Aukaha

KIA KAHA, AU KAHA

George Street

Cultural Narrative

Introduction

To begin we need to be cognisant that the area of George Street today was the original foreshore of Ōtākou (Otago Harbour). See below a watercolour from 1856 and an 1852 photograph.

J.T. (John Turnbull) Thomson, Dunedin, New Zealand, from Andersons Bay, 1856, watercolour on paper: 186 x 382mm, 92/1298, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago

Māori, who lived mainly on the eastern point of the Otago Peninsula, used Ōtākou as their highway. They travelled into the Dunedin area on their waka and would follow trails over the hills to the Taiari area and waterways at Kaikarae and Kaituna to collect kai, such as eels, kanakana, weka and so forth. The Ōtepoti site, which looked from an angle like the corner of a kete (known as a poti, hence the name, Ōtepoti), was close to the George Street area. It was a place to land waka and move on their hikoi to their next destinations. Tahu Pōtiki has referred to these trails as Ara Honohono – connecting trails.

There are particular ancestors whose names are in the landscape of Dunedin, some who were buried in particular places. However, that is not in the specific George Street area but is part of the wider meshing of whakapapa and history. This is an important quote from Edward Ellison (Ūpoko Ōtākou) about the development of George Street:

George St was obviously named after King George and the āhua of that place reflected that side of our heritage. It is my concern that this is the 'main' street in Dunedin, and the pedestrian must gain a sense of place and who the people of the land are. Therefore key connecting themes be it placenames, and art work must bring that out. If it is paving, what is that is distinct? eg; red ochre? Toroa? right whale? makā, kōwhai ērā mea, and connecters to our past, present and future so people make the links. If it is too generic that is just another form of blurring going on.[1]

The important value that must be considered is **Mana** and that it is our expectation that we see mana whenua and our whakapapa and history reflected in this street.

1 Edward Ellison, email correspondence with Megan Pōtiki, "George Street."

Contact

Contact with Europeans happened by the early 1800s, and eventually the Dunedin area became a port and place for Europeans to settle. Sealers, who were mainly working in the Fiordland area, made their way into the Otago Peninsula harbour in the early 1800s.[2] The Ōtākou harbour rapidly became a commercial anchorage where Europeans could purchase pigs, flax, potatoes, fresh water and quality timber for boat repairs. The focus of commercial activity was at the mouth of the Otago Peninsula, whereas the mainland was thick with forest and pigs were eventually let to run there.

The ship *Matilda* arrived at Ōtākou in 1814. Captain Fowler was forced to take shelter in the harbour due to storms and damage to the *Matilda*. As they repaired their ropes, local Māori restocked them with fish, potatoes and fresh water.[3]

Māori were eager to be part of the trade and the saleable operations of their home from the outset. Anderson remarks that Māori potato cultivation was extensive by the mid-1830s and shipments of tons of potatoes were being sent to Sydney. Pork, muttonbirds and dried and salted fish were also sent from Ōtākou.[4]

2 Sealing started in New Zealand in the late 18th century and continued until about 1820 when local populations were depleted to the extent that the industry was no longer economically viable. See P.J.F. Coutts, "Towards the Development of Colonial Archaeology in New Zealand. Part 2. Early Settlement Patterns in Southern New Zealand," p. 51.

3 T. Lybus, The Maoris of the South Island, p. 29.

4 Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, p. 173.

Land

The Crown, under pressure from the New Zealand Company, waived its right of pre-emption as stated in the Treaty, allowing the New Zealand Company to negotiate with the local chiefs for the purchase of land in the south. Belgrave claims that land sales in the South Island were treated with far less care at this time:

The careful negotiation for Maori rights established by the Protectorate was still generally maintained in most of the North Island, where Maori were strong and more numerous. But in areas where Maori were dispersed the actual standard of purchasing declined substantially.[5]

The settlement of Otago had its beginnings in the Scottish parliament in 1842 when the Scottish politician George Rennie proposed a 'New Edinburgh' in Dunedin, then the New Zealand Company purchased the Otago block in 1844. The New Zealand Company and the Free Church of Scotland selected the area at the head of the harbour for a permanent site, to be called New Edinburgh.[6]

