BEFORE THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

WAI 2180
WAI 662
WAI 1835
WAI 1868

IN THE MATTER OF	the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	the Taihape Rangitīkei ki Rangipō District Inquiry
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	a claim by **Peter Steedman, Herbert Steedman** and **Jordan Winiata-Haines** on behalf of themselves and the descendants of Winiata Te Whaaro and hapū of Ngāti Paki **(WAI 662)**
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	a claim by **Lewis Winiata**, **Ngahapeaparatuae Roy Lomax**, **Herbert Steedman**, **Patricia Anne Te Kiriwai Cross** and **Christine Teariki** on behalf of themselves and the descendants of Ngāti Paki me Ngāti Hinemanu **(WAI 1835)**
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	a claim brought by **Waina Raumaewa Hoet**, **Grace Hoet, Elizabeth Cox, Piaterihi Beatrice Munroe, Terira Vini, Rangimarie Harris** and **Frederick Hoet** on behalf of themselves, their whānau and all descendants of Raumaewa Te Rango, Whatu and Pango Raumaewa **(WAI 1868)**

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF DR JOSEPH SELWYN TE RITO

Dated this 3rd day of February 2020

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MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

Mihi Maioha

1. Tēna ra tātau katoa i te āhuatanga ki ō tātau tini mate, ka whakamaharatia ake nei e tātau roto i ā tatau whakawhitiwhitinga kōrero tuku iho, whakapapa hoki hai ngā rā nei. Ngā mate o te motu, ngā mate o te wā kāinga, tēna koutou, tēnā koutou, tēna rā koutou katoa.

2. I te āhuatanga ki tēnei kaupapa Taraipiuara Waitangi nei, arā, e pā ana ki a Ngāti Hinemanu, hāunga te iti me te rahi, ka tika rā kia whakahuangia ake rā te ingoa o tērā whaea toa ōku, a Waipa Te Rito, i whawhai rā mo te manamouthake me te tino rangatiratanga o te hapū nei a Ngāti Hinemanu, otirā mo te hunga Māori whānui.

3. Heoti anō, tihei mauri mate, tihei mauri ora!

Tīmatanga Kōrero

Whakapapa Tararere

4. Ko taku whakapapa e hāngai ana ki tēnei tipuna ōku a Kahukuranui, e tū nei ki Ōmāhu nei hei kaiwhakaruruhau mō mātau, otirā, ki tēnei o ōna mokopuna a Hinemanu, e āhei ai au te kī he Ngāti Hinemanu ahau.

Rongomaiwahine
Kahukuranui
Rākaihikuroa
Taraia
Te Rangitaumaha
Taraia-ruawhare
Hinemanu
Tarahē
Tūterangi
Peke
Rāmeka
Hīraka
Tūtewake
Murirangawhenua
Aramata

5. He Hononga Kōrero Tuku Iho

Tihei mauri ora!	Hear ye!
Ka tū nei au ki te paepae o tōku marae o Ōmāhu	Here I stand forth from the orator's bench on my *marae* of Ōmāhu
E mau nei i te ingoa o Māhu, te tohunga o Te Māhia, i pōkai haere nei i te whenua nei i namata	Named in memory of Māhu, the high priest from Te Māhia who walked this land long ago
Ka mahara ake nā ki a Rongomaiwahine te wahine rangatira o Te Māhia, nō runga o te waka Kurahaupō	Then I think of Rongomaiwahine the high chieftainess also of Te Māhia, descended from the Kurahaupō canoe
I whāia rā e Kahungunu o Kaitāia, o te waka Tākitimu	Who was sought by Kahungunu of Kaitāia, and of the Tākitimu canoe
Kia moe rāua, kia puta ki waho ko Kahukuranui	Until they cohabited, resulting in the birth of Kahukuranui
Ā, koia rā te tipuna-whare whakahirahira e tū nei i tēnei marae-ātea	This splendid ancestral house that stands here on this forecourt
Hei whakamarumaru mo tōna hoa rangatira a Ruatapuwahine, te whare manaaki	Alongside his chiefly wife Ruatapuwahine, the house of hospitality
Nā rāua nei, ko Rākaihikuroa, i whakatū rā i tōna pā tūwatawata ki runga o Puketapu	From whose partnership sprung Rākaihikuroa who built his hill-top fort on Puketapu
Kia hokia mai te papa nei o Ōmāhu e tana tama a Taraia-tuatahi	Enabling his son Taraia 1st to return to Ōmāhu and take up residence
Te tangata i moe ake rā i a Hinepare o Wharerangi-ki-Ahuriri	Thence only to marry Hinepare of Wharerangi in the Ahuriri district
Kia puta ki waho ko Rangitaumaha nāna rā i hanga tōna pā, a Oueroa, e tū mai rā	Who gave birth to Rangitaumaha who built his hill-top fort named Oueroa, over yonder
Hei kāinga mō tōna hoa rangatira, a Hineiao, mokopuna rā ā Tūrauwhā ō Ōtātara	As a residence for his chiefly wife, Hineiao, grandchild of Tūrauwhā of Ōtātara
Kia puta ake ko te tama, ko Taraia-ruawhare	Who gave birth to their son Taraia-ruawhare
I toro atu rā ki te iwi o ngā maunga ki te uru, ka kāhakina mai nā a Punākiao hei wahine māna	Who brought Punākiao as a wife for him from her people in the mountains to the west

Kia whānau mai ki Oreore-ki-Heretaunga, ko Hinemanu, hei tamaiti mātāmua mā rāua	To give birth to their oldest child Hinemanu at Oreore in the Heretaunga district
Ko ia i hoki ki uta, kia moea ko Tautahi o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Hauiti *Kia puta ko tā rāua pōtiki ko Tarahē – te tama i hoki mai rā ki Heretaunga* *Kia kitea hei wahine māna, ko Te Nawe, mokopuna ā Te Whatuiāpiti* *Ka puta ko Tūterangi me ōna tāina ki Raukawa, ki Ngātārawa, ki Puketapu, ki Ōhiti, ki Ōmāhu hoki* *Ka moea ko āna wāhine tokotoru:* *Tuatahi ko Moepō, kia puta te whakapākanga ko Tihirangi; nāna ko Tūmanokia i moe rā i a Pakapaka; kia puta ake ko te rangatira nei, ko Rēnata Kawepō* *Ka whānau hoki i a Moepō ko Peke i moe rā i Ruru o Ngāti Hinepare o Mōteo; kia puta ake ko taku tipuna a Rāmeka; nāna ko Hiraka, ā, nāna ko Tūtewake; nā Tūtewake ko Murirangawhenua; nā Murirangawhenua ko tōku whaea a Aramata.* *Ka hoki ake ki a Tūterangi, ki tana wahine tuarua, ki a Nohokē* *Nā rāua ko Te Naonao; nāna ko Paramena.* *Kia hoki atu anō rā ki a Tūterangi, ki tana wahine tuatoru, ki a Tāneuma* *Nā rāua ko Piko, nāna ko Te Hianga, ā, nāna rā ko Noa Huke* *Hei konei rā ka waiho ake te pōkai whenua a ōku mātua-tīpuna, i whai tūrangawaewae ai rā au ki tēnei wāhi, ko Ōmāhu!*	Who then returned inland and wed Tautahi of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Tama, and Ngāti Hauiti Hence their youngest child Tarahē was born – and later returned to Heretaunga Whereupon he saw Te Nawe, grandchild of Te Whatuiāpiti, whom he took to wife And who gave birth to Tūterangi and his younger siblings of Raukawa, Ngātārawa, Puketapu, Ōhiti and Ōmāhu And he in turn married his three wives: The first of whom was Moepō, who gave birth firstly to Tihirangi; whose child was Tūmanokia who married Pakapaka who gave birth to the chief Rēnata Kawepō Then Moepō gave birth to Peke, who married Ruru of Ngāti Hinepare of Mōteo; thus giving birth to my ancestor Rāmeka; who begat Hiraka and from Hiraka came Tūtewake; Tūtewake begat Murirangawhenua; who begat my mother Aramata. I return to Tūterangi and his second wife Nohokē Who begat Te Naonao; who begat Paramena. I return again to Tūterangi and to his third wife Tāneuma Who gave birth to Piko, whose child was Te Hianga, whose child in turn was Noa Huke I finish my journey unto the places from whence my ancestors hailed and which give me a rightful standing place here in Ōmāhu!

My Relevant Involvements

6. My name is Joseph Selwyn Te Rito. For the purposes of this hearing, I note that Ngāti Hinemanu is may main hapū in the Heretaunga area and that I am a direct descendant of Hiraka Rāmeka who was a contemporary and close relative of Renata Kawepō having both descended from Tūterangi. They are buried in the same plot on the right alongside the door of the St John's church at the Fernhill crossroads.

7. I was a Trustee of the Ōmāhu Marae reserve, inheriting the position of my grandmother, Murirangawhenua Te Rito (nee Rāmeka), daughter of Tūtewake Rāmeka, and granddaughter of Hiraka Rāmeka. My mother was Aramata (Dardi) Collier (nee Te Rito).

8. I was head of Māori Studies at EIT Hawke's Bay (formerly Hawke's Bay Polytechnic) from 1986 to 2003 after which I left to take up the position of head of reo and tikanga at the newly formed Māori Television Service (MTS) in Auckland.

9. While at EIT, I led the development of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori certificate and degree programmes in the 1990s over a 17year period. During that time, I led the project to build the on-campus marae, Te Ara o Tāwhaki; and the Te Toa Takitini Bilingual Media studies programme which led on to the establishment of Radio Kahungunu which eventually acquired its own premises in Hastings in 2005. This is the 31st year since the station began and I remain Chairperson.

10. In 1988 I became the Chairman of the Ōmāhu Māori Committee. Under Section 18C of the Māori Community Development Act 1960, I was highly aware of our rights and obligations under that Act towards promoting the betterment of Māori in our area of influence i.e. in terms of social, poltical, education, spiritual etc. needs. I led a number of initiatives and campaigns 'against' local authorities – the Hastings Districct Council (and former Hastings City Council) and the Hawke's Bay Regional Council in response to their policies that were impacting on us locally.

11. The issues that we continually confronted included: contesting the water-take and lowering of the Ngaruroro River low-flow level; agrichemical pollution of the river by large sheep and dairy feedlots upstream; agrichemical drift over the Ōmāhu School, Te Upokoiri Kohanga Reo and Ōmāhu papakāinga; and resisting efforts to cut a road through our Ōmāhu Cemetery at the Fernhill crossroads.

12. A major project was the rebuilding of the old wharekai which had been condemned by the Hawke's Bay County Council as a health risk. A major obstacle to the rebuilding

project was the sewage disposal. This was overcome and a building permit issued. In 1989 and 1990 we conducted an extensive fundraising campaign. We employed 6 tradesmen under a Labout Dept 'RESTART' scheme; and 12 trainees under two 'MACCESS' schemes. We opened the new wharekai, Ruatapuwahine, that stands next door to this building, Kahukuranui, in October 1990, complete with ablutions block and tarsealed driveways. We opened it debt-free and received over $20,000 in koha on the marae at the opening.

13. Another major issue was Puketapu/Fernhill, the hill just across the river from the Ōmahu Marae to the south. In the late 1980s, the Hastings City Council made plans to build houses on Fernhill. Our kaumātua Wī Hāmutana alerted the community by recounting how he had heard voices when driving home by the base of the hill by the Hill's place. He went further to say that there had been two pā sites up there and that people had perished in a battle there and that its proper name was Puketapu, not Fernhill.

14. This led to an 20year plus battle to save Puketapu, largely a letter-writing campaign of protests to the Hastings District Council. We carried out a two-pronged 'attack'. My aunt, Waipā Te Rito submitted a claim, WAI 127 one of the earliest claims. This claim was later extended by Moana Jackson on behalf of Ngāti Hinemanu to a broader area in the locality and including the Ngaruroro River, to my recollection. I am unaware of the status of WAI 127 but it has never been resolved.

15. As Māori Committee Chairman, I sent letters to successive Members of Parliament. The Honourable Doug Kidd almost heeded our plea to convert the hill into a Reserve but on seeking the research as to why the hill was tapu, Brian Bargh, researcher for Te Puni Kōkiri, was unsuccessful in getting what was sought from Pat Parsons, which is unsurprising as Mr Parsons had perhaps only two days to find the relevant information. That was very unfortunate as the hill remained vulnerable for years. The Hastings District Council entertained selling the land to a major wine company who started making test drills of the land until we put a stop to it. We had attained Wāhi Tapu status with the assistance too of the NZ Historic Places Trust but the Resource Management Act had an undermining effect on that status and eventually the land owner on part of the hill, was able to build another house up there, as well as another property owner up there altogether.

16. Ultimately, I led the establishment of the Puketapu/Fernhill Reserve Trust with myself and Waipā Te Rito for tangata whenua plus representatives from the Hastings District

Council, Sir Rodney Gallen and others. We sought a loan and were able to purchase two Lots up on Puketapu and they gifted one Lot, amalgamating it as one Reserve.

17. A substantive amount of research on my accord has taken place over the years and in approximately 1998, I attended a 'Sacred Sites and Species' conference at Cambridge University, UK after which time I submitted an article on Puketapu/Fernhill which ws published in on of the university's publications.

18. From 2004 I moved to Auckland to take up a new job at Māori Television as Head of Reo and Tikanga Māori.

My PhD Thesis under Professor Ranginui Walker (2007)

19. From there I recommenced my PhD studies with Professor Ranginui Walker at the time, in the field of politics and culture in Aotearoa. I had started in 1997 and finally finished and submitted it for examination on 2007 and pleasingly passed it.

20. The evidence that I provide here is largely based on my PhD thesis submitted to the University of Auckland in 2007. The thesis is currently under embargo at the university''s library by my choice as there some sensitivities in it. It is entitled "Te Tīhoka me te Karo: Struggles and Transformation of Ngāti Hinemanu of Ōmāhu".

21. The research was carried out over a 10-year period and done of my own volition and without any research funding from any other source than that normally available through the University of Auckland and EIT Hawke's Bay where I worked at the time of commencing. It was a labour of love in that it was primarily intended for my whānau and hapū, apart from being a major university examination.

22. Apart from that it is based on my personal experience of growing up in Ōmāhu from the age of 6 in 1959 when we moved from Māhia to the abandoned home of Tūtewake, the father of my grandmother, Murirangawhenua (nee Rāmeka) Te Rito.

23. The thesis argues that Ōmāhu is a marginalised community and this is as a direct result of colonisation. I use a lineal *whakapapa* (genealogy) framework to track the transformation of the *hapū* from its mythical origins, focussing particularly on the 16 generations since the ancestors Rongomaiwahine and Kahungunu who lived some 400 years ago.

24. I am a Ngāti Hinemanu descendent myself, adopting the stance of participant-observer and telling the story of Ngāti Hinemanu from the inside, employing the approach of 'researching back' that is characteristic of much of the indigenous post-colonial or anti-colonial literature.[1]

25. The study identifies the processes and impacts of colonisation on Ngāti Hinemanu and on related *hapū* which have also experienced loss of land and resources, chiefly authority, and language and culture. I refer to colonisation as *te tīhoka* (the thrust). In this regard, the *hapū* and community can be said to be a localised example of the larger socio-political reality for many *hapū* in Aotearoa. The study concludes by examining case studies which show some of the struggles by the *hapū* for resistance, recovery, and transformation. I refer to this process as *te karo* (the parry).

26. The term 'tīhoka' is inspired by an incident involving my tipuna Rāmeka, after his return from exile to Heretaunga after many years, overcoming an assailant and then holding his patu over the man's head.

27. Particular Ngāti Hinemanu luminaries that have arisen for me from my research are Tarahē, Tūterangi, Renata Kawepo, Paerikiriki, Hoana Pakapaka and Noa Huke. From contemporary times I would Waipā Te Rito and Christine Teariki (nee Tunua).

28. Chapter II of the thesis traces the transformation of Ngāti Hinemanu through *whakapapa* from its origins through to its modern-day descendents. The chapter gives the reader an appreciation of the immense traverse of time and distance covered in the thesis.

29. Chapter III traces transformation of the broader Heretaunga Plains as a result of the direct impacts of European colonisation. It commences with the arrival of the first Pākehā (Europeans) in the district. In then traces the tragic consequences of the introduction of muskets, the ensuing intertribal warfare, mass displacement of local hapū; arrival of Christianity; alienation of vast tracts of land; encroachment by the burgeoning settlement of Hastings over the plains; and major changes to the landscape and the flora and fauna.

30. Chapter IV focuses on Ōmāhu proper. It opens with the origins of names in and around Ōmāhu, then describes the geo-physical transformation of the landscape and evolution of the community of Ōmāhu and environs. It covers various phases including pre-European

[1] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, p. 7.

hill-top pā style inhabitation; musket warfare; exodus and repatriation of Ngāti Hinemanu; washing away of 'Old' Ōmāhu; re-settlement at the site of present-day Ōmāhu; massive land loss and carve-up of the Ōmāhu Block; establishment of the Ōmāhu 2R marae reservation; and subdivision of Ōmāhu 2R into a separate marae reserve and housing subdivision.

Ko Aku Whakapae me Aku Tono

31. The Tiriti ō Waitangi was signed by representatives of Queen Victoria of England and various rangatira (chiefs) of the many hapū of this land in 1840. The rangatira signed as leaders of hapū rather than of 'iwi' per se. Consequently, I seek that the Crown of New Zealand grant us our tino rangatiratanga and manamotuhake as a hapū and directly and not through any other intermediary such as the Heretaunga-Tamatea Settlements Trust. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was a contract with hapū not any other entity.

32. In saying this, Ngāti Hinemanu whānui, will ultimately need an opportunity to establish a legal entity to organise its own affairs. One of my concerns with the framework with respect to the process of Treaty of Waitangi Settlements is that groups like Ngati Hinemanu are sitting within the rubric of Crown accepted and promoted organisational frameworks. This has created an inertia of its own.

