

In the Waitangi Tribunal

Wai 785

Wai 207

Under **the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975**

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

And

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

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF ARIANA EILEEN RENE

Dated 11 June 2003

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LA WYERS

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Introduction

- 1 My name is Ariana Eileen Rene. I live at 7 Nohorua Street, Takapuwhahia, Porirua.
- 2 I am one of the four remaining living original Ngati Toa claimants.
- 3 My whakapapa is that my father is Ngati Toa/Ngati Koata/Taranaki and my mother is Ngati Toa/Nga Puhi. I was married to Ruru Rene who is also of Ngati Toa descent. My strongest whakapapa is to Ngati Toa Rangatira.
- 4 I am a senior Ngati Toa Rangatira kuia. As a kuia my responsibilities include karanga and powhiri on the Takapuwhahia Marae and other marae when it is appropriate.
- 5 I was born in Nelson on 12 August, 1918. My father is Ihaka Te Rei and my mother is Miriama Te Wainokenoke Toms Rei. My father was born in Whakapuaka on 2 December 1863 and my mother was born in Matauri Bay, in North Auckland, in 1883.

Whakapapa - Maternal Side

- 6 On my maternal side, I descend from the marriage of Werawera to Waitaoro, from their eldest son, Te Nohorua, also called Whatarauihi. He was a tohunga. Te Nohorua married Miriama Te Wainokenoke from Te Atiawa. Then they had a daughter, Te Uatorikiriki. After her came Horomona.
- 7 Te Uatorikiriki married a Pakeha, Joseph Toms. He was a sea captain (whose ship carried livestock) and also a whaler. They had two sons, George (Hori) Toms and Tom (Tame) Toms, both born in the Wairau. These two children both became whalers.
- 8 Tame Toms was my grandfather. He married my grandmother, Rawinia Tamati Ho and had my mother, Miriama Te Wainokenoke Toms Rei.
- 9 Before his marriage to Te Ua, Joseph Toms married his first wife, a Pakeha woman from the whaling people living at Titahi Bay. They had five children. Then he mortgaged his land at Titahi Bay for L700. That was a lot of money in those days, and with it he built a whaling ship so he could go hunting whales in the islands.

- 10 Joseph Toms was the first European to sail into Wellington Harbour.
- 11 I am pretty certain that the marriage between Te Ua and Joseph Toms was an arranged one because Joseph Toms went and asked the old man Nohorua for his daughter. Joseph Toms must have realised the strategic advantages of marrying into Ngati Toa. In marrying Te Ua, he inherited some land at Cloudy Bay, Te Awaiti and Titahi Bay.
- 12 Joseph Toms and Te Ua had a number of different residences because they followed the movements of the whales around Te Tau Ihu and across Cook Strait. Nohorua had a Pa at Paramata and Joseph Toms had a whaling station there, but they both had residences at Cloudy Bay and whaling stations there and at Te Awaiti on Arapawa Island.
- 13 Joseph Toms and Te Ua are both buried at Arapawa.
- 14 My maternal grandfather, Tom Toms, also called Tametame, is of Ngati Toa and Ngati Koata descent. He and his brother George Toms were both born and grew up in the Wairau, at Cloudy Bay. Their father's village was there, and his whaling camp.
- 15 Later, my grandfather was a whaler in Titahi Bay. He and his brother George Toms bought a ship called the Arabella, and sailed it around New Zealand chasing whales. A storm blew them into the Matauri Bay Harbour, the storm was so bad they couldn't leave the place for quite some time. While he was there, my grandfather fell in love with a woman named Rawinia Tamati Broughton, from Nga Puhi. So Tame Toms sent his brother Hori Toms (George Toms) back to Porirua and stayed on at Matauri Bay.
- 16 My Grandfather stayed in Matauri Bay for many years. He married my grandmother Rawinia and had my mother, and her brother Tametame and a sister Tuihana, who died when she was little. When Rawinia died, then my Grandfather shifted back down to Porirua and Te Tau Ihu with my mother, because he was from down there.
- 17 My mother always used to talk about how she used to go out whaling when she was about 15 years old with her father Tom Toms around Te Awaiti. She used to sit in the nose of the boat and throw the harpoon. We've actually still got one of the harpoons they used. She'd be sitting at the nose

of the boat and the whale would come in and they'd call out from the back, "well, there she blows". They'd row up towards the whale and my mother would throw the harpoon. She used to talk about going out with the Hebbberleys.

- 18 My mother's half sister Aunty Pou used to go out whaling as well, and my mother always said that she was the champion harpoon thrower of the two. I can understand why because although my mother was a big, tall woman, her sister was bigger still. My great-grandmother, Te Ua, was also a famous harpoonist, so it must have run in the family.
- 19 My mother can't have lived on Te Awaiti long, because then she shifted back here to Porirua when she was about 16 or 17. She lived with her family where Ngati Toa Domain now is in Paremata. She married Te Peeti Tatana while she was living in Porirua. They had one child, Ritimana. After that, Miriama went back to Nga Puhi to take her child back to her relations. When Te Peeti died, Miriama then returned to Porirua where she lived for some time. That is where she met my father.
- 20 My grandmother Rawinia was buried up north at Matauri Bay but my grandfather Tom Toms is also buried on Arapawa Island with his parents, Te Ua and Joseph Toms.

Paternal Side

- 21 My paternal grandfather was Ngahui Kauhoe Te Rei from Ngati Toa, Ngati Koata and Nga Ruahine. My paternal grandmother was Tiripa Wauwau, from Ngati Koata.
- 22 Tiripa was the daughter of Wauwau who was an occupier of ancestral land in the Whakapuaka block.
- 23 My grandmother Tiripa is buried at Whakapuaka, sixteen miles from Nelson. My great-grandfather Wauwau is also buried there, as is my great-grandmother Wikitoria Te Hau.

Ruru Rene

- 24 My husband, Ruru Rene, is no longer alive. He is the son of Te Ouenuku Rene and NgaHuia.

