Aukaha
KIA KAHA, AU KAHA

Cultural Narrative *for* the New Zealand Police - Dunedin Central

Cover: The front image depicted is the Huia. The huia feather which is considered tapu by Māori, is also used by the New Zealand Police to honour the memory of their fallen colleagues. The wearing of the huia tail feather as ornamentation is considered a great honour. The tail plumage of the huia bird, now also lost to us, is extremely special. The incorporation of the Police chevron into the huia tail feather, with the small cut at the top, signifying loss, communicates the honour and loss of someone special to Police.
The pin is attached to a card carrying the Māori words: *Huia e! Huia tangata kotahi. He tōtara kua hinga.*
This translates to: The feather of the huia, for someone special. One dearly departed.

New Zealand Police Cultural Narrative

This Kāi Tahu cultural narrative has been prepared by Aukaha for the New Zealand Police. Its purpose is to provide a cultural context for the design aspects of the building improvements as well as some locally-specific background relevant to the New Zealand Police and Mana Whenua.

Guided by mana whenua (in this case, Dunedin-based Papatipu Rūnaka Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki), values have been identified for the cultural narrative.

It is important to note that the mātauraka Māori (traditional knowledge) which is shared on the following pages is highly valued by mana whenua, as it has been passed down through the generations from our Tūpuna (ancestors). Mātauraka Māori should be treated with the upmost respect and should be used in accordance with tikaka Māori (correct protocols and procedures). If staff and consultants wish to focus on any aspects of local mātauraka Māori, they should first engage mana whenua and make contact with Aukaha for advice.

Core values

MANA

Mana (prestige) ensures that the indigenous authority of mana whenua is recognised and upheld in this re-build, design, social procurement and work outcomes. The mana of tūpuna is also recognised and honoured in this space. For the purpose of this narrative, mana includes the value of kia humarie, which is about being humble. Humility works in unison with mana in te ao Māori because mana is also about understanding yourself and behaving with dignity and respect for yourself and others. An example of this is humility in practice and engagement.

TAPU

Mana whenua will identify and lead the appropriate procedures and protocols regarding things tapu, such as wāhi tapu, sacred sites, archaeological findings, treatment of taoka and knowledge relating to taoka. Tapu also guides processes with restrictions to provide an element of safety and direction. The Māori world is completely guided by tapu and noa (the opposite of tapu – ordinary or normal).

WHAKAPAPA

All things come from the original point of creation, a source of power. This power, which originally belongs to the gods, is mana. Any personified entity – be it man, woman or mountain – is seen to have inherited some of this original power. The Māori view of the universe also places a hierarchy on descent. The whakapapa central to the whenua and the people of that place needs to be honoured and acknowledged.

MAURI

Mauri is the life-force connection between gods and earthly matter. All things have mauri, including inanimate objects, so it can be found in people, animals, fauna, fish, waterways, rocks, mountains. The mauri protects the health of a person or place. If a mauri is damaged, the owner or the seat of that mauri is vulnerable or also damaged. Mauri has evolved as a concept and is heavily drawn upon for environmental and physical models of health.

Related values

WHAKAMANUHIRI
Whakamanuhiri is an important value that is very evident in our Māori language manuscripts of the 1800s. It can be described as hosting and honouring guests. This is taken seriously and is also mana-enhancing as the applied cultural practices associated with whakamanuhiri reflect positively on mana whenua. This value is also strongly associated with the tomokaka, or entrance way. The entrance is a very important space to welcome people and acts as a threshold for appropriate behaviour that also honours the whenua and tangata whenua.

TIKAKA
Tikaka is about upholding mana whenua customs and cultural practices and acting ethically to protect and enhance mana whenua wellbeing, cultural identity, language and whakapapa.

TUMATAITI/TŪMATANUI
These are dual values: “tumataiti” is “private” and “tūmatanui” is “public”. These values are centred on the entranceway, exits and other key spaces, and include particular values for working with staff and community.

WHAKANOA
Whakanoa is a value and applied cultural practice that clears the restrictions placed by tapu. It is a process by which a place or event is made normal or free of restrictions, and is an important practice in entering and exiting particular spaces. Water and kai are often important aspects of the whakanoa process. It is important to place water spaces in the entry and exit of a build to complete the whakanoa process.

TE REO MĀORI
Mana whenua have been on a long and arduous journey of language revitalisation. The loss of our native speakers left us in a compromised position culturally, and we have spent the last thirty years dedicated and committed to revitalising our language. It is therefore vital that te reo Māori is seen and heard in the community and in our buildings and spaces, normalised. This reflects back to the community the value of te reo Māori and Māori identity and honours the revitalisation journey.

TAPATAPA
This value is about the importance of being able to name buildings and spaces. In the past, the naming of land was associated with mana and ownership of whenua. Places embody the name, whether it be an ancestor or object. Naming can also refer to tribal borders and affiliations.

RAKATIRATAKA
This value embodies the right to express leadership, authority and self-determination within one’s own takiwā (tribal territories). The vision and aspirations for this project are driven by mana whenua leadership. Mana whenua have cultural processes to guide engagement.

MAUMAHARATAKA
Historical events regarding Māori are often excluded from the public narrative, and not fairly or correctly recorded. Māori history needs to be acknowledged and embedded in projects. It is also important to recall past histories in order to move ahead and develop the foundations of a strong future.

MĀTAURAKA
“Mātau” is “to know” and “Mātauraka” is “knowledge”. The body of Māori knowledge and understanding encompasses (among other things) the Māori world view and perspectives, traditional knowledge and practices.

WHAKARITEKA
Mana whenua have particular customs and practices that need to be adhered to, some traditional and some adapted over time. These customs are informed by historical narrative and tikaka. Mana whenua in our rohe had to live by preparedness for long arduous journeys, a harsh climate and food gathering.

KIA TIKA, KIA PONO, KIA MĀORI
This phrase translates as being appropriate, honest and Māori in intention, design, and outcome – so, following a pathway of integrity but through a Māori lens. These values sit well within the wider work of the police in the community and acknowledge that Māori are able to be Māori in this build and space. This phrase also relates to the value of whanoka, or behaviour, which here refers to developing spaces that encourage good and healthy behaviour.

TOHETOHE

Tohetohe is about perseverance; it also refers to protest and debate. This value has a place in this build and in the work of the police as they tussle with the systemic whānau issues for Māori and the perseverance required to arrive at a good outcome. Pakanga is an aligned term that refers to battles. Our Māori local history reveals that we were engaged in many battles related to mana, rakatirataka, conquest and ownership.

TUAKIRI

Tuakiri is defined as identity, essentially described as what is beyond your skin, from “tua” for “beyond” and “kiri” for “skin”. This value is at the core of work with the police, and the design and build is a way to connect with the identity of mana whenua and Māori. The loss of Māori identity and connection to whenua is central to systemic indigenous issues. Visibility of culture and Māori narrative cements the connection with our Māori community.

WHAKAWHANAUKATAKA

This value is about maintaining and nurturing positive relationships through shared experiences and whakapapa.

MANAAKITAKA

This value is about respect and care that underpin strong, positive relationships. Design development processes within projects such as this one support opportunities to grow relationships and enable collaborative approaches. Design considerations and outcomes inspire people (whānau) to engage with each other.

POU WHIRINAKI

This value relates to particular people who are reliable, dependable pillars of support. It also relates to leadership and the concept that we need key people to guide and teach us, providing a sense of assurance that guides Māori cultural safety.

MAMAE

Mamae is described as pain and hurt, an injury or wound. Mamae has been an outcome of colonisation, which has included land loss, poverty, language loss, and a disconnection from kāinga, culture and whakapapa. Mamae is a key value in this development as it is a pivotal aspect of systemic loss and suffering, and it is important to acknowledge the effect of this on indigenous communities.

