

Ngā Take Motuhake a Rangitāne

**“Rangitāne, the Crown and the
alienation of the Wairarapa ki
Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe”**

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THE AUTHOR

E mihi ana ahau kia koutou ngā mema o Taraipiunara Waitangi.

Ko Mikaere O’Leary ahau o Te Arawa.

I tēnei wā ka huri ōku whakaaro kia rātou kua haere ki tua o te arai.

Haere ngā mate, haere, haere.

Kia koutou, ngā kanohi ora, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou.

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“Ka mahi te hukuroa i ana mahi”.

Unless otherwise stated all the opinions expressed in this report are those of the author.

1. INTRODUCTION: ‘Ko Rangitāmau te maunga, ko Heipipi te pa.’¹

This report will explore the period of rapid and substantial land alienation in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe with the purpose of identifying and examining the key themes that demonstrate how this process of land loss had a particular impact on Rangitāne as an iwi. This report was commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust at the behest of Rangitāne to ensure that the iwi’s perspective was not overlooked in the body of research currently before the Waitangi Tribunal. Most of the research contained to date in the Tribunal’s casebook, as a result of being based on the mono-tribal accounts of Crown officials and settlers, tends to overlook both the particular historical experience of Rangitāne as well as the iwi’s relationship with the whenua in Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua.²

To compensate, this report will examine the early period of Pākehā exploration in the lower North Island, the major land purchases of the 1850s, and the operation of the Native Land Court. This report will reconsider evidence already contained in the key research papers on the Wai 863 Record of Inquiry as well as a small number of additional primary and secondary sources. This report does not intend to be wide-ranging in its scope, nor will it cover ground that has already been covered by the major historical reports before the Tribunal.³

2. CLAIM AREA

Before beginning this mahi it should be noted that the boundaries of the two claims represent two specific and separate geographic areas with two distinct Rangitāne groups presenting claims. These two separate, although related and thus understandably overlapping, claims are before the Waitangi Tribunal on behalf of

¹ J.M. McEwen, J.M. 2002, *Rangitāne: A Tribal History*. Reed, Wellington, p232. ‘Rangitūmau is the mountain, Heipipi is the pa’. (The saying of the Rangitāne belonging to the area north of Masterton.)

² Tony Walzl, ‘Land Purchasing in the Wairarapa 1840-1854’, June 2001 report, for example, only mentions Rangitāne in the context of traditional events and makes no mention of the iwi during his discussion of land alienation. While Bruce Stirling despairs that most sources contain only a few scattered references to Rangitāne, ‘Wairarapa Maori And The Crown – Volume One Karanga: The Promise’, December 2002, pp.4, 12

³ It should be stated that this report does not take issue with the body of research currently before the Tribunal. Rather, due to a conjunction of a number of factors (described below), it has been necessary for the historical interests of Rangitāne to be teased out in a separate report.

Rangitāne o Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua Iwi. The common term Wairarapa in modern-day New Zealand actually encompasses both the areas occupied by groups that claim descent from Rangitāne. Sometimes the northern rohe of Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua is referred to as the Tararua district or as the Northern Wairarapa. This area, also known as Seventy-Mile Bush, Tamaki Bush, and Forty-Mile Bush, covers the Northern Wairarapa (in the modern interpretation of that area) to the border with Southern Hawke's Bay, just beyond the township of Norsewood. This rohe is the main area of claim by 'Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua' (Wai 166).⁴

The second group, 'Rangitāne o Wairarapa', claim the section "From the Hutt Valley River to the Mangahoa River, across to Akitio, down to Cape Palliser to Orongorongo (Barring Heads) back to the Hutt Valley River."⁵ There is also evidence to suggest the place called Wairarapa referred originally only to the Wairarapa Moana (Lake Wairarapa) and the land around its shores, named thus by Hau when he first saw the lake and its valley and was overcome by its beauty.⁶ However, for the purpose of this report the terms for the two Rangitāne areas will be those used by Ngā Iwi Rangitāne themselves, that is 'Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua'.

The western boundaries of the two claims are the summits of the Rimutaka, Tararua and Ruahine ranges. Although as will be noted below, Rangitāne o Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua have always maintained, and still maintain, close ties with their kin in the Manawatū. The eastern boundary of the claim is the coastline from just north beyond Cape Turnagain (Te Poroporo) right down and around to the southern end of Palliser Bay.

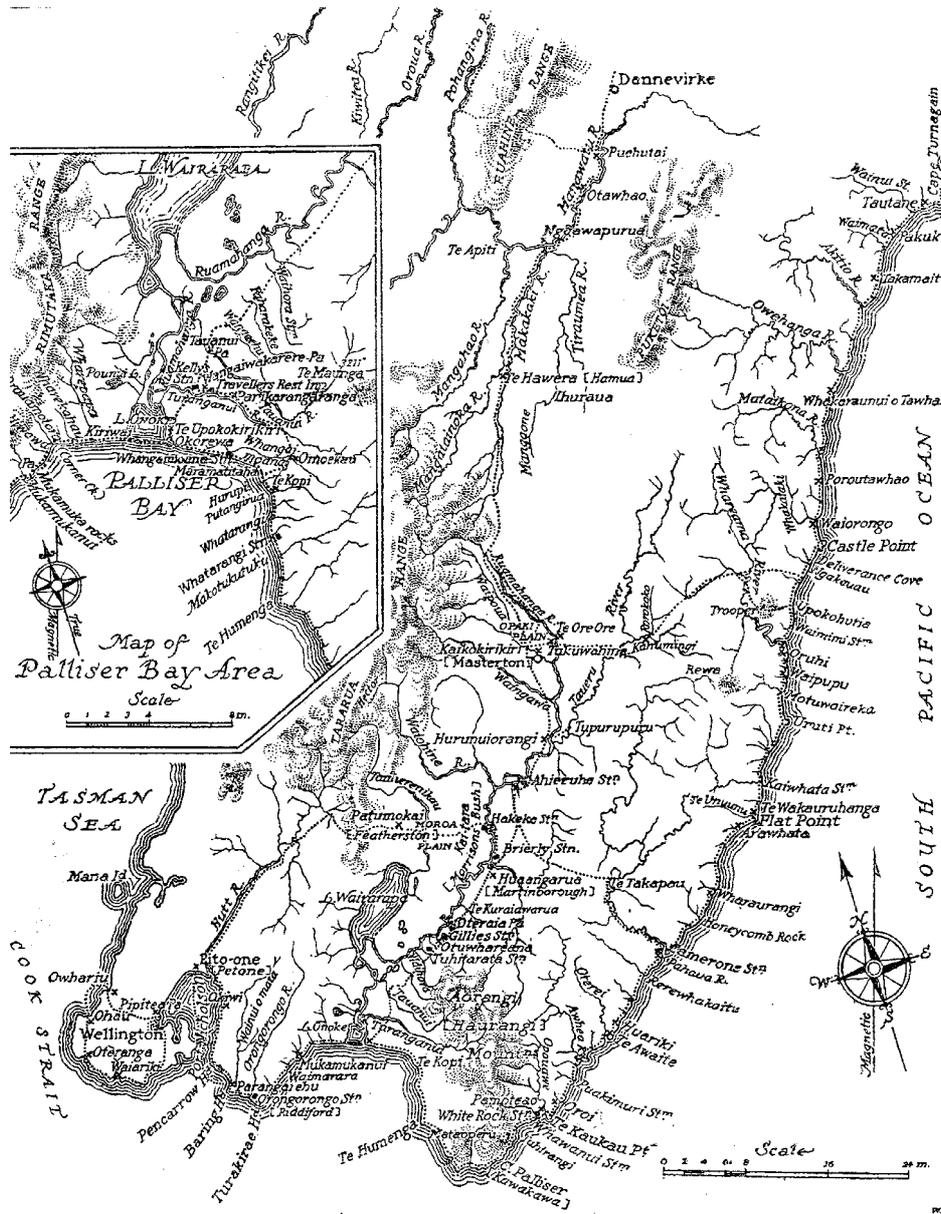
The divide at which the two Rangitāne claims meet goes from the western point at Mount Dundas, to the eastern coast at Mataikona, north of Castlepoint. Along these boundaries are several areas of overlap particular to the 'Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua' and 'Rangitāne o Wairarapa' claims.

⁴ In my discussions with Rangitāne it has become clear to me that the traditional and customary rohe of Rangitāne, both in the Wairarapa and Tamaki, are extremely complex and probably extend over a larger area than that described here. I do not take a position on this, rather, the descriptions above are purely for the purposes of this Tribunal inquiry and the need to conduct our work within delineated boundaries.

⁵ Rangitāne Statement of Claim (Wai 175)

⁶ A.W. Reed, *A Dictionary of Māori Place Names*, Wellington, 1969

“MAP OF THE WAIRARAPA AND COAST DISTRICTS 1845-1852”



(Bagnall & Petersen, William Colenso, p.218)

RANGITĀNE AS TANGATA WHENUA IN WAIRARAPA KI TAMAKI-NUI-Ā-RUA

While this report will not attempt to reproduce the work already available in the two Rangitāne traditional history reports currently before the Tribunal, a number of points need to be noted that will influence later discussions.⁷ An important aspect of the Rangitāne claim to the people of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua area is their ability

⁷ I refer to Steven Chrisp, 'He Kōrero Tuku Iho mō Rangitāne o Wairarapa. Rangitāne o Wairarapa Traditional History', September 2002; Rangitāne o Tamaki nui ā Rua Traditional History (Wai 166), (draft) January 2003

to whakapapa back to the first Rangitāne ancestors to settle in this rohe. Rangitāne o Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua acknowledge their eponymous ancestors, Tara and Tānenuiarangi (i.e., Rangitāne), both of whom were descendants of Whatonga, a rangatira of the Kurahaupo waka, one of the seven canoes of the ‘great fleet’.⁸

While many of the tangata whenua of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua would identify themselves principally with their hapū affiliations, a number of these groups within the rohe such as Hāmua and Ngāi Tara can trace their whakapapa and, therefore, their occupation back to the arrival of Rangitāne. In doing this they would be considered as Rangitāne whānui. Hori Ropiha, a leading Rangitāne rangatira, gave an example of this thinking in 1873 with the following description:

Ko Ngai Tara [sic] nō Rangitāne taua hapū. Ko Rangitāne te tipuna, ko Rangitāne hoki te iwi. He hapū Ngai Tara [sic] nā rātou i noho Wairarapa.⁹

Similarly Nireaha Tamaki (Neriaha Matiu), a high-ranking rangatira of Rangitāne, Hāmua and Ngāti Kahungunu descent, is recorded as saying in 1898:

The Descendants of Hāmua [i.e., Ngāti Hāmua] are all Rangitāne...the descendants of Rangiwhakaewa [i.e., Ngāti Rangiwhakaewa] are always spoken of in Court as Rangitāne.¹⁰

Based on her tireless use of Wairarapa Native Land Court records, Ballara similarly states:

Ngāti Hāmua was frequently referred to as an iwi in Rangitāne narratives in the 19th century, although an implicit affiliation to Rangitāne always existed.¹¹

⁸ Rangitāne Statement of Claim, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 175 p 3, Section A: 6. See Stephen Chrisp’s *He Kōrero Tuku Iho mō Rangitāne* (Rangitāne o Wairarapa Traditional History), 2002, for detailed Rangitāne o Wairarapa whakapapa.

⁹ “That hapū of Ngāi Tara comes from Rangitāne. Rangitāne is the ancestor, and Rangitāne is also the tribe. Ngāi Tara is the hapū that occupied Wairarapa”. Hori Ropiha Manuscripts Alexander Turnbull Library, 1873 vol.2:19, cited in Stephen Chrisp, ‘The Māori Occupation of Wairarapa: Orthodox and Nonorthodox Versions’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*, 102 (1), p56, March 1993.

¹⁰ *AJHR* 1898, G-2a, p.68 cited in, Chrisp, ‘The Māori Occupation of Wairarapa’, (*JPS*, 1993), for a biography of Tamaki see Angela Ballara, ‘Neriaha Tamaki’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, Vol. 2, p359. When Tamaki died in 3 July 1911 the *Pahiatua Herald* wrote: “Since Nireaha Tamaki, the chief of the Rangitane tribe, died last Monday, the winds that have blown over Hamua [Te Hawera] have been charged with clamorous grief.”)

While there are a number of varying stories on how Rangitāne Iwi arrived in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe, most stories generally agree that Rangitāne were the first major descent group to populate the lower eastern coast of Te-Ika-a-Maui (The North Island). Tradition records that the descendants of Rangitāne arrived in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua district within two generations of the Kurahaupo canoe having arrived in Aotearoa. Of particular significance is the fact that they “did not encounter iwi already resident in the Wairarapa, and they assumed mana whenua of the district through settlement.”¹²

A great deal of evidence about Rangitāne’s early settlement of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua is contained in a number of nineteenth century Native Land Court title investigations. Te Manihera Te Rangitakaiwaho, for example, is recorded to have told the court in 1867:

That land belonged to the Rangitāne tribe. It was they who first came and occupied this land.¹³

Similarly in 1888 during the Okurupatu title investigation hearing, Manihera Maaka told the court:

The whole Wairarapa in former times belonged to Rangitāne.¹⁴

Following typical patterns of Māori settlement elsewhere in Aotearoa, Rangitāne would have maintained a number of kainga around the district from the coast to the ranges, moving from place to place in tune with both the changing seasons and the gathering and cultivation of kai. Māori habitation was thus both settled and migratory.¹⁵

¹¹ H.A. Ballara, ‘The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu’, MA Thesis, Victoria University, 1991, pp.158-160

¹² Chrisp, ‘He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History’, p16. For a full discussion on this subject the Chrisp Report is the most authoritative written work in English thus far. Henceforth quotes and citations from this document will be referred to as ‘He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History.’

¹³ Chrisp, ‘He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History’, p16

¹⁴ Chrisp, ‘He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History’, p16, (See Wairarapa Minute Book (WMB) 7, 1888: 244-5: see also Rangitakai Waho 1885:1)

¹⁵ This would be much to the frustration of Crown officials like H.T. Kemp who tried to conduct a census in the Wairarapa during 1850. Kemp wrote in a report to the Colonial Secretary: “The Natives are scarcely for many months together stationary, and so with regard to their cultivations, it frequently happens that the same individual has cultivations in two or

ARRIVAL OF NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU

While Rangitāne were the first to settle and occupy the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe, over the centuries waves of other iwi and their hapū came to the region. In particular, the arrival of Ngāti Ira and Ngāti Kahungunu between ten and fifteen generations after the Rangitāne settlement had a major impact on the demographic and social mix. Most importantly the arrival of the new migrants created a new pattern of land use, power relationships and mana whenua.

Again there are a number of variant stories of Ngāti Kahungunu's arrival in Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua. Many of these stories have been told at different times and for different purposes, with varying degrees of fortune for Rangitāne.¹⁶ While this report will not attempt to untangle all the different kōrero about the arrival of Ngāti Kahungunu, it will be important to note several key aspects of migration that had a bearing on later land sales to the Crown.

While there is ample traditional testimony to suggest that there were periods of tension and fighting between Rangitāne and the newcomers (as well as skirmishes and feuds within Ngāti Kahungunu), the arrival of Ngāti Kahungunu was not a military one. Most of the stories relating to the arrival of Ngāti Kahungunu emphasise that on their arrival in the Wairarapa Ngāti Kahungunu made a gift exchange with Rangitāne for the occupation and possession of a significant portion of their lands.¹⁷ Following this exchange, the price of Rangitāne's lands being several waka, a number of Rangitāne under the rangatira Te Rerewa, emigrated to Wairau in Te Tau Ihu (Northern South Island).¹⁸

three different parts of the country as his inclination guides him.”, *New Zealand Government Gazette (New Munster)*, vol.3, no.16, 21 August 1850, p.81

¹⁶ Stephen Chrisp in his article, 'Māori Occupation of Wairarapa', (*JPS*, 1993), has made a valuable contribution to scholarship in untangling the story told by influential Pākehā ethnographers like S. Percy Smith and the Polynesian Society who popularised the view that Rangitāne had been completely uprooted as the *tangata whenua* of the Wairarapa.

