

I MUA I TE AROARO O TE TARAIPUNARA O WAITANGI

WAI 2700

WAI 2872

I TE TAKE Ō

te Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975
(te ture)

Ā

I TE TAKE Ō

te Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry
(Wai 2700)

Ā

I TE TAKE O

tētahi tono a **Dr Leonie Pihama,**
Angeline Greensill, Hilda
Halkyard-Harawira, Mereana
Pitman rātou ko **Te Ringahuia**
Hata (Wai 2872)

NGĀ KŌRERO A RIPEKA HUDSON

Ka tāpaea i te rā 27 o Hūrae 2022

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Ministry of Justice
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E TE TARAIPUNARA

Introduction

Koia kei a ia te wā ā muri
Koia kei a ia te wā aiānei
Koia kei a ia te wā aiānei
Koia kei a ia te wā ā mua
Wā muri ka oti a mua
He who holds the past holds the present
He who holds the present holds the future
The past of our ancestors is our future
Rocky Hudson

Content of Brief of Evidence

1. This evidence has been collected from conversations between whānau who whakapapa to Ngāruahinerangi specifically on the kaupapa of kōrero supporting the mana wāhine claim. This does not represent the sum of knowledge held within whānau of Ngāruahine.
2. It is not intended to discount kōrero that may differ from the accounts or views expressed here but as an encouragement to reclaim and reignite the stories of kuia and the importance of mana wāhine in society today.
3. The narratives set out speak to the following points.
 - (a) Ātua whaene, tupuna whaene and the blueprint for mana wahine
 - (b) Te ira wahine me te ira tangata – balance of wahine and tane for the good of all
 - (c) Te mana o te wahine in te ao Māori – Māori society and rangatira wahine
 - (d) Wahine Rangatiratanga over whenua, whakapapa, whānau, whai rawa and mātauranga.

He Mareikura

4. I ahu mai a Ngāruahinerangi i ngā Ranginui e tū nei. Ko Rangituhaha. Ko Mareikura.
He mareikura
Te Rangi Whakataka

Taumakumaku o ngā rangi
 Te Parapara Wai o ngā rangi
 Te Maire Hou
 o ngā rangi te Mata Waiwai
 te tūara o ngā rangi
 te Mata Uraura o ngā rangi
 Te Takinui o ngā rangi
 Tū Te Wanawana o ngā rangi
 Ao Ao Ariki o ngā rangi
 Kirikiri o Matangi
 Te toi o ngā rangi
 Ko Ngāruahinerangi iwi o Taranaki nui tonu e ai!

5. This karakia alludes to the origins of Ngāruahine, Ngāruahinerangi people. He Mareikura is an acknowledgment of female divinity that exists in both the spiritual and physical realms. The story of the Mareikura transcends Atua and acknowledges the ‘wahine’ elements that created the very fabric of life and the life given to te ira tangata. The name Ngāruahine, Ngāruahinerangi recognises the divine origins of hinetanga. Within our origin story is the whakapono (belief) that our wahine are taonga (treasure) and the name Ngāruahine, Ngāruahinerangi honors that whakapono.

