Under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

In the Matter of the Northern South Island Inquiry (Wai 785)

And

In the Matter of a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal by Akuhata Wineera,

Pirihira Hammond, Ariana Rene, Ruta Rene, Matuaiwi Solomon, Ramari Wineera, Hautonga te Hiko Love, Wikitoria Whatu, Ringi Horomona, Harata Solomon, Rangi Wereta, Tiratu Williams, Ruihi Horomona and Manu Katene for and on behalf of themselves and all descendants of the iwi and hapu of Ngati Toa Rangatira

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF TE WAARI CARKEEK

Dated 9 June 2003



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Counsel: K Bellingham/K E Mitchell/B E Ross

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF TE WAARI CARKEEK

Introduction

- My name is Te Waari Carkeek, and I am known as Te Waari. I was born at Otaki on 29 October 1960, I was brought up there. My father is Rikihana Te Rei Carkeek and my mother is Hemaima Te Hiwi Carkeek. I am the second youngest of their fourteen children. I am of Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa descent, among others.
- I reside in Otaki today. Although I am not a resident in Te Tau Ihu I have always been aware that our family had roots there through our Maori ancestry.
- I am self-employed and contract my administrative and teaching skills for our iwi developments. I presently have a working relationship with Te Runanga o Raukawa Inc and the Raukawa Marae Information and Support Service. I have been involved with Te Wananga o Raukawa as a guest lecturer for the Bachelor of Maori and Information Management course.
- 4 I also teach skills in tikanga Maori and take waiata moteatea classes regularly. My family have a number of connections to various iwi throughout both the North and the South Islands. Much of what I have learnt comes from my family. We live in Otaki opposite the marae matua there and we often have kaumatua come and stay with us. These have included Joe Rene from Ngati Toa and Wiremu Te Aweawe Larkins from Rangiotu of Rangitane. Both of these principal kaumatua stayed at our home on numerous occasions and it is through this association that I have learnt much about our history and our tikanga. I have also done extensive personal research on whakapapa and waiata as well as historical research. I was a contributor to the book prepared by Charles Royal entitled "Kati Au I Konei', which is a book on Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa waiata moteatea. In Maori society, waiata contain much about and embody our history. Learning about our waiata has provided me with much invaluable history about our people.

Connections to Te Tau Ihu

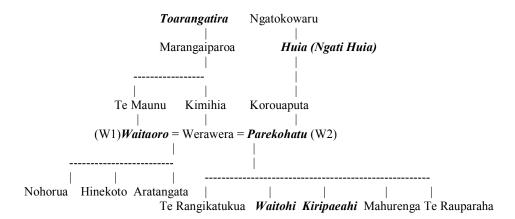
- I would like to start by explaining the relationship of my namesake to Te Tau
 Ihu. Waari Te Rei was a maternal uncle on my father's side, he was the son
 of Heni Te Whiwhi and Te Rei Parewhanake of Ngati Toa and Ngati
 Raukawa
- Waari Te Rei lived most of his life in Otaki however he married a woman from Waikawa. Her name was Haana. I am not certain of her correct surname, but I have been told by my uncle that she belonged to the Love family of which there are many descendants living today.
- During the First World War my name sake was enlisted into the second Maori Contingent as a private, his serial number is 16/718. At that time Waari Te Rei listed his next of kin as his wife, Mrs Haana Rei of Waikawa, Picton where they both lived. Unfortunately there were no children from this marriage and after his return from the First World War Haana died and he returned to live the rest of his natural life in Otaki.
- Waari died on 7 March 1930. My father was his favourite grand nephew and through Waari's will my father inherited much of his 'oranga'. My father bestowed on me his name,

"hei maumaharatanga mo to matou koroua".

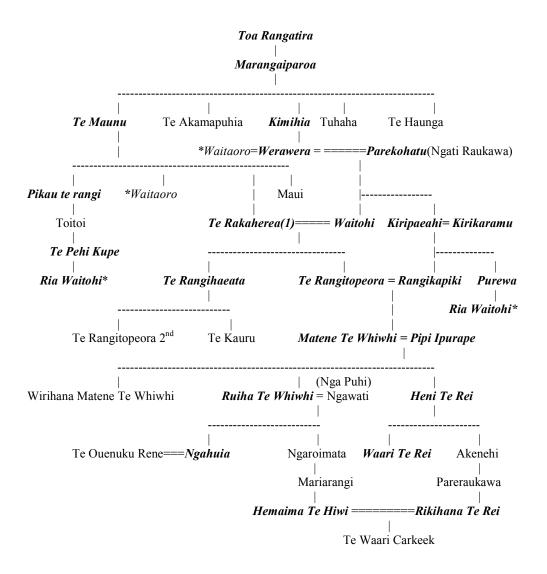
"to remember our elders"

- 9 My fathers' parents are Rikihana Carkeek and Pareraukawa Atkinson, they were farming people and made a living by working on the land. My father was their first child and he was born at Otaki on 5 May 1920.
- In 1921 the family moved to a place called Murutu Bay near Picton to live and work on lands belonging to Rongo Piripi Kohe, my grandfather's step mother. Rongo was the last wife of Morgan Carkeek. Morgan was my grandfather's natural father by Morgan's second wife Raita Rikihana. Murutu Bay is also known as the Bay of Many coves and was the place where my father's two younger brothers were born. They are Manukiao and Tahiwi (Buster). Unfortunately the family was not able to keep the land at Murutu Bay. Economic constraints meant that they were forced to mortgage the land. When they could no longer pay the mortgage, this land was sold in 1925, to my family's great distress.