33. Before I go into the substance of my contribution to the present issues before the Tribunal I ask you all to note that in perhaps 2017, I stood with my aunt, Waipā Te Rito (my mother's sister) at Te Whare Kōrero conducted by the Office of Treaty Settlements under the auspices of former Governor General Anand Satyanand to state that Ngāti Hinemanu ki Ōmāhu did not recognise the mandate of Te Toa Takitini, which at the time was made up of a mix of not only hapū but marae and trusts. Such bodies are not reflective of the express groups which shaped Te Tiriti o Waitangi, unlike hapū. I call to question their existence and ability to deal with the affairs of Ngāti Hinemanu accordingly. We were supported by Moana Jackson who also spoke on our behalf who I note has also given evidence for the claimants in this Inquiry.

34. I also acknowledge, with humility, the existence of Ngāi Te Upokoiri of Ōmāhu and the fact that we are closely related and intertwined kin groups, particularly as the rangatira Renata Kawepō, as founder of present day Ōmāhu was of dual heritage, having a Ngāi Te Upokoiri mother and a Ngāti hinemanu mother.

35. I am concerned about the invisibility of Ngāti Hinemanu and that the current process of allocation of any resources through the Heretaunga-Tamatea Settlements Trust or any other such entity, will further exacerbate our invisibility.

36. This invisiblity manifests and perpetuates itself locally whereby there are no longer and visible acknowledgements of Hinemanu, the ancestress in our community of Ōmāhu. When the small wharepuni, Hinemanu which stood alongside Kahukuranui, was burned down by children playing with matches in the 1960s, it was never replaced. We have never had the resources t do so. I have clear memories of the likes of the kuia Pepi Carroll lamenting the loss and non-replacement of Hinemanu. Furthermore, there are no poupou in Kahukuranui representing Hinemanu. The local kohanga reo is named after Te Upokoiri. In this sense then, Ngāti Hinemanu are marginalised and invisibilised on our marae of Ōmāhu.

37. This invisibility and marginalisation manifests itself in Mōkai-Pātea as well, particularly evidenced by the arrest and 'removal' of widely recognised tipuna and rangatira of Winiata Marae (Taihape) from lands being contested in the Native Land Court (NLC) from the late 1800s. Hence the claims by Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki for tino rangatiratanga and manamouthake.

Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri

38. Many historical and Native Land Court records have tended to show Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri as a single grouping, when in fact they are quite separate hapū despite some common ancestry. At times, the names have been used as being synonymous with one another. This is due partly because of their common descent from Rangitaumaha, grandfather of Hinemanu, and great-great-grandfather of Te Upokoiri. Furthermore, Te Upokoiri married Hinemanu's nephew Rangitūoru. The two women, Hinemanu and Te Upokoiri had dual links to 'Inland' Pātea in the Ruahine ranges, as well as to the Heretaunga Plains. Punākiao from 'Inland' Pātea married Taraia-ruawhare (II) and gave birth to Hinemanu, Honomōkai and others.

39. Another reason for this sense of synonymity between the two hapū was that famous fighting chiefs like Te Uamairangi and Te Wanikau who descended from Te Upokoiri were involved in a number of battles particularly in the 'Inland' Pātea region. The other branch of Ngāti Hinemanu was involved in many of those battles there at the time and

still remains located in that area today.

40. The founder of present-day Ōmāhu, Rēnata Kawepō had a Ngāti Hinemanu father and a Ngāi Te Upokoiri mother. He gained great prowess as a fighting chief. He was perhaps the most prominent chief in Heretaunga in the 1880s after the previous generation of leading Heretaunga chiefs had passed on.

41. I seek redress for the debts incurred in the personal name of Renata Kawepō in his establishment and of provisioning of troops to fight and protect Hawke's Bay from the Hauhau movement, during which time he lost an eye in Taupō by the wife of Paurini who had been slain.

42. I seek an apology for the shame this would have had upon him, to pledge his people and his personal resources to fight for King and Country – only to be betrayed by the colonial fathers and left with huge debts that undoubtedly drove him to desperate measures in terms of his relationships with his very own kin.

43. The effect of having this burden of debt, greatly affected the aging chief who died in 1888. It appears from the records of the investigations of the 1880s into the land blocks in and around Mōkai-Pātea, that Renata was driven to ends where he was forced to forsake his own people in an effort to clear the debts incurred through the NLC processes. This undoubtedly caused much friction and actions that he may not otherwise have undertaken.

44. After the Taupō battle with Te Kooti, some of Te Kooti's followers, were taken as prisoners and lined up in front of Kahukuranui at Ōmāhu. Among them were two sisters from Tūhoe. Renata Kawepō married one, Te Whareraupō, and my tipuna Hiraka Rāmeka married the other whose name was Pirihira Te Ara. This was a deliberate act in order to render the women free from being 'slaves', according to my grandmother, Murirangawhenua. Pirihira was her grandmother and lived beyond 100 years of age in Ōmāhu.

45. Just as an aside, whakapapa being what it is, it is fitting perhaps to disclose that the Te Rito side of my whakapapa is Ringatū, as my grandmother's husband, Te Rito o te Rangi (Buster) Te Rito was from Māhia and Whakakī. My aunt Waipā carried the name of her grandmother, the mother of 'Buster' and wife of Patu Te Rito. They were unable to have children except for the intervention of Te Kooti and Ringatuism. The 'cost' of this action was that our family was never to sell land.

46. The point in noting this is that as part of the course of colonisation, Māori have become walking contradictions. In this instance, my Ngāti Hinemanu tipuna Renata Kawepō, was fighting with my Te Kooti relatives from the other side of the whakapapa.

47. After the death in 1888 of Renata Kawepō, despite his Will bequeathing his extensive estate to his principal hapū of Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri, the thousands of acres of land were successfully claimed by his grand-niece, Airini Donnelly who had married a Pākehā, George Prior Donnelly much to the chagrin of her uncle, Renata. Then much of the land was quickly sold off to settlers within a very few short years.

48. The estate of the hapū that was described to me by kaumātua Joe Broughton as extending from the mountains in the west to the sea in the east, and comprising hundreds of thousands of acres. It was rapidly whittled down with the inception of Crown Grants and the individualisation of land title. Joe Broughton was the grandson of Wiremu Muhunga Broughton who Renata Kawepō had raised with Airini Donnelly and whom was chosen by Renata as the Executor of his Will, or as 'Kaitiaki'.

49. Perhaps the most influential of all witnesses was Airini Donnelly who was married to Pākehā sheep-farmer George Prior Donnelly. Airini had been raised by her grand-uncle Rēnata Kawepō and had learnt to read, speak and write English at Pākōwhai School and also at the school later built at present-day Ōmāhu which gave rise to the site becoming known as Te Kāreti (the College). Consequently, Airini was very much at ease in the courtroom. At the time of these Hearings, she notes that she is 34 years of age. Most of the other witnesses however, are elderly men for whom Māori is their language of communication.

50. In a closer inspection of the Minutes, we become aware of a totally different regard for the land and its resources by the indigenous inhabitants. For example, while the Pākehā historians make only cursory references to food resources such as the eel, the Māori evidence shows the huge importance of the eel to traditional local Māori society. A battle at Lake Ōingo right near the heart of present-day Ōmāhu was over an outside group contesting the right to fish for the eels in the lake. The battle became known as Paratuna (slime of the eel). Furthermore, there were several eel weirs in and around the lake and each site had a specific name of its own.

51. The writings of Angela Ballara in her thesis *The Origins of Ngāti Kahungunu* were

particularly helpful in filling out much of the narrative that connects me back to my eponymous tribal and sub-tribal ancestors like Hinemanu.

52. Prior to that time, our ancestors did not have surnames in the sense that we know them today. My great-great-great-grandfather who was born near the beginning of the 1800's in the Ōmāhu area was named Rāmeka. His father Ruru was Ngāti Hinepare from the neighbouring marae of Mōteo to the north-west; and his mother Peke was Ngāti Hinemanu of Ōmāhu. His son was Hīraka Rāmeka; his son in turn was Tūtewake Rāmeka; and his daughter was Murirangawhenua Rāmeka. Our grandmother Murirangawhenua was the last to carry the Rāmeka name which then became subsumed under the family name Te Rito, the surname of our grandfather 'Buster' Te Rito when she married him in 1930. His name hails from Whakakī (just north of Wairoa) and Te Māhia. As an only child, Murirangawhenua had no brothers to continue to carry the Rāmeka name. I remember her referring to it as a 'whare ngaro'.

Kaupapa Korero

53. I wish now to draw on my research to provide some contextual information to highlight the intimacy of our connections between and amongst the peoples of Ngati Hinemanu and our understandings that have contributed to us fiercely protecting those relationships. I have included these extracts as part of this affidavit although it perhaps may best be considered as a separate report. In my oral testimony to the Tribunal I do not propose to traverse the whole of the material but to isolate particular histories or events. The discussion that follows will deal with:

a) Significant Tīpuna in the Ngāti Hinemanu memory;

b) Significant Events in Ngāti Hinemanu traditions;

c) Analysis of various Native Land Court records that impact on contemporary understandings of Ngāti Hinemanu

Taraia

54. Wiramina Ngāhuka tells of the incident where Taraia built a house at Herepū in Heretaunga and was going to use his own daughter Te Raupare as the human sacrifice to be planted at the foot of one of the main posts. However, the child was secretly saved by Ariari who took her away and later married her when she became of age. On finding this

out, Taraia attacked Ariari and war followed in the Heretaunga area.[2] There appears to be fairly common agreement with this version of the narrative.

55. Despite any peace arrangements and intermarriages, Ballara tells of an ongoing rivalry between the indigenous Te Whatuiāpiti and the immigrant Ngāti Kahungunu for mana over Heretaunga. She reports of Te Meihana Takihi giving evidence in the Ōmāhu Case of a battle in which there was a quarrel over Te Raupare and later of Te Whatuiāpiti fetching his relatives from Wairarapa to attack Taraia in his pā at Tahuna-ā-Moa; and of defeating him there.[3]

56. Overall, it is quite apparent that Taraia did have a major influence over the history of Heretaunga, so much so, that his descendents came to share ownership of the Heretaunga Block as a result of land court sittings. The lands and interests that his descendents gained were concentrated north of the old Ngaruroro River course, around Ahuriri and up the Tūtaekurī River to its source. Te Whatuiāpiti on the other hand, maintained ownership of the south side of the old Ngaruroro course.[4]

57. Local Hawke's Bay historian Pat Parsons attributes the *mana* and the division of the lands to the previous generation, to the two wives of Taraia's father Rākaihikuroa, namely Ruarauhanga and Pāpāuma, and their respective families. Parsons writes:

> *Te Hika ā Ruarauhanga, represented by the ancestor Taraia 1, held the mana north of the river. Te Hika ā Pāpāuma's authority lay to the south of the Ngaruroro and was represented by Te Whatuiāpiti. The two lines converged on the ancestor Tūterangi of Ngāti Hinemanu. His interests north of the river he inherited from his father. His interests in Ngātārawa came from his mother.*[5]

58. The Ngaruroro River was to change its course however, in 1867, and this would have ramifications for the local peoples. Parsons writes:

> *When the Heretaunga block was Crown-granted in 1866 the Ngaruroro river was the boundary between it and Ngātārawa 1. The following year in the great flood of 1867 the Ngaruroro changed its course to adopt its current bed around the north side of Puketapu hill where it linked up with the Ōhīwia stream. It never reoccupied its former course…*[6]

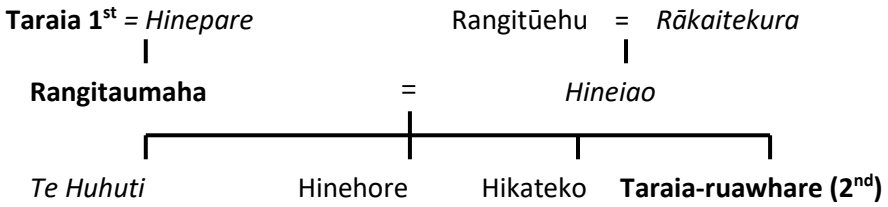
59. In recognition of the prominence of Taraia 1st in Heretaunga, a small *wharepuni* at Pakipaki is named after him and his image appears as a *poupou* in the *wharenui*,

[2] W. Ngāhuka, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
[3] H.A. Ballara, op. cit., p. 195.
[4] Ibid., pp. 189-190.
[5] Patrick Parsons, 'Historical Report on Puketapu', p. 38.
[6] Ibid., p. 37.

Kahukuranui at Ōmāhu *marae*. The Heretaunga Plains was dubbed 'Te Ipu o Taraia' ('Taraia's Food-bowl') for its bounty of natural food resources. Ōmāhu *kaumātua* Wī Hāmutana said in a recorded interview that Taraia had actually lived at present-day Ōmāhu at some stage.[7]

Rangitaumaha

60. Rangitaumaha married Hineiao and gave birth to Taraia-ruawhare alias Taraia Ī, and his siblings. The *whakapapa* of relevance is as follows:



61. Buchanan writes:

> *Taraia's son Rangitaumaha occupied a large and ancient pā on the top of the hill above Crissogh, a pā called Oueroa…Rangitaumaha's name was attached to a group of kūmara pits close to the road and near Crissogh, which were called Ngaruaorangitaumaha.*[8]

62. Rangitaumaha's pā Oueroa is still visible today on the main road between Ōmāhu and Takutahi (Taradale).

63. In terms of history of the broader Heretaunga area, Te Huhuti was perhaps the most famous of these children because of her marriage to Rangitāne chief Te Whatuiāpiti. In terms of my whakapapa narrative and the lineage that is central to this discussion, Taraia-ruawhare is the key ancestor as it is from him that his daughter Hinemanu is born. She is the ancestress that the hapū Ngāti Hinemanu takes its name from and from whom I trace my ancestry.

64. In actual fact all four children had a major bearing to play on the course of history of Heretaunga. It appears that the most direct rights of the Ngāti Hinemanu to Ōmāhu, however, are through the father of Hinemanu, Taraia-ruawhare and her uncles, Hinehore and Hikateko. At least, this is what the evidence in the Native Land Court of 1888-1890 bears out. The minutes of those court sittings also indicate how much of a hub Ōmāhu

[7] W. Hāmutana interview by J. Te Rito on Radio Kahungunu, 1989.
[8] J. D. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 62.

was in the 1700s to the historical activity of the broader Heretaunga region and even beyond.

65. Meanwhile there was intense rivalry for *mana* over Heretaunga between their father Rangitaumaha and the Rangitāne chief, Te Whatuiāpiti. Te Rangitaumaha obtained help from his Ngāti Kahungunu relatives in Tūranga to attack and defeat Te Whatuiāpiti at Te Kauhanga.

66. Buchanan's account of the events is as follows:

> *Te Whatuiāpiti as a young man ran foul of the Heretaunga hapū and he had to withdraw with a few supporters, to the Wairarapa. However he returned a few years later with reinforcements and Rangitāne allies. He was invited to send a party to negotiate a peace, but he was suspicious and instead of going himself, he sent a party of forty women under the leadership of an old chief, Te Aokamite. The party was welcomed and put into a house for the night, a house that had been built for the occasion at Tawhitinui, on the western shore of Lake Ōingo. Te Whatuiāpiti's suspicions were justified. In the early morning the party was treacherously massacred, and peace was naturally postponed.*[9]

67. Ballara tells a slightly different version of what happened. She says that Rangitaumaha called a truce and invited his enemy to Ōingo near Ōmāhu to make peace and that Te Whatuiāpiti brought 100 women who were killed in the trap but that Te Whatuiāpiti escaped. [10] There are other variations on this story with the number of women killed - ranging from thirty, to fifty, through to over one hundred women. Also, there is variation over whether Te Whatuiāptiti was even at the incident or not. There is agreement though that the women were accompanied by an old man called Te Aokamite. [11] Buchanan tells of the old man tripping on the journey to Ōingo and of sensing some foreboding danger as a result of it. The hills to the west of the lake, Te Tutuki-o-Te Aokamite [the tripping of Te Aokamite], are named in memory of this event.[12] Lake Ōingo is within a mile of the present-day Ōmāhu papakāinga and Oueroa pā is within three miles.

68. Despite the warring between the two factions, on the occasion of Te Whatuiāpiti attacking Te Rangitaumaha's pā at Oueroa, while the fighting was at its height, Rangitaumaha's daughter Te Huhuti intervened and the fighting temporarily ceased. The outcome of this action was a famous love story, not unlike the Hinemoa and Tūtānekai story of Rotorua. Buchanan writes of this event, saying, 'Huhuti married Te Whatuiāpiti, the coming man

[9] Ibid., p. 62.
[10] A. H. Ballara, op. cit., pp. 189-196.
[11] Ibid., pp. 195-196.
[12] J. D. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 14.

of the time, after pursuing him to Te Rotoātara and swimming the lake to his island pā.[13]

69. As Ballara notes, this was a very significant intermarriage of the immigrant peoples and the local peoples – one which connected all the major chiefs. Eventually Te Whatuiāpiti had control of the land south of the Ngaruroro River and 'Ngāti Kahungunu' the land to the north. Peace was then declared, but Te Whatuiāpiti had regained all the lands that 'Ngāti Kahungunu' took from him in the earlier years.[14]

70. An interesting epilogue to this intermarriage was an incident in which Te Rangitaumaha took gifts of shellfish on the birth of his daughter Te Huhuti's first child, Te Wāwahanga-ō-te-rangi. Te Huhuti was ashamed at her father's gift. The Land Court Minutes record a number of conflicting testimonies by witnesses about the outcome of this incident. For instance, Airini Donnelly tells the Land Court that Rangitaumaha gave away his children Hinehore and Hikateko to work to provide food for Te Huhuti and her son as a means of making amends. In terms of land at Ōmāhu, Donnelly says that Rangitaumaha laid down the boundary to cut off Taraia-ruawhare to the west of it, with Te Huhuti and her son to the east of it. Meihana Takihi is reported in the Court as saying that the *mana* of Taraia's conquest had already ceased as it had actually been given to Te Whatuiāpiti by Rangitaumaha at the marriage of his daughter Te Huhuti to Te Whatuiāpiti.[15] Ngāti Hinemanu chief Noa Huke has different views altogether in the Court, saying that Te Huhuti ran away and in doing so she lost her entitlements so that the land rights remained with her three brothers Taraia-ruawhare, Hinehore and Hikateko.[16] Paora Kaiwhata had a similar response, saying that Te Huhuti had no particular rights to the land at Ōmāhu and that if her people Ngāi Te Upokoiri had any, it was only through the marriage of Te Upokoiri to Rangituoru, the son of Honomōkai.[17]

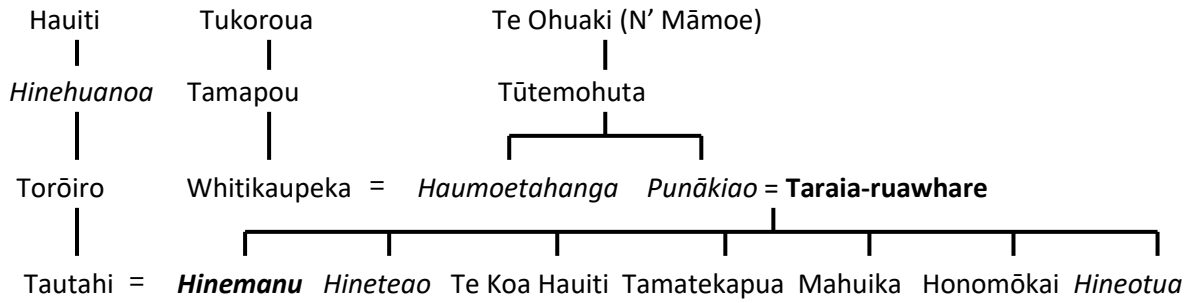
71. Te Whatuiāpiti was a very prominent figure of the Heretaunga area and beyond and the embodiment of the earlier Tara and Rangitāne peoples. Not only was he a war-like man but so were his descendents. War was to continue into ensuing generations against Ngāi Te Upokoiri and other foes. It was not always a clear-cut war because of the fusing of bloods that had started earlier on in the time of the arrival of Taraia 1st.

