Part 1

Te Waimate, Taiamai, and the Bay of Islands Triangle, 1815–19
1.1 Introduction

The aim of this part of the study is to describe the political and geographic relationships between the hapū (descent groups) of Te Waimate, Taiamai and the coastal Bay of Islands during the period 1815 to 1819, to identify important rangatira (leaders, chiefs), trace kinship ties between them, and locate some of their main settlements. We have chosen the period 1815 to 1819 for two main reasons. Firstly, it is the earliest period from which we have detailed eyewitness accounts of the people living in the inland Bay of Islands. Samuel Marsden and his companion John Nicholas have provided us with good descriptions of the Waimate region as they saw it in 1815, and Marsden’s account of his visit to Taiamai in 1819 is the earliest detailed description of this region. The second reason for choosing the period 1815 to 1819 is that the early 1820s was a period of radical socio-political change in the Bay of Islands. Following the establishment of the second mission station at Kerikeri in 1819, and Hongi Hika’s return from England and Australia with some three hundred muskets in 1821, many leading rangatira were absent from the Bay of Islands for months at a time fighting musket wars in the south. New leaders rose to prominence at this time, new alliances were formed, and major economic changes were taking place with the widespread introduction of iron tools and increased trade with Europeans. These changes can only be adequately understood with reference to the political situation as it existed prior to 1820. It is hoped this work will be of value for future studies along these lines.

This part of the study comprises three sections. Section one is an account of the people and landscape of the Waimate–Kerikeri region as seen by Marsden and Nicholas in 1815, and section two deals with the people and landscape between the Kerikeri River and the southern edge of the Taiamai Plain as seen by Marsden in 1819. These sections are presented as narratives of journeys into the interior (see map 2 for Marsden’s probable routes). The narratives are interspersed with genealogical information and Maori Land Court evidence to allow a more detailed understanding of political alliances only hinted at in European accounts.

The genealogies given in the narratives have all been carefully checked by Wiremu Wi Hongi. They have been drawn from a number of sources: most importantly, genealogy books held by Wiremu Wi Hongi, Hera Motu of the Ngāwhā hapū Ngāti Rangi, and Sir James Henare, principally of Ngati Hine. Other major sources are a collection, probably compiled by Henare Tenana (Clendon) of the Te Rauhiti hapū, Ngāti Kuta (these are now in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library), and the notes of Hare Hongi Stowell, now held in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

The third section of part 1 considers what we have termed ‘the Bay of Islands triangle’; that is, political alliances and oppositions between: (1) the Te Waimate hapū and their allies, (2) the Taiamai hapū and their allies, and (3) Ngāre Raumati of the eastern Bay of Islands.
1.2 *Te Waimate, 1815*

Early on the morning of 9 January 1815, a war canoe, about sixty feet in length, and with carving on head and stern, approached the *Active*, a ship anchored in Rangihoua Bay in the northern Bay of Islands. Aboard the canoe were several Ngā Puhi leaders, among them Hongi Hika and Ruatara. Waiting on the *Active* were the senior New South Wales chaplain, Reverend Samuel Marsden, and his companion John Nicholas. The previous day Marsden and Nicholas had accepted an invitation from Hongi to visit his inland settlement at Te Waimate, and the approaching canoe was to take them to Kerikeri, the place of departure for their overland journey (table 1; E:96; N,I:318-21).

Hongi Hika was Ruatara's matua or 'uncle' — he belonged to the same generation as Ruatara's mother. Hongi's grandfather, Auha, was the elder brother of Ruatara's great-grandfather, Whakaaria.

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<tr>
<th>Whakaaria</th>
<th>Auha</th>
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<tr>
<td>Waiohua</td>
<td>Te Hōtete</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Aweawe</td>
<td>Ruatara</td>
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<td>Te Wairua</td>
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Table 1

Nicholas described Hongi as a man who, had the reputation of being one of the greatest warriors in his country, yet his natural disposition was mild and inoffensive, and would appear to the attentive [European] observer much more inclined to peaceful habits than to strife or enterprise (N,I:27).

Nicholas saw Ruatara as a man, in the full bloom of his youth . . . of tall and commanding stature, great muscular strength and marked expression of countenance (N,I:23-24).

Hongi and Ruatara had been visited in June the previous year by Thomas Kendall and William Hall, two catechists sent by Marsden to investigate the possible establishment of a mission station in New Zealand. The two New Zealanders had agreed to the proposal and had subsequently accompanied Kendall and Hall to Sydney. In December they had returned to the Bay of Islands with Marsden and Nicholas, the settlers Kendall, Hall, and John King, and the settlers' families who were to form the nucleus of the mission at Rangihoua under Ruatara's protection (N,I:19-20,37; E:90).
Also with Hongi and Ruatara on the voyage from Sydney were Korokoro and his younger brother Tui, two Ngāre Raumati leaders from Pāroa, on the eastern side of the Bay of Islands. In 1815 an uneasy truce prevailed between Ngāre Raumati and the distantly related descendants of Auha and Whakaaria (table 2).

\[\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Rāhiri} & \text{Kahehau} & \text{Whakaaria} \\
\hline
\text{Uenuku} & \text{Taurapoho} & \text{Te Hōtete} \\
\text{Uewhati} & \text{Māhia} & \text{Waiohua} \\
\text{Ue} & \text{Ngāhue} & \text{Te Aweawe} \\
\text{Pare} & \text{Te Wairua} & \text{Ruataka} \\
\text{Te Haua} & \text{Auha} & \\
\text{Ohūhā} & \text{Te Hōtete} & \\
\text{Tūkawau} & \text{Hongi} & \\
\text{Mauhikītia} & \text{Te Aweawe} & \\
\text{Korokoro} & \text{Tui} & \\
\end{array}\]
After choosing (or perhaps accepting with little choice) a somewhat desolate site for their settlement near Ruatara’s village, Marsden and the settlers had sailed to the mouth of the Kawakawa River, on the south side of the bay, to procure timber for their houses. A hut for the Europeans was under construction at Rangihoua as Hongi’s war canoe approached the Active (N,I:292–318; E:84–96).

The chaplain and his companion joined Hongi and Ruatara in the canoe taking with them some tea, sugar, and an iron pot in which to boil water, and the vessel was paddled rapidly towards Kerikeri. As they passed across Wairoa Bay (adjacent to Rangihoua Bay) Ruatara pointed to a small island, explaining that the people of Rangihoua had lived there five years before under the leadership of Te Pahi, but that they had been attacked by a party of whalers and were forced to flee their homes. Nicholas later wrote,

some who plunged themselves into the water were fortunate enough to escape by swimming to the opposite land, and among these were Tippahee [Te Pahi] and Gunah [Kana], both of whom had been previously wounded. But all those who were surprised in the village, fell together in one indiscriminate massacre (N,I:322).

Marsden was told that the massacre of Ruatara’s people had been organized by the captains of five whaling boats when they learned that Te Pahi had led an attack on the Boyd, a ship anchored in Whangaroa Harbour (north of the Bay of Islands) in 1809, killing all but four of those aboard. However, accounts later told to Marsden indicate that it was, in fact, Te Pahi’s father-in-law, the Whangaroa leader Te Puhi, who had led the attack in reprisal for the serious ill-treatment of his brother by the Boyd’s captain. Te Puhi and his brother Te Ara were leading rangatira of the Whangaroa hapū Ngāti Pou (McNab, I:293–300; E:85–87). Te Pahi had died from wounds received in battles between his people and Ngāti Pou prior to Marsden’s visit, and in 1815 the leading elder at Rangihoua was Ruatara’s father-in-law, Rakau (table 3, Lee, 1983:55; Elder 1954:39).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāhiri</th>
<th>Uenuku</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruakiwhiria</td>
<td>Torongāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhia</td>
<td>Tamangana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngāhue</td>
<td>Haua</td>
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<td>Whakaaria</td>
<td>Wahaika</td>
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<td>Waiohua</td>
<td>Rakau</td>
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<td>Te Aweawe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruatara</td>
<td>Rāhu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wharepoaka</td>
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Table 3
After three hours hard paddling, Hongi’s canoe reached Kerikeri. Here, near one of the potato gardens belonging to Hongi’s people, the party rested and steamed some freshly dug potatoes in a hangi. Ruatara and his wife, Rahu, did not stay for the food but instead left in another canoe for their own cultivations, perhaps located at Te Puna, near their Rangihoua settlement.

As Marsden and Nicholas approached the head of the Kerikeri inlet they would almost certainly have passed by the important Ngā Puhi pā, Kororipo. Nicholas noted Kororipo on his return to Rangihoua two days later, describing it as, ‘one of those steep hills so common in this country, where was built a tolerably large hippa [pā]’ (N,I:362). Traditions to be considered in part 3 of this work state that Hongi’s father, Te Hotete, had occupied this pā following the defeat of Ngāti Miru at Te Waimate and Kerikeri. Hongi’s grandfather, Auha, and Ruatara’s great-grandfathers, Whakaaria and Kauteawa, were the leading rangatira who had participated in the conquest (table 4).

Te Wairua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auha</th>
<th>Whakaaria</th>
<th>Kauteawa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Hotete</td>
<td>Waiohua</td>
<td>Haua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaingaroa</td>
<td>Hongi</td>
<td>Te Aweawe</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ruatara</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

At about one o’clock Marsden’s party, led by Hongi, set out for Te Waimate. To Nicholas it seemed that they presented ‘a very formidable appearance’. Hongi had a pistol in his belt and carried Nicholas’ gun, two of Hongi’s men carried loaded muskets, and the rest were armed with spears. Hongi had enemies to the north (Ngāti Pou of Whangaroa) and rivals to the south at Taiamai (notably, Te Morenga), and so a surprise attack was a possibility (N,I:324–27; E:96–97).