UTU

Utu is a value that can be described as reciprocity – to repay, respond, recompense. Under this value, projects such as this can redress historical bias. Utu illustrates a response that enacts genuine partnership and honours mana whenua and iwi Māori.

Applied cultural practices

WHAKAIRI
This cultural practice is about honouring the past in order to move into the future. It is about elevating the history that has been and thereby respectfully restoring the mana of place and people.

WHAKATINANA
Whakatinana is about realising and implementing dreams and aspirations. It embodies the notion of passing the baton on but is not one-directional. The baton can be passed and the vision can be realised by different generations and various communities and people.

KIA KITEA
This value upholds the importance of a visible Māori presence in all areas of the build, including the entrance and exits to lifts, rooms to gather and so forth. Māori certainly do not see themselves, their tikaka and te reo well represented throughout cities and builds – this is an opportunity to elevate the visibility of mana whenua whakapapa, te reo, history and our place.

TĀMITAKA
This value refers to subjugation as an outcome of the power and control of colonisation. It results in recognising the significance of oppression and ongoing racism for iwi Māori and in our struggling communities.

KĀ HUA O TE TAU
This value refers to the seasons of the year, which is an important value to consider for this build and for the associated issues the police face. Our community are faced with particular challenges based on the season and the time of year. Furthermore, mana whenua lived and survived by the seasons of the year as this dictated particular food gathering and preparation practices.

ATUA MĀORI
This value refers to the Māori deities. Historically, the Māori world was guided and protected by Māori gods and, although Christianity was prioristised in the modern world, both Christian and Māori atua are important. Karakia are a critical part of Atua Māori, helping to guide processes and honour Māori spirituality. Karakia also allow processes to start, finish and continue with integrated Māori values.

Creation narratives

Using creation narratives to tell our history and whakapapa to the land and place provides a broad platform for Māori from different iwi to connect to mana whenua and the design of a build. The ability to see yourself in a narrative is important as it draws on identity and honours the whakapapa of indigenous people of Aotearoa me Te Waipounamu.

The creation narratives are very detailed – for the purpose of this overarching narrative, we have chosen parts that highlight mana whenua values related to the police re-design and build, rather than including the entire mega-narrative. After much discussion, mana whenua considered that the overall creation narrative should be an key part of the design.

The information for the creation narratives comes from two sources, J.F.H Wohlers and Matiaha Tiramorehu. Tiramorehu was born at Kaiapoi Pā in the early nineteenth century and died at Moeraki on 6 April 1881 in his eighty-seventh year. He was considered by Māori and Pākehā (such as missionaries J.W. Stack and James Watkin) to be one of the most knowledgeable and authentic scholars of his time as he was one of the last students of the traditional whare wānaka (a traditional university of higher learning) in Kāi Tahu.

Wohlers was a German missionary who arrived at Ruapuke Island in May 1844 and learnt te reo Māori. He gave no clue as to who his informants were, other than naming them “wise people”. Wohlers developed an interest in Māori lore and started recording (writing) the narratives. His Māori language skills were clearly quite advanced as he recorded complex language structures, thoughts and ideas. The beauty of his work was that he recorded the information verbatim and didn’t re-write or meddle with the interpretation of the words. Furthermore, the language he recorded was a southern dialect, which is now preserved in these archives.

Pokohāruatepō

In our Kāi Tahu creation whakapapa, Rakinui’s first wife was Pokohāruatepō. It is important to acknowledge this as unique to Kāi Tahu.

The creation narrative opens with the beginning whakapapa of our world according to Kāi Tahu. The beginning is a process of reproduction and the creation of life. The related values are tuakiri, whakapapa, mana, tapu, rakatirataka, whakairi, maumaharataka, whakawhanaukataka, and include the applied cultural practices of tomokaka, Atua Māori, kā hua o te tau, and karakia.

The following names are those first born into the world. It is important to note that these names have been translated, but the translations do not directly represent the various processes of creation.

Te Pō	The night/the darkness
Te Ao	The day
Te Aomarama	The bright light/the enlightenment
Te Aotūroa	The long standing day
Te Koretēwhiwhia	The unattainable void
Te Koretērāwea	The intangible void
Te Koretētāmaua	The unstable void
Te Korematua	The parentless
Te Mākū ki a Mahoranuiātea	The damp (who coupled with Mahoranuiātea)
Ka puta a Raki	Raki was born
Ka moe a Raki ki a Pokohāruatepō	Raki coupled with Pokohāruatepō
Ka puta a Te Hānuioraki	Te Hānuioraki was born

Takaroa and Papatūānuku

The related values are mana, tapu, whakapapa, mauri, tikaka, tūmataiti, whakanoa, rakatirataka, maumaharataka, mātauraka, whakariteka, tohetohe, whakawhanaukataka, mamae, utu, whakairi, pakanga, karakia.

Papatūānuku fell in love with Takaroa and together they had children. After the birth of each child, Takaroa would go on a long journey and find the right place to bury the placenta (popoki). On the birth of one of his children, he took the placenta and umbilical cord to bury and was away for a very long time, leaving Papatūānuku on her own, waiting for him to return. While Takaroa was gone she fell in love with another man, Rakinui, and together they had many children.

Eventually Takaroa returned and discovered that Papatūānuku had fallen in love with Rakinui and that they had had many children together. Takaroa was angry – he invited Rakinui onto the beach and they fought. In the fight, Takaroa threw his spear at Rakinui and it pierced him through his buttocks. He was badly wounded and became ill. After the fight, Takaroa was satisfied that he had sought retribution and dealt with Rakinui, and he left. Takaroa's abode is in our Ōtākou harbour – it is the island, Rakiriri (known as Goat Island today).

Rakinui and Papatūānuku

The related values are mana, tapu, whakapapa, mauri, tūmataiti, whakanoa, rakatirataka, mātauraka, whakariteka, tohetohe, whakawhanaukataka, mamae, utu, whakairi, Atua Māori, karakia, pou whirinaki.

After fighting with Takaroa, Rakinui was wounded badly and he returned to be with Papatūānuku. They had more children but these new children were sick or born with disabilities because Rakinui was weak. These children were The Family of Weakness, The Family Lying Down, Tāne With Bent Legs, Tāne With Legs Drawn Up, Tāne With Swollen Eyes, Tāne Who Wets Inside The House, Weak Tāne, Big Head, Long Head, Swollen Head and Tāne Of Great Health.

For this reason, Rakinui said to Tāne and his younger brothers, "Son, you must lift me up so that I am standing above and your mother is lying below and daylight will shine upon you." Tāne lifted his father upon his back. He raised his pole Tokomauka, and Paia raised his pole Ruatipua. Paia then said his karakia:

Ko toko nā wai?
Ko toko nā Tokomauka.
Ko toko nā wai?
Ko toko nā Ruatipua.
He turuturu tēnā tokotoko,
Ka eke ki tēnei raki.

Rakinui was lifted up to the sky. Papatūānuku lay on the earth below. Rakinui farewelled his wife. "Papa, goodbye. This is my love to you. Every year I shall cry for you." This is the dew and mists that arrive every summer.

Tāne and Paia had forced their parents apart. Their father became the sky and their mother became the earth. Now Tāne was worried that Rakinui and Papatūānuku had no clothes. He gathered trees and shrubs to cover Papatūānuku.

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Hineātauira and Tāne

The related values are mana, tapu, whakapapa, tūmataiti, rakatirataka, mātauraka, whakariteka, tohetohe, whakawhanaukataka, mamae, utu, whakairi, tapatapa.

