

WHAT'S SIGNIFICANT ABOUT OUR BACKYARD?

COMPILED BY LOUISE YOUNGSON
HOD SOCIAL SCIENCES
MENZIES COLLEGE
WYNDHAM

"PLACE AND ENVIRONMENT"			2016
"WHATS SIGNIFICANT ABOUT OUR BACKYARD"			
CONCEPT			
CONTEXT			
Year 11	Level 6	Duration 2 - 3 weeks	
ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES		KEY CONCEPTS	
Understand how the causes and consequences of past events that are of significance to New Zealanders shape the lives of people and society.		Interaction Place Turangawaewae Whanaungatanga	
Understand how people's perspectives on past events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.		Migration Resource Kaitiakitanga	
EFFECTIVE PEDAGOGY			
CONNECTION: make authentic connections to students' lives	ALIGNMENT: align learning experiences to important outcomes	COMMUNITY: build and sustain a learning community	INTEREST: Design experiences that interest students
- This is our countries History. We must understand it to be able to participate in it effectively. - Students to discuss experiences e.g. if been to Titi Islands mutton-birding	- Identify perceptions and factual things/facts that students know about the environment around them - Provide 3-5 aligned experiences throughout learning areas/lessons	- Students to inquire into their families pasts - To identify with beliefs held by families	Allow students to share their story/experience emotional appeal engages students
SETTINGS	PERSPECTIVES	VALUES	
New Zealand	Bicultural Multicultural Current Issues Future	Respect themselves and respect for each others viewpoints during discussions Innovation, Enquiry and curiosity into the treatment of people Diversity, understanding the rights of other cultures, and that everyone perceives things differently Equity through the fairness and justice	

E-LEARNING (ICT) Various websites acknowledged on sources of information	DIFFERENTIATED LEARNING
KEY COMPETENCIES Thinking: Developing understanding, constructing knowledge. Using language, symbols and texts : reading, evaluating, processing and communicating information Managing self : completing work to the required standard and getting to class on time with the correct materials Relating to others : actively listening to other viewpoints and perspectives; Participating and contributing : sharing ideas in class or group discussions	
<u>RESOURCES</u> <u>Texts</u> Athol Anderson – Te Puoho’s Last Raid published 1986 Frontier of Dreams text and television documentary Ruth Nauman Our Treaty	
ASSESSMENT ACTIVITIES <i>ESSAY practice: Describe what happened in your chosen event and how this event is of significance to Maori.</i>	

SPECIFIC LEARNING INTENTIONS

By the end of the lesson students will be able to identify and give a brief history of four monuments in the district

By the end of the lesson students will be able to explain the geographic location and significance of Maitāhara and Tūtorau

By the end of the lesson students will have a basic understanding of the Musket Wars in New Zealand

By the end of the lesson students will have discovered how Te Rauparaha was pushed out of the South Island by Ngāti Tahu

Learning Activities could include:

Graffiti sheets
Walking trip around Wyndham
Internet research
Discussion around the significance

Mapping tasks
Fact sheets on Titi Titi islands and kana kana eels adapted into resource interpretation activity.
Talk about how significant these two resources are to Maori at this time and now

Readings from multiple sources to gather a picture and to map the locations.
Starting point Ruth Naumans Our Treaty book or Frontier of dreams "When Worlds Collide" episode then onwards if want more.
Good map in Frontier of Dreams text – could map page 79.

Read pages 81, 82, 83 from Frontier of Dreams about Kaiapoi and Te Rauparaha.
Students can search Te Rauparaha on internet, what else is he known for?

By the end of the lesson students will have mapped and be able to describe Te Puoho's journey down the south island

By the end of the lesson students will be able to describe how the Ngati Tahu retaliated to the raid

By the end of the lesson students will be able to describe the aftermath of the raid for both the sides involved in the battle.

By the end of the lesson students will have attempted to write an essay on the significance of Tūturau to Māori in the 1830's using the content covered in the unit.

Create a map of the journey on the wall of the class room. Students to create a timeline of the journey to be placed alongside the map. Use Atholl Anderson's Te Puoho's Last Raid to assist.

Using Atholl's book and chapters 5 and 6 read and then discuss. Complete further inquiry into the main players at the time and where they were based.

Read chapter 7 the Aftermath. Look at what both sides did as a result of the defeat of Te Puoho.

Now have a go at writing an essay plan, then essay on the significance. *Describe what happened in your chosen event and how this event is of significance to Māori.* Ensure the students think about the following questions when doing this.

Significance could be determined by:

- the importance of the event to people alive at the time
- how deeply people's lives were affected at the time
- how many lives were affected
- the length of time people's lives were affected
- the extent to which the event continues to affect New Zealand society.

By the end of the lesson students will have learnt to search on the papers past website and found some articles of interest.

By the end of the lesson students will have processed the reactions and responses of two groups of people.

By the end of the lesson students will have written an essay similar to the 1.6 examination

To extend on this further now go to the papers-past website and search the 100 year centenary of the battle. Look at the various articles from the time. Copy off those that are relevant and those included with the rest of the unit. Get students to read these articles and to make notes on the significance of the centenary. Many people attended this occasion and the landscape was different than today. Would be the areas I would focus on.

If using this for the 1.6 NZQA achievement standard Describe how a significant historical event affected New Zealand society you need to look at perspectives and actions of people/groups more.

To fully answer in an assessment you need to be able to talk about specific actions of a person/group and then the reaction/response and the reasons for.

Students could look at the variables for this. Examples include Te Puoho, Ngai Tahu or you could look at the centenary aspect and look at Maori, landowners, council and others. Get students to complete old examination papers to hone their skills for this question.

Finally assess the students essay writing skills with an old examination question. This will ascertain where they are at and what more is required.

Extra; In article '*Peaceful landscape belies violent history of Tutarau*' it mentions Half-men. This is an interesting aspect of myth/legend to go down. There is much on the internet on the Patupaiarehe people and the AHTA had an article on this a few years ago if my memory serves me correctly. James Cowan also wrote a book containing these stories 'Fairy Folk tales of the Maori' published in 1925. Could do some sources work with this.

Lesson 1: Introducing the topic.

SLO: By the end of the lesson students will be able to identify and give a brief history of 4 monuments in the district.

Activities for students:

Using the attached images ask students to list all the words they can think of relating to each one of the images (Glencoe Monument, Wyndham War Memorial, Menzies Memorial and Tutarau Monument).

- This can be done in small groups, individually or as a class. You could even display these around the room as a graffiti task on large sheets of paper. Give time for the students to record their thoughts and ideas.
- Feedback these thoughts and ideas to a larger group. The class may even be able to name the monument and say where you would find them.

I suspect students will not know much about some of these monuments. Get students to research on their phones each monument for 15 minutes to come up with 15 facts on each.

Discuss the significance of these monuments in class and whether or not they knew anything about them prior to the lesson. Relate back to historical significance.

Go on to introduce the monument – Tutarau. You will need to do some reading about it.

Introductory notes for students

The monument at Tutarau was erected in 1937 to commemorate 100 years since Te Puoho's raid on Tutarau. The raid was an important historical battle after a number of skirmishes between Maori around the 1830's.

Lesson 2: Setting the scene.

SLO: By the end of the lesson students will be able to explain the geographic location and significance of Maitara and Tutarau

Setting the scene in early Murihiu – students to copy into books

There were never huge numbers of Maori in Southland. The main settlements were at or in the neighbourhood of Waikawa, Bluff, Ruapuke Island, Stewart Island, Oreti, Riverton, Colac Bay, Pahia, Waiau River mouth, Manapouri, Te Anau, Kingston and Tutarau.

- *Locate these settlements on a map then give reasons why Maori were located there briefly, using local geographic knowledge.*

Tutarau appears to be a popular stopping off place for Maori travelling from inland centres to the coastal regions of Ruapuke Island, the stronghold of the Southern Tribes.

We are unsure how many lived in the area but the Maitara river and extensive areas of bush ensured a plentiful food supply. Some Maori may have stopped on their way to the Titi Titi (muttonbird) islands or to collect flax as there are numerous peat swamps in the area or to collect kana kana eels.

The settlement at Tutarau has been referred to as a pa or kaik (unfortified village).

- Read the fact sheets on the Titi Titi islands and/or kana kana eels and complete the resource interpretation questions.
- If you are short of time you may want to adapt these tasks to suit.

Lesson 3: New Zealand in a wider context

SLO: By the end of the lesson students will be able to explain how the musket became a valued possession of Maori

Students should have studied the Treaty of Waitangi at some stage so may have already seen this clip. It sets the scene and re jigs the student's memory on the musket wars in 19th century New Zealand.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-Tot1ShGv4>

Following this students can copy in the following notes from Te Ara:

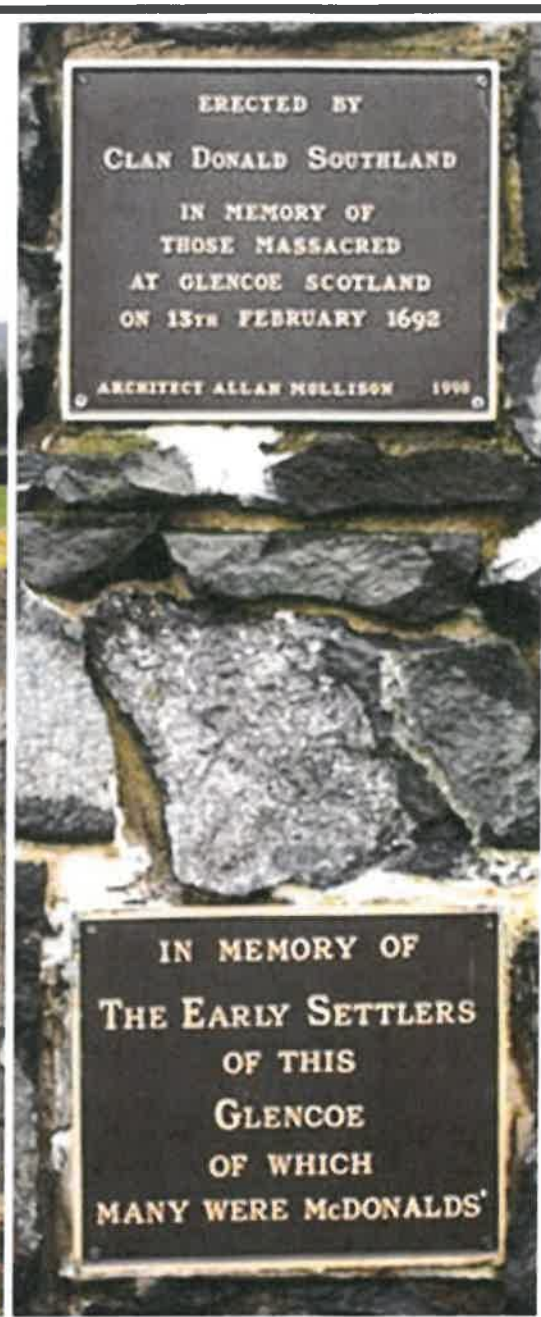
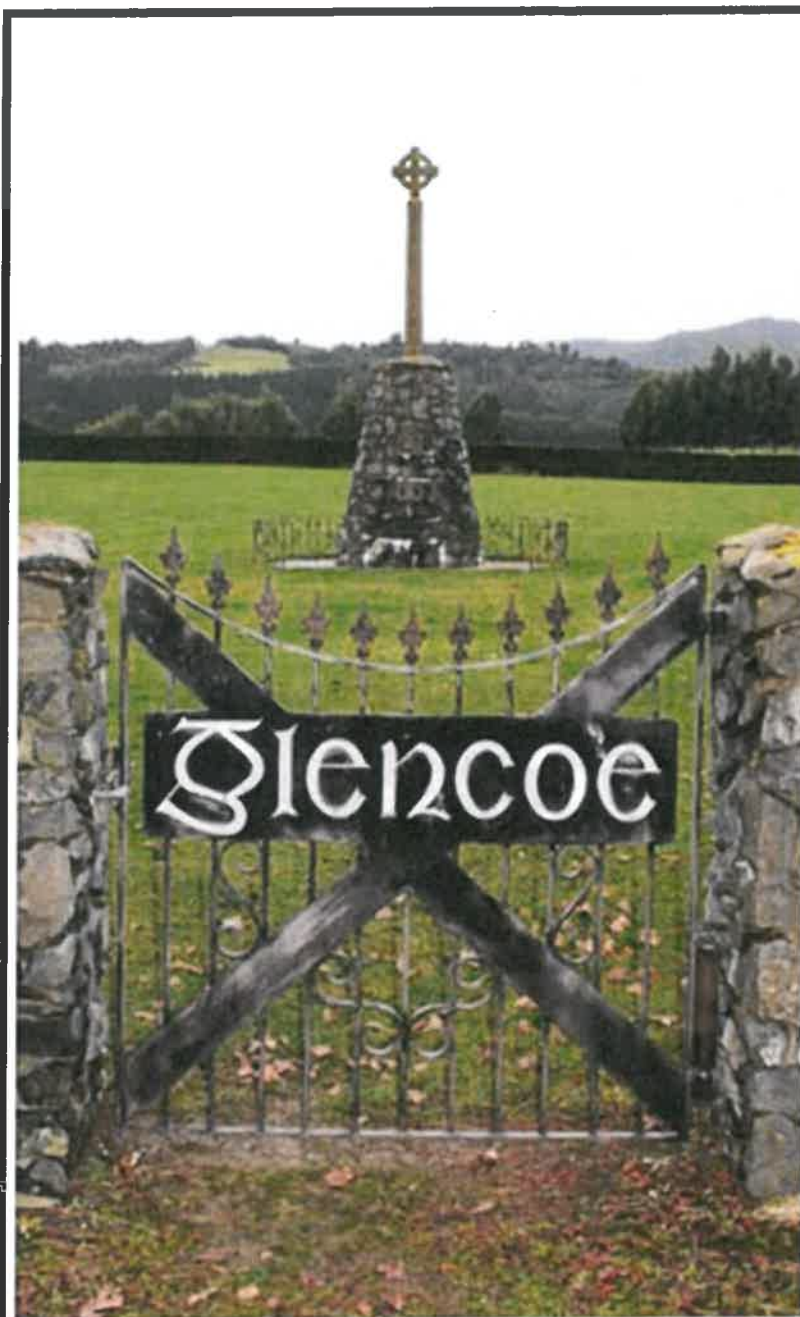
The intertribal wars of the 19th century saw battles in many parts of New Zealand and an 'arms race' involving a number of tribes.

After Europeans brought muskets to New Zealand they became an important commodity that Maori tribes wanted. Tribes that wanted muskets had to increase their production of potatoes and pigs, which were the common currency for a musket. Normally one musket could cost up to 200 baskets of potatoes or up to 15 pigs. As more tribes purchased the muskets the price declined. The Maori tribes that had these guns learnt tactics for using firearms and designed pa's to protect against attack from a musket. The inter-tribal conflict changed from traditional hand to hand combat to fighting at a distance.

The musket wars were New Zealand's most geographically widespread conflict from the far north to the far south. Even the Chatham Islands experienced conflict.

With the arrival of European ships Maori could travel greater distances. Ngati Tama chief Te Puoho travelled the length of the South Island as we will learn.

For lessons 4 on wards see unit plan



ERECTED BY
CLAN DONALD SOUTHLAND
IN MEMORY OF
THOSE MASSACRED
AT GLENCOE SCOTLAND
ON 13TH FEBRUARY 1692

ARCHITECT ALLAN MELLISON 1998

IN MEMORY OF
THE EARLY SETTLERS
OF THIS
GLENCOE
OF WHICH
MANY WERE McDONALDS

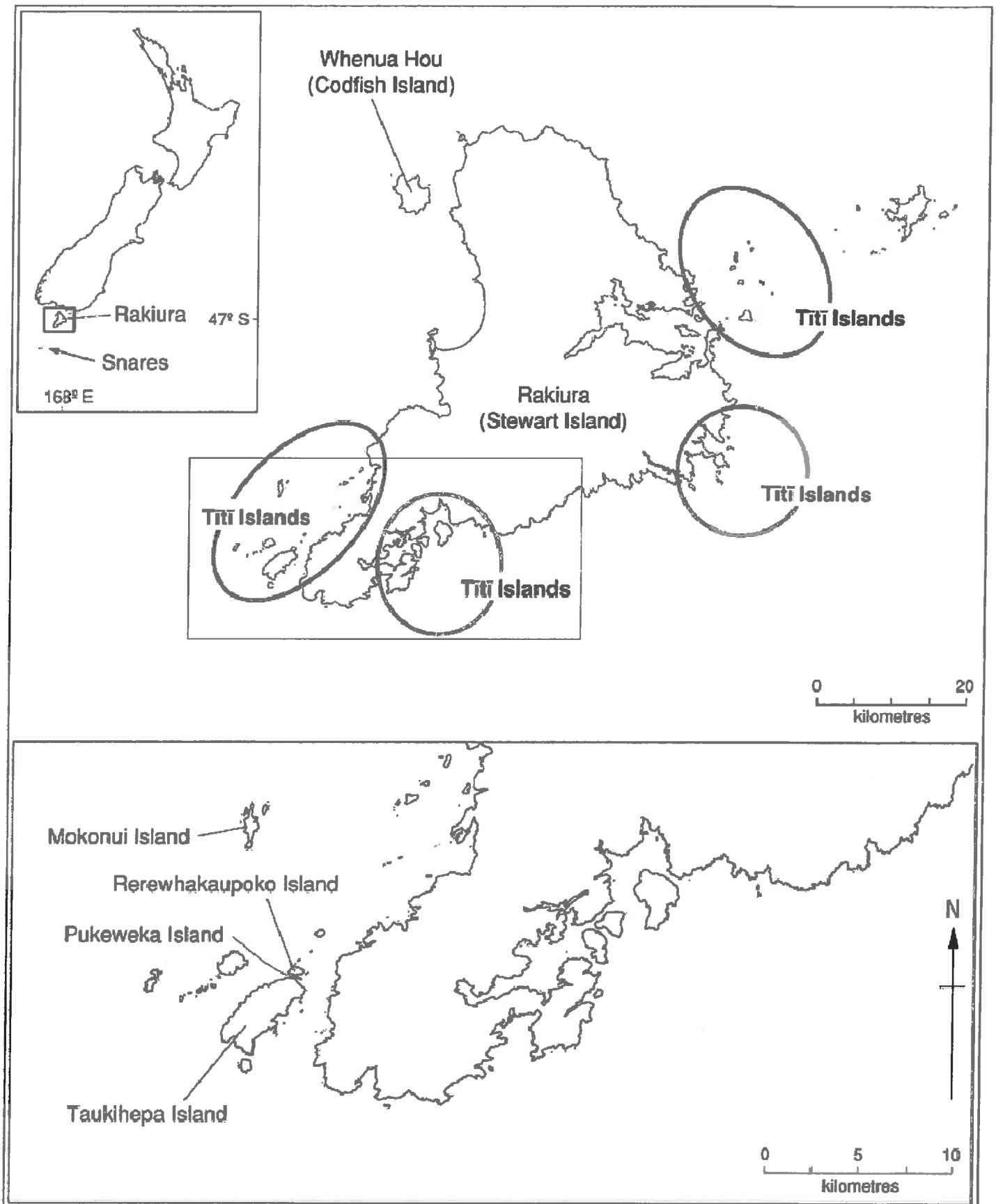


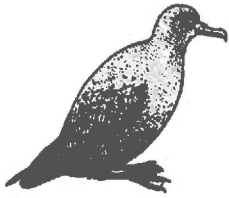




Map showing the Titi Islands where mutton birding takes place.

Source: <http://www.oikonos.org/projects/titi.htm> accessed 10th November 2016





Tītī – muttonbirding

by Philip Lyver, Jamie Newman and the Rakiura Tītī Islands Administering Body

Source: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/titi-muttonbirding/print> accessed 10th November 2016

Muttonbirds, or sooty shearwaters, are known to Māori as tītī. These seabirds, according to one 18th-century commentator, taste remarkably like sheep meat. Muttonbirds are harvested by Rakiura (Stewart Island) Māori, the Māori people of New Zealand's southernmost region. Their cultural legacy includes travelling once a year to the 36 islands around the southern tip of the country, where the birds are a prized catch.

Muttonbirding in New Zealand

The muttonbird, tītī, or sooty shearwater (*Puffinus griseus*), is a member of the petrel family of seabirds (Procellariidae). The birds have dark brown plumage, with silvery-white markings under the wings. At breeding time in late November they dig burrows in the ground, where they lay a single egg.

Humans have hunted petrels since earliest times. Archaeological data indicates that petrels were widely distributed throughout prehistoric New Zealand, and later regularly harvested by Māori, although to what extent remains uncertain.

The collecting of muttonbird chicks is one of the few remaining large-scale harvests of any petrel species in the world, and is commonly known as muttonbirding. The term refers to the collecting of chicks or fledglings of small to medium-size. Although the exact origin of the English name is unclear, it appears to come from an 18th-century account of the harvest of wedge-tailed shearwaters (*Puffinus pacificus*) on Norfolk Island, where the chicks were described as being remarkably fat with meat resembling mutton.

A number of other petrel species have been harvested in New Zealand, although on a much smaller scale. A few grey-faced petrels (*Pterodroma macroptera gouldi*) are caught by Hauraki Māori from islands in the Aldermen (Ruamāhua) Group off the Coromandel Peninsula.

Rakiura Māori rights to muttonbirding

Rakiura (Stewart Island) Māori, the Māori people of New Zealand's southernmost region and their descendants, have rights to gather muttonbirds on 36 islands, known as the Tītī Islands, around Stewart Island. They can harvest chicks each year from 1 April to 31 May. Under the Tītī (Muttonbird) Islands Regulations 1978, people can arrive from 15 March to prepare for the season.

The muttonbirding rights of Rakiura Māori are also guaranteed by the 1864 Deed of Cession of Stewart Island. Under subsequent regulation, 18 of the Tītī Islands are termed Beneficial Islands, to which only certain Rakiura Māori families have joint ownership and right of access. The remaining 18 are known as the Rakiura Tītī Islands, which up until the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 were also known as the Crown Tītī Islands. Prior to 1998 they were owned and controlled by the Crown, subject to the right of Rakiura Māori to harvest tītī.

Rakiura Māori have used muttonbirds for food, as a trade item, and for their feathers and down. The harvest has huge cultural and economic significance.

Muttonbirds are plentiful, and in recorded history Rakiura Māori have never imposed a catch quota. Harvest-management systems on each of the islands are determined by traditional guidelines (kaitiakitanga) or by the muttonbirders who arrive there before 1 April. There are two main forms of management:

- A closed system, where families have a designated harvesting area
 - An open system, where individuals have the right to harvest chicks from anywhere on the island.
- Muttonbirding systems have changed over the years, depending on the method most preferred by the Rakiura beneficiaries and the 18 Crown Tītī Islands at the time.

Getting to the Tītī Islands

Access to the islands has traditionally been by boat, and this continues to be the main way of transporting the large quantities of equipment that are required. Helicopters are now often used, making it quicker and safer to unload the boats, and giving people more freedom to come and go.

Harvesting

The harvesting of sooty shearwaters, muttonbirds or tītī is divided into two stages: nanao, when chicks are extracted from their burrows; and rama, when they are caught above ground under torchlight.

Nanao

The nanao period usually lasts from 1 to 22 April, although this may vary from year to year and between islands.

Muttonbirders work during daylight to take chicks from their burrows. Each burrow holds a single chick. Harvesters lie on the ground and reach into the nest chamber to catch and carefully manoeuvre the chick out. If it cannot be reached from the entrance, muttonbirders sometimes dig a hole and pull it out. Great care is taken to seal the hole with a puru (earthen plug) to prevent water from entering the chamber or collapsing it.

Once the chick is removed from the burrow it is quickly killed and pressure is applied to its abdomen so it regurgitates any proventricular oil or stomach contents. Some muttonbirders then plug the throat with feathers or dirt to stop any remaining stomach contents leaking out and soiling the feathers, as this makes plucking difficult.

Rama

The rama period can last from mid-April until 31 May, but harvesting usually stops by 15–20 May because most chicks have fledged and left the islands. The moon and the weather largely govern harvesting during this period.