- Rongo's full name was Rongopamamao Piripi Kohe. She was named after the wife of Te Rangihaeata who was shot at Wairau. Rongo was of Ngati Toa and Ngati Koata. Rongo was a shareholder in the lands at Wairau and Murutu Bay. That is how my grandparents came to live and work at Murutu Bay, at the request of Rongo and her husband Morgan. Rongo was the sister of Ngahuka Piripi Kohe who was commonly known by many of his relatives as Huka or Sugar Love.
- All of the descendants of Rongo are karangarua to my family being related to us on Rongo's side and on our pakeha side through Morgan Carkeek. One of Rongo's successors to land at Wairau is my uncle Mr Rawhiti Higgot, presently a share holder in Wairau XII sub-section No 9B. Other names of Rongo's family also appear on the Reserves list, such as Makere Reneti. However, as far as I am aware my own particular family have never received any benefit in any real terms from the land in the Wairau which once belonged to them or from the Reserves.
- Morgan Carkeek was originally from Nelson, he was a surveyor. Morgan's brother was Arthur Carkeek he was also a surveyor and was a member of the New Zealand Bush Rangers who fought against Te Kooti. However, that is another story. Both of these pakeha ancestors surveyed lands in the Top of the South Island.
- On the Maori side I can trace my family whakapapa through both of my parents back to Toa Rangatira and Raukawa. One of the principle ancestors of my whanau on the Ngati Toa side is Werawera who married Parekohatu who was his second wife.
- Parekohatu was a woman of Ngati Huia a hapu of Ngati Raukawa. The children of this union were Te Rangikatukua, Waitohi, Te Kiripaeahi, Mahurenga and Te Rauparaha.
- Here is the whakapapa:



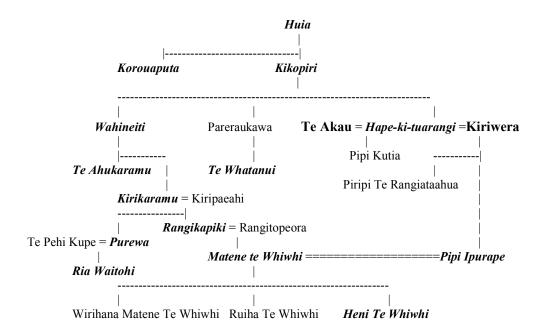
- I am descended from two ancestors on this family tree, they are Waitohi and Te Kiripaeahi. Waitohi married Te Rakaherea, a Ngati Toa person of rank. Some of their children were killed with Te Marore, Te Rauparaha's first wife when they were still living at Kawhia. Their two surviving children were Te Rangihaeata and Te Rangitopeora.
- Te Rangihaeata was married to Rangiuira who was a Ngati Raukawa woman and they begat Rangitopeora the 2nd. Te Rangihaeata also married Rangipikinga of Ngati Apa and begat Te Kauru. The young child Te Kauru was drowned while crossing the Mokau River during the migration from Kawhia. From that time onwards Te Rangihaeata was also known as Mokau in memory of his late son.
- Te Rongopamamao his third wife was from Ngati Toa and was the widow of Te Whaiti the son of Mahurenga and Te Whakarau therefore whanau to Te Rangihaeata. The marriage of Te Rangihaeata to Rongopamamao was totally in line with the customs of our old people and they were matched to keep the whanau unit together.
- Te Rangitopeora's first husband was Te Rangikapiki and they begat Matene Te Whiwhi. Te Rangitopeora also married a Te Arawa man named Te Wehi-o-te-rangi and they begat Rakapa Kahoki. Although Te Rangitopeora had other relationships and there were no further children.
- Here is the whakapapa:

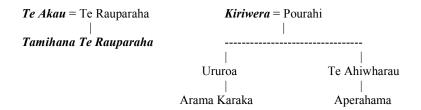


- Te Kiripaeahi married Te Kirikaramu from Ngati Raukawa and had two children Te Rangikapiki and Te Purewa. Te Rangikapiki married Te Rangitopeora as I have already mentioned above and they begat Matene Te Whiwhi. Te Purewa married Te Pehi Kupe and they begat Ria Waitohi who married Rawiri Puaha.
- 23 Matene Te Whiwhi married Pipi Ipurape of Ngati Raukawa and Te Arawa extraction they had three surviving children as set out in the whakapapa.
- 24 Ngati Kiriwera and Tuhourangi these people were very closely related to Ngati Raukawa and they became some of Te Rauparaha's closest companions. The relationship between Te Rauparaha and these people of Tuhourangi extraction began when Te Rauparaha was a young man. Te Rauparaha accompanied the war parties of several chiefs of Ngati Raukawa

into battles. There was a contingent of Te Arawa people who supported Ngati Raukawa and the relationship between the two tribes was strengthened by regular intermarriage.

