhakaata met and took Turahiri as his wife. It was located on the western side of the Waipaoa River at the junctions of the Whakaahu and Waikakariki Streams. It is an important early pa and kainga for all Rongowhakaata hapu.

Pewhairangi

Rongowhakaata lived his later life at this site and eventually died there. He was buried at Pewhairangi and during a period of the flooding his remains were swept out to sea. Raharuhi and his brothers tried to divert the force of the river away from the urupa but to no avail. The site nonetheless remains an important waahi tapu for Rongowhakaata.

Pukearuhe (Pukerauaruhe)

This place is of significance to Rongowhakaata. It was where Crown representatives insisted that Rongowhakaata were required to cede land to the Crown, after which the Government would award part of the land to 'loyal' claimants. The boundaries are described as being between Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Mahaki, running from the sea past Awapuni across the Waipaoa river to the Pipiwakao bush. Pukearuhe was located on the southeast end of the Matawhero Kaiparo block boundary adjacent to Taumata o te Rangi.

Nga Koawaawa o Rongowhakaata - The rivers of Rongowhakaata

Turanganui River

Turanganui is a river important to all Turanga iwi and hapu. Within its confines is the area known as Pipitaiari which is central to the mana of the Turanganui-a-Kiwa region. A proverb associated with Pipitaiari is: *“Kake mai koe i runga o Pipitaiari parera to hua - Anyone who comes with ill thoughts into the area, their powers will be removed.”* For example when Wiremu Ratana, then at the height of his powers, travelled into the region the people waited for him at Muriwai. They pleaded with him not to go any further because of the power of Pipitaiari. In reply to this request Ratana said *Me uru noa ake e au i nga wai o Pipitaiari*. After this he returned to Ratana Pa realising his powers were limited. Soon after, he became involved in politics. In addition the sacred rock Te Toka a Taiau sits at the junction of the Turanganui River and the Waikanae Stream. The ancestor Maia called for someone to bring a waka across to him from Turanganui-a-Kiwa but his request fell on deaf ears. However, Taiau then rowed a waka across to him and for her troubles, Maia drowned her. Taiau then turned into a rock and thus became the guardian, Te Toka a Taiau.

Waikanae River

The Waikanae River was an important waterway and resource for Rongowhakaata hapu and whanau during the pre-European period and beyond. It was extensively used by various Rongowhakaata hapu including Ngati Maru, Ngai Tawhiri and Ngati Kaipoho. During the course of the Awapuni hearing, the Rongowhakaata leader Rutene Te Eke stated:⁵³

“I should have seen if there had been, as we had to go over the whole block of the land to the sea and obtain pipis and also to the Waikanae stream to obtain eels. I point out on the map the place of Paratene’s houses and cultivations Hirini’s father used the land in common as a pig run, our occupation was never interfered with.”

Kopututea River

Originally the mouth of the Kopututea was situated at Ohikarongo. Anaru Matete stated:⁵⁴

“The extreme north eastern end of the block is called Ohikarongo and was the original mouth of Kopututea River. The Kopututea river had that name upward as far as the junction with the Arai River, on the north east side of the then river mouth and now included in the Awapuni Block.....In the time of the ancestor Tarake a new mouth was cut for the river some distance southward of the then river mouth called Te

⁵³ 4 Gisborne MB p.121. Riperata Kahutia also referred to an important spring near this area: see p.129

⁵⁴ 6 Gisborne MB p.251

Awahou, but it afterwards filled up again and the place is known by the name if [sic] Whatarau. Just inland from this place was a well called Te Mimiotaupwhara.”

Rongowhakaata traditions acknowledge the exchanges between the iwi and other tribes for access to particular resources. Kopututea River is an example of this. Rongowhakaata gave access to Te Aitanga a Mahaki to enable them to gather kaimoana. In exchange for such arrangements, Te Aitanga a Mahaki permitted Rongowhakaata access to their inland forest resources to procure timber for war canoes.⁵⁵

Waipaoa River

The Waipaoa River is a vital source of resources and traditions for Rongowhakaata hapu. In the Native Land Court, Anaru Matete, speaking during the Whatatuna hearing confirmed that Waipaoa converged with Arai to Kopututea and continued to Matawhero, another important Rongowhakaata settlement.⁵⁶ The importance of the Waipaoa River is also referred to by Ron Crosby in his text *The Musket Wars*:⁵⁷

“In modern Pakeha history, the importance of the Waipaoa River has been overshadowed by the river that enters the sea at the northern end of Poverty Bay, the Turanganui. It is here that Captain Cook first landed in New Zealand, and where the city of Gisborne stands today. But in 1820 the Waipaoa had greater significance. It was the base of Rongowhakaata, a powerful tribe living between the very large iwi of Ngati Porou to the north and Ngati Kahungunu to the south. Rongowhakaata were closely allied to both these iwi, and two others that occupied the inland area from Gisborne -Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Te-Aitanga-a-Mahaki.”

Karaua Stream

The Karaua stream was used by both Rongowhakaata and Ngai Tamanuhiri for its resources. The stream originated in the western ranges near the Waiwhakaata and Tauowhiro blocks of Taurau Valley. It was on the Tauwhiro block that Rongowhakaata iwi constructed and finished waka before dragging them along the Karaua stream to the sea.

At one time, Karaua stream ran past Puketapu maunga and into the Waipaoa river close to the entrance to the sea, then situated at Pakirikiri. This was one of the main kainga of the Rongowhakaata iwi before the threat of flooding forced its abandonment.

In ancient times Te Arai river flowed into the Wherowhero lagoon. The place where the Karaua stream entered the Te Arai was the ancient pa of Tapui, and over-looking this point was the pa on Puketapu maunga.

⁵⁵ 7 Gisborne MB p.59

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Crosby, R. *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict, 1806-45* (Reed, Auckland, 1999) p.76

Wherowhero Lagoon

Wherowhero was and continues to be shared by both Rongowhakaata and Ngai Tamanuhiri. Muriwai is south of the lagoon and Pakirikiri to the north.