Kāi Tahu wanted to keep 21,250 acres of Otago Peninsula with ancestral sites for themselves. However, the Europeans did not agree and would not proceed with the sale unless the Otago Peninsula was included.[7] On 31 July 1844, at Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers today, on the opposite side of Ōtākou), 25 chiefs signed the Otago deed, selling around 400,000 acres for £2,400.[8] Of the 400,000 acres, 150,000 acres would be chosen for the New Edinburgh site. In addition to this land, verbal agreements were made to reserve 10% of all land sold, known as 'the tenths', in trust for the benefit of Kāi Tahu.[9] The agreement was not honoured and remained in dispute for more than 150 years. The sale left the once resourceful way-finders of Ōtākou isolated at the mouth of the harbour on the Otago Peninsula, struggling to make ends meet in a new environment.

The Otago Association was established in 1845 by adherents of the Free Church of Scotland with the sole purpose of establishing a colony of like-minded Scots – the New Edinburgh settlement within the Ōtākou Block.

The work on New Edinburgh began in 1846. The organised settlement of the suburban and rural areas of the peninsula began in 1848 and focused on Andersons Bay and Portobello. The peninsula was divided into farms of about fifty acres, which were gradually occupied and supplied a growing Dunedin with food. Dunedin transformed rapidly, guided by the new map of the Otago Block that was surveyed and completed by Charles Kettle and assistants. This map was proposed to reflect Scotland's Edinburgh, Dunedin being the Gaelic form of Edinburgh.

The *John Wickliffe* and its 97 passengers sailed from Gravesend, England, on 24 November 1847. Three days later, the *Philip Laing* left Greenock, Scotland, with a further 247 people. The ships arrived separately in March and April, carrying the Scottish settlers. Swiftly the names of Edinburgh streets were replicated in Dunedin, along with those of new immigrants, erasing Māori placenames in the city.

William Cargill, the New Zealand Company's resident agent[10] arrived on the *John Wickliffe* and wrote an address to the arrivals. He stated that there was a temporary barrack for the women and children and that lands had been staked out, ready for immediate selection and occupation. The incomers were quickly allocated sections of land. McIndoe wrote that:

Arrangements were soon completed for enabling those entitled to select their sections, and the first choice made was that corner of Princes and Rattray Streets, on which the Bank of New Zealand now stands. Following this, selections were made in different directions from Manor-place to the Leith, just as the taste or judgment of the party indicated.[11]

5 Michael Belgrave, "Preemption, the Treaty of Waitangi and the Politics of Crown Purchase," p. 36.

6 "Scottish Settlers Arrive in Otago," https://nzhistory.govt.nz/scottish-settlers-arrive-otago.

7 Harry Evison, Te Wai Pounamu The Greenstone Island, p. 205.

8 Michael Belgrave, "Preemption, the Treaty of Waitangi and the Politics of Crown Purchase," p. 36.

9 M. Pōtiki, "The Otago Peninsula: A Unique Identity," p. 81.

10 The conditions of the agreement between the directors of the New Zealand Company and the colonisation of Otākou, were published in 1846. This included Captain Cargill's position.

11 James McIndoe, *Picturesque Dunedin*, p. 4.

Wiremu Pōtiki

After the onset of formal colonisation in 1848, Dunedin city grew and became the capital of the newly constituted Otago Province in 1852 when the New Zealand Constitution Act was enacted, dividing New Zealand into six provinces. The act was instigated by Governor Grey and established a system of representative government in New Zealand. This was not only significant for Ōtākou Māori but for iwi Māori as the settler parliament took control of most aspects of government from the governor.

Otago was a large province that included all of the area below the Waitaki River. Like the other provinces, Otago was managed by an elected superintendent and council. Ōtākou Māori had no voice on this council as they did not fit the voting criteria. Māori men living on communal land did not meet the individual property rights to vote.[12] Māori wanted to be part of the provincial council from the outset. However, they were given a clear message that they were neither equipped nor welcome. Along with the Province of Otago came the establishment of the superintendent of the area from 1853 to 1860, William Cargill. He insisted on keeping the foreshore for public use. Over time Māori found themselves further on the outer, having to stay overnight in their canoes or on the shore as settlers took over the area and the township started to take shape with new buildings and roads.