- At that time one of the principal chiefs of Ngati Raukawa was a man known as Hapekituarangi. Under this uncle's adept tutelage Te Rauparaha gained a formidable reputation as an intelligent and competent warrior. Te Rauparaha was well versed in the strategies and psychology of fighting for his people in battle.
- Before the imminent death of Hapekituarangi, Te Rauparaha asserted his claim to the chieftainship of Hape's clan. It was a bold assertion but he was to inherit the chiefly mantle of his uncle and Mana, to be accepted and heard in the runanga of Ngati Raukawa chiefs. As a relatively young chieftain in comparison to many of his Ngati Raukawa kin his words were sometimes ignored. However, he gained the recognition of several key sections of Ngati Raukawa who began to take stock of what Te Rauparaha had achieved thus far.
- Te Rauparaha and his siblings were members of Ngati Huia which at the time was a particularly large hapu of Ngati Raukawa. Today Ngati Huia can claim at lest seven Marae in the confederation of 24 Ngati Raukawa Marae as Huia stock. The accord established after Hape's death was sealed when Te Rauparaha was given as his wife Te Akau the widow of Hapekituarangi. Te Rauparaha also received the mere pounamu called Amokura which was the personal property of Hape and was the embodiment or symbol of Hape's mana and chiefly status.
- Here is some Ngati Huia whakapapa:





- "He tangata punarua a Hapekituarangi" Hape was a man with two wives as set forth in the whakapapa. They are sisters Kiriwera and Te Akau. The two women belonged to the Te Arawa confederation of tribes from Rotorua. Kiriwera and Te Akau had many children to Hape-ki-tuarangi and the welfare of all these people became Te Rauparaha's responsibility on the death of Hape.
- The child of Te Akau and Te Rauparaha was Katu later to be known as Tamihana Te Rauparaha, born during the migration from Kawhia. There was another son, Timuwhakairihia who died in his youth and is buried on Kapiti Island.
- Many of the children of Te Akau and Kiriwera were mature adults by the time Te Rauparaha took over the whanau and some had fought alongside him in the war parties of their father Hape.

- The Te Arawa people were well versed in wood carving and house building and indeed these skills were highly valued by Te Rauparaha. Therefore the children of Kiriwera and Te Akau were resourceful and skilled in a traditional Maori context.
- The members of this group were an extremely close knit family unit who kept in close contact with their relatives of Te Arawa, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa. Te Rauparaha was the central figure to whom they had a close relationship too, through his wife Te Akau.
- During the Ngati Toa migration from Kawhia the tribe stayed with their Ngati Tama whanaunga for a year. During this time Te Rauparaha was able to make a visit to his relatives at Maungatautari, Rotorua, Tauranga and Hauraki. The reason for these visits was to encourage his whanaunga to join him and Ngati Toa on their quest to the south. At the time the people he visited were unenthusiastic towards his plans and preferred to stay put.
- However, more Te Arawa relations joined their clan after they had reached the Kapiti district. In the mid 1820's after the battle of Waiorua and before the campaigns into the South Island a number of Rotorua people came down to the Kapiti district. They came to join with their relations who were engaged in the building of canoes for Te Rauparaha. The canoes were constructed near Otaki on a block of land which contained large totara trees suitable for canoe construction.
- Two canoes were constructed by them they were Te Ahikakariki and Parinuiowhiti. These canoes were used during the Ngati Toa raids on Rangitane at Wairau in the top of the South Island.
- Te Ahikakariki in particular was used by the Rotorua people and it was this canoe that transported the bodies of fallen enemy warriors back to Kapiti.

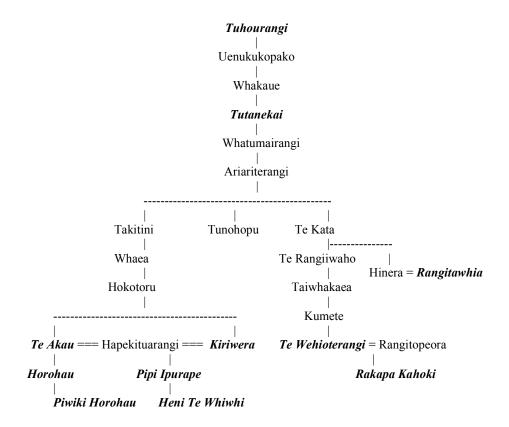
 Te Arawa always went in this canoe and this is the canoe they used to travel on to attack Kaiapohia with Te Rauparaha and other Ngati Toa allies.
- 38 Kiriwera and Hape had two children a son called Piripi Te Rangiataahua and a daughter Pipi Ipurape who married Matene Te Whiwhi. Therefore our whanau whanui are also part Te Arawa through these ancestors.

