Kāi Tahu Cultural Narrative
for the

New Dunedin Hospital

Whakatuputupu

“These are the things which constitute the great payment for your lands”

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01.
Foreword

> *We have not been pleased with Captain Cargill, with McAndrew's set, with all the men of Scotland. Though seven years have passed they do not know anything of us, nothing at all of the Maori from Murihiku to Waitaki. There is but one white man whose house we enter, the Magistrate Chetham (Strode) is the only one, he speaks to us and we speak to him.*

Matiaha Tiramorehu, 1855.

Introduction

In the preface to his *A History of Otago*, published in 1984, historian Erik Olssen opened with the following sentence: "In Otago there were few forests and few Maoris. The [colonial] occupation was peaceful."[1] He therefore asserted that the region differs from other parts of New Zealand. Putting aside the question of whether the absence of interracial warfare is sufficient grounds for proclaiming the absence of colonial violence, the book's structure undoes Olssen's claim of distinctiveness. As with historians of New Zealand before and since, the book begins "with a chapter or two on the Māori history of the area, from earliest occupation through to European settlement" and then effectively writes Kāi Tahu communities out of the chronology.[2]

The inclination and capacity to do this – to make mana whenua invisible in histories of the Araiteuru region – is part of a broader pattern apparent throughout New Zealand, and indeed the Anglo-settler world.[3] In other words, Olssen confirms the typically settler-colonial nature of Otago. However, while colonisation certainly pushed generations of Kāi Tahu to the margins of Otago, as Olssen himself recognised, we were not, to paraphrase Bill Dacker, pushed out of that history. Despite ongoing declarations and wishes of many Pākehā to the contrary, we have not "died out", "melted away" or otherwise disappeared.

> *...though 165 years have passed, Pākehā, still know very little of Kāi Tahu from Murihiku to the Waitaki.*

This report therefore rejects Olssen's assessment and approach, which continues to pervade academia and the administrative state alike. Instead, this report belongs to a movement of politically-informed scholarship that highlights the intergenerational determination of Māori to hold on to property and culture in the face of landlessness, poverty, disease, and a settler majority-culture that oscillates between indifference and hostility towards mana whenua groups. The determination to which I refer, through which Māori are rightly seen as "adaptive and...influential survivors, rather than perpetual victims" shapes contemporary Kāi Tahu aspirations for the Otago region, including its built environments and key infrastructure.[4] This is especially true of the New Dunedin Hospital (NDH) project.

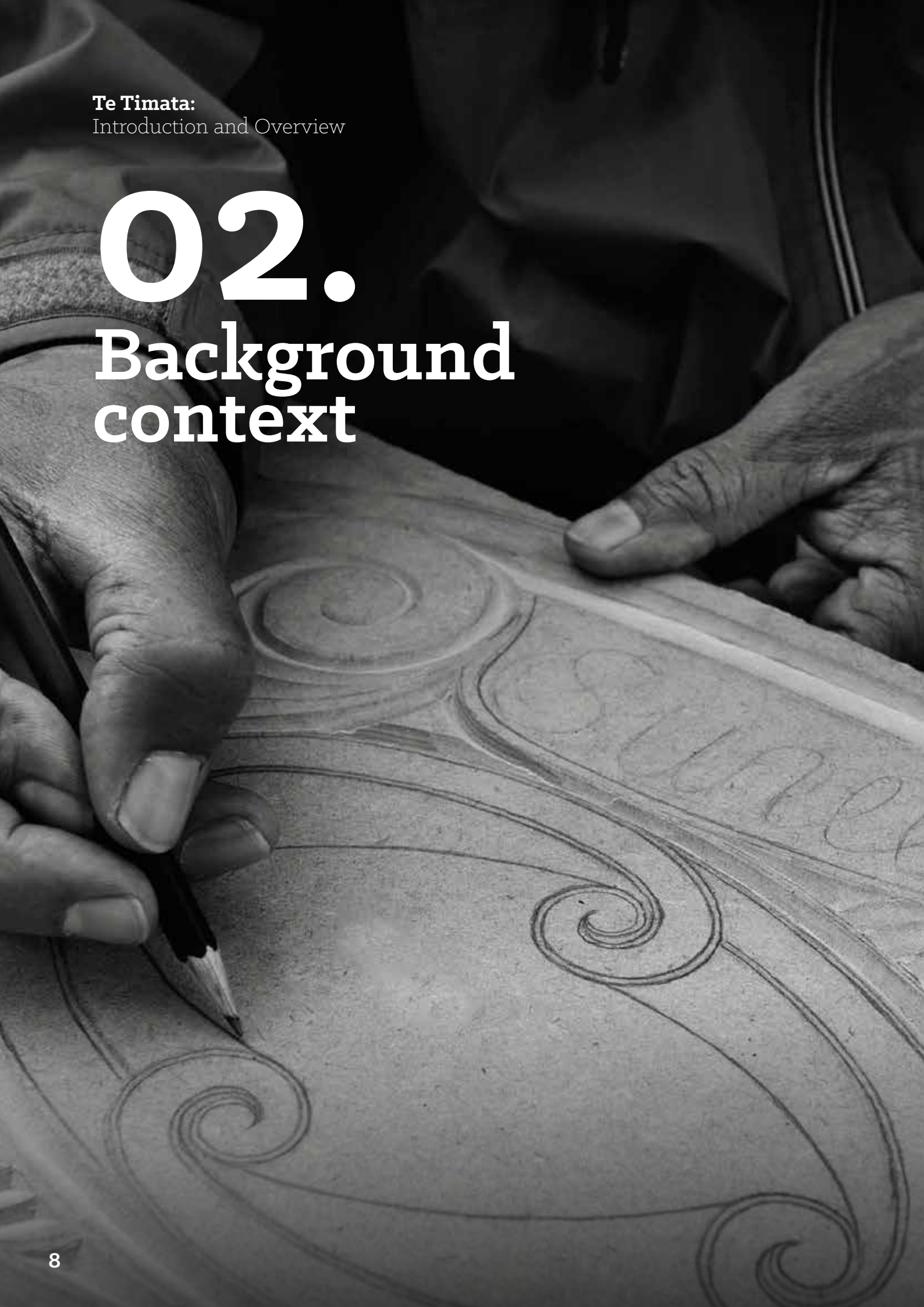
Recent mana whenua experience in parallel developments in Dunedin and the wider Otago region suggest that those tasked with the NDH project will be largely ignorant of the Kāi Tahu past and present and unconvinced of their relevance. To borrow from the epigraph above, a comment from the Moeraki-based rakatira Tiramōrehu, though 165 years have passed, Pākehā, still know very little of Kāi Tahu from Murihiku to the Waitaki. This report is assembled on that premise. However, it is simultaneously motivated by hope and the prospect of someone whose better angels resemble Strode's. In short, we look forward to meeting someone who speaks to us and to whom we can speak.

Still lost in the "white tide"?

The situation Tiramōrehu described in 1850s Dunedin also describes Kāi Tahu experiences in and near Christchurch. A century later, things had only worsened. Accordingly, the ethnographer Herries Beattie could write in 1954 about the popular belief that Kāi Tahu whānau and communities had been "lost in the inflowing white tide" of nineteenth century colonial settlement. However, he pointed out there were in fact places "that sheltered the Natives" where they "preserved their racial identity" and lived "quiet lives…little noticed by the newspapers or the public."[5] He was referring to a network of coastal settlements, which, in Otago, include Moeraki, Puketeraki, and Ōtākou: all so-called Native Reserves.

The people and lives lived in these places were often quite unknown to people and lives lived in Dunedin itself. However, the Native Reserves were not self-enclosed Kāi Tahu islands. The individuals and whānau who lived on or near them – and continue to do so – have visited Dunedin for employment and enjoyment, and for educational needs and medical assistance, since 1848. Several Kāi Tahu have also lived in or near Dunedin since that time, albeit often precariously – and almost invisibly. The NDH project is a rare opportunity to shed light on this history, but more crucially, to learn from it and build a more inclusive facility than the existing hospital and its predecessors allowed for. That is one of this report's primary motivations. And, from the vantage of mana whenua, it ought to be one of the Ministry of Health's core considerations in designing, building and operating the NDH.

02.
Background context



Introduction

> *We welcome the commercial opportunities this massive building project will bring to the region and seek to directly benefit from them. However, and more crucially, we also want a facility and a workforce that thoughtfully responds to mana whenua visions of the past and future.*

In 1992, a year after the Waitangi Tribunal released the first of its three reports into Te Kerēme, the Ngāi Tahu Claim, the then chair of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, Tipene O'Regan, proffered the above words. In so doing, he made it clear that resolution of historic Kāi Tahu grievances was not simply a matter of financial restitution. While collective recapitalisation was of course necessary, Kāi Tahu also sought an undoing of the process by which we were made strangers and trespassers in Te Waipounamu, as occurred in Dunedin.

Nearly two decades later, O'Regan's statement captures the aspirations mana whenua have for the NDH project. We welcome the commercial opportunities this massive building project will bring to the region and seek to directly benefit from them. However, and more crucially, we also want a facility and a workforce that thoughtfully responds to mana whenua visions of the past and future. Put differently, if those tasked with the NDH build a hospital one could effectively find in any contemporary settler-colonial society and simply tack on some decorative Māori art and bilingual signage, then they have either misunderstood or decided to reject mana whenua aspirations. More to the point, if that approach and those outcomes were ever acceptable, they no longer are. That being so, a different kind of building, which is what we seek, will require a different kind process.

That different process includes, but is by no means limited to, this cultural narrative. For that reason, this narrative is intentionally non-exhaustive; it is neither the total input nor final word that mana whenua seek to have on the NDH project. NDH project managers therefore need to understand that this report is simply beginning a conversation; a conversation without end. In part, this recognises the nature of large infrastructure projects. For example, it is reasonable for Aukaha to expect an ongoing role for mandated mana whenua to further supply, interpret and implement Kāi Tahu history and culture in the NDH design as it is progressively refined. However, our desire for an ongoing role is based primarily on our mana whenua status. Unlike, Olssen's book – and parallel approaches that attempt to make us invisible – we will not accept being written out of the script. Again, if that was ever acceptable, it no longer is.

> *...we seek to avoid a continuation of the worst parts of that history: namely, the active obstruction of a collective Kāi Tahu presence in and around Dunedin*

Mana whenua and the NDH: first principles

Mana whenua, led by Aukaha Limited, are deeply invested in the NDH project. This interest is driven by two key factors: the NDH's location and its function. Aukaha is therefore hopeful that the NDH, though ultimately a utilitarian facility, can thoughtfully reflect Kāi Tahu history before and since 1848, especially as it relates to the upper harbour area. By such means, we seek to avoid a continuation of the worst parts of that history: namely, the active obstruction of a collective Kāi Tahu presence in and around Dunedin – and consequent Māori health inequities that continue to burden Māori lives and households in southern Te Waipounamu.