A Māori presence was impinging on the town space in a location acknowledged as their landing place. An informal marketplace was established there, but the vision of a formal marketplace was never actually realised. Before long, the demand for Māori goods, services and produce dropped away.[13] European goods were highly priced and this immediately disadvantaged Māori. Furthermore, there was animosity from Europeans about Māori taking up space in the foreshore area. Newspapers reported that the women were sleeping on the beach and shivering in the cold at night while in Dunedin and were being preyed on by drunk men. Māori therefore asked for a hostel to be built as a shelter for them.[14]

Ben Schrader writes that:

> **In 1854, the Ngāi Tahu chief Pōtiki and 106 other Māori, presumably all Ngāi Tahu, petitioned the Otago provincial superintendent William Cargill to build a place of shelter for their use on the Dunedin foreshore out of funds set aside for Native purposes.[15]**

12 Ian Dougherty, Dunedin Founding a New World, p. 60.

13 Heritage New Zealand, "Draft Report for Wāhi Tūpuna," p. 11.

14 M. Goodall and G. Griffiths, *Māori Dunedin*, p. 24.

15 Ben Schrader, "Native Hostelries in New Zealand Colonial Cities," p. 23.

The hostel was built with the support of James Cargill in 1860 to accommodate Māori while they were in the city, but "in 1865, it was removed for the widening of Princes Street and not replaced".[16] As Schrader describes, it signalled "successful reassertion of spatial power by the local settler elite".[17] Ōtākou Māori were slowly pushed out of the new Dunedin city and kept to their villages at the mouth of the harbour.

A dispute that drove a wedge between our people and the Crown was the Princes Street Reserve. There was growing tension with Māori in the new Dunedin town. There was a small village at the mouth of the Leith River (Ōwheo), known as Te Tutai o Te Matauira, and huts on the banks of the Toitū stream. A landing site and small village remained at Ōtepoti. In the mid-1800s, this became the recognised landing place for Māori when they came to town from Ōtākou. Over time this became a place of trade – Māori would bring their goods, mainly fish and potatoes, from Ōtākou and sell them. They would stay in their whare when they came to Dunedin. These were destroyed in a fire in 1848 but Māori continued to camp on the shore, under upturned boats.[18] They were evicted from the area in 1851 as the settlers felt uncomfortable about haka that took place while they were there.[19]

The two major land disputes that resonate today from our recent history are the Princes Street Reserve mentioned above and the Port Chalmers Reserve. Both of these areas were central to Ōtākou's subsistence. Kōpūtai was a reserve set aside for Ōtākou Māori and is the residential area of Port Chalmers today.

Hori Kerei Taiaroa (H.K.) petitioned the Government about the Princes Street Reserve in Dunedin, land reserved for Māori in the city. The house that was erected for Māori on that reserve was taken down without communication and a more improved house was planned to be built there. However, the land was leased to Pākehā and eventually built on. From this ensued an ongoing dispute about the land for more than 100 years. H.K. Taiaroa challenged this in a petition to the government:

> **.... I wrote to Governor Grey, about 1866 or 1867, and asked him in what position that land was. I received no reply to that letter. After that Sir George Grey went down to the Middle Island and to Otago, and I then made an application to him for the restoration to us of that land. Sir George Grey said I should come up here to Wellington, and I and Timoti Karetai accompanied Sir George Grey on his return to Wellington – just at that time he was going away from New Zealand.[20]**

16 Ibid, p. 25.

17 Ibid, p. 25.

18 Ian Dougherty, *Dunedin Founding a New World*, p. 58.

19 J. West, *The Face of Nature*, p. 180, Edward Ellison, pers. comm., Ōtākou, 2021; Nyssa Payne-Harker, "Shared Spaces or Contested Places?" p. 62.