After passing two small hills between which was a field of kūmara, Hongi and his guests walked for about six miles through principally level, fern-covered country, free from large trees. Some of this land had probably been under cultivation in previous years. Hongi’s visitors noted that the soil varied considerably,

some of it was dry and gravelly, some wet and swampy, but the greater part consisted of fine black vegetable mould.

The party then entered a forest, principally of tōtara and tawa, through which ran a stream (probably the Waipapa Stream) which Marsden and Nicholas crossed with some difficulty (N,I:328).

Soon after emerging from the forest, the party reached a village situated on the north bank of the Waitangi River. Nearby, atop a ‘lofty hill covered with pines’, was
a pā belonging to the people of the village. The leading rangatira of the settlement was Hongi Hika's second cousin, Tāreha. His pā was not named, but it was almost certainly Whakataha. Like Kororipo, this pā had been captured by Auha and Whakaaria’s forces, and in 1815 was held by Tāreha’s hapū, Ngāti Rēhia.

Tāreha had been aboard the Active a few days before and had impressed Marsden as 'a very fine, handsome man'. Major Cruise, who met Tāreha in 1820, wrote that,

In size and strength he seemed to surpass all his countrymen: though far from being corpulent, there was not an arm-chair in the ship's cabin in which he could sit, and in Shungie's [Hongi's] tribe he was much looked up to for his bravery and skill in leading warriors to battle.

Tāreha's grandmother, Te Perenga, was a sister to Auha and Whakaaria, and had married the grandson of Rēhia, founding ancestor of Tāreha's hapū, Ngāti Rēhia. Te Perenga's son (Tāreha's father), Toko, is said to have fought with his uncles, Auha and Whakaaria, in the Te Waimate battles and to have subsequently occupied Whakataha pā (table 5).

The descendants of Auha and Whakaaria were close allies of Ngāti Rēhia, and probably shared rights to the land surrounding Whakataha. During a Land Court hearing to determine the ownership of this land, Hiramai Piripo, a descendant of Whakaaria, told the court that Whakaaria's son, Maru, and Auha's son, Te Hotete, had cultivations and a distinctive house there.

Ngararo Kiaio was a house belonging to Te Hotete and Maru. I could point out where that house stood. It was a house with a bird resembling a kaka carved and placed on one end of the doorway. The cry of this bird resembles the word 'kiaio' and 'raro' is the front of the house, hence the name Ngararo Kiaio. After the house had disappeared the name remained to [sic] the place where it had been built. After the death of Maru and Te Hotete; their influence descended to Hongi Hika and Poherangi [Maru's daughter] (NMB 28:201).

While agreeing that Hongi's people shared rights to Whakataha, Tāreha's grandson, Hare Te Heihei, stressed that his grandfather was the principal rangatira there.
Tareha and [his brother] Te Pakira invited Hongi Hika to come to this land. He and his people came and cultivated. They made these invitations because a man from Ngati Parao [Ngati Porou?] had said his people had given up planting kumaras in the ground and always got better crops by bringing up gravel from the river. The gravel was used on this land, and from this circumstance the name Kerikeri [scratch out, dig up repeatedly] was applied to that part of the land. The first cultivation treated in this way was Ngāaro Kiaio. My grandfather [Tareha] told me this. They all cultivated kumaras in this manner and found the yield greatly increased, and they extended their gravel cultivations. Hongi and the others invited, lived there for seven years or more. About this time Tareha and Pakira came to a determination to give back the land to Hongi as they had received enough benefit from the land which had been called [named] after [parts of] their bodies, and as Hongi was the great chief of the day. Hongi declined the gift. He said, he could not accept it, he could not tread on the neck of his ancestor (NMB 28:230–31).

Tareha and most of his people were absent from the Whakataha settlement when Hongi’s party arrived. However, they were welcomed by one of Tareha’s seven wives. Tareha and his people were probably north of Kerikeri, at Te Ti Mongonui or Takou Bay, procuring their winter supplies of sea-food (see Barton, 1927:252–54; Shawcross, 1966:208; N:338).

After the defeat of Ngāti Miru, Toko’s younger sister and two of his brothers are said to have moved from Whakataha to Tākou Bay (NMB 28:222). Hongi’s people had fishing rights there also,

This was a place where they all used to go down and gather shellfish and sea-food generally (Hare Te Heihei, NMB 28:223).

Tareha’s village was not described in any detail by the visitors. However, Nicholas briefly commented upon Tareha’s house,

Besides the rules against eating within its walls, any contact with it on the outside was deemed a most heinous violation of its mysterious attributes [its tapu]; and while I happened to put a bundle, containing some necessary we had brought with us [perhaps tea and sugar] upon the roof of it, they all cried out taboo taboo [tapu, tapu] with indignant vehemence, and desired me to take it off immediately (N.I:358).

Marsden and Nicholas boiled some water for a pot of tea, and a meal of potatoes and wild duck was prepared for them by their hosts. While eating they were joined by a rangatira and some of his people from a neighbouring village (N.I:332).

Just before sunset, having been fed, and entertained with song and dance, Hongi’s visitors were carried across the Waitangi River to begin the last stage of their journey which would take them to Hongi’s principal Te Waimate pā, Ōkura-tope. A little over half a mile from Ōkura-tope, on the edge of another forest, the
travellers were shown extensive kūmara and potato gardens belonging to the people of the pā. Nicholas wrote, their industry had brought into cultivation no less than from thirty to forty acres, and the extreme regularity that was observable in the whole process did much credit to their taste in agriculture. The plants were all disposed in perfect order, and the weeds rooted out with minute exactness (NJ:333).

Proceeding gradually uphill for half a mile the party emerged from a forest near the summit of Ōkuratope. The sight of the pā filled Marsden and Nicholas with astonishment. Surrounding the village were three rows of pallisade posts. Passing through a five-foot-high gate in the outer pallisade the visitors noted a number of carvings ‘cut out, with all the resemblance of stern vengeance’. Between this gate and the second pallisade was a ditch about nine feet wide, which Nicholas mistook for a moat. Beyond the second row of pallisading Nicholas noted a scarped bank, about fifteen feet high, on top of which was a third pallisade.

Hongi told his guests that Ōkuratope had been attacked the summer before by the people of Whangaroa, probably Ngāti Pou and their allies, but that their determined assault had been repelled. Hongi and the people of the Bay of Islands had been at war with Ngāti Pou following the 1809 Boyd incident and subsequent massacre of Ruatara’s people by the whalers, but at the time of Marsden’s visit an uneasy peace prevailed. En route to the Bay of Islands with Marsden, Hongi and Ruatara had met with the Whangaroa rangatira, Te Puhi, and his brother, Te Āra, at Matauri Bay, and the brothers had assured Ruatara that they would not attack Rangihoua should Marsden establish his mission there (E:85–90).

The attack on Ōkuratope by the northern hapū was perhaps the same battle as one later described by Tārea’s grandson. During the Whakataha Block Court hearing, Hare Te Heihei told the court, northern tribes came down to Kaingaroa’s [Hongi’s elder brother’s] pā Ōkuratope. They stopped at Puketi, stripped themselves for war, and came with their weapons only, waiting for dark so that they might then come to Ōkuratope. They formed storming parties during the night. It was customary to attack just before dawn. When within a short distance of the pā they were seen. The sentinels gave warning. Nga Puhi were aroused and appeared so formidable that they decamped. The retreating taua [war party] killed three persons of no account outside the pā. The taua was overtaken at the place called Te Uri Tamahana, and a battle took place, the taua were defeated and the survivors fled. Puaorau, a descendant of Toko, Tareha and Te Pakira and others were the principal chiefs of Nga Puhi engaged (NMB:224, 229).

Whakataha pā was abandoned soon after this as ‘there was no necessity to live in the fortification’ (ibid:253).

On entering the Ōkuratope village, Marsden and Nicholas found,
it to extend over the whole summit of the hill; and the number of houses, including the stores for their coomeras [kūmara] and potatoes, were more than one hundred, the population being from two to three hundred souls. But we saw very few inhabitants, the greater part of them having gone down to the sea coast to procure their winter stock of fish [perhaps with Tārehā’s people at Te Ti Mongonui or Tākou Bay] (N,I:338).

Nicholas noted that ‘a good many’ of the hundred or so houses were store-houses, ‘better constructed and more commodious than their dwellings’. The larger store-houses were surrounded by palisading. Near the centre of the settlement was a stage, about twenty feet long and three feet wide, adzed from a single tree trunk. It was raised about six feet from the ground on a single carved pillar. Nicholas wrote that this stage was the ‘throne’ of Hongi’s elder brother, Kaingaroa. The roofs of houses were also favoured as sitting places by rangatira (see N,I:248).
Kaingaroa was absent from Okuratope at the time of the visit. When Nicholas met him at Rangihoua two days earlier, he saw him as ‘a middle-aged man, very well proportioned, but inclined to corpulency. Mild in his manners and easy in his deportment’ (N,I:318). The eldest son of Te Hotete, Kaingaroa was the ariki (paramount leader) of the two main Okuratope hapū Ngāi Tawake and Ngāi Tautahi. Te Hotete’s mother, Pēhirangi, was the granddaughter of Tawakehaunga, founding ancestor of Ngāi Tawake. Te Hotete’s father, Auha, was the grandson of Tautahi, founding ancestor of Ngāi Tautahi (table 6).