¹⁷ S. Percy Smith, 'The Occupation of Wai-rarapa by Ngati-Kahu-ngunu', *JPS*, 1904, no.13 p.160; Also H.P. Tūnuirangi, 'The Migration of Ngāti Kahungunu to Wairarapa', reproduced in Chrisp, (*JPS*, 1993), pp.69-70; Elsdon Best, *The Land of Tara, and they who settle it*, New Plymouth, 1919 (Reprinted from *JPS*), p.40

¹⁸ A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa – An Historical Excursion*, Masterton, 1976, p.6; David Armstrong, "The Right of Deciding": Rangitane ki Wairau and the Crown, 1840-1900', [n.d.] (Wai 785, #A80), p.5

The majority of the sources, including Percy Smith, agree, “some Rangitane decided to remain.”¹⁹ Percy Smith even states:

...until the days of Te Miha, great-grandson of Rangitawhanga, there are indications that Ngāti Kahu-ngunu (or some of them) lived under the mana of the former tribe.²⁰

Percy Smith, however, goes on to espouse what was to become known as the ‘orthodox’ view of Wairarapa’s pre-Treaty history. Put simply, Smith argued that in the course of Ngāti Kahungunu’s settlement conflict arose between Rangitāne and the new comers. This conflict led to a series of disastrous encounters, all of which apparently being provoked by Rangitāne, in which the original inhabitants were repeatedly slaughtered.²¹

INTERMARRIAGE

Rather than conflict, however, it is more likely that coexistence and tribal intermixing typified Māori society in the Wairarapa in the aftermath of Ngāti Kahungunu’s arrival. The strongest evidence for this, perhaps, is the high degree to which many of the tangata whenua in Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe are able to whakapapa back to both Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu tūpuna. It is not surprising, therefore, that the concept of dual whakapapa, or ‘aho-rua’, is common in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua area because of the prominence of intermarriage.

The incidents of intermarriage and intermixed occupation served to create both ties of kinship between members of the two descent groups as well as reinforce their shared position as tangata whenua of the rohe. As such, Chrisp acknowledges:

¹⁹ Smith, (*JPS*, 1904), p.160

²⁰ Smith, (*JPS*, 1904), p.161

²¹ Smith, (*JPS*, 1904), In Southern Wairarapa Okahu pa was sacked – “Great numbers of Rangitane were killed” p.161; Later under Te Hiha, Ngāti Kahungunu rose up and “threw off the yoke-such as it was-of Rangitane, and either exterminated or expelled them.” p.162. In Eastern and mid-Wairarapa Smith tells of how Ngāti Kahungunu took the land by conquest, attacking and taking a pā near Flat Point. In the ensuing battles many Rangitāne were killed, p.163; peace was then made, but soon broken by the Rangitāne rangatira Whengu (who was emboldened by the large number of his tribe), in the ensuing battle “Rangitane were again worsted in the fight.” p.164.

Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa people were undeniably *tangata whenua* of Wairarapa . . . However, they were not the only *tangata whenua* tribe: Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne were co-occupants of the Wairarapa.²²

Outside observers have also noted the close traditional relationship between the iwi groups. A.G. Bagnall in his much-thumbed regional history of the Wairarapa points out there is around 250-300 years of shared Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu history in the Wairarapa. Bagnall notes that even before Ngāti Kahungunu reached the Wairarapa there is evidence of intermarriage going back to the union of the Ahuriri-based Ngāti Kahungunu chief Rakaiwerohia and the sister of the Rangitāne rangatira Te Rewera.²³

There is evidence to suggest that intermarriage was not just a natural process but something consciously encouraged as a tool of social cohesion. Angela Ballara quotes Te Mātorohanga, who openly acknowledged that:

Women were given to newcomers . . . to make one people of the *tangata whenua* with the [new] party.²⁴

As a result, the fabric of whakapapa in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe was complex and interwoven. Ballara argues that eighteenth century Wairarapa was a patchwork of the different groups that had migrated from the Hawke's Bay, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Ira, along with the *tangata whenua* of groups descended from Rangitāne and Tara. As such, people calling themselves Ngāti Ira were living in various places from Akitio to Cape Palliser. Likewise Ngāi Tahu groups were found both in Takapau and in the upper Wairarapa. But throughout the Wairarapa it appears that there was substantial melding of the different descent communities. Ballara even goes so far as to say:

Intermarriage amongst all these groups and their ramified subsidiaries meant that a mixed population had developed, who identified themselves by the

²² Chrisp, (*JPS*, 1993), pp.62-63

²³ Bagnall, *Wairarapa – An Historical Excursion*, p.5

²⁴ Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, Wellington, 1998, p.138, cited in Chrisp, 'He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History', p.18

names of more recent ancestors than those of Rangitane, Tara, Ira or Kahungunu.²⁵

While there was substantial intermarriage, however, Māori society in pre-Treaty Wairarapa was still structured on recognisable and distinguishable descent groups, albeit with new names to reflect the complexity of the shared lines of descent. In her essay on early Whanganui-a-Tara, Ballara herself states:

Ngati Kahungunu-ki-Wairarapa, the tangata whenua of Wairarapa, were the result of extensive intermarriage among the early descent groups, Ngai Tara, Rangitane, Ngati Ira, Ngati Kahungunu and others; in the period 1800-1840 they were usually known by later derivative names, such as Rakai-Whakairi, Hamua, Ngati-Kahukura-awhitia, Ngati Moe and others. Some Ngai Tahu (descendants of Tahu not Tahu-Potiki) and some Ngati Ira retained the original names.²⁶

Ballara bases her view, in part, on Eldson Best who, according to Ballara, had by 1918 a “better understanding” of the complexity of pre-Treaty Māori society in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington), and by extension the people of Wairarapa. Best said of Rangitāne, Ngāi Tara, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Ira, that “all four tribes became so mingled that one scarcely knows what name to apply to them.”²⁷

This may have been true for Pākehā observers like Best and his peers in the Polynesian Society. However, for Māori in Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua in the period before the arrival of Pākehā, whakapapa distinctions appear to have been clearly understood. For example, during the 1820s in the initial phase of Ngāti Toa’s southward migration, a taua of Hāmua/Rangitāne travelled to the Kapiti Coast to assist their western kin in assaulting Waikanae.²⁸ Another example can be found at the turn of the nineteenth century, when many Wairarapa Māori were ardent horse racing enthusiasts. During the races, in which both Māori and Pākehā raced, riders

²⁵ Ballara, *Iwi*, p.140

²⁶ Angela Ballara, ‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Phases of Maori Occupation of Wellington Harbour c.1800-1840’, footnote 53, in David Hamer & Roberta Nicholls (eds.), *The Making of Wellington, 1800-1914*, Wellington, 1990, pp.9-34

²⁷ Eldson Best, *Land of Tara*, Wellington, (*JPS*), 1918, p.40

²⁸ ‘Copy of Proceedings of Native Land Court at Foxton, November 1872, with Notes of Evidence’, MA 75/8, pp.172-173, Archives NZ, cited in Robyn Anderson and Keith Pickens, *Wellington District: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatu*, Rangahaua Whanui Series, August 1996, p.10

would often race in distinctive hapū colours. Niniwa and Wiremu Hutana, for example, competed in the colours of Ngāti Hikawera while Anaru Tuhokairangi and Taiawhaio Te Tau chose to race in the colours of Hāmua.²⁹ While most Māori in Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua would have identified principally with their hapū, most would also have retained knowledge of their principal iwi affiliations. Alan Ward certainly cautions against thinking that distinct and separate identities would have been lost. In his overview report for the Tribunal's Wellington Tenths Inquiry, Ward notes:

There are certainly hapu who identify by the names of one or other of the intermingled peoples (Rangitane or Ngati Ira for example) throughout the [Wellington-Southern Wairarapa] area in 1820.³⁰

While Ballara notes in her later work on iwi that “while large pockets of Kahungunu’s descendants resided at that time within the bounds mentioned, other descent groups lived within the same areas. Some of these not originally descended from Kahungunu included separate descent groups known as Ngāti Ira, another Ngai Tahu, Ngāti Ruapani, Ngai Tara and Rangitane.”³¹

Retaining distinctive and emphasised lines of whakapapa would also have been important in pre-Treaty Wairarapa society in understanding and enforcing the complex occupation and ‘use-rights’ of groups to areas and resources. As Chrisp notes, there is ample evidence from the:

...Rangitāne narratives in the Māori [Native] Land Court in the 19th Century [which] indicate that Rangitāne hapū retained rights of use of land and economic resources in these districts.³²

During the Ngā-waka-ā-Kupe case, Wī Hikawera Mahupuku, of Ngāti Hikawera and Ngāti Meroiti, made it clear that his right to the land and that of his hapū Ngāti Meroiti came from Rangitāne:

²⁹ See Roberta McIntyre, *The Canoes of Kupe: A history of the Martinborough District*, VUP, 2002, pp.143-144

³⁰ Alan Ward, “Maori Customary Interests in the Port Nicholson District, 1820s to 1840s: An Overview”, Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, October 1998 (Wai 145, #M1), p.18

³¹ Ballara, *Iwi*, p.69

³² Chrisp, ‘He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History’, p.24

...my take [right] to the land is from Rangitaane within the boundaries that I have already described. Hineuru and Hineiti were sisters. These women belong to Rangitaane...The hapū name of these people was Ngāti Meroiti.³³

While there was a considerable blending of the bloodlines, some of which was facilitated by arranged unions, Ballara in *Iwi* notes that there were mechanisms in place to also ensure that hapū and whanau groups in the Wairarapa could still maintain distinctive whakapapa lines. The mechanism by which groups could acknowledge their ties to the whānui of Kahungunu, Rangitāne, Ira and Tara was through arranged marriages that reunited whānui bloodlines.³⁴

PRE-TREATY COEXISTENCE

This ability to identify the different use-rights to resources and land in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe would have been crucial in the time before the arrival of Pākehā. When reviewing the rohe it is quite remarkable as to how much the groups descending from the different iwi had territories that were intermixed or overlapping. While each group retained their own specific rights to areas, based on descent and occupation, their pattern of settlement was remarkably integrated compared to other districts where dividing lines between different iwi groups were more noticeable.³⁵

J.R. Paku, for example, recorded for the Masterton Historical Society in the mid-1950s that at the time of the Crown's land purchasing activities in the 1850s there were a number of distinct descent groups in and around the Kaikokirikiri (Masterton) area. Paku lists these groups as Ngāti Tāne Roa, Ngāti Te Hina, Ngāti Moe, Hāmua, Hāmua, and Rangitāne.³⁶

Similarly, a generation later a booklet celebrating the centennial of Ngā Tau e Waru at Te Ore Ore identified that:

³³ (WMB 16, 1890:10-11) quoted in Chrisp, (*JPS*, 1993), p.49

³⁴ Ballara, *Iwi*, pp.141-142

³⁵ For example in early nineteenth century Tauranga Moana, the groups affiliated to the Ngāi Te Rangi iwi tended to occupy the eastern coastal area, while the hapū of Ngāti Ranginui iwi tended to live down the western more inland areas of the moana. See Evelyn Stokes, *A History of Tauranga County*, Palmerston North, 1980, pp.31ff, & Map, p.42

³⁶ Paku, J.R. *Wairarapa Maori History*, Masterton [1954], p.2. I am unsure as to why Paku names Hamua twice, perhaps it is to reflect that among Hamua there are those who emphasise different lines of descent.

...the people of Te Ore Ore settlement trace their descent from Te Raetea who was descended from Raikaumoana, a Rangitāne chief whose exploits are known throughout Wairarapa... About 350 years ago the Kahungunu people migrated to Wairarapa from Hawkes Bay. Intermingling with the Rangitāne they settled in various parts of Wairarapa. The name Ngāti Kahungunu nuku ki Wairarapa was adopted some time after the Rangitāne sold large areas of land to the Ngāti Kahungunu immigrants.” In short the Te Ore Ore “tangata whenua are Rangitane and Hamua with recent intertribal marriage into Ngāti Kahungunu.³⁷

It was this complex weave of Māori social fabric that the first New Zealand Company officials, Crown agents and Pākehā settlers would come upon during the 1840s.

4. EARLY PĀKEHĀ/CROWN PERCEPTION OF RANGITĀNE:

In June 1840 Ihaia Kaikoura, a resident of Cloudy Bay and a rangatira of Rangitāne o Wairau, who could whakapapa to Rangitāne Wairarapa and Rangitāne Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Queen Charlotte Sound.³⁸ He is the only representative of Rangitāne to sign the Treaty.³⁹ Therefore Rangitāne can claim status as an iwi who participated at the beginning of the partnership between the Crown and Māori.

RETURN OF RANGITĀNE AND NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU TO THE WAIRARAPA

The Pākehā understanding of who peopled the Wairarapa may have been influenced by the events of the ‘Musket Wars’. During these wars most sources accept that large numbers of those in the Wairarapa with Ngāti Kahungunu whakapapa went north to find sanctuary with their kin on Mahia Peninsula. Undoubtedly, some of those who went to Mahia were also descended from Rangitāne such as Retimana Te Korou, the

³⁷ [Keena, Kieta], *Ngā Tau E Waru – Centennial Booklet 1881-1981*, [Masterton], [1981], [p.8]. According to the pamphlet it was Te Raetea who headed the migration of Rangitāne from Rangitikei to found the Te Ore Ore settlement and the many other Rangitāne settlements down in the Wairarapa valley.

³⁸ T. Lindsay Buick, 1914, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. S. &W. MacKay, Wellington, p.208

³⁹ Remembering that no Wairarapa rangatira signed the Treaty. Rangitāne o Wairarapa Treaty Claim Wai 175, (Dated 11 July 1997), p6

influential Hāmua/Rangitāne chief of Kaikokirikiri.⁴⁰ But as Ballara points out, during the 1830s the predominately Rangitāne groups from Wairarapa and Tamaki, such as Hāmua, Ngāti Mutuahi and Ngāti Pakapaka preferred to take refuge in the upper Manawatū rather than in Mahia.⁴¹ In the time following the Treaty, Wairarapa Māori were slowly returning to their rohe, at first in small groups to be cautiously followed by the remainder as peace slowly became assured.

Making an accurate census or estimation of Wairarapa Māori at this time would have been extremely difficult due to the unsettled state of the population. Some early Pākehā travellers in the Wairarapa may have made the assumption, as was the case elsewhere, that the absence of a significant settled population signalled that they had been decimated. In his journal, for example, Frederick Weld recorded that the “local natives the Ngatikahuna, were few in number, having suffered severely at the hands of warlike tribes from the west coast.”⁴² By the time of substantial Pākehā settlement, however, all the major descent groups of the Wairarapa had returned and resumed the occupation of their lands.

EARLY PĀKEHĀ DESCRIPTIONS OF THE *TANGATA WHENUA*

Early contact between Wairarapa Māori in the 1840s was at first tentative and fragmentary. A number of factors, such as the harshness of the coast, the roughness of the terrain between Port Nicholson and the Wairarapa, as well as the still smouldering embers of the Musket Wars of the past decades, delayed substantial Pākehā incursions into the rohe for some time. It is worth noting that Pākehā knew little, if anything, about the southeastern coast of the North Island for some time after the signing of the Treaty.

As such, there can be little certainty given to European descriptions of the Wairarapa Coast during the 1840s. G.B. Earp was certainly of this view when he wrote in his *Handbook for Intending Emigrants*:

⁴⁰ Te Korou was descended from Hauti the younger sibling of Hamua, Mita Carter & Angela Ballara, ‘Te Retimana Te Korou’, *DNZB*, vol.1, Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, p.466, See also Craig Innes & Bob Metcalf, ‘Te Karaitiana Te Korou Report’, (Wai 770), January 2003

⁴¹ Ballara, *Iwi*, p.243

⁴² “Early Wairarapa – Weld’s Journey for Help”, *Dominion*, 3 March 1932

Such is the very limited and wholly inadequate information hitherto obtainable as to this part of the coast, and it is equally defective regarding the whole line of Coast from Cape Palliser to Cape East.⁴³

In terms of the people of the lower east coast of the North Island, Earp could only name the ‘Natikahohuni’ and ‘Natiawa’ who were described as “both numerous and powerful.”

What evidence we do have from the first days of contact and Pākehā exploration is fragmentary and reveals the early development of a Pākehā paradigm which understood Rangitāne to be little more than a remnant people, conquered, decimated and subjugated. This preconception appears to have coloured the view of a number of key government officials and other Pākehā in the later purchasing period in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe. It is worth spending some time exploring how the ‘Rangitāne Paradigm’ may have developed and how it expressed itself.