20 H.K. Taiaroa, Native Affairs Committee, "Report on the Petition of Hori Kerei Taiaroa," p. 2.

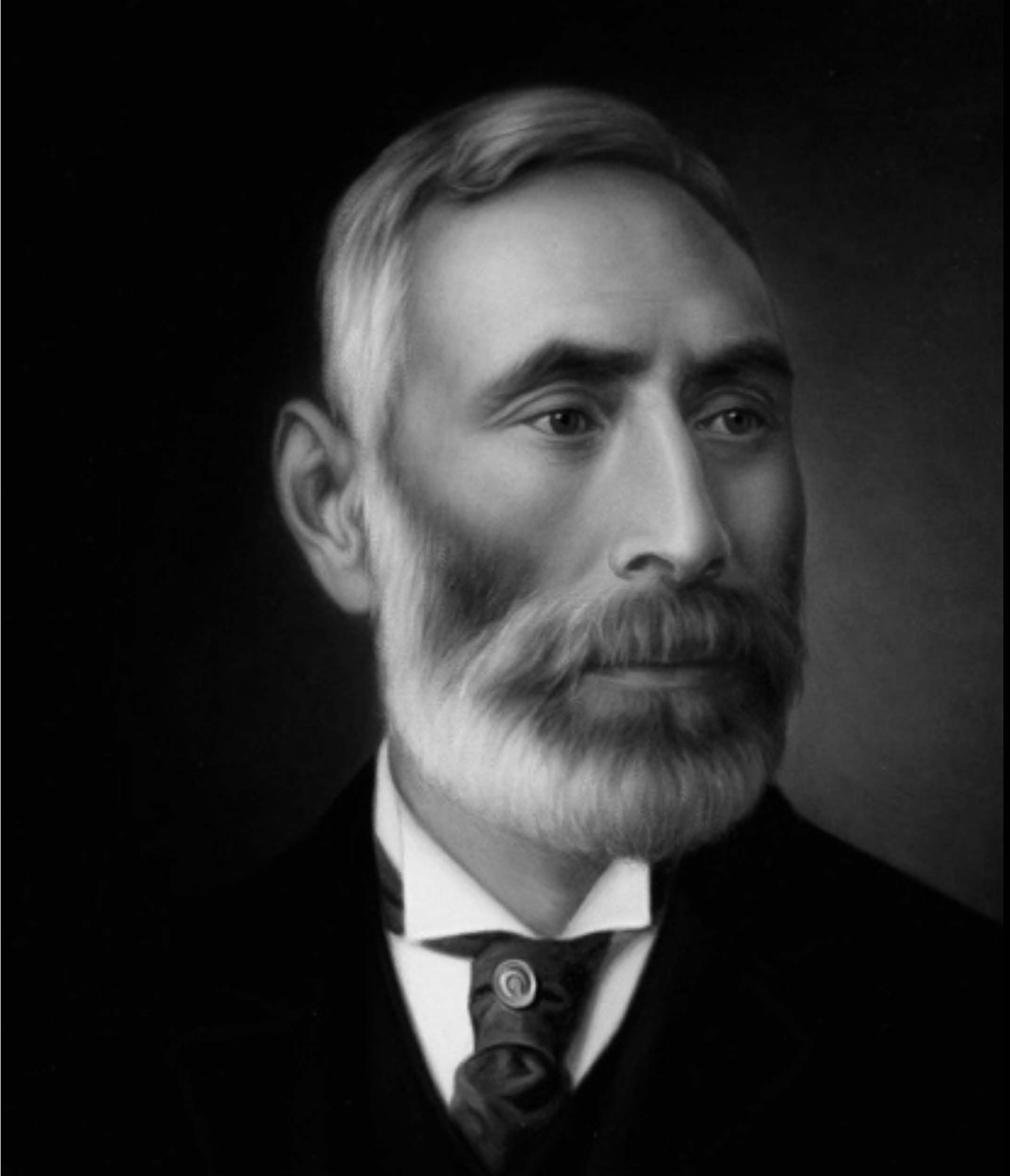
21 Ibid, p. 2.

H.K. Taiaroa who would eventually become a Member of Parliament for Southern Māori responded in 1877 to a question in parliament from the Honourable Mr Fox about the land:

> **I believe the decision was given against the Māori's. We lost the case. We appealed to the court of Appeal. The case was heard before the Court of Appeal in Wellington. No witnesses were called, and the matter was argued out by counsel. I believe the Judges did not allow any jury. The Court of Appeal gave its decision against the Māori.[21]**

This is an example of the refusal of Pākehā at that time to recognise the place of tangata whenua in the city of Dunedin. As a result, Māori lost the land but not without a fight.

H.K. Taiaroa has been described as the godfather of the Kāi Tahu claim. He was one of the many southern Māori leaders born on the cusp of a merging European and Māori society. Because of his intellectual and linguistic capability, he could be heard at the most senior level of Māori society and in the new colonial parliament. It is more likely that H.K., who was born at Ōtākou, was born 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, 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 placename on the Otago Peninsula, Taiaroa Head. 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. He married Tini Burns of Kaiapoi, another Kāi Tahu kāika (village), and had six sons. He died in Wellington in 1905. H.K. didn't live to see the completion of Te Kereme (Kāi Tahu Claim), but his battles for Kāi Tahu ensured the claim persisted to its conclusion in 1998.