Hineātauira is a well-known figure in our whakapapa. Tāne went searching for a partner to produce children of his own. Papatūānuku instructed him to make a woman out of earth, of her soil. He did, creating Hineātauira, and he copulated with her, his own daughter, and they had children together. When Hineātauira asked where her husband was, Papatūānuku told her that he was in fact her father. She was overcome with shame and went into the night and hid herself there with her two daughters, Tahu kūmia and Tahu whakairo. She fled to the underworld to the house of Poutereraki. Her daughters are now the pou (carved poles) that guard the entrance to that house.

On Tāne's return, his mother Papatūānuku greeted him with the news that his wife had left him. Hinātauira left a message for Tāne that he must stay on earth and care for their children as she resides in the underworld and there will come a time when she drags her children down to her. Tāne pursued Hineātuaira to the underworld. He arrived at the house and waited outside. Hineātauira spoke from inside the house and Tāne called to her, asking her to return with him. Hineātauira called out, telling him to return to the world above to raise some of their children and to leave her here below waiting to receive their children.

Tāne met a number of different women on his journey and in the waiata finally arrives at a house called Poutereraki. This house has several names, which are also used to refer to the journey of our dead to their final resting place. These names are Poutereraki, Te Rake Pohutukawa or Pohutukawa, Hawaiiki, Tu-kai-nanapia, Te Rēinga, Te Pō, Rarohenga, Naonao, Rekoreko, Waewae-te-Pō.

Tāne created many children, accomplished a number of deeds and met barriers that represent human struggle, loss, frustration and grief. Te Ara whānui o Tāne is an example of one of his expeditions. It is a metaphorical road for Tāne's jouney from the world of the living to the dead. Te Ara whānui a Tāne extends to Te Aka Tapu (Ryans Beach) – the leaping place for the dead within the Ōtākou rohe and mana whenua.

Te Rakiwhakaupoko/Rakinui

The related values are mana, whakapapa, tūmataiti, rakatirataka, mātauraka, whakariteka, whakawhanaukataka, utu, whakairi, Atua Māori, and pou whirinaki.

Near the end of his journey with Raki his father, Tāne spent time looking for something to adorn his father above with. He initially gathered Rāhuikura to adorn Rakinui but the red colours would only stick to him at dawn. At night they would not rest upon Rakinui. Tāne then went on a long journey and met with his young brother Wehi-nui-a-mamao, the weaver. Wehi was weaving a beautiful cloak of stars, and Tāne asked him to give him the cloak for his father. Wehinuiamamao gave Tāne the stars that he had attached to his cloaks to adorn their father. These stars are called Hirauta, Hiratai, Te Parinuku and Te Pariraki. Tāne also placed other stars on Raki – some of these were signs of the seasons, such as Puaka, Takurua, Weroiteninihi, Weroitekokoto and Weroiteaumāria. When this was done, Tāne was satisfied with the beautification of his father. Tāne eventually returned to the living world to raise his children.

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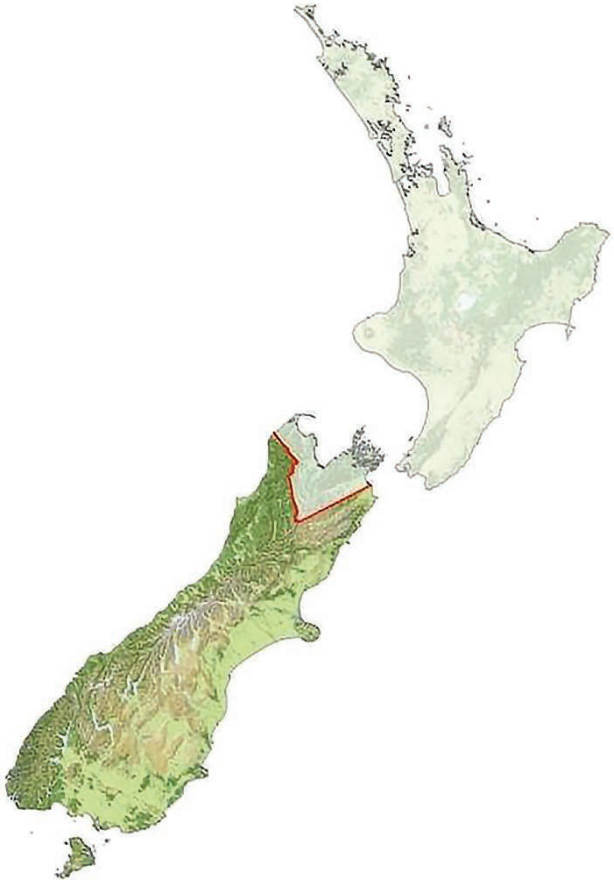
First peoples of the Dunedin area

The South Island (Te Waipounamu) of New Zealand not only has an entirely different landscape to that of the North Island (Te Ika-a-Maui) but also a different indigenous demographic.

The South Island was originally inhabited by early Polynesian settlers known as Kāti Hāwea and Te Rapuwai. Anderson claims that these people were certainly Polynesians and among the ancestors of Southern Māori. [1] The following onset of people were the Waitaha. They are an early group of people who are known to have arrived on the canoe, the Uruao, and their legacy was left in the many places they named in the South Island. The well-known Southern tribal ancestor Rākaihautū of the Waitaha people was described as a giant. He carved out the lakes and rivers of the South Island with his supernatural digging implement.

The consequent migration and intermarriage of Kāti Māmoe and then Kāi Tahu from the East coast of the North Island to the South Island and into Waitaha procured a stronghold for Māori in Te Waipounamu. Map 1 illustrates the large tribal area now associated with Waitaha, Kāti Mamoe and Kāi Tahu in the South Island.



Place names in Dunedin

Mataukareao is a nohoaka (camping site) and tauraka waka (landing place for waka) located at the lower end of Hanover Street in Ōtepoti (Dunedin).

Tūtae a Te Matauira is a kāika (village) located on the beach near Ōwheo (Water of Leith). Te Mātauira was a tupuna (ancestor), who was the son of Te Ruahikihiki, a Kāi Tahu chief. Kāi Te Ruahikihiki is one of the hapū of the mana whenua of Ōtākou.

Tauraka Pipipi is the Māori name for Black Jacks Point, which is in today's Logan Park area. It is an estuarine area that was once full of birds such as weka. Tauraka Pipipi could be interpreted as the place to catch a bird known in English as a brown creeper (a small endemic forest bird of the South Island and Stewart Island.

The name **Otepoti** itself is ancient, according to Tahu Pōtiki. He disagreed that it had any meaning related to boats or a port, but said it was in fact named for the shape of the area, which looked like the corner of a Māori woven food basket, known as apoti.

Ōwheo is the Māori name for the Water of Leith, a small river that flows through what is now Dunedin North and the University of Otago grounds, sometimes through concrete channels. The river mouth is at Otago Harbour.

Ngā Moana e Rua is a kāika nohoaka (a village) and a hāpua (lagoon) located at Otepoti. In the evidence gathered for the 1879 Smith-Nairn Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Kāi Tahu land claims, Kāi Tahu kaumātua recorded that tuna (eels) were gathered there.

Te Iri o Wharawhara
A great Kāti Mamoe chief named Wharawhara o te Raki, who lived in the Halfway Bush area of Dunedin, had passed away. His body was raised on a platform, allowing all mourners to see him and pay their respects – this is how the suburb "Whakaari" got its name (it is now said "Wakari", a corruption of the original name). The body was then taken to the Logan Park area and raised again on a platform for people to see. This area was originally known as 'Te Iri o Wharawhara te Raki' (the suspension of Wharawhara te Raki).

Toitū is a river running from Mornington and under Stafford Street down to the harbour.

Oterara/Te Rara is in the Mornington area – it is a waterway that branched off Pokohiwi and ran past Zingari towards Carisbrook.

Colonisation

As mana whenua were hit with various waves of colonisation, they struggled to feed their families as they had traditionally and to maintain cultural strength and connection to their traditional villages and whenua. After losing substantial autonomy, a desire to simply survive in a largely European world came to the fore.

