

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa

Oral & Traditional

History Report



Figure 1: Whakarongotai Marae, date unknown

Lou Chase

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PREFACE

Mihi

Tuatahi, kā mihi atu ki tō tātou Matua-nui-i-te-rangi mō ūna manaakitanga katoa, ahakoa ngā pikinga me ngā hekenga, kia haere tonu ngā whakamoemiti ki a ia. Ka rua, kia maumahara ai tātou ki ū tātou mate i hingahinga haere nei i runga i ū tātou marae maha, e kore rawa rātou e ngaro, e warewaretia. Ka toru, kā nui te mihi ki ngā tāngata o Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa i kaha nei te kōrero mai ki ahau mō ngā āhuatanga ū ā koutou kereme, nawe hoki. Tēnā koutou.

About the Researcher

My name is Louis Torehaere Chase and I affiliate to Ngāti Waewae, a hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and Ngāti Pikahu, a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. However, we, the whānau hapū who reside at Te Reureu, are commonly referred to as Ngāti Pikahu Waewae. I hold a degree in Māori and a postgraduate diploma in Māori Development from the University of Waikato. My previous work was with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust as a research assistant; Ngā Kaihautu o Te Arawa as a researcher/report writer for direct negotiations with the Crown; and with Ngāti Tūwharetoa Wai 575 as a researcher in the Central North Island Inquiry and research manager in the National Park, Whanganui, and Rohe Potae Waitangi Tribunal district inquiries. I was commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal to write the Ngāti Muaūpoko oral and traditional history report which was filed in August 2015.¹ Work unrelated to the Waitangi Tribunal process has included mana-whenua reports for the Tuwharetoa Settlement Trust and Ngāti Rangitīhi in the Central North Island Iwi forest collective. I have also produced individual hapū profile reports and tribal thematic reports for Ngāti Tuwharetoa direct negotiations with the Crown.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of several people at the Waitangi Tribunal in the completion of this report. Jacinta Paranihi (formerly of the Waitangi Tribunal) provided an analysis for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claims, located and contacted claimants and took part with me in some of the early hui with claimants. Dr Barry Rigby augmented and redrafted Chapter 2 on settlement patterns prior to 1850 and drafted the context for the Kāpiti Island material in Chapter 5 in consultation with me. Leanne Boulton edited the text for clarity and written style

¹ Lou Chase, ‘Muaupoko Oral Evidence and Traditional History Report’, 2015, Wai 2200, #A160.

and redrafted the introduction in consultation with me. In addition, I would like to thank Kesaia Walker and Leanne Boulton for their project supervision and Emma Powell, inquiry facilitator for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry, for assistance in distributing the draft report and arranging research hui with claimants. I would also like to acknowledge to the claimant community of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa for their cooperation and participation in giving their kōrero and stories. While many people have assisted in the creation of this report, the interpretation and conclusions drawn are solely my own.

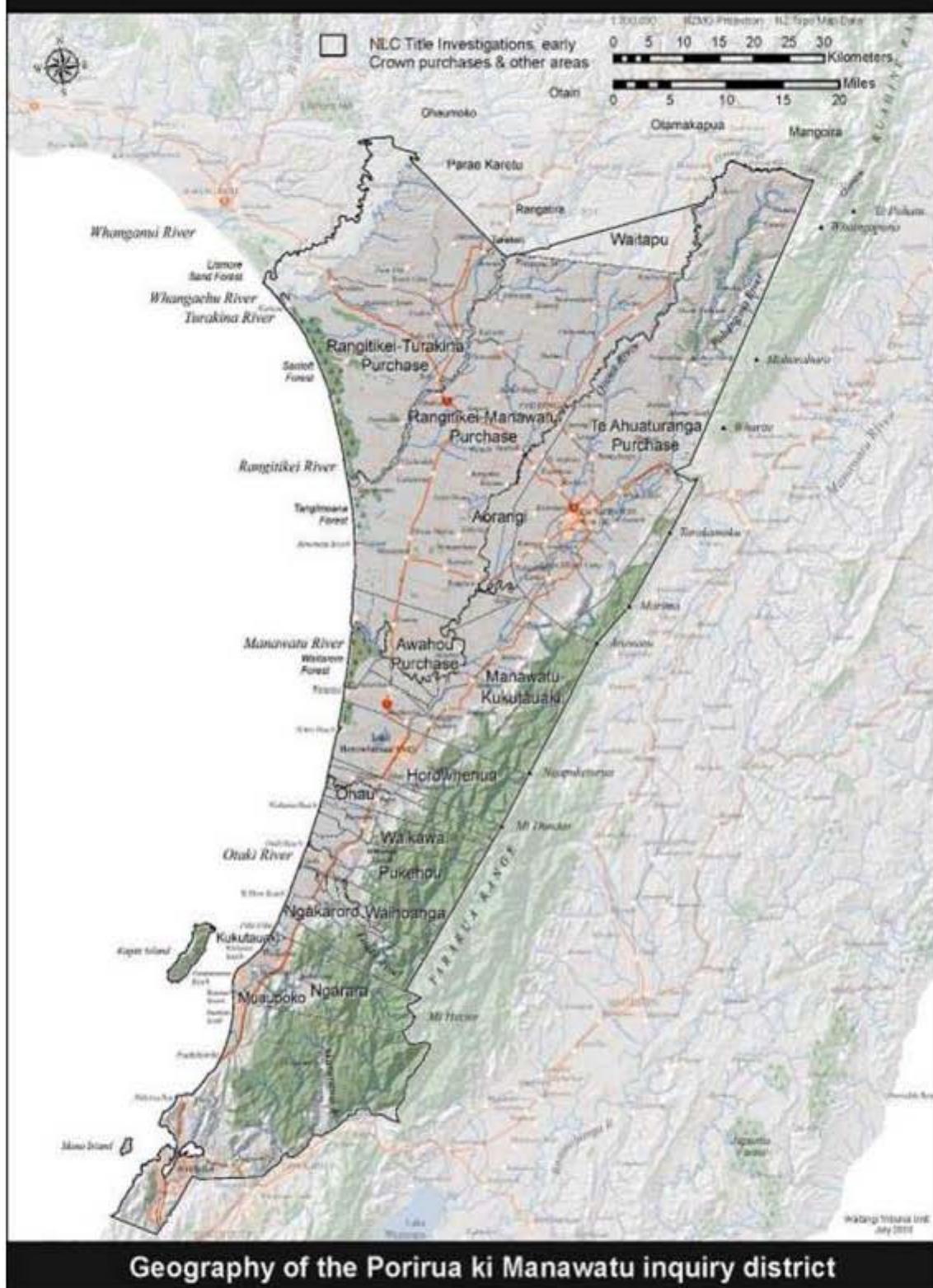


Figure 2: The Waitangi Tribunal's Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District (Wai 2200)

INTRODUCTION

Background

This research report is part of the casebook for the Waitangi Tribunal’s Porirua ki Manawatu district inquiry (Wai 2200). The boundaries of the inquiry district are shown in Figure 2. The western boundary of the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district extends to the Whangaehu River in the west and down the Kāpiti Coast to near the Porirua Harbour, including Mana and Kāpiti Islands. The southern boundary follows the boundary of the Whanganui-a-Tara inquiry district from the Tasman Sea to the Tararua Ranges. The eastern boundary follows the boundary of the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district from the Tararua Ranges to the Ruahine Ranges. The northern boundary follows the northern boundaries of the 1849 Rangitikei-Turakina purchase, the 1866 Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase, and the 1864 Te Ahuaturanga purchase, from the Ruahine Ranges to the Whangaehu River.²

On 12 March and 24 December 2012, the panel for the Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry issued directions setting out the inquiry research programme.³ This programme included a range of iwi-specific and district-wide research reports covering particular themes. For each of the three major iwi groupings participating in the inquiry, there was to be a ‘historical issues project’ covering all land claim issues and political autonomy/political engagement issues, a ‘local issues project’ and an ‘oral and traditional history project.’

In April 2015, the Tribunal commissioned Tony Walzl to prepare a scoping report and make recommendations about Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa research needs. This report was filed with the Tribunal in January 2016 and the research commission for the present report was informed by Walzl’s recommendations.⁴

Report Commission

The commission for this report (attached to this report as Appendix 1) required the preparation of a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa oral evidence and traditional history report for the Porirua ki Manawatu district inquiry. It required the following matters be addressed:

² Wai 2200, #2.5.9, para 9.

³ Wai 2200, #2.5.45; Wai 2200, #2.5.58.

⁴ Tony Walzl, ‘Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa Research Needs Scoping Report, 2016, Wai 2200, #A186; Wai 2200, #2.3.9.

- a) The origins and patterns of settlement of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in this inquiry district, including the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa hapū who lived in the district, the present day Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa tribal landscape and how settlement changed over time;
- b) The geography of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa tribal rohe and boundary, the location and description of significant sites, traditional resources and tāonga of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa within the inquiry district as Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa understand them, and Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa customs and protocols for protecting, using and managing these sites, resources and tāonga;
- c) Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa relationships with neighbouring iwi within the inquiry district and with the Crown, including understandings about how they managed these relationships and how they changed over time, as well as any oral histories held as to Crown actions; and,
- d) Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa understandings about the impacts of land and resource loss on their communities in this district and their present situation, including the current state of te reo, tikanga and exercise of cultural traditions, and the current socio-economic status and opportunity for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa communities in the district.

Relationship to other casebook research

This report is one of three reports commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal as technical evidence for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district. The other two reports deal with land and political engagement in the nineteenth century (c.1819-1900); and twentieth century Issues from 1890 to 2000. This oral and traditional history report contains material relating to both these time periods and should be read alongside those reports.

In particular, this report sets out Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti understandings about the migration of their tupuna from Taranaki to the Kāpiti Coast before 1840 and their settlement patterns and waahitapu within the district. Part I of Tony Walzl’s ‘Ngatiawa: Land and political engagement issues, c.1819–1900’ report also provides a broader narrative and analysis of these heke and the resulting settlement patterns.⁵ This oral and traditional history report also provides some information from Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti about the alienation of land on Kāpiti

⁵ Tony Walzl ‘Ngatiawa: Land and political engagement issues’, 2017, Wai 2200, #A194.

Island. It is intended that this will be more fully discussed in the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa twentieth century report. Some material on this matter and a number of environmental concerns raised by claimants during research for this report is also available in the three environmental reports commissioned for this inquiry district: Vaughan Wood, Garth Cant et al, ‘Environmental and Natural Resources Issues Report; Huhana Smith (Te Rangitāwhia Whakatupu Mātauranga Ltd), ‘Inland waterways cultural perspectives’ and Helen Potter, Aroha Spinks et al (Te Rangitāwhia Whakatupu Mātauranga Ltd), ‘Inland waterways historical report.’ All of these were in draft at the time this report was being prepared.

Claimant Group

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti are a part of the larger Te Ātiawa iwi, who have a whakapapa relationship to Ngāti Awa in the Bay of Plenty. Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa migrated from Taranaki and slowly came to inhabit the Kāpiti district from 1820 to 1840.ⁱ Their pre-1840 history in the district is limited and their shared whakapapa with wider Te Ātiawa hapū and Ngāti Toa will reveal who they identify as today. They are not the original tāngata whenua, but they have acquired customary rights and maintained ahi kaa in the area over a sustained period of time. Today Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti are a distinct iwi made up of a small number of hapū groups and appear to operate within a whānau structure.

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa Hapū

To assist the reader to digest the often-complex information in Chapter 1 about which iwi and hapū migrated to the Kāpiti region before 1840, this part of the introduction provides an overview of current and historical hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa. This focuses on those hapū that are mentioned in Chapter 1, obviously many more hapū do and did exist. Neither is this intended to be an exhaustive or definitive exploration of hapū identity and formation, as that lies beyond the scope of this report and the expertise of the author.

The 2014 Deed of Settlement between Te Āti Awa (Taranaki) and the Crown stated that:

Prior to colonisation, there were some ninety-six distinct Te Āti Awa hapu, each with their own defined whenua and rohe. However, the number of hapu has condensed over time through the combined effect of interaction and warfare with other iwi, migrations to other areas of Aotearoa, the arrival of British settlers in the 1840s, Crown land purchases, the Taranaki Wars of the 1860s and the Taranaki Raupatu. Today, the hapu of Te Āti Awa are Ngati Rahiri, Otaraua,

Manukorihi, Pukerangiora, Puketapu, Ngati Tawhirikura, Ngati Tuparikino and Ngati Te Whiti.⁶

In his history of Māori of the West Coast, S Percy Smith listed the pre-1840 ‘divisions’ of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa as:

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Hamua | 8. Kai-tangata |
| 2. Ngati-Rahiri | 9. Maukorihī |
| 3. Ngati-Tawake | 10. Nga-Motu |
| 4. Ngati-Ue-unuku | 11. Otaraua |
| 5. Pukerangiora | 12. Ngati-Tuparikino |
| 6. Puketapu | 13. Ngati-Tuahu ⁷ |
| 7. Ngati-Tawhiri-kura | |

In his evidence to the Native Land Court in the Ngarara block title investigation in 1873 Wi Parata identified Ngāti Awa hapū. These are set out in Table 1 below along with notes of clarification from other sources.

Hapū	Place of origin in Taranaki	Heke/migration(s)
Kaitangata	See Figure 4 – Today Kaitangata are recognised as a hapū of Ngāti Mutunga. However, Mere Pomare in 1890 gave evidence stating that Ngāti Mutunga and Kaitangata were hapū of Ngāti Awa ⁸	Several chiefs of the 1822 heke Tātaramoa were recognised as Kaitangata – Tūmokemoke, Te Karu, Hone Tuhata and Te Wehi. ⁹ The 1832 heke Tamateauua also consisted of Kaitangata hapū people. ¹⁰
Ngāti Kura	See Figure 4 – Today Ngāti Kura are recognised as a hapū of Ngāti Mutunga.	Ngāti Kura was part of the heke Whirinui of 1828. ¹¹
Hinetuhi	See Figure 4 – Today Hinetuhi are recognised as a hapū of Ngāti Mutunga.	Several Ngāti Hinetuhi were part of the heke Tātaramoa of 1822. ¹²
Puketapu	Riwaka cites Smith who says that Puketapu was one of the great number of people resident around Waitara who	Puketapu chief Te Whakapaheke is said to have travelled with the heke Tātaramoa of 1822. The heke

⁶ Te Ātiawa (Taranaki) Deed of Settlement, 9 August 2014, para 1.4 dowloaded from Office of Treaty Settlements website, <https://www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/> (accessed 2 February 2018).

⁷ S Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the North Island West Coast*, (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery, 1910), p.122.

⁸ Mere Pomare, 25 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.326.

⁹ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.21.

¹⁰ Hillary Mitchell, and Maui John Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka, A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Volume 1: Te Tangata Me Te Whenua – Te People and the Land*, (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2004), p.133.

¹¹ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti web site, Te Hekenga Tangata - Migrations, <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 2 February 2018).

¹² Walzl, Wai 2000, #A194, p.653.

Hapū	Place of origin in Taranaki	Heke/migration(s)
	journeyed south with the heke Niho Puta of 1824. ¹³	Whirinui of 1828 was recognised as the Puketapu heke under the leadership of Te Manutoheroa. ¹⁴
Ngāti Tuaho	Accounts of the Waitara dispute of 1859 identified Ngāti Tuaho as one of four hapū of Ngāti Awa at Waitara. ¹⁵	Ngāti Tuaho was part of the heke Tātaramoa of 1822. ¹⁶
Otaraua		Otaraua was part of the heke Whirinui of 1828 whose rangatira was Te Tupē-o-tū. ¹⁷
Mitiwai	Wiremu Kingi Te Koihua was a recognised as a chief of Mitiwai ¹⁸ hailed from Onearo in Taranaki.	The Mitiwai hapū was part of the heke Tātaramoa of 1822. ¹⁹

Table 1: Ngātiawa hapū identified by Wi Parata in the Native Land Court Ngarara title investigation in 1873

¹³ Alan Riwaka, ‘Nga Hekenga o Te Ātiawa,’ Alan Riwaka/Te Ātiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust, edited April 2003, Wai 785, #A55, p.59.

¹⁴ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.651.

¹⁵ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.647-648.

¹⁶ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p 20.

¹⁷ See section 1.3. Southern migrations.

¹⁸ Hillary Mitchell and Maui John Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka, Volume 1*, 2004, p.65.

¹⁹ See section 1.3. Southern migrations.

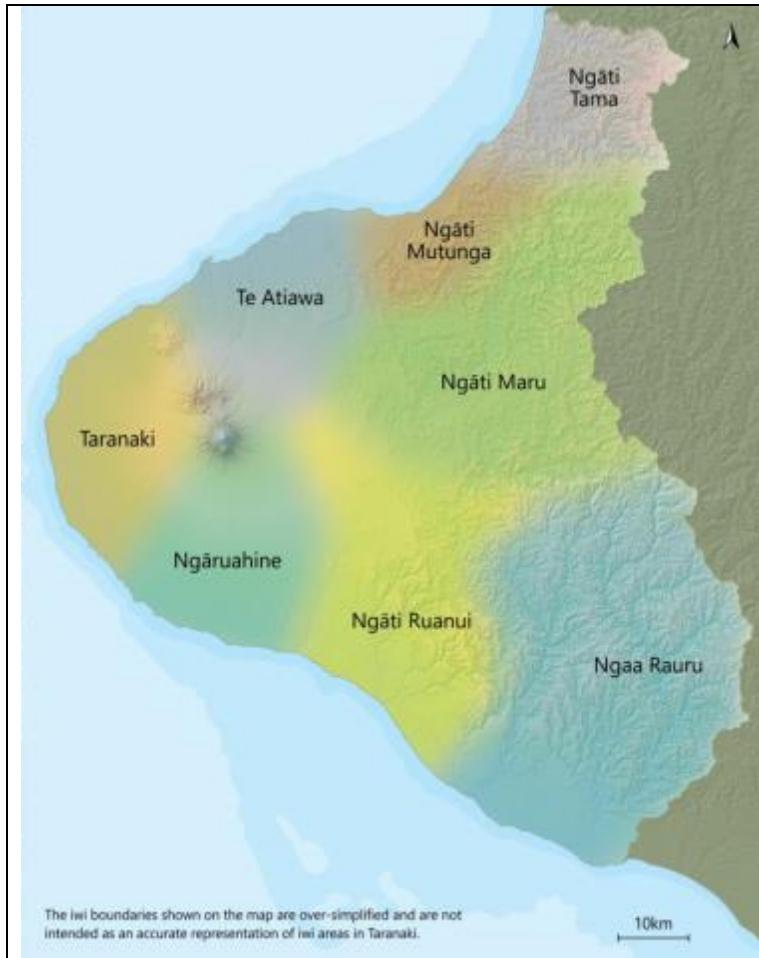


Figure 3: Approximate Taranaki iwi boundaries today
 (Source: Taranaki Regional Council)²⁰

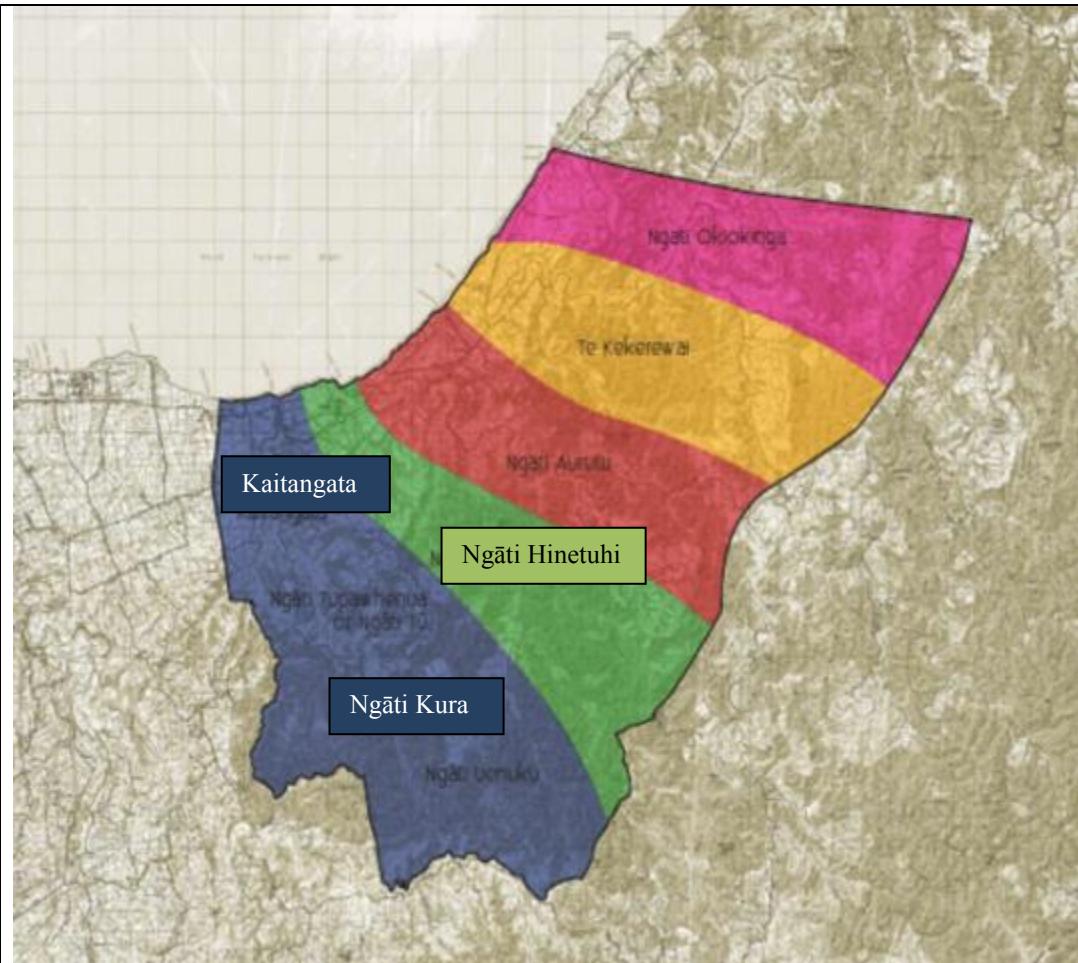


Figure 4: Approximate boundaries of Ngā hapū o Ngāti Mutunga today
 (Source: <http://ngatimutunga.iwi.nz/hapu/>)²¹

²⁰ Taranaki Regional Council: Iwi contacts, <https://www.trc.govt.nz/council/working-with-iwi/iwi-contacts/> (accessed 23 January 2018).

²¹ Because hapū names are hard to identify on map, text boxes showing hapu names have been added for the sake of clarity.

Nomenclature

This research report will use the dual name Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa when discussing the iwi in general, acknowledging the special whakapapa that they share with Taranaki groups. The dual name has been adopted in a respectful manner and is inclusive of all whānau who have been called either or both forms, as outlined by some claimants.²² When referring more specifically to the iwi in the inquiry district the name Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti or Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai have been used. Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai is another name for the people of Kāpiti and the Waikanae area, as Whakarongotai is recognised as the name of their marae and its wharenu. This allows groups who identify with these names to be included. There is much debate about which is the correct term. However, it is not the role of this report to make a determination on this issue.²³ A discussion about how claimants involved in this research identify is included in Chapter 3 of this report. It should also be noted that the spelling of placenames in the nineteenth century varies depending on the source, this is particularly the case with Arapaoa/Arapawa in Queen Charlotte Sound. The spelling is as used in the source being cited.

Claim Issues

A total of 17 Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claims are currently included in the Porirua ki Manawatu district inquiry (see Appendix 2 for a table listed these claims). The claims raise the following major issues relating to the Crown's failure to protect Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa interests during land alienation and public works takings, including, but not limited to:

- the taking of land from the Ngārara West block under the Public Works Act for the Paraparaumu Airport;
- the taking of land by the Crown on Kāpiti and Motungārara islands and surrounding areas for the purposes of preserving the natural state of the islands;
- the taking of land by the New Zealand Transport Authority (NZTA) to build the Kāpiti Expressway;
- Whitireia Block in Porirua.

²² Joint Memorandum of Counsel, 16 December 2011, Wai 2200, #3.1.271.

²³ The complexities and changing usage of the names 'Ngātiawa' and 'Te Āti Awa' are explored in greater detail by Alan Riwaka in his evidence for Te Āti Awa claimants in the Tribunal's Te Tau Ihu a Waka a Maui (Northern South Island) inquiry (Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp 8-12).

A further two claims have links to Te Ātiawa links outside the Kāpiti area. The first of these claims relates to legal succession to land on the Kāpiti Coast, Titahi Bay and Te Tau Ihu.²⁴ The second is a claim from Ngātiawa in Taranaki, which alleges that the Crown failed to recognise tikanga and interactions with other hapū and iwi within the Wai 2200 inquiry district.²⁵ Other claim issues concern tikanga, tāonga, kaitiakitanga and tino rangatiratanga with respect to management of the environment and its resources.

Methodology

Approach to the Commission

In answering the commission questions set out above, this report focuses on telling a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti story using oral and written sources generated by them, in the first instance, and by the wider Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa community. This will complement and enhance the technical and tāngata whenua evidence that may be given by and on behalf of Ngātiawa/Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti during the inquiry. This approach has been guided by the following whakataukī (proverb):

Mā te manaia te tekoteko e tū

The whakataukī speaks of the manaia (lizard-like carved figure) and the tekoteko (carved gable of a meeting house), where it is said that the presence of the manaia in whakairo (carvings) adorns and beautifies all other carvings in the meeting house.²⁶ The significance of the manaia and the carvings – and the kōrero associated with them – is less likely to be understood if the manaia is absent. In this light, the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti story contained in this report can be likened to the manaia, whose presence illuminates other forms of evidence presented to the Tribunal in the whare kōrero of this inquiry.

Gathering and Using Oral Testimony

Within this broad approach there was a strong emphasis on gathering and using oral testimony from Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti claimants. This emphasis was largely informed by the recommendations of the ‘Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa Research Needs Scoping Report’:

²⁴ George Hori Toms and Colonial Laws of Succession Claim, Wai 648, #1.1.1; #1.1.1(a)-(d).

²⁵ Ngāti Awa of Taranaki (Moore and Taylor) Claim, Wai 2228, #1.1.1; #1.1.1(a)).

²⁶ Derek Lardelli quoted in Nepia Mahuika, ‘Kōrero Tuku Ihō: Reconfiguring Oral History and Oral Tradition’, Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato, 2012, p.143.

Given that a 19th century report has been recommended in this scoping report based on written sources, the core of which is an assessment of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa customary rights over time, focusing an oral and traditional project on anything other than oral interviews or documentation held by whānau would risk duplication.²⁷

The scoping report noted that ‘today, Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa view themselves as being made up of less than two dozen key whānau’ and suggested that this provided ‘a compact grouping which could be studied in whānau cohorts to record their experience throughout the twentieth century.’²⁸ Therefore, the scoping report recommended that any oral and traditional history research for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ‘focuses on the collection of oral information or documentation held by whanau’.²⁹ This oral-centred, whānau-focused approach was recommended as a way to ‘collect as much information as possible about each of the identified Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa whānau to provide a whānau-focused assessment of the impacts of Crown actions and processes and the effects of continuing Pākehā settlement within the Kāpiti area.’³⁰ In that way, each whānau could speak to the matters within living memory that most concerned them and recount whakapapa and actions of their tupuna during the nineteenth century. This would ensure a strong Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa perspective.³¹

A whānau-based focus was adopted and was underpinned by a broad kaupapa Māori research approach that involved fostering a valid partnership with those groups who participated in the research for this report. Research partnerships are those which are mutually beneficial to both the participants and the researcher and protect both parties’ mana.³² The partnerships that the present researcher built with the participants needed to be meaningful in order to achieve the purposes of this research. In this light, the intention throughout this process has been to respectfully acknowledge the people as living sources of information and to treat what was shared with the researcher as tāonga.

Initial contact with claimants was made immediately following the issuing of the research commission. It was discovered that some claimants remained active in the inquiry, while a large

²⁷ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A186, p.126.

²⁸ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A186, p.126.

²⁹ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A186, p.126.

³⁰ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A186, p.87.

³¹ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A186, p.128.

³² Rachael Selby, ‘Partnership and protection of participants: collecting and using Māori oral histories, 1999’ in Rachael Selby & Alison Laurie (eds.). *Māori and Oral Histories: A Collection*, (Wellington: National Oral History Association of NZ, 2005), p.71.

number had been inactive for a number of years. Once contact was made with claimants, a series of interviews took place over eight weeks. The information that was gathered was then collated and analysed for the purposes of this research report. Several interviews were conducted with members of whānau (details are set out in Table 2 below). Some whānau felt strongly about selecting a kaikōrero among themselves to share kōrero on their behalf, while other whānau decided that members should participate individually. The interviews took place at both communal places, such as Whakarongotai Marae and the Kāpiti Events Centre, and smaller intimate settings, such as individuals' homes and the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti Charitable Trust office. In some ways, it was more helpful to have had the smaller interviews, as these were less formal and claimants were more comfortable about saying what was on their minds. Various follow up phone conversations and emails with individual claimants followed this initial engagement, these are referenced in footnotes. The extent to which this oral-centered, whānau-based approach worked is discussed further below.

In addition, the transcript of the Tribunal's kōrero tuku ihō hui held for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa on 22 April 2016 has been used where that testimony touches on the topics claimants shared with me in these interviews. This has helped to provide a fuller view of these topics from a range of people who whakapapa to Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa.³³ In the final stages of revising this report, the 'Porirua Ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report' and 'Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Report' became available in draft.³⁴ The cultural perspectives report contains a transcript of interviews with Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claimants. However, the right to quote from this material has been restricted by the interviewees. Lack of time to negotiate the lifting of those restrictions has meant that that material has been paraphrased and referred to rather than quoted.

³³ Transcript of the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō Hui held at Whakarongotai Marae, Waikanae on 22 April 2015, Wai 2200, #4.1.10.

³⁴ Helen Potter, Aroha Spinks, Mike Joy, Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Moira Poutama, and Derrylea Hardy, 'Porirua Ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report, a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, draft, April 2017 and Huhana Smith, 'Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Report', a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, draft, 18 October 2016.

Table 2: A list of interviews with members of the claimant community

No.	Date	Hui Type	Location
1	29 March 2017	Introductory hui with claimants and legal counsel: Apiraka Mack Wai 1018, Rāwhiti Higgot, Hepa Potini, Moana Sinclair Legal Counsel Wai 88 & 89	Paraparaumu ³⁵
2	05 April 2017	Introductory hui with members of Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Waikanae
3	06 April 2017	Tutere Parata	Waikanae
4	19 April 2017	Introductory hui with Ani Parata, Lois McNaught, Hauangi Kiwha, Jo Love, Rāwhiti Higgot representing and supporting Wai 88 & 89 claimants Ani Parata, Darrin Parata and Damian Parata for and on behalf of Te Āti Awa Marae Committee, other whānau and hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae, and descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata Waipunahau (the Kāpiti Island claim).	Waikanae
5	20 April 2017	Introductory hui with Tina Thomas	Paraparaumu
6	20 April 2017	Tutere Parata	Waikanae
7	21 April 2017	Rāwhiti Higgot	Waikanae
8	26 April 2017	Tutere Parata, Te Tokawhakaea Graham and Mahutonga Blakensop – Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai	Waikanae
9	27 April 2017	Wai 88 & 89 claimants Ani Parata, Darrin Parata and Damian Parata for and on behalf of Te Āti Awa Marae Committee, other whānau and hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae and descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata Waipunahau (the Kāpiti Island claim)	Waikanae
10	29 April 2017	Introductory hui Apiraka Mack Wai 1018, Ben Ngaia Wai 2390, Sonny Thomas, legal counsels Gene Babsic for Wai 2228 and David Laird Wai 609	Paraparaumu
11	30 May 2017	Wai 88 & 89 claimants Ani Parata, Darrin Parata and Damian Parata for and on behalf of Te Āti Awa Marae Committee, other whānau and hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae and descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata Waipunahau (the Kāpiti Island claim)	Waikanae
12	31 May 2017	Rāwhiti Higgot	Waikanae
13	19 July 2017	Wai 88 & 89 claimants Ani Parata, Darrin Parata and Damian Parata for and on behalf of Te Āti Awa Marae Committee, other whānau and hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae and descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata Waipunahau (the Kāpiti Island claim)	Waikanae

³⁵ Several legal counsels for claimants were unable to attend the introductory hui due to fog closing Wellington Airport.

Identifying and Using Documentary Sources

It is important to reiterate at this point in the Introduction that the core of this research is the oral history and traditions shared specifically for inclusion in this report, and which provide Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa perspectives on their history. The report is not intended to be an archivally-based examination of traditional history. However, it does utilises evidence given by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa witnesses to the Native Land Court in the 1880s and 1890s, particularly about the heke and battles of the 1819 – 1839 period (as cited by Riwaka and by Walzl in his nineteenth century Ngātiawa land and political engagement report for this inquiry). It also employs some secondary sources where they record Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa views of their history or provide additional local information, which acts as context for the oral material. A full discussion of these sources is given below.

Sources

Ngātiawa/Te Ātiawa-generated Sources

As noted above, the principal source for this report is oral testimony from Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claimants in the inquiry district. In keeping with the focus on Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa perspectives on their own history, the report also draws on historical narratives on Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa iwi websites. The Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust's website (<http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/>) contains a narrative history from a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kapiti perspective. The briefer narrative available on the Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui Trust's website (<http://www.teAtiAwatrust.co.nz/>) supplements this information. A small amount of material has also been drawn from Morris Love's article on Te Ātiawa in Wellington in *Te Ara*.

Several research reports and published sources rely wholly or partly on oral material from people who affiliated with Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and/or other iwi and hapū whose origins lie in Taranaki. These have been used as additional sources of information to provide context and further details on the topics about which interviewees chose to speak during the research for this report. The earliest of these is S Percy Smith's, *The History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand prior to 1840*, published in 1910. Smith noted in the preface that:

In the very early days of the Polynesian Society, a few of its members, having in mind the many omissions and inaccuracies in ‘The Life of Te Rau-paraha’ (which at that time was practically

the only history of the West Coast), determined to collect material for a more comprehensive history of that part of the North Island extending from Kawhia to Wai-rarapa. That was the origin of this history. Fifteen years passed in collecting the material herein printed; the mere writing and collating the vast number of notes thus secured occupied over twelve months. Some of the matter in this book was gathered from the Natives over fifty years ago.³⁶

The report also uses several recent histories of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa which capture kōrero by people from the iwi and were produced during or as a result of the Tribunal's Te Waka-a-Māui/Te Tau Ihu (Northern South Island) district inquiry. A research report by Alan Riwaka for the Te Ātiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust in 2004 has been used where it provides further details about matters set out in the iwi websites discussed earlier. Riwaka's report had a significant oral history component, citing comments from personal communications or oral interviews with 24 individuals.³⁷ The first volume of Maui John and Hillary Mitchell's three-volume history of Māori in Nelson and Marlborough has also provided context to the material shared by interview subjects. John and Hilary Mitchell's bibliography lists a considerable number of people, from a range of iwi and hapū, with whom they spoke or who loaned them whakapapa books and other privately held manuscripts recording traditional history.³⁸

Many Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa who travelled to the Kāpiti region on the heke of the 1820s and 1830s, and their offspring, were still alive during the 1880s and 1890s. Their testimony in the Native Land Court during those decades provides a unique record of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa's memory of those events. Both Riwaka and Walzl quote extensively from this evidence, and this quoted material has been used in this report to clarify and to elaborate on the oral and written histories generated or provided by claimants. It is acknowledged that the adversarial nature of the court's investigations shaped the evidence individuals presented, and that different individuals had varying understandings of some of the events, particularly relating to the allocation of land. Where this leads to contrasting or contradictory statements, the various statements have been set down here. Table 3 lists the key witnesses cited in Riwaka and Walzl's reports and other sources, and records their iwi and/or hapū affiliations. These witnesses provided information on why the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people left Taranaki, and what they did when they arrived to the Kāpiti Coast, and where they settled.

³⁶ Smith, *The History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast ...*, 1910, preface.

³⁷ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, see bibliography pp 243-244.

³⁸ Mitchell, and Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka, A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Volume 1*, 2004, see bibliography, pp 472-473.

Witness	Hapū/Iwi	Source
Mere Pomare	Kaitangata	Walzl #A194, p.46.
	Ngāti Toa, Kaitangata -Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Kura and others	Riwaka, pp.8, 34. ³⁹
Watene Taungatara	Ngāti Rahiri and Otaraua	Riwaka, p.9.
Pikau Te Rangi	Ngāti Mutunga	Riwaka, p.8. ⁴⁰ Walzl #A194, p.660.
Paratawhera	Ngātiawa - Ngāti Uenuku, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Tama, and Kaitangata	Riwaka, p.61.
Hohaia Pokaitara	Ngāti Toa and Te Ātiawa	Walzl #A194, p.60. Riwaka, p.24.
Pare Tawhara	Ngātiawa	2 June 1873, Otaki Minute Book 2, pp.211-213.
Hira Maika	Puketapu	Riwaka, p.57.
Rihari Tahuaroa	Puketapu	Riwaka, p.118.
Enoka Taitea	Ngāti Tuaho	Walzl #A194, p.73.
Wi Hape Pakau	Te Āti Awa	New Zealand History: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-95 signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi.
Hiria Te Aratangata	Ngāti Toa	Walzl #A194, p.96.
Eruini te Marau	Ngāti Rahiri	Walzl #A194, p.214.
Rihara Kahuaroa	Ngātiawa	Walzl #A194, p.115.
Enoka Tatairau	Manukorihi	Walzl #A194, pp.44, 651.
Hemara Waiho	Ngātiawa	Walzl #A194, p.125.
Piripi Taua	Puketapu	Riwaka, p.113.
Hera te Wairengarenga (Hera Te Wairingiringi, Hiria Te Wairingiringi)	Ngāti Rahiri	Riwaka, p.62.
Hori Kokako	Otaraua	Walzl #A194, p.211.
Te Karehana	Ngāti Toa	Riwaka, p.61.
Karewa Taranui	Ngāti Tuaho	Riwaka, p.132.

Table 3: Southern migrations key witnesses

Reference Works and Local Histories

On occasion the report uses entries in the *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography* and *Te Ara* to provide further details of the lives of tupuna or events mentioned in the oral interviews and kōrero tuke iho testimony given by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claimants. Three local histories have also been fruitful sources of background and context and have occasionally filled gaps in the oral sources – Wakahuia Carkeek’s 1966 work, *The Kapiti Coast: Maori History and Place*

³⁹ See Mere Pomare, 25 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.326-327, who refers to Ngāti Mutunga and Kaitangata as hapū of Ngātiawa, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.34.

