OFFICIAL

IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL	**WAI 1040**
OF NEW ZEALAND	**WAI 1384**

IN THE MATTER OF	the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry
AND	
IN THE MATTER OF	a claim by Merepeka Henly and others on behalf of the tangata whenua of Whangaruru

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BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF TE WARIHI KOKOWAI HETARAKA
Dated this 29th day of July 2010

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Brief of Evidence of Te Warihi Kokowai Hetaraka

1. My name is Te Warihi Kokowai Hetaraka, and I provide this brief on behalf of the Hapu puta noa te rohe whanui o Ngati Wai and in support of all of the claimants in this Inquiry.

2. I tautoko the korero of those who spoke in the first week of hearings, they set out the connections that link the iwi and hapu of Te Taitokerau. To add to that korero I describe the beginnings of Ngati Wai from our founding ancestor, Manaia to our connections to Ngapuhi and other iwi[1].

3. The korero I give today is based on knowledge derived from the teachings passed down from the last high ranking Tohunga of Ngati Wai/Kapotai, Te Warihi Kokowai. Te Warihi Kokowai was born in 1750 and died in 1878 at the age of 128. He presided over our Ngati Wai/Kapotai Waananga and was, without doubt, a contemporary of the Tohunga, Papahurihia who established the Waananga Ngakahi and later passed his mana onto Aperahama Taonui.

4. Te Warihi carved our great, great grandfather Riwhi Haari's toki kakauroa, named "Ringakaha". This toki was present at the first hearing, and is here today. At the death of Riwhi Hari, Te Warihi inherited "Ringakaha." Before he died he passed "Ringakaha" on to his cousin Remo Wetere who then passed it onto his son, Totene (Tote) Remo. It was about 1961 when Uncle Tote gave "Ringakaha" away to a Pakeha. For well over 30 years this Taonga was kept in a private collection, until it was returned to me by Erima Henare who rescued it from an auction in Wellington.

5. Although I was taught our history and whakapapa (primarily by my uncles) my knowledge also comes from the women in my whanau, mainly my aunties. Within the families of our hapu, the women also held tribal knowledge, including the whakapapa of both their own lines and the lines of their partners. Many of our women were tohunga in their

[1] Whakapapa to be given orally and through powerpoint

own right, they foretold future events and were proficient healers with an in-depth knowledge of herbal medicine.

6. Like their male counter parts, this gift was passed down from generation to generation. In order to preserve the purity of this knowledge it was kept a closely guarded secret by the holders of this taonga. Raukura Robinson will be 100 years old in December of this year, she is a daughter of the late Morore Piripi and one of the last of the women in our tribe to hold this knowledge. While the women did not speak on tapu matters, or publicly while there was a male to speak, when in an informal whanau situation they would talk about almost everything.

7. I am a practitioner of Whakairo. My learning began when at 16 years old, I was chosen along with six other young men (representing the seven principle waka from throughout Aotearoa) to regain the skill of Whakairo at The Maori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua, under the tohunga Hone Kouru Taiapa. After our training we were returned to our respective regions to complete our learning and then to re-establish whare Whakairo in these regions. This has been my life work since returning to Taitokerau in 1972.

8. My evidence will cover two important components for Ngati Wai in relation to He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti. First I will provide a brief outline of who Te Iwi o Ngati Wai are. Secondly, I will speak about our laws and practices in relation to Whakairo as an example of our pre-existing system of law and regulation that was in operation at the time of the signings.

Ngati Wai

9. The traditional rohe of Ngati Wai followed the coast from Kororareka and Tapeka and then to Te Rawhiti, Te Raukaumangamanga and the eastern seaboard along the coast to Mahurangi, Pakiri, Omaha, Tamaki-ma-kau-rau and out to Hauturu and Aotea (Little and Great Barrier islands). It included all the offshore Islands back to Motukokako.