Britain had spread its influence and control across many countries, colonising and appropriating domains for its own use and power well before casting its eyes on New Zealand. New Zealand was the most far-flung country from Britain, and the impetus to colonise it was driven by a desire for it not to be a financial burden to Britain but to create wealth.

The arrival of the first intrepid European travellers to our shores, including Abel Tasman in 1642 and Captain Cook in 1700, highlighted New Zealand as a destination with important sources of interest. West wrote that Cook sailed in the service of commerce and science, both of which underpinned the empire. Cook was also the first to draw a fairly accurate map of the country and place New Zealand on the world map in his Endeavour voyage from 1769 to 1770. In Cook's first voyage to New Zealand, he sailed past the Otago Peninsula, missing it completely. Publication of Captain Cook's reports of his findings promoted the country, and it wasn't long before traders from Sydney and the likes found their way to New Zealand.

Māori leaders and early encounters

Among Māori “curios” collected by Captain Cook in 1770 was a preserved Kāi Tahu head, the first of many mokomokai to be exchanged for muskets over the next century by whalers, sealers and traders, who often negotiated for heads even before Māori had been killed.

Kāi Tahu were involved in inter-tribal battles up to the late 1830s. Ōtākou leaders were fully engaged in these battles, travelling up and down the island. The most well-known warrior from Ōtākou was Te Matenga Taiaroa, who was renowned for his ability to intervene and stop excessive bloodshed. Taiaroa was possibly the most mobile of the Kāi Tahu leaders during this period of significant change, regularly featuring in other parts of the country – often as a menacing and controversial character. He regularly travelled north for battle, and represented the iwi at the Kingitanga discussion at Taupō and the Kohimarama Conference north of Auckland.

The battles with Ngāti Toa were in full flight from 1829 to 1835, requiring the barter of muskets and gun powder. Key figures such as Taiaroa, Karetai and Tuhawaiki were entrenched in the warfare and negotiations.

Taiaroa and Karetai had also been engaging with Pākehā sealers and whalers since their mid-thirties and showed a hunger for European knowledge. Sealing gangs had found their way to places on the coast of the South Island. Some of the sealing gangs were dropped to remote coastal areas and left there for months until they were rescued again. In 1809 and 1810, two vessels from Australia dropped sealing gangs at Cape Saunders (on the outskirts of the Otago Peninsula). One of the first known was the Matilda in 1814. Captain Fowler was forced to take shelter in the harbour due to storms and damage to his vessel. Local Māori took care of the crew, repaired the ship’s ropes and restocked it with fish, potatoes and fresh water.

Te Matenga Taiaroa

Sealers had introduced potatoes to the far south in the early 1800s and they eventually took hold as a transformative staple to the Māori diet. They were also an invaluable commodity to trade across the country.

Due to the intense sealing in the lower part of the South Island in the early 1800s, seals were almost wiped out in the southern rookeries. A few of the men who arrived on the Brothers vessel, a forty tonne schooner chartered by Robert Campbell, made their way into the Ōtākou kāika, including William Tucker. Tucker was possibly one of only three “voluntary Pakeha settlers in New Zealand” living at Whareakeake (known as Murderers Beach). He built a house, kept sheep and goats, and lived with a Māori woman. Entwisle strongly suggests that Tucker may not have been the first Pākehā (non-Māori) to live in this area but he was the first European known to do so with success. Tucker had travelled back and forth to Sydney trading mokomokai (preserved heads) and pounamu pieces such as heitiki (greenstone pendant for the neck).

Connections with Australia

It can be assumed that Ōtākou had ongoing visits from European vessels and ships from the very early 1800s. Tucker himself was in Sydney when he boarded the Sophia, which departed for southern New Zealand in 1817. Captain Kelly sailed the ship from Tasmania and anchored in the Ōtākou harbour on 11 December 1817.

When Kelly and some of his men took themselves ashore to engage with Māori to exchange iron for potatoes, the encounter ended tragically as the Māori attacked for reasons unclear. Kelly survived but others did not. Tucker, who was eager to get back to his residence, was killed in the attack. Te Matahaere and Taiaroa were two of the men involved in the attack. In a dramatic 1939 account of the fatal encounter, McFarlane wrote that a number of the savages rushed at Tucker with spears and hatchets, knocking him down in the foaming surf and tearing him limb from limb.

Māori began to travel to Australia as early as the late 1700s, with Tuki Tahua and Ngahuruhuru from the Cavalli Islands, north of the Bay of Islands, being the first known example in 1793. However, no European ships visited Ōtākou for six years after the Kelly incident. Through encounters such as those with William Tucker, Ōtākou Māori began to venture to places like Sydney; for example, Karetai travelled to Sydney and back in the 1830s.

As discussed above, the first major interactions between Māori and Pākehā in the South Island were with sealers and whalers, and three Lascars possibly remained on with Southern Māori. One was met by John Rodolphus Kent in the Ōtākou harbour in 1823; he told Kent that he formerly belonged to the brig Matilda. Kent had departed from Sydney to New Zealand on the Mermaid in May 1823, intending to collect flax in the Fouveaux Strait. James Caddell, who travelled with him from Sydney, had been taken prisoner by Māori in Stewart Island in 1810 at age 16. He lived with Māori and eventually gained status and mana. He received a full tā moko on his face and took a Māori wife, Tokitoki. He travelled back and forth to Sydney and was very useful as Pākehā attempted to trade and barter with Māori.

Kent had not originally intended to visit the harbour but he entered cautiously and stayed for less than a week. He purchased 48 pounds of flax and gathered sufficient shells to clean twice that quantity of flax. He also renamed the harbour ‘Port Oxley’ after the surveyor general of the colony, John Oxley, but the name did not endure.

The New Zealand Company

The most significant move to colonise New Zealand with new emigrants was unashamedly bold, with barely any consideration given to the tangata whenua. The New Zealand Company (a purely commercial company) brazenly pursued the opportunity to take and sell land, which quickly led to the displacement of Māori with devastating results. In the South Island, the selling of land swiftly converted any autonomy Māori had in their own kāika, and Kāi Tahu quickly found themselves a subservient people. Their health and wellbeing were hampered in a newly colonised world, and raising a family was a burden for many.

The New Zealand Company was established in England in 1825, at a time when colonisation was thought to be the answer to many of their social and economic problems. While spending three years in jail in England for the crime of marriage to a 15-year old heiress, Ellen Turner, Edward Gibbon Wakefield worked on the concept of an emigration company, initially focused on Australia. In 1829, he published a book that mapped out his vision of colonisation. Wakefield was concerned with the growing problems in Britain, which included an excess of labour and capital, low wages and unemployment. He considered that this would be an eventual recipe for disaster for Britain.

The company was charged with attracting potential emigrants, who would in turn provide a labour force to build houses, cultivate the land and so forth. Labourers could become landowners after having worked and saved towards this. Giving evidence before the House of Commons Committee on the Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies in 1836, Wakefield grasped the opportunity of “raising the systematic colonisation of New Zealand”.

In 1826, Captain James Herd led the first New Zealand Company expedition to the Otago Harbour on the Rosanna. He came to New Zealand with sixty prospective settlers to explore suitable sites where the New Zealand Company could establish settlements for trade and development. On 5 March 1826, the expedition reached Stewart Island, which Herd explored and rejected as a potential settlement, possibly persuaded by Kent, who had met him there. He then sailed on to the Otago Harbour, where they purchased potatoes, pigs and flax. Herd produced the first known chart of the harbour entrance. The chart illustrated five villages at the kaik, which West concludes reveals the influence on settlement patterns of increased European contact.

Ōtākou kaik and connections with the mainland

By the 1860s, the well-known Ōtākou kaik was established in the area where it remains today. Early European contact recorded a number of villages in the area known as Ōtākou before that time, but the picture of this area is complex.

