**I TE RŌPŪ WHAKAMANA**
**I TE TIRITI O WAITANGI**

**WAI 1750**
**WAI 1884**

**KEI RARO I TE MANA O** te ture o te Tiriti o Waitangi 1975

**I TE TAKE O** the North-Eastern Bay of Plenty District Inquiry (Wai 1750)

**Ā**

**I TE TAKE O** he kereme nā Tarati Dorothy Carrington, Arihia Tuoro, Tahu Taia, Mana Pirihi, Kahu Abbot me te hapū, Ngāti Ngahere (Wai 1884)

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## HE KŌRERO TAUNAKI O TE KAHAUTU MAXWELL

**I tēnei rā i te 31 o Hōngongoi 2026**

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Waitangi Tribunal
*3 Aug 26*
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**TĒNĀ, I TE TARAIPIUNARA:**

1. My name is Dr Te Kahautu Maxwell.

2. I previously presented Kōrero Tuku Iho evidence on behalf of Ngāti Ngahere. In that evidence, I spoke about the whakapapa, origins, rohe, mana whenua, mana moana and history of Ngāti Ngahere, including significant events before and after Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

3. My evidence for these hearings builds on that foundation and reflects on key events and moments in Ngāti Ngahere and Te Whakatōhea's history; and how they have changed our people, our relationship with the whenua and moana, and how they continue to shape our understanding of mana motuhake today.

4. I will also speak to concepts that I believe provide a pathway forward, including the restoration of mana, the healing of intergenerational harm, the continuation of mātauranga Māori, and the importance of Mana Rangi as part of the ongoing expression of Ngāti Ngahere rangatiratanga.

5. I have appended a number of additional resources which may assist the Tribunal at **Appendix A**, including my previous Kōrero Tuku Iho evidence, relevant publications and research, and other resources that will be referred to in my kōrero.

**Whakapapa | Ngāti Ngahere identity**

6. I briefly revisit the whakapapa and origins of Ngāti Ngahere, and our place within Te Whakatōhea. This whakapapa context is necessary to understanding the themes that follow.

7. The whakapapa of Ngāti Ngahere is reflected not only through our ancestors, but also through our places. Te Rere is the ingoa of our marae. It takes its name from Te Rere Moari, the traditional swing that once stood over the Ōtara River, where our tamariki would swing out across the water. The name carries with it the stories of our people

and the relationship between our marae, our awa and those who came before us.

8. Our ancestress is Muriwai. She was known as a strong and determined woman, and it is through her descendants that the name Te Whakatōhea is remembered — *he iwi tohetohe*. That kōrero continues to shape how we understand ourselves as Te Whakatōhea.

9. Our ancestral waka is Mataatua, whose journey extended from Ngā Kurī-a-Whārei to Tihirau. That journey locates Te Whakatōhea within the wider whakapapa of the waka and within the rohe that our people continue to identify with today.

10. There are also the traditions of our tīpuna, Te Iringa. Through one line of his whakapapa he descends from Tarawa, the ancestor who was left behind in Hawaiki when the Tainui waka departed. Our traditions tell us that Tarawa followed the wake of the Tainui waka to Aotearoa. He travelled upon the carved doorway of his whare, accompanied by his two ika tipua, who brought him safely to Paerata. His descendants eventually settled at the mouth of the Ōtara River at Pakihi-kura, and the harbour became known as Ōpōtiki-mai-Tawhiti. These traditions remain an important part of how Ngāti Ngahere understands its whakapapa, its origins and its enduring relationship with place.

**Whenua, Rohe, Mana**

> *I tipu au ki runga i tōku awa, me tōku mōhio ki ngā rua taniwha.*
> *I tipu au i ngā tamāhine a Te Whakatōhea.*

11. I will explain what those words mean to me, and how growing up in our rohe shaped my understanding of Ngāti Ngahere and our relationship with our whenua and our moana.

12. I will also explain the meaning of the kōrero, *"Hoki kē mai koe ki Ōhiwa ki ngā tamāhine a Te Whakatōhea e noho ra i te wai kōukōu o tō tīpuna o Taitutia."* The expression *"Ngā tamāhine a Te Whakatōhea"* refers to the pipi, cockles and mussels that have sustained our people for generations.