“E rua ngā whakahuatanga mō tēnei ingoa ā Ngāruahine, muri ake tērā ka karangatia ko Ngāruahinerangi. Ka mea anō ētehi tēnā pea e rua ngā wahine kei roto nei, ka kī atu, kahore ko Ngārahine. Me e rua ngā wahine ko Eruahine kē. Ko te tikanga ko Ngāruahine. Neke atu te tokomaha o ngā wahine e mahi mai nei i te papa whenua – e tau ana ngā kai, e tiaki tamariki; ngā mahi o ngā wahine nē. I ahu pēnā mai tēnā ingoa, mō rātou e kawē nei i ngā mahi katoa e pā ana ki te wahine. Tokomaha ngā wahine e mahi pēnā ana. Mohio koe e pērā ngā iwi katoa huri noa i te motu. Engari tēnei ingoa, kore kau ōna tūpuna nē, nō te mea he kupu tuku iho tēnei, he kupu tuku iho. Kia rātou e whakahua ana he wairua tēnei ingoa. I ahu mai nā te Rangī. Nō reira nā āku Matua (tūpuna) i tapungia e rātou tēnei ingoa kua ūtainatia ko Ngāruahinerangi. Nā mohio nei tātou ko te Ngārua he plural, mehemea e rua ngā wahine ko Erua. E meatia ko ‘Ngā’ kia mohiotia kia kapo katoatia ai te ao wahine nē. Nā ko te ingoa tuatahi e pa ana ki ngā wahine i runga i te mata o te whenua, ia Papatūānuku, engari ko Ngāruahinerangi, ā, ka hoki

noa ki te Rangi nē. Nā tō rātou whakahua, ko te wairua he wahine, no te mea ko te wairua ahakoa kei hea koe e haere ana kei kona te wairua. Mehemea haere ana koe ki tāwahi kei kona te wairua, ka hoki mai koe ki Aoteroa kei kona te wairua. Ahakoa kei hea koe kei kona te wairua. Nā ka whakahuatia e rātou rite tonu te nekeneke o te wairua tapu nē, ki runga i tēnā, i tēnā me tēnā. Kahore anō te wairua tapu e noho ana ki te tangata kotahi. Ka kapi katoa te tangata, ka kapi tōna wahine, ngā tamariki me ngā mokopuna. Nā tērā i ūtainatia tēnei ingoa mai heke iho. Heke iho mai i ngā Matua me ngā tūpuna. E mohio nei tātou ko ēnei ingoa o te ao kohatu, he ingoa tuku iho. Nā te haere mai o te Pakeha ka tuhituhia ka hē. Kei te hē tonu iaiānei. Mohio tātou, ētehi o ā tātou kupu, nā kua tapu ki rung aia Papatūānuku. Nā kei te mohio tātou ngā kupu tuturu tuku iho mai i ō tātou Matua tūpuna, pēnei i te ingoa nei a Ngāruahine me Ngāruahinerangi.”

- Rocky Hudson

Taranaki Maunga

6. Wāhine are the givers and nurturers of life in the widest of contexts and are holders of balance. Without wāhine, life itself would cease to exist. This aligns with the kōrero about Taranaki maunga being a kuia. The view from South Taranaki shows, what is today called, phantoms peak. This is the baby she carried with her up the Wanganui river to Taranaki. The two streams that flow to the top of this peak is the waiū which feeds and nurtures her baby. The streams that flow from her also feed and nurture our whenua providing sustenance and wellbeing for our people. She also symbolises the gateway from which the Mareikura descend and ascend.
7. These attributes align with the traditional view and importance of wāhine as the givers and nurturers of life. Koko Raumatī Robinson spoke about this at hui around the maunga and was never challenged. This narrative was also told by Rocky Hudson and recorded by the maunga negotiation team but omitted for the final publication. This kōrero is remembered by other whānau around the maunga who were told this by their kuia.

Te Hekenga

Significance of Puhī within Māori society

8. Even before Aotea left Rangiataea, this whenua was named Ao-tea-roa through the prophetic utterances by the wife of Kupe. Rongorongo, daughter of the renowned Rangiataea tohunga Toto, was raised according to the tikanga of puhi. A treasured wāhine of Kahui Ariki lineage she was endowed with aristocracy, fiercely protected and respected by the people. These wahine wielded great influence and played an important part in society so great care and consideration were taken with their upbringing and education. Within our stories, Puhi were considered tapu, highly educated, resourced, and supported, and often renowned for their leadership, courage, and at times, sacrifice.