- 25 NgaHuia's mother, Ruiha, my grandmother in law, was the daughter of Matene Te Whiwhi, who was a Ngati Toa chief.
- 26 Matene Te Whiwhi's daughter, Ruiha, married a boy from Nga Puhī. That boy was the son of Mangonui, one of the chiefs of Nga Puhī. And that marriage produced NgaHuia, my mother-in-law.
- 27 Other children from that union include Rewa, who was Lei Royal's mother. There was also Roimata, who is Kura's grandmother and there was Koneke, who was Hongi's mother. Hongi Hau then married Utauta. So Ruru's mother was part Ngati Toa/Raukawa, but she was also part Nga Puhī.
- 28 My husband's father was Te Oenuku Rene. He was the son of Rene and Makarini. They were both South Island people. The Rene's connections with the South Island are largely through Tahua. Tahua was a big South Island chief principally of Ngati Koata. He came with Te Rauparaha on the heke. Makarini was his wife.
- 29 Tahua came with Te Rauparaha and all those people and settled here. It was Makarini, the wife of Te Oenuku Rene, who came from the families of the South Island.

Capture of Te Rauparaha

- 30 The Rene family are the kaitiaki of the greenstone Hineari, which once belonged to Te Rauparaha.
- 31 The story that I know from that family about Te Rauparaha says that Governor Grey took Te Rauparaha captive. Governor Grey took all the land belonging to Ngati Toa in return for the release of Te Rauparaha, who he branded a rebel. The only part of the land that was returned is the Ngati Toa land around Porirua and where the Rangiatea Church stands.
- 32 I was told the story of Te Rauparaha's release by Turei Heke. Turei Heke is the grandson of the great Nga Puhī chief Mangonui and he is related to my mother in law, NgaHuia. This story explains why the Rene family owns the greenstone Hineari.
- 33 The story is that Mangonui was sitting at his place North of Auckland at the night when the wind was blowing a southerly and he heard a voice in the air

that sounded like a man crying with a broken heart. Mangonui went to Governor Grey and asked him who was crying in such a way. Governor Grey replied that it was Te Rauparaha.

34 Mangonui said to Governor Grey, “That man crying is a man with a broken heart, give him to me and I will take him back to his people. “ Governor Grey asked Mangonui what he would give him if he released Te Rauparaha. Mangonui replied that he would hand over his land as far as the eye could see.

35 So Grey agreed to release Te Rauparaha in return for the land of Mangonui. When he was released, Te Rauparaha stood on the beach and tangied. He said to Mangonui, “I have no land left. I can give you nothing but the clothes on my back and my greenstone”, and so saying he handed Hineari to Mangonui. And that is how the Rene family came to possess Hineari.

36 The old people always felt a great wrong had been done to Ngati Toa due to the kidnap of Te Rauparaha. It is because of that that Ngati Toa lost all of their land in Te Tau Ihu.

Ihaka Te Rei and Miriama Te Wainokenoke Toms Rei

37 After my mother’s first husband, Te Peeti Tatana, died, she moved back from Matauri Bay to Porirua. She stayed there with the old lady NgaHuia Rene and her family, because of her father’s relationship with the Renes. She lived with her cousins, who were Te Ua Kotua and Apana Horomona.

38 It was in Porirua that she met my father at a land court hearing. It would have been one of the first Ngati Koata cases in the 1880s, the one taken by Huria Matenga on behalf of everyone. That case was held in Wellington, but everyone came to Porirua to stay.

39 My father Ihaka Te Rei, was originally born in Whakapuaka as was all of the Rei family. But when their mother died, their father went back to Taranaki, so all the Rei’s went with him back to Taranaki. My father fought against the Pakeha in Taranaki. He was a lieutenant of Titokowaru and was present at both the sacking of Parihaka and also at Te Ngutu o Te Manu.

- 40 My father was living in Taranaki at the time of the Whakapuaka case and came to Porirua for the land court hearing, where he met my mother and married her.
- 41 After they married, my parents went back to Taranaki, to Manaia. My mother went back to Matauri Bay to have my brother Patariki Te Rei, and then came back to Taranaki where they lived for some years. From there, they shifted back to Te Tau Ihu where myself and four of my siblings were born. My eldest brothers Charlie and Pat lived most of their young years on D'Urville Island.
- 42 My parents must have been gypsies you know, because they never lived in one place for long, but travelled from place to place. According to our family, that was quite common for Ngati Toa and other iwi in Te Tau Ihu back then, to travel from place to place.
- 43 They would go and live with their relations in many different places. In Te Tau Ihu they lived at Whareatea on D'Urville Island and then shifted to Whangarae, they also lived in Motueka. From there they moved to Nelson and then back to Taranaki. When I was 15 years old, we moved up to Matauri Bay.
- 44 As well as the places they lived, my parents were frequent visitors to Picton, Havelock, Motueka, Whakapuaka and constant visitors to the Wairau where they used to visit John and Tuiti MacDonald. I can recall strong connections between our family and our relations in Spring Creek (including the MacDonalds). They were an important part of our whanau.
- 45 Te Aare was a Ngati Toa woman raised in Porirua but married to a Ngati Rarua man, Alf Rore and, after her marriage, she lived in the Wairau. She would invite my mother to visit her in the Wairau. Te Aare was a sister to Hanikamu, a Ngati Toa chief. Te Aare and Alf Rore adopted one of Hamikamu's grandchildren who I knew as Bubsie. My mother also spent time with Sophie Luke.
- 46 When they lived in Te Tau Ihu my parents did many different types of work, mostly seasonal work.