⁴⁰ See Pikau Te Rangi 21 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.294-299, who referred to Ngātiawa was the bigger tribe that encompassed all northern Taranaki hapū or iwi, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.8.

Names; Chris and Joan Mclean’s 2010 history, *Waikanae*; and Chris Mclean’s 1999 history, *Kapiti*, which documents the history and development of Kāpiti Island.

Contemporary Websites

In addition to these sources which have captured kōrero from the past, a range of recent information from various websites has provided background to the contemporary issues that impact upon Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti today. A full list of website cited in this report is available in the bibliography. Discussion here focuses on those websites which have been more extensively used in this report.

Additional information about wahitapu in the Waikanae area has come from the websites of the Kāpiti District Council (<http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/>), and the Department of Conservation (<http://www.doc.govt.nz/>). Te Kāhui Māngai – Directory of Iwi and Māori Organisations, created and maintained by Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry for Maori Development) (<http://www.tkm.govt.nz>) has been used to supplement Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai’s information about their hapū and marae. Census data from Statistics New Zealand has been used to discuss the location and size of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai population. Further information about tupuna, discussed by claimant interviewees, who had signed the Treaty of Waitangi has been sourced from the New Zealand History website, created and maintained by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/>).

Claimants mentioned a number of environmental concerns during interviews for this report and in their kōrero tuku ihō testimony. Further information about some of these matters has been located on the websites of the Kāpiti District Council (<http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/>), Landcare Research (<https://whenuaviz.landcareresearch.co.nz/>). Interviews also touched on several partnership relationships between Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and local or central government. Further information about these has come from the websites of the Greater Wellington Region Council (<http://www.gw.govt.nz/>); the Kāpiti District Council (<http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/>) and the Capital Coast District Health Board (<https://www.ccdhb.org.nz/>). The section below on the scope and limitations of this report

discusses the extent to which this report has been able to explore these environmental issues, and health and environmental partnerships.

Scope and Limitations

For a number of reasons, the oral history focus and whānau-based methodology used in this research has not been entirely successful. As a result, there are limitations on the scope and depth of this report. There were some significant gaps in the knowledge of the claimants interviewed during this research and these could not be filled from secondary sources. For example, one initial question posed to the claimant community was their individual or collective knowledge of mōteatea, waiata tawhito, karakia and tauparapara, because these maxims hold a lot of traditional knowledge about the land and people. Unfortunately, those spoken to do not hold information regarding these traditions, and what information they do possess seems to have been gleaned from published histories such as Smith and Carkeek. Beyond the written account cited here, claimants could provide very little new information concerning the successive heke from Taranaki. Nor were claimants able to say very much about the relationship between their tupuna and the Crown or about the impact of Crown actions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, these matters are addressed by Tony Walzl's Ngāti Awa nineteenth century land and political engagement report for this inquiry.

Claimants interviewed during this research also limited the scope of their kōrero for cultural and political reasons. In particular, the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa community in the inquiry district, most of whom are based in and around Waikanae, were most comfortable in focusing their kōrero on their immediate geographical area, including Kāpiti and Motungārara islands. Therefore, for example, they choose not to talk about the history of the Whitiereia Block in Porirua. Despite this reluctance to tread into areas where other iwi have strong interests, a number of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa witnesses at the kōrero tuku ihō hui indicated that their whakapapa were very much intertwined with those of neighbouring iwi such as Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. A small amount of material has been gleaned about the twentieth century alliance or confederation between Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa (ART confederation) from testimony given at that hui. This features in Chapter 3. But in general, claimant hesitation in discussing these interconnections, and their sometimes contested histories, has limited how much can be said here about those relationships with neighbouring

iwi. It has also meant that this report has not been able to explore the role of prominent figures, such as Wi Parata, in the political and economic life of the iwi.

There were also some specific topics claimants did not feel comfortable talking about at this time. For example, recent and ongoing issues, such as the taking of land by the New Zealand Transport Authority to build the Kāpiti Expressway and the earlier taking of land for the Paraparaumu Airport, remain sometimes painful and divisive and so those interviewed did not particularly wish discuss them. Technical research on both of these matters is included in Heather Bassett's 'Public Works Issues Report' currently being prepared for this inquiry, and the airport lands issue is also discussed in Suzanne Woodley's 'Local Government Issues Report.'⁴¹ It is also possible that claimants may yet choose to present evidence on these matters during Tribunal hearings for this inquiry. On the other hand, Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai people did want to share their experience of land loss and loss of access to Kāpiti Island and to talk about the impact that environmental change has had, and is still having, on their waterways and coast, kai resources and fisheries.

These limitations, and the impact they would have on the depth and scope of this report, emerged after considerable time and effort had been put into locating claimants, establishing relationships with them, conducting interviews and shaping that material into a draft report. Several attempts were made to prompt claimants to elaborate on the oral accounts they had already given. Once the first draft of the report was revised, sections were circulated by the researcher via email to those who had provided material and they were asked whether they had any further information to add. Unfortunately, this was not particularly fruitful and no significant new information was offered by claimants. A completed draft was circulated to the inquiry parties on 30 August 2017 with a two-week timeframe to make comments. This was followed by a research hui held at Whakarongotai Marae, Waikanae on Saturday, 16 September 2017. As a result of the hui claimants notified the researcher of a few small corrections and additions, but significant new information was not offered. This focus on, and commitment to, a central oral component as a means of ensuring that this report reflects Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai's own understandings and perspective on their history has meant that less time was available for extensive documentary research. For example, the Kāpiti Coast District

⁴¹ Suzanne Woodley, 'Porirua ki Manawatu Local Government Issues Report', June 2017, Wai 2200, #A193, pp. 661-697.

Council may hold records relating to its partnership agreement with iwi, signed in 1994, and its 2010 memorandum of understanding relating to water with Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai. Time has not permitted these sources to be explored.

Report Outline

Chapter 1 examines some of the whakapapa linkages between various Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa groups around Aotearoa. There are some glaring differences regarding who descends from whom, however the task of this report is not to seek a resolution to the whakapapa, but, rather, to show the variances as claimed by iwi. The latter part of this chapter examines the seven heke from Taranaki, from the heke Amiowhenua of 1818-1819 to the heke Paukena of 1834, and the reasons why they chose to leave Taranaki. Warfare with neighbouring iwi was one motivator, because these iwi possessed muskets and were intent of evening old scores. Acquisition of new lands for settlement and trade with Europeans also made the heke an attractive proposition. The chapter finishes with a discussion of some of the tupuna who signed the Treaty of Waitangi.

Chapter 2 provides some insights into the settlement patterns of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and draws most of its information from iwi members who gave evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō hui in 2015. Tribal sites of significance are shown in map form, with the relevant explanations of their traditional meaning and importance to the iwi. An analysis of the ecological landscape of the region and the resources that these areas harboured is also provided. The chapter also touches on the impact of marriages within the iwi or with neighbouring iwi on settlement patterns, and the reasons for and the significance of these unions.

Chapter 3 deals with the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people who reside in the Kāpiti district today, and how their rohe is recognised in whakataukī, the resident hapū and marae. The chapter then provides a brief analysis of tribal demographics, utilising census data from 2001 to 2013. It also presents some information about the history of the tupuna whare Whakarongotai, which stands on the marae of the same name in Waikanae, as well as a brief discussion of the kawa of the marae and how this has changed over time. Another component of Chapter 3 is the examination of iwi-based organisations, in this case the present Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust, and the various partnerships the iwi has formed with local government and government agencies.

Chapter 4 examines a number of current concerns, particularly the impact of the Crown's acquisition of a large portion of the land on Kāpiti Island under the Kāpiti Island Reserve Act, 1897. Traditional fishing is discussed, especially within the context of Ngāti Toa and Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa customary fishing rights. There is also some comment from claimants about their lack of commercial fishing rights and the challenges posed by the poaching of fish and kaimoana in and around Kāpiti Island. This includes concerns that the government has failed to adequately resource efforts to prevent poaching within the fishery. The chapter then considers what oral evidence can say about the change to the extent and quality of waterways and wetlands over time as customary resources for the iwi.

CHAPTER ONE: ORIGINS AND MIGRATIONS

1.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out a narrative of what Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti understand about their origins and how their tupuna came to settle in the Kāpiti region. With that focus in mind, the chapter draws on sources generated by the iwi themselves. These include comments from claimants interviewed during this research and by those who spoke at the Kōrero tuku ihō hui for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry. It also draws on historical narratives on the websites of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa iwi organisations both in Kāpiti and in Te Waka-a-Māui (Northern South Island). These accounts are supplemented by evidence given by Alan Riwaka on behalf of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in the Tribunal's Te Tau Ihu/Northern South Island inquiry and testimony from Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa individual in the Native Land Court in the 1880s and 1890s. Published local histories have also been used occasionally in this chapter where they clarify or illuminate events, locations or people mentioned in iwi-based sources.

1.2 Tribal Origins

The origins of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa⁴² are recounted in the following ngeri that features on the Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui Trust website:

*Tamarau no Runga i Te Rangi heke iho ki raro ki te-whakamarimari te tari ai Te hurahanga o te tapora o Rongo-u-eroa
Taku kuia e! Taku kuia e!
Te Ara o taku tupuna o tohia ai au
Ko Te Ātiawa no Runga i Te Rangi
Te toki te tangatanga e te ra
Taringa mangō, ko to kete nge Ue ha! Ue ha!*

*Tamarau from the heavens above came down-
to make love and waited until he could have Rongo-ue-roa to wife
She is our Kuia! She is our Kuia!
This therefore is the consecrated pathway of my ancestors
Te Ātiawa from the heavens above
The adze (of Tamara) which can remove the very sun from its axis.⁴³*

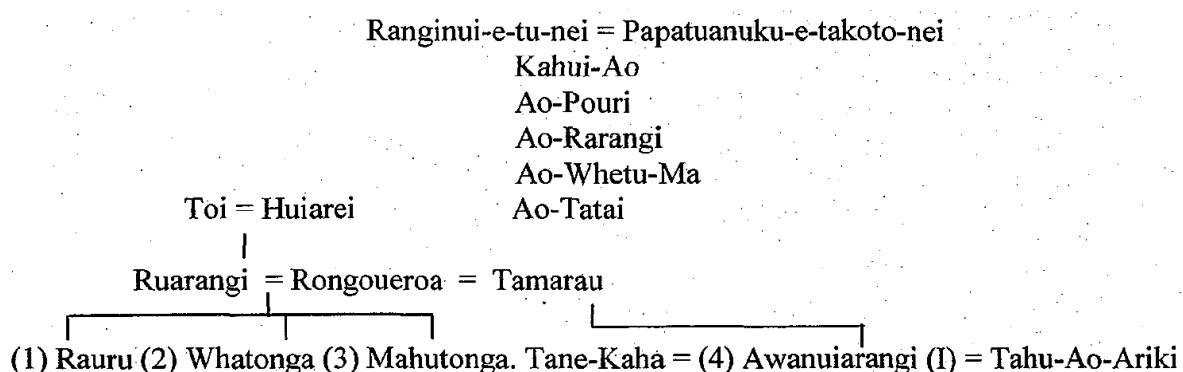
⁴² As discussed in the introduction to this report, the tribal name Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa has been used to describe the iwi that resides at Waikanae today. Other variations of the tribal name have been employed in the body of this report where these are used by the claimants, historians and sourced documents being cited.

⁴³ Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui Trust website, About Te Ātiawa, <http://www.teAtiAwatrust.co.nz/about> (accessed 14 November 2017).

The ngeri above indicates that Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa consider that they descend from the union of the heavenly being Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi and earthbound Rongo-ue-roa. The offspring of this union was Te Awanuiārangi, the eponymous ancestor of today's Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa resident in the Kāpiti region (Whakapapa 1 below). Riwaka explained that Tamarau's line can be traced back to Toi, 'the progenitor of many tribes that occupied a considerable stretch of country, eight generations prior to the waka migrations of the fourteenth century',⁴⁴ who, on arriving in Aotearoa, had settled near Whakatane. Awanuiarangi's mother was Rongoueroa, who was the wife of Ruarangi (one of the sons of Toitehuatahi, often known simply as Toi).⁴⁵

Whakapapa 1: Toitehuatahi and Te Huiarei

(Source: Riwaka, 'Nga Hekenga o Te Āti Awa', Wai 785, #A55, p 1 citing Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Reprint 1974, p 23)



Morris Love, in his account of this whakapapa in the online encyclopedia *Te Ara* called Tamarau 'a spirit ancestor.'⁴⁶ Riwaka describes him as 'a Whatukura, a heavenly guardian from the tenth heaven.' He was one of the seventy children of Rangi and Papa, hence the name "Ko Te Āti Awa no runga i Te Rangi" – "Te Āti Awa from the heavens above."⁴⁷

One of the claimants interviewed for this research, Ben Ngaia, related the following story of their tupuna Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi who beheld Rongoueroa bathing her child, Rauru,

⁴⁴ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.1.

⁴⁵ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.1. Also summarised on the Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui Trust website: About Te Ātiawa: <http://www.teAtiAwatrust.co.nz/about> (accessed 14 November 2017).

⁴⁶ Morris Love: Te Ati Awa of Wellington in Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/print>, (accessed 17 November 2017).

⁴⁷ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.1

in a stream. Suffice it to say, a union took place and, on his departure, Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi asked of Rongoueroa that, should she bear a son, that she name him Te Awanuiārangi.⁴⁸ We also find this episode recounted by Riwaka, who uses it to explain the origin and meaning of Awanuiarangi's name, which helps us to understand the last lines in the ngeri above:

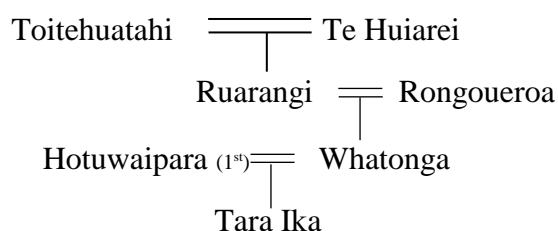
According to Te Āti Awa tradition, Tamarau came down from the heavens in a whirlwind after seeing Rongoueroa washing beside a stream. Upon landing, he took the form of a man who first appeared to Rongoueroa as a reflection in the waters of the stream. Tamarau then stepped forward and embraced her. Afterwards he said, 'Should our child be a son, call him Awanui-a-rangi to commemorate my descent from the heavens to this stream.' In due course, Rongoueroa gave birth to a son and called him Awanuiarangi.⁴⁹

Another account of this liaison by Kingi Ihaka, a Māori scholar working in the 1950s, stated that the name 'Te Awanuiārangi' was the name of the stream where Rongoueroa was bathing her child. He ends his account by commenting that 'if there is any truth in this story, then the Āti-Awa people can claim to be the sons and daughters of Heaven.'⁵⁰

In his entry on Te Ātiawa for *Te Ara*, Morris Love notes that Rongoueroa had a number of sons with Ruarangi, including Whātonga, whose son Tara-ika gave his name to Wellington Harbour and environs – Te Whanganui-a-Tara (the great harbour of Tara) (Whakapapa 2 below).⁵¹ Apihaka Irene Mullen-Mack, a claimant for Wai 1018, has a similar view, saying that Ngātiawa claim descent from Whātonga through Toitehuatahi.⁵²

Whakapapa 2: Toitehuatahi and Te Huiarei

(Source: Adapted from Morris Love: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/print>)



⁴⁸ Ben Ngaia (Wai 2390), 29 April 2017, Paraparaumu.

⁴⁹ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.2.

⁵⁰ Kingi Ihaka, 'Proverbial and Popular sayings of the Maori: Nga Whakatauki me nga Pepeha', *Te Ao Hou, The New World*, No.21, December 1957, p.42 at <http://teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/image/Mao19TeA/Mao19TeA041.html>

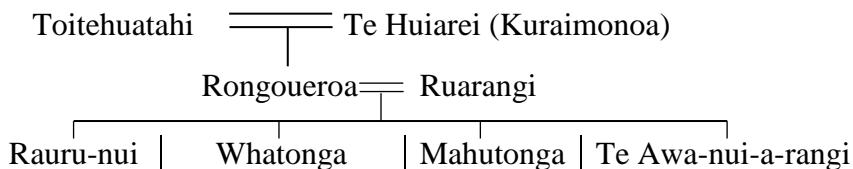
⁵¹ Morris Love: Te Ati Awa of Wellington, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/print>.

⁵² Email correspondence with Apihaka Mack, 29 June 2017.

One whakapapa, which derives from the kōrero of the whare wānanga, states that Toitehuatahi and Te Huiarei (also known as Kuraimonoa) were the parents of Rongoueroa, rather than of Ruarangi (Whakapapa 3 below).⁵³

Whakapapa 3: Toitehuatahi and Kuraimonoa

(Source: Written down by H. T. Whatahoro from the teachings of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu (translated by S. Percy Smith), *Lore of the Whare-wānanga*, (New Plymouth: 1913), p.218, table II)



The Ngāti Awa of the Bay of Plenty state that Te Kuraimōnoa was, in fact, the second wife of Toitehuatahi and the mother of Awanuiārangi (Whakapapa 4 below). Another whakapapa of the Aotea waka tradition offers Rongo-wairere-ki-ao as wife of Toitehuatahi and mother of Ruarangi.⁵⁴

Morris Love notes ‘Te Āti Awa of Wellington have close connections with the Te Āti Awa tribe of Taranaki, and more distantly with Ngāti Awa of the Bay of Plenty and the far north. All have a common ancestor in Awanuiārangi, but became differentiated through later marriages, and moved to different locations.’⁵⁵ A number of claimants who spoke to the author during this research were also keen to emphasise this point, that the lasting relationship with Ngāti Awa in the Bay of Plenty is based on shared descent from the one eponymous ancestor - Awanuiārangi. However, they noted the two iwi rely upon different whakapapa connections to him. They explained that the main difference is that Te Ātiawa claim descent from Awanuiārangi, the grandson of Toitehuatahi, while the Ngāti Awa of the Bay of Plenty claim descent from

⁵³ Written down by H T Whatahoro from the teachings of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu (translated by S. Percy Smith), *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga: Te Kauwae-raro; or, Teachings of the Maori college on their history and migrations, etc. Part II: Te Kauwae-raro or 'Things terrestrial'*, (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery, 1913), pp.213. The whakapapa acknowledges that Te Awa-nui-a-rangi was a son of a deity.

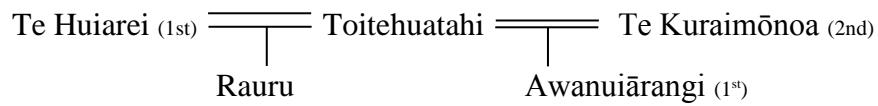
⁵⁴ Hetaraka Tautahi and Werahiko Taipuhi, ‘Ko Aotea’ Waka. Te haerenga mai a Turi ki Aotea-roa nei,’ *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 9, No. 4, December 1900, p.201.

⁵⁵ Morris Love: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/print>.

Toitehuatahi himself - with Awanuiārangi being his son through Te Kuraimōna, his second wife (Whakapapa 4 below).⁵⁶

Whakapapa 4: Toitehuatahi, Te Huiarei, and Te Kuraimōnao

(Source: <https://www.teara.govt.nz/en/ngati-awa/page-1>)



⁵⁶ Ben Ngaia (Wai 2390), 29 April 2017, Paraparaumu.

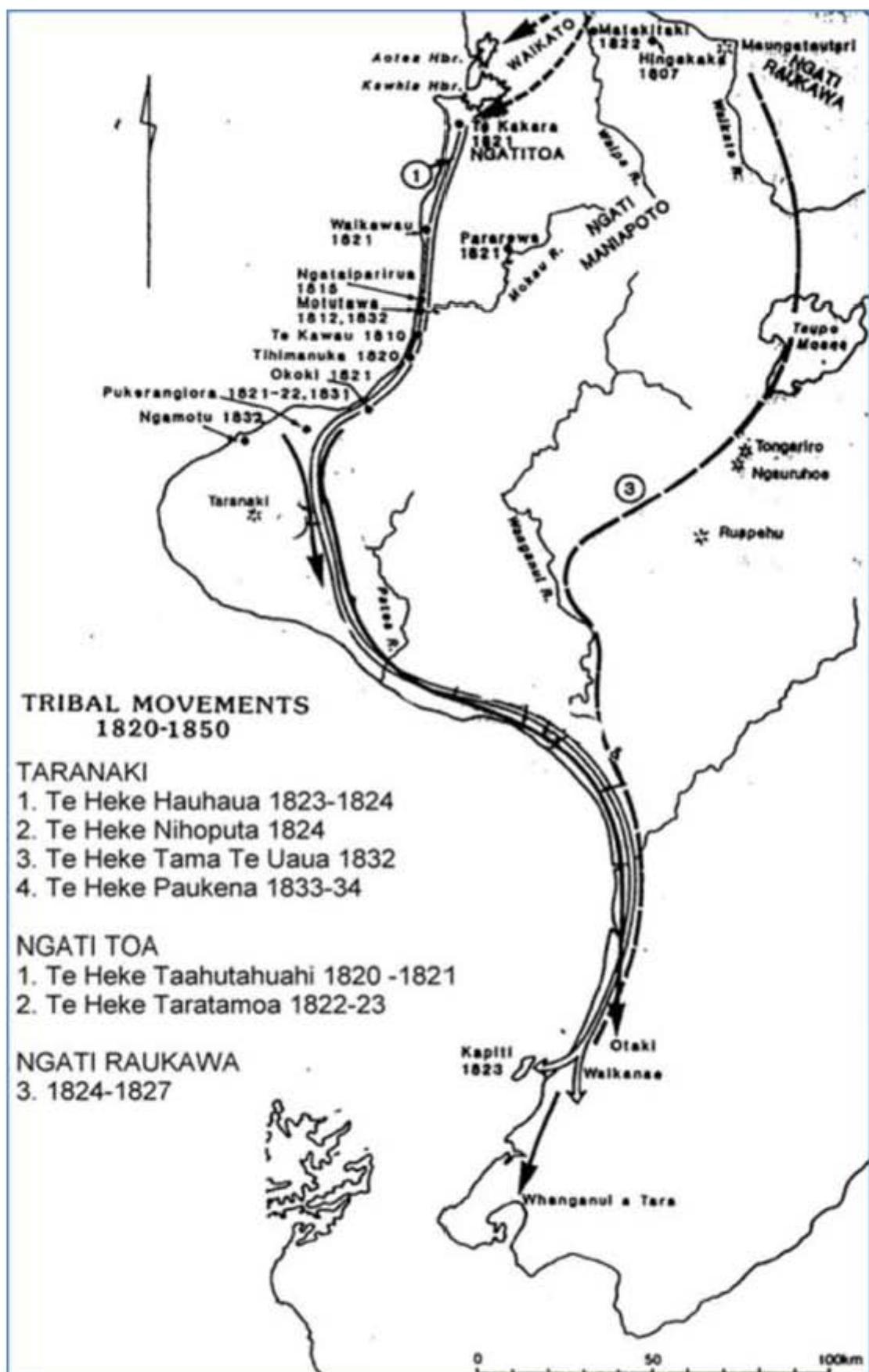


Figure 5: Migration routes
(Source: Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.56)

1.3 Southern Migrations

The series of heke or migrations that bought Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa to the Kāpiti Coast from Taranaki by 1840 were just one strand in a complex and dynamic series of migrations (and reverse migrations), conflicts and peacemaking, settlement, and intermarriages that involved many iwi and hapū in the Wellington region and the top of the South Island. These movements are outlined briefly here to provide context to the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa-focused discussion of in this chapter (some of those migrations involving the iwi of the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district are shown in Figure 5 above). It also explains, in simple terms, how Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa formed a number of separate but highly connected settlement in Taranaki, Kāpiti, Whanganui-a-Tara and Te Tau Ihu, where many individuals continued to hold and pursue their rights to land and resources in multiple locations.

So aside from the settlement in Kāpiti, which is explored in the first two chapters of this report, Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa also settled in Whanganui-a-Tara (later known as Wellington) but were far from the first to do so. The rangatira, Tara, and his people who was descended from the ancestor Whātonga settled around the great harbour, which his wife named after him. The whakapapa connecting Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa with Tara was explored in the previous section of this chapter. The Muaūpoko and Rangitāne tribes, who are also descended from Whātonga, settled in Horowhenua and Wairarapa. In the seventeenth century, they were joined by the Ngāti Ira tribe from Hawke's Bay. At times, other tribes including Rangitāne, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu also occupied parts of the Wellington region, often before moving on to Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island).⁵⁷

From 1819-1820 onwards, with the introduction of muskets to New Zealand northern iwi such as Ngapuhi, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Toa took part in raids in Taranaki and further south, as well as into the South Island, prompting other iwi to migrate south and/or migrating themselves. So during the 1820s and 1830s, this included Ngāti Toa, joined by allies from Taranaki (principally Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga). Then later Ngāti Raukawa from the Waikato came south, settling in the Manawatū and Horowhenua regions. The Te Āti

⁵⁷ Chris Mclean, Wellington region – Early Maori history: *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/wellington-region/page-5> (accessed 16 January 2018).

Awa people occupied the Kapiti coast, while Ngāti Toa retained Kapiti and Mana islands as well as the Porirua district.⁵⁸

Māori were highly mobile in the Cook's Strait world of this period, with Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Toa establishing themselves in Te Tau Ihu after the mid-1820s. The region was traditionally inhabited by Waitaha, Ngāi Tara, Ngāti Māmoe and Tumatakōkiri. They were succeeded by Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne, all iwi associated with the Kurahaupō waka. Along the coast south of the Wairau River, Ngāi Tahu made inroads into the territory of Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tara. After the 1824 battle of Waiorua, on Kāpiti Island in 1824, where South Island warriors joined their North Island kin in attacking Ngāti Toa leader Te Rauparaha and his allies, Te Rauparaha invaded and occupied the upper South Island. Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa settled in Queen Charlotte Sound; Ngāti Koata, a hapū of Ngāti Toa, made a home on D'Urville Island, while Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rārua acquired lands mostly further west.⁵⁹

1.3.1 *Pressures in Taranaki, c.1818 – 1822*

In 1822 a number of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa from Taranaki joined a migration of Ngāti Toa to the Kapiti Coast and Cook Strait region. That heke is discussed in the next section of this chapter. However, the circumstances surrounding this migration and the reasons why Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa took part in it need to be explored here. In general, Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti today say that one reason for the southern migrations was that, in the 1820s and 1830s, the Taranaki people were invaded by their northern neighbours and those of their people who were not killed were taken away as slaves. Living with this continuous threat made the option of joining their Ngāti Toa whanaunga in their journey southwards to Kāpiti, Wellington, Te Tau Ihu (upper South Island) and as far as Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) quite appealing.⁶⁰

With regard to this first migration, the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website recounts how an attack on Ngāti Toa (whose rohe at that time encompassing a coastal area from Aotea to Huikomako, approximately 100 kilometres south of Kāwhia) by the Waikato iwi prompted their 1821 exodus

⁵⁸ Chris McLean, Wellington region – Early Maori history: *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/wellington-region/page-5> (accessed 16 January 2018).

⁵⁹ Malcom McKinnon, Marlborough region – Early Maori history, *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/marlborough-region/page-4> (accessed 16 January 2017).

⁶⁰ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 20 November 2017).

south to Taranaki.⁶¹ This migration was known as Te Heke Tahutahuahi (the meaning of this name is discussed in the next section of this chapter). With Te Pēhi Kupe acting as their leader, they arrived at Urenui, in north Taranaki, and were later attacked by their Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto pursuers. The Ngāti Toa, strengthened with Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga and Te Āti Awa forces, repelled these attackers, inflicting a heavy defeat upon them.⁶² In her kōrero tuke ihō evidence Miria Pomare provided further information about the heke Tahutahuahi. She told of how a small group of fleeing Ngāti Toa, who could not cross the flooded Mokau River, created a ruse. By placing clothing and feathers on bushes and using other methods, they managed to convince their pursuers that this was a large war party.⁶³

Riwaka clarifies the whanaungatanga ties between the Taranaki and Kāwhia folk and why Ngātiawa stood with them against their aggressors. When the Kāwhia iwi or, rather, the Ngāti Toa arrived in Taranaki they stayed with the Ngāti Mutunga, who were related to them, because Toa Rangatira (eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Toa) was the grandson of Mutunga. Te Phi Kupe, a rangatira of Ngāti Toa, was the son of Waipunahau, a descendant also of Mutunga.⁶⁴ Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr explained to the Waitangi Tribunal at Whakarongotai marae that the geographical locations of these two iwi, living in close proximity in northern Taranaki and southern Tainui for close to 100 years, resulted in a lot of this kind of intermarriage.⁶⁵

The Kāwhia iwi had chosen Kāpiti to be their new residence, but without assistance from another iwi to make the long journey their prospects were slim. Given that Ngāti Raukawa had declined their offer their only chance lay with their Ngātiawa whanaunga.⁶⁶ Walzl cites Mere Pomare's 1890 evidence stating that Te Rauparaha appealed to Ngāti Raukawa to accompany him and, when they refused, he enquired of Ngātiawa to assist him. Mere Pomare explained that Te Rauparaha asked her Kaitangata hapū and Ngāti Mutunga to accompany him, along with Ngātiawa. Enoka Tatairau, the brother of Wiremu Kingi, in his response to the 1888 Ngarara Commission, replied 'yes', when asked if Te Rauparaha sought assistance from

⁶¹ Ngāti Toa Rangatira, 'The Heke South' - <http://www.ngatitoa.iwi.nz/ngati-toa/iwi-origins/> (accessed 20 November 2017).

⁶² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' [http://teAti Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/](http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/) (accessed 20 November 2017).

⁶³ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.187-188.

⁶⁴ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp.14-15.

⁶⁵ Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.55.

⁶⁶ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.14.

Ngātiawa. Similar information was also given in the 1890 evidence of Watene Taungatera and Pikau Te Rangi (Ngāti Mutunga).⁶⁷

Because the Ngātiawa had supported the Kāwhia refugees, they too were now prone to attacks from the Maniapoto and the Waikato iwi, which Riwaka says was the main reason why they decided to migrate, rather than stay and suffer future attacks.⁶⁸ Riwaka sees the decision to migrate in response to this threat as a strategic move, with people migrating south temporarily to buy muskets to defend themselves against Waikato when they returned to Taranaki.⁶⁹ Similarly, using Wi Parata's 1890 evidence, Walzl says one reason why the Ngātiawa joined this 1819 heke was that they had heard that Ngāpuhi had acquired firearms from the Europeans; therefore, their intention was to look for new land, where they may be near Europeans, engage in trade and purchase their own weapons.⁷⁰ However, Riwaka notes that in fact most people did not return to Taranaki until 1848, some twenty-four years after the first heke departed.⁷¹

The Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website provides another possible reason for Ngātiawa wanting to travel south: the opportunity to acquire new lands for settlement and geographic assets to control, which they had already seen when a group of northern Taranaki men had joined an earlier combined Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua heke to the south.⁷² This earlier journey is explained by Walzl who identifies it as an 1819 northern taua, or military expedition. The heke consisting of mostly Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua, who were joined by warriors from Kāwhia and Taranaki as they passed through their respective regions. This taua made it to Wellington, travelling on to the Wairarapa before returning to their various homes in the north. According to evidence given by Watene Taungatara in 1890, many of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa who had made the migration south in 1819 were intent on staying permanently. One reason for this, according to Watene, was the acquisition of new lands, not necessarily in the Kāpiti district, but also in Port Nicholson and the South Island.⁷³

⁶⁷ Mere Pomare, 25 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.326-327, and Enoka Tatairau, Ngarara Commission, 26 November 1888, MA 70/1, ANZ Wgt, pp.25-28 cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.54.

⁶⁸ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.14.

⁶⁹ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p 53.

⁷⁰ Wi Parata, 6 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.154-155, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.40-41.

⁷¹ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.54.

⁷² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' [http://teAti Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/](http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/) (accessed 20 November 2017).

⁷³ Watene Taungatara, 24 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.323.

Another factor in Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa's decision to join this migration with Ngāti Toa in 1822, and continue to migrate in successive waves throughout the 1820s and 1830s, was the presence of Europeans who had trade goods that appealed to these new migrants.⁷⁴ Riwaka cites the historian Gary Clover, who estimated that, from the first heke Tātaramoa of 1822 to the heke Paukena of 1834; some 10,000 Ngātiawa had migrated south 'to the Horowhenua, Port Nicholson, Queen Charlotte, Motueka and West Coast districts.⁷⁵ The heke migrants may also have sought land in the South Island because their ever growing population in the lower North Island made significant demands on local resources.⁷⁶

Te Āti Awa iwi members who presented and spoke at the kōrero tuku ihō hui articulated their views and understandings about the heke migrations from Taranaki. Hepa Potini concurs with earlier statements that it was the conflict with Waikato that triggered their migration south to the land first sighted by Te Rauparaha. Hepa says that his ancestors from Ngātiawa, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga were the first to arrive at Kāpiti Island, mentioning that Te Pēhi Kupe with Ngāti Koata were first to take possession of the island by way of a deception. The occupants of the island watched as Ngāti Kimihia walked away up the coast and thought Te Rauparaha and his people were heading to the Horowhenua. However, that night, Te Pēhi and his Ngāti Koata attacked and overthrew the island's defenders. Hepa says that Te Pēhi was able call on Ngāti Koata because they were his wife's people and that the sacking of Kāpiti Island was imperative, because the entire coastline of the region was largely inhabited by the Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Ira, Muaupoko and other iwi of the Kurahaupo waka.⁷⁷

Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr stated that, because their mana had been extinguished in their former homeland, Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata, Rangihīroa, Te Pēhi, Pokaitara, Tūngia and others who were the leaders of the Kāwhia iwi decided to migrate south to the Horowhenua:

They decided to leave Kāwhia and made for Taranaki and to Horowhenua. ... they left Kāwhia with no mana, and they decided to come to Horowhenua to start a new life, to start a new legacy, to regain the mana that they had lost to Waikato ...⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.54.

⁷⁵ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.55 citing Gary Clover, *Going Mihinare and Evangelical Religion*, MS639, Taranaki Museum, Auckland [sic], 1986.

⁷⁶ Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui Trust, <http://www.teAtiAwatrust.co.nz/about> (accessed 14 November 2017).

⁷⁷ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p 35. Riwaka cites Wakefield's account of Te Rauparaha leaving and heading north up the coast. Wakefield understood that there was some jealousy between himself and Te Pēhi over who had the greater mana. Whist Te Rauparaha was attacking the Rangitāne and intent on gaining honours, Te Pēhi decided to attack Kāpiti and gain the ultimate prize (Riwaka Wai 785, #A55, pp.44-45).

⁷⁸ Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.55.

1.3.2 Heke Tātaramoa (1822)

The heke Tātaramoa was part of a dual heke called the heke Mai Raro, or the heke from the north. In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence, Miria Pomare explained that the heke Tahutahuahi was named for the first leg of the heke Mai Raro involving Ngāti Toa from Kāwhia, who were fleeing their Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato pursuers, the second leg was called the heke Tātaramoa, the migration to Kāpiti. Pomare noted that the word ‘Tātaramoa’ the name of this heke ‘refers to the bramble bushes so – that’s an allusion to the thorny bramble bushes referring to the difficulties that were encountered the adversity that was encountered along the way.’⁷⁹

Riwaka quotes Wātene Taungatara’s 1890 evidence that the heke consisted of four to five hundred Ngātiawa warriors.⁸⁰ In addition, an early historian of Te Rauparaha’s life, W. Travers estimated that the Kāwhia contingent totalled about 400, including all the women and children, 170 of these 400 were warriors.⁸¹ In the Native Land Court in 1868, Mātene Te Whiwhi stated that Ngāti Toa had only 100 warriors on the heke.⁸² Walzl also noted that the recorded estimates vary considerably, citing Native Land Court Judges Mair and Scannell estimating 100 Ngātiawa warriors, with Ngāti Toa having a smaller number.⁸³ In 1890 Tamihana Te Rauparaha stated that there were 600 Ngātiawa, 100 Ngāti Tama, 200 Manukorihi and 170 Ngāti Toa.⁸⁴ Despite the diverse estimates given, what is consistent is that Ngātiawa provided a higher proportion of the fighting men than Ngāti Toa.

In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence Miria Pomare listed the Taranaki iwi who made the journey as Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Puketapu, Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Manu Korihi and Te Āti Awa. The rangatira who led these iwi were Te Puoho, Pare mata Te Wahapiro, Te Whakapaheke, Tūmokemoke, Te Pākaiahī, Manukonga, Piritaka, Ngā Tūrua, Ngātata-i-te-Rangi, Rere-

⁷⁹ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.187-188.

⁸⁰ Wātene Taungatara, 24 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.313 cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.39.

⁸¹ W.T.L Travers, *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha* and Rev J. W, *The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1906), pp.88-89, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.39.

⁸² Matene Te Whiwhi, 11 March 1868, Otaki MBk 1C, pp.195-199, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.39.

⁸³ Judgement in Ngarara rehearing case, 24 July 1890, Otaki MB No.12, pp.10-11, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.55.

⁸⁴ Wātene Taungatara, 24 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.312-313. Travers, W.T.L, *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngatitoa*, (Wellington: James Hughes Printer, 1872; Reprint: Christchurch: Capper Press, 1975), p.44. Tamihana Te Rauparaha - Butler, P., (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his Son, Tamihana Te Rauparaha*, (Martinborough: Alister Taylor, 1980), p.23 all cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.55.

tāwhangawhanga and Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke. Pomare stated that, years later, a large proportion made the return journey to Taranaki including the Te Āti Awa chief Rere-tāwhangawhanga and his son, Wī Kīngi.⁸⁵

Similarly, the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website says that the Taranaki people, who accompanied the Ngāti Toa, travelled with notable Taranaki rangatira, such as Te Puoho-o-te-Rangi, Paremata-te-Wahapiro, Reretāwhangawhanga, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke, Te Whetu Tumokemoke, Te Matoha, Ranginohokau, Tuhata Patuhiki, Rautahi, Te Pakaiahi, Manukonga, Te Whakapaheke, Takaratai and Kawe, and consisted of hapū and iwi from Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga and Te Āti Awa.⁸⁶ From the various sources cited by Walzl, it is possible to identify the Taranaki groups and their leaders who took part in the 1822 heke. These are compiled in Table 4 below.