Aotea waka

Ko Aotea te waka

Ko Turi te tangata

Ko Rongorongo te wahine

9. Our traditional narratives teach us that the waka Aotea was carved and gifted to Rongorongo by her father. When Toto and his men felled a tree in the forest to build a waka, the rakau split into two halves. Each half was dedicated for the sole purpose of carving waka for his daughters, one being Rongorongo. Ko Aotea te waka nei. Once completed, the appropriate karakia was recited and the waka was launched from the private bathing pool of Rongorongo. The economic capabilities at her disposal were appropriate for the mana Rongorongo held and the responsibilities she was destined to carry.
10. When a dispute between Uenuku and Turi Te Ariki (Rongorongo's husband) occurred, Rongorongo overheard the harmful intentions of Uenuku for Turi and his people. Upon sharing this with her husband, the decision to migrate to Aotearoa for the safety of their people was made. Her waka Aotea was utilised for this purpose. Together, Turi and Rongorongo prepared the people for migration and resettlement exemplifying the balance of ira wahine and ira tane by the mana Rongorongo carried alongside Turi.

Te Hekenga

11. Rongorongo's navigational prowess and expert knowledge regarding waka, karakia, and Te Wao Nui o Tangaroa were entrusted to her from an early age playing a pivotal role during the migration and settlement. The karakia below was recited by her when Aotea encountered danger during the hekenga to Aotearoa. This is still utilised by her

descendants today and is often performed as a poi Atua.

Ki mai Ki mai nei ngā atua o te pō
Ka tuhi, ka rarapa, ka uira

Katoa Katoa te māhuru
Ki okioki e, tōia te waka

Haere Haere, haere I te wīwī
Haere, haere I te wāwā
Haere I te maru nui o Whiti

Haere Haere I te maru o Tonga
Pōuri, potango

Whekere Whekere, whekere rā
I mou ai te tieke
Hei te tieke, hei te tieke
Matara rawa

Ka rere Ka rere kei runga kei te rangi
Kei te papa I whakakino
I whakatoimaha
I whakapūhoi
I whakamama
Hikitia kei runga

E Ka koa E ka koa koa ngā tuawāhine
Ki tōna waka hei mania waka

I tere I tere waka, I tere ki whea
I tere ki uta, I tere ki tai
I tere ki te tupuranga I tupu mai ai e – hai

Tūturu o whiti whakamoua kia tīna! Tina! Hui e! Taiki e!

12. Koko Raumati Robinson and his sister, my grandmother, Waitaheke, spoke about Rongorongo, the cluster of stars known as the butterfly and her pet butterflies. Her pet butterflies were utilised for waka navigation in the open sea. When released, these butterflies would instinctively fly towards whenua. If no whenua was found, they would return to her indicating there was still some distance to travel until they found whenua. If whenua was found, the butterflies would remain there, this indicated the waka Aotea was close to land.
13. In regards to the butterfly star cluster, on good nights when the tail of the butterfly turns a certain way, the wings of the butterfly emerge in the night sky. The movement of the tail; and the emergence of the wings are tohu for the time to fish and the time for the necessary kaitiaki practices. The stories of this knowledge are still shared amongst fishing families of Aotea. Raumati Robinson was a boat captain and kaitiaki for Ōhourangi, Ōtāmere, Motumate, Waiōhata, and Ōrangituapeka and kept some of the old practices of tohunga moana and openly credited Rongorongo for this knowledge.

Ao Ao ki te Rangi

Ao ao ki te rangi te kete o Rongorongo, hei aha
Hei komotanga i tāku raupō e
Hi aue nekenekēhia te aroha e
Hi aue nekenekēhia te aroha e
He koakoa ki te rangi te ingoa o te kawē, hei aha
Hei whakawaha I tāku raupō e
Hi aue nekenekēhia te aroha e
Hi aue nekenekēhia te aroha e

14. ‘Ao Ao ki te Rangi’ is the sacred kete Rongorongo utilised to store the nine sacred kumara seeds brought from Rangiatea and the kakara seeds collected from Rangitahua. One of these kakano was used as a ritual offering after she gave birth to Tutawa Whanaumoana during the hekenga at sea. Te Tātua o Rongorongo is the sacred belt she fastened to herself to carry them. During their stop at Rangitahua, she is credited for harvesting and carrying the kakara seeds which are native to that island, to Aotearoa.