10. The oral traditions begins with the 1st Manaia, and tell of his arrival on his waka "Mahuhukiterangi" which he landed in the vicinity of the southern Bay of Islands. He established his Pa at Raukaumangamanga, from there he journeyed throughout Aotearoa. He sailed south up the east coast to Te Upoko o te Ika, across to Te Waipounamu, back down the west coast until reaching and living for a while at a place now called Manaia which is south of New Plymouth. He set sail again, sailing north down the west coast to the Manukau Harbour. Here he dragged his waka across to the Waitemata, living in this region for a time and sailed out to Aotea, or Great Barrier Island and taking up residence there.

11. Manaia continued his journey north staying for a time at different places which include Hauturu, Omaha, Pakiri, Mangawhai, Waipu, Ruakaka, Poupouwhenua , Whangarei, Nga Marotiri, Taiharuru, Pataua, Horahora, Ngunguru, Tutukaka, Matapouri, Whanananakia and Mimiwhangata. His Pa sites here are called Terearea, Tarapata, and Kaituna.

12. For a time Manaia lived at Whangaruru, as well as on the off shore islands Tawhitirahi and Aorangi. His waka founded in a small bay now known as Taupiri just north of Whangaroa (Ngaiotonga), where it remains hidden in the water within a cave. The arrival of this tupuna Manaia predated the journey north of Puhi on the Mataatua waka by 17 generations. In fact Puhi arrived during the period when all hapu along the coast line were under the rulership of the grand and great-grand children of the third Manaia.

The Mana of Ngati Wai:

13. Ko nga mana katoa o Ngatiwai kei te wai, i nga taniwha me o ratou manawa. All of the power of Ngatiwai comes from the water, from the taniwha and their spirits. Kei Motukokako, kei reira tetahi wahi e huaina ana te ingoa ko Manawahuna. At Motukokako there is a cave known as Manawahuna. Ki te whakakorikoria te oneone i reira , ka pa he awha, ka marangai a ia, a, e kore te tangata e puta mai i reira. If the sand of Manawahuna is disturbed a storm will rise, rain will fall, and no person will escape from this place. Na ka korero nga kaumatua: 'kaua e whakakorikoria nga kirikiri o Manawahuna, kei ngaro koutou i te moana,

kei mate.' Thus the elders have said: 'Do not disturb the sands of Manawahuna, lest you be lost at sea, lest you die.'

14. He korero ano tenei mo nga mana kei reira kei Manawahuna. This is another explanation of the powers at Manawa-huna:

15. Ki te haere a Ngatiwai ki te whawhai, ka haere ki te ana nei ki Waimaturuturu-ma-tuaiwi-Manawahuna, a, i reira, ki te kitea e maaku ana nga tangata i te wai, he tohu pai tera. When Ngatiwai went to battle they first went to the cave at Manawahuna, if the men were seen to be wet, this would be taken as a good sign. Ki te kore e maku i te wai, he tohu kino tera. Ka pangia ratou i te rarurarau, i te mate ranei, a, e kore ratou e ora i te hoariri. If they did not get wet this would be a bad omen. Misfortune would befall them, they would become ill or they would not survive the enemy. Na koia tera, ko tera mana o ratou. This power at Manawahuna was one of the many powers of Ngatiwai.

16. Ko tetahi o nga mana kei Taiharuru, he wai whakaata, na, kei Marotiri, he wai whakaata ano. Tata atu ki wahapuu o te awa i Mokau, kei reira ano he wai whakaata. Another of the powers in the form of a fresh water springs or pools was at Taiharuru, Marotiri and another near the mouth of the Mokau creek which were used by our tohunga to foretell major future events. Koi ara nga take i huaina ai tenei Iwi ko Ngatiwai. These are the reasons this coastal people are called Ngatiwai.

17. Manaia is the common ancestor that ties all of Ngati Wai Hapu together. We have many accounts of Manaia and his deeds and exploits, the retelling of them provides examples to guide our tikanga today. Some of those stories are set out briefly below.