H.K Taiaroa

H.K.'s drive to fight for his people is exemplified in this quote. His command of the English language is also obvious. His statement was made in writing, on Judge Fenton's report on the petition of the Kāi Tahu tribe. He stated:

You also refer to the Europeans having brought peace. I reply to that, that I would rather be dead than live to witness the distress and pain which my people suffer through the deceitful and unfulfilled words of the false-speaking race the Europeans… but I have not seen any benefit derived by myself and my people from the Europeans. This is what I say: He who speaks falsely to another ought to feel the flames of hell. [22]

At a meeting of Māori held in court in Dunedin in 1860, Merekihereke Hape used an analogy of salt and fresh water mixed together as a coming together of Māori and Pākehā:

Let the salt water and the fresh be mixed together that is may be of one taste; although the skin of one is white and the other dark, yet we are of the same offspring, and though we do not know the English language not the Europeans ours, let us show kindness one to the other, and good will grow out of it.'[23]

Between 1878 and 1879, George Street was built and developed.

From the 1870s to the 1950s, the enterprising Dreaver family made George Street their place of business. Elizabeth Creilman McHoul was born in Glasgow, and worked as a domestic servant before migrating to Otago in 1870. In 1873 she married James Dreaver, who opened a toy and fancy goods store. Mrs Dreaver opened a second family business, the Red Flag Drapery, in June 1877.[24]

22 H.K. Taiaroa, "Statement by H.K. Taiaroa," p. 5.

23 "Maori Meeting," *Otago Witness*

24 "Dreaver's Buildings," https://builtindunedin.com/tag/george-street/

Ōtepoti

We know that Ōtepoti itself is a very old name and that there was activity in that part of Dunedin. Ōtepoti has been confused as a more recent name for the "place of boats". This was written in publications such as *Māori Dunedin*.[25] However, this is incorrect according to our senior leaders at Ōtākou, including Edward Ellison and Tahu Pōtiki. The confusion about the name is well described by George Griffiths.[26] Herries Beattie published information in *Māori Place-Names of Otago*, stating:

At the head of the harbour, on the site of Dunedin, is Otepoti, and opinion is divided as to whether it is of ancient or modern bestowal. One school of thought considers the name means "the place of the boat" and that it was named because the whalers gave the Māori a boat (Maoricised into "poti") and that the boat was beached there. The other school of thought says that the end of the harbour was an old tauraka-waka (canoe landing) and was named O-te-poti centuries ago.[27]

The description about the boats or a port is incorrect and the name of Ōtepoti is about the shape of the area that looked like the corner of a Māori woven food basket, known as a *poti*.

This is a picture from 1860, showing Ōtepoti Bay. It illustrates where Ōtepoti is and the shape does resemble the corner of a kete.

Taylor writes that Ōtepoti, the centre of Dunedin city, was formerly the site of an old Māori canoe landing. The name Ōtepoti signifies "a corner of a kete".[28] Pybus writes that the name Ōtepoti was given to describe the canoe landing-place centuries ago and, therefore, cannot owe its origin to Pākehā days as some historians claim.[29]

25 G. Griffiths and M. Goodall, *Maori Dunedin*.
26 G. Griffiths, *The Spurious Maori Placenames of Southern New Zealand*.
27 J.H. Beattie, Maori Place-Names of Otago, p. 45.