15. Upon arrival to 'Ka āwhina a Turi' (known today as, Kawhia), a temporary settlement was built to prepare for the journey south to Pātea. It was here Rongorongo first planted kakano to provide kai to sustain the people and a fresh harvest of kakano (seeds) to carry to settle in their new home. This practice had been perfected over generations from when our mātua tupuna transversed the vast oceans. 'Hawaiki nui, Tawhiti nui, Hawaiki roa, Tawhiti roa, Hawaiki pāmamao, Tawhiti pāmamao'. When Rongorongo knelt to prepare the soil and planted the seeds, Turi stood at her side reciting the ancient karakia that ensured a successful harvest.
16. The pao, Ao Ao ki te rangi, is recited today by her descendants in honour of her leadership and dedication to nurturing the people. Karanga referencing, 'Te Tātua o Rongorongo' is still heard on marae, welcoming the people into the wharekai to partake in the bounty of Rongorongo.

Ruaputahanga

17. Ruaputahanga is a much-loved kuia tupuna of Taranaki. Daughter of Keru, and 7th generation in direct line to Turi and Rongorongo through their daughter Taneroroa who was married to Uhenga Puanake. A puhi and chieftain in her own right, she was raised according to the customs of puhi, highly educated, resourced, and supported. Renowned for her beauty and prowess in women's taiaha, suitors travelled from across the motu to seek her hand which she consistently refused until meeting Turongo, at her bathing pool, at Potataka.
18. The betrothal to unite the aristocratic lineages of Aotea and Tainui was agreed upon and the following events resulting in her marriage instead, to Whatihua, are well kept in the oral traditions of Tainui and Taranaki nui tonu.
19. After the birth of their sons, circumstances arose in their relationship causing Ruaputahanga to decide to return to Taranaki with her children. Whatihua relentlessly pursued to take her back, resulting in her surrendering her two sons to evade capture. Once she crossed the boundary into Taranaki, Whatihua returned home unsuccessful, and her sons were raised by him in Waikato.

20. She then married Mokau and remained amongst his people in North Taranaki for a time before making the journey south. Setting camp to the east of Taranaki maunga, she turned her head towards the stars in the heavens to seek guidance. She then recalled the teachings of her kuia and understood the direction she should take. This place was named Whakaahurangi (meaning to turn upwards to the heavens). The trail also took on this name and is sometimes referred to as, Te aratapu a Ruaputahanga. This track became a major thoroughfare for trade and travel.
21. Following the instructions of her kuia, she travelled to Pūkiwikiwi (outside of Manaia), where the puna Kurahaupo was. She remained here for a time before moving to build her settlement, Te Ramanui known today as Te Hāwera in Ngāti Ruanui. She married again to Porou and eventually passed away at Orangituapeka Pā. These place names are still used by tangata whenua today.
22. She never forgot her sons in Tainui. Having the gift of foresight, she accurately prophesied the meeting of her children after her death. She told them when they heard the rattling of her bones they would know each other, which is what happened.
23. Ruaputahanga continues to be highly revered as a strong chieftain by both tāne and wāhine alike. The places named by her remain intact today and she serves as a testament and example how wahine hold their mana. A gifted, brave, courageous, and respected leader, the stories about her contain many examples including the capability of wahine to determine and exercise agency for their life and remain uncompromising in upholding and protecting her worth.