13. To me, this is mātauranga taiao. It reflects how our tīpuna read the taiao and knew when the food resources that sustained our people were at their best. The flowering of the kōwhai, for example, signalled when pipi and kūtai were full. This knowledge was handed down through generations. No amount of money can buy that knowledge.

14. I briefly revisit the traditional rohe of Ngāti Ngahere and discuss the significance of our maunga, awa, moana, pā, kāinga and wāhi tapu, and explain why these places are repositories of our history, our whakapapa and our identity as Ngāti Ngahere.

15. I will also discuss the nature of our traditional lands and resources, and the relationship our people have maintained with them over generations. Our whenua and moana are part of who we are. They have sustained our people, shaped our way of life and continue to define us as Ngāti Ngahere.

16. It is through these relationships that Ngāti Ngahere continues to exercise mana whenua and mana moana. Despite the many challenges our people have faced, those expressions of mana remain. It continues to shape our understanding of mana motuhake and what it means to uphold the mana of our rohe for those who come after us.

**Te Tiriti and the Ngāti Ngahere Worldview**

17. I will touch on te Tiriti from a Ngāti Ngahere perspective. Not so much revisiting the historical record surrounding its signing, but to reflect on how te Tiriti has been understood and experienced by our people.

18. While the historical record focuses on the signing of Te Tiriti, for our people its meaning is found in what followed. What our tīpuna understood was that they were no longer the people they once were and their whole life had changed. They understood they were no longer the rangatira they once were but embarking on a new type of leadership. Those lived experiences became the measure by which our people came to understand our relationship with the Crown.

19. Ngāti Ngahere has come to understand te Tiriti not only through its promises, but through the actions of the Crown. It is those lived experiences, passed from one generation to the next, that continue to shape how we understand and live with the consequences of te Tiriti today.

20. Despite everything that has happened, I regard Ngāti Ngahere and Te Whakatōhea as resilient people. Our history is not only one of loss. It is also one of resistance, adaptation and continuing to challenge, innovate and find our own way forward. Whether through challenging settlement processes, seeking new pathways for redress, or ensuring that our stories continue to be heard. You can see that our people have continued to exercise mana motuhake.

**Raupatu as the loss of more than land**

21. The historical impacts of raupatu on Te Whakatōhea, including the confiscation of our lands, the destruction of our economy, and the loss of access to our traditional resources and sites, are well documented, including in the historical account recorded in our Deed of Settlement.

22. However, the raupatu was much more than the loss of whenua. Raupatu changed our people. It changed how our people lived, how they understood themselves, and how they related to the whenua.

23. When people are removed from the places that shape them, they begin to lose the stories, names and understandings that connect them to those places. Over time people begin to identify with the mountains and rivers they can see each day rather than those their tīpuna belonged to. In my view, this was a reprogramming of who we were as a people. Raupatu became more than the loss of land. It became the raupatu of pepeha, language, cultural practices and identity.

24. Raupatu also altered relationships between hapū. As displacement changed where people lived, understandings of whenua, occupation and associations also changed. Over generations, new narratives developed about particular places and traditional relationships with

those places. Those changes continue to shape how hapū understand themselves and each other today.

**Living with the Consequences of Raupatu**

25. The consequences of the raupatu did not end with the confiscation of our lands. Nor did it end when our historical settlement was reached. The settlement acknowledged important historical wrongs, but it could not restore everything that had been lost or undo the consequences that our people continue to live with today. As I mentioned, over generations new narratives developed about particular places and relationships. Those narratives became accepted by later generations even though they had grown out of confiscation and displacement.

26. Sometimes I describe the cost of colonisation as the loss of Whakatōhea citizenship. By that I mean much more than the loss of whenua or economic opportunity. It is the loss of being able to live as Te Whakatōhea once lived. Our people are no longer the rangatira of years gone by. Their place in the world has changed, and with it their way of living, belonging and understanding themselves.

27. Those impacts are a form of intergenerational sickness. That sickness did not begin with us, and it was not of our making. It has been carried from one generation to the next through the loss of whenua, te reo, tikanga and identity. It is important that these are understood as the continuing consequences of our history, rather than the failings of our people.