[13] J. D. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 62.
[14] H. A. Ballara, op. cit., pp. 195-198.
[15] M. Takihi, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 23:9:1889, pp. 8-20.
[16] N. Huke, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 28:11:1889, p. 6.
[17] P. Kaiwhata, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 22:10:1889, p. 1.

Taraia-ruawhare (alias Taraia 2nd)

72. Let us return at this point from this slight diversion, to the next key character in this whakapapa narrative, Taraia-ruawhare.

73. Taraia-ruawhare married Punākiao and gave birth to the next tipuna in this whakapapa lineage, Hinemanu after whom the hapū Ngāti Hinemanu takes its name. They had a number of male children but it seems that the mana passed to Hinemanu, a female, as she was the first born. Other hapū in Heretaunga take their names from other children of Taraia-ruawhare i.e. Ngāti Honomōkai and Ngāti Mahuika (alias Ngāti Urunga). Refer to the following reconstruction of whakapapa mainly from Ballara:



74. What this marriage to Punākiao marks, is the fusion of a new lot of blood into the lineage. Up until this point in my whakapapa lineage, the main bloodlines of the tīpuna have tended to emanate from the Kahungunu immigrants of the Tūranga and Te Māhia regions, and their fusing in with the descendents in Heretaunga of Kupe, Iratūroto, Awanuiārangi, Whātonga and Pōpoto. With the union of Taraia-ruawhare with Punākiao, the bloodlines from the west became fused into the mix. We now have links to the people of the 'Inland' Pātea region of the Ruahine Ranges through this marriage of Taraia-ruawhare to his wife Punākiao. Her major connections would bring Ngāti Whiti, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Hauiti and other connections like that of Ngāti Hotu into the mix. These connections have major implications for our hapū of study. A branch of Ngāti Hinemanu is still represented in that region today, based around Winiata Marae in Taihape.

75. It is because of these new connections that I have decided to create and separate out a

new grouping after this point, with the birth of Hinemanu from Taraia-ruawhare and Punākiao.

76. Ballara mentions that Taraia-ruawhare went there to get Punākiao and took her back to Heretaunga with him to live. In the Land Court Minutes we read of Airini Donnelly making the remarkable assertion that Taraia-ruawhare was not the father of Hinemanu but that Aramoana of Wanganui was her father. Airini tells the following:

> *When Punākiao was with child with Hinemanu, Aramoana being her first husband, she had a desire for shark. Her husband went to Wanganui to get her some. Taraia went from Heretaunga to Pātea and found Punākiao there. Her husband was away getting the shark. Taraia brought away Punākiao to Heretaunga. That is the reason why Taraia has been said to be Hinemanu's father.*[18]

77. Ngāti Hinemanu chief, Noa Huke vehemently challenged the assertion at the time. In the court room he is recorded as saying, 'Aramoana was not the father of Hinemanu.'[19] Rather, it was his view that Punākiao was abducted by Taraia-ruawhare and taken to Heretaunga. The statement by Airini Donnelly could be construed as mischievous. No-where else do we read of such an assertion. Furthermore, in examining Airini's own whakapapa we would see that while she derives some rights through Taraia-ruawhare, her greater rights are derived through his sister Te Huhuti. Consequently, it was well within Airini's own personal interests to undermine the rights of Taraia-ruawhare and his offspring Hinemanu in order to increase any rights she might have to the Ōmāhu Block being contested in the Land Court at the time.

78. Airini Donnelly, amongst the other witnesses, does provide the Court with information of great relevance and of use to this study, however. She tells of Taraia-ruawhare and his wife Punākiao living at Pukehāmoamoa and that the people living there, the Ngāti Ruapirau also known as Ngāti Whatumāmoa, were only squatting there, on land which belonged to Taraia-ruawhare's brother, Hinehore. Donnelly tells of an incident whereby Punākiao complained that these people had not given her food, this leading to Taraia-ruawhare attacking them, and their moving further away to Matapiro. The same story is corroborated by other witnesses.[20]

79. In the evidence of the Pīrau Block in 1888 we read accounts of Taraia-ruawhare's activities in around Ōmāhu. In particular, he went to battle against the Ngāti Ruapirau

[18] A. Donnelly, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 20:09:1889, pp. 2-3.
[19] N. Huke, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 28:11:1889, p. 10.
[20] A. Donnelly, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 26:09:1889, pp. 2-3.

peoples of Whatumāmoa descent who occupied the area around Lake Ōingo. It is due to this battle that the *mana* of that land and the land further west to Rūnanga and Kāwera stayed in the hands of his brother Hinehore. Buchanan notes Taraia-ruawhare's name as being 'Taraia-Ruawharo' and that he built the small *pā*, Motukūmara on the eastern shore of Lake Ōingo.[21]

80. Kaumātua Wī Hāmutana said too that the meeting house at Te Āwhina Marae in Ōmāhu was named Taraia-ruawhare in memory of this ancestor. The house is no longer standing there today. He also said that a hill in the locality was named: Te Rae o Taraia (The Forehead of Taraia) after this ancestor. [22]

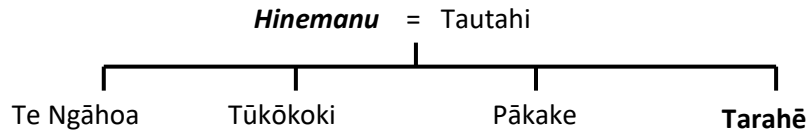
Period II: From Hinemanu through to Rāmeka

Hinemanu

81. Leaving aside Taraia-ruawhare's other children I concentrate now on one of the major characters of this study, Hinemanu and the hapū that arose in her name through her descendents after her time.

82. In the Native Land Court Minutes, there is a lot of evidence by Noa Huke who declares his stance as a chief of Ngāti Hinemanu unlike Rēnata Kawepō whose ancestry is both Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri. We of Ngāti Hinemanu are extremely fortunate for the knowledge that Noa imparts to the Court, inclusive of the whakapapa, as in the following:

> *Hinemanu was born at Ore Ore [Heretaunga]. She went to Pātea and married Tautahi. Her children came back to this block. She did not lose her right …*



> *Ngāhoa…died at Motukūmara…Tūkōkoki remained at Pātea. So did Pākake. Tarahē was the one who came and lived permanently at Heretaunga. He married Nawe. They lived at Raukawa. Te Nawe was grand daughter of Te Whatuiāpiti…*
> *These children were all born at Raukawa...Tūterangi when grown up lived on this land.*[23]

83. Te Nawe's mother was Kaimatai who married Wehiwehi. Kaimatai and Nukanoa, her

[21] J. D. Buchanan, op. cit., pp. 62-63.
[22] W. Hāmutana interview by J. Te Rito on Radio Kahungunu, 1989.
[23] N. Huke, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 23:10:1889, pp. 2-4.

brother, were children of Te Whatuiāpiti.[24] This therefore represents another marriage of the Kahungunu descendents with the Rangitāne descendents, and with the descendents from 'Inland' Pātea of the Ruahine Ranges.

84. Hoana Pakapaka of Ngāti Hinemanu tells the Native Land Court of Hinemanu's husband, Tautahi being killed by Ngāti Kahungunu in Ruahine but of the death being later avenged by Waikato.[25]

85. According to oral traditions I picked up as I was growing up in Ōmāhu, Hinemanu was a chieftainess. Her descendents have memorialised her name in history such that the hapū that developed after her time became one of the most prominent hapū in the whole of the Heretaunga district as well as the Pātea district in the upper reaches of the Ngaruroro River. A small wharepuni named after her was built at Ōmāhu Marae and stood alongside Kahukuranui, the large wharenui, until it was accidentally burnt down by children playing with matches in the 1960s (as mentioned earlier). Apart from the Ngāti Hinemanu who make up the base of the population at Ōmāhu Marae today along with Ngāi Te Upokoiri, there is another branch of Ngāti Hinemanu based at Winiata Marae in Taihape. As they are outside the brief of this study which focuses on Ōmāhu, I shall not pursue much further discussion in regard to Ngāti Hinemanu-ki-Taihape per se.

86. As mentioned earlier, Hinemanu had greater *mana* than her male siblings Te Honomōkai, Tamatekapua and Māhuika because she was the first born to their parents. This family was to gain particular prominence in the Heretaunga area because they had ancestral links with both the Kahungunu bloodlines through the migration of Taraia and his followers to Heretaunga; and with the local Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti people through the marriage between Te Huhuti and Te Whatuiāpiti.

87. Meanwhile, both *hapū* Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri also had common ancestral links with Whatumāmoe, Awanui-ā-Rangi and Whitikaupeka of Pātea [26] as well as links with Kahungunu. This is probably why they found themselves as allies during the pre-musket and post-musket wars, and also why they find themselves living side by side in Ōmāhu today.

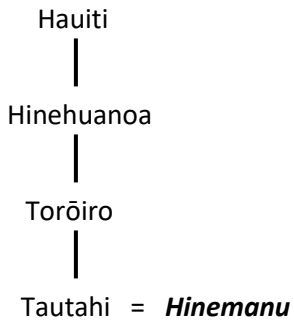
88. According to Ballara, both Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāi Te Upokoiri were involved in a

[24] N. Huke, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 07:10:1889, p. 4.
[25] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 03:03:1890, p. 148.
[26] H. A. Ballara, op. cit., p. 202.

number of battles. Sometimes they fought along side each other and at other times they fought separately alongside their respective kin groups. While they had some common whakapapa links they were not totally identical links.

89. They fought together with Ngāti Whiti and Ngāti Apa and defeated Ngāti Whatuiāpiti and Ngāti Kahungunu prior to 1820 in a battle at Mangatoetoe. Soon thereafter Ngāti Raukawa under Whatanui came from their Waikato homelands via Taupō and invaded the area.[27]

90. In another battle Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Hauiti defended Pōtaka Pā against invaders from Whanganui.[28] Hinemanu's husband Tautahi descended from Hauiti. The *hapū* relationship is seen in the following *whakapapa* chart:



91. Ngāti Hauiti was sometimes regarded as a *hapū* of Ngāi Te Upokoiri, Ngāti Hinemanu or Ngāti Apa. It often fought in the same wars as these descent groups and their ally, Ngāti Whiti. Ngāti Hauiti had sub-hapū, namely Ngāti Ngāwhā, Ngāti Haukaha and Ngāti Tūterangi and its main territories were in the Awarua to Ōwhaoko blocks of 'Inland' Pātea.[29]

92. Ballara says that sections of these descent groups shared communities with various settlements and pā. Hunting rights were exercised in the ranges with villages intended for seasonal occupation scattered among the headwaters of the Rangitīkei, Ngaruroro, Tūtaekurī and Mōhaka rivers.[30]

[27] H. A. Ballara, op. cit., p. 166.
[28] Ibid., p. 171.
[29] Ibid., p. 205.
[30] Ibid., p. 201.

93. Ngāi Te Upokoiri became established as a separate hapū in the lifetime of Te Upokoiri's son, Te Mumuhu-o-te-rangi; and his son Te Uamairangi, in turn headed a large following of minor hapū in the late 18th century.[31]

94. Ballara tells also of Ngāti Māhuika being associated with Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Hinemanu as they were descended from Māhuika, another sibling of Hinemanu and Honomōkai. Māhuika's descendents were also known as Ngāti Urunga after the name of his son's wife.[32]

95. Other related hapū in the 'Inland' Pātea district were Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Whiti. Ngāti Tama was descended from Tamakopiri who is recorded as being the elder brother of Ruaehu and Kahungunu. Tamakopiri was regarded as the child of Ruapani and Uenuku-koehu. Ngāti Tama had come from Tūranga by way of Nukutaurua. Ngāti Whiti meanwhile descended from Tamakopiri's younger brother Ruaehu who intermarried with Tamakopiri's descendents. Ngāti Whiti joined Ngāti Tama at Pātea and helped to expel Ngāti Hotu.[33]

Three brothers:	**Tamakōpiri**	**Ruaehu**	**Kahungunu**
Descent groups:	Ngāti Tama	Ngāti Whiti	Ngāti Kahungunu

96. Ballara also notes that Ngāti Whiti and Ngāti Hinemanu appeared to have been previously known as Te Hika-o-Rongomaitara.[34] Rongomaitara was a daughter of Kahukuranui and Ruatapuwahine and a sister of Rākaihikuroa from six generations earlier but her name still persisted. She was the mother of the twin boys Tarakiuta and Tarakitai whose deaths were arranged by Rākaihikuroa through fear that they may rise to prominence over his own son Tūpurupuru. Tūpurupuru was killed in return. This event precipitated the whole migration out of Tūranga of Kahungunu's descendents in the first place, which finds them landing in Heretaunga. Hinemanu was a great-great-grandchild of Rākaihikuroa. Meanwhile, as shown in the table above, Ngāti Whiti are descendents of Kahungunu's

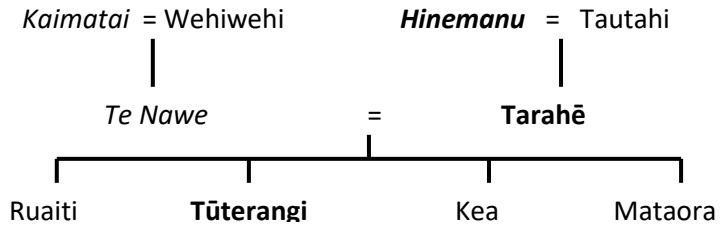
[31] Ibid., p. 203.
[32] Ibid., p. 203.
[33] Ibid., pp. 206-208.
[34] Ibid., p. 124.

brother Ruaehu.

97. What we see here then is that in earlier generations, the blood of the Kahungunu lines from Tūranga had in fact already entered into this mix prior to the marriage of Kahungunu's descendent Taraia-ruawhare to Punākiao from this 'Inland' Pātea region.

Tarahē

98. Tarahē married Te Whatuiāpiti's grand-daughter, Te Nawe and gave birth to Tūterangi.



99. Though Hinemanu was born at Oreore in Heretaunga she lived at 'Inland' Pātea most of her life, having married Tautahi from that district.

100. Ballara records her findings as follows:

> *The chief Tarahē was the child of Hinemanu…an eponymous ancestor of a Pātea hapū. Tarahē and his siblings lived in Pātea; his mother had been brought into Pātea by her father and married to Tautahi, a chief of the tangata whenua. He was a grandchild of Whitikaupeka and also descended from Tamakopiri, intermarried with the Whatumāmoa tangata whenua conquered by Taraia II. Tarahē was taken back to Heretaunga to marry a wife there.*[35]

101. These are very important links to the hinterland peoples of the inland Pātea region, Ngāti Whiti and Ngāti Tama and provide Hinemanu's offspring with a strong foothold in the region.

102. When Tarahē was taken back to Heretaunga he married Te Nawe. Te Nawe's mother was Kaimatai, sister of Nukanoa. Their father was Te Whatuiāpiti.[36]

103. Pat Parsons notes the following passage from the Napier Minute Book about Tarahē:

> *When Te Nawe, daughter of Wehiwehi married Tarahē they lived at Te Papa at Raukawa [near Bridge Pā]. Their children I don't know where. Te Nawe lived on the Awarua block. Te Nawe and Tarahē also lived at Ōhiti [near Ōmāhu].*[37]

[35] Ibid., p. 395.
[36] A. Donnelly, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 07:10:1889, p. 4.
[37] Patrick Parsons, op. cit., p. 41. (from the Napier Minute Book 20, p. 55.).

104. The Native Land Court records have another reference to Tarahē. It is as follows:

> *There was a person of Ngāti Hinemanu. He came from a pā called Taumata ō Hē to Te Kōwhai. His name was Tarahē. After he caught eels there he went further to Ruakinui. A war party of Ngāti Kahungunu…killed him…Tarahē was killed because he trespassed on Te Hauwaho's lands.*[38]

105. Raniera Te Ahiko is recorded as telling the Court of Tarahē belonging to Ngātārawa.[39] This area is about 2-3 miles away from Ōmāhu Marae to the south.

106. Hoana Pakapaka of Ngāti Hinemanu is recorded in the Native Land Court as telling of Kohimu marrying Tangatahē, son of Tūterangi, the son of Tarahē 1st, and of living at Matatanumia.[40] This block is about a half mile away to the south-west of the Ōmāhu Marae.

107. Hoana Pakapaka also provides the following *whakapapa*:[41]

Tarahē
|
Ruaiti = Umuwhakapono
|
Tarahē (2nd) = *Pōtauroa*

108. This witness, Hoana Pakapaka is also on record as telling of Pōtauroa living in a cave at Matatanumia and of Pōtauroa's husband Tarahē 2nd being killed near Broughton's place at Matatanumia. He had gone there to take eels out of the Ōhīwia and was killed by a war party.[42] We learn from this that there were two ancestors with the name Tarahē, one the grandfather and the other the grandson. It is coincidental that both men appear to have been killed by a war party for catching eels. It is possible that there is a mix-up of their names.