Taranaki Groups	Rangatira	Source
Ngāti Rahiri	Tumokemoke, Te Pakaiahi, Kawe, Kohiwi, and Ngatata.	Smith ⁸⁷
	Tumokemoke, Te Karu, Tukakete, Hone Tuhata, Te Pakaiahi	Watene Taungatera ⁸⁸
Ngāti Mutunga		Smith
	Ngatata, Tiwai	Watene Taungatera
	Ngatata, Tiwai, Pomare	Pikau Te Rangi ⁸⁹
	Pomare Ngatata, Te Waka Tiwai, Pakaiahi (Manukonga), Te Matoha, Patukawenga, Ketu, Wharepoaka.	Maui Pomare ⁹⁰
Manukorihī		Smith
		Watene Taungatera
		Pikau Te Rangi
	Reretawhangawhanga, Wiremu Kingi, Tatairau, Pakaiahi, Manuparenga.	Maui Pomare
Ngāti Hinetuhi	Te Reu, Takaratai	Pikau Te Rangi
	Rangikatata, Ngarewa, Pito, Te Hara, Ru, Henare Ngahoti,	Maui Pomare
Kaitangata	Tumokemoke, Te Karu, Hone Tuhata, Te Pakaiahi	Pikau Te Rangi

⁸⁵ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.176-177.

⁸⁶ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Hekenga Tangata - Migrations’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 22 November 2017).

⁸⁷ Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast ...*, 1910, p.384, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.55-56.

⁸⁸ Watene Taungatera, 24 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.312-313, also Ngarara rehearing, Napier MBk 15, p.281, and Ngarara rehearing, 30 January 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.81-83, all cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.56.

⁸⁹ Pikau Te Rangi, 21-22 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.298-299, 301 and Napier MBk 15, p.267, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194,’ p.56.

⁹⁰ Maui Pomare, *Legends of the Maori, Vol.2*, (AMS Press, 1930), p.74-75, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.56-57.

Taranaki Groups	Rangatira	Source
	Tuhata Patuhiki, Te Karu, Tumokemoke, Te Ika a kape, Ranginohokau.	Maui Pomare
Ngāti Tama	Te Puoho	Smith
Puketapu	Te Whakapaheke	Smith
Ngāti Uenuku		Watene Taungatera
Ngāti Kura	Te Pakaiahi, Wiremu Kingi	Pikau Te Rangi
Otaraua	Rautahi	Maui Pomare
Ngāti Tuaho	Tamaranga, Hamiora Hotu, Taikarekare, Wharerau, Piti, Poki (wahine), Pohe Waiehuehu.	Maui Pomare

Table 4: Taranaki hapū and rangatira – Heke Tātaramoa

Riwaka stated that the heke commenced around February-March of 1822, after the crops grown for the journey had been harvested. The party chose a route down the eastern side of Taranaki maunga, wishing to avoid any encounters with enemy iwi. On arrival at Waitotara, several Ngāti Toa and Te Ra-tu-tonu of Ngāti Mahanga hapū of Taranaki were killed in a fight with the local Ngā Rauru. Te Ra-tu-tonu was the wife of Topeora, the sister of Te Rangihaeata and niece of Te Rauparaha.⁹¹ Walzl has said that there were retaliatory attacks by the migrants, but there is no specific information that Ngātiawa were involved, however, he presumed that, because they formed part of the migrant group, they may have participated.⁹²

When the heke Tātaramoa arrived at Horowhenua, in around 1823, the initial friendship with the local Muaūpoko turned to open conflict with the killing of Te Rauparaha's children. Walzl notes that the available accounts of the conflict largely reflect a Ngāti Toa perspective. Therefore, he relied on Enoka Tatairau's 1888 Ngarara commission evidence and his statement that the Ngātiawa assisted in the conquest of the Kāpiti region and the battles against the Muaūpoko. Walzl also noted that any battles Ngāti Toa took part in would have depended on the numerical strength and support of the Ngātiawa forces.⁹³ Riwaka relied on Wi Parata's evidence to the Native Land Court in the Ngarara rehearing of 1890. There Parata said that Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke and the Ngāti Kura assisted Te Rauparaha to avenge the deaths of his children. For the next six months, the Ngāti Toa and Ngātiawa set about attacking and killing the Muaūpoko.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.39.

⁹² Walzl, Wai 2200. #A194, p.58.

⁹³ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.58-59.

⁹⁴ Wi Parata, 7 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.163, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp.33, 43-44.

In his kōrero tuku ihō evidence Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr explained how Te Pēhi Kupe was responsible for conquering the area around Waikanae and how he vanquished the local Muaūpoko rangatira Te Rātū, who was living at the main Muaūpoko pā called Kukutauaki at Kenakena. This pā became the staging area for attacks on other pā in the area until they were able to take Kāpiti Island in 1822.⁹⁵ Despite Te Pēhi Kupe and his brother Te Rangihiroa being recognised as Ngāti Toa rangatira, Paora says that their whakapapa also hails from their maternal Ngāti Muntunga and Ngāti Hinetuhi ancestry - even their wives were northern Taranaki women. With their mana from Kāwhia extinguished, it was their Taranaki whakapapa who harboured them at Urenui, Ōkoki and Te Kāweka, North Taranaki.⁹⁶

In 1890 Wi Parata recalled how, once all the hostilities with the Muaūpoko had subsided, some of the Ngātiawa prepared for their return to Taranaki.⁹⁷ The Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website concurs, saying that by 1823 and once the migrants had established their resource rights through conquest and occupation, some of the Taranaki iwi decided to return home to support their whanaunga against further attacks from the Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato iwi.⁹⁸ Riwaka's account is similar, it adds that the Taranaki iwi had received news that the Waikato and their allies were planning an attack and they needed to return home. However, the exact number of Ngātiawa who remained in the Kāpiti region is uncertain.⁹⁹ Hillary and Maui Mitchell observed that for some years in the 1820s and early 1830s the Te Ātiawa had made return journeys to their Taranaki homeland for seasonal planting, fishing and food preparations for the winter months and to protect their kāinga from raiding Waikato and Maniapoto.¹⁰⁰

Walzl, again relying on the evidence of Wi Parata to the Native Land Court in 1890, stated that the migrant iwi were allocated the particular areas of land they had previously identified during their visit to the district on the 1819 Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua expedition. The Ngāti Toa who were part of that earlier heke claimed their lands, as did the three Ngātiawa rangatira who were identified by Wi Parata as Pakaiahi, Tumokemoke and Ngatata. Parata stated that these rangatira claimed land at Kāpiti (mainland not the island) and Waikanae, later settling on Kāpiti Island and at Waikanae. Table 4 above notes that Pakaiahi (Te Pakaiahi) was identified as a

⁹⁵ Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.55.

⁹⁶ Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.55.

⁹⁷ Wi Parata, 7 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.163, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp.33, 43-44.

⁹⁸ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 22 November 2017).

⁹⁹ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.44.

¹⁰⁰ Hillary Mitchell and Maui John Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka, Volume 1*, 2004, pp.109-110.

rangatira of Kaitangata, Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Kura; Tumokemoke as rangatira of Kaitangata and Ngāti Rahiri; with Ngatata being a rangatira of Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Mutunga. Walzl noted that in his 1890 evidence Wi Parata stated that Ngāti Toa rejected these claims to land after the 1824 battle of Waiorua.¹⁰¹

1.3.3 Battle of Waiorua (1824)

Riwaka and Walzl provide detailed accounts of the battle of Waiorua; however, this section will attempt to answer several questions from a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa perspective. For instance, what triggered the battle, where did it take place, who of Te Āti Awa/Ngāti Awa took part and what was the outcome for the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people.

In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence Miria Pomare stated that the battle of Waiorua, which was also known as Whakapaetai or Te Umupakaroa, was fought at Waiorua Bay, Kāpiti Island in 1824. She concluded that this battle was significant because it removed all opposition to the migrant's settlement along the Kāpiti coast to the Cook Strait region. The victorious Ngāti Toa and their Taranaki allies were now able fetch more of their people from Taranaki and Maungatautari.¹⁰²

According to Walzl, the battle took place about a year after the northern migrants had arrived in the heke Tātaramoa and had sought refuge on Kāpiti Island.¹⁰³ He cites Shand who stated that the Ngātiawa people under the leadership of Tumokemoke, Te Pakaiahi and others, arrived at Kāpiti Island with Te Rauparaha. They settled on the northern end of the island at Waiorua, while Te Rauparaha chose the southern end at Rangatira. Walzl continues his account by saying that the Kurahaupo people all over the south of the North Island and the north of Te Waipounamu assembled in their hundreds intent on crushing these intruders and sending them on their way. The Kurahaupo were joined by Rangitane, Ngāti Apa and Muaūpoko, however, the numbers of those who gathered vary with estimates from 600 to 2,000 warriors.¹⁰⁴

Riwaka says that the Rangitane, Ngāti Apa and Muaūpoko who had suffered earlier attacks and killings from the migrants had more than enough reason to join the fray. The South Island iwi were also aware that Te Rauparaha had intentions of invading them, another reason for them to

¹⁰¹ Wi Parata, 6 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.155-156, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.63-64. The battle of Waiorua is discussed in section 1.3.3 below.

¹⁰² Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.178-179.

¹⁰³ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.65.

¹⁰⁴ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.71.

gathering.¹⁰⁵ Suffice it to say the migrant defenders on Kāpiti Island, more so the defenders at Waiorua Bay, emerged victorious and consolidated their settlement in the Kāpiti area. However, Walzl notes that there is some discrepancy in the sources about which of the migrant iwi participated, and later accounts often depicted the battle an exclusive Ngāti Toa victory.¹⁰⁶

Sources vary greatly in their estimates of how many Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa took part in the battle of Waiorua. As noted above, although many of the Taranaki iwi returning to their homeland not long after the heke Tātaramoa, some did elect to stay. However, accounts of just how many stayed seem to vary. For example, Riwaka cites the evidence of Matene Te Whiwhi of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa in 1868, who said that 10 Ngātiawa remained. In his evidence in the same year Hohepa Tamiahengia said there were 20 people remained on the Kāpiti Coast.¹⁰⁷ Riwaka simply concludes that some Ngātiawa stayed and they were involved with Ngāti Toa at the battle of Waiorua, and adds a table to outline who was present (reproduced here as Table 5).¹⁰⁸

Ngātiawa		Hapū
Tūmokemoke	Mari	Mutunga
Ngatata	Te Puke	Kaitangata
Tewai (Tiwai)	Reu	Ngāti Hinetuhi
Te Pakaiahi	Okawe	Ngāti Kura
Wiremu Kingi		Manukorihi
Rawiri Te Rauponga		
Pomare		

Table 5: Ngātiawa at Waiorua – Riwaka

Table 6 below utilises the 1890 evidence of Paratawhera who admits that Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa were present and provides names and hapū of the rangatira.¹⁰⁹

Rangatira	Hapū
Ngatata, Pomare, Tiwai	Ngāti Mutunga
Pakaiahi	Manukorihi, N Tama, N Kura, N Tuapiri.
Te Puke	Manukorihi, N Tama, N Kura, N Uenuku
Reu	N Hinetuhi, N Tamawhakatera, Manukorihi.
Kawe	N Kura, N Uenuku, N Tama
Huatau	N Hinetuhi, Manukorihi

¹⁰⁵ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.48.

¹⁰⁶ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.71-72.

¹⁰⁷ Matene Te Whiwhi, 11 March 1868, Otaki MBk 1C, p.197 and Hohepa Tamaihengia, 30 March 1868, Otaki MBk 1D, p.402, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.44.

¹⁰⁸ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.51.

¹⁰⁹ Paratawhera, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.201, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.72-73.

Rangatira	Hapū
Tumokemoke	Kaitangata, N Rahiri, Mitiwai
Hikakupe (aka Te Wehi)	Kaitangata, N Rahiri, Mitiwai

Table 6: Ngātiawa at Waiorua – Paratawhera

In addition, Walzl uses several other sources to identify which Ngātiawa rangatira were present at the battle of Waiorua.¹¹⁰ This information is summarised in the table below:

Ngātiawa Rangatira	Source
Tiwai, Ngatata, Mare	Te Keepa Rangihiwini
Honi Tuhata, Te Karu, Tumokemoke, Ngatata, Tiwai, Pomare, Rautahi, Pakaiahi	Watene Taungatara
Hone Tuhata, Ngatata, Pomare, Tumokemoke, Te Karu	Pikau te Rangi
Taitini	Enoka Taitea

Table 7: Ngātiawa at Waiorua – Walzl

Walzl cites Wi Parata who stated that Ngatata, Pakaiahi and Tumokemoke fought at Waiorua; and in the aftermath argued with Te Pokaitara of Ngāti Toa about rights to some land.¹¹¹

Riwaka draws on the evidence given by witnesses in the Native Land Court in the 1880s and 1890s to describe the battle itself. He notes that Matene Te Whiwhi said that the attacking party landed at Kāpiti Island and launched their attack on Waiorua at 4 o'clock in the morning, with another section attacking Te Rangatira Pā. This early morning raid was meant to take the defenders by surprise, however, they were overheard and the defenders alerted. Despite the ferocity of the battle the defenders emerged victorious, with Travers saying that there were approximately 170 bodies on the shore with others drowning in their attempt to swim out to their waka anchored some distance offshore. Riwaka records that Pokaitara of Ngāti Toa said that the ‘Mainland people’ (attackers) were annihilated and the land from Rangitikei to Wellington was taken. The attacker’s waka that were abandoned when they fled were claimed by the victors and survivors were either killed or taken captive as slaves.¹¹²

Riwaka comments that despite this victory, and the death of many of the attackers, there were still many who had escaped and were still at large. Because of this the northerners on Kāpiti

¹¹⁰ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.73.

¹¹¹ Wi Parata, 6 February 1890, Napier MBk.15, p.166 cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.73-74.

¹¹² Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp.49-50.

Island were still reluctant to settle on the mainland. Riwaka argues that it wasn't until the arrival of the heke Niho Puta that allowed those on the island to truly claim land and settle on the mainland.¹¹³

1.3.4 Heke Niho Puta (c.1824)

In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence Miria Pomare recalled that the second heke commenced in 1824 from northern Taranaki was called the heke Niho Puta. Her understanding is that it was comprised of Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Hinetuhi, Kaitangata, Ngāti Te Kēkerewai and Ngāti Hineuru. It arrived at Waikanae first and then continued on to Te Whanganui-a-Tara.¹¹⁴ The Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti website says that some parts of this heke acquired land in Te Whanganui-a-Tara region by conquest or raupatu, with Pomare Ngatata leading a group to the Chatham Islands.¹¹⁵ Like the preceding section, this section too will consider a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa view point and examine why this heke took place, which Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa groups took part and what happened when they arrived at Kāpiti.

Sources suggest a variety of reasons for this heke. In his kōrero tuku ihō evidence Hepa Potini explained that Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa:

... knew that Waikato and Maniapoto were continuing to come after them – in Taranaki. The battles and ventures between Taranaki and Waikato were relentless. One of the big battles before they came here, before we came here was at Ōkoki [near Motunui not far from Urenui in 1821]. Many, many rangatira of Waikato were killed there, 100, we believe, of the leaders and chiefs, when Waikato were defeated. In years after that, Waikato returned two or three times in major expeditions to seek vengeance from Taranaki. That's why the people came in the migration here to join with the relations of Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama who were here.¹¹⁶

Riwaka concluded that the main cause of Ngātiawa migrations of the 1820s was the continuing threat from Waikato who were seeking revenge for Ngātiawa in protecting their Kawhia relatives from Waikato and Maniapoto during the Battle of Motunui in 1821, near Urenui, and for sheltering them.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.52.

¹¹⁴ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.179.

¹¹⁵ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 11 December 2017).

¹¹⁶ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.37.

¹¹⁷ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p 53. See Riwaka pp 33-35 for an account of the battle.

There is some evidence that Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa intended to bring more of their people from Taranaki to establish a larger community in the Kāpiti region, and strengthen their position there. Riwaka notes that they had been left in a weakened position after many of the Ngatiawa had came on the heke Tātaramoa in 1822 returned home. Those who remained at Kāpiti were worried by the threat of an attack by the original inhabitants of the Kāpiti Coast. Their fears proved to be well founded when the Battle of Waiorua was fought.¹¹⁸

Walzl also concludes that those of Ngātiawa who had returned to Taranaki prior to the battle of Waiorua did so with the intention of bringing more of the people south to Kāpiti. However, Walzl also notes other commentaries (Travers and Wi Parata) consider that it was because of the Ngāti Toa victory at Waiorua that the heke occurred. Walzl also cites Percy Smith's opinion that the latter theory is prone to a timing issue because the heke Niho Puta arrived just as the battle had ended, so must have been planned many months before the battle. It is also clear that one of the prime reasons for the heke was the imminent threat of attack from the Waikato forces.¹¹⁹ In addition, there is also some suggestion that the decision to leave Taranaki was influenced by an outbreak of disease there. Riwaka says that it was 'the plague' that prompted the heke Niho Puta. This was sweeping through various parts of the country and Taranaki from 1823-1824 (he does not offer any suggestion as to what the disease was). It is believed 'the plague' originated in 1820 aboard the ship called the *Coromandel* and that Māori contracted this disease from the crew. In Taranaki 'the plague' was known as 'Te Ariki' and it killed many. Riwaka comments that 'for the survivors, migration to Kapiti must have seemed to offer an escape from almost certain death.'¹²⁰

Further details about the groups involved in this heke and the rangatira who led them can be gleaned from Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa. Table 8 below lists the rangatira who led the expedition from Taranaki. This information has been compiled from Miria Pomare, Alan Riwaka and the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website.

¹¹⁸ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.53.

¹¹⁹ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.77-78.

¹²⁰ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.53.

Miria Pomare ¹²¹	Riwaka ¹²²	Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti ¹²³
Te Pūoho Reretāwhangawhanga Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke Pōmare Ngātata Te Poki Te Arahu Ngātata-i-te-Rangi	Reretāwhangawhanga Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke Te Tiwai Tu Mokemoke Te Pakaia	Te Puoho-o-te-Rangi Reretāwhangawhanga Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake Pōmare Ngatata Te Poki Te Arahu Ngatata Patukawenga

Table 8: Taranaki rangatira of Te Heke Niho Puta

The information for Table 9 below comes from witnesses referred to by Walzl.¹²⁴ It should be noted that some of Smith's statements cited by Walzl have been disregarded because it did not correspond with those made Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa witnesses. For instance, Smith named three rangatira: two of whom were not mentioned by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa witnesses, and the other is known to having already been living on Kāpiti Island when this heke set out from Taranaki.

Hapū	Rangatira	Source
Ngāti Mutunga Kaitangata		Watene Taungatara
Ngāti Mutunga	Pomare, Patukawenga	Enoka Tatairau
Ngāti Mutunga Ngāti Kauhurua Ngāti Rangi	Te Poki, Te Arau, Paitea (Apipia), Wharepoaka, Patukahinga, Raunoa	Pikau te Rangi

Table 9: Rangatira and hapū of Te Heke Niho Puta

Riwaka records that, according to Pikau Te Rangi, the heke Niho Puta did not arrive en masse, instead they arrived in three groups with smaller groups arriving over the following year. The first arrivals were Ngāti Mutunga, followed by Manutoheroa leading the Puketapu people.¹²⁵ Paratawhera of Ngātiawa, Ngāti Uenuku, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Tama and Kaitangata stated that the heke consisted of 800 men and when they arrived at Waikanae the Ngāti Toa came over

¹²¹ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.179.

¹²² Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.59.

¹²³ Te Atiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 27 November 2017).

¹²⁴ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.78-79.

¹²⁵ Pikau Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.295, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

from Kāpiti Island to greet them.¹²⁶ Rihari Tahuaroa said that there were 800 people in the heke and when they arrived and stayed at Waikanae the Ngāti Toa came across from the island the following day.¹²⁷ According to Pikau Te Rangi¹²⁸ those of Ngātiawa living on Kāpiti Island at the time of the arrival of the heke Niho Puta included:

Hapū	Rangatira
Ngāti Mutunga	Ngatata, Tiwai and Pomare
Kaitangata	Te Karu, Hone Tuhata and ‘a good many others’
Ngāti Hinetuhi	Te Reu, Ketetakere and Rangikatutua
Ngāti Tuaho	Pakaiahi
Ngāti Kura	

Table 10: Rangatira and hapū on Kāpiti Island when Te Heke Niho Puta arrived

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa sources suggest that when the heke began arriving at Waikanae they found few, if any people, living there. For example, Pikau Te Rangi said that when the heke Niho Puta arrived at Waikanae there was nobody living there.¹²⁹ Mere Pomare concurred, saying that when the heke arrived no-one was living at Waikanae being fearful of the original occupants. The Ngātiawa living on the island crossed over to the mainland once they knew that the heke had arrived. Both Pikau Te Rangi and Mere Pomare admitted that the heke Niho Puta did not cross over to Kāpiti Island but settled south of the Waikanae River.¹³⁰

The story of how the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people acquired lands at Waikanae has its origins in the unfortunate death of Pohe as a result of a battle at the mouth of the Waikanae River in 1823.¹³¹ In his kōrero tuku ihō evidence Hepa Potini stated that:

The big battle that many know about, is the battle of *Wai-o-rua*. It was a huge seminal battle in the war, but before that, there was another problem here, a battle, a war party came, a number of Ngāti Awa were killed here at the river mouth of Waikanae. One of them, Pohe was the wife of Te Rangihīroa. She died there. She had connections to all of the chiefs such as Te Wakatīwai, genealogical ties with the hapū known as Kaitangata. She died, and some of the children of Te Pēhi, perhaps around four of the children of Te Pēhi were killed at the Waikanae river mouth, and they lie there to this day, buried there.¹³²

¹²⁶ Paratawhera, also known as Pirihira Te Neke, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.199, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

¹²⁷ Rihari Tahuaroa, 24 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.140-141, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

¹²⁸ Pikau Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.294-295, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp 80-81.

¹²⁹ Pikau te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.294-295, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p. 80.

¹³⁰ Mere Pomare, 25 February 1890, Napier MBk.15, p.294. Also, Otaki MBk.10, p.326, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.81.

¹³¹ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.15.

¹³² Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.38.

Walzl explains that the battle started ‘when a taua led by Ngati Apa chief Te Hakeke, and including Hamua of northern Wairarapa, attacked a foraging party of northern migrants at Kenakena, in Waikanae, killing 60 persons, mainly women and children.’ Pohe was captured and taken to Otaki and killed at a place named Ngahuruhuru.¹³³ This appears to Walzl to have been in retaliation for an earlier attack on a Muaūpoko pa at Paekakariki by the newly arrived northern migrants.¹³⁴ Poaroa Ropata Jnr took up the story of Pohe’s death, noting that her father, Huriwhenua, was a chief of Ngāti Rahiri and that his daughter, Pohe was married to Te Rangihiroa. After she was killed by Ngāti Apa at Ngā Huruhuru

Te Rangihiroa and Pēhi gave over the end of Kukutauaki for the loss of his daughter ... and gave the land over to Ngāti Awa. And that’s how Ngāti Awa managed to get, firstly a foothold into Kukutauaki, and then once the land had been shared completely, well they took in all those other places that you see on these maps here, right down to Paekākāriki and up to Ōtaki.¹³⁵

But there is some confusion regarding her parentage, for instance according to Pare Tawhara, Pohe was the niece of Haukione/Haukione.¹³⁶ Hira Maika and Hohaia Pokaitara believed that Pohe was the daughter of Haukione and because of her death land was given to her father as compensation.¹³⁷ Both Hohaia Pokaitara and Pare Tawhara state that Pohe was the wife of Te Rangihiroa and that she was killed at Ngahuruhuru, Otaki.¹³⁸ Major Kemp (Te Keepa Rangihiwini) speaks about the killings saying that Pohe, Te Pēhi’s children and 100 Ngāti Toa were killed by a party of Ngāti Apa, Muaūpoko, Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu.¹³⁹

Up until the killings the migrant iwi had occupied both the mainland and Kāpiti Island, now they sought safety on the island and awaited a reply to their messengers who were sent to seek assistance from Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁴⁰ Wi Parata said that both Haukione of Ngāti Rahiri and Te Puoho of Ngāti Tama on receiving news that Pohe had been killed set off in the heke Hauhaua to Kāpiti arriving just after the battle of Waiorua (discussed in the previous section).¹⁴¹

¹³³ Hohaia Pokaitara, 31 January 1890, Otaki MBk.10, pp.98-100; Pare Tawhara, 5 February 1890, Napier MBk.15, p.147, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.68.

¹³⁴ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.67-68.

¹³⁵ Poaroa Ropata Jnr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.66.

¹³⁶ Pare Tawhara, 5 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.155, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.84-85.

¹³⁷ Hira Maika, 3 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.124, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.68. Hohaia Pokaitara, 1 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.103-104, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.15.

¹³⁸ Hohaia Pokaitara, 31 January 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.98-100, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.68. See also 1 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10 pp.101-102, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.57; and Pare Tawhara, 5 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.147, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.84-85.

¹³⁹ Te Keepa Rangihiwini, 19 November 1872, Otaki MBk 1, p.26, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.47.

¹⁴⁰ Rihari Tahuaroa, 25 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11 p.141, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.47.

¹⁴¹ Wi Parata, 6 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.156 -157, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.48.

1.3.5 Heke Whirinui (1828)

The heke Whirinui of 1828 is generally considered a Ngāti Raukawa heke, with one account attributing the leadership to Te Ahukaramū.¹⁴² Both Peter McBurney and Patricia Burns believe that this heke was led by Te Whatanui.¹⁴³ However, the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website claims that the heke Whirinui was commanded by Te Manutoheroa, Te Tupe-o-Tu and Hau-te-Horo who led the Puketapu, Pukerangiora, Manukorihi, Otaraua, Ngāti Uenuku, and Ngāti Kura subtribes of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa, from Taranaki to the Kāpiti coast and Wellington region.¹⁴⁴ In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence Miria Pomare said that she understands that this heke occurred after the battle of Waiorua and comprised people from the area between Waitara and Puketapu.¹⁴⁵ Smith (relying on Shand) also stated that the 1828 migration included many of

the people who lived between Waitara and Puke-tapu, whose chief was Te Manu-tohe-roa ... and also the *hapus* [sic] named Puke-rangiora, Manukorihi, Otaraua (of which Te Tupe-o-Tu was chief), and finally the Puke-tapu *hapu*, besides stragglers from the districts of Onaero and Urenui.¹⁴⁶

However, Walzl considers that aside from Shand, there is no other mention of a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa heke called Whirinui, but strong evidence for a Ngāti Raukawa heke of this name. Instead, on the basis of Native Land Court testimony from 1890, he concludes that there was a 1828 Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa heke but it was called heke Mairaro.¹⁴⁷

Riwaka's perusal of Maori Land Court minutes gleaned little, and he concludes that there was no mention of this heke belonging to Ngātiawa. Rather than debate whether Ngātiawa were part of this heke, Riwaka is of the opinion that the Ngātiawa continued to migrate south

¹⁴² Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, 'Ngāti Raukawa - 19th century migrations', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-raukawa/page-3> (accessed 13 December 2017). Shand noted that the heke received its name Whirinui because of the large twists or curls put on their koka mats by way of ornament (A. Shand, *The Occupation of the Chatham Islands by the Maoris in 1835: Part 1 - the Migration of Ngāti Awa to Port Nicholson*, Volume 1, No. 2, 1892, p.88 cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.89).

¹⁴³ Peter McBurney, 2013: Summary report of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehiwehi, cited in Tracey Kingi, 'Oral and Traditional History Scoping Report on behalf of Te Hono ki Raukawa Claims Management and Settlement Trust and affiliated hapū and iwi of Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa', a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 18 October 2016, p.28. Patricia Burns, *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, (A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1980), pp.126 -127.

¹⁴⁴ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 December 2017).

¹⁴⁵ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.110, p.179.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast ...*, 1910, p 446, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p 89.

¹⁴⁷ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.89-90.

between the periods of the Heke Niho Puta of 1824 and the latter heke of Tamateuaua of 1832.¹⁴⁸

Regardless of this debate about the name of the heke, testimony from 1890 provides details of this third migration of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people, and identifies a number of individuals and hapū involved. For example, Watene Taungatara stated that Te Manutoheroa, Te Tupe and Reretāwhangawhanga were part of the third heke that travelled to Waikanae which was made up of the iwi of Ngātiawa, namely Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Rahiri, Ngāti Tuaho, Puketapu, Kaitangata and Ngāti Uenuku.¹⁴⁹ Paratawhera said that she was an infant on this heke and that the rangatira were Te Manutoheroa, Reretāwhangawhanga Te Hawe, Karewa Taranui, Huriwhenua. She recalled that the heke was comprised of Ngāti Kura, Puketapu, Ngāti Uenuku, Ngāti Hinetuhi, Ngāti Rahiri and others who travelled to Waikanae and settled south of the river at Kenakena.¹⁵⁰

The evidence regarding how these newcomers were allocated land is more contradictory. Walzl notes that in 1890 Mere Pomare explained that because they were related, the Ngāti Mutunga allowed their Ngāti Kura whanaunga to settle by them, giving them the pā called Te Upoko Te Kaia. The land that was given to Ngāti Kura and Wiremu Kingi was situated on the north side of Waimea. Not long after (c.1830) a contingent of Ngāti Mutunga left the area for Wellington.¹⁵¹ Pikau Te Rangi, who had left with Ngāti Mutunga and frequently travelled between Wellington and Waikanae, said that when they left, the land was redistributed amongst the Ngātiawa hapū. Pikau Te Rangi stated that:

... Kaitangata were on both sides of the river, principally south - they had a great many places. N Kura, N Hinetuhi & N Mutunga went to Waimea. The pa of N Mutunga was called Te Upoko o te Kaiau. N Kura went to Taiwapiroa. N Hinetuhi went to Pikihou.¹⁵²

Pikau Te Rangi was asked if Ngāti Toa were living at Waikanae responded by saying no, and when asked if Ngāti Rahiri had arrived replied that the only people who were there were the Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Mutunga (remnants) at Waimea planting their crops on both sides of the river. The Otaraua, Kaitangata and others had cultivated both sides of the Waikanae River.

¹⁴⁸ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.64.

¹⁴⁹ Watene Taungatara, 30 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.83 and Otaki MBk10, pp.81-83, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.90.

¹⁵⁰ Paratawhera, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk.11, pp.199-200, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.90.

¹⁵¹ Mere Pomare, 25 February and 3 March 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.294, 337, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.92.

¹⁵² Pikau Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.264-5, cited in Walzl, 'Wai 2200, #A194, pp.92-93.

Ngāti Rahiri was living with the Kaitangata people and some Ngāti Hinetuhi was living at Waikanae.¹⁵³ Enoka Taitea explained that Te Tupe was looking for ‘his man’ and found him at Muaūpoko cultivating the land, whereby they both stayed and cultivated.¹⁵⁴

Paratawhera provided a different view saying that when the heke arrived, Te Pēhi and Te Rangihiroa, who were living on Kāpiti Island, came across to greet them and everyone settled on the land given to Haukaione (discussed in the previous section) saying that there was no division. The only land that was apportioned was at Te Uruhi, which was given to the Puketapu people by Tungia and Te Pēhi.¹⁵⁵ Wi Parata said that Tungia was a Ngāti Toa rangatira and was related to Te Manutoheroa, hence the gift of land.¹⁵⁶

Wi Hape Pakau and Wi Parata had different views on the extent of the gift. Pakau said that the gift also included Ngātiawa people and extended from Te Uruhi to Whareroa to Paekakariki, with the Puketapu exclusively receiving the portion extending from Te Uruhi to the top of the Whareroa ridge. Wi Parata on the other hand believed the gift extended from Te Uruhi to what became the southern boundaries of the Ngarara block, and the southern portion of the block was given by Kaiwhakarua of Ngāti Toa to Naenae of Ngāti Mutunga because Kaiwhakarua had married Naenae’s sister.¹⁵⁷

As noted in the previous heke, land south of the Waikanae Stream was given to Haukione, and north of the stream belonged to Te Pēhi’s hapū Ngāti Hinetuhi of Ngāti Awa.¹⁵⁸ Wi Parata stated that the northern portion of land was given by Te Pēhi and Te Rangihiroa to Wiremu Kingi which differs to story above that Ngāti Mutunga gave the northern portion.¹⁵⁹

As previously stated the Ngāti Rahiri were living with the Kaitangata and cultivating both sides of the Waikanae River.¹⁶⁰ However, according to Hiria Te Aratangata she said that the Ngāti

¹⁵³ Pikau Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.264-5, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.93.

¹⁵⁴ Enoka Taitea, 26 July 1886, Otaki MBk 7, p.131, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.93-94.

¹⁵⁵ Paratawhera, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.199-200, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.94.

¹⁵⁶ Wi Parata and Hira Maeke, 13 December 1890, Otaki MBk 40, pp.253, 260, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.95.

¹⁵⁷ Wi Hape Pakau, 5 April 1888, Wellington MBk 2, pp.218, 220, and Wi Parata, 5 April 1888, Wellington MBk 2, p.228, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.95-96.

¹⁵⁸ Wi Parata, 13 May 1887, Otaki MBk 7, pp.249-250, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.77.

¹⁵⁹ Wi Parata, 14 April 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.230, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.94.

¹⁶⁰ Pikau Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.264-5, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.93.

Rahiri had gone to live on the land south of the mouth of the Kukutauaki Stream, and her people lived at the mouth of the Kukutauaki stream by the sea. The basis for their living at Kukutauaki was that Wharemawhai the sister of the Ngāti Rahiri rangatira Huriwhenua was the wife of Nohorua of Ngāti Toa.¹⁶¹ There was also the incident when Huriwhenua got into a quarrel with Te Pēhi who said the land was his and somewhat disputed the gift from Nohorua to his brother-in-law. To Te Pēhi that land belonged to himself and Te Aratangata the brother of Nohorua who had given up his rights due to a spear wound. Witnesses at the 1890 Ngarara rehearing all stated the Huriwhenua won the dispute, and that the place where they fought was named Tamatehe. The significance of this dispute is that Ngāti Rahiri remained and occupied Kukutauaki.¹⁶²

1.3.6 *Heke Tamateuaua (1832)*

In her kōrero tuke ihō evidence Miria Pomare says that the heke Tamateuaua was the fourth and largest heke to leave from northern Taranaki. It left in 1832 following the invasion by the Waikato and battles at Pukerangiora and Ngāmotu, and arrived at Waikanae in 1833.¹⁶³ Because of these battles Walzl likens this heke to refugees who were supported by their Ngātiawa whanaunga upon arrival at Waikanae.¹⁶⁴

Riwaka is of the same opinion regarding the battles and that Taranaki had become a dangerous place to live. He also points out that another factor in the decision to migrate at this time was the decrease in value of dressed flax, the main trading commodity for Māori, and the shortage of people left alive to gather and dress it.¹⁶⁵ The heke left Taranaki in 1832 comprising 2,000 men, women, children and old people.¹⁶⁶

Table 11 below provides a list of the iwi/hapū and the Taranaki rangatira who were part of the heke Tamateuaua that set out in 1832.

¹⁶¹ Hiria Te Aratangata, 31 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.91-92, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.96.

¹⁶² Hiria Te Aratangata, 31 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.91-92; Hira Maika, 3 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.125; Arapeta Taieri, 19 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.125; Te Watene Taungatara, 21 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.14-15; Hone Taramua, 27 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.53; Eruini Te Marau, 21 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.17, 24, all cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.96.

¹⁶³ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.179.

¹⁶⁴ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.158.

¹⁶⁵ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.105.

¹⁶⁶ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.11.

Iwi/Hapū	Rangatira	Source
Ngāti Mutunga	Rangiwhāhia, Te Ito and Te Pononga	Miria Pomare ¹⁶⁷
Ngāti Tawhitikura	Tautara, Rauakitua, Te Puni, Ngātata, Te Wharepōuri and others	
Ngāti Tama	Te Tū o Te Rangi, Te Rangikatau and Te Rangitamaru	
Ngāti Maru Wharanui Ngāti Hineuru, Ngāti Rahiri, Ngāti Puketapu, Ngāti Whakarewa, Ngāti Kaitangata, Ngāti Tupawhenua, Ngāti Tu, Ngāmotu, Ngāti Te Whiti Ngāti Tawhirikura	Tautara, Rauakitua, Haukaione, Te Wharepouri, Te Puni, Rangiwhāhia, Te Ito, Wi Tako, Ngatata-i-te-Rangi, and Te Matangi.	Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website ¹⁶⁸
Puketapu	Tautara	Walzl ¹⁶⁹
	Te Puni, Te Wharepouri, Rauakitua, Rangiwhāhia, Ngatata, Wi Tako, Te Ito	
Ngāti Mutunga	Rangiwhāhia, Hautohoro (Hau Te Horo); Onemihī and Te Ito	Riwaka ¹⁷⁰
Ngāti Tawhirikura	Tautara, Ruaukitua; Te Puni, Ngatata, Te Wharepouri and Henare Te Keha	
Ngāti Tama	Te Tu-o-te-rangi, Te Rangikatau, Kaeaea (Taringakuri) and Te Rangitamarau	

Table 11: Iwi/hapū and rangatira of Te Heke Tamateuaua

Walzl concludes that this heke did not affect customary rights, rather, on arrival the migrants lived with their whanaunga at Waikanae, with many leaving after staying for a year.¹⁷¹

1.3.7 *Heke Paukena and the battle of Haowhenua (1834)*

Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website says that this heke occurred in 1833 comprising iwi from central and southern Taranaki. The only Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people on the heke were from the hapū of Puketapu.¹⁷² Table 12 below outlines who made the journey from Taranaki:

¹⁶⁷ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.179.

¹⁶⁸ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Hekenga Tangata- Migrations,’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

¹⁶⁹ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.651. Because there were no land allocations or disruptions to customary rights or impacts to the resident Ngātiawa, Walzl gives little information regarding this heke

¹⁷⁰ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.105.

¹⁷¹ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.158.

¹⁷² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Settlement and Conflict within the Kapiti Region – Haowhenua 1834’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

Iwi/Hapū	Rangatira	Source
Ngāti Kura	Wiremu Kingi	Walzl ¹⁷³
Puketapu	Te Ura	
Ngāti Haumia		
Ngāti Haupoto (hapū of Taranaki tribe)		
Ngāti Tupaea (hapū of Ngāti Ruanui tribe)		
Puketapu (hapū of Te Āti Awa)		Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti website ¹⁷⁴

Table 12: Iwi/hapū and rangatira of Te Heke Paukena

Walzl explains that the reasons for the heke Paukena were similar to those that prompted the heke Tamateuaua, in that there was the increasing threat from the Waikato iwi. He concludes that like the heke Tamateuaua this heke did not affect occupancy and residency or the customary rights of the earlier heke migrants.¹⁷⁵ He comments that when the migrants arrived at the Kāpiti coast the areas of occupation were pretty much settled by the earlier arrivals. Ngāti Rahiri had settled in the area between Kukutauaki and Opua, with Ngāti Kura occupying land between Waikanae and Waimea Rivers and living alongside the Ngāti Hinetuhi and Ngāti Mutunga at Te Upoko a te Kaia. The Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Rahiri cultivated on each other's land by permission only. Kaitangata, Ngāti Uenuku, Ngāti Tuaho and Otaraua were living together south of the Waikanae River and Puketapu residing at Te Uruhi south to Whareroa.¹⁷⁶

Miria Pomare believes that the series of heke during the 1830s from both Taranaki and Maungatautari heightened tensions over land between the Taranaki iwi and Ngāti Raukawa resident along the Kāpiti coast, providing the catalyst for the Haowhenua battle in 1834.¹⁷⁷ Hepa Potini also noted the role the arrival of Ngāti Raukawa had in the increasing tensions. He understood that ‘one of the reasons for the battle, [was that] Ngāti Raukawa was asked to come here to live here, Te Rauparaha’s sister Waitohi asked them to come. But Te Āti Awa were here. They went to hunt, and Ngāti Awa went to hunt food for themselves, disputes arose, over rights to land.’¹⁷⁸ The Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti website agrees, saying successive migrations of iwi from Taranaki; the arrival of Ngāti Raukawa and the limited availability of natural resources combined to exacerbate tensions and made conflict unavoidable. They note that in 1834, tensions came to a head when a Te Ātiawa/Ngātiawa man called Tawake was caught stealing

¹⁷³ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.649-651.