Rongowhakaata tradition acknowledges that Ngai Tamanuhiri has access to the southern parts of Wherowhero to gather kai and Rongowhakaata to the northern areas. It provided the surrounding kainga with fish such as shark, tuna, kahawai, patiki, inanga and kanae. At low tide pipi and whetiko were gathered, and along the swampy edges of the lagoon water-fowl were snared.

The raupo from the swamps provided building materials for whare. Special mud (paru) was found nearby and was used in the dying process of piupiu. Wherowhero was the shared “food bowl” of Rongowhakaata.

Te Arai Te Uru River

Rongowhakaata history acknowledges that the Te Arai Te Uru river was shared with Te Aitanga a Mahaki and other inland iwi and hapu throughout the ages. Te Arai Te Uru is a very special spiritual place to Rongowhakaata. The river starts in the south western ranges and flows within the boundaries of the Rongowhakaata rohe. It has always been a rich source of resources and tradition for the hapu of Rongowhakaata.

The river’s erosion on the silt soil and its meandering characteristics made sharp bends with high, near vertical banks along its course. These places provided ideal locations where fortified pa were built and where surrounding kainga would seek protection when threatened. A majority of Rongowhakaata pa and kainga were located along its route.

In the Manutuke area, pa were sited a few hundred metres apart with some on opposite sides of the river from each other to become known as “the mirror pas”. The mirror pa were located in such a way that the inhabitants of each pa could see behind the pa across the river and give warning if invaders were trying to sneak up on their neighbour’s pa.

Te Arai Te Uru provided a source of kaimoana such as tuna, kanae, inanga, kuku, koura, and fresh water shrimps. The river was also navigable from the open sea by waka via the Waipaoa river. This gave access to other sources of kaimoana from the Awapuni Moana and sea to kainga along the Te Arai Te Uru. Te Arai Te Uru was also important to Rongowhakaata for transport.⁵⁸

The Te Arai Te Uru once flowed past Puketapu into the Wherowhero Lagoon near Muriwai. More pa of Rongowhakaata can be found along this course of Te Arai Te Uru. When its flow changed to where it is today, it left behind swamp wet lands which provided more tuna, morehu and water fowl for the kainga. The sacredness of

⁵⁸

Ibid

this awa can be attributed to taniwha that protect its water's around the Manutuke area.

Whatatuna Swamp and River

Whatatuna swamp and river was another key waterway for Rongowhakaata hapu providing access to the surrounding lands and fertile areas for cultivation and food gathering. Originally a swamp, this area was adjacent to the Piriwhakao forest with a lake called Waiamu, in the middle of the swamp.

Whatatuna river joined the Whatatuna swamp with the Waipaoa river and was included within the boundary of the Patutahi block acquired by the Crown. The whenua was leased to the new Crown owners who cleared what forests remained and dug outlets to drain the wet-lands thereby providing more grazing land.

The decline of the forest on this land and Piriwhakao is attributed to the decreasing Whatatuna wet-lands. All that remained of the Whatatuna river after that time was the drainage waterways that were created to assist in draining the swamp.

The swamp and river were important food sources for Rongowhakaata. A large number of eel weirs were set in this area by all of the Rongowhakaata hapu. The Ngai Tawhiri and Ngai Te Kete hapu were the principal owners of these eel weirs. Water-fowl such as ducks and pukeko were snared, and white-bait (inanga), ruaika and morehu (goldfish) were caught in nets especially made for this purpose.

Pipiwhakao River

This area (not only the river) was shared by Rongowhakaata but also by Te Whanau a Kai, Te Whanau a Iwi and other hapu.

Hangaroa River

Hangaroa was used by various Rongowhakaata hapu including Ngai Te Aweawe for eeling. Significant pa sites were known at various parts of the river such as Ruakaka.

Mangamoteo River

This river is referred to in the waiata *Po Po*. It was another eel gathering place used by Rongowhakaata hapu and whanau.

Taruheru River

Rongowhakaata hapu used the Taruheru River for a variety of purposes including the establishment of eel weirs and for transportation.

Waimata River

Waimata is an important river for Turanganui-a-Kiwa iwi including Rongowhakaata. It is where the three rivers of Turanganui-a-Kiwa (Taruheru, Turanganui, and the Waimata) converge together. Numerous pa and kainga were located near the Waimata confirming the river as a key waterway for all Turanganui-a-Kiwa tribes.

Te Wahanga Tuatoru:Chapter 3

Nga Hapu o Rongowhakaata -*The Hapu of Rongowhakaata*

The hapu of Rongowhakaata, like their counterparts elsewhere, were independent and autonomous kin based political and economic units who usually derived their mana and name from a principal identifying eponymous ancestor. However, all hapu can trace their descent from the tribal tipuna, Rongowhakaata. Throughout Rongowhakaata tribal history, the independence of action of hapu is evident. However, in times of conflict or the threat of war from an external foe, internal quarrels were set aside for collective protection and action to meet this outside challenge.

Nga ahuatanga a hapu i roto i a Rongowhakaata - *Inter-hapu dynamics within Rongowhakaata*

Examples of the independence of action of Rongowhakaata hapu, and the inter-hapu conflicts and disputes that characterised much of the history of the region are recorded in court minutes and have been reviewed by Ballara. It is important to remember that the versions of tribal and hapu history recorded by officials were not necessarily the only ones. Other variations and differences existed as between iwi, hapu and even whanau. One example of an internal dispute within Rongowhakaata hapu and its sub-hapu concerned Ngati Kaipoho. This version is recorded in the evidence of Riperata Kahutia relating to the Okirau and Rua o Taua blocks.⁵⁹ According to her, Kaipoho himself was living on the land of his wife Tukorero where his principal pa was at Te Rua o Taua. At some point Kaipoho quarreled with his younger brother Matawera about a shark that Kaipoho had caught but was then taken by Matawera and eaten. In response to this, Kaipoho burnt the net the shark had been caught in and the canoe it had been carried in. Kaipoho then gave his wife's land to his grandson Te Rangiteuruora (Rongoteuruora). Te Rangiteuruora himself became angry over the waste of the net. Kaipoho then moved away to Paroa pa. Then two sons of Kaipoho, Mokaiohungia and Te Aweawe returned. They had been away when the quarrel arose and as they had rights to the land through their mother they disputed the gift to their nephew Te Rangiteuruora. A confrontation occurred with a result that Te Rangiteuruora was victorious and succeeded in expelling his two uncles Mokaiohungia and Te Aweawe from that district. However, in the next generation Te Aweawe's grandson Te Aweawe II used makutu (sorcery) to destroy the kumara crops of Te Rangiteuruora with the result that the latter left to take up residence at Te Arai. Ballara refers to this sequence of events as an example of internal hapu and whanau disputes being resolved without recourse to killing.⁶⁰

