

CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HAPU AND IWI OF HAWKE'S BAY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in the introduction to this report, this chapter serves two main purposes. It will provide a brief summary of the Maori communities who were living in Hawke's Bay at about the time when Crown land purchaser, Donald McLean, arrived in 1850. It will also indicate where those groups resided. Comment on the relationships between these groups can be found in chapter 2. The purpose here, is merely to introduce these groups, to enable readers to appreciate their origins; to have an idea of hapu and iwi names, and the names of some principal chiefs. This should serve as a useful aid, when reading the following chapters of this report. References for further reading, for those after more particular information, will be provided where known. The second purpose of this short chapter is to bring the account of these Maori groups into the present, by use of the claims they have lodged with the Tribunal.

By way of disclaimer, this chapter is not intended to argue the merits of any one Maori group's interests over another's, or to exclude any hapu who are not mentioned specifically. The district studied in this report is an artificial construct; and, while it has been kept sufficiently vague so as not to hinder effective contextualisation of issues and situations, it has, nevertheless, resulted in emphasis being placed on some groups, at, perhaps, the expense of others. Again, it is important to remember that this is a by-product of a district overview report, and any omissions or wrongly-weighted emphasis will, hopefully, be rectified when all detailed and outstanding claimant research is completed.

1.2 MAORI OCCUPATION

1.2.1 Introduction

McLean's arrival in Hawke's Bay in 1850 saw him encounter various Maori groups, all of whom had endured a tumultuous previous 30 years. Ballara estimates that the Maori population of Hawke's Bay was possibly halved between 1769 and 1840, and

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that most of this decline occurred in the period after 1820.¹ The fateful period was, of course, the so-called 'musket war' era, when Hawke's Bay Maori faced invasions from northern and western tribes.² Historian James Belich believes the Musket Wars accounted for the deaths of more New Zealanders than in World War I.³ During this period, by far the majority of Hawke's Bay Maori fled to Nukutaurua in Wairoa, to shelter with the Nga Puhi chief, Te Wera,⁴ and from there built up a cache of arms by trading with whalers and Pacific traders.⁵ Others (notably Ngati Hineuru, Ngati Te Upokoiri, and Rangitane) took shelter with inland and western tribes, some were captured and became slaves, and a small few braved it out on the Hawke's Bay Plains, keeping the fires of occupation lit. Obviously, the above is over-simplified: people came and went; led invasions, and were invaded; were imprisoned, and held others captive; suffered defeat, and had their turn at vanquishing the enemy.⁶ For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is important merely to note the unsettled and uncertain immediate past of Hawke's Bay Maori, prior to McLean's arrival to purchase land. From the late 1830s, peace was brokered with former enemies, and the supra-Ngati Kahungunu alliance formed at Nukutaurua dissipated, as various groups of Maori began to resettle on their former customary lands.

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1. H A Ballara, *The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1991, p 59
 2. For further explanation see the Waitangi Tribunal's *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995*, Wellington, Brooker's Ltd, 1995, fig 5 and pp
 3. James Belich, *Making Peoples*, Auckland, 1996, Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, p 157
 4. Angela Ballara, 'Te Wera Hauraki', *People of Many Peaks*, DNZB vol I, pp 295–298
 5. Angela Ballara, 'Te Paraihe', *People of Many Peaks*, DNZB vol I, pp 219–222
 6. For further reading, see, in no particular order, J Te H Grace, *Tuwharetoa*; H Guthrie-Smith, *Tutira*; T Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa*; J M McEwen, *Rangitane*; J H Mitchell, *Takitimu*; S Percy Smith, *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*; J Belich, *Making Peoples*; J G Wilson, *The History of Hawke's Bay*