Muttonbirders work at night by torchlight or with lanterns to catch chicks when they emerge from their burrows to exercise their developing wings. Chicks prefer to come out on dark, moonless nights, especially when there is wind and rain. In such conditions, muttonbirders are able to catch the most birds in the least time.

Processing

Once muttonbirds have been caught and killed they are transported to the workhouse for processing. About five chicks are tied to each end of a length of flax or twine and either carried back to the workhouse or, where possible, sent down wires running from the hillsides to the workhouses. Processing is highly labour intensive, and the methods used vary between families. The following is a general description of the main procedures.

Plucking

Chicks are plucked as soon as possible after they have been caught – the feathers are easier to remove while the birds are still warm. For this reason some muttonbirders like to pluck their birds while still out in the birding ground. Plucking is done by hand, or by a purpose-built machine powered by a generator. Machine plucking puts less strain on hands and fingers and is marginally faster. By way of comparison, an experienced muttonbirder can usually hand-pluck a chick in about 46 seconds, and a machine in 40 seconds. Care is taken not to rip the birds' skin as this reduces its value.

Waxing

When the feathers have been plucked, a layer of fine down and pin feathers (new growth) remains. These are usually removed with hot wax. After the birds' wings and feet have been cut off, their bodies are dipped into a copper vat of molten wax floating on hot water. When the wax has cooled and solidified around the bird, it is cracked and peeled off, taking the downy feathers with it and exposing a clean white body. The wax is recycled every season. In the past, muttonbirders would dip the chicks into large pots of hot water and rub off the down by hand.

Preserving

The clean chicks are hung for a period. They are then split longitudinally through the breastbone and their internal organs are removed. Each chick is graded by size, covered with salt, and packed into 10-litre plastic buckets for storage. Preserved in this way and kept cool, the birds can keep for a year or more.

Packaging

Before plastic buckets were common, different types of storage containers were used, including large tins and wooden barrels. More traditional are pōhā – bags made of hollowed, inflated blades of bull kelp, enclosed in strips of tōtara bark and placed in flax baskets. A few Māori still use kelp bags, some using the birds' own fat instead of salt as a preservative; this is called tītī-pōhā or tītī-tahu. On occasion the chicks are preserved without having their stomachs removed – these birds are known as tītī-puku.

The future of muttonbirding

Rakiura Māori have initiated a long-term research programme with the University of Otago to monitor the birds and assess the effects of harvesting. Studies carried out in 1999 and 2002 have indicated that on some harvested and unharvested islands populations have fallen by 30–40% over the last two decades. The decline has been partly linked to climatic phenomena such as the El Niño Southern Oscillation, a periodic warming of the ocean. Also, muttonbirds are often killed as by-catch in commercial fisheries in the northern Pacific. Preliminary estimates of sustainability and management recommendations will begin to emerge from the studies by 2008, guiding the practice of muttonbirding to ensure the birds remain plentiful.

A personal account of muttonbirding

Ailsa Cain recollects her childhood experiences of muttonbirding.

Getting together

The most important thing for me when muttonbirding as a child was the way we got together as a family. We lived in Milton and would drive down to Bluff, where we would take a fishing boat to Papatea (Green Island). At that time there were only three houses being used on the island. Attached to the house where we stayed was a workshop for processing the muttonbirds. In addition, there was a pluck hut on the manu (birding ground). It had a coal range, radio and seats, but was otherwise pretty basic.

Different jobs

Jobs were allocated by age. The little kids were the unwaxers (where the wax is peeled off to remove the down). Then you graduated to a gutter. You knew that you would not become a wax dipper or salter until you were about 50. We stayed on the island for around a month and had to do our school work and write a diary. The jobs I remember disliking were throwing the guts away and collecting firewood.

Daily routine

We would get up around 9 a.m. and have breakfast. Then we would do school work and help out around the house. We would have lunch and do some work related to the muttonbirds. Then we'd go out to play on the beach or in the bush before coming home about 4 p.m. to go to bed. We'd get up at about 6 p.m., have tea, and then walk out to the manu. We would catch and pluck muttonbirds, with us kids usually going home about 11 p.m. If we were good and carried some birds back, our mum would read us a story and give us a girdle scone (a flat scone also known as a soda scone).

My enduring memory of this time is the absolute freedom we had as children to freely explore the bush and seashore. These places were totally unspoilt by people, as no one was allowed on the island other than during muttonbird season, between 1 April and 31 May.

Big South Cape Island

We later decided to go to another manu on Taukihepa (Big South Cape Island) because it was where my taua (grandmother) Naina used to bird as a girl. There are a lot more people and birds on this island compared to when we birded there as children. Some people now travel there by helicopter, leaving from Bluff or Riverton. Some people continue to travel from Bluff or Riverton by fishing boat, which can take up to nine hours. Others take the catamaran that leaves from Bluff, and this takes only four hours. Before, we tended to be a lot more conscious of our supplies because they had to last for the entire season. However, now with so many boats and helicopters calling in, it is much easier to get provisions, mail and the newspaper.

On this island we got to see many more ways of doing things. The manu is not as spread out and sparse as the one on Papatea, so the process is more intensive for the plucker – more birds are caught in a shorter time, and they have to be plucked while they are still warm.

We've found that by being on Big South Cape Island we have formed closer ties with the other families that bird there. Because birds don't come out during a full moon, this is a great time to get together with nearby families and socialise. It's a rare occasion, because harvesting and processing is so intensive the rest of the time.

External links and sources

More suggestions and sources

- Anderson, A. 'Historical and archaeological aspects of muttonbirding in New Zealand.' *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 6 (1997): 35–55.
- Lyver, P. O'B., and H. Moller. 'Modern technology and customary use of wildlife: the harvest of sooty shearwater (*Puffinus griseus*) by Rakiura Maori as a case study.' *Environmental Conservation* 26, no. 4 (1999): 280–288.
- Lyver, P. O'B., H. Moller, and C. Thompson. 'Changes in sooty shearwater (*Puffinus griseus*) chick production and harvest precede ENSO events.' *Marine Ecology Progress Series* 188 (1999): 237–248.
- Richdale, L. E. *Maori and mutton-bird*. Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1946.
- Wilson, Eva. *Titi heritage: the story of the Muttonbird Islands*. Invercargill: Craig Print, 1979.

More links and websites

- **Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu – four specific sites**

<http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/the-settlement/settlement-offer/cultural-redress/ownership-and-control/four-specific-sites/>

The Ngāi Tahu website includes information about cultural redress under the terms of the Crown settlement offer. Among the four specific sites discussed on this page are the Crown Tītī Islands.

- **The tītī project**

<http://www.otago.ac.nz/titi>

The website of the research project that aims to assess the sustainability of traditional muttonbirding by Rakiura Māori.

- **Tītī, the sooty shearwater**

<http://www.nzbirds.com/birds/titi.html>

On the New Zealand birds website, this page has a descriptive account and photographs of muttonbirds.

Philip Lyver, Jamie Newman and the Rakiura Tītī Islands Administering Body, 'Tītī – muttonbirding', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/titi-muttonbirding/print> (accessed 10 November 2016)

Full story by Philip Lyver, Jamie Newman and the Rakiura Tītī Islands Administering Body, published 12 Jun 2006

Images of Titi in kelp bags



Te Manu Titi song

Listen to the song on http://folksong.org.nz/te_manu_titi/index.html

Southern Maori harvest the chicks of tītī, or muttonbirds, from offshore breeding grounds every autumn.

Murihiku¹ kai Murihiku taoka²
Rakiura³ kai Rakiura takata^{2b}

Southland food and a Southland delicacy,
Stewart Island food for Stewart Islanders.

Te manu tītī³ te take manu kai e
Moutere tītī whitia Te Ara a Kiwa⁶ e
Te Poho o Waitai⁷
Poutama Taukihepa
Rerewhakaupoko e
Horomamae Kaihuka
Tamaitemioka
Te Wharepuaitaha e
Whakatau⁹ wakawaka^{5a} e

The muttonbirding grounds are the source of poultry to eat
They are on islands at the other side of Foveaux Strait
Wedge Island⁷
Evening Island
Solomon's Island⁸
Owen and Breaksea Islands
Tamaitemioka
and one of the Breaksea islets.
the division of the harvesting area has been settled upon

Te manu tītī te take manu kai e
Kā mahi tītī takata Rakiura e
Te nanao¹⁰
me te rama¹¹
Herea kā hui manu
Hutihuti huruhuru e
Tutua i ōna hinu¹²
Ko te huahua manu
Purua te pōhā¹³ e
Hei te Tohu Raumati e (tohu raumati)¹⁴

The muttonbird grounds are the source of poultry to eat
You do muttonbirding work around Stewart Island
Reach in to the burrows and grab the chicks
Shine a torch to catch the older ones running around.
Tie up a bundle of birds
Pluck their feathers
cook them in their own fat
to preserve them
cram them into kelp bags
to show our traditional ownership (as summer food stores)¹⁴

Te manu tītī Kāi² Tahu rakatira² e
Te manu tītī Māmoe kahuraki² e
titia e kokoia e ara e
Te manu tītī

The muttonbird grounds are esteemed by Ngai Tahu
and are treasured by Mamoe people.
Stabbed and dug up, but they still revive
Those muttonbird grounds.

Footnotes

1. **Murihiku** => Muri Hiku => Rear Tail => tail end of Maui's canoe => Southland province.

2. **Taoka, Takata, Kai Tahu, Kahuraki, Rakatira** - this is the South Island pronunciation and spelling for words usually found in Maori dictionaries spelt Taonga, Tangata, Ngai Tahu, Kahurangi and Rangatira

3. **Rakiura** => Raki Ura => Rangi Ura => Sky Glowing => Where there are glowing lights in the sky => Where you see the Aurora Australis or Southern Lights => Stewart Island. Actually until the 20th century the people there used to pronounce it "Lakiula."

Maori navigators pictured the map of New Zealand as Maui in a canoe pulling up a sting-ray, so Stewart Island was also known as Te Pungo-o-te-Waka-o-Maui, the anchor stone of Maui's Canoe. Nelson province was the canoe's bow, Wellington harbour the stingray's mouth, the East and West Capes the ray's fins, and Northland its tail.

5. **Manu**, - We all know "manu" means 'birds,' but here "manu" is technical shorthand for an extended family's bird harvesting territory. Each muttonbirding island is divided into a number of *manu*, with boundaries defined by geographic features. Manu are sub-divided into 5a **wakawaka**, a descent group's portion of a harvesting area.
6. **Te Ara a Kiwa** - Kiwa's pathway, Foveaux Strait, separating Stewart Island from the South Island. Kiwa was the first navigator to sail around New Zealand. He was here about 800 years ago, and left a few kiore rats behind. When Kiwa arrived there were seabirds nesting in burrows over all the country. About 2 million pairs are still nesting on the rat-free islets off the coast of Stewart Island, and there are remnant nesting sites in some rugged, remote parts of the mainland, but there may have been 100 million nests in pre-human times. The seabirds' inland nesting habits were important in transferring nutrients from the sea to the land. Their nitrogen-and-phosphate-rich excrement, and the remains of eggs, chicks and adults that died ashore nourished the forest ecosystems in which they lived.
7. **Names of the muttonbirding islands** - There are 36 small islets 500 m to 5 km across, dotted around Stewart Island. The muttonbirding islands listed in this song are mostly in the south-west. The following names have also been listed in newspapers as muttonbirding islands. Entrance Island (Tia), Refuge Island (Herekopare or Marama), Long Island (Kanaiwera or Taukiepa), Moggy Islands (Moki nui and Moki iti), The Breaksea Group (Wharepuitaha, Rakawhakakura, Kaihuka and Te Pomata kia rehu), Stage Island (Poho o tairea), Bench Island (Te Wahi Taua), Return or Bates Island (Te Moutere o te Wharerimu), First Island (Kane), Codfish Island (Whenua Hou). Timore is south of Stage Island, Te Maka near Easy Harbour, Kai Mohu north of Solomon Island, Putahinu, Huirapa and Te Mai o te Mioka are three islets near Wedge Island. Motunui/Hotunui, Haremai te Raki and Kani te Toi are in the Fancy Group, and Pukeweka is the second islet north of Long Island.
8. **Solomon's Island** - Horomona (Solomon) Paitu, a convert of Bishop Selwyn and a catechist, was the chief who controlled Rere Whakaupoko. He built a church on it, so that the mutton-birders and seal takers did not neglect their spiritual affairs.
9. **Whakatau** - a decision or settlement. There has been conflict about manu rights at times. In 1909, an Arowhenua man took action against a man from Bluff for evicting him from Horomamoe Island. Eventually the Native Land Court in 1914 and in 1921 decided the names of those who were entitled to go to each tītī island.
10. **Nanao** - to feel with the hand and grab. In April the young chicks are still in their burrows, which the parent birds dig to protect their chicks from predatory birds and sealions while they are out at sea catching fish. If the burrow is extra long you have to use a shovel first.
11. **Rama** - this is the 18th century Tahitian and South Island variant of *marama*, the moon. However, when the Shearwater chicks come out of their burrows in May to exercise their wings, they avoid predators by exiting only on pitch-dark moonless nights. So rama became the technical term for using artificial "moonlight" to catch them. In pre-electric days, flax-stalks were probably soaked in fat from the cooked muttonbirds and then set alight. You may like to experiment: what is the longest time you can get a torch like this to burn for?
12. **Tutua** - literally "to be stood together"(?) They were of course cooked first, and the solidified fat, the bag, and the cool autumn temperatures preserved them. Perhaps tutua is another technical term (?)
13. **Poha** - The bags for holding the birds are made from bull kelp. The giant sea weed is cut into lengths four feet long and two feet wide. The worker inserts his hand along the inside honey-comb until a bag is formed, with about two inches left unbroken around the edges. The bag was inflated and secured for three days, and then left in a cool place to soften. Flax or totara bark was used as its protective covering. But nowadays the birds are not cooked but salted, and then stored in plastic buckets.
14. **Tohu Raumati** - *tohu raumati*, spelt with small letters, is "food stores of summer." *Tohu Raumati*, with capitals, is the name of a sacred food container used to symbolize ownership of the bounty from the land.

ART. XIII.—*Nature-lore of the Southern Maori.*

By H. BEATTIE.

Communicated by H. D. SKINNER.

[Read before the Otago Institute, 9th December, 1919; received by Editor, 31st December, 1919; issued separately, 4th June, 1920.]

IN collecting the traditions and place-names of the Maori of Otago and Southland I have gathered a great mass of information, some of which has recently been published elsewhere. There remains, however, a considerable quantity of material which has never been printed, and some of this relating to nature may be of interest. It must be understood that I am not trying to deal exhaustively with the various phases of this extensive subject, but simply to record what the southern Maori have occasionally said to me about it. The Maori gave me some nine hundred place-names hitherto unrecorded by the *pakeha*, and it was while giving these names that they mentioned the following facts. Where the terms "North" and "South" are used, reference is made to the districts north or south of Timaru, Canterbury.

THE KANAKANA, OR LAMPREY.

The general name for the lamprey is *piharau* in the North and *kana-kana* in the South. One of my informants said that there are at least four different kinds of *kanakana*, or, if counted as all one species, the Maori had names for them at four separate stages or at different sizes. These names are—(1) *Te-ika-tukituki-wai*, (2) *te-ika-totoe-wai*, (3) *matua-iwi-papaho*, (4) *te ru*. Some rivers might have all four kinds, and other rivers fewer. They went up certain rivers only, and they shunned others for no apparent reason; but evidently something in the water, either in taste or in plant or animal life, or in the situation of rocks, &c., attracted or repelled them. My informant added that the *kanakana* would not come up the Karoro Creek, but swarmed up the Molyneux River, whose mouth is about two miles distant. They proceed up the rivers until they find their passage barred by rocks, and to these rocks they cling with their sucker-like mouths and are easily caught. One of my informants combated the statement that the *kanakana* lived on whitebait, saying that its food was the *kohuwai*, a green mossy growth which adheres to the rocks.

The most famous of the spots where the Maori assembled every October and November to catch the lampreys was Te Au-nui (Mataura Falls). Only certain *hapu* (families) had the right to fish there, and each family had a strictly defined *pa* (fishing spot), the right to which had been handed down from their ancestors. The names of some of these *pa* were (1) Wai-kana, (2) O-te-hakihaki, (3) Rerepari, (4) Mataniho-o-Hukou, (5) Mupuke-a-Rahui (6) Otautari. The names of the others are forgotten.

The falls on the Pomahaka River named Opurere were also a celebrated *kanakana* fishery. An old man tells me that the people used to go there every October and November, and after catching all they could they would return to their homes to plant potatoes. There were six *pa* (fishing-allotments) at Opurere, and, beginning from the south side, the names were (1) Mataniho-o-Muka, (2) Tu-kutu-tahi, (3) Te-awa-inaka, (4) Patu-moana (this is a small island), (5) Rau-tawhiri, (6) Te Rerewa.

Other places at which *kanakana* might be caught were Te Rere-o-Kaihiku (Kaihiku Falls), Hehetu a small fall where the Orawia runs into the Waiau, Waipapa-o-Karetai, on the Silverstream, and elsewhere.

It must not be thought that persons entitled to take the lampreys from a certain section of rock could proceed to do so at haphazard. It was a matter that had to be gone about with *karakia* (incantations) and due observance of time-honoured customs. Each of the falls was protected by a guardian *taepo** (spectre), and if a person offended against tradition, woe betide him. The *taepo* of the Mataura Falls was a magic dog. It was explained to me as a rock which stuck out of the water about where the Mataura Freezing-works are, and, although it looked like a rock at ordinary times, to one who was guilty of desecration it would miraculously change, and appear as an ogre possessing a dog's head, paws, and body, but with a fish's tail. The luckless wight who saw it thus was doomed to disaster unless he could invoke powerful charms to ward off the evil.

The *taepo* of the Pomahaka Falls was also an uncanny thing to provoke. It frequented the tiny island known as Patu-moana, and took the shape of a giant eel. These spectres did not trouble those who proceeded to take the *kanakana* in the correct manner as prescribed by ancestral usage.

To supplement what the Maori told me about the *kanakana*, I may add that the late Mr. N. Chalmers, of Fiji, writing to me in 1910, said, "I reached Tukurau in September, 1853. This was in the *kanakana* season, and I was much interested in the way in which the Natives caught the lampreys. On the top of the falls there are—or were at that time—three large potholes about 6 ft. deep, and full of stones. These were cleared out and strong stakes put in each; then as the *kanakana* came crawling up and clinging to the rocky wall of the falls the Maori, leaning on the stakes, reached out their hands and, grasping the fish, put them in the *korari* eel-pots handy. It took them only about ten minutes to fill one pot, when another took its place. The superstition of the Maori is very marked, for Reko told me that if an enemy or any one threw a firestick into the falls, then the *kanakana* would desert the locality; so, needless to say, I was very careful to avoid hurting their feelings... When I was at Hokanui in 1858 I had a stockman called George, a Sussex man, who came to the house one afternoon with a face as white as a sheet and swearing he had seen an eel at least a mile long at the Longford (now Gore). I got on my horse and went with him, and when I saw the phenomenon I was not surprised at his statement; for I saw a column of *kanakana* more than a mile long, swimming in a round mass exactly like a large eel, so beautifully were they keeping a circular shape." Mr. F. L. Mieville, who stayed at Tukurau in 1854, writes, "The natives were very good to us and supplied us with potatoes, also *kanakanas* much resembling leather with a strong flavour of train-oil—they were dried and very hard."

Source: http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_52/rsnz_52_00_000710.html accessed 10th November 2016



Ministry for Primary Industries

Manatū Ahu Matua

Customary fishing requires a Customary Authorisation

Only duly appointed Tangata Tiaki/Kaitiaki have the authority to authorise customary fishing, including any customary fishing within a Mātaihai Reserve.

- > A customary authorisation must be sought and obtained from an appointed Tangata Tiaki/Kaitiaki prior to any harvesting taking place.
- > All fishing must comply with any instructions and authorisation conditions such as harvest date, area, species, quantity, size and fishing method.
- > Customary fishers must ensure they carry the authorisation form with them while fishing and to show it to a Fishery Officer or Honorary Fishery Officer on request.

Unlawful to sell or trade any catch

- > It is an offence to sell or trade any recreational or customary fishing catch.

A Guide to the Law

These notes are provided as a summary guide to applicable law, which is subject to change. Relevant legislation includes: The Fisheries Act 1996, Fisheries (Amateur Fishing) Regulations 1986, Fisheries (Southland and Sub-Antarctic Areas Amateur Fishing) Regulations 1991 and Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999.

For full details on amateur fishing restrictions, contact your nearest Ministry for Primary Industries office. A complete copy of relevant legislation (including Acts and associated regulations) is available from Bennett's Government Bookshops.

Help stop the spread of unwanted invasive aquatic species

It is crucial for all river users to do their bit to avoid the spread of unwanted invasive aquatic species and pests. The aquatic weed Lagarosiphon is one such pest. Introduced from southern Africa as an aquarium plant, this spiralled leaf perennial herb thrives in ponds, lakes and slow moving streams, forming vast deep meadows that shade out other species.

- > It is important for fishers to check and thoroughly clean all fishing gear including any fyke nets or hinaki traps, along with any boat propulsion units, water intakes and motors.

Another serious introduced invasive threat is Didymosphenia geminata. Didymo is a freshwater type of alga, which can form massive blooms, smothering rocks and submerged plants on the bottoms of streams and rivers. Didymo is made up of cells that cannot be seen with the naked eye. It only takes one of these cells to survive and be transported to another waterway to spread.

To avoid the spread of Didymo between waterways you must:

- > check your fishing gear and equipment including any nets, boats, footwear and clothing; and
- > clean any items that have been in contact with the water by soaking and scrubbing the items for at least one minute in either, hot (60°C) water, a 2 percent solution of household bleach or a 5 percent solution of household detergent; and
- > dry all items, waiting an additional 48 hours before contact or use in any other waterway;
- > fish, plants, rocks and other river items should not be moved between waterways.



Mataura River Mātaihai

Effective from 1 December 2009. Subject to change without notice



Contact the Ministry for Primary Industries

Invercargill

137 Spey Street

(03) 211 0060

0800 4 POACHER

(0800 4762 2437 to report illegal poaching)

For further information visit www.mpi.govt.nz

If you require more information please visit www.biosecurity.govt.nz/didymo

Hokonui Runanga Ph 03 208 7954

Introduction

The mahinga kai (food gathering) custom underpins Ngāi Tahu culture. It is central to the relationships with places, species and resources, to the cultural, spiritual, social and economic well-being of Ngāi Tahu, and is a vehicle for the transfer of traditional knowledge from generation to generation. Mahinga kai was identified as one of the "nine tall trees" or nine major grievances Ngāi Tahu lodged against the Crown as part of the Ngāi Tahu Claim (WAI 27), such was its importance to the iwi.

Mahinga kai refers to the custom of gathering food and natural resources, the practices involved, and the places where they are gathered. The associated custom of kai hau kai (exchange of food/resources) was one of the major economic institutions in traditional life, being the means by which food and resources as well as knowledge was traded and exchanged between iwi (tribe) hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (family).

Along with whakapapa, this provides the genealogical connection to resources, mahinga kai explains the traditions of use associated with flora, fauna and resources, from which springs mātauranga or traditional knowledge relating to these taonga.

The Mātaitai River remains an important mahinga kai for Ngāi Tahu whānui because of its use as an access route between coastal Murihiku (Southland) to Fiordland and the West Coast for the gathering of pounamu. The Mātaitai was particularly noted for the gathering of kanakana (lamprey) and tuna (eels), with annual fishing expeditions in season to favoured nohoanga (campsites) along the river.

A guide

The content of this brochure is, according to the Ministry for Primary Industries' best efforts, accurate at the time of publication. However, the Ministry for Primary Industries may amend the information at any time. This brochure is intended to be a guide to the regulations and its contents should not be construed as legal advice. For full details on amateur fishing restrictions contact your nearest office of the Ministry for Primary Industries.

What Is a Mātaitai Reserve?

Mātaitai reserves are one of the suite of management tools created under Part IX of the Fisheries Act 1996. These are designed to give effect to the obligations stated in the Treaty of Waitangi: Fisheries Claims Settlement Act 1992 to develop policies to help recognise use and management practices of Māori in the exercise of non-commercial fishing rights. The Part IX tools provide practical recognition of the rights guaranteed to tangata whenua¹ under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Under the Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999, tangata whenua may apply to the Minister for Primary Industries to establish a mātaitai reserve on a traditional fishing ground for the purpose of recognising and providing for customary management practices and food gathering.