- 47 When they were on D'Urville Island they were fishermen. They lived at Whareata Bay on D'Urville. The Elkington's lived up on the hill. My parent's home was on the beach front and the house was rented to the Education Department as a schoolhouse. It was quite a big house, quite long, but on the right hand side was a lean-to. At the back end were the bedrooms, that part of was leased out to the Education Department as a schoolhouse. Our family lived in the kitchen/dining area at the back. On most occasions, my family stayed on the boat.
- 48 My father had bought this boat, a launch, twenty eight feet long, to go fishing. My father went into business with Jim Borrie, into commercial fishing. At night they would go fishing and in one night they would catch plenty of fish, but there wasn't enough profit. Two lines, catching blue cod, meant good living but no profit.
- 49 There are many other places my family lived on D'Urville Island. One was Te Marua Bay, a beautiful place. It has a cherry tree grove, a lagoon and a cone shaped hill nearby. There is also a cemetery. My sisters Erama and Tiripa died aged eighteen and ten months and were buried there. Ngati Toa had a cemetery there, but the only headstones still visible there today belong to my sisters.
- 50 According to my mother they also worked for an Italian family there on the farm, because at the time D'Urville Island was covered with forest and the Italians wanted their farm, so they improved the farm by chopping down the trees and pulling the weeds and all that sort of thing. They lived there for several years clearing the Italian's farm. My parents owned part of the land there on D'Urville, but of course it was leased out, so they couldn't use it, but then the lease finally expired and they took it back.
- 51 My father Ihaka Te Rei also used to talk about his family's land at Whakapuaka. He was a young man when his family were forced to leave the family land at Whakapuaka. He talked often about how his family had been expelled from Whakapuaka. They used to have a big two-storey house there. Our old people are also buried at Whakapuaka in the cemetery there. Tiripa my grandmother is buried there, and her sister Ngatare, and their father Wauwau.

- 52 My father and his family were all born and bred at Whakapuaka. The Rei family did live at Whakapuaka. They were ahi kaa, but they didn't stay on the land, they went to Taranaki. No one took into consideration the reasons why they left the land, though - they had to leave because Hemi Matenga had burnt their houses and destroyed their crops.
- 53 My father always believed that Whakapuaka was our family's land. He and his siblings were born, bred, and reared there and their tupuna are buried there.
- 54 My family blame the Crown for failing to recognise and protect their interests at Whakapuaka, and creating a situation whereby my family and others were forced from land that was rightfully theirs.
- 55 Apart from the family land on D'Urville, Whakapuaka and some interests in the Nelson Tenth, my family had no land in Te Tau Ihu that they could use, and for most of their time in Te Tau Ihu my parents worked on land belonging to other people.
- 56 There were many other Ngati Toa and Ngati Koata on D'Urville at the time. The Elkingtons and the Rurukus and the Kotuas lived there. There was quite a contingent of families there, because back then it was all about families.
- 57 My family used to go to Motueka as well and they did farm work there, particularly growing and picking hops and picking apples and other fruit from the orchards there, the vast majority of which were owned by Pakeha. My mother was known as the champion hop picker. And they also did some fishing in Motueka, but it was mostly crop work.
- 58 When they shifted into Nelson to live, my father worked for a dredging company and then later on he used to do the mail run from Nelson to the Rai Valley. He had to do that by driving his horses because the road wasn't properly formed then. My brother Patariki Te Rei went to school in Nelson for a time.
- 59 My father used to talk about how his family lived at Whareatea before they shifted to Whangarae. From there, they would come across to Greville Harbour and block the lake to get eels. They would put rocks across the mouth of the lake at a certain time, let the water build up, then let it go so all

the eels that had been backed up there too would come down. Sometimes they would take the eels back home for the whanau, and sometimes they would take them to Motueka to exchange them for apples with their relations Tiripa and Hahe.

- 60 My father's family always talked about how good the eeling was at Moawhitu, how you could always be sure of a load of eels if you fished there. If they were going out of town for hui, they would go across to Moawhitu in their rowboats and get the eels from there.
- 61 The exchange of food was an important part of visiting relations in Te Tau Ihu. Sometimes my parents used to go to Canvastown to stay with their relations the Wilsons, and the Masons, or the MacDonalds at Spring Creek. They used to smoke the fish from D'Urville Island and sun dry them to take for their relations.
- 62 My older brother Patariki Rei was born in Matauri Bay, but Charlie and I were born in Nelson. My two sisters who died, Erama and Tiripa, were born on D'Urville. My sister Rawinia was born after me in Taranaki. Next was Wauwau, then my three sisters who died as babies and are buried in Taranaki. Then there was Ti Paea, born in Manaia, and Hamiora who was adopted out to Taeti and Hamiora Kamau from Hastings when he was eight months old. The last one was Wikitoria.
- 63 I was very sick as a baby. There was a lot of ill health, particularly among Maori, in those days. A Maori tohunga came and told my parents that if they wanted to have any more children they would have to shift away from Nelson. So they shifted to Taranaki when I was six weeks old. We went to primary school there in Manaia and spent most of our younger days there.
- 64 I was born in 1918 during the influenza epidemic. My mother always said she had a bad time up till then, and she lost two of her babies through those years at 18 and 10 months. My mother told me that my sisters Erama and Tiripa died of pneumonia, but it wasn't until a long time after they died that she realised that that was the cause. In those days they didn't know anything about pneumonia or TB or anything like that. And there was no penicillin in those days – it was terrible.

- 65 My mother said that she used to get the old blue gum tree and get a kerosene tin and put all the blue gum leaves and stalks in it and put it on the stove and boil it and let it go through the whole house. That's how she was able to overcome a lot of the sickness, by inhaling the blue gum. And then when we used to get sick and had measles – she didn't know what the thing measles was – she used to boil peach leaves from the peach tree, and bathe the measles in that water. We had lots of natural remedies because it was difficult and expensive to get to a doctor or to go to a hospital.
- 66 Later, I lost my son because of measles. The measles developed into an infection and he died. At that time, there was no peach leaves because it was winter, but I always wished that I had been able to use the peach leaves, because that might have been able to help him.
- 67 There was a lot of sickness among the Maori people in Te Tau Ihu and at Takapuwhia as well. There was a lot of TB especially caused by pollution. Two families who I know suffered TB very badly were the Katenes and the Wineeras.
- 68 We spoke Maori as a family when I was growing up and I didn't learn how to speak Pakeha until I went to school. I remember when I was at school the teacher gave me a knife and said, "write what you know about it on the board". So I wrote on the board that it was made of rino. And the teacher said "was that a swear word?" and I said, "no, that's a rino, that's what a knife is made of" and the teacher said, "no it's not, it's made of steel", and I said, "well, that's what rino is", and so I got the strap for speaking Maori in school and arguing with the teacher.
- 69 When we were little kids we used to get the school journals and read about what a rebel Te Rauparaha was and all that sort of thing and our parents used to say to us, "no, he wasn't a rebel but he was a cunning man, he knew how to get his people through without firing a shot or without killing anyone", or they used to tell us about how he used to trick people to get away.
- 70 One of the stories we used to like was about how when he came from Kawhia he brought with him a whole lot of women. He had no men with him, only women, and when they got to Mokau he saw the other crowd, his enemies, waiting for them to get to the other side of the river, and he

wondered how he was going to get over and get past them. So he decided he'd get those women to light fires at the stump of the woods and wrap themselves in cloaks. And then he ran from one fire to another and stood and talked to the women, and then he'd put on a different guise and run to another fire and do the same thing. Then when the other crowd looked up and saw all these fires burning and the chiefs sitting around the fires they got frightened and took off and that's how he got through. Yet he was the only man there. So he must have been a very clever man to think of all those things.