Marsden and Nicholas slept the night in Hongi’s ‘hospitable dwelling’, and the next day, having ‘breakfasted in English style’, they set out to visit Lake Ōmāpere accompanied by Hongi and ‘several chiefs’.

After descending a steep hill on the west side of the pa, the party walked through forest for an hour before reaching a track of cleared land some four miles in extent. Here was situated a small village and adjacent gardens of kūmara, potatoes (nearly ready for digging), gourds, cabbages, turnips, maize, and taro (N,I:341, 351). The village and cultivations were probably north of Pukenui pa (Te Ahuahu) on what is now known as Pimiro Block. Neither Marsden nor Nicholas mentioned the distinctive Pukenui pa (which Marsden was to visit in 1819), and indeed it is most unlikely that Hongi would have taken his guests there since it was then occupied by allies of Te Morenga, his Taiamai rival. The people of the Pimiro village were described by Marsden as ‘Shungee’s [Hongi’s] people’ (E:99). Their leader, who was not named, was described by Nicholas as a young man, who ‘appeared of a mild and gentle disposition’. He accompanied Hongi to the lake.

Between this village and the lake, Hongi’s party encountered evidence of slash and burn agriculture. As they passed through a ‘wood’, part of which had been felled and was being burnt off, Nicholas noted that people were collecting stones into heaps and ‘cultivating with much care every spot as they cleared it ... the soil in general was remarkably rich’ (N,I:342).

Arriving at Lake Ōmāpere, the visitors were informed that it contained an abundance of eels (termed ‘fish’ by Nicholas), and were shown two hinaki (eel-weirs) constructed with mangemange \([Lygodium articulatum\), a climbing fern\]. The Te Waimate people, Ngāi Tawake, Ngāi Tautahi and Ngāi Rēhia, shared eeling
rights to this lake with a number of other hapū. The Pukenui hapū, Ngāti Hineira and Te Uri Taniwha, and their Taiamai allies, Ngāre Hauata and Ngāti Rangi, had rights to the eastern side of the lake (NMB 8:394). The Kaikohe hapū, Te Uri-o-Hua (another of Hongi’s hapū) and Ngāti Whakaake, had access to the southern side, and hapū from Hokianga had access to the western side via the Utakura River. Nicholas was told that ‘canoes were constantly plying’ upon this western waterway (N,I:344). Hongi’s father, Te Hōtete, is said to have died at Tapuaeharuru, a pā on the northern side of the lake.

Te Hotete was taken ill and was taken to Tupuae-haruru so that he might be fanned by the cool breezes of Lake Omapere. He died there (Hiramai Piripo, NMB 28:201).

It was probably to this northern side that Marsden and Nicholas were taken. After viewing the lake, Marsden and Nicholas returned to Ōkuratope where they slept a second night. The next day they returned to Rangihoua following the same route that they had taken previously. Between Ōkuratope and Tāreha’s settlement Nicholas noted,

at irregular distances several patches of land had been broken up for cultivation, but the soil most probably being exhausted, they were now left in a state of neglect (N,I:357).

Having breakfasted at Whakataha (Tāreha was still absent from the settlement), the party of twenty-five walked ‘very smartly for three successive hours to Kerikeri’. Here, while waiting for high tide in order to launch their canoe, Kaingaroa’s son, Wairua, set about painting the gunwales [carved front of the canoe] with red ochre mixed up in oil. The instrument he used for a brush was a tuft of feather; and he laid on the composition very dexterously (N,I:359).

On their way back to the Active, Hongi stopped briefly at the foot of Kororipo pā to land part of his ‘company’, and the canoe then continued downriver with a crew of twelve. About three miles from the Active, they were met by Ruatara in his war canoe and a friendly race to the ship ensued. Ruatara had with him a supply of tea, sugar and bread, understandably apprehensive that his guests may have been in want of them.

Marsden and Nicholas left the Bay of Islands for Sydney on 26 February, accompanied by Hongi’s Taiamai rival, Te Morënga, and Te Morënga’s near relative, Tupi. A week after their departure, Ruatara died, and in July of the same year, Hongi’s elder brother, Kaingaroa, also died. Kendall was told that, in his grief, Hongi twice tried to hang himself. With the death of his brother, Hongi assumed his status as the ariki of the Te Waimate hapū. At Rangihoua, Wharepoaka, Ruatara’s brother-in-law and son of the old tohunga, Rākau, appears to have assumed leadership in matters of war. By the early 1820s, he was fighting with Hongi in wars to the south as one of his leading warriors (Kendall in Elder, 1934:86–88; E:181, 186, 355).
In July 1819, Samuel Marsden left Sydney on his second voyage to the Bay of Islands with the intention of forming a new settlement there. He was accompanied by Tāreha’s nephew, Titore; Reverend John Butler, his wife and son; James Kemp and his wife; and Francis Hall (E:143-44). A few days after his arrival at Rangihoua, Marsden discussed his plans with Hongi and Hongi’s rival from Pāroa, the Ngāre Raumati rangatira Korokoro. Although both were equally anxious to have the missionaries ‘within their respective jurisdictions’, Marsden had already decided, in 1815, that Kerikeri was the most promising site for his second settlement. Accordingly, Marsden and Hongi set off the next day in Hongi’s war canoe to look over the land at this place (E:147).

Upon reaching Kerikeri, Hongi told Marsden that he was free to choose a site on either side of the Kerikeri River ‘as it was all his own to a very great distance’. Marsden was satisfied with the safety of the anchorage, the richness of the soil, and availability of fresh water on the north side of the river, and so, before any further consultation with Korokoro, he accepted Hongi’s offer.

When Marsden returned to Rangihoua, Korokoro endeavoured to impress upon the Englishman the injustice of his decision, pointing out that trading advantages would allow Hongi to ‘cut him and his people off’ (E:148-49). Hongi’s father, Te Hōtere, had attacked Ngāre Raumati when living at Ōkuratope pa and Hongi’s people were, he said, capable of doing so again. In the interests of diplomacy, therefore, Marsden agreed to visit Pāroa the next day. A settlement site was subsequently chosen and cleared at Manawaora, near Pāroa, however the small settlement promised by Marsden was never established (E:156).

The land that Marsden was to purchase on behalf of the Church Missionary Society at Kerikeri amounted to 13,000 acres, for which Hongi was paid 48 axes. The deed, signed on 4 November 1819, stated that this land was ‘bounded on the South-East by the District of the Chiefs Ta Morenga [Te Morenga] and Whytarow [Waitara]’ (E:152).

Like Korokoro, the chiefs of the south-east district were also unhappy with Marsden’s decision to form the Kerikeri settlement. In October, while Marsden was visiting Hokianga, Mōtui, a Taiamai leader, visited Rangihoua ‘demanding’ axes and hoes in exchange for pigs. Unfortunately, Butler overreacted to this trade initiative and a heated argument ensued (Barton, 1927:41-42, 159).

Two days after Marsden’s return from Hokianga, Mōtui again visited Rangihoua, accompanied by ‘several chiefs belonging to his tribe’, concerned at their lack of access to trade goods, and after discussing the matter with the southern leaders, Marsden agreed to ‘visit their district and hear what the different chiefs had to say’ (E:203).

On 19 October Marsden and Kendall, accompanied by five Taiamai rangatira, left Rangihoua for the village of Ōkura on the south side of the Kerikeri River. The
leading Taiamai rangatira with Marsden (and the only one named by him) was Te Morenga, a great warrior, equal in status to Hongi (E:206).

Te Morenga’s father, Whaingaroa, was a leading rangatira of the Taiamai hapū Ngāre Hauata and is known today as an important Ngāti Hine ancestor. Traditions to be presented in part 3 of this work tell of how Whaingaroa, in alliance with Kaitara of Ngāti Hineira, and Matahaia of Ngāti Rangi (table 7) defeated the former inhabitants of Taiamai, Ngāti Pou, in the 1790s. As already noted, Ngāti Pou were living at Whangaroa at the time of Marsden’s visits, having fled there after the Taiamai battles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maikuku</th>
<th>Torongāre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rangihetetini</td>
<td>Hinegārangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōpuarangi</td>
<td>Pera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whakahutu</td>
<td>Waipihangārangi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kahuru</td>
<td>Moraki</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haua</td>
<td>Te Hore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruawahine</td>
<td>Whaingaroa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matahaia</td>
<td>Te Morenga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hauraki</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Te Köpiti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7

During Marsden’s 1815 visit to New Zealand, Te Morenga had sailed with him to the Firth of Thames, and as already noted, he subsequently accompanied Marsden back to Sydney (E:104–105). Te Morenga returned to the Bay of Islands in 1816. In 1818, he and Hongi led separate war expeditions to the Bay of Plenty and East Cape. Regarding the reason for his expedition, Te Morenga told Marsden that some years before (in 1806, E:142) a pirated ship, the *Venus*, had called into the Bay of Islands and taken his sister captive. She was given to men of Ngāti Porou, near East Cape, in exchange for mats and subsequently killed by them. When Te Morenga’s father, Whaingaroa, heard of this, he made his son promise to avenge the death. With a war party of four hundred men, Te Morenga had kept his promise.

A woman belonging to Hongi’s people had also been captured by the crew of the *Venus* and later killed near East Cape. The objective of Hongi’s expedition had been to avenge this death and to assist Ngāti Paoa of the Firth of Thames in an attack on their Bay of Plenty enemies (E:155, 172–73).

