

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRIBES

2.1 NGATI AWA AND TUWHARETOA

The people concerned in this report are the people of the hapu, or tribes, of Ngati Awa and Tuwharetoa. The report does not cover the hapu of Whakatohea, whose lands were taken in the same proclamation confiscating lands from and beyond Ohiwa Harbour. Because these belong to a separate descent group, the Government is treating separately with them. Also, the southern confiscation line was inexpertly drawn and cut through Tuhoe lands.¹ Their claim too must be separately considered.

The greater part of the confiscation block from the western boundary to Ohiwa Harbour was held by various hapu, referred to in official documents of the day as 'Ngati Awa'. We clarify our meaning of 'Ngati Awa' as applied at that time. Basically, it refers to a collection of independent and autonomous tribes or hapu that acknowledged their common origin from Awanui-a-rangi and where each had social obligations to the collective identity and to their relations in the other hapu. The 'tribe', or the unit exercising corporate functions on a daily basis, was the hapu. 'Ngati Awa' was the collective voice, which exercised influence as occasion required.²

However, as was not unusual in Maori society, the hapu of the Kawerau area identified under the name of their ancestor, Tuwharetoa. He is an ancestor of different background and lineage associated with the Arawa descent group. Through intermarriage, these people could identify with either Ngati Awa or Te Arawa, although the named ancestor is distinctly associated with the latter. It would not be unusual if they identified with either or both, according to the occasion.

We are satisfied that, for the purposes of the raupatu claims, the Kawerau hapu are able to stand separately as Tuwharetoa if they choose. Their whakapapa shows that they are part of Ngati Awa but that they also have a separate line that they are entitled to call. By calling that line today, they emphasise their separate claim and that they were not part of those Ngati Awa hapu that engaged in acts that the Government saw as rebellion. The name in fact associates them with Te Arawa hapu, which fought on the Government side. We have found no evidence that these particular hapu were involved in any acts of rebellion. The same can be said of other hapu of Ngati Awa as

1. This is also discussed in Anita Miles, *Te Urewera*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series (working paper: first release), March 1999, chs 1–3

2. For a similar view, see Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation, c1769 to c1945*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1998, pp 60, 66, 293–295, 299–300, 314; cf doc A18, pp 2–4

well, but in this case, the self-labelling of Tuwharetoa emphasises their independence from hapu more likely to have been implicated.

In examining the claims, it has not always been possible to determine the extent to which documents referring to Ngati Awa referred also to those who identified then or identify today as Tuwharetoa of Kawerau. The difficulty is simply that, at that time, 'Ngati Awa' was used to cover all or any of the particular hapu of the general district. Accordingly, in this report we will refer to 'Ngati Awa' as including Tuwharetoa, unless the distinction is apparent from the documents and needs to be made.