Insights into this construction of the Pākehā paradigm of Rangitāne being a ‘conquered remnant’ can be gleaned from a number of scattered references made by early Pākehā sources. Probably the most interesting early observations of the Māori population of the lower North Island, for our purposes at least, were made by Edward Jerningham Wakefield in his account of his ‘New Zealand adventure’ in the years leading up to the Treaty. While Wakefield’s book is known more for its impact on the Pākehā mind than for its accurate account of Māori tribal relationships, it does give us an early indication of how someone who had influence within the New Zealand Company viewed Rangitāne as an iwi. On his arrival in Port Nicholson Wakefield became acquainted with Richard Barrett, a Pākehā who had been in New Zealand for some years. It was from Barrett that Wakefield learnt:

...in how unsettled a state was the proprietorship of land about Cook’s Strait. The country had been conquered about fourteen years before by the *Kawia* tribe [sic]. They had almost exterminated the *Muopoko*, *Rangitane*, and *Ngatiapa*, who were the original occupiers.⁴⁴

⁴³ G.B. Earp, *Handbook for Intending Emigrants to the Southern Settlements of New Zealand*, 1851 Edition, quoted in “Pioneer Days – Geography of Province”, *Dominion*, 18 August 1932. (Unfortunately the original edition could not be located.)

⁴⁴ E.D. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, [London] [1845], republished by Wilson & Horton, vol. 1 p.37 (Italics in original)

It is certainly beyond doubt that Rangitāne in Wairau and the Manawatū had suffered greatly during the Musket Wars.⁴⁵ While Rangitāne o Wairarapa and Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua had also suffered during the fighting, they did not suffer the level of loss and deprivation that their kin in Manawatū and Wairau had. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that the construct that Rangitāne were a decimated and conquered people with little, if any, right to the land, would become a burden to all the different branches of the iwi.

But in considering Wakefield's account it should be noted that Professor Alan Ward using material gleaned from Whatahoro Jury's notebook, pointed out that in February 1840:

... a foraging party of Ngati Hamua (of Rangitane o Wairarapa) killed a Te Atiawa chief called Puakawa in his potato gardens a mile from Waiwhetu.⁴⁶

According to E.J. Wakefield, Te Atiawa at first thought that the raid was by Ngāti Raukawa but later realised it was a party of "Ngatikahuhunu".⁴⁷ Wiremu Kingi Tutepakihirangi, a Wairarapa chief (of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Hikawera and Kahukurangi) who had been involved in the peace making between Te Atiawa and 'Ngatikahungunu', sent two of his party northward saying,

...go and tell my parents that Ngati Kahungunu has arrived here, and that permanent peace has been established with the ridge as the boundary. The two messengers went and spoke those words, and the raiding party from Hāmua returned [home].⁴⁸

This brief glimpse into the past shows both the close political relationship between Hāmua/Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu, as well as illustrating that if Rangitāne

⁴⁵ Colonel William Wakefield, in an official dispatch to the New Zealand Company HQ in London in September 1840, described Rangitāne o Wairau as the 'slaves' of Ngāti Toa. Armstrong, 'Right of Deciding', pp.28-29. Armstrong notes that this far from accurate view suited the company as it had made its land purchases from Ngāti Toa as the 'conquerors' with sole right of sale.

⁴⁶ Alan Ward, 'Maori Customary Interests in the Port Nicholson District', p.123

⁴⁷ E.J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, p.194

⁴⁸ Te Whatahoro Jury, Notebook, Alexander Turnbull Library, p. 93, quoted in Alan Ward, "Maori Customary Interests in the Port Nicholson District, 1820s to 1840s: An Overview", Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, October 1998 (Wai 145, #M1)

raiding parties could venture into the Hutt Valley they were not as ‘exterminated’ as Wakefield or others may have thought.⁴⁹

In tandem with this, other early Pākehā descriptions of the makeup of the people of the lower East Coast of the North Island are also telling. Both Edward Shortland (Private Secretary to the Governor), and Johann (Ernst) Dieffenbach (the New Zealand Company’s Doctor), probably provided the earliest Pākehā accounts on the makeup of the people of the Wairarapa. According to Ballara, both men:

...had gathered that Ngāti Kahungunu were the only people living from Poverty Bay to Porirua ‘and farther westward’, rather than just the most numerous and powerful group in that area.⁵⁰

Like Wakefield’s assumption, there are a number of reasonable explanations as to how Shortland and Dieffenbach came to this view. Shortland appears to have been informed about the Wairarapa by Ngāi Tahu chiefs in the South Island.⁵¹ Dieffenbach on the other hand, who got no further than the crest of the Rimutaka hills before his Te Atiawa guides turned back, probably also got knowledge of the Wairarapa from Māori in either Wellington or the Hutt Valley.⁵² Both men could have been misled by a case of cross-cultural miscommunication caused by the way Māori of the time understood and communicated knowledge about regions. Ballara has identified this phenomenon in *Iwi* and posits:

Blanket tribal labels were often given by Maori informants discussing areas other than their own, whose genealogies they were unfamiliar with, and which they had not visited.⁵³

To support this view, Ballara goes on to quote George Clarke (Missionary and Chief Protector of Aborigines) who described this ‘tendency’ in 1843 thus:

⁴⁹ Ballara says that groups of Rangitāne, Ngāti Ira and Ngāti Kahungunu probably all conducted raids into the Wellington area until peace was made with the Northern Tribes, Ballara, *Iwi*, p.246

⁵⁰ Ballara, *Iwi*, p.69

⁵¹ Shortland’s principal informant was probably the Ngāi Tahu rangatira Tuhawaiki (also known as Bloody Jack).

⁵² In the Northern South Island, Dieffenbach referred to Rangitāne as being little more than an enslaved remnant, Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, London, 1843, pp.116-117, 192-193.

⁵³ Ballara, *Iwi*, pp.69-70

...the natives living between the North Cape and Whangarei would invariably be styled 'Ngapuhis' by the inhabitants of the Thames and Waikato; nevertheless, this district includes numberless 'hapus' or smaller tribes with independent interests, and not infrequently at war with each other. The Thames natives, on the other hand, are known to the Ngapuhis as a body by the name of the 'Ngatimaru' but they are divided amongst themselves into four or five considerable tribes.⁵⁴

Despite the origins of this phenomenon, it seems clear from the procession of Pākehā sources that the idea that the only people of significance on the southern east coast were Ngāti Kahungunu became progressively solidified in the mind of settlers, New Zealand Company staff and, later, Crown officials. For example, in May 1842 New Zealand Company Surveyor Chas. H. Kettle came into the Wairarapa for a preliminary investigation. On the Ruamahanga River he reported to his superiors that he came across a 'pah' occupied by 'natives of the Ngatikihuni tribe'.⁵⁵ His account mentions no other groups occupying the area.

Likewise, William Colenso's account of his 1845 expedition reflected both the view that Ngāti Kahungunu were the only substantial inhabitants of the Wairarapa and also that Rangitāne were a decimated remnant. During his hikoi, Colenso came across the settlement of Te Hawera (now Hamua). Here he found, in Bagnall's words, the:

... remnants of the harried Rangitāne tribe. This people, who had once claimed practically all the Wairarapa, had been forced into fugitive camps in the hills during the troubled times of the preceding generation. With returning confidence they had recently occupied, in this area, the villages of Ihuraua and Te Hawera, under the chieftainship of Te Hiaro.⁵⁶

This account, however, does not present an entirely consistent picture. Colenso's biographers go on to note that some of the Rangitāne who had come from Ihuraua to meet the missionary included people he had met previously at Mataikona, on the

⁵⁴ George Clarke to Colonial Secretary, 17 October 1843, *British Parliamentary Papers; Colonies New Zealand, (BPP)*, [IUP, vol.2], p.356, quoted in Ballara, *Iwi*, p.70. There is also an example from Wairau where a prominent Rangitāne rangatira was referred to as "a chief of the Ngati Kahungunu" by Tamihana in his unpublished 1880s Ngāti Toa tribal history, see Armstrong, 'Right of Deciding', p.33

⁵⁵ H.A. Heron, *Early Wairarapa*, Masterton, 1929

⁵⁶ A.G. Bagnall and G.C. Petersen, *William Colenso*, Wellington, 1948, p.230

coast, and at Kaikokirikiri (near present-day Masterton).⁵⁷ This seems to contradict Colenso's impression, by suggesting that Rangitāne were probably not isolated to the Ihuraua and Te Hawera settlements, with members of the tribe either visiting from other settlements or moving between them.

Colenso's understanding of Rangitāne also did not seem to have been influenced by his meetings with "Te Koro" (Retimana Te Korou) who Colenso called the "principal chief" of Kaikokirikiri.⁵⁸ Colenso also noted that Te Korou's hapū had cultivations at Tukuwahine.⁵⁹ Perhaps it is worth noting that along with Colenso's apparent rigid preconceptions, Bagnall makes the comment that William Colenso's diaries "are disappointing in that they record little of the inhabitants beyond their reaction to church instruction."⁶⁰

Frederick Weld's 1844 Diary does note some observations about the Hāmua/Rangitāne rangatira Te Korou and his people. During November 1844, Weld with other Pākehā 'squatters' investigated leasing the Whareama area of Te Korou and his people. Weld wrote:

The party consisted of Clifford, Vavasour and myself, three white men, and about six Maories – the main body of the tribe having gone forward. Te Koro, who accompanied us, is the chief of the tribe or clan to which wharehoma belongs, and like all other natives he is very anxious to have a white man on his land.⁶¹

KEMP'S 'CENSUS'

Henry Tacy Kemp (Native Secretary for New Munster Province) came into the Wairarapa Valley from the Manawatū Gorge following Colenso's visit in April 1850. He had been in the Wairarapa in 1848-49, when he had many discussions with leading rangatira of Rangitāne descent such as Te Korou and Ngatuere. Kemp certainly knew that Te Korou and his people had significant interests around the rohe. In December 1849, for example Kemp told Domett:

⁵⁷ Bagnall & Petersen, *William Colenso*, p.231

⁵⁸ 4 April 1845, Colenso's Diary, cited in Walzl, p.58

⁵⁹ 23 May 1848, Colenso's Diary, cited in Walzl, p.155

⁶⁰ A.G. Bagnall, *Masterton's First Hundred Years*, Masterton, 1954, p.4

⁶¹ Weld quoted in Janine Williams, 'Pastoralists and Maoris', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.11, no.1 (April 1977), pp.33-34

A party of natives, from Castle Point, came to meet me, they being part owners of the Wareama district. These, and the natives generally on the coast, seem to look up to Te Korou, the chief of Kaikokiuki, and will be guided in a great measure by him.⁶²

Kemp also had heard that Te Korou was involved in a dispute with Haimona Pita (Simon Peter) over the right to lease lands on the Te Ore Ore plain.⁶³

During 1850 Kemp prepared a census of the district in which he reported to his superior that he came upon the same settlement at Te Hawera:

...at the extreme head of the valley of Wairarapa. Its inhabitants are a remnant of the old Rangitanes, and number in all 29 souls.⁶⁴

According to Kemp, this group had fled to the Tararuas to survive the catastrophic effects of the Musket Wars. For Kemp these were a 'shattered', 'remnant' people, the same as he had found in the Manawatū and Te Tau Ihu. Kemp's 'census' stated:

After the Country had been nearly depopulated by the Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiawa, the few survivors were obliged to seek refuge in the mountains...through the introduction of Christianity and civilisation their enemies had ceased to scour the country in the hope of exterminating them or making them slaves, they ventured to establish themselves in this remote part of the country.⁶⁵

Further on in his journey Kemp came to the settlement of Kaikokirikiri, described as "the principal Pa at the top of the Wairarapa plain, and is about 35 miles distant from Te Hawera." Just outside the settlement Kemp found a plantation [Te Rua-o-te-Taniwha] occupied by "one of the survivors of the Rangitāne" along with his wife

⁶² Kemp to Domett, 'Journal of a Mission to the Wairarapa', 8 December 1849, *BPP*, vol.6, 1136, p.92

⁶³ Kemp to Domett, 'Journal of a Mission to the Wairarapa', 8 December 1849, *BPP*, vol.6, 1136, p.92

⁶⁴ H. Tacy Kemp to Colonial Secretary, New Munster, 15 April 1850, *BPP*, 1851, [IUP, vol.7] pp.237-238

⁶⁵ H.T, Kemp to Colonial Secretary, "Notes, Taken under the Direction of Government, Embracing Statistical Returns in connection with the Native Population.", *NZ Government Gazette (New Munster)*, 21 August 1850, p.78 [This is the full 'census' report for the lower part of the North Island.]

and their seven children.⁶⁶ It seems remarkable that a member of a ‘harried remnant’ people was able to both till the land and raise a large family.⁶⁷

As with the earlier account cited above, it appears that from their own accounts the position of Rangitāne in the Wairarapa was substantially different from the preconceived view recorded by Colenso and Kemp. Yet this did not stop Kemp informing the Colonial Secretary that Ngāti Kahungunu populated the district, not withstanding the pockets of Rangitāne and Ngāi Tahu he had ventured upon and the fact that he had only explored a fraction of the district. In the words of his report:

The Natives of the Wairarapa are descended from their ancestor Kahuhuhunu [sic], who is supposed to have peopled the whole coast from thence to the East Coast or Poverty Bay.⁶⁸

Unfortunately Māori themselves in their correspondence used generalities that probably did not enhance the Pākehā understanding of the iwi affiliations within the district. For instance, in an 1848 letter to Governor Grey from a number of leading southern Wairarapa chiefs, including Te Tati, Haimona Pita (Simon Peter), Raniera, Ngairo, and Anaru Rongotua, there is no mention of iwi affiliation, only that the letter records a decision of “all the rangatira of Wairarapa.”⁶⁹

RANGITĀNE IN OTHER PĀKEHĀ ACCOUNTS

Not all Pākehā accounts overlook Rangitāne in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe. During the later half of the nineteenth century at least two Pākehā ethnologists made reference to the presence of Rangitāne as a distinct descent group in the lower eastern coast of the North Island. Although it should be said that by the late 1860s Colenso still held to the view that ‘Ngatikahungunu’ seemingly exclusively occupied the area “from Table Cape to Palliser Bay, extending fifty miles inland, generally to the mountains.”⁷⁰ At about the same time, however, Rev Richard Taylor, the

⁶⁶ Kemp to Colonial Secretary, New Munster, 15 April 1850, *BPP*, 1851, [IUP, vol.7] p.238

⁶⁷ Only three years later a government surveyor described Rua Taniwha as ‘a small Native Settlement’, William Mein Smith to Donald McLean, ‘Report of a journey in the Wairarapa’ 10 November 1853, MS-Papers-3440, Alexander Turnbull Library

⁶⁸ Kemp to Colonial Secretary, New Munster, 15 April 1850, *BPP*, 1851, [IUP, vol.7] p.239

⁶⁹ Te Tati and others to Grey, 27th October 1848, cited in Takirangi Smith, ‘Tukuwhenua and Maori Land Tenure in Wairarapa’, October 2001, (Wai 863, #A45) pp.96-97

⁷⁰ William Colenso, “On the Maori Races of New Zealand” *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 1868, vol.1, p.424

missionary based at Whanganui, recorded that the ‘Rangitani’ of ‘Ahuriri’ in Hawke’s Bay numbered 2,600 souls.⁷¹ While Taylor’s census leaves much to be desired, it does indicate that at least he was aware that Rangitāne were inhabitants of the lower east coast area and that they were more than a remnant.

Some years later another Pākehā work commented that Hāmua was a branch of Rangitāne. John White (who thirty years earlier had worked under Donald McLean in the Land Purchase Department) identified Hāmua as a descendant of Rangitāne, being six generations from Whatonga. White stated that Hāmua’s:

... descendants are still in occupation of and reside in the Rua-mahanga (cave of the snare), in the Wai-rarapa (glistening water), and on the sea-coast amongst other tribes.⁷²

White went on to say that another group to emerge within Rangitāne were the descendants of Rangihwakaewa, who to this day reside at Tamaki, Puehu-tai and at Seventy-mile bush.⁷³ White’s identification of Rangitāne is interesting as it acknowledges Rangitāne as tangata whenua of the Wairarapa in common with other tribes, notably Ngāti Kahungunu. White also acknowledges that Rangitāne is separated into two distinctive descent groups on the east coast.