28 W.A. Taylor, Lore and History of the South Island Māori, p. 136.
29 T.A. Pybus, Maori and the Missionary, p. 116.

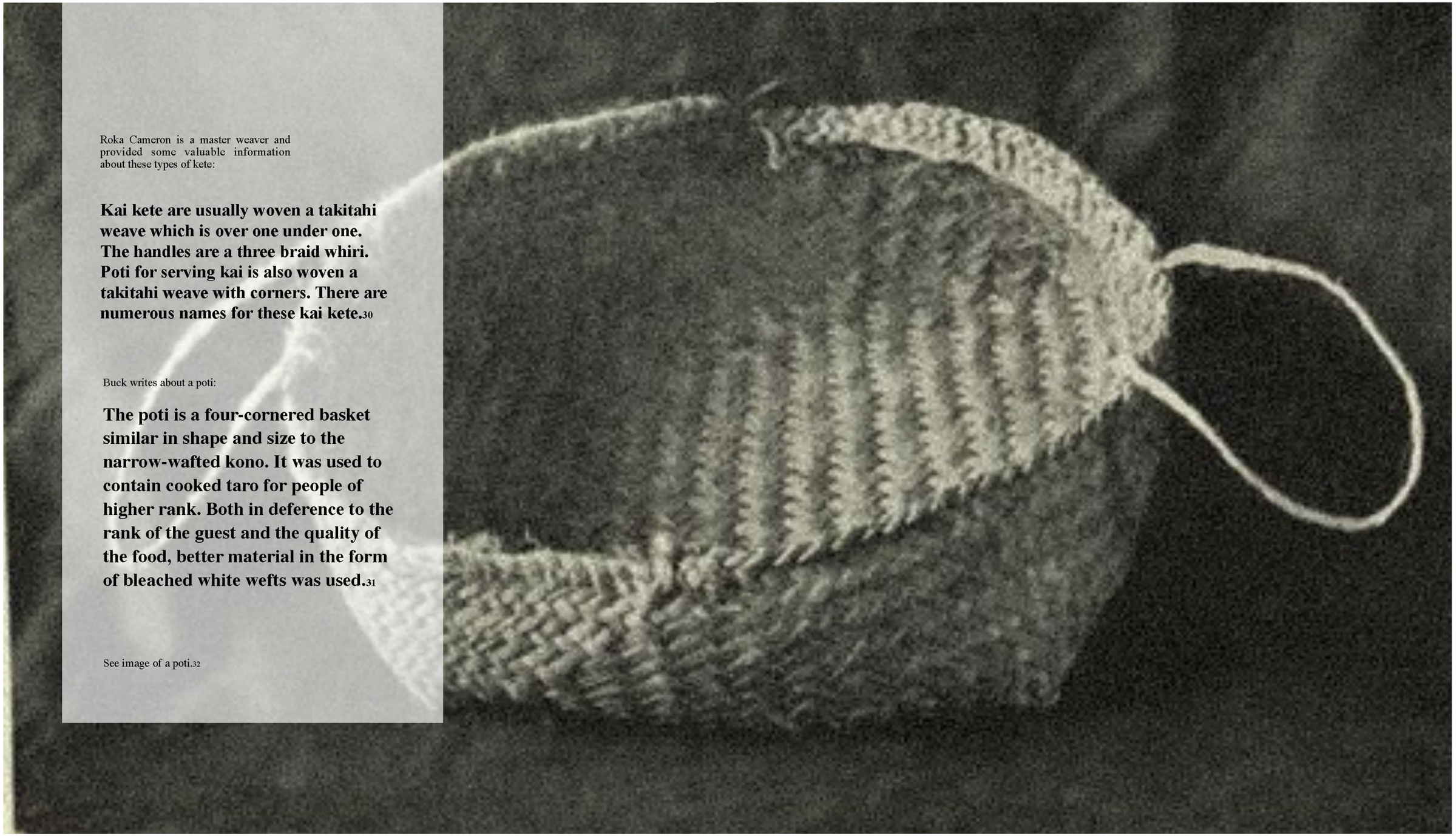
Roka Cameron is a master weaver and provided some valuable information about these types of kete:

Kai kete are usually woven a takitahi weave which is over one under one. The handles are a three braid whiri. Poti for serving kai is also woven a takitahi weave with corners. There are numerous names for these kai kete.[30]

Buck writes about a poti:

The poti is a four-cornered basket similar in shape and size to the narrow-wafted kono. It was used to contain cooked taro for people of higher rank. Both in deference to the rank of the guest and the quality of the food, better material in the form of bleached white wefts was used.[31]

See image of a poti.[32]



30 Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter) Buck, "Maori Plaited Basketry and Plaitwork: I, Mats, Baskets, and Burden-Carriers," p. 729.

31 Roka Cameron, email correspondence with Megan Pōtiki, October 2021.

32 Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter) Buck, "Maori Plaited Basketry and Plaitwork: I, Mats, Baskets, and Burden-Carriers," p. 736.