Heni Te Whiwhi

- I shall concern myself with Heni Te Whiwhi Te Rei. She was born at Wairau before the Wairau incident. Her parents Matene and Pipi were at Wairau to visit relations living there known as Ngati Kiriwera to whom Pipi belonged.
- 40 Matene and Pipi Te Rei, along with Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata visited the Wairau frequently prior to the Wairau incident. There were a series of gardens there mainly growing potatoes and kumara. Many of these were occupied or overseen by what we call the herehere, being the people who were left on the land to till the soil. There was a regular process of checking by Ngati Toa and their allies of these gardens to check that all was well. They would stay there for weeks or months at a time. They would keep to a schedule which also involved going to other settlements in Te Tau Ihu and the lower North Island, checking on matters there and then proceeding back to Kapiti.
- Pipi-Ipurape's mother Kiriwera also had a family by another Ngati Huia man called Te Pourahi, these people also made up the clan loyal to Te Rauparaha who supported him and his campaigns at the Top of the South Island.
- The visits to Wairau ceased because of the trouble that arose between Ngati Toa and the settlers over the lands at Wairau. Following the Wairau incident, Ngati Toa was afraid that there would be reprisals by the Pakeha. This was due to the attitude that had been shown by the settlers, and in particular men such as Magistrate Thompson, and the Colonial Administrators up to the time of the Wairau. There was therefore a large scale exodus by Ngati Toa from the Wairau at this time due to fear of utu by the Crown. After the Wairau incident, Te Rangihaeata was exiled and Te Rauparaha was taken prisoner and then the land at the Wairau was 'sold' in return for his release. For these reason my tupuna and their relations did not return to the Wairau again.
- However, Heni's parents continued to take an active interest in the affairs concerning Ngati Toa and the lands that her ancestors had conquered in the South Island. Heni's name appears on a petition to the Governor General (Sir Arthur Gordon) in January 1881 expressing concern over the lengthy delay in payment of compensation to Ngati Toa for their South Island lands.

Unable to return to their lands, my tupuna's only means of continued connection with them were by way of Deeds and Petitions which still signified their interests there.

Here is the te Arawa whakapapa:



The Kidnapping

- The kidnapping of Te Rauparaha from Taupo Pa caused great consternation among the tribes of Ngati Toa, Ngati Raukawa and Te Ati Awa.
- The Crown had clearly shown what it could do in response to the hard-line stance taken by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangiheata over the Wairau in order to protect their land. This increased tension within Ngati Toa and the continued hard-line stance of Te Rangihaeata heightened the air of expectancy for further unrest and conflict between his loyal people and Pakeha settlers. Tribal loyalty was still strong between our tribes and factions from Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa were prepared to respond with force where their land and mana was so under threat. However Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa did not follow this course.

Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha

- 47 Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha were two key identities who figured prominently during this period of unrest between Ngati Toa and Crown officials. Tamihana and Matene were at Saint Johns College in Auckland in Feb 1846, so were not in the district at the time of Te Rauparaha's kidnapping.
- Matene, who some Pakeha commentators say was in the region at the time of Te Rauparaha's kidnapping, has been accused by some of collaboration with Governor Grey before the arrest of Te Rauparaha (such as Oliver in his Bibliography of Te Rauparaha). Some commentators going as far to say that he was on the HMS Driver when Te Rauparaha was taken into custody by Crown troops. Ngati Toa's position is that this is utter nonsense, and these accusations have not been accurately substantiated and are just 'korero noa iho', hearsay. Although Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha may have differed ideologically in their approach from the older generation of chiefs, such as Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, they were still firmly loyal to these chiefs and to Ngati Toa, and they would never have betrayed their people and their chief in this way.
- In a lament by Te Rangihaeata for Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata himself takes some of the responsibility for the misfortune which had befallen the tribe when the Crown's agents kidnapped Te Rauparaha.

Te Rangihaeata expressed himself this way;

Ma wai te whakahoki te wai ora ki muri ra Ma o mokopuna ka ea to mate na.....
Ma Te Wherowhero ma Te Tumuhuia Tenei o iwi te takere tonu nei Me moe toitoi hare ra e koro Hei maungarongo ma te Atua i te rangi...na Ma Tamehana ma Matene Na raua hoki i tiki ki te reinga I kawea mai ai ko te ture pai Ko te ture kohuru i parea mai nei Noku anake nga hara i raru ai koena I

This lament says that it was Tamihana and Matene who fetched the Gospel from the North and pushed aside the basis for killing. My transgressions alone are the reason for your troubles.