18. People ask why we carry the name Ngati Wai and not Ngati Manaia. It is true that Ngati Wai were previously known as Ngati Manaia, after our founding ancestor, we were also known as Te Wai-o-Hua. We became known as Ngati Wai as a result of our connection to the sea, our ability to manage and hold the Islands, and to use the water as provider and protector of our people.

19. One story that illustrates our ability to protect our boundaries and resources is that of a battle between Ngati Manaia, who lived at Mimiwhangata, and Te Wairoa. At that time, to protect their inland borders, Ngati Manaia forged alliances, including the arranging of strategic marriages with Ngapuhi hapu and Ngati Whatua. Despite these alliances from time to time Ngati Manaia and Ngapuhi fought over land.

20. During the time Ngati Manaia were living at Mimiwhangata, Te Wairoa a chief from Waikare lived there, with his two wives who were sisters of Ngati Manaia. One day Manaia and Te Wairoa went fishing, Te Wairoa pointed to a school of fish and told Manaia to put his line in, he did but the pool turned out to be a rock and Manaia's line was caught and broke. In rage, Manaia turned to Te Wairoa and killed him.

21. The grandson of Te Wairoa was a young Kapotai chief named Te Rangitamaua. When he heard of the killing of his grand father he sent a warning to Ngati Manaia, to whom he was closely related, that he was coming to seek utu for his death. Thousands of people lived at Mimiwhangata and when Te Rangitamau attacked the wharenui at dawn he instructed his warriors to smash open calabashes full of water to cause confusion to those asleep and make them think the calabashes were heads being smashed and blood pouring onto the ground. His ruse worked, the people awoke confused, they didn't know what was happening. Many people were killed and the survivors fled to the water and to the Islands to seek refuge.

22. From that time the people became Ngati Wai, the children of the water.

Changes with the arrival of Europeans

23. Ngati Wai was prominent in the Bay of Islands during the period when the first ships began to trade with our people. My whanaunga Hori will describe this period, including the beginning of He Whakaminenga. During this period our rangatira were seeking knowledge of the tools of Pakaha in those early years. Te Toro, grandfather of Riwhi Haari, and others went as a guardian for several rangatahi, including Hongi Hika's nephew to Marsden's school in Paramatta. Te Toro is reputed to have

been close to Marsden's family and spent time with one of his daughters. A portrait of him is incorrectly recorded in Claudia Orange's book as being Titore[2].

24. On his arrival at Rangihoua in 1814, Samuel Marsden gave 12 axe heads to Ruatara who distributed them to the rangatira of the tribes of the Bay of Islands including Haare Riwhi of Te Kapotai. That axe head is our kakauroa, "Ringakaha" it was later used in battles against the Crown at Ruapekapeka.

25. Marsden and the missionaries brought with them the opportunity for our people to learn to read and write and with it came their Christian message. As spiritual people who had followed the ways of our Tohunga for centuries, Christianity was not immediately nor widely accepted by our people. Te Warihi Kokowai refused to accept Christianity in his lifetime - he remained committed to the ancient ways.

26. The missionaries had a hard job to convert Maori but when they eventually did, our people took on board those concepts and a new kind of division was created amongst us. The whare wananga and sacred places of learning went into recess and our way of learning was from that point diminished.

27. By the 1830's our rangatira were meeting regularly at Te Tou Rangatira and in Whangaroa and other places to discuss He Whakaputanga. It was during that time that many of our rangatira accepted the tenets of Christianity. In doing so they agreed, under the influence of the missionaries, to abolish whare whakairo. This decision resulted in a devastating loss to the culture of Tai Tokerau. It is the whakairo that contains and illustrates our vast understanding of the universe and our indeed our entire world view.

28. Whakairo represents Maori literacy, it acts as our literacy bank and Tohunga were responsible for creating the whaikaro and to provide spiritual guidance. The destruction of carved Marae minimised and diminished our reliance on Tohunga for spiritual guidance. The

[2] Orange, C. "The Story of a Treaty", 1989, page9

symbolism contained within whakairo enhances our understandings of our traditional korero as part of our oral traditions and affirms or confirms the korero being given and provides clarity to it.