The mātaitai is managed by appointed Tangata Tiaki/Kaitiaki (guardians) who manage all fishing and gathering of fish within the mātaitai through the creation of bylaws. The bylaws apply equally to all individuals.

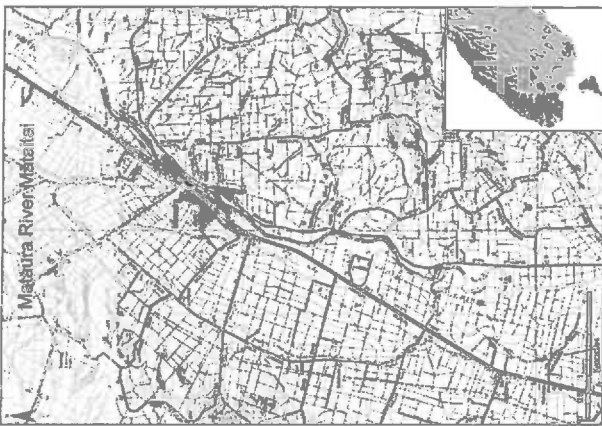
There is one Tangata Tiaki/Kaitiaki appointed by the Minister for Primary Industries, supported by Murihiku Papatipu Rūnanga the mātaitai bylaws are the result of this collaborative approach.

¹ Tangata whenua in relation to this particular area means – The whānau or hapū of Ngāi Tahu whānui that hold mana whenua mana moana over that area and are represented by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

Mātaitai Reserve Area

As illustrated in the map, the Mātaitai Reserve encompasses the waters of the Mātaitai River within:

- the northern boundary being a line in an easterly direction across the Mātaitai River (from a point at 46°10.45'S and 168°53.67'E on the eastern bank to a point at 46°10.45'S and 168°53.87'E on the western bank) about 500 metres upstream of the Mātaitai tannery; and
- the southern boundary being a line in a westerly direction across the Mātaitai River (from a point at 46°13.96'S and 168°50.97'E on the western bank to a point at 46°13.96'S and 168°51.03'E on the eastern bank) at a bend in the Mātaitai River about 1 kilometre downstream of Shanks Road.



Method restrictions

General netting restrictions

- > Nets must be hauled by hand.
- > Any net or nets used either individually or jointly must not extend across more than one-quarter of the width of any river, stream, or channel, measured at right angles to the bank of that river stream or channel.
- > No net may be used in a way that causes fish to be stranded by the falling tide.

Return of unlawful fish

- > Any person engaged in recreational or customary fishing shall immediately return any unlawful fish (whether excess, undersize or unlawfully taken species) back into the waters from which the fish was taken, taking all reasonable care to ensure their survival.
- > Only those persons physically involved in taking fish are entitled to claim a catch within the daily limit.

Sport fish restrictions

Within the Mātaitai River and Mātaitai Reserve any taking of Sports fish, including Brown trout and Quinnat or Chinook salmon species must comply with the relevant Sports fisheries provisions contained in District Anglers Notices, the Conservation Act 1987, the Conservation Law Reform Act 1990 and the Freshwater Fisheries Regulations 1983.

Taking sports fish within the Mātaitai Reserve without a licence is prohibited

- > No person may take any sports fish from any freshwater at any time, unless that person is the holder of a valid Fish and Game licence.
- > No person may possess any sports fish taken from any freshwater, unless the fish have been taken lawfully.
- > No licence holder shall fish for sports fish except by using a rod and running line and authorised lure.

Return of unlawfully taken sports fish dead or alive

- > Any person who, having unintentionally taken any freshwater fish contrary to the regulations, must immediately return the fish with as little injury as possible, to the water.

For further information on Sports fishing please contact: Fish & Game New Zealand, Southland Region office, 159 North Road, Invercargill, Ph: (03) 215-9117.

Commercial Fishing Prohibited

- > All commercial fishing within the Mātaitai Reserve is prohibited.

Customary Fishing

The Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999 apply to non-commercial customary fishing of all fisheries resources managed under the Fisheries Act. The customary regulations do not apply to species managed under the Conservation Act 1987 such as whitebait and native trout.

Bylaws for Mātaitai River Mātaitai Reserve

No person may:

- > Take or possess Lamprey, Shortfin or Longfin eel within the Mātaitai Reserve or
- > Possess Lamprey, Shortfin or Longfin eel taken from the Mātaitai Reserve
- > No person may use, set or possess any fyke net within the Mātaitai Reserve

Offence and Penalties

- > Under Regulation 25(3) of the Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999, a person commits an offence against those regulations if the person breaches any of the above bylaws
- > Penalties for breach of bylaws maximum of \$10,000 or \$20,000 for repeat offending.

NOTE: Offences of a commercial nature will be subject to the Fisheries Act 1996 which include forfeiture and a maximum fines of \$250,000.

Exceptions

Tangata Tiaki may authorise the taking of fish from the Mātaitai, despite any restrictions that apply, for the purpose of sustaining the functions of a marae and for the taking of fish to enhance fish stocks.

Hokonui Runanga -

Whakapapa

Ka tou rere ku ia E Paihere-kowao

Ta rereka te mata na Maraki

Ki te iwi e-----



The Maitai Valley has, for centuries, hosted trails known to many generations of southern Maori. The many names denoting landmarks, land forms, rivers and tributaries, attest to nearly a thousand years of continuous knowledge and understanding of the area.

From the earliest explorers such as Rakaihautu of the Uruao waka (canoe), Paiherekowao, Tamatea Ariki Nui of the Takatimu waka (canoe), the Waitaha (including Rapuai and Hawea people) who began the fires of occupation in the time of the giant flightless moa, to the coming of Kati Mamoe, and latterly Kai Tahu (Ngai Tahu) people.

The deeds of prominent personalities are inextricably linked to local landmarks, and remembered today - those of Kati Mamoe chief Te Rakitauneke whose famous taniwha (dragon) Matamata now forms the profile of the Hokonui Hills, and Paroparo Te Whenua whose discovery of kakakana (lamprey) favoured the waterfalls at Maitai as a major seasonal food gathering site. These histories are punctuated also by the inconsolable grief of Hautu, who acting on the loss of his wife Nuku and child on a hunting expedition in the northern reaches of the valley, composed a moving lament on the terrace of East Gore (a place known as Onuku).

The Maitai River, along with its accompanying natural trails, guided early travellers from the pounamu (greenstone) fields of the west to the coastal regions of the east and south. The valley's accommodating topography ensured regular visitations from both passing travellers and those gathering seasonal food (including eel, native trout, duck, weka, lamprey) and other commodities such as the highly valued stone, porcelanite - used for making knives. These trails were at times utilized by trading and marriage parties, and sometimes warriors seeking utu (revenge) to maintain their mana and control over local resources.



Encampment sites denote many types of mahika kai (natural food gathering sites) available within the valley - Waikakahi (the Waikaka Stream flowing into the Maitai River) indicates a source of kakahi (freshwater mussel) and Te Au-nui Pihapiha Kanakana (the falls at Maitai) indicates a source of kanakana (lamprey) (see photo right). Other sites were well known and well used, such as Wharekorokio (a significant eeling encampment) at a site known locally as Pyramid.

A number of prominent landmarks aided travellers with directional bearings. Some trails led specifically to notable food-gathering sites, others skirted around difficult terrain (such as the swamps at the site of Gore) while providing some limited food gathering opportunities for those en route to the settlements of Tutarau and those further south, or alternatively via the Maitai's eastern banks and north-west towards Central Otago. East Peak (Hoka-nui), Pyramid Hill (Kowhaka-ruru) and West Dome (Tararau-kapiti) were all important reference and surveillance points.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw struggles of ascendancy between factions of Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu, culminating with the naming of significant battlegrounds such as Waitaramea near Five Rivers. The only incursion into the territory of southern Maori by a northern tribe came via Ngati Tama chief Te Puoho's raid of c.1834. His war party travelled the length of the South Island and followed the Maitai River south to capture the small settlement of Tutarau, only to be quickly repelled in what is regarded as the last instance of inter-tribal combat in New Zealand.

Subsequent to the unsuccessful raid by Te Puoho, Tutarau, the only permanent settlement in the Maitai Valley, became home to notable guide Reko. He was invariably the first point of contact and sole source of hospitality for early European surveyors charged with charting inland Southland and the southern lakes. Reko's ability as a guide and his vast knowledge of the southern landscape was pivotal to the process of colonial exploration, and the accurate mapping of the inland regions of the lower South Island - in anticipation of pending European settlement.

Source: <http://www.hokonuirunanga.org.nz/whakapapa/>

The Musket Wars

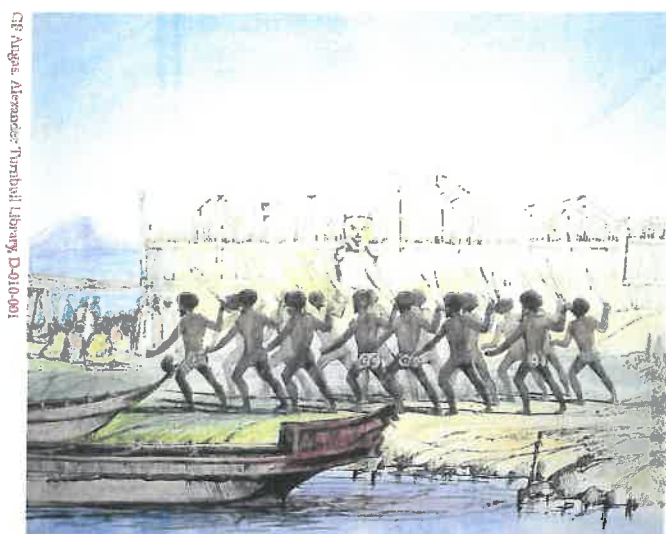
For most of the first four decades of the 19th century ferocious intertribal wars raged throughout this green and unpleasant land. Unlike the later 'New Zealand Wars' (in which only some thousands of adult Maori participated), the shooting, clubbing and cannibalism of these wars crimsoned both main islands and even bloodied some of their outliers, making them truly national in scope. But few general histories give them much space. The duration, the impact and even the name of these wars is debateable. One historian suggests calling them Potato Wars, another downplays the importance of muskets (believing they had more impact in the later wars), while a website euphemises them away as 'Maori on the Move'. But what is beyond doubt is that they were unequalled for their ferocity and their extent. The butcher's bill for these wars is as hazy as many of the events, but even if scholars now discount an earlier estimate of 80,000 deaths from fighting or disease, the lowest recent guesstimate, 20,000 plus, exceeds the New Zealand casualties in either of the two world wars; and if measured in terms of casualties per head of population, they were even worse. One battle alone, Matakitaki in the Waikato in 1822, may have cost 2000 lives, almost the body count for the entire New Zealand Wars.

The fog of these wars obscures all but the names of a few protagonists who did their fighting under the noses of journal-keeping Europeans or who lived long enough to make themselves useful or meddlesome to later colonisers. Men like Hongi Hika in the Bay of Islands or Te Rauparaha around Cook Strait have entered common folklore, generally demonised or romanticised in settler storytelling as the hooliganish 'before' that had to make way for the desirable 'after' of a God-fearing,

home-owning democracy. There is much more to it than that, although as Angela Ballara, the Musket Wars' latest historian cautions, 'if the main impression of these events is of a confusing plethora of names of chiefs, hapu, people killed, the names of their killers, words spoken, by whom and other innumerable details, then the right effect has been produced. These words were about people: individuals who killed or were killed, and the reasons for these killings.'²⁸ There were plenty of them 'taken by the hand of death/on the pathway of Kapa — the sign of manliness', as a female relative of chief Tiwaewae grieved in her waiata in 1824.²⁹

Mana and utu drove Maori warfare, Ballara reminds us. In te ao Maori, people were born with mana, the psychic power and authority inherited from the powers of the gods among their ancestors. The higher a person's status, the more mana he or she had, but everyone except for slaves had some. Although mana knitted the fabric of society together and ordered relationships, it was also fragile. Just as it could be enhanced, so could it be lost or diminished, putting reputations or even lives at risk. Damage the mana of a senior person and you harmed the group's mana. The words repayment and reciprocity come closer to the meaning of utu in English than revenge. That helps to explain why 'utu was not a moral choice: in Maori cultural terms it was an absolute necessity'.³⁰ Mana would be lost if utu was not taken. There were, of course, other reasons for going to war. Men also fought for land, for resources and for the sheer hell of it, just as men have done in every society.

A complex system of tikanga (customary rules and rights) or rikanga (customary practices) organised society, with warfare being the ultimate sanction for breaching these codes. Warfare was endemic in late 18th- and early 19th-century New Zealand,



Warriors perform a haka in front of the pa at Ohinemutu.



The enormous, elaborately decorated war canoes, waka taua, could carry more than 150 men.

The Musket Wars Principal battles and campaigns

- Nga Puhi and other Tai Tokerau iwi 1818, 1820-23
- Nga Puhi and Ngati Toa 1819-20
- Amiohenua (a number of northern hapu), 1821-22
- Ngati Tama, 1816-37



The Musket Wars, too prolonged, bloody and complicated to fit on one map, involved pitched battles, skirmishes, lengthy campaigns and wholesale migrations by iwi that redrew the tribal boundaries of the country, most famously Te Rauparaha's celebrated leadership of Ngati Toa from Kawhia down to Kapiti Island and the adjacent mainland. This map shows the principal battles, and two groups of the many campaigns: the early, northern ones by Nga Puhi and a late southern one by Ngati Tama.

FRONTIER OF DREAMS

in part because Maori society was a patchwork of small independent communities — some argue that it was made up of hapu in these times, rather than iwi — without any larger political or legal institutions to appeal to. Marriage alliances often kept the peace, as did diplomacy, the use of peacemakers, or simply skedaddling out of harm's way. Since the death of high-status people required more utu, protagonists could minimise bloodletting by killing slaves or people of lower station. Taua muru, raiding parties that stripped offenders of their goods, also kept violence to containable levels. In general, Maori tried hard not to draw the blood of close relations, but in such a fragmented, highly personalised society, and particularly during the heat of battle, matters could quickly spin out of control. Killing someone by mistake, killing too many high-ranking people or inadvertently breaching someone's mana or property rights could all be grounds for war.

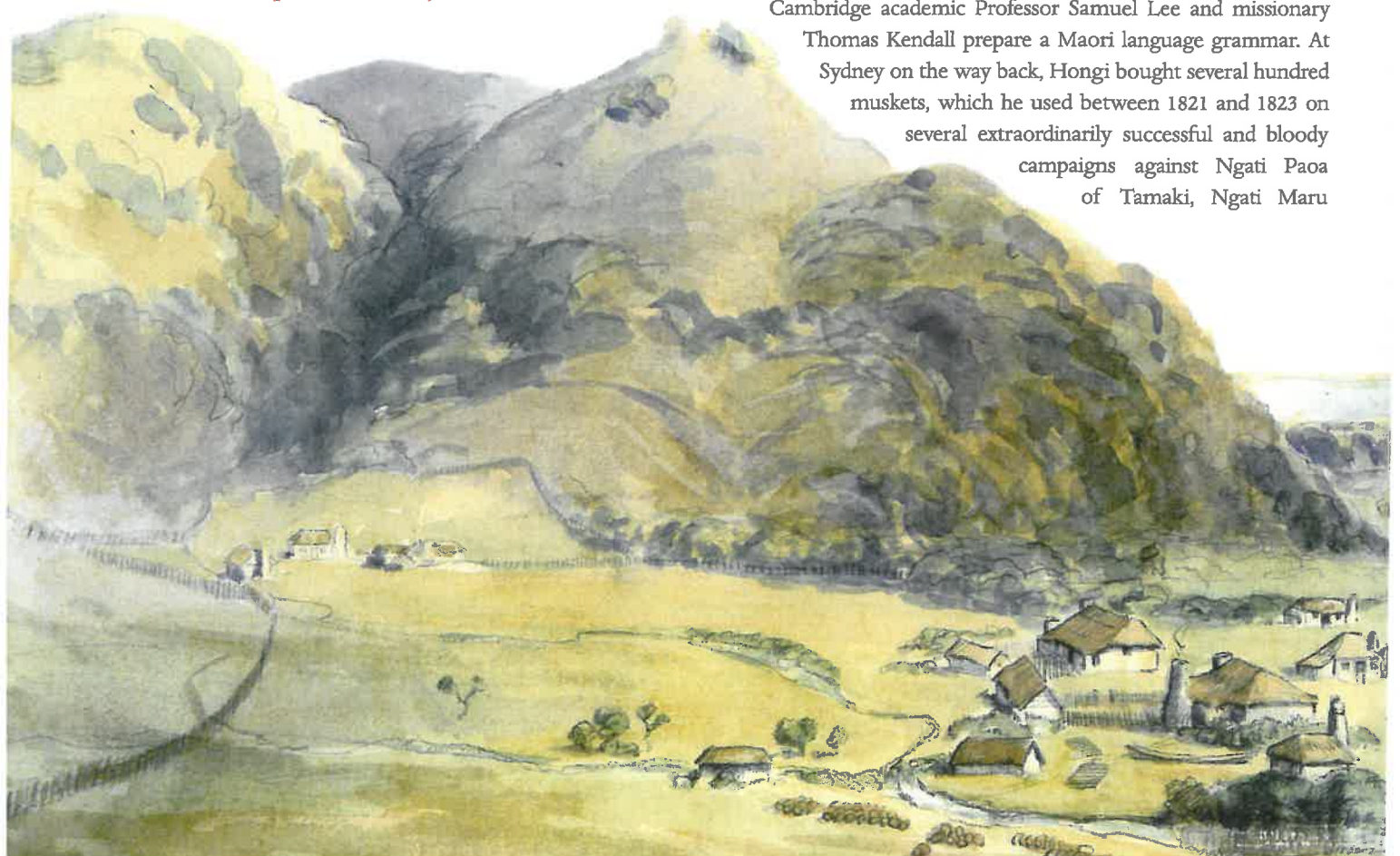
When did the wars start? Since chiefly mana had a long pedigree and intertribal warfare was endemic, any starting point must be entirely arbitrary. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that although muskets intensified the carnage over time (as did cannon, iron weapons and implements such as swords and axes), the motivation for this warfare was entirely traditional. Furthermore, until the mid to late 1820s the impact of European

weaponry on the battlefield was probably less important than we commonly suppose. Many of the early muskets flogged off by traders were the wretched 'trade muskets', short-ranged (20 to 30 m at best) flintlocks, slow to reload and prone to misfire or clog.³¹ They usually lacked bayonets, making them useless in the hand-to-hand phase of fighting. But like any new technology, muskets emboldened their owners and had shock value when used against people unfamiliar with them. Warriors got more proficient with them over time and altered their fighting tactics to accommodate the new weapons.

The trigger for the wars is often taken to have occurred in 1807, the year that Ngati Whatua ambushed a 500-strong Nga Puhi taua (war party) near modern-day Dargaville, killing 150. Among the survivors of the battle of Te Kai-a-te-Karoro (the 'Seagulls' Feast') was a minor Nga Puhi chief, Hongi Hika, who lost two brothers there. This would have been cause enough for utu, even if he took his time to exercise it against Ngati Whatua. The various hapu and groups of hapu that made up Nga Puhi were disparate and at first inclined to fight among themselves. What made them important collectively was their early monopoly on European technology and resources, although, ironically, some of the longest-legged taua were launched by hapu with the smallest number of muskets: for example, Ngati Whatua and western Nga Puhi's Te Amoiwhenua ('Encircling of the Land') expeditions to the Cook Strait region.

But Hongi, leader of the northern Nga Puhi faction, did add a new edge to the fighting in 1821 when he returned home from England where he had met King George and helped Cambridge academic Professor Samuel Lee and missionary Thomas Kendall prepare a Maori language grammar. At Sydney on the way back, Hongi bought several hundred muskets, which he used between 1821 and 1823 on several extraordinarily successful and bloody campaigns against Ngati Paoa of Tamaki, Ngati Maru

Strategically close to Cook Strait, Kapiti Island watched over trade routes in addition to providing a place of refuge. Te Rauparaha let several whalers and traders use the island. Whaling was already declining when John Gilfillan sketched the original watercolour from which Walter Bowering did this copy, Jillett's (sometimes spelled Gillett's or Gillet's) whaling station spread out along the Waiorua beach. W Bowering, Alexander Turnbull Library, D-018-012



When Worlds Collide

of Thames, Te Arawa of the Bay of Plenty and the Waikato tribes. By now muskets were numerous and important. And so were potatoes, as James Belich reminds us. While it would be going too far to rename the wars the Potato Wars, the humble spud did give Maori a reliable surplus with which to sustain war parties for longer than traditional crops could. Potatoes joined pigs, flax and smoked heads as the commodities traded for guns; 150 baskets of spuds and eight pigs would buy one gun in the Bay of Islands in 1814. Flax was important south of the Bay.