- Matene was a diligent student of the scriptures and his desire was great to learn and become a good Christian. He and Tamihana had already taken the message of Peace to Ngai Tahu in 1843. With scant resources and little encouragement Matene and Tamihana were both able to master the written word before 1840 signing their own names on the Treaty of Waitangi. Their teacher was not a pakeha missionary but a Maori Lay Teacher of Te Ati Awa known as Te Ripahau or Te Matahau. Te Matahau had been taught at a Mission station in the Bay of Islands during his stay there as a 'herehere', captive. Rangihaeata alludes to the message of peace coming from the direction of Te Reinga in his waiata tangi for Te Rauparaha.
- The acceptance of Christian teachings and Christian values also brought with it a greater appreciation of the vanquished tribes by the conquerors. These sentiments or feelings of compassion were not lost to our ancestors. These values of freedom and benevolence were espoused by missionaries such as Hadfield and Ironside in Maori community throughout the Cook Strait region. Men such as these were viewed as great and wise persons who were revered by the newly converted chiefs. The desire for peace after many decades of struggle and war was now burning strongly in men such as Tamihana, Matene and Rawiri Puaha who now epitomised these values.
- The acute teachings of the missionaries enabled Tamihana and Matene to see the inherent flaws of keeping slaves. As the transmission of Christianity spread from one Maori settlement to another many slaves or 'herehere' (captives) were permitted to return to their homes in the South Island and other places throughout the lower North Island.
- Te Rangihaeata refused steadfastly to accept the inferior teachings of the missionaries and held fast to his traditional beliefs. He never adopted the European style of dress and refused to sell land to Pakeha until he died.
- However, prior to and after the arrival of the missionaries, enforced labour was indeed an accepted reality in the traditional Maori society, certainly in Te Rangihaeata's world this was still so. For a 'herehere' captive being a slave as such was an obligation placed on them to serve and maintaining the honour of the Rangatira who spared their life. At one time Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa had many hundreds of slaves at their beck and call to assist in all manner of activities from commercial dealings to cultural pursuits.

People were engaged in whaling, growing produce, raising live stock and the whole range of traditional activities such as hunting birds and fishing.

Distinct from all other activity was the area of spiritual kaitiakitanga and 'herehere' in some instances cared for the souls of the living and the dead.

- Often highly regarded 'herehere' captives were given a great amount of responsibility. But this recognition was gained as I have said through service to their rangatira. In return for this service the rangatira provided clothing, food and shelter. A wise rangatira would ensure that the 'herehere' were kept well stocked with all the necessities which gave the rangatira more recognition in the eyes of his peers. The contributions 'herehere' made to hapu life were measured in the hapu's ability to provide for themselves and their guests through manaakitanga thus returning kindnesses with kindness.
- 57 When Te Pehi and others were killed in the South Island great effort was exerted by all the people, Rangatira and 'herehere', captive alike to prepare flax fibre to sell to traders. Many of the settlements around Te Moana a Raukawa dedicated man power and time into various tasks, "hei takitaki i nga mate o Te Pehi ma", "to avenge the deaths of Te Pehi and his comrades". Preparation of goods to sell to the Europeans acquired important leverage for Ngati Toa, in acquiring goods such as muskets but also in other ways, as demonstrated by the agreement reached with Captain Stewart to use his brig in the attack. The end result was a combined attack on the Ngai Tahu stronghold at Kaiapohia and the capture of Tamaiharanui the Ariki of Ngai Tahu. The 'herehere' were very helpful in the success of this endeavour because of the expert and timely preparation of this muka to sell to traders. The point is that the ultimate end was achieved, and the death of Te Pehi, Pokaitara, Te Arataura and others was avenged by Ngati Toa and their allies.
- Just as a point of clarification 'herehere' who displayed prowess and skill in warfare were to be admired and not disparaged. Therefore, not all captives were thought of as lesser mortals just because they were captured in battle. Some prominent 'herehere' were married into the tribe. Certainly the children of these unions enjoyed the same consideration as those tribal members not from such unions. We can be proud of our heritage no matter what the circumstances of the past were for our tupuna.

- I am aware of instances where 'herehere' were included by our tupuna in lands because they were considered productive members of the whanau and hapu. The contributions that 'herehere' made to hapu and whanau life were such that they could be regarded as a counterpart in hapu life. This was a major shift in perception which our tupuna readily made with little effort.
- Thus the influence of Christianity was a transformative process which impacted greatly on the traditions of our tupuna. A new understanding was being developed and some of these transformations were positive but some changes eroded the fabric of traditional Maori life and the Maori world view. It is Ngati Toa's view that Governor Grey in particular, who had a reasonably good understanding of the nature of Maori society and politics, took advantage of the influence of Christianity on the 'new breed' of chiefs, such as Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana, by manipulating a situation whereby the more senior chiefs, such as Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, who were most opposed to the land sales, were out of the picture. However, Ngati Toa's position remains that these chiefs never would have signed the Wairau Deed but for the kidnapping of Te Rauparaha.
- I need to mention one particularly negative aspect of this transition which was the undermining of the traditional position of women in the tribal structure. As the transition took place victorian social attitudes and values were mixed in with the transmission of the Christian message. This coupled with a lack of understanding about the significance and place of Maori women in traditional Maori society seriously put down their influence in some tribes. The women as repositories of tribal knowledge and wisdom were key people for keeping the traditions of their tribe in tack. We are fortunate here in Ngati Toa that the foresight of our tupuna ensured that the position of our women folk was not completely undermined. I will speak more about Ngati Toa wahinetoa later.