Settlements were dotted from the mouth of the harbour to the area now known as Harwood Township. It was recorded that there were six small villages with traditional food storehouses (whata) in and about the mouth of the harbour heading towards Harwood Township. Moving towards the mainland, there was a village named Takiharuru near the beach on the headland, another settlement south of this called Rakipipikao and the next large settlement was Ruatitiko. Following Ruatitiko was Tahakopa. Along past Wellers Rock was Ōmate and another further south named Ōhinetū. These were the primary post-contact villages on the eastern side of the Otago Peninsula. John Boultbee recorded in 1828 that “Kaika Otargo”, as he wrote it, was the largest and oldest of the southern settlements.

Sealing and whaling had opened up Ōtākou to the outside world. The shore whaling industry took hold in New Zealand in the 1830s, stemming from the late eighteenth-century whaling of mainly sperm and southern right whales in and around Australia, and there were as many as 80 whaling stations around the New Zealand shoreline between the 1830s and 1840s. Six whaling stations were established in the Otago area, bringing land transactions and the employment of Māori crews.

In 1831, Edward and Joseph Weller established their whaling station with the general consent of Māori at Ōtākou. To operate their business at Ōtākou, it is likely that the Wellers came to an agreement with Māori – for example, guns for Karetai, Taiaroa and others who were concerned with tribal warfare. The Wellers established other whaling stations in the wider Otago area but the commercial business was run between Ōtākou and Sydney and New South Wales. They traded many commodities, including whale oil, flax, fish, spars and seal-skins. During this period, Octavious Harwood also established a trading post at Ōtākou as a product of the Wellers’ business, and Māori were able to work for goods such as nails, gunpowder, rum, flour and sugar. By the 1840s the whales became scarce from the virulent whaling, and the industry collapsed in the mid 1840s. With the decline in whaling, the Weller brothers left Otago with residual marriages and many half-caste children.

“Six whaling stations were established in the Otago area, bringing land transactions and the employment of Māori crews."

Disease had ravished the Māori communities in the south. Measles hit Ōtākou in 1835, devastating the inhabitants. Joseph Weller himself died of consumption, leaving Edward Weller to run the whaling business. It is difficult to ascertain the various effects introduced diseases had on Ōtākou Māori. It is fairly certain that measles struck in the years of 1834 to 1838, with a significant impact on the people of Ōtākou. There is some evidence that cremation, in particular the burning of whare, was resorted to when attempting to rid the community of the disease but also of tapu. H.K. Taiaroa recorded in 1865 that Ōtākou kaumātua had called on a tohuka to rid the community of Māori mate (illness) and wāhi tapu.

The community was clearly affected by illness, death, the impact of warfare and the influx of war refugees from Canterbury, and the assault of colonisation. The Māori population in the wider Dunedin area declined from 1000-2000 in the early nineteenth century to less than 200 by 1850.

The focus of commercial activity was at the mouth of the Otago Peninsula. The mainland was thick with forest and pigs were eventually left to run there, but there was no record of it being occupied. Monro observed the mouth of the harbour in 1844:

The sky, a great part of the time, was without a cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea-bird that floated upon it, with mirror-like accuracy. For some hours after sunrise, the woods resounded with the rich and infinitely varied notes of thousands of tuis and other songsters. I never heard anything like it before in any part of New Zealand. [2]

He followed on to state that there was ‘absence of a good site for a town’. He mentioned how inhospitable the bushland was on the mainland and that whalers had said they never ventured in. The peninsula was abundant with resources and water, and this was naturally what drew the first Europeans to the area.

The evidence is conflicting on whether there were actual villages or communities living in Otepoti (Dunedin). There were villages on the northern side of the harbour at Kōpūtai (Port Chalmers) and some huts in the upper harbour, in the city now known as Dunedin. However, there is no historical Māori evidence of permanent village sites but some evidence that Māori harvested pigs in the Dunedin area. The harbour, known as a river, was a crucial waterway for Ōtākou Māori. It was a highway for travel to the mainland and further afield and was a significant mahika kai area, as H.K. Taiaroa noted in his 1880 manuscript:

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.

Otago Harbour
This is an explanation of the significant and enduring associations that Māori, who have long resided here, have with the Otago Harbour. (Awa Moana Ōtākou). 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).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Bay of Islands in 1840, Captain Hobson appointed Major Bunbury to secure the Southern chiefs' signatures. The Kāi Tahu chiefs whom Bunbury met were fluent in English and very concerned that the Treaty should secure their possession of their lands. They accepted that under the Treaty they would retain their lands and have equal protection and rights as British citizens. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by seven Kāi Tahu chiefs, including local chiefs Korako and Karetai at Pukekura (Taiaroa Heads) on 13 June 1840. As a sign of his fluency, Chief John Karetai (also known as Jacky White) signed the Treaty with his own name.

Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi affirmed that Māori customary land tenure amounted to 'full exclusive and undisturbed possession (by Māori) of their Lands and Estates Forests and Fisheries'. It also required that the chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre emption over any such lands that they might wish to alienate. It was therefore the Crown's responsibility to identify the customary owners of lands before the Crown attempted to acquire them. This required them to led to an understanding of the basic rights of Māori land tenure. Traditional narratives support the basic principles of Māori land rights and have been relied upon as foundational evidence when proof of traditional ownership is required.

The period leading up to the early major land transactions between the Crown and Māori in southern New Zealand was particularly volatile. Although blanket attempts to identify the traditional owners were reasonably thorough, general rules did not apply in every case. In the early nineteenth century, areas south of Banks Peninsula were in land tenure turmoil as the traditional take whenua narrative could no longer be relied upon. It had been severely disrupted by refugee movements from inter-tribal musket wars, the introduction of a new, outsider population and the tools and world view they brought with them. This caused strain and disorder in the Ōtākou community and resulted in the purchase of the Otago Block, which led to a fight with the Crown lasting more than 150 years. The control of land was an insidious means of acquiring power that violated and fractured a Māori way of life.

After the signing of the Treaty, Hobson established the Protectors of Aborigines department, which was tasked with seeing that Māori rights were honoured. According to Evison, the Government gave similar instructions to Hobson and the New Zealand Company on Māori land. Edward Shortland and George Clarke acted as sub-protectors and came up with recommendations on how to buy land from Māori. One of their recommendations was that the boundaries of the land to be purchased should be surveyed with the land owners. In the Otago Block sale, the boundaries were surveyed with local chiefs.

> **Kāi Tahu wanted to keep 21,250 acres of Otago Peninsula with ancestral sites for themselves. However, the Europeans would not proceed with the sale unless the Otago Peninsula was included. . . Hence, the Māori conceded to retain only the land at the northern end of the Peninsula, the lower Taieri Gorge and Te Kāroro in the south, a total of 9,612 acres."**

The Otago Deed and the establishment of Dunedin
Under pressure from the New Zealand Company, the Crown waived its Treaty right of pre-emption, allowing the New Zealand Company to negotiate with the local chiefs for the purchase of land in the south. 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. Frederick Tuckett, a surveyor for the New Zealand Company, was assigned to oversee the purchase of the site. New Zealand Governor Fitzroy also appointed Symonds, a Wellington police magistrate and former assistant protector, to superintend and assist Tuckett.

Tuckett anchored at Port Cooper on 5 April 1844 and met with the Kāi Tahu chief Tūhawaiki. Kāi Tahu wanted to keep 21,250 acres of Otago Peninsula with ancestral sites for themselves. However, the Europeans would not proceed with the sale unless the Otago Peninsula was included. Symonds, who was supposed to take care of Māori interests, did not interfere. Hence, the Māori conceded to retain only the land at the northern end of the Peninsula, the lower Taieri Gorge and Te Kāroro in the south, a total of 9,612 acres.