1860's

24. As greed for land and wealth took hold, fuelled by calls from the government that not one brown face should be seen on our land. The invasion of South Taranaki and the dispossession of our economic, social, cultural, and political resources brought Ngāruahine into profound desolation leaving them bereft of

everything leading to an unprecedented period of survival. The excerpt below from the Ngāruahine Settlement document refers to this and the deliberate targeting of wāhine and tamariki by war crimes of the crown and agents of the crown.

Maungarongo i te whenua ki te pai ki nga tangata katoa. I te wa i timata ai te muru me te raupatu i te tau kotahi mano waru rau ono tekau ma toru. I eke mai ai nga hoia, nga pu, me nga purepo i te awa o Waitotara i te timatanga o te muru me te raupatu. I tera wa i a tatou te tino rangatiratanga o to tatou maunga, awa, whenua, ngahere, te takutaimoana, hinu, hou, nga whakairo, a tatou maoritanga, a tatou marae, a tatou maara, a tatou kainga, o tatou urupa. I te mutunga i te matenga o etahi o ratou i te raupatu. I murua katoatia te whenua.

Tekau nga tau e noho ana a tatou matua, a tatou tupuna i roto i te kore. Kore kau ratou i kaha ki te tou kai, ki te hi ika, ki te kohi mataitai, ki te kore kau i kaha o tatou tino rangatiratanga. E tu kirikau o tatou matua, o tatou whaea, a ratou uri, whanau, hapu, iwi. Me te tu warewaretia ratou katoa.

Ko nga kuia haria a ratou tamariki ki te roto i te ngahere. A ratou, kai ko nga tuna, me nga hua rakau i roto i te ngahere. E wehi ana nga whaea, kei patua a ratou tamariki, mokopuna e nga hoia.

Koia nei nga mamae i pa ai ki o tatou matua tupuna i te wa o te mumu U: mupatu Ko o ratou mamae kei runga i a tatou katoa, nga roimata, nga hupe, me nga mamae kei runga tonu i a tatou katoa. a tatou tamariki me a tatou mokopuna.

E kore tenei mamae e warewaretia

'E kore au u mate, ka mate ko te mate, kia ora au.

— Na Ron Hudson i tuhi

25. During this period our people were forced to hide in the bush at the base of our maunga. The term 'Te Iwi Korekore', emerged at this time. During this period the commitment to retain and remain on the whenua was re-galvanised and shaped the approach Ngāruahinerangi uri hold to this day. Prophecy emerged

during this time declaring that the day will come when wāhine will arise and restore our people. That is the belief, hope, love, and importance wāhine hold with the Ngāruahinerangi belief system.

26. Ngāruahinerangi connection to Parihaka is well known and mana wāhine is evidenced throughout. It is important to note the name of the main house at Parihaka, Te Rangikapua, is connected to the Mareikura discussed earlier.
27. Following the plundering of Parihaka, the instruction left by Tohu and Whiti, ‘e tū tama wahine I te wā o te kore’, signalled a major shift in our society. For the first time in our Aotearoa history, our wāhine and tamariki would stand without their tāne and bear the responsibility of ira wāhine and ira tangata alone. The decimation of tapu and years of brutality and suffering justified by a substandard coloniser’s view of wāhine disrupted the balance of ira wahine and ira tangata on our landscape.
28. The raping of kuia resulting in some becoming pregnant was recounted to me by Koko Raumati Robinson. He talked about a hui at Parihaka that was called to discuss this matter. Alongside the decimation of wāhine tapu, a major concern was the breach of whakapapa due to not knowing who the fathers of these mokopuna were. Understanding the significant impact this would have on the psychological, physiological and spiritual welfare of both wāhine and pepi bold measures were taken with a decision to cease reciting of whakapapa on the marae at Parihaka.
 - (a) This was done to protect and spare them from further traumatisation.
 - (b) The whakapapa knowledge and practices spoken of here could be recounted to the beginning of time, such as the violation the raping and systemic oppression of wāhine brought and continue to bring.
29. Koko Raumati also spoke of another hui that was held offering wāhine the right to stand and speak on the marae. This was given in recognition by our tauheke who felt that wāhine had earned the right due to the stand and sacrifices made at

Ōrangituapeka and Parihaka. The response of our kuia was, ‘Kaore, let the paepae remain the domain of our tāne, we have places for our voices to speak, let us keep the balance’.