1.2.2 'Ancient' and 'Migrant' descent

So who were these people who became identified as Ngati Kahungunu? Again, risking error through simplification, they were descended from two groups. Firstly, 'ancient' peoples – some of whose whakapapa stretched back to the gods; and including others who had occupied Hawke's Bay since the arrival of Awanuiarangi, Toi, and Whatonga, for example.⁷ While these peoples went by many tribal names, some of the more common mentioned as occupying Hawke's Bay were: Ngati Awa (situated at Otatara and Heipipi pa, Ahuriri), Ngati Apa (situated in the mountainous Kaweka, Ahimanawa area, and elsewhere), Ngati Whatumamoia (situated at Heipipi pa, Petane and surrounds), Ngati Hotu, Ngati Moe, Ngai Tara, Moaupoko, and Rangitane.⁸

7. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, p 63

8. *Ibid*, pp 60–71, 145–165

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Secondly, the 'migrants' – descendants of Kahungunu, of the waka Takitimu, who had arrived under Taraia and company, sometime, it is estimated, in the sixteenth century. Taraia and the first Kahungunu travellers settled north of the old path of the Ngaruroro River (see fig1). With Taraia, was Te Aomatarahi, who eventually settled his group, later known as Ngai Tahu and Ngati Ira, south of the Tukituki River.⁹ Through might and marriage, the descendants of Kahungunu took hold in the majority of Hawke's Bay, but they did so, according to Ballara, *conditionally*. Some of the ancient groups maintained an independent identity, for example, Rangitane, Ngati Tauiri, and Ngati Moe. Also, groups claiming descent from Kahungunu tended to emphasise links with ancient ancestors as well. Indeed, Ballara argues that high-ranking Hawke's Bay chiefs of the 1840s and 1850s gained mana whenua through this 'dual' whakapapa. According to Ballara, claiming descent from Kahungunu ancestors only, gave chiefs mana tangata, but not necessarily mana whenua as well.¹⁰

To explain the links between ancient and migrant people further, it is necessary to provide examples from the different locations of Hawke's Bay. The following paragraphs will do that, by starting in the northern extremity of this Rangahaua Whanui district (Hawke's Bay), and moving south. When mentioning locations, readers should note that chiefs and Maori groups' *centres* of geographic influence are being situated, not necessarily their complete rohe. It is not the intention of this chapter to constrict or define particular people or groups' customary interests in any way, but merely to provide a guide to readers, for subsequent chapters.

9. H A Ballara and G Scott, 'Claimants report to the Waitangi Tribunal. Crown Purchases of Maori Land in early Provincial Hawke's Bay', Wai 201 ROD, document I1, Porangahau block, p 1

10. H A Ballara and G Scott, 'Claimants report to the Waitangi Tribunal. Crown Purchases of Maori Land in early Provincial Hawke's Bay', Wai 201 ROD, document I1, Introduction, p 36

1.2.3 Mohaka

The Hawke's Bay Rangahaua Whanui district stretches north to the Waihua River district. In 1850, the part of Hawke's Bay south of this river, with Mohaka as its centre, was identified with Ngati Pahauwera, an iwi¹¹ with which a number of different hapu associated themselves.¹² One of their chiefs with whom McLean had considerable involvement, was Paora Rerepu. His whakapapa traced his descent from Awanuiarangi, through Tuteihonga; and from Kahungunu, through Purua and Te Huki. Through his mother, Paora Rerepu descended also from Te Whatuiapiti, linking him to further lines of dual Kahungunu, and pre-Kahungunu descent groups such as Ngati Ira and Ngai Tahu.¹³ Ngati Pahauwera have presented a comprehensive claim to the Tribunal. Aspects relating to the Mohaka River were heard separately, and reported on in 1992. The remainder of their claim, relating to grievances arising principally from land alienation, is being managed by the Ngati Pahauwera Section 30 Incorporation, a group appointed by the Maori Land Court in 1994. Ngati Pahauwera are represented on the Maungaharuru Tangitu Trust, the body that manages Wai 299, the comprehensive claim which concerns principally the Mohaka–Waikare confiscation. The Maungaharuru Tangitu Trust represents Maori hapu of the Mohaka–Waikare district.