We know that the area was used to land and launch waka. Māori travelled up the Ōtākou awa (harbour) to gather food or land their boats and walk up through their tracks to other areas further afield. Māori were naturally focused on food gathering, particularly to sustain their whānau for the long winter months. Māori also harvested pigs there; Shortland noted in 1851 that he "met some natives, who had just come up the harbour to look after the pigs, of which great numbers were running at large in the bush".[33]He then commented that the purpose of running the pigs in town was to keep them from uprooting the plantations in their villages at the mouth of the harbour. The harbour was a crucial waterway to Ōtākou Māori, known as a river. It was a highway for travel on to the mainland and further afield, and a significant mahika kai area.

The outlook from George Street down the Otago Harbour lends us to consider the fishing in the harbour and can also relate to the fishing hook. H.K. Taiaroa wrote in 1880:

"Ko Te Awa Otakou"

Ko te whakamaramatanga o tenei awa moana Otakou e nui nga tikanga pumau o roto o tenei awa me nga take a nga Maori i nohoia ai tenei awa moana a Otakou. I o nga take nui kei nga ika o taua awa e maha ona ika o tenei awa: e tohora, e paikea, e mako, e hapuku, e maka, e patiki, e hokahoka, e aua, e wheke, e paara, e patutuki. Ko nga pipi o taua awa: e tuaki, e roroa, e kaiotama, e kakahi, e whetiko, e pupu, e tio.

The translation:

Otago Harbour

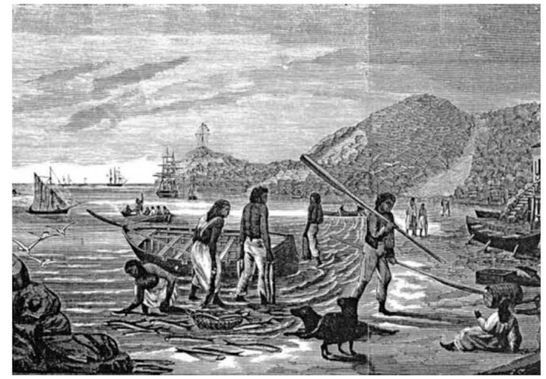
This is an explanation of the significant and enduring associations that Maori, who have long resided here, have with the Otago Harbour (Awa Moana Otakou). Most important is the recognition of the abundant species: southern right whales, humpback whales, sharks, groper, barracouta, flounder, red cod, mullet, octopus, frost fish and rock cod. The shellfish in the harbour were: littleneck clams (cockles), roroa (like a pipi or small tuatua), kaiotama (toheroa), kakahi (freshwater mussel or limpet – kakihi), whetiko (mud snail), pupu (catseye) and tio (oysters).

The Otago Harbour was a major source of kaimoana, and Tunuku Karetai, an elder interviewed by Beattie in 1920, provided a list of species that were gathered within the harbour. This included shellfish such as cockles (tuaki), paua, yellow foot paua (koeo), pipi, periwinkles (pupu), roroa (a type of clam), different species of mussels (kuku, pukanikani and toretore), whakai-o-tama (the Otago Māori word for toheroa) and limpets (whetiko and kakihi). The importance of shellfish is demonstrated by the huge piles of shells in midden material found on coastal sites.[34] Karetai also cited many fish species such as blue cod (rawaru), red cod (hoka), rock cod (patutuki), trumpeter (koekohe), tarakihi, greenbone (marare), crayfish (kōura) and seals (pakake), which provided a mainstay of sustenance for many generations of Kāi Tahu. He stated that the most abundant species were the barracouta (makā) and groper (hapuku).

The barracouta fishery was a well-documented and obvious staple for Māori within the Otago Harbour. In 1827 a sealer, John Boultbee, observed Kāi Tahu fishermen catching barracouta on the southern coast:

The fishers are provided with a rod of about 12 feet long, at the end of this a line of 3 feet length is fastened, to which is attached a narrow and flat piece of wood about 5 inches long ; in this piece a seal's tooth, a nail or some other sharp thing, is fixed with the point upwards so as to form a hook. The end of the rod is plunged in the water, and kept moving round in a quick manner so as to cause a strong ripple ; the fish seeing the agitation of the water and the brightness of the hook, mistake it for a shoal of small fish and voraciously snap at the hook, which never fails to penetrate through their jaws ; as fast as the fisherman throws in his fish, he continues working his rod and line about, as long as a fish is to be caught; sometimes they will load a canoe in two hours with fish.[35]