109. We learn from Hoana Pakapaka too that Tarahē was present at the feast of Te Aratīkumu

[38] A. Donnelly, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 18:09:1889, p. 22.
[39] R. Te Ahiko, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 18:02:1890, p. 18.
[40] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 7.
[41] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 9.
[42] Ibid., pp. 2 & 10.

(held near the foot of Puketapu across the river from Ōmāhu Marae) and of Rēnata Kawepō telling her that Tūterangi lived on this block.[43]

110. In the Judgement of the Ōmāhu Case, the following important decision by Judges O'Brien and Sturmer confirms the right of Tarahē to land in Ōmāhu:

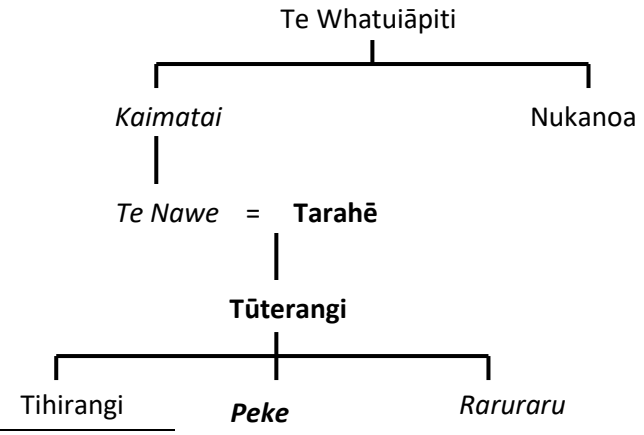
> *We will now proceed to that portion of the block south of the Ōhīwia stream…from a line drawn from Ūpokopaoa on Rūnanga Lake to Kahika on the Ōhīwia stream. This we award to the descendants of Mahuika and Tarahē 1st, who may be found entitled by occupation…*[44]

Tūterangi

111. Tarahē and Te Nawe had Tūterangi at Raukawa which is located on the south western extremities of the Heretaunga Plains, and he in turn had three wives and a number of offspring.

112. It was through Tūterangi being a great-grandchild of Te Whatuiāpiti that he and his descendents gained rights on the south side of the Ngaruroro River. They also had rights to the north side of the river by virtue of Taraia being Tūterangi's great, great, great-grandfather. This is relevant as Airini Donnelly is recorded in the Court as saying that Tūterangi got his right to Heretaunga only through Kaimatai (through Nukanoa her brother) i.e. through their father Te Whatuiāpiti. Tūterangi had dual rights, however.

113. The *wharenui* at Korongotā in Bridge Pā (about 6 miles south of Ōmāhu) is named after this ancestor Nukanoa. As children of Whatuiāpiti, Nukanoa had given Wahakāea and Ruhanui to his sister Kaimatai. Apparently Nukanoa had dug the ditch turning the river Waitio into the Mangaporo. Airini Donnelly gives the following *whakapapa*:[45]



[43] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 03:03:1890, p. 147.
[44] 'Ōmāhu Judgment' on 13:02:1890 (loose-leaf).
[45] A. Donnelly, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 07:10:1889, p. 4.

114. In the courtroom, Noa Huke was quick to remind the court of the dual descent status of Tūterangi i.e. of being a grandchild of Hinemanu as well as being a great-grandchild of Te Whatuiāpiti.

115. Tūterangi firstly married Moepō and gave birth to Peke, the next *tipuna* in my particular *whakapapa* lineage. Rēnata Kawepō descends from Peke's older brother Tihirangi. Tūterangi then married Nohokē, and then Tāneuma. Noa Huke, another key character in this narrative of Heretaunga and Ōmāhu, descended from Tāneuma.

116. These relationships are shown in diagrammatic form below. For ease of representation, I have departed from my usual method of layering the generations lineally and have presented them horizontally instead:

	Wives	**Children**	**Grandchildren**	**Great grandchildren**
Tūterangi =	*Moepō* (1st wife)	- Tihirangi	- Tūmanokia	- Rēnata Kawepō
		- ***Peke***	- **Rāmeka**	- **Hīraka**
Tūterangi =	*Nohokē* (2nd wife)	- Te Naonao	- Paramena	
Tūterangi =	*Tāneuma* (3rd wife)	- Piko	-Te Hianga	- Noa Huke

117. A whakapapa chart by J.G. Wilson shows Tāneuma as being the first wife, Moepō as being second and Nohokē as being third.[46]

[46] J. G. Wilson, op. cit., whakapapa chart on inside back cover.

118. Because Tūterangi had three wives, it is not surprising to see the development of a hapū with the name Ngāti Tūterangi. Tūterangi and his siblings had been born at Raukawa in Heretaunga as their mother Te Nawe was from there. As was the case with Hinemanu and Tautahi, this is another case of dual descent in this whakapapa lineage from both the Pātea region and the Heretaunga region.

119. Ballara notes that Paremena Te Naonao came off the second wife of Tūterangi and that he was claiming Mangaōhāne as Ngāti Tūterangi and Ngāti Honomōkai; also that Ngāti Tūterangi was a hapū of Ngāti Whiti; and that the descendents of Hinemanu and Honomōkai were associated with the Pātea tribes, they being Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Hauiti and Ngāi Te Upokoiri.[47] Ballara agrees that Ngāti Tūterangi lived in Pātea becoming identified with Tūterangi's other grandmother, Hinemanu rather than with his Heretaunga grandmother, Kaimatai.[48]

120. A reference cited by Parsons tells of evidence by Noa Huke, a descendent from the third wife, as saying in the Ngātārawa 1 Block:

> *Tūterangi, I heard, was the tuakana and chief, but he had no superior status and did not assume it. He was chief as first born. He had adjoining lands as well, towards Puketapu.*[49]

121. I have the most regard for the evidence of Noa Huke as he was an elderly and paramount chief of Ngāti Hinemanu at the time he gave evidence. Furthermore, he had remained at Puketapu in the Ōmāhu area at the time when many of its occupants had fled the area during the musket wars. He was able to remain because of this whakapapa shown above. He was a descendent of both the Te Whatuiāpiti peoples, who were on one side of the musket battle under Pareihe and Te Wera Hauraki; and Ngāti Hinemanu who were on the other side, having found themselves holed up and under siege at Te Roto-ā-Tara along with Rēnata Kawepō and Ngāi Te Upokoiri.

122. Noa Huke was a lay-reader in his later life and appears to have been regarded highly by people of the time. The evidence he is citing at the time is directly relevant to himself and his own ancestors i.e. he is telling his own story rather than someone else's. His evidence is as follows:

> *Tarahē was born at Pātea. He came back…they were defeated at Paratuna…through their going to catch eels…Tūterangi derived his [right]…to this block…from Tarahē…Tūterangi*

[47] H. A. Ballara, op. cit., p. 137.
[48] Ibid., p. 197.
[49] Noa Huke, 'Napier Minute Book 11', p. 112.

had a right to the Heretaunga block…Ngāti Hinemanu had no rights to the Heretaunga block…[Only] those descended from Tūterangi…have a right to Heretaunga – that is Puketapu.

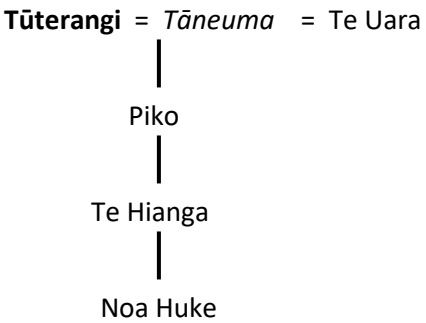
I kept the fire burning on Ōmāhu and Puketapu.[50]

123. This statement by Noa Huke is important. In referring above, to Ngāti Hinemanu having no right to the Heretaunga Block, his reference is to the branch of Ngāti Hinemanu living in the inland Pātea region, as opposed to those descended locally from Tūterangi, as the latter branch has descent from Te Whatuiāpiti through Te Nawe. The following statement by Parsons is relevant here:

Te Hika ā Ruarauhanga, represented by the ancestor Taraia 1, held the mana north of the river. Te Hika ā Pāpāuma's authority lay to the south of the Ngaruroro and was represented by Te Whatuiāpiti. The two lines converged on the ancestor Tūterangi of Ngāti Hinemanu. His interests north of the river he inherited from his father. His interests in Ngātārawa [south of the river] came from his mother.[51]

124. Airini Donnelly gives the following account and *whakapapa* to the Native Land Court:

Tāneuma married Tūterangi. After Piko was born, Tāneuma was taken away by Uara. Tūterangi's brothers, Kea and Mataora wanted to kill Tāneuma and Uara. Tūterangi then said not to kill them, but to let them bring forth grandchildren for Tumanokia and Te Hianga; and that Tāneuma and Uara would begat children to be serfs of Tūterangi's grandchildren. Tāneuma and Te Uara lived at Pātea because it belonged to Hinemanu from whom it descended to Tarahē then to Tūterangi who sent Tāneuma and Uara to live on his land at Pātea.[52]



125. Hoana Pakapaka's evidence to the Court is of Tūterangi living on the Matatanumia block; of the *pā* being Ōhiti; of him also living at Torohanga; and of his children by his wives being Hineiturakina, Tihirangi, **Peke**, Ngunguru, Rarurarau, Te Naonao, Tangatahē,

[50] N. Huke, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 29:11:1889, p. 2.
[51] Patrick Parsons, 'Historical Report on Puketapu' (for Hastings District Council), p. 38.
[52] A. Donnelly, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 20:09:1889, pp. 1-2.

Ngohengohe and Piko.[53]

126. Matatanumia as a name no longer exists today. It seems to have been a favoured site of Ngāti Hinemanu, on the northern side of the Waitio Stream, opposite Puketapu. Ngāti Hinemanu witnesses continually refer to the site. In the first judgement of the Ōmāhu case in 1890, Matatanumia was the name given to one of the three blocks which formed the larger Ōmāhu Block. The name disappeared for some reason when the case was re-heard a few weeks later. In my view, this act was part of the marginalisation of Ngāti Hinemanu and it was at the hands of Airini Donnelly. It appears from the court minutes that there was much acrimony between her and her elderly counterparts of Ngāti Hinemanu.

127. In closing the discussion on Tūterangi, Prentice has the following reference to someone called Tūterangi in the incident whereby Te Whatuiāpiti sent a large group of women with Te Aokamite to Lake Ōingo at the invitation of Rangitaumaha:

> *The Ngāti-Kahungunu, under their Chief Pōkia, son of Rākaipaaka, prepared a house for their reception…called "Mata Kākahi"…as soon as the people entered into the house…they were massacred…During the slaughter, a man on the roof, looking through a hole, saw what was occurring. His name was Tūterangi.*[54]

128. It is possible that this is the same Tūterangi, or an ancestor with the same name of an earlier time as Rangitaumaha was his great- great-grandfather. It is possible that Rangitaumaha was a very old man and that Tūterangi was a very young man at the time of this incident.

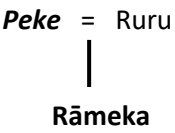
Peke

129. Through the marriage of Tūterangi to Moepō we have Tihirangi who was Rēnata Kawepō's grandfather and Peke who was the mother of my direct ancestor, Rāmeka. Rāmeka's son Hīraka was a contemporary of Rēnata Kawepō, his cousin. This is where our whānau links up with Rēnata Kawepō and is undoubtedly the reason that Hīraka and his family are buried in the same plot as Rēnata Kawepō at the Ōmāhu cemetery by the front door of Rēnata Kawepō's church house.

130. Peke was a female tipuna (ancestor). Amongst my own personal papers I have a reference given to me by my grandmother Murirangawhenua, that Ruru who married Peke was our

[53] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 11.
[54] W. T. Prentice in J G Wilson, op. cit., p. 65.

connection to Mōteo. Mōteo is an associated *marae* located about 5 miles from Ōmāhu to the north. The *hapū* there are Ngāti Hinepare.



131. I was fortunate to find a reference by Hoana Pakapaka in the Court telling of Peke being an owner of Matatanumia.[55] Hoana Pakapaka also says, 'Peke, lived at Te Arawhata ā Tikumu. She was sister to Rarureru, mother of Paerikiriki.'[56] Paerikiriki is a name that Noa Huke mentions a lot in the court records as being his stepfather and who raised him.

132. Despite the paucity of information about Peke, what we do have is valuable. It tells us that Peke was living locally in Ōmāhu and married Ruru, someone from a neighbouring community. My guess is that Peke was born prior to the start of the musket wars some time in the late 1700s. In terms of colonisation by European, it is possible that Peke was alive at the time Captain Cook made his first visit to the area in 1769.

Period III: From Rāmeka through to Joseph

Rāmeka

133. I have selected Rāmeka to head this period as he is the ancestor after whom we are proclaiming hapū status. Please note that this claim was a theoretical proposition at the time of submitting my PhD thesis for examination and should only be treated as such for the purposes of this case before the Waitangi Tribunal.

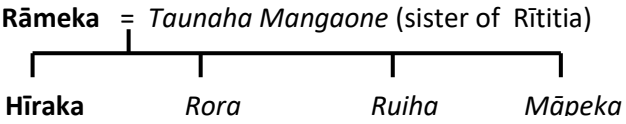
134. Rāmeka's mother Peke was from Ōmāhu as we saw in the previous section. Hoana Pakapaka tells the Land Court of Rāmeka having a right to Matatanumia through occupation i.e. collecting food. She says there that the site of his house at Torohanga could still be seen at the time of the court case in 1890.[57]

135. It appears that it was in the time of Rāmeka that Ngāti Hinemanu left Heretaunga and went to live in Manawatū and inland Pātea where they stayed for some 30 years. They had fought alongside Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Raukawa at Te Roto-ā-Tara. They were welcome in Manawatū possibly because of the connection of Ngāi Te Upokoiri and

[55] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 12.
[56] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 03:03:1890, p. 144.
[57] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 12.

Ngāti Raukawa who were under Te Whatanui. Rāmeka must have been present at the second battle of Te Roto-ā-Tara when Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Ngāti Hinemanu were attacked by Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti under Pareihe in alliance with Te Wera Hauraki of Ngāpuhi in 1827.

136. Rāmeka married Mangaone of Ngāti Rangitāne of the Dannevirke region and gave birth to Hīraka and his sisters. He also married her sister Rītitia. It appears that this happened as part (p84) of the exodus to Manawatū.



137. In 1889 Eruini Te Whare is recorded as telling the Court of living at Ōmāhu when Ngāi Te Upokoiri returned from Manawatū and of 'Rāmeka, Te Kehou, Te Tahuna and others' being with them.[58] Hoana Pakapaka tells that Rāmeka was not long at Heretaunga when he died at Ōhiti after their return from Manawatū.[59] She adds:

> *Rōra and Māpeka returned to Manawatū long after the Te Kooti fights; Ruiha went there two or three years after Rāmeka's death. Rāmeka died at Ōhiti. He used to live at Ōmāhu and Ōhiti. He went to Ōmāhu when he returned from Manawatū in 1861.*[60]

138. So, we have 1861 as the year that Rāmeka and his children returned from Manawatū. Paora Kaiwhata tells the Court of another incident in which Rāmeka is named:

> *They killed Kūtia and Paeroa. Wī Te Ota [who married Rēnata's mother] was one of the chiefs of that party also Rāwiri Paturoa, Rāmeka and Hōri Te Kaharoa…Whatanui was with them.*[61]

139. Noa Huke tells the Court in 1889 of an incident concerning Rāmeka that occurred in the Ōmāhu-Ōhiti area:

> *Rāmeka and Rēnata when they came to our settlement…they came to dispute with Tawhiorangi who stood up with a spear and made a thrust at Rāmeka who had a patu hid under his clothing – parried off the blow – hit him on the head with his wrist and held the patu over his head. Taorangi saved him. The cause of that dispute was the eel pā Te Wara. This took place at our kāinga Upoko Paoa.*[62]

140. Perhaps the name Upoko Paoa was in memory of that incident i.e. *upoko* = head; and

[58] E. Te Whare, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 19:09:1889, p. 11.
[59] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 12.
[60] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 03:03:1890, p. 144.
[61] P. Kaiwhata, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 14:10:1889, p. 12.
[62] N. Huke, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 30:11:1889, pp. 9-10.

paoa = hit. The incident was certainly the inspiration for my thesis title i.e. *te tīhoka* = the thrust, and *te karo* = the parry. Moreover, the incident involved Rāmeka.

Hīraka

141. Hoana Pakapaka tells the Court in 1890 of the return of Hīraka and his sisters to Ōmāhu from Manawatū with their father. It appears that their mother had remained in Manawatū and that while Hīraka remained in Ōmāhu, his sisters returned to their respective husbands in Manawatū and in Pātea. Hoana Pakapaka's account is as follows:

> *Hīraka Rāmeka has lived at Ōmāhu since the return from Manawatū. So did Rora, Ruiha and Māpeka his sisters until they returned on their marriages with their husbands. Rora married Hikiera of Ngāti Mutuahi of 'Manawatū'; Ruiha married Hōri Taorangi and went to Manawatū and is living there with her 'mother' Mangaone of Rangitāne. Māpeka married Kereopa of Pātea. 'Manawatū' is their present place of residence. [Manawatū at Tahoraiti is meant]*[63]

142. This is very useful information as, prior to this time, I had no idea of who these distant relatives of ours might be. These are the people who, with us, make up this hapū we would proclaim as Ngāti Rāmeka (a proclamation made by Waipā Te Rito who named her kohanga reo, Ngāti Rāmeka Kohanga Reo). We have yet to meet the descendents of these women and their spouses: the Hikiera, Taorangi and Kereopa families.