On 31 July 1844 at Kōpūtai, 25 chiefs signed the Otago Deed (around 400,000 acres) for £2,400. Of the 400,000 acres, 150,000 would be chosen for the New Edinburgh site. Verbal agreements were also made to reserve 10% of all land sold, known as 'the tenths', in trust for the benefit of Kāi Tahu. 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 founded 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. In 1846, Wakefield advertised tenders in the newspapers, and work began on New Edinburgh. The organised settlement of the suburban and rural areas of the peninsula began in 1848, focusing on Anderson's 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 Edinburgh in Scotland, Dunedin being the Gaelic form of Edinburgh. Kettle was instructed to reproduce the city as best he could. Swiftly the names of Edinburgh streets were replicated in Dunedin, and those of new immigrants too, colonising and ridding the land of Māori names.

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 carrying Scottish settlers arrived in March and April 1848. William Cargill, the New Zealand Company's resident agent arrived on the John Wickliffe. In an address to the arrivals, he stated that there was a temporary barrack for the women and the children and that lands had been staked out, ready for immediate choice and occupation. Cargill also declared that the rulers of their great country had struck out a system of colonisation on liberal and enlightened principles and that, although small, they must put that system to the test. The incomers were swiftly allocated sections of land without a thought given to takata whenua.

Land disputes

Māori were impinging on the town space that was acknowledged as their landing place. An informal market place was established, but the vision of a formal market place was never realised. Before long the demand for Māori goods, services and produce dropped away and the exchange of goods became one-directional. European goods were priced high, immediately disadvantaging Māori. Animosity from Europeans about Māori taking up space in this foreshore area also increased.

Newspapers reported that the women were sleeping on the beach and shivering in the cold at night, and that they were being preyed on by drunk men. Māori asked for a hostel to be built. In 1860, with the support of James Cargill, a hostel was built to accommodate Māori while they were in the city, but it was removed in 1865 for the widening of Princes Street and not replaced.

Two major land disputes in recent mana whenua history that resonate today were the Princes Street Reserve and the Port Chalmers Reserve. Both of these areas were central to Ōtākou's subsistence.

Kōpūtai was a reserve set aside for Ōtākou Māori. It is the residential area of Port Chalmers today, and was an important site to Māori historically. In the eyes of the Pākehā, the reserve was under-utilised – after years of tussle about its ownership and original intent, it was built on. Mana whenua rights were ignored, and a constant flow of correspondence sharing mana whenua opinion and voice was simply discarded.

The other dispute that drove a wedge between our people and the Crown was the Princes Street Reserve. Tension with Māori in the new Dunedin town was growing. Māori, who lived mainly on the eastern point of the Peninsula, used the Otago Harbour as their highway. They travelled to the Dunedin area on their waka and would follow trails over the hills, to the Taiari (Taieri) area and waterways at Kaikarae (Kaikorai) and Kaituna to collect food, such as eels, kanakana, weka and so forth. A small village at the mouth of the Leith River (Ōwheo) was known as Te Tutai o Te Matauira, and there were huts on the banks of the Toitū stream. A landing site and small village remained at Ōtepoti (seen in the picture below). In the mid 1800s, this became the recognised landing place for Māori when they came to town from Ōtākou. Over time it became a place of trade, and 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. They were evicted from the area in 1851 as the settlers felt uncomfortable about haka that took place while they were there.

The Province of Otago was established in 1853, bringing a superintendent to the area. William Cargill, the superintendent from 1953 to 1859, insisted on keeping the foreshore for public use. This concerned some settlers who wanted to live by the water. 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.

In 1852, after being petitioned by Māori, Walter Mantell, Commissioner of Crown Lands for the southern districts, wrote to Governor Grey asking him to grant land in Dunedin and Port Chalmers to the visiting Māori for the building of houses. In Dunedin, he recommended a piece of land by the water. Grey approved both proposals. This contributed to the conflict between key Pākehā leaders at the time, with the various denominations being an underlying issue. Mantell was Anglican and Governor Grey represented the Anglican central government, whereas Cargill represented the provincial Scots Presbyterian administration of the Otago Settlement. The clash between Mantell and Cargill also stemmed from their professional positions. Mantell was not in control of the New Zealand Company's Otago Block, which came under the authority of Cargill.

Without a dominant voice to counter-argue their position, Ōtākou Māori suffered the fallout of the colonists' politics. The Otago authorities opposed the allocation of land proposed by Grey. The reserve was leased out in the 1860s, and rents were put aside for Māori. After considerable dispute, the Princes Street Reserve was eventually given to Dunedin city. The duplicitous nature of the agreement caused deep mamae that impelled Kāi Tahu to continue to fight, and it was included in the 1979 Kāi Tahu petition to Parliament and the WAI27 Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

A growing city

After the onset of formal colonisation in 1848, Dunedin city grew and became the capital of the newly constituted Otago province in 1852. The significant growth of the population due to gold rushes and trade impacted directly on the people of Ōtākou. The gold rushes completely changed the balance between capital, labour and land; in a matter of months, the local market moved from village to a small city, through which flowed immense influxes of capital. During the early years of European settlement, before the establishment of government, Māori flourished in the free- trade environment. But in a climate where colonisation and Western democracy disenfranchised individual Māori from political power and the capital to participate in the new economy, goldmining offered a small window of chance at economic success.

The eventual colonisation of New Zealand, and particularly of Dunedin, saw the loss of huge tracts of land from Māori ownership. The land newly acquired by Europeans was worked towards the production of fertile ground so they could farm and sustain themselves in the way they saw fit and understood. By the 1860s, European had burnt the bush and sectioned off land. It was a difficult and slow process. Dairy farming took a hold on the Otago Peninsula as it was sectioned into blocks and gradually occupied. Alongside the change in the landscape came changes in culture and language. It wasn't long before the English language flourished and became the dominant vernacular. Britain colonised New Zealand with a number of approaches, mostly with the intent of assimilating Māori and civilising the barbaric race. The children of the generation who were at the signing, or in fact signed, the Treaty of Waitangi inherited the political fight with Pākehā that grew out of these upheavals. The colonial government's failure to deliver on the agreements in the land purchase of Otago and the ongoing disregard of the Treaty of Waitangi created a political struggle that would last for generations.

> **"Kōpūtai was a reserve set aside for Ōtākou Maori. It is the residential area of Port Chalmers today, and was an important site to Māori historically. In the eyes of the Pakeha, the reserve was under-utilised – after years of tussle about its ownership and original intent, it was built on. Mana whenua rights were ignored, and a constant flow of correspondence sharing mana whenua opinion and voice was simply discarded."**

Political disenfrancisement

The Ōtākou Māori community wanted to participate successfully in a growing European society. Our people were already involved in land battles with the Crown and implicitly understood that one of the only ways to be heard was at a political level, and that clout and economic influence went hand in hand. However, the ideological undercurrent of European supremacy infiltrated every aspect of New Zealand, and Māori were casualties in this new era.

The New Zealand Constitution Act enacted in 1853 divided New Zealand into six provinces. 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 an elected 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. Māori wanted to be a part of the provincial council from the outset but were given clear messages that they were neither equipped nor welcome.

A 'Meeting of Maories' was held in the Dunedin Court House on 16 October 1860. There were very few Māori present but many European leaders of the Dunedin community. The meeting was held because "Portobello European" had published in the newspaper that Māori were threatening to take up firearms against them – this was laid to rest by Patoromu Pu as mere rumour at the beginning of the meeting.