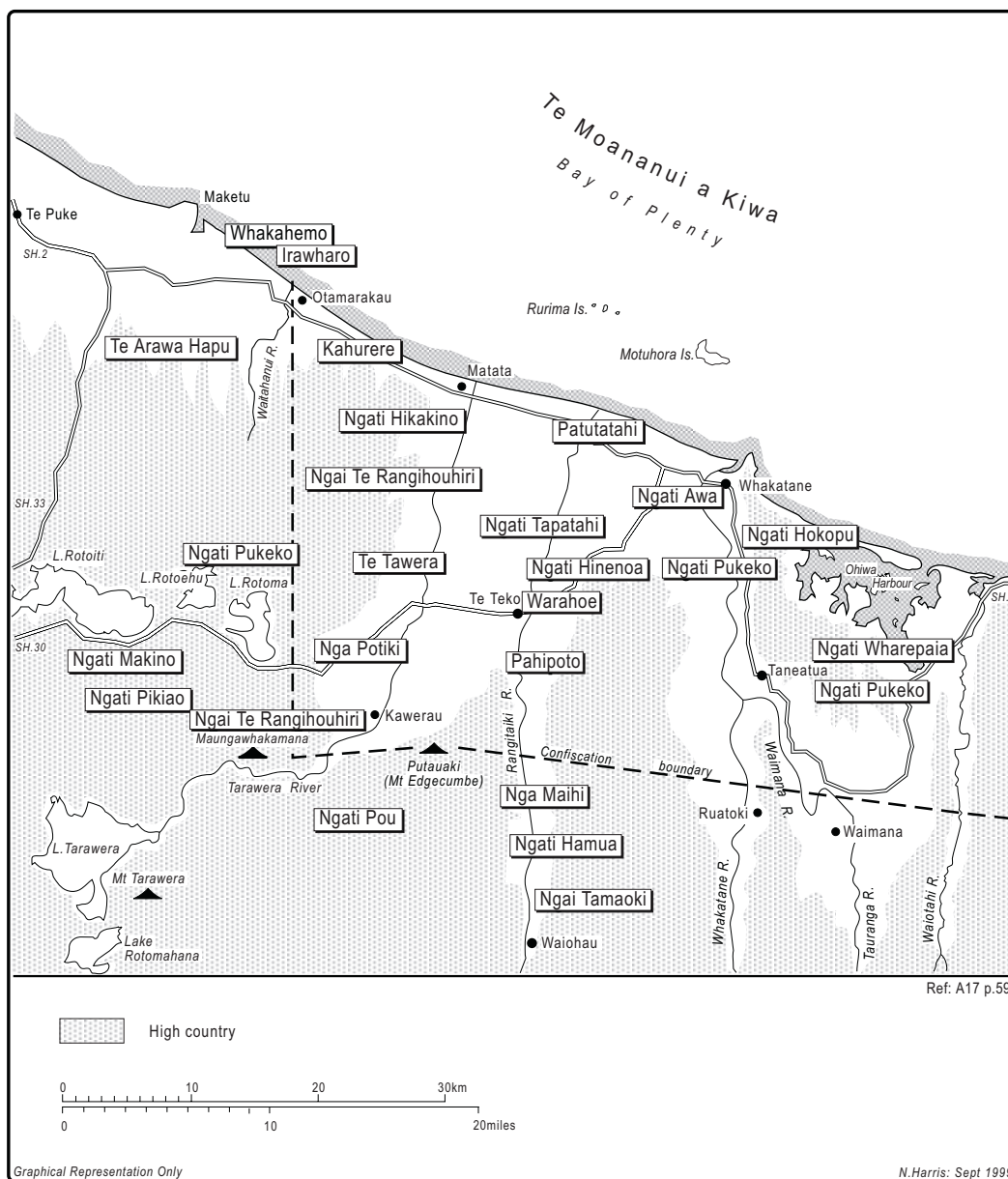
2.2 ORIGINS OF NGATI AWA

A popular view implying some right to conquer Maori and take their lands is that Maori did the same to the Moriori when the Maori arrived, in about 1350, in a great fleet of canoes. It is really a myth from the imaginings of early ethnologists, and the sooner it is disposed of the better. It is not supported by Maori traditions and genealogies and has long been discredited by academics. The more widely supported picture is of a series of migrations over a long period, the crews intermarrying with people here before them, though when the first people came is not known. In claims now heard from the far north to the central west and east coasts, oral traditions and genealogies have consistently described how people were here long before the last canoes arrived, and descent is traced with pride from both early inhabitants and later migrants.

Here, the case of Ngati Awa (or, literally, the descendants of Awa) has special interest. Awanui-a-rangi, the ancestor for whom the people are named, lived in Aotearoa well before the last migrating wave. He was the son of Toi-kai-rakau, who in turn descended from a very early inhabitant, Tiwakawaka. By the time the revered last canoe, Mataatua, arrived in this district, the people in this part of the Bay of Plenty were known as Te Tini-a-Toi – the many descendants of Toi – and were divided into at least 18 groups or hapu, of whom Ngati Awa was one.

The descendants of Toi, and also of a subsequent arrival, Whatonga, had spread throughout the country, even to the South Island, but the original nucleus still remained in the district that was the cradle for them all. The section known as Ngati Awa likewise spread to many parts, sometimes retaining the ancestral name of Awa, sometimes merging into existing hapu. In local tradition, Te Atiawa of Taranaki, and also now of Wellington and the northern South Island, are part of the same group, Te Atiawa being a variation of the same name.

The Mataatua canoe is especially esteemed today. The crew intermarried with Te Tini-a-Toi and Ngati Awa to form the numerous hapu of Ngati Awa, Tuhoe, and Whakatohea as known today. The canoe traveled also to Northland, where some of the crew settled, including Puhi (for whom Nga Puhi are known), and people there are thus connected to the Mataatua hapu of the Bay of Plenty. Toroa, the brother of Puhi, was the captain of the canoe, and he settled at Whakatane.