Information the Ministry of Health sought from Aukaha

The Ministry of Health commissioned this report to "inform and guide the design aesthetic, environmental performance and user functionality of the new Dunedin Hospital." Borrowing from processes and terminology that developed out of Kāi Tahu involvement in the post-quake redevelopment of the Christchurch, especially its central business district, this report is described as a cultural narrative. As such, the report outlines Kāi Tahu history and values relevant to the NDH. It also contains a number of attendant recommendations. The Ministry's request was that the narrative, values and recommendations speak to the NDH's proposed:

1. **Site and surroundings**
2. **Building design**
3. **Building performance and standards, including environmental values**
4. **Green and public spaces**

To begin the process of responding to these four areas, I have drawn on a range of historical sources, both primary and secondary. Taken together, these outline some key Kāi Tahu experiences and associations with Otago Harbour and surrounding landscapes prior to and since 1848. By such means, light is also shed on Kāi Tahu health and access to state health services since the mid-nineteenth century.[6]

At this point, Aukaha requires the Ministry of Health (MoH) to understand something absolutely pivotal to Kāi Tahu input in the NDH project. Although involvement in the development and eventual operation of the NDH does not constitute formal restitution of Te Kerēme, mana whenua understand it and frame it in that context – which explains this report's main title. As the Waitangi Tribunal summarised in 1991 when it first reported on Te Kerēme: "Ngai Tahu grievances… are directed at the Crown's failure to keep its promises, its failure to provide the reserves, the food resources *and the health*, educational and land endowments that were needed to give Ngai Tahu a stake in the new economy (emphasis added)."[7] This may unsettle the MoH and the NDH's Pākehā project leaders. As Alan Ward noted in 1973 whilst arguing for greater Māori inclusion in political and administrative processes, "Pakeha fears and prejudices are certainly likely to be inflamed, as they were in the nineteenth century, by marked departures from general New Zealand norms." However, "the threat of Pakeha ill-temper should not be made grounds by government for denying reasonable claims, reasonably argued, for variations to the norm."[8] Nearly four decades later, we wholeheartedly endorse those words.[9]

Tāhuhu Kōrero:
Historical Narrative

03.
Kāi Tahu te iwi e!

Introduction

“Key to this entanglement were a series of strategic marriages and trade and exchange systems that bound widely dispersed families and communities together and continue to do so.”

The iwi of Kāi Tahu (also spelt Ngāi Tahu) is the collective of individuals who descend from three distinct but now genealogically inseparable groups: Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Ngāi Tahu. These names encompass the waves of people who migrated to Te Waipounamu prior to sustained European contact with the New Zealand archipelago, and who were woven together into a discernible whole by the late eighteenth century. Key to this entanglement were a series of strategic marriages and trade and exchange systems that bound widely dispersed families and communities together and continue to do so.

In the early nineteenth century, these people – who were beginning to call themselves Kāi Tahu in active acknowledgement of common descent lines and shared heritage – were clustered in regional centres throughout the South Island, especially on its eastern and southern coasts. Materially and economically disadvantaged by British colonisation from the mid-nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of individual Kāi Tahu were officially described as “landless” in the early twentieth century. Generations of Kāi Tahu leaders and entities called on the colonial state to rectify this situation for nearly 150 years, from 1848 until the passage of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act in 1998. This Treaty of Waitangi-based resolution restored a collective Kāi Tahu economic base that is held and managed by a tribal governance entity, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (hereafter TRoNT).

TRoNT has been the mandated collective voice of Kāi Tahu since 1996 when it was created by private statute to replace Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board that had operated for 50 years but was not fit for purpose. With an asset base of over $1.5b, TRoNT is an important part of the South Island economy and has commercial interests in tourism, seafood, property and farming. Over the last 20 years it has also invested over $400m in social development. Though based in Christchurch, TRoNT is made up of 18 marae-based papatipu rūnanga and eight of these are situated south of the Waitaki River. This speaks to the historical and contemporary importance of the southern South Island in Kāi Tahu life and culture: things that have shown remarkable endurance in the face of intergenerational indifference and sometimes overt hostility by New Zealand’s settler majority culture.

Waitaha and Kāti Mamoe

Waitaha specifically refers to descendants of Rākaihautu, but can also be used to include the Hawea and Te Rapuwai people, all of whom are some of the first people to have lived in Te Waipounamu. Many Waitaha place names, creation stories and art works are still with us as cultural components of present-day Kāi Tahu.

Kāti Mamoe (also known as Ngāti Mamoe) were descendants of a chiefly woman from the east coast of Te Ika a Maui who migrated to its south coast near present-day Wellington. Some of these people subsequently crossed Raukawa Moana and established themselves in Te Waipounamu. This pattern was repeated by Ngāti Kuri and Ngāi Tūhaitara, two branches of what is retrospectively called Ngāi Tahu: descendants of Tahupōtiki, a close relative of Porourangi who is the founding ancestor of Ngāti Porou.[10] Ngāi Tahu coalesced around five primary hapū: Ngāti Kuri, Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Huirapa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki.

As they made a new home in Te Waipounamu, Kāti Mamoe groups extended their mana over pre-existing Waitaha communities through warfare, diplomacy and marriage. Ngāi Tahu groups, often existing in tension with one another as well as with resident Kāti Mamoe groups, subsequently did the same thing.

Ngāi Tahu

Kāti Mamoe authority at Kaikoura was ritualistically broken when the Ngāti Kuri chief Maru Kaitatea ate food from a sacred pōhā named Tohu Raumati. He thereafter established his people at Kaikoura where they continue to live. Kāti Mamoe authority then retreated in a southerly direction. In time, irreversibly so. As well as Maru, another important Ngāi Tahu ancestor was Tūāhuriri, whose youngest son, Moki, also led a substantial heke across Raukawa Moana into Te Waipounamu. This resulted in another son, Tūrākautahi, establishing his people at Kaiapoi and building a major pā there. Other chiefs associated with this Ngāi Tūhaitara migration fanned out across the Horomaka region: Te Rakiwhakaputa established a community at Rapaki, Mako did the same at Wairewa and Te Ruahikihiki at Taumutu. Descendants of these people continue to maintain ahi kā in each of these locales.

Rokopai and Tākata Pora

By the late eighteenth century, amidst ongoing tension between Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu collectives, key figures brokered a peace agreement and series of high-ranking marriages referred to as Rokopai.[11] The first marriage was between the Kāti Mamoe chief, Te Rakiihia, and Hinehākiri, a cousin of Te Hautapunuiotu, who was a high-ranking Ngāi Tahu chief. Kohuwai, who was a mokopuna of Te Rakiihia, then married Honekai, a son of Te Hautapunuiotu. The latter couple had two children: a son, Te Whakataupuka, and a daughter, Kura. By such means, peace began to prevail in Murihiku and Ngāi Tahu authority continued to move south. But in so doing, Ngāi Tahu became Kāi Tahu. In other words, just as aspects of Waitaha culture persisted through marriage with Kāti Mamoe groups, developing Mamoe traditions – some of them linguistic – were likewise preserved in the southern South Island through the Rokopai framework.

It was probably Honekai who moved Kāi Tahu groups to Ruapuke Island, east of Awarua (Bluff), by 1820. This enabled systematic engagement with tākata pora: sealers and sailors from all corners of the world who initially emanated out of New South Wales and increasingly visited southern Murihiku and Rakiura. Note that Kāi Tahu did not refer to such newcomers as Pākehā until the late nineteenth century. Among other new plants, animals and materials, tākata pora introduced white potatoes to Murihiku and this brought the region into a horticultural framework for the first time. Te Whakataupuka extended his father's work by enabling sealers and Kāi Tahu women to establish a community at Whenua Hou, an island west of Rakiura. These relationships, many of which were later formalised in Christian marriage, produced large families that many present-day Kāi Tahu people descend from.

Measles and Muskets

Te Whakataupuka also sanctioned the establishment of a shore-whaling station at Preservation Inlet from 1829 by Sydney-based merchants before falling prey to a measles epidemic that hit Murihiku in 1835. In common with Māori historical experience generally, measles, and other introduced diseases such as influenza, and especially tuberculosis, subsequently killed many Kāi Tahu individuals and even whole families well into the twentieth century. However, the 1835 measles epidemic did not deter Kāi Tahu individuals from continuing to visit Poihākena – Port Jackson (Sydney) or Poi Piripi – Port Philip (Melbourne) to enhance their personal mana. This was often tied to defending the Kāi Tahu realm during the so-called Musket Wars, which played out across the entire New Zealand archipelago until the late 1830s. For Kāi Tahu, this meant absorbing and responding to deadly raids by musket-wielding Ngāti Toa and allied tribes from the Kāpiti region led primarily by the chief Te Rauparaha. This existential threat, which led to the destruction of Kāi Tahu settlements at Kaikoura in 1827-28, Akaroa in 1830 and Kaiapoi Pā in 1831-32, was a key driver for Kāi Tahu to think and act at a recognisably iwi-level, possibly for the first time.

Southern Kāi Tahu, led especially by chiefs from Ruapuke, Ōtākou and Puketeraki, responded to Ngāti Toa with a series of successful counter-attacks. They did this armed with muskets, cannons and whale-boats acquired through sustained engagement with shore-whalers and other traders. The last major battle occurred in December 1836 after Te Puoho of Ngāti Tama and a group of warriors travelled down the less populated west coast of Te Waipounamu. This was part of an audacious plan to capture the Ruapuke stronghold. An offshoot of Ngāi Tahu from Kaiapoi, Ngāti Waewae, who held mana over Te Tai Poutini since defeating Ngāti Wairangi in the early nineteenth century, were unable to prevent the Te Puoho-led invasion from making their way south. It was not until the taua captured a Kāi Tahu kaika at Tuturau on the banks of the Mataura River, a proverbial stone's throw from Ruapuke, that southern Kāi Tahu became aware of the threat. A successful pre-emptive strike was quickly launched in which Te Puoho was killed, his followers taken prisoner, and Kāi Tahu captives released. Three years later, Kāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa leaders formalised peace with one another as each group grappled with enormous challenges flowing from imperial Britain's growing role in the islands of New Zealand.

> *"In common with Māori historical experience generally, measles, and other introduced diseases such as influenza, and especially tuberculosis, subsequently killed many Kāi Tahu individuals and even whole families well into the twentieth century."*

Colonial settlement

A copy of the treaty first signed at Waitangi in February 1840 was signed by Kāi Tahu representatives in three locations in mid-1840: at Akaroa, off Ruapuke Island and at Ōtākou. Colonial settlement proceeded in Kāi Tahu territory from 1848 when the Scottish Free Church settlement of Dunedin was established at the top of Otago Harbour. This followed the Otakou Purchase negotiated four years earlier, which was the first of essentially eight large land purchases that took place within the Kāi Tahu takiwā between 1844 and 1864. By such means, the colonial government extinguished Kāi Tahu property rights in exchange for a combination of money, reserved lands, and, in some instances, specific protection of mahika kai (traditional food sources).