71 Today I've only got one sister left, Wikitoria Parata, and she lives in Raumati South. I had four brothers, Pat, Charlie, Bill and Sam. Patariki Te Rei is the father of Matiu Te Rei, my nephew, who is speaking here today.

72 My father is buried in Taranaki and my mother is buried here in Porirua.

Ariana and Ruru Rene

73 When I was 15-years-old the family moved to Matauri Bay in the Bay of Islands. I came to Takapuwhia in 1937 and married Ruru Rene here.

74 I was 19-years-old when I arrived in Takapuwhia. Prior to this we would come to Wellington to visit. My relations used to take me into Wellington occasionally, mostly for land court cases, when I was a child. We stayed with my mother's relations, who were also Ngati Toa, in a house in Molesworth Street. They were my mother's half sisters and half brother.

75 I was really only meant to be going as far as Hawera because I had won a scholarship at school and been accepted to do my nursing training in Hawera. But when we arrived in Hawera, they told me the course didn't start until June, so I had a free month. My Dad said, "Oh you might as well go down to Porirua to meet all of your relations down there."

76 At that time, they were holding the Whakapuaka case here, and my father had come down for that case. Of course, when we arrived in Porirua my aunts, uncles and cousins matched me to Ruru and we were married. And I never did get to do my nursing course.

77 Ruru was living in Porirua at the time that he came down to Porirua for the Whakapuaka case. On the first day when I was staying in Porirua, my Aunt

Polly Wineera came up and she said to me, "We're having a church do in Wellington tonight, do you want to come?". So I went with her and I came back the next morning and my Auntie said, "Sit down here, I've got something to tell you." She said, "You know that NgaHuia is from Nga Puhi?", and I said "Oh is she?", and she said "Yes, and your Mother is from Nga Puhi" and I said, "What's that got to do with anything?". She said to me, "Well, NgaHuia wants you for her son." And I said "Oh, but he's so much older than me". But she said "Don't be silly", and when the old people say these sort of things, you can't say no.

78 So that night I spent the night with my new husband. My father was in the hospital in Wellington at the time, because he got sick when he came down here. After the court case, everyone left and my father came out of the hospital and took me to the Registry Office in Wellington and we were married on 14 June 1937.

79 It was due to my father that I got married, because he told my relations that he wanted me to marry someone from down here. My younger sister, Rawinia, she was named for our grandmother from Nga Puhi. That meant they could have her up there because she has a North Island name, but because my name is from down here, my father wanted me to marry down here. My name Ariana is from my father's sister, and she died and is buried at Whakapuaka. So my father handed me over to his sister to marry and so that was the end of one life for me and the beginning of another.

80 Arranged marriages were common for my generation. They did it to maintain and establish connections between families.

81 I was told that Maudy MacDonald was brought to Porirua to marry a Ngati Toa relation in the 1920s. It was to be an arranged marriage. She met the gentleman she was supposed to marry, but he went away to Taranaki to play rugby and never returned for some months. She stayed for three months and then gave up.

82 I can recall three other Ngati Toa arranged marriages which span a time period of over 100 years. These were (Ngati Toa names first), Ruta Rene (who was my Aunty through my husband, Ruru Rene) to Tapata of Ngati Rarua, Te Aare Hanikamu to Alf Rore of Ngati Rarua, and Tarawera Katene

to Lulu Tapata of Ngati Rarua. These marriages were to encourage and continue relationships between Ngati Toa and other iwi based in Te Tau Ihu.

83 After we were married, Ruru and I lived in Takapuwahia until May 1947, when we shifted to Port Hardy on D'Urville Island, where we lived for 10 years. We came to D'Urville because my husband had an interest in some land there. The lease on the land from my husband's whanau, the Renes, to the Leovs expired in 1947 and my husband and his brother decided they wanted to farm the land themselves. We lived there until May 1958.

84 There were other owners of that section besides Ruru and his brother, including the Kotuas, Tony Walker, and Edie Solomon, who is Evan Hippolite's grandmother. To be able to get into the farm, Ruru and his brother had to buy their shares out, which was a very difficult task at the time.

Life on D'Urville Island

85 I have already produced evidence before this Tribunal at the Ngati Koata (Wai 566) hearing week, going into some detail about our lives on D'Urville Island. That evidence is equally applicable to Ngati Toa at this hearing and I wish to bring the Tribunal's attention to it accordingly (Wai 785, Doc # B18).

86 I loved living on D'Urville. It is like being on a semi tropical island. We never knew whether it was summer or winter. My children used to swim all the year round. I knew it was semi tropical because of the fruit that grew there. We grew all kinds of fruit, grapefruit, plums, apples, boysenberries and raspberries and things I had never seen before, like tree tomatoes, popo, and guavas that grew there profusely. We had tomatoes, we had cucumbers, pumpkins and things like that, grown all the year round.

87 As well as the kaimoana, the animals and the exotic fruit and vegetables on D'Urville, we also sought out traditional food resources used by our tupuna. I remember going to gather titi (muttonbirds), pigeons and eels in particular. You never took more than you needed. What they did take they took for themselves to eat, and what they couldn't eat fresh they dried for later or gave to their relations.