¹⁷⁴ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Settlement and Conflict within the Kapiti Region – Haowhenua 1834’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

¹⁷⁵ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.146-147, 158.

¹⁷⁶ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.149.

¹⁷⁷ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.179.

¹⁷⁸ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p 40.

food resulting in conflict between the Taranaki tribes and Ngāti Raukawa and sections of Ngāti Toa.¹⁷⁹ Riwaka says that the cause of the Haowhenua battle was a trivial matter of some stolen potatoes; however, there were simmering tensions prior to this incident regarding occupation of conquered land at Otaki with the Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁸⁰

Walzl records several versions of this incident recalled by witnesses in the Native Land Court in 1890. For example, Watene Taungatara, who said he was part of the last heke, stated that one of their party was killed when he went to collect potatoes. He also elaborated that Tawaka (Tawake) and others were living at Waikawa north of Otaki.¹⁸¹ Enoka Taitea described how Tawake was killed saying that he was foraging for food and came across a potato pit and subsequently started to gather the contents and when he left with his goods he had left his pipe behind, so that when he returned to recover his pipe he was killed. News of Tawake's death reached Waikanae, where his rangatira whanaunga Te Tupu, Hauteora (Hau Te Horo) and others were living.¹⁸²

The Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti website notes that as the conflict escalated Te Rauparaha allied himself with his Ngāti Raukawa relatives; he subsequently sent requests north to his whanaunga to come and assist him. His plea was answered by sections of Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tipa led by rangatira Wetini and Nini with Pāpaka Te Heuheu leading his Ngāti Tūwharetoa.¹⁸³ The heke Tamateuaua iwi also received reinforcements from their Ngātiawa whanaunga living at Queen Charlotte Sound.¹⁸⁴ Pikau Te Rangi, upon hearing of the conflict, came from Te Whanganui-ā-Tara with the Ngāti Mutunga.¹⁸⁵

The loyalties of the Ngāti Toa were divided, as Pokaitara related in 1890, some went to Ngāti Raukawa and some went to Ngātiawa. He said that Te Aratangata and Te Pēhi were dead so their brothers Nohorua and Te Rangihiroa made the decision to support Ngātiawa.¹⁸⁶ Tamahana

¹⁷⁹ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Settlement and Conflict within the Kapiti Region – Haowhenua 1834' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

¹⁸⁰ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.106.

¹⁸¹ Watene Taungatara, 30 January 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.81, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.112.

¹⁸² Enoka Taitea, 19 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.79-80, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.113.

¹⁸³ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Settlement and Conflict within the Kapiti Region – Haowhenua 1834' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

¹⁸⁴ Rihari Tahuaroa, 24 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.143, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.106 and Rihara Kahuaroa, 25 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.143, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.115.

¹⁸⁵ Pikau te Rangi, 22 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.275, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.115.

¹⁸⁶ Hohaia Pokaitara, 1 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.103 -104, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.107.

Te Rauparaha recalled that as the battle commenced his father, Te Rauparaha, gathered Ngāti Toa to Kāpiti Island. Local Ngāti Toa rangatira and those living in Te Waipounamu assembled and when asked by Te Rauparaha where they would stand the response was ‘Lead us in this war on the side of our Ngati Awa people’. Te Rauparaha replied that he would stand with his mother’s people the Ngāti Raukawa, so too would Te Rangihaeata and 30 others. The bulk of Ngāti Toa chose to stand with their Ngātiawa kin.¹⁸⁷ Wi Parata’s account agrees, saying that a section of Ngāti Toa went to Ngāti Raukawa, but his ancestor Te Rangihiroa and his son Te Hiko allied themselves with their Ngātiawa whanaunga.¹⁸⁸ According to the biographer Peter Butler, these divided allegiances grieved Te Rauparaha. On hearing that Ngāti Raukawa had successfully defending their pā against a 600-strong combined Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui force, he ‘felt deep grief for he thought that his Ngati Toa would now be separated from him.’¹⁸⁹ In his kōrero tuku ihō evidence Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr says that these divided loyalties had a lasting impact, resulted in two Ngāti Toa: the Raukawa Ngāti Toa and the Ngātiawa ones.¹⁹⁰

Accounts given by witnesses in the Native Land Court in 1890 suggest that the battle took several months. At one siege (Rangiuru) some of the Ngāti Raukawa considered leaving the pā under the cover of darkness, and snatched some of Te Rauparaha’s waka and headed to Whanganui. They were unhappy that the siege had begun in autumn lasted all winter and now summer was upon them.¹⁹¹ Paratawhera, whose father had taken part in the fighting, said that the conflict lasted over a year.¹⁹² Tamihana Te Rauparaha said that the battle lasted ‘for two summers and a winter’.¹⁹³ The incident of sneaking away on Te Rauparaha’s waka took place before reinforcements had arrived from the north, when Ngāti Raukawa were at a low period in the conflict. Te Heuheu took several months to assemble a force of some 800 men and march to Haowhenua.¹⁹⁴

The Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website says that the conflict at Haowhenua received the name from the pā site and the wider area where the battle took place. During the battle, many renowned

¹⁸⁷ Peter Butler (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his Son, Tamihana Te Rauparaha*, (Martinborough, Alister Taylor, 1980), p.64, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp. 113-114.

¹⁸⁸ Wi Parata, 6 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.161, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.107.

¹⁸⁹ Butler (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha ...*, 1980, p.64, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.113-114.

¹⁹⁰ Paora Temuera Ropata Jnr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.59.

¹⁹¹ Butler (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha ...*, 1980, p.66, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.115.

¹⁹² Paratawhera, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.200, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.121.

¹⁹³ Butler (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha ...*, 1980, p.68, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.121.

¹⁹⁴ Lindsay Buick, *An Old New Zealander or, Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, (London, 1911), pp.195-196, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.116.

rangatira were killed on both sides, including Te Tupe-o-Tu and Hau Te Horo from the Te Ātiawa hapu of Otaraua. To commemorate the place where they fell, they named the place ‘Te Matenga o Te Tupe-o-Tu’ (the death of Te Tupe-o-Tu).¹⁹⁵ Te Heuheu Mananui lamented the loss of his younger brother Papaka by breaking his taiaha and was moved to say:

“Hei konei e Āti Awa. E kore au e hoki mai! Ki te tae mai he iwi hei patu i a koe, ka mate!”

“Farewell Āti Awa. I shall not return! If a people come and make war with you, they will perish!”¹⁹⁶

Walzl notes that there were differing accounts of the conflict, and of the peace-making that followed. For instance, Watene Taungatara said that it was Te Rangihaeata and Topeora who mediated between the two parties, allocating land at Waikanae to Ngātiawa and land north of Otaki to Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁹⁷ Wi Parata said that peace was negotiated by the father of Wi Hau for Ngāti Toa and Rero for the Taranaki folk.¹⁹⁸ Tamihana Te Rauparaha recounted that it was the request of the Ngāti Toa to Te Rauparaha to broker a peace, which he did and hostilities ceased.¹⁹⁹

1.3.8 *Re-allocation of land interests after the battle of Haowhenua (1834)*

Part of the peacemaking process was a reallocation of land interests and redrawing of iwi boundaries in the region, and this is something that seems to be well remembered by Ngātiawa/Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti claimants today. In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence Miria Pomare explained that:

Following this battle, there was a re-arrangement of tribal boundaries which required Waitohi’s intervention to settle the disputes and stipulate boundaries. She had considerable influence due to her whakapapa links and personal connections to the chiefly lines of both Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa, and she was a formidable leader in her own right. It was at her request that the Taranaki iwi moved further south to Waikanae where they took possession of the land south of the Kukutauaki Stream. Ngāti Raukawa agreed to occupy the land from the northern bank of this stream as far as the Manawatū River. Ngāti Toa remained mainly on Kapiti and also later occupied Mana Island, Pukerua Bay and Porirua. It is my understanding, that all of the iwi agreed to the tuku and the terms of the transfer as stipulated by Waitohi. These tribal boundaries

¹⁹⁵ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Settlement and Conflict within the Kapiti Region – Haowhenua 1834’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

¹⁹⁶ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Settlement and Conflict within the Kapiti Region – Haowhenua 1834’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

¹⁹⁷ Watene Taungatara, 30 January 1890, Napier MBk 10, p.81, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.107.

¹⁹⁸ Wi Parata, 6 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.160-161, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.119.

¹⁹⁹ Butler (ed), *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha ...*, 1980, p.68, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.119.

were still in place at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, te Tiriti o Waitangi, in 1840.²⁰⁰

Likewise, Hepa Potini told the Tribunal that:

When that battle finally finished, Haowhenua, one of the women stood, Waituhi, stood on the marae and divided up the land. She said this “From Rangitikei river and Manawatū down to Kukutauaki the stream is Ngāti Raukawa. From Kukutauaki to Waikanae river is Te Āti Awa.” From down at the bottom of Waikanae river to the top of the Tararua range descending to Māwaihākona down to the Hutt valley (Upper Hutt, Māwaihākona River) climbing up the Ōrongorongo Range down to the Turakirae Head back to Pito-One in the harbour in Wellington, Te Horokiri and up the Pāuatahanui Valley (Battle Hill) coming up to Pukerua Bay. Pouāwhā, a place behind the hills at Whareroa near McKay’s Crossing down to Pā Whakataka coming back here to the coast of Waikanae. That’s the land for Te Āti Awa, also known as Ngāti Awa.²⁰¹

In his kōrero tuku ihō evidence, Paora Ropata Snr elaborated on Waitohi’s whakapapa. He explained that she was Te Rauparaha’s sister and therefore closely related to Te Rangihīroa and Te Pēhi who were uncles to Te Rauparaha.²⁰²

In his history of the Kapiti Coast, Carkeek said that with more arrivals from Taranaki and the likelihood of more quarrels, Waitohi declared some boundaries whereby the Āti Awa would relocate to Waikanae taking possession of the land south of the Kukutauaki Stream. The northern side of the stream would be occupied by the Ngāti Raukawa extending to the Manawatu River. The Ngāti Toa would continue staying on Kāpiti Island later occupying Mana Island, Porirua and Pukerua Bay.²⁰³

Travers’ life of Te Rauparaha also gave an account of Waitohi’s redistribution of the lands saying Waitohi suggested to Te Rauparaha that the Ngātiawa should move to Waikanae and occupy the land south of the Kukutauaki Stream and Ngāti Raukawa occupy the northern side as far as Wangaehu. With both parties in agreement the Ngāti Raukawa were escorted by Te Rauparaha and rangatira of Ngāti Toa along the beach to Ohau which was where the Ngātiawa were in residence and took possession of the homes and cultivations, whilst the Ngātiawa took possession of Waikanae.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp 179-180.

²⁰¹ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p 40.

²⁰² Paora Ropata Snr, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p 25.

²⁰³ Carkeek, 1966, p.43, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.662.

²⁰⁴ William Travers, *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngatitoa*, (Christchurch, Capper Press, 1975), pp.53-54, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp. 662-663.

Evidence from witnesses in the Native Land Court in the 1890s suggests that one outcome of the battle was the displacement of people. Enoka Tatairau stated that even though Ngātiawa were successful at Haowhenua some people decided to leave the region. Enoka said that the large loss of life on both sides had left a state of tension with some Ngātiawa departing to Arapaoa (in Queen Charlotte Sound).²⁰⁵ Paratawhera said that group of Mitiwai people also went away to Arapaoa, but drowned whilst in transit.²⁰⁶ Wi Parata stated that Ngāti Toa advised some Ngātiawa to go to the South Island to Arapawa and settle there. Parata recalled that all the Ngātiawa hapū (some from each hapū elected to stay) went except Ngāti Kura. However, Parata went on to say that Ngāti Kura was the largest of the Ngātiawa and that half left and half remained at Waikanae. The bulk of Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Hinetuhi had left. All of the Otaraua and Kaitangata went to Arapawa except Te Haukaione and his children and Kiha and others. However, Walzl notes that Parata's statement was later challenged in the Native Land Court.²⁰⁷

Watene Taungatara said that after Haowhenua those who remained and were living south of the Waikanae River were the Kaitangata, Otaraua, Ngāti Tuaho and Ngāti Uenuku. Taungatara admitted that some Kaitangata had gone to Arapawa and returned. For instance, Hone Tuhata had taken the mantle of rangatira of the Kaitangata because Tumokemoke had been killed and had gone to Arapawa to see his people and returned. Hone Tuhata and his people who remained worked on their cultivations around Waikanae.²⁰⁸ Paratawhera agreed, saying that those of Ngātiawa who remained all lived at Kenakena pā Waikanae.²⁰⁹ Hemara Waiho admitted that people did leave Waikanae, but there was always some who remained, and that those who left often returned.²¹⁰ The judgment of the Ngarara rehearing found that because a state of tension existed a number of Ngātiawa left the district after Haowhenua, their leaving was often temporary and that they did not abandon their rights at Waikanae.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Enoka Tatairau, Ngarara Commission, 27 November 1888, MA 70/1, ANZ-Wgt, pp.39-40, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.122.

²⁰⁶ Paratawhera, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.202-203, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.123.

²⁰⁷ Wi Parata, 7 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.167-168, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, pp.123-124.

²⁰⁸ Watene Taungatara, 24 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.289, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.124.

²⁰⁹ Paratawhera, 29 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.202-203, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194', p.125.

²¹⁰ Hemara Waiho, Ngarara Commission, 4 December 1888, MA 70/1, ANZ-Wgt, pp.7-9, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.125.

²¹¹ Judgement in Ngarara rehearing case, 24 July 1890, Otaki MBk 12, p.14, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.126.

1.3.9 Battle at Kuititanga (1839)

The Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website observes that despite ‘a short lull in peaceful occupations, the uneasy truce between Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa was to be short-lived.’ A further conflict, the battle of Kuititanga took place in 1839. They note that prior to this battle Ngātiawa were living in several areas as shown in the Table 13 below (most of these sites are shown on Figure 6 at the beginning of the next chapter).²¹²

Occupants	Pā Site
Affiliates of Ngāti Kura hapū, and Ngāti Mutunga iwi	Waimea pā
Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Rukao	Arapawaihi pā
Numerous Te Ātiawa hapū	Kenakena pā
Puketapu hapū	Te Uruhi pā
Ngāti Maru Wharanui	Whareroa and Tipapa pā
Otaraua hapū	Kaitoenga pā

Table 13: Location of Te Āti Awa pā and hapū

Reading the source material from Walzl, Riwaka and the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website name the pā site where the attack took place as the primary pā of Ngāti Kura (see table above: Waimea pā), or Kuititanga pā.

According to the Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, tensions and unresolved issues between the former combatants in the 1834 battle of Haowhenua remained. The flashpoint for the Kuititanga battle was the tangihanga for Waitohi the sister of Te Rauparaha, when insults were traded between rangatira. Attempts at a peaceful resolution were tried, but these failed when a Taranaki rangatira and christian named Minarapa was unable to gain the release of some captives who were later executed for building homes in the Otaki area. Once those living at Waikanae were informed by Minarapa preparations for war were made.²¹³

Walzl points out that others have put forward a variety of theories about other factors that contributed to this conflict. During his evidence in the Native Land Court in 1890 Hera te Wairengarenga stated that Te Rauparaha, on behalf of his Ngāti Raukawa kin, wanted revenge

²¹² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Kuititanga 1839’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> accessed 13 Nov 2017.

²¹³ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Kuititanga 1839’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> accessed 13 Nov 2017.

for the Haowhenua battle. In his history of Te Rauparaha, Buick argued that Ngāti Raukawa were jealous that Ngātiawa could acquire guns and trade goods from the whalers.²¹⁴ Ballara's theory is that Te Rauparaha hated the fact that Ngātiawa were negotiating with the New Zealand Company for Port Nicholson during 1839 and were receiving payment for some land transactions. The Te Whanganui-ā-Tara Tribunal accepted Ballara's view saying that these transactions were probably part of the reason for resentment.²¹⁵

Riwaka records that Hori Kokaka said that Te Rauparaha was angry with Ngāti Tama who had ill-treated his sister Waitohi and robbed her, and because of this incident Te Rauparaha incited Ngāti Raukawa to fight Ngātiawa.²¹⁶ He also notes the testimony of Kerehana of Ngāti Toa, who stated that Te Rauparaha was jealous of Te Pēhi because he had given Waikanae and Arapawa to Ngātiawa, so jealous in fact that he spoke to some Ngāti Raukawa to secretly kill Te Pēhi.²¹⁷ William Wakefield, negotiating for land on behalf of the New Zealand Company, concluded that Te Rauparaha resented the Ngātiawa because he was forced to allow them to settle not only on the Kāpiti coast, but at Whanganui-ā-Tara and Queen Charlotte Sound. Incensed with the situation Te Rauparaha tried to use Ngāti Raukawa to annihilate the Ngātiawa.²¹⁸

Riwaka says that the Ngātiawa received a warning of an impending attack from Ngāti Raukawa. He cites the various accounts of witnesses in the Native Land Court in the 1890s recalling how this warning was given. For example, Pokaitara stated that whilst he was at Kāpiti Island Te Rauparaha's wife Kutia had heard from her husband about what was to happen and warned the Ngāti Toa. Pokaitara stated that it wasn't Ngāti Toa but Te Hiko who went to Waikanae and forewarned Ngātiawa.²¹⁹ Kerewa Taranui said messengers were sent out requesting assistance and that two nights prior to the attack, many waka were seen coming from the South Island.²²⁰ Piripi Taua of Puketapu stated that one of their own called Tamatoa

²¹⁴ Hera te Wairengarenga, Ngarara rehearing, [n/d] 1890, see Carkeek, 1966, and Buick, *An Old New Zealander or; Te Rauparaha, The Napoleon of the South*, 1911, p.211, all cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.127.

²¹⁵ Angela Ballara, 'Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Phases of Maori Occupation of Wellington Harbour circa 1800–40', in D Hamer and R Nicholls (eds), *The Making of Wellington, 1800–1914*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), p.31, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.127.

²¹⁶ Hori Kokako, 8 March 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.458, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.131.

²¹⁷ Te Kerehana, 3 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, p.115, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.131.

²¹⁸ *Supplementary Information relative to New Zealand; Despatches and Journals of the Company's officers of the First Expedition, and the First report of the Directors*, John W. Parker, London, MDCCXL, Wakefield, p.113, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.131.

²¹⁹ Hohaia Pokaitara, 1 February 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.111-112, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.132.

²²⁰ Kerewa Taranui, 26 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.161, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.132.

who was out looking for timber stumbled across a large number of Ngāti Raukawa at the beach and set off to Kuititanga to warn the Ngātiawa. The occupants waited for three days and started to disbelieve Tamatoa's warning and ceased their vigil, and on the third night the pā was attacked.²²¹

Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website does not mention these warnings, but instead explains that Ngāti Raukawa launched a surprise nighttime attack on the Waimea pā at Ngāhuruhuru in October 1839 killing many of the occupants. Those who survived made their way across the Waikanae River to the Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Rukao at Arapawaiti pā, soon after reinforcements from Kenakena pā arrived. Kenakena was the principal Te Āti Awa pā, or rather, an enormous communal village comprising hapū with their own private enclosures. Other reinforcements arrived from Te Uruhi pā the kainga of the Puketapu hapū and from Whareroa and Tipapa pā the kainga of Ngāti Maru Wharanui. These combined forces launched a counterattack forcing Ngāti Raukawa to retreat northward along the Waikanae beach front. They were soon overtaken by their pursuers and in the ensuing melee many were either killed or captured. Minarapa was able to bring a halt to the carnage at the Kukutauaki stream allowing the Ngāti Raukawa survivors to retreat to the own territories.²²² Te Pēhi and Te Rangihiroa must not have taken part in the fighting, because, according to Pokaitara, Te Rauparaha managed to escape to Kāpiti Island and spoke to them there and asked that they broker a peace with Ngātiawa.²²³

Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website states that at the conclusion of the hostilities 55 Ngāti Raukawa were captured and taken to Kenakena and Te Uruhi pā sites where the Puketapu and Otaraua rangatira Manutoheroa executed them, saying:

“If you had come during daylight and fought like men, this would not have happened!”²²⁴

Riwaka cites Flemming’s account which differs slightly with Manutoheroa saying:

‘If you had come as men I would have spared you; but you are murderers and must die.’²²⁵

²²¹ Piripi Taua, 10 April 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.284-285, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.132.

²²² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Kuititanga 1839’[http://teAti Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/](http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/) (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

²²³ Hohaia Pokaitara, 1 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, p.103, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.136.

²²⁴ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Kuititanga 1839’[http://teAti Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/](http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/) (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

²²⁵ M.A Flemming, MS 1551, Folder 1, 1973, p.1, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.134.

Other captives were taken to Kaitoenga pā, the kainga of the Otaraua hapū, until peace had been established between the warring parties. By this time the advent of Christian practices had superseded traditional norms usually reserved for enemy dead, who instead were given Christian burials. The cultivations at Ngāhuruhuru where many of the Ngātiawa were killed at the outset was declared a wāhi tapu.²²⁶

Bishop Octavius Hadfield, the Anglican missionary at who had recently begun his ministry at Waikanae and Otaki, arrived at the scene of the battle not long after the fighting had ceased.²²⁷ In the Native Land Court in 1890 he stated that the battle had commenced at daybreak and lasted about an hour. Hadfield was able to provide a lot of detail about the disposition of the Ngātiawa, for instance he said that there were about 600 fighting men at Waikanae, and when the battle had ended reinforcements arrived from Arapawa taking the number to 1,000 fighting men. Hadfield explained that he had lived in Waikanae for five years (his biography indicates this was from 1839 to 1844) and during that time only the Ngātiawa lived there, in the area between Kukutauaki in the north and a point a little south of Te Urui (Uruhi). He stated that the Ngātiawa rangatira at Waikanae were Te Reretāwhangawhanga and Wiremu Kingi, but although Te Rangihiroa and Te Hiko were in the area (Kāpiti Island) their mana was not recognised at Waikanae. Hadfield was certain that neither Te Hiko nor Ngāti Toa were at Kuititanga. In his view, ‘Ngatitoas could not have asserted any right to a voice in sale of Waikanae.’ Riwaka concludes that these statements from Hadfield about the battle had settled the issues about land ownership at Waikanae.²²⁸

Riwaka notes that William Wakefield of the New Zealand Company was in the South Island at the end of October 1839 intent on acquiring signatures for a deed of purchase of Queen Charlotte Sounds from the Ngātiawa, which he achieved on 8 November 1839. Historian Donald Loveridge described the payment which consisted of ‘enough military equipment, one might think, to outfit a fair-sized expedition to Kāpiti.’²²⁹ Riwaka takes this as an indication

²²⁶ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, ‘Te Kuititanga 1839’ <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

²²⁷ June Starke. ‘Hadfield, Octavius’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h2/hadfield-octavius> (accessed 23 January 2018).

²²⁸ Bishop Hadfield, 28 February 1890, Otaki MBk 10, pp.377-379, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp.135-136.

²²⁹ Donald Loveridge, “Let the White Men Come Here”: The Alienation of Ngati Awa/Te Āti Awa Lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, 1839-1856’, a report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1999, pp.40-41, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.139.

that although Kuititanga had been fought some 3 weeks earlier, things were still in a state of war.

With the battle of Kuititanga ended Riwaka says the population of the Ngātiawa resident at Queen Charlotte Sound by about 1840 numbered 800-900 people. He also cites Hiria Te Wairingiringi and Hera Te Aratangata who both said that after the battle of Kuititanga the greatest number of Ngātiawa persons journeyed to the South Island.²³⁰

According to Watene Taungatara, Ngātiawa had fought for what they considered was theirs and they cared less for what Te Rauparaha thought about it, this battle had settled once and for all the issue regarding the land.²³¹ Walzl explains that the view most commonly put forward by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in the court in the 1880s and 1890s was that the outcome of the land and the resistance to Ngāti Raukawa at both Haowhenua and Kuititanga had secured their rights through take raupatu and take ringakaha followed by their ahi kaa.²³²

1.4 Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi

Copies of the Treaty of Waitangi were signed by many Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa individuals at Port Nicolson, Queen Charlotte Sound, Waikanae, Otaki and the Manawatu between 29 April and 26 May 1840. During research for this report, Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti claimants focused some of their kōrero on their tupuna who signed the Treaty of Waitangi with the Crown. An analysis of the signatures on this sheet of the Treaty is available through the National Library. It suggests that 30 Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa tupuna signed the Treaty in those locations. Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website says that 22 rangatira signed the Treaty; however, it does not provide a list of names.²³³ The National Library analysis is set out in Table 14 below.

²³⁰ Hiria Te Wairingiringi, 24 January 1890, Otaki MBk 10 pp.41, 47, and Hera Te Aratangata, 31 January 1890, Otaki MBk 10 p.92, both cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.138.

²³¹ Watene Taungatara, 30 January 1890, Napier MBk 15, pp.82-83, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.137.

²³² Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.629.

²³³ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website –Te Ruru Mā heke 1848 and Tuku Rākau, http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/ (accessed 13 Nov 2017).

	Signed as	Probable name	Tribe	Hapu
<i>Port Nicholson, 29 April 1840</i>				
1	Tuarau	Tuarau	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Tawhirikura
2	Te Hiko-o-te-rangi	Te Hiko-o-te-rangi	Ngāti Toa, Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Te Manu
3	Matangi	Matangi	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Te Whiti
4	Porutu	Te Rira Porutu	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou?
5	Ngatata	Ngātata-i-te-rangi	Te Āti Awa, Taranaki	Ngāti Te Whiti
6	Te Puakawe	Te Puakawe	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou?
7	Wairarapa	Wiremu Kingi Wairarapa	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou
8	Mohiroa	Te Ropihā Moturoa	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou
9	Ingo	Takutu Ingo	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou
10	Kopiri	Hohepa Kōpīri	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou
11	Te Kahu	Te Iwi-Kahu	Te Āti Awa	Te Matehou
12	Kopeka	Harawira Kōpeka	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Tawhirikura
13	Rerewa	Rerewa	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Tawhirikura
14	Te Puni	Hōriana Te Puni-kokopu	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Te Whiti, Ngāti Tawhirikura
15	Tuhatu	Tūhoto (Moengarangātira)	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Tawhirikura
16	Popuka	Popuka	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Te Whiti, Ngāti Tawhirikura
<i>Queen Charlotte Sound, 4-5 May 1840</i>				
17	Toheroa	Toheroa	Ngāti Tama, Te Āti Awa?	Ngāti Komako
18	Te Tupe	Eruini Te Tupe	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Rāhiri
19	Hone	Hōne Ropoama Te One	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Tuaho, Ngāti Hinga
20	Huriwenua	Huriwhenua	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Rahiri
21	Taukina	Paora Taukina	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Rahiri
22	Te Uapiki	Te Uapiki	Te Āti Awa	
<i>Waikanae, 16 May 1840</i>				
23	Reretauwangawanga	Te Rere-tā-whangawhangā	Te Āti Awa	Manukorihī
24	Witi	Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Mutunga
25	Te Heke	Te Heke	Te Āti Awa	Patupo
26	Tuamane	Tuainane	Te Āti Awa	
27	Te Patukakariki	Wiremu Te Patu-kākāriki	Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa?	Ngāti Tuaho, Ngāti Tihina?
28	Hiangarere	Hiangarere	Te Āti Awa	
<i>Ōtaki?, 19 May 1840</i>				
29	Kehu	Te Kehu (Te Whetu-o-te-ao)	Te Āti Awa	
<i>Manawatī, 26 May 1840</i>				
30	Pakau	Wi Hape Pākau	Te Āti Awa	Ngāti Te Whiti, Ngāti Tawhirikura, Ngāti Te Waiponga

Table 14: Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi
 (Source: Adapted from Henry Williams copy, Sheet 8: New Zealand History,
<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/henry-williams-treaty-copy>)

Some of the signatories were influential and led interesting lives, one of whom was Tuarau (No.1) who in 1834 sold 70 acres of land which was later transferred to the Church Missionary Society in 1837. Two years later he was one of 16 people who signed the sale of the Port Nicholson Block to William Wakefield of the New Zealand Company; he later travelled to Taranaki aboard the *Tory* to recommend to his whanaunga that they sell land to the New Zealand Company.²³⁴

²³⁴ New Zealand History, Ngā Tohu – Treaty signatories: ‘Tuarau’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-1> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 27-Jun-2016.

Kopiri (No.10) was first known as Joseph Phillips who arrived to these shores in the early 1800s and became part of a Māori family. He took the name Hohepa Kōpiri and lived amongst the Ngāti Puketapu and Ngāti Tuaho as a Pākeha Māori.²³⁵ Hone (No.18), also known as Hōne Ropoama Te One, with his wife Neta Toea were the first Te Āti Awa to settle in Waitohi Picton.²³⁶ Te Uapiki (No.21) was listed by Henry Williams as one of the principle Te Āti Awa rangatira at Queen Charlotte Sound. Six years earlier during the battle at Haowhenua pā, Te Uapiki led 400 warriors against Ngāti Raukawa and the Waikato.²³⁷

Te Rere-tā-whangawhanga (No.22) was part of the 1822 Heke Tātaramoa, returning again as the leader of the 1824 Heke Niho Puta migration. He fought in engagements against the Ngā Rauru people in 1829 and fought alongside Te Rauparaha at Kaiapohia in the South Island in 1831. Two years later he was in conflict against the Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa when his Taranaki people migrated to the Cook Strait and again in 1834 at Haowhenua. His wife Te Kehu (No.28) signed the Treaty and they were parents to three sons, Matiu, Enoka and Wiremu Kīngi te Rangitāke (No.23).²³⁸

Tuamane (Tuainane No.25) was forced from his pā at Pukerangiora in Taranaki by Te Wherowhero in 1831 and settled at Waikanae. Whilst at Waikanae he traded dressed flax for guns and ammunition with Sydney merchants. In 1839 he rallied his people and fought off attacks from Ngāti Raukawa. He later returned to Taranaki in 1842 with Wiremu Kīngi te Rangitāke.²³⁹

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on several issues such as the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa origins, particular the whakapapa that flows from the union of Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi with Rongo-ue-roa, and their offspring, Te Awanuiārangi, the tribe's eponymous ancestor. Te Awanuiārangi is also the

²³⁵ New Zealand History (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), Ngā Tohu – Treaty signatories: ‘Hohepa Kōpiri’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-22>, updated 5-Jul-2016.

²³⁶ New Zealand History, Ngā Tohu – Treaty signatories: ‘Hōne Ropoama Te One’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-45>, updated 27-Jun-2016.

²³⁷ New Zealand History, Ngā Tohu – Treaty signatories: ‘Te Uapiki’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-59> , updated 27-Jun-2016.

²³⁸ New Zealand History, Ngā Tohu – Treaty signatories: ‘Te Rere-tā-whangawhanga’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-97>, updated 28-Jun-2016.

²³⁹ New Zealand History, Ngā Tohu – Treaty signatories: ‘Tuainane’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-102>, updated 28-Jun-2016.

eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Awa of the Bay of Plenty and the far north. The geographical origins of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people are in Taranaki, however, by the early 1800's they began to venture south to the Kāpiti region to avoid ongoing conflicts with their northern neighbours and to acquire new lands and trade with Europeans. The chapter has examined the heke migrations, which roughly covered a period from 1822 to 1834, and identified the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa rangatira of various hapū who participated, and where they and their people settled in the region. The chapter also discusses the three major battles fought in the area between 1824 and 1839. According to Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa the first of these battles at Waiorua establishing Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa take raupatu, with the successive battles reinforcing their mana-whenua through take ringakaha and ahi kaa.

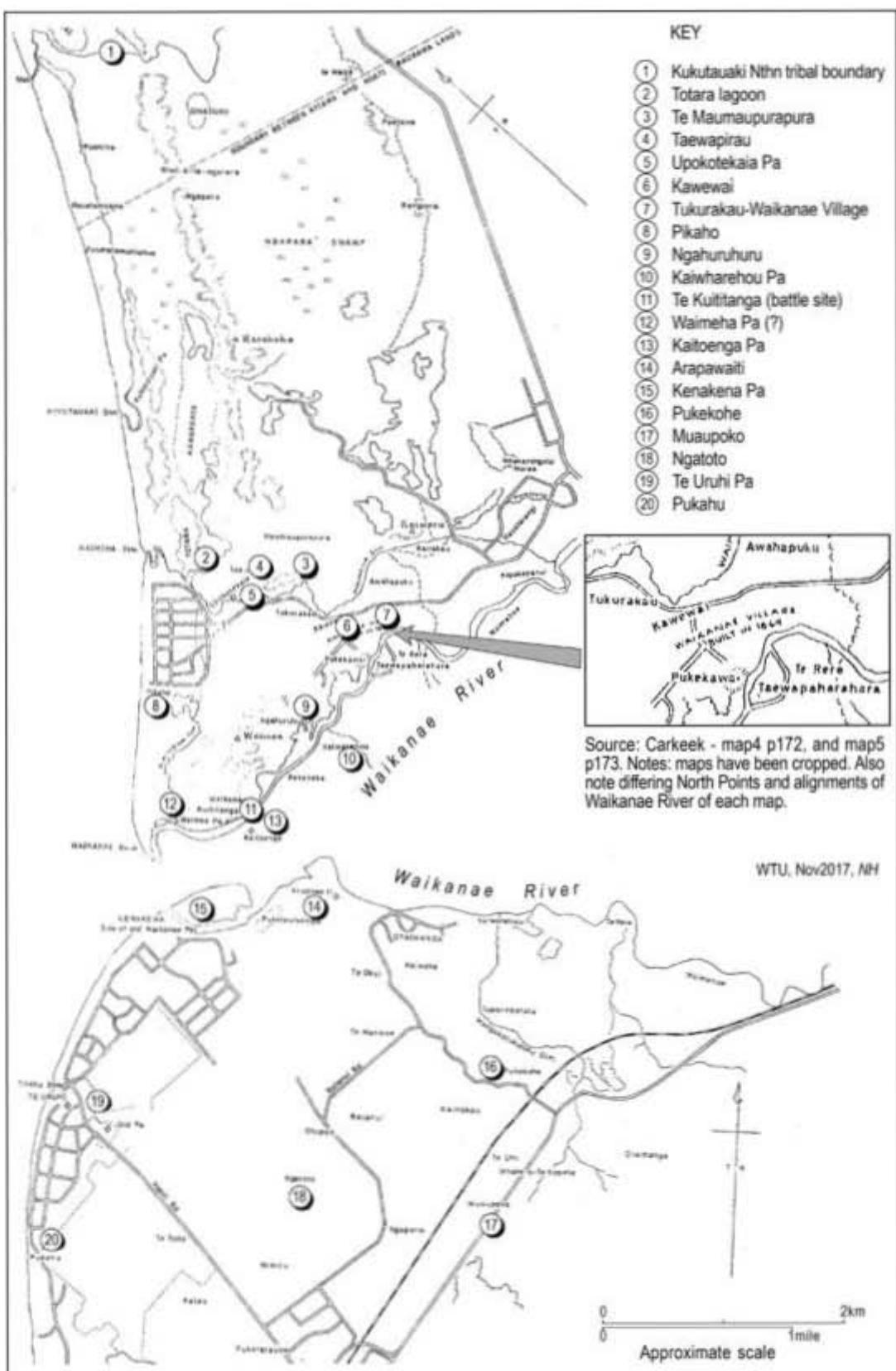


Figure 6: Location of significant sites
 (Source: Adapted from Carkeek, 1966, Map 4, p 172 and Map 5, p.173)

CHAPTER TWO: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS BEFORE 1850

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of key Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa settlement sites on both sides of the Waikanae River. Rawhiti Higgott's April 2015 kōrero tuku ihō evidence provides much of the information for both the written site descriptions and for the map in Figure 6 above. Throughout the chapter sites are referred to by the number given to them on Figure 6. An ecological analysis of Waikanae settlement patterns follows. Mahina-a-Rangi Baker provided the basis of this analysis with her April 2015 evidence. This analysis appears to support a broader cultural interpretation drawn from other Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō evidence presented to the Pōrirua ki Manawatū Tribunal at Whakarongotai Marae on 22 April 2015.

2.2 Waikanae Settlement Sites

The well-known Kukutauaki tribal boundary between Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa forms the northernmost site (No. 1) on Figure 6 above. According to Wakahuia Carkeek, Waitohi, who was Te Rangihaeata's mother, established that intertribal boundary after the 1834 Haowhenua conflict. Carkeek also referred to Te Maire and Te Hapua (near Peka Peka) as tribal boundaries.²⁴⁰

Mr Higgott's 2015 evidence on settlement sites helpfully identified hapū associations with pā, kāinga, and māhinga kai (food-gathering areas). He identified Totara Lagoon (No. 2), for example, as 'a cultivation site for the [Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa] hapū of Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Rahiri'.²⁴¹ Ngāti Kura cultivated nearby Te Maumaupurapura (No. 3).²⁴² He described Taewapirau (No. 4), located between Te Maumaupurapura and the twentieth-century Waikanae Beach settlement, also as 'mainly a Ngāti Kura cultivation and occupation site'. He added, however, that also Ngāti Uenuku and Hinetuhi shared the site.²⁴³

Upokotekaia Pā (No. 5) occupied a site very close to the north-eastern extremity of the modern beach settlement. Mr Higgott identified it as a 'Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Hinetuhi' pā. He located a kāinga called Kawewai (No. 6) further up the Waimeha Stream, adjacent to

²⁴⁰ Carkeek, 1966, pp.24, 85.

²⁴¹ Brief of Evidence of Rawhiti Higgott, 22 April 2015, Wai 2200, #A129, p.2.

²⁴² Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.2.