29. I believe that it is for this reason that the missionaries wished to discredit our knowledge when they advocated for the destruction of our carved Marae in the 1830s. I also believe our rangatira were in a period of striving to come to terms with the new and the old practices, but their agreement to discontinue carved whare cannot for a second be construed as a wholesale adoption of pakeha ways.

30. My training in Whaikaro was a direct response to the missionary influence, no carved Marae were built in the North from 1835 until the 1960s.

31. Despite the abandoning of carved Marae in 1835, by the 1930's and following Sir Apirana Ngata's exhortation, "*kia whai te matauranga o te pakeha engari kia mau tonu ki to Maoritanga*" our people were inspired to regain the skills in Whakairo. Although the information held in Whakairo was retained, in Te Tai Tokerau the technical skills had disappeared, apart from the occasional carved walking stick or taiaha.

32. Ngata then established Whakairo Wananga at Rotorua under the Tohunga Eramiha Kapua of Te Teko. Students from throughout Aotearoa attended this first wananga, they included brothers Pine and Hone Taiapa no Tikitiki, Wiremu Metekingi no Taranaki-Whanganui, Piri Poutapu no Waikato, Hori Waititi no Te Kaha, Charley Tuarau no Rarotonga, and Henare Toka no Te Taitokerau. Their task was to travel throughout the country carving meeting houses and this same group came North to help re-establish Whare Whakairo. They carved the first meeting house on the Treaty Grounds at Waitangi for tourism purposes. Pine Taiapa took over as Tohunga Whakairo.

33. Eramiha left to carve the first whare whakairo for Ngapuhi on the marae at Mangamuka. He then started the second whare whakairo at Otiria which was completed by Hori Waititi and opened in the early 1960s. With the advent of the Second World War, the whakairo Wananga

closed down and a second Wananga was re-established in Rotorua in 1965 under the Tohunga Hone Taiapa and in 1967 I was one of the first intake of students.

34. The symbolism contained within whakairo enhances our understandings of our traditional korero as part of our oral traditions. From a Maori point of view our brain is by far the superior tool in which knowledge can be held. Maori learnt how to use the mind so that we wouldn't make mistakes and so knowledge could be handed on to those coming. We are able to rely totally on oral histories, rather than the written word which has been proved to be prone to error. Whakairo was our written language.

35. From the time of Te Kore which describes the evolution of Te Ao Maori, the symbols in Whakairo detail the linkages of humans to the natural world and to illustrate the continual progression of humankind. We can see God as one but with the ability to devolve to specific Atua or as this term, "*Pou-tiri-ao*" implies, to "replicate" oneself to achieve different goals in creation.

36. Many of the Whakairo patterns from Northland come from the wananga of Maui-tikitiki a Taranga and it is his raupo Taranga that is found at the Poor Knights within the rohe of Ngati Wai.

Matauranga Maori in respect of Law and Regulation

37. The Tribunal has asked questions about how Maori understood He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti and what the meaning and effect of those documents were. I support and endorse the korero describing Te Ao Maori which gave insight into the way our tupuna thought, given in the first hearing week and provide some further korero on matauranga Maori, the Maori knowledge base from which we operated.

38. For centuries the ability to access knowledge to benefit or advance humanity was held by the Tohunga. I have previously presented evidence

about Matauranga before the Tribunal[3] and I have included some relevant parts of that statement in this brief.

39. The originator of all knowledge is Io. After the people came from the darkness into the world of light, te ao marama Tane the first carver of meeting houses, bought knowledge to us - we know this because he was asked by Hinetitama - his wife at the time, "who is my father", and the response was: "*Patai koe ki te poupou o te whare nei*". She then knew her father was Tane - the meeting house was built and carved by him the implication being that the creator of the whare was her creator also.