- 88 We didn't use Pakeha medicine, we used medicines from the bush. My mother always used to say, "If anything happens, there's kawakawa there. Go and get it". It's what we used for our sores and cuts. We used kopakopa, or sour weed, for our sores, boils and cuts. We'd just put it on the stove and heat it up; or else put it in the pot and boil it for a few minutes, then take it out and put it on like a poultice.
- 89 There are other plants we used for medicines too. For instance, the kowhai bark is good for a bad leg, or an ulcer on your leg. My mother always used to think it was a Ngati Toa trait, getting ulcers on the legs. You get the Kowhai bark, seven strips of it, and you boil it and bathe it with the boiled water and rub the thing and wrap the bark around it and dry it up.
- 90 I have used flax root for constipation, just ordinary flax growing around. We dug up the root and baked it in the oven, or on the coals, then pounded it, and mixed it with water to drink.
- 91 We also used the kumara hau for coughs and colds and for constipation as well. The flower of the kumara hau you use for washing your hair. You rub it in you hand and it goes all soapy. We used to use that because we were too poor to buy soap.
- 92 Puha is good too. You can boil it and put it on any kind of sore as a rongoa. Likewise kawakawa is good for all sorts of things, including for tea and that sort of thing as well.
- 93 Aunty Lou (Ruihi Takuna Elkington) told me about the koromiko. She said to me that the best thing for puku ailments was koromiko. You just take the tips off and chew it. And I said, "Oh no, that will taste awful." She said that it was nasty but it's better to put it in boiling water and then drink the water. But if you're desperate you just get a hold of it, put it in your mouth and chew it. Koromiko tips were the best for stomach troubles or diarrhoea. There was a little bush just where we were living, the kids would go to pick the leaves and bring them back.
- 94 My husband was farming on D'Urville Island, he had sheep and cattle. The farm belonged to him and his brother Joe, who inherited it, but it had been leased out for years. Then the lease expired, so they decided that in their old age they would go back there and go farming. The other part of the Rene's

farm is still there, but we had to sell the rest, to my distress and my kids' distress. We have been for ages trying to get enough money to buy it back, but there is an old lady living on it now and she doesn't want to sell it. It is 1700 acres and all she has got is 4 horses on it!

95 Two of my children, Rawinia and Tuihana, were born during our time on D'Urville Island. I tried not to have any more children on D'Urville Island because it was the most embarrassing thing. You had to do a special trip on the launch and go all the way from D'Urville to meet the ferry going from Nelson to Wellington so that you could get to the hospital in Wellington to have your baby. There was a hospital in Havelock but it was harder to get to there than it was to get to Wellington. To go to Havelock, you had to go by boat from D'Urville Island to Whangarae and then an ambulance had to come and pick you up from the wharf, but the road was just a farm track. So it was easier to go out at 1am in the morning and catch the boat going to Wellington.

96 After you had the baby in Wellington, and took the ferry home, the ferry used to go back via French Pass at one o'clock in the morning. They'd come and wake you up and you'd have to tie your baby to your front and get in the basket and be lowered down on the rope into the boat below. You'd look down and see this little wee boat way down there and know that you had to be lowered all the way in. It would be Turi Elkington or Roma Elkington on the boat at the bottom there to pick you up and take you home to D'Urville the next morning. After the second time I thought that was enough, and I didn't have any more children until we came to Porirua and I had my last children here.

97 Ruru and I had 11 children in total, but only seven lived and four died. Our two eldest boys died. One died at four and the other died at two years old. Rangikapiki was the eldest one. He died of meningitis. Meningitis was just starting to be known in those days and they never had any cure for it. And then Ruru died when he was two. He had bronchial pneumonia. After Ruru was Witi. We were all living on D'Urville Island at the time and he contracted hepatitis from a person who was living in the house at that time. He was 11-years-old. And then my last baby was Reuben who died when he was 19 days old. So those are my four children that we lost.

- 98 There was no school where we lived on D'Urville, so my kids had to come back to Porirua to go to school. I took them for the first part of the year but when they got into the standards it got beyond me and so I had to send them back here to school. The other kids on D'Urville all learnt by correspondence. There was a school at Madsen for the children around there, there was quite a community of Maori there, but it was too awkward for my kids to get there. The road wasn't on D'Urville Island then, you had to go by boat every time you went out, so I sent them back here to Porirua.
- 99 I am a Mormon, but my husband isn't, he is an Anglican. When we were living on D'Urville it was hard to get to church because the closest Mormon Church was in Madsen. But they used to come to us sometimes. My husband's father and mother were Catholic. My father said to my husband that he'd let him marry me provided he join the Mormon church. But his mother NgaHuia heard him say that, and she said, "Don't you dare." When his mother died I said, "Well, she's dead now, she won't hear!", but he stayed an Anglican all his life.
- 100 People from Te Tau Ihu and D'Urville went back and forth often between Porirua and D'Urville for different events including land court cases, tangi, weddings and so on. When my mother died in Porirua I came back from D'Urville with all my kids. We also went to visit our relations in other parts of Te Tau Ihu.
- 101 We attended several tangi at Madsen while we lived there. We were there when Ratapu died, and they brought him back to bury him. I remember at the tangi for Wi Herewini (Bill) Selwyn, Ruru told me that they didn't get watercress over there, so we cut two big sacks full of watercress for the tangi. When Huirangi died from asthma, her tangi was at Kia Ngawari, at Turi and Nui's place. They took her to be buried at the urupa at Madsen.
- 102 The tradition of supplying kaimoana is still strong today, although it's a bit more difficult because the kaimoana stocks are so much lower. When my mother-in-law NgaHuia died, the people from D'Urville who came to Porirua brought every type of fish you could imagine with them - smoked, dried and fresh. Even today, when people come from the island and there's fish on the table, we ask if it came from D'Urville.