Tauranga waka

30. Tauranga waka are the fishing stations located along the coastline of Aotea waka. Today these sites have been preserved as reserves with Ōhourangi in Ngāti Haua remaining although not operational. These stations represented a good portion of the economic activity undertaken since the arrival of Turi and Rongorongo. The practices were strict and precise continuing ancient and localised knowledge under the authority of Tohunga Moana within clear operating structures and processes. Here sea fishing waka were stored and maintained.

31. Uncle Sid Ngatai speaks about the seven waka at Ōhourangi spoken of by his father, Tohe Ngatai. Six of these waka were crewed by men and one crewed by wāhine. This wāhine waka was called Piki wāhine. Each waka had a dedicated crew identified at a young age and specifically trained for their positions. Captains were required to be experts in their craft. This included training and knowledge about:
 - a. karakia and rites
 - b. the sea currents, their characteristics, and how to navigate them
 - c. the Taniwha and Kaitiaki
 - d. reading tohu and navigation by the stars
 - e. knowing the winds patterns and their characteristics
 - f. migration patterns, characteristics, and preferences of marine and bird species
 - g. ecology systems of the moana and takutai

32. Narratives and personal experiences recounted by fishing whānau of Ōhourangi, Ōtāmere, Motumate, Waiōhata, and Orangituapeka in Ngāruahinerangi emphasise the importance of wāhine and the role they played.

33. When waka went to sea, wāhine took responsibility of the Tauranga waka. This role included monitoring the environment for tohu that indicated a change in the environment, preparing for the waka return, and communicating information to the crews at sea and the other Tauranga waka along the coastline.
34. Night fishing was a regular occurrence in South Taranaki. Koko Rocky Hudson recalled being at sea during these expeditions and seeing the Ngaruahinerangi, Ngāti Ruanui, and Ngā Rauru coastline cliffs alight with fire stacks and kuia swinging fire poi. Sid Ngatai of Ngāti Haua, fondly remembers as a child being tasked by his father, Tohe Ngatai, to keep the fire stack burning during these expeditions. One night he fell asleep and was awakened by a grumpy crew of fishermen. A lesson he carries to this day.
35. He recounts kui preparing piles of fire poi beforehand. If she needed to communicate to the waka or other Tauranga waka she would stand on the cliff top and light her poi and swing them using specific motions. Karanga was also used and the sound produced would carry on the wind and ocean waves. These practices were taught generationally by kuia and tōhunga.
36. Betty Robinson and Beep Robinson of Ngāti Tū, tell of their childhood experiences of being taken in the night to Ōhourangi by their mother who was a kaitiaki kuia, and being put to sleep in a makeshift bed on the floor. She would prepare for the waka to return and prepare kai for the crew. They remember when waka came closer to shore, she would stand on the ramp, swing fire poi and karanga to guide the waka safely to shore.

Kuia of the 1900s

Kui Tūhituhipō Karewa

37. Mary Nicholson, a great-granddaughter of Tūhipō, who was also known as Tuhituhipō, the Dame or Dulce, shared her story. Kui was born in the 1870s on the Waimate plans near Manaia, in the rohe of Ngāruahinerangi. Kui Tūhipō was

highly esteemed and a matriarch. ‘Support others without prejudice’ and ‘Feed the people’ were guiding principles she lived by. A whakatauki she quoted often, ‘what lies behind us and what lies before us are tiny matters compared to what lies within us’, still encourages us to hold onto our beliefs despite the burdens of colonisation and the challenges this continues to present. Living at the intersection of opposing worldviews, she exemplified mana wāhine in her time and continued to walk in the teachings and according to the customs taught to her by the old people.