The Māori present continued to reassure the Europeans that they had nothing but good intentions towards them and wanted to be one with them. Following on from the conciliatory and positive speeches from Māori, the Europeans responded. Mr Gillies gave Māori the clear message that they would not get on the provincial council without learning English, and the superintendent said that Māori were not fit to be represented in the province. Mr McGlashan also stated that they should learn English and should divide their lands and not hold them in common. In a letter written by Mr Baker, the Māori represented responded to the meeting, relinquishing their power and relegating their language subordinate to English. They conceded they could not sit on the provincial council but instead needed a European representative who knew Māori language. They chose Mr Strode and Mr Baker as mediators between the two parties. Māori language took a back seat in politics, and there have been very few changes since this 1860 meeting of the provincial government in Dunedin.

As Ōtākou Māori were unable to enter provincial politics in Dunedin, their presence on the land continued to be eradicated. Māori place names in and around Dunedin were replaced with European names, with examples being Hereweka to Harbour Cone, Tūtaehinu to Highcliff, Tauraka Pipipi to Logan Park and so many more. Names were also altered over time and eventually misspelt and misunderstood; for example, Kaikarae to Kaikorai, Whakaari to Wakari, Taiari to Taieri. Hocken wrote that Portobello – Hereweka to Māori – owed its name to Christie, a Scotchman and draper from Sydney, who came down in 1840 and settled there, giving to it the name of his birthplace. By the mid 1850s, Europeans numbered about 6,000 and the Māori population was only about a fifth of this.

At times the provincial government displayed some sympathy for Māori but their simple actions were sabotaged by government policy. At an 1861 meeting in Dunedin of the Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Maoris in the Province of Otago, there was plenty of discussion and sympathy for the substandard condition of the natives.

Iwi Māori were victims of the settler demand for land. Te Matenga Taiaroa had attended the Kohimarama hui in Auckland in 1860, which was called by Governor Browne and attended by 200 chiefs. The governor was seeking support for the actions of colonial government forces in Waitara and to stave off support for the King Movement, neither of which was achieved. The chiefs made their stance that they had retained their rakatiratanga and authority over their taoka and lands very clear to the governor. Despite their position, land wars occurred in the North Island, and South Island Māori also found themselves facing landlessness. The war in Taranaki culminated in Taranaki Māori being imprisoned without trial and taken to cities far away from their home, including Dunedin, Lyttleton and Hokitika. Ōtākou Māori, and in particular the Ellison family who hailed from Taranaki whakapapa, took it upon themselves to manaaki the prisoners as best they could.

Taranaki

It is important to note here another significant Māori influence on the Dunedin city which was also directly a result of European interaction. The relationship between Māori and European was reasonably positive in the South Island. Further north Māori grew resentful of European expansion and colonisation and tensions emerged soon after the signing of the Treaty. Settler pressure for land in the Taranaki region saw several conflicts between Māori and government troops from the 1860s to the 1880s. As a result many Māori were captured and sent to Otago as prisoners. There were 74 Ngāti Ruanui prisoners sent to Dunedin Gaol in November 1869, who were held until March 1872. Many of the prisoners were ageing, and 18 prisoners died.

The second group of prisoners were Te Whiti's "Ploughmen". [1] In the 1870s a peaceful movement developed in Taranaki centred on Parihaka and led by Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Their peaceful modes of protest were met with military style aggression. During 1879-1880 the settlers' militia imprisoned hundreds of those from Parihaka, who were arrested illegally and detained without trial. There were 46 prisoners who were shipped to Dunedin.

Pakakohi men 1869-72

Ngāwakataurua was the leader of the Pakakohi men during their time in prison, and the hereditary leader Kireona was among the prisoners and died in prison aged 70. The Pakakohi men contributed considerably to civic projects across the city, which were reported in the local newspaper by the man hours applied to each project, with the works listed in the sequence that a hikoi passes them on the journey to and from Dunedin. Examples from the year ending 31 March 1871 (Otago Witness) are:

- Labour on the old Botanic Garden (now University of Otago grounds) – 2034 days
- Leith Stream bank stabilisation – 613 days
- Loading rock – 259 days
- Otago Girls' High School grounds – 2034 days
- Andersons Bay Road – 1738 days
- Pelichet Road – 834 days
- Hospital grounds – 238 days
- Harbour dredging – 39 days
- Kaikorai Road – 796 days
- Rector's residence – 419 days

The Pakakohi men were also involved in building the Andersons Bay causeway and parts of Portobello, Wakari and Māori Roads, widening Rattray Street and building roads and rock walls in the Port Chalmers area, and levelling the Oval sports and recreation grounds.

Parihaka men 1879-81

The Parihaka people began their passive resistance in 1879. In August of that year, 46 ploughman arrived at Port Chalmers aboard the Hinemoa, and a further 91 prisoners arrived in January 1880. There is no reliable record of the works that the prisoners were engaged in.

However, the Marlborough Press reported in 1879 on "A letter received by Maori in New Plymouth from the prisoners in Dunedin giving a description of prison life. It complained the climate was very cold and the confinement 'exceedingly irksome to the free born Maoris'. [2]

In 1987 a memorial rock named Rongo was erected next to Portsmouth Drive before it reaches the Andersons Bay causeway. This is to remember the past atrocities and the Taranaki prisoners and the connection between Ōtākou Rūnaka and Taranaki. There are also longstanding connections of whakapapa and whanaukataka with the Ellison family.

*1 They were called Ploughmen due to the fact that they would plough up pasture lands that belonged to European farmers as a means of protest.

*2 Marlborough Press, 26 December 1879, 2.

A new generation of Māori leaders

Te Matenga Taiaroa died on 2 February 1863. He asked in his ōhākī (dying words) that the dishonest breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi and the promises of the Kāi Tahu land sales be resolved. His son wrote his last dying wishes, revealing the conflicting responsibility Taiaroa held as a supporter of Pākehā.

A new age of political leaders rose up to take their place in the battle with the Crown.

Hori Kerei Taiaroa
Hori Kerei Taiaroa was the most well-known political leader to come from Ōtākou. He was born around 1830 at Ōtākou to Te Matenga Taiaroa and his third wife, Māwera. His mother was there in her son's early years but the successful male leadership that H.K. manifested was nurtured and energised under the eye of his father. Little is known about his childhood and whether he had any formal education but it is clear that he became literate and a well-read man in English.

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 became 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 skillful writing ability. He married Tini Burns of Kaiapoi, another Kāi Tahu kāika, and had six sons. He died in Wellington in 1905, not living to see the completion of the Ngāi Tahu claim, but his battles for Kāi Tahu ensured the claim persisted to its conclusion in 1998. Our whānau uphold him as the Godfather of the Ngāi Tahu claim. H.K was born at Ōtākou and is buried there; he named the wharenui at Ōtākou Te Mahi Tamariki, "the work of the children". His speech at the opening of the house in 1874 was reported on in the Otago Daily Times:

He could not see how the Government came to have possession of the whole of this Island. All the promises made to the Natives by the Government when the land was bought were never fulfilled. This was why he built the house, and called it Te Mahi Tamariki. He called it thus because there were no old people in Otago; all were young people here, and there were no old people to carry their works through. All the old chiefs, from the South to the North of the Island, could do nothing towards getting their own title back from the Government. [3]

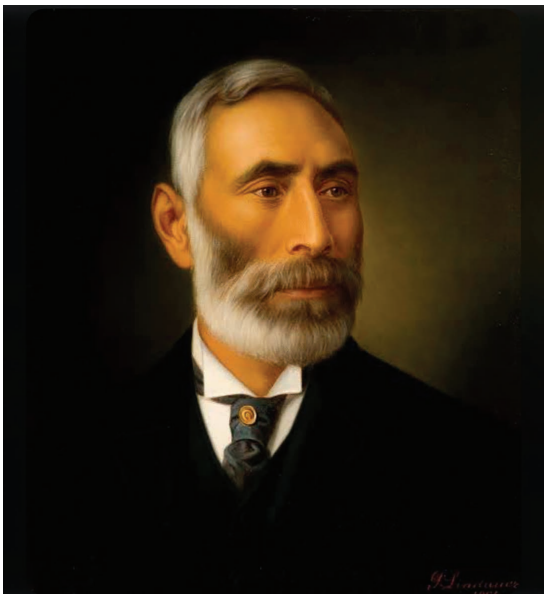
H.K. was one of the first southern Māori political leaders born on the cusp of a merging European and Māori society. Because of his intellectual and linguistic capacity, he could be heard at the most senior level of Māori society and in the new colonial parliament. His drive to fight for his people is exemplified in this quote from his written statement on the report by Judge Fenton on the petition on the Ngāi Tahu Tribe:

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. [4]

Tame Parata
The other important Ngāi Tahu political leader of the time was Tame Parata, who was connected by marriage to H.K. Taiaroa – Tame's daughter married H.K.'s son. They were drawn together in an intense political arena, both serving as Members of Parliament for Southern Māori. H.K and Parata travelled, debated and wrote diligently to the various European decision-makers of the day about land claims and ongoing grievances. In May 1894, Parata wrote to H.K about the Crown acquisitions of large tracts of Kāi Tahu lands from the 1840s, in which promises of reserves to be made to Kāi Tahu were never kept. By the time Parata wrote his letter, Kāi Tahu leaders had taken numerous futile complaints to the Crown.

Middle Island Native Claims
From 1879 to 1880, the Smith-Nairn Commission enquired into the 'Middle Island Native Land Question', but a change of government prevented the commission from completing its work. In 1886 the Royal Commissioner, Judge Alexander Mackay, was charged with enquiring into the 'Middle Island Native Land Question'. He found that there was insufficient land available for the Natives based on the original principles in acquiring the Middle Island. He suggested establishing a fund that would support areas he deemed important for Kāi Tahu, such as schools, medical aid and land drainage. Mackay also recommended that a fifty-acre block of land per head be set aside for each landless Kāi Tahu individual. A Joint Middle Island Native Claims Committee was appointed by the House of Representatives and the Legislative Council in 1888 to consider Mackay's report. In 1890 it was recommended that a similar committee be appointed to consider the various Native claims. There were some very strong objections to Mackay's report, including that of prominent Canterbury settler and politician, William Rolleston, who asserted that all he would wish for was that Kāi Tahu would become industrial labourers.

In 1889, a further Joint Committee on Middle Island Native Claims was charged with completing the work of its 1888 predecessor. This committee's findings were inconsistent with the previous committee, and it was recommended that a careful enquiry be made into the condition of the Kāi Tahu people. Another investigation, solely concerned with the Ōtākou purchase, was arranged in 1890. Although his previous report had been largely ignored, Judge Alexander Mackay was appointed to inquire into the position of the Kāi Tahu people. Mackay's significant findings revealed



Hori Kerei Taiaroa

Tame Parata

that ninety percent of Kāi Tahu possessed either no land or insufficient land. Of the ten percent who owned more than fifty acres, few could make a living due to the poor quality of the land.

These findings gave Māori politicians like Parata evidence to advocate on behalf of their people and protest successive governments' failure to deliver on past promises. Parata pressed the Native Minister of the time, A.J. Cadman, to respond. Cadman did not immediately respond, but he came to Ōtākou to meet Kāi Tahu in December 1892. At this meeting, Cadman suggested that specific Crown lands could be made available to landless or near landless natives. In late December 1892, Cadman wrote to Parata about the lands available, apparently without consultation with Kāi Tahu. The blocks available were at Tautuku, Wānaka, Te Waewae Bay and Stewart Island.

In 1893, Cabinet appointed Mackay and Smith to complete the list of landless natives and assign the blocks of land accordingly. The list was completed in 1895. A third interim report was completed in 1898, and the land was eventually allocated in 1905.

The land allocated was remote and generally unsuitable for farming or making a living from. H.K. himself was not satisfied with the allocation of poor quality land and made his strong views clear, claiming that Kāi Tahu would accept the land as an act of charity but would not accept it in satisfaction of their claims. As stated in the Waitangi Tribunal's Ngai Tahu Report, the Crown was well aware by 1904, if not much earlier, that substantial parts of the land to be allocated in Otago and Southland were quite unsuitable for settlement. One of Parata's main concerns was that John Mackenzie, the Minister of Lands, was taking Māori land and giving it to the landless Pākehā. This was occurring at the same time as S. Percy Smith, Judge Alexander Mackay and Cadman were instructed by the prime minister to give up to fifty acres per head to southern Māori. Mackenzie had also introduced a new system of landlords in 1894 that denied Māori the capital to convert their lands but gave land to Pākehā to divide and farm. This allowed 2,700,000 acres of land to be bought by the government between 1892 and 1900. John Mackenzie himself was the product of forced displacement during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of people from traditional land tenancies in the Scottish Highlands.

In 1891 Judge Alexander Mackay reported on South Island Māori to the Native Minister. The list of grievances and consequential poverty is disturbing. The Ōtākou section listed the people suffering due to inability to survive on rents of land and the inability to use or cultivate land due to its distance or ruggedness. Another expense was payment for a doctor, having had no accessible doctor for up to six years. All people had to seek employment during shearing and harvest seasons to procure money to purchase food and clothing as land no longer supported their ability to live and feed their families.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the landscape and the people of Ōtākou had experienced considerable change, with a prevalent view being that smoothing the pillow of the dying Māori race was all that could be done. Buller stated in 1884 that Māori were dying out in a quick, easy way and being supplanted by a superior race. [5]

The generation represented by Hori Kerei Taiaroa were born into a rapidly changing Māori world. They were born into leadership families and inherited a legacy of Kāi Tahu confidence. However, the momentum of good leadership and sourcing education faltered because the policies and practices of the settler government eventually caught up with all Māori communities.

Impact of World Wars and intergenerational loss

The twentieth century, with the advent of World Wars I and II, was one of disorder and stress on our Māori communities, which were crippled by the loss of men and the emotional damage to those soldiers who returned wounded. The first major impact and assault on their tikanga and te reo outside of disease, was World War I.

The eldest and most promising boys of every South Island Māori community were sent to defend the British Empire. They were expected to work in menial positions as engineers' labourers but many were still killed. Those that returned were broken.

The Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915 marked the adoption of a major scheme of settling returned soldiers on the land. Crown land and private land bought by the Crown was subdivided, and loans were granted for development and for the purchase of existing properties. Māori returned servicemen were not eligible for the scheme, in which 9500 men were financed onto farms.

The South Island contingent of the Pioneer Māori Battalion included a representative of nearly every leading Kāi Tahu family of the time. Many were killed and never returned home. Those that did return were in no position to follow in the footsteps of the generation before them. Some of the women, of course less affected by the war, were to succeed beyond the norm. Women such as Perle Taiaroa Winter, the first Māori dental nurse, and Magdalene Karetai Wallscott, a Māori teaching in Pākehā schools before the 1920s.

The fallout from the loss of land and the relinquishment of sustained cultural practices in the community and within whānau continues to reverberate through our communities.

The period immediately after the two world wars was one of loss and hardship as we faced the loss of our men steeped in cultural and language knowledge. The potential of husbands for our wāhine was also taken in the blink of an eye. Furthermore, the soldiers that returned to the community came with trauma and no support.

This ongoing trauma resonated for generations in our communities. The police community are faced with the intergenerational impact of loss of culture, language and identity, trauma, removal from land, urbanisation and poverty. This history sets the scene for the years following the 1940s and to the present day. The whakapapa of loss and trauma now lives on in the genetics of our children. You have the chance to take your place in a critical pathway of healing and support.

Kia ara whakamua, kia hoki whakamuri.

Inside the meeting house of Tamatea at Ōtākou.

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