Ballara also refers to examples where disputes inevitably led to violence and death as between Rongowhakaata hapu. In evidence before the Native Land Court, Keita

⁵⁹ 3 Gisborne MB pp.9,83,86-87

⁶⁰ Ballara, A. *Iwi - The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation* (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1998) pp.181-182

Wyllie and Tamihana Ruatapu in referring to the Okirau and Rua o Taua blocks referred to the killing of Kaipoho's eldest son, Te Hukaipu by Ngati Maru. Te Hukaipu's eldest son Te Ikawhaingata (Te Ika) then defeated Ngati Maru in battle in reprisal of the death of his father. To redeem themselves, Ngati Maru sought assistance from an external group, Ngati Porou of Waiapu. Through that alliance Te Ika and Ngati Kaipoho were defeated and suffered many losses. Following that battle Ngati Maru migrated to Waiapu under the protection of their Ngati Porou allies while Te Ika and his Ngati Kaipoho remnants took refuge with Te Aitanga a Mahaki at Repongaere lake. Eventually, Te Ika and his brothers returned with their whanau groups. According to this version, the grandsons of Kaipoho then divided the lands of Ngati Maru amongst themselves. Once they were established, Te Ika finally invited Ngati Maru back and restored them to a portion of the lands he had taken. At this time, Ngai Te Aweawe and Ngati Pakirehe were settled on the north side of the Karaua River while Ngai Turehe and Ngai Te Aringa went to the south. Te Ika himself established a pa on the north side of the Karaua River also called Karaua. Later, Ngai Te Aweawe would establish themselves independent of but closely allied with Ngati Kaipoho. In the early nineteenth century, Ngati Kaipoho established themselves around Kaupapa, Umukapua and Orakaiapu on the banks of the Kopututea River.⁶¹

Nga tautohetohe a iwi - *Inter-iwi disputes*

Rongowhakaata and Tuhoe

Inter-tribal disputes external to Rongowhakaata at times involved the iwi through kinship alliances with other Turanganui-a-Kiwa tribes. During one period a series of conflicts occurred between Te Aitanga a Mahaki and Tuhoe from the Urewera region, primarily due to Tuhoe's incursions into Te Aitanga a Mahaki territory. Rongowhakaata were called on by their kin to assist in repelling the invaders. One battle occurred at Papuni on what was regarded as a border region, even though it was close to Maungapohatu. Another conflict took place at Arawhata-maire, what is now the Tahora block. During the second battle, Tuhoe were defeated and a young woman, Te Wharitenga was captured.

Rongowhakaata and Ngati Kahungunu

Rongowhakaata oral traditions also recount a significant battle occurring in the early eighteenth century that involved Rongowhakaata. During this period, Ngati Kahungunu had antagonised a number of other powerful enemies, some of whom conspired to attack them. In this instance, the initiative was led by Ngati Porou who were later joined by Ngati Tuwharetoa under their leader Te Heuheu, Ngati Raukawa under Te Whatanui and the Whanganui tribes led by Te Peehi Turoa. The Turanganui-a-Kiwa iwi, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Ngai Tahupo and Te Aitanga a Hauiti also became embroiled in the conflict. Tradition records that the army exceeded 1,000 warriors. Yet despite the size of this war party, in the ensuing

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Ibid, pp.183-184

battle, the Turanganui-a-Kiwa tribes were defeated. The chief, Te-Heke-tua-te-rangi and his daughter were captured. However, Te Heuheu personally intervened and set the father and daughter free, leading to a sustained friendship between the two groups.

The alliance between Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Hauti was evident again when the two tribes attacked Te Whanau a Taupara at the beginning of the nineteenth century, not long after a kumara crop was planted. According to Best, Poriro of Te Whanau a Taupara engaged in single combat with Mou, the latter from the attacking force. Mou caught his opponent by his long hair and was taking him away when a sister of Poriro attacked him and struck him down with a stone. The attacking force then spent much of the time collecting wood which they carried to the pa and threw before the pallisades. Those in the pa then burned the dry manuka as it was brought by the attackers. Long spears were used to prevent the fire from being extinguished and so irksome a task was this that one of their number acquired the name *Kapo-auahi* (blinded by smoke).⁶²

In another incident involving Ngati Kahungunu, the ancestor Rua Ika was killed by Rongomaimihiao. Ngati Kahungunu then fled south to Mahia. At the same time, Rongomaimihiao's brother, Rongomaiwehea and his group were waging war against Paria and his taua. Paria was defeated and headed southward while the Rongowhakaata conquerors occupied the vacant land left behind. The wives and children of the Rongowhakaata group were then brought from their places of safety to take up occupation of this region. Ruawhetuki, the grand-daughter of Rongowhakaata, returned from almost twenty miles up the coast. Orakaiapu became the principal pa of the area. According to court minutes, Rongomaimihiao and his people remained in possession of the land including Pipiwakao.⁴⁴ In recognition of their mana over the land, Rongomaimihiao said: "*My place shall be Pipiwakao, Kopu, Oire, Waiamo, the small and large streams.*" His brother Rongomaiwehea also uttered what has become a proverbial statement when he said: "*My dead are for Paria, my place shall be Koptutea.*"