38. At 10yrs old, her uncle Ngaōnepu went to the Māori Land Court to ensure her succession to land. She was a major landowner with each of her 21 tamariki, both sons and daughters, receiving land, from farms to sections to build homes and raise their children. One farm handed by her through her female lines remains in the custodianship of whānau today.
39. She held mana and was supported by her elders to exact consequences. An example of this relates to her ex-husband. Following their separation, he pursued a dubious relationship with his young niece from which a child resulted. This signified a breach in tapu. With the support of her elders and whānau, Kui Tuhipō saw that he was disinherited from landholdings in Ngāruahinerangi except for one parcel of land. Alongside this came a demoting of his mana. As a result of this, the reciting of whakapapa stop at her. Despite this breach, the tikanga of, ‘Kia tau te Rangimarie’, was also invoked as the child mentioned and now the child’s descendants continue living in our rohe. This is an illustration of wāhine enacting consequences and healing breaches of tapu in whānau and whakapapa.
40. Tuhipō also kept large māra on her whenua fulfilling the instruction to feed the people. She traded goods with pākehā and was committed to supporting Parihaka ahikā. A common saying amongst Ngāruahine whānau was, ‘the best goes to Parihaka’. Every rā (19th) a horse and gig would be hired and loaded with kai for Parihaka. This eventually progressed to vehicles.

Ritihia Te Wehi Omahuru 1882 - 1929

41. Kui Ritihia was the second child in her family and born at Ngarewa to Te Wehi Kaitangata Omahuru rāua ko Ngaruake Ngawaki Tuku Tuheimoa Te Kaho, in Ngāruahinerangi. Birthed into chieftain lineage she was raised with great care alongside her elder sister Mereana and younger brother Hapaiterangi. Ritihia received large land shares from both parents alongside her siblings. Some of this land remains in the care of her descendants today.
42. Hapaiterangi received his name from his kuia Hinewai Rewatu Hapaiterangi showing that names were interchangeable between males and females. Although kui Hinewai was married from Ngā Rauru., she held ownership of whenua alongside her husband Te Karere Omahuru. Access to tribal resources and management of resources was commonplace for wāhine in our society to ensure the continued growth and wellbeing of our people.
43. Ritihia played an active role within a network of kuia who monitored and oversaw the wellbeing of whanau and iwi which often extended beyond our tribal boundaries. This included management and allocation of resources and support to whānau experiencing hardship. Arranging whangaitanga for tamariki mokopuna both temporal and permanent. Kuia would travel to whakamahana ngā hononga between iwi where there were significant connections. An example of this was Kui Wairemana and Kui Whakamamaku who were named by Te Kooti when their father passed away. They travelled between Ngāruahinerangi to Te Whakatōhea and Te Whanau Apanui to manaaki the intermarriages that took place between Ngāruahinerangi and these iwi.
44. Ritihia stayed in Ngāruahine and was held in high regard due to her example and work within the community. One tauheke of Ngāti Tū named his mokopuna in acknowledgment of this work.

Kui Hinekoropanga

45. Kui Hinekoropanga was of an ancient rangatira lineage from Motumate and raised according to the custom of puhi. She married Ngatauerua a Tohunga Moana. This

couple raised my father, Rocky Hudson, who spoke fondly of her and the kui of her era. She was a landowner who passed shares to both sons and daughters, held matauranga, and was gifted with healing with a preference for healing tamariki. Rocky said he never went to the doctors as a child because whenever they were sick, she would perform karakia and they would be made well.