No doubt there are other examples of this identification to be found if one had the time to look for them. On the whole, however, the vast majority of nineteenth century Pākehā descriptions of the iwi of Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua not only overlook the existence of Rangitāne but Ngāti Kahungunu as well. Most of the accounts of Wairarapa’s Pākehā settlers generally seem to refer to the tangata whenua as simply ‘Wairarapa Maori’ or ‘natives’.⁷⁴

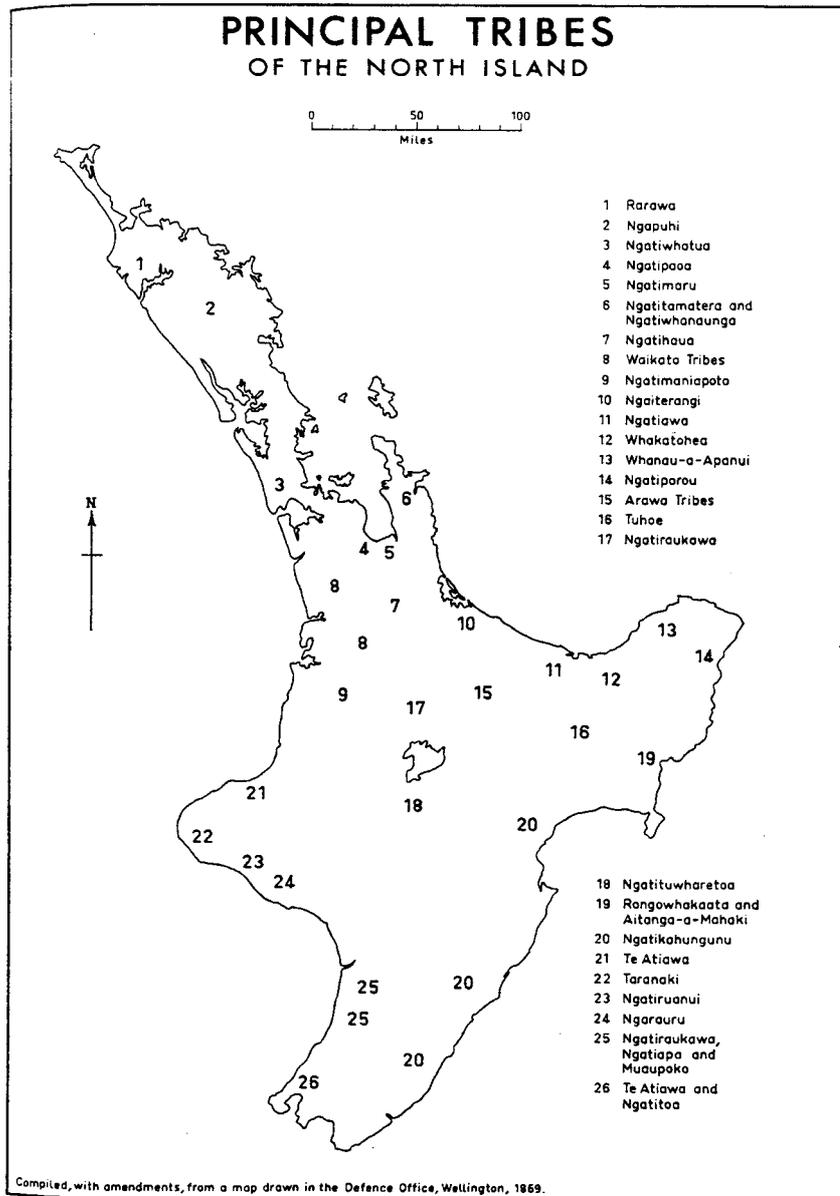
⁷¹ Richard Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, 2nd ed. London, 1870, p.411 (First published in 1855)

⁷² John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori, his mythology and traditions*, vol.2, Wellington, 1887, p.164

⁷³ White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, vol.2, p.164

⁷⁴ See the reminiscences of Edwin Meredith, for example, an early run-holder and squatter who was a signing witness on some of the Wairarapa Deeds. ‘Early Land Settlement in the Wairarapa’, *Wairarapa Age*, 18 October 1906.

“PRINCIPAL TRIBES OF THE NORTH ISLAND”



(From Defence Department Map circa 1869 - Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.41)

5. COMPLEXITY OF CUSTOMARY TENURE IN WAIRARAPA

The complexity of Māori iwi affiliation and whakapapa in the Wairarapa, with a number of distinctive but intermixed descent lines running through the rohe, was also reflected in an equally complex pattern of land tenure. Just as early Crown and New Zealand Company agents had failed to understand the intricate iwi mosaic of the Wairarapa, so are there indications that those seeking to buy land in the district did not understand the equally intricate mosaic of mana whenua.

When F. Dillon Bell reported back to the directors of the New Zealand Company in 1847 about his difficulties in purchasing the Wairarapa *carte blanche*, he gave some insight into the complexity of the district's Māori occupation and ownership. For Bell there were many problems facing the company's settlement aspirations, apart from the presence of squatters who had increased Māori expectations of making good money through leasing rather than selling it:

... another difficulty in the way of an immediate purchase presented itself in the fact of there being no principal chief in the valley to treat with, whose decision on the proposal would either be sufficient in itself or would determine the minds of the other natives.⁷⁵

Bell lamented the fact that E. Pehi could potentially have been this “principal chief”, but had drowned, with the only alternative being “Te Hapuka” “one of the principal chiefs of the Ngatikahuhunu tribe, to which the inhabitants of Wairarapa belong.” Bell's comments are interesting in that they reveal an essential flaw in the Crown's understanding of the intricacies of mana whenua, along with how the Pākehā paradigm might later impact on Rangitāne. The reference to Te Hāpuku, who lived on the borders of the rohe rather than actually within it, is also important and will be addressed below.

While it is not possible for this work to provide a general treatise on the Crown's purchasing methodology in this period, it will be necessary to explore further the thinking expressed in Bell's statement. As will be shown there was a tendency on the part of Crown officials to reduce the mana whenua of a rohe down to one tribe, and within that tribe down further to one or a handful of ‘principal’ rangatira.

EARLY PĀKEHĀ UNDERSTANDING OF IWI

There are a number of reasons why this thinking may have evolved. For one thing it may have reflected European society itself where large homogenous ‘iwi’ (countries, states etc) did exist, ruled over by a few leaders whose almost absolute ‘rangatiratanga’ (Emperors, Kings, Queens and of course Victoria Rex, ‘Empress of India’) covered large, well-defined areas. James Cowan, in his hagiography of Donald McLean, makes an interesting observation on this point:

⁷⁵ F. Dillon Bell to Colonel William Wakefield, 23 March 1847, *BPP*, [IUP, 1852, vol.8], p.54

For his part, Maclean quickly took a liking to the Maori as a race. His Scottish clan ancestry, his knowledge of and love for the traditions and the institutions of his Highland and Isles folk predisposed him in favour of a people whose social life and methods of government so closely resembled those of his own people. The tribal pride, the jealousy of other tribes and chiefs, the readiness to fight at the slightest affront, the patriarchal rule of the *rangatira*...⁷⁶

While there may have been parallels and similarities, remember also that Cowan hoped to sell his book to a mostly Pākehā audience. Māori society and Māori customary tenure, however, to be properly understood had to be understood on its own terms. The Pākehā understanding of Māori society may also have been influenced by the aftermath of the Musket Wars of the preceding decades.

Ballara, in her influential thesis on Ngāti Kahungunu, described that during the uncertainty and insecurity of the wars, there was a tendency for Māori communities to band together for mutual protection and alliance. Ballara notes Ngāti Kahungunu as a notable example of this, where earlier inter-‘iwi’ conflict is abandoned in the face of an increasing number of raids from other districts.⁷⁷ As a result a number of descent groups that could whakapapa back to Kahungunu coalesced together during these wars, with the majority of the iwi retreating to the Mahia peninsula.

With an increased emphasis on iwi identity for the purposes of mutual protection, it is possible that early Pākehā missionaries, settlers and government administrators gave these overarching iwi bonds a greater significance than they deserved. Also the Musket Wars may have produced a stronger ‘iwi’ identity among many descent groups in different regions, in particular Ngāti Kahungunu who lived together at Mahia. This did not mean, however, that the constituent groups within the iwi had given up the mana of their land to the wider iwi or to the principal political and military leadership within it.

Māori society was based on small-medium sized descent groups who occupied a well defined (though not necessarily exclusive rohe). Sir William Martin, New Zealand’s first Chief Justice, certainly understood this in 1846 when he wrote:

⁷⁶ James Cowan, *Sir Donald Maclean – The Story of a New Zealand Statesman*, Reed, Dunedin, 1940, pp.4-5 [Italics in original]

⁷⁷ Ballara, ‘Origins of Ngati Kahungunu’, p.280

The lands of a tribe do not form one unbroken district, over which all members of the tribe may wander. On the contrary, they are divided into a number of districts appertaining to the several sub-tribes. Each sub-tribe consists of the descendants of a common ancestor (whose name it generally bears) who was, in former times, the conqueror, or in any other way the recognised owner of the district.⁷⁸

While Martin may have recognised that iwi were made up of essentially autonomous units, even his considered opinion seemed to suggest that these groups resided in a district on the basis of a common iwi ancestor. Martin also seemed to emphasise the right of raupatu (conquest) above the other recognised claims to a district. But most importantly, in another 1861 pamphlet, Martin emphasised that due to the complexity of Māori society, “to make a sale thoroughly regular and valid both chief and people should consent.”⁷⁹

Other Pākehā were less considered in their approach to Māori customary tenure. Notable among these were various New South Wales land speculators and the officials of the New Zealand Company whose first forays into land purchasing in New Zealand saw them ‘acquire’ vast swathes of the country with a collection of “shabby purchase deeds”.⁸⁰

COMPLEXITY OF MANA WHENUA

Māori customary tenure was, however, extremely complex particularly in areas where two or more distinct ‘iwi’ descent groups had coexisted for some time. The right to sell land was neither held by a small collection of rangatira in isolation from the people who lived on the land, nor was the land completely possessed by the ‘conquering tribe’. In Tauranga Moana, for example, the iwi of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui had coexisted for some centuries before the Treaty. While Ngāi Te Rangi had come to Tauranga as ‘conquerors’, over time both groups came to share the Moana, though Ngāi Te Rangi was generally recognised as being politically and militarily dominant in the Western Bay of Plenty.

⁷⁸ Sir William Martin, ‘late Chief Justice of New Zealand’, from an 1846 pamphlet *England and the New Zealanders*, reproduced in *AJHR*, 1890, G-1, p.3

⁷⁹ Martin, from 1861 pamphlet reproduced in *AJHR*, 1890, G-1, p.4

⁸⁰ The Land Claims Commissioners Court discounted many of these. Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice*, Auckland, 1973, p.30

In the immediate aftermath of the Waikato War, which saw fighting and confiscation in Tauranga Moana during 1864-65, senior Crown officials negotiated both a cession of land and a purchase of the substantial Katikati and Te Puna blocks from the ‘principal’ rangatira of Ngāi Te Rangi. Members of Ngāti Ranginui, however, inhabited a large portion of this ‘ceded’ area, as well as the two ‘purchases’. Not long after the ink had dried, government officials soon found that the people living in Te Puna, members of Pirirakau, a section of the Ngāti Ranginui iwi, fiercely objected to the right of Ngāi Te Rangi to sell their lands. In one heated hui early in 1867, Rawiri Tata told a Crown official:

From the Wairoa [River] to Waipapa belongs to me. I will not give it up. You shall have no land from me for my participation in rebellion, and none for your money... I do not admit the right of the Ngaiterangi to give up my land, even though I have been in rebellion... Let Ngaiterangi have your money, but I will not let you have my land. It is true that Hori Tupaea [the principal rangatira of Ngāi Te Rangi] has a claim over our bodies, but he has not to our land.⁸¹

While Tata accepted the political and military hegemony of Ngāi Te Rangi (to a point at least), he did not and could not accept their right to sell the land on which he and his people lived.

Rawiri Tata’s words were echoed some years later in 1890 by a memorandum on the subject of ‘mana’ to the Judges of the Native Land Court authored by a number of Native Assessors, including Hamuera Mahupuku and Hoani Paraone Tunuiarangi from the Wairarapa. The memorandum stated that there were many degrees of chieftainship and within any one district there was usually a “superior chief” who had “great mana over the other chiefs and tribes within the boundaries of the district under his control.” However, in view of the Native Assessors, this man “is over the people only, and does not affect the lands of those people.” The superior chiefs, and in turn the lesser chiefs, had a claim on their own particular portion of land through right of

⁸¹ *AJHR*, 1867, A20, p.28 quoted in Vincent O’Malley & Alan Ward, “Draft Historical Report on Tauranga Moana Lands”, Crown/Congress Joint Working Party, 1993, (Wai 215, #A13). As a result of the Crown’s policy Ward and O’Malley state, “Ngati Ranginui as a whole were probably being asked to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of confiscation.”

ancestry, conquest, gift or occupation. But as for ‘mana’ itself, “unaccompanied with a right to the land, a chief would not have a right to the land through ‘mana’ alone.”⁸²

CROWN’S TENDENCY TO OVER-EMPHASISE TAKE RAUPATU

In many of the districts where the Crown purchased land during the 1840s and 1850s, government officials were presented with competing claims of different groups, many of whom were ‘conquerors’ with others being ‘the conquered’. Understandably, given the context of the time and the differences in culture, government officials tended to over simplify and vulgarise Māori customs and concepts, most importantly the right to land.

Donald McLean expressed a good example of this over-simplification during the Kohimarama conference in 1860. Addressing the assembled ‘loyal chiefs’ McLean stated that in terms of land and ownership of land “no fixed law on the subject could be said to exist, except the ‘law of might’”.⁸³ While the right of conquest was an important principle in nineteenth century Māori society, McLean seems to have elevated raupatu high above the other rights of inheritance, occupation, gifting and discovery. McLean also appears to have understood raupatu to be an absolute, where the ‘conquered’ retained no right of occupation or ownership. At Kohimarama McLean elaborated further:

Powerful tribes took possession of land by driving off or exterminating the original inhabitants. Those in turn drove off other less-powerful tribes. The conqueror enjoyed the property while he had the power of keeping it.⁸⁴

While McLean went on to argue that with the arrival of Christianity many of the conquered people had been able to return to some of their lands, his thinking is still

⁸² “The Effect of ‘Mana’ on Native Tenure”, “Opinions of Various Authorities on Native Tenure”, *AJHR*, 1890, G.1, pp.15-16 The memorandum was signed by Tamati Tautuhi (Ngāti Porou, Aku Aku, Gisborne); Hamuera Mahupuku, (Ngāti Kahungunu, Kehemane, Wairarapa); Hoani Paraone Tunuiarangi, (Ngāti Kahungunu Hinana, Wairarapa); Hemi Matenga (Whakapuaka, Nelson); Wi Parata Kakakura (Ngāti Toa, Waikanae); Raniera Erihana (Ngāti Awa, Waikanae); Hone Omipi (Tiamana Komiti Maori Takiwa o Kawhia, Ngāti Maniapoto, Otorohanga, Waikato); Pepene Eketone (Ateha o te Kooti Whenua Maori, of Ngāti Maniapoto, Karakariki, Waikato); Hamiora Mangakahia (Ateha Kooti Whenua Maori, Whangapoua, Hauraki), Paratene Ngata (Ngāti Porou, Wai-o-matatini, Waiapu Gisborne).

⁸³ Donald McLean, Chief Commissioner for the Purchase of Native Lands, “Speech at the Conference of Native chiefs”, July 1860, reprinted *AJHR*, 1890, G-2, p.2

⁸⁴ McLean, “Speech at the Conference of Native chiefs”, July 1860, *AJHR*, 1890, G-2, p.2

dominated by the strict dichotomy between conquerors and the conquered, or in his words “these two classes of claimants.”⁸⁵

‘TAKE RAUPATU’ PURCHASES IN WAIRAU AND MANAWATŪ

The New Zealand Company’s land purchase methodology deserves some mention. It was the Company that first attempted to buy lands in the Wairarapa. Before the Company went out of business in 1850, it had considerable influence in the New Munster Provincial Government, having been made the official colonising agent in 1847.⁸⁶ In purchasing land around Cook Strait, the New Zealand Company tended to overemphasise the dominance of one ‘iwi’ over others in districts where there had been ‘conquest.’ In the Port Nicholson purchase, for example, representatives of the New Zealand Company had, in the late 1830s, negotiated only with those whom they regarded as the ‘conquering tribes’. Colonel Wakefield, in particular, was said to deal only with the conquerors in purchase negotiations.