As the first to have guns in quantity, Hongi made the most of them. Between 1821 and 1827, when he received the wound that would kill him a year later, Hongi and his shifting alliances within Nga Puhi slaughtered thousands, enslaved just as many and looted canoe-loads of treasures and heirlooms. European observers were as horrified as Maori. Frederick Maning, the 'Pakeha Maori' memorialist and champion yarn spinner, felt that a friend who in 1822 had paid a cartridge-box of shells for a Maori woman 'who was just going to be baked' had paid 'a great deal more than she was worth' but conceded that 'humanity does not stick at

such trifles'.³² More typical were the pained diary entries of the missionaries, traders and others, who when able to escape being drawn into the conflicts, watched victorious war parties troop past their doors, bearing human flesh by the basket-load. 'Ten slaves have passed this settlement laden with human flesh; and considerable quantities have been sent to other districts,' Paihia missionary Henry Williams wrote in his diary on 13 February 1828.³³

Even more famous than Hongi was Te Rauparaha, composer of the 'ka mate, ka mate' haka. European observers tended to call him the 'Napoleon of New Zealand' on good days and 'the old Serpent' on others. Like Hongi, Te Rauparaha also trickled down. In 1822, with his small, vulnerable Ngati Toa iwi, he began his epic trek down to the Cook Strait region, fighting and accumulating alliances as he went. After a spectacular victory there in 1824, Te Rauparaha turned Kapiti Island into a combination bolthole and trading base. From here he victualled and loaded whalers and flax-trading vessels and made war on his adversaries. It was New Zealand's nearest thing to an African-style conquest state.³⁴ Te Rauparaha ravaged the mainland off Kapiti but is best remembered for his campaigns against the

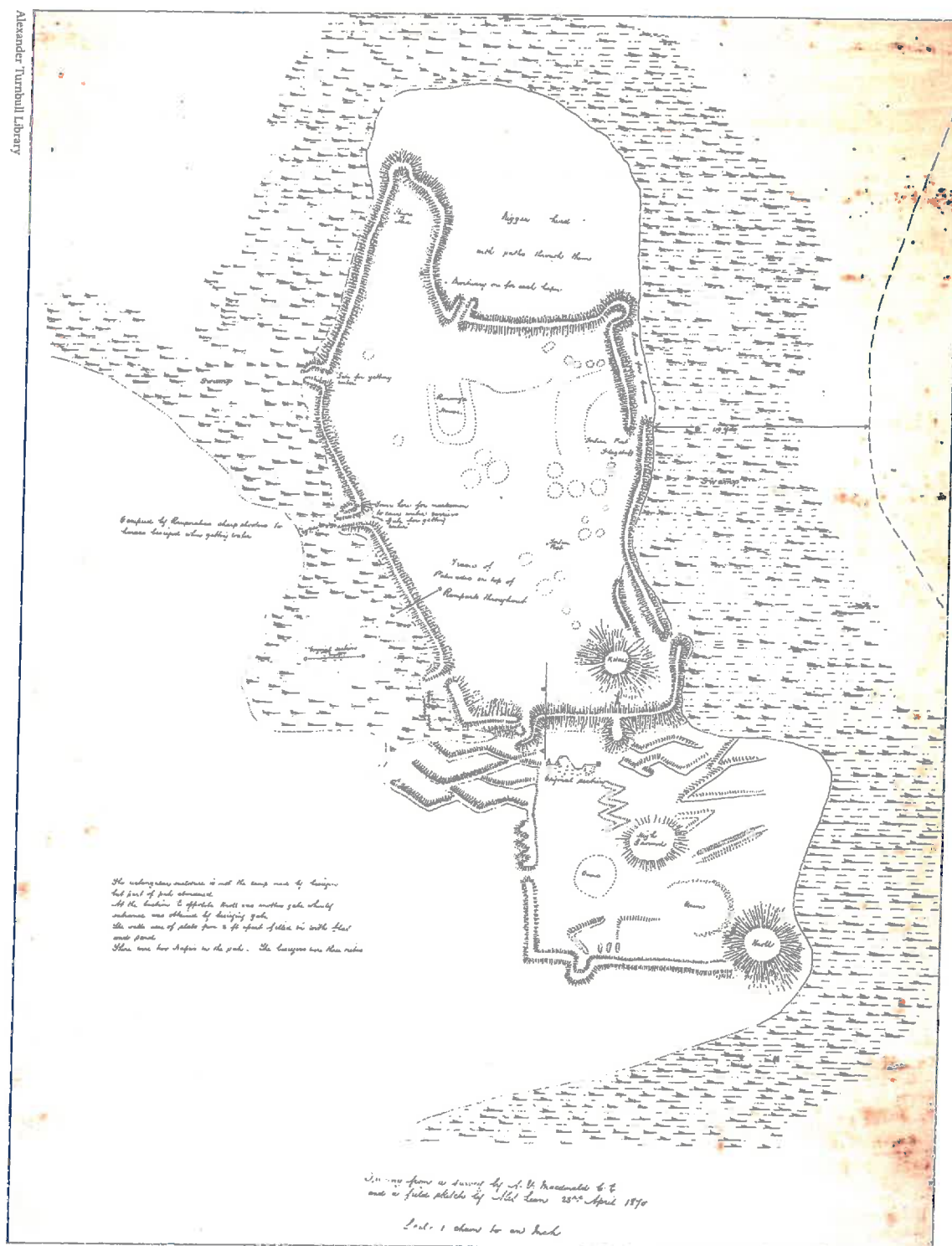


Te Rauparaha took his defeated, outnumbered Ngati Toa tribe from Kawhia to the new territories at the other end of the North Island. A military genius, he quickly saw the advantage of muskets. Ngati Toa's great migration changed the tribal structure of New Zealand forever. E Abbot, Hocken Library, University of Otago



KAIAPOI

Alexander Turnbull Library



The Ngati Tuahuriri chiefs defending Kaiapoi were not caught napping during the campaigning season of 1829. They knew about Te Rauparaha's bloody rampage through the Marlborough Sounds and Omihi. After the Kai Huanga feud they had adapted the pa for musket warfare. It was surrounded by deep swamps on three sides (which also supplied fresh water to the defenders) and the fourth, southern side had been reinforced by massive, bulletproof wooden defences, fitted with flanking projections and openings for muskets. They had plenty of guns. Ngati Toa and allies were encamped nearby, claiming to have come peacefully to trade. Some did, indeed, enter the pa and trade guns, which turned out to be defective, for pounamu. In revenge for an insult, and under circumstances that were disputed, Ngai Tahu ariki Te Maiharanui wiped out Te Pehi Kupe, Te Pokaitara, Te Aratangata and his companions. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, who had remained outside, launched an attack, but failed to break through the defences and retired after killing all the prisoners taken at Omihi and cooking and eating them in full view of the occupants of the pa. The message was plain. He would be back and Kaiapoi Ngai Tahu would be on the menu next time.

Te Rauparaha returned in the summer of 1831–32, having taken Kaikoura on the way down. The southern chief Taiaroa came up and launched spirited attacks on Ngati Toa, but lacked the numbers to break the siege, which drew on as Te Rauparaha's men sapped their zigzaggy way slowly towards the palisades, bundling manuka at the front and roofing over the saps to protect the workers. After three months the huge brushwood piles rested ominously against the palisading on the southern side of the pa, accumulating faster than the defenders could remove them. Te Rauparaha, reinforced by a Ngati Rarua taua led by Niho, was just waiting for the right wind to set them alight. Seeing the inevitable, Taiaroa and his men retired one night. The defenders lit the manuka themselves in the hope of driving the flames back on the attackers but at a crucial moment the wind swung to the south, throwing it back onto the dry palisades, which burst into flames. 'In the wild confusion caused by the raging gale carrying a blast of choking smoke and dust into the pa, with flames and flying debris, Te Rauparaha's men were soon inside the defences.'³⁵ Three or four hundred died that day, hundreds more were captured 'and at least one group was massacred'.³⁶ Many defenders fled through the swamps in the confusion, but for days takahi taua (raiding groups) scoured the countryside, killing or raping any they came across.

mainland's Ngai Tahu. In the late 1820s the southerners had been more interested in killing each other, fighting the aptly named Kai Huanga 'Eat Relations', a bloody civil war between the tribe's northern and southern sections. Victory went to the better-armed southerners in 1828, two years before Te Rauparaha fell on the weakened northerners. For three years he rampaged through northern Ngai Tahu lands, with devastating effect. The battles and sieges still resonate: Kaikoura, Kaiapoi and Takapuneke and Onawe pa at Akaroa, among others.

In the Takapuneke attack Te Rauparaha used the trading brig *Elizabeth* as a Trojan horse, tricking Ngai Tahu into thinking that it was just another innocent trading vessel. They captured Ngai Tahu visitors to the ship, then launched a dawn attack on the pa's unsuspecting inhabitants. Three hundred were killed, cooked and eaten and others enslaved. Imprisoned aboard the charnel ship, Te Maiharanui and his wife strangled their 12-year-old daughter to spare her sufferings. Near Otaki, Te Maiharanui was hung upside down and had his throat pierced so that the widows of Te Pehi Kupe, Te Pokaitara and Te Aratanga (whose husbands had died at Kaiapoi) could drink his blood. The *Elizabeth's* master, Captain John Stewart, was reviled for his part in Te Rauparaha's subterfuge, but escaped prosecution at Sydney on a technicality.

The killing peaked in the early 1830s and then fell away sharply. There were still some prodigious feats, most notably Te Puoho, who in 1836 and '37 led a small Ngati Tama taua 1500 km from Golden Bay down the length of the West Coast, over the Southern Alps and across Central Otago and inland Southland to Tutarau, where Tuhawaiki defeated him.



C. Bridge, Alexander Turnbull Library, A-079-041

The Maori economy changed dramatically in the first half of the 19th century, as Cyprian Bridge's 1845 watercolour of a pa (probably Tamati Waka Nene's pa at Okaihau) shows. European crops such as potatoes (right) could be sold for cash or weapons and trade goods. The pa itself features strengthened palisade walls and musket-holes around the base.

FRONTIER OF DREAMS

Some limited fighting also took place in parts of the North Island as late as 1843 and '44, but most of the heat had gone from the intertribal wars by the end of the 1830s. Why? Just as in determining the causes of the wars, there is no single, simple answer. War-weariness certainly played a part. A great deal of blood and treasure had been lost by a population that was also coming under pressure from new infectious diseases and from pushy colonists. In strictly military terms, the proliferation of muskets had evened up the balance of terror, reducing the likelihood of winning easy one-sided victories.³⁷ So, too, had changes to pa construction and to battlefield tactics, by evening up the balance between attack and defence. 'The wars diminished in lethality as differentials declined in each region . . . They began when and because some Maori had muskets and potatoes, and stopped when and because everyone had them.'³⁸

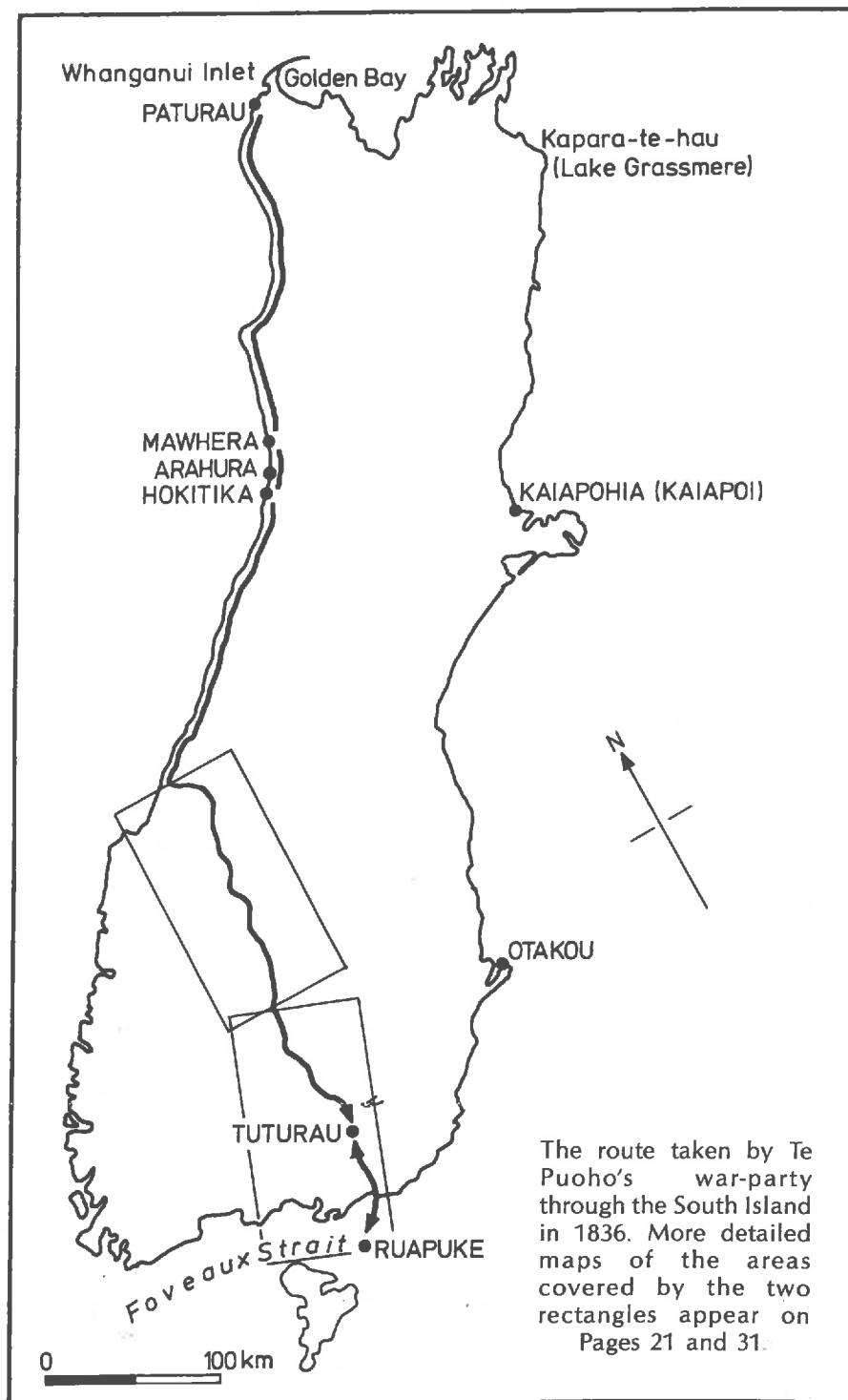
Another factor was the growing impact of European culture. The Christian message of peace, largely ignored for a decade and a half, grew more attractive as an alternative means of breaking the cycle of violence by 'going mihinare [missionary]' and embracing a new value system. This was especially attractive to people enslaved by conquest. Young Maori seafarers and whalers returning materially rich also probably felt constrained by traditional lines of chiefly authority and subverted or ignored them. Finally, too, the impact of land purchases by Europeans was making itself felt. These were early days yet, but as large tracts of land changed hands and as shiploads of settlers fanned out from their coastal beachheads, tribal boundaries were becoming frozen and increasingly irrelevant to the newcomers. Maori still called the shots, but by the mid 1840s traditional wars of conquest and immigration were becoming impossible.

Settlers, not sojourners: mihinare, Pakeha Maori and shagroon colonists

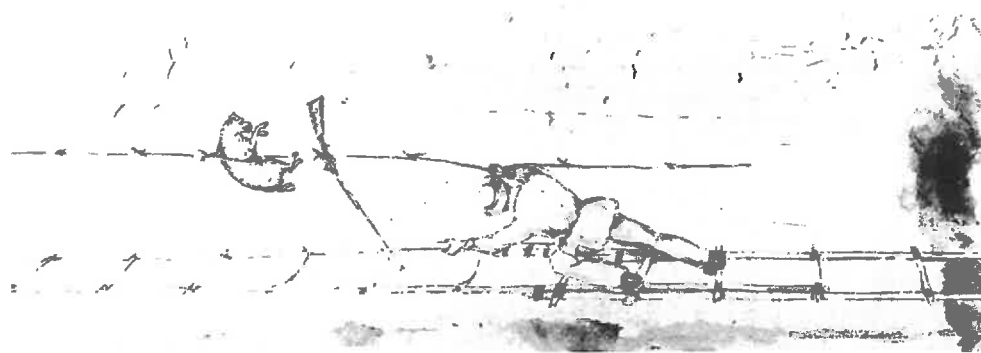
The Devil may have the best tunes but, in New Zealand missionaries, more habitual writers than most of their contemporaries, have cast a deceptively long shadow over our early 19th-century past. Their most enduring monument Kerikeri, the 'cradle of New Zealand', glosses up the iconic mission station of the Church Missionary Society (CMS); there the country's oldest buildings, the 1822 Mission House and the fortress-like 1835 Stone Store, both elegantly preserved, overlook the yachts in the inlet. But for the site of the first station, you must drive north-east a few kilometres and then walk down a steep farm road to deserted Rangihoua Bay, where it takes sharp eyes to detect beneath the grass the faint archaeological impressions of houses, paths and a sawpit. It was here between 1814 and 1832 at Oihi Mission Station, overshadowed in every sense by towering Rangihoua pa, that

Marsden preached his famous first sermon; here that he privately flattered himself the 'English flag' would wave until Maori 'enjoyed all the happiness of British subjects'; here that his dependent missionaries, having failed to convince the 'barbarian savages' of the superiority of other than martial civilisation, traded in civilised arms; here that brotherly love waxed so hot that teacher Kendall stabbed blacksmith Hall with a chisel, only to be repelled by horse-pistol fire. And here that nary a convert to Christianity was made.³⁹





CHARLES HEAPHY'S well-known sketch of his fellow explorer, Thomas Brunner, at the Miko cliff in Westland in 1846, using old and shaky rata-vine ladders thought to have been left there by an earlier war-party. It is not certain whether these ladders were the work of Te Puoho, who had passed that way 10 years previously, or perhaps of even earlier expeditions. Dog and rifle, incidentally, are being hauled up by flax rope. [John Pascoe, *Explorers and Travellers*, 1983].



1: Down The Coast

Te Puoho was a man in his forties with a lifetime of fighting behind him when he led a Ngaitama war-party from Golden Bay upon one of the longest and perhaps the most daring overland raid in Maori history. His plan called for the warriors to tramp the length of the West Coast, cross the Southern Alps, and traverse the interior of Otago and Southland to storm the Kaitahu villages on the shores and islands of Foveaux Strait some 1500km away by foot-track; and then to drive the prisoners north along the entire east coast, mopping up the other Kaitahu settlements along the way, until the safety of Golden Bay was at last regained.

This incredible ambition, reduced by Te Puoho to the simple analogy of scaling a fish by beginning at the tail, an allusion to 'Murihiku' (the tail of the fish), was explained to Te Rauparaha, the leader and master strategist of the federation to which Ngaitama then owed allegiance. He was sceptical. It was one thing, he said, to fell the Kaitahu tree at Kaiapoi, its root (sacked a few years earlier in 1831), but quite another to chop through its many branches. The southerners were not like unwary pigeons drowsing in the sun, said Te Rauparaha, but like lizards, alert at the entrances to their burrows.¹

Te Puoho was not dissuaded. The southerners were a soft people, he argued, and would be driven like pigs to his domains. Indeed, he intended to build a great pen at Paturau to keep them in as domestic stock until they were needed for work or slaughter.² The prospect of sharing in such desirable proceeds convinced 40 or 50 warriors with a few of their women to join the venture and, as the winter of 1836 drew to an end, the great raid began.³

South from West Wanganui Inlet the first stage lay along a wild and weather-beaten coast. Although there were well-known routes the travelling conditions were very difficult. Most dangerous of the physical obstacles were swift rivers, which often had to be crossed within earshot of breaking waves, and high coastal cliffs and chasms which were negotiable only by rudimentary ladders of vines or flax. Added to these problems was the discomfort of frequent rain and the scarcity of readily available food for a large and continually moving party.⁴

Yet at least one danger had been removed. By 1836 most of the West Coast lay within the control of allied clans. This had resulted from the same campaign, in 1831-32, in which the Ngatirarua, led by Niho and Takerei, Ngaitama under Te Puoho, and various other Atiawa groups such as Puketapu, Ngatimutunga and Hutiwai, led by Manutoheroa, Te Koihira and Te Keha, had invaded the Ngatiapa lands of Tasman and Golden Bays. The campaign proceeded with such terrifying efficiency, according to one of the survivors, that nearly all the Ngatunatakokiri and Ngatiapa were slaughtered or enslaved. A mere handful survived to seek refuge deep in the inland beech forest. When the invasion of Waimea and Wakatu (Tasman Bay), and Aorere and Te Taitapu (Golden Bay and northern Buller), was complete, Niho and Takerei left their allies in control and set out to tackle the West Coast, at that time the domain of the Poutini Kaitahu.⁵

Near Hokitika they captured the principal chief, Tuhuru, and returned with him to the Ngaitama settlement at Paturau, near West Wanganui Inlet. About 1833 Tuhuru was ransomed for the ancestral mere 'Te Kaikanohi' and returned home under a feudal arrangement which also involved the marriage of his daughter to Niho and the settlement of Niho, Takerei and their people at Mawhera (Greymouth) and Hokitika. On the south bank of each river they built *pa* named Kamoanaerua and Mahinapua respectively, and from these strongholds they exploited the Kaitahu craftsmanship in *pounamu* (greenstone).

By the 1830s iron was preferred as a raw material for implements but *pounamu* continued to be esteemed as a tangible mark of mana. The Ngatirarua were anxious that this prestigious industry should not be disrupted and they were thus greatly alarmed by reports that Te Puoho planned, amongst his other objectives, to fight Tuhuru as a preliminary to taking on the southern Kaitahu.⁶ Consequently, when Te Puoho and his party reached Mawhera, after perhaps 30 days travelling, they were denied entrance to the *pa*, and the same thing occurred at Hokitika. The implication seems to be that Niho had gathered Tuhuru and his people into the strongholds for protection. Niho was, it seems, also anxious that his own young men should not be attracted to join such a foolhardy expedition. This attitude was underlined by his dream, promptly

communicated to the Ngaitama as an omen of ill-fortune, that an immense shark or taniwha lay across the route to the south.

Undeterred, Te Puoho continued his march. He had not got the support he might have expected from allies, nor the satisfaction of a preliminary skirmish with Kaitahu, but a few of Niho's men had joined him and, more importantly, the warriors had managed to enlist the assistance of two young Kaitahu women from Arahura, Ruita and Papako, who knew the path across the Alps to Otago.⁷ Down through southern Westland the *tawa* made its way. Although little has been recorded of this part of the journey its arduous nature was vividly impressed upon the memory of Romatiki, one of the northern women accompanying the warriors. She recalled, to her daughter, a seemingly endless struggle against fern and bush lawyer, dripping undergrowth, precipitous cliffs and ice-cold rivers. The last of the latter was the Awarua, or Haast. Once safely across it the Ngaitama turned eastward for the climb over Tioripatea (Haast Pass) into the lands of the southern Kaitahu.⁸

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Beattie (ST 4/12/1937). Other accounts say that Te Rauparaha told Te Puoho of the narrowness of his escape at Grassmere where the southerners had taken his cape and 'forced him to drink saltwater' (Beattie ODT 23/3/1930). Harvey (1936:8) says that a Ngaitahu account sets the meeting at sea while Te Rauparaha was returning from Grassmere. He met Te Puoho in a canoe which was loaded with ropes (to secure prisoners, is the implication). In fact, since Te Puoho left for Golden Bay in 1835, and was not at the Marlborough skirmishes in 1836, nor was Te Rauparaha in the Nelson district, these colourful exchanges, if they occurred at all, were probably through third parties. As for the estimated length of the expedition, it is about 1000km by road from Golden Bay to Tutarau through the Haast Pass (estimating the roadless part to Karamea at 80km). It was probably half as far again on foot.
2. Parata to Smith (1910:541), Beattie (ODT 23/8/1930), Tiede Kana and Tumeho Te Wera to Beattie (E/13). Evidently a southern opinion about Te Puoho's views, although possibly derived from Ngaitama prisoners (see also Appendix 4). Anon (OW 13/10/1900) transfers the stockade idea from Paturau to Tutarau.
3. See Appendix 2.
4. Some accounts suggest that the journey from Golden Bay to Awarua, or perhaps to Mawhera, was by canoe (see Appendix 2), but the land route is generally accepted, and Romatiki's evidence is regarded as an eyewitness account (Beattie ODT 23/8/1930). Heaphy and Brunner (NZJ 192) refer to ladders they used in 1846 as being made by a war-party. It has often been assumed that this is a reference to Te Puoho (e.g. Roberts 1912:21, Ross 1933:73), but it could equally refer to

Niho or any of the many *tauu* which travelled this coast in the turbulent years of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

5. MacKay (1873:147), Smith (1910:423-438), Burns (1980:165). The survivor who told this to Heaphy was the famous *Kehu* (Heaphy 9/2/1846 in Taylor 1959:191).

6. MacKay (1873:146), Smith (1910:436, 543). It is possible that *Te Puoho's* initial objective was, in fact, a share in the control of *Poutini Ngaitahu*, and that it was only after he was thwarted in this that he decided to go further south. Stephen O'Regan (personal communication) points out that since the *manawhenua* of *Tuhuru's* land was not later claimed by the *Ngaitarua* or their allies, his position may have been stronger than appears at first sight. This might also explain why he and his people were so carefully protected from *Te Puoho*.

7. According to G. T. Roberts's informants in 1897, Niho only built the *pa* when he heard of *Te Puoho's* intention to attack *Tuhuru* (Smith 1910:543). This seems less likely, to me, than that the *pa* were built at the time Niho and *Takerei* first settled on the coast. The dream is reported in Beattie (ODT 23/8/1930), and there are alternative versions of it. For example, *Tumeho Te Wera* told Beattie (E/13) that the dream was of 'stars all around the moon.'

Nga-i-ngaro (WTT 30/5/1902) asserts that at Niho's *pa* *Te Puoho* expressed an intention 'to cut off *Tuhawaki's* *Porutu's* and *Whalagi's* hands, and ornament his whare with them so that the fingers could be used for hanging baskets on.'

Beattie (1911:203) said that some

Ngatiwairangi, the people from whom the *Kaitahu* had earlier wrested control of the coast, joined *Te Puoho*. This might seem logical, but I suspect that it is based on no more than Carrick's (NZIM 1/12/1899) assumption that *Ngatiwairangi* were still in effective control of the coast in 1836 (see also Roberts 1912:9). Some *Ngaitama* and *Ngatimutunga* living on the coast may have been recruited, but all the latter could have come with *Te Wahapiro* (*Te Kio*), whose mother, *Kauhoe*, was of *Ngatimutunga* descent (see Appendix 1). On *Ruta* and *Papako* see Beattie (E/11), Bragg (ST 8/11/1933).

8. Beattie (ODT 23/8/1930). *Romatiki* also said that many of the raiders' guns were in bad shape; sometimes it took two or three men to get a trigger to work (Beattie ODT 23/8/1930).