1.2.4 Mohaka–Waikare

Ngai Tataara–Ngati Kurumokihi, and Ngati Tu, are also represented on the Maungaharuru–Tangitu Trust. They can claim dual descent from, among others, the ancient occupants Ngati Tauira, descended from Tangaroa and Hau, through Tunui, (and from the important Koaupari line). They claim descent from Kahungunu through, for example, Kahutapere II, (whose children carved up much of this district between them). Many other important descent lines can be traced.¹⁴ Ngati Matepu are a further group involved with the Wai 299 claim. McLean met them, and their chief Te Tore, at Petane, in 1850.¹⁵

Ngati Hineuru are also represented on the Maungaharuru–Tangitu Trust. They are an iwi which occupy the inland Mohaka–Waikare district and surrounds, their centre being Te Haroto and Tarawera. This area served as 'the gateway to the interior', and as an important buffer zone between many tribes; Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Manawa,

11. Too much should not be read into the use in this report of the terms 'iwi' and 'hapu'. While it suits European notions of political and social structures to pyramidise Maori society (ie tangata make up whanau, which make up hapu, which make up iwi, which make up supra-iwi, which comprise the sum of the race: Maori), this graphic compartmentalisation does not necessarily sit comfortably with Maori representations of themselves. Therefore, this report has been guided by other authors' use of terms, and has, accordingly, used them interchangeably, and without prejudice.

12. Cordry T Huata, 'Wai 119 Report to the Waitangi Tribunal for Ngaati Pahauwera Society', 1991, Wai 201 ROD, document A14, p 5; Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, pp 183–184

13. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, pp94–98

14. See P Parsons 'The Mohaka–Waikare Confiscated Lands Ancestral Overview (Customary Tenure)', 1993, Part B, Maungaharuru–Tangitu District, pp 32–99 for a full explanation of the whakapapa links.

15. Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995*, p 39

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Tuhoe, and, to the east, the Hawke's Bay hapu. Due to their central position, Ngati Hineuru can trace ancestry to all of these tribes. Links with ancient tribes are prominent in Ngati Hineuru whakapapa. Ngati Hotu, Ngati Marangaranga, Ngati Awa, and Ngati Apa all feature.¹⁶ Claimants currently cite Ngati Kurupoto and Ngati Maruahine, among others, as being distinct hapu associated with the iwi, Ngati Hineuru. According to Ballara and Parsons, Ngati Hineuru had, prior to McLean's arrival, lived for periods under the mana of Kahungunu descendants Kahutapere II, and Te Ruruku; and under the mana of the Ngati Tuwharetoa chief, Te Heuheu.¹⁷ McLean encountered one of the principal Ngati Hineuru chiefs, Te Rangihiroa, at Tangoio in April 1851.¹⁸

1.2.5 Ahuriri and Heretaunga

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16. See P Parsons, 'Ancestral Overview', Part A, Tarawera-Tataraakina District, pp 4-31, for a full explanation of Ngati Hineuru's whakapapa links; and Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, pp 184-188
 17. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, p 186, and Parsons, 'The Interests of Kahutapere II', 1994
 18. Ballara and Scott, I1, Ahuriri block file, p 17

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The representatives of many hapu met McLean on the foreshore of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu, in 1850. Ballara described this collection of hapu as Ngati Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga.¹⁹ Claimants have tended not to use this term, but instead have filed claims which identify individual hapu or ancestors. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this report, combining the hapu of Ahuriri and the Heretaunga Plains under one umbrella term has benefits; it is convenient and enables easy distinction from other major Hawke's Bay Maori groups, such as Ngati Te Whatuiapiti (who also descend from Kahungunu). Therefore, subsequent chapters will refer to the Ngati Kahungunu hapu, or coastal Ngati Kahungunu of Ahuriri and/or Heretaunga. This derivation should not be seen, however, to limit the autonomy of hapu associated with the umbrella term, or to deny these hapu their whakapapa links with pre-Kahungunu tribes. Using a couple of examples, it is clear that the hapu of Ahuriri and Heretaunga did act autonomously, and did claim dual ancient and migrant whakapapa.