Map 3: Location of hapu at 1840, based on information supplied by Ngati Awa claimants

It is of interest that the Mataatua canoe must have been preceded by a canoe that arrived only shortly beforehand, because when Toroa landed, his father, Irakewa, was already there.

Not only Ngati Awa retained hapu names that predate the arrival of the Mataatua canoe. Of the various hapu of the Rangitaiki district today, the hapu of Te Tini-a-Awa at Whakatane and Nga Maihi of Te Teko bear ancestral names from pre-Mataatua days.

As one of the more densely populated parts of the country, the district is redolent with historic sites. Amongst the more significant is the home of Toi, Kapu Te Rangi Pa, on the headland above Whakatane. It was part of the confiscated land but has now

been reserved as a historic site. Ngati Awa were highly mobile. Owing to the exploits of their well-travelled forebears, Ngati Awa trace connections to significant sites throughout, and well beyond, the district.

2.3 NGATI AWA TODAY

The Ngati Awa tribe today is represented by Te Runanga o Ngati Awa, a body established under the Te Runanga o Ngati Awa Act 1988 as a Maori trust board under the terms of the Maori Trust Boards Act 1955. The runanga was established in anticipation of the 1990 return to the tribe of the Ngati Awa farm, which was seen as an asset requiring administration by a Maori trust board. At present, 22 hapu are represented on the runanga and have mandated it in its negotiations with the Crown for the settlement of the Ngati Awa claim.

The 22 hapu are Ngati Hokopu (at Wairaka), Ngati Hokopu (at Hokowhitu), Taiwhakaea, Patuwai, Ngati Pukeko, Ngati Rangataua, Ngai Tamapare, Ngai Te Rangihouhiri, Ngati Hikakino, Te Pahipoto, Nga Maihi, Ngai Tamaoki, Ngati Tamawera, Te Warahoe, Ngati Hamua, Te Tawera, Ngati Tuariki, Ngati Maumoana, Wharepaia, Te Kahupake, Ngati Awa-ki-Tamaki, and Ngati Awa-ki-Poneke.

These hapu represent a mixture of those that have existed from the time of the raupatu to today (16 in total, from an erstwhile number of 30); those that have been revived after having disappeared for some time (Te Warahoe, Ngati Maumoana, and Wharepaia); and those that are new (Te Kahupake, Tamaki, and Poneke, the latter two formed to represent those of Ngati Awa living in Auckland and Wellington respectively).³ Various hapu that no longer exist include Te Patutatahi, which has become Ngai Taiwhakaea; Ngati Ahi and Ngati Nuku of Te Pahipoto (Ngati Nuku having become Ngati Tamawera); Te Patutahora and Ngai Tonu of Ngati Pukeko; and Nga Potiki. Other Ngati Awa hapu, such as Ngati Makino, Ngati Whakahemo, and Ngati Whakahinga, preferred to align with their Te Arawa relations after the raupatu.⁴ However, they are never lost to the tribe and could come back into it.

Te Runanga o Ngati Awa was the successor to a non-statutory Ngati Awa runanga established in 1981 under the Charitable Trusts Act 1957. This runanga took a very similar form to the current body, and was set up after a hui at Puawairua Marae in November 1980 for all hapu of Ngati Awa. A Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau representative joined the runanga at that meeting but resigned in early 1981.⁵

The 1991 census revealed that 7065 people gave Ngati Awa as their primary tribal affiliation, while 9795 people in total acknowledged an affiliation to Ngati Awa. (Of that 9795, 4749 lived in the Bay of Plenty, 1866 in Auckland, and 861 in Wellington.⁶) This figure made Ngati Awa the second biggest tribe in the eastern Bay of Plenty

3. Document A17, pp 88–89

4. Ibid, p 88

5. Document K11, pp 7–8

6. Document A17, pp 90–91; Statistics New Zealand (comp), *1996 Census of Population and Dwellings*, Wellington, Statistics New Zealand, 1998, vol 1, p 18

district, behind Tuhoe with 24,522 and ahead of Te Whanau-a-Apanui with 7182 and Whakatohea with 5637. By the 1996 census, the total of those affiliated to Ngati Awa had risen to 11,304, compared to 25,917 people for Tuhoe, 7971 for Te Whanau-a-Apanui, and 7350 for Whakatohea.