²⁴³ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.2.

Tukurākau (No. 7). According to him, Ngāti Kura occupied Kawewai.²⁴⁴ Tukurakāu became the site of the 1849-50 ‘Waikanae Village’ shown on Figure 6 above (this is also discussed in the history of Whakarongotai Marae in Chapter 3).²⁴⁵ According to Chris and Joan Maclean, it was also the site of a celebrated encounter between Te Rangihaeata and Governor Grey in 1851. They reproduced Captain Richard Oliver’s watercolour painting entitled *A Korero: Te Rangihaeata addressing the Governor in Chief at Waikanae* in the 2010 edition of their book on Waikanae history (see Figure 12 in Chapter 3).²⁴⁶

Pikaho (No. 8), another Ngāti Kura ‘cultivation ground’, occupied the southern edge of the modern beach settlement. Kaitangata cultivated Ngahuruhuru (No. 9) on the north bank of the Waikanae River. They abruptly abandoned this kāinga; however, after the 1839 Te Kuititanga killing rendered much of it tapu.²⁴⁷

The Kaiwharehou (or Kaiwarehou) Pā across the river (No. 10), Mr Higgott thinks, was occupied at one time by ‘about 1853 people of Otaraua, Kaitangata and [Ngāti] Rahiri hapū’.²⁴⁸ Te Kuititanga (No. 11), the main 1839 battle site, stood on the north bank of the Waikanae River. It was also a highly tapu area.

According to Mr Higgott, Waimeha Pā (No. 12, shown as Waimea Pa), at the original confluence of the Waimeha Stream and the Waikanae River, was also rendered tapu by the killing in 1839. Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Mutunga subsequently abandoned it. Karewarewa, just north of No. 12, is not shown on the Figure 6 above, but does appear on most twentieth century maps as a ‘Maori Cemetery’.²⁴⁹

Kaitangata cultivated at Kaitoenga (No. 13) on the south bank of the Waikanae River. After the Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake-led exodus to Waitara in 1848, according to Mr Higgott, Eruini Te Tupu of Otaraua established a fortified pā there.²⁵⁰ The Arapawaiti Pā, also south of the river,

²⁴⁴ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.3.

²⁴⁵ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.3.

²⁴⁶ Chris Maclean and Joan Maclean, *Waikanae*, (Waikanae: The Whitcombe Press, 2010), pp. 30-31.

²⁴⁷ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.3.

²⁴⁸ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.4. While this unsourced population figure may appear inflated, it is consistent with the 6,000 people at Kenakena Pa recorded by Rev Richard Taylor in 1839. Maclean & Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.36-37, 40-42.

²⁴⁹ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.4. See Plan WD [Works Department] 2823, dated 1915; Higgott, pers comm., 26 Aug 2017.

²⁵⁰ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.4.

served as a sanctuary after the initial Ngāti Raukawa attack in 1839. Mr Higgott recorded that at various times Ngāti Rahiri, Ngāti Rukao and Kaitangata lived there.²⁵¹

Prior to 1848 the expansive Kenakena Pā (No. 15) dominated the southern headland at the mouth of the Waikanae River. Although Kaitangata may have established the original kāinga there, it became, in Mr Higgott's words, a kāinga held 'in common' by all Waikanae hapū. After the 1848 exodus, Otaraua 'continued to occupy their section of the Pa.'²⁵²

Octavius Hadfield's Christian converts built both his first house (probably in 1839) and the imposing church (in 1843) within the confines of this extensive pā. Richard Taylor, a fellow Church Missionary, recorded that, when he first visited Hadfield, over 6,000 people crowded Kenakena.²⁵³

Pukekohe (No. 16), southeast of today's Otaihanga village, was Ngāti Tuaho's 'principal settlement'. Muaupoko (No. 17), across today's main highway north, was 'once owned by Otaraua'. Kaitangata cultivated Ngatoto (No. 18), inland from Te Uruhi, even though it formed an important Puketapu boundary marker.²⁵⁴

The coastal Te Uruhi Pā (No. 19) became a Puketapu and Ngāti Maru 'communal village and cultivation ground'. Pukahu (No. 20), also on the coast, had special Puketapu associations.²⁵⁵ Although not shown on Figure 6 above, Ngāti Maru and others once occupied the coastal Whareroa Pā, between today's towns of Paraparaumu and Paekakariki. Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa share Whareroa as a tribal boundary with Ngāti Toa.²⁵⁶

This varied settlement pattern illustrates the importance of multiple hapū associations. Wiremu Kingi led at least ten of these hapū on the mass migration from Waikanae to Waitara in 1848. Richard Taylor recorded 580 people, and 48 rangatira who joined him in this exodus.²⁵⁷ Waikanae was therefore formed out of what Scots would call 'the gathering of the clans'. The Māori clans were *nga hapū*. When Waikanae Māori moved, they often moved as *nga hapū*.

²⁵¹ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.4.

²⁵² Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.5.

²⁵³ Maclean & Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.36-37, 40-42.

²⁵⁴ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.5.

²⁵⁵ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.5.

²⁵⁶ Higgott, Wai 2200, #A129, p.6; Higgott, pers comm., 26 Aug 2017.

²⁵⁷ Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast...*, 1966, pp.86-87.

2.3 Nga Taenga: The Arrivals

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Riwaka's reconstruction of late nineteenth-century Ngarara Native Land Court evidence provided a picture of how Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti arrived at Waikanae.²⁵⁸ Without too much attention to dates, Mr Riwaka associated the main set of arrivals with the c.1823 heke named Niho Puta (tusked pig) after a conflict with Nga Rauru in south Taranaki. Pikau Te Rangi of Ngāti Mutunga described this heke not as a single migration, but as several waves of people moving from Taranaki to Kāpiti.²⁵⁹ Te Rangi stated, 'Ngati Mutunga were the first to arrive at Waikanae and they were followed shortly afterwards by the Puketapu ...'²⁶⁰ Two other witnesses told the 1890 Ngarara Court that 800 people arrived with the Heke Niho Puta and that Ngāti Toa from Kāpiti Island welcomed them at a formal hakari (feast).²⁶¹

Ngāti Toa allocated land rights to the new arrivals. Te Karehana of Ngāti Toa recorded Te Pehi gifting land to Haukione of Ngāti Rahiri, and Haukione re-gifting Waikanae land to later arrivals.²⁶² Hera Te Wairingiringi of Ngāti Rahiri described Ngāti Toa allocation as a continuing process. He stated that 'Te Pehi & Nohorua & others gave it [Kāpiti Coast land] to the people. Nohorua gave Kukutauaki to Huriwhenua [of Ngāti Rahiri] when we came from Waitara.'²⁶³ Such Native Land Court evidence presented sixty years after the events described was bound to be imprecise. Nonetheless, a distinctly multi-hapū pattern emerges, with kin-connected Ngāti Toa functioning as an allocator of land rights.

2.4 Waikanae Ecological Analysis

Mahina-a-Rangi Baker presented an original ecological analysis during her kōrero tuku ihō evidence in 2015. This analysis helps explain the settlement pattern described above. Ms Baker began her presentation by explaining how Te Maumaupurapura (No. 3), Taewapirau (No. 4), Upokotekaia (No. 5) and Kaitoenga (No. 13) were related to the aftermath of Te Kuititanga. Each of these site names referred 'to how the landscape looked after that battle ... [Bodies

²⁵⁸ Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, pp.60-63.

²⁵⁹ Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Otaki MBk, 10, p.294, cited in Riwaka Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

²⁶⁰ Te Rangi, 21 February 1890, Otaki MBk, 10, pp.295-296, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

²⁶¹ Rihari Tahuaroa, 24 March 1890, Otaki MBk 11, pp.140-141, and Paratawhera, 29 Mar 1890, Otaki MBk 11, p.199, both cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

²⁶² Te Karehana, 3 February 1890, Napier MBk, 15, p.120, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.61.

²⁶³ Te Wairingiringi, 25 January 1890, Napier MBk, 15, p.36, cited in Riwaka, Wai 785, #A55, p.62.

littered that] landscape ... rotting like potatoes'. Te Maumaupurapura, for example, denotes wasted stars or seeds. Similarly, Taewapirau means rotting potatoes, a metaphor for rotting corpses.²⁶⁴

Ms Baker further explained how wetlands dominated the Waikanae landscape prior to 1850. As she described it:

It was a network of small and large water bodies that were tidal fed . . . [and] spring fed. They were connected wetlands . . . a whenua that's actually dominated by water . . . very different to the ecology that we see in Raukawa . . . and the Ngati Toa rohe.

We know that many tupuna didn't necessarily come here with the intention to settle permanently . . . [but] when they arrived the food was just so abundant [that] they were convinced to stay.²⁶⁵

Five Galaxid species became key Waikanae food sources. They included īnanga, kōkopu, and kōaro. The wetland teemed with pātiki, kōura, tāmure, tuna and piharau, while the beach yielded tōheroa, tipatipa, and tuatua. Watercress abounded throughout.²⁶⁶ Archaeological evidence testifies to the plentiful and varied food supply.²⁶⁷

Ms Baker explained how the estuarine wetland systems at Waikanae not only provided rich food resources; they also provided flood protection and connectivity between many different communities. In her words, the wetland systems:

allowed for interaction, the sharing of resources between different groups . . . [This] supports what's recorded . . . of the different kainga being occupied by . . . quite diverse and quite dynamic communities.²⁶⁸

She described Mr Higgott's reference to the over 1,800 Otaraua, Ngāti Rahiri and Kaitangata people occupying Kaiwharehou Pā (No. 10) as 'a large group of people all co-operating with each other'. Waikanae hapū, she added:

²⁶⁴ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.151-152.

²⁶⁵ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.152-153.

²⁶⁶ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.152-153.

²⁶⁷ Leslie Adkin, Ethnological notebooks, vol. 4, MS-Papers-6061, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wgt.

²⁶⁸ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.153-155.

didn't necessarily put big permanent structures in the ground. They moved a lot, so their day to day life was structured around the reality of a wetland ... I think we are the people of the wetlands.²⁶⁹

In answer to a Tribunal member's question about kaimoana exchange, Ms Baker stated:

you don't just have Ngati Rahiri in one pā, Otaraua in another kāinga, you had mixtures of all of them in all areas.

She therefore presented the settlement pattern as a complex, dynamic interaction between Waikanae people and their environment.²⁷⁰

2.5 Waikanae Cultural Interpretation

Of course, people interact with their physical environment in a culturally determined way. Miria Pomare, Kuini Rikihana, Mahutonga Blankensop and Ani Parata in April 2015 presented a coherent cultural interpretation to complement Ms Baker's ecological analysis.

Ms Pomare began her presentation by reciting the linkage between her Taranaki/Ngāti Toa whakapapa and Waikanae. She stressed the importance of intertribal marriages emerging from the various heke of the 1820s and 1830s.²⁷¹ She explained how intermarriage helped heal the wounds of intertribal conflicts. Thus, the marriage of Kahe Te Rau-o-te-Rangi's daughter to Pomare Ngatata's nephew brought communities together after Haowhenua in 1834. Te Rangihaeata's mother, Waitohi, established Kukutauaki (No. 1) as the enduring boundary between Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa that same year.²⁷²

Furthermore, after Wiremu Kingi led the 580-person exodus to Waitara in 1848, Wi Parata's mother, Metāpere Wainpunāhau, led most of those who remained in Waikanae from the old Kenakena Pā to what became the new village at Tukurākau.²⁷³

Kuini Rikihana, who also presented at Whakarongotai Marae on 22 April 2015, previously published a book entitled *Manawa Hine* about the historical prominence of Kāpiti Coast women.²⁷⁴ At the November 2014 Otaki Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō hearing, she spoke about the

²⁶⁹ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.155-156.

²⁷⁰ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.161-162.

²⁷¹ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.166-167, 171-172.

²⁷² Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.173-174, 177, 179-180.

²⁷³ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.180; Maclean & Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.44-46.

²⁷⁴ Queenie Rikihana-Hyland, *Manawa Hine: Women Who Swam Against the Tide*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2006).

importance of intertribal takawaenga marriages, immediately after Iwikatea Nicholson offered powerful evidence on the same subject.²⁷⁵

Mahutonga Blankensop reaffirmed the cultural importance of intermarriage in tracing Wi Parata's whakapapa back to his grandfather, Te Rangihiroa, of Ngāti Toa and to his great grandmother, Wapunāhau, of Ngātiawa.²⁷⁶ Ms Blankensop described takawaenga marriages in her own Baker whānau whakapapa.²⁷⁷

Ani Parata added to this cultural interpretation when she praised Ms Pomare's whakapapa chart as 'that big map'. Ms Parata said:

I studied it and we were all on there. We're all on that map, Eruini Te Marau, Wi Parata, Maui Pomare, all of us here in Waikanae are on that big whakapapa [chart] of [Tā] Maui's.²⁷⁸

Although 'that big map' bore the title 'Principal Families of Ngati-Toa Tribe', it featured most of the important intertribal marriages that link Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa with Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae.²⁷⁹

Hepa Potini, in his 22 April 2015 closing remarks, reaffirmed the connectivity of Waikanae whakapapa and settlement. His parting words to the Tribunal that day were:

we have achieved our goal . . . that we set ourselves, the plans, the maps on the wall, these are the kinds of things you wish to research.

He implied that whakapapa charts complemented Mr Higgott's maps in enhancing our understanding of Waikanae's complex settlement patterns.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Kuini Rikihana, Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō, Raukawa Marae Otaki, 19 November 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.9, p.317.

²⁷⁶ Mahutonga Blankensop, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.146-147.

²⁷⁷ Mahutonga Blankensop, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.148.

²⁷⁸ Ani Parata, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.192.

²⁷⁹ Sir Maui Pomare comp., 'Principal Families of Ngati-Toa Tribe', (corrected up to 1930), Wai 2200, #A138(b).

²⁸⁰ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.211.

2.6 Conclusion

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa inscribed their history into the Kāpiti Coast landscape south of Kukutauaki. Rawhiti Higgott in 2015 explained the major historical and hapū associations with surviving place names. Mahina-a-Rangi Baker added to Mr Higgott's map an explanatory environmental framework. Finally, Miria Pomare connected both the people and the land to an elaborate whakapapa, the key connective tissue of tribal history.

CHAPTER THREE: TE ĀTIWA KI WHAKARONGOTAI TODAY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines who Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa are today. It begins by outlining their rohe from whakatauki and waiata, which identify principle landmarks. It then discusses the people using demographical data, and their own views regarding their tribal identity and the hapū that exist in the rohe today. The focus of the chapter then shifts to outlining the history of Whakarongotai, their marae and wharenuia at Waikanae. This is followed by a brief exploration of the Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust: the mandated body tasked with representing the collective interest of Nga Uri o Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti. The chapter finishes by drawing together some material about the relationships that Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa with neighbouring iwi of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa, and with local bodies and Crown agencies, particularly those dealing with the environment and with health.

3.2 The Rohe

The boundaries of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa rohe today are an outcome of the origins and patterns of settlement detailed in the previous chapter. Successive migrations to Kāpiti from their Taranaki homeland and the 1824 battle of Wai-o-rua and displacement of the former occupants established the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in the region. Their ability to ward off attacks at Kuititanga in 1839 confirmed their occupation upon the land.

The boundaries of the rohe today are expressed in a whakataukī used by the Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust based at Waikanae:

Mai Kukutauaki ki Whareroa, tatu atu ki Paripari, rere whakauta ngā tīhi tapu ko Wainui, ko Maunganui, Pukemore, Kapakapanui, Pukeatua ungutu atu ki te pou whakararo ki Ngawhakangutu.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website: [http://teAti Awakikapiti.co.nz/](http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/).



Figure 7: Kapakapanui Maunga

(Source: Kristie Parata, Te Kura Taiahoaho formal studies, 2012/2013 Whakarongotai Marae)

The whakawai below was composed by Wi Tako Ngātata and refers to the Kapakapanui and the esteem this mounga is held in as a protector that stands behind Waikanae:

Tōku mounga tiketike, huinga mouri ora.

My lofty mountain is the gathering place of my lifeforce.²⁸²

Kiri Parata provided a copy of a 2014 presentation titled ‘Tuia Te Kawe’, which outlined the state of wellbeing of Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai at that time.²⁸³ This whakataukī featured on the cover. The presentation also included a map showing the boundaries of the rohe (reproduced as Figure 8).

²⁸² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website: http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/. The use of ‘mounga’ rather than ‘maunga’ reflects differences in dialect.

²⁸³ ‘Tuia te Kawe’ Māori Wellbeing Presentation, Whakarongotai Marae, 27 August 2014, presentation supplied by Kiri Parata.



Figure 8: Rohe map - Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai

(Source: 'Tuia te Kawe' Māori Wellbeing Presentation, Whakarongotai Marae. 27 August 2014, presentation supplied by Kiri Parata)

This description of the Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai rohe also features in *Te Kāhui Māngai*, a directory of Iwi and Māori organisations compiled by Te Puni Kōkiri. It provides information on iwi identified in the Māori Fisheries Act 2004, 'and those iwi/hapū that have begun the process of negotiating settlement of their historical Treaty of Waitangi claims.' The Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai rohe is defined as:

from Kukutauaki to Whareroa (seaward) inland to Pukemore and to Maunganui northward to Kapakapanui and Pukeatua to Ngawhakangutu then westward to Kukutauaki.²⁸⁴

This area is shown in Figure 9.

²⁸⁴ Te Puni Kōkiri: Te Kāhui Mangāi (Direction of Iwi and Māori Organisations): <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/te-Ati-Awa-ki-whakarongotai/>.

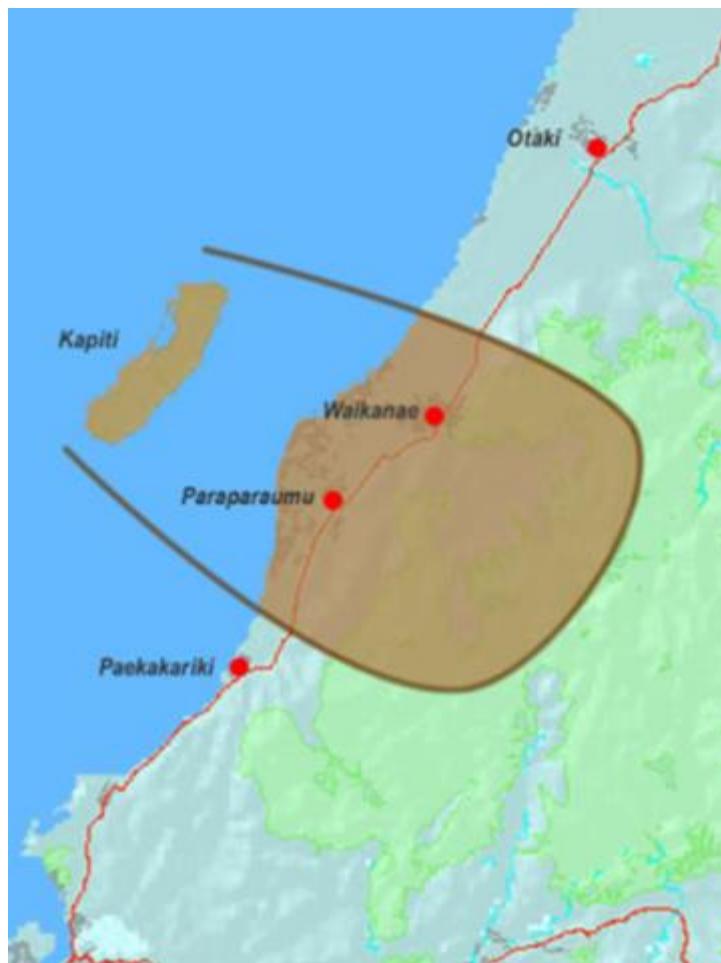


Figure 9: Rohe map - Te Kāhui Māngai – Directory of Iwi and Māori Organisations
 (Source: Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Kāhui Māngai: <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/te-Āti-Awa-ki-whakarongotai/>)

The naming of the region is attributed to Haunui-a-nanaia an ancestral tohunga of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and Rangitāne descent. As this tupuna traversed the region in search of his beloved, he named certain areas and rivers. There are two proverbial sayings uttered by this tupuna. In one, he ‘stood in amazement’. In the other, he was crossing the river when he stared down and noticed the myriads of mullet (kanae) swimming in shoals, with the reflections of the stars and moon adding to this marvellous sight:

Ka ngahae ngā pī, ko Waikanae
 Staring at amazement, hence Waikanae

Ko tōku waikanaetanga tēnei
 This is my peace and tranquillity²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Potter, Spinks et al, ‘Porirua Ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report’, draft April 2017, p.51.

The waiata below, provided by Rawhiti Higgot, speaks of the connection of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people to their sites of significance and the hapū resident on their lands and how they connect to Kāpiti Island.

Topā ake rā te reo
ki ngā mātua tupuna
kia whakaihihi, kia whakawanawana
i te hiko o te rangi
i ngā tamariki-puku-mahi
e noho mai na i te whatinga mai
o te ngaru ki Whakarongotai
ko Te Āti Awa nō runga i te rangi

Piki ana tāua, e Tama
ki runga Kapanui, ko te pūpūtanga
o te Rikiōrangi me Wharekohu
e noho pīnaki ki te pae maunga Tararua

Kā titiro iho rā ki te Ruakōhatu
ki te nehutanga o Te Kākākura
whakataukitia ai
kākahutia koe e ngā kupu o ngā mātua tupuna
tukua ki te ao, ki te pō
ki te paki o Matariki ē

E taki ana au i te ahikaaroa
nā Otarāua, nā Hinetuhi
nā Puketapu, nā Tu Ahō
nā Kaitangata, nā Mitiwai
nā Rāhiri, nā Kura, nā Uenuku
me o rātou wheue
i tā pukenga e Te Marau
ki roto Takamore
ki roto Kenakena
kei te Ngutu awa
o Waikanae e ngunguru atu rā
i Te-Kahe-Rau-o-Te Rangi
ki te motu Kāpiti
e kimi, e kui te tāpui o te Rangi
ko Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai e
Hei ha!!!

My voice is soaring
to our ancestors
to give us their ihi, wehi and wana
for the spark of the day
(name of old whare) Puku mahi Tamariki
that live and work at the breaking
of the waves at Whakarongotai
in the name of Te Āti Awa from the sky on high

Climb with me moko
atop Kapakapanui to see the beginnings
of Rikiōrangi and Wharekohu (mist)
where they sit closely embraced in Tararua

Looking down at Ruakōhatu
the burial place of Te Kākākura
his whakatauki
adorn yourself with the knowledge of your ancestors
send it forth to the world of light and of darkness
to the constellation of Matariki

Now I step forth to the long burning campfire of
Otarāua, Ngāti Hinetuhi
Ngāti Puketapu, Ngāti Tu Ahō
Kaitangata, Ngāti Mitiwai
Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Uenuku
and their bones
buried/covered by Te Marau (Eruini Te Moana)
in Takamore Urupā
in Kenakena Pā
to where the river backs up
where Waikanae river mouth flows out
past Te-Kahe-Rau-o-Te Rangi
to Kāpiti Island
to find the first sign of the day
Te Āti Awa at Whakarongotai
Hei ha!!!²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ Waiata provided by Rāwhiti Higgot 31 May 2017, Waikanae.

3.3 Demographics

The 2013 Census provides population figures for Te Ātiawa, distinguishing between those living in Taranaki, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara/Wellington, Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, and Te Waipounamu/South Island or Te Ātiawa (region unspecified). Taken together, 23,091 people declared an affiliation to one or other of these Te Ātiawa groups. Of this total Te Āti Awa population, 47.6 per cent affiliated solely with one of these sub-groups, whilst 52.4 per cent claimed more than one affiliation, either within these Te Ātiawa groups or to iwi outside the grouping.²⁸⁷

Of the total population who declared an affiliation to Te Ātiawa, 720 people affiliated themselves with Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai as their iwi or as one of several iwi. This figure of 720 people is an increase from 615 people in 2006 and 345 in 2001. In 2013, 17.1 per cent of those affiliated with Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai identified this as their sole iwi. This compares with 16.7 per cent in 2006.²⁸⁸

In 2013 just over half of the Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai population reside in the Wellington region with the Manawatu-Wanganui region and Auckland region having 18.3 per cent and 7.1 per cent of the population respectively (see Table 15 and Graph 1 below).²⁸⁹

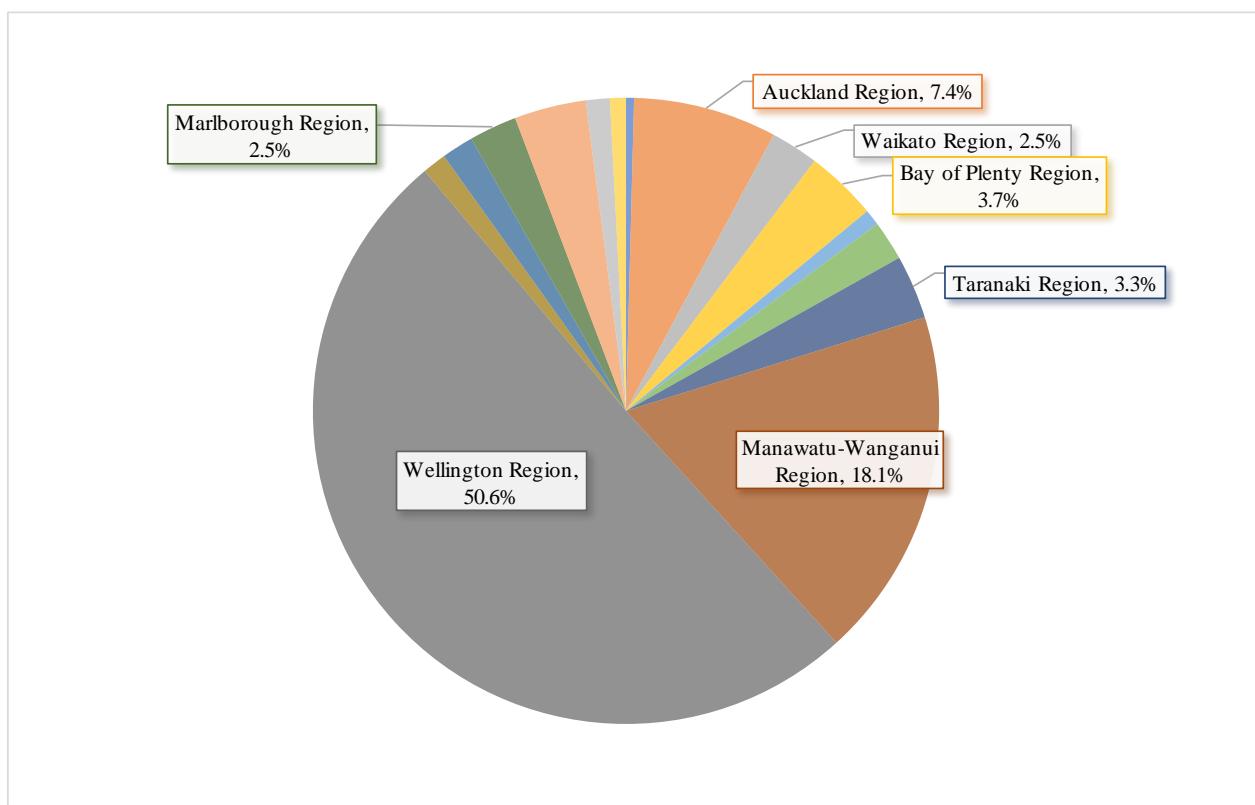
²⁸⁷ Statistics New Zealand, 2013 census iwi grouping profiles: Te Atiawa, http://archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-grouping.aspx?request_value=24644&tabname=Keyfacts

²⁸⁸ Statistics New Zealand, 2013 census iwi grouping profiles: Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai, http://archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24620&tabname=Keyfacts

²⁸⁹ Tables and graphs in this chapter were generated from data created in ‘Iwi (total responses) and iwi groupings, for the Maori descent census usually resident population count, 2001, 2006, and 2013 Censuses (RC, TA, AU)’ at http://nzdstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE8052&_ga=2.97463967.1624406666.1517967783-489129259.1433989174

Region	Respondents	Percentage
Northland Region	3	0.4%
Auckland Region	54	7.4%
Waikato Region	18	2.5%
Bay of Plenty Region	27	3.7%
Gisborne Region	6	0.8%
Hawke's Bay Region	15	2.1%
Taranaki Region	24	3.3%
Manawatu-Wanganui Region	132	18.1%
Wellington Region	369	50.6%
Tasman Region	9	1.2%
Nelson Region	12	1.6%
Marlborough Region	18	2.5%
West Coast Region	0	0.0%
Canterbury Region	27	3.7%
Otago Region	9	1.2%
Southland Region	6	0.8%
Total	729	

Table 15: Number and proportion of people identifying as Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, by regional council area, in the 2013 census

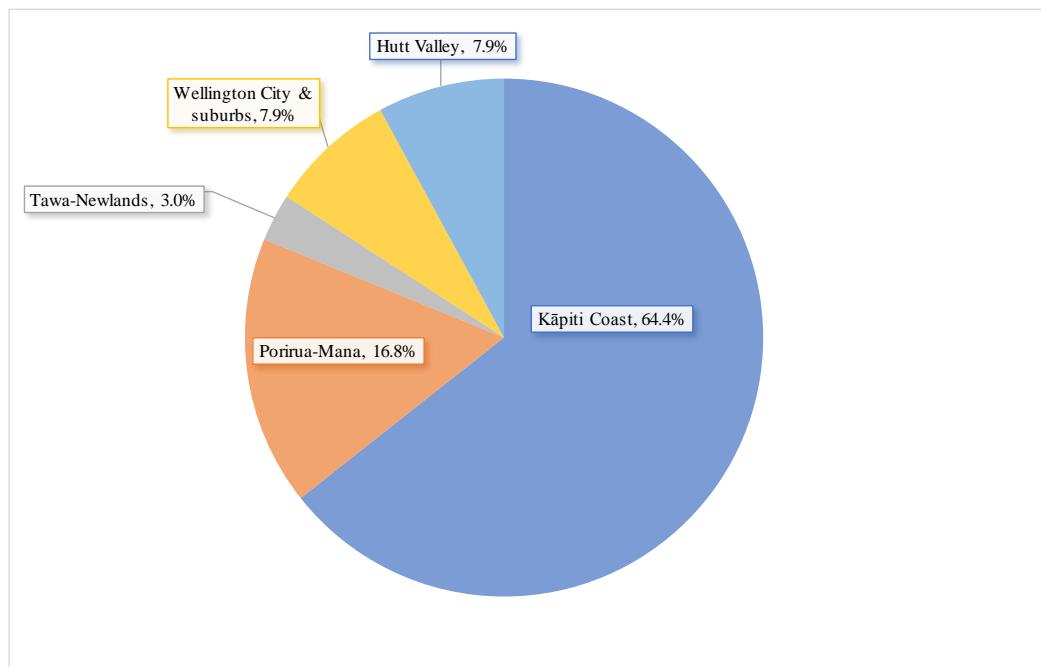


Graph 1: Proportion of people identifying as Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, by regional council area, in the 2013 census

When we look more closely at those who affiliate with Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai and who live in the Wellington region, some distinct patterns emerge. More than 60 per cent those people live on the Kāpiti Coast.²⁹⁰ When those living in the Mana-Porirua area²⁹¹ are added in, more than 75 per cent of those people live between Porirua and Otaki (see Table 16 and Graph 2 below).²⁹²

Area	Respondents	Percentage
Kāpiti Coast	195	64.4%
Porirua-Mana	51	16.8%
Tawa-Newlands	9	3.0%
Wellington City & suburbs	24	7.9%
Hutt Valley	24	7.9%
Total	303	100.0%

Table 16: Number and proportion of people living in the Wellington region who identify as Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai in the 2013 census, by geographical area



Graph 2: Proportion of people living in the Wellington region who identify as Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai in the 2013 census, by geographical area

²⁹⁰ This includes those that are recorded as living in: Otaki, Waikanae East, Waikanae East, Waikanae Park, Waikanae Beach, Otaihanga, Paraparaumu Beach North, Paraparaumu Beach South, Paraparaumu Central, Raumati Beach, Raumati and Paekakariki.

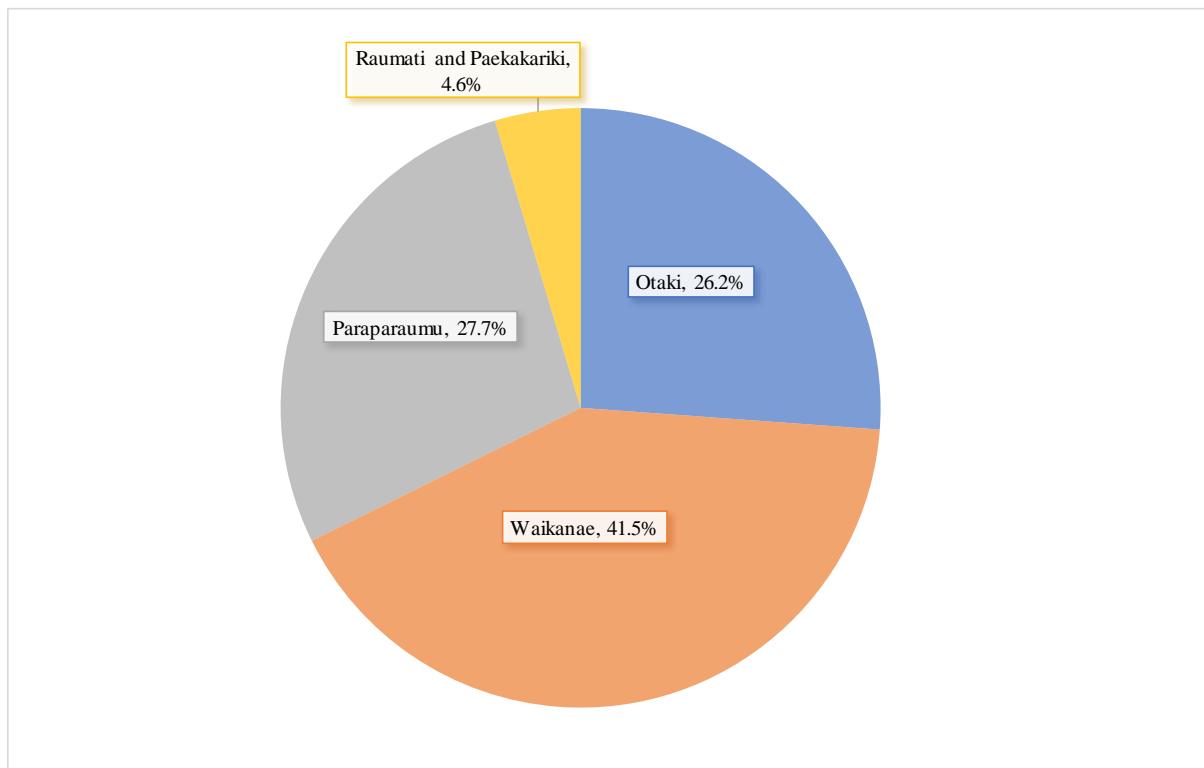
²⁹¹ This includes those that are recorded as living in: Plimmerton, Papakowhai North, Ascot Park, Titahi Bay North, Titahi Bay South, Onepoto and Elsdon-Takapuwahia.

²⁹² It should be noted that the different figures for the number of people affiliated with Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai in the Wellington region (369 versus 303) is explained by the census data not showing counts of less than 3 people in a location for reasons of confidentiality.

Even on the Kāpiti Coast, the population of those affiliating to Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai in 2013 was concentrated in and around Waikanae (40 per cent) with almost all of the remainder of the group split between Otaki and the Paraparaumu/Otaihanga area (see Table 15 and Graph 3 below).

Area	Respondents	Percentage
Otaki	51	26.2%
Waikanae	81	41.5%
Paraparaumu	54	27.7%
Raumati and Paekakariki	9	4.6%
Total	195	100.0%

Table 17: Number and proportion of people living in the Kāpiti Coast area who identify as Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai in the 2013 census, by geographical area



Graph 3: Proportion of people living in the Kāpiti Coast area who identify as Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai in the 2013 census, by geographical area

Some Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai claimants consider that these figures are an under-estimate of those who whakapapa to the iwi. Pehi Parata said that, during the 1980 preparations for the opening of the wharekai Ao Rewa, plans were made to contact all the families connected to

Whakarongotai. The marae committee received a response from some 100 families located throughout the country, prompting Pehi to estimate that the descendants of those who remained after Te Rangitāke had departed in 1848 could possibly now number 10,000.²⁹³

3.4 Iwi Identity

As mentioned in the Introduction to this report, there are varying views amongst the claimant community about their iwi identity. The Takamore Trustees and the descendants of those who lie in the Takamore wāhi tapu area (Wai 2390) state that they are from the following hapū of Te Āti Awa: Otarāua, Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Uenuku, Ngāti Kura, Manukorihi, Ngāti Kaitangata, Ngāti Puketapu and Ngāti Tuiti.²⁹⁴

Claimants Robert Trent Taylor and Andrea Maria Moana Moore for Wai 2228 hold to the name Ngātiawa rather than Te Ātiawa, stating that Ngātiawa of Taranaki original included 90 hapū, not the six recognised today.²⁹⁵ Claimants believe that Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke was an Ariki of Ngātiawa and the name ‘Te Ātiawa’ is a recent construct following the war in Taranaki during the early 1860s.²⁹⁶

Wai 88 & 89 claimant Ani Parata was asked if she sees herself as Ngātiawa or Te Ātiawa. Her reply was that she saw herself as both. Lois McNaught, a co-claimant for Wai 1628, identifies herself as Ātiawa-nui-tonu, but she has no problems with either Ngātiawa or Te Ātiawa, saying that it is not worth differentiating between the two names.

The 1873 hapū list submitted by Wi Parata (see Table 1 in the Introduction) was put to both Ani Parata and Lois McNaught. They were asked how many hapū have survived to this day and with which hapū they identify. The hapū they both named were Ngāti Rāhiri, Kaitangata

²⁹³ Pehi Parata and Wai 88 & 89 claimants, 19 July 2017, Waikanae.

²⁹⁴ A claim by Benjamin Rameka Ngaia for and on behalf of the Takamore Trustees, First Amended Statement of Claim, 10 May 2013, Wai 2390, #1.1.1(a).

²⁹⁵ It is not clear from their submission which six hapu they are referring to. The Deed of Settlement for Te Ātiawa (Taranaki) lists eight hapu (see Introduction). Of these two (Ngāti Tawharekura and Ngāti Tuparikino) have more re-emerged as hapu identities in the 1990s, so the six referred to are probably: Ngāti Rahiri, Otaraua, Manukorihi, Pukerangiora, Puketapu and Ngāti Te Whiti.