40. Our cultural understanding of knowledge is that it came into being in ancient times when Tane-nui-a-rangi ascended to Rangi-tu-ha-ha (the creative realm) and brought back to earth the three baskets of knowledge.

41. It is from those three baskets that all matauranga Maori stems from. Tane had to go through certain processes in order to distribute the knowledge to the people. in order for the people to understand the tapu thats comes with this knowledge, Tane had to break it into portions the people could handle. Our knowledge is necessarily limited and but a small portion of what Io holds.

> *Ka tiritiria kia poupoua ki runga a Papatuanuku. Ka puta te Ira tangata ki te whei ao ki te ao marama.*

Tiritiria is Tane replicating the knowledge. *Poupoua* is the symbolic form of the knowledge that could be read and understood by humanity - *te ira tangata.* The meaning of this statement acknowledges the continued existence of that pure, untouchable and invincible energy force we know as ... *te hihiri,* that descends from Io, the creative realm ... *te whatu kura or rangi tu ha ha,* the abode of Tane, Tangaroa, Tarwhirimatea, Tumatauenga, Rongomaitane and others.

[3] Wai 262 Doc # B10

42. For the knowledge to be transferred it had to come through mediums, or intermediaries because it was too powerful to come directly to humanity. Tane and his siblings were the first level of filtration and tohunga were another level or buffer zone to protect humans from the immense power of the pure and direct form of it.

43. From this realm, this energy force .. *te hihiri* ... is refined into bearable and comprehensible portions of each atua - Tane, Tangaroa, Tarwhirimatea, Tumatauenga, Rongomatane and others and is known as the *mauri*, quickener, energy force or life principle of all things that exist on Papa tu a nuku. The mauri is the force that makes a tree a tree or a stone a stone. Our Tohunga then tap into the mauri through their wairua using karakia.

44. The knowledge that comes from the wairua side is divine knowledge. *Te Kauae runga.* Therefore the creative realm directly influenced the advancement of the arts and sciences, inventions, medicine and technology, and all these aspects of life were highly regulated.

45. This energy force originates with Io, passes through the creative realm then into the world and humanity, and is what we refer to as "... the sacred thread *ko te aho tapu* ...".

46. This thread, this divine knowledge, is then revealed to the Tohunga (initiated) via visions and dreams. Others can also have such visions which the Tohunga could interpret. From here the Tohunga entered into consultation with his students and/or the Rangatira and it is out of this gathering of the wananga that the knowledge is revealed for the advancement of humanity.

47. In conjunction with the Rangatira, Tohunga became the protector and sole authority of the use of knowledge and from this knowledge created laws and rules. They were responsible for apportioning this knowledge according to the needs and capacity of the peoples of that time. Rangatira were responsible for enforcing these laws.

48. The laws given through the Tohunga and enforced by the Rangatira are a treasured gift and to obey these laws is a sacred obligation that we carry out as an expression of our love for Io Matua Kore.

49. Tapu was the rules that our people used to look after the taonga of knowledge. Rules were intended to apply to everyone, "ira tangata" all of humanity. Laws applied to both spiritual elements and daily life. Tapu is a thing free of evil.

50. There is a difference between kawa and tikanga and tapu binds the two together. Kawa is a divine law that governs the whole of creation. The divine knowledge I have referred to above falls into this category of Kawa. Tikanga on the other hand is a set of principles or rules designed by humans to govern the way we live our daily lives whether as individuals or communities having taken into account the relevant aspects of kawa.

51. Tikanga can change from hapu to hapu and Iwi to Iwi. Tikanga can also evolve for the age we are living in.

52. A breach of tapu could have fatal consequences and the story of Manaia's desire to build a bridge over the Whangarei Harbour from one side to the other illustrates this.

53. Manaia told his people that he would build a bridge and he made the building tapu - no one was to walk over it while the bridge was being constructed. However his daughter ignored him and walked over it. On discovering this Manaia killed her and threw her body in the water. She is still there today – and at certain places you can still see her hair in the tide.