WAIRAU

The same is also true in the Northern South Island where the New Zealand Company’s ‘purchase’ of the area was ‘investigated’ by William Spain.⁸⁷ After a ‘cursory’ investigation of customary rights in the area, Spain ruled that the former inhabitants of the area were mere remnant people, exterminated or enslaved with those remaining living at the sufferance of the invaders. Spain’s report made specific mention of Rangitāne:

...in the Middle [South] Island, the tribe Rangitane, the original occupants, is reduced to a mere remnant, living in the interior, without any fixed dwelling places, and even now hunted down by [Te] Rauparaha and his retainers.⁸⁸

When the Crown, in the form of Governor George Grey, came to purchase the Wairau area from Ngāti Toa during 1847, it did so in a ‘blanket’ purchase of a vast area from

⁸⁵ McLean, “Speech at the Conference of Native chiefs”, July 1860, *AJHR*, 1890, G-2, p.2

⁸⁶ Rigby, p.4; Stirling, vol.1 pp.30ff

⁸⁷ For a full account of this *korero*, including how Rangitāne o Wairau actively resisted the government’s policy please refer to Armstrong, ‘Right of Deciding’.

⁸⁸ *BPP*, vol.5 (203), p.227, quoted in Armstrong, ‘Right of Deciding’, p.54

Wairau down to Kaiapoi.⁸⁹ Grey based the sale on the authority of three Ngāti Toa rangatira who were not resident in Wairau and whose claim to anything other than a small portion of the sale area, a number of leading historians, as well as the Waitangi Tribunal itself, have questioned. The *Ngāi Tahu Report*, which was fiercely critical of the purchase, states:

Grey made no attempt to determine if tribes other than Ngāti Toa held rights within the block.⁹⁰

Yet over twenty years later, during the 1879 Smith-Nairn Commission into the Wairau purchase, Grey stated that he had determined the sale boundaries by purchasing:

... the entire interest of the North Island Natives who had conquered the tribes of the Middle [South] Island, and by native custom became the owners of certain lands there...the impression in my mind was that I purchased all they had a right to...⁹¹

In doing this Grey, assisted by his staff which included Henry Tacy Kemp, demonstrated that the mana of a few conquering chiefs was sufficient to justify a vast purchase on which a number of other tribes lived, including both the ‘conquered’ and other ‘conquering’ tribes like Ngāti Rarua.⁹² Yet one may infer from a comment made by Grey on the sale, that the Wairau sale constituted a satisfactory model that could and should be reproduced elsewhere:

As the great majority of the land questions which had formed subjects of dispute and discussion have now been disposed of, and as the natives have now become accustomed to Europeans, and understand that the laws and regulations of the Government must be respected and obeyed, I have no doubt that now the uniform system of purchasing from them such districts in their *bonâ fide* possession as may be required by the Government is adopted,

⁸⁹ Armstrong, ‘Right of Deciding’, pp.58ff

⁹⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, p.393, quoted in Armstrong, ‘Right of Deciding’, p.60

⁹¹ Grey, MA 67/4, Archives NZ, quoted in Armstrong, ‘Right of Deciding’, p.60

⁹² See Armstrong, ‘Right of Deciding’, p.62

that no further disputes on the subject of land will take place throughout the southern portions of New Zealand.⁹³

“TRIBAL NAMES & BOUNDARIES”



(AJHR, 1870, D23-24)

The map is originally in colour with the iwi names in red, Rangitāne are mentioned only on the western side with the entire east coast from Mahia to Cape Palliser as 'Ngatikahungunu'.

⁹³ Grey to Earl Grey, 26 March 1847, *BPP*, [IUP, vol.6 (892)], pp.8-9; quoted in Armstrong, 'Right of Deciding', p.62 [Italics in original]

MANAWATŪ

As it had in Wellington and the Northern South Island, the New Zealand Company sought to purchase lands along the Manawatū-Horowhenua Coast with the same methodology. Colonel Wakefield regarded Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaupoko as having no mana whenua being “the miserable remnant of the original people.”⁹⁴ In the view of Lindsay Buick, this predisposition to identify the ‘conquerors’ and deal only with them was then carried over into the land purchasing activities of the New Munster Provincial Government and then the Wellington Provincial Government during the 1850s. In Buick’s words, as a result of the policy only to deal with the conquerors:

... it is not surprising that they [Land Purchase Department personnel] opened their negotiations [in the Manawatū] with the Ngatiraukawa chiefs, and not with the Rangitane or Ngatiapa people.⁹⁵

It appears that the right of Rangitāne o Manawatū to sell the Ahuaturanga Block (Upper Manawatū - the future site of Palmerston North) was only accepted by the Land Purchase Department officials (overseen by McLean) at the sufferance of Ngāti Raukawa.⁹⁶

6. THE PURCHASE OF THE WAIRARAPA

There is some evidence, examined below, that the tendencies discussed above had some influence on the Crown’s understanding of customary tenure in the Wairarapa during the key 1850s purchase period. When agents of the Land Purchase Department entered the district in 1850, their methodology appeared to emphasise that the occupants of the district were Ngāti Kahungunu iwi and that locating and securing the ‘principal rangatira’ of the district would be the key mechanism of purchase. This section will not try and retell the story of the 1850s purchases, instead it will highlight those issues that may have had an impact on Rangitāne.

⁹⁴ T. L. Buick, *Old Manawatu: The Wild Days of the West*, Palmerston North, 1903, p.154

⁹⁵ Buick, *Old Manawatu*, p.155

⁹⁶ Buick, *Old Manawatu*, p.157, see also Anderson & Pickens, *Wellington District: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatu*, Rangahaua Whanui Series, August 1996, p.10

Like their Ngāti Kahungunu neighbours and relatives, there is evidence that at least some of Rangitāne had encouraged Pākehā to settle among them in the Wairarapa. Frederick Weld, for example, wrote in his diary that Retimana Te Korou of Hāmua-Rangitāne and a leading rangatira of Kaikokirikiri⁹⁷ had invited him and other Europeans to lease his lands on the Whareama basin.⁹⁸ Rangitāne saw both the advantages in having Pākehā living amongst them, as well as the advantages of keeping their land. Like their Ngāti Kahungunu whanaunga, the people of Rangitāne generally shared in the fortunes of the period of the ‘squatters’, and the misfortunes of the Crown’s hurried purchase of almost the entire district during 1853-54. People of distinctive Rangitāne descent, however, also had their own specific experience within the alienation process as the Crown seems to have completely ignored their identity as a separate and distinct people.

IMPORTANCE OF ‘PRINCIPAL MEN’

The Castlepoint ‘purchase’ was the first of the 1853-54 transactions. Apart from its massive size, it is worth noting that this sale has been described as the “strategic opening” in the way it opened up the district to further transactions.⁹⁹

In this transaction McLean relied greatly on the figure of Te Hāpuku, a resident of Hawke’s Bay with links and some authority into the Wairarapa. Prior to Castlepoint, McLean in his Ahuriri purchase activities developed a purchase strategy that centred on using the influence of a small number of chiefs whom McLean identified as the ‘principal rangatira’ as leverage to induce others to sell and also to legitimise the Crown’s purchases.¹⁰⁰

McLean’s purchase methodology was demonstrated most clearly during the Waipukurau purchase in which McLean dealt with Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Te Whatu-i-apiti as the principal man of influence. McLean seems to have been so impressed with the co-operation afforded to him over the purchase, even calling the Waipukurau

⁹⁷ H.A. Ballara, ‘Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu’, pp. 217ff

⁹⁸ Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, p.33

⁹⁹ Stirling, vol.1, p.83

¹⁰⁰ See Vincent O’Malley, ‘The Ahuriri Purchase: An Overview Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust’, 1995.

“Te Hapuku’s block”, that he sought to use and enhance Te Hāpuku’s authority to facilitate further sales throughout the Hawke’s Bay and into the Wairarapa.¹⁰¹

I consider moreover that this liberal treatment of Te Hapuku’s claims is likely to ensure that chief’s friendly cooperation in purchasing the whole of the country from Hawkes Bay to the Wairarapa, of which districts, comprising upwards of 300,000 acres, he is allowed to be the most influential and powerful chief.¹⁰²

In line with McLean’s understanding of iwi and the fact that Ngāti Kahungunu essentially populated the Wairarapa, McLean then brought Te Hāpuku into the critical transaction at Castlepoint. Ballara has argued that McLean actively elevated the importance of Te Hāpuku, promoting him to a position akin to being the paramount chief of Ngāti Kahungunu, even though he “knew the people of the Wairarapa were independent of the Heretaunga chiefs.” Ballara concludes:

The realities of chieftainship [however] ensured that eventually McLean’s policies of treating Te Hapuku as ‘paramount chief of Hawke’s Bay’, with authority also over Wairarapa, would fail.¹⁰³

Indeed, as the decade wore on, McLean’s use of Te Hāpuku became increasingly controversial, with one contested Hawke’s Bay purchase in 1857-58 provoking an outbreak of open warfare that effectively reduced Te Hāpuku’s usefulness to the Crown.¹⁰⁴ However, for McLean’s purposes in the Wairarapa, Te Hāpuku’s intervention created enough momentum to ensure that many more deeds would be signed in the coming months. While Te Hāpuku was only involved in another six Wairarapa transactions, McLean soon found and elevated other ‘principal chiefs’ who could facilitate the purchase of ‘Ngāti Kahungunu’s Wairarapa lands’.

Barry Rigby’s report has examined the intricate mechanics of the purchases in some detail. His study nicely illustrates the roles and positions of chiefs like Te Manihera Te Rangitakaiwaho, who signed nineteen deeds. Among the transactions Te Manihera was involved in was the Kohangawariwari purchase, on which the settlement of

¹⁰¹ Barry Rigby (with Andrew Francis), ‘Wairarapa Crown Purchases 1853-1854’, December 2002, (Wai 863, #A33), pp.6-7

¹⁰² McLean to Colonial Secretary, 29 December 1851, *BPP*, vol.8, (1476), pp.63-64, quoted in Rigby, p.6

¹⁰³ Ballara, ‘Origins of Kahungunu’, p.490

Kaikokirikiri stood. Te Manihera took part in this purchase, with his name appearing at the top of the deed, even though he did not reside there.

Rather than base the transactions on residing descent groups, which McLean essentially ignored, most of the purchases relied heavily on a small number of chiefs.¹⁰⁵ Another important chief in McLean's strategy was Raniera Te Iho o Te Rangi. Raniera signed eleven deeds, including the Turanganui sale in which McLean facilitated the transaction by ensuring that Raniera received a substantial Crown grant of land on the coast. In defending this award McLean told his superiors, including both Governor Grey and the Secretary of State for the Colonies back in England, that it was "very desirable to secure such possessions to principal chiefs under titles from the Crown."¹⁰⁶

Similarly, Wiremu Kingi Tutepakihirangi (who signed fourteen deeds) and Te Manihera both received large individual Crown grants.¹⁰⁷ This practice was desirable because it established a mutually beneficial relationship between the government and the 'principal chiefs' that involved both land and recognition.¹⁰⁸ McLean's methodology essentially constructed the 'principal men' to assist in the purchase process. In doing this McLean was able to essentially 'bypass' the established and usually older leadership, such as Ngatuere Tawhao (of both Ngāti Kahungunu and Hāmua affiliations), who were reluctant to sell.¹⁰⁹ Once the government had a 'critical mass' of 'principal men', older rangatira like Te Korou were drawn into the process. While he had opposed the district sale in 1848-49 and had written to McLean to protest the sale of Castlepoint, Retimana Te Korou went on to sign the deed of sale.¹¹⁰ As Ballara describes it:

¹⁰⁴ See Rigby, p.41

¹⁰⁵ See Merata Kawharau & Katie Poledniok, 'Wairarapa Ki Tararua – Customary Tenure Overview', December 2002, (Wai 863, #A36), p.186ff

¹⁰⁶ McLean to Civil Secretary, 7 September 1853; enclosure in Grey to Newcastle, 27 September 1853, BPP, vol.10, pp.277-278, quoted in Rigby, p.35

¹⁰⁷ Rigby, p.45

¹⁰⁸ Along with assisting the Crown's purchasing efforts, there is also evidence that McLean's approach tended to inflate the position of younger chiefs. See Rigby, pp.35, 46.

¹⁰⁹ See Rigby, p.47

¹¹⁰ Retimana Te Korou to McLean, 22 December 1852, cited in Smith, 'Tukuwhenua', p164; Walzl p.351

However, to preserve something for themselves from the maelstrom of land-selling the older chiefs, whose mana would have earlier gone unchallenged, became sellers themselves.¹¹¹

The same could also be said about dynamics between different descent groups. Rangatira like Te Korou had his own personal pattern of rights and mana in the rohe. Likewise he was the defender of the rights and mana of his whanau and his hapū. Back in 1848-49 during the abortive purchase discussions, for example, Te Korou along with Hakaraia and Te Rangiwakatakauru (although the letter is written in the first person) wrote to Kemp to express their concern that lower valley rangatira were preparing to sell the rohe. The letter stated:

...this is another message from me to you so you may know about the place those Maori are discussing. That place is of common interest to the people of the Wairarapa. Then there is here, this part of our lands and this again is us the Maori of this place. I will not unite my rangatiratanga with that of the people of Wairarapa. Sir, Kemp, listen very carefully. If the Maori are agreeable, and agreeable also to the discussion of the people of the Wairarapa, [we] the people of the Kauru [upper Ruamahanga River] will cease to hold tight and good...

...The people of Wairarapa are angered and this is why they are calling for them alone to tuku the land. It is not good that they alone should claim the land. This is Te Retimana whom is notable to come. We are working. We the Māori want to discuss this and listen to you both. We arrived to talk but the people of Wairarapa did not.¹¹²

While there may need to be further refining of the translation, this letter does show two important things. That Retimana Te Korou saw his mana and rights to land as distinct and subject to no one. Secondly, Retimana acted on behalf of his people and their distinct interests, rather than acting alone on his own authority. Just as the older chiefs were drawn into the signing of deeds, so too were the various descent groups within the rohe. With McLean's emphasis being on dealing with 'the principal men of Ngatikahungunu', however, those who claimed occupation of the land from Rangitāne would have been at a distinct disadvantage. Needless to say, McLean's

¹¹¹ Carter & Ballara, 'Te Retimana Te Korou', *DNZB*, vol.1, p.466

¹¹² Retimana Te Korou, Hakarare and Te Rangiwakatakauru to Kemp, 28 November 1848, quoted in Smith, 'Tukuwhenua', pp103-5; Walzl pp213-214

‘frequent signers’ of purchase deeds contained only two who could claim Rangitāne connections and one of those is recorded as being Te Hāpuku himself.¹¹³

WAIRARAPA TRANSACTIONS

It is worth noting from the outset that the speed of the Wairarapa purchase was break neck, if not reckless.¹¹⁴ The hurried and arbitrary timing and pace of the Wairarapa purchases process was based on something as indulgent as Governor Grey’s pending departure from the colony. Evidently, Grey wanted to see the majority of the Wairarapa comprehensively purchased as his last great act of office. Grey wrote to his superior in England:

I therefore thought it my duty, before quitting this part of New Zealand, to visit the Wairarapa district, and to request the natives to let me have the satisfaction before... [departing] for England of seeing this [land] question settled; I then earnestly recommended them to adopt an arrangement which I detailed to them, which appeared to me in all respects calculated to promote their own interests as well as those of the European population.¹¹⁵

Along with using his mana as Governor during the August hui, Grey even contributed £2000 of his own putea towards the purchase programme when the provincial purse became exhausted due to the pace of transactions.¹¹⁶

Following in Grey’s wake were McLean and his staff, who in only ten months secured over fifty deeds of sale covering almost the entire rohe. As a result of this haste, the purchases were fundamentally flawed even by the standards of the time. Under the direction of McLean, sales were finalised without proper surveys, boundaries were not properly defined and the acreage not finalised.¹¹⁷ As a result, the Crown overestimated the area of land being purchased, money was given to the wrong people and not distributed properly, and promised reserves were frequently not

¹¹³ See Rigby, p.ix. Dr Rigby’s compilation of statistics, maps and biographical detail (particularly his use of the Register of Chiefs) is invaluable.

¹¹⁴ Rigby, p.9

¹¹⁵ Grey to Newcastle, 27 September 1853, *BBP*, vol 10, p.275, cited in Rigby, p.9

¹¹⁶ Rigby, p.14

¹¹⁷ See Rigby, pp.9ff

laid out.¹¹⁸ The situation was compounded by the paucity of official records made during the alienation process.¹¹⁹ On this basis alone, there can be no certainty that McLean and his officials had adequately assessed and determined the intricate pattern of customary ownership in the rohe. While undoubtedly many of those who signed the deeds of sale and accepted money, excluding perhaps the children who ‘signed’, had rights in the land being sold, it is impossible to say that these were exclusive rights or even a significant degree of right.