Te Morenga, Marsden, and their party arrived at Ōkura at about six o’clock in the evening. The leading rangatira of the settlement was Waitara, a ‘near relation’ of Te Morenga. (Unfortunately Waitara does not appear in any of the genealogies available to us). Marsden wrote that he had one of the ‘neatest huts’ he had seen in New Zealand and added,
At each corner stands a carved wooden image, one representing a man, the other a woman, painted red, both naked. They are placed to perpetuate two victories which the chief obtained over two islands in the Bay of Plenty, and are named after these islands. The chief himself [i.e. Waitara] has assumed the name also of one of them (E:204).

Waitara had probably accompanied Te Morenga on his Bay of Plenty and East Cape expedition.

It seems that, in 1819, the south side of the Kerikeri River was occupied by people closely allied to those at Taiamai. When returning from Hokianga, Marsden had called in at Motuiti, on the south side of the river, where he had met Hauraki (also known as Te Wera) and Te Kōpū, who was crippled in both legs (E:202). Hauraki and Te Kōpū were brothers, and the sons of Kaitara, who, with Te Morenga’s father, had led in the defeat of Ngāti Pou (table 7). Indeed the killing of Te Kōpū’s wife had been a major cause of the battles. Both Hauraki and Te Kōpū were rangatira of Ngāti Hineira, the Pukenui (Te Ahuahu) hapū allied to Te Morenga’s hapū, Ngāre Hauata. Matahaia’s hapū, Ngāti Rangi, possibly also had
land and fishing rights at Okura, since members of this hapū were apparently living there at the time of the Taiamai battles. During a Land Committee hearing in 1904, Erika Kauwhata, of Ngāre Hauata, said that prior to the battles,

Ka tuku nga karere a Whaingaroa ki te moana, ara, ki Okura, i reira a Ngati Rangi (Papatupu, Matawai:70).

Whaingaroa sent messengers to the sea [side], that is, to Okura, Ngāti Rangi was there.

As the darkness of evening closed in at Okura, Waitara ordered a fire to be made, around which Marsden, Kendall and the chiefs seated themselves. The subject for discussion was to be trading relationships between missionaries and local hapū. Marsden’s account of the assessment by the Taiamai leaders is revealing and worth quoting at length:

They began by saying that they had no private complaints to make — that their grievances were of a public nature. They stated that when the Europeans first came to New Zealand they all settled with Duateraa [Ruatara] and Shunghee [Hongi]: by this means the power and wealth of Shunghee were greatly increased — that when the last Europeans came, they expected to have got one to reside with them; but these also were appropriated to Shunghee, which threw all the trade into his hands. They alleged that they could not go to trade with the missionaries within Shunghee’s jurisdiction: on one hand this would lower their dignity, and on the other Shunghee’s people would not allow them, as this was contrary to the custom of their country for one chief to interfere in matters of trade with another within his own district. What they wanted was an equal advantage of trade, which they could not enjoy without the residence of a missionary amongst them to whom they could dispose of their property without any of these degrading restraints which they were now under … They conceived that they had not been treated with that respect and attention which their rank and power in New Zealand entitled them to — that the Europeans were equally indebted to them as they were to Shunghee for their protection; that their tribe was as powerful and respectable as his and their lands more extensive; and that they had the same right to the harbour where the ships anchored and the shores where the boats landed. They said they were not offended that we had made a new settlement at Kiddee Kiddee [Kerikeri] where Shunghee resided; all that they wished was that Shunghee should not monopolize the whole of the trade by having all the Europeans living under his authority, as this made him and his people assume more consequence than they were entitled to, and tended to lower their tribe in the public opinion. The principal articles of trade are spades, hoes, axes, etc., which are missionary stores and the articles they are so urgent for (E:204–205).

In the above passage Marsden, and perhaps the rangatira themselves,
distinguished between Hongi’s ‘tribe’ and ‘their tribe’. The term ‘tribe’ was no
doubt employed loosely in this context to refer to a confederation of allied hapū. We
have seen that Hongi’s ‘tribe’ included the hapū Ngāti Tautahi, Ngāi Tawake, Ngāti
Rēhia and Te Uri-o-Hua (of Kaikohe). But what of ‘their tribe’? Marsden named
only two of the rangatira who participated in the discussions with him (Waitara and
Te Morenga), but given that the others were probably Te Morenga’s allies we can
make an informed guess as to who some of them might have been.

Taiamai rangatira who feature in European records of the period are Perehiko,
his brother Iwi, Kaitara, Te Kopiri and Hauraki. Perehiko was described by Cruise,
who met him in 1820, as the brother of Te Morenga (Cruise, 1957:85). He had lost
the use of his limbs (through rheumatism) when Cruise met him, but this affliction
must have become severe only a short time before, since Butler recorded that he
fought with Te Morenga against Hongi’s people soon after Marsden’s departure
from the Bay of Islands in 1819. (This dispute between the Taiamai and Te Waimate
peoples will be discussed more fully later). However, the possibility that Perehiko
and Waitara were one and the same person cannot be discounted since both were
said to have assumed the name of an island they had conquered. Cruise wrote of
Perehiko,

Before he lost the use of his limbs he was considered an active and enter­
prising warrior. He had now laid aside the name of Perehiko and
assumed that of an island which he had conquered in one of his expedi­
tions. He died a short time before we left New Zealand [perhaps in
November or December, 1820]; and the sovereignty of his tribe devolved
upon his brother Timorangi [Te Morenga] (Cruise, 1957:85).

Perehiko was at Kororareka (Russell) when Cruise met him, but as his time of
death approached he was ‘carried to the neighbourhood of his family burying place
at Tyama [Taiamai] where he closed his life in the middle of his tribe’ (ibid:198).
Iwi was described by Cruise as Perehiko’s ‘brother’ (ibid:31). He had just
returned from Sydney when Cruise met him in 1820. Perehiko’s only son (a child)
had died while with Iwi in Sydney, and Iwi had brought back the child’s cloak for
his ‘brother’. Marsden met Iwi at Taiamai in May 1820, during his third visit to the
Bay of Islands. On this occasion he also met Kaitara at Pukenui, and visited
Kaitara’s Taiamai settlement (E:246).

Kaitara was the leading rangatira of Ngāti Hineira, and as already noted, he was
the father of Hauraki and Te Kopiri. His wife, Inu, belonged to Ngāti Pou, the peo­
ple whom he, Whaingaroa, and Matahaia had earlier defeated.

As brothers, or close relatives of Te Morenga, Perehiko, Iwi and Waitara proba­
bly belonged to Te Morenga’s hapū, Ngāre Hauata. Kaitara and his sons, Hauraki
and Te Kopiri, belonged to Ngāti Hineira. European records of the period do not
name any leaders of Ngāti Rangi, the third major hapū that had participated in the
Taiamai conquest. However, it is possible that their hapū was also represented in
the discussions at Ōkura.

Having conversed until a late hour the previous evening, Te Morenga’s people
and the missionaries embarked upon their overland walk to Taiamai. Their route, only briefly described by Marsden, took them through several swamps and ‘two small woods’. In general the country was ‘very open’ and level.

The swamps through which they travelled were probably near Puketona, midway between Ōkura and Taiamai. Twenty-six years before (in 1793 according to Smith, 1906:106), the Puketona pa had been attacked by a Ngāti Maru war party from Thames. Contemporary Ngāti Rangi traditions state that a section of this hapū living in the pa at the time were defeated by Ngāti Maru. The pa was surrounded by swamps and in order to cross one of these Ngāti Maru built a causeway (whārīki) by placing branches across it. The ensuing battle was subsequently named Te Waiwhārīki (Water covered over), and a nearby stream still bears the name. A block of Ngāti Rangi land west of the Taiamai pa, Maungatūrotu, was named Waiwhārīki in memory of the tragic defeat. (This battle will be considered in more detail in part 3).

From Puketona, the track taken by Te Morenga’s party probably led them along the eastern side of the Waiauruhe River to the northern edge of the Taiamai plain. The settlement where they were to spend the night appears to have been on the southern side of this plain. Marsden wrote,

> About five miles before we came to any of the villages in the district of Ti-ami [Taiamai] we passed through a very fine plain where the soil appeared very rich, though stony. The whole, from the grass that was upon it, appeared to have been in cultivation at some former period, and there were evident traces of a large population. We passed near the ruins of two villages on the edge of this plain. They are now wholly uninhabited. A few potatoes I observed growing upon the sides of the hills on which they stood. They had been strongly fortified at no very distant period. The chief informed us that they belonged to him and his friends, and at one time contained 1,000 inhabitants; but the inhabitants had been besieged, and were compelled at length to yield to the enemy and to quit their stronghold. The hills are very high upon which the villages stood, and so strong by nature that they could not be easily taken unless the inhabitants were starved out for want of water and provisions (E:207-208).

The recently fortified villages (atop high hills) on the edge of the plain were probably Takaporurutu and Ngā Tapahuarau. They had probably been fortified during the battles with Ngāti Pou. Although the ‘chief’ with whom Marsden was conversing said that the pa belonged to him in 1819, the 1000 inhabitants who had been besieged would almost certainly have been Ngāti Pou. Traditions presented in part 3 of this study state that Ngāti Pou occupied the three northern Taiamai pā (Ngā Tapahuarau, Takaporurutu and Ngā Ruapango) and Maungatūrotu to the south-west. Ruahoanga was the main pā of Ngāti Hineira and Ngāti Rangi during the battles.