The Ngati Awa runanga maintains its own list of beneficiaries. At the time of the hearings, we were told that the number of people registered was 6389, but that the list was in the process of being updated.⁷ The current figure, we understand, is some 9400.

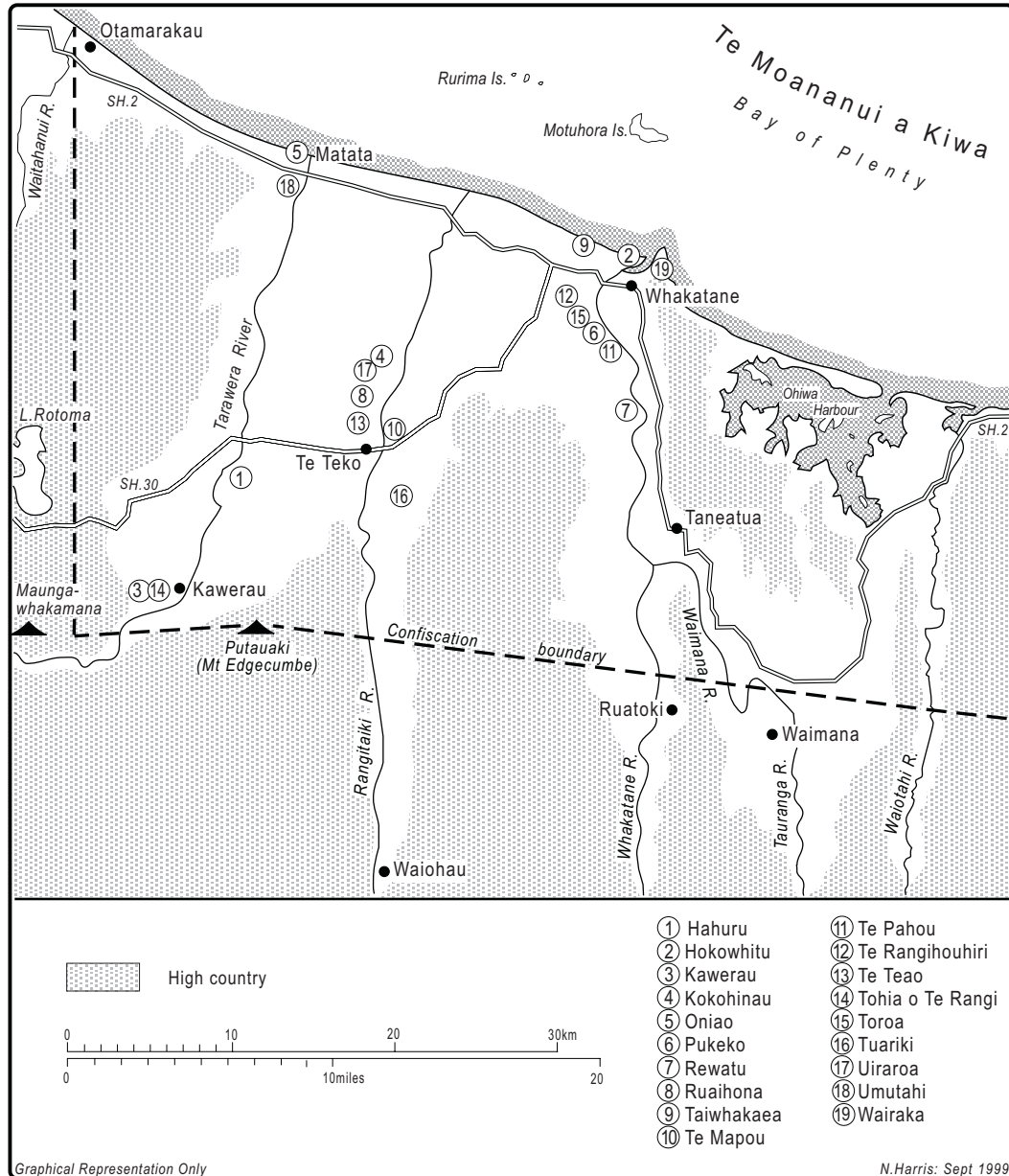
There are 19 Ngati Awa marae, as shown on the table below and map 4.