Quickly outnumbered by colonists, especially in Christchurch which was established in 1850, and Dunedin following the 1860s gold-rush, reserves set aside for Kāi Tahu were generally inadequate in size and quality. Some were simply never set aside at all. Most of the reserves that were set aside, nominally in perpetuity, were then subsequently eroded by the Native Land Court, the Māori Trustee and various Public Works Acts. Consequently, by 1890 it was found that 46% of Kāi Tahu had an insufficient amount of land for economic survival while 44% had none whatsoever. In other words, 90% of Kāi Tahu were considered landless before the close of the nineteenth century.[12] Economic marginalisation and poverty therefore substantially defined the colonial encounter, and even much of the twentieth century, for most Kāi Tahu families and villages. Recalling an exasperated kaumātua, Hoani Uru, in 1891, Ngāi Tahu historian Te Maire Tau writes that Uru had "seen Ngāi Tahu stripped of its resources, ignored by the new political order of the Pākehā, and worse, ridiculed."[13]

This situation would simply seem to prove the adage that might is right. However, Kāi Tahu landlessness had two ideological bases. The first was that colonists – and thus the colonial state – did not recognise traditional mahika kai practices as establishing property rights. These interests were therefore rarely protected.[14] The second reason was "racial amalgamation," an objective that actively informed government policy in New Zealand from the 1840s until the early 1970s.[15] This assumed that Māori individuals, especially those who had a non-Māori parent (as was common throughout Kāi Tahu by the late nineteenth century), would and should melt into colonial society – aided by exclusively English language-based Native Schools from 1867. By this logic, Kāi Tahu would eventually cease to exist as a distinct people and the state would therefore no longer owe it contractual obligations. This background helps to explain why, until recent decades, the New Zealand Government and wider Pākehā power-culture has ritually denied a collective Kāi Tahu existence and many New Zealanders still struggle with this concept.[16]

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Te Kerēme

After nearly a century of petitions and commissions of enquiry, the bundle of Kāi Tahu grievances referred to as Te Kerēme – a transliteration of 'The Claim' – were lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986. This occurred after the government granted the Tribunal powers to investigate historical breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi back to 1840. After years of detailed historical investigations, the Tribunal published three reports between 1991 and 1995. These found the Crown acted fraudulently and unconscionably towards Kāi Tahu and in repeated breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The New Zealand Government accepted the Tribunal's findings and Kāi Tahu representatives, led by Sir Tipene O'Regan, entered into difficult negotiations to work out a mutually acceptable compensation package. This was outlined in a Deed of Settlement that tribal representatives and representatives of the New Zealand Government signed on Takahanga Pā, Kaikoura, in 1997. This agreement was given effect to by legislation a year later and provides the economic foundation for contemporary Kāi Tahu leaders to dream and fashion better futures for tribal members – and do so in ways that perpetuate, revitalise and celebrate Kāi Tahu history and culture.

Tāhuhu Kōrero:
Historical Narrative

04.
Kāi Tahu me Ōtepoti

Introduction

From a Kāi Tahu vantage, the NDH site is a window into the harsh realities of Dunedin's colonial settlement. Put differently, the post-1848 history of this general area illustrates the process by which nineteenth century Kāi Tahu became strangers and trespassers in their own lands: a process that happened remarkably quickly.

"New comrades"?

In 1848 local Kāi Tahu boat crews helped pilot British immigrant ships into Otago Harbour. These people taught colonists how to fish, ferried their families and goods from Koputai to Ōtepoti, and assisted colonists with their first buildings. As Thomas Hocken wrote, "The Maoris helped their new comrades with all the good humour of the race; indeed their assistance was invaluable in the erection of these primitive dwellings."[17] However, as occurred with Māori in other parts of New Zealand – and indeed indigenous people throughout the Anglo-settler world – as soon as colonists were independent of Kāi Tahu, the former looked upon the latter with a mixture of indifference and contempt. This occurred as early as 1851 when colonial authorities physically removed Kāi Tahu from a favoured campsite in Rattray Street; an evening of haka apparently being the final straw.[18]

The seeds of this situation were sown in 1844 when colonial officials rejected attempts by Kāi Tahu leaders to secure boat landings and adjacent reserves in the upper harbour. This was despite colonial officials noting longstanding Māori occupation and use of this area.[19] Undeterred, Kāi Tahu continued to lobby Crown officials for land in the upper harbour after 1848 and central government granted a Māori reserve on Dunedin's foreshore in 1852. Otago's provincial council bitterly opposed this course of action and worked hard to overturn it. This was achieved in 1866 when the government re-vested the reserve in the council, effectively ending collective Kāi Tahu land ownership within Dunedin city.[20]

Central government also intervened in the late 1850s to erect a residence for Kāi Tahu visiting Dunedin after the provincial council consistently failed to do so. Until then, men and women, young and old, mainly from Ōtākou, were reduced to sleeping under upturned boats, even in the depths of winter with snow on the ground.[21] Built on council-owned land at the foot of High Street, this modest "Native Hostelry" was completed in early 1860 and became a popular marketplace. It was here that Kāi Tahu groups continued to sell fish and potatoes to colonists in mutually beneficial exchanges. However, the building was literally buried and then dismantled a mere five years later as Prince Street was backfilled and widened during the gold-rush.[22] Promises of a replacement facility were not honoured.[23] As one historian recently put it, "Ōtākou Māori…effectively lost access to the Dunedin market, just as it boomed."[24]

“This reclamation negatively impacted upon the ecology of Otago Harbour, which is a key mahika kai for Kāi Tahu. In addition, the harbour’s fish and shellfish also came under huge pressure as colonists began commercial fishing.”

The process of land reclamation that consumed the Native Hostelry, especially after Bell Hill was quarried and spread out over the adjoining foreshore, continued in patchworked fits and bursts in the upper harbour over the following hundred years. This land was given over to mainly industrial uses, including the former Cadbury’s site which is at the heart of the NDH. This reclamation negatively impacted upon the ecology of Otago Harbour, which is a key mahika kai for Kāi Tahu. In addition, the harbour’s fish and shellfish also came under huge pressure as colonists began commercial fishing. By 1876, for example, 16 boats and 40 men worked the inner harbour alone.[25] This overfishing undermined traditional Kāi Tahu reliance on maritime resources,[26] but did so precisely as colonial settlement severely restricted access to land-based mahika kai. As a government commissioner wrote in 1891:

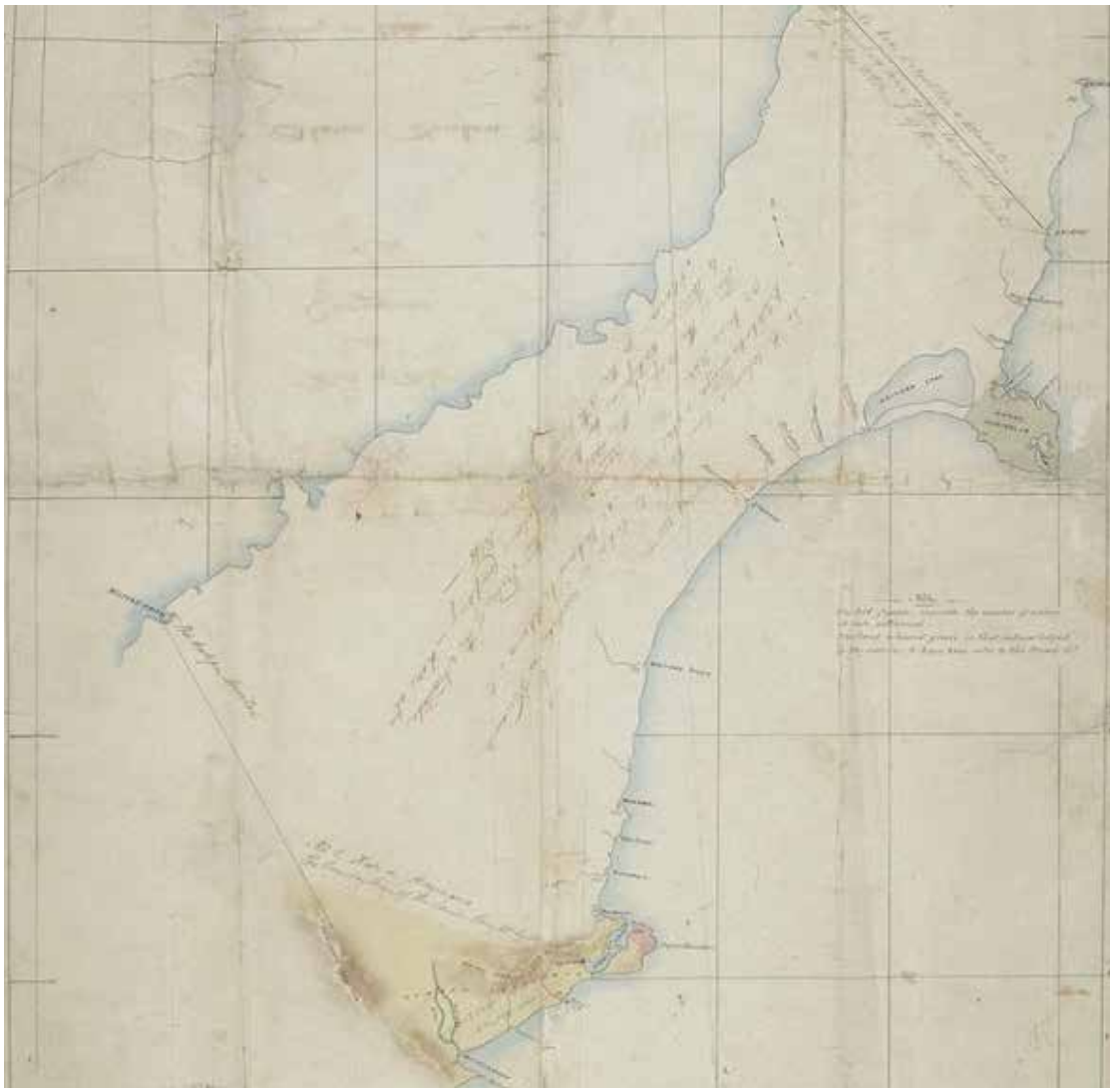
> *In olden times, before the advent of the Europeans and the settlement of the country, [Kāi Tahu] were at liberty to go at will in search of food, but now, should they chance to go fishing or bird-catching in any locality where they have no reserve, they are frequently ordered off by the settlers.*[27]

In summary, for mana whenua, colonial land loss and the attendant erosion of political power and mahika kai, which began in 1848, are all observable at and from the NDH site. While these are undeniably difficult aspects of Dunedin’s past, this history also shows that our tīpuna were determined and resilient. Aukaha believes that the NDH project presents multiple opportunities to creatively reflect that tenacity.

"Schools and hospitals"

As mentioned above, the colonial state purchased land from Kāi Tahu in essentially eight large transactions.[28] The biggest of these, by a huge margin, was Kemp's Deed, which was hurriedly and haphazardly undertaken in mid-1848. This covers the bulk of Te Waipounamu, including most of present-day Canterbury and Otago. During negotiations for this block, and so too the later Murihiku Deed in 1853, government agents repeatedly held out the promise of schools and hospitals to Kāi Tahu communities as part payment for tribal lands. Indeed, a government agent involved in both transactions later attested that:

> *[I]n making purchases from the natives I ever represented to them that though the money payment might be small, their chief recompense would lie in the kindness of the Govt. towards them, the erection & maintenance of schools & hospitals for their benefit.*[29]



"These "promises" of schools and hospitals, in his words, were "of great use" in breaking "down their strong and most justifiable opposition…and in facilitating the acquisition of…lands …nearly as large as England."