143. Hoana Pakapaka tells the Court at that time of Hīraka [and others] living at Te Kāreti (the 'College' also known as present-day Ōmāhu) under Rēnata. She also tells of Hīraka, Kārena, Manahi and others living there permanently. They owned a cultivation of oats there but after one of their relatives, Tūranga Karauria was shot there; they were no longer allowed to cultivate it.[64] We have another witness, Raniera Te Ahikō telling the Court of kūmara cultivations behind Kahukuranui [wharenui] worked by Rēnata, Hīraka Rāmeka, Tiopira, Wātara Wī, Kārena Ruataniwha and others.[65]

144. A list of 72 names for Ngāti Hinemanu from Tarahē 1st and for Ngāti Māhuika for the Matatanumia Block in Ōmāhu was approved and passed by the Court in 1890. It includes Rēnata Kawepō as well as Hīraka Rāmeka and his sisters Rora, Ruiha, and Māpeka Rāmeka.[66]

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[63] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 12.
[64] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 24:02:1890, p. 75 & 82.
[65] R. Te Ahiko, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 28:02:1890, p. 117.
[66] Judges, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 18:02:1890, pp. 21-22.

145. On Wednesday, 5th March 1890 the Court provided a list of owners of the block they designated the name 'Ōmāhu'. Included in the 97 names again were Hīraka Rāmeka and his sisters Rōra, Ruiha and Māpeka. The list of names included Ngāi Te Upokoiri descendents as well as those of Rangikāmangungu. The Court also ruled that a 2 acre graveyard be set aside.[67]

146. Hīraka was a contemporary of Rēnata Kawepō. I was told by my grandmother Murirangawhenua that each man married each of two sisters who had been followers of Te Kooti. Rēnata Kawepō married Te Whareraupō.[68] Hīraka married Pirihira Te Ara whose father was Te Āporo Matahuata. It seems that he was from the Tūranga/Ruapani/Tūhoe area. My aunt Waipā Te Rito understands that these women and other prisoners were brought from Taupō to Ōmāhu and lined up in front of the *whare* Kahukuranui. It was there that these two were selected as wives for Rēnata and Hīraka. It meant that they would not become slaves. Pirihira lived to 113 years of age, according to her death certificate. She died in the mid-1930s. Many years ago we had a small photo of her smoking a pipe in her old age at Ōmāhu outside the house next to the marae. Another photo of her in her old age appears in the book *Teacher* by Sylvia Ashton-Warner who taught at Ōmāhu School, then called Fernhill School.

147. Hīraka consequently married Pirihira and gave birth to Tūtewake. The *whakapapa* is as follows:

Te Āporo Matahuata

Wīpiro (1st husband) = *Pirihira Te Ara* = **Hīraka** (2nd husband)

Tūtewake

<u>Tūtewake (alias Te Mana Tūtawake)</u>

148. In a letter to Donald McLean dated November 17th 1853, Wiiremu Kingi Tutepakihirangi writes:

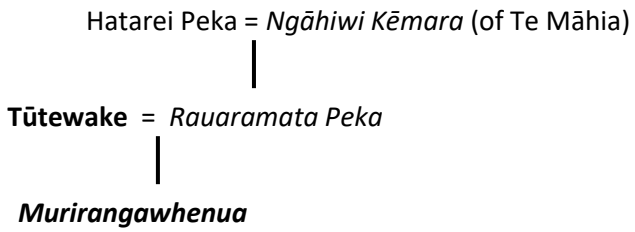
> *Ka waanau te tama a teeraa wahine he tama. Kaatahi, ka kii a, ko te taunga teenei o Tuutawake, inaa hoki, he taane.*[69]

[67] Judges, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 03:03:1890, p. 148.
[68] M. Te Rito, personal communication.
[69] C. T. Huata, op. cit., p. 120.

149. It is highly possible that this reference is to the birth of our Tūtewake in 1853. I have old photos of events at Ōmāhu Marae in which he is old and his hair is white. He died in 1935. It is quite possible then, that this reference is to him, which puts him at the age of about 82 when he died.

150. There is a reference to Tūtewake in the book *Kahungunu Ka Moe Ka Puta* which tells of how he was raised in Waiōhiki with the Tārehā family rather than at Ōmāhu. The reason given there was that his mother's previous births had all been miscarriages and so they sent him out of the village to be raised.[70]

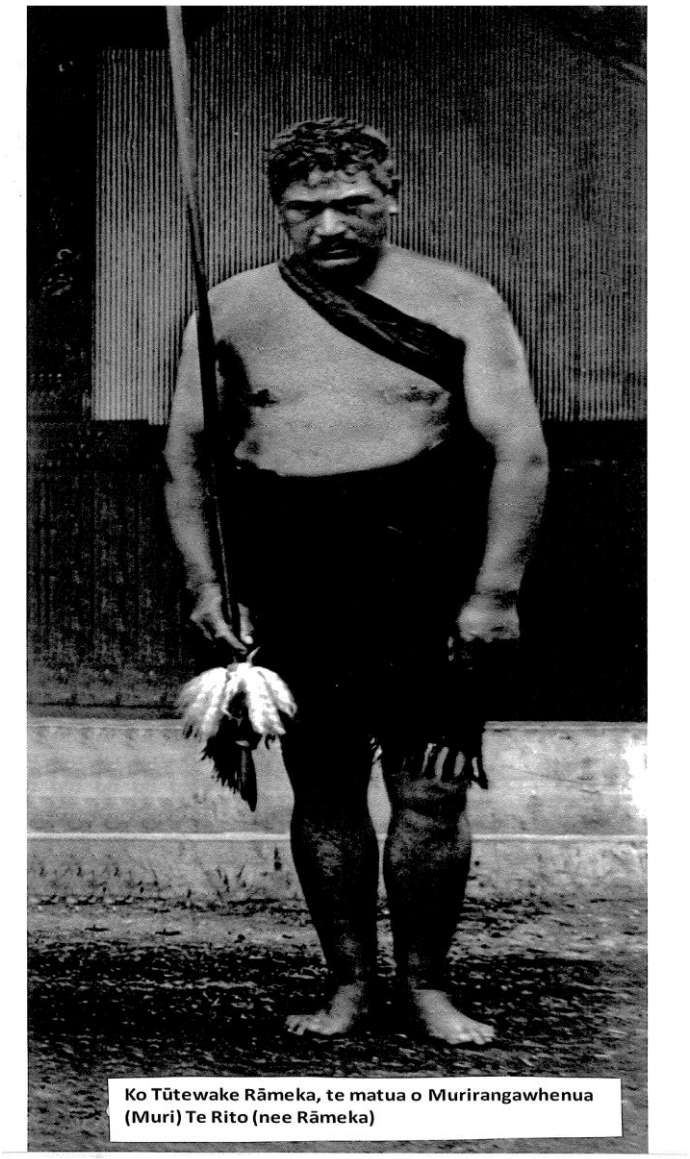
151. Tūtewake married Rauaramata and gave birth to my grandmother, Murirangawhenua. See the following *whakapapa*:[71]



152. His full name was Te Mana Tūtewake although he had a nickname, 'Wocky'. He was reknowned for his *marae* skills. My grandmother, Murirangawhenua said that he would strip naked, except for a small *maro* (loin cloth) at times, to carry out the *wero* (brandishing of *taiaha* weapon) to visitors. He was also nick-named 'Rima Haora' (Five Hours) as he would orate for hours and he had a large repertoire of *waiata* (song chants).

[70] Dr. M Simpson (ed), '*Kahungunu Ka Moe Ka Puta*', p. 133.
[71] Hatarei Peka was one of Te Wera Hauraki's warriors.

153. Attached below is a photo of Tūtewake Rāmeka.


Ko Tūtewake Rāmeka, te matua o Murirangawhenua (Muri) Te Rito (nee Rāmeka)

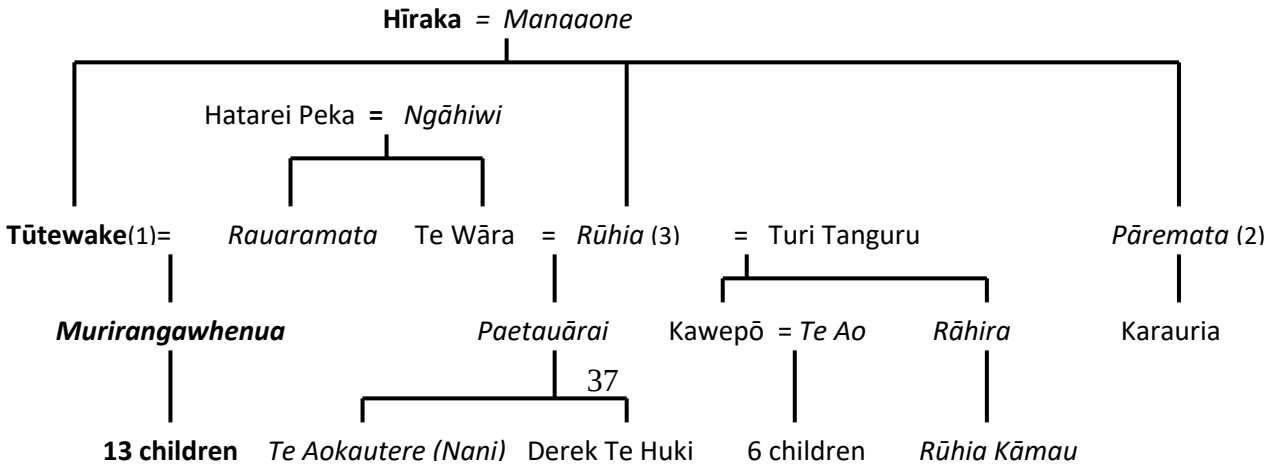
154. Tūtewake maintained a strong link with his relatives from 'Inland' Pātea. He would often travel there by buggy. He would often take a child that they adopted by the traditional method known as '*whāngai*'. Her married name was Te Rōpine Sophie Keefe but her maiden name was Paku. In her elderly years, she fondly spoke of him as being her father and of a wonderful upbringing with him and his wife Rauaramata from Te Māhia. It is through this connection to Rauaramata that Sophie was brought up by the old couple. Her grandfather was a brother to Rauaramata. My mother takes her name Aramata from this name.

155. It is useful to note here that our closest blood relatives in Ōmāhu today are the offspring of Te Aokautere (Nani) who was a niece to my grandmother Murirangawhenua. Nani

married Alex Tuhi. While Alex had a family to a former wife, our close blood connections are to Nani and her children Tommy Tuhi, and to his sister Huia who married Bob White from North Auckland. Tommy married Laura Aranui whose mother was a Hānara from Ōmāhu also.

156. When our family moved from Te Māhia to Ōmāhu in the late 1950s our house was alongside another house occupied by an old man Maki Tanguru who raised Tommy. Nani's house was the next house along. They stood side by side in front of a row of tall pine trees some of which still stand there today. While the Tuhi family still occupy some of this area, our family's homestead was re-established on Ōmāhu 2M3, a block which is adjacent to the housing reserve on the northern edge of the housing reserve. Other blood relatives of Ōmāhu are the Tanguru and Kawepō families but they no longer maintain ahi-kā (occupancy) in Ōmāhu as they all live elsewhere.

157. Following on is a whakapapa showing the offspring of Hīraka. As with the previous generation, they all become part of the newly touted hapū, Ngāti Rāmeka. Please note that the children of Hīraka are not shown in the correct order. The numbers in brackets indicate the correct order. Of note too is that there is a double marriage of a brother and a sister to a corresponding sister and brother. These two marriages cement the connections to Te Māhia. The ancestor Hatarei Peka was one of Te Wera Hauraki's warriors. He married Ngāhiwi Te Kēmara of Te Māhia. In latter years, branches of the Peka family adopted the family name Paku. According to my mother, this was because of the adoption of the term 'paku' meaning 'junior' for a younger member of the *whānau*, to distinguish that person from a senior member – possibly from a previous generation but with the same name. I am unable to say which two people are concerned. However, the large Paku whānau which extends right from Te Māhia through Hawke's Bay to Wairarapa, are said to be descendents of Hatarei Peka. My mother said that they were really Peka*s* rather than Paku*s*. Again, they would all be part of Ngāti Rāmeka.



NB. The numbers (1) *to* (3) *in brackets refer to sibling order.*

Murirangawhenua (alias Muri or Hinetemuri) Te Rito (nee Rāmeka)

158. Murirangawhenua had two older brothers and a sister who died when about 2-3 years old. Her childhood peer and friend Selina Sullivan often told us that our grandmother was a puhi (teenage bride of high birth) and that she was spoilt by her parents. Nanny Selina called her 'the puhi of Ōmāhu'. Attached below is a photo of Murirangawhenua when she was young.

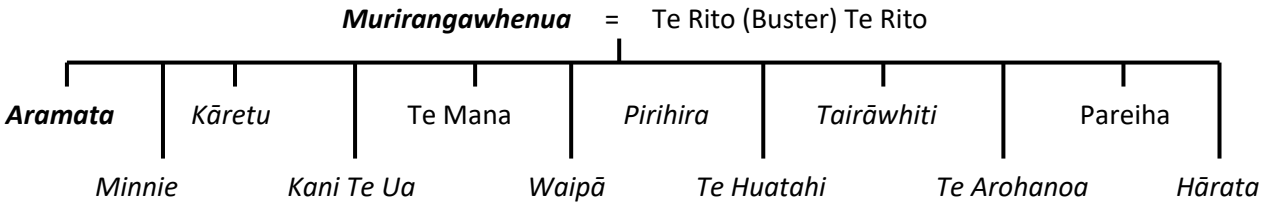
159. Her father would buy her expensive clothing and she was involved in the sports of tennis and hockey. The Ōmāhu hockey team of the time was called Te Huia. This name apparently was in reference to the huia bird, the feathers of which were sought after as adornment for the heads of chiefs. These birds were found in the forested inland ranges until they became extinct.

160. Prior to marrying our grandfather, Murirangawhenua gave birth to Hineiturakina who was the daughter of Waerea. The name Hineturakina was an ancestral name, from one of the children of Tūterangi.[72] My aunt Hine as she was affectionately known, married Hirini McIlroy of Ngāti Porou and they set up home at Waipatu in Hastings. They had six

[72] H. Pakapaka, 'Blake Minute Book of Hearing', 17:02:1890, p. 11.

children who are the tuakana (senior) line of our whānau.

161. Murirangawhenua married Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito from Te Māhia and they had 14 children as a couple. Two were still-born. That left 12 healthy children. My mother Aramata was the oldest of their children as a couple. Please refer to the following *whakapapa* chart.



162. Following on is a translation into English of a transcription of the words of Murirangawhenua Te Rito which were recorded by researchers for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) in 1975 at our home in Ōmāhu. The purpose of their visit to Ōmāhu was to ascertain the state of the Māori language there.

163. I have included the full translated text here to allow my grandmother to tell 'her own story'. While it does not tell much of her Ōmāhu upbringing as such, it does provide an insight into some of the cultural values and way of life of her generation of Ngāti Hinemanu. She was born in 1907 and died in 1980. It also shows the links back to Te Māhia as her mother was from there and was Rongomaiwahine, unlike her father who was Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Hinepare. This is a significant factor as will be seen as this story unfolds.

164. See **Appendix "I"** for the original transcription of the recording in Māori of Murirangawhenua Te Rito. My translation of the transcribed recording is as follows. It is slightly abridged:

> *I was born in this village, Ōmāhu. My parents were Tūtewake Rāmeka and Rauaramata. We lived here in this village. I grew up here and when I was old enough I went to school here. On reaching my young womanhood, I pursued the recreational activities of the time – playing tennis in particular. We competed at the time for the Hinerapa Cup. I also played hockey. I played hockey since 1921 for our Ōmāhu team. It's name was Te Huia. In those years, we also played tennis here in Ōmāhu for the Hineiao Cup.*
> *Time passed and then I went with my parents to Te Māhia on the death of one of my grandparents, as my mother was from there. We were there…for perhaps two days when a man stood up on the marae and asked my father for my hand in marriage. He wanted to marry me …and this proposal was supported by his parents. I wasn't there at the time. I had gone*

with some others to the beach to collect pipi. When I returned my father was sitting on the marae. He was by himself. So I went over and sat by him. Then I asked him what the problem was… if he was ill or was something wrong. Then he told me about what the people there had proposed. It had been presented on the marae and had been endorsed. So I asked him what he thought of it. He said to me, 'It is all in your hands, whether we save face or whether we lose face. If you agree we stand tall.' So I looked at my father, and I looked at the place where we were sitting, right amongst Rongomaiwahine, and I felt for my father. So I said to him, 'Yes. I accept the proposal that has been made. I don't want you to be shamed in this village.' So my husband and I became a couple and lived there. Then we came here to Ōmāhu to stay. In 1930 we had a wedding at the home of the minister here at the time, Rungāhi Hakiwai… in his home, but it was a proper wedding. And so we stayed here in Ōmāhu. Then came 1931, the year of the big earthquake. After the earthquake we returned to Te Māhia.
(p91) We stayed there for 27 years. Our children were born there. We had 15 children. Two of them died (still born). Thirteen are still alive. There are eleven girls and two boys. They're all alive and well. We have 45 grandchildren at this time that I am talking to you. We stayed there and those people were really good to me…and at caring for our children, but it was not as though we were absolute strangers to one another. We stayed there, our children grew up, they went to school, and they went out into the workforce. Then I said to my mate, 'Let's go to my people in Heretaunga to live. Our children are all there now.'
And so we came here to Ōmāhu to live. The year was 1957 when we arrived here in Ōmāhu. And we have stayed here from that time to this. I am 70 and he is 69. Our age difference is not that great at all. During these years, we have been afflicted with various illnesses, the illnesses of the time, but at the moment we are both healthy. As for our children, not one of them has been afflicted with any particularly serious illness. Our grandchildren are all healthy and because our children are all mature, I give thanks to God for looking after me and my husband, our children, and our grandchildren right to this very day.[73]

165. My translation of the transcript ends there. My mother Aramata, is the next key person in this whakapapa.

<u>Aramata (alias Dardi) Collier (nee Te Rito)</u>

166. Unlike most of her 10 other sisters and two brothers born in Te Māhia and Wairoa, Aramata was born in Ōmāhu by the bank of the Ngaruroro River. As with a number of her younger sisters and brothers, the delivery was a home delivery. It was carried out by her father Te Rito Te Rito. Her nickname was 'Dardi'. Attached herewith as **Appendix "II**" is a photograph of Renata Kawepo, Noa Huke, my grandmother Murirangawhenua Te Rito (nee Rāmeka) and my mother Aramata Collier (nee Te Rito).