²⁹⁶ Submission from Ngāti Awa ki Taranaki Trust to the Maori Select Committee regarding New Plymouth District Council Waitara Bill, 8 March 2017, https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/51SCMA_EVI_00DBHOH_BILL69946_1_A537571/e4507fc8681d50c249bb540f9a45fbfe389a4cf8; Six hapū – Manukorihi, Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Te Whiti, Otaraua, Pukerangiora and Puketapu - Te Puni Kokiri: Te Kāhui Mangāi (Direction of Iwi and Māori Organisations): <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/te-Āti-Awa-taranaki/#>

and Otaraua. However, they believe that the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people can claim whakapapa descent from all those hapū named by Wi Parata in 1873.²⁹⁷

3.5 Hapū

According to Rawhiti Higgott, only three hapū: Kaitangata, Otarāua and Puketapu are active today in the Kāpiti region.²⁹⁸ As the introduction to this report notes, only two of these (Otarāua and Puketapu) are considered to be hapū of Te Āti Awa in Taranaki today by the iwi itself.²⁹⁹ Today Kaitangata is considered by Ngāti Mutunga to be one of its hapū (see Figure 4 in the Introduction).³⁰⁰

This means that of the seven Ngātiawa hapū (Kaitangata, Ngāti Kura, Otarāua, Hinetuhi, Puketapu, Ngāti Tuaho and Mitiwai) named by Wi Parata in 1873 for the Ngārara Block,³⁰¹ four are no longer active in the inquiry district today. It is not entirely clear from interviews with claimants what happened to these hapū. However, the information available from other oral accounts is set out below:

3.5.1 *Mitiwai*

Mitiwai hapū were originally from Onaero in the north Taranaki (near Urenui) and are hapū of Ngāti Tūpāwhenua and Kaitangata. Many of this hapū were commanded by rangatira, such as Te Haukione, Hone Tuhata Patuhiki and Te Koihua, when they migrated to Waikanae in the 1820s.³⁰² A section of Mitiwai was resident on the West Coast, at the tip of the South Island, under the leadership of Wiremu Kingi Te Koihua in 1842 and, by 1856, was still resident at Pakawau (Farewell Spit). At that time, many Te Ātiawa rangatira in Te Tau Ihu were divided, with some wishing to return to Taranaki and join their whanaunga in the fight against the Government, whilst others like Te Koihua were wanting to consolidate their economic position

²⁹⁷ Wai 88 & 89 claimants Ani Parata, Darrin Parata and Damian Parata for and on behalf of Te Āti Awa Marae Committee, other whanau and hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae, and descendants of Te Kakakura Wi Parata Waipunahau (the Kāpiti Island claim), Whakarongotai Marae, 19 July 2017, Waikanae.

²⁹⁸ Information supplied by Rāwhiti Higgott, 5 July 2017 (email communication to query). List of hapū provided by Rāwhiti Higgott, 31 May 2017, Waikanae.

²⁹⁹ See Deed of Settlement between Te Āti Awa and the Trustees of the Kotahitanga o Te Āti Awa Trust and the Crown, 9 August 2014, p.5, at Office of Treaty Settlements: <https://www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/>

³⁰⁰ See Ngāti Mutunga iwi website: hapū, <http://ngatimutunga.iwi.nz/hapu/> (accessed 23 January 2018).

³⁰¹ *Otaki MBk 2*, pp. 211-214.

³⁰² National Library: Iwi and hapū names list, <https://natlib.govt.nz/iwi-hapu-names/mitiwai> (accessed 23 January 2018).

in the Nelson and Marlborough region, where the growth of goldmining suggested to Māori that wealth could be had.³⁰³

3.5.2 *Ngāti Tuaho*

The Ngāti Tuaho mentioned by Wi Parata in 1873 were present in Picton or Waitohi in the 1850s, under the leadership of Ropoama (Hōne Ropoama Te One).³⁰⁴ In 1850, Ropoama, who was a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi several years earlier, also signed the Waitohi Purchase (a Crown purchase on behalf of the New Zealand Company). Ropoama is credited with saving his people from a typhoid epidemic by encouraging them to drink from a spring that he had found when they relocated from Waitohi to Waikawa.³⁰⁵

3.5.3 *Ngāti Hinetuhi and Ngāti Kura*

The Ngāti Hinetuhi, Ngāti Kura that were listed by Wi Parata in 1873 are today generally considered to be two of the eight hapū that make up the confederation of Ngāti Mutunga of Taranaki (see Figure 4 in the Introduction). These hapū once occupied areas along the coast, between Ngāti Tama to the north and Te Ātiawa to the south. Ngāti Mutunga's pepeha encapsulates those boundaries and relationships:

Mai Titoki ki Te Rau o Te Huia

The Titoki ridge rises from the marine shelf in the northwest and signals our coastal interface
with Ngāti Tama.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ Hilary Mitchell and John Māui Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka, Volume 1*, 2004, pp.65, 391.

³⁰⁴ Riwaka, Wai 875, #A55, pp.152-153, 173. See also New Zealand History: Ngā Tohu – Treaty Signatories, ‘Hōne Ropoama Te One’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-45>

³⁰⁵ The Prow (Northern South Island Community website): Loreen Brehaut, Article about Ropoma Springs, <http://www.theprow.org.nz/yourstory/ropomas-spring/#.WV8ShYiGNdg> (accessed 23 January 2018).

³⁰⁶ Ngāti Mutunga iwi website: hapū, <http://ngatimutunga.iwi.nz/hapu/> (accessed 23 January 2018).

3.6 Marae



Figure 10: Whakarongotai Whare

(Source: Māori Maps: <https://www.maorimaps.com/marae/whakarongotai>)

3.6.1 Whakarongotai

The only Ngāti Awa/Te Āti Awa marae in use today in the inquiry district is the Whakarongotai Marae in Waikanae. Its tupuna whare currently resides on lands that were awarded by the Native Land Court to the descendants of Wi Parata Te Kākākura (being part of Ngārara West A78). The tupuna whare is known as Whakarongotai and the whare kai is named Aorewa.³⁰⁷

Rawhiti Higgott says that Wi Parata gave the whare its name ‘Whakarongotai’, which means ‘listen to the waves’, to remind all that one should not only listen to the wild waves but also to the calm waves. In its broadest sense the name Whakarongotai is an encouragement to listen to people, that all views should be taken into account regardless of their disposition.³⁰⁸ Paora Ropata gave a te reo Māori explanation with an underlying theme of unity under God, peace on earth and goodwill toward mankind:

... kōrero o tētahi kaumātua i tū ake i runga i te marae. ‘Whakarongo ki te tai o te moana. Na, whakarongo ki te tai o te whenua. Na, whakarongo ki te tai o te tangata.’ (Man calls, the sea calls and the land calls).³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website – Waikanae Marae, <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/waikanae-marae-pa/> (accessed 23 January 2018).

³⁰⁸ Rawhiti Higgott, Wai 2200, #4.1.10. p.90.

³⁰⁹ Paora Ropata, Wai 2200, #4.1.10. p.23

In her evidence at the kōrero tuku ihō hui, Miria Pomare stated that ‘Wi Tako [Ngatata] was the ancestor who built this house [Whakarongotai] in 1860.³¹⁰ According to Pehi Parata, speaking in 1982, Whakarongotai whare once stood at Tukurākau and was known then as Te Pukumahi Tamariki. The whare was moved by Wi Parata from its former site to its present location during the period of the Ngārara West Native Land Court sittings of 1870-1895 to be near the railway tracks. Pehi believes that the whare was erected on its present site in the 1880s.³¹¹ In addition, Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti website records that:

The original intention of the house, Pukumahi Tamariki, was to serve as an assembly house for the Kīngitanga if the movement was to travel through the Waikanae area. Wi Tako also had one of seven ‘pillars of the Kīngitanga’ built at his home named ‘Te Mako’ in Naenae. This was again another symbol of his strong allegiance to the movement.³¹²

Many of these details are consistent with other historical sources. Walzl cites the evidence of Mere Pomare in 1890. She remembered ‘Wi Tako building a meeting house at Waikanae. It was to be a meeting house for the whole of N Awa at Waikanae ... Wi Tako used to direct operations & all N Awa worked, they sawed the timber.³¹³ Walzl’s report also cited a December 1860 newspaper article that noted that Wi Tako had a meeting house built as a headquarters for Ngātiawa supporters of the Kingitanga. It was called Te Puku Mahi Tamariki (‘the Belly of the Work of Youth’) and it was built at Tuku Rakau.³¹⁴ Walzl commented that ‘some sources suggest that Te Puku Mahi Tamariki was later moved and renamed Whakarongotai when the occupants of Tuku Rakau moved in the 1880s closer to the railroad. However, claimants at the research hui held at Whakarongotai Marae on 16 September 2017 suggested that Te Puku Mahi Tamariki was burnt down.³¹⁵

Tuku Rākau (pictured in Figure 12 below) became an important location for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa from the late 1840s. When Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke and his people returned to Taranaki in 1848, the villages they abandoned had been damaged by the earthquake that had

³¹⁰ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.169.

³¹¹ Pehi Parata 1982.

³¹² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website – Te Ruru Mā heke and Tuku Rākau, <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/waikanae-marae-pa/> (accessed 23 January 2018). This is a reference to the pataka (storehouse) called Nuku Tewhatewha which is now on permanent display at the Dowse Art Museum in Lower Hutt. A little of its history can be found at Dowse Art Museum, <http://dowse.org.nz/exhibitions/detail/nuku-tewhatewha>.

³¹³ Mere Pomare, 27 February 1890, Napier MBk.15, p.313, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.305.

³¹⁴ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 26 December 1860, cited in Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.308.

³¹⁵ Walzl, Wai 2200, #A194, p.308 (footnote).

devastated the region.³¹⁶ This earthquake occurred on 16 October 1848 in Marlborough and had an estimated magnitude of 7.5. It was felt in the Hawke's Bay and Canterbury regions³¹⁷ and caused damage throughout the Kāpiti region and in Wellington.³¹⁸ Most of those Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa who remained then moved to Tuku Rākau,

a sheltered and fertile area just north of Kaiwarehou, a crossing point on the Waikanae River ... Wheat was ground at a flourmill on the Waimeha Stream and large flocks of sheep were established. The urupa (burial ground), Takamore, is on the sand ridge west of this site.³¹⁹



Figure 11: Tuku Rākau, 1851

(Source: Kāpiti Coast District Council <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/whats-on/things-to-do-in-kapiti/Heritage-Trail/waikanae/tuku-rakau/>)³²⁰

³¹⁶ Kāpiti Coast District Council: Heritage Trail information, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/whats-on/things-to-do-in-kapiti/Heritage-Trail/waikanae/tuku-rakau/> (accessed 23 January 2018).

³¹⁷ Rodney Grapes, 'Marlborough: Just Over One Hundred and Fifty Years of Earthquakes', *Nelson Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 6, Issue 3, 2000, p.6.

³¹⁸ Eileen McSaveney, 'Historic earthquakes - The 1848 Marlborough earthquake', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/historic-earthquakes/page-2> (accessed 2 August 2017).

³¹⁹ Kāpiti Coast District Council: Heritage Trail information, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/whats-on/things-to-do-in-kapiti/Heritage-Trail/waikanae/tuku-rakau/> (accessed 23 January 2018).

³²⁰ This is a black and white reproduction of a watercolour by Captain Richard Oliver, an assistant to Governor George Grey. It is titled 'A Korero: Te Rangihaeata addressing the Governor in Chief at Waikanae' with Rangihaeata in the middle ground addressing Grey who is wearing a top hat and is seated to the right. It depicts a meeting between Grey and Māori at Tuku Rākau in 1851 to discuss the Crown's plans to purchase land in the vicinity (Mclean and Mclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, p.31).

In the kōrero tuku ihō hui, Rawhiti Higgott elaborated on the information he had received from the late Pehi Parata about why the wharenu i was moved. Higgott recounted that the wharenu i:

was hauled up here by Bullock and it was hauled up here around the time of the Wellington Manawatū railway line coming through which was in 1886, 1887. Wi Parata could see the benefit that it would be for his people to be close to the railway lines because at those times they were becoming farmers so they could see the benefit of having cattle on the rail. He had a great vision, so the idea was to move the meeting house from down at Tukurākau up to here and also he moved the church which is now St Lukes [Waikane]... So the reason why this came up here was to get close to the railway line because he could see great things for our people and from this he built a huge guest house, Mahara guest house, for tourists that came through. He built a racecourse. He also bought a boat to take tourists over to Kapiti Island, so he had great vision.³²¹

The Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website says that the whare Pukumahi Tamariki (Whakarongotai) was moved by bullocks to its present site in 1884.³²²

Chris and Joan Mclean's history of Waikanae provides further details which confirm Pehi Parata and Rawiri Higgott's kōrero. Mclean and Mclean note that the moving of Whakarongotai whare from Tukurākau was precipitated by the building of the railway line from Wellington northwards to Longburn, Palmerston North. The railway line was completed in 1886 by the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company. This company was formed by a group of Wellington businessmen and, by 1884, railway company officials met with Wi Parata to gain approval to construct a route through Waikanae. Wi Parata was supportive and willing to provide land for the purpose, so long as the train stopped at Waikanae. Parata then needed to encourage his people to support the railway. Quoting from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, he exhorted them to seize the moment of opportunity:

Whakarongo atu ki ngā tai o Raukawa moana e pāpaki mai ra, ia ra, ia ra.

Mutunga kore, pāpaki tū ana ngā kai ki uta.

I tēnei rā kua pāpaki mai ngā tai o te ao ki a Te Āti Awa

Pī kē pea te piki atu, rere haere ai ki runga i te kaha o te ao hurihuri; Me kore pea te kitea
he maramatanga ki ngā whakaritenga o te wā e tika ai tātou te iwi.

Nō reira, Whakarongotai o te moana, Whakarongotai o te wā.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.
Omitted, all the voyage of their life

³²¹ Rawhiti Higgott, 2015, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.90.

³²² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website, 'Te Hekenga Tangata - Migrations' <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-history/> (accessed 27 November 2017).

is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea we are now afloat.
And we must take the current when it serves
or lose our ventures.³²³

Once the railway line was completed, Māori living at Tukurākau began to move to Waikanae. This involved relocating their whare, Whakarongotai, to its present site west of the railway line and the church to the east of the line.³²⁴ Figure 13 below was taken after the railway had been opened in November 1886.

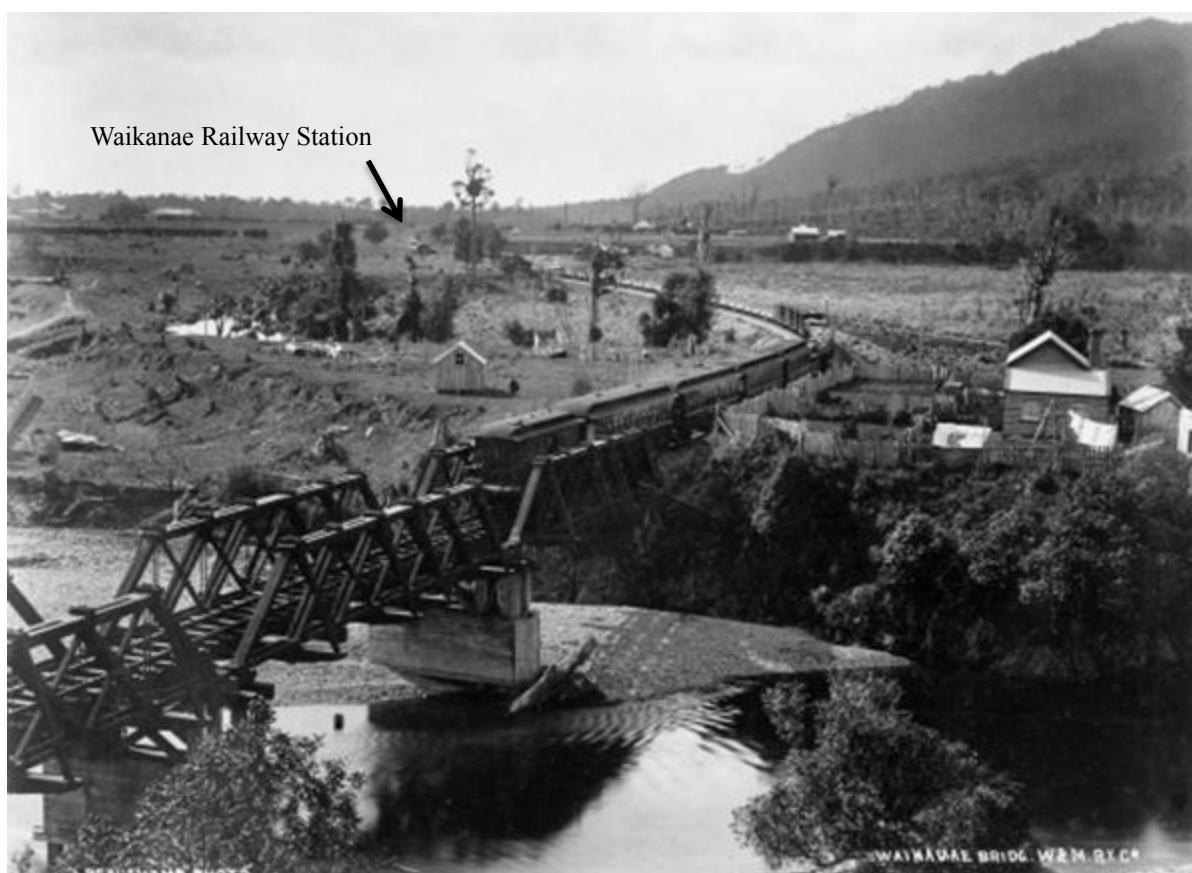


Figure 12: Wellington and Manawatu Railway and Waikanae bridge, 1886
(Source: Waikanae Watch - <https://waikanaewatch.org/2015/12/31/the-bridge-over-the-waikanae-river-not-long-after-the-railway-opened/>)

³²³ Mclean and Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.50-52. See also Jane Luiten, with Kesaia Walker, 'Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement Report', a report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, August 2015, Wai 2200, #A163, p.134 for a commentary on the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company.

³²⁴ Maclean & Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.51-52.

In terms of the wharenui itself, Pehi Parata also remarked that Whakarongotai has several notable features, in particular there are no nails, rather, mortise and tenon joints were used. Some of the wallpaper inside the whare dates back to the 1880s (however this paper may not be the original). Because there are no internal or external carvings, the whare could be deemed a ‘plain house.’ Pehi made some personal observations, stating:

Beginning from the outside on the ends of each maihi [gable] is a figure of 2 women, or rather the faces of 2 women with their hair streaming back up the maihi. Inside the Mahau [porch] of the meeting house can be recognised some of the familiar kowhaiwhai patterns seen on most houses in maoridom. The significance of the women on the maihi and indeed throughout the interior of the house, I am told alludes to the hospitality of the women of Ati Awa to visitors to their marae, although tribes don’t normally express themselves or their own good points in this manner, perhaps it alludes to the overall importance of women to the Maori people.³²⁵

More recently, Miria Pomare commented that the marae exists in an urban setting, where Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ‘have been overtaken by commerce and development.’ As a result, she considered that ‘this marae is a testament to that dichotomy between the objectives of the coloniser and the colonised.’ As a symbol to its people, the marae still stands, despite urban encroachment and constant policies to ‘municipalise out hapū and iwi of this region.’³²⁶

3.6.2 *Marae Kawa*

Wai 88 & 89 claimants said that, prior to 1952, the marae was predominantly viewed as a whānau marae. However, in June 1952, the land on which the marae sits (Ngārara West A78A) was declared a Māori Reservation for the purposes of a ‘meeting place and papakainga housing for the common use and benefit of Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa tribes.’³²⁷

In his 1982 writings, Pehi Parata stated that the correct kawa of the marae should be paeke or pahekeheke of Āti Awa. The researcher encountered this kawa for the first time at an introductory research hui with claimants at Whakarongotai marae in April 2017, which included the hongi and harirū prior to formal speech making. Pehi Parata said that this part of the kawa originated in Taranaki, from the prophets Te Whiti and Tohu, whereby both parties are free from tapu and formalities and are able to mingle easily. However, according to Wai 88

³²⁵ Pehi Parata 1982.

³²⁶ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.181.

³²⁷ Wai 88 & 89 claimants, 19 July 2017, Waikanae.

& 89 claimants the kawa was ‘Tainui.’ It wasn’t until 1988 that the principal rangatira of the period declared that the Te Ātiawa kawa should take prominence.³²⁸

3.7 Relationships with Other Iwi

As mentioned in the Introduction, claimants interviewed during this research generally avoided discussing their relationships with neighbouring iwi. However, some did mention a twentieth century confederation of three neighbouring iwi. In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence Miria Pomare concluded by noting that:

Waikanae and Whakarongotai is a vortex of a whole myriad of interests, including Ngāti Toa. There is an arrangement between the three iwi that provides a contemporary framework for collaboration and this is known as The ART confederation – comprising of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa. This is also predicated upon historical events and alliances that have bound these iwi with mutual objectives.³²⁹

In closing his mother Ani Parata’s kōrero, Darrin Parata observed that he and his siblings ‘are children of the Āti Awa ART Confederation. That’s how we were brought up.’³³⁰ The Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website provides some further details about this relationship. It states in the 1930s, they were part of a confederation of tribes that:

build their “marae matua” (parent marae), named Raukawa, in Ōtaki. The Native Purposes Act (1936) allowed for the creation of the Raukawa Marae Trustees. This body of sixty-nine trustees represents the iwi and hapū of the Confederation. Accordingly and as a result of their representation the Trustees were tasked with administering the Confederation.³³¹

The website lists some of the collective achievements of these three Iwi:

- 1850: the erection of the Rangiātea Church. The 1995 fire that destroyed the church brought about a restoration programme and the opening in 2003.
- 1860s: the establishment of the Otaki Māori Racing Club
- 1900s: land provided by the confederation for the building of the Ōtaki Māori College in conjunction with the Anglican Church. Youth educated at this establishment were not necessarily from the confederation.
- 1943: creation of an education board called the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board.³³²

³²⁸ Pehi Parata, 1982 and Wai 88 & 89 claimants, 19 July 2017, Waikanae.

³²⁹ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.181.

³³⁰ Darrin Parata, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p. 200.

³³¹ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website – Twentieth Century, http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi/history/ (accessed 23 January 2018).

³³² Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website – Twentieth Century, http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi/history/ (accessed 23 January 2018).

In 1975, The Raukawa Marae Trustees (representing the three iwi of the ART confederation) began a 25-year development programme known as Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000. A significant focus of that programme was on education and out of it developed Te Wānanga o Raukawa. This was established in 1981 and was recognised by the Crown as a wānanga under their new legislation known as the Education Amendment Act 1990 in 1993.³³³

3.8 Iwi-based Organisations

The only Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa organisation with which the researcher has made contact is the Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust. This contact related to the use of their facilities for kaumātua interviews. The Trust was established in 2005 as the ‘mandated iwi organisation’ for the iwi under the Māori Fisheries Act 2004. It evolved out of an earlier organisation, known by 1990 as ‘Te Rūnanga o Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai’.³³⁴ The Rūnanga was disestablished in 2012, with the Trust becoming the iwi governing body. Ngā Uri o Ātiawa ki Kāpiti, or those registered with the Trust, elect the four trustees and two alternate trustees to the Trust for a three-year term. The Trust’s website explains that:

Since 2005, the Trust has been the mandated body to speak on matters affecting the collective interest of Ngā Uri o Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti. The Trust has certain political, social, cultural and economic responsibilities in addition to the asset management and distribution responsibilities brought about by the Fisheries settlement.³³⁵

Figure 14 outlines the current structure that places Ngā Uri o Ātiawa ki Kāpiti as the beneficiaries. Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust have a 100 per cent ownership of the two subsidiary companies - Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai Asset Holding Company Limited (AKWL) and Wharekohu Fisheries Limited (WFL). The AKWL was established to ‘receive, hold and manage the fisheries assets allocated by Te Ohu Kaimoana in accordance with the Māori Fisheries Act 2004’.³³⁶

³³³ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website – Twentieth Century, http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi/history/ (accessed 23 January 2018).

³³⁴ Wai 88 & 89 claimants produced a 1990 voting form to select a name from a list of 10 variants for the tribal Rūnanga to be an incorporated society for funding purposes. The name chosen was ‘Te Rūnanga o Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai.’ Pehi Parata and Wai 88 & 89 claimants, 19 July 2017, Waikanae.

³³⁵ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website -Iwi Support Structure, http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-support-structure/ (accessed 23 January 2018).

³³⁶ Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website -Iwi Support Structure, http://teAti_Awakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-support-structure/ (accessed 23 January 2018).

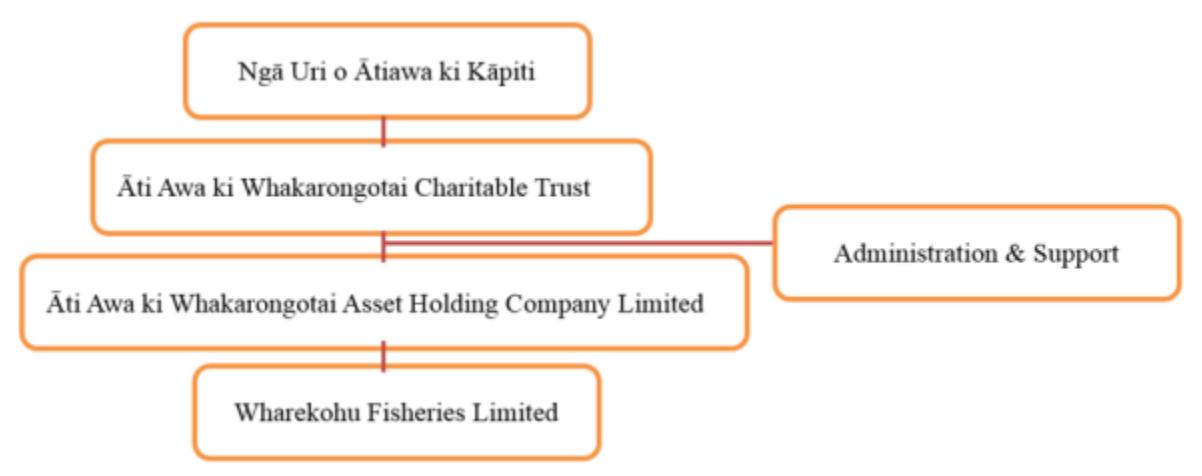


Figure 13: Current structure

(Source: Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti website -Iwi Support Structure, <http://teAtiAwakikapiti.co.nz/iwi-support-structure/>)

3.9 Relationships with Local Bodies and Crown Agencies

This section examines a number of recent partnerships and agreements Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai has entered into with local bodies and government agencies. These include:

- ‘Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti’, a partnership between the mana whenua iwi of Kāpiti and the Kāpiti Coast District Council that deals primarily with resource management issues;
- ‘Memorandum of understanding relating to water’, an agreement between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the Kāpiti Coast District Council to work together on the issue of water supply for the district;
- ‘Te Ara Tahi’, a partnership between mana whenua iwi in the Wellington region and the Greater Wellington Regional Council that deals with environmental, social, cultural and economic wellbeing of their community, and;
- ‘The Māori Partnership Board’, a partnership of local iwi and the Capital & Coast district Health Board who ensures that those living in their region receive the best medical care possible.

Each of these agreements is discussed below.

3.9.1 Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti

The Whakaminenga o Kāpiti is a partnership between the Kāpiti Coast District Council and Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toarangatira, who represent the mana whenua iwi of the Kāpiti Coast. In 1994 representatives of the three mana-whenua iwi, then known as the District Council's Consultation Group, chose the name more suited to them as *te whakaminenga* (confederation) with the name *o Kāpiti* added to denote the Kāpiti Coast District Council. The same year, the group developed and signed a Memorandum of Partnership, which is the primary guide for the group's general conduct and purpose. Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti guides the Council relationship with iwi, although, where appropriate, the Council also undertakes direct consultation with iwi. The Kāpiti Coast District Council notes that this collaboration of iwi and council is one of the longest lasting in the country. Initially, the goal of this relationship was to develop an effective and mutual partnership to deal with resource management issues. Apart from this stated goal, there has been an emphasis on promoting an understanding of Māori issues with the wider community.³³⁷

In 2007, Sonja and James Mitchell were employed by the Kāpiti Coast District Council to document the history of Te Whakaminenga. They noted that the failure to recognise Māori concerns, particularly the issue of sewage disposal in the early 1990s, was a source of tension. However, they concluded that, since 2002, there has been some improvements in relationships between the iwi and the council. In particular, iwi had concerns about the disposal of sewage from the three waste water treatment plants situated at Paraparaumu, Otaki and Waikanae, which were overstretched by an ever-growing population. The council considered discharging treated effluent into the sea which alarmed Kāpiti residents, not least local Māori. Despite a joint iwi submission detailing the impacts on local kai-moana and the defilement of mauri, the council stuck to its preferred option of ocean outfall discharge. Because of the furore and the inability to secure resource consents to upgrade the Waikanae plant, the council had to resort to piping effluent to its Paraparaumu plant, where it was processed and discharged onto the land.³³⁸

³³⁷ Kāpiti Coast District Council: Information about the Te Whakamainenga o Kāpiti iwi-council partnership, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Our-District/Tangata-Whenua/Te-Whakaminenga-o-Kapiti-Iwi-and-Council-Partnership-Committee/> (accessed 27 November 2017).

³³⁸ Sonja Mitchell and James Mitchell, *The History of Te Whakaminenga o Kapiti*. (Paraparaumu: Kapiti Coast District Council, c.2007), pp.53-56. See also: Maclean & Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.126-128, who say that local iwi were relieved that there would be no ocean outfall, but they were still distressed that the council failed to heed or give much weight to Māori submissions.

The 1990s also saw contention between Māori and council around the proposed alternative route for State Highway, known as the western link road. This route, chosen in 1997, ran close to an urupā at Takamore, adjacent to site of the Tukurākau village. As in the case of the proposed ocean outfall for effluent, the Mitchells concluded that the Kāpiti Coast District Council failed to recognise Māori concerns. The Takamore Trustees sought legal reparation through Environment Court. That court's decision confirmed the proposed route, while criticising the nature of the evidence Māori presented (largely based on oral histories) in comparison official documentary sources, such as European cadastral records. The Takamore Trustees appealed to the High Court, which, in turn, criticised the Environment Court findings, citing its disregard of oral histories that preceded written accounts. The High Court referred the case back to the Environment Court for reconsideration. However, after hearing further submissions on 30 June 2003, the Environment Court upheld its original decision. In 2004 Trustees, supported this time by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust lodged another appeal in the High Court. This was unsuccessful, with the court upholding the Environment Courts' decision, which heightened tensions between Māori and the council.³³⁹

Issues occurred again when water shortages on the Kāpiti Coast became an everyday reality, prompting council to consider piping water from the Otaki River to the Waikanae water treatment plant. This was premised on the fact that the Otaki River enjoyed a larger catchment from the Tararua's in comparison with that of the Waikanae River. Māori at Otaki were concerned about the mixing of mauri from two different rivers. This was made apparent when commissioners heard the resource consent application from the council, and as a result they decided to reject it on the basis of council failure to heed Māori concerns.³⁴⁰

3.9.2 Memorandum of Understanding relating to Water

During the research for this report, Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claimants offered some reflections on the cultural importance of water and their experience of environmental management in their rohe. Some of this material can be found in Chapter 4, the discussion below touches on these matters generally and then records some claimant comments about their experience of the agreements with the Kāpiti District Council concerning water and the environment. Kiri Parata noted that 'one of the most significant relationships with KCDC is based upon a relationship

³³⁹ Sonja Mitchell and James Mitchell, *The History of Te Whakaminenga o Kapiti*, c.2007, pp. 45-52.

³⁴⁰ Sonja Mitchell and James Mitchell, *The History of Te Whakaminenga o Kapiti*, c.2007, pp. 56-61. See also Maclean & Maclean, *Waikanae*, 2010, pp.128-131.

pertaining to water.³⁴¹ This is also evident in the Te Whakamainenga o Kāpiti iwi-council partnership which includes the statement:

He tāonga te wai, he rawa māori nui ki te mana whenua. E matareka ana mātou ki ngā whakaritenga mō te whakahaere i tēnei rawa, ka mutu he whakaaro totoka, he whakaaro pū hoki ō mātou e pā ana ki te atawhaitanga me te tiakitanga.

Water is a valuable and important natural resource to mana whenua. We have a keen interest in any application management arrangements [sic] for this resource where we hold strong and specific views around its conservation and preservation.³⁴²

Claimants wanted to talk about the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa relationship or memorandum of understanding with the Kāpiti Coast District Council, regarding water. This memorandum was signed on 6 October 2010 by the Kāpiti Coast District Council chief executive and mayor and by Manahi Baker, Toka Graham and Sharron Parata for Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai.³⁴³ The desire for a memorandum of understanding grew out of engagement between the iwi and the council over its water supply project, which investigated options for the supply of water to Waikanae, Paraparaumu and Raumati for the next 50 years.³⁴⁴

During discussion in the early stages of the project, iwi determined that a water working party for Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai would represent them in discussions over water.³⁴⁵ Background in the report to the District Council on the need to sign the memorandum of understanding indicates the Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Trust (who were party to the 1994 partnership agreement) took the matter of how the iwi could best work with the council on water issues to the Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai kaumātua committee. The kaumātua committee then proposed the water working party.³⁴⁶ It was the water working party that

³⁴¹ Kiri Parata, email correspondence with author, 29 June 2017.

³⁴² Kāpiti Coast District Council: Tangata whenua message, [http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Our-District/Tangata-Whenua/He-Kupu-Na-Te-Tangata-Whenua-English-Translation/](http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Our-District/Tangata-Whenua/He-Kupu-Na-Te-Tangata-Whenua-A-message-from-Tangata-Whenua/He-Kupu-Na-Te-Tangata-Whenua-English-Translation/) (accessed 27 November 2017).

³⁴³ Memorandum of Understanding in Relation to Water between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the Kapiti Coast District Council, 6 October 2010, para 2, downloaded as www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/contentassets/.../mou-in-relation-to-water.pdf on 6 December 2017.

³⁴⁴ Report to the Kāpiti Coast District Council by Monica Fraser (He Apiha Whakapiringa mo te Kaunihera) and Tamsin Evans (Acting Group Manager Strategy and Partnerships, KCDC) on a memorandum of understanding in with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai in relation to water, 30 September 2010 (SP-10-1008), p.1 downloaded as www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/.../sp-10-1008-mou-te-ati-awa-ki-whakarongotai-on-water.pdf downloaded 6 December 2017.

³⁴⁵ Report to the Kāpiti Coast District Council (KCDC) on a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai in relation to water, 30 September 2010, p.1.

³⁴⁶ Report to the KCDC on a MOU with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, 30 September 2010, p.2.

advised the Council that a memorandum should be signed confirming a commitment by the Council and iwi to work in partnership on management of water for the district.³⁴⁷ The three people who signed the 2010 memorandum of understanding were members of that working party.

The purpose of the water working party was to:

- gather information on behalf of the iwi with regards to the proposed water supply options;
- participate in discussions with Council on behalf of the iwi, and;
- ensure that decisions reflect the cultural views of the whole of the iwi.³⁴⁸

The working party was supported by four bodies within Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai: the Kaumātua Committee; Charitable Trust; Runanga and Marae Committee. Any decisions that were required were taken by this working party back to the iwi for discussion and to make a decision on how to proceed.³⁴⁹ From the report to the council, it is clear that the chairs of each of these bodies could and did sometimes attend meetings with the council, alongside members of the water working party. For example, the report states that the chairs attended and participated in a Council meeting on 19 August 2010, at which the Council confirmed ‘river recharge with groundwater’ as the top ranked and the ‘Maungakotukutuku dam’ as the second ranked water supply option for the Waikanae/Paraparaumu/Raumati catchment.³⁵⁰

The memorandum of understanding regarding water was developed under the partnership arrangements that already existed between iwi (including Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai) and the Kāpiti District Council. The memorandum of understanding itself states that it was designed to reflect that general framework, and the philosophy, values and commitments to partnership on which it was based.³⁵¹ A commitment was made ‘to recognise the tino rangatiratanga right of the Tangata Whenua, as guaranteed in Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, to retain

³⁴⁷ Report to the KCDC on a MOU with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, 30 September 2010, p.1.

³⁴⁸ Report to the KCDC on a MOU with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, 30 September 2010, p.1.

³⁴⁹ Report to the KCDC on a MOU with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, 30 September 2010, p.2.

³⁵⁰ Report to the KCDC on a MOU with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, 30 September 2010, p.2.

³⁵¹ Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in Relation to Water between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the Kāpiti Coast District Council (KCDC), 6 October 2010, para 2.

responsibility and control of the management and allocation of their resources.’ (section 21, part V of the Memorandum of Understanding of 1994 discussed above).³⁵²

From the District Council’s perspective, this kind of specific agreement was provided for in their Leadership Statements in the 2009 Long Term Council Community Plan. This confirmed ‘an “absolute commitment” to the partnership with Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti, but … where required, Council will also develop direct partnerships with iwi and hapū on matters relevant to their role as kaitiaki.’ The report to the Council also noted that the terms of the proposed memorandum of understanding were consistent with those already articulated in the Council’s strategy, ‘Water Matters: Sustainable Water Use Management.’³⁵³

The goal of the 2010 memorandum relating to water was to explore culturally appropriate, practical and innovative ways to appropriately manage water. Another aspect of the memorandum was the mutual acknowledgement of each other’s role and responsibilities within the catchment.³⁵⁴ It ‘recognises the authority and role of Te Ati Awa as kaitiaki of water within their rohe’ (para 6) and ‘the responsibilities and statutory duties required of The Kāpiti Coast District Council to provide potable water for the community and its general responsibilities under statute in relation to water’ (para 7). The parties committed to work together:

- ‘to address water management matters, including acknowledging and accommodating where possible cultural views and perspectives on matters of social, environmental, economic and cultural wellbeing. This will include ongoing recognition of the cultural and spiritual relationship of Te Ati Awa with regards to water and the natural world and consideration of the wellbeing of the mauri of waterways and water systems and wider community values’ (para 9);
- ‘to explore opportunities, within the limitations of Council’s powers and functions, which enable Te Ati Awa to share in the decision-making with regards to water matters, including active participation of Te Ati Awa in the preparation, implementation and review of resource management policies and plans pertaining to water’ (para 10), and;

³⁵² MOU between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the KCDC, 6 October 2010, para 4.

³⁵³ Report to the KCDC on a MOU with Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, 30 September 2010, p.3.