This official thought regional hospitals should be established and made available to Kāi Tahu communities and individuals. He further thought these facilities would be supplemented by roaming medical attendants who would visit Kāi Tahu villages. In 1856, he confirmed in a letter to Tiramōrehu that "These are the things which constitute the great payment for your lands," from which this report takes its title. The Ōtākou-based chief, Te Matenga Taiaroa confirmed that during land purchase negotiations "there were other words referring to schools [and] hospitals…on account of which the land was given."[30] Likewise, in 1879 the Ruapuke Island-based chief, Topi Patuki recalled that he and other Kāi Tahu representatives assented to purchase terms presented to them decades earlier due to mention of health and education facilities.[31] Indeed, the aforementioned government agent explained that, "I found these promises of great weight in inducing the Natives to come in-but these promises have not yet been fulfilled."[32] These "promises" of schools and hospitals, in his words, were "of great use" in breaking "down their strong and most justifiable opposition… and in facilitating the acquisition of…lands …nearly as large as England."[33]

Kāi Tahu appeals for schools and hospitals throughout and beyond the 1850s thus became part and parcel of Te Kerēme. As the Waitangi Tribunal wrote in 1991, these appeals became "an essential part of [the] overall claim for recognition that the Crown had yet to fulfil the terms of the purchases."[34] The Tribunal noted that government built a hospital in Dunedin in the 1850s, "apparently as a direct response to Ngai Tahu [sic] representations."[35] However, it

found that after the Otago province took over this facility in 1856, central government provided minimal financial assistance for Māori patients who "soon found themselves unwelcome there."[36] A Crown historian thus admitted to the Tribunal that the government's provision of medical care to Kāi Tahu was "woefully inadequate."[37] This historical context, which makes clear the connection between Te Kerēme and the NDH, further underscores the significance of the NDH to mana whenua.

In addition to these underlying features – of place and of history – Kāi Tahu interest in the NDH is motivated by contemporary challenges. We refer here to a range negative health outcomes experienced by Kāi Tahu and mātāwaka in southern Te Waipounamu compared with the region's non-Māori population. Reducing these health inequities is a key concern for mana whenua and Aukaha and requires ongoing and coordinated input from iwi and whānau as well as the state and health practitioners. In so doing, the NDH building itself will play a crucial role. For example, physical expression of values such as tapu and whakapapa will have a direct bearing on the utility and efficacy of the NDH for Māori users and Māori staff alike. Aukaha is therefore committed to design processes that achieve this in ways that are culturally relevant – but also fiscally prudent and operationally practical. This is one the things that will require ongoing work between the NDH project managers and Aukaha.

04.

A Kāi Tahu view of colonialism & Māori health

Introduction

"Problems relating to Maori health," noted Derek A. Dow in 1999, "have exercised politicians and government officials since the first years of European administration in New Zealand." And yet, he continued, "until recently the history of health care for Maori was a largely neglected topic" – by Pākehā and Māori alike.[38] In recent decades, Dow, and other researchers including Raeburn Lange, Ian Pool, and Mason Durie have all added to our knowledge of this surprisingly overlooked part of New Zealand's history. Even so, Dow maintained that the opportunity for trained historians to contribute to this debate is just as great now as it was in the early 1970s.[39]

Partly in response to this relative paucity of information, this section is structured around the above whakatauki. A literal translation of this well-known proverb is that for women and land, people are lost. This speaks to the centrality of women and land to the mana – indeed, very survival – of iwi, hapū and whānau. In this context, wāhine should be understood as shorthand for things including family, fertility and health. Likewise, whenua functions as shorthand for a tribal domain – including both its terrestrial and maritime resources. Moreover, these two things are interconnected, arguably to the point of indivisibility. For example, whakapapa dictates personal interests in real property, hence the sensitivity traditionally attached to marriage. Another example of this interconnection are the links between landlessness, poverty, and malnutrition, and their negative impact on fertility and birth rates.

For all of these reasons, in pre-European times, and until the colonial state achieved substantive authority throughout the New Zealand archipelago, concern for "women" and "land" led to conflict, including open warfare, within and between hapū and iwi, and later, between Māori and non-Māori. Throughout and beyond the formal British colonisation of New Zealand, women and land remained at the centre of Māori aspirations and fears. They remain there today. And this goes a long way to understanding Māori contestations of the logic, institutions and practices of the New Zealand settler state. Accordingly, the whakatauki above helps to explain Māori responses to the politics of interracial marriage, Māori health, Māori depopulation, and demographic recovery. This, in turn, helps to contextualise things that mana whenua wish to develop – and prevent – in the establishment and operation of the NDH.

“These men believed, as historian Damon Salesa put it, that “separation of the races would ensure permanent inequality. Only amalgamation could facilitate equality of rights, and only full, racial amalgamation could make amalgamation work.”

Interracial marriage

As late as the 1970s, New Zealand’s majority culture characterised the nation as having the world’s best “race relations.”[40] Historian Alan Ward noted that “The Pakeha public has generally believed this view unquestioningly, and reacted with shock and anger when Maori writers, and most Pakeha scholars, have denounced it for what it is—smug, ignorant and hypocritical.”[41] Notwithstanding, pockets of society and the state continue to cling to this view. One of the grounds for this position is that New Zealand never experienced a version of Jim Crow laws, as in the United States. In other words, interracial marriage is interpreted as evidence of New Zealand’s racial tolerance and Pākehā goodwill towards Māori. However, marriage between Māori and non-Māori did not limit colonialism or constitute a softer version of it. Instead, it was a central strategy *of* British colonialization in New Zealand.

The idea of racial amalgamation in New Zealand stemmed from the New Zealand Company, a private British entity that sought to systematically and profitably colonise these islands. The Company’s views on land and labour are most readily associated with its chief theorist and propagandist, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. However, he was part of a triumvirate that specifically gave shape to racial amalgamation. The other two were John Ward, the Company’s secretary who had had articles published in the *Edinburgh Review*, and the Anglican minister Montague Hawtrey, who was Wakefield’s neighbour. These men believed, as historian Damon Salesa put it, that “separation of the races would ensure permanent inequality. Only amalgamation could facilitate equality of rights, and only full, racial amalgamation could make amalgamation work.”[42] In Hawtrey’s own words:

> *We can hardly expect that at any future period the country will be inhabited by two races equally civilized and happy, and enjoying the same social and political privileges, but perfectly distinct from each other in blood and complexion…if we wish to see the country inhabited by a powerful, happy, and well-ordered people, we must look forward to the amalgamation of the two races into one…*[43]

Hawtrey did not pretend that racial amalgamation would happen quickly, or that all colonists to New Zealand would share his sympathetic view of Māori. However, Hawtrey was emboldened by "the number of half-castes already supposed to be living in New Zealand": those born on the pre-colonial frontier who Salesa, in a nod to Greg Dening, terms "children of the beach".[44] These children were increasingly a feature of the New Zealand frontier from the 1820s, especially in the Murihiku region, in places like Ōtākou, Kāritane, Moeraki, Awarua and Aparima: all key sites of resource extraction between the early and mid-nineteenth century – which continue to be important Kāi Tahu heartlands – and are all located within the Southern District Health Board's catchment.

As in other Anglo-settler colonies, the New Zealand Company's promoters and financiers misrepresented the New Zealand archipelago as a blank slate on to which a vertical slice of British society could be transplanted. They likewise underestimated the inclination and capacity of Māori groups to resist such plans. As such, New Zealand's nascent colonial state used military force to transform its nominal sovereignty into substantive power. This was especially true from the mid-1840s to early 1870s, particularly during George Grey's two terms as governor. Indeed, during the so-called Northern War of 1845-46 he personally oversaw military responses against Ngāpuhi factions antagonistic to the Crown. Even so, he preferred to build a racially-amalgamated society in less directly confrontational ways. Grey, more than any other official enshrined racial amalgamation "as a policy and as a policy objective" and gave it much of its shape. As such, it became a key measure of "progress" or "improvement" in his descriptions of Māori.[45]

Grey was thus especially interested in "halfcastes": children born to Māori and Pākehā parents. Though most of these people self-identified as Māori and lived in identifiably Māori ways, the project of racial amalgamation made them "disproportionately significant" as they "lay at an intersection of domestic, economic, sexual and legal concerns."[46] The importance of interracial families was evident in late 1847 when Grey oversaw the development of a law recognising marriages between Māori and European couples but not exclusively Māori couples. This meant that when Māori women married European men, which was the most common form of Māori-Pākehā intermarriage, Māori women (in line with Pākehā women) relinquished their property rights to their husband. Many Māori women brought property, especially land, into such marriages meaning that this was one way the state simultaneously eroded the natural and social capital of Māori communities. This throws into sharp relief the "connection between 'regular' marriage, morality and land settlement."[47]

Grey – and a wide variety of Christian missionaries, colonial administrators and politicians – drew sharp distinctions between what they called half-castes and what some of them, such as Foveaux Strait's first foreign resident missionary, Rev. Wohlers, called "pure" Māori. In all cases, these colonists framed both "pure" Māori and "mixed-race" Māori as transitional people. As Wohlers wrote in the 1850s: within three generations "there will be no distinction between maories & europeans [sic], both

races will have been amalgamated here in the South of New Zealand."[48] Such was the *racialised* lens Wohlers shared with Grey and Pākehā more generally; an approach that persisted within academia and government well into the twentieth century and still persists within large part of New Zealand society.

Notwithstanding, Kāi Tahu of varying kinds of descent continued – and continue – to identify as Kāi Tahu, and thus Māori, according to whakapapa (genealogy and kinship connections). What is more, ethnographic records, ironically some of them created by Wohlers, reveal that key southern Māori material practices were likewise maintained. Important examples of these include commercial fishing and muttonbirding. Thus, while Wohlers and Grey anticipated an irreversible waning in Māori self-identification, self-definition and traditional lifeways – to the point of "extinction" – this was not in fact realised. This is substantially due to the intellectual basis of whakapapa and an enduring commitment to it by Māori, as explained below. However, this Māori view was up against the widely believed idea of the "Dying Māori", which paralleled that of the "Vanishing Indian" in North America. Both things were features of so-called "displacement theory" that was a touchstone of intellectual life in colonial New Zealand. To quote historian Jonathan West, Dunedin's colonists saw its native birds "as destined for extinction [and] much the same was true of settlers' attitude towards Māori at Ōtākou."[49]

Colonial New Zealand's medical practitioners bought into displacement theory and the Dying Māori discourse. Even so, historian John Stenhouse has illustrated that the Dying Māori view was not as homogenous as we might imagine. For instance, the prominent physician, politician and Wellington-based businessman A. K. Newman rejected the idea that intermarriage with "the more vigorous fertile white race" would save Māori.[50] He also believed that half-castes were more prone to tuberculosis and that the offspring of half-castes were feebler still. Although Wohlers staked out quite a different position, both he and Newman sustained Dying Māori theses. This was because neither of them conceived of half-castes as Māori *per se*, especially if they were not *living* as Māori. For them, the demographic recovery of Māori, as it is now understood, which began around the year 1900, would not have been a "Māori" rise at all. By their logic, half-castes and their descendants were increasing in number but Māori, in the sense of "pure" Māori, were still declining. The race was thus, by their particular definition, still dying out.

This view is neatly captured by a passage Wohlers wrote in 1881. "The Maoris, as a race," he wrote, "had outlived their time. Still, a remnant will be saved; but it will be melted into the European settlers."[51] Earlier in the same article he explained that a "small remnant of the Maoris *would have* been left here, but for the halfcaste children" because these "grew up and intermarried with the remnant of the real Maoris."[52] For Wohlers, this meant that "the present Maori population here [i.e. Foveaux Strait], has strong European features, and one sees only very few real Maoris among them."[53] By the same logic, voyeuristic Dunedin residents who visited Ōtākou in the 1890s "were often disappointed not to find "real" Māori.[54] 'Real' or not, the key point is that self-identifying Māori people and families persisted, and continue to persist, in southern

“the Secretary’s view was that Kāi Tahu adaptations to settler New Zealand and life in the modern nation-state, as well as their mixed-ancestry, meant they were not properly Māori and therefore could not legitimately make claim to having indigenous rights.”