167. Although no comparative sound recording of my mother Aramata's life is available, I did encourage my mother to commit her thoughts to writing while she was alive. Following on are some of her writings that I have selected for inclusion here. Again, as with her mother, my intention is to let her 'speak her own words herself'. My task is to merely provide the means for which to have their words memorialised. The story she tells is

[73] J.S. Te Rito, 'Translation of the transcription of recording of Murirangawhenua TeRito' recorded at Ōmāhu in 1975 by NZCER researchers Hīria Tūmoana et al. as part of survey on the state of the Māori language.

more of her life growing up in Te Māhia, rather than of Ōmāhu. However, Te Māhia was where Kahungunu courted Rongomaiwahine from whom my long line of whakapapa descends. Te Māhia is also where my grandmother's mother Rauaramata is from.

168. Aramata tells of life near the sea with her Nanny Poata who is buried in a cemetery near where Rongomaiwahine was interred. Rākaihikuroa and Taraia passed through Te Māhia from Tūranga on their way to Heretaunga.

169. Attached below is a photograph of the family of Murirangawhenua and her husband Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito taken in Kahukuranui at Ōmāhu Marae in 1972 on the occasion of the 21st birthday of their youngest child Hārata. *Standing (left to right)*: Waipā, Tairāwhiti (Whiti), Kāretu (Scally), Pareiha (Spud), Kani, Albert Te Mana (Bana), Minnie, Aramata (Dardi), & Te Arohanoa Doreena. *Sitting:* Murirangawhenua & Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito. *Kneeling:* Harry (son of Minnie), Pirihira, Hārata (Lyn), Georgina Te Huatahi, & Joseph (son of Aramata).

Photograph of the family of Murirangawhenua and her husband Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito taken in Kahukuranui at Ōmāhu Marae in 1972 on the occasion of the 21st birthday of their youngest child Hārata. *Standing (left to right)*: Waipā, Tairāwhiti (Whiti), Kāretu (Scally), Pareiha, Kani, Albert Te Mana (Bana), Minnie, Hinei Turakina, Aramata (Dardi), & Te Arohanoa (Doreena). *Sitting:* Murirangawhenua & Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito. *Kneeling:* Harry (son of Minnie), Pirihira, Hārata (Lyn), Georgina Te Huatahi, & Joseph (son of Dardi).

170. There is other relevance of this account to my thesis. While colonisation had already taken its toll in places like the Te Māhia peninsular, the account below gives a glimpse of a reasonably traditional style of life that was still very strong only about 70 years ago, where the Māori language was still intact and Māori family and cultural values were still very much adhered to. It gives a retrospective glimpse of the high reliance on the sea as a resource base. This is particularly pertinent at this time when there are struggles between

the Rongomaiwahine and Ngāti Kahungunu *iwi* over fisheries assets. There are also the threats from commercial fisherman, both international and local and the danger they pose by over-fishing in the area. Another threat is the current foreshore and seabed legislation that is likely to have the effect of 'confiscating' these very locations that my forebears had guardianship and customary rights of usage over.

171. Aramata's testimony is as follows:

> *My grandmothers Te Wai Tangiora Te Rito and Rauaramata Peka Rāmeka are both from Rongomaiwahine. I am one of 15 children, 2 were still-born. My name is Aramata.*
> *We were born and raised at Māhia. We lived near our marae at Tuahuru. The tipuna-whare [ancestral house] is Hine-te-Rongo.*
> *In my growing up years, we were very poor and money was scarce. We had no material things and clothing was second-hand and so on. Like families of that time, we milked cows. Our basic needs came from the dairy factory at Wairoa, after the cream cheque was paid out, if there was any. We had a māra kai [food garden]. We grew kūmara and vegetables with the help of our Nanny Poata. By then he was an old man and lived in a kāuta [lean-to building]. Our other māra kai was the sea. We fished off the rocks and gathered kaimoana [seafood] in front of our home. We went eeling with our koroua [elderly man], grand-aunts and our many cousins. We rode horses with our old people. By then they were in their late sixties and seventies. Our father was of the Ringatū faith. We the children were all baptised Anglican, our mother's religion.*
> *We loved sitting in our Nanny Poata's kāuta, sitting by the fire, listening to his many stories. Electricity was unheard of then. We used candles or sat by the fire with the glow of the flames lighting up our surroundings. The walls of the kāuta were covered with the middle pages of the Auckland Weekly News and the Free Lance.*
> *The Whakarewarewa School [at Māhia] was our primary school. It was 2 miles from our home. We walked to school by the beach at low-tide and on a shingle road at full-tide. Our school then was a native school. We were punished for speaking Māori at school. Our koroua and kuia [elderly woman] couldn't speak English. We had to speak Māori to them after school. So forever we were being punished, because we couldn't leave our reo Māori [Māori language] at home.*
> *Our mother saw education as the only road for us to take. They went without the necessities of life, to make sure we followed that path. We are connected to all the maraes at Māhia through whakapapa of long ago and of recent times. At the age of 14 I left Whakarewarewa School. I never went to secondary school…My father felt he couldn't afford to send me to school…*
> *My Nanny Poata had a gang of women to clear variegated thistle at Tawapata on Onenui Station. He did this mahi [work] for about six weeks every summer. We rode from Tuahuru to Taiwānanga. If it was full-tide, we would call in to Paul and Dinah Ehu and wait for the tide to go out. When the tide was out we would ride to Tawapata. We called in to Kihi Pātara's home (p95) and stayed with this koroua for the nights. Then we would continue on to my Nanny Poata's whānau at Tawapata. Kihi Pātara was then about 100 years old. Next door to Kihi lived Kaho and Rea Hemopō. Kihi raised Kaho Hemopō. Kaho's mother was from Ōmāhu. Kaho Hemopō was also my mother's whanaunga [relative], te taha ki Hinemanu [the Hinemanu side], Ōmāhu.*
> *We would ride to Ahuriri Point where our Nanny put up our tent by a stream. Across from our camp was Waikawa [Portland Island]. While there, we fished and lived off the sea. Pūha [edible sow thistle] and watercress was plentiful. Kaimoana [seafood] was plentiful too. Then, pāua [abalone] was everywhere. Crayfish was easy to get. We just got enough of these kai [food] for our needs. Nanny Poata knew all about conservation. All our old people did.*
> *Nanny Poata told me why we couldn't clear thistle at a certain places, because those places*

were tapu. He talked about patupaiarehe [fairy folk] - how they led people astray in the bush and they got lost. Though different hills were cleared of trees, he believed the patupaiarehe were still there.

I had an experience there then. I saw the Kaitiaki [Guardian] Nanny Poata had talked about. It was a white stingray. All the stingray [whai] I had seen before were black. Our father used to spear them at Tuahuru. I was fishing on the rocks and I caught a snapper. In my excitement I yelled to Nanny Poata. He was further on. We had been told that you don't go around yelling and screaming on the rocks. About five minutes later I saw this stingray coming towards the rock I was standing on. I jumped away with fright. The back of the stingray was out of the water. We had been told that when these Kaitiaki show up you are being warned you've done something wrong. I headed for our camp. The only fish we got that day was the one I caught. We had it for tea. While eating I swallowed a bone. My Nanny Poata told me to eat bread or potato to move it. The bone still stuck in my throat. As a last resort he took me to a stream further away from our camp. He prayed and used water, ka tāuhiuhi au i te wai [and sprinkled water over me]. Next thing I swallowed the bone and I came right. Years later, I read the book Tākitimu by J. Mitchell and at the back was the karakia for swallowing a fish bone. It was the same karakia [prayer, incantation] he'd said that day.

We used to go at night to fish for crayfish if it was low-tide. He would cut mānuka, and make rods and make a little flax basket the size of a tennis ball and fill these with pāua for bait. In front of our camp was a channel. He would place us about 10 yards apart and we would put our rods into the water. Next thing, we could feel tugging on our bait and sure enough, it was a crayfish. Our crayfishing only lasted about a half-hour. Nanny Poata would come along and say, 'Kāti noa iho, kā nui tēnā', ['That will do, that's ample.'] We would easily catch 6 crayfish each which was too much for us.

I never wanted to leave because it was neat fun but I did go back to our camp. I didn't want the Kaitiaki around again. Nanny Poata would cook our crayfish and take the tails off, and thread them on a piece of flax and dry them. We would eat the papa [crayfish body], the best part. I'm talking about big crayfish not the small ones we get today. We would have crayfish at home and on the job. One thing Nanny Poata told us is that women and children ate the papa of the crayfish and men, the tail. It was the same with fish, the head was for the women. Maybe this is why we like fish-heads because we are used to eating fish like that. With kina [sea urchins], we ate everything not just the ārero [tongues].

Preserving kaimoana: most of our kai was dried, used for kīnaki [as a relish] with kūmara [sweet potato], pūhā and so on. Pāua tahu [abalone cooked and stored in fat] was great. Whale meat was boiled in its own oil and left mo ngā tāima kore kai [for the times of no food]. Poaka tahu [pork cooked and stored in fat] was another kai. We didn't have much of it though.

I rode those hills of Tawapata with our Nanny. I wish I could remember the names of the different places at Tawapata. One day I was on my horse and stood under a tītoki tree. It was loaded with red and black berries some pigeons were eating. I could have plucked those birds off the tree, they were so fat. Nanny Poata said 'Waihongia. Kāore ngā manu nā i te whakararuraru mai i a koe' ['Leave them. Those birds are doing you no harm.']. There were (p96) native trees galore there then.

Nanny Poata even showed me the place where Rongomaiwahine's paepae-hamuti [sacred latrine] was. He even warned me not to go near this spot. To him it was tapu [sacred].

In 1994 I went back to the new Onenui Station for a hui [gathering]. My mind went down memory lane, to my Nanny and how we rode those hills. For me it was sad. I guess for me I was fortunate to spend that summer with our koroua. After the hui, my brother Pareiha and I went to visit his grave. I shed a few tears for this wonderful man who was everything to us. Rongomaiwahine is buried in the next urupā [cemetery] nearby.

Nanny Poata was a matakite [seer]. He would see ghosts. He would come and tell my parents someone was going to die and he was right most of the time. He would sit in his kāuta and waiata [chant] to himself. We never took any notice of his singing. I wish I had, or even learnt some of his waiata. His whare moe [sleeping house] had photos hanging on the wall, one of Waipā his wife, and the other two were of our Nanny Waipā's brothers Rewi and Hoani. These two men died overseas in WWII.

Above the door was a carved tokotoko [orator's stick]. He was the caretaker of this taonga

[heirloom] which was from Maniapoto. Years later Kaho Hemopō's body was brought back to Ōmāhu to be buried. That was the last time I saw that tokotoko. There at that tangi [mourning gathering] was Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Tūrau Te Tomo. Perhaps it was taken back to Te Kuiti. Tūrau Te Tomo was our Nanny Poata's nephew. Poata's sister Kāretu married Tāite Te Tomo and they were the parents of Tūrau.[74]

Our Nanny used to plant watermelon, rockmelon and sugarcane in front of his kāuta. Everything grew well in our Nanny's māra, without compost and the paitini (chemicals) of today. Our kuia's and koroua prayed before and after everything they did. We the mokopuna [grandchildren] used to sow the watermelon seeds. He believed they would grow better. So the seeds were sewn early in the morning before we went to school. He also believed in the Māori calendar. We never walked around on his māra kai. He was very strict about that. If we saw pūhā on his māra, we had to ask him to go and pick it for us. Sometimes he use to pick a mixture of pūhā, poroporo [deadly nightshade], hoinanga [fat hen] and tōihi [growing tips] from his pāpapa [also known as kamokamo or the Māori marrow] and give that to us. Our mother had her own māra kai. She grew kūmara, potatoes, cabbages, carrots, onions and lettuce but it didn't take us long to get through that. Nanny Poata was always there for us and whatever he had in his rua kūmara (kūmara storage pit), he would give for us.

172. While still a young woman, Aramata left Te Māhia to live with the Pōmare family in Lower Hutt because of our Te Rito family connections with Lady Pōmare (nee Woodbine-Johnson). Aramata was to be a companion for the old kuia Lady Pōmare who had married Sir Māui Pōmare. Their son Rā Pōmare had married Madge Ormond. There Aramata learnt to cook and sew, and was part of the household in which Māui Pōmare (jnr) and his siblings were the children of the household. She also spent time in Parliament as a typist in the typing pool.

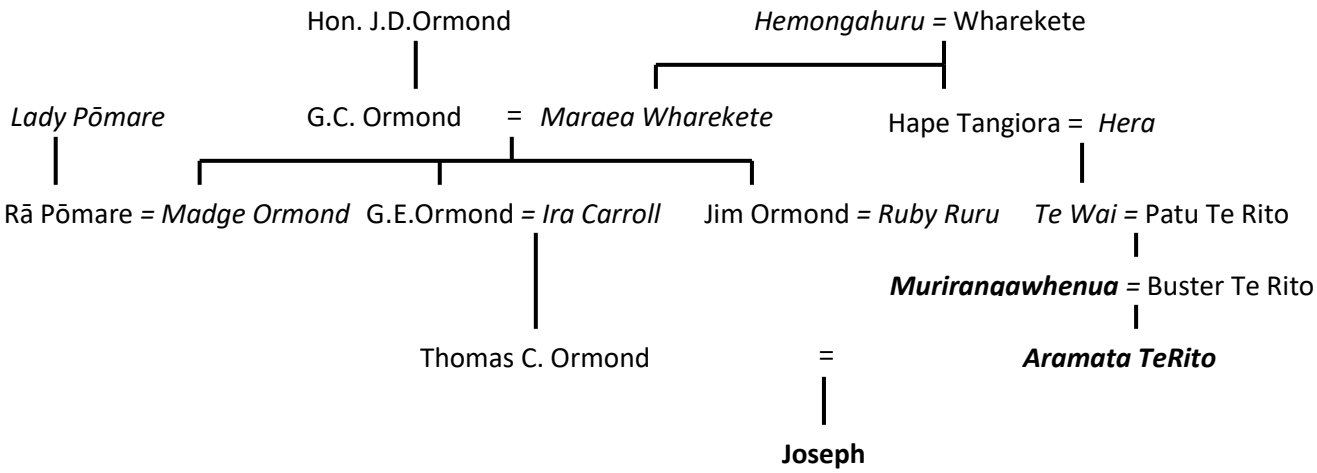
173. It was during her time on holiday in Te Māhia from Wellington that Aramata became pregnant with me. My father was Thomas (Tommy) Carroll Ormond. I was born in 1952 but they had never married. It was very much frowned upon of course in those days for a woman to bear a child out of wedlock. Despite that she gave birth to me and put me into the care of my grandparents. Despite the close *whakapapa* connections between my grandfather Buster Te Rito and the successive women from Te Māhia who the Ormond men had married, it appears that Aramata Te Rito was not destined to marry my father.

174. Thomas Ormond did not marry at all. In his own right he was a successful man. He is on the far right in a photo among a group of men of the Māori Battalion being farewelled by Sir Apirana Ngata at a railway station in 1941.[75] In his later life he was involved in NZ Māori Council work in the Wairoa-Te Māhia district, as well as in the Anglican Church.

[74] Tāite Te Tomo assisted Pei Te Hurinui Jones (and possibly Sir Apirana Ngata) in the collection of waiata for the Ngā Mōteatea series.

[75] Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua, The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*, p. 337+ (plate 4).

175. Despite the fact that there was no marriage (a colonial institution), I have constructed the *whakapapa* below to show both Thomas and Aramata in a union that resulted in my birth,[76] and I have added other information pertaining to the Te Rito family from my aunt Waipā Te Rito and others:



176. Aramata had no other children of her own but married Rongo Taihiao Collier of Ngāti Porou and together they brought up two other children, each belonging to an older and a younger sister of hers. Hence, I acquired a brother, Donal and a sister, Vivienne. They are actually my first cousins as our mothers are all Te Rito sisters. We did not grow up together as I am older and I was raised by my grandparents.

177. I never knew Thomas Ormond but attended his tangi against my mother's better wishes. She was afraid the people there would think I was seeking an inheritance and that I might get hurt in the process. Of course, I had no such thought. The Ormond Reunion book of 1993 shows Thomas Ormond as having no issue.

178. In terms of the Ormond family, the *whakapapa* chart above commences with The Honourable J.D. Ormond who was born in England and came to NZ as a colonist. His son married a Te Māhia woman, Maraea Wharekete. Their son married Ira Carroll, a niece of Sir James Carroll and Thomas Ormond was born. Thomas had a relationship with Aramata, and I was born. In this regard, I am a direct product of colonisation. This is one of the ironies of life.

[76] Hannah Macgregor, *Ormond Reunion Māhia 1993*, pp. 15-30.

179. Having read the Ormond family book, I noted that the genealogy went right back to the Reverend David Ormond who was the Rector of Manorbier in 1415.[77] I visited the small stone church-house in Wales in 1998 and saw the wall plaque erected inside the church-house with his name on it. While I feel quite distant from the Ormond family, I was moved when I entered the church and saw the plaque. Meanwhile there are branches of the huge Ormond family of Te Māhia that I am connected to through my Te Rito grandfather's links. Many of them are aware that I am the son of Thomas and appear to accept it. I wonder though whether others do not accept it, including my first cousins, the children of Thomas's brother George.