³⁵⁴ MOU between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the KCDC, 6 October 2010, cover page 2010; Information supplied by Mahutonga Blakensop, Te Tokawhakaea Graham and Tutere Parata, 26 April 2017, Waikanae.

- to ‘develop an ongoing programme of information sharing and mutual education on matters relating to water, to promote greater understanding of values and practices and increase understanding of issues in the wider community’ (para 12).³⁵⁵

The Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa whakataukī for this partnership is:

Mai i Kapakapanui o uta ki ngā pua o Te One Ahuahu-o-Manaia ki tai, ko te toto o Te Ātiawa kuao ko tōna whenua, he pukenga wai, he pukenga tāngata.

From Kapakapanui inland to the foaming tides of Te One Ahuahu-o-Manaia ki tai, the lifeblood of the younglings of Te Ātiawa is its land like a flood of water, is the flood of its descendants.³⁵⁶

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa tasked with working on this kaupapa said that they became involved on the request of their kaumātua. They pointed out that the tribal rohe has a small water catchment, with a growing population placing ever increasing demands on the resource. One of the interviewees supports the rating of water, because he believes that it places the onus on Māori and non-Māori alike to play their part as water conservationists. He felt that this duty extended so far as promoting this issue in the education system. There was also support from the kaumātua for this kaupapa, who stated that they got involved because they felt they needed to show some community leadership. Some claimants also stated that another reason for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa involvement in this relationship was that they iwi have always been in the region and will never leave, whereas ratepayers have a finite lifespan. The claimants have a perception that ratepayers do not have the same spiritual, physical and historical attachment to the land as they do and are considered transient.

However, the interviewees had some reservations regarding this relationship, fearing that the district council’s engagement may have been tokenistic and that they may not have been receiving all relevant information. Claimants also noted that the watershed above the water treatment plan came under the control of Greater Wellington Regional Council, so engagement with the district council was not the complete answer.³⁵⁷ Those I interviewed were also concerned about the number of private and public water supply bores depleting the aquifers.

³⁵⁵ MOU between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the KCDC, 6 October 2010.

³⁵⁶ MOU between Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai and the KCDC, 6 October 2010.

³⁵⁷ Interview with Mahutonga Blakensop, Te Tokawahkaea Graham and Tutere Parata, 26 April 2017, Waikanae.

The interviewees are concerned that their rohe sits at sea level and, when water is extracted from the aquifers, sea water fills the void.³⁵⁸ According to Kāpiti District Council:

The river recharge scheme will ensure a high quality and reliable water supply for Waikanae, Raumati and Paraparaumu for the next 50 years, as demand increases with a growing population. Council will use eight bores to draw water from the 70-90m deep Waimea aquifer for the scheme when/if needed. When we use these bores, the water level in the aquifer decreases. While private bores don't tap into the deepest Waimea aquifer, water levels in the layers above it could go down when the scheme is operating.³⁵⁹

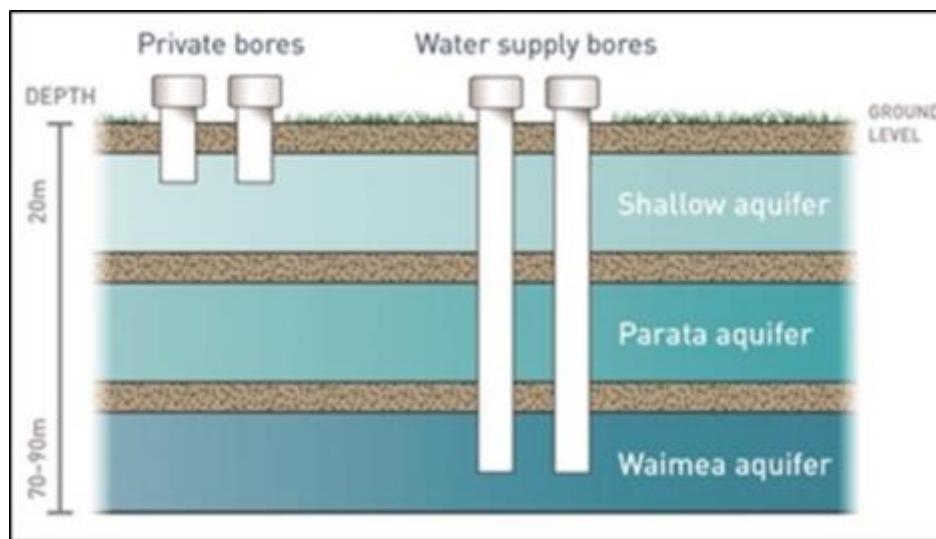


Figure 14: Bores and aquifers

(Source: Kāpiti Coast District Council: <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Your-Council/Projects/Water-Supply-Project/River-Recharge-Scheme/river-recharge-and-private-bores/>)

In general, the iwi supports the erection of a dam to control the release of rainfall water to the sea, which will decrease the extraction of bore water. There are three sites that the iwi prefers: the Ngāti Awa River, Kapakapanui Stream and the Maungakotukutuku Stream. As noted above, the Maungakotukutuku is the site preferred by the Kāpiti Coast District Council.³⁶⁰ However, claimants allege that the Kāpiti Coast District Council's overall preference for short-term solutions such as river recharge from groundwater is driven by economic considerations, prefer (see Figure 15 below for an overview of the river discharge scheme).³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Interview with Mahutonga Blakensop, Te Tokawhakaea Graham and Tutere Parata, 26 April 2017, Waikanae.

³⁵⁹ Kāpiti Coast District Council: Information on Waikanae River groundwater recharge scheme & its impact on private bores, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Your-Council/Projects/Water-Supply-Project/River-Recharge-Scheme/river-recharge-and-private-bores/> (accessed 6 December 2017).

³⁶⁰ Kāpiti Coast District Council: Information on water supply project, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Your-Council/Projects/Water-Supply-Project/Project-Maps/> (accessed 6 December 2017).

³⁶¹ Interview with Mahutonga Blakensop, Te Tokawhakaea Graham and Tutere Parata, 26 April 2017, Waikanae.

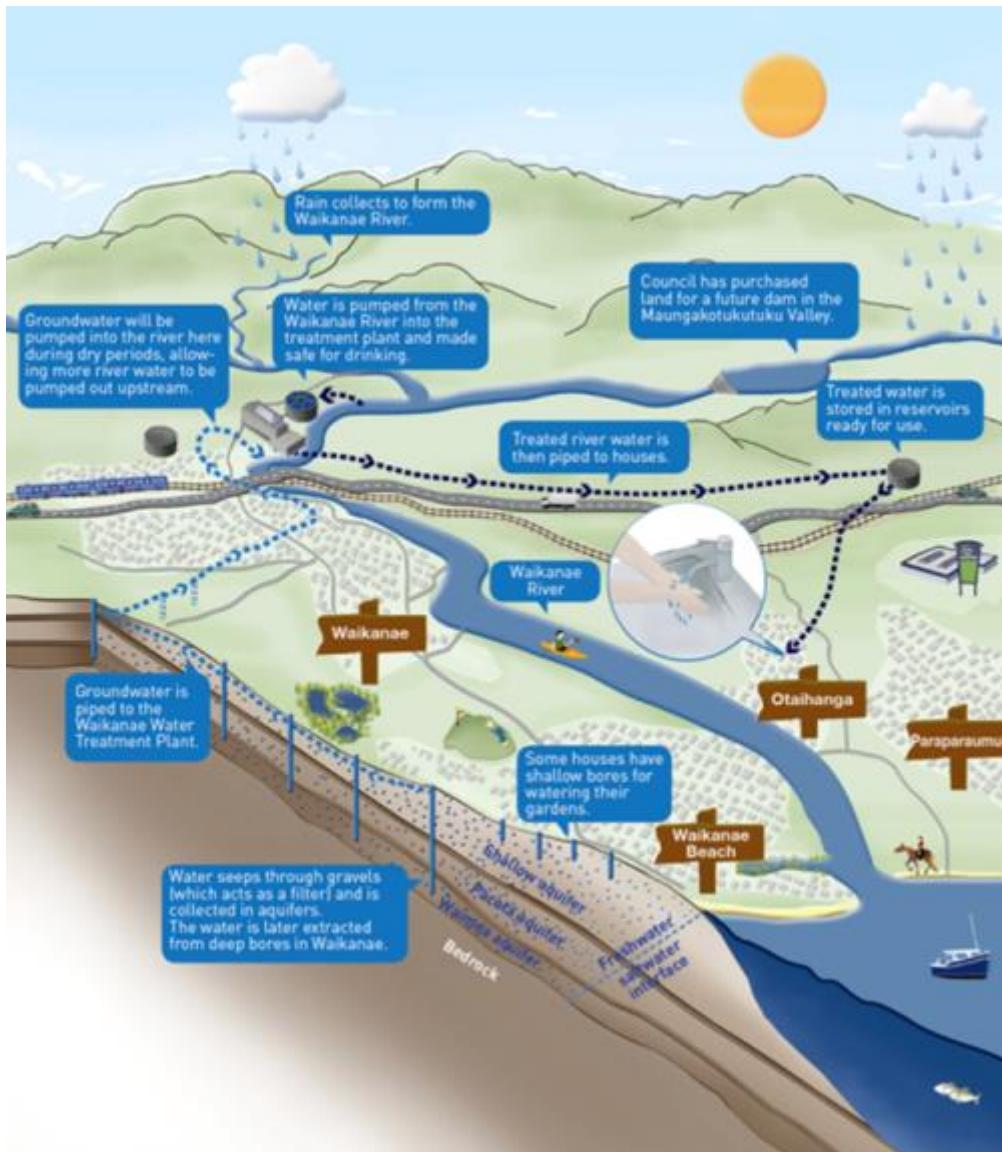


Figure 15: River Recharge Scheme
 (Source: Kāpiti Coast District Council, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/river-recharge-scheme>)

Further comments by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claimants, including Apihaka Mack, Yvonne Mitchell, Rawiri Jenkins-Evans, Muriwai Tamati/Pirikawau-Goodman and Hirini Jenkins-Mepham, are recorded in Huhana Smith's 'Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Report' for this inquiry. They identified the following waterways as significant to them:

- Pirikawau Springs,
- the sacred waterfall at Waikanae Bridge that is fed by Pirikawau Springs;
- Otaihangā;

- Waimea, Mangaone;
- Tikotu;
- Whareroa;
- Wharemauku;
- Mangakotukutuku;
- Ngātiawa;
- Reikiorangi;
- Rangiora;
- Muaupoko and Kapakapanui Streams;
- Rawakahia Lagoon;
- Ngawhakakangutu Lake;
- Waimea Stream pipe outlet at Waikanae Beach; and,
- the Waikanae River.

Apihaka Mack described the whakapapa of Ngātiawa and the rivers that marked the boundaries to their rohe. She provided details on the impact of environmental change on their significant awa, including: loss of access, loss of kai species and other resources, such as rongoa, concerns about water quality and the pollution that exists today, as well as the general lack of respect shown by councils. Muriwai Goodman also spoke of the wairua and rongoa aspects to waterways in the rohe. Yvonne Mitchell spoke of the loss of her grandmother's land at and around Paraparaumu Airport and what this has meant in terms of loss of access to waterways. Hirini detailed the roads and urban infrastructure around Paraparaumu Beach and how it is impacting on local fisheries. The reader should see the transcript of their interview set out in the draft 'Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Report' report for further details.³⁶² It has not been possible to examine the current situation with regard to water management on the Kāpiti Coast or to evaluate how well this memorandum of understanding is working. Claimants may wish to provide further evidence on these matters to the Tribunal.

3.9.3 Te Ara Tahi

On 26 March 2013, the tāngata whenua of Te Upoko o Te Ika a Maui (including Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai) and the Greater Wellington Regional Council signed a memorandum of

³⁶² Huhana Smith, 'Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Report' draft 18 October 2016, summary of significant waterways and topics covered, p.157; transcript of interview with claimants, pp.158-165.

partnership. This partnership built on and replaced a 1993 Charter of Understanding, which had been revised in 2000.³⁶³ The mana whenua iwi are:

1. Rangitane o Wairarapa ... represented by Rangitāne ō Wairarapa Inc.,
2. Ngāti Toa Rangatira ... represented by Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Inc.,
3. Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga ...represented by Ngā Hapū ō Ōtaki,
4. Taranaki Whānui ki te Upoko o te Ika a Maui ... represented by Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust,
5. Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa ... represented by Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Trust,
6. Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai ... represented by Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust.³⁶⁴

The memorandum of partnership states that the parties ‘have a common goal of supporting the environmental, social, cultural and economic wellbeing of the region for the benefit of the regional community.’³⁶⁵ To that end, the partnership ‘establishes a structural and operational relationship between the Council and tāngata whenua, in the context of the Treaty of Waitangi, Te Tiriti o Waitangi ... and the legislation which gives functions, duties and powers to the Council.’³⁶⁶

To give effect to the partnership, a collective forum, known as Te Ara Tahi, was created. It is made up of ‘the leadership of tangata whenua and the leadership of the Council.’ Each party was to determine their own leaders, but it was generally expected that the Council would be represented by its Chair, Deputy Chair and Chief Executive. Iwi can also engage with the Council on a one-to-one basis outside of this structure. In addition, it was envisaged that the forum would enable ‘tangata whenua to work collaboratively on matters pertaining to the environmental, social, cultural and economic wellbeing of the region.’³⁶⁷ The forum was to meet no less than twice a year and more often as required.³⁶⁸

The main functions of the Te Ara Tahi forum are to:

- ‘Provide for collective discussion and action on matters of strategic significance to the region. These include but are not limited to:

³⁶³ Memorandum of Partnership (MOP) between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and Wellington Regional Council Te Pane Matua Taiao (WRC), 26 March 2013, downloaded as <http://www.gw.govt.nz/assets/Democratic-Services/MemorandumofPartnership2012.pdf>, downloaded 6 December 2017.

³⁶⁴ MOP between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and WRC, 26 March 2013, para 5.

³⁶⁵ MOP between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and WRC, 26 March 2013, para 7.

³⁶⁶ MOP between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and WRC, 26 March 2013, para 2.

³⁶⁷ MOP between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and WRC, 26 March 2013, paras 9 & 12-13.

³⁶⁸ MOP between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and WRC, 26 March 2013, para 20.

- regional growth and competitiveness, infrastructure, employment, social issues, health, housing and energy.
 - potential regionalisation and local government form.
- Oversee matters pertaining to the partnership between tāngata whenua and the Council.
- From time to time engage as appropriate with other regional agencies and organisations.
- Provide advice to the Council on the delivery of the Council's Treaty obligations.
- Select, oversee and support tāngata whenua representatives on Council Standing Committees and working groups ...
- Contribute to the outcomes and direction of Te Hunga Whiriwhiri through engagement in the annual business planning cycle.³⁶⁹

As mentioned in the Introduction to this report, it has not been possible to examine how this partnership has worked for Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai. This may be a matter about which claimants wish to provide evidence to the Tribunal.

3.9.4 The Māori Partnership Board

The Capital & Coast District Health Board (Ūpoko ki te Uru Hauora) established a relationship with the Māori Partnership Board comprising iwi representatives from Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Ātiawa and Taurahere. It is unclear when this Board was established. This partnership involves individuals with a commitment to ensuring that those who reside within the region receive the best care healthcare possible.³⁷⁰ The following people sat on the partnership board:

- The late Dr Leo Buchanan (Taranaki, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Ruanui) – A retired paediatrician with special interests in developmental and behavioural paediatrics and, in particular, child health challenges of Māori.
- Hilda Broadhurst (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Toa, Ngai Tahu) – A representative of Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust.

³⁶⁹ MOP between Tangata Whenua ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and WRC, 26 March 2013, para 15. Te Hunga Whiriwhiri is a unit within the Greater Wellington Regional Council that 'provides advice and manages resources supporting the relationship between tangata whenua and the Council.' (Appendix 2).

³⁷⁰ Capital Coast District Health Board: Information about the Māori Partnership Board, <https://www.ccdhb.org.nz/our-services/a-to-z-of-our-services/maori-health/maori-partnership-board/> (accessed 6 December 2017).

- Peter Jackson (Taranaki and Te Āti Awa) – A Taranaki Whanui manawhenua cultural representative.
- Steve Kenny (Tipene) (Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa) – A representative of Ngāti Toa Rangatira on the Māori partnership board with Wendy Rapana.
- Peter Love (Te Āti Awa) – A representative of the mana whenua Te Āti Awa of Wellington on the Māori Partnership Board, by nomination of the Wellington Tenth Trust, who are the principle tribal representative of this iwi in Wellington.
- Dr Tristram Ingham (Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, Ngāti Porou) – A taurahere member of the Māori Partnership Board.³⁷¹ He trained as a medical doctor and is now senior research fellow in the Department of Medicine at the University of Otago in Wellington.³⁷²

It has not been possible to locate terms of reference of other documentation relating to the activities of this Board. The Capital and Coast District Health Board may hold records relating to its operation, but time did not permit a search for these. It is possible that claimants may wish to provide evidence to the Tribunal about its success and/or limitations.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the present state of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whangarongotai, with some statistical and historical information providing a general indication of the rohe and its populace. Geographically the rohe has remained unchanged, but according to census data there has been a steady increase in the number of people who affiliate to the iwi between 2001 and 2013. By 2013 half of those who affiliated to the iwi lived in the Wellington region, and of those the majority (64 per cent) were living along the Kāpiti Coast. Claimants also believe that those of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Whangarongotai today can claim descent from many of the earlier

³⁷¹ ‘Taurahera’ is ‘a term sometimes used for tribal members in the city who join *taura here* groups to help to retain their identity and links back to their tribal homelands. These link back to iwi organisations and often *taura here* representatives have a place on *iwi* boards. For example, Te Runanga nui o Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Upoko o Te Ika is the Wellington *taura here* group for Ngāti Kahungunu.’ (Online version of Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index,

<http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&keywords=taura+here&search=>) (accessed 2 February 2018).

³⁷² Capital Coast District Health Board: Information about the Māori Partnership Board, <https://www.ccdhb.org.nz/our-services/a-to-z-of-our-services/maori-health/maori-partnership-board/> (accessed 6 December 2017).

hapū that were resident in the area in 1873. However, only a small number of those hapū are active in the rohe today. Whakarongotai marae continues to be a focal point for the iwi, and was originally built for all of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa at Waikanae. It wasn't until 1952 that the marae was designated for the common use and benefit of Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa tribes. This common benefit is reflected in the ART Confederation today, and the collective benefits that relationship has delivered for these three iwi since 1850. At a political level, the iwi is represented by the Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust which represents Ngā Uri o Ātiawa ki Kāpiti or those of the iwi registered with the trust. The iwi has also been proactive in establishing partnerships and agreements with local bodies and government agencies that have recognised Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa as one of the iwi who have mana whenua on the Kāpiti Coast.



Figure 16: Plan showing the initial subdivisions of Kāpiti Island
(Source: Adapted from ML 284, Wellington District, c. 1880)

CHAPTER FOUR: IMPACTS ON NGĀTIWA/TE ĀTI AWA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out a number of matters that Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai claimants placed particular emphasis on during research for this report. In particular, it discusses their ongoing connection to Kāpiti Island and the loss of land and resources there. They also provided several examples of loss or degradation of fisheries, waterways and wetlands in their rohe and described the impact that this has had on their community. These examples provide further insight into their relationships with the Crown and local government in their rohe (this was also touched on in Chapter 3).

4.2 Kāpiti Island

4.2.1 Pre-1840 History

In his 1999 book, *Kapiti*, Chris Maclean traversed some of the pre-1840 history of Kāpiti Island.³⁷³ Ngāti Toa Rangatira inevitably dominates pre-1840 Kāpiti Island chronology. But, as Miria Pomare stressed in her 2015 Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō evidence, the histories of Ngāti Toa and Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti are essentially interwoven.³⁷⁴ Te Rangihiroa's direct descendant, Wi Parata Te Kākākura, successfully asserted his tribal rights at Waiorua (the northern tip of the Island, where Te Rangihiroa is buried) before the Native Land Court in 1874. Richard Boast's 2013 summary of the Native Land Court Kāpiti Island judgments of that year shows how important the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti presence was on the island.³⁷⁵

4.2.2 Iwi Interests

Wi Parata's opening remarks at the Native Land Court Kāpiti Island hearing on 17 April 1874 testify to his awareness of the interwoven iwi histories. He began by asking Judge John Rogan to hear evidence on Kāpiti Island at Waikanae, rather than at Otaki. Clearly, this would have favoured the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti witnesses. Rogan replied that he would commence the hearing in Otaki and move it to Waikanae 'if it was necessary ...'.³⁷⁶ In the event, the hearing remained in Otaki until its conclusion on 24 April and Parata did not revisit the matter of venue. Parata also stated at the outset that he 'wished that the claims to Kāpiti be heard as one over

³⁷³ Chris Maclean, *Kapiti*, Whitcombe Press, Wellington, 1999, pp.112-133. See also Vaughan Wood, et al, 'Environmental and Natural Resource Issues report', draft September 2017, pp.365-373.

³⁷⁴ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.167-184.

³⁷⁵ Richard Boast, *The Native Land Court: A Historical Study, Cases and Commentary 1862-1887*, (Wellington: Thomson Reuters, 2013), pp.707-713.

³⁷⁶ Wi Parata, 17 April 1874, Otaki MBk, 2, pp.402-403.

the whole Island.³⁷⁷ Rogan evidently ignored this request. Instead, he considered five separate claims to five numbered partitions of the island (see Figure 17 above). Parata had to wait for the final northern-most partition at Waiorua, called Kāpiti No 5, before the court recognised his rights.³⁷⁸

4.2.3 *Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti Claims*

Kāpiti Island looms large in at least three Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti claims. Pehi Parata's August 1989 Wai 88 claim became known as 'the Kāpiti Island claim.'³⁷⁹ The 2016 amendments to both the Wai 88 and to the Wai 89 'Whitireia' claim contained specific references to the Crown's purchase of most of Kāpiti Island to the detriment of its iwi owners.³⁸⁰ Similarly, Chris Webber's Wai 2361 claim is largely concerned with Kāpiti Island. He filed his 2012 amendment on behalf of the 'descendants of Wi Parata Kakakura and his daughter Utauta of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Raukawa.'³⁸¹

The filing of the Wai 88 claim to Kāpiti Island and the areas stated was a result of enquiries by the New Zealand Māori Council to the Department of Lands and Survey on 7 May 1984, asking for information regarding ownership and acquisition of lands on Kāpiti Island. The reply outlined how:

... Section 3 of the Kāpiti Island Public Reserve Act 1897 vested any land or interest in any land in her Majesty the Queen, which was held or acquired by any person that was not an original Maori owner or his heirs or successors according to Maori custom. Compensation being by agreement or through the Compensation Court.³⁸²

The 18 July 1984 report from Lands and Survey replied to all the enquiries, stating that the area of Crown-owned land on Kāpiti Island totalled 4,821 a 2 r 21 p and that Māori owned 42 a 2 p. The report provided a breakdown of all land transactions, however, there were no dates attached to most of the transaction entries. Compensation was paid out for most of the transactions except for two. One of these was Rangatira Kāpiti 4A1 (12 a 2 r), owned by William Hughes Field, whose application for £675 before the Compensation Court was

³⁷⁷ Wi Parata, 17 April 1874, Otaki MBk, 2, p.409.

³⁷⁸ Waiorua-Kapiti No. 5 evidence, 21 Apr 1874, Otaki MBk 2, pp.437-449; 22-24 Apr 1874, Wairarapa MBk K2, pp.51-74. Although the final two days of Waiorua evidence were recorded in the Wairarapa Native Land Court minute books, the hearing remained at Otaki for the duration.

³⁷⁹ Statement of claim, 7 August 1989, Wai 88, #1.1.

³⁸⁰ Amended Statements of Claim, 19 May 2016, Wai 88, #1.1 (d); Wai 89, #1.1 (c).

³⁸¹ Amended Statements of Claim, 1 August 2012, Wai 2361, #1.1.1 (a).

³⁸² Documents supplied to the author by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae.

adjourned because he wished to reach an out-of-court agreement. The report remarked ... ‘but can find no evidence of an agreement ever being made or the court ever sitting.’³⁸³

Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard, in a submission to the Māori Land Court on 3 May 1989, made several statements regarding this report from the Department of Lands and Survey. Rarangi first stated that her whānau had been owners of the lands in question for over one hundred years and that her submission was related to the subdivisions of Waiorua Kāpiti blocks - Waiorua Kāpiti 5A1 (1 a 1 r 14 p) Waiorua Kāpiti 5A2 (2 a 2 r 26 p), Waiorua Kāpiti 5, 1B1 (265 a 1 r 4 p) and Waiorua Kāpiti 5,1B2A1 (103 a 2 r 17 p). What is important for this report are the alleged actions of several parties, that of the trustees and executors, the Department of Conservation and owners who have little or no attachment to the Island, she says:

The only members of this family who want this land subdivided only visit on very rare occasions. We who visit and remain in our homes there for long periods of time look at our land not as a possession but as something sacred to be kept for all time in trust for our descendants.³⁸⁴

Rarangi also pointed out that they have an urupā on the land and that it is the resting place of their tupuna, George Stubbs, and the grave of the father of her children. She made reference to the fact that they, the descendants of Winara Akerama Webber, were excluded from meetings of owners regarding the land, and asked whether this was lawful. Other issues raised by Rarangi were accusations about her family taking rats to the island (she believed that the ranger on the island was somewhat complicit in the introduction of the rodents). Rarangi made it clear to the court that her family were only trying to retain ownership of the lands they possess on the island, whereas others were making submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal to regain ownership to the island which they believed was confiscated out of their possession.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Documents supplied to the author by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae. William Hughes Field (1861-1944) lawyer, politician, land owner and developer, conservationist was born in Whanganui and later educated Wellington College (scholarship) and worked as a solicitor in Whanganui (1885) later serving as a barrister of the Supreme Court of New Zealand (1892). In 1905 he became a partner in a firm and remained there till 1933. At an election for the Otaki electorate, Fields became a member of House of Representatives in 1900. He had two farms at Waikanae and was a habitual land buyer, mortgaging property to buy more land. Other property was acquired by lending money to Māori using their land as collateral; the unpaid sum was credited against the purchase of the land. Fields saw the value of the railway and promoted the construction of the coastal highway. He imported marram grass from Australia to stabilise sand dunes and had a fondness to protect native bush. (Joan Maclean. ‘Field, William Hughes’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3f6/field-william-hughes>, accessed 6 December 2017).

³⁸⁴ Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard, submissions to the Maori Land Court regarding subdivision of Waiorua Kapiti, 3 May 1989; Information provided to the author by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae.

³⁸⁵ Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard, submissions to the Maori Land Court regarding subdivision of Waiorua Kapiti, 3 May 1989. Information provided to the author by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae.

4.2.4 Title History

In their recent draft report, ‘Block Research Narratives’ for the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry, Walghan Partners outlined the multiple Native Land Court titles created in 1874 for portions of Kāpiti Island.³⁸⁶ Richard Boast also described the Native Land Court process creating these titles in his 2013 compendium. Judge Rogan identified Tamihana Te Rauparaha as the owner of the southern-most Te Mingi (or Kapiti No. 1). He recognised Hare Reweti Tangahoe as the primary owner at Maraetakaroro (or Kapiti No. 2) and Hemi Kuta in the same capacity at Kaiwharawhara (or Kapiti No. 3). Rogan recognised Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha as the leading owners of the substantial central Rangatira (or Kapiti No. 4) area. Finally, he identified Wi Parata as the primary owner of the northern-most Waiorua (or Kapiti No. 5) area.³⁸⁷ These areas, with the specific acreage of each partition, are shown on the accompanying Kāpiti Island map, based on what appears to be an 1880 ML plan. (See Figure 17 at the beginning of this chapter.)

Chris Maclean’s 1999 book traced some of the less well documented nineteenth-century leasing from Māori. Apparently, Wi Parata leased much of Waiorua to Pakeha sheep-farmers before 1870. Parata then took over grazing that area with his own sheep for at least two decades.³⁸⁸ In the mid-1890s, Malcolm and Robert Maclean (not related to Chris) leased much of the Rangatira area. Charles Morison, the father of a later Native Land Court Chief Judge, and Charles Lowe began leasing Waiorua soon afterwards. According to Chris Maclean, by April 1897, ‘almost all the island was either leased or owned by Europeans.’³⁸⁹ By then, the Maclean brothers leased 2,646 acres, Lowe 1,238 acres, and Morison 405 acres. This meant that, on the 4,990-acre island in 1897, only 59 acres (or 1.12 per cent) ‘was not owned or leased by Europeans.’³⁹⁰

4.2.5 Kāpiti Island Public Reserve Act, 1897

Since Pakeha lease-holders began to mortgage Māori land, Premier Richard Seddon rushed the Kāpiti Island Public Reserve Bill through Parliament in December 1897 in an attempt to forestall further private alienation. The 1897 Act declared further private transactions illegal.³⁹¹

³⁸⁶ Walghan Partners, ‘Block Research Narratives’, draft, June 2017, vol. 1, p.228.

³⁸⁷ Richard Boast, *Native Land Court...*, 2013, pp.707-713.

³⁸⁸ Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, pp.163-164.

³⁸⁹ Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, p.178.

³⁹⁰ Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, p.296.

³⁹¹ Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, pp.184-187.

Since the 1897 Act denied iwi the right to deal with anyone other than the Crown over their land, the Crown controlled what became a buyer's market. Section 4 of the Act anticipated extensive Crown purchasing, ostensibly in the interests of conservation. The provisions of the Public Works Act 1894 provided Māori with less than adequate compensation for their land purchased by the Crown. The Crown compensated Pakeha to a much greater extent than it compensated Māori owners. According to a 1904 *AJHR* return, Pakeha received £3 5s per acre, while Māori received only 12s 6d per acre. Thus, the Crown compensated Pakeha five times more than it compensated Māori.³⁹²

4.2.6 Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō Evidence

In his kōrero tuku ihō testimony, Hepa Potini raised concerns the impact of Native land legislation, succession and land administration on Kāpiti Island. He stated that:

Another problem is Kapiti Island. That island Kapiti did not get passed down to descendants of its original owners. Why is that? It was because of decisions made by the courts, by land law. Laws that steal land. I think there was carelessness of the people entrusted to administer reserves and trusts; people didn't settle things correctly in terms of ownership.³⁹³

Hepa spoke of the deep spiritual connection hapū and iwi feel to the island and described the very real pain felt by those who were cut out of the line of succession and lost their legal rights to land on Kāpiti Island. For him, there is also a sense of loss arising from hapū and iwi no longer having control of the island:

Us on this side we descend from the second marriage of Nātana Parata, the children were said to be illegitimate. The land did not come down to our line. In Māori there's no word for illegitimate, there's multiple marriages. We just say 'The tamaiti o', - 'the child of'... we are still here. And it is painful in the heart. To see the beauty of the island and I am just a visitor when I go. That is my mother. That is our mother island, fed us, protected us, was our place of refuge from the first migration in past centuries. It was like that then, but now it's not like that. We are just visitors when we go there. The mana is with the Government you know the Department of Conservation and of course many people are interested in that island.³⁹⁴

Jim and Chris Webber spoke about the bitter legacy of the 1897 Kāpiti Island Public Reserve Act at the April 2015 Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō hearing in Waikanae. Jim and Chris Webber

³⁹² Sheridan, 'Return showing [Kapiti Island compensation] particulars . . .', *AJHR* 1904, G-8, pp.1-2; Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, p.190.

³⁹³ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.45.

³⁹⁴ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.45.

descend from the union between Wi Parata’s youngest daughter, Utauta, and Hona Webber.³⁹⁵ Jim titled his audio-visual story ‘The Disintegration of a Kāpiti Island Family’. He described how his grandmother, Utauta, moved to Waiorua with her family in 1909 to preserve the little remaining Māori land on the island. The Webber homestead there became a favourite recreational resort for all sorts of people who enjoyed Utauta’s wonderful manaakitanga. This won her many influential friends in keeping Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti fires burning on the island.³⁹⁶

Jim described the 1897 Act as a ‘sleeping dragon’. It eroded iwi ownership without doing so openly. After Hona died in 1938 and the family homestead burnt down in 1946, Utauta retired to the Paraparaumu area. Without the fires burning, Crown purchasing reduced Māori ownership to little more than 30 acres at Waiorua.³⁹⁷

Chris Webber, representing the younger generation, added a more contemporary chapter to Jim’s kōrero. Chris saw himself as following in the footsteps of his tupuna, Te Rangihīroa, Wi Parata and Utauta, the eminent kaitiaki of Kāpiti Island.³⁹⁸ In his youth, Chris hoped to assist the Crown’s care for the natural environment of his island, but he found that the Department of Conservation had no vacancies for tāngata whenua.³⁹⁹ He expressed his concern that the 2014 Ngāti Toa Rangatira Claims Settlement Act largely ignored the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti presence on the island.

Fortunately, Miria Pomare in 2015 expressed her determination to recognise Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti interests as part of the Ngāti Toa Rangatira Treaty Settlement. As the then chairperson of the Kāpiti Island Strategic Committee (created by the 2014 Act), she declared her commitment to include Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti in island decision-making. She concluded her Ngā Kōrero Tuku Ihō evidence with an endorsement for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti ‘inclusion [which] will complete all the ingredients needed for effective kaitiakitanga ...’ on Kapiti Island.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ They also descend from the Tahiri whanau of Ngāti Raukawa. Utauta’s children often toured Australia with the ‘Singing Tahiris’ during the 1930s (Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, pp.227-228).

³⁹⁶ Jim Webber, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.120; Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, p.226.

³⁹⁷ Jim Webber, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.121-123.

³⁹⁸ Chris Webber, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.129-130, 132; Maclean, *Kapiti*, 1999, pp.151, 196-197.

³⁹⁹ Chris Webber, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.128.

⁴⁰⁰ Miria Pomare, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.182.