- 103 For years and years Ngati Toa was noted for their table food. People who came to Takapuwahia always expected to be served with kina, paua, mussels or pipis because of our close association with the sea. But it was usual for Ngati Toa to have all those sorts of things on the table. But over the years all those kinds of food diminished and all these restrictions were put on us – we couldn't serve up those kind of delicacies that Maori used to look forward to. That was very hard. You either had to go out of your traditional fishing areas to get the seafood or try to buy it. Usually there wasn't enough money to buy it, so you just had to make do with what you had. That was a bit degrading for Ngati Toa because once we used to provide those delicacies profusely.
- 104 When we lived in Te Tau Ihu there was no division between the iwi. We didn't feel like different iwi, we were all related, to us we were all one family. We could go to Nelson or we could go to Havelock and everyone would say "oh come and stay with us, don't go back tonight, the weather's no good, the plum tree's all loaded with plums, come and pick yourself some plums" (and we had huge lots of plums at our own place, we didn't need plums!), and all this sort of thing.
- 105 Back then we didn't feel as if we were separated from everyone. Things have changed now. I think it may be because the younger generation don't understand the relationships between the iwi as well. I know from my generation up – or from my generation down – they knew who their relations were, and they made it known to us what those relationships were.
- 106 When my two girls were sick, one had pneumonia, and both were not very well, so the district nurse came and took them to Blenheim and while we were in Blenheim I stayed with my Aunty, Polly MacDonald, while they were in the hospital.
- 107 We had a lot of people from around D'Urville Island and Te Tau Ihu come and stay with us on D'Urville. Manny MacDonald and his family used to come and stay with us. So did the Walkers, and people from Motueka. They'd come to visit and spend a few days, do some fishing and spend a couple of nights.

- 108 We knew Tom Bailey and his family in Motueka. He was a lovely man. We went and stayed with him in Motueka.
- 109 We used to go to the Wairau to pick walnuts. We stayed in Grovetown with the McDonalds and we'd go and get the walnuts from the trees all the way along the Wairau river. They used to say, "come down, the whitebait is running", so we'd go there for a couple of days, got some whitebait, and also went home with bags and bags of walnuts. And we'd go out and fish and take a box of fish with us and then we'd go home with all the walnuts.
- 110 In the Wairau as well as Ruka there were the Wi Peres and the Masons. On the way to the Wairau there were also the Wilsons who lived in Canvastown, near the Wakamarina River.
- 111 Then at other times someone would ring up on the phone and they'd say there's a football match at so and so and come over to Te Towaka. Te Towaka was a Pakeha's farm over the other side on the mainland in across from D'Urville and they'd invite us to go over there. And then we'd go across and have a whole day at the Te Towaka Olympics as they used to call it. The Te Towaka Olympics was all the farmers around the area, both Maori and Pakeha, but there were more Maori than Pakeha. They played rugby and netball, running, and the kids would go into it and play tennis and things. That happened once a year.
- 112 Or else we'd go to Endeavour Inlet where the Walkers were and we would meet them there and have a day there.
- 113 There were screeds of Maori in Whakatu. There was the Elkingtons and the Hippolites, there was the Kotuas and the Parais. My Aunty was one of the Kotuas and she lived there too. Her name was Sophie (Te Ua Torikiriki) and she was married to Percy Kotua. We used to go there and stay with her. There was Percy Kotua and there was the Mauweras. There was the Loves. There were lots of Nobles and there was Polly Noble. She was from Porirua. One of the Parai's married a Hippolite over there in Nelson. We were all the one family.
- 114 In Motueka there was the Morgans, the Baileys and there was Kata Walker (Tony Walker's mother) and the Ward-Holmes, they were all relations. We went to Motueka when the meeting house, Te Awhina opened, we were all

there. We went over to Takaka as well, to see our relations the Stevens over there. It doesn't matter where you went in the South Island, they were your relations right down as far as Kaiapoi, where I remember the Morris family at Tairoa Heads.

- 115 When I lived in Te Tau Ihu we all spoke Maori together. My Aunty Polly and the old man Manny MacDonald were fluent speakers of Maori. Kata Walker in Motueka when we went to visit her was a fluent speaker too, and English was her second language. She used to come over here to Porirua for part of the year when the men including my husband were out shearing. They used to take her for a cook, and when they came to their dinner she cooked the dinner and they would say, "what's for pudding Kata?" and she would say, "Apple and cusses" and they'd laugh and say, "You mean apple and custard" and she'd say, "Well, you can call it what you like, but it's still cusses to me!".
- 116 I tried to teach my children to speak Maori but they didn't want to know. When I used to say a word to them in Maori when they were young they said, "oh don't talk Japanese to us, we don't want to know". Now they are blaming me, and saying that I should have taught them, but I tell them that I tried to, but that they didn't listen!
- 117 We only came back to Porirua because my husband in his old age got very sick. They told him if he wanted to live a bit longer he had to come down off the hills. So we were forced to sell the farm and come back here because we still had a place here because my mother was still living here in Porirua. My boys were going to school in Wellington so they had already come here to stay with her. In the holidays they came home to D'Urville. I have lived here in Porirua ever since.
- 118 When we lived at Takapuwahia my husband used to go shearing at Makara, Taihape and the Hawke's Bay.
- 119 My husband also went out fishing often. He did a lot about fishing off the Wellington coast. Many people liked to go fishing with him. Men like Dunbar Sloane would come out from Wellington and take him on their boat to guide them when they went fishing.

- 120 The chiefs in Wellington when I came here in 1937 were Hapi Love, Kingi Tahiwiri (Ngati Raukawa), Te Puni (from Picton), Ihaia Puketapu and also Joe Wineera, Hari Katene, Joe Rene and Jim Toi.
- 121 Men from Te Tau Ihu used to come across to Porirua to help with the shearing for different people, some for Tom Maher up the hill in Porirua East, the Eastwicks at Ohariu and the Walkers and Greys in Plimmerton.
- 122 Busloads of the men from Porirua used to go to the Wairau at hay making time. They also went to the Wairau and Motueka at harvesting time to do the hops, apple and raspberry picking and things like that. This went on right up until the time of the Second World War. Some of the names I remember of the family's who used to go down there are the Renes, the Martins and the Parais. Nearly all the young people from here used to go down to the Wairau in summer time. However after the Second World War the seasonal work started to die out and so not so many were able to go across. I remember Matu Solomon and Sonny Walker, who went from here, among others.
- 123 The men from Porirua also used to go across to the Wairau to help with the potato harvest there. They said that Ngati Toa had land over in Wairau and every year Manny MacDonald and the people there used to grow the potatoes and Matu Solomon, Sonny Pohio, Tony Walker and all of that lot used to go over to the Wairau at the right time of the year to plant the potatoes. Then when the potatoes matured they were dug up and the men from Porirua used to go over to the Wairau again and do the haymaking, stay there and dig up the potatoes and then come home again. The MacDonalds used to put about 20 tonnes of potatoes on the boat and send it over the Cook Strait to share with the Maori over here. It is my understanding that that was a kind of price for living in the Wairau.
- 124 Old George Katene used to go down on his truck here in Porirua and pick up the potatoes and put them on the corner and whoever wanted the potatoes just had to help themselves. We used to get a bag of potatoes each.
- 125 Then Ngati Toa here in Porirua used to get the eels in March. They used to go down to Hokio and catch the eels, dry them and then send them down to

the Wairau, to make sure that they got the potatoes again the following year. Joe Wineera used to organise all that.