Marsden did not name the Taiamai village in which he was to spend the night; however, if he walked for about five miles across the Taiamai plain from the high
pā, it may have been at, or near, Ngāwhitu, south-west of Pouerua pā. Land Court evidence indicates that this was an important Ngäre Hauata settlement in the 1850s, and that Ngäre Hauata and Ngäti Rangi ancestors had lived near Ngā Whitu in earlier years (NMB 5:120, 128). Marsden’s description of the village was brief,

This village stands in a fertile spot, sheltered by lofty pines and watered by many beautiful streams sufficient to turn a mill (E:208).

To Marsden, the principal elder to the village ‘appeared to be more than eighty years old, but was all life and spirits’. Unfortunately, Marsden did not record his name. The old man had just returned from the ‘potato grounds’ where he and his people had been working, probably planting their spring crop. Marsden noted that they were also planting maize.

When later reflecting upon his journey Marsden wrote,

Ti-ami [Taiamai] is a very rich part of the country and only wants a population to improve its natural soil, which at present is burdened with luxurious weeds and pines and other timber of various kinds. The chiefs informed us that they had a large number of people, one day’s journey further, who were cultivating a rich soil with sweet and common potatoes. I should estimate the extent of their territory, from what I walked over and what they pointed to us belonging to them, at not less than fifty miles in extent (E:217).

The above passage suggests that parts of the Taiamai plain had been left to lie fallow, and that many, perhaps most, of Te Morenga’s people were cultivating crops further inland, possibly at Tautoro, twelve kilometres from Ngā Whitu. In a straight line, the distance from Tautoro to Ōkura is about thirty kilometres. Ngāwhā (west of Maungatūrōto) and Tautoro are today important Ngäti Rangi settlements, and Ngäti Rangi traditions say that the ancestors of this hapū lived at Tautoro before moving to Taiamai. Indeed, Tautoro is also the name of an important Ngäti Rangi ancestor. It is likely then, that in 1819 Ngäti Rangi and their close allies Ngäre Hauata were moving freely between Tautoro and Taiamai.

The next morning the missionaries visited a second Taiamai village, where they were welcomed by a rangatira who had met them at Rangihoua. He presented his guests with a pig, and this was cooked and served with ‘an abundance of sweet and common potatoes’. Marsden had earlier been told that pigs and potatoes were the only commodities that the Taiamai people could offer in exchange for European items (E:205).

This second settlement was about four miles from some hot mineral springs (Ngāwhā Springs) which Marsden visited in the afternoon, and about four miles south of Pukenui pā. These distances suggest that the settlement was north-west of Ngā Whitu, possibly in the vicinity of Maungatūrōto pā (the pā is equidistant from the springs and Pukenui). Land Court evidence to be presented in part 3 of this work indicates that after Ngäti Pou were forced to abandon Maungatūrōto, the surrounding lands were occupied by Matahaia, the leading Ngäti Rangi rangatira,
Pouerua pā (above) and Maungaturoto pā (below), sketched by John Johnson about 1840. Maungaturoto is located to the right of Pouerua.

(Artist: John Johnson, 1840? Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, E-273-Q-015; E-273-Q-014)
and his people. During a title investigation for the Maungatūrōto Block in 1905, Hori Whiu, a Ngāti Rangi elder, told the Block Committee that after the defeat of Ngāti Pou the land was divided as follows,

*Ko te taha raro o te whenua o Ngā Pou i a Kaitara. Taha marangai i a Whaingaroa. Taha hauauru i a Matahaia.* (Papatupu, Maungaturoto:27).

The northern part of Ngāti Pou’s land belonged to Kaitara. The eastern part belonged to Whaingaroa. The western part belonged to Matahaia.

Earlier, in 1887, Wiremu Kātene, a great-grandson of Kaitara, had been more explicit,

*After the conquest the land was divided into three blocks, first of which was for Whaingaroa (at Pakaraka) [East Taiamai], second to Matahaia at Ohaeawai [West Taiamai], and from Mr. Ludbrook’s residence [between Ohaeawai and Pakaraka] to Omapere was allotted to Kaitara [north and north-west of Taiamai].* (NMB 5:7).

The third settlement visited by Marsden and Kendall was north of Taiamai at Te Ahuahu, and situated ‘at the foot of a very high hill, called Pooka Newee [Pukenui]’ (E:212). Between Taiamai and Pukenui they had ‘passed through some of the richest land [Marsden] had ever seen in this island, free from timber and fit for all purposes of agriculture’ (E:213). This was the land allotted to Kaitara, and clearly land worth fighting for.

The principal hapū at Te Ahuahu was probably Ngāti Hineira, although the missionaries also met there a Ngāti Pou rangatira, Tūohu. Kaitara’s wife, Inu, belonged to Ngāti Pou, and it is possible that after the Taiamai battles some of her relatives had returned to Te Ahuahu to reside there with Ngāti Hineira. Tūohu’s father, Te Maunga, was a leading Ngāti Pou rangatira at the time of the Taiamai battles, and had occupied Maungatūrōto pā. Tūohu’s mother, Puhirangi, was closely related to Kaitara’s wife, both of whom were descendants of Rangihaua, the founding ancestor of Ngāti Pou (table 8).

During the evening Te Morenga and Waitara spoke with Tūohu about discussions they had held with their guests the night before. After breakfast the next day, having been presented with a ‘large hog’ and a few bushels of potatoes, Marsden and Kendall set out on their return journey to Rangihoua. Marsden’s account of this journey was succinct,

*Nothing material occurred ...* (E:217).
Table 8
1.4 The Bay of Islands Triangle, 1815–19

Following the decision to establish a second mission station at Kerikeri in 1819, Marsden considered it politically expedient to make placatory visits to Pōroa and Taiamai. These visits were necessary because Hongi’s northern alliance was politically opposed to a southern alliance (which included the hapū of Taiamai, Kororāreka, Paihia, Kawakawa and Waikare) and the Ngāre Raumati confederation. In other words, at the most general level, the hapū of the Bay of Islands were related in terms of a political triangle — northern alliance, southern alliance and Ngāre Raumati. In what follows we shall first define more clearly the three corners of this triangle, and then describe its operation during the period 1815–19, focusing upon a number of key conflicts.

(1) The Northern Alliance
What we here term the northern alliance comprised the hapū of: (a) Kaikohe; principally Te Uri-o-Hua, Ngāti Whakaeka and Ngāti Tautahi. (b) Te Waimate, Kerikeri and north to Te Tī Mongonui and Tākou Bay; principally Ngāti Tautahi, Ngāi Tawake and Ngāti Rēhia. (c) Rangihoua and Te Puna; principally Te Hikutu and Ngāti Rua. (d) Pākaraka and Waitangi; principally Ngāti Rāhiri (map 3).

Relationships between the peoples of the Kaikohe and Te Waimate regions were not described in any detail in European accounts for the period under consideration. However, it is clear from Ngā Puhī traditions and genealogies that close kin ties existed between them. Hongi Hīka was born at Kaikohe, and was a leading rangatira of one of the principal hapū there, Te Uri-o-Hua. His descent from Hua (founding ancestor of Te Uri-o-Hua), Tautahi (of Ngāti Tautahi) and Tawakehaunga (Ngāi Tawake) is shown in table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tawakehaunga</th>
<th>Hua</th>
<th>Ruakino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tawhio</td>
<td>Te Kiore</td>
<td>Waikainga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pēhirangi</td>
<td>Waē</td>
<td>Ahurā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ure</td>
<td>Te Hōtete</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Te Rīpi</td>
<td>Wi Hongi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Tr Uri-o-Hua)
Hongi’s grandfather, Auha, lived with his brother, Whakaaria, at Pakinga pā, a few miles south-east of Kaikohe before their conquest of Te Waimate, and their hapū, Ngāti Tautahi, retained land rights there after the conquest. The descendants of Tawakehaunga are traditionally said to have originally occupied land south of Kaikohe at Mataraua, and to have subsequently moved to Te Waimate and Kerikeri. Hence the saying: Ngāi Tawake ki te waoku, Ngāi Tawake ki te tuawhenua, Ngāi Tawake ki te takutai moana (Ngāi Tawake of the dense forest, interior, and sea-coast).

As already noted in the account of Marsden’s 1815 visit to Te Waimate, the main Te Waimate allies of Ngāti Tautahi and Ngāi Tawake were Tārea’s people, Ngāti Rēhia. They lived at Whakataha. Tārea’s young nephew, Titore, who was to rise to prominence as a Ngāti Rēhia leader in the 1820s and 1830s, was probably living with his uncle at Whakataha in 1815.

The Ngāi Tawake leader, Rewa (or Mānū), who was to succeed Hongi after his death in 1828, was living with his elder brother, Wharerahi, and younger brother, Moka, at Kerikeri in 1819. Although not as powerful as Hongi and Tārea at this
time, he was referred to in missionary accounts as the chief of Kerikeri. In 1821, he and his brothers stopped Butler from felling trees on the Kerikeri land that Hongi had sold to the Church Missionary Society two years before (Barton, 1927:112). In 1819, Rewa and his brothers belonged to Ngāi Tawake; however, their descendants later took the name Patukeha, a name which originated with the killing of Rewa’s mother, Auparo. She was weeding her keha (turnip) garden at Te Waimate when a Ngāre Raumati war party came upon her and killed her (patu — to kill). Hongi’s father, Te Hōtete, avenged this death with an attack on Ngāre Raumati in the early 1800s, and in 1826, Rewa himself, in alliance with Ngāi Rāhiri of Pākāraka, took further revenge on the people of Te Rāwhiti (these battles will also be related in part 3).