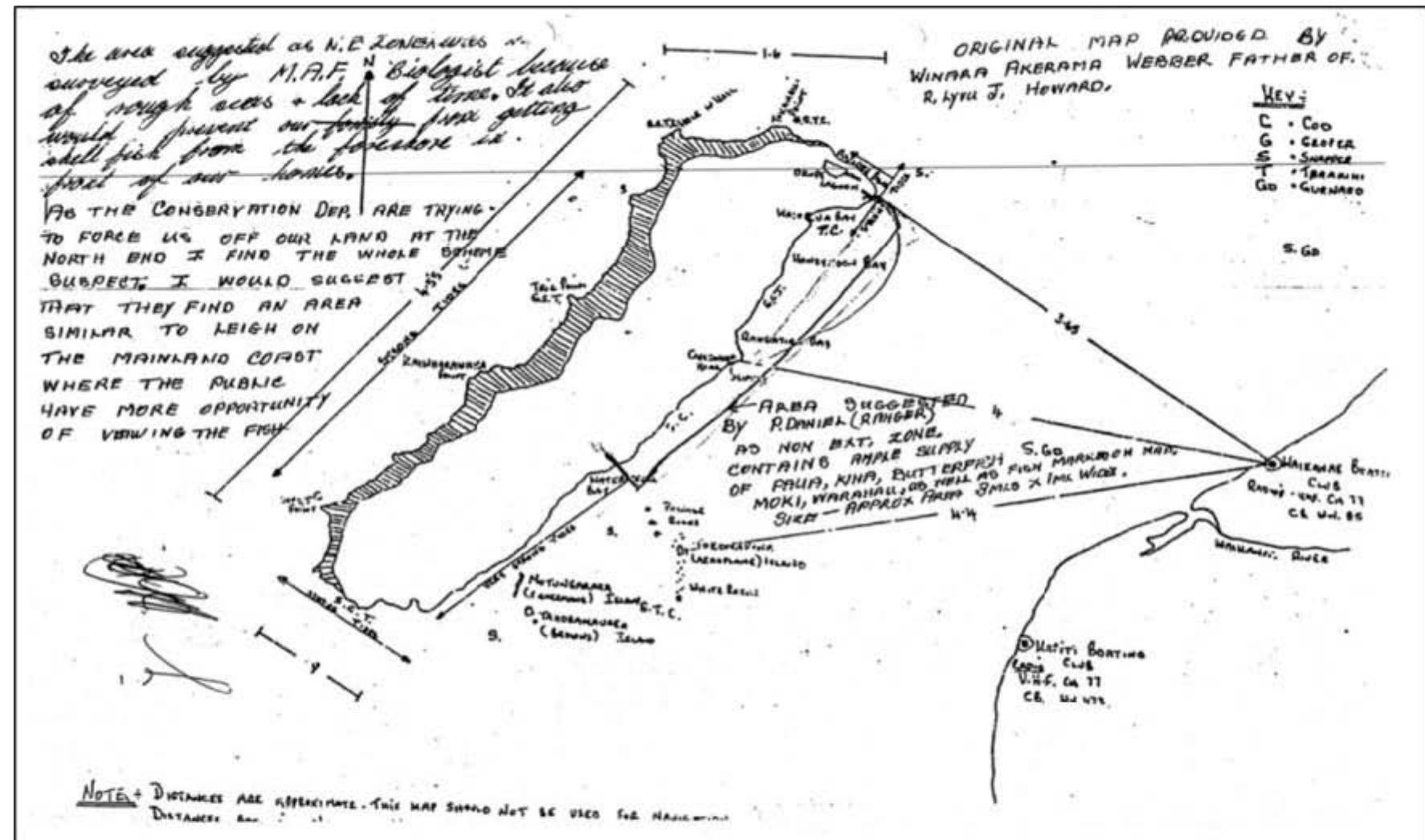


Figure 17: Kāpiti Island fishing areas

(Source: Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard (nee Webber), submission for Fishing Claims pursuant to the Waitangi Tribunal for Te Āti Awa/Ngāti Toa traditional fishing rights for Kāpiti Island and shoreline. Information provided by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae)

THE FOUR DISTINCTIVE HABITAT ZONES FOUND AROUND KĀPITI ISLAND
 (from Baxter, A. S. 1987: *Kapiti Island - Subtidal Ecological survey. Ministry of Agriculture & Fisheries.*)

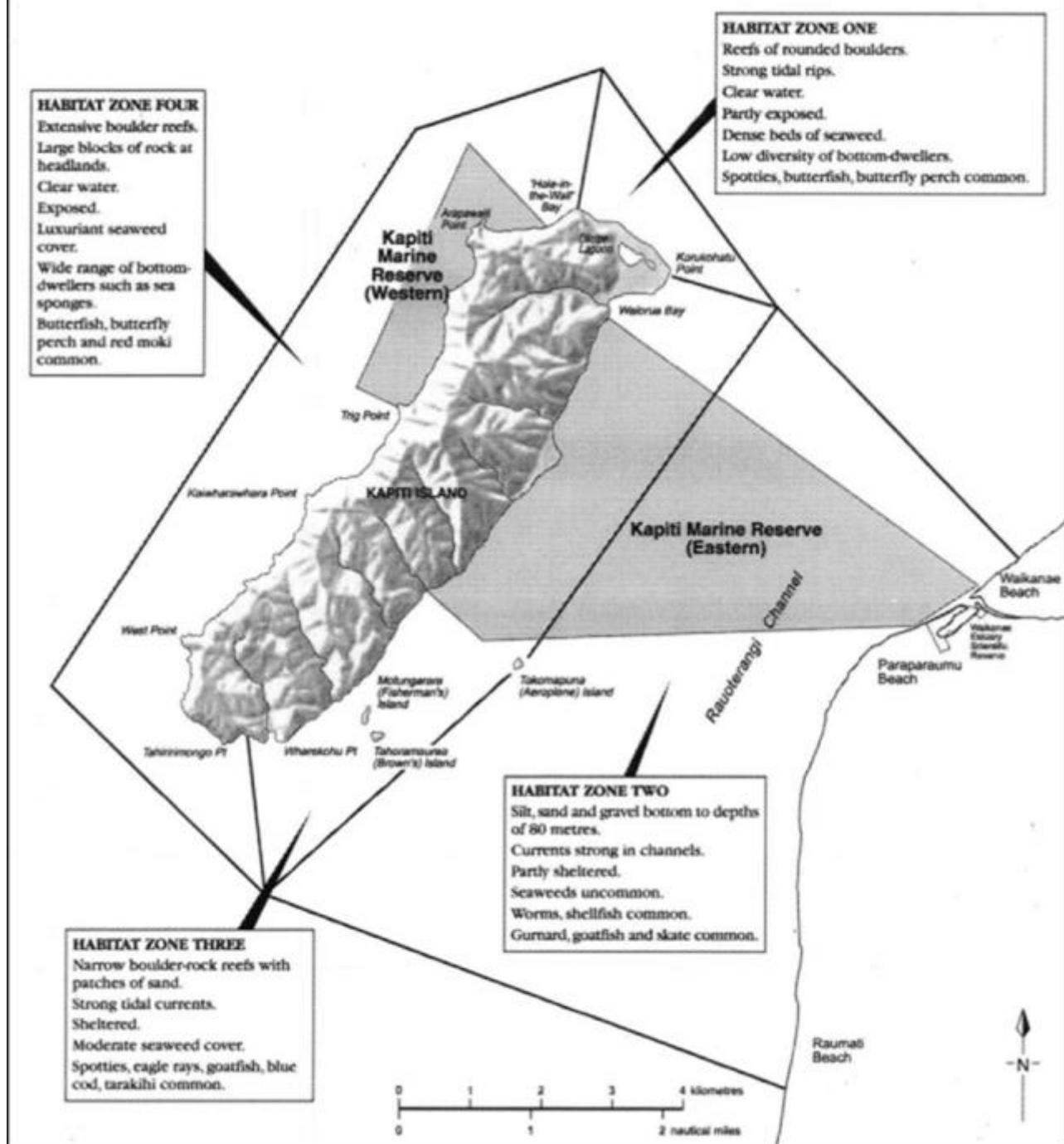


Figure 18: Four distinctive habitat zones around Kāpiti Island
 (Source: Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, 'Kāpiti Marine Reserve Conservation Management Plan', May 1998, p.48)

4.2.7 Traditional Fishing

In his testimony at the kōrero tuku ihō hui, Hepa Potini described how customary fishing from Taranaki, Kāpiti and Cooks Strait ‘began in the time of Aotea waka when Turi was the captain. They knew all of the fisheries in Cook Straight [sic] all the way up to Taranaki, they [sic] fisheries were known.’⁴⁰¹ Hepa stated that ‘since those days, we have fed our manuhiri, we have had fish, a big fishery. Both Ngātiawa and indeed Ngāti Toa Rangatira have been fishing people.’⁴⁰² Regarding the fisheries around Kāpiti Island, he understood that:

After the period of the [New Zealand?] wars, that was one of the main occupations, fisheries, feeding our people with fish. Even in the small islands, Tāhoramaurea, Motungārara, Browns Island, Aeroplane Island, Tokamapuna, those small islands off Kapiti Island, rich in fisheries and fish. There was no question, many many fish in the diet.⁴⁰³

Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard says that Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa had enjoyed traditional fishing rights around Kāpiti Island for over 170 years. Since the 1820s, control of fishing belonged to Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa and, when Europeans arrived, it was these iwi who controlled their fishing practices. Rarangi says gradually this control was eroded, so much so that today no Māori has a licence to fish commercially off or near the Island.⁴⁰⁴

Traditional fishing rights for Rarangi’s Webber whānau can be traced back to their tupuna Waipunahau and Toitoi, the parents of Te Pehi; and to Rangihiroa, and then to the arrival of Te Rauparaha. They have maintained a constant presence on Kāpiti Island, fishing the area – at one point even selling their catch to early European arrivals. From the 1930s, the whānau had a fishing licence, with her father holding a licence from 1945 until his retirement in the 1960s.⁴⁰⁵

This traditional knowledge of fishing in and around Kāpiti Island is made available in map form, indicating the various fish species and their locations, provided by Rarangi’s father, Winara Akerama Webber.⁴⁰⁶ This map was included in Rarangi’s submission (reproduced as Figure 18 above). According to this map, snapper, tarakihi and cod could be located at the

⁴⁰¹ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.212.

⁴⁰² Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.213.

⁴⁰³ Hepa Potini, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.214.

⁴⁰⁴ Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard (nee Webber), submission for Fishing Claims pursuant to the Waitangi Tribunal for Te Āti Awa/Ngāti Toa traditional fishing rights for Kāpiti Island and shoreline; Information provided to the author by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae. On the importance of whaling, see Vaughan Wood et al, ‘Environmental and Natural Resource Issues report’ draft September 2017, pp.369-373.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

northern end of Kāpiti Island, tarakihi and cod at Waiorua Bay, snapper and cod along the eastern side of the island and species such as snapper, tarakihi and cod could be found around Motungārara Island. Species including tarakihi, snapper and cod were also prevalent around the western side of the island. Notes are appended to this map that details the frustration some of the whānau were suffering because they believed that the Department of Conservation was trying to remove them from the island. There is also a note stating that a survey by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was not conducted due to bad weather.⁴⁰⁷ This map was later adapted by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, who surveyed the fishery in 1987 (see Figure 19 above). In 1992, the Kāpiti Marine Reserve was established under the Marine Reserves Act, 1971.⁴⁰⁸

4.2.8 Poaching

Vaughan Wood and his co-authors described in considerable detail how the Department of Conservation established a Kāpiti Island Marine Reserve off the northern coasts of the island in 1992.⁴⁰⁹ During interviews for this report, Tutere Parata spoke of when he was an honorary ranger and tasked with protecting the Kāpiti Island Marine Reserve, saying that poaching was occurring – not by locals, but by large boats that were too swift to catch and that would head off in the direction of Wellington.⁴¹⁰ A *Dominion Post* article (1 June 2015) cites documents released under the Official Information Act regarding the budgetary cut for the policing and management of the Kāpiti Island Marine Reserve for the 2011-2012 year. Local observations noted there was an obvious decrease in time spent policing the reserve. Figures stated that ranger duties included compliance and law enforcement accounted for an average of 9 hours per week at Kāpiti in 2013-2014 and were pretty much dependant on the seasons. Much of the shortfall had been taken up by volunteers.⁴¹¹

Local artist Frances Jill Studd observed the pictured trawler laying its net along the northern edges of the Kāpiti Island Marine Reserve (Figure 20). Studd blames the government for not

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Marine Reserve (Kapiti) Order 1992, downloaded from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/regulation/public/1992/0071/4.0/whole.html#DLM153874>.

⁴⁰⁹ Wood et al, ‘Environmental and Natural Resource Issues report,’ draft September 2017, pp.402-406. See Figure 18: ‘Four distinctive habitat zones around Kāpiti Island’ above.

⁴¹⁰ Tutere Parata 6 April 2017, Waikanae.

⁴¹¹ ‘DOC cuts Hours monitoring Wellington Marine Reserves’, *Dominion Post*, 1 June 2015, downloaded from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/68954890/doc-cuts-hours-monitoring-wellington-marine-reserves> on 6 December 2017.

providing sufficient funding to police actions of this type, saying that governments make ‘harebrained’ promises of ridding this country of pests in 50 years and cleaning up rivers in 40 years:

The good thing about making lofty pronouncements on the environment is that they carry primetime coverage without giving time to look at what the detail might involve; which always comes down to how much money is going to be put into realising it. Which is why someone can happily place a set net in the middle of our marine reserve without having to worry about the consequences. There is no money to police it.⁴¹²



Figure 19: Fishing boat trawling along northern edge of reserve, November 2015
(Source: Frances Jill Studd, Midnight Collective: <http://midnightcollective.blogspot.co.nz/2017/02/flocking-terns-poaching-and-political.html>)

4.3 Environmental Change and the Impact on Kai

In discussions, claimants emphasised how important the waterways, wetlands and sea were to their tupuna as a source of food. They also gave a number of examples of recent changes to those environments and how this has affected their ability to use these sources of kai. Rawhiti Higgot says that wetland drainage has taken place gradually and most of the recent drainage has occurred because of subdivision developments such as residential housing, lifestyle blocks,

⁴¹² Frances Jill Studd, Midnight Collective: <http://midnightcollective.blogspot.co.nz/2017/02/flocking-terns-poaching-and-political.html> (accessed 6 December 2017).

recreation reserves and roading. The once plentiful springs, rivers, streams and wetlands were vital for the survival of their tupuna.⁴¹³

4.3.1 The Importance of Waterways and Wetlands

In her kōrero tuku ihō evidence, Mahina-a-rangi Baker emphasised the way that the network of waterways and wetlands⁴¹⁴ in the rohe shaped the lives of her tupuna before the 1880s:

It was a network of small and large water bodies that were tidal fed, that were also spring fed ... connected wetlands and they were largely navigable ... a whenua that's actually dominated by water and that in the context of the confederation that ecology is very different to the ecology that we see in Raukawa rohe and the Ngāti Toa rohe.⁴¹⁵

Baker believes that because of the ecology and its abundance of food her tupuna decided to stay. The kai that influenced her tupuna's decision about settlement included:

... five what I call Galaxiid species so they're our very rare native trout. Two of the species we have in this rohe occur in less than 2% of lowland water bodies in New Zealand so they are very much a tāonga, so these are our īnanga, our kōkopu and our kōaro. We also had kahawai, kanae or mullet which perhaps the Waikanae was named after, pātiki (flounders), kōura, (crayfish), tāmure (snapper), toheroa, watercress, tuna (eels), piharau, [Interpreter- lampreys] tipitipi, (surf clams), tuatua.⁴¹⁶

Baker also spoke of the way in which this network of kai-rich waterways and wetlands protected Māori settlements from flooding and how this has changed as the environmental has been modified:

And so when there is high rainfall as we experience in the mountains here, in a flood like all streams do, they were very slow to rise and fall, so the advantage for our tūpuna was that they could live right next to the kai without suffering too much from flood risk. Today when we talk about the character of the Waikanae River, it's what we would call a short catchment so the distance between the maunga and te tai is very quick, which makes it a little dangerous. But again our wetlands were the key to ensuring that they were relatively safe areas to live in.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Rawhiti Higgot, Wai 2200, #4.1.10. p.81.

⁴¹⁴ The Resource Management Act 1991 defines wetlands as 'permanently or intermittently wet areas, shallow water, and land water margins that support a natural ecosystem of plants and animals that are adapted to wet conditions.' (Resource Management Act 1991, Part 1 Interpretation and application).

⁴¹⁵ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10. p.152.

⁴¹⁶ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.152-153.

⁴¹⁷ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.152-153.

Rāwhiti Higgot also explained that because of the waterways in the region their tupuna had an abundance of water. However, over the last 150 years, the wetlands have been drained, and at a more rapid pace in the last 80 years:

The streams, creeks and rivers were vital for Māori survival. They were plentiful in the 1800s. Waikanae River and healthy fast flowing springs would have served the settlements. What we have left we must look after, by these waterways returning to our care or at least co-management.⁴¹⁸

He gave as an example the case of the Waimeha Stream, which was diverted by William Fields in 1925 to supply water to sections that he owned, which were then auctioned and sold. These actions denied Māori water to their properties and cultivations and also dried up the passageway needed for fish to access the Waikanae River.⁴¹⁹

Other issues of concern touched on by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa interviewees were:

- i. the effect of mixing waters – river water from the Tararua Ranges and aquifer ground water;
- ii. pollution in the Waikanae River, and;
- iii. dangerous algae in the Waikanae River.⁴²⁰

Claimant understandings about environmental change in their rohe are supported by material from the Department of Conservation and Landcare Research. The Department of Conservation noted how the Waikanae River once flowed through dense bush which stretched to the coast. Upon reaching where the railway bridge now stands, the river then divided into two channels flowing through salt marsh and swamp forest, before joining again at the dunes and lakelets of the estuary.⁴²¹ They state that, today, the Waikanae Estuary, which was designated a reserve in 1987, protects the remaining area. This area has seen the draining of the Waimeha Swamp to create the Waimanu Lagoon, with the subsequent loss of traditional whitebait spawning grounds. More recently, there have subdivisions in the area that threaten wildlife.⁴²²

⁴¹⁸ Rāwhiti Higgot, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, p.81.

⁴¹⁹ Rāwhiti Higgot, written statement 15 April 2017.

⁴²⁰ Interview with Mahutonga Blakensop, Te Tokawhakaea Graham and Tutere Parata, 26 April 2017, Waikanae.

⁴²¹ Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai: <http://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/wellington-kapiti/places/waikanae-area/waikanae-estuary/> (accessed 6 December 2017).

⁴²² Department of Conservation Fact Sheet, Waikanae Estuary Scientific Reserve, downloaded as <http://www.doc.govt.nz/Documents/parks-and-recreation/places-to-visit/wellington/waikanae-estuary-fact-sheet.pdf> on 6 December 2017.

The accompanying maps illustrate the change in land cover and land use, with the coastal lowland area now almost entirely in pasture, small areas used for horticulture and significant areas of urban land at Paraparaumu, Otaihangā, Waikanae and Te Horo. Areas of forest cover have been restricted to steep country and some of that area has been taken over by plantation forestry (Figures 21 and 22). There has also been a marked decrease in the area covered by wetlands (marked as ‘marshes’ and ‘swamps’), and the connectedness of that network (Figure 23). The Department of Conservation notes some of the causes and effects of this environmental change:

In 1886 the Manawatu Railway opened the coast to more European settlement. Flaxmilling and farming settlements ripped away much of the coastal forest, exposing the river’s flanks to erosion. Since then, housing, flood protection, gravel extraction, stormwater, farm waste and industrial discharges have further diminished the power of the river.⁴²³

⁴²³ Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, <http://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/wellington-kapiti/places/waikanae-area/waikanae-estuary/> (accessed 6 December 2017).



Figure 20: Historical vegetation cover
 (Source: Landcare Research Manaaki Whenua, <https://whenuaviz.landcareresearch.co.nz/place/75416>)

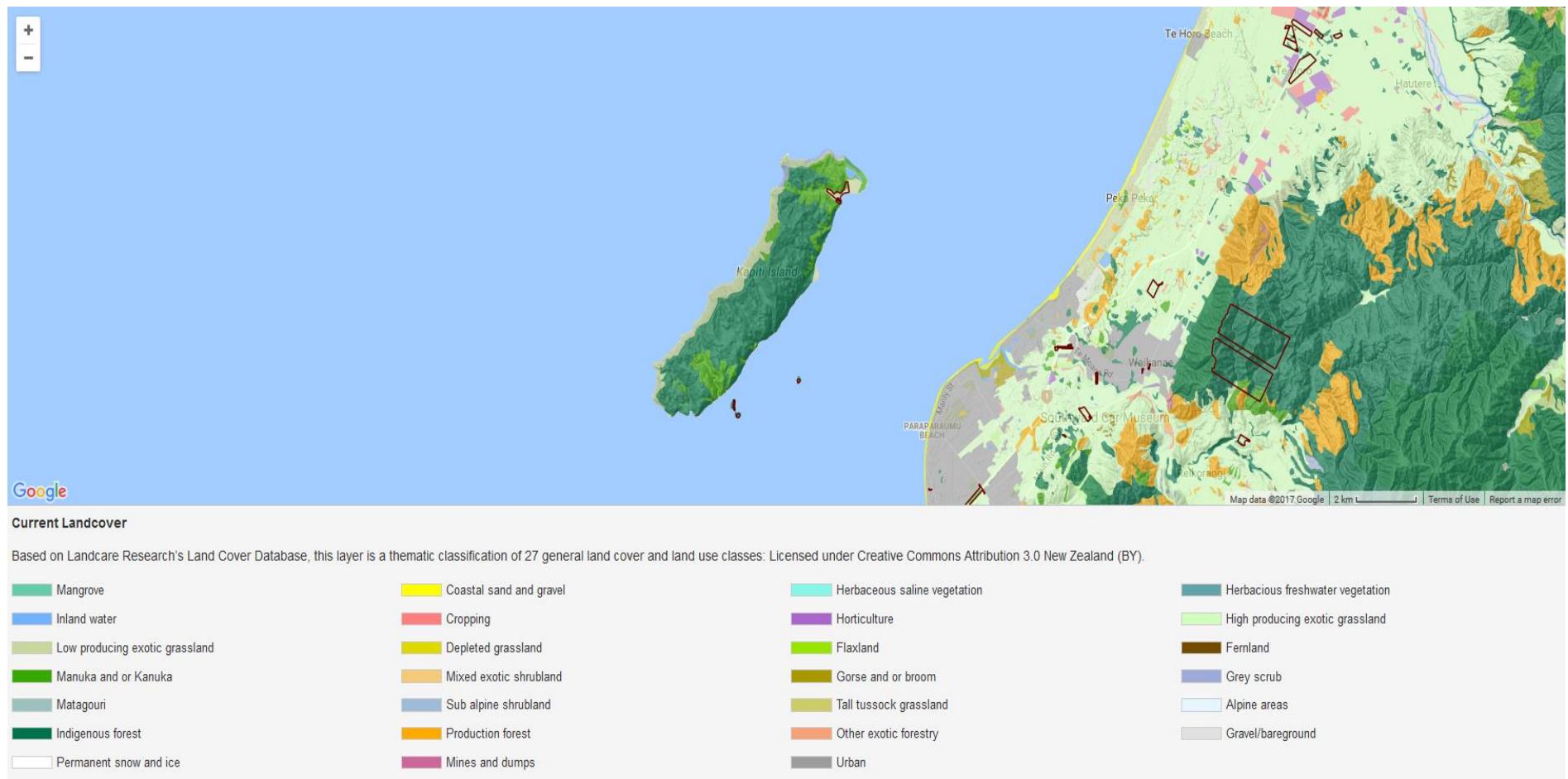


Figure 21: Current land cover
 (Source: Landcare Research Manaaki Whenua, <https://whenuaviz.landcareresearch.co.nz/place/75416>)

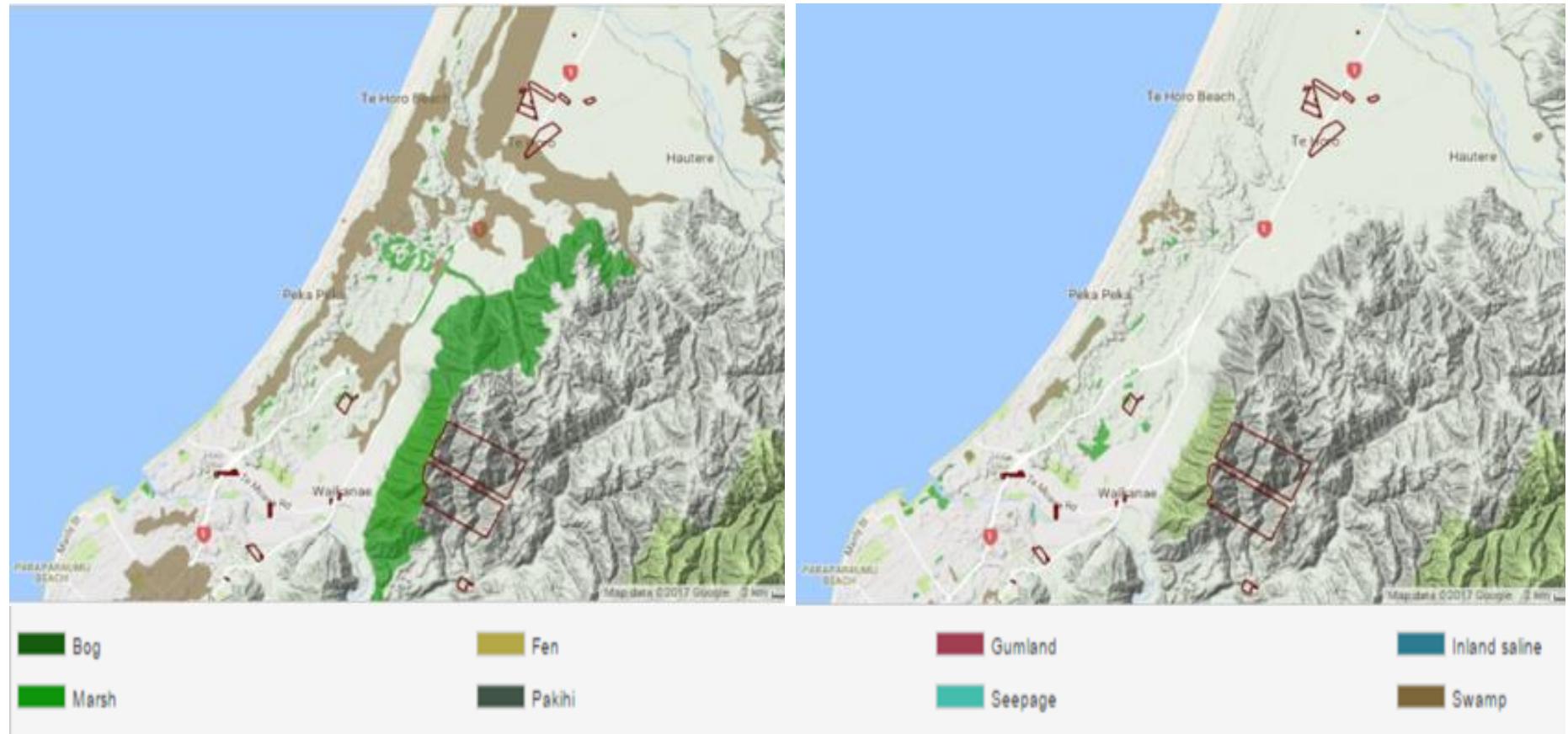


Figure 22: Historical and current wetlands
(Source: Landcare Research Manaaki Whenua, <https://whenuaviz.landcareresearch.co.nz/place/75416>)

4.3.2 Depleted Fishery

Mahina-a-rangi Baker emphasised that her tupuna did cultivate the land that they had settled, but there is strong archaeological and oral evidence that their main sources of sustenance came from the wetlands and coastal marine areas.⁴²⁴

During interviews for this report, Tutere Parata explained that there was a period when, for many of the whānau, eels were a staple and that his father (Nohorua) supplied many eels to the marae for hui, tangihanga or functions. Eels were generally caught either with hinaki, or by ‘bobbing’ or spearing using No.8 fence wire. They were then cold-smoked in large numbers in a walk-in smoke house. Eels were caught at ‘Fields Lake’ or along the Hokio Stream at a pā tuna named Te Kākākura. One eel, in particular, which was considered a delicacy was the Tuere, a saltwater blind eel, also known as a hagfish.⁴²⁵



Figure 23: Tuere blind eel

(Source: The Ethnogram, official blog of the UC Davis Animal Behaviour Graduate Group,
<https://theethogram.com/2015/01/26/creature-feature-hagfish/>)

Tutere said that, in his youth, whānau subsisted on kai from gardens or netted fish from the sea. Shellfish was gathered from a place called Taputapu Ariki near Paripari pā (just south of Paekakariki). Although they largely lived on what could be caught, grown or gathered, some

⁴²⁴ Mahina-a-rangi Baker, Wai 2200, #4.1.10, pp.154-155.

⁴²⁵ Interview with Tutere Parata, 6 April 2017, Waikanae.

kai was purchased. This required wages and much of the work on offer was manual labour. Tutere recounted an incident when his father worked on the Centennial Highway and wondered why Māori were paid less than their Pākehā counterparts. The reason given by their bosses was ‘you can live off the land.’⁴²⁶

Because her whānau have had a long association with fishing in the district, Rarangi Howard described the state of the fishery today, saying that toheroa numbers, once a mainstay of their diet, have suffered decline due to population growth. Kina have suffered and mussels and paua have been ravaged by ‘non-Māori’ commercial and recreational fishermen. Kai that was once plentiful in the Waikanae River have suffered decline, with storm water outlets affecting whitebait and herring. Herring were once prolific and a valued food source. Traditional Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa hapū boundaries were formed around the location and availability of eels, a reflection of the value placed on this food source. This resource has suffered depletion due to pollution and over-fishing with nets across the river mouth.⁴²⁷ The customary fishery is a passion for Tutere Parata, who says that is even more so now, with the decline in numbers of once numerous kai in both the local freshwater and sea fish stocks. He blames increased urban development and pollution for this situation.⁴²⁸

Statements from the Department of Conservation lend some support to these observations. They note that:

Modification of the catchment area, such as the removal of stream vegetation, urban development, increased sediment and pollutant levels, and obstructions to fish passage such as culverts have impacted on the fisheries values. Fish need unimpeded access from the marine environment to the upper catchment areas. Some species use the river as a highway, sometimes climbing huge waterfalls to reach their preferred habitat.⁴²⁹

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter began by documenting how important Kāpiti Island is to the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people. The importance of Kāpiti Island is evident in Wi Parata’s 1874 request that the Native

⁴²⁶ Interview with Tutere Parata, 6 April 2017, Waikanae.

⁴²⁷ Rarangi Lyvu Jean Howard (Nee Webber), submission for Fishing Claims pursuant to the Waitangi Tribunal for Te Āti Awa/Ngāti Toa traditional fishing rights for Kāpiti Island and shoreline; Information provided by Tutere Parata 20 April 2017, Waikanae.

⁴²⁸ Tutere Parata 6 April 2017, Waikanae.

⁴²⁹ Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, <http://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/wellington-kapiti/places/waikanae-area/waikanae-estuary/> (accessed 6 December 2017).

Land Court sit at Waikanae to investigate title to the island (the request was denied). Today it is reflected in the Wai 88, 89 and 2361 claims, which contain allegations about of Kāpiti Island. These are particularly concerned with Crown purchasing practices that impacted on the tribe's owners of land and resources on the island. Evidence indicates that the Kapiti Island Public Reserve Act, 1897 vested land to the Queen and led to Māori owners retaining just 42 acres out of approximately 4,821 acres. Another issue that concerns claimants is the environmental impacts to waterways and wetlands. The coastal area that the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people once enjoyed had its own unique ecology with wetlands that were tidal and spring fed. Much of the recent damage to these environments has occurred because of subdivision developments. This damage has affected the traditional food stocks that enticed their tupuna to migrate south from Taranaki and reside here.

CONCLUSION

Chapter one sets out what Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa understand about their origins and the migrations of their tupuna. Their origins are recounted in the tribal ngeri that states that they are descendants of earthly mother Rongo-ue-roa and heavenly father Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi. The offspring of this union was called Te Awanuiārangi, and he is the eponymous ancestor of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa resident in Waikanae, Ngāti Awa of the Bay of Plenty and the Ngāti Awa of the far north.

The report commission requires evidence of tribal settlement patterns, in this case these were the result of heke migrations from Taranaki to the Kāpiti Coast. Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa consider that these heke migrations established their mana-whenua prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 through take raupatu, take ringa kaha and ahi kaa. What is also evident is that the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and their Taranaki whanaunga provided the bulk of the manpower on these heke. This manpower was needed to quell the original inhabitants along the Kāpiti Coast and on Kāpiti Island at the battle of Waiorua in 1824. According to Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa the outcome of the battle of Waiorua was that the iwi and their allies could remove all opposition and lay claim to these lands. However, they say that migrants did not immediately occupy the mainland after this battle for fear of reoccurring attacks, choosing instead to remain on Kāpiti Island. It wasn't until the arrival of the heke Niho Puta later in 1824 that they relocated to the mainland. The Ngāti Rahiri settled south of the Waikanae Stream and Te Pēhi's hapu Ngāti Hinetuhi of Ngāti Awa settling north of the stream. The 1828 heke settled at Waimea and Kenakena. Around this time, Waitohi allocated lands on the basis that land south of the Kukutauaki stream to be settled by Ngātiawa, and north of the stream by Ngāti Raukawa.

Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa sources also record that by 1834 the iwi was in conflict with the Ngāti Raukawa at the battle of Haowhenua. Despite a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa victory, they had suffered losses, so some of the survivors decided to leave the area to avoid ongoing tensions. However, those who remained occupied the land, which meant that the tribe did not abandon their rights at Waikanae. Conflict occurred again in 1839 at the battle of Kuititanga. Claimants understand that the victorious Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa removed any lingering doubts and resistance to their occupation and settlement.

Chapter one outlined some of the areas settled and cultivated by the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa migrants and the divisions and allocations of lands. Chapter two expands on this information by providing further detailsof the tribe's areas of occupation and settlement from Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa sources (see figure 6). Also evident are the boundaries Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa acknowledge between their rohe and those of Ngāti Raukawa to the north and Ngāti Toa to the south. These sources also say that former conflicts with Ngāti Raukawa were healed through intermarriages and tribal boundaries were mutually agreed to. These forms of marriage were referred to as takawaenga that brought together neighbouring tribes. The chapter shows the location of sites of significant to Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa, and discusses their importance. Many of the sites were locations of hapū cultivations and pā. While others were named in memory of the battles that took place along the coast between the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and their Ngāti Raukawa neighbours. To a large extent these sites are clustered along waterways, particularly the Waikanae River and its tributaries, and on the coast. This reflects a tribal rohe that claimants described as having an estuarine wetland system; an ideal ecosystem for the proliferation fish and shell fish. The hapū communities that cultivated the land and subsisted on kai gathered from the wetlands were connected by this network of waterways. As a result, they did not act in isolation, but worked communally to gather kai and to manage the environment.

Chapter three provided some information about how Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti are organised today. It also focused on how the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa iwi are recognised by local bodies and government agencies as one of three iwi having mana-whenua along the Kāpiti Coast. This recognition is evident in the agreements and partnership relationships the iwi has with these organisations. For instance, the iwi has entered a partnership with the Kāpiti Coast District Council under a pan-tribal banner that also includes Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. In 1994 representatives of the three iwi formed a body named Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti and work with the council on resource management and other issues.

This partnership has not always worked smoothly, at times there have been tensions, particularly in the early 1990s when the council alarmed Māori and Kāpiti residents by proposing to discharge treated effluent into the sea. This issue was resolved when a land-based alternative was chosen by the council. There was also contention between local iwi and the council during the mid-1990s over a planned alternative highway route ('the western link road'), which would run close to an iwi urupā. Tensions arose again when council attempted to manage water shortages by considering piping water from the Otaki River to the Waikanae

water treatment plant. On both occasions council failed to recognise or heed Māori concerns, defeating the Whakaminenga's original intention of creating a relationship based on mutual consultation.

However, one of the positive outcomes of these experiences was the negotiation and signing of a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the council and Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Kāpiti over water issues in 2010, in which each party acknowledges their roles and responsibilities. This report was not able to fully evaluate how this MOU is working in practice. But some claimants interviewed for this research raised concerns about whether the MOU was just gesture of tokenism, despite it containing specific paragraphs recognising iwi cultural values.

Chapter three also briefly described Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa relationships with neighbouring iwi, and how that collective (as the ART confederacy) has worked together on a number of successful economic and cultural initiatives since 1850. As noted above, the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa have also combined with neighbouring iwi by developing relationships, partnerships and agreements with local bodies and government agencies. As an individual iwi, the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa are represented by the iwi-mandated Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai Charitable Trust.

The report commission asked about Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa understandings of the impacts of land and resource loss on their communities. This is dealt with in chapter four of the report. As explained in the Introduction to this report this material is somewhat limited, however Appendix 2 lists the 17 claims filed by Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa claimants with the Waitangi Tribunal for this inquiry. It may well be that many of the claimants will submit individual or combined briefs of evidence on this and other issues covered by this report. However, claimants did highlight the loss of land and resources in and around Kāpiti Island as a major concern to Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people. In particular, they spoke of how the Crown acquired so much of the island and left Māori owners with very little. Claimant testimony criticises the legislation used by the Crown to acquire the land, and how it eroded iwi ownership, as well as insufficient compensation paid for land.

The waters around Kāpiti Island were also the main fishery for the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Toa people. Again, a similar theme from claimants was that the iwi control over their former fishing grounds has been eroded, but at the same time no Māori can fish commercially

off or near the Island. Claimants state that their customary fishing practices stretched back to the 1820s and their traditional knowledge regarding their fishery was quite extensive (see figure 18). One local kaumātua was also frustrated with the amount of poaching within the island marine reserve area. Another local cites the lack of government funding in policing the reserve and that volunteers had taken up the task.

Claimants explained the importance of their coast, wetlands and waterways and the abundance of the food stocks that could be gathered by their tupuna. These opportunities have been more limited for the descendants who have observed a steady decline in former food stocks. Wetland drainage for development was one of the major factors in the decline. Eels were once the staple kai for the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa people that supplemented kai that was grown or gathered. Tutere Parata blames the decline and depletion of traditional kai on increased urban development and pollution.

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Appendix 1: Research Commission

OFFICIAL

Wai 2200, #2.3.19

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

Wai 2200

CONCERNING

the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND

the Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Louis Chase, historian, to prepare a Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa oral evidence and traditional history report for the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry.
2. The oral evidence and traditional history report will address the following matters:
 - a) The origins and patterns of settlement of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa in this inquiry district, including the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa hapū who lived in the district, the present day Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa tribal landscape and how settlement changed over time;
 - b) The geography of the Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa tribal rohe and boundary, the location and description of significant sites, traditional resources and taonga of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa within the inquiry district as Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa understand them, and Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa customs and protocols for protecting, using and managing these sites, resources and taonga;
 - c) Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa relationships with neighbouring iwi within the inquiry district and with the Crown, including understandings about how they managed these relationships and how they changed over time, as well as any oral histories held as to Crown actions; and
 - d) Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa understandings about the impacts of land and resource loss on their communities in this district and their present situation, including the current state of te reo, tikanga and exercise of cultural traditions, and the current socio-economic status and opportunity for Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa communities in the district.
3. The commission will commence on 13 March 2017. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 7 July 2017 and will be distributed to all parties for feedback.
4. The commission ends on 31 August 2017, at which time one copy of the final report must be submitted to the Registrar for filing in unbound form, together with indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts. An electronic copy of the report and supporting documentation should also be provided in Word or PDF file format.
5. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.
6. The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:
Louis Chase

Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry
Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
Principal Research Analyst, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
Manager – Research and Inquiry Facilitation, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
Inquiry Facilitator, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

DATED at Gisborne this 13th day of March 2017



Deputy Chief Judge C L Fox
Presiding Officer

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

Appendix 2: List of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa Claims included in the Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry

The table of listed claimants is not exhaustive, there may be other Wai claim numbers or unregistered claims that are yet to be identified or come to the notice of the Waitangi Tribunal staff for inclusion.

Wai	Claim name	Named claimant	On behalf of
1	88	Kāpiti Island Claim	Te Āti Awa Marae Committee, other whānau and hapū of Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae, and descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata Waipunahau
2	89	Whitireia Block Claim	Ngātiawa/Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae, and descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata Waipunahau
3	238	Hough Whanau Claim	Hough Whānau, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga
4	609	Paraparaumu Airport Claim	Themselves and the members of Te Whānau a Te Ngārara Inc.
5	612	Paraparaumu Airport (No 2) Claim	Edythe Yvonne Maripona Sharp and descendants
6	648	George Hori Toms and Colonial Laws of Succession Claim	The descendants of George Hori Toms
7	875	Paraparaumu Airport (No 3) Claim	Ngapera Taupiri Teira, Irihapeti Isherwood, Muri Fakahiao Upoko-onga-ariki Parata, Hari Rangikauwhata Jackson, Harriet Ann Colgate, Neta Ngatai, Poria Love Erskine, Teakerama Manuka Taikai, Wharemawhai Miria Timutimu, Georgina Fay Taiaki, Maikara Kararaina Tapuke, Kura Marie Taylor (Teira), Maraea Hargreaves, Wairingiringi Taiaki, Orewa Wikaira, Kore Lemon, Patricia Harrison, Melda Tui Buckley, Charles Robert Jackson, Dennis Erueti Taylor, and others
8	876	Paraparaumu Airport (No 4) Claim	Kaiherau Whānau Trust (previously Ngā Uri o Kaiherau Takurua)

Wai	Claim name	Named claimant	On behalf of
9	877	Paraparaumu Airport (No 5) Claim	Tahu Wiki Taylor, Carol Capon, Tamati Reeves, Makiterangi Matthews Ngā Uri o Hoani Ihakara
10	1018	Otaraua and Rahiri Hapū ki Waikanae Lands Claim	Apihaka Irene Mullen-Mack, Marama Pala, Rawiri Jenkins-Evans, Ben Ngaia Themselves and all direct descendants of Nga Kahutatara, Te Tupe o Tu, Katarina Te Tupe o Tu, Eruini Te Tupe o Tu, Honiana Te Punk-Kookupu kit e tipuna
11	1620	Paraparaumu Airport (No 6) Claim	Doreen Sheerin, Colleen Walker and Ronald Lake Themselves
12	1628	Baker Whānau Land Alienation Claim	Matiu Baker, Andre Baker and Lois McNaught The descendants of Matenga and Haua Baker, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, and Te Āti Awa iwi
13	1799	Parata Township Claim	Hyrum Parata The descendants of Te Kākākura Wi Parata
14	1945	Ngarara West A14B1 Block Claim	Paul Tuhari Ropata Kaunihera Kaumatua, Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae and the Te Āti Awa Iwi
15	2228	Ngāti Awa of Taranaki (Moore and Taylor) Claim	Robert Trent Taylor and Andrea Maria Moana Moore Ngātiawa
16	2361	The Kāpiti and Motungārara Islands (Webber) Claim	Christian Webber The descendants of Wi Parata & Utauta Parata of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira & Ngāti Raukawa
17	2390	Takamore Trust Claim	Benjamin Rameka Ngaia Takamore Trust and the descendants of those who lie in the Takamore wāhi tapu area