- 126 When Mannie MacDonald died, that practice died out in the Wairau. The one from Porirua who kept all those things going was Hohepa Wineera. But when he died the practice of taking goods and commodities backwards and forwards in such an organised way ceased.
- 127 People also went back and forth from Porirua to the Wairau for different events. When Karewa Arthur married Chris Green at the Wairau about 50 years ago, people from Porirua went down for the wedding.
- 128 When Randall Hippolite's Mother (Takuna Solomon) got married, then the Elkingtons, Rangi and Turi and Gundy all went out fishing. They couldn't come to the wedding, but they went out the night before and got a whole swag of fish for us to bring over for the wedding.
- 129 When Tinirau Philips, a Ngati Toa kaumatua, died in the 1950s at the Wairau, a big contingent of Ngati Toa went down to his tangi. This contingent included my mother, Moerau Ropata, Wae Wineera, Hohepa Wineera and others. As I recall, there was a big group of 20 people from Porirua who went down.
- 130 When Turi Elkington died a large group of about 200 people went south from Porirua. We all went on one boat, which was the McManaway Boat. Island Love was the senior kaumatua on the Picton Marae. He invited all the Porirua people onto the paepae to lead what was a very big tangi.
- 131 I can also recall one of the Lukes dying about ten years ago. I went to that tangi in the South together with a van load of Porirua people. This group included Frank Hippolite, Tutari Salzmann and, I believe, Matiu Rei, Ringi Solomon, Milly Solomon and Takuna Solomon.
- 132 I also can recall going down South when Lulu and Tarawera Katene's daughter died. She died at Porirua but was taken to Wairau for her tangi on the Marae at Wairau. Lulu was from the Wairau and wanted her daughter to stay there.
- 133 The women of Ngati Toa Rangatira in Porirua used to travel to the Wairau to play hockey in a triangular tournament which involved Nelson, Wairau and

Porirua Ngati Toa. The last time this occurred was in the 1980s. I recall that I went down to that tournament myself.

- 134 These are just some examples of the ongoing contact and connections maintained between Ngati Toa and our other relations in the North and Ngati Toa in the South Island. This contact continues today, particularly for marriages and tangi.

World War II

- 135 Many of our Ngati Toa boys went to fight for the Crown in World War II. They couldn't wait to go, and they rushed to join up to fight before conscription came about. If they had it their way, they would all have gone, even the young 14 and 15 year olds. Even my husband Ruru and Joe Rene went. Ruru went, even though he had only come back two months ago out of Wellington hospital. He had some kind of sickness and had to go to hospital to have an operation on the back of his shoulder blades for some shoulder trouble he had – it may have been TB. The doctor who inspected him said, “You’ve got a cheek to come here with that in your back”, so Ruru just went and joined the home guard here in Porirua instead.
- 136 But all the young fellas went, even those that weren't of age, like Wattie Martin, even though they were only about 15 or 16, they all wanted to go overseas, because they didn't want to be conscripted into the force.
- 137 Some were killed over there but many returned, thanks in part to Kopa, which I talk about later. I know that Arthur Elkington was killed and George Katene. Others came back severely wounded, such as Gundy and Hongi Hau.
- 138 The war had a great impact on Ngati Toa because it took away some of the cream of our iwi and many who came back were too traumatised to become leaders, like George Katene and Arthur Elkington. I know Arthur Elkington would have been a great leader because he used to travel all over New Zealand with the Maori King, King Koriki. He was King Koriki's right-hand man. He could have made quite an impact on Maoridom if he had come back. And George Katene was quite a speaker.

- 139 Many of those who did come back were badly traumatised and it took them a long time to accept the assistance of the iwi to bring them back to us, and I don't think some of them ever did.
- 140 The loss of some of the cream of our Ngati Toa men left a big gap between the old generation and the generation of today. It has been hard for our younger people growing up without so many of the older ones to help them understand aspects of their culture, such as their language, their history, their tikanga and their whakapapa.

Te Runanga o Ngati Toa Rangatira

- 141 I have been involved in Ngati Toa Rangatira affairs since I moved to Porirua in 1937. I was a secretary of the Ngati Toa Native Committee during the Second World War. I have been involved in Maori committees, the Takapuwahia Marae Committee and tribal committees since the 1940s. I was a member of a woman's committee fund-raising for the Marae in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. I have been involved in the Maori Woman's Welfare League. I was a member of the Runanga Council of Ngati Toa Rangatira. I have been a part of various fund-raising committees for the marae. I have also been involved with the teaching of the Maori language on the Marae and at the Kohanga Reo. I am still today a member of the Ngati Toa Claims Committee.
- 142 I can remember the Takapuwahia Marae being involved in a land sale in the Wairau. The sale was in relation to White's Bay. Maori with an interest in the land were selling their land and Hohepa Wineera was sent down to represent the interests of Ngati Toa, as a part owner in the land there.
- 143 As I recall it, Joe Wineera returned with a cheque for 200 pounds, being Ngati Toa's share of the sale. I believe that the MacDonalds would have been involved too and it is possible that the Staffords might also have been involved. I can recall that that money was enough to put a concrete floor in the dining room which was being used in the marae at the time. It didn't seem a lot of money to all of us for all the land our tupuna were supposed to have been granted in the Wairau.
- 144 I also remember a Wakatu Inc meeting in Porirua in 1978. Tom Bailey, a kaumatua from that area asked that a piece of land be set aside from Wakatu

Incorporation lands to establish a marae (Te Awhina Marae in Motueka). In his whaikorero to the assembled shareholders, he prefixed his speech with a request to Ngati Toa to allow his tono to be placed before the meeting as he considered that the land originally belonged to Ngati Toa.