Once the fish was caught, the roe was eaten immediately while the flesh was dried on racks to preserve it for the winter months. The barracouta season extended from September to April. March was the best fishing month, making the timing perfect for storing winter supplies. According to archaeological evidence from the classic period,[36] in midden sites on the Otago coast more than half of fauna protein was derived from fish, and the predominant species (more than 50%) was barracouta. The dried form of barracouta was a key trade item during the 1830s, and it was the most prominent fish supplied to Dunedin's settlers during their lean early years. This was also the species that underpinned the early establishment of the Māori fishing business, Ōtākou Fisheries, which flourished from the 1940s through to the 1990s.



Matau (fish hooks) made by Māori are simple, ingenious, and beautifully constructed. The huge variety of hooks represent the many kinds of fish caught here as well as the many techniques used. Pā kahawai are numerous. These are a result of Eastern Pacific-style trolling lures being made here in local materials. The numbers of these that survive also reflect the importance and availability of the fish species they caught – voracious surface feeders such as kahawai and barracouta. These trolling lures and hooks are made from wood, shell, and bone – the fish being attracted to the flashes of movement and colour of the iridescent pāua shell that lined the shank. The shank could be made out of whalebone or wood, and after Pākehā (Europeans) arrived, iron. As an added luring device, feathers were sometimes attached. These lures were trolled behind waka (canoes) in estuaries or close to coastlines using lines of finely plaited muka (flax fibre).[37]

34 *Kāi Tahu ki Otago Natural Resource Management Plan 2005*, ch. 5.

35 A.C. and N.C. Begg, *The World of John Boultbee*.

36 The period from 1450 to 1800 when Māori culture had established itself and was unaffected by outside influences.

37 "Traditional Māori Fish Hooks and Trolling Lures," https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1467.

Harakeke/Korari

This plant was a hugely important resource to Māori, and to Pākehā when they arrived on our shores. The flax was used for making clothing and ropes and for medicinal purposes. Flax is an incredibly strong and useful plant. The flax leaves were used, along with the rhizome and roots. Edward Pohau Ellison of Ōtākou, who became a medical doctor, gave advice in the newspaper to those with dysentry:

Dysentry cure and care. Do not take any food on the first day. Take boiled liquids only. To clean out the bowels, take Epsom salts every two hours. There is no problem using flax water but it may be too severe for children.[38]

Beattie collected information on using the flax root for toothache:

Toothache is said to have been a very rare affliction in olden days. It was called nihotuka. Juice from the flax root, so the collector was told, if poured into the ear would make the recipient give a cold shiver, but in about 20 minutes time it would cause the toothache to depart.[39]

The korari part of the flax was also useful. In our southern traditions, the korari was used to make a musical instrument. The porotu was a type of flute that was made from wood or korari and had between four and six holes in it. Beattie wrote:

Cuts..., scratches and wounds were treated with various healing agencies according to which was most convenient at the time and place. Flax gum (pia-harakeke) was extensively used. A European who came to Otago in 1857 told me that following the maori example he used flax gum for cuts, binding it round with whitau (dressed flax) and that he found it very effacious.[40]

Kareao (Supplejack)

This was recorded as growing on the flat below Hanover and Frederick Streets, and the area there was named Mataukareao (supplejack fish-hook).[41]

The strong, supple vines twist their way in tangled masses to the top of the canopy of the New Zealand forest. Vines can grow up to five centimetres per day. Māori traditionally used kareao to make hīnaki (eel and crayfish pots). Young tender shoots were eaten and tasted like beans. Watery sap could be blown out of short sections of vine to quench thirst.[42] Toys like bows (with arrows) were also made from kareao.[43]

38 T.A. Pybus, Maori and the Missionary, p. 116.

39 E.P. Ellison, "Te Rongoā me te Tiaki," p. 1090.

40 J.H. Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori*, p. 83.

41 W.H.S. Roberts, *Māori Nomenclature*, p. 3.

42 "Phormium Tenax: Harakeke, Flax," https://www.otago.ac.nz/marine-studies/resources/download/otago062823.pdf

43 "He Aitaka a Tāne: Sheltering Toetoe," https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/he-aitaka-a-tane-sheltering-toetoe/

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