Marae	Approximate location	Hapu
Te Whare-o-Toroa (Wairaka)	Whakatane	Ngati Hokopu
Taiwhakaea	Whakatane	Ngai Taiwhakaea
Pukeko	Whakatane	Ngati Pukeko
Rewatu	Whakatane	Ngati Tamapare
Puawairua	Whakatane	Ngati Hikakino
Te Pahou	Whakatane	Ngati Rangataua
Te Rahui (Hokowhitu)	Whakatane	Ngati Hokopu
Toroa	Whakatane	Te Patuwai
Te Rangihouhiri	Whakatane	Ngai Te Rangihouhiri
Kokohinau	Te Teko	Te Pahipoto
Te Mapou	Te Teko	Ngati Hamua
Uiraroa	Te Teko	Ngati Tamawera
Tu Teao	Te Teko	Nga Maihi
Ruaihona	Te Teko	Ngai Tamaoki
Tuariki	South of Te Teko	Ngati Tuariki
Te Hinga-o-te-ra	Motiti Island	Ngati Maumoana
Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi	Motiti Island	Ngati Maumoana
Umutahi	Matata	Te Tawera-Umutahi
Mataatua	Mangere	Ngati Awa-ki-Tamaki Makaurau

What is apparent from the map is the way in which eight marae are clustered together to the west of the Whakatane River on land returned to 'rebels', with another group of five marae on land returned in the same fashion around Te Teko. Hapu that traditionally occupied lands to the west and south, therefore, must now sit cheek-by-jowl with those hapu traditionally of Whakatane. It is also little wonder that the Ngati Awa marae are grouped together in this fashion, given the predominantly steep and hilly nature of the rest of the land returned to them.

Ngati Awa-ki-Poneke do not yet have a marae of their own and tend to use Te Herenga Waka Marae at Victoria University of Wellington. They also meet at Awatope, an educational centre at Linden in the suburb of Tawa. The Wharepaia hapu

7. Document K13



Map 4: Current Ngati Awa and Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau marae

does not have its own marae and uses the Ngati Hokopu marae Hokowhitu, while Warahoe and Te Kahupake are in the same situation and share Kokohinau Marae with Te Pahipoto (Warahoe being a ‘revived’ hapu of Pahipoto). The Tawera hapu currently does not use Umutahi Marae because of differences with the Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau hapu Te Tawera-Umutahi, with whom it has been shared. In other words, a division exists between the Tawera people choosing to align with Ngati Awa and those aligning with Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau (see sec 2.5). The former are looking at establishing a new marae at another site.

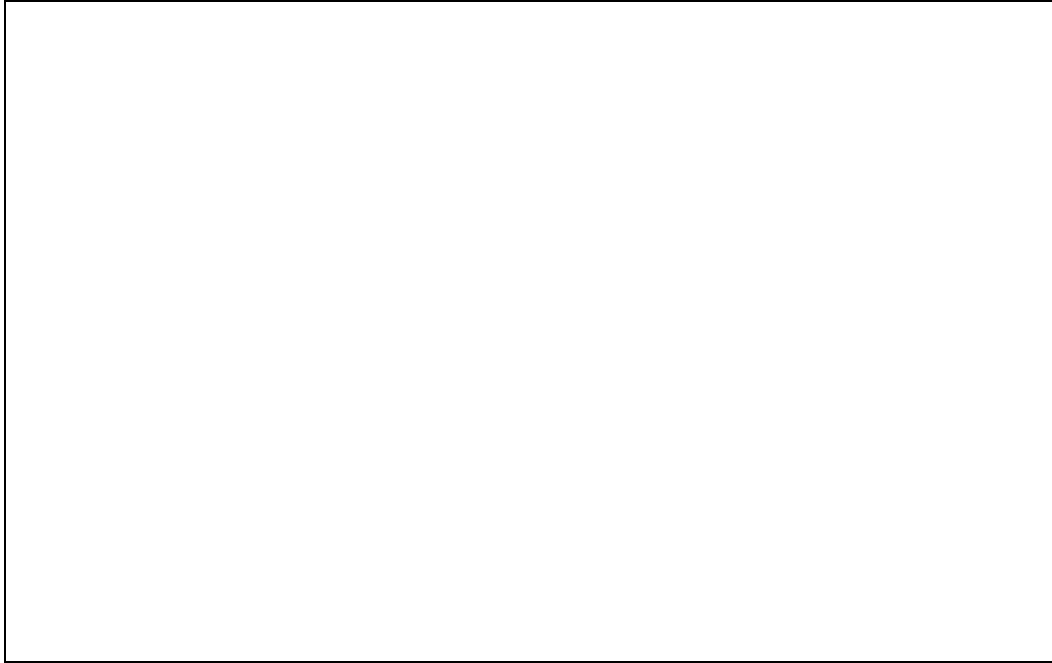


Photo 1: Wairaka Marae in 1900. At this time, the marae had direct river access.
Photo courtesy Whakatane District Museum and Gallery (D689).