The major hapū at Rangihoua was probably Te Hikutu. Although Ruatara may not have belonged principally to this hapū, his brother-in-law and successor, Wharepoaka, was referred to by Marsden as a leader of the Hikutu ‘tribe’ in 1830 (E:459). Te Hikutu was also, but perhaps not originally, a Hokianga hapū, closely related to Ngāti Korokoro and Ngāti Pou, who held lands near Whirinaki and Waimamaku (NMB 2:210–13; Hooker papers; Smith, 1910:52–53). After their defeat at Taiamai, Ngāti Pou had become a divided people with settlements at Hokianga and Whangaroa during the period 1815–19, and it appears that Te Hikutu had become similarly divided between Hokianga and Rangihoua (see Binney, 1968:94, n.43 for an interesting discussion of this split).

There is also some evidence to suggest that a second hapū was represented at Rangihoua. During a Land Court hearing held in 1875, Wiremu Naihi, the son of Te Pahi (Ruatara’s predecessor), stated that his principal hapū was Ngāti Rua (NMB 1:92). Interestingly, during the fighting between Ngāti Pou and the Taiamai people in the 1790s, Te Pahi appears to have sided with the latter. With reference to table 10, Wiremu Naihi told the Court in 1875,

In the time of Te Puiti and Whare, a great war was talked of [at] Taiamai, and all the people of Whangaroa went to join in it. Some went to join N’ Pou, and others N’ Puhi [i.e. hapū of the southern alliance]. The husband of Turi, mother of Wharerau, was Te Arumanga, a Ngā Puhi, and therefore Te Pahi was connected with Nga Puhi (NMB 1:92).

Although some of Te Pahi’s people may have sided with hapū of the southern alliance during the fighting with Ngāti Pou, by 1915, under the leadership of Ruatara and the old tohunga, Rākau, they were clearly allied with Hongi’s people in opposition to those at Taiamai.

As already noted, Ruatara died a week after Marsden’s departure from the Bay of Islands in 1815. The close genealogical and political relationship between Ruatara and the Te Waimate rangatira was clearly evident at Ruatara’s tangi. Both Hongi and his brother Kaingaroa participated in the mourning ceremonies, and Hongi, who ‘had been particularly attached to his nephew’, closed his ‘tomb’ and that of Ruatara’s wife, Rahu, who had hanged herself in grief. After the tangi, the rangatira who had performed key ritual functions were highly tapu — Kaingaroa
and Ruatara’s father-in-law, Rakau, could not touch food for three days, and Hongi
could not do so for two days (Kendall in Elder, 1934:75–78).

### Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te Whakatarariki</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wharerau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Pahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wi Naihi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mokau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Puiti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whare</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

While closely allied to Ngāti Tautahi, Ngāi Tawake and Ngāti Rēhia, the
Rangihoua people appear to have maintained ties with their Ngāti Pou relatives at
Whangaroa, and so were able to mediate between the northern alliance and Ngāti
Pou. In September, 1819, during Marsden’s second visit to the Bay of Islands, Hongi
attacked a settlement at Whangaroa in retaliation for the desecration of his wife’s
father’s bones. Some of the bones, probably those of Mutunga II, had been broken
and made into fish-hooks (table 11).

### Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whakatarariki</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turikatuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharerau</td>
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<td>Te Pahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nga Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mutunga II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A week later Marsden wrote that several canoes had left Rangihoua for
Whangaroa,

to muster their tribes and demand satisfaction from Shunghee [Hongi] for
the men shot in his late attack on the village. Shunghee has a hippah [pā]
in the harbour (the Bay of Islands) about two miles from Rangihoua
[Rangihoua] which he is fortifying and preparing for the enemy (E:167).

However, after a large meeting of the northern tribes at Whangaroa, it was
decided that since the Whangaroa people had committed the first offence no attack
would be made (E:171). In light of this decision, it is possible that the Rangihoua
people had attended the Whangaroa meeting as mediators between Hongi and the
northern tribes. At least there appears to have been no weakening of their alliance
with Hongi, since, soon after the meeting, Marsden noted that Hongi had built a 'small village' at Te Puna near some land which his people were cultivating (E:177).

Another section of the northern alliance occupied lands to the east of the Waiaruhe River, between the Waitangi River and Pouerua pā. This section comprised two closely related hapū, Ngāti Kawa and Matarahuwha, later to become collectively known as Ngāti Rāhiri (Papatupu, Oromahoe; Sturmer notes). Despite early kin ties with the Taiamai hapū (Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Hineira and Ngāre Hauata), Ngāti Rāhiri were not part of Te Morenga’s southern alliance, nor did they participate in the battle with Ngāti Pou (table 12).

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāhiri</th>
<th>Uenuku</th>
<th>Maikuku</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Rā</td>
<td>Rangihetini</td>
<td>Torongāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamama</td>
<td>Tupuārangī</td>
<td>Hineamaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maru</td>
<td>Whakahotu</td>
<td>Pera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauteawha</td>
<td>Te Topi</td>
<td>Hineira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Rāhiri</td>
<td>Ngāti Rangi</td>
<td>Ngāti Hineira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12

Ngāti Rāhiri do feature prominently, however, in accounts relating to the earlier conquest of Te Waimate by Hongi’s grandfather, Auha. Auha’s main allies in these battles were the two brothers Te Topi and Kauteawha, Ngāti Rāhiri leaders of great mana, who were living at Pouerua. As shown in table 13, the political alliance between Ngāti Tautahi and Ngāti Rāhiri was strengthened through the marriage of Auha’s sister, Kawhi, to Te Topi’s and Kauteawha’s first cousin, Tango. Two subsequent key marriages were (1) between Whakaaria’s daughter, Waiohua, and Kauteawha’s son, Haua, and (2) between the Rangihoua leader, Ruatara, and Waraki’s daughter, Miki.

Waraki was the leading Ngāti Rāhiri rangatira at Waitangi in 1815. In May 1815, he sold fifty acres of Waitangi land to the Church Missionary Society, for which Kendall paid five axes (Kendall in Elder, 1934:83). Waraki died a month later (King in Elder, 1934:101).

Waitangi was the site of Ngāti Rāhiri’s main, and perhaps only, coastal settlement. For three months each year, people moved out from the interior to this place to fish and gather shellfish (Sturmer notes:12, 13, 18). For the period 1815–19, we have been unable to locate any eyewitness descriptions of Ngāti Rāhiri’s inland settlements however, contemporary traditions and Land Court evidence indicate that there were major populations at Pākara and Te Aute, north of Pākara. (Wiremu
The Bay of Islands Triangle, 1815–19

Wi Hongi; Okahu notes; Papatupu, Oromahoe; Sturmer notes). The leading rangatira at Pakaraka were Te Kēmara (also known as Kaiteke) and the brothers Mahikai and Maruāpō (Okahu notes:135, 143). The principal rangatira at Te Aute was Hepetahi. (Sturmer notes:13; Williams, 1961:86, 119, 179, 369, 378; see also table 13).

Table 13

During the 1820s, the Pakaraka people, under the leadership of Te Kēmara and Maruāpō, fought with the northern alliance in wars to the south of the Bay of Islands. They were with Hongi’s forces in 1821, when they and the southern alliance attacked Ngāti Pāoa at Mokoia (Panmure, Auckland) and Ngāti Maru at Te Tōtara pā (Thames); in 1822, when Hongi attacked Waikato; in 1823, when a combined Nga Puhi force attacked Mokoia Island in Lake Rotorua; and in 1825, at the great battle between Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Whātau at Te Ika-a-ranganui (south of the Brynderwyn Hills near Kaiwaka) (Wiremu Wi Hongi; Smith, 1910:181–98, 241–58, 333–47). Te Kēmara was a tohunga (priest and seer) of very great mana. It was his karakia (ritual prayers) which ensured, and indeed were essential for, success in battle, and his visions which foretold the success or failure of Hongi’s strategies. Prior to the Nga Puhi attack on Mokoia Island, Te Kēmara battled with the Arawa tohunga, Tuhotu, for control over the waters of Lake Rotorua. Tuhotu called forth the taniwha (water demons) of the lake and the spirit of the great Arawa ancestor Ngātoroirangi, so causing the waters to become violently agitated. Te Kēmara replied with his karakia and succeeded in calming them again so allowing Hongi’s canoes to cross (Wiremu Wi Hongi). At Te Ika-a-ranganui, Te Kēmara prophesied the defeat of Ngāti Whātau in a famous waiata matakite (prophetic song) (Smith, 1910:336–37).

Maruāpō was a young fighting chief when he rose to prominence in the 1820s, but it is possible that during the period 1815–19 his elder brother, Mahikai, was the more influential of the two at Pakaraka. Wiremu Wi Hongi notes that Mahikai did
not fight with Hongi in the southern wars, but remained with his people at Pakaraka tending the gardens. It was because of this role that he received the name Mahi-kai (food-producer).

Apart from Hepetahi and his people at Te Aute, there were few people living between Pakaraka and the Waitangi River during the period 1815–19. At Oromahoe, Ngāti Kawa and Matarahurahu dug considerable quantities of fern root, but there were no permanent settlements there until the late 1830s (Papatupu, Oromahoe:4, 5). Oromahoe (Grove of mahoe trees) was named after a place where Kawa, ancestor of Ngāti Kawa, had a tireki roi (stack of fern roots with a supporting framework) (ibid:23).