Even Pākehā of the time knew this to be the case. C.O. Davis, a land purchase officer and translator who had published books on Maori matters, informed the Board of Inquiry into Native Matters in 1856 that:

The claims of a New Zealander [Māori] to land are of a diversified character, the solution of which requires much time and patient perseverance; indeed, to a casual observer, they appear so entangled, that the task of unravelling them seems an entirely hopeless one.

Davis also warned that:

The grounds upon which the various claims are sought to be established by the natives are not always understood by those who purchase.¹²⁰

There were certainly instances where discontent was expressed to Crown officials. During his work in the Wairarapa surveying for the Land Purchase Department, W.M. Smith reported back to Wellington that he had come across Māori who told him ‘all sorts of things’ about the purchases. One group had claimed that they had sold a vast area east of the Ruamahanga, while another stated that ‘none is sold and that they have no intention of selling.’¹²¹ The numerous protestations and complaints by Wairarapa Māori over the 1850s sales also led to the embittered Searancke being removed from the district.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Rigby, p.20ff. Ngatuere, for example, was paid over £54 by Heaphy for the Manawātū Block, even though he had not signed the deed of sale, Innes, p.34.

¹¹⁹ Certainly there is no record of what was said or agreed to as Grey’s ‘komiti nui’ in August 1853, Rigby, p.19

¹²⁰ C.O. Davis, ‘Nature of the Maori land Tenure and Claims’, Further Papers to the Committee into Native Affairs, *BPP*, 1860 (2919), p.311

¹²¹ W.N. Smith to Dillon Bell, 5 April 1854, Bagnall Papers, ATL, cited in Rigby, p.27

¹²² Needless to say, Searancke was not missed by Wairarapa Māori, see Rigby, p.95

THE DEEDS – ‘Ngā Rangatira me Ngā Tangata o Ngātikahungunu’

For the purposes of this report, the deeds are interesting for what they do not say about Rangitāne. Not one of the 1853-54 purchase deeds refers to Rangitāne or any of the distinct Rangitāne descent groups. Of all the deeds acquired during 1853 and 1854, the overwhelming majority referred to the vendors as being “the chiefs and people of Ngatikahungunu”, with others being simply “Nga Rangatira o Ngatikahungunu”. The remaining deeds, with the exception of the Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Tama/Te Atiawa deed, make no reference to the vendor’s iwi or hapū affiliation.¹²³ This is despite the fact that when reviewing the names listed in Turton’s deeds, representatives of Rangitāne o Wairarapa and Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua identified a significant number of Hāmua signatories to the following deeds.¹²⁴

‘NGATIKAHUNGUNU’ DEEDS WITH HĀMUA SIGNATORIES

<i>Block</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Turton’s Reference</i>	<i>Vendors</i>
Te Oreore	18-10-1853	(#94, p. 273)	Ngatikahungunu
Manawatu	10-12-1853	(#102, p.284)	Ngatikahungunu
Makoura	10-12-1853	(#103, p.285)	Ngatikahungunu
Ahiaruhe	04-01-1854	(#120, p.305)	Ngatikahungunu
Kuhangawariwari ¹²⁵	11-01-1854	(#125, p.310)	Ngatikahungunu
Te Karamu	27-12-1854	(#131, p.318)	Ngatikahungunu

There are a number of possible reasons as to why the key legal documents legitimising the purchase of an entire district do not adequately reflect the complex makeup of the tangata whenua. As discussed above the purchase of the district was essentially hasty and sloppy. William Fox, New Zealand Statesmen, Premier and bitter political opponent of McLean, certainly thought the Wairarapa transactions were among the worst the Crown had ever negotiated. Fox told the Colonial Secretary in 1857:

... these [Wairarapa] transactions have been of so very loose a character and so much is said to turn on the promises of Mr McLean’s that the terms of the deed are no guarantee for the facts.¹²⁶

¹²³ The West Side of Lake Deed (1 September 1853) does make reference in the particulars to the hapū of ‘Ngatitama’ having a place reserved for them at Hinakitaka, on the southern coast towards Wellington. *Turton’s Land Deeds of the North Island*, vol.10, no.88, p.268

¹²⁴ Private correspondence to Author.

¹²⁵ Ngāti Moe signatories also identified.

¹²⁶ Fox to Colonial Secretary, 22 February, 6 March 1857, IA 14/6, ANZ, Cited in Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p.133, Rigby, p.82

While the Wairarapa transactions have been overshadowed by the disastrous Waitara transaction of 1859-1860, in which McLean would play a guiding role, Wairarapa Māori have felt the effects of the 1850s purchases for generations. By ignoring the identity of Rangitāne and its constituent parts like Hāmua, the Crown gave a strong indication of its flawed purchase methodology. The fact that the deeds did not align with reality, as Fox states above, was not based on ignorance. McLean knew at least a little about the people of the Wairarapa. In July 1853, for example, he noted that Ngatuere was a “principal chief of the Hamua section of Wairarapa tribes.”¹²⁷

As shown above, many Pākehā of the day along with key Crown officials viewed Rangitāne as a conquered and decimated remnant people. While the situation in the Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe was quite different from that of the Manawatū or even Wairau¹²⁸, there is some evidence suggesting that McLean’s dichotomy of ‘conquerors’ and ‘conquered’ was applied during the 1850s. In responding to the growing criticism from Māori that the title of land in the Wairarapa had been inadequately determined, McLean appears to have prepared during the 1860s a memorandum defending his Wairarapa work.

In this document, a rare glimpse into how the true owners of the land were determined, McLean states that the Crown had to investigate “various complications of native title.” Most significantly it had to adjust “claims of conquerors and conquered” as well as to assess the claims “of various subdivisions of the same tribe”.¹²⁹ One can infer from this that of the two divisions of claims that McLean dealt with, Rangitāne were possibly considered as the ‘conquered’, while those who traced descent to Ngāti Kahungunu were considered the ‘conquerors’. If this was the case, then there may have been a tendency on the part of McLean and other Crown officials to lessen, overlook or dismiss the claims of those whose ancestral ties to the land came from Rangitāne. Given the rapid pace of events and the lack of detailed or even partial records of these ‘considered deliberations’, it is possible that at the whim of a constructed paradigm, Rangitāne’s interests were qualitatively diminished.

¹²⁷ McLean minute, [*circa*] 3 July 1853, cited in Smith, ‘Tukuwhenua’, p.181; Walzl, p.362

¹²⁸ Although it is highly disputable as to whether Rangitāne in either the Wairau or the Manawatū were ‘conquered’ as Pākehā understood it.

¹²⁹ Untitled, undated manuscript, McLean papers, f 35B, Turnbull Library, quoted in Rigby, p.43

McLean's 1860s memorandum seems to be consistent with a letter he wrote in 1856 explaining the workings of his department to the Governor:

The duties of these [land purchase] officers have been defined by instructions issued to them from time for time for their guidance, and they have been particularly directed to make themselves acquainted with the natives of their districts, to investigate their various and conflicting claims to land, and, in order to trace this out, a knowledge of the genealogical history of the tribes, their conquest, and all the subjects connected with the nature of their tenure, was considered necessary, in order to qualify the commissioners for this difficult and sometimes very perplexing duty.¹³⁰

Certainly the Crown was aware that descent groups like Hāmua were present in not insignificant numbers. A number of rangatira in the 1860s 'Register of Chiefs' are noted as being of Hāmua descent, yet the register usually records this significant descent group as a mere sub-category of Ngāti Kahungunu.¹³¹

The Crown's view of Rangitāne as 'conquered' could also have induced some members of the iwi to emphasise their Ngāti Kahungunu whakapapa. This phenomenon seems to have occurred in Te Tau Ihu, for example, where the burden of carrying the 'conquered' label for some Rangitāne may have, understandably, induced them to emphasise other lines of descent to enhance their claim to the whenua. This was particularly true when Crown agents, counter-claimants and the Native Land Court "ignored or belittled" the interests of the so-called 'conquered'.¹³² This also may explain why Elsdon Best came to the conclusion in 1918, that the Rangitāne who stayed in the Wairarapa after the migration to Te Tau Ihu, "assumed the tribal name of Ngati Kahungunu."¹³³ Certainly the majority of deeds in the following decade also reflected the established paradigm that "Ngatikahungunu" were the vendors. This is illustrated by a further list of blocks that contained a number of Hāmua signatories but who were listed as "Ngatikahungunu".¹³⁴

¹³⁰ McLean to Private Secretary, 4 June 1856, *BPP*, 1860, (2719), p.306

¹³¹ Rigby, p.47

¹³² See Armstrong, 'Right of Deciding', p.9

¹³³ Best, *The Land of Tara*, p.36

¹³⁴ Private correspondence from Rangitāne to Author.

FURTHER DEEDS WITH HĀMUA SIGNATORIES

<i>Block</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Turton's Reference</i>	<i>Vendors</i>
Kopuaranga	08-08-1855	(#136, p. 325)	Ngatikahungunu
Te Whiti	22-08-1855	(#138, p.327)	Ngatikahungunu
Maungaraki	22-01-1856	(#141, p.329)	Ngatikahungunu
Whangaehu	24-03-1858	(#142, p.330)	Ngatikahungunu
Ngaawapurua	23-04-1858	(#144, p.332)	Rangitane ¹³⁵
Kuhangawariwari	27-05-1858	(#145, p.334)	Ngatikahungunu
Kaiaho&Kuripuni	26-06-1858	(#148, p.339)	Ngatikahungunu
Manaia	28-06-1858	(#150, p.340)	Ngatikahungunu
Matapihi & Rangitumau	28-06-1858	(#151, p.341)	Ngatikahungunu
Tirohanga	28-06-1858	(#152, p.342)	Ngatikahungunu
Te Kopi	08-10-1858	(#153, p.343)	Ngatikahungunu
Whaio	31-01-1859	(#156, p.347)	Ngatikahungunu
Tupapokia	31-01-1859	(#157, p.350)	Ngatikahungunu
Korakonui & Ngapaika	04-02-1859	(#158, p.351)	Ngatikahungunu
Raparimu	14-01-1860	(#164, p.359)	Ngatikahungunu
Otahua	27-03-1860	(#166, p.362)	Ngatikahungunu
Te Whanga	29-03-1860	(#168, p.365)	Ngatikahungunu
Tauheru	22-01-1863	(#173, p.371)	Ngatikahungunu
Te Kohutu	16-05-1863	(#176, p.374)	Ngatikahungunu
Whangaehu	11-04-1864	(#177, p.375)	Ngatiteumu
Kopuaranga	11-04-1864	(#178, p.377)	Ngatikahungunu

DISSENT

Rangitāne dissent over the land sales was on the whole not distinctively different from that of the rest of the tangata whenua in the Wairarapa. While status of Rangitāne descent groups had been minimised by the alienation process, many people of Rangitāne descent were involved in the process and waited for full payment and the promised reserves. While the identity of Rangitāne's whānui had been ignored in the process, there is no evidence to suggest that any protest or ill feeling was directed towards Ngāti Kahungunu whānui or any other descent group in the rohe. Instead, Rangitāne's argument was with the Crown.

Apart from periodic protests on the ground, words were said at the Crown-initiated 'loyalist' conference of chiefs at Kohimarama in 1860. The report on the Kohimarama Conference, published in the *AJHR*, gives a list of 'Native Chiefs who took their seat in the conference'.¹³⁶ The representatives from Wairarapa Māori are all described as 'Ngatikahungunu', even though there were rangatira of Rangitāne descent present. Karaitiana Te Korou, who represented Kaikokirikiri at Kohimarama,

¹³⁵ This was Rangitāne o Manawatū, see below.

¹³⁶ *AJHR*, E – 9, 1860, p.402

was probably the most prominent member of the iwi at the conference. With Wiremu Waka, Karaitiana expressed his growing anger over the continuing wait for full payment:

Our lands are sold to you, but we have not yet received the payment, and we have become like dogs through waiting for the price of our lands.¹³⁷

Even though they had attended the Kohimarama hui, Karaitiana and his whanau clearly became hoha with the delays in the Crown fulfilling its sale obligations. As a result, within a few years the Te Korou whanau were viewed by the Crown with suspicion, suspecting them of being followers of the Kingitanga.¹³⁸

The King Movement certainly received a great deal of support in the Wairarapa during the mid-1860s. While this support was largely passive, there were some physical displays of discontent with government. In a show of defiance during 1863, Masterton Pākehā became alarmed when the ‘Te Ore Ore Natives’ along with Māori from Ngairoi Pa and Hurunuiarangi at Gladstone, began to parade up and down the main street venting their anger with haka and carrying weapons.¹³⁹

On the whole, however, Rangitāne whānui attempts to retain their lands, assert their identity and compel the Crown to honour its purchase obligations were directed at petitioning and most importantly litigation in the Native Land Court.¹⁴⁰

NATIVE LAND COURT IN WAIRARAPA

With the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865, those lands that remained in Māori hands (mostly undefined reserves) were investigated to determine title. The title investigation and partition process absorbed a great deal of Rangitāne whānui time and energy during the late nineteenth century. The Te Korou whanau, for example, was heavily involved in land hearings, with the family being awarded interests in a number of blocks. The Innes report lists the blocks in which the children of Retimana Te Korou were given an interest.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ ‘Reply From Ngatikahungunu’, cited in Innes, p.31

¹³⁸ Carter & Ballara, ‘Te Retimana Te Korou’, *DNZB*, p.466,

¹³⁹ Charles Bannister, “Early Wairarapa”, *Wairarapa Times-Age*, 4 May 1939; Also Joseph Ions, *Early Masterton*, Masterton, 1929, p.9

¹⁴⁰ See for example Karaitiana Te Korou’s 1877 petition over the Manaia block, Innes, p.60

¹⁴¹ See Innes, pp.55-56, 61

Without getting into the details of the individual cases, the overall activity of Rangitāne whānui in the Native Land Court during the late nineteenth century reveals the extensive areas where Rangitāne descent groups, based on ancestral inheritance, had interests.¹⁴² A number of claims for land were presented to the Native Land Court around the Wairarapa rohe on behalf of Hāmua. In all these cases, those representing Hāmua (Ihaka Te Moe, Hōri Niania Te Aroatua, Te Wanunu, Karaitiana Te Turuki (Te Korou) and Mānihera Maaka) all traced their descent back to Rangitāne. Ballara notes that in “no cases was it traced from Kahungunu or by any other ancestral line.”¹⁴³

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, Rangitāne whānui asserted their claims to land in a number of cases throughout the rohe. A selection, but not exhaustive list, includes a number of blocks in the middle valley area: Te Whiti block (heard 17 October 1868); Maungaraki (26 October 1872); Kopuaranga (17 October 1892, 11 December, 1895); Te Karamu [Kumurau] (15 May 1896); Ngatapu No.2 (19 September 1871); Tararua (3 June 1881). While in the lower valley Rangitāne claims were asserted in a number of blocks that included: Te Kopi [Waitutuma] (7 June 1895); Wairarapa Lake (7 November 1883); and Ngā-waka-ā-Kupe (24 November 1890, 13 April 1892).

During the Wairarapa Moana Block hearing of 1883, Marakaia Tawaroa made it quite clear that while Rangitāne whānui did not have exclusive claims, they did have legitimate claims to the area. Tawaroa stated:

From Te Whakamana to Rāua’s time we have lived there... I claim through the Rangitāne tribe. Rangitāne and their descendants are still residing there.¹⁴⁴

Rangitāne efforts before the land court would reach a climax in the Ngā-waka-ā-Kupe case in 1890. Judge Alexander Mackay, who was fluent in Te Reo, determined that while they did not have exclusive interests, those claiming under Rangitāne did have substantial interests in the area. In his judgement Mackay stated:

¹⁴² Cited in Chrisp, *JPS*, 1993, p54-55. He gives the following examples of Native Land Court Case where the ancestral rights of hapū descended from Rangitāne were asserted. WMB 1-G 1869:2; WMB 2 1871:19,20; WMB 7 1888:244-303).

¹⁴³ Ballara, ‘Ngāti Kahungunu’, p.160

¹⁴⁴ Chrisp, ‘He Kōrero Tuku, Rangitāne Traditional History’, p.22; Marakaia Tawaroa in WMB 4 1883: 128

With regard to the lands by the boundary from Te Tatu to Waingawa and Maungarake, the court has found that in cases of lands in that district dealt with before previous courts the Rangitane'[s] had been found to be the strongest claim to those lands and that some of those lands were given by Rangitane to N'Kahungunu at some considerable time after the fight at Okahu.¹⁴⁵

For all its faults, of which there were many, the Native Land Court did at least allow some investigation of the complexity of customary tenure in small parts of the Wairarapa. If the customary tenure of the 1850s purchase blocks had been properly investigated, there can be little doubt that Rangitāne whānui would have had considerable (though not the majority nor exclusive) interests in the rohe.