Te Waipounamu. The historian of British Columbia Paige Raibmon writes that “Self-identified Indians persisted…long after they gained English literacy, radios, guns, kettles, and casinos”.[55] To that list, in the case of Māori, we can add non-Māori ancestors.

However, convenient racial myths die hard, including – perhaps especially – for the settler state. A case in point occurred in 1956 when a number of Bluff-based Kāi Tahu applied to the Marine Department for fishing reserves on strips of coastline fronting Foveaux Strait. The Department Secretary, in a letter to the Secretary of Māori Affairs, considered this to be:

> *an extremely sweeping request, particularly as it comes from an area where there cannot now be any Maori people without some European ancestry. Indeed, my information is that there are now no Maori people habitually living according to Maori custom or dependent in any way for their sustenance wholly on sea products. All, or almost all, have been absorbed into European ways of living and work. Thus they share, with the notable exception of the rather specialized mutton-bird industry, all sea-products with the Europeans with whom they associate.*[56]

Consistent with Raibmon’s analysis of the binary logic of colonial Canadian Pacific, the Secretary’s view was that Kāi Tahu adaptations to settler New Zealand and life in the modern nation-state, as well as their mixed-ancestry, meant they were not properly Māori and therefore could not legitimately make claim to having indigenous rights. As Raibmon puts it, “[o]nly the vanishing had legitimate claims to land and sovereignty; surviving modernity disqualified one from these claims. Either way, colonizers got the land [and fish]”.[57] The Secretary’s reference to muttonbirding as “a notable exception” is similar to 1890s Ōtākou being described as a “unique community”[58] – centres of Kāi Tahu resilience offered as exceptions to confirm the rule.

As foreshadowed above, in contrast to the consistent Pākehā view of interracial marriage, with its emphasis on “race” or “blood”, tikanga Māori emphasises whakapapa: descent and kinship. As such, colonial-era Māori – and succeeding generations – saw so-called half-caste children as ‘“ordinarily no different” to other Māori children. Thus, as

Salesa argues, if missionaries and administrators were not present to constitute the "Half Caste race" they saw, these halfcastes "would not have existed to be seen."[59] Similarly, while colonial surveyor Frederick Tuckett estimated that two-thirds of Kāi Tahu women on the east coast of Te Waipounamu were living with Pākehā men in 1844, and this was framed as a key driver of Kāi Tahu depopulation, Kāi Tahu people did not share that view. Instead, these Pākehā men were seen as having been woven in to the genealogical tapestry of Kāi Tahu. Simply put, whakapapa is a cumulative, not dilutionary. Notwithstanding the marriage patterns Tuckett observed, and readings of it, then and since, are complicated by the fact that the Kāī Tahu population did in fact decline markedly from the 1830s.

Literal Depopulation, c.1810-1900

Actual Māori population decline was due to a combination of factors including intra and inter-tribal warfare, which changed considerably following the introduction of potatoes and muskets. Introduced diseases especially influenza, measles and tuberculosis also took a significant toll. The latter disease continued to disproportionately kill and physically disable Māori, including Kāi Tahu, until after the Second World War. That being so, the Dying Māori discourse was not entirely semantic or without a statistical basis. That said, the certainty with which colonists predicted the extinction of Māori suggests a high degree of wish fulfilment. As Water Mantell commented in the 1850s(?): "I am aware that there exists in the Colony an opinion that [if] this and other questions [Māori grievances] can be shelved for a period, the natives will by their extinction relieve the Government from the fulfilment of its promises."[60]

Unlike the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s-1870s, which were a set of regional conflicts occurring almost exclusively in the North Island, the so-called Musket Wars touched almost every iwi and hapū between the 1810s and the 1830s. This process began in Pēwhairangi (Bay of Islands) when Ngāpuhi rakatira, especially Hongi Hika acquired potatoes and muskets which he used to project and consolidate his mana. In short, potatoes were traded with visiting ships for muskets, shot and gunpowder, while this foodstuff also fuelled musket-bearing war parties, which ranged further than ever before, primarily in pursuit of captives to tend to potato crops thus amplifying the pattern so described. This triggered an arms race and series of conflicts from the northern North Island to the southern South Island. In the words of one scholar, these conflict "warped the social fabric of Māori society."[61]

By 1840, the point at which Britain sought to formally incorporate the islands of New Zealand into the British Empire, it has been estimated that 20,000 Māori – out of a population of approximately 100,000 – had died as a result of these conflicts. This figure is slightly higher than the number of New Zealanders killed in the First World War when the New Zealand population was over 1,000,000.[62] These are dramatic figures and the period must have been terribly traumatic, however, demographers maintain that introduced diseases actually killed more Māori than introduced muskets.[63]

As mentioned already, nineteenth century Māori had limited resistance to the likes of measles, influenza, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, especially syphilis, which accompanied Europeans to New Zealand from at least the 1790s.[64] Measles, we have seen, killed huge numbers of Kāi Tahu people in 1835 when an outbreak in Sydney was transported to Foveaux Strait, and then Ōtākou. To make matters worse, Kāi Tahu warriors had assembled in southern Murihiku to seek out Ngāti Toa in the next round of intertribal battles. Not only did hundreds of these people die as they attempted to head north by sea, they took the disease to villages they transited through. Moreover, once this war expedition was abandoned due to mass infection, survivors took the disease back to their home villages.

The Ōtākou chief, Karetai, who took ill in Sydney and travelled back to southern Te Waipounamu on the *Sydney Packet*, recalled these painful events in 1852. He described them as killing the bulk of the population at Otago and southern Murihiku. By November 1836 the *Sydney Herald* newspaper reported this measles epidemic had killed at least 600 southern Kāī Tahu. The same article also noted that the *Sydney Packet*, on a more recent visit to Ōtākou, transmitted influenza to the already diminished community and this was resulting in further deaths.[65]

"Although the Māori population declined during the first fifty years of colonial settlement, this was not the means by which Pākehā gained the numerical upper-hand."

Speaking generally, between 1840 and 1880 it is estimated the Māori population declined somewhere between 10 to 15 per cent per decade. The population continued to decline until the 1890s when it began a recovery that was clearly identifiable by the 1910s.[66] Although the Māori population declined during the first fifty years of colonial settlement, this was not the means by which Pākehā gained the numerical upper-hand. As had happened in Dunedin, colonists outnumbered Māori throughout New Zealand via rapid and sustained waves of European immigration. As historian Tony Ballantyne writes, "[m]igrants, not rifles, were the most potent instrument of empire and it was demography rather than brute military power that ultimately marginalised Māori".[67] As with most other aspects of nineteenth century Māori historical experience, this demographic change occurred rapidly: Māori outnumbered Pākehā nationally by about 40:1 in 1840 but by the end of the 1850s there was near parity. Pākehā then outnumbered Māori by 1860 and by 1878 did so at a ratio of 10:1.[68]

This demographic shift inevitably drove changing power dynamics. This led to increasing tensions over Māori land sales in the late 1850s and a slide to war in parts of the North Island in the early 1860s. In this new world of diminished power and options, historian Lyndsay Head suggests that Māori mistook political modernity as Christianity in action. Even so, in the late nineteenth century, a group of young, western-educated Māori attempted to arrest demographic decline and retain Māori land in Māori ownership from a Christian position – and did so a high degree of success.

Demographic recovery and Te Aute College Students' Association

This group of Māori intellectuals and professionals were alumni of the Anglican-run Māori boys' boarding school, Te Aute College, based in Hawke's Bay. The organisation they founded, Te Aute College Students' Association (TACSA) differed from markedly from earlier Māori political movements. For starters, TACSA characterised Māori political autonomy as an unrealistic goal. Its members also parked a bundle of grievances relating to the purchasing and administration of Māori land for similar reasons. They instead concentrated on improving the social, economic and moral affairs of Māori communities.[69] In recent decades scholars have labelled TACSA's advocacy for policies such as the individualisation of communally owned land as assimilatory and harmful to Māori culture. However, "TACSA's very existence as a Māori movement was predicated on the desire for Māori to survive … and not to be completely absorbed within Pākehā society."[70]

The most well-known members of TACSA, at least in collective Pākehā memory, are the "three Māori knights", who served as parliamentarians: Sir Maui Pomare (nō Ngāti Mutunga me Ngāti Toa), Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangihīroa) (nō Ngāti Mutunga) and Sir Āpirana Ngata (nō Ngāti Porou). However, although Ngata served as the member for Eastern Māori from 1905 until 1943 and was arguably the greatest Māori leader of the first half of the twentieth century, he relied on large networks of support within and beyond TACSA and his own Ngāti Porou people. And he built on the groundwork and intellect of his kinsman, Rēweti Kōhere.

Because Te Rangihīroa trained in medicine at the University of Otago, he has a particular presence in Dunedin. This was bolstered in February 2014 when the university named a residential college after him. Ironically, this facility will make way for the NDH. However, a replacement facility will carry his name. Regardless, mana whenua consider that the memory and work of Te Rangihīroa is already sufficiently recognised in Dunedin. Put differently, if TACSA's efforts are going to be woven in to the NDH – and there are strong grounds for exploring this – we seek to specifically acknowledge the Kāi Tahu contributions and contributors to that movement. Two such people are Dr Edward Pohau Ellison and Dr Golan (Korana) Haberfield Maaka, who respectively whakapapa to Ōtākou and Moeraki among other Kāi Tahu villages.[71] Both attended Te Aute College, both completed medicine at the University of Otago, and both worked hard to improve Māori health and wellbeing. And neither of them, outside of Kāi Tahu circles at least, are as well-known as they could be. The long-serving Southern Māori MP, Tame Parata, also supported TACSA initiatives such as the Maori Councils Act, which sought, among other things, to enhance sanitation in Māori settlements. These aspects of his parliamentary life—that is, beyond pursuit of Te Kerēme and protection of mahika kai—could also be incorporated into the NDH.

Not just a history of "great men"

Alongside Doctors Ellison and Maaka, and parliamentarians such as Tame Parata, other historical Kāi Tahu people, including women, protected and advanced Māori health and wellbeing. I briefly outline six such wāhine. Martha Tahumu Spencer (née Edmonds/Erueti), who hailed from Ōtākou but married into a well-known Bluff-based Kāi Tahu family was one of a small number of Māori women awarded a class of the OBE for her efforts during the First World War (other recipients included Miria Lady Pomare (nō Rongowhakaata me Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki) and Te Puea Hērangi (nō Ngāti Mahuta me Ngāti Maniapoto)). This award recognised Martha's efforts in fundraising and securing kai Māori, especially immense number preserved tītī, for members of the Pioneer Battalion. Martha also appears to have worked as a nurse aid, possibly during the 1918 influenza pandemic.