Rongowhakaata and Ngati Porou

An incident involving Ngati Porou occurred when Hunaara from that tribe persuaded those living in Orakaiapu to leave. The ancestor Tarake and his group did not wish to leave their home so Hunaara then set fire to all of the houses in the pa, thus compelling Tarake and his hapu to abandon their settlement. Those who left to go to Waiapu with Hunaara were Tarake, Horiwanga, Timata, Te Kaka, Hinewhanga, Moki, Mauhikitia, Heru Maua and Te Manawa-o-te-Rangi. This group then lived at Waiapu with Hunaara. However, after a period, the Ngati Porou people turned on Tarake and his group, apparently because of some tart remark Paraki had made about Ngati Porou. Tarake and his hapu were attacked and driven out of Waiapu. During the battle, Tarake and many others were killed. When the remnants reached Uawa, another battle ensued and the ancestor Mokaiohungia II was killed. Leaving that place, the

⁶² Best, E. Notes on "*The Art of War*" JPS Vol. 13 (The Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1904) p.75

survivors arrived at Pakarae where they occupied Paeawa pa. However, that was even short-lived as they were attacked and the ancestor Te Kaka killed. This battle-weary group then took sanctuary at Whangara under the protection of Konohi. In time, they would return to their particular pa and kainga within the central region of Rongowhakaata rohe.

Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Mahaki

At another level, the independence of action of hapu can be demonstrated by the frequent feuding between Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Mahaki and their various hapu, both at an internal inter-hapu level and also between the two iwi themselves. In a complex series of battles, skirmishes and conflicts supported by alliance and counter-alliance, the independence and mobility of Rongowhakaata hapu is evident.

The details of the internal disputes between hapu of Te Aitanga a Mahaki that Rongowhakaata eventually became embroiled in were provided by Wi Pere giving evidence on the Rangahia block in 1897.⁶⁴ The dispute began when Te Iho-o-te-rangi (Te Iho) of Te Whanau a Taupara and his kin of Te Whanau a Kai, both hapu of Te Aitanga a Mahaki, took issue at the positioning of eel weirs on Repongaere Lake. Te Iho raised a taua from three hapu of Te Aitanga a Mahaki, namely Te Whanau a Taupara, Nga Potiki and Ngai Tamatea. Te Iho sought the assistance of Te Whiwhi, the chief of Ngai Tamatea. For his part, Te Whiwhi tried to resolve matters amicably by telling Te Iho to settle his grievance himself without recourse to violence. Te Iho, annoyed by this refusal of support continued with his plans. When Te Iho and his group parted company with Te Whiwhi, Te Iho's nephew Te Rangiwahakataetaea advised Te Whiwhi that the group would die alone if necessary. In the face of such potential dishonour, Te Whiwhi relented and agreed to provide support. He sent thirty warriors to kill pukeko as food for the taua.

Unfortunately, this group inadvertently came across the taua of Te Whanau a Kai themselves on their way to prepare the pa Mapouriki in readiness for the coming battle. In the ensuing skirmish that occurred at close quarters, Pikai, the son of Te Whiwhi was killed. With that death, events immediately moved up a level in seriousness. In response to this outrage, Te Whiwhi sought the assistance of his Rongowhakaata kin who in reply sent a party to attack Te Whanau a Kai at Mapouriki. Te Whanau a Taupara, Ngai Tamatea and Nga Potiki lay in wait in the bush outside Mapouriki intent on a separate ambush. However, Te Apaapa of Rongowhakaata then arrived and sought to establish a rahui and token of peace. The three Te Aitanga a Mahaki hapu had not received payment for the death of Pikai and thus did not wish for peace. They attacked the pa at its top end while Rongowhakaata then attacked the lower end. Te Whanau a Kai in Mapouriki pa were defeated. During this attack, the great Tairawhiti ariki Hinematiaro of Te Aitanga a Hauiti happened to be at Mapouriki on a visit from Whangara. A son of Te Whiwhi prepared to attack and kill Hinematiaro but Te Whiwhi himself recognised her and intervened to prevent her death. If she had been killed, that calamitous event would have ensured the destruction of Turanganui-a-Kiwa iwi at the hands of the East Coast tribes.

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The evidence records that a lull occurred for several years until Te Whanau a Taupara then living at Waerenga a Hika became aware that Rongowhakaata had sent a messenger to Te Aitanga a Hauiti inviting them to come and attack Te Aitanga a Mahaki. In response, Te Whanau a Taupara prepared Te Matai pa for the attack and sent out requests for assistance from their former allies. However, Nga Potiki and Ngai Tamatea were unable to lend the necessary support. Outside Te Matai pa, Te Aitanga a Hauiti established themselves on the eastern bank of the Waihora River with Rongowhakaata on the western bank. Rongowhakaata attacked the gate of the pa but were repulsed. A duel between protagonists from either side also ended inconclusively. Sometime later, Te Whiwhi reassembled a war party from Te Whanau a Taupara, Ngai Tamatea and Nga Potiki to attack Te Whanau a Kai. In an environment of shifting alliances and allegiances, Te Whanau a Kai then took refuge with Rongowhakaata in Hunangaherenga pa. Further skirmishes occurred that also ended inconclusively and so Te Whiwhi decided to make peace. Believing that a truce had been established Te Whiwhi and his group retired to a nearby abandoned pa. However, when they awoke they were surrounded by Rongowhakaata led by Te Apaapa and Te Whanau a Kai. In the desperate retreat that followed Te Whiwhi was killed and so leadership of his group was taken over by Te Rangiwhakataetaea.

After these various defeats, Te Rangiwhakataetaea and his group intended to migrate to Opotiki in the eastern Bay of Plenty. However, their intentions were divined by Whakatohea who then prepared to attack them so Te Rangiwhakataetaea and his group returned to Turanganui-a-Kiwa. A pa was established at Pikauroa. Te Rangiwhakataetaea and his group attacked Rongowhakaata in a skirmish at Te Arai and killed members of that tribe gathering pipi at Te Awapuni. Eventually, the original protagonist, Te Iho, was killed by Rongowhakaata in Pakowhai pa at Repongaere.