7. TAMAKI-NUI-Ā-RUA

Some attention should now be given to the area beyond the Wairarapa Valley into the Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua area, also known as the 'Seventy Mile Bush'. Here Rangitāne were settled in greater numbers and were generally dominant in the area, although there were other groups with interests in the area, notably Ngāti Kahungunu whānui from Southern Hawke's Bay. But it can be confidently stated that the area was a stronghold of the Rangitāne iwi with the Tararua Ranges and the bush country being the traditional bulwark for the iwi.¹⁴⁶

Peter McBurney has dealt with the alienation of this area in great detail in his report.¹⁴⁷ It is, therefore, not necessary to repeat his korero here. It is worth, however, noting the key features of the Crown's purchase methodology in this area. In particular it is worth seeing how the Crown approached Rangitāne as an iwi, how it approached the right to sell land and its understanding of mana whenua.

¹⁴⁵ Judgement in the case of Ngā-waka-ā-Kupe and other blocks, Native Land Court, Greytown North, 24 November 1890, p.54, quoted in Ballara, 'Ngāti Kahungunu', p.159 (The Judge assumed Pōuri and Ngāti Kahukuaāwhitia were of Ngāti Kahungunu.)

¹⁴⁶ Rangitāne had a cordon of pā centred on Te Reinga o Mahuru on the Raikatea Range. Here Rangitāne held their ground in the district. See Rob McDonald, *Dannevirke – The Early Years*, 2002, pp.11ff

¹⁴⁷ Peter McBurney, 'Tamaki-nui-a-Rua – Land Alienation Overview Report', December 2002 (Wai 863, #A47)

NON-RESIDENT VENDORS

For a number of reasons outlined by McBurney, the Crown's purchase of the Tamaki area was more protracted than it was in the Wairarapa. Like in Wairarapa, the Land Purchase Department under Donald McLean used a similar methodology to that in the Wairarapa. In the Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua district, however, the situation is significantly different in one respect. Unlike in the Wairarapa, the Tamaki area was without a doubt the domain of principally Rangitāne descent groups.

As with its Wairarapa purchases, Land Purchase Department officials had initially approached Te Hāpuku in Napier, but as the area was a strong hold of Rangitāne rather than Ngāti Kahungunu, it appears that the rangatira was only able to provide limited assistance to facilitate the sale of 'Tamaki'.¹⁴⁸ Despite this, Te Hāpuku was still an important participant in one 'corner stone' sale that was the first step in opening up the district.

As he had with the Castlepoint transaction, McLean initiated 'sale negotiations' in January 1854 with Te Hāpuku for the first substantial piece of land within the Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua rohe, the Tautane block.¹⁴⁹ In this transaction both Te Hāpuku and members of his family (his brother, his cousin, and his cousin's husband) along with an assortment of Wairarapa rangatira also signed, although the latter probably signed out of courtesy rather than as sellers. While Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua had substantial interests in these lands, the deed were signed essentially in secret in Wellington, removed from the substantial owners and occupants of the land. As Ballara has noted, the sale was "bitterly disputed" by the owners who were not involved in the discussions.¹⁵⁰ As a result, resident Māori expressed their fierce opposition to the sale and disrupted the survey of the block.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Paul Goldsmith, *Wairarapa*, Rangahaua Whanui Series, Waitangi Tribunal, July 1996, p.84

¹⁴⁹ McBurney, 'Tamaki-nui-a-Rua', pp.51ff

¹⁵⁰ Angela Ballara & Scott, 'Crown Purchases of Maori land in early provincial Hawke's Bay' (Wai 201), cited in McBurney, p.51

¹⁵¹ McBurney, 'Tamaki-nui-a-Rua', p.55

NGAAWAPURA TRANSACTION

After the Tautane transaction, however, Te Hāpuku was increasingly of little use to McLean and the Crown's purchase strategy.¹⁵² During 1857, Te Hāpuku accompanied G.S. Cooper (District Commissioner of the Land Purchase Department) into the Bush country to arrange a sale. Needless to say the expedition was not a success, with Cooper and his men having to carry weapons as they were in fear of there being raruraru because of the opposition to both Te Hāpuku and any sales.¹⁵³

As a result of this setback, Cooper looked to Te Hirawanu Kaimokopuna, the leading rangatira of the Puehutai settlement, to determine what it would take for them to sell their land. Te Hirawanu seems to have told Cooper, who was both new to the role and inexperienced in dealing with Māori, that they would not consider selling their lands until the land question in the Manawatū was settled. Cooper reported back to McLean that he was:

Inclined to think that they will object to treat for the sale of the Bush lands, whilst their desire to dispose of their claims on the West Coast remains unsatisfied by the Government.

In this case I venture to suggest whether it would not be expedient, looking at the vast importance of the interest of this Province of the acquisition of the Bush, to make them a payment for their claims upon the coast, as a preliminary step in the negotiation for the Bush.¹⁵⁴

Cooper had inadvertently come across the dispute over the lands 'conquered' by Ngāti Raukawa on the Wellington Coast-Manawatū.¹⁵⁵ In this dispute, Rangitāne o Manawatū, supported by their Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua kin, were reasserting their rights to lands on the West Coast that had been occupied by Ngāti Raukawa. As discussed above, the Crown had generally sided with the 'conquerors', so Te Hirawanu's message may have been a message of protest to pressure the Crown to recognise Rangitāne's interests in the west.

¹⁵² See McBurney, p.59

¹⁵³ See McBurney, p.63

¹⁵⁴ Cooper to McLean, 29 March 1857, *AJHR*, 1862, C-1, p.29

¹⁵⁵ See Anderson & Pickens, *Wellington Coast*, pp.71ff

Rangitāne in both Wairarapa and Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua seem to have taken a keen interest in the affairs of their kin, particularly as they would have had some rights in the land. As such, the following year, Searancke informed McLean that when he arrived at the Awahou in the Manawatū, he found:

... that a large party of Ngatikahungunu [sic] Natives from the Wairarapa were at different settlements on the coast agitating the principle of a general combination of all the Tribes in this District to partake equally in the money arising from the sale of any lands...¹⁵⁶

The party's proposal was essentially that the 'conquering tribe' should agree to share the district and the purchase money with the 'conquered' tribes. Searancke feared that "the principle was such as might tend to trouble and [was] of a generally mischievous tendency" as it may have provoked Ngāti Raukawa who insisted that the principal right to the district was theirs as conquerors.

Te Hirawanu's 1857 statement of support, however, appears to have been interpreted as both a rebuff and a declaration that land interests of the different Rangitāne descent groups on either side of the Tararua Ranges were interchangeable. As a result William M. Searancke the young District Commissioner who was also involved in the negotiations for the Manawatū lands, approached Rangitāne o Manawatū to discuss the sale of land to the east. Essentially, the Ngaawapura block became a casualty of the dispute over the Manawatū lands.

In April 1858 Searancke successfully concluded a deal with a number of rangatira from Rangitāne o Manawatū. The deal was struck in Wellington with an initial £100 payment made for 100,000 acres. The nine recipients of this putea were Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu, Peeti Te Aweawe and others from Rangitāne o Manawatū.¹⁵⁷

While these rangatira and their people had rights to the Bush area as kin of Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua, it is highly questionable as to whether they had a right to initiate a sale process. It is probably not worth trying to examine their motives, except to note that in the same year as the Ngaawapura Deed was signed, Rangitāne o Manawatū

¹⁵⁶ Searancke to McLean, 27 September 1858, *AJHR*, (1861, C1), p.280

¹⁵⁷ Hoani Meihana was also in a dispute over a block with Ngāti Kauwhata (a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa) who protested to Parliament with a petition in 13 June 1866.

succeeded in having their right to sell the Ahuaturanga Block recognised.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, ten years later Searancke described the return of the Ahuaturanga block:

Another act of Ngatiraukawa generosity was their consenting to the sale of the Ahoturanga Block, by the Rangitane [o Manawatū]. It was not merely assented to, but as Mr. Searancke reports, it was “formerly returned” by the different Ngatiraukawa tribes to Rangitane. He, speaking of the Rangitane says, “and who, through accidental circumstances, have again been put in possession of the lands of their forefathers.”¹⁵⁹

Importantly, Searancke went on to say, “I then succeeded in obtaining the consent of all the leading chiefs of Ngatiraukawa tribe to the sale, and the waiving by them of their claims on it.”¹⁶⁰ Clearly Searancke had made a series of deals in which the Ngaawapura block became the *quid pro quo*.

Not surprisingly, news of the Ngaawapura transaction angered Rangitāne o Tamakinui-ā-Rua, the actual occupants of the land. It also hardened their desire not to sell any portion of the land to the Crown for the time being. Te Hiriwanu, previously described as “Ngatikahungunu” during his visit to Auckland to see McLean, expressed his displeasure to Searancke.¹⁶¹

Hoani Meihana had, most unjustifiably, acted in direct opposition to the expressed desire of the people resident on the land. He did not appear to object to its being sold at a future period, but he thought Hoani had been too precipitant [sic]. They were determined not to sell any lands on the east of the Tararua (viz, in the 70 mile bush) until they had disposed of all their lands on the west side – supposing no doubt, that these lands being nearest to the Ngatiraukawas, were most likely to be disputed and claimed by them.¹⁶²

While in previous Wairarapa dealings, the purchase deed had acted as a wedge to induce other ‘principal rangatira’ to protect their interests by signing up to the sale, Te Hirawanu became intransigent in his opposition. Among other things he told

¹⁵⁸ McEwen, *Rangitāne*, p.144

¹⁵⁹ Searancke before Native Land Court, Otaki, 22 April 1868, reproduced in “Native Lands Court”, *Evening Post*, 25 April 1868

¹⁶⁰ Searancke quoted in *Evening Post*, 25 April 1868

¹⁶¹ Searancke to McLean, 27 September 1858, *AJHR*, (1861, C-1), p.280

¹⁶² ‘Journal of James Grindell’, 19 June 1858, *AJHR*, (1861, C-1), p.277

Searancke that he would not consider selling until the block had been properly surveyed and he would only sell his lands for a price per acre that Searancke thought was “too ridiculous to report.”¹⁶³

MAKURI AND IHURAU TRANSACTIONS

McLean’s formula of bringing in ‘principal rangatira’ who were able to claim even the most tenuous interest in the land through whakapapa or an imagined suzerainty was also applied to the Makuri and Ihurau purchases.¹⁶⁴ As in many previous transactions, the sale was initiated with the purchase of a number of residual interests. McLean conducted the transaction himself at Mataikona on the coast with a number of people who could claim some connection to the land in question including Wiremu Te Potangaroa, Hoera Rautu and Henare Matua.

While McLean was able to secure these signatures, he did not negotiate with the principal owners who were resident on the land. In this case the tangata whenua were Te Hirawanu and his people, a fact that McLean was aware of as the sketch map for Makuri identified Te Hirawanu and Rangitāne on the land just to the west of the block.¹⁶⁵

NATIVE LAND COURT IN TAMAKI-NUI-Ā-RUA

The advances paid to Hoani Meihana and others from the west would, however, prove to be an ominous warning of things to come in Tamaki. During the Puketoi 1 hearings in September 1870, Huru Te Hiaro, the principal chief of Te Hawera, informed the court that Rangitāne were the owners of the block and he presented forty-one names to the court, including the principal chiefs of Rangitāne, both east and west. Due to the ‘ten-owner rule’ that restricted the award to ten people, however, the court under Judge John Rogan awarded the block to a short list of both resident and non-resident Rangitāne rangatira. While the western chiefs were entitled to a portion of the block, it is unlikely that they were entitled to as much as a tenth. As a result of this and the lack of alienation restrictions, much of the block was sold.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Searancke quoted in McBurney, p.64

¹⁶⁴ McBurney, pp.67ff

¹⁶⁵ McBurney, p.73

¹⁶⁶ Paul Goldsmith, *Wairarapa*, Rangahaua Whanui Series, Waitangi Tribunal, July 1996, p.86

After a short period of purchase negotiations and advances, the bulk of the ‘Tamaki block’ was sold in August 1871. James Grindell noted that when Wirihana Kaimokopuna went to sign the deed he did so:

... with great hesitation, resting his head upon one hand and holding the pen in the other for a considerable time before affixing his signature.¹⁶⁷

The concluding acts of the Tamaki purchase consisted of a series of significant ‘koha’ payments made to Te Hāpuku and Tareha who did not take part in the original sale along with other chiefs. It has been suggested that Hoani Meihana was even given a gold watch for “the honourable part he took throughout the transaction”.¹⁶⁸ While the giving of a gift seems to be out of character with the Crown’s usual practice of giving either a Crown grant, consumables or cash, this sort of anecdotal evidence at least demonstrates the way in which the sale created division and discontent within Rangitāne whānui. Certainly Meihana would go on to play a part in other sales in the Tamaki area. This was possible because the government land purchase officials saw the Rangitāne o Manawatū chiefs as possible vendors and engaged them as such.

MANGATAINOKA BLOCK

The Mangatainoka Block (66,000 acres) had originally been part of the ‘Tamaki’ purchase, but it had been excluded from that transaction after a request from the tangata whenua to have the land reserved for Rangitāne. In 1872 the government signed a Deed of Sale with three western chiefs (Huru Te Hiaro, Te Peeti te Aweawe and Hoani Meihana) and advanced them £100 for their interests in the block.¹⁶⁹ The practice of providing ‘advances’ was known as ‘ground baiting’ and allowed the Crown a foothold in the block. McBurney has found that the main reason members of the iwi accepted the money was because of the hardship they were facing as a result of losing their harvest to floods.¹⁷⁰ From there the Crown was able to pursue other owners to sell or ask the Native Land Court to partition out its interests, which would

¹⁶⁷ Grindell to Ormund, 24 August 1871, quoted in Goldsmith, *Wairarapa*, p.88

¹⁶⁸ See Goldsmith, *Wairarapa*, p.88

¹⁶⁹ See Goldsmith, *Wairarapa*, p.92; McBurney, pp.142ff

¹⁷⁰ McBurney, p.146

result in a resurveying of the block and resulting survey liens placed on the title. This in turn would facilitate more alienation.¹⁷¹

During the 1875 partition hearing, Nireaha Tāmaki a Hāmua rangatira questioned the right of those from Manawatū to sell the land and the justice in the Native Land Court granting them such significant interests when they did not occupy the land.¹⁷² Because both the Crown’s land agents as well as the Native Land Court accepted the land claims of Rangitāne whānui from outside the Tamaki rohe, Tāmaki was forced to protest the use of “Rangitane” to describe the ownership of the block. In June 1875 Tāmaki wrote to McLean demanding, “the name of that tribe Rangitāne should be thrown down” in favour of the five resident hapū of Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua (Ngāti Mawhai, Ngāti Paetaku, Ngāti Te Wahineti, Ngāti Kuraawhango and Ngāti Tutaiaroa).¹⁷³ Because of the Crown’s misuse of whakapapa, something that was supposed to tie Māori together, Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua were forced to effectively disassociate from the name to protect their lands.