54. Other examples of the regulation of conduct and sanction as a result of breaching rules is evidenced when we see Mount Manaia today. We recall Manaia's own demise which came about as he attempted to punish his slave for committing adultery with his wife. He knew his slave Paiko was the guilty party, so he went to the top of the mountain and threw Paiko off the top.

55. But the slave also had power and in saying his karakia as he was thrown from the top he was able to turn Manaia, his three children and wife to stone. They remain there today looking over the rohe of Manaia. Luckily he had other children who survived this event and became the Iwi of today.

56. The expression of the power of tapu is seen in it's application to the process that surrounds the building of a marae or waka. When it is decided that a waka or marae is to be built the Tohunga goes to the ngahere to find the appropriate rakau, and seek permission from Tane to take the tree. In that acknowledgement of Tane the Tohunga goes back to the beginning of the world in view of man's survival on earth.

57. Following a complex process of acknowledgement the project is then under strict tapu-essentially a cocoon is put in place around the project and the Tohunga and others involved until the launching of the waka or opening of the building.

58. For example those people involved in the creation of that taonga, although they can mingle with society, they go through a process each time they come into contact with others. For example they must not allow any part of dusty work clothes to come into contact with others, they must remain celibate and cannot eat or drink in the work space.

59. The actions of Tane, who created and breathed his life essence via the hongi into the first human being (woman), is the reason why kai whakairo mustn't blow the wood-chips during the carving process; such an action could be seen as behaving like a God, by breathing life into forms we have created.

60. To break any of those rules meant immediate death from the spiritual realm or harm may be passed down through the uri. No one could even see the work unless they were given permission.

61. The tapu relating to this mahi is unlike any other and is a higher level of tapu than most. This is so, because a rakau is being taken. Trees or rakau are the domain of Tane nui a rangi and known as the life giver and therefore part of the "kauae runga". A Tohunga must therefore navigate

the transfer of the superior wairua and the mauri connected to the tree to a new form for human use and the tapu must be strictly observed. There must be no mistake in the whakapapa recitations from Ranginui and Papatuanuku so as not to imperil the project and the people involved.

62. The tapu continued to the day when for example, the building is opened, then women were brought into play. The process of opening is likened to childbirth. The night is the birth channel, the building is opened at dawn and the first person in the whare must be a women, in recognition of them as the only ones able to give birth. However they must be either a puhi or a ruahine, either one or other or both together as both are unable to bear children. The birth is the new form that has been created into the world of light. Tapu ensured the balance of the energy forces that pulsated throughout the whole of creation were maintained.

63. Tapu has been compromised since the arrival of Pakeha. Our people observed them entering the ngahere and cutting down trees without retribution, our people observed the new comers ignoring tapu and then going on to wipe out our traditional and sacred resource.

64. The fact that the Pakeha didn't adhere to our laws is one of the reasons that our rangatira signed Te Tiriti. The impact of Christianity and the observation that Pakeha were not affected even when they breached tapu, meant that the effect of our laws and the authority of the tohunga and rangatira was being undermined. Te Tiriti was a guarantee that our ways would remain and allowed their rangatira pakeha to step in and regulate their own.

65. Our matauranga and tapu provide the principles upon which our Rangatira entered into agreements with the Pakeha. They could not have known that their ways would be ignored and betrayed by the Pakeha.

66. By the time of the signing of Te Tiriti some of our rangatira had converted to Christianity. Traditionalists continued to adhere to laws of pre-whakaputanga, even though they appeared to take it up. They lived in a Maori world and took on Christianity on Sunday. So even though there were two camps – the traditionalist and those separating from that,

within those that signed the Treaty their understandings were the same and it didn't matter whether they were Christian or not. They all recognised tapu and were steeped in their own laws- so they all recognised the signing of Te Tiriti as tapu.