28. The displacement did not end with raupatu. It continues today. One example is the ongoing absence of a Wharekura within Te Whakatōhea. For generations, our tamariki have continued to leave our rohe to access Māori education. In my view, that is another form of displacement, and it continues to affect our identity, our language and our ability to sustain ourselves as a people.

29. There is also the continuing loss of te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori. Although our people have worked tirelessly to revitalise our language and culture, we continue to lose those kaumātua who carry

our language and tribal knowledge, while a growing gap remains between those who speak our reo and those who have never had the opportunity to learn it.

30. I describe it as losing ourselves within ourselves. Some of our people have remained connected to Te Whakatōhea throughout their lives. Others are reconnecting after five or six generations of disconnection. For many, that journey is not simply about finding whakapapa. It is about rediscovering the places, stories and ways of understanding the world that should have been handed down to them. That too is part of the enduring legacy of raupatu.

31. I do not see these matters as isolated social or cultural issues. They are the continuing expression of the historical processes that reshaped our people. Understanding that connection is essential if we are to understand not only what happened to Ngāti Ngahere but what still needs to be restored.

**Ringatū – hei whakarauora i ōu rātou wairua, ōu rātou mana**

> *Ka whakahoki mai a Te Kooti i konei mai i te wā ahau i roto i te kōpū o tōku whaea, i haere ai ngā takutaku a ngā tohunga kia whānau pakari ahau ki roto i tēnei ao me ō rātou tūmanako katoa, ka tū tangata ahau. Nō reira, ko tērā te tīmatanga o tōku ao Ringatū. Whānau mai au he Ringatū, ka mate au he Ringatū.*
>
> *Te Kooti brought the faith here from the time I was in my mother's womb, the high priests bestowed prayed upon me, so that I would strive to the utmost in this world, that's when it started for me. I was born ringatu and I will die a Ringatu*.

32. Ringatū has been part of my life from before I was born. I was raised in the Hāhi, and my understanding of Ringatū comes from living it.

33. Te Hāhi Ringatū gave hope to my tīpuna at a time when they had lost their whenua, their people and their way of life. My ancestors were once rangatira on their lands, but after time passed they were

enslaved. Ringatū was born out of confiscation, exile and Crown policy. It was not a faith brought here from somewhere else and imposed upon our people. It was born out of need. Through Arikirangi Te Turuki, it restored hope to those who had experienced raupatu and gave our people the strength to endure.

34. Ringatū cannot be understood simply as a religion. Ringatū sustained our people until we reached settlement and I believe it continues to sustain us today. It sustained our wairua, our reo, our tikanga and our mātauranga. The reason we have retained many of our practices today is because they continue to be lived through Ringatū.

35. Through Ringatū our people practise and pass on the maramataka, Matariki, karakia, waiata, māra tapu and our mātauranga taiao. Preparing gardens, observing seasonal practices, protecting rivers from harvest, and maintaining sacred gardens all continue through the Hāhi. As some of our kaumātua would say, Te Kooti was an environmentalist. He ensured that practices which sustained both our people and our environment continued to be lived from one generation to the next.

36. Ringatū became the incubator of our tikanga. Our places of worship remained our marae and our wharenui. Through Ringatū our people continued to sleep together on the marae, practise whaikōrero and mōteatea, observe our tikanga, mourn together, celebrate together and hand those practices to the next generation. Unless you unpick those practices, you do not always realise how much Ringatū has sustained our people.

37. Ringatū also continues to bring our people together. It gives our people a reason to return home, gather on our marae, honour our tīpuna and continue practising our tikanga. Recently our people secured funding to construct a new wharenui. To me, that is whakarauora. It is not simply building a whare. It is restoring a place where our people can continue to gather, practise our tikanga and strengthen future generations.

38. In my view, Ringatū is mana motuhake. It enables our people to continue living according to our own tikanga, values and understanding of the world. It keeps our communities together, sustains our reo, preserves our mātauranga and ensures our practices remain living practices rather than memories.

**Taiao and Climate Change**

39. I will also discuss the effects of climate change on Ngāti Ngāhere and Te Whakatōhea, and the work we are undertaking to prepare our people for what lies ahead. For me, the impacts are already being experienced within our rohe, particularly at Te Rere and across the low-lying areas surrounding Ōpōtiki.