One example is the hapu Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu. Their influence centred around Moteo and Wharerangi. Their female tipuna, Hinepare, was descended from, among others, Paikea and Whatonga. She married Taraia, the chief who led the Kahungunu descendants into Hawke's Bay. Apparently this marriage took place prior to Taraia's migration.²⁰ The marriage of Hinepare and Taraia, then, would appear to embody the twinning of the ancient and migrant peoples. Of course, marriage alone did not secure the Kahungunu migrants a home in Hawke's Bay. Oral traditions relating the battles between Taraia, and Turauwha of Otatara, are readily retold as part of tribal oral narratives.²¹ Paora Torotoro and Paora Kaiwhata, were prominent chiefs of these hapu when McLean negotiated the purchase of Ahuriri in 1850–51. Ngati Hinepare and Ngati Mahu have claims relating to this purchase (Wai 400), and are involved in claims, with other hapu, relating to the Kaweka Forest (Wai 382), and other areas of Heretaunga.

In 1850 McLean dealt chiefly with Kurupo Te Moananui, Tareha (from 1861, Tareha Te Moananui), and Karaitiana Takamoana, for the purchase of Ahuriri. Kurupo Te Moananui claimed principal descent from his grandfather Hawea, a descendant of Kahungunu.²² Tareha referred to Nga Tuku a te Rangi as his principal hapu in the 1850s and 1860s. He could also claim certain rights under Kahutapere II, who Tuku a te Rangi descended from (through Hikawera II), and both were linked to ancient lines, leading to Tangaroa.²³ Between 1861 and 1880 Tareha was the acknowledged leading chief of Ahuriri. His descendants today, who reside at Waiohiki (referred to in the 1850s as Pa Whakairo), have lodged a claim against the Crown on behalf of Ngati Paarau (Wai 168). They, along with Ngati Hinepare, Ngati Mahu, Ngati Tu, Ngati Matepu, Ngai Te Ruruku and Ngai Tawhao, came together to

19. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, p 188

20. *Ibid*, pp 193–194

21. Parsons, A12, section 1, pp 8–10

22. Ballara, 'Kurupo Te Moananui', *The People of Many Peaks*, DNZB vol I, pp 211–214

23. Parsons, 'The Interests of Kahutapere II', p 13; and Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995*, p 15

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bring the claim (Wai 55) relating to their lagoon, Te Whanganui-a-Orotu. Claimant submissions emphasised strongly the relationship between ancient and migrant peoples, summed up in the saying: 'The land is Turauwha's but the mana is Taraia's'.²⁴ The Tribunal reported on the Te Whanganui-a-Orotu claim in 1995.

24. Parsons, A12, section 1, p 10

Karaitiana Takamoana, who married Tareha's sister, escorted McLean to Hawke's Bay from Manawatu. He was there negotiating for the return (under the patronage of Te Moananui) of further Ngati Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu to Hawke's Bay. They were refugees from the musket war era. Karaitiana, principally descended from Hawea, could also claim Rangitane links through his father. This became important when the Crown negotiated the purchase of the Tamaki Bush in the early 1870s.²⁵ He was also associated with other Ngati Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga hapu, such as Ngati Hori.²⁶ Other hapu represented within the coastal Ngati Kahungunu group were Ngati Hinemoa, represented by Te Waka Kawatini; and Ngai Tamawahine, represented by Paora Torotoro.²⁷

Further inland of the Ahuriri–Heretaunga Plains, centred around Omahu and looking west (inland Patea), were Ngati Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu. They had links with the Ngati Kahungunu hapu of Heretaunga, Ngati Te Whatuiapiti further south, and with ancient ancestors, Whatumamoa, Awanuiarangi and Whitikaupeka.²⁸ Their principal chiefs were Renata Kawepo,²⁹ and Noa Huke. Both were closely associated with Colenso for a period, and both met McLean in 1850. A claim relating to grievances in the Kaweka region (Wai 382), has been brought on behalf of Ngati Te Upokoiri and Ngati Hinemanu, yet also acknowledges Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Maruawahine, Ngati Tamawahine, Ngati Hineuru, and Ngati Mahu.