There is some confusion about what happened at the south end of the Coast. Smith (1910:544) expressed the view that the raiders went as far as *Awarua* (Big Bay), attacking southern *Poutini* *Kaitahu* settlements as they went, and then backtracked to the Haast. However, it is reasonably certain that '*Awarua*' is the name of the Haast River (Roberts OW 3/11/1909, Beattie ST 4/12/1937), despite '*Awarua Point*' at Big Bay (which ought, according to Roberts (1912:3) to be named *Te Ara Pokipoki*). The suggestion of Buick (1911:203) that the party went to Jackson's Head before returning, and Ross's (1933:85) view that they went to a Maori village there are not supported by any early records. I prefer the simple view, taken by Beattie (ODT 23/8/1930) that 'when the party arrived at the *Awarua* or Haast River it turned inland . . .'. There is no record of any South Westland settlements being entered or attacked.

2: The Inland Settlements

Picking their way down the Makarora valley *Te Puoho's* men found that the land opening up before them was unlike any they had yet traversed. The seemingly interminable forest of Westland and the mountains was gradually giving way to the scrub and tussock of Central Otago. Forest still surrounded Lake Hawea, 'from the snowline to the white gravelly shores' and covered the hill-slopes in the Makarora, but the last 12km of the valley floor was probably in scrub, as it was in 1860 when Thomson and Hassing fired the 'entangled, impenetrable mass of cabbage trees, flax and fern.' Further south, small clumps of forest clung to the bracken-clad shores of Wanaka, but south again conceded entirely to 'extensive plains and downs covered with pasture.'

A barren land, subject to extremes of weather and difficult of access, the southern interior had long been invested in Maori tradition with a sense of malevolent mystery. As if the *Matau* (*Clutha*) was not dangerous enough there dwelt anciently beside it an immense scaly ogre, *Kopuwai*, who roamed the hills with his pack of two-headed hunting dogs, slaughtering weka-hunting parties of the *Te Rapuwai* people and carrying off their women to his cave by the river.

His reign of terror, brought to an end by the bravery of *Kaiaimo*, was long gone by the early 19th century, but there were other strange characters to take his place.² *Taniwha* from Lake *Waihora* strayed across the hills into the *Matau* and fairy women of the *Patu-paiarehe* waited to entrance mortal men by the sound of their spectral flutes in the mountain mists. Then there were the sinister *Maero* or *Maeroero*, greatly feared by the Maori traveller.

Maero were a race of powerful half-men, entirely covered in thick hair, except upon the forehead, who grew their fingernails long and kept them sharp to skewer their prey (the surveyor, Frederick Tuckett, had hopes of catching a Maero or 'Miroi' near Tuturau in 1844 to exhibit in England). Taipo, or goblins of the night, and gigantic eels which rose up from the lakes to drag in the unwary fisherman were additional hazards. There were also some odd natural phenomena, particularly in the Wanaka district. An active volcano was said to rumble there, and islands floated about on the lakes. Around the shores were animals which built houses, some of them floating, and made a murmuring noise like soft talking. John Barnicoat, Tuckett's colleague, thought they were possibly beaver.³

The original Maori inhabitants of the Otago lakes were, by tradition, Waitaha and Te Rapuwai. By the early 18th century they had become entangled in the clan warfare which followed the southward migration of the Katimamoe and Kaitahu people. Amongst the various incidents were several which involved settlements still known at the time of Te Puoho. At either Parakarehu or Pakai, a young Kaitahu chief, Te Weka, sought a Waitaha bride for his father, Rakitama. The suit erupted in an affray which ended with the death of the Waitaha chief, Potikitaui, who was also Te Weka's uncle. The tragedy led Waitaha to abandon the Wanaka district.

It was still deserted when, soon after, Kaweriri's Kaitahu warriors passed through on their way to eventual defeat in Southland; but by the early 19th century the Otago lakes district was once again being regularly occupied. Families of Katimamoe and Kaitahu came up from their coastal villages for periods of a few months to several years. They came for various reasons, but not least to maintain by the warmth of their hearths a right to occupation won by the exploits of their ancestors. These feats, and other traditional lore were taught to the children at a learning school, or *wharekura*, at Takikarara, the main Wanaka settlement.⁴ Takikarara was shown as an island on Shortland's map of 1844, drawn from information on a small peninsula between Roy's Bay and Dublin Bay, an area where 'Maori potatoes' were found growing wild by the earliest European settlers. These were probably the purple-fleshed *kapana mangumangu* potatoes which had been introduced to southern New Zealand in the early 19th century by sealers in Foveaux Strait.

Another important Wanaka settlement lay about 10km up the Makarora valley. It is not clear whether this was the old Paekai *kaika*, or a more recently established settlement nearby. The 19th century references call it 'Makarore' which might indicate that it was a different settlement from the old and long abandoned Paekai. After the burning of the scrub, Europeans came across evidence of a Maori settlement in this part of the

A SKETCH of Lake Wanaka, looking south, drawn by John Buchanan in the 1850s.
[Otago Early Settlers Museum].

valley—the remains of huts, some carved timbers, and stone tools and weapons. We do not know what kind of huts had been built but evidence from elsewhere in Central Otago suggests that they were probably a kind known as *whare porotaka*: a round, tussock-thatched hut which was still being built and used on the muttonbird islands in the early 20th century. Clearings—possibly for gardens, though there is no direct evidence of cultivation—were also seen in the Makarora valley, as well as trees scoured down one side so that the centre would rot and they could then be quite easily fashioned into dugout canoes.⁵

Even after Te Puoho's raid Makarora remained a favourite valley for Maori occupation. It was there in 1865 that a group of 30 Maori men, women and children were observed by a Mr Wryatt, whose recollections, recorded by Richard Norman, give us a glimpse of peaceful Maori life in the lakes district. The people came from Moeraki in the spring and

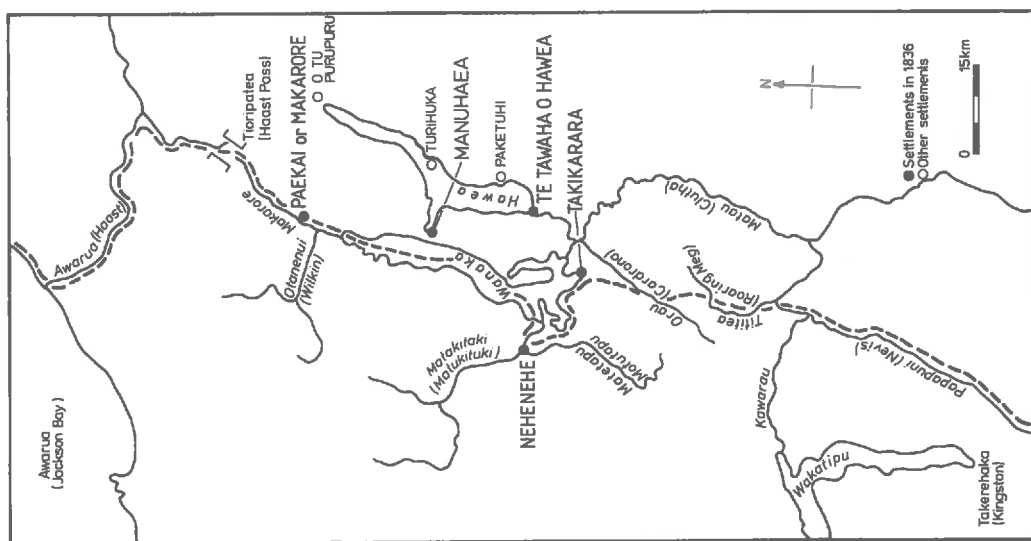
remained, 'during the ensuing summer and winter, catching large quantities of eels during the summer and drying them for the winter, which with fernroot formed their staple food.' The fernroot was prepared by chewing the green root to a pulp which was then left to become sour. 'When the Maoris left, they floated down the lake and Clutha river to Linds on koradi (flax flowerstalk) rafts which they then abandoned, and made a short cut across the ranges, by what is since known as the Maori Pass [Thompson Pass in the Dunstan Range].'

A third settlement, called Nehenehe, lay at the junction of the Motutapu and Matukituki rivers. Again, it was marked by some few remains, including middens, as late as the 1860s; and cleared patches in the scrub were seen in the Matukituki valley.⁸

On Lake Hawea, the main settlement seems to have been Manuhaea, at the Neck. Before the lake was raised, some small depressions or terraces could be seen at the site, possibly the platforms on which huts were built, and greenstone implements had been picked up there. Manuhaea, like Makarora, continued to be a place of importance to the southern Maori after Te Puoho's raid, and in 1868 a fishery easement for Kaitahu was created there (it has subsequently been lost). Other settlements on Hawea were: Paketui or Puketui, Turihuka, O tu purupuru, and Te Tawaha o Hawea, but only the last of these, and Manuhaea, are recorded as being occupied in the 1830s. It is, however, quite likely that the other places, and additional settlement sites around Wanaka as well, were occupied briefly during fishing and foraging trips from the main bases on most occasions when there were people living at the lakes.⁹

Gardening may have provided some of the food at Takikarara, and possibly elsewhere, but the principal support for these settlements came from traditional resources. During the summer, eels and other native fish, and also moulting ducks, were caught about the river mouths and the roots and stems of young cabbage trees or *ti* provided an abundance of sweet starch. In the winter there were fern roots to be dug and wekas, native quail and other birds to be caught along the open valleys. But food was not all that the Maori sought. Traditional evidence and some archaeological remains show that the leaves of the mountain daisy or *tikumu* were gathered to make fragrant, and widely sought after, cloaks, and leggings to ward off the thorns of matagouri and spear-grass. The spear-grass, or *tarama*, flowerstalks, when heated over a slow fire, exuded a fragrant resin which was collected into small sachets of birdskin and worn about the neck as a perfume. Coveted most of all was greenstone or *pounamu*, found in a number of rivers running into the Otago lakes.¹⁰

It was upon families engaged in these peaceful industries that the Ngaitiama fell in the Spring of 1836.



THE Otago lakes, showing the Maori names for the lakes and rivers, the settlements inhabited in 1836, and other settlements mentioned in the text. The dotted line is the route taken by the raiders.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Thomson (1858:3), Hassing (n.d.:32).
2. Kaiamio was one of the female captives. Kopuwai kept her hair plaited to a cord which he jerked from time to time to confirm her presence when she was out of sight, but while he was in the cave she built a *mokihī* (a raft-like canoe) of raupo and hid it amongst the reeds. While Kopuwai slept, Kaiamio quickly slipped her cord and tied it to some rushes, then fled down the river on her raft. In great anger the ogre swallowed up the river, but too late to catch Kaiamio, who had reached her own village. Not long after, while Kopuwai slept again during a nor-west gale, Kaiamio's kinsmen crept up to his cave and fired a huge pile of fern at the entrance. Kopuwai tried to escape through a hole in the roof but became stuck and was there clubbed to death. His dogs, out hunting, were eventually destroyed and some were turned to reefs in the Waitaki River. (Stack 1877:60-61, Cowan 1923:168-170, Stevenson 1947:60, Waite 1948:3-4).
3. Shortland (1851: map facing p. 205), Tuckett (in Hocken 1898:220), Cowan (1905:117, 1925:167-168), Monro (in

- Hocken 1898:262), McNab (1907:222), Barnicoat (n.d.), Beattie (1945:39).
4. Beattie (1916:29, 31-32, 1918:99). See also Anderson (1982) for a summary of traditional history relating to the interior of Otago and Southland.
5. Shortland (1851: map facing p. 205), Norman to Ross (1933:101), Roxburgh (1957:19).
6. Skinner (1910:224). Carved timbers may suggest substantial houses or palisades (or both), but the observation might have been only of adzed wood; it is not clear. See Anderson (n.d.) on *whare porotaka*.
7. Norman (*OW* 17/7/1890), Norman also told Ross (1933:100) that five Maoris came down the lake on *mokihī* from Makarora in 1866. This could be a later, and poorer, recollection of the same event reported to Norman by Wryatt.
8. Anon (*OW* 29/10/1886), Roberts (1910:23), Taylor (1952:144).
9. MacKay (1873:11:245), Anderson (1982:66), Chapman (416/C).
10. Anderson (1982:60-61, 68).

3: The Raiders Strike

The raiders took Makarora entirely by surprise, capturing all who were living there, and Pukuharuru, a lad over from the Manuhaea settlement who, it seems, was out walking when he was caught. At Makarora there lived:

Wakarihariha (Whakariariha), the head man
Omaeko
Te Kohutu (Te Kohutu)
Whaketiiti (Whakaetiiti, Te Whakateiti)
Punaiera
Pitaka
Pirimunamaiwaho
Ramuri
Pipiki

The latter three were the children of Whaketiiti and her husband Te Kohutu. Pirimunamaiwaho was their adolescent son and Ramuri and Pipiki were infant daughters of walking age. They were the grandchildren of Wakarihariha.¹

Greatly outnumbered the prisoners had no choice but to accept their fate. They might have expected to be killed immediately, or at any rate soon, but in the event Te Puoho spared all the adults, and killed two of the children. Whether he judged them a dispensable burden for the continuing march, or his men were simply hungry for 'beef', as the traditions record, the infant girls were killed and eaten. It seems to have been this grisly event, and their mother recalling it, which the Rev. Wohlers

recorded some years later: 'Her children were torn from her breast and thrown on the glowing coals, and the poor mother was compelled to look quietly on . . .'²

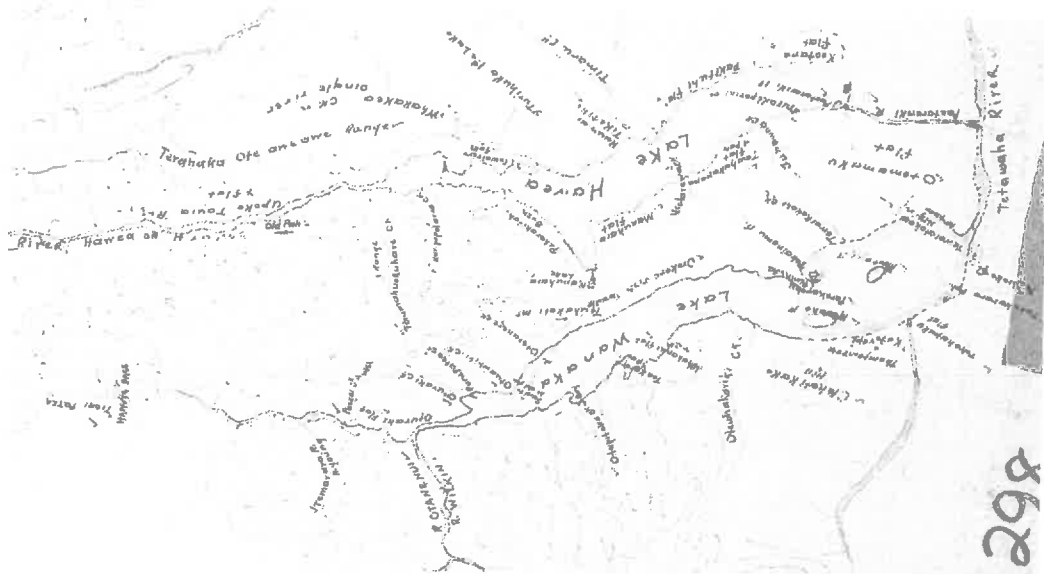
How long the raiders rested at Makarara we do not know, but it was probably not more than a few days. If it was indeed the Spring there would have been little stored food yet accumulated (a circumstance which may have sealed the fate of the infants more surely than any desire to kill prisoners on Te Puoho's part), and, besides, the capture of Pukuharuru alerted Te Puoho to the existence of other families which had to be taken quickly before he lost the element of surprise. Pukuharuru, then sixteen years old, was compelled to lead two of Te Puoho's men toward Manuhaea, where his father, Te Raki, was living. The family consisted of:

Te Raki (Te Puke), the head man
Hinetekeraki, his wife
Te Aowhiro, another wife
Pukuharuru, his son
Titiwaitai, his daughter

The fact that only two men were sent with Pukuharuru suggests that he had managed to conceal from Te Puoho the existence of at least one other family living at Hawea. These were the people at the foot of the lake (Te Tawaha o Hawea), amongst whom were Rawiri Te Maire and his father.³ Although Pukuharuru was bound hand and foot during the night, he managed to get free and give his guards the slip. Hurrying home he brought his father, a powerful man, back to deal with the enemy. The two raiders were by now lost and wandering aimlessly about. Te Raki killed them both, returned to Manuhaea and escaped with his family, and also the people at the foot of the lake, over the Lindis Pass and down the Waitaki to the coast.⁴

When his men did not return, Te Puoho must have realised that he was now entered upon a grim race. Either he mopped up the other lake settlements and anyone else between him and the south coast, reaching it before the news was abroad, or he would face the fury of a fully-recruited and well-organised Kaitahu war-party. The race was bound to be close. It was, traditionally, a nine-day tramp from Hawea, over the Lindis Pass to Waitaki — possibly even faster if *mokihiki* were already available — and then perhaps another six days to alert the southern settlements. For Te Puoho and his expedition it would require within a day or two of the same time to traverse the southern interior and reach Foveaux Strait.

The raiders quickly found or built sufficient *mokihiki* to paddle down the lake towards Takikarara. They probably abandoned them somewhere near the mouth of the Matukituki, in order to surprise whoever was living in the southern Wanaka camps. In fact, Nehenehe was deserted but the



THE placenames on this map were those recalled by Rawiri Te Maire. His placement of Takikarara on the west side of Roy's Bay is more logical from the point of view of shelter than the positions usually suggested. And the fact that he does not record Makarore may suggest that he regarded it as synonymous with Paekai. This map was recently found by Mr P. L. Barton, of the Alexander Turnbull Library. [Lands and Survey Dept.]

head man at Takikarara was possibly captured nearby, and the remainder of his party at Takikarara itself. These people were:

Te Aotukia
Tira (Tiratira, Tiatiira), a woman
Pinaua, a man
Hine te Kohuraki, a woman.⁵

With his twelve prisoners, Te Puoho now turned to face the interlocking ranges barring his way to the south. There were a number of possible routes through these mountains which he could have taken. One was directly down the Clutha valley, and for a long time it was assumed that this was the raiders' choice. Another route would follow the Clutha and Kawarau valleys to Lake Wakatipu and then down the Mataura valley. But there is, in fact, a third route which strikes almost due south to Foveaux Strait, the old inland trail of the southern Maori, and Te Puoho compelled his prisoners to guide the *taua* along it.

The first move was southwest up the Cardrona valley. Although it is a broad valley for the first 15km it was thickly overgrown in manuka, matagouri and other scrub before European clearance and the Maori track must either have followed the stream bed or, more likely, sidled up the tussock-covered eastern slopes towards the pass over to the Roaring Meg stream. This route led more directly than the present Crown Range road to the most remarkable and useful natural feature along the entire inland trail.⁶ This was the famous natural bridge over the dangerously turbulent Kwarau River. It spanned the river several hundred metres upstream from the Roaring Meg confluence and it consisted of a natural rock arch which reached to within a metre of the opposite bank. In later years it was completed with bridging planks by the goldminers and was as important a feature in their travels as it was to the Maori, but it has now largely caved in. According to the Maori it once completely spanned the river and it seems to have been naturally breaking away over many years.⁷

In the Kwarau gorge the raiders and their prisoners were at the dry, food-scarce heart of Central Otago, and now, to anxiety about the future, they were obliged to add the more pressing concern of hunger. The land was too dry to grow edible fern roots or to support more than the occasional *ti* tree. The weka were dispersed in the tussock and too scrawny in the early summer to make a satisfactory meal, while the streams, such as existed, held few eels. Seasoned travellers of this route would have carried some preserved victuals to see them through to the richer land in the south, but Te Puoho had little or no such food, and thus no choice but to force-march his party out of difficulty.

The route now followed a long scramble up the stream bed of the Nevis River gorge to where it opened out into a broad, tussock-covered valley

dotted with clumps of matagouri. Travelling fast, no doubt, through this easy country the raiders were able to find only a few young *ti*, some *korau* (Maori cabbage), and an occasional weka to briefly dull the pangs of hunger.⁸

The valley rises gradually to a broad saddle in the south where, looking down the Nokomai tributary, Te Puoho would see the upper Mataura valley. Bisection of the eastern Southland, the Mataura reaches the sea opposite the main Kaitahu stronghold on Ruapuke Island. By now perhaps seven or eight days of hard travelling had passed since leaving Makarara. The Hawea refugees would be only hours from the Kaitahu eeling camps on the Waitaki floodplain. There was no time to lose.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Chapman (412, 416c, 417). Beattie (ODT 4/4/1931) refers to Pitrimona Mauihoro te Kohutu who died at Waihaio in January 1902 and was born at Tutarau. This suggests that his family, like that of Te Raki (chapter 7), may have gone up to the Otago lakes from Southland rather than Otago.
2. Houghton (1895: 143). Nga-ti-ngaro (WT 30/5/1902) calls the mother 'Te Aka'. Some popular accounts follow Shortland (1851:208) in claiming that more people were slaughtered at Wanaka; Gilkison (1978:6), goes to the extreme of saying that the raiders 'devoured the inhabitants (of the two settlements) with the exception of the chief and his son who escaped'.
3. Chapman (412).
4. Shortland (1851:208), Chapman (412), Smith (1910:545) has Pukuharuru killing the raider. Beattie (E/16) refers to Carrick's account of the two men given the slip by Pukuharuru being killed by rocks thrown at them in a gorge. The killers were then said to have fled to the west and become the wild natives later seen by Pakeha and Maori travellers (see also chapter 7). There must be some doubt, as well, whether Te Raki's family fled down the Waitaki with the others
5. Chapman (417), Smith (1910:545). The Shortland map (1851: facing page 205) is the source of the view that Te Mohene was captured near Nehehe. It is, however, imprecise and Rawiri Te Maire simply adds Te Mohene to those captured at Takikarara. Angus (1981:11) says that, 'the main fight is reputed to have occurred near Mt Brown (i.e.



LEFT: Judge Chapman, who escaped with his father from Lake Hawea when Te Puoho captured the Makarore settlement. He was subsequently to be an invaluable source of Maori history, traditions and place names. [Pybus Collection, Hocken Library].
RIGHT: Judge Chapman, an enthusiastic collector of southern Maori lore. His record of Rawiri Te Maire's account of the 1836 incidents at Wanaka is one of the most important documents relating to Te Puoho's raid. [Hocken Library].



Dublin Bay] after the war party had come down Stevenson's Arm and slipped ashore near what is now Mt Burke Station.' This version of events is less likely because it requires an unnecessary portage, into Stevenson's Arm, and it puts the capture of Te Mohene out of sequence.

At about this point in the story some accounts add a reference to a party of eelers (Ross 1933:102), or Te Maruaroa and Kukeke (Nga-ti-ngaro, *W/T* 30/5/1902), clashing with the raiders. This is clearly a mistake which arises, initially, from the severely telescoped version of the raid which G. T. Roberts collected from the West Coast Maori and passed on to Smith (1910:545). Another idea, which has no traditional support, is that the arrival of the raiders

caused the inhabitants of south Westland to build a pa at Big Bay (Beattie 1949:49), and the Central Otago people to build a pa at Camp Hill in the Dart Valley (Simmons 1967).

6. Smith (1910:546), Beattie (*ODT* 6/9/1930, 30/5/1931). Some accounts refer to 17 captives from Wanaka and Hawea (Beattie 57 4/12/1937, Muir and Dickie 1972:8). This error seems to have arisen by simply adding up the number of people living there in 1836 (19) and subtracting the two girls killed by the raiders.

7. See photograph in Olsen (1984:22). Alfred Duncan (1964:10) claimed to have been the first European to have stood on the natural bridge, but it was probably Nathanael Chalmers.

8. Smith (1910:546) and see Appendix 2.

4: Mataura Prisoners

A steep descent into the headwaters of the Nokomai took the expedition, albeit briefly, back into the beech forest they had last seen in the Makarora. It was, however, patchy and offered no relief to their hunger, for in such comparatively dry areas beech forest was notoriously lacking in edible plants and birds. Several days of tramping through the scattered bush, scrub and tussock along the winding banks of the Nokomai and through the deep Mataura gorge brought them to the open country of the upper Mataura and Waimea plains.

When J. T. Thomson surveyed this area in 1857, the river was 'a beautiful pebbly stream pure as crystal' but its terraces were thickly overgrown with matagouri, *korokio* and other scrub which impeded travelling. In peaceful circumstances, Maori travellers with an eye to their future access might have resorted to the tactic adopted by Thomson: 'We set fire to the country as we went along, and now fully 30 miles is in a blaze . . . the Dome mountain is on fire from top to bottom.' But for Te Puoho secrecy was vital as the expedition made its way downstream towards the confluence with the Waikaia (Whakaea).