2.4 ORIGINS OF TUWHARETOA

The people of Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau trace descent from Tuwharetoa-i-te-aupouri, the direct descendant of the high priest Ngatoroirangi, who came to Aotearoa on the Arawa canoe. He lived with his people in the Kawerau area in the sixteenth century where they intermarried with the earlier inhabitants, Te Tini-a-Kawerau. His mother came from the latter group and was also connected to Ngati Awa. His people spread from Otamarakau, where Tuwharetoa was born, along the coast to Matata and inland to Kawerau. In time, he concentrated his followers at Waitahanui, near to present-day Kawerau. It was there that he died and was buried. His bones were later transferred to the ancient burial cave Te Atua Reretahi in the hills at Te Ngako, subsequently renamed Te Anakari hou o Tuwharetoa.

Tuwharetoa had many children from three wives. Some of them led a migration to Taupo, and it is with this district that the people of Tuwharetoa are most associated today. Others remained, and according to local tradition, various parts of the district were named for them in recognition of their mana. The mountain Putauaki was associated with Te Aotahi, a son from Hinemotu, as recorded in the saying 'Ko Putauaki te maunga, ko te takanga o Apa te wai, ko Aotahi te tangata' (Putauaki is the mountain, Te Takanga o Apa the water, and Aotahi the ancestor).⁸ Another son, Poutomuri, was associated with Pokohu, while a third, Rongomai Te Ngangana, with the mountain Maungawhakamana, overlooking the Tarawera valley.

8. Document E1, pp 17, 24; John Te H Grace, *Tuwharetoa: The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*, Wellington, Reed, 1959, pp 103–104

There were further marriages with both Te Arawa to the west and Ngati Awa to the east. A powerful symbol of the latter connection was the saying ‘Nga mate i Kohi tangihia mai i Kawerau – nga mate i Kawerau tangihia atu i Kohi’ (Let the deaths at Kohi be mourned at Kawerau – and those at Kawerau mourned from Kohi).⁹ The hapu now living at Kawerau retain the name of Tuwharetoa, but those down the Tarawera River to the coast are known as Ngati Umutahi (or Te Tawera), Ngati Rangihouhiri, and Ngati Hikakino. These have links to Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, Te Arawa, and Ngati Awa and can align with any one of them or, as is acceptable amongst Maori, to all three at the same time.

In the Tarawera valley, leading down from Lake Tarawera along the Tarawera River, the peoples of Tuwharetoa and Ngati Awa merge with those of Tuhourangi and Ngati Rangitihi of Te Arawa.

2.5 TUWHARETOA TODAY

Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau representatives told us that nine Tuwharetoa hapu remain in the Kawerau–Matata area. These are Ngati Peehi, Umutahi, Te Tawera, Ngai Tamarangi, Ngati Hikakino, Ngai Te Rangihouhiri, Ngati Pou, Ngati Iramoko, and Ngati Manuwhare.

However, the Tuwharetoa claimants conceded that only four hapu names appear in their own tribal census returns: Ngati Umutahi, Te Tawera, Ngai Tamarangi, and Ngati Peehi.¹⁰

What is apparent, therefore, is that both Ngati Awa and Tuwharetoa jointly claim several hapu groups. Counsel for the Tuwharetoa claimants conceded that Ngati Hikakino and Ngai Te Rangihouhiri were also strongly connected to Ngati Awa. He explained that, in traditional terms, the business of those hapu on the coast east of Wahieroa (a point midway between the mouths of the Tarawera and Rangitaiki Rivers) was done on behalf of Ngati Awa, and to the west on behalf of Tuwharetoa.¹¹ We would observe that, despite the ambiguities in the customary allegiance, these hapu seem firmly aligned to Ngati Awa today.