40. Before drainage improvements were undertaken, there were occasions when we were walking through water up to our knees on Te Rere Marae. The neighbouring aerodrome was protected through drainage works, but that water flowed towards our marae. The drainage that now provides some protection came through the Provincial Growth Fund rather than from the council.

41. The flooding we have already experienced has to inform the decisions we make about the future of the marae. We are now rebuilding Te Rere, but we cannot treat that simply as a construction project without considering what climate change, sea-level rise and increasingly severe flooding may mean for that place.

42. Over the past several years, Te Whakatōhea has worked in partnership with researchers from Lincoln University to better understand the effects of climate change within our rohe. Together, we have undertaken research and developed mapping that shows the potential effects of combined river flooding and sea-level rise on Te Rere and other marae and settlements across the Te Whakatōhea rohe. Our people are not waiting for others to determine our future. That research is helping our kaumātua and our people to question decisions being made by local government and to consider what

adaptation, protection and, where necessary, relocation should look like from a Te Whakatōhea perspective.

43. This is an expression of mātauranga taiao. It is about looking after our waterways and ecosystems, understanding how we coexist with the environment, and using both our own knowledge and contemporary research to prepare our people. The decisions made now must protect the health and wellbeing of our people and ensure that Ngāti Ngahere and Te Whakatōhea are able to lead the response within our own rohe.

44. This evidence also has to be understood against the history of raupatu. The whenua upon which our people were left to live is now among the whenua most exposed to flooding and sea-level rise. We should not be placed in a position where our people must again bear the consequences of decisions made without us, or where relocation and adaptation are planned around us rather than with us. Protecting Te Rere is not simply about protecting a building. It is about protecting the cultural, spiritual and ancestral heart of Ngāti Ngāhere.

**Mana Rangi: He anga whakamua**

*Ko tōku ao kohatu, ko tōku ao hou, ka haere ngātahi ana.*

*My ancient world and my contemporary world flow together*.

45. Mana Rangi is an important framework for thinking about the future of our people. To me, mana rangi is about taking the lessons of our past and carrying them into the future. It asks us to think about the things that may not seem important today, but could become important for our mokopuna. Years ago, nobody imagined we would one day be paying for water, but today we do. One day it may even be the air we breathe. My point is that we should not wait until something becomes valuable, regulated or taken from us before recognising our interests in it.

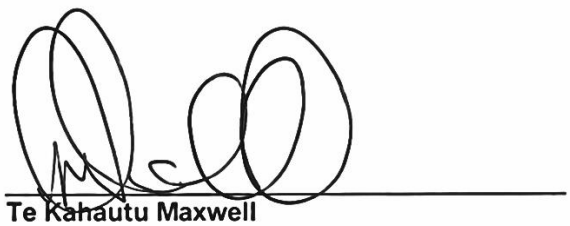
46. During our settlement negotiations, we spoke about mana whenua and mana moana. I questioned why mana rangi was not included. To me, it did not make sense to speak about mana whenua and mana moana

without also recognising mana rangi. I was told it had never been done before. In my view, that was not a reason not to do it. Sometimes we have to be prepared to think differently about the future, rather than only responding to what has already been lost.

47. Mana rangi is not a new concept to us. You have to have Ranginui and you have to have Papatuanuku. That relationship is already embedded in our whakapapa, our traditions and our landscape. We have a maunga that carries the name Rangi, it is in our ancestors names like Ranginui Walker, our histories speak of Rongomai, the celestial atua associated with Mataatua, and our tīpuna carried the name Rangi. It has always been part of who we are.

48. In that sense, I see mana rangi as a framework for the future. It encourages us to think beyond remedying past wrongs and towards ensuring that future generations of Ngāti Ngahere and Te Whakatōhea are not faced with the same struggles. It is a way of ensuring that our ao kohatu and our ao hou continue to walk together. Mana rangi is about thinking ahead so that those who come after us inherit something better than we did.

**I TĒNEI RĀ** i te 31 o Hōngongoi 2026



**Te Kahautu Maxwell**