ENDURING IMPACT ON IWI IDENTITY

Not surprisingly the Crown’s marginalisation and belittling of Rangitāne, not to mention land loss, had a devastating effect on the iwi throughout Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua. Despite their efforts in the Native Land Court, Rangitāne whānui were increasingly regarded as marginal groups within Ngāti Kahungunu. For example, two well-known Rangitāne hapū of Ngāti Parakiore and Ngāti Tahoraiti were regarded as hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu during the Tahoraiti lands issue of the 1870s.¹⁷⁴ This served not only to belittle their identity but also to potentially place the mana of their lands under that of another iwi. In the understanding of ‘officialdom’, Rangitāne was simply a category under Ngāti Kahungunu. The 1919 electoral roll, for example, listed a voter from Tahoraiti as belonging to “Rangitane” a “hapu of

¹⁷¹ For the court costs issue see James Mitchell, ‘Land Alienation in the Wairarapa 1880-1900’, December 2002, (Wai 863, #A30), pp.32ff

¹⁷² See Goldsmith, *Wairarapa*, p.93

¹⁷³ Nireaha Tāmaki to Donald McLean, 19 June 1875, Native and Defence Department File no.75/3348, in Keith Cairns Papers, Turnbull, quoted in Ballara, ‘Ngāti Kahungunu’, p.158

¹⁷⁴ *AJHR*, 1874, vol.2, p.12; *AJHR*, 1878, vol.2, G-2, p.23

Ngatikahungunu’.¹⁷⁵ While in the 1949 census, Rangitāne was also listed as a mere hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu.¹⁷⁶

As a result of the Crown’s purchase methodology, which either viewed Rangitāne claims to the land as generally inferior, or accepted as vendors Rangitāne from other districts, many individuals, whanau and larger groups appear to have chosen to de-emphasise their descent from Rangitāne. In the 1896 census 317 individuals were recorded as ‘Rangitane’, by 1946 this had dropped to 85 even though Māori population increased fourfold.¹⁷⁷ More recently the Ngāti Kahungunu renaissance as well as the increasing prominence of the iwi have probably encouraged some to identify more with their Ngāti Kahungunu whakapapa than that of Rangitāne. As such, McEwan notes:

It is true that a considerable portion of the people belonging to Hawke’s Bay and Wairarapa are known as Ngati Kahungūnu, but as one moves south from Napier the Rangitāne ancestry becomes greater and greater. The truth is that Ngati Kahungūnu-ki-Wairarapa are, by descent, more Rangitāne and Ngati Ira than they are Kahungūnu. Centuries ago the term Rangitāne was loosely used to cover all of the tribes of Hawke’s Bay and Wairarapa; today Ngati Kahungūnu is often used in the same way.¹⁷⁸

Anecdotal evidence certainly suggests that there was a tendency during the mid-twentieth century for people of Rangitāne descent to see themselves as just Ngāti Kahungunu. Ballara gives the example of Rana Waitai who growing up in Dannevirke always assumed he was ‘Ngāti Kahungunu’, even though he could also whakapapa to Rangitāne.¹⁷⁹ There is a certain tragic irony in this in that the Tamakini-ā-Rua area is now noted for its distinctive Scandinavian-Pākehā heritage in a country that has become dominated by immigrants of Anglo-Celtic origin.

In the Wairarapa the question of iwi identity has become a much vexed question. Chrisp has noted:

¹⁷⁵ McBurney, p.20

¹⁷⁶ McBurney, p.23

¹⁷⁷ McBurney, p.22

¹⁷⁸ McEwan, Rangitāne, p.152

¹⁷⁹ Ballara, *Iwi*, p.281

A vigorous debate between members of Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne developed in the late 1980s, and continues to the present. The Rangitāne claims, the Kahungunu denials and the subsequent debate have all served to arouse strong feelings among Wairarapa Māori, and active interest in the Māori traditions of the area.¹⁸⁰

Peter James Himona gave one illustration of this in his biography of Richard Tahuora Himona, when he wrote that “Hamua, [was] a hapu originally of Rangitane descent, but through intermarriage by the nineteenth century [was] often regarded as a hapu of Ngati Kahungunu.”¹⁸¹ As such the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* lists Himona as neither Rangitāne, nor Hāmua, but simply as “Ngati Kahungunu”. This view of Hāmua is in stark contrast to the findings of Angela Ballara’s study of Native Land Court hearings.

This report does not wish to enter this debate, except to note that the narrow and rigid categories of ‘iwi’ employed by Crown officials and other Pākehā during the nineteenth century, are probably incompatible with Māori concepts of whakapapa, whanaungatanga, hapū and iwi.

‘ORTHODOX MYTH’

To add insult to injury, not only did many Rangitāne come to minimise their identity as an iwi but the New Zealand academics and ethnographers came to see Rangitāne as a thoroughly conquered, remnant people. Ironically, it was during the Ngā-waka-ā-Kupe case in 1890-1892 that this train of orthodox thinking was set in motion.¹⁸² During this hearing the mana whenua of Rangitāne was challenged on the basis that the iwi had been conquered. The evidence given in the first hearing was later to find its way into the hands of S. Percy Smith who reproduced it in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1904. Chrisp’s article found:

... one of Smith’s major sources of information was a Ngāti Kahungunu chief [Tūnuiarangi] whose hapū had recently competed with Rangitāne claims in the Māori [Native] Land Court. [Despite the fact that] substantial

¹⁸⁰ Chrisp, *JPS* 1993, p42.

¹⁸¹ Peter James Himona, ‘Richard Tahuora Himona 1905-1984’, *DNZB* (www.dnzb.govt.nz)

¹⁸² I would recommend Stephen Chrisp’s ‘The Māori Occupation of Wairarapa: Orthodox and Nonorthodox Versions’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 102 (1), p42, March 1993 for a full discussion of this topic.

evidence of many Wairarapa Māori identifying themselves primarily as Rangitane.¹⁸³

It should be said that Tūnuiarangi's kōrero was a product of the unhealthy world of the Native Land Court, in which Māori would be pitted against Māori for a share of the dwindling areas of land. As Professor Alan Ward has noted the Land Court:

... invited not co-operation but contention between parties who – although the Court frequently divided the land – could win all, or lose all, on the Judge's nod. It ushered in an era of bitter contesting, of lying and false evidence. The legalistic nature of the Court also instituted a costly and tedious paraphernalia of lawyers, agents, legal rules and precedents – a morass in which Maori floundered for decades, fritting away their estates in ruinous expenses and still too often not getting equitable rewards.¹⁸⁴

In writing his article Smith appears to have dismissed well-known Rangitāne informants, such as Hori Ropiha, who he regarded as being unreliable. During the case Wairarapa Māori like Wi Hikawera Mahupuku made it clear that for him, 'my *take* [right] to the land is from Rangitāne within the boundaries already described.'¹⁸⁵ Instead Smith chose to rely heavily, if not completely on one rangatira. Chrisp notes:

Tūnuiarangi (Smith's informant) was not an objective source of tradition . . . as any chief would, he had often acted to protect and foster the interests of his hapū, and of Ngāti Kahungunu in general. On occasions this meant acting against Rangitāne.¹⁸⁶

Even though Smith's original article was based on a highly partisan account in a complex court case, historians following him would fall into the bookish trap of taking '*that which is printed*' as unquestionable fact. As such, writers who followed Smith constructed a superstructure of flawed literature in which Rangitāne's status as tangata whenua was progressively diminished. Each of these successive publications served to diminish and erode Rangitāne's identity.

¹⁸³ Chrisp, (*JPS*, 1993), p.42

¹⁸⁴ Ward quoted in Vincent O'Malley, *Agents of Autonomy*, Wellington, Huia, 1998, pp.30-31

¹⁸⁵ WMB 16, 1890:10-1, Cited in Chrisp, (*JPS*, 1993), p.49

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Chrisp, (*JPS*, 1993), p.48

Likewise, in his centennial history of Featherston published ten years later by the Town's borough council, Carle wrote of:

... a dusky and war-like race of people.... the Rangitanes [who] occupied and peopled the rich, fair land of South Wairarapa, bounded from Waiohine River to Palliser Bay-Whagamoana and from the western mountain ranges to the eastern ocean coast, there to hold sway until by change of dynasty, Te Rerewa, a notable Rangitane chief ceded South Wairarapa for six canoes to the Ngatikahungunu...¹⁸⁸

Yet another variant of the story published by the Castlepoint Historical Committee in the late 1940s describes how Rangitāne, after first ceding lands to Ngāti Kahungunu in the South Wairarapa were later attacked by Ngāti Ira who were said to have captured the three principal Rāngitane pā in the Whareama district. These pā were Te Upoko-o-Takai-tauheke, Ngā Wahine-potae (on a range east of the Mangapakia), and Oruhi. The reader is left with the impression that Rangitāne had thus been removed from the scene.¹⁸⁹

A more aggressive account is given in a 1930s history of the Hawke's Bay. According to the account produced by the Hawke's Bay Centennial Committee:

This district [Hawke's Bay-Wairarapa] had become peopled by the Ngai-Tara and the Rangitane Tribes, and the Ngati-Kahungunu [under Taraia], in their process of establishing themselves, proceeded to fight and expel the local people from the district... In these fights with the invaders the people of Tara and Rangitane suffered severely. They were gradually killed or driven south out of Hawke's Bay into the South Island and eventually out of the South Island. [!] Some of course, were left behind, and these were absorbed by marriage with the Ngati-Kahungunu. Thus this now numerous tribe became established in the land and now occupy the country between Mahia in the north and Wellington in the south.¹⁹⁰

While Rangitāne had evidently been driven out of both main islands of Aotearoa, the centennial history does mention the Manawatū where:

¹⁸⁸ C.J. Carle, *Gateway to the Wairarapa*, Masterton, 1957, p.8.

¹⁸⁹ [A.G. Bagnall (ed.)], *Early Castlepoint – First Years in a Pioneer Settlement*, 1948, Masterton, p.6

¹⁹⁰ J.G. Wilson (ed.), *History of Hawke's Bay*, Wellington, 1939, pp.46-47. W.T. Prentice was credited with proving the 'Maori history'.

The Rangitane, who had been driven out of Wairarapa, were in occupation of the country on the other side of the Tararua and Ruahine Ranges.¹⁹¹

But probably the most quoted account is from Bagnall, the intrepid bibliophile and local historian who wrote in his influential ‘text book’ history of the Wairarapa that Rangitāne in return for six waka, handed over to Ngati Kahungunu:

... separate blocks within carefully specified boundaries between the Ngawakaakupe block and the Aorangi mountains as well as all the southern end of the valley from Okorewa across to Tukakirae and up the Rimutaka range to the Otairā and east to the Ruamahanga.¹⁹²

While Bagnall’s account here is probably closer to what actually took place, he goes on to say that according to the version supplied by Tamahau Mahupuku during the Ngā-waka-ā-Kupe case, on which Bagnall relies, Te Rewera and the bulk of Rangitāne then left for the South Island. When he considered the accounts of early Pākehā like Colenso and Kemp, Bagnall seems to have come to the conclusion that the Wairarapa was peopled in 1840 by “predominantly Ngatikahungunu with a sprinkling of [their] Rangitāne relatives.”¹⁹³

8. CONCLUSION

“The rule which applies to one portion of land does not apply to another; each piece of land has its own history. A great deal must be left to the discretion of the person purchasing.”

Donald McLean, Evidence before the Board of Inquiry on Native Matters, 1856.¹⁹⁴

It is generally unusual for an historical report that runs to seventy-odd pages to have been deprived at the outset from any body of primary material relating to the subject matter before it. Yet this report in trying to piece together the fortunes of Rangitāne o Wairarapa ki Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua during the period of substantial land alienation has been in that very position. The dearth of primary material relating to Crown-Rangitāne relations, however, is probably more telling than one might think. It is clear from reading through the traditional history of the Wairarapa and then through

¹⁹¹ Wilson (ed.), *History of Hawke’s Bay*, p.64

¹⁹² A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa – An Historical Excursion*, Masterton, 1976, p.6.

¹⁹³ A.G. Bagnall, *Masterton’s First Hundred Years*, Masterton, 1954, p.3.

the Crown's subsequent efforts to purchase it, that Rangitāne were simply factored out as an entity.

On the evidence that is available, we can see that Māori society in the Wairarapa before the arrival of Pākehā was complex and unique. Within the rohe there were a large number of distinct descent groups who inhabited large defined areas on the basis of Māori customary tenure. A number of these descent groups could whakapapa back to the eponymous tūpuna Rangitāne as well as base their take to the land under his mana. Living in and around these groups were other descent groups who could trace their lineage and their right to the land back to Kahungunu, Tahu or Ira. Rangitāne may not have been in the majority, nor hold their lands exclusively, but there can be no doubt that a significant number of the tangata whenua of the Wairarapa valley occupied the land on the basis of their descent from Rangitāne and his descendants.

In the wake of the Musket Wars, however, this customary situation was disrupted for a period of about fifteen years. From 1840 onwards, however, the previous relationships and patterns of settlement began to reassert themselves. As Rangitāne progressively returned from their military refuges, however, Wairarapa came under the attention of New Zealand Company, Settler and Crown officials. Importantly, before their arrival in the Wairarapa, Pākehā had constructed rigid ideas about Māori society and most importantly about Rangitāne as an iwi entity. Elsewhere in the Cook Strait area, groups that traced their lineage back to Rangitāne had suffered a number of defeats at the hands of invaders from the north. While these defeats were catastrophic, Rangitāne whānui were far from conquered or enslaved. Yet from the perspective of Europeans, based in part on their observations along the coastal areas as well as from information supplied to them by the 'conquering tribes', it is clear that in the Pākehā mind the 1830s had seen Rangitāne decisively demolished as an iwi. As has been shown, this view had disastrous consequences for the iwi in Wairau and the Manawatū. There is strong evidence (such as Kemp's census) to suggest that government officials also carried this 'conquered remnant' myth into the Wairarapa.

When mixed with Pākehā preconceptions about iwi and chieftainship, the Rangitāne myth could have had a significant effect on the way government officials dealt with the rights of tangata whenua in the Wairarapa. There is no shortage of evidence to

¹⁹⁴ *BPP*, 1860 [2719], p.310

show that government officials, notably McLean, viewed the Wairarapa area as being under the mana of a homogeneous ‘Ngatikahungunu’. For McLean, this homogenous tribe not only had mana over a continuous district, it also had an established leadership that could at least initiate, if not complete, a process of land alienation.

It was this vulgar understanding of Māori land tenure that prompted McLean to bring in ‘Ngatikahungunu’ chiefs from surrounding districts to begin the Crown’s purchasing programme with Castlepoint. While rangatira like Te Hāpuku certainly had some rights and influence in parts of the upper Wairarapa, his intervention into the district also suited the purposes of the government’s purchase strategy. By giving recognition to Te Hāpuku, McLean was able to draw other rangatira in the process. Those who signed the deeds were a mix of those who saw personal benefits from participation as well as those who were trying to salvage what they could of both their land and their relationships with Pākehā settlers.

What ever their motivations, many Wairarapa Māori were drawn into the process. Included in these deed signers were a number of people of Rangitāne descent. It would be unwise, however, to make any sweeping assumptions about how the people of Rangitāne descent were treated in the alienation process as the Grey/McLean purchase programme was so rushed and so chaotic that little was documented.

Given the possibility that government officials viewed Rangitāne as a ‘conquered remnant’, however, added to the Pākehā understanding that the Wairarapa was populated by ‘Ngatikahungunu’ and coupled with the Crown’s emphasis on obtaining deeds from ‘principal chiefs’ rather than making a full investigation of the land’s occupants, it is reasonable to surmise that at each stage of the alienation process Rangitāne interests could have been minimised. Certainly if an 1850s Wairarapa Māori asserted their right to the land on the basis of Rangitāne descent, it would seem probable that this claim would have been given significantly less weight because of the prevailing view that Rangitāne was a ‘conquered remnant’ living under Ngāti Kahungunu dominance. Probably the most important evidence to support this view is the deeds themselves. The key purchase deeds for the 1850s make no mention of Rangitāne, focusing instead on the ‘chiefs and the people of Ngatikahungunu’. If these key documents produced during the frenzy of land alienation reflect the dominant paradigm of the time, then it is possible that the Rangitāne myth was a feature of the process.

This erosion of Rangitāne's position and identity may have been expressed in subtle or incremental ways. Nevertheless, its effects were profound for the iwi. Over time many descendants of Rangitāne chose to emphasise their lines of descent from Kahungunu tūpuna, possibly to avoid their claims to land being lessened. Others may have simply accepted the label 'Ngatikahungunu' over time as the name Rangitāne became departmentalised under that iwi. This could account for the dramatic decline in both iwi numbers, as expressed by census data, and by Rangitāne whānui group identity into the twentieth century.

This situation was compounded by the events in Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua. Here, in what was the iwi's stronghold, Rangitāne suffered from the Crown's land policies. Just as it had viewed the Wairarapa as the whenua of 'Ngatikahungunu' in which outside 'principal chiefs' could be brought in to facilitate land sales, the Crown looked to Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua with the same misconceptions. Here rangatira from outside the area were looked upon as potential vendors when efforts to purchase from the tangata whenua stalled. The Crown's 1858 deed with the chiefs of Rangitāne o Manawatū can be seen as a continuation of the Crown's flawed purchase strategy in which those with peripheral interests in the land were used to begin the sale process. In tandem with this, the Crown failed to comprehensively investigate and establish who were the occupiers and, therefore, the major stakeholders in the land.

This state of affairs was exacerbated by the Native Land Acts, which allowed non-residents of Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua to claim rights in the land on just the basis of Rangitāne whakapapa rather than occupancy. While many of those who were given shares in the land did have rights, the peculiarity of the land court process often meant that they received an exaggerated share that was soon alienated. The result for the iwi was disastrous, as the Native Land Court not only facilitated the substantial loss of the whenua (which is ultimately the principal source of Māori identity) it also created a situation where members of Rangitāne o Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua were forced to litigate against their whanaunga.

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