Perhaps more complicated, as adverted to above, is the situation of the Tawera–Umutahi hapu. Tuwharetoa counsel submitted that this hapu had never been allied to Ngati Awa, and Umutahi Marae in Matata was identified by various Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau witnesses as a specifically Tuwharetoa marae.¹² As mentioned, the Ngati Awa affiliated section of this hapu no longer use the marae as a result of the recent debate. However, one Tawera–Umutahi witness, Pouroto Ngaporo, acknowledged affiliations both ways and stressed the hapu’s support for the Ngati Awa claim, rather than that of Tuwharetoa. He also explained that the Tawera hapu consists of two sub-groups,

9. Document E1, p 27; Grace, p 90

10. See doc K15, pp 2, 94

11. Document I8, p 2

12. Document E2, p 5

Umutahi and Tuariki, centred upon Umutahi and Tuariki Marae respectively.¹³ We think that those who choose to align with either claimant group do so correctly, and our suspicion arises more where the blood connections are denied. The Matata district, as John T H Grace wrote in his work *Tuwharetoa*, was an area of significant intermarriage between Tuwharetoa and Ngati Awa, and the customary interests there of both groups need to be acknowledged.¹⁴

The Tuwharetoa claimants told us of five marae that they use: Umutahi and Oniao at Matata, Hahuru at Onepu north of Kawerau, and Rautahi and Tohia-o-te-rangi at Kawerau. Rautahi is a pan-tribal marae, however, and we understand that Tohia-o-te-rangi is a whanau marae not exclusively linked to Tuwharetoa-ki-Kawerau. It is fair to say that Tuwharetoa's base is at Hahuru. The two marae at Matata also demonstrate the interconnectedness between Ngati Awa and Tuwharetoa. The left-hand amo of the wharenuī Umutahi (named after a sixth generation descendant of Tuwharetoa) commemorates Tuwharetoa-i-te-aupouri, but the right-hand amo does likewise for Awanui-a-rangi, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Awa. Likewise, at Oniao the left-hand amo of the wharenuī Tuwharetoa-i-te-aupouri commemorates Hikakino, another sixth generation descendant of Tuwharetoa, and the right-hand amo depicts Rangihouhiri, Hikakino's son.¹⁵ These two ancestors are of course also eponymous ancestors of Ngati Awa hapu. We think it likely that most Ngati Awa could trace descent from Tuwharetoa, and that those of Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau could do likewise from Awanui-a-rangi.

The Tuwharetoa claim was originally brought on behalf of 'Tuwharetoa Te Atua Reretahi ki Kawerau', which is usually abbreviated to 'Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau'. The people are represented by Te Runanga o Ngati Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, as well as by a claims negotiating committee. The runanga was established in 1986 under the Charitable Trusts Act 1957 and is currently chaired by Maungarangi Arapeta Te Rire, while the negotiating team is headed by John Vercoe.

Although it contradicts Maori custom – whereby connections to many tribal groups are acknowledged – we are obliged to make some comment on relative Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau and Ngati Awa numbers so that the respective settlements can be reached. However, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau numbers remain obscure to us. The census returns available do not distinguish between Tuwharetoa of Kawerau and Tuwharetoa of Taupo. Claimant counsel conceded that some might suggest 'present Tuwharetoa are somewhat "thin on the ground"', but estimated that 'at least 10,000 direct descendants of Tuwharetoa would qualify as potential beneficiaries of any recommendation and ultimate settlement with the Crown'.¹⁶ However, this figure seems inflated to us. The descendants of Tuwharetoa would number far more even than this figure, and include many at Taupo and – as we have discussed – most members of Ngati Awa itself.

13. Document K9, pp 5–6

14. Grace, p 90

15. Document K15, pp 18–22

16. Document E2, pp 5–6

Contemporary Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau numbers must therefore remain uncertain. However, if one compares Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau and Ngati Awa numbers on the basis of functioning marae, it would appear that the former are approximately one-tenth the size of the latter. This approximation was reinforced by attendances at the claimants' respective hearings.

2.6 NGATI MAKINO

At this point, brief mention may be made of Ngati Makino, who were heard in association with this claim on account of a rival claim to the Rotoehu Forest. They occupy a part of the coast between Maketu and Matata and inland to Rotoiti. Through historical associations, Tuwharetoa, Ngati Awa, and Te Arawa all saw Ngati Makino as part of them. Clearly, there are whakapapa links to each, but in the course of the hearings it became clear that they saw their main link as being with Te Arawa. They place significance on a line of descent from Hei and his son Waitaha-a-Hei of the Arawa canoe.¹⁷

17. Document G1(a), p 5