They were now about to shatter the peace of the southern Kaitahu eeling camps for the second time. In Southland, as in Otago, dispersal of families into the interior to catch and dry eels for later consumption was one of the main activities of the summer months, beginning in November.¹

In 1836 one of these eeling camps was located in a patch of *korokio*, often used for that purpose and named 'Wharekorokio', which seems to have been situated on the west bank at about the point where the modern

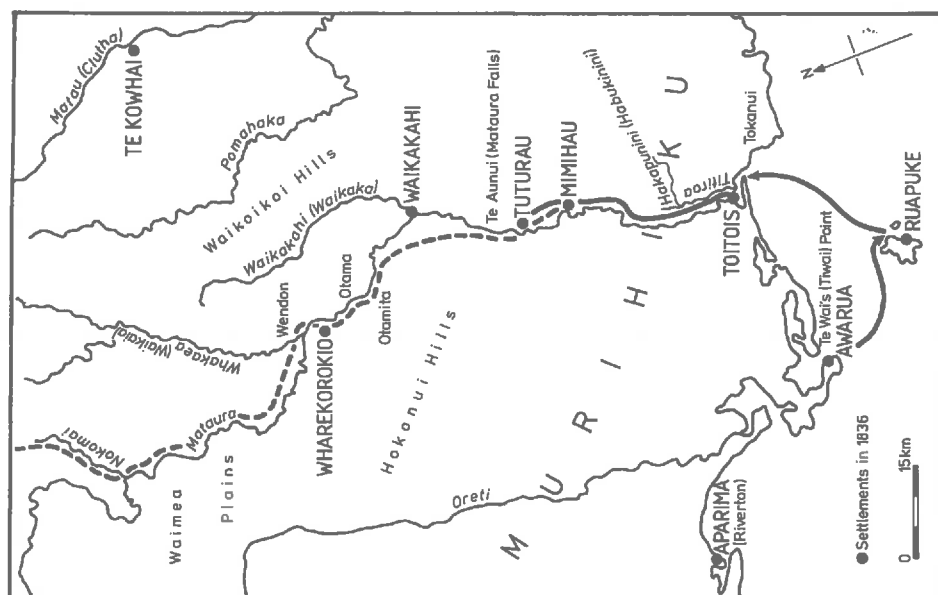
bridge crosses the Mataura below the Pyramid.² This camp, which served some 15 people, was itself a base for small parties of fishermen foraging amongst the lagoons and backwaters nearby. The people who were to occupy it in 1836 had come up from Tuturau, along with some others. The whole party camped first at an eeling station near the confluence of the Mataura and Waikaka (Waikakahi). Some of their names are known:

Korako Te Rehe, probably the head man
 Ha, his wife
 Te Wa, his baby daughter
 Hapaimoko, a man
 Kore, oldest son of Leko (= Reko, from Waiariki, Wanaka, not the Tuturau Reko)
 Te Matahi, his wife
 Kaitoto, second son of Leko
 Mori, his wife
 Rakiraki, youngest son of Leko
 Kokopara, Te Matahi's father

There were about ten others, amongst whom may have been Tiakikai, Te Awhiro, Tureha (all men), the young Potiki brothers (later christened Ihaia and Henare), and their mother.³ While at Tuturau, Kore had dreamt that Ha had been buffeted about in the rough sea (*rupi rupi ana*), an omen of ill-fortune, and he warned her to be very careful when she and her family, along with Hapaimoko, Kaitoto and the ten others whose names are not recorded, set off up the Mataura. The remainder, led by Kore, departed northeastward, over the Waikoikoi Hills and along the Pomahaka towards the Matau, with the intention of working their way from one eeling camp to another all the way up the river to Hawea, where they were to present a gift of clothes to their uncle Te Raki and his family.

Meanwhile, at Wharekorokio, Kaitoto had left the camp to visit an eeling spot up the Waikaia River, and to retrieve from a hut there the long handle of a paddle which he had left the season before.⁴ Then, the same day as Te Puoho and his weary followers splashed across the Waikaia near its mouth, Korako and Hapaimoko had left the camp for an overnight eeling trip to a lagoon downstream near Otama.⁵

The raiders camped beside a spring on the Waikaia terraces, near what is now the site of the Wendon school. The next morning they saw the smoke of Wharekorokio about four kilometres away and immediately crossed the Mataura, crept up to the camp and captured everyone there, about twelve men, women and children. More importantly, from Te Puoho's point of view, they found that the camp had accumulated a great store of eels which were already dried and stored on *whata*. But this welcome relief came just too late for one of Te Puoho's men who had become lost the day before, perhaps while searching for food, and whose remains, identified



EASTERN Southland, showing the Maori names for the relevant rivers and streams, and settlements occupied in 1836. The dotted line is the raiders' route, and the solid line is the route taken by Tuhawaiki and the avenging Ruapuke war-party.

by the taiaha lying alongside them, were found by a shepherd on the banks of the Waikaia in 1863. The warrior had been missed but nobody felt strong enough to search for him.⁶

The raiders, now with 24 prisoners, set off in a long file down the western riverbank towards the site of modern-day Gore. As they walked past Otamita they came abreast of Korako and Hapaimoko, who were also wandering downstream but along the eastern bank. After some little time of watching, these two realised that there were far too many heads bobbing in and out amongst the riverside flax to be their own people, and besides some were carrying muskets. Then, with a shock of horror, Korako saw that amongst the armed men was his wife, with their infant daughter strapped to her back. Clad only in his shirt and scarf, and clutching his gun and ammunition pouch, Korako raced downstream to the nearest shallows, plunged through them to the southern bank, and strode bravely up the track towards the advancing column. At its head was Te Puoho's stepson Te Kioro Wahapiro (also known as Paremata), who challenged the stranger:

'Ko wai koe?' ('Who are you?')

'Korako taku ikoa, he tamaiti a Te Rehe' ('Korako is my name, a child (I am) of Te Rehe.')

'E pai kaore matau e tutaki takata peina me koe na!' ('It is well that we have not before met men like you!')

At this point, Te Puoho, further back in the column, called out,

'E aha te raru koa tutaki ki a tatau?' ('What is the trouble which has met us?')

As Korako was brought to him he asked,

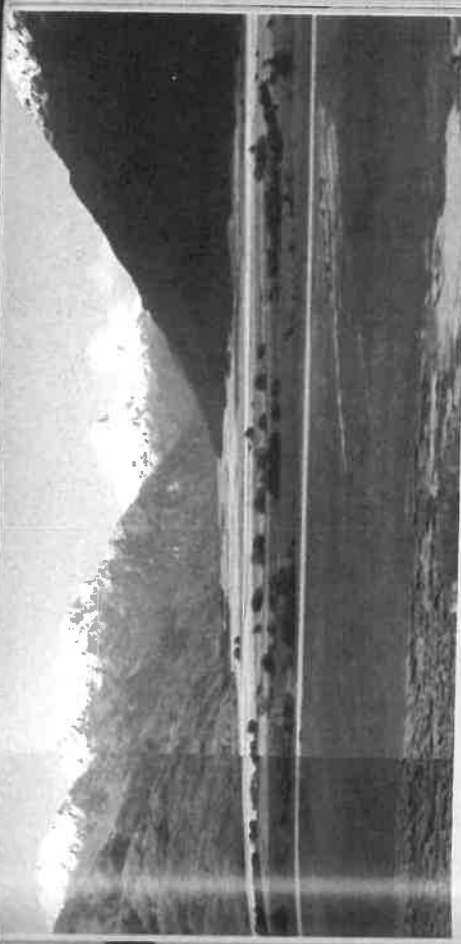
'Ko wai koe ko a tutaki nei ki a Te Puoho i te haere?' ('Who are you to stop Te Puoho in his march?') and then added, *'Tutaki i taku haere!' ('Stopping my march!')*

But when Korako was introduced to Te Puoho, the two engaged in a long conversation. The substance of this is not recorded, but Korako may have made an appeal, based on his aristocratic ancestry, for the safety of his family. One account also suggests that Korako was recognised as having Waikato connections. In any event, Te Puoho released Korako and his family with the words,

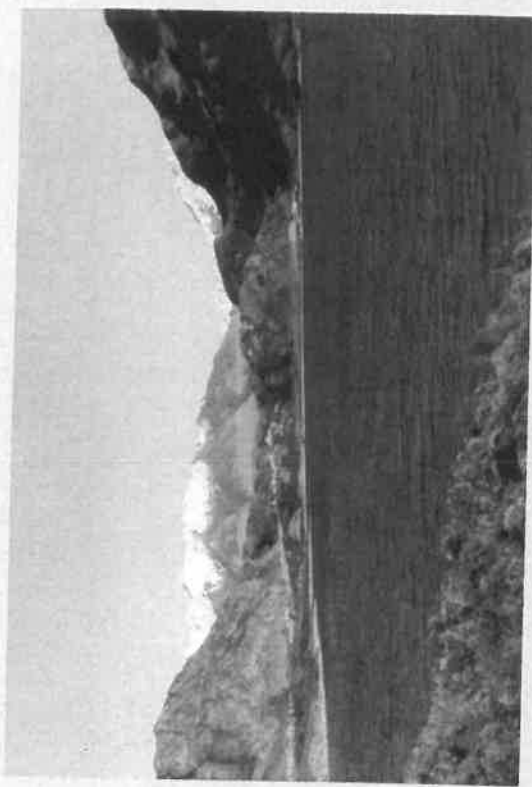
'Haere i ruha i te raki marie kia koutou te whanau; e kore koutou whakararu.' ('Go in peace you and your family; you will not be troubled any more.')

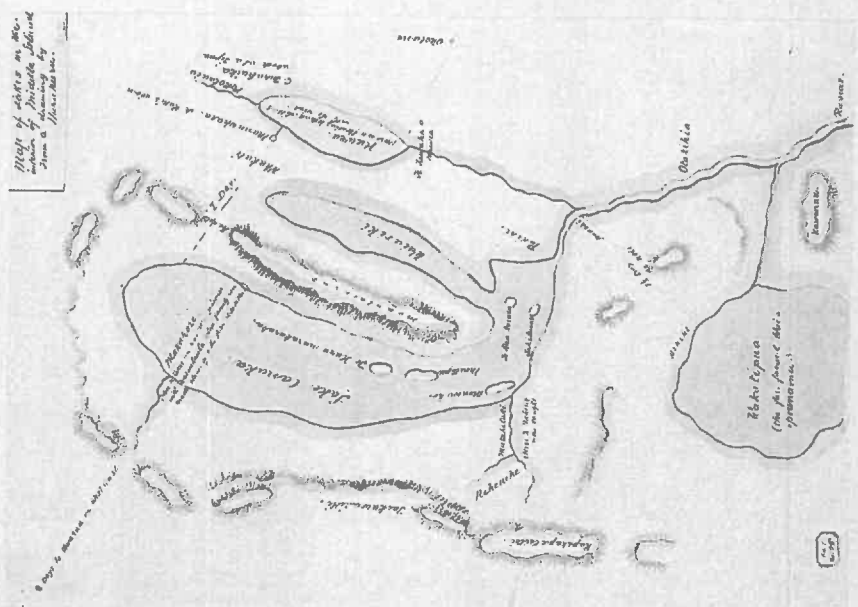
It is difficult to know what to make of this incident, although it may only have been a courtesy between chiefs, since Korako remained with the expedition and signalled Hapaimoko to cross the river and join it as well.⁷

The route now followed along the old Maori track leading from Croydon siding, through the downs west of Gore to a patch of tall manuka, known



ABOVE: The scrub is now cleared from the Makarora valley floor, but the fine scenery of the Wilkin River junction, just south of the Makarore settlement site, is much as it was when Te Puoho's party camped nearby in 1836. BELOW: The Neck, between Hawea and Wanaka, was the site of Manuhaea. [Otago Heritage Books].





EDWARD SHORTLAND'S map of Waikato and Hawea, drawn from a sketch by the Waikato chief Huruwhiri in January 1844. Note the comments about mythological phenomena (a floating island, a tipua or demon) and the references to the incidents arising from the Puhoi's raid. This map may be the original from which the published versions were drawn. [Hocken Library]

as Pokaikariki, at Charlton Creek close to present-day Croydon Bush. From there, the track crossed to the mouth of Waimumu Stream and then along the bank of the Mataura to a ford several kilometres below the present township of Mataura. Across the river on a low rounded hill stood the settlement of Tuturau.⁸

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Thomson (1858:310), Beattie (1911:15), Beattie (E/1).
 2. Parata to Chapman (413), Beattie (ODT 30/8/1930), Beattie (ME 1/12/1937). Other references say at the junction of the Waikato and Mataura (e.g. Beattie ODT 16/5/1931, Smith 1910:546).
 3. Beattie (ODT 30/8/1930, 6/9/1930). James Robertson to Herries Beattie, 18/7/1931 (Beattie E/23), said that John Potiki told him that the raiders' first camp was above the Wendon school, but that there was a second one at Otama from where the smoke of eling parties at Mandeville and Glenure was observed. A raiding party went to Glenure and evidently killed all the eelers because none subsequently turned up. At Mandeville, Potiki's father and uncle (later Ihala and Henare of Port Molyneux), boys at the time, escaped, hid for the day on a nearby hill, then walked through the hills at night to Croydon Bush, Tuturau and then Foveaux Strait. Beattie (1911:87) records the Potiki brothers saying their grandmother was captured, but evidently nothing about themselves.
 4. Beattie (ODT 6/9/1930).
 5. Beattie (ST 4/12/1937).
 6. This man, said to have been elderly, may have wandered from the Wendon campsite. His taiaha was later recognised by Paturau (Parata 16/9/1899 to Chapman 413). Chapman (1908) refers to a taiaha 'or walking staff' which was identified 'by description'
- which suggests that Paturau's identification of the man may only have been a guess. Smith (1910:547), perhaps quoting Parata, said that not all the people at Wharekorokio were captured. Several escaped, warned the people at Tuturau, and sped on to Awarua.
7. Beattie (ME 1/12/1937), Waite (FP 31/3/1926). In 1869 Korako, Abraham Hutoitoti, George Weller (Teoti Wera) and another youth ('Tangata-huruwhiri, Beattie ODT 16/5/1931) went hunting wekas on the Waiwaea Plains. As they passed the spot near Otamaita the old man broke down and wept, recalling the dramatic day of 33 years ago at this place, which he had not visited since (Beattie ODT 6/9/1930).
- Another account (Beattie ODT 23/8/1930), says that as Korako came up the track Kioro asked a prisoner who he was, told one of the Ngaitama who had raised his musket to put it down, and ceremoniously greeted Korako, saying 'It is well for us that you came alone.' Then he turned to his men and said, 'If Korako had been in the position of his ancestors Te Kauae, Maru and Rakaitauwhete (and their followers), we would have been swept away before now.' Another version of this remark (Beattie ST 4/12/1937) says that Te Puoho said to Korako 'Ka tahi ano te kupu a Te Puoho e hoki mai; meaning that this was the first time his word had come back to him or, probably, the first time his views on the supine nature of the Kaitahu had been contradicted. In this same account,

5: Tuturaau Captured

Tuturaau was a long-established *kaika*. Traditionally it had been founded by the Katimamoe chief Paroparo Te Whenua who had climbed to a high point on the Hokonui Hills behind his camp at Croydon Bush when he was caught in a heavy, but brief, downpour. The Mataura rose and fell quickly and, as Paroparo watched, many seagulls flocked to the area about the falls. His curiosity aroused, Paroparo went to investigate and found hundreds of *kanakana* (lampreys) clinging to the glistening rocks where they had been stranded by the falling water level.¹

Te Aunui ('great current'), or the Mataura falls as they are now known, are formed by the river dropping over a series of hard limestone reefs about six metres high. Up these vertical faces, each September and October, wriggled masses of migrating lampreys, small eel-like fish distinguished by a powerful suction disk on the head which is used to hold on to their prey or, in this case, to the rock surface. In September of 1853 Nathanael Chalmers, who was about to begin his trek through Central Otago in the care of Reko and Kaikoura, had an opportunity to observe *kanakana* fishing: 'On the top of the falls there are, or were at that time, three large "potholes" about six feet deep and full of stones. These were cleared out and strong stakes put in each; then as the *kanakana* came crawling up and clinging to the rocky wall of the falls the Maoris, leaning on the stakes, reached out their hands and grasping the fish put them in the *korari* (eel-pots) handy. It only took them about ten minutes to fill one pot, when another took its place. The superstition of the Maori is very marked, for Reko told me that if any enemy threw a firestick into the falls then the

kanakana would desert the locality, so needless to say I was very careful to avoid hurting their feelings.' Another technique involved lowering a man over the edge of the falls on a rope. 'The rope held the man, often up to his neck in fast water, while his feet sought a ledge on the falls.' The *kanakana* were dried to be used as a food supply during the winter. As such they were a delicacy to the Maori, but were seldom esteemed by Europeans. In May 1854 an early Mataura runholder and friend of Reko's, F. L. Mievile, was introduced to dried *kanakana*. His verdict was that they 'much resembled leather with a strong flavour of train oil.'²

The original settlement at Tutarau was at the riverside near the falls but it was devastated by a flood and subsequently rebuilt on the low hill where it stood in 1836. At that time it comprised two or three huts which, with a few posts between them, formed one side of a rough square. The other three sides were bounded by a stout fence of tall posts; a rudimentary palisade in fact, if not by intention. It had been designed to keep wild pigs out of the potato garden which occupied most of the enclosure except for a small open space, or marae, in front of the huts.

It is not clear whether the huts were substantial frame-built structures of the kind familiar today as Maori whares, or the more rudimentary *whare porotaka* which were commonly built in Southland in the early 19th



A VIEW in the early 1930s over the Mataura Valley, towards the northwest, from the Tutarau reserve. In the foreground is the site of Reko's grave. The monument to the raid was built on a lower spur a few years later. [Dr Angus Ross].



TWO SKETCHES of the falls on the Mataura River drawn by John Buchanan in 1856. The upper sketch, in particular, is a reminder of the treeless country the raiders had encountered in the Mataura area twenty years earlier. [Otago Early Settlers Museum].



century. Mantell described the Tutarau settlement in 1851 as comprising a 'grass hut' and an eel *whata* at the falls, 'some grass huts' about a kilometre downstream where Reko was living, and a garden a further 2km beyond. Reko told Mantell that he intended to build a 'traveller's home' and, in fact, this seems to have already been under construction, since the frame of a rectangular whare is shown in Mantell's drawing of Tutarau, and beyond it one of the grass huts. Prior to the need to accommodate Pakeha travellers it may have been customary to live in the simpler dwellings.³ Whatever the case in 1836 there were, apparently, several elderly people in residence to look after the huts and garden, until the eeling parties returned for the potato harvest at the end of December. Two of the elderly caretakers are named as Okaihau and Tauwera.

Whether forewarned or not these few elders could mount no effective resistance and Tutarau was taken by Te Puoho and his men without a fight. Hunger, their constant enemy, drove them to uproot the garden and eat the potatoes, not yet to the point of ripening. This poor food, and the tiny and almost deserted settlement they had come to, set some of the raiders to grumbling, but Te Puoho remained as determined as ever.⁴ At this stage perhaps 13 to 15 days since leaving Makarora, he was apparently still confident that his presence in the deep south remained undetected by anyone who was in a position to warn the Kaitahu leaders.

Whether his confidence was justified is now very difficult to determine because it is one of the points about which there are numerous conflicting accounts.⁵ But leaving aside the possibility that some people escaped capture at Wharekorokio or that someone eeling in a concealed part of the river near Tutarau saw the raiders and their prisoners and was able to slip away undetected (two of the more probable alternatives), the most likely situation from which any southern Maori could have escaped to the coast arose from an incident after Te Puoho had taken Tutarau. He sent out five scouts downriver and they committed a blunder similar to the earlier one involving Te Raki at Hawea, and with much the same effect. At Mimihiu the scouts came upon a small eeling party of two men, Kukeke and Maruaroa, and their wives, who were all caught inside their *maimai* or *whare porotaka*. The scouts demanded food and were invited to come in and sit by the campfire. They left one of their number, Reporoa, outside to stand guard and did as they were bidden. Meanwhile, under cover of arranging for the food to be prepared, Kukeke and Maruaroa each managed to conceal a mere under their capes. Reporoa came in to the hut to get a light for his pipe and, as he stooped over the fire, Kukeke flung him against one of his fellows and stunned him with a blow from a stick of firewood. The two southerners had their meres out in a flash and Reporoa and two or three other scouts died: Repoti, Reporoa's brother, and perhaps another man, scrambled clear and escaped.⁶

The surviving scouts took the news of this disastrous incident back to Tutarau as the eelers paddled their *mokihi* down the Mataura, abandoned them at a suitable point, and hurried across the swampy southern plain to Tiwai (Te Wai's) Point. They knew that Tuhawaiki was on a visit to the Bluff whaling station which had only that year been established by William Stirling on behalf of Johnny Jones. Tuhawaiki had come over from Ruapuke Island with his visitor, Te Matenga Taiaroa from Otakou, to see what progress had been made in building the station.

Alerted by smoke or shouting, Tuhawaiki sent his boat over to Tiwai Point to see what the commotion was about. It came back with the eelers, whose tale electrified the southern chiefs. The eelers could not tell them how many there were of the enemy, nor it seems, who led them, and Tuhawaiki drew the conclusion that it was no less than the greatest enemy of all, Robulla (Te Rauparaha), who lay at Tutarau. A chief by nature as well as rank, Tuhawaiki moved decisively. Messengers were sent to warn the nearby *kaika* and then, gathering his crew and the fighting men available in Awarua, Tuhawaiki put out into a stormy sea for his stronghold on Ruapuke Island.⁷

At about the same time as Tuhawaiki heard the news, Te Puoho must have learnt that all hope of surprise was gone. He then committed a fatal error of judgement. Whether he was simply resting his men before the battle he still intended to seek, or had, as some accounts say, decided to retrace his steps, he seems to have assumed that the southerners would take one of the cautious options open to them: retreat to Ruapuke and wait for the invaders to leave, or sit tight there until reinforcements arrived from the outlying *kaika* and Otakou. In this assumption Te Puoho gambled unwisely on southern prudence or the softness he attributed to them. Ironically his fate was sealed by the thought that he was, or might be, Te Rauparaha; a prize too long and costly sought to simply sit and wait for.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Anon (*ME* 12/10/1901).
 2. Roberts (1895:33), Beattie (1911:33, *ODT* 2/5/1931), ms 181.
 3. Beattie (*ODT* 23/8/1930, 30/8/1930). Mantell 1851-52 in Beattie (1947:116, 129).
- Whether Reko was at Tutarau, or in the vicinity, at the time of the raid is uncertain. All that is recorded is that he 'had migrated southward after Te Rauparaha had destroyed the pah at Kaiapoi in 1827 (1831), and had taken possession of Tutarau when the Ngatimamoe residents were driven away.' (Roberts (1895:33), and see also Mantell 1851 (ms 47), Tom Spencer to Beattie E/17). The implication seems to be that

6: Southern Retaliation

Ruapuke Island, like Kapiti Island which some of Te Puoho's men knew so well, had been occupied for many years because of its strategic position. It lies near the middle of Foveaux Strait, offering a haven for small craft attempting a passage upon those treacherous waters, but more particularly it commanded access to the valuable *titi* (muttonbird, or sooty shearwater) islands located immediately to the southwest and along the eastern and southern coasts of Rakiura.

The *titi* were caught in their tens of thousands each April and May and preserved in their own plentiful fat inside kelp bags wrapped in totara bark (*poahatiti*). Their status as a delicacy, no less than their remarkable abundance, attracted Kaitahu from as far north as the Kaikoura coast. The *titi* islands were divided out according to complex kin relationships amongst all the Kaitahu and Katimamoe, but not unnaturally the southern clans were resentful then, as in some quarters they are now, of the participation of their more distant cousins.