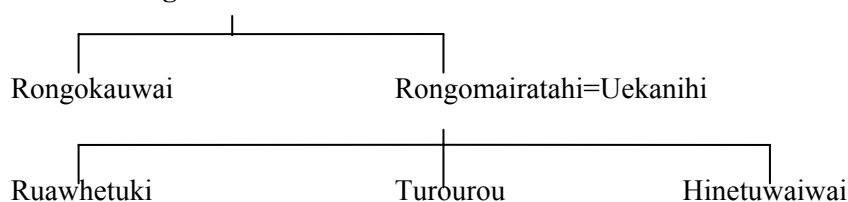
During this period, Te Whanau a Kai were, from their point of view, in the unfortunate position of living under the mana of their equally reluctant hosts, Rongowhakaata at Ngaparore and Hunangaherenga. Over time, Te Whanau a Kai were harassed and killed by Rongowhakaata. Eventually, one of the chiefs of Te Whanau a Kai, Kaumoana, laid plans to make peace with their Mahaki kin, Te Whanau a Taupara, Ngai Tamatea and Nga Potiki. Within a short time, peace was arranged and the reunited Te Aitanga a Mahaki hapu decided to attack Rongowhakaata. Using the ruse of gathering fernroot, Te Whanau a Kai and their allied hapu attacked and defeated Rongowhakaata. After a further pa was taken, Te Rangiwhakataetaea considered that further attacks were unnecessary. However, Te Whanau a Kai did not agree and pressed their attacks against Rongowhakaata. Using their own ruse, Rongowhakaata drew Te Whanau a Kai into a battle. Te Rangiwhakataetaea withdrew his party and thus left Te Whanau a Kai to their destruction at the hands of Rongowhakaata. The remnants then took refuge at their pa Kaingarepo and Pikauroa.

Attitudes and positions quickly changed when soon after, an escaped slave Te Noti warned the Turanga iwi of a vast five hundred strong Whakatohea taua heading into their region to do battle. The external threat posed by Whakatohea then facilitated the process of peace making between Te Aitanga a Mahaki and Rongowhakaata. Once again it is thus apparent that shifting alliances and allegiances were the order of the

day but that even age old conflicts were set aside when an external foe threatened the region.⁶⁵ This episode also confirms the longevity of Rongowhakaata customary interests in the various sites referred to including Awapuni, Te Arai, Ngaparore and Hunangaherenga.

Rongowhakaata iwi comprises many hapu that descend from the ancestor Rongowhakaata and his wives, and in particular Turahiri. Generally, the hapu of Rongowhakaata trace their descent from Rongowhakaata's son Rongomairatahi, daughter Rongokauwai and his grandchildren Ruawhetuki, Turourou and Hinetuwaiwai:

Moetai=**Rongowhakaata**=Turahiri



Halbert records that among the principal hapu of Rongowhakaata at the end of the seventeenth century were Ngati Maru, Ngai Tawhiri and Ngati Kaipoho. Other hapu then evolved from those early hapu over time. For example, hapu affiliating to Ngati Maru are Ngati Hinewhanga, Ngati Ruatuwhiri and Ngai Timata. The hapu descending from Kaipoho include Ngai Te Aweawe, Ngati Rua, Ngai Turehe, Ngati Pakirehe and Ngai Te Aringaiwaho. Ngai Te Kete have strong connections to Ngai Tawhiri. Ngati Rongokauwai and Ngai Te Ruawairau descend from Rongokauwai. Other hapu connecting with Rongowhakaata include Ngati Hineteao, Ngai Te Ngarueterangi and Te Whanau a Iwi.

The following is an approximate chronological list of a number of Rongowhakaata hapu as and when they flourished. This list shows the evolution of the hapu of the iwi from the time of the foundation of Rongowhakaata to the eighteenth century. There are others not recorded on this list, but referred to in the court minutes. Over time, as the iwi developed, some became merged into other hapu while others disappeared altogether. Conversely, as hapu grew larger, new hapu would emerge.

⁶⁵

ibid, pp.188-191

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1575	Ngati Rongokauwai
1625	Ngati Ruawairau
1650	Ngati Kaipoho
	Ngai Tawhiri - Ngai Te Kete
1675	Ngai Te Aweawe - (Te Aweawe I)
1700	Ngai Te Ika
	Ngati Rua
	Ngai Timata
1725	Ngati Turehe
	Ngai Te Aringa
	Ngati Pakirehe
	Ngati Ruatuhiri
	Ngai Te Aweawe (Te Aweawe II)
1750	Ngati Hinewhanga

In general terms, Rongowhakaata hapu occupied a wide geographic region encompassing many pa, kainga, urupa and waahi tapu. Ngati Maru have interests in the Whakato, Kaupapa, Ahimanawa, Poukokonga, Rahui, Takopa, Tawhao, and Otiere blocks by virtue of their descent from Taharakau and Te Aringa. From Ngai Tawhiri individuals received awards in the Pipiwakao, Whatatuna and Papatu blocks. From Ngati Ruawairau, Rongowhakaata individuals were awarded interests in the Kaiparo, Wharaurangi, Wairau, Ahipipi, Wainui, Kairourou blocks. After the Paokahu hearings in 1880 Ngati Maru individuals received interests in the Te Kaiparo, Te Kate, Parourangi, Pukakanui, Otai, Tutuokoroheke and Te Ahipihipi blocks. Ngai Timata also have interests in those blocks. Ngati Hinewhanga individuals were awarded interests in the Papatu West, Te Awapuni and Paokahu Blocks. Hape Kiniha and Epehima Honeke claimed undisputed possession of the Kaiparo block through descent from Hinewhanga.⁶⁶

Ngati Maru

Ngati Maru are a central hapu of Rongowhakaata. They descend from the ancestor Tapuhere. Ngati Hinewhanga, Ngai Timata and Ngati Ruatuhiri descend from the children of Tapuhere and Tahatu o Te Rangi. Rongomaiwehea was Rongomairatahi's grandson, and had two sons, Nihotunga and Uenuku. Uenuku lived in the Poho o Maru house at Te Papa o Maruwakatipua. Uenuku's son Tahatuoterangi, or Tahatu, married Nihotunga's daughter Tapuhere, and had three sons and three daughters. Because of their aggressive behaviour, the children were known as Te Ngare a Tapuhere. When Tarake became the chief, a new pa was built named Te Raeotekapu, adjoining the Orakaiapu Pa and was occupied by Ngati Kaipoho. As they had increased in size to include sub-tribal groupings, Te Ngare o Tapuhere then adopted the name Ngati Maru after Maruwakatipua.