145 I remember this incident clearly, as I was sitting next to my cousin Tuo Hippolite at the time. I remarked to her that she should also make a similar request for lands to be set aside at Nelson.

146 The old people always talked about the land and how they lost it. Land was important to them in those days. It broke their hearts when they had to leave the places they were born and grew up in. Through listening to them talking, I don't know exactly how the land was lost, but I know it was through skulduggery and through the Pakehas that were there stealing the land.

147 I experienced some of this skulduggery personally as well through my father's experience in Whakapuaka and also our land at D'Urville. It is my understanding that they took away some of our land on D'Urville and sold it because it was uneconomical – that's why it was sold. That was somewhere around 1956 – 57.

Taniwha

148 I don't know where they came from, but it was a thing about Ngati Toa that the old people used to talk about a lot, and that was the taniwha. Those taniwha followed Ngati Toa when they came down to Wellington and Te Tau Ihu on the heke. The most prominent one was Kopa, the morepork.

149 **Kopa**

- a. Even the Ngati Toa men who came back from the First World War used to talk about how Kopa saved their lives overseas. They reckoned they were in the firing line and then this morepork was in front of them doing a criss cross flying motion and everywhere they went the morepork would go and fly to a certain place and make a sort of separate noise. Some of the other people in the battalion said "look at that bird, shoot it, get rid of it, get it out of the road" and the Ngati Toa's that were there said, "No leave it, it's Kopa looking after

us”. And sure enough that’s what Kopa was doing because it was taking them out of the firing line.

- b. Then of course when the Second World War came, the same thing happened. Matu Solomon and them came back and told the same sorts of stories about Kopa. They were in their bunks sleeping one night and Kopa came and all they could hear was “kio, kio, kio”, that was his cry, and the others in the room said, “What’s that noise”, and they said “leave him, it is Kopa.” He was making such a noise that they all got out of the building and they had just got out when of the building when the thing got bombed and so Kopa saved them.
- c. I saw Kopa for myself when we were living on D’Urville Island. We were sitting in the kitchen and behind the kitchen was the living room and there were no doors and no windows open. We were having our tea and we could hear this noise, just like flapping of wings and my husband said, “what the hang is that?”. We went into the living room and there was Kopa sitting on the window sill inside, flapping his wings away and talking away to himself. My husband said to me, “there’s something bad on”, and I said “why?” and he said, “that’s Kopa”. And Kopa’s face was all sort of screwed and wrinkled up. My husband picked him up, opened the door, and let him go.
- d. Then that night, about 9 o’clock at night we received a call from Jim Elkington. In those days in Porirua here there was only one telephone and that belonged to Jim Elkington. So that night we received a call from Porirua to D’Urville Island to tell us that Raha Wineera had died. And we said, “there you are, Kopa came to tell us that something bad had happened at home.”
- e. I also heard Kopa another night not long ago in Porirua when August Wineera died. It was the first time I’d heard him in years, I suppose he was saving himself for the special ones.

150 **Mukukai**

- a. The other taniwha was Mukukai. Mukukai was a fish. He’d come into the harbour here in Porirua and when he was seen in the harbour

the people used to go down to the beach to get fish or seafood because they knew Mukukai was coming to tell them there was plenty of seafood in the harbour.

- b. You'd see Mukukai by the stick on his head. The front veranda of my house in Porirua overlooks the harbour, and one day the old Nanny Paeroa was up here and she and my mother were sitting on the porch talking away and weaving some flax.
- c. It was a funny sort of a day and you felt that there was something funny in the air. When you looked down at the sea it was completely calm without any ruffles on the water and yet the wind was strong. And the women said, "there must be something wrong to make the sea like that and yet the wind is strong." So they looked down to the sea and they said, "Oh yes, there it is, there's Mukukai down there." It looked like a stick coming in the water, standing upright in the water. They said to me, "Can you see that?" and I said, "yes, it's a stick or a log or something" and they said, "no, that's Mukukai, coming down to say that there's plenty to eat in the sea."
- d. So old Nanny Paeroa said, "Oh, I'll go home and get my husband to put the net out". And her husband put the net out and they went down and that afternoon she sent some people up to tell us that they had got swags of mullet. And they put this wheelbarrow out on what used to be the corner of the main road and they told everyone who wanted some fish to come and help themselves. And that is Mukukai.

151 **Mutumutu**

- a. Another one that the old people used to talk about is Mutumutu. That is the eel. I saw him with my own eyes when we went up to a funeral in Horowhenua. We were sitting on the Horowhenua Lake and we saw this eel come along with all yellow underneath and it came right up in front of us and it turned over and you saw the yellow belly but it had no tail. And we said "what a funny looking eel that is". So we started throwing sticks down into the water to

frighten it away but it was still there, floating around on top of the water. So we went back to the marae afterwards and talked about it and they said, “oh, that’s Mutumutu, that’s Kopa’s brother”. They said that because they said that these taniwha were Nohorua’s children – his first children.

- b. That night we came home from the funeral and when we came home they told us that Skipper Royal had died, so that’s why Mutumutu came to the lake, to let us know that that was happening. So that’s the other taniwha that Ngati Toa has.
- c. I know those taniwha all travelled as far as Horowhenua and Porirua and Te Tau Ihu with us, and Kopa travels all over the place. We have even heard him up North Auckland. They say he’s not only a morepork. Sometimes he can change himself to a fantail too.

152 Those taniwha are ancient history from the old people. They have been passed down from generation to generation. As soon as you hear or see those taniwha, the old people start telling stories about the different things that have happened since they have visited. This is important for Ngati Toa, because although the taniwha have travelled south with us, the stories told still connect us with our history and our tupuna back up north. These connections are very important for Ngati Toa as an iwi.