180. Despite my feelings of distance from this paternal lineage of mine, it is a fact of life that I am the son of Thomas Carroll Ormond. It is quite ironical therefore, that I have chosen to write my thesis about the marginalisation of my *hapū* of Ōmāhu when in fact my great-great-grandfather was the Honourable J.D. Ormond. This was a man who was to have such a major part to play in the transformation of the Heretaunga Plains and indeed the landscape of the broader Hawke's Bay Province. An excerpt from the Ormond family book follows herewith:

> *[John Davis Ormond] was born at Wallingford, Berkshire, England on 31 May 1832. Died in October 1917…In 1869 he represented the Hawke's Bay seat of Clive in the House of Representatives which he held for twenty years. In 1869 [he] became the Province's last Superintendent…While in the House of Representatives, JD's chief concerns were land settlements and the associated public works to open the land. Between 1853 and 1855 John met Donald McLean who became his patron and close friend…JD acquired several thousand acres of land in Waipukurau…He later purchased land at Mangangārara, Woodville, Akahukura…Karamu and Omarunui. He planted the lovely old oak trees along Oak Avenue in Hastings which formed the drive into Karamu. At Karamu he founded one of the known racing studs in Australasia. By now he was a very wealthy man indeed…He was regarded more as a man of action than of feeling, more for his public life than his private connections and in this way his position, among the greatest of our early history, is assured.*[78]

181. From the stance I have taken throughout this thesis, as the offspring of my mother Aramata, and as a descendent of the Ngāti Hinemanu hapū in particular, I find it difficult to reconcile the last sentence in the quotation above. Whilst my Ormond blood relatives may view J.D. Ormond as deserving of a great place in history, my Ngāti Hinemanu relatives, and indeed most other Māori of the Heretaunga district, would be forgiven for holding the totally opposite view. 'J.D.' was one of the original "Twelve Apostles" who acquired the 19,385 acre Heretaunga Block from local Māori. Ngāti Hinemanu chief of the time, Noa Huke denied that he sold his share to the 'Apostles'. The findings and

[77] Ibid., p. 14.
[78] Ibid., pp. 15-17.

recommendations of the Royal Commission into the alienation of the Heretaunga Block were never properly addressed and compensation was never provided to the indigenous landowners.

182. Today, my Ōmāhu and Heretaunga kin own just a tiny remnant of their former land estate and many are marginalised and face poverty within today's society. This state of being can reasonably be partly attributed to J.D. Ormond, and to his fellow colonisers of his time, particularly those who came to the Heretaunga district. He arrived in the country in 1847 and his membership of local, provincial and parliamentary bodies spanned almost sixty years. Consequently, he was to play quite a major role in the shaping of the future of both the indigenous inhabitants of Hawke's Bay as well as the latter day European arrivals of the 1850s in particular.

183. In concluding this section of the *whakapapa* narrative, I must say that I was very tempted to simply omit any reference to Thomas Carroll Ormond from the thesis. It would have been a simple matter. What this highlights for me is that this is one of the potential pitfalls of being subjectively involved in the narrative. Personally, I bear no shame, only some sadness. On the other hand, I was blessed with a rich, loving and wonderful upbringing with my 'native' grandparents, Murirangawhenua and Buster. Furthermore, as Freire says, our role is to proclaim the truth if we are to change the world.[79] I am a product of colonisation which has been beyond my making.

184. I now follow on with my own personal story.

Joseph Selwyn Te Rito

185. In this section I outline key incidents and milestones of my own personal transformation. I also refer to some of the key people who have influenced my thinking.

My early beginnings in Te Māhia, Hawke's Bay in the 1950s

186. I was born in Wairoa (in northern Hawke's Bay) in 1952. My grandparents, Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito and his wife Murirangawhenua raised me. They had already had their own large family. I was only one of four grandchildren that they raised. I never ever met my father. When I asked my mother about it in my adult years, she told me that my grandparents had jealously guarded me, as they were afraid of losing me to the Ormond

[79] P. Freire, op. cit., Preface.

family. The fact that I was their oldest grandchild was probably a factor. It is something very common in Māori society, for grandchildren to be raised by their grandparents rather than by their own parents. It releases the parents to continue with their working lives and it provides elderly people with helpers to assist them in their latter years. It provided me with stability and with the opportunity to hear Māori language being spoken on a daily basis as well as to gain an understanding of Māori customs and practices within the home situation. Other cousins of mine who were brought up by their own parents were much less fortunate in this respect. My grandparents were possibly the biggest influencers of my life. They brought me up at Ōraka in Te Māhia, for the first five years of my life.

Our migration to Ōmāhu, Hastings and life there in the 1960s

187. We moved to Ōmāhu, Hastings in 1959 to live in the abandoned house that belonged to my grandmother's parents who had died many years earlier. We moved there because there was no work in Te Māhia for my grandfather. On reaching Hastings, he gained employment at the Tomoana freezing works as a labourer. My grandmother gained seasonal work in the market gardens – weeding and harvesting anything from beans, to potatoes, to tomatoes. As small children, we were taken to work out into the fields with her and as we grew up we worked alongside her. We picked asparagus in the early morning before going to school, and toiled in the hot Hawke's Bay summer sun weeding onions etc. What we gained apart from wages was a work ethic that we still hold dearly to today. When I left high school and went to university, I vowed to myself that my grandmother would not have to undertake that work for the rest of her life and that I would help them out in later years – which I did do.

188. While I identify my *iwi* (tribes) as being Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne, this thesis is particularly about the struggles of my grandmother's *hapū* (sub-tribe) of Ōmāhu, Ngāti Hinemanu. This is because most of my life beyond the age of 6 or so was spent in Ōmāhu, whereas my recollections of my life in Te Māhia as a young child are only vague. The relevant *whakapapa* that gives us our *tūrangawaewae* (rightful standing place) and ownership of inherited land in Ōmāhu is through the ancestress Hinemanu and is shown earlier on in the text within the extensive layering of names.

189. Home life was difficult. In our first years in Ōmāhu, as children we would carry buckets to the communal well across the lane to fetch water for the household. Cooking was done over the open fire and my grandmother washed our clothes in an old copper that was

heated up by way of a fire lit underneath it.

190. This was a time when there were no fences between the houses and as children we roamed freely from property to property.

191. The 1960s came though and most of the original houses in the settlement were bulldozed down and burnt to make way for new homes built by the Department of Māori Affairs. This was an act that would change the fabric of life in Ōmāhu significantly. With the new housing came outsiders who had been given the opportunity to purchase a section and build a house in Ōmāhu. The visits to the communal well ceased, fences were erected to separate out the individualised sections, and the narrow dirt track made way for a broad asphalt road with concrete footpaths. As a child I still remember my grandmother crying at the sight of the burning piles of rubble of the bulldozed homes. In later years again, some of the tall trees behind the old house we lived in and into which the pito (afterbirths) of those before her were deposited, were felled.

192. We had a new Māori Affairs house built for us too. However, it was not built on the old site around the 'pā', the settlement adjacent to the marae where the old home had been. Rather, it was built on my grandmother's 10-acre block of land known as 2M3. This meant clean running water on tap, hot water, an electric stove and a washing machine. In the months that we waited for the new house to be built, we moved onto the 10-acre block. My grandfather Buster Te Rito built a kāuta (a lean-to building) out of old corrugated iron and which he butted up against a large box-thorn bush. The kāuta was only about 10 metres square and it had a dirt floor. He created a fireplace out of corrugated iron too and all our cooking was done over the open fire. As with the old houses around the pā, or reservation, there was no electricity. We carted water in buckets from a communal well. For furniture, my grandfather had a large old couch which he slept on with my cousin Harry who must only have been about 7 years old. We also acquired an old caravan that slept my grandmother and the other 2 or 3 of us children. It was not very big and I often wonder how we fitted into it. I have terrible memories of the westerly gales that plagued us that year, and our dreading our caravan would tip over. In his usual resourceful way, my grandfather found a solution – by digging a hole on each side of the caravan, putting a large block of wood into each hole, tying number '8' wire around each block and running it over the top of the caravan, filling in the holes again and thus securing the caravan in this manner. So, while the caravan shook and shuddered in the strong winds, it would not tip over.

193. I will write more about this block of land further on in the thesis, as it became a very controversial issue that split our family up after the death of my grandmother, Murirangawhenua.

The influence of my grandmother Murirangawhenua

194. It is through my mother's mother, Murirangawhenua that we have land and consequently a tūrangawaewae (rightful standing place) in Ōmāhu. She was the Ngāti Hinemanu, not mygrandfather. Prior to her marriage to my grandfather, she was a 'puhi'. Her parents had had only one child survive and she was it.

195. My memory of her was as a loving and caring mother and grandmother. She had 13 children in quite poverty-stricken conditions in Te Māhia, plus dozens of grandchildren eventually. I saw only the good side of her. I remember her working long hours in the market gardens in the hot sun. She was possibly the greatest influencer of my life – especially in my formative years. She was the one who encouraged me to go to school and to study hard. She was always gentle with us and never hit us.

196. I slept with my grandmother from my toddler years until I finished primary school. Although my grandmother did not separate out her many grandchildren, one might say that I was her pet. This was probably because of my being the oldest grandchild, and a male grandchild at that. My male cousin one year younger than me was meanwhile my grandfather's pet and cuddled up to him instead. We had nicknames which I am too embarrassed to note here. The thing of note though is that they each started with 'Tai-' and the second half of the name in each case was an animal (whose characteristics we each presumably displayed unconsciously). I mention this here because it is obviously something of true Māori derivation but I have never heard it used elsewhere since.

197. While my grandfather Buster had been brought up in the isolation of Te Māhia and within the fairly strict teachings and *tapu* of the Ringatū faith, my grandmother had a more relaxed upbringing and one that brought her into more contact with Pākehā. Her father was a lay reader of the Rātana faith and the teachings and practices were almost diametrically opposed to those of the Ringatū which were probably more aligned with traditional Māori ways. Apparently, the Rātana teachings and practices attempted to deflect and soften the effects of *tapu* on people, to prevent them becoming afflicted with the illness known as '*mate Māori*'. This illness was generally understood by Māori as

being as a result of the breaching of *tapu* (sacred rules).Whereas according to traditional Māori and Ringatū teachings, one should never consume anything or smoke cigarettes in a graveyard because of the *tapu* associated with death, on one occasion I was in a graveyard with a friend who was Rātana and who simply lit up his cigarette without a care in the world. My grandmother would still not have done anything like that however.

198. Therefore, while my grandmother was much less carefree than that, she provided a balance in our lives to the intense aura of *tapu* that surrounded my grandfather. In this way, we have been able to live our lives in modern day society without being uncompromisingly weighed down with some of the situations that often confront us as Māori in today's world.

199. I spent many long hours talking with my grandmother and perhaps the biggest lesson she taught me was to treat others in a manner I would want to be treated myself. This has stayed with me as a guiding principle in my life and I believe has been partly behind any success I may have had in my life.

200. She washed our clothes by hand and she ironed our school clothes using an iron heated up on the fire. She made *rēwena* (unlevened) bread for us, she fried chips for us when we came home for lunch in winter, she took us to our local Anglican church on Sundays, and she prayed and cared for us when we were sick. I used to pray that she would never die but would stay alive forever. However, of course, this was not to be. She died in 1980.

<u>The influence of my grandfather Te Rito (Buster) Te Rito</u>

201. The death of my grandmother left me the sole caregiver of my grandfather and signalled an end to my youthful escapades. Unlike my grandmother who had grown up in Ōmāhu and had experienced much contact with European civilisation, my grandfather had grown up in the more isolated Te Māhia district. He had lived a life more steeped in the *tapu* and old ways of his ancestors. Even after we had moved to Ōmāhu, these life-long practices that he had grown up with were applied in our daily lives.

202. I had not realised that our Māori ways were so different to Pākehā ways until I left home and flatted with Pākehā. Many people may not necessarily notice these things in ordinary daily life situations. However, my grandfather's teachings have become ingrained in my psyche and are unable to be easily disregarded. A number of these practices are to do with

the *tapu* nature of the body. For example, with the head being the most *tapu* part of the anatomy, combs were not to be left on the food table, and hair was not to be washed, cut or left in the kitchen area. Hair had to be buried and never to be burned. Finding hair in food was equally bad.

203. Used plasters, bandages and bodily wastes were never to be disposed of in a food area. The burial of any such material had to be carefully selected and could be nowhere near the vegetable garden. There was a very strict separation of bodily functions and wastes, and food. We would never dream of washing hair or clothes in the kitchen sink as I had witnessed in my flatting days in Sydney. Hot water or disinfectant was simply non-effective in cleansing these receptacles again. They would have become contaminated and rendered *noa* (profane). The term for food contaminated in this way was *kai parapara*. These then, were some of the impacts of the culture of the Pākehā on the traditional way of life of Māori in ordinary home life.

204. I discussed this very matter with my mother. Having come from a previous generation and a life in Te Māhia when only Māori was spoken and at a time when these traditions were much stronger than they were in our Ōmāhu lives, she told me that she still practised them in her modern home but that she had learnt to adapt them to the new situation. She said that she had had to make conscious compromises otherwise life would have been too difficult to live within the confines of the strict *tapu*. She had concluded for herself that there was a potential for a person to become obsessed with *tapu* and that sometimes the self-imposition of *tapu* on oneself could have negative effects on one's health and very being.

205. Meanwhile, the traditional customs and values were more pervasive than that again. There were the elements of affording appropriate hospitality to visitors – *manaaki tangata*. We would wait upon visitors. There would always be nice food packed away in the cupboard '*mo te putanga mai o te tangata'* ('in case any visitor turned up'). We would always have to give our best to them. We would not be allowed to eat it ourselves. We would not be allowed to eat until after they had eaten.

206. With a large family of children and grandchildren, my grandparents had endured a life of poverty in their time. Food was never wasted. Surplus food was preserved by some method, or other. Corn was left fermenting in water so that it could be eaten as *kānga kōpiro* (fermented corn), as was crayfish so that it could be eaten as *koura mara*

(fermented crayfish). Fish bones were left drying on the line to eat when there was no meat. *Īnanga* (whitebait) was dried too for eating at a later time. This traditional style of food preservation and storage was soon to become somewhat outdated with the advent of and purchase of a freezer.

207. So, a number of transformations in our daily lives was taking place at this level. For example, rather than mutton being rendered down and left to store in its own fat, a carry-over of traditional preserving of *kererū* (native pigeon) and other bird life, it could now be simply deposited in the freezer and defrosted when needed. It also meant that there was no longer that fear of embarrassment of having no food to feed any unexpected visitors.

208. My grandfather was a wonderful gardener. While my grandmother grew flowers around the house, my grandfather always had a *kai* (vegetable, food) garden even into his old age. It was always a large garden – a paddock rather than a patch. He had his *maramataka* (calendar) written on an old plank of timber. It was peculiar to him and his family and it had a different name for each day of the month. Some days were good for planting and some were not. I never learnt to read and apply the *maramataka* but he stuck religiously to it. The main foods he planted were *kūmara*, *kamokamo*, and corn. As children we were involved in the planting of *kūmara*. Planting of each row would always start from the north-east end of the paddock only. Two *tipu* (sprouts) were laid down facing the east in the shallow hollow, then watered and covered over with soil. The two sprouts represented a mother and a father. Soil that was (p105) somewhat sandy was best. As the plants flourished, our grandfather trimmed back the prolific leaf growth so that all the goodness was not wasted in the leaves. He rose in the early morning to weed the garden before the heat of the Hawke's Bay summer sun set in. At harvest time we were called back in to help. However, my grandfather was very particular about how he stored his *kūmara*. He wrapped each one individually in newspaper and stored them in bags as they had to last us out the season. I am uncertain as to what was used in the days prior to newspaper.

209. *Kamokamo* were the other favourite and staple food. The seeds came from within the uneaten fruit from the previous season that had dried out and had turned orange. As the new planting season approached, the seeds were gouged out and left to stand in water to swell up and then be planted. As the plants grew, flourished and extended outwards, the *tōihi* (growing tips) were snipped off. This would diminish the invasive growth of the

offshoots and also enable the individual fruit to grow bigger and faster. The *tōihi* were cooked and eaten as a green.

210. During our life in Ōmāhu, my grandfather also grew other vegetables – including apple cucumbers, water-melon and radishes even though they were not traditional Māori foods.

211. We were normally not allowed onto the *kai* garden much more unless it was for a specific purpose. It was not an area of play for children. In the early weeks of growth though, we did have a special task and that was to run along the rows in the evenings covering the newly developed shoots with dried out weeds in case of an early morning frost which would kill them off. In the mornings before school, our task was to uncover them all again. So, our grandfather had his own traditional method of frost protection. Meanwhile, any of the women who were menstruating were totally banned from the *kai* garden because of the heavy *tapu* associated with blood. For them to trample all over the *kai* garden while in this state of *tapu* was to contaminate the growing food.

212. The *kai* garden was a matter of both survival and pride for my grandfather. It was kept immaculate by him. Whenever visitors or family came, he collected food from the garden for them to take away. He sent boxes of vegetables to his grown-up children in Wellington and elsewhere.

<u>Whānau obligations in the 1980s</u>

213. My sense of obligation and duty to my grandparents meant I would not return to Sydney but that I would remain home to become the caregiver of my grandfather. By this time he was in his early seventies and was afflicted with various ailments. We were left alone in our house once the extended family returned to their homes all around the country, after my grandmother's *tangi*. Due to the nature of my grandfather's ailments he did not want many people around him – least of all hordes of grandchildren. My grandfather was a strong man despite his ailments and managed to maintain his mobility for most of his life except at the very end.

214. I witnessed him undergo a complete reversal of his worlds, so to speak. At nights he would be unable to sleep but would pace the floor backwards and forwards. He would talk of lights outside and of ancestral spirits coming to get him. If he slept, he would experience what I can only describe as spiritual visitations. There was nothing I could do about it. In the day-time he would attempt to sleep therefore. It was very difficult to cope

with for me as the caregiver. However, hospitalising him or committing him into an old people's home was out of the question. Some of the family thought that that was what we should have done but personally I was prepared to persevere as I could tell that he did not have a long time left to live.

215. Eventually he died on 23rd December, 1981, almost 2 years after my grandmother, for whom he was probably fretting all that time. She died on 10th February 1980. I was grateful for my time with him and for what I had gained over my lifetime from both he and his wife, my grandmother. They must each have witnessed quite major transformations themselves in their life-times. For me, they witnessed *te ao kōhatu* (the stone age) when Māori was the first language of communication and traditional living was experienced first hand.

Struggles over the 10 acre block of Murirangawhenua - Ōmāhu 2M3

216. I was uncertain as to the best place to place this section and have left it within the *whānau whakapapa* section as this block of land is what we have inherited as a *whānau* by virtue of our *whakapapa* through Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Rāmeka. Murirangawhenua inherited the land from her father, and he from his father. It is now owned by a mixture of her children and grandchildren and was part of the 1890 Judgement of the Ōmāhu Block.

217. I was fortunate to have gained much of the material in this section from a visit to the Māori Trust Office at Wanganui in 1995. Mr. Ron Pirikahu photocopied much of the Estate File of my grandmother who had died intestate (without a formal Will) on February 10th, 1980.