Two Kāi Tahu sisters from Maitapapa, (on the banks of Taieri River) did become Registered Nurses in the early twentieth century: Emma Te Maka Brown and Elizabeth Scally Brown. Emma, who was a Registered Nurse from 1917, began working at Oamaru Hospital before working in Gisborne, Apia (Samoa), Ashburton and Napier. Her younger sister, became a Registered Nurse from 1923 and a year later was the Sister in charge of Dunedin Hospital's surgical ward. She subsequently completed midwifery training in Christchurch and, in 1933 she was the inaugural recipient of the Nursing Education Endorsement Fund, which was awarded by the Otago Branch of the New Zealand Registered Nurses' Association (NZRNA). Sub-matron of Dunedin Hospital between 1932 and 1935, Elizabeth relocated to Auckland Hospital where she held comparable positions. Between 1945 and 1956 she was Dominion Secretary of the NZRNZ and editor of the New Zealand Nurses' Journal, after which she was also awarded an OBE.[72]

The Brown sisters' achievements are remarkable given that in 1906, the secretary of Dunedin Hospital, Andrew Burns, commented that, "it would be almost impossible for a Maori girl, with her limited education, to go through this syllabus and pass the necessary examination."[73] Burns, who was a Militia volunteer during the Waikato War between 1862 and 1865,[74] and was described as "thoroughly conversant with the Maori mind and character", further identified accommodation for Māori nurses as being a problem.[75] He therefore argued that it was better to send "qualified European nurses" into "Maori districts". The hospital Matron agreed, adding that she "had some direct experience of Maoris in hospitals" and probationary Māori nurses "would not be practicable." "Their rooted ideas on matters vital in hospital work," she continued, "are so utterly different from ours."[77] Her view was that it would "be easier for an intelligent English nurse to learn [te reo] Maori than it would be to get Maoris to learn English ways and methods". Like Burns, the Matron concluded it best to "send English trained nurses among the Maoris."[78]

During the Second World War, a cousin of Emma and Elizabeth Brown's, Kuini Te Tau (née Ellison; nō Puketeraki)—a granddaughter of Tame and Peti Parata (née Brown)—built on Martha Spencer's First World War legacy. Kuini joined the New Zealand Women's Army Auxiliary Corps as a driver but, in 1942, was recruited by

Southern Maori MP, Eruera Tirikatene, to work for the Maori War Effort Organisation. Based in the North Island at this stage, she protected Māori women and girls sent to Wellington by the National Service Department by placing them in stable employment and securing appropriate accommodation. She also visited wharves and brothels with police to rescue Māori women from prostitution and arrange supervised care.

Kuini subsequently became one of the first female welfare officers appointed under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 and was a driving force behind the establishment of the Māori Women's Welfare League in 1951, of which she was a founding member and treasurer. As her biographers noted, "Through this organisation she helped teach Maori mothers domestic, child-rearing, gardening and other self-help skills." Earlier Kāi Tahu efforts aimed at improving the health and wellbeing of mothers and babies led to the Plunket movement. Indeed, Kuini's brother, Mutu Ellison is known as the first Plunket baby.

In these efforts, Karitane resident Truby King was assisted by local Kāi Tahu midwives Mere Harper and Ria Tikini.[80] "Big Mary" and "Mrs Chicken" as they were respectively known, are, like Martha Spencer, Emma and Elizabeth Brown, and Kuini Ellison, women whose lives and efforts could be reflected in the NDH alongside Edward Pohau Ellison and Golan Maaka. To be clear then, we would seek to memorialise these people ahead of Te Rangihīroa, if the latter was being considered. This is not a slight on him. Rather, we as mana whenua are simply guarding against Pākehā-controlled institutions picking veritable Māori heroes, which usually comes at the expense of Māori women, and, in Te Waipounamu, Kāi Tahu figures.

Rātana, the Second World War and Hunn Report

Many members and supporters of the aforementioned Te Aute College Students' Association were, or became, Māori members of Parliament.[81] However, in the late 1930s, this bloc was overtaken by another Christian-based Māori political movement that also sought to raise Māori living standards. Led by its eponymous founder Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana (nō Ngāti Apa), until his death in 1939, this syncretic and prophetic religious movement was effectively born out of the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic.[82] In 1932 it won its first seat in parliament, Southern Maori, in a by-election. This was won by Eruera Tirikatene who has whakapapa to Ōtākou among other parts of Te Waipounamu. The movement – whose membership numbered somewhere between one to two-thirds of the Māori population – entered into a formal alliance with the New Zealand Labour Party in 1936 and in 1943 won all four of the Māori seats. It held them almost exclusively for the next 50 years. Some Kāi Tahu villages became Rātana strongholds and this legacy is observable in aspects of the Christchurch rebuild. However, this is not true of Ōtākou and will thus not be reflected in the NDH. That said, religion, primarily Christianity, remains important to Kāi Tahu individuals and communities and this will need to be factored into the NDH.

As with Young Māori Party MPs in the First World War, Āpirana Ngata and the Rātana MPs urged Māori to fully support the war effort. They requested the formation of a Māori military unit and the government agreed to this within a month of war breaking out. Within three weeks nearly 900 Māori men had enlisted in the 28th New Zealand (Maori) Battalion, which was shipped overseas in 1940.[83] This contribution lay at the heart of the "price of citizenship": the potential for Māori after the war to attain equality and a greater role in New Zealand society – and investigations into historic grievances – as a result of wartime sacrifices.[84] The Māori Battalion served with distinction and received more individual bravery decorations than any other New Zealand battalion, including one Victoria Cross. This came at a heavy cost though: 600 of the more than 3600 men who enlisted were killed, and some 1700 wounded. This casualty rate was almost 50 per cent higher than other New Zealand infantry battalions.[85] Moreover, it came a mere 40 years after Māori demographic decline had been arrested.

Because there was no Māori electoral roll until 1949, the government struggled to identify Māori individuals for war service and workforce direction for essential industries during the Second World War. The Māori MPs, led by Northern Māori member, Paraire Paikea, responded with a proposal for an organisation to handle Māori recruitment and other war-related activities. On 3 June 1942 the government approved the establishment of the Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO). Within six months the country was divided into 21 zones with 315 tribal committees. Committee work was voluntary and received no government funding.[86] As historian Claudia Orange explained, "The efforts made were enormous for a people who were by and large poverty-stricken."[87] Many essential industries, such as freezing works and dairy factories, could not have operated without Māori labour. All told, more than 27,000 Māori (out of a total population of just over 95,000) were in the armed services or essential industries during the Second World War.[88] Kāi Tahu contributions

to the war effort reflected this general pattern and surely fed into the Waitangi Tribunal's observation that iwi members "have always demonstrated their loyalty to the Crown and their affection for the sovereign.[89]

The MWEO provided a unique opportunity to demonstrate Māori leadership and planning and tribal groups seized the opportunity. So much so, committees expanded their operations into education, job training, and land use: "activities that bore little or no relationship to their formal tasks."[90] As Orange puts it, "Māori were moving into participation in the mainstream of New Zealand life, but on their own terms."[91] It was widely hoped amongst Māori that the MWEO would provide a platform and model for post-war Māori development. However, Cabinet and senior bureaucrats reasserted centralised Pākehā control of Māori affairs albeit with a few concessions to Māori demands. This was given effect in the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, unreasonably described as a "compromise." So, while statutory recognition was given to tribal committees, they were located within the framework a paternalistic bureaucracy and government policies.[92]

Ongoing paternalism was highlighted in early 1960 when the Deputy Chairman of the Public Service Commission, J. K. (Jack) Hunn was made the Acting Secretary of the Department of Māori Affairs. The minister of Māori affairs at this time was the prime minister, Walter Nash, who was "opposed to Maori seeking autonomous solutions to their problems."[93] In response to fragmented Māori land holdings, Nash asked Hunn to do an accounting of Māori assets. Hunn took the widest possible interpretation of this brief and commissioned studies on the Māori population, land settlement and titles, housing, education, employment, health, legal differentiation and crime. These issues were brought together in a comprehensive and disturbing report on the comparatively dire state of Māori that he presented to Nash in August 1960.[94]

The Hunn Report, as it became known (published in 1961), made far-reaching recommendations for Māori social reform and became the policy touchstone for the second National government in the area of Māori affairs. The report argued that racial "integration" (as opposed to "assimilation", "segregation" or "symbiosis") was the "obvious trend and also the conventional expression" of New Zealand's Māori-Pākehā race relations, but that it could and probably should lead to full assimilation. As part of this, Hunn graded Māori into three categories. Those Māori who had retained aspects of culture and language—Group C—were described as the "most retarded": "a primitive minority complacently living a backward life in primitive conditions". Group A were said to be a "completely detribalised minority whose Maoritanga is only vestigial". Whereas Group B was "the main body of Māori, pretty much at home in either society and who like to partake of both."[95] Hunn's view was that Group C should be eliminated by raising its members to Group B status whereupon they could choose to stay there or rise up to Group A. Some mention was made of preserving Māori culture but none to its ongoing development in changing conditions. In fact, of the report's approximately 100 conclusions and recommendations, none mentioned the preservation or adaptation of Māori culture. It likewise contained little reference to the Treaty of Waitangi.

> *The Hunn Report proposed investing in Māori education to promote better employment, housing and health outcomes, and establishing a National Māori Education Foundation to finance secondary and university scholarships for Māori students.*

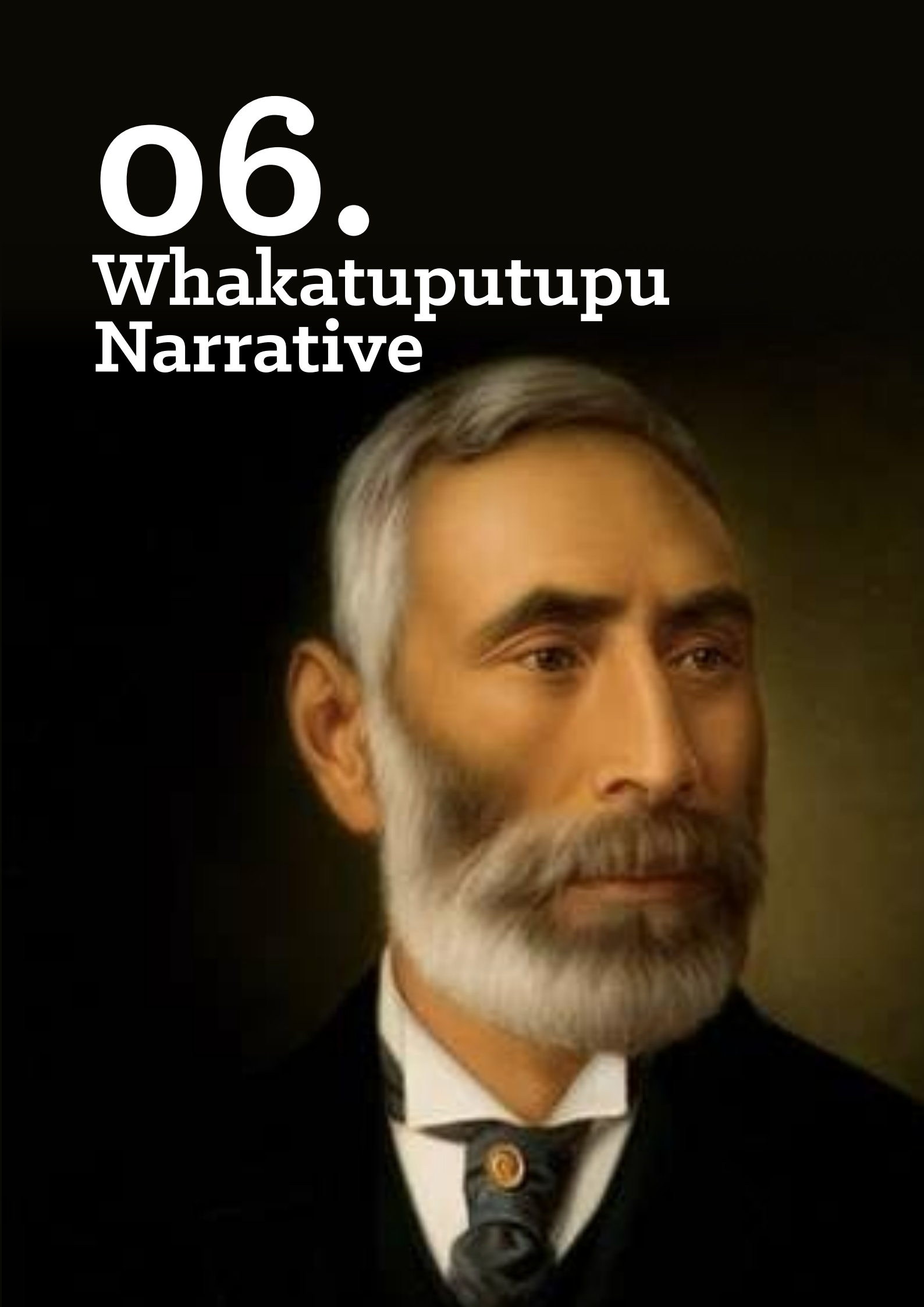
The Hunn Report proposed investing in Māori education to promote better employment, housing and health outcomes, and establishing a National Māori Education Foundation to finance secondary and university scholarships for Māori students. Hunn proposed financing these intiatives, in part, through the compulsory sale of Māori land interests deemed to be uneconomic. Funding was eventually sourced elsewhere but major changes were nevertheless introduced to the administration of Māori land between 1965 and 1967. The government argued this was necessary to make "idle" Māori land profitable and included increasing its power to compulsorily acquire and sell "uneconomic interests" in Māori land. This brought about almost universal Māori condemnation of what was termed the "last land grab." This was one catalyst of the Māori protest movement that emerged in the late 1960s and grew considerably as the 1970s unfolded, culminating in the so-called Māori renaissance.