The matter of Ruiha and Governor Grey

Ruiha Te Whiwhi Ngawati was also a daughter of Matene Te Whiwhi. She was taken by Matene to stay with Governor Grey and Mrs Grey in Auckland. Ruiha was in Auckland when she heard of the kidnapping of Te Rauparaha and other chiefs of Ngati Toa. As a loyal member of the house hold of Te Rauparaha she wanted to make her way to greet her relations and to

- especially to see Te Rauparaha. When the ship arrived in the North she was not permitted to visit them.
- Te Rauparaha was first taken to the Bay of Islands where he expressed his sadness and anguish loudly in song as was typical of the old time Maori he lamented his predicament. His songs of sorrow echoed around the bay and were heard by a Nga Puhi chief called Kerei Mangonui. This chief decided to visit Te Rauparaha to inquire about his welfare during his incarceration upon the ship. For 10 months Te Rauparaha and his companions had been detained against their will on this ship which they were forced to endure. An agreement was reached between Te Rauparaha and Kerei Mangonui that Mangonui would go to the Governor to seek a release of the Ngati Toa chiefs. To encourage Mangonui in his efforts to intercede on his behalf Te Rauparaha gave to Mangonui an impressive mere pounamu known as Hineari. Kerei Mangonui was the son of Rewa, a Nga Puhi Chief who signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Waitangi on 6 February 1840.
- Kerei Mangonui went to see Governor Grey and petitioned him to release Te Rauparaha and his relatives immediately. The Governor was unwilling to do this and coerced Kerei Mangonui to give him some consideration. A large block of land in the Bay of Islands at Te Tii was transferred to the Crowns ownership by Kerei in return for the release of Te Rauparaha and his party. It became obvious that the deal was not going to be honoured and before long the ship left the Bay of Islands with its' prisoners still on board and sailed to Auckland.
- 65 Kerei Mangonui was very annoyed when he discovered what had occurred but he was not to be out done by Governor Grey's double-cross and Kerei promptly organised a large armed party of Nga Puhi who travelled to Auckland to see the Governor once again. When he reached Auckland to confront Governor Grey other notable chiefs had already been petitioning the Governor for Te Rauparaha's release. By this time the Governor had finally come to a decision to release Te Rauparaha as he was instructed to do by many of the principle chiefs who had come to visit the aging Ngati Toa leader.
- Kerei Mangonui was still furious with Governor Grey for the incident in the Bay of Islands. When Kerei got to Auckland Governor Grey and his wife

Eliza Grey had in their entourage the young girl Ruiha Te Whiwhi. Ruiha was the subject of intense concern for Te Rauparaha because she was his mokopuna and was under the care of Governor Grey his antagonist. The view expressed by my kaumatua was "he mokai a Ruiha ma nga iwi koroke nei", she was being treated as a mokai or domestic servant in the Grey household under the pretence that she was being instructed in the etiquettes and manners of a lady. To assuage Kerei's anger he demanded Ruiha from Governor Grey. Kerei took Ruiha away with him to his home in the Bay of Islands and the concerns of Te Rauparaha for his mokopuna were put to rest.

- Ruiha Te Whiwhi was matched to Kerei Mangonui's son Hori Ngawati and they had four daughters Ngahuia, Ngaroimata, Rewa and Koneke. The mere pounamu Hineari is now with the descendants of Ruiha.
- According to the traditions of our tupuna Governor Grey gave to Te Rauparaha a military sword before his release. This sword was the sword that Te Rauparaha thrust into the ground before the Ngati Wehiwehi chief Pohotiraha on his return to Otaki. The symbolism of his actions was the catalyst to the building of Rangiatea Church. The sword has been a tribal taonga in the care of my tupuna for many generations. Its significance to the people of Te Rauparaha is well known.
- While Te Rauparaha was being held captive back in his home lands the Ngati Toa chiefs were being coerced into signing over large blocks of land in Porirua and Wairau to the Crown. The safe return of their beloved leader was paramount and while he was in captivity Te Rangihaeata made sure not to create discord because of what might happen to his uncle if he upset the Crowns agents. These land deals would not have been made had Ngati Toa leaders Te Rauparaha and Te Ranghaeata not been separated.
- The loss of land had a huge effect on the Ngati Toa and its allies. Ngati Toa was dispossessed of almost all of its land in Te Tau Ihu. This, in combination with events in Wellington, reduced Ngati Toa by the 20th

 Century from a tribe controlling an extensive empire with valuable and important land and resources to a tribe that was almost landless. The diminishing of the mana of Ngati Toa, by the loss of it's land and resources and the insults done to its leaders had a profound psychological effect on the

iwi. To this day Ngati Toa retain a strong and profound sense of grievance, anger, and great sadness stemming from these events.