(2) THE SOUTHERN ALLIANCE

We have seen that the major hapū living at Tauto, Taiamai, Pukenui and Ōkura during the period 1815–19 were Ngāti Rangi, Ngāre Hauata and Ngāti Hineira, and that despite early kinship links between them and their Pouerua/Pakaraka neighbours, Ngāti Rāhiri, the latter hapū was politically allied with Hongi and the Te Waimate people. To meet the other key members of the southern alliance, therefore, we must by-pass Ngāti Rāhiri and travel around the coast from Ōkura to Kororārea and Matauwhi Bay, or down the Ōtiria Stream and Kawakawa River, from Taiamai and Tauto to Kawakawa, Paihia and Waikare.

The leading rangatira at Kororārea in 1815 were Tara and his younger brother Tupi. They were third cousins to Te Morenga of Ngāre Hauata and second cousins to Kaitara of Ngāti Hineira (table 14). As noted earlier, Cruise met Te Morenga’s ‘brothers’ Perehiko and Iwi at Kororārea in 1820, and prior to his death, Perehiko was taken to Taiamai to die among his relatives. Kaitara and his son Hauraki (Te Wera) were with Tara at Kororārea when Kendall visited this place in 1814 (Kendall in Elder, 1954:64).

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Hineamaru
Pera
Waipihangarangi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hineira</th>
<th>Nawa</th>
<th>Kohukohu</th>
<th>Kaitara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngāreautua</td>
<td>Te Raki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raewera</td>
<td>Te Uhunga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheoro</td>
<td>Te Hore</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whaingaroa</td>
<td>Te Morenga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tara</td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14
Nicholas described Tara as an ariki of apparently equivalent status to his northern counterpart Kaingaroa (N.I:288). He was about seventy years of age, blind in one eye, and according to Kendall, presided over the people of seventeen places (Elder, 1934:62). Hongi, presumably with his brother Kaingaroa, was also said to have presided over seventeen places (ibid:61). Just as Kaingaroa left matters of war to his younger brother, Hongi, so Tara, who united ‘the character of a priest to that of a chief,’ left ‘the military management of his people to his brother Tupee [Tupi], a man highly qualified for such a duty’ (N.I:290).

Tara died in November 1818, and was succeeded as leader (but not as ariki) at Kororareka by Whareumu (also known as Te Uru-ti, or George) (E:158). As shown in table 15, Whareumu was a classificatory son of Tara (i.e. Tara was of the same generation as Whareumu’s father), and as a descendant of Ngamanu, he belonged to the hapū, Ngāti Manu. When Marsden visited Kororareka in September 1819, Whareumu was soon to marry Tara’s widow, but this marriage could not receive public sanctification until the bones of Tara had been removed to their final resting place.

![Family Tree](image)

Table 15

Kororareka was principally a fishing settlement and had very little soil suitable for agriculture. On the day Marsden arrived at this place, Whareumu apologised for having only fern root to offer him. The following day, however, he was able to place some kūmara before his guests. Marsden wrote that he had every reason to believe that Whareumu had sent a messenger during the night to Pōmare, requesting the kūmara, since two of Pōmare’s daughters had arrived just before the cooking fires were lit.

Pōmare was Whareumu’s matua (classificatory father) and lived at Matauwhi, a Ngāti Manu settlement in the Bay south of Kororareka (Kendall in Elder, 1934:62). According to Nicholas, Pōmare was, in 1815, subordinate to Tara, although he ‘paid very little deference to that venerable areekee [ariki]’ (N.I:310). The territory of his hapū, Ngāti Manu, extended from Kororareka to south of the Waikare inlet.
Village of Kororareka (New Zealand). Kororareka is shown as it was in about 1830 in this lithograph published in Paris in 1833.

(Artist: Louis Auguste de Saisset, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, B052-006)

Table 16
The principal Ngāti Manu rangatira at Waikare was Pōmare's nephew, Whiria (also known as Whetoi or Pōmare II). When Nicholas met Whiria in 1815, he was about 35 years of age, of middle size, but of graceful figure, and remarkably well proportioned. He had a handsome mat, adorned with feathers, tied round his waist, leaving bare the upper part of his body, which was deeply besmeared with oil and red ochre; his hair was nicely tied up on the crown of his head, and a large comb, as white as ivory, made of the bone of some cetaceous animal, and curiously cut in filigree work, stuck in it. His cheeks were painted red, which giving fire and vivacity to his eyes, formed a curious and not unbecoming contrast to his black and bushy beard (N.II:98-99).

The occasion for which Whiria was adorned was a large meeting at Waikare between the southern alliance (represented by Tupi, Te Morenga and Whiria) and Ngāre Raumati. (This meeting will be discussed in more detail shortly).

Table 16 shows the close genealogical relationships between Whareumu, Pōmare, Whiria, Kaitara and Tara, all of whom were descendants of Rangiheketini, founding ancestor of the Taiamai hapū, Ngāti Rangi.
On the opposite side of the Bay from Kororareka, the coastal lands from Paihia to the Kawakawa River were controlled by Te Koki and his people (E:160; N,I:221). Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate Te Koki on any genealogies available to us. However, the fact that his principal settlement was located 10 miles up the Kawakawa River within Ngāti Hine territory, (N,I:221–22) and that he was described by Nicholas as ‘in some degree a tributary to Tara’ (ibid:222), indicates that he was an ally of Tara, Whareumu and Pōmare, and hence probably of Te Morenga and Kaitara. He and Pōmare jointly supplied Marsden with timber from the Kawakawa region in 1815 (N,I:225, 313; N,II:123), and when Cruise visited the Bay in 1820 he co-operated with Whareumu cutting spars (Cruise, 1957:82).

(3) Ngāre Raumati

During the period 1815–19, the islands of the eastern Bay of Islands and the coastal lands from Pāroa Bay to Te Rāwhiti were occupied by the Ngāre Raumati confederation. Ngāre Raumati comprised a number of hapū, some of the major names being Parupuha, Urihaku, Ngāti Taura, and Akitai (NMB 25:149). The founding ancestor of Ngāre Raumati was Huruhuru, a near contemporary of Rahiri, the founding ancestor of Ngā Puhi.

The leading Ngāre Raumati rangatira in 1815 were Kaipo (also known as Te Pene, see E:253), Korokoro, and his younger brother, Tui. Marsden and Nicholas referred to Kaipo as the uncle of Korokoro and Tui; however, a genealogy published by Kelly shows that he was the brother of Korokoro’s grandfather, Tūkawau (table 17; Kelly, 1938a:25).

Kaipo was a second cousin to the Kororāreka ariki, Tara; however, the influence of the latter did not extend to Kaipo’s people. Kinship ties between some of the leaders of the southern alliance and Ngāre Raumati are shown in table 18.

The principal Ngāre Raumati settlements during the period 1815–19 were on the eastern side of Pāroa Bay and on Moturua Island. As described by Nicholas, the Pāroa village was a small, straggling fishing settlement situated at the foot of Pāroa pā. On the shore, in January 1815, Nicholas saw three twelve-foot-high stages upon which sharks and stingrays had been laid out to dry. A number of large nets were drying nearby (N,I:268–71, N,II:25). The sides of the pā had been planted in kūmara; however, the main kūmara and potato gardens were to the south of Pāroa
Bay (NJ277). These inland gardens were not contiguous to any settlement, and reflecting upon this, Nicholas wrote,

*I consider it a great proof of the insecurity in which these people live [the people of the Bay of Islands generally] that their grounds are rarely cultivated to any extent in the immediate vicinity of those places where they reside in congregated bodies (ibid).

Paroa was ‘Kaipo’s pā’. Korokoro’s main settlement was on Moturua Island, and his pā ‘was situated on top of another island [probably Motukiekie] less than two miles distant’ (E:153). When Marsden visited this pā in August 1819, he met Korokoro’s ‘head wife’, who, with several other men and women, was digging her potato garden. Lacking iron tools, the women were breaking up the ground with kō (digging sticks). Turnip seeds had been sown, and some potatoes had already been planted in the rich soil (ibid).

(4) THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE AND THE SOUTHERN ALLIANCE
During discussions at Okura between Marsden and the Taimai leaders, the latter stated, in no uncertain terms, their grave concern over Hongi’s growing access to
trade, facilitated by the establishment of mission stations at Rangihoua and Kerikeri. Marsden was confident, however, that his visit to Taiamai and the promise of a mission settlement at some future date had been enough to ensure the safety of his Kerikeri mission. Marsden was wrong.

Two weeks after Marsden’s departure from the Bay of Islands in November 1819, a Taiamai force plundered the Kerikeri mission settlement, and Te Morenga and Perehiko declared war on Hongi. Ten pigs, eight hoes, four axes, two saws, and several other unspecified items were confiscated from the missionaries. Their pigsties were destroyed. Potatoes and kūmara were taken from Hongi and Tāreha, and twenty (all but one) of Hongi’s war canoes were burnt (Butler in Barton, 1927:51–52; Cruise, 1957:54).

There were in excess of a hundred muskets unequally distributed among the Bay of Islands hapū in 1819. Te Morenga’s forces had thirty-five muskets when they attacked the Bay of Plenty and East Cape in 1818 (E:266), Korokoro had fifty in 1820 (Cruise, 1957:192) and Hongi probably had at least as many (see Ballara, 1973:230).
However, Hongi told Butler that during the ensuing battle between Te Waimate and Taimai he had,
ordered his men to fight New Zealand fashion, that is, with spears and stones and not with muskets and ball. But, he said, his adversaries began with tomahawks and muskets, and he had two of his men shot before he began to fire; but he thought that it was then high time to begin. They soon killed eight men and wounded others, so that their enemies soon fled from the field; he had another man killed in battle and himself and several of his men got slightly wounded ... (Butler in Barton, 1927:52)

The reason given by Hongi for the warfare was the theft, by some of his slaves, of some cockles from a tapu part of the coast belonging to Te Morenga’s people (ibid:52). However, this does not adequately explain the plunder of the Kerikeri mission. A more fundamental reason was probably the anger of the Taimai people over the establishment of the mission in Hongi’s territory.