Two key legislative developments from this period warrant mention: the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1974 and the Waitangi Tribunal Act 1975. The former abolished earlier statutory definitions of Māori which were based on colonial-era notions of blood quantum and "caste" designed to facilitate racial amalgamation. Simply put, state-administered genocide by arithmetic was over. The 1974 statute instead took its cue from tikanga Māori and the concept of whakapapa and recognised that being Māori, and thus belonging to hapū and iwi, was based exclusively on descent. The 1975 statute was significant in that it was the first legislation to refer to the Treaty of Waitangi, albeit indirectly. Moreover, until 1985, the Tribunal it set up could only investigate treaty breaches from 1975 onwards. However, historic grievances such as Te Kerēme were able to be investigated from 1985. This led directly to the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act and the collective economic and cultural revitalisation of mana whenua in the region and across the iwi more generally. The Waitangi Tribunal is also the means by which enduring Māori health inequalities are currently being investigated (Wai 2575 – the Health Services and Outcomes Inquiry). Aukaha considers that the Ministry of Health can anticipate some of Wai 2575's findings, and that it has a unique opportunity to begin substantively responding to them, at least in the context of Kāi Tahu, through the NDH project.

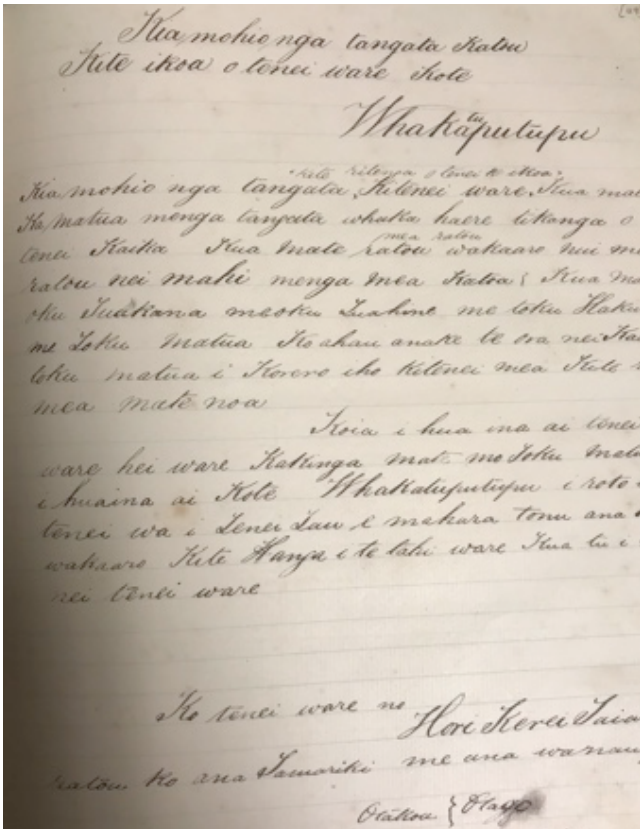
Conclusion

The Australian historian Warwick Anderson argues that "[i]t remains difficult for any settler society to invest seriously in people whose continuing existence etches in clear relief the illegitimacy and violence of the state."[97] This offers one way of framing majority culture resistance to Māori governance positions on public entities and Māori-tailored approaches to the provision of state services – both of which mana whenua view as critical to the NDH. Anderson's observation is also one way of explaining why Pākehā administrators effectively banished a collective Kāi Tahu presence from Dunedin's built environment, as outlined above in section 4; a decision that has ongoing negative consequences for Kāi Tahu in southern Te Waipounamu. Acts or omissions in the development of the NDH will likewise impact upon current and future generations. Accordingly, mana whenua need to be fully included at each stage of the NDH – *as* Kāi Tahu.

06.
Whakatuputupu Narrative



Diary extract from H.K.Taiaroa explaining the name of his house at Ōtākou, 1870.



Kia mōhio ngā tāngata katoa ki te ikoa o tēnei ware[98] ko te Whakatuputupu

Kia mōhio ngā tāngata ki te ritenga o tēnei ikoa, ki tēnei ware. Kua mate kā mātua me ngā tāngata whakahaere tikanga o tēnei kāika. Kua mate rātou me ā rātou wakaaro nui me ā rātou nei mahi me ngā mea katoa } Kua mate ōku tuākana me ōku tuāhine me tōku hākui me tōku matua. Ko ahau anake te ora nei. Kāore tōku matua i kōrero iho ki tēnei mea ki tērā mea mate noa.

Koia i hua ai tēnei ware hei ware kaikinga mate mō tōku matua i huaina ai ko te Whakatuputupu i roto i tēnei wā i tēnei tau e mahara tonu ana ōku wakaaro ki te hanga i tētahi ware kia tū ināinei tēnei ware.

Ko tēnei ware nō

Hori Kerei Taiaroa rātou ko āna tamariki me āna wanaunga

Ōtākou } Otago

Akuhata 26 1970

Translation by Megan Pōtiki, July 2020

This is to inform everyone of the name of this house. It is named Whakatuputupu.

This is in order that people understand the implication of this name, of this house.

The old people have passed, including those who conducted the longstanding rituals of this village. They have passed as have their significant reasoning, their work and more } My older brothers and sisters have passed, and my mother and father too. I am the only one left. My father did not pass on all that was needed before his death.

This is the reason why I named this house a house of reprisal for my father, accordingly named Whakatuputupu in this era, in this year, to hold fast to the past and my purpose for naming this house.

This house belongs to Hori Kerei Taiaroa, my children and my relations.

Ōtākou } Otago

August 26 1970

HK Taiaroa

H.K. Taiaroa was born at Ōtākou: it is more than likely that this occurred in the 1830s rather than the 1840s. Kāi Tahu elders knew H.K. by his birth name, Huriwhenua, but he was better known by his Christian name, Hori Kerei (abbreviated to 'H.K.'), after the former Governor Sir George Grey. He was the son of Te Matenga Taiaroa, an important chief at Ōtākou whose name has been enshrined in the place name on the Otago Peninsula, Taiaroa Heads. Bill Dacker has described Matenga Taiaroa as "H.K.'s warrior father" in reference to his fighting against Te Rauparaha.[99] Te Matenga Taiaroa was born about the 1790s at Waikakahi, at the northern end of lake Waihora in Canterbury. He lived a very full life, one marked by conflict and turmoil within his own people and with Pākehā. It is feasible he met his first European, Captain John Kent, in 1823 at Ruapeke Island on board the Mermaid. Te Matenga Taiaroa fought in battles against Te Rauparaha and was active in the efforts against Te Pūoho's raid. He was involved in a number of skirmishes in the South Island with incoming Europeans. Nevertheless, he encouraged trading at his home of Ōtākou, and was remarkably well travelled. He travelled to Sydney negotiating land sales, moved around the South Island at moments of intertribal conflict and warfare, and later attended the intertribal meeting in Pūkawa at Lake Taupō to elect the first Māori King. His name was widely known and was recounted in waiata and is etched into placenames and family histories. Such a high profile father shaped H.K.'s identity and his role as a leader. Te Matenga Taiaroa had a number of wives and Māwera, his third wife was mother to H.K. Taiaroa.

HK Taiaroa featured outside his house, Te Awhitu on Lake Ellesmere with his wife and grandchildren, wearing a Tikumu cloak.

H.K. worked the significant land holdings he had around the Kāi Tahu rohe (area) and began to work tirelessly on addressing the grievances of his people. He began as a Southern Māori Member of Parliament in 1871 and it was in Parliament that he would prove himself to be the most able and experienced person to represent his people. H.K navigated a ferocious political arena with his skilful writing ability. He married Tini Burns of Kaiapoi, another Kāi Tahu kāika (village) and had six sons. He died in Wellington in 1905, not living to see the completion of Te Kereme (Ngāi Tahu Claim) but his battles for Kāi Tahu ensured the claim persisted to its conclusion in 1998. H.K. came from Ōtākou however he built a homestead with his wife at Taumutu on the edge of Lake Ellesmere in South Canterbury. H.K.'s skills and tenacious leadership are remarkable. His extensive writings in English and in Māori reflect a man with a strong vision and foresight. His personal writings written in Māori include, genealogy, personal diary extracts, place names and traditions, obituaries, records of meetings, detailed food gathering information, traditional songs, lengthy accounts of incredible supernatural interactions with Māori deity and the on-going list is incredibly extensive. H.K. spent time writing most of his life works in Māori. H.K. was clearly an intelligent and astute man able to write beautifully in Māori and in English.

Explanation

HK Taiaroa named his house at Ōtākou, Whakatuputupu. Naming of a house or a place was a common tikanga (practice). The name and the place was imbued with mana (prestige).

There is also history in a name that resonates through the generations and allows us to recall the past, never forgetting who and where we come from. We have a tikanga (practice) called taunaha, a specific naming process that laid claim to an area.

In this instance HK named his house with the intentions of holding on to what is left of the past and moving forward. Whakatuputupu can be broadly translated as growth and flourish, therefore he was thinking about the future generations and their development and place in the world. He was also concerned about what was lost with the passing of his parent's generation. His father's ōhākī (dying words) requested him to pursue justice for Ngāi Tahu as they were wronged by the Crown and treated as second class citizens on their whenua. Therefore, the name Whakatuputupu recalls the past and acknowledges the redress and retribution as requested by his father to him. HK fought for his people and in doing so he requested for hospitals and schools over a long period of time. Within Ngāi Tahu there are many examples of names of houses and people that stem from a battle or an important event. There are children today that have also been named after these houses and events, in order to not forget our history. The name also connects us to Ōtākou, the place and the wider name for the harbor, which the hospital is in direct sight of and on the reclaimed shoreline of Ōtākou. Furthermore, this name connects to the wider community as it is about growth and the health of all people in our wider city. The hospital will provide work and employment as well as a safe haven for our community. The new generations will carry the intent of the name, giving the hospital the mana and acknowledging the mauri of the land it stands on.