Topeora & Rangihaeata's relationship with Te Rauparaha

- The relationship of these two children of Waitohi to their uncle Te
 Rauparaha had been fixed in their formative years. There mother was a
 staunch supporter of her young brother and recognised in her young sibling
 his inherent leadership qualities. Waitohi was one of his confidantes and
 was a strategist for many of the campaigns he planned in the top of the South
 Island. Waitohi encouraged the settlement of lands by Ngati Raukawa. She
 was responsible for setting the boundaries between the allied tribes.
- Ngati Raukawa attributes the honour of inviting them to settle on the lands that Ngati Toa had conquered to Waitohi. Some Ngati Raukawa chiefs go so far to say "we came at the invitation of Waitohi had Te Rauparaha asked us we would not have come", but come they did and settled the lands in the Rangitikei, Manawatu and Horowhenua.
- Te Rangihaeata and Te Rangitopeora followed the direction of their mother and Te Rauparaha faithfully. It was as much their responsibility as it was Te Rauparaha's responsibility to keep harmony between the allied tribes. There was not much they did not share with their uncle. Even though at times they clashed with him about lands and resources these points of difference were relatively few. Internal whanau conflicts did not impact on the overall relationship they enjoyed with their uncle and the wider iwi alliance.
- Te Rangihaeata was a dependable general and often took to the battlefield with the support of a very adept group of warriors. Some of those warriors belonging to his own Ngati Huia stock. The speed and coordination of the warrior bands was a critical element to the success of his fighting force. Te Ranghaeata was versed in guerrilla fighting tactics and was a ruthless adversary.

Ngati Toa Women

As is evident in the Ngati Toa versions of events which occurred on their migration from Kawhia and in some of the battles in the South Island Ngati Toa women appear to have been present at most of these times. Waitohi and

Te Rangitopeora were not averse to taking part in the theatre of battle supporting their men folk. On many occasion women such as Rangitopeora assisted the men folk to repulse attacks on their kainga and assisted in raids on other tribes. Several of her lesser husbands were granted freedom because she took a liking to their countenance.

- Events involving Ngati Toa women have been recorded in our tribal stories and for example on the occasion when Te Rauparaha and his group were being chased by Ngati Maniapoto the women of Ngati Toa were instructed to dress in bright red garments similar to a Nga Puhi war party. The group camped on the north side of the Mokau River for the night aware that the Maniapoto taua were watching them.
- The women took turns through the night to stoke the fires, harangue their warriors (who were predominantly women and children) and lead lively haka to give the appearance that they were a large warrior party. The name Tahutahuahi commemorates this event and finally when the Ngati Maniapoto attacked the women were well armed for the scrap the ensued and several Ngati Maniapoto warriors were killed.
- At Waiorua the Ngati Toa women assisted the men folk to defend their home and as soon as the invaders were in flight they picked out slaves to keep for themselves. Unfortunately for some of the invaders, leniency was not forth coming as the treachery of some especially Ngati Apa would not be tolerated by Te Rangihaeata, hence the name Te Umupakaroa at Waiorua.
- Rangitopeora was well versed in the customs of her people and when she felt strongly enough about an issue she would stand upon the Marae and publicly berate those who she felt needed to be put on the spot. She was a woman of great passion and is responsible for the composition of 'waiata kohukohu' also called 'kaioraora' or cursing songs which she sang on significant occasions. Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha would listen to these songs and respond by bringing to her object of her anger.
- Te Rangitopeora was also involved in the custom of 'whakanoa', removing the tapu from the warriors after battle in this ceremony the warriors were made to pass between the legs of Rangitopeora to remove their tapu after battle. This ceremony was part of the ritual performed after a battle had

been fought. Conversely the captive enemy chiefs were also made to pass between the open legs of a woman to signify rebirth into the world under the mana of the tribe to whom the woman belonged. The point here is that accepting the leniency of the conquering tribes had a price and that price was the confinement of your personal mana. She and Waitohi were well versed in these ancient rituals of the tribe and acted in the capacity of a Ruahine (female priestess) to add potency to the rituals.

Rangitopeora was a signatory to Treaty of Waitangi which she signed at Otaki on 28 May 1840 at Rangiuru Pa near the coast. Several missionaries were accompanying the Treaty and when she move forward to sign one of them motioned to block her from approaching. Rangitopeora pushed her way forward and signed in her own right as a rangatira of both her iwi Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa.