218. Using that material, I shall attempt to trace the passage of the land block Ōmāhu 2M3 through to today by reference to those various documents pertaining to it:

> *A Partition Order under The Native Land Act, 1909 whereby on 6th July, 1920 it was ordered and declared by Judge Walter Edward Rawson that 'Tutawake Rameka. m. as succr [successor] to Hiraka Rameka is the owner of that part of the said land, containing 11ac 2r 23p named by the Court OMAHU 2M 3 …'. It referred back to the matter of the partition of the land known as Omahu No 2M whereby on 7th February, 1899 a Partition Order was made to split it into three pieces, Omahu 2M1, Omahu 2M2 and Omahu 2M3, each a little over 11 acres in size.*

219. It seems that in 1899, while Tūtewake inherited Ōmāhu 2M3 his sister Pāremata inherited the neighbouring Ōmāhu 2M2, and his other sister Ruiha inherited the neighbouring

Ōmāhu 2M1 again. These lands passed down to their respective offspring.

A sitting of the Native Land Court held at Hastings on the 21st of February, 1933, before Michael Gilfedder, Esquire, Judge - he accepted a claim of Three pounds, eight shillings & eleven pence by the Hawke's Bay County Council under the Rating Act, 1925 for rates due upon the Omahu 2M3 Block for the period 1st April, 1930 to 31st March, 1932. An amount of 3 shillings was charged for the costs of obtaining this charge. It was paid accordingly.

220. Of note here is the application of rates to the property and the further application of charges of approximately 25% for late payment.

An extract from the N.Z. Gazette No.61, 10th August, 1939, page 2145 notifies the exclusion of Omahu 2M3 (as well as Pakowhai No. 1 and Pakowhai No. 2) from the Heretaunga Development Scheme. It was dated 7th August, 1939. It was submitted by O.N. Campbell and W. Stewart, Members of the Board of Native Affairs.

221. I am unclear of the significance of the exclusion from the Scheme.

A sitting of the Native Land Court at Hastings on 19th of March, 1941, before George Patrick Shepherd, Esquire, Chief Judge in the matter of the Public Works Act, 1928, and in the matter of an application by the Hawke's Bay Rivers Board for assessment of compensation for the 1 acre and 23 perches taken from the Omahu 2M3 land block taken for the purposes of River Works. The land had been taken by Proclamation on the 20th of October, 1939. The Court ordered that the amount payable in compensation for this land should be Twenty five pounds, three shillings and three pence. Further it ordered that the money be paid to the Ikaroa District Maori Land Board to be applied or held as follows: to the HB Rivers Board for any rates due to it in regard to 2M3; to the payment of any survey liens and interest thereon charged upon the block…; to hold and administer under Section 552 of the Native Land Act, 1931, and any balance of the said sum on behalf of the persons entitled thereto.

222. The significance of this document is that a portion of some 10% of the land was more or less 'confiscated' for so-called 'river works'. As well as that the owner incurred costs of survey liens. Furthermore, the money was paid directly to other parties firstly, leaving my grandmother last in line. As she lived in Te Māhia in those years I cannot help but wonder as to whether she ever did receive the balance, if indeed there was anything left.

A sitting of the Native Land Court at Hastings on the 20th of March, 1942, before George Patrick Shepherd, Esquire, Chief Judge in the matter of Omahu 2M3, and of the interest of Tutawake Rameka deceased therein, it was thereby determined that ' Muri Rameka f.a. is the person entitled to succeed to the interest of the above-named deceased in the said land, and it is hereby ordered that the said interest shall vest in the above-named successor as from … about, (p115) 938.' A Five shilling fee was charged and paid.

223. Tūtewake died in 1935. Because Murirangawhenua was an only child she inherited his land.

A sitting of the Native Land Court held at Hastings on the 17th of March, 1948, before Arnold Admiral Whitehead, Esquire, Judge - he accepted a claim of Three pounds, two shillings & four pence by the Hawke's Bay County Council under the Rating Act, 1925 for rates due upon

the Omahu 2M3 Block for the period 1st April, 1936 to 31st March, 1938. An amount of Six shillings was charged for the costs of obtaining this charge. A fee of Three shillings was paid too.

224. Again, we see the levying of rates on the land. We see a fee being charged for 'obtaining' the charge and a further fee of Three shillings was charged for no apparent reason. Of note is that my grandmother's parents had passed away, she had no siblings, and she lived in Te Māhia. It is highly unlikely that she would have enjoyed the use of her own land nor any improvements the Hawke's Bay County Council supposedly provided in the district.

A declaration by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Court on 26th October, 1951 noted the Court's confirmation of the alienation of Omahu 2M3, being 10 acres and 2 roods, to Lessee Warwick Gumbley for 5 years from 1/7/52 at Three pounds per acre. It had been approved on 5th September, 1951 and signed by the Registrar.

225. It is interesting to note the use of the term 'alienation' here. It appears that this is the first time Murirangawhenua will have enjoyed any direct benefit from her land.

A declaration by the Ikaroa District Maori Land Court on 20th February, [1957] noted the Court's confirmation of the alienation of Omahu 2M3, being 10 acres and 2 roods, to Lessee Warwick Gumbley for 5 years from 1/7/57 at Forty two pounds per annum. It had been approved on 27th November, 1956 and signed by the Registrar.

226. It is pleasing to see the rise in rental fee paid by the Lessee. What we do not see is how much of this may have been forfeited in rates.

A Declaration of Change of Status of Land (Part 1 of the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967) in the Ikaroa District of the Maori Land Court, whereby the Deputy Registrar declared that the status of the land Ōmāhu 2M3 has ceased to be that of Maori land. Dated at Palmerston North this 26 day of May 1969.

227. The effect of this Act was that any Māori land with fewer than five owners was changed forthwith without any consultation with or consent of the owners. Murirangawhenua would have not necessarily been aware of this change and the effect of it. The document contains the wording 'Europeanization underway' which summarises it all. This was another attempt to alienate the remnants of land still in Māori hands. This change would have unforeseen ramifications for the *whānau* in the future.

228. My grandmother owned this land until her death in 1980. Our *whānau* moved onto the 10acre block in about 1960 when the old home 'around the *pā*' (as we termed the reservation area) was bull-dozed to make way for the new subdivision that would spring up in the 1960s. While living in our small caravan and *kāuta*-against-the box thorn bush,

our new house was being built at the front end of Ōmāhu 2M3 by the main road, Korokipo Rd (alias State Highway 50).

229. We were really proud when we moved into our new four-bed roomed house. Our grandparents were able to enjoy around 20 years of life there in their retirement years before they passed away. It was a particularly fulfilling time of my life. It was not without its trials and tribulations by any means. However, it was a time of rich *whānau* experiences. Their *pā harakeke* (flax bush i.e. metaphor for large family) was well established. There would be an influx of possibly fifty people or more on occasions like Christmas, or when relatives passed away.

230. In retrospect, despite the struggles that my grandparents had had over their life-time, I am extremely happy that they were able to enjoy their latter years in relative contentment. They were humble people. They had a huge vegetable garden. They carted bags of potatoes and sides of mutton on the bus from town to feed their children and grandchildren with. We would sheepishly meet them at the cross-roads with the old pram to transport the stores home in. And they loved all their children and grandchildren and encouraged us all to pursue education. They eventually died proud parents and grandparents, I believe.

231. When Murirangawhenua died intestate in 1980, Ōmāhu 2M3 passed partially by law to her surviving spouse, our grandfather, and partially to her surviving offspring. When our grandfather died intestate in 1981, the land all then became owned totally by their surviving children only.

232. The passing away of my grandparents was not only a great loss to the *whānau* but it also heralded the commencement of the disintegration of the *whānau*. Our Māori Affairs home and our 10 acre land block, Ōmāhu 2M3 became the subject of bitter in-fighting that took the two factions into court battles that are still unresolved today. It has come at a huge cost financially: in terms of legal bills, and the loss of potential income on the flat, arable land of fertile soils.

233. The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 was a prime example of the prevailing monocultural view and actions of the colonising group from as recently as 1967. In an instant, our land block lost its status as Māori land simply because Murirangawhenua was a sole owner. For our *whānau* the change of status meant, that the land could no longer

be dealt with in the Māori Land Court, and thus gain any advantages that that Court might bring. This led to the disregarding of the rights of *ōhākī* (deathbed wishes), *mokopuna* (grandchildren), *whāngai* (foster children) and a host of other cultural factors. This impacted directly on me as the oldest grandchild of my grandparent's marriage, and furthermore, a grandchild that they had fostered. On her deathbed, my grandmother had made her *ōhākī* in the presence of her husband (my grandfather), Reverend Barrie Ingham and me. In it, my cousin Haley and I were to become owners of the *papa-kāinga* (family homestead) with its surrounding acre or so of land, while the rest of the *whānau* were to become owners in common of the remaining 9-10 acres.

234. The ōhākī had absolutely no legality under the 1967 legislation, however, what this situation highlights is a problem created when Māori die intestate. My grandmother had not made a Will. To do so was regarded by their generation as *karanga mate* (inviting death). The ultimate effect of all this was that a huge ruction developed within the *whānau*. Some supported the *ōhākī* and others did not. Some wanted to sell their shares and others thought that it was sacrilege to do so. It was a complex struggle. It was very painful for everyone. My cousin and I were powerless as we were only grandchildren and had no legal rights. We stood back and could not participate while the battle raged around us. This was *te tīhoka me te karo* at the site of the *whānau*.

235. The situation was in such stark contrast to the time when our grandparents were still alive. I look forward in hope for a future time when the *whānau* is able to resolve this issue. For our *whānau*, Ōmāhu 2M3 is the last remnant of the huge landed estate that my Ngāti Hinemanu forebears and related *hapū* had once owned-in-common. It remains incumbent on the present and future members of the *whānau* to do their utmost to keep it so. The *whānau* struggle really deserves a whole chapter in itself. However, due to the immensely sensitive nature of it, I shall let the matter rest there. I shall not mention names. We are all victims.

236. This situation is a microcosm of what happened with the Heretaunga Block; with Rēnata Kawepō's Will; and with the 1890 Ōmāhu Case Judgement. The situation highlights how the onset of colonialism, of capitalism and of individualism continues to impact at *whānau* level, even though we own only a tiny morsel of what we once owned. A century of land legislation since the Native Land Act of 1862 continues to take its toll.

The Judgement of the Native Lands Alienation Commission 1873

237. In Noa Huke's case, there was a discrepancy not only over the amount he supposedly owed but also to which shopkeeper it was owed. Furthermore, he was also encumbered with the debts of his cousin Rēnata Kawepō. Noa was a lay reader and one would expect him to have been a person of honesty and integrity. He does admit to signing a document but questions the integrity of the wording of that document. He was quite old at the time and had failing eyesight. He says: useful to show how they hounded – put in position of shame as result

> *Martin Hamlin, Maney, and Peacock came to speak about my debts and also about my share of Heretaunga…They came to show my own debts and Rēnata's; Maney mentioned my debts as £300…I thought it was £200…Maney asked me to sign Rēnata's name…For Rēnata's debts to Maney. I said, "You have come from Ōmāhu; why did you not get the signing done there?" I was then at Ōwhiti…I am clear about my signatures; but the words are theirs; they were not read to me…[I owed money] to Peacock, only; I owed nothing to Maney.*[80]

Struggles by Māori to resist land loss (P153)

238. As we have seen in the previous section, the process of the new land system was to deal a cruel blow to local Māori in more than one way. Individualisation of land title immediately undermined the authority of the chiefs whose spoken word held *mana* (authority). In her thesis, Ballara writes of the mechanism that was developed by the settler government to bypass Te Tiriti ō Waitangi and to enable better access by the settlers to the land, whereby it became that much easier to divide and rule the Māori. Ballara's words are as follows:

> *The land was granted to ten individuals or less…After the issue of Crown grants, certificates of title or memorials of ownership, successors to the persons named in these various forms of title no longer needed to identify their claims by iwi or hapū nor did they need to trace their descent from remote ancestors. They had only to establish their relationship to the deceased grantee or deceased owner. Hapū identity became unimportant in succession cases.*[81]

239. Such factors impacted greatly on the tribal estate and the ability to gather, hunt and fish at will. Fences had begun to spring up and communities like Ōmāhu became physically confined to quite limited areas of land in a very short space of time. Certainly, different *hapū* had held territorial rights over certain fisheries, hunting grounds and cultivations but the concept of absolute 'ownership' of land, water or air space was totally foreign to

[80] Ibid., p. 74.
[81] H. A. Ballara, op. cit., p. 495.

19th century Māori.

240. During the 1850s Te Hāpuku had aided Donald McLean in the purchase of lands in Hawke's Bay. This had led to the Te Pakiaka war. After the battle in September 1858, a letter was written to the Governor by ten Heretaunga chiefs stating:

> *Our quarrel originated in our lands being seized by others and sold to Europeans as a means of obtaining money for themselves, whilst the real owners of the soil were left without anything.*[82]

241. Therefore, when the Hauhau came to Omarunui in October 1866, Rēnata Kawepō and Karaitiana Takamoana joined Colonel G.S Whitmore to chase them out. This was because they were suspicious of Te Hāpuku who, they thought, had sought the Hauhaus to aid him in fighting them back after his earlier defeat at Te Pakiaka. Rēnata Kawepō's fighting prowess was noted in that battle. He was also leader in battles against Te Kooti between 1860 and 1870, in particular, a battle in November 1886 at Mākāretu, Gisborne where he nearly died from gun-fire. He did not go on to fight Te Kooti at Taupō in June 1869.

242. Rēnata Kawepō and Hēnare Tōmoana and their troops did go to Tokaanu to fight against Te Kooti, however. The chief, Paurini of Ngāti Tuwharetoa died at Te Pōrere in October and his widow gouged out Rēnata Kawepō's right eye. Rēnata married her and he received £100 compensation from the Government for the loss of his eye. However, of note is that he sold (P154) land to settle debts that were incurred by the battle. The large-scale loss of land had a great impact upon the Māori of Heretaunga. The loss of their land through the war effort became one of the greatest injustices that was to befall the chiefs of Heretaunga, particularly Hēnare Tōmoana and Rēnata Kawepō. Ballara writes:

> *The expenses of raising and maintaining troops had contributed to the indebtedness of most of the important chiefs, and as their debts mounted, their lands dissolved from under their feet.*[83]

243. In an effort to save their lands, a number of chiefs turned to Henry Russell. This led to the establishment of the Repudiation Movement. Rather than chancing a racial Anglo-Māori war as had happened in Taranaki, the local chiefs were anxious to follow the due processes of law. Their efforts are described by Ballara as follows:

> *Henry Russell…promised, for his own purposes, to get back all their land that was sold or mortgaged, by using the legal system to repudiate previous sales. Involvement in the repudiation movement in Hawke's Bay and Wairoa, and…Wairarapa, raised Māori political consciousness in the region. Petitions were sent to the government, and delegations travelled*

[82] J. G. Wilson, op. cit., p. 208.
[83] H. A. Ballara, op. cit., pp. 495-496.

from meeting to meeting as the Kotahitanga movement developed, all in the name of Ngāti Kahungunu.[84]
A Repudiation committee was formed to foster the movement and raise funds for legal expenses…Karaitiana opposed Repudiation as 'bad work' contrary to Māori custom…Henare supported him…Both chiefs feared a renewal of the war and more land confiscation. Their strategy was to work with Europeans and seek to remedy this grievance in Parliament and the law courts.[85]

244. It appears though that Repudiation did not work so well in the end. Mooney writes:

In 1876 a meeting was convened at Pakowhai by the moderate chiefs to consider the formation of a government to conduct the affairs of the Māori race…Repudiation was a lost cause. Māori Parliaments were born.[86]

245. Meanwhile one thing that Hēnare Tōmoana did was to publish a newspaper called *Te Wananga* which he began to publish more frequently as a weekly from August 1875. And local chiefs like Karaitiana, Rēnata and Tārehā refused to join the King movement, but agreed to adopt the local government or Rūnanga system. The Rūnanga system must have been too successful, as Commissioner Cooper writes to Donald McLean in Auckland:

Ever since the visit of the Waikato deputation…the Rūnangas have been in constant and active operation…As petty courts they are really useful…and the result has been that drunkenness…has now almost disappeared; and acts of violence, such as seizing horses…rarely occur now.[87]
The action of the Runangas will, however, I am sorry to say, effectually put a stop to sales of land to the Government…they will listen to no argument…hear no reason.[88]

246. The letter by Cooper illustrates the insatiable demand for land by settlers, on the one hand, as well as the growing political awareness of the Māori, on the other hand. Māori assemblies called for the abolition of the Native Land Court and for a return to customary law under Rūnanga control. In March 1877, an assembly of Māori chiefs met at Ōmāhu. The Native Land Court had made the chiefs politically impotent.[89] Too much of their land had been lost and they needed to devise ways of stopping it.

247. On 14th June 1892 the first meeting of the Māori Parliament, the Te Kotahitanga met at Waipatu in Hastings. Made up of 96 members from 8 districts, the chiefs wanted to devise their own land laws. Unfortunately, however, the Government would not devolve the power of the four Māori MPs to the Māori Parliament.[90] When Donald McLean set up the four Māori seats in Parliament it was with the purpose of keeping Māori in a state of

[84] Ibid., pp. 495-496.
[85] M. B. Boyd, op. cit., p. 13.
[86] Ibid., op. cit., p. 14.
[87] J. G. Wilson, op. cit., p. 209.
[88] Ibid., p. 209.
[89] Ranginui Walker, op. cit., p. 154-155.
[90] Ibid., p. 165-166.

subjection. His ploy of years earlier was working exactly how he had intended it to.[91]

248. Come 1900, the Māori Councils Act was passed which led to the development of village councils which would attend to local affairs like sanitation, health and water. But the Councils were dominated by Pākehā which had an obvious subduing effect on these Councils.[92] These were the precursors of the Tribal Committees that arose with the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945.[93] They were superseded in 1962 with the Māori Community Development Act which gave rise to Māori Committees as the grass roots organisation of the NZ Māori Council.[94] The Ōmāhu Māori Committee is one such committee in existence today.

249. All in all, these efforts to resist the continued loss of Māori land were sadly unsuccessful.

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Dr Joseph Te Rito

[91] Ibid., p. 144.
[92] Ibid., p. 171.
[93] Ibid., p. 207.
[94] Ibid., p. 204.