Captain John Kent of the *Mermoid* described something of life on Ruapuke Island at the end of the *titi* season in June 1823: At first, nearly everybody was still away on the hunting grounds and Kent found only some 15 people, mostly children, occupying the main settlement under the care of Chief Te Wera of Bluff. They lived in whares,

'compactly built of reeds thatched with flax and decorated with rude carvings intending to represent the form of a man's head and face hideously distorted, inside were many bed places built of wicker work, about three feet from the ground, upon which lay their shells etc. for

dressing and scraping flax. It seems this time of the year they live constantly in the huts as the cooking utensils lay scattered about a fire place . . . Outside were stacks of preserved muttonbirds.'

Later the same month Taiaroa and his people arrived back on Ruapuke from the *titi* islands, having survived a heavy sea in which two canoes were lost and Pahi and 40 of his people drowned. Another canoe in the fleet was missing but turned up several days later. In it were 12 people from Kaikoura who were regarded by the others as 'intruders upon their rights.' Another week later the main Ruapuke chief, Tupai, and his people returned with their catch of preserved birds.¹ This annual gathering of the clans was the centrepiece of life upon Ruapuke, and indeed of Foveaux Strait as a whole.²

In the 1820s Ruapuke had a resident population of about 50 to 60 people who lived mainly in a small settlement near Parakiao Point. There was also a smaller *kaika* at Henrietta Bay, where Captain Edwardson, of the *Snapper*, mapped six whares in January 1823. By the 1830s, however, the situation had changed significantly and Ruapuke had risen to the front rank of southern Kaitahu settlements alongside Otakou and Arowhenua. This was partly due to the southward withdrawal of some families as a result of the Kai Huanga feud between northern and southern Kaitahu, but it was mainly caused by the raids of Te Rauparaha upon the northern Kaitahu which culminated in the sacking of Kaiapoi and Onawe *pa*, in 1831, and the flight of the survivors.



JOHN BARNICOAT'S sketch of a Ruapuke Island village—probably the village where Ihawaiaki was then living—drawn in May 1844 while the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers was landing to begin his mission. [Hocken Library]

By 1836 the population was probably about 150. It reached almost 200 in 1844, falling back to 150 in 1852 and about 100 in 1861. At least seven *kaika* were recorded in 1844 and some of them were probably in existence in 1836. The main settlement, however, remained the one known as Ruapuke, near Parakiaio Point.³ In 1844 John Barnicoat wrote that the Ruapuke natives formerly lived in fortified pah, now in ruins,⁴ and at least one of these was commenced in the early 1830s at Taoutenaku Point in response to fears about Te Rauparaha. An old man recalled seeing, as a young boy, 'the great rimu posts with men with pawa eyes carved on top.' He said that the main posts were set about three metres apart and that a lighter fence was built outside the main palisade. But the pa was never completed. For some reason the prophetess Hinekaka ordered work on it to cease. However, it seems likely that there was already a pa on Parakiaio Point, adjacent to Ruapuke *kaika*. By this time Tuhawaiki may also have had his cannon.⁴

When Tuhawaiki and Taiaroa arrived back on Ruapuke with the startling news from Awarua they promptly recruited every able-bodied man. How many that amounted to is not very clear, and estimates have varied from about 60 to 200. Several lines of evidence suggest, though, that the lowest figures, indeed even lower figures, are the more likely. A resident population of 150 could hardly muster more than 60 to 80 men if everybody was at home. In fact, we know that at least some of the Ruapuke people, possibly half of them, were scattered abroad at their eeling, sea fishing and fowling camps traditionally occupied in the early summer. Worse, some of these people were prisoners of the invaders. Worse yet, it is said that most of the Ruapuke force were young men unhardened to battle and that they could muster only three muskets amongst them. It was doubtless the veterans, and their muskets, who were the family heads in the scattered summer camps. James Wybrow, whose father was living on Ruapuke Island at the time, said that Tuhawaiki had 60 men under his command and I am inclined to think that this is, if anything, a maximum figure.⁵

Little time was wasted in preparation. Tuhawaiki set Taare Tieri, a man who had served on whaling ships, to work on overhauling the firearms. The muskets belonged to Topi and to two of Te Ao Tawhiri, Ruru, Hape or Mokohuruhuru. Tuhawaiki's gun, which by repute is that now in the Otago Museum, was a five-shot Collier flintlock rifle, with a revolving chamber. He then sought to quell the nervousness of his younger recruits by calling upon his *tohuka*, Rakaitaheke, to prophesy the outcome of the expedition. The men were especially worried about how many would die and whether their advance upon Tuturau would be betrayed by the dogs in the camp, or by Te Rauparaha's dog. They were reassured on both counts; the dogs would be silent and only two men would die, the chief and another of the enemy.⁶



THE five-shot Collier repeating flintlock rifle which reputedly belonged to Tuhawaiki and was, for its day, an excellent gun. [Otago Museum].

Thus, at dawn, two days after the alarm had been given, the Ruapuke men sailed for the mainland. Most were in canoes but some were in a whaleboat belonging to two Europeans from Stewart Island (one of them Bill Thomas) who were prevailed upon to assist. At Toitoi the fleet landed, the canoes were hauled up and the whaleboat departed quickly for home.⁷ Some of the names of the men in the southern *tawa* have been recorded:

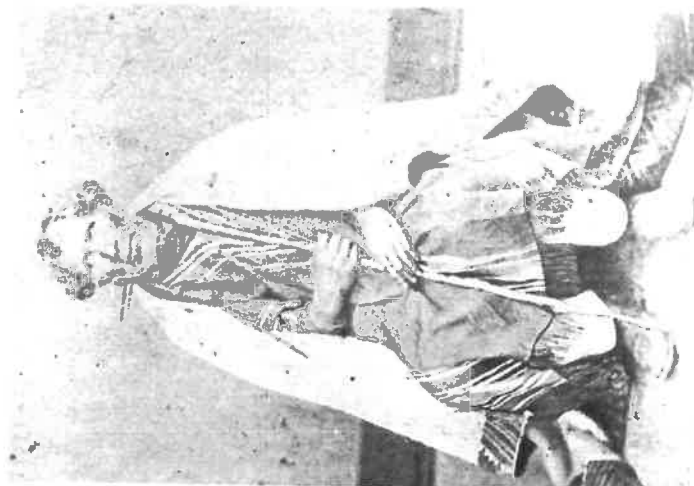
Tuhawaiki	Takataki
Taiaroa	Te Ao Tawhiri
Topi Patuki	Hape
Haereroa	Whaitiri
Porutu	Toetoe
Wharaki (Faraki, Whalagi)	Ruru
Taheke	Tarawhata
Mokohuruhuru	
Makere (Mahere), Haereroa's brother	
Kahupatiki	
Rakaitaheke (seer, and Kahupatiki's brother)	



TEONE TOPI PATUKI, photographed probably c.1880, when he was paramount chief of the southern Maori. As a teenager at Tutarau he fired the fatal shot at Te Puoho. [Hocken Library]

Tuhawaiki sent out his advanced guard led by Porutu and Wharaki, two veterans of Oraumoa who knew the enemy by sight. The main contingent followed at a prudent pace and camped only a few kilometres upriver. The next day brought the expedition to the confluence of the Mataura and Mokoreta rivers. Here Tuhawaiki sought again to stiffen the resolve of his men. By the light of the camp fire Rakaitauheke chanted the *karakia pakihau manu* ('the wing of the bird'). This powerful prayer, named for his familiar spirit, called for the heart of the opposing chief to be materialised before the assembled troops as if carried on the wings of a bird. The vision appeared, the *tohu* declared again that the enemy chief would die, and the relieved warriors lay down to sleep.⁸

Moving carefully from cover to cover the southerners came up to their scouts by nightfall on the third day. Porutu and Wharaki counselled against a night attack and advised surrounding Tutarau and attacking at dawn: '*Ki te maua te rakau*' ('Let us see how they will hold their weapons') was the advice of the veterans. Tuhawaiki agreed and, in addition to stationing



TE MATENGA TAIAROA, chief at Orakou, was visiting Tuhawaiki when Te Puoho captured Tutarau. He led the frontal assault on the settlement, but was also the peacemaker. [Alexander Turnbull Library]

men at intervals around the perimeter of the village, he gathered one group under Taiaroa outside the gates and took another himself around the back.

As dawn broke, two men with guns from Tuhawaiki's platoon managed to clamber on to the roof of one of the huts — probably not too difficult a task since these formed part of the back wall. One of the men was the youthful Topi Patuki. He was armed with a light musket which he had obtained from Te Ao Tawhiri in return for his own heavy flintlock. The other man was probably Te Ao Tawhiri, although others have also been suggested. Te Puoho and his wife (probably Matua) were sleeping in the verandah of this or another hut and, wakened by the rustling, Te Puoho jumped up, saw the men on the roof, and called out to Kioro, *E Kio! Te whanau e apititia! E taua, e taua!* ('Kioro! Gather the men! A war-party, a war-party!') At this Tawhiri fired. The leaden ball of his musket slammed into Te Puoho's upper arm and he staggered back crying, *E Kio! Ko whara*

au!" (Kiore! I'm wounded!") Then Topi fired. His gun was loaded with a piece of scrap iron which struck Te Puoho in the shoulder, and ripped through his chest killing him almost instantly.

In the few seconds this had taken to occur the northern raiders had been roused from sleep and one, a slave called Toea, rushed wildly outside towards the gate only to be cut down by a shot from Taiaroa's platoon. This too, was a shard of scrap iron, and it slashed open the man's stomach leaving him writhing on the ground, where he was later clubbed to death.

At this point Taiaroa, who may still have thought that Te Rauparaha was inside one of the huts and was anxious to repay the debt of his escape from Kaiapoi, rushed into the enclosure shouting, 'He pai! He pai! Na haku na Taiaroa!' (Peace! Peace! It is me, Taiaroa!) At this, Te Puoho's men, led by their chiefs Pou and Te Purutapu, came out of the huts and surrendered. Te Puoho's head was hacked from his body and stuck on a pole on the marae to face north towards his home. His body, covered with a sleeping mat (*tika*), was left where it lay while the northerners and their former prisoners were organised for the journey to Ruapuke.

In the afternoon, Te Puoho's head was taken down, and packed for the march. His body, rolled in a mat, and the body of Toea were placed in one of the huts and then all the huts, now made tapu by bloodshed, were put to the torch.⁹ As the prisoners were marched downriver towards the coast they were generally resigned to their fate, but at the junction of the Hakapuni and Titiroa streams, two of them made a determined bid for freedom. One was quickly caught and killed. After a long chase the other was brought to bay in a creek bed where he fought desperately for his life and was only overcome by weight of numbers.¹⁰

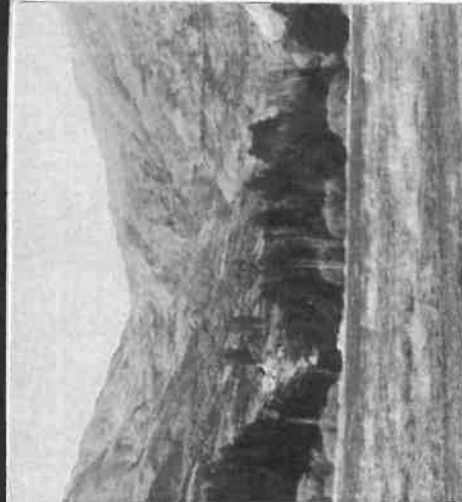
Back upon Ruapuke, Taiaroa claimed Te Kiore as his slave and immediately set sail for Otakou. The remaining prisoners were shared out amongst their captors, and one was also given to James Wybrow. Although they were enslaved they seemed to have been treated well enough and, for a time at least, to have accepted their lot.¹¹

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Kent, 18/6/1823 in Howard (1940:345), Anderson (1980:15).
2. The busiest periods of the southern Maori year were 'Kahuru', or harvest from late December to February and 'Kahuru kai haere', or storing the

harvest from March to about mid-May. Then came 'Makariri', the cold time lasting until the end of July when people congregated in their villages and consumed stored food. 'Mahana' or the spring in August and September (a time

50



ABOVE LEFT: The junction of the Motutapu and Matukituki rivers, where the settlement of Nehenehe once stood. [Author].

ABOVE RIGHT: Looking up from the Cardrona Valley towards the saddle by which Te Puoho crossed over to Roaring Meg. [Author].

LOWER RIGHT: The natural rock bridge which once spanned the Kaurau in this narrow gorge was used by Maori and Pakeha alike up to the 19th century, but has since tumbled into the swirling river. [Otago Heritage Books].

OVERLEAF: From the roof on one of the huts, Tawhiri and Topi fire on Te Puoho—an artist's reconstruction of the climax of the Tutarau affray. [Drawing by Chris Gaskin, in the Author's possession].

51

7: Aftermath

While the victory celebrations proceeded upon Ruapuke the other southern Kaitahu were learning of the bewildering succession of great events which had just occurred at the heart of their territory. They were, doubtless, greatly relieved at the outcome but they do not seem to have shared the elation of the Ruapuke people. A *taua* had set out from Otakou, probably alerted by the families which had fled down the Waitaki, and it had just reached a small settlement called Motukaipuhuka, near Kaitangata, when news arrived that the fighting was over and the prisoners had been taken to Ruapuke. The frustrated warriors took turns shooting at an old kahikatea tree nearby and then turned for home.¹

As for the Aparima people, their contemporary reaction is hardly known, but there has long been an undercurrent of dissatisfaction in eastern Southland about their alleged unwillingness to help at Tūtarau. This may be quite unfair since it is not at all clear that Tūhawaiki asked for their help, or, once they heard of Te Puoho's arrival, that they realised Tūhawaiki had chosen to carry the fight to the enemy. On the other hand there were still ancient clan and tribal grievances dividing the southern Maori in the 1830s, more so perhaps than at any other time in the 19th century. The recent influx of Kaitahu refugees from Canterbury served to highlight the differences between the western settlements, with their predominance of Katimamoe chiefs, and the Kaitahu majority in eastern Southland, especially on Ruapuke Island. In times of trouble the Aparima people looked to their own island refuge upon Rarotoka (Centre Island) and it is said that some did just that when news of the raid reached them. The

few Aparima men who were at Tūtarau may simply have been at Awarua or Ruapuke and got caught up in the excitement.²

Last of all in the south to find out what had happened were the Kaitahu families out in the wilderness who had enjoyed, all quite unknowingly, the good fortune of avoiding the northern raiders. Amongst them were Kaitoto and his relatives. Kaitoto, who had been up the Whakaea to catch eels and retrieve his paddle handle (chapter 4), came back to Wharekorokio to find it deserted and the tracks of a large group leading southward to Tūtarau. Finding the village in ruins he set off to find the members of his family who were, by now, well up the Matau on their way to Hawea. As it happened, however, they found that they needed an article which had been left in their camp of two days before at Te Kowhai, where the track from Tūtarau reached the Matau. Kore, Kokopara and Rakiraki set off on a *mokihi* to retrieve what they needed and were greatly surprised to find their old camp fire smouldering, some of their dried eels missing and Kaitoto's paddle handle, which had clearly been used as a staff (*tokotoko*), lying near the fire. Kore sent the old man and the boy across the river to hide while he set out to investigate. He soon discovered Kaitoto and they decided that whoever had come down the old inland trail had probably killed their cousin Te Raki as well. Thus, when the women were brought back to Te Kowhai, the family returned south past Tūtarau to Ruapuke Island.³

The unknown fate of Te Raki and the other Hawea families continued, however, to gnaw at the conscience of their Ruapuke relatives and some time after the Tūtarau affair Haereroa, Pokohiwi and some others set out to find them. They came across camp fires apparently leading into the west and followed them into the mountains before giving up and concluding that these Hawea families had fled into remote valleys or the western sounds.⁴

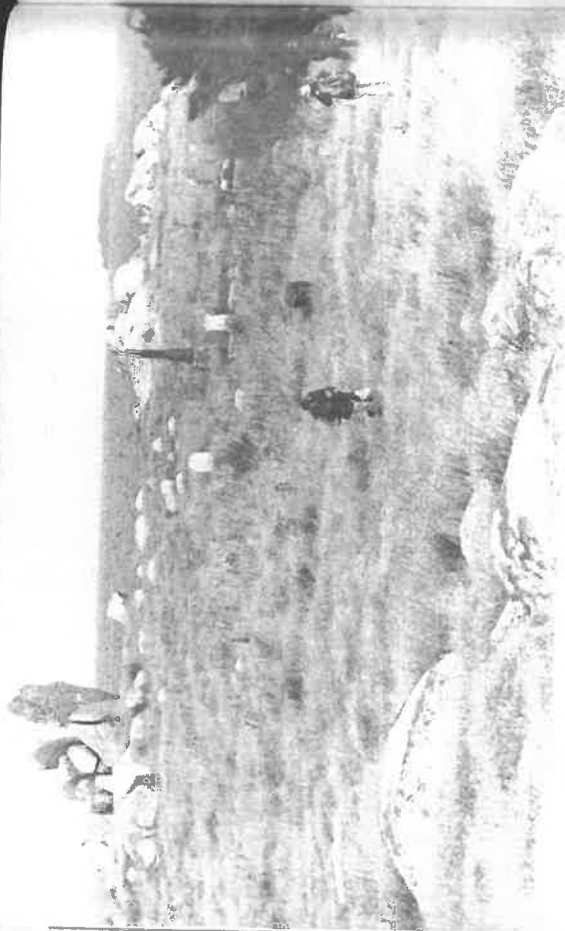
As the excitement of the Tūtarau affair began to settle down on Ruapuke, the news of the disaster which had befallen Te Puoho was being carried towards his home by his brother-in-law Ngawhakawa. Either in the half-light of dawn or during the subsequent confusion in sorting out the Kaitahu prisoners from their erstwhile captors, Ngawhakawa had managed to slip away. His task was daunting, to say the least. He had, alone, to retrace his steps all the way back through Central Otago, over the Haast Pass and along the entire West Coast. In addition to the hardships of the journey he had also to avoid any encounters with Kaitahu east of the Alps and, to the west, escape the fate of a bearer of bad news in the settlements under Niho's command.

By good luck Ngawhakawa reached Arahura while Niho was away and the inhabitants fed him, but advised against a leisurely stay. Ngawhakawa hurried on, and only just soon enough, for Niho returned and set out after

him to ensure that his dire prophecy of disaster for the Te Puoho expedition was totally fulfilled. Ngawhakawa managed to outdistance him and eventually reached his own home at Parapara in Golden Bay, where he was the first to bring the devastating news.⁶

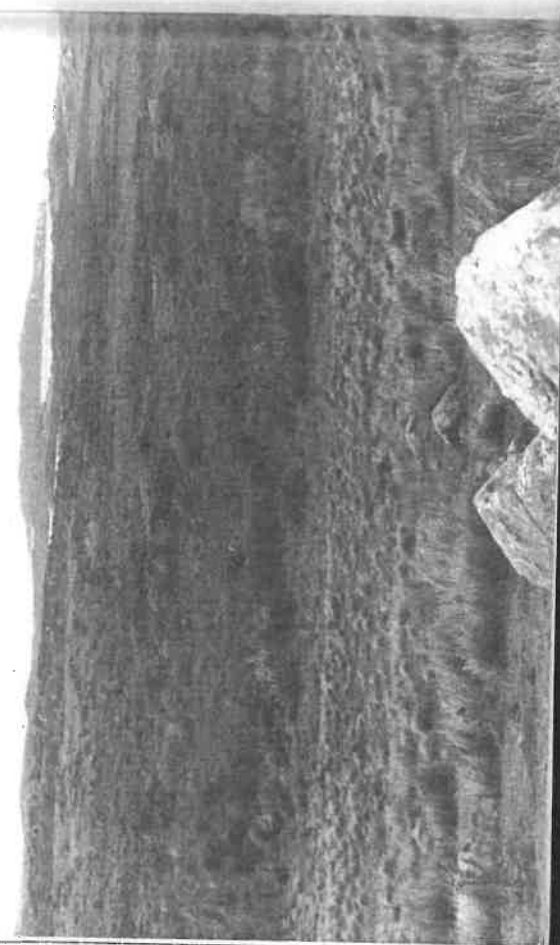
Te Puoho's grief-stricken widow Kauhoe, his second wife, composed a bitter lament which called upon Te Rauparaha and his allies to exact revenge. A war party of Ngatiraua set out at once from Golden Bay, heading for the West Coast by the Buller valley route, but turned back at Mangatawai (Tophouse). Then a second *taua* set out for the east coast, hoping to hire a ship at Port Cooper, but at Cloudy Bay they were dissuaded from proceeding any further by Ngaitoa living at Port Underwood. The latter were probably anxious that the stalemate reached between Kaitahu and Ngaitoa through the bruising encounter at Oraumoa should not be upset.

Te Rauparaha could not, however, remain indifferent to the defeat of his allies and he soon crossed Cook Strait at the head of a Ngaitoa *taua*. But he seems to have had little stomach for the task and was soon diverted into seeking satisfaction from a hapu of Atiawa who had, so it was alleged, eaten puha which had been growing upon the graves of Ngaitoa who had died at the battle of Kapara-te-hau (Lake Grassmere) in early 1836. Te Rauparaha had good reason to remember this encounter (also known as Oraumoitai) because he had only just escaped with his life, and



ABOVE: Ruapuke Island, from above Henrietta Bay, with Chief Topi Patuki's monument in the middle distance, centre. [R. J. Beck, *Southland Museum*].

BELOW: Another view on Ruapuke, looking north-east towards Parakiaio Point, where Tuhawaiki's cannons once stood, and to Green Island beyond. [R. J. Beck, *Southland Museum*].



CHIEF TUHAWAIKI'S cannon in Henrietta Bay, Ruapuke. [John Hall-Jones, 'The South Explored', 1979].

ignominiously at that. The offending Atiawa were ritually plundered and the Ngatitao returned home to await their reaction.⁶

Meanwhile, on the West Coast, Niho and Takerei took stock of the changed situation. Their short-lived settlements were now vulnerable outposts against a resurgent Kaitahu who had seen off Te Rauparaha in Marlborough and defeated Te Puoho in Southland within a few months afterward. With Tuhuru and the Poutini Kaitahu an immediate threat to the south, despite their earlier submission, there was only one realistic course of action and Niho took it. Abandoning Westland he and his people retreated far to the north to the comparative safety of West Wanganui Inlet, close to Golden Bay.⁷

On Ruapuke, meanwhile, the northern prisoners were allowed a measure of liberty and some moved to settlements elsewhere in Foveaux Strait to perform various tasks for their masters. One of these was to assist 'Scotch John' MacGregor in building a schooner at either Tutaekawetoweto (Lord's River) or Port William on Stewart Island. MacGregor had a northern Maori wife who seems to have sympathised with the lot of the prisoners and to have persuaded her husband to take the vital part in a plot to free them. MacGregor's compliance might also have been assisted by an incident which occurred during the building of his boat. In revenge for the murder of the southern chief Tumataueka (brother of Haereroa Toheti) on Kapiti Island in 1835, two northern Maoris who had been working for MacGregor were killed, and another fled for his life.⁸

Whatever the reasons, in March 1840 – and perhaps, not coincidentally, while Tuhawaiki and some other southern chiefs were on a visit to Sydney – MacGregor sailed for Ruapuke and managed to embark some of the prisoners who were living at Ohuri, near the northeast tip of the island. Along with them went several local women. The next morning, when the Ruapuke people discovered what had happened, and believing that some bloodstained clothing on the shore belonged to their women whom they now supposed to have been killed, they sought revenge upon the six remaining prisoners. One man, Tamaraki, was killed at once. He may have been the man who had been given to Wybrow and who was hacked to death before the whaler's eyes. Wybrow could say nothing for fear that the enraged men would turn on him as well, but in later years he remarked, somewhat callously, that 'he would not have cared so much except that he had just bought his slave a pair of moleskin trousers and a blue shirt a day or two before.'⁹

Later in March, Tuhawaiki returned and was furious at what he found. He had, by traditional standards, been robbed of his personal property in front of his own people, and that was an outrage which had to be very clearly avenged. Tuhawaiki had acquired sets of British military uniforms while in Sydney and had outfitted himself and a small platoon of his men

in them. In this regalia he held his own version of a court-martial and sentenced the remaining prisoners to death. Pou, Repo and another man were killed immediately but Purutapu was given a tomahawk by Ruru and told to clear out and try to save himself. He was pursued by an old warrior, Wi Rehua, an expert in the use of the taiaha. Wi cornered his man on the edge of a lagoon but Purutapu managed to duck in close and sink the tomahawk between Wi's neck and shoulder. Wi recoiled and slashed with his taiaha leaving Purutapu's head all but severed from his shoulders. The last man, Te Huruhuru, who was the *mokai* (pet or slave) of Haereroa, was saved by a woman, Kuruteke (or Korotaki, Tame Parata's mother), throwing her mat over him. The corpses of the prisoners were beheaded and the bodies and heads buried upon different beaches. During the night, however, a storm uncovered the remains and the waves washed the heads onto the same beach as the bodies; an event which startled and chastened the Ruapuke people.⁹

Most of the survivors of Te Puoho's *taua* seem to have been women. Matua, like Kauhoe, is said to have composed a bitter chant or curse as well; in her case against a Pakeha ex-soldier named McIvor who was thought to have trained the uniformed warriors attending Tuhawaiki. Peti (Bessie) Paturau married a southerner who was, according to one account, none other than the *tohu*ka Rakaitaueke. In any event she was still alive and living in Temuka in 1865. Another northern woman, Romatiki, married a Pakeha whaler, Guernsey Bob.¹⁰

The bitterness of 1836 dissipated in other such unions as well. It eventually turned out that the young women from Ruapuke who had disappeared with the prisoners rescued by MacGregor, had gone willingly, and for love. Both came back after a time and one, Patahi, is said to have married Ned Palmer. The two Arahura women also remained in the south and married; Ruta to Matiu te Rupawhera and Papako to Jack Hunter.¹¹

The highest-ranked prisoner, Te Kioro, was returned to Otaki about 1843 accompanied by a Kaitahu wife, Ngamianga, an escort of Kaitahu men and a gift of *pounamu*. A piece of land at Tutarau was marked out and named Paremata in his honour. But most remarkable of all, only seven years after the Tutarau affair, one of the first Christian missionaries to Otakou and Ruapuke was none other than the son of the old enemy Robulla, a young man called Tamihana Te Rauparaha.¹²

Hocken Collections

Te Uare Taoka o Hākena

Item approved for digital photography



A MAORI GREETING

"King" Topi (Bluff) greeting a Maori friend at the Tutarau
raid centenary celebrations on Saturday.