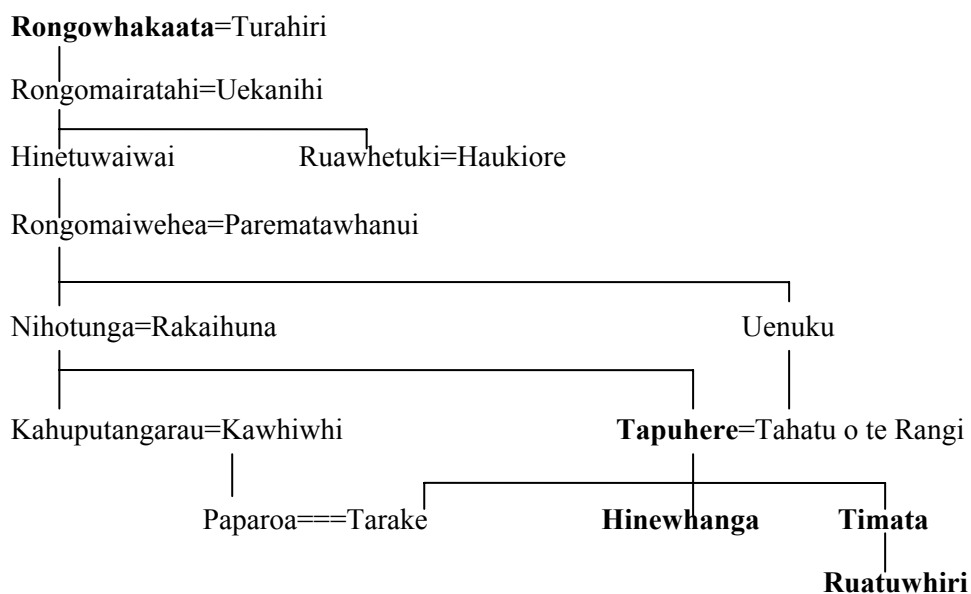
One day Ngati Maru went fishing in their waka, Umu o Tapuhere and Umu o Maui, but trouble developed when they moved on to the fishing grounds of their neighbours, Ngati Kaipoho. An argument ensued between the chiefs Tarake and Te Hukaipu,

⁶⁶

Poverty Bay Commission MB, (14 August 1869) pp.294-296

which resulted in the latter being slain on the ground below Tauranga Pa. As a result Ngati Maru were evicted from Raeotekapua by Te Ikawhaingata, son of the deceased, who was supported by his ally, Konohi of Ngai Tawhiri at Whangara. The Ngati Maru casualty list included Hikatoa of Ngati Porou. The death gave Ngati Maru the excuse to call on relative's of Hikatoa to help obtain revenge. The messenger fortunately found the son of Hunaara Whaita at Tokomaru Bay and returned with him to Umukapua Pa where Ngati Maru had gathered. The Orakaiapu Pa was attacked and Ngati Kaipoho were driven away, but as Whaita could not stay for long, he persuaded the Ngati Maru people to go with him, because he knew they would eventually be driven from their homes by the Ngati Kaipoho. After setting fire to the pa at Orakaiapu, Raeotekapua and Umukapua, they went by waka to Reporua.

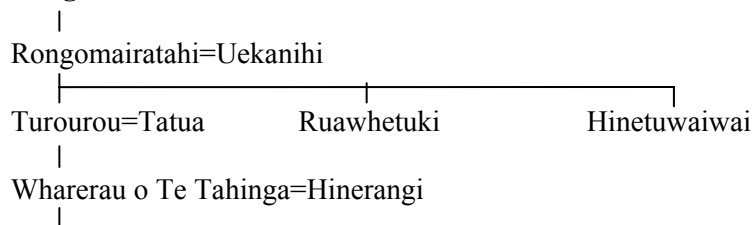
However, their stay in their new home was short. According to one version, when their leader Tarake lost his life in an argument with Whaita, the remnants of Ngati Maru left immediately by land to make peace with their relations, Ngati Kaipoho. They travelled to Whangara where Konohi took them under his protection and negotiated with Te Ikawhaingata for their return home. But he advised the Ngati Maru not to expect full equality with those who had kept the home fires burning: "*Ko te kihi ki nga ahikaroa, ko te tumaru ki a koutou - The top-fruit for the stay-at-home, the bottom or shaded fruit for you*". Another version recounts how Ngati Maru were driven from Whangara after a dispute with the Konohi group. It was a sad homecoming for the once powerful and numerous Ngati Maru, who were received by Te Ikawhaingata at Kaupapa. Through inter-marriages, the Ngati Maru regained some of their inheritance as representatives of Ngai Tawhiri and Ngati Ruawairau. Their main area of settlement was at Toiotekainga, renamed Tuaraki, on land of the descendants of Taharakau and Te Aringa of Ngati Kaipoho, down Roberts Road (also referred to as Tuaraki Road). By the end of the eighteenth century Ngati Maru had reached equality with the other descendants of Rongomairatahi, who together constitute Rongowhakaata.



Ngati Kaipoho

Ngati Kaipoho are a large hapu of Rongowhakaata who descend from the tipuna Kaipoho, grandson of Turourou. The whakapapa from Rongowhakaata is set out below.

Rongowhakaata=Turahiri



Kaipoho

Wharerau o Te Tahinga was Rongomairatahi's grandson, and his son Kaipoho built the Tapui Pa on the west bank of the Te Arai River, naming it after his ancestor Tapuiparaheka. He had a fishing resort by the sea at Te Kowhai near where Browns Beach is today.