67. The tapu surrounding Te Tiriti was partly because of the fact that they placed their mark by way of moko on it -that represented their identity and thus had to be protected, to the point that they went to war for the Crown's failure to acknowledge their tapu compact.

68. It is significant that when signing Te Tiriti the Rangatira used only a small part of their ta moko. When we look at ta moko, we can read the entire universe represented there, but in signing He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti, the Rangatira only chose to use a small part of their moko which signified a humble acknowledgement that the meaning of their actions in signing, was insignificant to the meaning of the universe that was held and represented in the total ta moko.

69. Ta moko represents the mana of the bearer and the exercise of that mana is a privilege, the parts of the moko chosen by the Rangatira, were those parts that referred to them as individuals. Different Rangatira took from different parts of their moko, usually the part that described their person or their particular skill. For example an orator would choose a portion of the moko from around the mouth.

70. There is only one signatory who was named as being of Ngati Wai, that is Te Kauwhata, but it was his wife who was of Ngati Wai and it is said that his mark was made by his daughter on behalf of Ngati Wai.

71. When it came to agreements rangatira expected that Pakeha would honour their word. That agreement to them was binding and any transgression by either side would manifest in some form of utu.

72. The proof of the tapu that surrounds the marks on Te Tiriti is seen in the reaction of the rangatira who witnessed the Crown break its covenant almost immediately after signing it. By 1844, Kawiti and Heke were prepared to die to uphold the tapu of Te Tiriti.

Ngati Wai in the Northern Wars

73. Ngati Wai felt cheated that Pakeha had assumed that control of Maori had been taken over by the British Crown by the signing of Te Tiriti. It is important to say that the battles that happened were to prove a point, they were undertaken to highlight that Pakeha could not control us and that that wasn't what was agreed. The Rangatira were willing to go to battle with the Crown, they were willing to assert their power and authority. This willingness to not only fight for what we understood was tika, but also to inflict retribution on those whom we believed had broken the tapu of the agreement, was consistent with our own laws and way of life.

74. My great grandfather, Te Moro a tohunga and son of Riwhi Hari, led the Waikare forces in the attack on Kororareka. An incident occurred as the war party closed in on Kororareka, they surprised a black man (French), raping a Ngare Raumati wahine. When Te Moro challenged him the rapist leaped up, grabbed his gun and fired, grazing Te Moro on the right thigh. Te Moro in turn shot and killed him before continuing on his way to Kororareka. My Aunty said that the night before they marched off to battle, Te Moro remained awake all night reciting karakia, chanting battle strategies and preparing the minds and spirits of his men for the task ahead.

75. The British attacked Te Kapotai at Waikare and my tupuna Riwhi Hare was killed by his whanaunga Hauraki from Whangaroa and he, in turn, later died from a wound inflicted by Hari. Fighting ceased while Riwhi's death was observed.

76. "Ringakaha" the toki was used in these battles. Te Warihi Kokowai killed two soldiers in battle. He took part in the battles against the Crown forces at Omapere Lake, Waikare, Russell and Ohaeawai.

77. Rangatira made the point well through these wars that "we still have the authority and we can exercise it whenever we want to, we have not given it up".

In Conclusion

78. Our Ngati Wai signatory was the daughter of Te Kauwhata, who was married to one of our wahine rangatira. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was a deal between Maori and the Crown which was supposed to let Maori and Europeans live side by side in harmony. However, the reverse has occurred.

79. The single biggest hurt to our people was that our agreement was ignored straight after it was signed.

80. The only rules that the Rangatira lived by were derived from our complex and intricate cultural belief systems and these were the rules that governed them. Whilst they had accepted changes in some aspects of their lives, our fundamental understandings of our world and how we behaved within it remained intact and to the fore. On this basis, our rangatira could not give away their power for pakeha to control their destinies, nor would they themselves break the tapu of Te Tiriti through war had it not been for the fact of it already having been transgressed by the pakeha. The war was retribution for this.

Te Warihi Kokowai Hetaraka
29 July 2010