1.2.6 Ngati Te Whatuiapiti and hapu

Part of Ballara's reasoning behind collating hapu under the Ngati Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga umbrella, is to provide a distinction between that group and those hapu identified as, and associated with, Ngati Te Whatuiapiti. This iwi could trace descent from Kahungunu through, among other ancestors, Taraia's sister, Taiwha; and, could also trace whakapapa back to Te Porangahau, Tahu, Ira, and Whatonga II, leading ultimately to Toi.³⁰ In 1850, (Kuini) Hine-i-Paketia, a close relation of the Ngati Te Whatuiapiti chief Te Hapuku, was said to best represent the whakapapa combination of ancient lines of descent, and Kahungunu links.³¹ Ngati Te Whatuiapiti had several main centres of influence, including Waipawa, Waipukurau, Patangata, Te Hauke and others. Ballara believes that Ngati Te Whatuiapiti was 'genealogically distinct' from Ngati Kahungunu-ki-Heretaunga.

25. Ballara, 'Karaitiana Takamoana', *The People of Many Peaks*, pp 127–131

26. Evidence of Henare Tomoana, Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873, AJHR 1873, G–7, pp 24–25

27. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, pp 190–193

28. *Ibid*, p 202

29. Ballara and Parsons, 'Kawepo, Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi', *The People of Many Peaks*, pp 26–28

30. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, pp 100–102

31. Ballara, 'Hine-i-Paketia', *The People of Many Peaks*, pp 10–11

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The split between the Heretaunga Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Te Whatuiapiti, Ballara argues, continued to develop.³² It is important to note this tension, as it reared its head again in the 1850s, partly as a result of McLean's according Te Hapuku a status beyond that acceptable to other Maori. Claimants who have identified grievances in central, inland, Hawke's Bay (Gwavas Forest, Wai 397), have listed themselves as both Ngati Te Whatuiapiti and Ngati Kahungunu, and also Ngati Raingikoinake, Ngati Te Upokoiri, Ngati Hinemanu and Ngati Te Ao. This would appear to acknowledge the major ancestors, Te Whatuiapiti and Kahungunu, and the equally important descendants of them.

32. Ballara, *Origins of Ngati Kahungunu*, pp 194–199

A number of hapu who could identify with Ngati Te Whatuiapiti in 1850, also operated autonomously of them, according to Dr Ballara's thesis. These hapu included, for example, Ngati Te Rangikoinake; and, Ngati Hawea, who became associated with the Te Awanga, Matahiwi and Pakowhai communities.³³ People with a claim relating to Mangateretere (Wai 71), in this vicinity, have brought their claim on behalf of Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Hawea, Ngati Hori and Ngati Tuku o Te Rangi.

Ngati Hawea were prominent at Te Matau a Maui (Cape Kidnappers), as were another autonomous Ngati Te Whatuiapiti hapu, Ngati Kurukuru. Te Teira Tiakitai, son of prominent Ngati Kurukuru chief Tiakitai, (who had been the patron of the Rangaika whaling station until his death in 1845), met with McLean in 1850. Ngati Kurukuru, in 1850, lived at Waimarama with Ngati Whakaiti and Ngati Kautere, who were descended from Ngati Ira.³⁴ A claim (Wai 517) before the Tribunal relating to this area has been brought on behalf of Ngati Kurukuru and Ngati Whakaiti.