Kaipoho was slain at the battle of Taitimuroa by Tawiri and Tutekawa II, sons of Rangi-i-waho. Tawiri was later killed by Kaipoho's son, Te Aweawe and others. Te Aweawe took over the Tapui Pa while his elder brother Mokaiohungia re-built the Orakaiapu Pa. It was Ngati Kaipoho who fought with their near neighbour's and whanau, Ngati Maru, causing Ngati Maru's exodus from Te Waiapu. Through the descendants of Kaipoho came other sections of Rongowhakaata, Ngai Te Aweawe, Ngati Pakirehe, Ngai Te Aringa and Ngai Turehe. Ngati Kaipoho have interests in various lands in the Taurangakoau, Orakaiapu, Manutuke, Waiari, Ahipakura and Rakaukaka blocks. Pimia Aata of Ngai Te Ika hapu, when claiming the Tauohiro block, referred to descent from the ancestor Kaipoho and confirmed that the land belonged to Te Ika whose descendants have been constantly in occupation and had cultivated the land.⁶⁷

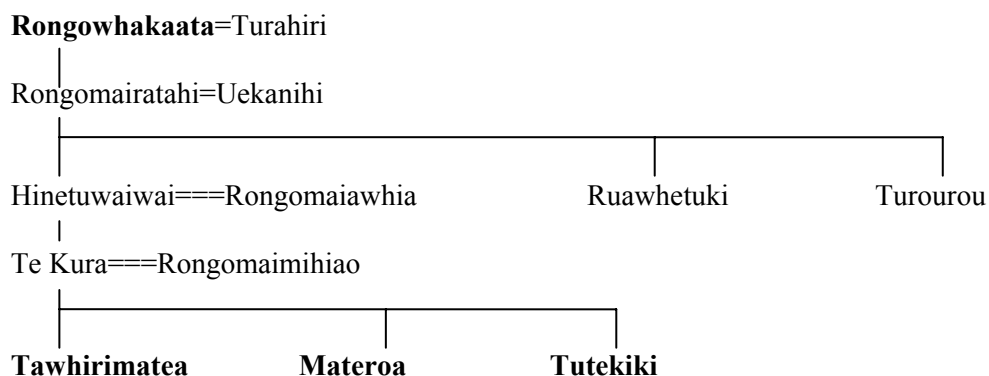
Ngai Tawhiri

Rongo Halbert in his book *Horouta* suggests that Ngai Tawhiri hapu are the descendants of Rongomaimihiao's three children, the sons Tawhirimatea and Tutekiki and a daughter Materoa. Ngai Tawhiri are one of the principal hapu of the Rongowhakaata iwi today. They are still to be found today at Ohako Marae. This marae is also claimed by the uri of Ngati Ruapani. They have interests in various Rongowhakaata lands including the Tarewa, Kohangakarearea, Kupenga, Mirimiri, Aohuna, Pouriuri, Opoho and Okaunga blocks. Riperata Kahutia claimed in the Native Land Court the Papatu block through Rongomaimihiao. She stated that:⁶⁸

⁶⁷ 7 Gisborne MB, p.25
⁶⁸ Ibid, p.350

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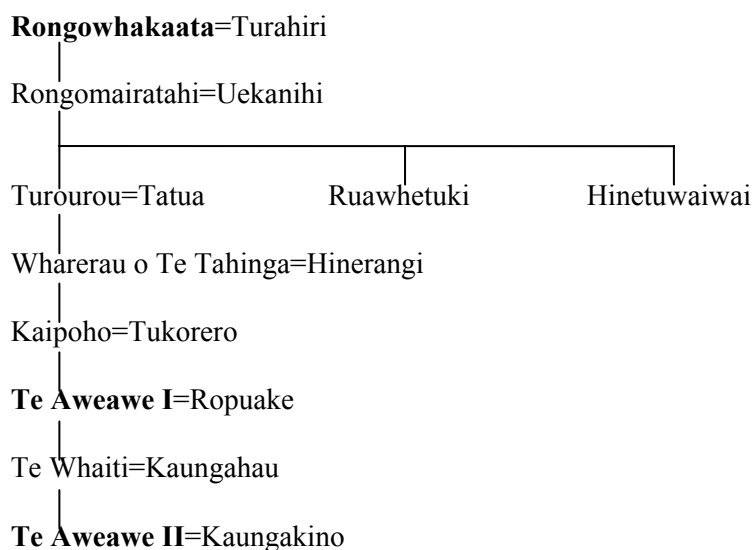
“Rongomaimihiao took this land from Ngati Kahungunu and drove them off held possession and the descendants have lived there ever since.”



Ngai Te Kete

A section of Ngai Tawhiri living on the Rakaukaka and Papatu lands come under the hapu Ngai Te Kete. Originally of Ngai Tawhiri descent, these people adopted a separate identity to commemorate an event in their history. There was a battle at Manutuke not far from where Ohako Marae is today. Some time after this fight the tangata whenua at Ohako decided to collect the bones of the dead that were lying about the place. The kiekie was prepared and kete were made to put the bones of the dead in which were then washed and placed into the kete and taken away. A section of Ngai Tawhiri living at Ohako Marae then called themselves Ngai Te Kete in memory of that event. The family who washed and cleaned the bones before placing them in the kete, have the surname Waipara, in memory of the part they played. Ngai Te Kete lived primarily on the Rakaukaka block adjacent to the Papatu block but also have interests in other Rongowhakaata lands.