Hocken Collections

Te Uare Taoka o Hākena

Item approved for digital photography



THE LAST FIGHT
BETWEEN
NORTH AND SOUTH ISLAND MAORIS
IN WHICH THE SOUTHERNERS
WERE VICTORIOUS
TOOK PLACE IN THIS LOCALITY
IN DECEMBER 1836

CENTENARY OF THE TUTURAU RAID

Mr F. Langstone, the Acting Minister of Native Affairs, unveiling the memorial which marks the scene of the last battle between the North and South Island Maoris. The centenary of the raid was celebrated at Tutarau on Saturday.

SOUTHLAND TIMES MONDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1937.

9

MAORI PEACE

should the Maori people would to the patches and that they live in peace for at least as long. The monument was then unveiled. The inscription on the monument reads:—
"The Last Fight between North and South Island Maori took place in this locality in December 1864."
The Maori party sang an appropriate chant and then followed the singing of the victory hymn, in a circle beneath the inscription, by the Maori, the native chief and the local representatives.
After a short interval the local party presented an entertainment of typical songs, haka, and poi dance, winning the big crowd with a demonstration of native art seldom seen in Southland.
The final event on the programme was the ceremony of dedication of the Maori house. There preceded by the singing of appropriate songs by the party of entertainers which was drawn up in front of the house. After representatives of the local bodies had spoken, the solemn dedication ceremony took place. The Maori chief, after a short speech in his native tongue, opened the door and the Maori entered and sang a sad tribal song.
The Mayor of Invercargill said that the reserve would stand as a memorial to the last of the antagonism between the North and the South Island Maori. He had no doubt that the Maori House and the monument would look after the fact that it was administered in accordance with the wishes of the Maori people.
The chairman of the Invercargill County Council (Mr. McManis) added their tribute to the Maori, pressing the hope that the Maori would make more frequent use of the reserve.



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE TUTURAU RESERVE WHERE THE CENTENARY OF THE MAORI RAID WAS CELEBRATED ON SATURDAY.—In the background can be seen the Maori House and the monument which were erected for the centenary.

CENTENARY OF the Maori raid and observe the Sub-LETTER WRITING Palmerston

Peaceful landscape history of Tutarau

The Tutarau Reserve has been the subject of controversy over recent weeks but is no stranger to colourful, and sometimes startling, events.

South of Mautara and the site of an important Maori battle in the 1830s, the reserve could easily be missed by passers-by.

Trees and pockets of gorse dot the green rolling hills and cattle graze contentedly nearby.

Only a small plaque, overshadowed by long grass at the roadside, draws the eye up to the once famous round hill and the monument erected there in 1877. Old graves go unnoticed by the passers-by.

Descendants of the original Maori owners of the land have now spent out exactly how they feel about the land being used for farming. They want the reserve used as a reserve — they would like people to visit it and learn something about the history of the area.

Tutarau Trust Board secretary, Mr Maui Weepu, says the battle near Mautara was the culmination of a long and daring raid.

There are now many different versions of the expedition led by former Taranaki Maori chief Te Puoho but each one, according to the book "Te Puoho's Last Raid" by Atholl Anderson, in itself is a fascinating story.

In the spring of 1836, Te Puoho and a party of 40 or 50 warriors left Nelson on one of the longest overland marches in Maori history.

The planned to storm villages in the south of the South Island occupied by the Kaitiaki people. They approached from the West Coast and inland Tairāhiti. Rain, hunger and the rugged Southern Alps lay in their way.

The war party, after taking Kaitiaki settlements in the south, planned to drive its prisoners north and "mop up" other villages on the way.

That was not to be and the raid ended with the death of Te Puoho at Tutarau some time between Christmas 1836 and January 15, 1837.

The raiders did take some prisoners on the journey to Southland, however, and were said to have killed and eaten two children, at Makarua in the Otago lakes district.

Te Puoho's party must have been pleased to leave the forest of Westland and the mountains behind, but would have been aware too of the strange characters said to inhabit Central Otago.

Maori legend had it that an immense scaly ogre had once lived near the Clutha. He roamed the hills with a pack of two-headed hunting dogs, slaughtering waka-hunting parties and carrying off their women to his cave by the river.

HALF-MEN
The Maori, a race of powerful half-men were another hazard. They were said to be entirely covered in thick hair, except on their forehead, and grew their fingernails long and sharp to skewer their prey. Surveyor Frederick Tuckett had hopes of catching a Maori near Tutarau in 1844 to exhibit in England.

Te Puoho's war party left the Kawarua Gorge and descended into the headwaters of the Nokomai. From there they travelled through the Mautara Gorge men would die at Tutarau —

It is believed that the Ruapeke men could only come up with three muskets among them. Nonetheless, they sailed for the mainland and a few days later had reached Tutarau.

One, it is said, had a premonition that only two men would die at Tutarau —

Te Puoho and another of the enemy.

At dawn, the southern men clambered onto a roof of one of the Tutarau huts, awakening Te Puoho. The chief was shot and killed, along with one of his men who rushed out towards the gate of the village.

Te Puoho's men surrendered and were taken back to work on Ruapeke Island. The Tutarau huts, made lapu by bloodshed, were set alight.

Approximately one hundred years later on December 4, 1837, celebrations were held to mark the raid.

HANDED OVER

Mr Weepu says somewhere between 3000 and 5000 people gathered at the site. Bands and a Maori concert party entertained and Maori representatives handed over the reserve to the Mautara Borough Council. A Maori meeting house had been erected on the land. The reserve was used as a memorial to the raid. The reserve was used as a meeting place for some time, but eventually the meeting house decayed and collapsed and the land became overgrown with gorse.

Mr Weepu says unemployed people were used to develop the reserve, but war intervened in 1889 and it eventually ended up in a "terrible" state.

The reserve was leased to a local farmer who, as a condition cleared the land.

The lease has concerned the Tutarau Trust Board but Mr Weepu says a meeting with the farmer on Wednesday night proved "cordial". Both parties had now reached "satisfactory positions".

Mr Weepu says Tutarau Trust Board members want to develop the reserve as a village by their

belies violent



THE Tutarau Reserve, as seen from the Mautara-Wanganui back road background at right is capped with Ruapeke granite and was unveiled when the land was vested in the Mautara Borough Council.

predecessors. The land would remain vested in the labour at the reserve.

"That was what was used back in 1837. The Government has always had subsidised labour."

Mr Weepu says the Trust Board has no money of its own but the council has a special fund of \$250 for maintenance of the reserve. Any grants or donations the Trust Board received would go to that account, he believes.

Another idea is to use periodic detention of Train-

Mr Weepu says a hangar could be put down and a Maori concert party. Mautara Killies Band and Gore Municipal Band (now the Town and Country Band) could all take part once again.

Once developed, the reserve would bring people off the main highway and through the town. Mr Weepu says.

FESTIVITIES
The members also want to arrange festivities for December 1987, 50 years

LAST ENGAGEMENT AT TUTURAU

HISTORIC SPOT BECOMES PUBLIC RESERVE

Beautiful weather ensured the success of the celebrations, the ceremonies taking place in brilliant sunshine. A big party of Bluff Maoris participated in the ceremonies and contributed an entertainment of Maori songs and dances.

PICTURESQUE MAORI
CEREMONY

MONUMENT UNVEILED BY
MINISTER

The Mayor of Matsugu (Mr. J. Buchanan) reviewed and shared with us also the details of the article, Minister of Native Affairs (the Hon. P. Langston), the Mayor of Iweragga (Mr. John Miller), the Mayor of Gove (Mr. A. T. Newman), the chairman of the Southland County Council (Mr. A. S. McNaught), Mr. John Tipler, secretary of the Gove Life W. N. Committee, secretary of the Takuu County Council, and the Takuu County Council.

Mr. Buchanan said he was sure the day would be a historical event in the history of Moriwhaka (Southland). He was pleased to welcome the Minister, who had come to the event of the conference to himself. The day was one of historic interest, not only for the natives, but for the pakeha. The hundred years ago in January the last fight occurred between the North and the South, and the day was a day of mourning for all nations, that the day

thus the Maoris lost a great deal of their morale, courage and enterprise. The white man had brought not only the Bible and the Prayer Book, but also, unfortunately, the "waspire." The Maoris proceeded to sell their lands and while they could live a life of indolence that was really foreign to them it was all right. But with the arrival of economic slumps their lack of initiative resulted in an intolerable position which grew steadily worse. It was something the white people could never be proud of.

DEVELOPMENT OF MAORI LANDS

Today new inspirations and new ideals are taking hold of the Maori and the pakeha peoples," Mr. Langstone continued. "The Maoris in the North Island still hold considerable areas of land and with scientific treatment, cultivation and development the land can be made fertile. We have established a Board of Native Affairs and we are getting the Maoris to hand the land over to this board. Today 100,000 acres

concentrate on the reserves that the should concentrate on the planting of native trees and shrubs on the property, so that at some future time it would become a wonderful scenic resort. As Minister in charge of State Forests he could promise that he would do his utmost to increase the number of the nurseries of his department made available for the Tutuuru reserve for the propagation of native trees. He was glad that the reserve was to be vested in the borough council, as this would make it possible to undertake control than a local body which provided continuity of activity. As the representative of the Government, along with the general public, he wished to express his thanks and gratitude to the native owners for their generous gift of the land for the reserve. It was his hope that the Tutuuru reserve would acquire a favourable reputation throughout New

NATIVE ELOQUENCE

GREETINGS FROM MAORI REPRESENTATIVES

Then followed the ceremonial presentation of the deeds of the property by Mr Patuki to the Mayor of Maitara. He addressed the gathering eloquently in his native tongue, Mr T. Spencer interpreting a speech notable for its picturesque Maori phraseology and rhetoric.

"Today a hundred years ago," he said, "we handed the Sydney Government our land at Sydney land values. A hundred years ago we were in the majority and you were in the minority. Today we are in the minority and you are in the majority, but for all that we are still brothers. A hundred years ago on this land of ours was a Maori township which was transferred from here to Blunke."

To those people who have come here this afternoon, Welcome! Greetings! We have come here today to look back on the history of the past and the rights of the Maori people on this reserve. We are here today to trust each other and remember what has happened in the past and look forward to the future. I am here today to present on behalf of myself and the Maori people that I am the Mayor of Manurewa as gift to be held in trust for all time. He and his Borough Council will look after this land for our children and our children's children for generations to come. I congratulate the Minister of Lands on behalf of the Maori race. He has given his word that he will protect the Maori people and their land for ever for £3,000,000. We are still waiting for it. If your word is your bond, then . . . (Laughter.)

"A hundred years ago, my grandfather signed the first treaty with the Sydney Government at Pahi, which brought us together as one united people. We must thank you and the Sydney Government for the art of gunnery and strategy and also for sailing on the West Coast. Through that and through our people we beat the North Island." He concluded by thanking the Centenary Committee for the monument it had erected and added that the name of the stone was "spirit and peace."

the Maori people would be an example to the pakehas and that they would live in peace for at least as long as the veil was unveiled.

The monument was then inscribed with the inscription:—

"The Last Fight between the North and South Island Maoris in which the southerners were victorious took place in this locality in December 1866."

The Maori party sang an appropriate song and then followed the signing of the visitors' book, in a canteen beneath the inscription, by the Minister, the native chief and the local body representatives.

After a short interval the show presented an entertainment of typical songs, hakas, and poi dances, pleasing the big crowd with a demonstration of native art seldom seen in Southland.

The final event on the day's programme was the ceremony of dedication of the Maori house. This was preceded by the singing of appropriate songs by the party of entertainers which was drawn up in front of the house. After representatives of the local bodies had spoken, the solemn dedication ceremony took place. The native chief, after a short speech in his native tongue, opened the door and the Maoris entered and sang a sad tribal song.

The Mayor of Invercargill said the reserve would stand as a memorial to the last of the antagonism between the North and the South Island Maori. He had no doubt that the Mataura Borough Council would look after it and see that it was administered in such a way that it would be useful to the people.

The chairman of the Southland County Council (Mr McNaught) and the Mayor of Gore (Mr Newman) also added their tributes, Mr Newman expressing the hope that the Maori people would make more frequent visits to the district.

Mr. Spencer, one of the Māori party, the interpreter, endorsed Mr. Patuki's remarks and expressed the hope that the reserve and monument would be regarded as an emblem of peace, concluding with the words "Kia Ora," which were echoed by the members of his party.

MAORI HOUSE DEDICATION

The ceremony of dedication was then performed by Mr Patuku. "On behalf of the Maoris who have come here, greetings to you all," he began. "Welcome to this meeting house of our ancestors. We are here and love one another in this place with the mountains surrounding us and where our ancestors were buried in the past. We are here today to praise our ancestors and I hope that in the next 100 years will strengthen the love and brotherhood. Kia Ora! The mountains of New Zealand welcome the mountains of England, Scotland and Ireland, and we are here today to honour and praise these mountains. The mountains take us today are our tombstones. We, the Maori race praise these mountains because they are our ancestors. We declare this meeting house open. Kia Ora."

The afternoon was spent by the spectators in inspecting all parts of the reserve and particularly the numerous native carvings. The crowd was dense for more than a small

A GENERAL V
BRATED ON S
the centena

CENTENARY
RIVERTO

DIRECTORS' MEETING

PLANS FOR CELEB DISCUSSED

A meeting of the directors of the Riverton center was held on Thursday. Mr. Thomas Borland presided. The following members:—Messrs. John Crawford, E. H. van, R. Dickson, F. Conn, A. C. Spear, D. C. Robertson, M. M. and A. McNaughton, and

The official secretary to the Viscount and I wrote advising that although the Viscount appreciated the fact that he would not be present at the celebrations, they regretted that it was impossible for them to do otherwise. They were already committed to other engagements in Auckland on that day.

The Prime Minister (Mr. J. Savage) also expressed an invitation to be present at the celebrations, and advised that he was committed to engagement, and regretted that he was unable to attend. He assured the Minister that he would inquire of his colleagues in the Government at the office and extended his best wishes for the success of the centenary.

the chairman of the Southland County Council (Mr A. S. McNaught), Mr John Topi Patuki, of Ruapuke, Mr W. N. Dunnage, secretary of the Tairāwhiti Centenary Committee, and the Maori party.

Mr Buchanan said he was sure the day would be a historical event in the history of Murihiku (Southland). He was pleased to welcome the Minister, who had come at a certain amount of inconvenience to himself. The occasion was one of historic interest, not only for the natives, but for the pakehas. One hundred years ago in January the last fight occurred between the North and South Island Maoris. It was a matter for satisfaction that this had been the last fight, and it was to be hoped that the white people would emulate that example and live in peace so that one day a similar centenary might be celebrated. He extended a special welcome to "King" Topi, of Ruapuke, and his followers who had journeyed with him that day. Mr Topi was at one time a member of the Legislative Council and had taken a keen interest in the politics of New Zealand. Mr Buchanan welcomed also the local body representatives and thanked them for their sympathetic interest in the celebrations. He made special reference to the assistance given by the Southland County Council in preparing the roads and supplying the stone for the monument. He then detailed the events leading up to the acquisition of the reserve as a memorial to be vested in the borough of Mataura. It would, he added, take years to develop the reserve into a national park, but they would nevertheless make progress. It would undoubtedly be a great asset to Mataura for all time. One great drawback in Mataura previously had been that no provision had been made for picnic and sports grounds for the many industrial workers, and the new reserve would fill a long-felt need for both Mataura and Wyndham.

The Minister expressed his pleasure at meeting the representatives of the local bodies. "To the Ngaitahu people, greetings and salutations," he said. After drawing attention to the significance and historical interest of the occasion, which marked the last conflict between the Maoris of the North and South Islands, Mr Langstone said he did not think many serious conflicts took place among the Maoris until the blunderbuss and gunpowder were introduced by the pakeha. It was the pakeha guns and gunpowder that gave Te Ruaparaha his blood lust. Closely allied to him was Te Puaho who had come with him from the North Island and settled at Whakapauka in the Nelson district. This exploit of Te Puaho in coming south to fight the southern Maoris had given rise to a long and involved lawsuit over land in the Whakapauka district, which by a strange coincidence had only just been settled.

TREATY OF WAITANGI

"This meeting takes our minds back a hundred years to the Maori of that day—a man of the stone age," the Minister said. "He knew nothing of implements and tools until the pakeha came and tried to superimpose European or British civilization upon him, and as a result many unpleasant things have taken place. Misunderstanding and a good deal of ill-will resulted. Right down to the present day there have been difficulties because of the fear and suspicion that lurked in the mind of the Maori—all because of the pakeha. The Treaty of Waitangi was the salvation of the Maori people, for it meant not conquest, but an agreement. The Maoris agreed to hand New Zealand over to the British Queen, and for doing that they were instantly made British citizens and given the protection that is the due of every British citizen. The Maori has the power and might of Britain behind him. The treaty conserved to the Maori all his land. Even after the treaty, however, a lot of the land dealings were not honourable ones, but nevertheless it had to be shown that the Maori had been in proper order and that the Maori had been paid value for it."

The Maoris were a hard-working, industrious people who, with primitive implements, showed evidence of magnificent intelligence and high development in arts and crafts. The canoe was their means of getting a livelihood and the rivers and forests were teeming with life providing all the food they required. The Maori never had to starve, but when the pakeha came there was no longer need to weave garments from flax. He bought pakeha clothes and gradually had to receive money, and

be made fertile. We have established a Board of Native Affairs and we are getting the Maoris to hand the land over to this board. Today 700,000 acres of

land have been handed over and of them 200,000 acres are actually being developed. I can show you what is being done to regenerate this noble race of people of which we are the guardians. Today we have about 5000 Maoris working on these schemes. We have some Maori farmers who are a real credit to farming. We have 24,000 sheep on this land and 28,000 dairy cows, and I may say that the cleanest shed I have seen in my life was in a Maori dairy."

The Minister expressed a wish that instead of Greek and Latin the Maori language, which had a most harmonious quality, should be taught in the schools. A great deal of Maori arts and crafts had been lost, he said, but the Maori Arts and Crafts Board was trying to rehabilitate their arts and crafts.

The year 1940, he added, would see the hundredth birthday of the New Zealand nation, and he had asked Sir Apirana Ngata and other Maoris to try to gather the threads of Maori legends and stories so that they would not be lost to posterity. This reserve contained 40 acres of which 32 acres had been given by the Ngaitahu. He was glad to see the flax spreading on it, and he was pleased to see the regeneration of their native flora. If they so desired he would see if next year he could obtain some seeds for planting among the flax, which would provide an ideal shelter for seedlings. Puni, madi, and totara should flourish there.

The Maori had reason, perhaps, to be suspicious, the Minister said, but he was becoming more confident. Rather than take anything from the Maori the Government would give, but it would prefer to see him by his own efforts and labours make his own way. It was a question of giving the necessary opportunity and instruction so as to bring him a step nearer what he should be.

The Minister next remarked on the great contrast of his own fast journey by aeroplane from Wellington that morning, an actual flying time of four and a-half hours, with the weeks and months of arduous climbing and tramping over the mountains and rivers of the West Coast and the Hauraki Gulf. Te Puaho and his intrepid raiding party, who also faced additional dangers from bad food and water. Flying over roads, railways and harbours and the combined activities of the people of today, he had thought in retrospect of the hardships which the pioneers had experienced. He was pleased to see that native flax was flourishing on the reserve and he suggested to those in

energetic and enthusiastic work of the secretary of the Centenary Committee (Mr Dunnage). He said that the committee was indebted to him for his fine organization work and the Maori people felt that it was only right that some presentation should be made to him.

One of the Maori women then fastened a Maori mat around Mr Dunnage's waist.

Mr D. McDougall, M.P., was the last speaker at this stage of the ceremony. He thanked the Minister for his speech and congratulated the committee on the work it had done. He concluded with the hope that Maori and pakeha would continue to live in peace and comfort.

UNVEILING CEREMONY

The visitors then climbed the hill to the stone monument for the unveiling ceremony. In a brief speech, the Minister congratulated the committee on its choice of monument and said he was particularly pleased to learn that local materials had been used and that the work had been done by local workmen. He reiterated his expressions of hope that the hundred years of peace among

and the Maori house with its elaborate native carvings. The crowd was too dense for more than a small section to

ments in Auckland.

The Prime Minister (Mr J. Savage) also an invitation to celebrations, an committed to it and regretted able to attend. I tee that he wou of his colleague Government at and extended h success of the

The Minister (Mr W. E. Paring his apprecia tended to him a notify the cen engagements wouk the celebrations.

Discussing the said it was reg Lady Galway ar were unable to torate was please assurance that he of the Ministers

It was reporte scheme had bee distribution of th which were find

Mr Girvan ren of the 5th South Boys' Brigade ha boys to act as celebrations. The would be, not or but to see that t station.

It was unanim the boys chosen i the celebrations official banneret wear special badg official guides

The secretary socially and finan cert presented by party and assiste and party, was at The total takings from which a net suited.

It was unanim letter of thanks sent to Messrs P their norties for t 'hev had so willie

Messrs Girvan a ed that they had i a children's tea celebrations.

Mr Girvan was with the matter.

Pipe Band I A letter received Pipe Band indicat hold a pipe band recreation ground Sunday, January 2

Referring to the stated that local ceipt of this infor objected to a pipe being held on a Su is being extensive today" continued I do not desire to gradation of the especially upon th when we are com of those early pio



SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF THE PROCEEDINGS.—Left, Mr John Topi Patuki, holding the deeds of the reserve which he handed over to the Mayor of Mataura (Mr J. Buchanan), addressing the crowd through an interpreter (Mr T. Spencer). Right, the acting Minister of Native Affairs (the Hon. F. Langstone) signing the visitors' book after unveiling the monument.

The Gore Municipal Brass Band and the Mataura Pipe Band played selections during the afternoon.

The celebrations concluded with a dance at Mataura on Saturday night.

THERE IS ONLY ONE

"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.
"MARSHALL'S" the only Fothergill.



MAORI ENTERTAINERS DELIGHT THE CROWD WITH A HAKA.—A feature of the celebrations was the native songs and dances performed by the party of Maoris from