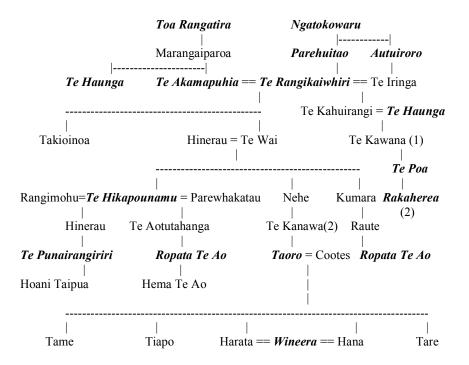
Present day connections

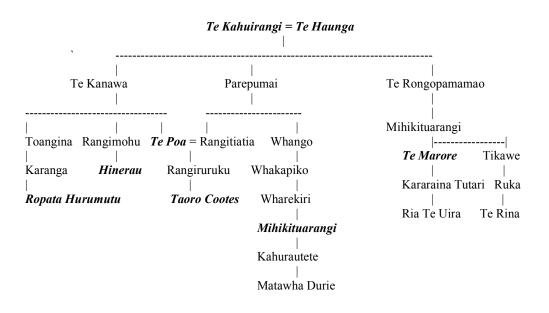
- The connections between Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa are more numerous today than in the past. The development of major institutions like Rangiatea Church in 1849 and the replication project of Rangiatea church today is evidence of this ongoing relationship.
- Further examples such as the Otaki Maori Racing Club in the 1890s and building of Raukawa whare tupuna in 1936 support this relationship. The tribal development programme, Generation Two Thousand, 'Whakatupuranga Rua Mano' which ran from 1975 to 2000, and the development of Te Wananga o Raukawa the first recognised Maori Tertiary Institution which first commenced in 1981 were combined tribal activities. All of these things have been ground breaking examples of what the combined efforts of our peoples can achieve. We have coined the acronym (A.R.T.) which stands for Awa, Raukawa and Toa and demonstrates the contemporary kotahitanga (togetherness) of our three iwi in particular.
- All of our relationships between our three tribes (A.R.T.) and many other tribes are held with our collective tribal memory bank. That bank is the repositories of this knowledge, traditionally they were our kaumatua. However, for today's generation our knowledge is combined with our tribal development. Hapu and tribal archives is a necessity as we move into a

knowledge economy. As more manuscripts, whakapapa, waiata and stories come to light this store house of knowledge is becoming more apparent and the maintenance and care of those taonga more important. As many of us know, some of that information is not for general distribution and is of such a highly sensitive nature that it is only discussed by the parties it concerns. I have shared with the tribunal today that information which our family deemed appropriate to bring to this gathering but there are specifics about our tupuna which will never be shared in a forum such as this.

Ngati Pare, Ngati Te Ra, Ngati Te Akamapuhia

- A hapu on my mother's side of the family is Ngati Pare. This hapu have extremely close connections to Ngati Te Akamapuhia, and Ngati Te Ra. In fact it is not unusual for hapu like this to be closely intertwined. The majority of Ngati Pare belong to two tribes rather than just one. The same circumstances are to be found for Ngati Huia, within this hapu some chiefs in particular gained the privilege of belonging to two tribal runanga. Such was the case for Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata who were both of Ngati Toa and Ngati Huia stock.
- This situation can be more fully understood through Ngati Raukawa being positioned to the north of Ngati Toa protecting its northern flank. This was the positive side of our relationship with Ngati Toa and resulted in the leadership of Ngati Pare and Ngati Huia being able to relate to Ngati Toa as equals. Strategically this made sense and the cohesion between both iwi was almost symbiotic. The negative aspect of this relationship was when one tribe of the triangle A.R.T. perceived favouritism being displayed to another group as opposed to themselves. Of course disagreements at this level were inevitable and this sometimes led to hostilities breaking out between them such as when Ati Awa and Raukawa went to war in 1834 and in 1839.
- Here is the whakapapa of Ngati Te Akamapuhia:





The descendants of Te Haunga are known as Ngati Te Ra Kuao. They gained this name from Marangaiparoa who said before he went into battle.

Even though the star in the heaven can be obliterated by the clouds in the sky and lost from view; the stars will always return hence the hapu name of Ngati Te Ra Kuao the tribe of little stars. "ahakoa iti te whetu ki runga ki te rangi, nui pokeke ao uhia kia ngaro, e kore e ngaro"

I have talked in some detail about the relationship of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa. It is important because it is an example of the notion of reciprocity between iwi. It shows how different rights operated in practice, and how obligations between iwi were a two way thing. Ngati Raukawa had obligations to Ngati Toa as leader of the heke to Te Tau Ihu and as the iwi that allocated Ngati Raukawa lands to live on. Ngati Toa had obligations back to Ngati Raukawa due to Ngati Raukawa's role in the incursions to Te Tau Ihu, its maintenance and protection of the land acquired by Ngati Toa, and the bolstering it provided to the allied force. There were other similar relationships between the other iwi and hapu who settled Te Tau Ihu and Ngati Toa. They too would have had obligations to Ngati Toa as leaders of the heke and the military incursions down South. But likewise Ngati Toa owed reciprocal obligations to them.