Although peace was established about two weeks after the battle (ibid:54) and Te Morenga later presented Hongi with a war canoe (Cruise, 1957:54), a bitter rivalry between the Te Waimate and Taimai peoples continued well into the 1820s. In 1823, Marsden wrote that their differences had not been finally settled,
Neither Temmarangha [Te Morenga] nor Shunghee [Hongi] appear to have been in such a situation since the above period [1819] as to venture to decide their quarrel by force of arms. It is expected that they will do this when a fair opportunity offers (E:389).

Rather than fight each other, Hongi and Te Morenga had recently joined forces against a common enemy — the hapū of Rotorua.

The following year, the missionaries were frustrated in their plans to form a new settlement at Pukenui — Hongi would not allow them to build a road across his Te Waimate lands. Reverend Richard Davis wrote,
He [Hongi] was angry that we had an intention of going to settle at Puki Nui [Pukenui] with people who were his greatest enemies (Davis, Journal, 15 October 1824).

Earlier that year, the missionary, George Clarke, had likened Te Waimate and Taimai to ‘two small counties in England’, each governed, if it may be termed a government, by a chief independent of any other chief; Shunghee [Hongi] is the principal chief of Wymatte [Te Waimate] and Tanoreny [Te Morenga] the most powerful at Tyami [Taimai]. Their counties are again subdivided into towns, or villages, governed by petty chiefs, the villages are separate some by the distances of one, others by two or three miles from each other, in these villages live a number of families generally related to each other and the land they cultivate lies around them at a very small distance (Clarke, Journal, 4 June 1824).
As might be expected, the rivalry between the peoples of Te Waimate and Taiai was reflected in an enmity between Hongi's allies at Rangihoua and Te Morenga's allies at Kororāreka and Matauwhi Bay. Recalling his first meeting with Tupi's brother, Tara, Nicholas noted that the old ariki was jealous of the missionaries' dealings with Ruatara 'between whose tribe and his own there existed a considerable degree of enmity and rivalship' (N,I:208). Indeed, it was Tara who informed the whalers in 1810 that the Rangihoua people, led by Te Pahi, had been responsible for the killing of the Boyd crew in 1809, so precipitating the massacre of Te Pahi's innocent people (N,I:297-99; N,II:76). After a conversation with Ruatara in 1815, Nicholas wrote that the Rangihoua leader had vilified Te Morenga 'at the expense of truth and justice'.

Inveighing against The morongha [Te Morenga] with the same malevolence as Tupee [Tupi of Kororāreka] did against Korokoro (N,II:85).

Ruatara's enmity towards Te Morenga was matched by his negative portrayal of the Matauwhi Bay leader, Pōmare. As described by Ruatara, Pōmare was a gluttonous cannibal, addicted to theft and prone to unprovoked aggression. He had recently entered Ruatara's territory and, for no apparent reason, had murdered six of Ruatara's people (N,I:295-96). Although Nicholas rightly took such comments with a grain of salt, they were further evidence of the marked division between the northern and southern alliances.

(5) THE SOUTHERN ALLIANCE AND NGĀRE RAUMATI

The clearest evidence for a political division between the southern alliance and Ngāre Raumati is an account by Nicholas of a near war between Korokoro, of Paroa and Moturua, and the Waikare leader Whiria (N,II:92-99). In January 1815, Nicholas met Korokoro, who, with five war canoes, was heading towards Waikare to attack Whiria. Whiria, it seems, had been accused of seducing the wife of 'Hinou', a man of about seventy years of age. Hinou may have been Korokoro's uncle, named in Ngāre Raumati genealogies as TeI:Hinu (table 19), but this is not certain. 'Hinou' may have been Nicholas' transcription of 'Hinau', in which case we are unable to locate him genealogically.

Table 19

Nicholas was not told of the results of Korokoro's expedition but he believed there had been no fighting (N,II:91).
A week later, the contending parties again met at Waikare (this was the meeting referred to earlier, at which Nicholas first met Whiria). ‘Hinou’s’ party, comprising at least two hundred men, seated themselves on the opposite side of the Waikare River from Whiria’s settlement, and from here their leaders arose to address the accused chief. After they had forcefully conveyed their anger, Tupi and Te Morenga replied, gently and persuasively, on behalf of Whiria. Further speeches followed from the opposite bank, again answered by Tupi and Te Morenga. At the conclusion of the speeches an amicable settlement had been reached, and Whiria’s people crossed the river bearing a quantity of potatoes as conciliatory gifts (N,II:93-99).

The political rivalry between the southern alliance and Ngāre Raumati appears to have been considerably less intense than that between the northern and southern alliances. Indeed, Tupi told Nicholas that the forces of both Whiria and ‘Hinou’ belonged to him. Nicholas took this to mean that they both acknowledged the authority of his brother, Tara (N,II:99).

If this was so, it was probably because Tara and Tupi (but not Te Morenga, Whiria, Pōmare or Tara’s successor, Whareumu) were part Ngāre Raumati — descendants of Huruhuru. However, the fact that Tupi spoke with Te Morenga on behalf of Whiria suggests that he owed greater allegiance to the southern alliance than to Ngāre Raumati. There is certainly no evidence for any subsequent cooperation between Ngāre Raumati and hapū of the southern alliance in the Bay of Islands, and after Tara’s death in 1818, Whareumu of Kororāke maintained firm ties with the latter. Finally, it is also significant that when the northern alliance attacked Te Rāwhiti in 1826, neither Whareumu, nor any others of the southern alliance, went to the assistance of Ngāre Raumati.

(6) NGĀRE RAUMATI AND THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE
Reverend Samuel Butler had been farming and gardening at Kerikeri all week. On 24 June 1820, he wrote in his journal,

In the course of the week, a native at work in my garden dug up some stones on which Tooi’s [Tui’s] father was roasted and afterwards eaten. He was slain in a battle between Shunghee [Hongi’s] people and his people, in which Shunghee proved victorious. The man ran through a narrative of the battle with great feeling and simplicity, and added, ‘my father was killed at the same time’ (Barton, 1927:82).

The battle which the gardener had spoken of was not, in fact, fought by Hongi, but was between Hongi’s father, Te Hōtete, and Ngāre Raumati, probably in the early 1800s. As noted earlier, Te Hōtete’s attack on Ngāre Raumati was in revenge for the killing of Rewa’s mother in a turnip garden at Te Waimate. The gardener’s comments indicate that the memory of the battle was very much alive in 1820, and indeed, it seems that Ngāre Raumati still feared further reprisals.

During a visit by Marsden and Nicholas to Pāhoa in January 1815, Korokoro and Tui awakened their guests at about midnight to tell them that they had to leave immediately to prepare for battle. The Ngāre Raumati leaders had learned ‘of a
hostile tribe having come from the interior to attack some of their friends’ (N,II:30). The hostile tribe was probably the northern alliance, but this time the fears of Ngāre Raumati were proved groundless — they found no enemies to oppose. Tui later told Nicholas that,

he was so weary and disgusted with living in such a harrassing [sic] state of insecurity, that he would go back to Port Jackson [Sydney] and never more think of revisiting New Zealand (ibid).

This insecurity was still prevalent in 1819. Korokoro, as already noted, feared that the establishment of the second mission station at Kerikeri would allow Hongi to ‘cut him off’. Later the same year, Korokoro went on a peace mission to Thames, but before doing so, he visited Hongi at Te Puna. Marsden wrote,

knowing the jealousy that existed between these two chiefs I wished to know what was the nature of his visit to Shunghee ... He was apprehensive Shunghee might take advantage of his absence and attack his people whom he left behind (E:170).

Rather than turn their recently acquired muskets against each other, the northern alliance, southern alliance and Ngāre Raumati joined forces in the early 1820s and embarked upon war expeditions to the south. This meant a temporary respite for Ngāre Raumati. Unfortunately, however, Korokoro’s ‘uncle’, Kaipo, was killed during the attack on Mokoia Island in 1823, and Korokoro himself died a ‘natural death’ soon after (E:378).

Ngāre Raumati were greatly concerned at the loss of their chiefs, since the political vacuum left them highly vulnerable to an attack by the northern alliance. Indeed, this attack was not long in coming. In 1826, the northern alliance, led by Rewa, Tāreha’s nephew Titore, Te Kēmara and Marupō, besieged Moturahurahu pā (on a small island north of Te Rawhiti) and Motuoi pā (on a small island off Moturua), finally taking both with little bloodshed. The Ngāre Raumati prisoners were subsequently divided; some of the Te Waimate people took one group and Te Kēmara and Marupō of Ngāti Rāhiri took another. The Ngāti Rāhiri prisoners were taken to Pakaraka (Okahu notes:127–29; D’Urville, 1950:177, 196; Williams, Early Journals:55; Kelly, 1938b:163–72). This battle, which will be related in more detail in part 3, effectively marked the end of Ngāre Raumati as a political force, and transformed the Bay of Islands triangle into an opposition between the alliances of the north and south.
Tooi, a New Zealand chief. A depiction of Tui, brother of Korokoro, as he was in 1818.
(Artist: James Barry, 1818. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, G608)