46. Piho, a form of traditional trading, fell under the mantel of wāhine and was widely used. Kuia would door knock pākeha and trade goods for clothes, shoes, school uniforms for tamariki, and other necessities. Although as a child, Rocky could barely see over the steering wheel, it was often his job to drive them.
47. He recalled many kui in that era being spiritually gifted but saw a significant decline due to disruptions to traditional intergenerational succession practices following WWII. The impact of over a century of colonial oppression, and the continual loss of traditional economic resources drove whānau further into poverty alongside the push for urbanisation, pushed whānau to move into the cities in search of employment to feed their families. The addition of legislated fulltime mainstream education at the expense of traditional mātauranga practices, loss of reo, the societal and systematic demeaning of traditional knowledge and values, minimisation of mana wāhine, and the imposition of western values and individualisation practices meant our people were still in a state of having to prioritise existence for survival.
48. Rocky said, “When our kui went to look for those to teach, there was no one to learn”. He also attributed this as one of the reasons for the decline in moko kauae as the kuia found no one to pass their practices and knowledge onto.
49. Uncle Bill Maha, recalls this statement his father (Hapaiteurangi) made to the local policeman who was actively enforcing compulsory mainstream education.

“In the morning, my wife gets the children up, washes them, feeds them, then sends them to school. In the afternoon, the children come

home, and she feeds them washes, and puts them to bed. When do we get time to teach them?” - Uncle Bill Maha

50. Sadly, the expertise, skills, capabilities, traditional practices, comradery, and wāhine nobility found in these kuia, which were prolific during Rocky’s childhood, quickly declined in his generation.
51. The increased cultural decline and tolerance of pākehā values towards issues like alcohol and the abuse of women and children in their homes and schools sat in stark opposition to Ngāruahine traditions and belief systems towards wāhine. Uncle Bill talks about a kuia who confronted a teacher who had whipped her son at school. She was jailed for 2 weeks when she served the teacher with similar treatment received by her son.

Social Cohesion

52. Betty Robinson and Buck Robinson fondly recall the gathering of kui in their household. An example given was when whānaunga travelling to Parihaka from other rohe would stop over for a few days. These were important times for connection, recounting traditions, sharing knowledge and whakapapa, and receiving news and support. These gatherings kept whakapapa strong and tamariki/mokopuna connected. These type of gatherings no longer take place on the scale they grew up with. The disconnection of following generations alongside factors previously mentioned is evident in their whānau.
53. Aunty Betty talks with great sadness about her experience growing up in the first generation of her whakapapa denied reo and traditional mātauranga and instead pushed to adapt to pākehā ways. Other than what was gleaned from childhood experiences, her life was mainstreamed in pursuit of education and employment. She was actively discouraged from pursuing cultural reclamation activities by the community and her whānau. Aunty Betty talks about the great loss felt in her life of conforming to western female roles and the pressures to remain in a violent relationship setting an unfortunate precedent for her tamariki/mokopuna.

54. Returning from Australia as a kui, afforded opportunities to learn reo and be involved in cultural practices. Traditionally, she would be securing the succession of the next generation who would be at her side learning and attending the many kaupapa she involves herself with. Unfortunately, this is not the case with her tamariki and mokopuna all growing up away from home. It is unlikely they would be returning home to live. This is but one illustration of the disenfranchisement experienced by wāhine and their whānau due to colonisation.
55. The reframing of the role of wāhine and the skewing of wāhine identity has contributed greatly to the dismantling of tangata whenua society and complicating the view of wāhine today. Puhi Nuku remembers growing up in Pōneke and going to the moana to dive for kai. She was told that diving was not for wāhine because it was too dangerous deeming wāhine as too weak. Puhi held this belief until returning to a hapu wānanga at Oeo pā in 2010. There she was told of kui Rangitaniwha who was a renowned fisher and gather of kai dispelling the myths taught to her earlier. This is a prime example of how disjointed mātauranga has become through the influence of colonial oppression and education.
56. There are many more stories that sit amongst our people. During the darkest times when our people sat on the edge of annihilation, the faith and belief of our mātua tupuna towards the restoration of people was firmly placed in the mana of wāhine.



Nāku nei, nā
Ripeka Hudson