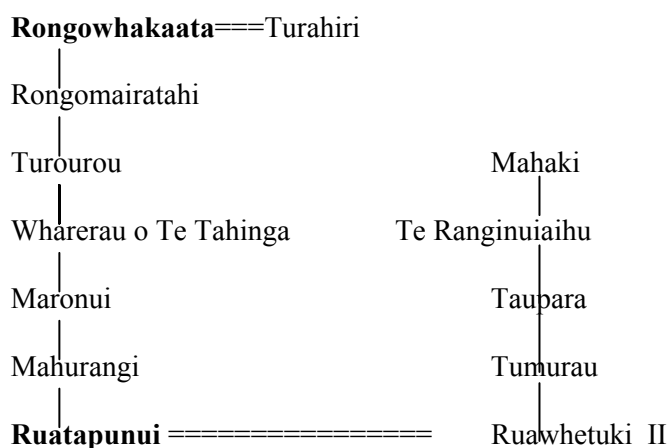
Ngai Te Aweawe



Ngai Te Aweawe were descended from the two ancestors bearing the name Te Aweawe. Te Aweawe I was a son of Kaipoho and avenged his father’s death at the hands of Tawiri. Ngai Te Aweawe have various land interests within Rongowhakaata. They have interests in a number of lands including the Kahukurataua, Haehaenga, Waihoru, Tauowhiro, Arai 1 and 2, Taringamotuhia, Taomako and Okirau blocks. In respect of Okirau, Rapata Whakapuhia confirmed that he belonged to Ngai Te Aweawe hapu of Rongowhakaata. He confirmed that he was also a descendant of Kaipoho and that the land belonged to his ancestor Rongowhakaata. He said that it was Turahiri who brought Rongowhakaata to the Te Puia pa at Patutahi. Rapata confirmed that the land had belonged to Ngati Kahungunu but it was “taken by Rongowhakaata by conquest”⁶⁹

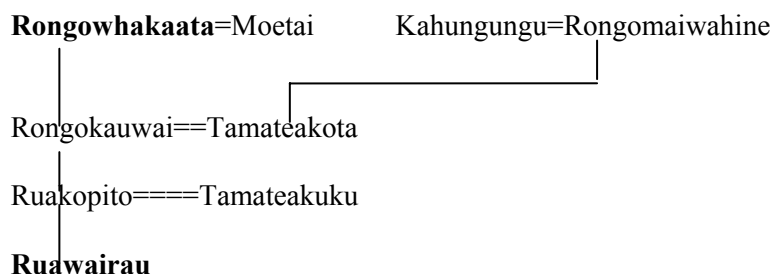
Ngati Rua

Ngati Rua are a section of Ngai Te Aweawe who descend from Ruatapunui and adopted his name as their hapu. Ngati Rua have various interests in lands including the Rakaukaka, Whatatuna, Poroporo, and Tarewa blocks.



Ngati Ruawairau

Ngati Ruawairau descend from Ruawairau the grandchild of Rongokauwai.



Ngati Ruawairau had a pa at Taumataoterangi, known today as The Willows opposite where the Arai River enters the Waipaoa River. They have interests in the Paokahu,

⁶⁹ 4 Gisborne MB, p.67

Matawhero 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7, Kaipara, Wharaurangi, Wairau, Ahipipi, Wainui and Kairourou lands. Renata Ngarangi before the Poverty Bay Commission referred to the undisturbed possession of Matawhero C by Ngati Ruawairau.⁷⁰

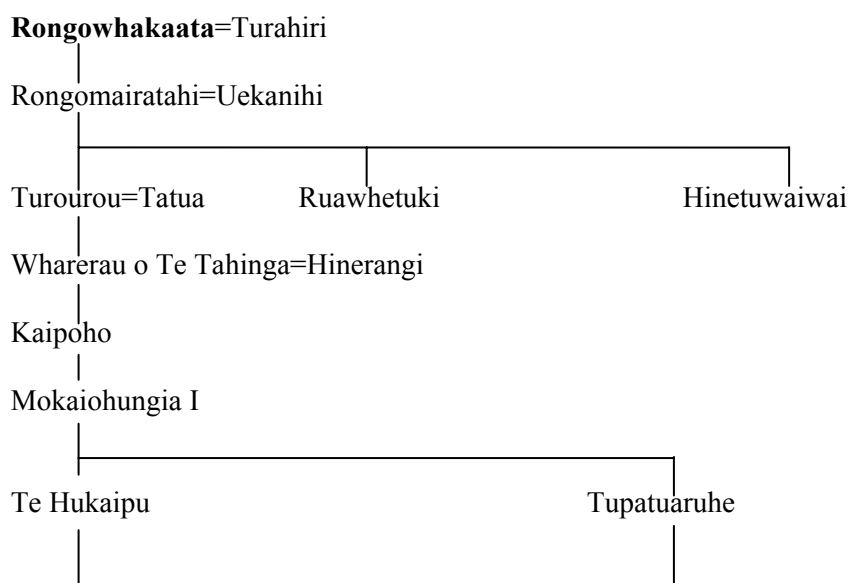
Te Whanau a Iwi

Te Whanau a Iwi hapu has strong whakapapa and historical connections to all of the major iwi of Turanganui. During his lifetime, Kahutia of Rongowhakaata was also a leading chief of Te Whanau a Iwi. This hapu shared interests in the coastal region with Ngai Tawhiri, Ngati Kaipoho and Ngati Maru. From her ancestors Kahutia and Riperata, Heni Materoa Carroll was also acknowledged as a leader of both Ngai Tawhiri and Te Whanau a Iwi during her lifetime. Te Kuri a Tuatai Marae affiliates to both Ngai Tawhiri and Te Whanau a Iwi.

Rongowhakaata = Moetai
 Tawakerahui
 Materoa = Tamaterongo
 Kotaroa = Kahukura
Iwipuru =====Tauwheoro
 Kuriwahanui

Ngai Turehe, Ngai Te Aringaiwaho, Ngati Pakirehe

Ngai Turehe, Ngai Te Aringaiwaho and Ngati Pakirehe trace their descent to Kaipoho's great grandchildren, Turehe, Aringaiwaho and Pakirehe. Ngati Pakirehe have interests in the Puketapu, Te Poho, Okirau, Oweta, Ruaotaua, Te Arai 1, Te Arai 2, Taringamotuhia, and Taomako blocks. Rapata Whakapuhia appearing before the Poverty Bay Commission claimed descent and entitlement to the block through Pakirehe and Kaipoho.⁷¹



⁷⁰ Poverty Bay Commission MB, (4 August 1869)

⁷¹ Ibid, (20 July 1869) p.170