Footnotes

1. Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe Limited, 1984), p.xiii.
2. Bill Dacker, *Te Mamae me te Aroha – The Pain and the Love: A history of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Otago, 1844 – 1994* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press, 1994), p.1.
3. See Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of existence in New England*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
4. After Hautahi Kingi, "The Past Matters: Reflections on Tangata Whenua," *The Pantograph Punch*, 15 April 2015: https://www.pantograph-punch.com/posts/past-matters-tangata-whenua, and K. R. Howe, "Review of Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*," *New Zealand Herald*, 23 October 2003: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=3530379.
5. Herries Beattie, *Our Southernmost Maoris* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Daily Times, 1954), p.8.
6. [NB: the MoH also wanted Aukaha to "Engage with key opinion leaders and service providers with a particular relationship or connection to the health system to explore how they hope to use facilities within the NDH."
7. Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report 1991* (Wellington, N.Z.: Brooker and Friend, 1991), Preface.
8. Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand* (4th ed. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995), p.315.
9. More than a century earlier in 1864, William Fox, four time Premier of New Zealand argued along similar lines in relation to Kāi Tahu specifically when he stated, "Considering the great length of time during which faith has failed to be kept with [Kāi Tahu] they are entitled to a very large amount of arrears... Since the pledges were given a whole generation has run to seed without receiving the benefit of that culture which was promised. [This] should be remembered when action is taken, and it should prevent any murmur at the appropriation of what might under other circumstances appear too large an appropriation of the public money, to...a tribe which once owned three-fourths of the Middle Island." Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, 19.2.6.
10. For more on the "Ngāi Tahu" migration to Te Waipounamu, see Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, ed. *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History: The Carrington Text* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books in association with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2008) and Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu – The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 2003).
11. Te Maire Tau, "Ngāi Tahu", in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand: Ngā Iwi o Aotearoa*, ed. New Zealand Ministry of Culture and Heritage (Auckland: David Bateman, 2006), p.124.
12. Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, Wellington, 1991, 2.13. See also Harry C. Evison, *The Ngai Tahu Deeds: A Window on New Zealand history* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press, 2006), pp.256-71.
13. Te Maire Tau, "Ngai Tahu – From 'Better to be Dead and Out of the Way' to 'To Be Seen to Belong' in *Southern Capital – Christchurch: Towards a City Biography*, 1850-2000, ed. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press, 2000), p.222.
14. Tony Ballantyne, "Economic Systems, Colonization and the Production of Difference: Thinking Through Southern New Zealand", unpublished paper, copy in author's possession, p.12.
15. For more on racial amalgamation, Damon Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
16. See Tipene O'Regan, "Impact on Māori – a Ngāi Tahu perspective" in "*In Good Faith" Symposium proceedings marking the 20th anniversary of the Lands case*, ed. Jacinta Ruru, (Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Law Foundation, 2008), pp.41-50.
17. Thomas Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* [Settlement of Otago], (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1898), pp. 95-97.
18. Jonathan West, *The Face of Nature: An Environmental History of the Otago Peninsula*, (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press, 2017), p. 180; Bill Dacker, *Te Mamae me te Aroha – The Pain and the Love: A history of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Otago, 1844 – 1994*, (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press, 1994), pp.31-32.
19. See for example, Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1851), pp. 174-76; "THE OTAKOU NATIVE LAND CLAIMS: THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND DEVELOPMENT," *Otago Daily Times*, 12 November 1892, p.5.
20. Dacker, pp.32, 37-38; West, p.329.

21. Dacker, p.42; West, pp.180-81; Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities, 1840-1920* (Wellington N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2006), pp.197.
22. Schrader, pp. 197-98; West, p.181.
23. West, p.181.
24. Ibid.
25. West, p.216.
26. See Ibid., pp.215-17; 264-65.
27. Alexander Mackay, "Report on Middle Island Native Land Question," *AJHR* (1888), p.8. See also West, p.264.
28. There were technically 10 land purchases, but three of these – the Port Cooper Deed, Port Levy Deed and Akaroa Deed (entered into between 1849 and 1856) – relate to Banks Peninsula and are frequently grouped togwther.
29. *Ngāi Tahu Report 1991*, 19.2.1.
30. Ibid., 8.10.13.
31. Ibid., 10.6.4.
32. Ibid., 8.8.21.
33. Ibid., 19.2.2.
34. Ibid., 2.13.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Derek A. Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940* (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1999), p.214.
39. Ibid., p.218.
40. As the New Zealand historian Keith Sinclair put it in the title of a 1971 essay: "Why are race relations in New Zealand better than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota." *See New Zealand Journal of History 5*, no. 2 (1971): pp.121-127.
41. Ward, p.308
42. Salesa, p.32.
43. Ibid.,
44. Ibid., 82.
45. Ibid.,
46. Ibid.,
47. Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), p.53.
48. J. F. H. Wohlers to Frederick Tuckett, 14 September 1854. Letters from Rev. J.F.H. Wohlers (1849-1856), ARC-0418, Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin.
49. West, p.179.
50. John Stenhouse, "'A disappearing race before we came here' – Doctor Alfred Kingcome Newman, the Dying Maori, and Victorian Scientific Racism", *New Zealand Journal of History 30*, no.2 (1996): p.126.
51. J. F. H. Wohlers, "On the Conversion and Civilization of the Maoris in the South of New Zealand," T*ransactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 14 (1881): p.134. Emphasis added.
52. Ibid., 133.
53. Ibid.
54. West, p.263.
55. Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth- Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), p.8.
56. Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Sea Fisheries Report 1992* (Wellington, N.Z.: Department of Justice, 1992), p.207.
57. Raibmon, p.9.
58. West, p.263.
59. Salesa, pp.117-18.
60. Dacker, p.43. For the original wording, see: "Middle Island Native Land Claims", AJHR (1888) I-8: 21. Edward Shortland had earlier made the same point during a visit to southern Te Waipounamu in 1843 where he addressed the "ultimate extinction" of Maori, which was "contemplated by many as a matter of certainty." In his view, this was "a fallacy likely to mislead the intending colonist, if he consider [sic] it a favourable circumstance." Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand; A journal, with passing notices of the customs of the Aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1851), pp.40-41.
61. Christina A. Thompson, "A Dangerous People Whose Only Occupation Is War: Maori and Pakeha in 19th-century New Zealand," *Journal of Pacific History 32*, no. 1 (1997): p.116.
62. James Belich, Making Peoples: *A History of the New Zealanders – From Polynesian Settlements to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Press, 1996) p.157; R. D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-iwi Conflict, 1806–45* (Auckland: Reed, 1999), p.17.

63. See, for example, Ian Pool, "Death rates and life expectancy - Effects of colonisation on Māori", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/death-rates-and-life-expectancy/page-4 (accessed 30 June 2020) and Ian Pool and Tahu Kukutai, "Taupori Māori – Māori population change - Population changes, 1769–1840", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/taupori-maori-maori-population-change/page-1 (accessed 30 June 2020).
64. Stenhouse, pp.135-36.
65. For an overview, see West, pp.132-33.
66. Stenhouse, p.135; Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Māori Health Development 1900-1920* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p.259. Richard Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950* (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 2004), pp.43-44.
67. Tony Ballantyne, "The Theory and Practice of Empire-building: Edward Gibbon Wakefield and 'systematic colonisation'" in Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (eds), *The Routledge History of Western Empires* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.98.
68. Ian Pool and Tahu Kukutai, "Taupori Māori – Māori population change - Decades of despair, 1840–1900", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/taupori-maori-maori-population-change/page-2 (accessed 30 June 2020).
69. Hill, *State Authority*, p.43. For the most comprehensive overview of TACSA, see Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live*.
70. Lachy Paterson, "Rēweti Kōhere's Model Village", *New Zealand Journal of History 41* no.1 (2007): p.29.
71. See Bradford Haami, "Maaka, Golan Haberfield", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m1/maaka-golan-haberfield (accessed 29 June 2020) and Sean Ellison and Thomas Brons, "Ellison, Edward Pohau", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4e9/ellison-edward-pohau (accessed 29 June 2020).
72. Jenny Harte, unpublished notes on Emma Te Maka Brown and Elizabeth Scally Brown, n.d., copy courtesy of Helen Brown.
73. MAORI GIRLS AS NURSES: NEEDS AND DIFFICULTIES: INTERVIEW WITH MR BURNS, *Otago Daily Times*, 30 August 1906, p.2.
74. See "Mr Andrew Burns", *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Otago & Southland Provincial Districts]* (Christchurch, N.Z.: The Cyclopedia Company, 1905), p.147. Available at: http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc04Cycl-t1-body1-d2-d17-d10.html
75. MAORI GIRLS AS NURSES, p.2.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Angela Ballara and Katarina Te Tau, "Te Tau, Katarina Kuini Whare-rau-aruhe", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5t10/te-tau-katarina-kuini-whare-rau-aruhe (accessed 29 June 2020).
80. Helen Brown, "Mere Harper: the Ngāi Tahu midwife who helped found Plunket", https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/09-08-2018/mere-harper-the-ngai-tahu-midwife-who-helped-found-plunket/.
81. Note that TACSA was also informally referred to as the Young Maori Party, a nickname it formally adopted in 1909. Hill, *State Authority*, 44.
82. Angela Ballara, "Rātana, Tahupōtiki Wiremu - Ratana, Tahupotiki Wiremu", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r4/ratana-tahupotiki-wiremu (accessed 30 June 2020).
83. Claudia Orange, "The Price of Citizenship? The Maori War Effort", in John Crawford (ed.) Kia Kaha" New Zealand in the Second World Ward (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.237.
84. See https://www.royalsociety.org.nz/150th-anniversary/tetakarangi/the-price-of-citizenship-ngarimu-v-c-apirana-turupa-ngata-1943/.
85. See https://nzhistory.govt.nz/files/documents/28mb/fact-sheets-all.pdf
86. Orange, pp.238-40.
87. Ibid., p.240.
88. Ibid., p241.
89. Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, Preface.
90. Richard Hill, *Māori and the State: Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000* (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 2009), p.527.
91. Orange, p.241.

92. Hill, Māori and the State, p.528.
93. Angela Ballara, "Tirikātene, Eruera Tīhema Te Āika - Tirikatene, Eruera Tihema Te Aika", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4t18/tirikatene-eruera-tihema-te-aika (accessed 30 June 2020).
94. See Hill, *Māori and the State*, pp.88-93.
95. David Williams, "Myths, National Origins, Common Law and the Waitangi Tribunal", Paper presented at 23rd Annual Australian and New Zealand Law and History Society Conference, Murdoch University, Western Australia, July 2004, paras. 37-42.
96. Aroha Harris, Hīkoi: *Forty Years of Māori Protest* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2004), p.24.
97. Warwick Anderson, "The colonial medicine of settler states: comparing histories of Indigenous health" *Health and History 9*, no. 2 (2007): p.145.
98. Ware = Whare (Southern dialect).
99. Dacker, H.K. Taiaroa and Te Kereme, 1999: 75.

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