Another area where descendants of Te Whatuiapiti were prominent in 1850 was Porangahau. There, Ngati Kere, Ngati Hinetewai and Ngati Manuhiri emerged as an autonomous group, who could link with original Ngati Ira, Ngai Tahu and Rangitane people.³⁵ Henare Matua, a young man when McLean negotiated the Waipukurau block purchase in 1850–51, and who became increasingly prominent from the late 1860s, was a Ngati Kere chief.³⁶

1.2.7 Tamaki-nui-a-Rua

Henare Matua was also a politically influential figure in the Tamaki purchase, yet, he was not represented on any Crown grants in the area. He acted for some of grantees and other customary owners who were not on the grants.³⁷ Various descendants of Toi occupied this area, including Te Aitanga-a-Whata, Ngai Tara, and Rangitane. It is important to note that, as Ballara has stated, 'Rangitane people were never expelled from their homes or dominated by Ngati Kahungunu; they are there still'.³⁸ This is evidenced by a claim (Wai 166) brought on behalf of Rangitane o Tamaki-nui-a-Rua, relating to grievances in this area. Nevertheless, the influence of the Ngati Ira, Ngai Tahu and Ngati Kahungunu migrants can not be discounted. Inter-marriage has resulted in a situation where 'many Rangitane can trace their descent via Te Manakawa, Te Rehunga, Te Kikiri', who were descended from Te Whatuiapiti and Kahungunu.³⁹

33. Ibid, pp 197–198

34. Ballara and Scott, Matau a Maui block, I1, pp 1–2

35. Ballara and Scott, Porangahau block, I1, pp 1–7

36. Ballara, 'Henare Matua', *The People of Many Peaks*, pp 43–46

37. Evidence of Henare Matua, Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873, AJHR 1873, G–7, evidence,

1.3 CONCLUSION

Hopefully this chapter has explained, albeit in a rudimentary fashion, who the different hapu and iwi of Hawke's Bay were, their origins, and how they have represented themselves as claimants to the Waitangi Tribunal. Not all claims have been mentioned in this section; a complete list is in appendix III.

This report has concentrated on identifying, where possible, the links between the 'ancient' and 'migrant' people. The fusion of these two peoples into the various groups that met with McLean in 1850, is a useful place to start this report. It gives due credit to the breadth of history and traditions held by Hawke's Bay Maori. It provides a human perspective to the bones and artifacts found in archeological sites.⁴⁰ And, it introduces two somewhat ambiguous, yet vital terms: *mana whenua*, and *mana tangata*. As proceeding chapters will hopefully show, these concepts of Maori identification with and control over land and resources, (and whether the Crown paid adequate notice) rests at the heart of a number of grievances.

The Introduction to this report has explained how it was originally anticipated that one district report would cover the whole Wairoa ki Wairarapa area. This was based on the assumption, made in 1991, that all the claims of Wairoa ki Wairarapa could be grouped for a single inquiry, and led to the drafting of a comprehensive Ngati Kahungunu claim (Wai 201). Both these assumptions have proved unworkable in practice. This report was redefined to cover a smaller area of Hawke's Bay, which excluded Wairarapa and Wairoa. Meanwhile, claimants pursued grievances on behalf of, and which reflected, defined hapu and ancestors, rather than solely under the iwi name, Ngati Kahungunu.

It remains to note once again the debts owed by this chapter to the historians Angela Ballara and Patrick Parsons.

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38. Ballara and Scott, Tamaki block, p 4

39. Ballara and Scott, Tamaki block, II, pp 6–7

40. See Waitangi Tribunal's *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report 1995*, pp 15–17; and *Mohaka River Report 1992*, p 14. For further reading see Mark Allen's 'Warfare and Economic Power in Simple Chiefdoms: The Development of Fortified Villages and Politics in Mid-Hawke's Bay, New Zealand', PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1994